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**THE BRONZE-AGE AXE-SHAPED SCEPTRE FROM PĂLATCA
(TRANSYLVANIA) AND ITS EASTERN CONNECTIONS**

Abstract. *In the Pălatca Commune (Cluj County) in Transylvania, a prehistoric (probably elk) antler axe was discovered accidentally and it later came into the possession of a collector. The item is extremely rare, which is why we subjected it to analysis in the present paper.*

The axe has an arched, but very blunt, blade and a round edge. The shaft was made through an oval perforation, inside which there are numerous traces of a tool. The outer surface of the axe is polished, particularly the circular edge, with edges in the form of a border which was decorated with short, regular indentations. It can be seen that the item was used intensely, in a phase in which its function was probably that of a tool. Upon a closer look, two groups of markings were also identified: one above the blade, made of two "stirrups", and another between the hole and the edge, consisting of oblique stirrups, a cross and several punctures.

The shape presents several antecedents until the Neolithic and the Eneolithic in the eastern part of Europe, both in items made of antler and those made of metal or stone. However, the best analogies found among the Bronze Age items from the current space of Ukraine and Russia. In the Ingul-catacomb culture, there were stone items that have similar edges, including some with notched decorations. However, we believe that the closest analogy is the famous sceptre-axe discovered in Dudarkov, which is particularly remarkable due to then numerous zoomorphic, phytoform and geometric motifs incised on its surface, attributed to the Mnogovalikovaja culture. In the same eastern area of Europe, the best analogies are given by stone axes from the Borodino hoard, or Suvorovskaja-type ones, dating from the first half of the 1st millennium BC. Based on these correspondences, our assessment is that the axe from Pălatca can be interpreted as a sceptre, similar to other antler items already discovered in the Mid- and Late Bronze Age in Transylvania or neighbouring regions.

Regarding the item's dating and context, it is highly likely that it came from the site surveyed in Pălatca – "TogulluiMândrușcă", where a settlement dated to the beginning of the Late Bronze Age was discovered and from which other eastern type items originated, such as a bronze needle with four protuberances and Noua culture ceramics.

Key words: *antler axe, sceptre, Bronze Age, Symbolism, Transylvania.*

СОКИРОПОДІБНИЙ СКІПЕТР БРОНЗОВОГО ВІКУ З ПАЛАТКИ (ТРАНСИЛЬВАНІЯ) ТА ЙОГО СХІДНІ ЗВ'ЯЗКИ

Анотація. У громаді Палатка (округ Клуж) у Трансильванії випадково виявили доісторичну (ймовірно, лосину) рогову сокиру, яка пізніше потрапила у володіння колекціонера. Цей предмет є надзвичайно рідкісним, тому ми піддали його аналізу в цій статті. Сокира має дугоподібне, але дуже тупе лезо і кругле лезо. Стовбур виконано через овальну перфорацію, всередині якої є численні сліди знаряддя. Зовнішня поверхня сокири відшліфована, зокрема кругла кромка, з краями у вигляді бордюра, прикрашеного короткими правильними поглибленнями. Видно, що предмет використовувався інтенсивно, на етапі, коли використовувався як інструмент. При детальнішому розгляді також було виявлено дві групи розміток: одна над лезом, виконана з двох “стремен”, а інша – між отвором і кромкою, що складається з косих стремен, хреста та кількох проколів.

Форма нагадує декілька відомих попередників доби неоліту та енеоліту в східній частині Європи у виробках як з пантів, так і з металу чи каменю. Проте найкращі аналоги знайдено серед предметів доби бронзи з сучасного простору України та Росії. В Інгульсько-катакомбній культурі зустрічалися кам'яні вироби з подібними краями, в тому числі з виїмчастим оздобленням. Однак, на нашу думку, найбільшю аналогією є відомий скіпетр-сокира, знайдений у Дударкові, який особливо примітний завдяки численным врізаням на його поверхню зооморфним, фітоформним і геометричним мотивам, віднесеним до Многояликової культури. У цьому ж східному ареалі Європи найкращі аналоги дають кам'яні сокири з Бородинського скарбу, або суворовського типу, що датуються першою половиною I тис. до н.е. З огляду на ці відповідники наша оцінка полягає у тому, що сокиру з Палатки можна інтерпретувати як скіпетр, подібний до інших предметів з пантів, які вже були виявлені в епоху середньої та пізньої бронзи у Трансильванії або сусідніх регіонах.

З приводу датування та контексту предмета зазначимо: цілком імовірно, що він походить із обстеженого в Палатці місця – “Тогуллуй-Мандрушка”, де було виявлено поселення, що датується початком епохи пізньої бронзи, і з якого походять інші предмети східного типу, зокрема бронзова голка з чотирма виступами та кераміка культури Ноуа.

Ключові слова: пантова (рогова) сокира, скіпетр, бронзовий вік, символізм, Трансильванія.

The Problem Statement. In 2012, we were given a prehistoric antler axe for research purposes¹. The item was photo documented and drawn, but we have no information regarding its subsequent fate. However, given its importance in the wider knowledge about a certain type of antler artefact characteristic of the Transylvanian Bronze Age, we considered its publication to be quite useful, all the more so as it represents an item that is unique in the aforementioned geographical space and even beyond.

The Description. The artefact was made from an antler, and the wide blade suggests that the raw material used was an elk antler, and not that of a stag (fig. 2). The axe has a wide and arched blade, and the opposite side (the edge) is circular, slightly bulged, with an emphasised border, larger in diameter than the body (fig. 2/b, d-e). On the edge of this border, there are short, radial notches, displayed regularly. The edge is not sharp, but actually very blunt (fig. 2/g), which suggests that it was used for cutting. In the central part of the axe, the shaft-hole was made vertically, in an oval shape (fig. 2/a). A very interesting aspect is the execution of the perforation, for which the maker used a tool with an approx. 0.2 cm tip, with which the texture of the antler was carved. On the entire surface, many small, vertical or oblique grooves are visible, which were finished subsequently (fig. 2/j). This final clue offers up details not only regarding the manufacturing technology used for the perforation, but also the duration of its use through shafting. However, the exterior parts, particularly the blade and the edge, bear strong traces of polishing. The circular edge has a dark colour

¹ The item belonged to Radu Duma from Cluj-Napoca who, at that time, was a Master's student at the “1 December 1918” University of Alba Iulia.

(fig. 2.d), which suggests that it was hardened through heat treatment (length = 18 cm; blade width = 8.6 cm; poll diameter = 5.5 cm).

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. Based on all its details, the item from Pălatca resembles a series of stone axes, most of which originated from the eastern part of Europe. In order not to overburden the text with too many analogies, we shall focus on the most illustrative examples, beginning with the axes from the Borodino hoard (Kaiser, 1997, pl. 2/1–4), or the Suvorovskaja-type axes from the first half of the 2nd millennium BC, from Nal'čik, Šalušinskoe (fig. 3/7) and Stavropol (Kaiser, 1997, pl. 24/2–4), with correspondences with metal axes, as per the ones from Kišpek (Russia) (Kaiser, 1997, 104, Abb. 55). Particularly from the perspective given by the edge, a good analogy is provided by a stone axe discovered in the Mikolaiiv region (Ukraine) (http://neolitica.ru/lot.php?lot_id=2241). This item has a circular edge, marked by a border with short, regular incisions (fig. 3/8), very similar to the ones on the axe from Pălatca. Although the axe from Ukraine was found by accident, its attribution to the Ingul catacomb culture (approx. 3200–1750 BC) is highly likely.

Naturally, we must turn our attention to antler and bone artefacts. From a typological viewpoint, this type of axe appeared as early as the Eneolithic, in the Prut-Dniester space. A large collection of round-edged axes, some similar to the item from Pălatca, is known in the area of the Tripolie culture (Markevich, 1981, fig. 52). In the area of the Bessarabian variant of the Cernavodă I culture from Moldavia, we know of a ceremonial axe, found in a tumular grave in Krasnoe, bearing a similar edge with a border to the axe from Pălatca (Manzura, Sava, 1994, fig. 4/7; Govedarica, Manzura, 2011, fig. 8). The dorsal part of the axe, with a discoidal edge, is also similar to the shape of the sceptre found in grave 2 in Mound 1 from Luhansk (formerly Vorošilovgrad), in south-eastern Ukraine (fig. 3/2). The sceptre had been placed on the right shoulder of the deceased, a man buried together with 11 large silex blades, belonging to the Novodanilovka group of Eneolithic graves containing ochre from the end of the 5th millennium and the beginning of the 4th millennium BC (Govedarica 2004, pp. 181, 194–195, Abb. 36; 66/4). However, the form points to much older origins, which we can identify in the Neolithic period of the Caucasus (fig. 3/1) (Hansen et al. 2006, 22, Abb. 50), with certain similarities to the circular and bulged poll found in the phallus-shaped axes from Aruchlo (Georgia), in the area associated with the Shulaveri-Shomutepe culture (Hansen, 2017, pp. 269–271, fig. 1-3). Transposed into metal, morphologically similar axes appeared as early as the end of the 4th millennium BC, in the northern Pontic space, as in Cuconeștii Vechi (Republic of Moldova) (Dergačev, 2002, pl. 18/R), or in the deposit from Klady (fig. 3/3) (Epoha bronzы, 1994, pl. 47/8; Rezepkin, 2000, p. 64, Taf. 54/13, 15; Hansen, 2009, pp. 149–150, fig. 12/5, 8; Hansen, 2011, p. 161, fig. 9/5, 8).

Analogies for the item from Pălatca are practically absent in the Romanian space, with the exception of one (rather relative) discovery made in Transylvania, in Teleac, belonging to the Late Bronze Age (the Gáva culture). The item is lacking a blade and both of its ends are circular, but the common elements include the arched shape and, especially, a well-outlined groove all around one of the ends (fig. 3/6) (Vasiliev et al. 1991, pp. 73–74, fig. 22/14), which has a similar appearance to the border of the edge of the item from Pălatca. The correspondences from the Central European area are not very close either. One antler item from Piliny (Hungary) (Báró, 1909, p. 427, fig. 22), decorated with incisions that imitate the straps with which it was fixed to the handle (fig. 3/5), seems to have had an active part that is similar in use to the blade of the axe from Pălatca. The way in which the poll of the item from Pălatca was carved from an antler was known in the Hungarian Late Bronze Age, having

been used, for instance, in the case of the cheek pieces from G6r (Ilon, 2001, p. 248, pl. III/1). Other items could also represent possible analogies, but they are fragmentary, as is the case of the item dating from the Koszider period (1450–1350 BC) found in Jász6d6zsa (Choyke, 2005, p. 147, pl. I/7). In the absence of analogies, we were compelled to seek correspondences in the Bronze Age of western Europe as well, where, in the Seine-Oise-Marne culture, there are horn axes with similar blades and edges (Otte, 2001, p. 132, fig. 115/7–8).

Similarities are easier to find in the eastern part of Europe. In terms of its shape, the axe from Pălatca is not far from an exceptional Late Bronze Age discovery from the upper course of the Dnieper River, in Dudarkov, Ukraine. This horn axe (fig. 3/4a-b), richly ornamented with arboreal, zoomorphic and geometric motifs, was found in the area associated with the Mnogovalikovaja culture and has been connected to Mycenaean influences from the Aegean area (Lichardus, 2001, pp. 77–80, Abb. 1; Lichardus, Vladăr, 1996, pp. 43–44, pl. 25/10; Irimia, 2007, 16–17, fig. 6A). Maja Kašuba and Elke Kaiser consider that, in this case, the axe's initial use was simply as a hammer, but, due to the symbolic value it gained after its ornamentation (similarly, for instance, to a mining hammer from Őoldănești), it was later included in the category of prestige goods (Kašuba & Kaiser, 178, Taf. 11/1).

Regarding the shape of the blade, the axe from Pălatca presents similarities with the blade of the equally famous axe-shaped sceptre ending in a leopard, discovered in the palace in Malia and dated to the Paleopalatian Period (1800 – 1700 BC) (fig. 3/9) (see <https://heraklionmuseum.gr/>).

The Main Material Statement. The Pălatca village is known in the scholarly literature due to the Bronze Age discoveries made there. In 1972, Tudor Soroceanu published a study on a Bronze Age settlement in Pălatca–*Sub Pădure*, which he attributed to the Wietenberg culture (the Middle Bronze Age); he also identified similar materials at a distance of approx. 200 m, in the area of a cemetery from the migration period (Soroceanu, 1972, pp. 165–170 and note 4, pl. I–III). Systematic excavations were resumed in 1991 in the settlement at *Togullui Mândrușcă*, which also uncovered (besides ceramics characteristic of the Late Wietenberg phase, with Noua culture influences) bone, horn and metal items. Among the latter, we must mention a bronze needle with four protuberances (attributed to the Noua culture), a bronze anvil and a copper ingot. A metallurgic workshop and a place of worship belonging to the cultural horizon of the Late Bronze Age was also discovered, and this also contained metal items (an arrowhead, a needle with a spherical head) (Rotea, 2009, pp. 7–8, fig. 4; Wittenberger, Rotea, 2011, pp. 261–263, fig. 1, 4; Rotea, Wittenberger, Tecar, & Tecar, 2011a, pp. 13–17, pl. II; III/2; IV–XIII; Rotea, Wittenberger, Tecar, & Tecar, 2011b, pp. 13–16, pl. 2, 4–11; Benea, Săsăran, & Rotea, 2011). From this complex, a fragment of a Keftiu-type ingot is particularly meaningful, since it is the only such item found in the current Romanian space (Rotea, 2001, p. 26, Abb. 15; Rotea, 2004, p. 8, fig. 4a; Rotea et al, 2011a, p. 13, pl. VI.7/1; Rotea et al, 2011b, p. 13; Popa, 2015, pp. 190–191, 200, 205–207, 209, fig. 4).

A cremation cemetery, also dating from the Late Bronze Age and containing urns, was discovered in Pălatca, in the *Poderei* point (Rotea & Feneșan, 1994, pp. 351–353, pl. I–II).

The context of the axe's origins is unknown. The only information offered by the owner refers to the village from which it came: Pălatca (Cluj County). However, based on the data presented above, we believe that there are sufficient arguments that support the dating of the axe–sceptre from Pălatca to the Bronze Age. Moreover, given certain chronological benchmarks in the evolution of axes and sceptres, the dating can be refined to the Middle Bronze Age. The axe is probably connected to the site from *Togullui Mândrușcă*, where contemporaneous items

were discovered, including those of eastern type or influence, such as the bronze needle with protuberances (fig. 1/1), kantharos-type vessels (fig. 1/2) and common use vessels (fig. 1/3–4) specific to the Noua-Sabatinovka culture (Rotea, 1997, p. 14, fig. III/3; V/3).

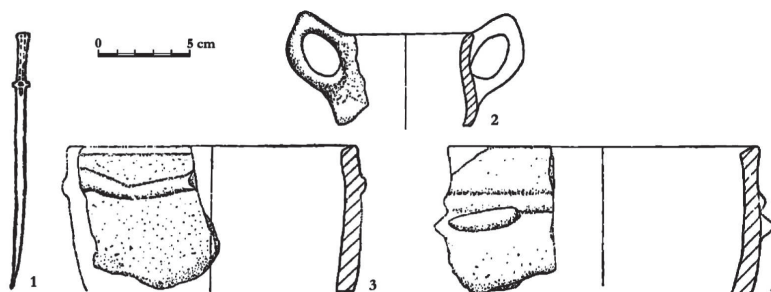


Fig. 1. Pălatca–Togullui Mândrușcă (after Rotea, 1997)

Symbolism and significance

What distinguishes the item from Pălatca from other horn artefacts from the Bronze Age is, first and foremost, its axe shape. Leaving aside one of its utilities that arises from its very shape, however, its morphological features, associated with symbolic incisions present on its surface, offer the axe the significance of a sceptre. The known horn sceptres from the Bronze Age, in the Carpathian–Danube area, differ in shape (Diaconu, 2014), the most evolved and well-known of which are the items with two circular ends, vertical perforations and surfaces decorated with geometric motifs. These evolved items originated primarily from the area of the Wietenberg culture (Popa & Simina, 2004, pp. 19, 26–29, pl. 8, photo 1), but they have also been encountered in areas associated with the Otomani culture (Fazecaș, 2005) and the Gáva-Holigrady culture (Vasiliev et al. 1991, pp. 73–74, fig. 22/14).

Together with the stone sceptres, these horn items represent the power insignia held during the Bronze Age by the small peaks of a local aristocracy. Happily, the archaeological information we have is complemented by ancient written sources. The most important information that can be considered in this endeavour is provided by the two major works attributed to Homer: *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey*. These works contain numerous references to the utility of sceptres. Such symbols of power were held by two important characters in the *Iliad*, namely Achilles and Agamemnon (Popa & Simina, 2004, pp. 28–29). Regarding the former, Homer stated that:

*“Those were his words, and he slammed the scepter,
Studded with gold, to the ground and sat down”* (Homer, *Iliad*, 8)

The macroscopically visible incisions on the surface of the item are equally important. Some that are present in particular abundance on the active areas could have occurred due to the practical use of the item and are incidental. Other incisions were made intentionally. They are grouped in two areas, both located on the upper part of the item. The first group is located under the tip of the blade of the upper part, at the base of the arched area. They consist of two “stirrup” shaped markings made of deep incisions (fig. 2/h; 4/1b). Another group is located on the edge between the shaft-hole and the blade, consisting of several fine oblique incisions. Two of these incisions were made close together (1mm between them), forming another “stirrup”, and we believe that they did not occur due to the item’s use, but were rather made intentionally. Moreover, a cross with equal 2 mm long arms was incised deeper, next to them. Towards the blade, there are other oblique lines, remnants from two other “stirrups”, and a

small group compiled of fine points (fig. 2/i; fig. 4/1a). The remainder of the incisions/cuts are either due to the final stages of manufacturing the antler, or to random blows.

Naturally, the presence of these incisions on the surface of the axe must be understood in the wider context of artefacts made of bone and horn in the Bronze Age, in order to identify the possible symbolic and even cultural benchmarks. The best analogies for incised markings such as these are on items associated with the Noua culture in Moldova. A bone chisel from Giurcani bears on its body several transversal incisions (fig. 4/6), interpreted as playing a practical role, to facilitate better grip (Rotaru & Gheorghe, 2006, p. 130, fig. 2/7). Another bone item with similar incisions originated from the settlement in Poșta Elan (fig. 4/5) (Rotaru & Gheorghe, 2006, p. 130, fig. 9/7), and it also has good analogies in the Noua settlement in Cavadinești (fig. 4/3) (Florescu, 1991, fig. 155/9). A combination of transversal and oblique incisions (fig. 4/4) is visible on a bone tip from Șuletea-Șipote (Rotaru & Gheorghe, 2006, p. 130, fig. 9/4) and on a unique bone artifact from the late Bronze Age settlement of Giarmata Vii-Ghiroda 4 Site (jud. Timiș) (fig. 4/7). Another bone tip that probably also functioned as a comb, found in the Noua settlement at Horga Pod bears a series of incised marks (fig. 4/2) in a row: a star made of three lines, five vertical lines and four horizontal lines (Rotaru & Gheorghe, 2006, p. 130, fig. 12/1). Naturally, the small star makes us think of the small cruciform motif identified on the axe from Pălatca. Surely, the association of markings on the item from Horga Pod must have had a certain meaning, as is our suspicion in the case of the markings that, despite being more disparate and less visible today, are preserved on the horn item from Pălatca.

However, the situation is quite different in the case of the axe-shaped sceptre from Dudarkov. The preserved portion bears a rich symbolic ornamentation, which contains different representations of animals, a tree (palm) and



**Fig. 2. The horn axe-sceptre from Pălatca (Transylvania)
photo Ștefan Lipot**

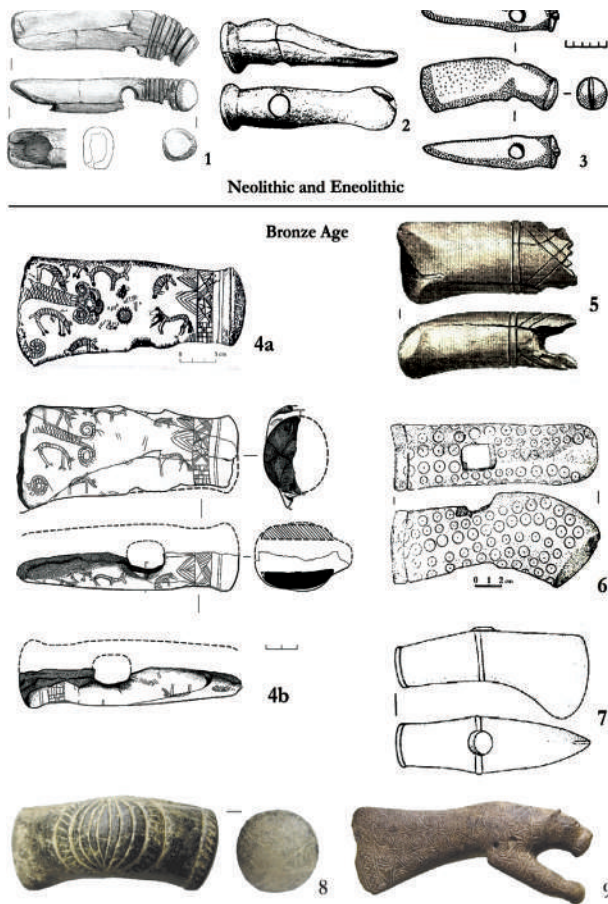


Fig. 3. Axes (1, 3) and sceptre-axes (2, 6–9) made of horn (1–2, 4–6), bronze (3) and stone (7–9) Aruchlo (1), Luhansk (2), Klady (3), Dudarkov (4); Piliny (5); Teleac (6); Salušinskoe (7); “The Mikolaiiv Malia region” (8); Malia (9) (after Hansen, Mirtshulava, 2013 – 1; Govedarica, 2004 – 2; Rezepkin, 2000 – 3; Lichardus, 2001 – 4; Báró, 1909 – 5; Vasiliev et al. 1991 – 6; Kaiser 1997 – 7; http://neolitica.ru/lot.php?lot_id=2241 – 8; <https://heraklionmuseum.gr/> – 9)

sceptre-axe. It is probable that during the first phase it was used intensely, and this was then the strong polishing of the outer parts occurred. In the final phase, the perforation for the shaft hole obtained its current appearance, that is, its oval shape, achieved using a tool that removed the old perforation, which would normally have been intensively polished.

The Conclusions. We can easily assert that the shape of the sceptre-axe discovered in Pălatca is quite unique and makes it stand out among the Bronze Age horn artefacts. The closest known analogies are axes from the eastern part of Europe (Ukraine, Russia),

geometric shapes. The markings, which must have covered the entire surface of the item, were executed through fine incisions (Lichardus, 2001, pp. 77–80, Abb. 1; Lichardus & Vladár, 1996, pp. 43–44, pl. 25/10; Irimia, 2007, pp. 16–17, fig. 6A). The particular symbolic charge of the axe from Dudarkov supports its function as a sceptre. A good contemporary correspondence for this type of iconography on bone can be found in Ukraine, on an animal mandible from Putivl (Lichardus, 2001, p. 82, Abb. 3). So far, in the absence of other obvious analogies, we believe that the item from Dudarkov, as well as the one from Pălatca, are part of the same category of axe-shaped sceptres, their shapes, iconography and uses given by the cultural contexts from which they originated, characteristic of Bronze Age society in the eastern part of Central Europe.

As emphasised above, it is highly likely that the antler axe from Pălatca underwent two phases of use, initially as an axe used in household or handcraft activities, and later as a

regardless of whether they are made of horn, stone or metal. The morphological similarities between the axe from Pălatca and the famous axe from Dudarkov that have been repeatedly emphasised must, of course, be seen within the limits imposed by the austerity of the decorations on the Transylvanian item, which cannot be compared with the complex symbolic decorations on the analogy from Ukraine. However, they offer a chronological benchmark that aids in the time framing of our item. Based on the data analysed above, we believe that the axe-shaped sceptre from Pălatca can be considered to be contemporaneous with the *Mnogovalikovaja* culture or the *Noua* culture. Given the realities from the known sites in Pălatca, it is possible that the sceptre originated from the settlement with many metallurgical valences in “Togullui Mândrușcă”, from which other metal and ceramic items that can be associated with the *Noua* culture originated. We believe that the local environment in which we can identify these manifestations is the *Gligorești* group, characteristic of the *Wietenberg* and *Noua* synthesis.

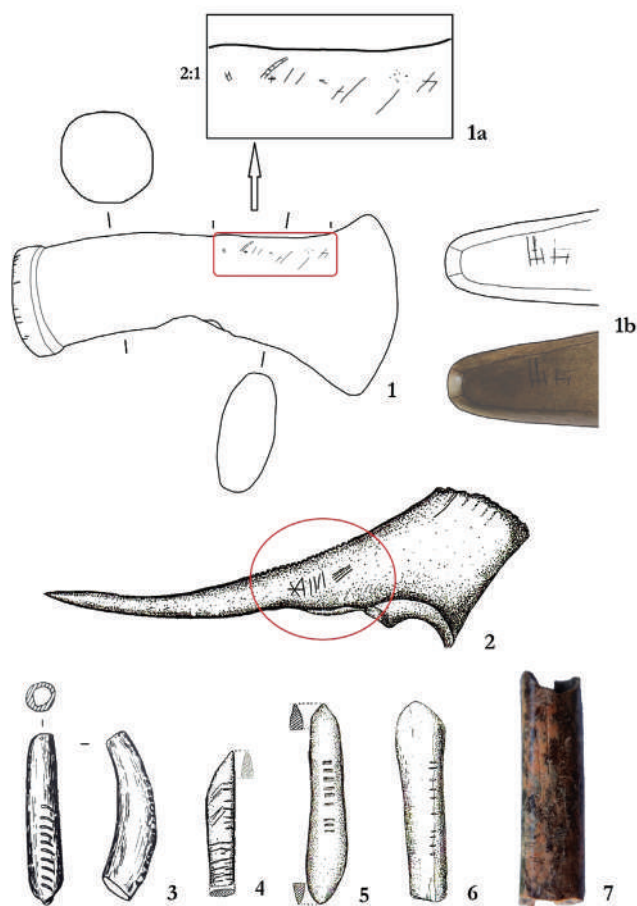


Fig. 4. The horn sceptre–axe discovered in Pălatca (Transylvania): drawing, with the groups of markings present on its surface (1–1a–1b) and analogies of markings on bone and horn items from the area of the *Noua* culture in Moldova: Horga Pod (2), Cavadinești (3), Șuletea-Șipote (4), Poșta Elan (5), Giurcani (6) and Giarmata-Vii-Ghiroda 4 (unique – 1, 7; after Rotaru, Gheorghe, 2006 – 2, 4-6; Florescu 1991 – 3)

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**WHO ARE THE ANCIENT BULGARIANS – ETHNOS
OR MILITARY COMMUNITY?**

Abstract. *The “Proto-Bulgarian problem” is a traditional topic in Bulgarian medieval studies, as well as the questions related to the Bulgarians’ ethnic origin, the location of their ancestral homeland, their early history and their role in the formation of Bulgarian statehood. These topics were and remain the most important ones in the development of the historical consciousness of the Bulgarian people, and at the same time leave many unresolved issues. The purpose of the research is to outline the problematic points which exist in the literature relatively to the origin of the Bulgarians, and to give arguments for our point of view, who the ancient Bulgarians could really be. Research methodology. We used both general scientific methods (analytical, logical), historical (chronological, historical and comparative), and source studies – heuristic, critical. The scientific novelty is determined by the fact that the article substantiates the point of view that the term “Bulgar” was not an ethnos term at the time of the presence of the ancient Bulgars in the Eastern European steppes, but it meant belonging to a certain social status, namely – the military elite. Its maturation into an ethnos term took place later – when the Bulgarians moved to the Balkans and began the process of their own state formation. Formations similar to the medieval Bulgarian military class existed in other nations until the Middle Ages and later. The Conclusion. The results of our study gave grounds for the following conclusions. The ancient Bulgarians were not an ethnic but social-class union, a military community; the term “military order” could be used. The tradition to create such military orders resided in the Indo-Aryan tribes and their ancestors from ancient times and can be traced back to the end of the Middle Ages in the community of the Ukrainian Cossacks. Destruction of the Zaporozhian Sich by the Russian authorities in the XVIIIth century interrupted this ancient tradition forever.*

Key words: Bulgarians, Military order, ethnos term (ethnonym), “proto-Bulgarian issue”, class and social association.

ХТО ТАКІ ДАВНІ БУЛГАРИ – ЕТНОС ЧИ ВІЙСЬКОВА СПІЛЬНОТА?

Анотація. *Актуальність проблеми. “Прабоългарська проблема” є традиційною темою болгарської медієвістики, як і пов’язані з нею питання щодо етнічного походження болгар,*

місцезнаходження їхньої прабатьківщини, їх ранньої історії та ролі у становленні болгарської державності. Ці теми були і залишаються найбільш важливими у розвитку історичної свідомості болгарського народу, однак і донині залишається багато нерозв'язаних питань. **Мета дослідження** – висвітлити ті проблемні точки, які є в літературі з теми походження болгар, і аргументувати нашу точку зору, ким насправді могли бути давні болгар. **Методологія дослідження.** Нами використовувались як загальнонаукові методи (аналітичний, логічний), історичні (хронологічний, історико-порівняльний), так і джерелознавчі – евристичний, критичний. **Наукова новизна** визначається тим, що у статті обґрунтовується точка зору, що термін “булгар” не був у часи перебування давніх булгар на терені Східноєвропейських степів етнічним, а позначав приналежність до певного соціального стану, а саме – військової еліти. Його визрівання в етнізм відбулося пізніше – коли болгари переселились на Балкани і започаткували процес власного державотворення. Подібні до середньовічного болгарського військово-станові формування існували також в інших народів і до часів Середньовіччя, і пізніше. **Висновок.** Результати нашого дослідження дали підстави для таких висновків. Давні болгар були не етнічним, а соціально-становим об'єднанням, військовим співтовариством; можна вжити термін “військовий орден”. Традиції створення таких військових орденських об'єднань були характерні для індоарійських племен та їхніх нащадків з давніх-давен і простежуються аж до кінця Середньовіччя у співтоваристві українського козацтва. Знищення Запорозької Січі російською владою у XVIII ст. перервало цю стародавню традицію назавжди.

Ключові слова: болгар, військовий орден, етнізм, “праболгарська проблема”, станово-соціальне об'єднання.

The Problem Statement. The “Proto-Bulgarian issue” is a traditional topic in Bulgarian medieval studies, as well as the questions related to the Bulgarians’ ethnic origin, the location of their ancestral homeland, their early history and their role in the formation of Bulgarian statehood. These topics were and remain the most important ones in the development of the historical consciousness of the Bulgarian people and at the same time leave many unresolved issues.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. The attempts to answer the above mentioned questions have been made by scholars since the Middle Ages (Saint Theophanes the Confessor, Patriarch Nicephorus (see: Chychurov, 1980)). This topic has been touched upon in this or that way by many scientists – O. P. Smirnov (Smirnov, 1951), Merpert (Merpert, 1957), V. F. Genning, A. Kh. Khalikov (Gening, Khalikov, 1964), M. I. Artamonov (Artamonov, 1962), O. V. Gadlo (Gadlo, 1968) and the others. In 1990 – 2020 many historians, archaeologists, ethno-linguists, and the others put forward various hypotheses: V. V. Sedov (Sedov, 1995, Sedov, 2002), M. I. Zhykh (Zhykh, 2011), V. F. Butba (Butba, 2005), Zh. Voynikov (Voynikov, 2016), R. K. Bariiev (Bariiev, 2005), G. I. Tafaiev (Tafaiev, 2010), O. O. Tortika (Tortika, 2006), S. V. Finnik (Finnik, 2015, Finnik, 2018), M. Bakirov (Bakirov, 2019), V. Kaloyanov (Kaloyanov, 2019), etc. We also did not miss the issues of early Bulgarian history (Borysova, 2018; Borysova, Karpitskyi, 2019; Borysova, 2021). However, the problems still remain. V. V. Ageieva (Ageieva, 2014) wrote about the controversial issue of the ethnicity of the ancient Bulgarians in details.

The Purpose of Publication is to outline the problematic points which exist in the literature relatively to the origin of the Bulgarians and to give arguments for our point of view, who the ancient Bulgarians could really be.

The Main Material Statement. The first time our opinion on the problem of Bulgarian origin, which will be presented in this article, was formulated in 2013 at the International Scientific and Practical Conference “Current Issues of Philosophy, History and Political Science” in Novosibirsk. The author was a graduate student of Luhansk National University named after Taras Shevchenko Yu. Stefanov (Stefanov, 2013), and I was his scientific

supervisor. Unfortunately, Yurii Anatoliiovych died tragically in 2014. And in memory of him, I have decided to write this article to complete what we did not have time to do with the studied problem.

The hypothesis that the ancient Bulgarians were some Proto-Turkic tribes who came to Eastern Europe with the Huns of Attila was popular in the first half of the XXth century. This opinion was defended, in particular, by the patriarch of modern Bulgarian historiography V. Zlatarsky (Zlatarsky, 1972) and his followers. And the idea that the Bulgarians came with Attila, who was their first king, became an axiom in science. Although, as it noted by J. Voynikov, no one paid attention to the fact that no source reports on the presence of the Bulgarians among the tribes of the Hunnic Union (Voynikov, 2016, p. 6). Even A. Burmov in the 1930s denied V. Zlatarski's opinion that the Utigurs and Kutrigurs were the proto-Bulgarians and that the Kotragis should be identified as the Kutrigurs, and the Onogurs as the Unogundurs. The opinion was expressed that the Proto-Bulgarians were an independent ethnic group, which eventually included the Kotragi and Onoguri (Burmov, 1936). Nowadays, the theory of the Turkic origin of the Bulgarians is actively supported and popularized, in particular, by the Bulgarian researcher, Professor I. Dobrev (Dobrev, 2005, Dobrev, 2011).

Also Hungarian researchers of the Turks (Turkologists) (V. Tomashek, A. Vamberi, D. Hemet) and historians closely connected the Bulgarians with the Huns. They hypothesized about the Proto-Turkic Proto-Bulgarian language and its influence on Old Hungarian one, which continues to exist in Hungarian historiography. Thus, P. Juhas in his book (Juhas, 1985) devoted an entire section to the analysis of the Hungarian language, which he called "Turko-Bulgarian Borrowings", although as evidence he gave the examples from different Turkic languages. However, if we take into account the scheme of division of Turkic languages, then in it the Bulgarian group includes, in particular, the alive Chuvash language, and the Magyars, in its history, had a long-term relationship with the Savirs – the ancestors of the Chuvash. So we can suppose that the examples of borrowings, which were given by P. Juhas, and his attempt to explain the use of the living Chuvash language, actually arose as a result of ancient contacts of the Magyars with the Savirs. There are reports that among the Magyars there were three Khazar tribes of Kabars and they spread out the Khazar language among the Magyars there. Hence, taking into account the closeness of the Khazar and Bulgarian languages, which is noted by medieval Arab authors, it might be suggested that Kabars might influence the Hungarian language. Thus, the idea that many borrowings in Hungarian are the result of the Bulgarian influence does not look well-grounded. Moreover, the Bulgarians themselves could borrow such words from other Turkic languages. However, a number of scholars continue to claim that the Bulgarians came from the union of the Ugric and the Turks.

In Russian historiography, the views expressed by G. G. Litavrin in 1985 are mostly adhered to, that the so-called "proto-Bulgarians" were one of the varieties of the Turkic ethnos related to the ethno-genesis of the Bulgarian people (there is no longer identifying with the Utigurs, etc.). (Ageeva, 2012). Therefore, A. P. Novoseltsev wrote about Bulgarians as "mixed Ugries", which under "unspecified circumstances" were assimilated into Turk community (Novoseltsev, 1990). Although, precisely those "unspecified circumstances" is the line which attracts the Bulgarians to the Turks. Other examples of similar opinions could be given. However, the hypothesis that the ancestors of the Bulgarians belong to the Turkic ethnic groups, and their language – to the Turkic languages of the Bulgarian group is not supported by all scholars. Thus, the Bulgarian historian P. Dobrev claims about the East-Iranian origin of the ancient Bulgarian language and considers the territory near the spurs of

the Hindu Kush and the Pamirs as the historical homeland of the Bulgarians (Dobrev, 2005). This version is supported by Zh. Voynikov, I. Ivanov, I. Androvskiy and the others.

As we can see, today the language and ethnicity issue of the ancient Bulgarians in the literature has problems with justification. And there are objective reasons for that. The fact is that the reports of historical sources about the Bulgarians during the period from the IInd to the VIIIth centuries is extremely tiny. V. Bezverkha noted that “during the period of the Vth – the VIth centuries there is no historical information about the Bulgarians”, except for brief reports of participation in two wars on the side of Byzantium (Bezverkha, 2015, p. 202). Archaeology does not help in this case. In the territory of Ciscaucasia, where, as the matter fact, the search of traces of the ancestors of the Bulgarians is taking place, the significant evidence of the existence of a special Bulgarian archaeological culture during this period is not found. Artefacts from excavations in the eastern regions of the North Caucasus, the city of Belenger and other objects, which, in fact, are presented as evidence of the existence of a separate Bulgarian culture, are questionable, because there is still no evidence of their belonging to Greater Bulgaria in Kuban.

And in general, by the end of the VIIth century, in fact, the Bulgarians themselves might not be accurately identified. The question either the Kutrigurs and the Utigurs were a part of the Bulgarians or they were allied or closely related tribes, has been debated. In particular, A. P. Novoseltsev wrote according to this: “Procopius of Caesarea, our main informant of the events of the first half of the VIth century, in the description of the south of Eastern Europe had no ethnos term (ethnonym) “the Bulgars” and the Utigurs and the Kuturgurs are followers of the Huns. The first of them lived in the east, the second in the west of Meotida and the river Tanais (Don). Out of this, researchers make the conclusion that the Bulgarians hide under the names of the Utigurs and the Kuturgurs. But this could be doubtful if we suppose that the Bulgarians according to Procopius hide under the name of “Bruhiya”, who lived between the Abasgams and Alans, i.e., in the western Ciscaucasia. This area probably was the original place of residence of the Bulgars, from where some of their groups could go to the west in the IVth – VIth centuries. This area is called Greater Bulgaria according to Theophanes and Nicephorus. Pseudozacharia and “Armenian geography” of the VIIth century fixes Bulgar here” (Novoseltsev, 1990, p. 40). Therefore, Novoseltsev also had doubts about the identification of the Bulgars with the Utigurs and the Kutrigurs. However, here we could also make our remark to Anatolii Petrovich – against unambiguous “the Don” according to Tanais is also doubtful. After all, the ancient and medieval “Tanais”, which Procopius Caesarea could actually mean, is not the Don, but the entire Seversky Donets and the lower flow of the Don (the so-called Slavic “the Great Don”). Accordingly, the geography of residence of the Turkic tribes indicated by him should also be clarified.

In general, as it becomes clear that specific evidences of the process of ethnogenesis of the Bulgarians before and including the VIIth century are absent. Later, Arab scholars identified the Danube Bulgarians as the Slavs and the Volga Bulgarians as the Turks.

Thus, the identification of ancient Bulgars at the ethnic level is a big problem. This applies not only to the theory of the Turkic affiliation of the ancient Bulgarians, but also to the theory of their Slavic origin mentioned by Yu. Venelin, D. I. Ilovaisky, G. Tsenov, and the theory of Iranian origin by P. Dobrev. However, there are reasons to consider this problem not in the ethnic but in the social aspect – not as a single ethnic group that appeared on a particular tribal or generation basis but as a community that emerged on a social, caste, supra-ethnic basis. And such examples could be found in very ancient history. In particular, scholars have

drawn attention to the Achilles' Myrmidons from the Homeric epic. And such an address to them is strange only at first sight.

The fact is that the Bulgarians are just identified with the Achilles' army of the Myrmidons, who besieged Troy in one of the Greek lists of John Malala's "Chronography" (the VIth century): "Achilles... led his own army in three thousand people, who were called Myrmidon, who now are – the Bulgarians" (Greek Sources on Bulgarian History, 1954, pp. 196–197). This statement was transferred to the Slavic translation of Malala's work, where, in addition to the Bulgarians, there were the Huns among the participants in the Trojan War (The Chronicle of John Malalas, 1986, p. 48). And Procopius of Caesarea (the VIth century) already directly called the Bulgarians by name the Huns (Gyndyn, 1994, pp. 176–177, 209–210). Therefore, scholar' attention to the Myrmidons was based on historical sources but not on any strange reasons.

Thus, the Russian Slavic scholar N. V. Braginskaya, writing about the Myrmidons who took part in the Trojan War, finds that they all are refugees and exiles, notes such an interesting point: "What do we know else about the Myrmidons and what do not we know? We do not know any Myrmidons except those who are soldiers of Achilles or who are the part of the retinue of Peleus. We do not know any Myrmidon woman, any child or grandfather of Myrmidon tribe. When speak about choosing a wife for Achilles out of women living in Phthia and Greece, they are not daughters of Myrmidons, they are not Myrmidons women, but Achaeans ones. Thus, both Achaean women and Myrmidon men live in Phthia and Greece. In the "Iliad" there are not only women, old men and children of Myrmidons, but there is no single form of the word like *Myrmidon*... And so, all such exiles go on a campaign to Troy and become the fiercest force of the Achaeans. Their epithet is "armor-loving". Phthia is not their motherland, but it is their "home", Peleus and Achilles are not their fellow tribesmen, but leaders, they themselves, like King Peleus – aliens" (Braginskaya, 1990, p. 42). According to these considerations we have that Achilles and his warriors are not an ethnic tribe, but a military community, a social group, which represents the martial law, who arrived at the walls of Troy from the "Meotid Swamps", where their fortified Headquarter were probably located.

However, Mrs. Braginskaya draws the following conclusion herself: "All these oddities could be explained if we imagine that these Myrmidons are not an ethnos, but a term denoting "warriors", "guardsmen" standing in the garrison in Phthia, and willingly accept into their environment the new "passionaries". The warlords, father and son are at the head but not the indigenous kings of the land and the people. The separation of the Myrmidons from the population of the territory under Achilles and Peleus is shown in later sources. Those of Achilles' people who came after Peleus from Aegina are called Myrmidons to emphasize their foreign, foreign tribe origin (Strab. IX, 433)" (Braginskaya, 1990, p. 43).

Now let pay our attention to the first known from historical sources inhabitants of the Azov and Don-Donetsk regions – the Cimmerians, who were mentioned by the same Homer in the "Iliad". And immediately note an interesting coincidence with the theme of the Trojan War – here is a remarkable fact given by Ukrainian archaeologist V. Shcherbakovskiy: "During excavations in Kherson region, I was lucky to find in one of the graves a twisted ocher skeleton, the heel bone of which was green for some reason. A closer look revealed that in that heel bone there was the so-called triangular bronze arrow of the Scythian type. It reminded the story of the Achilles heel. The deceased apparently died, from an arrow that hit his heel, as well as Achilles did. Such contemporaries, that is existing simultaneously with the Scythian "hermits", could be called the Cimmerians" (Shcherbakivskiy, 1967, p. 571). We noted in one of our articles that, as we can see, Vadim Shcherbakivskiy has the

honour of discovering a unique burial, which might be called the burial of the “Cimmerian Achilles” (Borysova, 2008, p. 153). Noticeable, isn't it? However, the Cimmerians were contemporaries of Homer's Achilles, so there is no wonder. It should be noted that in Book 1 “The Ancient History of Ukraine” the Cimmerians are marked as “a mysterious people” (Tolochko, 1994, p. 94), but it is not explained why. The explanation is simple: there are graves of soldiers, there are many of them, and they were found in the vast geographical area of Eurasia, but there are no settlements. So what kind of “people” were they who did not have settlements? As we can see, with the identification of the Cimmerians from ethnical point of view is impossible. That is why, we offer to pay attention to other opinions about them.

Thus, with regard to the Cimmerians, N. I. Vasilieva (Vasilieva, 2009) expresses the opinion that the Cimmerians are not an ethnos term (ethnonym), but a gens term (geonym) that could be interpreted as “steppe dwellers”, and it is quite problematic to talk about their ethnicity. Yu. A. Stefanov in his theses, referring to our monograph (Borysova, 2010), notes our opinion on this as follows: “Olha Vasylyvna Borysova is inclined to believe that the Cimmerians are not an ethnic structure at all, but a “military order” of a certain religious orientation, whose knights had large-scale plans to establish their control over Eastern Europe. O. V. Borysova gives several possible interpretations of the name “Cimmerians”. She suggests that this name might be a play of words in Sanskrit from the name of the people: kim arya – “those who are arya”, pronounced differently: kim marya – “born to die”. From the standpoint of the ancient Iranian language, the name of the Cimmerians might be interpreted as “rapid troop”. Thus, at the beginning of the written period of history we encounter a supra-ethnic structure in the Azov Sea, which is a military community” (Stefanov, 2013, p. 144).

A similar situation developed with the Alans. Their origin and identification do not seem to be in doubt, but A. A. Tuallagov expresses the following opinion about them: “The Alans seemed (Aryans) to be called the social supra-tribal stratum of the “Asian Scythians” of ancient sources, related to the aristocratic houses of various nomadic associations. Its representatives were hereditary professional warriors, whose power was sacred on the basis of the traditions of the Iranian-speaking nomadic world” (Tuallagov, 1997). This opinion continues and complements the mentioned above assumptions of other authors.

Over time, the ethnic picture in the Azov and Don-Donetsk steppes changes – Germanic tribes appear here. In the middle of the II century the Goths and Hepids tribes, who lived on the “Gotyskandza island” (Gotland island), gathered and all together with their families and the acquired goods swam to the mouth of the Vistula. Approximately in 155 the Goths, the Hepids, the Heruli, the Taifals, the Vandals, the Rugii, and the others moved from the southern coast of the Baltic Sea to the southern and south-eastern directions. Their resettlement covered the territory of modern Ukraine. We cannot ignore the main motive in this Gothic “Drang nah Austen” – that the goal of the settlers was not simple, but *legendary content*, because the Goths went to search for their historical homeland – “Greater Switod” (“Greater Sweden”), from where “Little Switod” was settled, i.e., Sweden as such. And this legendary country is compared with the lands from the Azov Sea to the Don River. By the way, the famous Swedish traveller Tour Heyerdahl was also looking for the “Greater Switod”, and it was exactly on the Don at the end of the 1980s. It is clear that he did not find anything there, because myths are not such a simple phenomenon that they could be so easily deciphered. But they always have some real basis. This is a separate topic, but it should be noted that here, in our opinion, we should see the Great Idea of those times – the idea of revival of someone Ancient Empire under the leadership of an Indo-European tribe or military clan,

which conquered at least part of other Indo-European tribes. Probably, for Indo-Europeans it was ancient Ariana, the western border of which ran right along the Dnieper. And at that time everyone, who considered themselves as a descendant of its creators, wanted to revive it – under their supremacy, naturally, because the others were considered as incapable one to do such an action. Great Ideas are always powerful motives of the historical process.

Now, among all the Gothic tribes that travelled to the steppes of Proto-Ukraine, we are interested in the Geruli, namely, what they were. Once again, we are confronted with the opinion of a number of authors who note not the ethnic but the social, caste organization of Reidgotland society. P. Zolin writes: “The Eruli used in their army many slaves, at least, slaves in appearance, but probably free, even in their battles. They were forced to fight almost naked and unarmed – if they coped with this task, they were given the opportunity to become full members of the Erulian society” (Zolin, 2009). This testifies in favour of the existence of a class organization, which carried out admission to join its ranks by a certain test (initiation) of applicants. We find a similar point of view in G. S. Lebedev, who noted that the Geruli, who also awarded them the epithet “mysterious” – is “a multi-tribal military elite, who under the turbulent conditions of the IVth – the Vth centuries acquired the ability to self-organize” (Lebedev, 2005, p. 134). He is echoed by N. A. Ganina: “However, in any case, we should take into account the version of O. Hofner that “Erul” / “Gerul” – not one of the Germanic tribes but the designation of a social group united by a common cult, esoteric knowledge (runes) and, as a consequence – the military community... Perhaps, the Geruli were a military elite on a primitive territorial and tribal basis: it is difficult to imagine a caste that would include all the Germanic tribes scattered over a large area. Obviously, for some tribes the Geruli were a foreign elite and thus a foreign tribe” (Ganina, 2011, pp. 14–15).

It should be noticed that the Geruls, who settled in the Azov region, as well as Achilles and his guards, went on sea raids in Asia Minor and Greece. But we would suggest paying attention to Hofner’s characterization of the Geruls as a society united by “a common cult, esoteric knowledge (runes)”. Here is the important point! It seems that the Goths were just warriors (like the Kshatrias in India), and the Geruls were none other than warring priests (Brahmans). Here we have seen who exactly among the Germanic tribes created ethnological myths about the origin and persuaded fellow tribesmen to go on a campaign in search of the legendary homeland.

And now let’s move on to the Bulgarians. About the existence of Greater Bulgaria in the Kuban is known mainly from the reports of Theophanes the Confessor and Patriarch Nicephorus. This area was once the part of the Cimmerians, the Myrmidon Achilles, the Alans and the others. And what was the ethnic picture near Greater Bulgaria? The Western Caucasus and the Azov region were a place of active ethnic contacts. Native speakers of the Indian languages, related to Sanskrit lived here. This is considered in detail by O. M Trubachev (Trubachev, 1999). It also records the presence of numerous East Iranian tribes, as well as the Abkhaz-Adyghe peoples, whose epic “Narty” is nothing more than a description of the existence of a class military union, a military order in this area. Now it is not important who borrowed from whom, but the fact that such an epic could develop only in terms of living together and close, long communication. The most important thing for us is that the idea of the existence of a class military community is reflected in the traditions of local folklore, as well as in a multilingual environment. Later, the Turks and the Ugric peoples penetrated these places.

Yu. A. Stefanov questioned the existence of the Antae (Greek Άνται) in this area (Stefanov, 2013, p. 146), but we have a different opinion on it. In one of our monographs,

we cited of Pliny the Elder and Pomponius Melus (middle of the 1st century B.C.) that in their time “the Ciscaucasia, between the Caspian and the Azov Seas, there lived Cisiants in the neighbourhood with the Cimmerians, the Georgians and the Amazons”. Some scholars believe that there were two peoples: the Cis and the Antae, and the latter are associated with the Slavic Antae. We do not share this point of view. Paying attention to the tradition of the ancestors to distinguish in their environment aristocracy: “royal Scythians”, “royal Sarmats”, we assume that there were just anti (Polanians) and anti-Cis (“anti royal”, or “caesar”), who lived in the area, where Tmutarakanska Rus would later appear” (Borysova, 2005, p. 116). Again – a “mysterious people”? However, there is almost nothing about the Cisyans in the literature? But S. Mishko offers to look closely at the opinion of F. Dvornik, who calls “the tribe of Antae the most significant among the Sarmats (could they be, according to the geography of residence, “Cisiantsy”? Absolutely. – O. B.). According to Dvornik, the Slavs, turned out to be dependent on those “Sarmat Antae”, appropriate their name and started to call themselves as Antae” (Mishko, 1981, p. 45). After the death of the Antae state in 602, the term “Antae” disappeared, but in the VIIth – the VIIIth centuries in the interfluvium of the Siverskyi Donets and the Don, the Saltivskaia (later – Saltovo-Mayatsk) culture appeared. It was the culture of the Sarmatian-Alanian population and they were close to the North Caucasian Alans and the Bulgars, who lived to the east.

So we, stretching the thread from the ancient Cisyants, come up to the Bulgar. And let us ask the question, whether they were not at that time also an ethnic, but social, class association, *a military order*, as well as the Geruls, the Alans, etc., before them? Here is how interesting S. V. Finník writes that the term “the Bulgarians” (he calls it an ethnonym, but, it was not yet an ethnos term (ethnonym) from our point of view), was accepted by many representatives of the nomadic tribes of Eastern Europe because it was “obviously prestigious in their environment and could well compete with the ethnos term (ethnonym) of the powerful Guns” (Finník, 2014, p. 92). Indeed, to belong to the community of military elite among the steppe peoples was very prestigious. And taking into account the nature of the Bulgarian conquest in the Balkans, we can assume that the Balkan Slavs, who are believed to have voluntarily recognized the power of Asparuh, in fact were Slavicized by Antae tribes, which allowed generally to be controlled by the super-tribal elite – the military community. (Military order). Then the problem between the Danube-Bulgarian and Khazar fierce confrontation becomes clear: if Asparuh was the leader of the military order but Khazars, who held a dominant position in the Khazar Kaganate, deprived him of dominance in Azov and Prikuban territories, then this is the reason for the confrontation. In this case, Batbayan, who lived quietly in Khazaria, was the leader of an ethnically or culturally close to the Khazars unit, which might have been little connected with the community that followed Asparuh. However, the documents do not record the presence of Bulgarian tribes in Asparuh Bulgaria, but the presence of genera is quite possible in the class organization.

In this context, we can explain the term “Bulgarians” – in the “Scythian-Sarmatian Dictionary” V. I. Abayeva has the word “bala – ‘military force’”, it is possible that it is close to the semantics of the Bulgarian name – bl(gare). On the other hand, the “Nomenclature of Bulgarian Princes” there is lists the Bulgarian rulers who belonged to different clans (See: Stefanov, 2013, p. 146), which fully corresponds with the election of leadership in caste organizations, otherwise it is difficult to explain such change of dynasties.

There is another problem – the language of the Bulgarians who came to the Balkans with Asparuh. It could be any spoken language which the military elite used. Researchers cite many

facts about the presence of the East Iranian substrate (features) in modern Bulgarian. In this region, the influence of different languages on the language of the military community could take place. In particular, it could be the Slavs-Imenkivtsi language, who, leaving their places of residence, could influence well on the language situation in the region. And the language of Imenkivtsi, according to V. V. Napol'skykh, was a different version of the development of the Slavic languages than, so to speak, classical (Report: Napol'skykh, 2006). The fact is that the language in the military community plays mainly its main function – communicative, so it is always chosen a more convenient language in the region, which is spoken by the majority of the population, with whom you need to contact at least to get food without problems.

It is worth referring to the parallels in the grammar, syntax and morphology of the Adyghe language and the languages of the Balkan Language Union, which are cited by I. Karasiov (Karasev, 2010). And the similarity of Adyghe grammar with Bulgarian one raises the question: whether the Balkan future Language Union did not begin to form in the Ciscaucasia? Assuming there is such a variant so then it becomes clearer the difference in grammar between the ancient Bulgarian (Church Slavonic) language, based on the dialect of the city of Thessaloniki in the ninth century, and modern Bulgarian, which was based on other dialects. At that time, the power of Bulgarian state did not extend over Thessaloniki, and there could be a close, but not Antae, but Sklavian dialect (Stefanov, 2013, p. 147). And D. G. Polivanny notes that a number of ancient toponyms in Bulgaria nowadays belong to the Slavic language group: “Ongol – “ugol” (angle, corner), Plyska, Varna, Serdets, Tyrnovo, etc.; the names of the ancient Bulgarian aristocracy were predominantly Slavic: Slavna, Voin, Zvinitsa, Vladimir, Malomir, etc. (Polyvannyi, 2000, p. 21). So, as we can see, if we take the view that the Bulgarians who came to the Balkans with Khan Asparuh were not an ethnic but a class union, it is quite easy to explain still confusing problems of the language history.

It should be mentioned the fact that later after the departure of the Bulgars from PriAzov and PriKuban and setting of Khazar's influence there emerged communities in this region. They might rather be called not ethnic but social-class, the so-called wanderers (brodniky), later – the Cossacks. The latter were already at an early stage a class-military union, in which the ethnic dominant was expressed rather sluggishly. Many researchers of the Zaporozhian Cossacks directly use the term “Order” according to the Zaporozhian Sich and interpret the Ukrainian Cossacks as medieval knights. And in general, the Cossack freemen, who flourished so brightly in the Middle Ages in eastern Ukraine. It was nothing more than the last outbreak of the ancient military estates of the communities, whose members called each other “brothers”.

By the way, we can assume that the term “Cossack”, which for a long time meant a representative of the Zaporozhian military order, with the emergence of the Ukrainian Cossack War Order, began to transform into an ethnonym gradually, because in Taras Shevchenko's works there is no ethnos term (ethnonym) “Ukrainian” (a man Ukrainets) or “Ukrainian” (a woman Ukrainka) in spite of this all his works are imbued with the name “Ukraine”. And what does he have? “the Cossack” (a man Cossak), “Cossack” (a woman Cossachka). This was the ethnos term (ethnonym) of the Ukrainians in New Time, although it was not destined to mature into a full-name of the people, the nation because of the destructive policy of the Russian Empire against Ukraine and its people, into which B. Khmelnytskyi involved Ukraine so carelessly. But the Bulgarians were more fortunate – the estate and social term “Bulgarians” in the new lands in the Balkans survived and matured into a full-fledged ethnos term (ethnonym) “Bulgarians”.

The Conclusions. Thus, we have reason to believe that the ancient Bulgarians, some of whom came out in the second half of the VIIIth century with Khan Asparuh on a campaign in the Balkans and founded there the First Bulgarian Kingdom, were not an ethnic but a social union, a military community, it could be used the term “military order”. The tradition of creating such military orders was appropriated for the Indo-Aryan tribes and their descendants from ancient times and could be traced back to the end of the Middle Ages in the community of the Ukrainian Cossacks. Destruction of Zaporozhian Sich by Russian authorities in the XVIIIth century interrupted this ancient tradition forever.

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HOW THE SOUTH UNITED UKRAINE (THE END OF THE XVIIIth – THE BEGINNING OF THE XXth CENTURIES)

Abstract. *The aim* of the article is to analyze the reasons for the failure of the Russian imperial project “Novorossiya” and give a theoretical justification for the process of integration of the South Ukrainian region as the part of Great Ukraine. **The Methodology** – general scientific, general historical, interdisciplinary methods and theoretical developments of particular scientists. **The scientific novelty** consists in the fact that for the first time in modern Ukrainian historiography, an attempt has been made to generalize theoretically the complex of combined socio-economic, political, and ethnocultural processes that led, on the one hand, to the failure of the imperial project “Novorossiya”, and on the other – to the transformation of the southern Ukrainian lands into an integral part of Modern Ukraine. **The Conclusions.** Although Imperial Russia used huge human, non-human and intellectual resources to implement the Novorossiya project, it still failed. The main obstacle was the modernization processes that from the last quarter of the XVIIIth – beginning of the XIXth century covered Europe and spread to Ukraine, including the part of it that was called as Novorossiya.

Modernization activated a whole range of factors in this territory that leveled the consequences of the policy of Imperial integration of Novorossiya, which led to its failure. One of these factors was mainly the Ukrainian ethnic composition of the region's population, which was formed as a result of migration processes. Another powerful factor was the economy. In the XVIIIth – at the beginning of the XXth centuries the South became the center of economic attraction of Naddnipriansk Ukraine and its commodity market, contributing to the consolidation of its individual regions into a single national territorial complex. Therefore, it activated social and ethno-cultural processes, and ultimately intensified the process of forming a modern Ukrainian nation throughout Ukraine.

Key words: *Novorossiya project, southern Ukraine, migration, regional integration, modern Ukrainian nation.*

ЯК ПІВДЕНЬ ОБ'ЄДНАВ УКРАЇНУ (КІНЕЦЬ XVIII – ПОЧАТОК XX ст.)

Анотація. *Мета роботи* – проаналізувати причини провалу російського імперського проєкту “Новоросія” і дати теоретичне обґрунтування процесу інтеграції південноукраїнського регіону до складу Великої України. **Методологія** – загальнонаукові, загальноісторичні, міждисциплінарні методи і теоретичні напрацювання окремих вчених. **Наукова новизна** – вперше у новітній українській історіографії здійснена спроба теоретичного узагальнення комплексу поєднаних між собою соціально-економічних, політичних і етнокультурних процесів, які призвели, з одного боку, до провалу імперського проєкту “Новоросія”, а з іншого – до перетворення південноукраїнських земель на невід’ємну складову частину модерної України. **Висновки.** *Хоча для реалізації проєкту “Новоросія” імперською Росією були задіяні величезні матеріальні, людські й інтелектуальні ресурси, він зазнав краху. На переході стали модернізаційні процеси, які з останньої чверті XVIII – початку XIX ст. охопили Європу і перекинулися в Україну, включаючи ту її частину, яка називалася Новоросією. Модернізація активізувала на цій території цілий комплекс факторів, які знівелювали наслідки політики імперської інтеграції Новоросії, спричинили її провал. Одним з цих факторів був переважно український етнічний склад населення регіону, який склався в результаті міграційних процесів. Інший потужний фактор – економіка. В XIX – на початку XX ст. Південь перетворився на центр економічного тяжіння Наддніпрянської України і її товарного ринку, сприяючи консолідації окремих її регіонів в єдиний національно-територіальний комплекс. Зі свого боку, це активізувало соціальні й етнокультурні процеси, і у кінцевому рахунку, інтенсифікувало на території всієї України процес формування модерної української нації.*

Ключові слова: *проєкт “Новоросія”, Південна Україна, міграції, інтеграція регіонів, модерна українська нація.*

The Problem Statement. During recent decades, scholars in Ukraine became much more interested in regional history. Among many historical studies of regional issues, many research esare devoted to southern Ukraine. It is common know ledge that this region, closely connected with Ukraine-Rus since the Middle Ages, in the second half of the XVIIIth century belonged to the territory of the Russian Empire. Its ruling circles set out the goal to merge the region with the ethnic territory of the rest of Russia. The name given to this region – Novorossiya – corresponded to this idea. The Russian Empire ruling circles hoped that this region would give a strong impetus to Russia's economic development and become a stronghold for the implementation of its military and strategic plans in the Black and Mediterranean basins. But this ambitious project, for the implementation of which huge material, socio-political and intellectual resources of the Russian Empire were mobilized, failed. History developed in such a way that the South developed as a component of the national and territorial space of Ukraine, integrating with its Left Bank and Right Bank, and forming Greater Ukraine together with them. The article focuses on the analysis of the reasons that caused the failure of the imperial project “Novorossiya” and which contributed to the transformation of the Steppe South into an organic part of Greater Ukraine.

The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications. Hundreds of researchers analyzed the South Ukrainian issue in its various aspects. However, in their works the processes of economic and socio-political integration of the region as a part of Greater Ukraine, as well as the consequences that it led to, remain insufficiently studied. The exceptions are the articles of two historians – O. Ohloblyn, who analyzed the transformation processes of the South into the center of economic attraction of Greater Ukraine and focused on the socio-political consequences to which those processes led (Ohloblyn, 1995), as well as his student and follower I. Lysiak-Rudnytsky, who emphasized the role of the South in the economic integration of the Ukrainian lands and the creation of all-Ukrainian market (Lysiak-Rudnytskyi, 1994). Both of these authors worked during the last century.

Among modern Ukrainian historians, the role of the South in the processes of economic integration of the Ukrainian lands is partially analyzed in the works of V. Vashchenko (Vashchenko, 2002), T. Honcharuk (Honcharuk, 2002) and O. Skorokhod (Skorokhod, 2017).

The Main Material Statement. The question of “who owns” the territory, which Catherine II called Novorossiia in 1764, the Ukrainian intellectual elite of the XIXth – the XXth centuries decided based on, firstly, the scientifically proven fact of residence antiquity of the Ukrainians in the Dnieper region, and secondly, taking into account the consequences of colonization processes which took place before and after the conquest of southern Ukraine by the Russian Empire.

To illustrate this, it is worth mentioning the draft Constitution prepared by the Cyril and Methodius Society (1846). In the draft Constitution in the part of the future Slavic federation (“the country of states”), which was planned to be established on the ruins of the Russian and Austrian Empires, the first state was called “Ukraine with Chornomorja (the Black Sea Coast Territory), Galicia and the Crimea” (Sokhan, 1990, p. 507). Thus, Southern Ukraine (including the Crimea) was perceived as an integral part of ethnic Ukraine.

The line of the Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood was continued by M. Drahomanov, a prominent Ukrainian scholar and a public political figure (Drahomanov, 1991, pp. 276–277), by the historians V. Antonovych (Antonovych, 1991, p. 199), D. Bahaliy (Bahaliy, 1920, p. 110) and the others. Without any admonishment, they considered Southern Ukraine the part of a Greater Ukraine inhabited by the Ukrainians. But most of all for the assertion of this truth did M. Hrushevsky, who in his famous article “The Usual Scheme of “Ruska” History and the Matter of the Rational Formation of the History of Eastern Slavs” (1904) proved the unfoundedness of Russia’s claims to Kyiv heritage (Hrushevskyi, 2014).

The list of views of the Ukrainian historians on this issue can be extended to include modern researchers. But the content of their works, with some differences, is similar. Thus, in the discussions around Novorossiia / Southern Ukraine, the authors cite the facts of the ancient and modern settlement of the region by the Ukrainians as the main argument, which is the proof of its belonging to Ukraine. Formed by the Ukrainian populist historiography in the XIXth century this point of view, in a somewhat updated form, dominates in the domestic historical literature even nowadays.

As for the Russian historiography, it emphasizes the imperial conquest of the South, which is considered reasonable, “just and legitimate”, and, most importantly, based on the fact (unproven) of a comprehensive modernization of this, once uninhabited land – “Wild Field”, by the sources of the Russian people. Quite fantastic statement – about the South as an ancient, “native-Russian” territory is still added to these arguments.

The estimation of modern Russian historians of imperial policy on the “Novorossiia” project, in spite of its external “scientificity”, does not change fundamentally and deviates

increasingly from the facts and becomes more aggressive. Here is what A. Shubin, a famous Russian historian, wrote in his monograph “History of Novorossia” in 2015: “People who called themselves the Russians, dreamed of freedom of the steppe in the thickness of forests, under the oppression of poverty and feudal despotism, in then dcreated Novorossiya bytheir labor, their folk culture, their warrior courage” (Shubin, 2015, p. 4).

This impudent neo-imperial onslaught, which, in its essence, is one of the fronts of the current hybrid war of the Russian Federation against Ukraine, must be contrasted with historical research, do neon the basis of modern theoretical approaches.

The theoretical legacy of O. Ohloblyn, a prominent Ukrainian historian, who began his work at the beginning of the 1920s in Kyiv, is noteworthy in the context of the search of these approaches. After World War II, O. Ohloblyn continued his work in emigration. He was an ardent supporter of the state direction of the Ukrainian historiography, which began its formation at the beginning of his scientific career.

O. Ohloblyn considered history of Ukraine of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth century in the context of the regional subdivision. According to his point of view, at the end of the XVIIIth – the beginning of the XIXth century Ukraine was “aconglomeration of several different historical and geographical territories, each of which had its own historical destiny” (Ohloblyn, 1995, p. 47). O. Ohloblyn elucidates the configuration of these territories, calling the main ones in the Russian Empire – Left-BankUkraine, Right-Bank and Southern Ukraine, which are united by the generalizing concept of “Greater Ukraine”.

As for Southern Ukraine, it is described by O. Ohloblyn as “a huge space between Russian and Polish Ukraine, which has long been organically connected with the whole complex of the Ukrainian lands, and in the new era (the 16th – the 17th centuries) this space was to some extent separated from it and until 1775 was represented by the state of the Zaporozhian Lowland Army and the Turkish-Tatar possessions in the north of the Black Sea region, and later the so-called Novorossiya, or Novorossiysky Krai, which Russia for a long time, even after the revolution of 1917, considered an organic part of the Russian state” (Ohloblyn, 1995, p. 48).

O. Ohloblyn gives an answer to the question why and how in the place of this “conglomerate of territories”, among which the South of Ukraine was, a united, Greater Ukraine was formed. He singles out a whole set of interconnected processes that constituted the essence of a “social life of contemporary Ukraine”. Among them – territorial, economic and political processes,as well as the processes of the leading stratum formation, social structure, development of the Ukrainian culture. They developed in unity, and O. Ohloblyn considers their integrated consequence O. as “an organic unity, merging of all these elements – geographical, economic, political – *in a united national and territorial complex of modern, new Ukraine ...*” (Ohloblyn, 1995, p. 48). A generalizing consequence of this unityis the formation of a modern Ukrainian nation at the territory of Greater Ukraine, which includes the southern region.

The historian clearly outlines the content of each of the above processes, especially emphasizing the importance of two – territorial and economic, which particularly significantly contributed to the transformation of the South into an organic part of Greater Ukraine. But he considers them in unity with all others, emphasizing that only the symbiosis of historical territory, economy, politics, ethnic and socio-cultural processes creates the necessary conditions for the organic merging of different regions of Ukraine and the formation of a poly ethnic community – modern Ukrainian nation.

O. Ohloblyn begins his analysis with the territorial process, or, conditionally speaking, with the “discovery” of their native place, “their” land by the Ukrainians. This thesis corresponds

to the latest ideas about nation-building. Anthony Smith, a modern English researcher, called “territorial unity”, “historical territory, or native land” “the first step ... to the social and cultural unification of the nation” (Smit, 2004. p. 32). The geography of settlement of the Ukrainians is meant, within which there was the formation of the “Ukrainian territorial massif”, the part of which is the South. The beginning of this process is lost in the depths of the centuries, and in the XIXth – at the beginning of the XXth centuries this process went through the final phase.

During the XIXth century the population of the region increased 9 times – from 1 million to 9 million people. The percentage of the Ukrainians among the inhabitants of the South prevailed, although it gradually decreased – from 70% at the end of the XVIIIth century up to 57% at the beginning of the XXth century (Turchenko & Turchenko, 2003, pp. 14, 16). There are no exact data on the ethnic composition of the population, because the Ukrainians (“malorosy”) were often presented by census organizers in the same array with the Russians and the Belarusians. This was typical of counting city residents.

The population increased not only due to natural increase, but to a greater extent as a result of spontaneous migrations, mainly from the left-bank and right-bank Ukrainian provinces, as well as due to the purposeful resettlement policy of the authorities. The latter were unable to stop the spontaneous resettlement, although they did not make much effort. After all, local landowners, who were acutely short of labor force, were not interested in it. In the 1870s and the 1880s, up to 300 000 people came to Kherson province each year for seasonal work, 260 000 – to Tavriya province, and 100 000 to – Katerynoslav province (Luhova, 1965 p. 116). Researchers concluded that agricultural labour became a transitional stage to resettlement “and has been so closely linked to it that no line can be drawn between them” (Boiko, 1996, pp. 124–125).

Contemporaries, especially urban dwellers, where the Ukrainians were in the minority, were struck by the diverse ethnic composition of the region. But at the same time, they clearly pointed at its predominantly Ukrainian nature. In particular, D. Dontsov, whose origin is also connected with Southern Ukraine, called Northern Tavriya “our America, an ethnographic mixture of the Ukrainians” and many other peoples (Dontsov, 1996, p. 154).

Historians also noticed the fact that the traditions of the Zaporozhian “freemasonry” did not disappear after the abolition of the Cossacks in Southern Ukraine. A historical myth was formed, which concerned not only the direct descendants of the Cossacks, but also many of those whose ancestors had nothing to do with Zaporozhzhia, the Cossacks and even Ukraine. It was a phantom that was reproduced by the Steppe constantly and remained out of the authority control. Everyone who came to the South was influenced by it in one way or another. “Mythology (and the image) of the free steppe also influenced politics”, – G. Kuromiya, American historian, said of the southern Ukrainian region of the XIXth – the XXth centuries. As once in the history of the Zaporozhian Cossacks, the inhabitants of southern Ukraine at the end of the XIXth – the XXth centuries seemed to the Empire authorities “rebellious fighters for freedom and independence” (Kuromiya, 2002, p. 68).

But all this rebellious spirit was opposed by the Empire fiercely, whose efforts were aimed at the Russification of the region and all possible support for the myth of Novorossiia. D. Bahaliy wrote that the Empire’s policy was aimed at “destroying even the memory that it used to be purely Ukrainian territory” (Bahaliy, 1928, p. 64).

It should be noted that this goal was largely achieved by the Empire. The myth got assimilated. N. Polonska-Vasylenko wrote about it convincingly: “The artificial name “Novorossiia” spread throughout the whole territory of Ukraine, and this aberration that the country of “Zaporozkykh Freedoms” is Russia not Ukraine – was firmly mastered by

contemporaries, and descendants, and administration, and historians. And not only did the name become entrenched, but so did the idea that these lands originally belonged to Russia, and that the southern Ukrainian lands were Russia, not Ukraine. Only at first unfairly taken away, and at the end of the XVIIIth century rejoined” (Polonska-Vasylenko, 1976, p. 276). Let’s pay attention to the words “originally belonged to Russia”, which the historian used not by chance, confirming them with the final statement, which was the essence of the imperial legend of Novorossiya: “... Only at first unfairly taken away, and at the end of the XVIIIth century rejoined”. It remained only to put the “final dots” – to complete the full Russification of the region, turning it into an organic part of the Russian ethnocultural space. In the Russian imperial society the belief was dominated that it was a matter of time. However, this did not happen. The territory of the South became established as Ukrainian finally, and we will find the explanation for this by continuing to analyze the creative heritage of O. Ohloblyn, I. Lysiak-Rudnytsky and other researchers.

Economy was the most powerful among the processes that contributed to the integration of the South into Ukraine decisively. It was the result of economic development that there took place “the consolidation of the Ukrainian lands with a different historical and economic destiny into a single economic organism”.

At the end of the XVIIIth century the three largest regions of Ukraine – the Right-Bank, the Left-Bank, and the South – became the part of the Russian Empire. “Their unification”, – the historian wrote, “was not just a common unity of different areas under a single political and administrative system. It was the unification of scattered, once broken parts of a single economic organism of Ukraine. Of course, the process of consolidation of the Ukrainian economy developed slowly and under the difficult economic and political conditions of that period of time” (Ohloblyn, 2018, p. 185).

Oleksandr Ohloblyn was, perhaps, the first in the 1920s to substantiate the conclusion that the South was especially important in the process of economic consolidation of the Ukrainian lands. Many historians write about it nowadays. Among other things, they emphasize the fact that after the annexation of the South to Russia on the shores of the Azov and Black Seas, ports were built fairly quickly, which were not only of military and strategic but also of purely economic importance. At the same time, a system of roads was formed, which played the role in the history of Ukraine that went far beyond its purely economic significance. As a result, the directions of trade-routes, in particular, grain, changed cardinaly. It is known that until the last quarter of the XVIIIth century the roads were of different directions: Right-Bank Ukraine was economically oriented towards Poland, and Slobozhanshchyna and the Hetmanate were oriented towards Russia. After the period of time when the Azov and the Black Sea ports were rebuilt, it became more economically profitable to trade (to export and to import goods abroad) across the territory of the South. In modern domestic historical publications it has already been noted that at the end of the XVIIIth – the beginning of the XIXth centuries the South became a powerful factor in the economic integration of the Ukrainian lands (Vashchenko, 2002, pp. 155–163; Honcharuk, 2002, pp. 163–171; Honcharuk, 2006, pp. 332–341; Skorokhod, 2017, pp. 220–229). This role of the southern region was especially strengthened after the reform of 1861 and the acceleration of modernization processes. The South, in fact, revolutionized the economic relations of Ukraine, which, as I. Lysiak-Rudnytskyi writes in the article “The Role of Ukraine in Modern History”, “was a decisive step towards the economic integration of the Ukrainian lands and towards the creation of a geographically united Ukrainian national economy” – in other

words, towards the formation of all-Ukrainian market. As a result, the historian concludes, “the South became the economic center of gravity of new Ukraine” (Lysiak-Rudnytskyi, 1994, p. 155). As a result, the significant differences that previously existed between the South and the rest of the regions of Dnieper Ukraine began to disappear.

This process was also facilitated by the formation of the labor market in southern Ukraine, which took place largely at the expense of the Ukrainian migrants from Left-Bank and Right-Bank of Ukraine, as well as from the Russian and Belarusian provinces. Having studied a large array of sources, Ya. Boyko, a historian, concluded that the three provinces of southern Ukraine became the home for more than 2 million migrants during the period of 1861 – 1917. The vast majority of them inhabited the territory of the South arbitrarily without the permission of the authorities (Boiko, 2006, p. 239). Thus, new settlers from Right-Bank and Left-Bank became an important factor in the consolidation of the Ukrainian lands in a united national territorial array. After settling in the South, the settlers did not lose contact with their relatives for a long time, helped them financially, visited them and invited them to their houses in a new homeland. An all-Ukrainian community of people was formed.

Huge flows of migrants were caused by agrarian overpopulation in the Right-Bank and Left-Bank Ukrainian provinces. In the 80s of the XIXth century, on the Left Bank of Ukraine the excess of labor force was 850 thousand people, and on the Right Bank – 1 million 200 thousand. At the same time, in all sectors of the economy of southern Ukraine there was an acute deficit shortage of labor force (Boiko, 2002, p. 94). Thus, mass resettlements and seasonal migrations of the Ukrainian peasants from the Right-Bank and the Left-Bank to the South brought these regions closer and were a powerful factor in their integration into the national and territorial complex of Greater Ukraine.

A big problem for the Ukrainians in the South, as well as in Ukraine, was their weak position in cities where they were in the minority. Official statistics shows that at the end of the XIXth century in the cities of southern Ukraine, there was the following percentage of the Ukrainians – 17.5%, while the Russians – 45.1% and the Jews – 25.2%. In Ukraine these data were the following: the Ukrainians – 30.5%, the Russians – 34.5% and the Jews – 27.0%. But official statistics often lessened the number of the Ukrainians in cities (Turchenko, 2005, p. 24). But another issue was more important. In the polyethnic South, organically connected with Left-Bank and Right-Bank of Ukraine, national differences and related contradictions were neutralized by a sense of commonality of those important life circumstances, which united different ethnic groups together and served as a basis for the formation of a modern political Ukrainian nation on their basis.

The Conclusions. There are many cases in history when the intentions of the rulers of empires did not coincide with the results of their actions. The same thing was observed with the Novorossiia project, which the Russian Empire tried to implement in southern Ukraine. Already in the XIXth – the XXth centuries the Ukrainian historians made great efforts to debunk the myth of the South and the Crimea as “originally Russian” lands. M. Hrushevsky did the most for this in his theoretical article “The Usual Scheme of “Ruska” History and the Issue of the Rational Way of the History of the Eastern Slavs” (Hrushevskyi, 2014) and proved the unfoundedness of Russia’s claims to Kyiv heritage in general, and to Southern Ukraine, in particular. Therefore, there was no reason to speak of any historical justification for the Russians’ stay on the shores of the Black Sea.

Thus, in the second half of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth century, leading Ukrainian historians debunked the imperial myth of Novorossiia. But on the eve of World War I, after

more than a century of Southern Ukraine under the full rule of the Russian Empire, it turned out that the artificial name “Novorossiya”, and even the imperial myth that “these lands originally belonged to Russia” were assimilated by a large part of the society. It was clear that during the period of the Russian Empire, the Ukrainian historians with their truth about the past of the South would not reach ordinary people and debunk imperial myths about its past.

During the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917, the situation changed dramatically. After the collapse of tsarism, Russian imperial deception quickly subsided and the South proved to be an integral part of Ukraine. After some hesitation, the Bolsheviks were forced to agree with this objective reality. As early as in 1917 and the beginning of 1918, they organized fake quasi-state formations in the south of Ukraine, directly subordinated to Moscow – the Donetsk-Kryvyi Rih and Odesa Soviet republics, and the Soviet Taurida Republic in the Crimea. But in 1919 the South was recognized as the part of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic (the UkrSSR). Otherwise, the Bolsheviks would not have been able to keep it under their control. However, no refusal of Russia’s traditional imperial policy concerning this region took place. As before 1917, the imperial government and the Bolsheviks after the revolution accepted the South of Ukraine with its industry, seaports and huge food resources through the prism of the implementation of plans for Russia’s home and foreign policy. Among these plans there was the Soviet project to export the communist revolution to Europe. In this case it is appropriate to mention the thesis proved by the Ukrainian researchers about the deadly threat of the Russian imperialism not only for Ukraine but also for European civilization (Sytnyk, 2017, pp. 77–78). It was the South of Ukraine in 1919 that became the springboard for the organization of communist intervention in Central and Eastern Europe. But this attempt, like “Novorossiya” project at that time, failed. The mass uprising of the southern Ukrainian peasants, to whom Russia, with its expansionist plans, was organically alien, thwarted it. The export of the Bolshevik revolution from Russia to Europe failed (Turchenko & Turchenko, 2019).

But the general situation was such that Ukraine, which in 1919 made a significant contribution to saving Europe from the communist invasion, was unable to save itself from Bolshevism and preserve its own independence. As a quasi-state, Ukraine remained the part of the communist empire, and the former Novorossiya was recognized as the part of the USSR.

Among other things, this fact helps researchers who studied the imperial project “Novorossiya” understand its artificial nature and find rational explanations for its collapse at the beginning of the XXth century. The very circumstance opens up prospects for further research of this issue, in particular, in the context of the analysis of the adventurous attempt of the modern Russian Federation ruling circles to reincarnate this project “Novorossiya”, which resulted in the latest Russian-Ukrainian war.

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THE PROCEDURAL ISSUES OF THE POCHAIV MONASTERY TRANSFER TO THE GREEK RUSSIAN CLERGY PROPERTY IN THE SECOND THIRD OF THE XIXth CENTURY

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to elucidate the mechanism of the Pochayiv Monastery transfer to the structure of the Russian Orthodox Church in 1831, the range of conflict issues between the Russian and Greek Uniate clergy and the government officials' participation in the above-mentioned process. The research methodology is based on the principles of objectivity and systematicity. The following general scientific methods have been used: analysis, synthesis, generalization, induction and deduction, and special methods of historical cognition – historical genetic and comparative in order to solve the set tasks. The methods of classification and critique of sources have been used at the stage of archival material selection. The scientific novelty is that for the first time in Ukrainian historiography numerous unknown archival materials were involved in the scientific use, which made it possible to clarify the circumstances of the transfer of the Pochayiv Monastery to the Russian Orthodox Church. The Conclusions.* According to the

Emperor's Decree, issued in 1831, a set of measures was developed by the Main Department of Spiritual Affairs of Foreign Religions, and orders of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in order to include the Pochayiv Monastery in the Greek Russian Church, which also proved the importance in the government's intention to strengthen the Orthodoxy in the western part of the Empire. The above-mentioned documents laid down diverse measures, which were taken to ensure the transfer of the monastery from the Basilians to the Orthodox. In addition, the government officials participation in the Commission work and the deliberate removal of the Greek Uniates from its membership indicated the political motivation of the act. Ignoring the powers of the Greek Uniates Collegium, the superior treatment of its representatives made it possible to accuse the Basilians of negligent document management and concealment of property. Hence, the procedure for the transfer of the Pochayiv monastery was violated by the current authorities, which clearly outlined the direction of the Tsar's ethnic confessional policy, which was aimed at eliminating opposition denominations in the Russian Empire, including the Greek Uniate Church.

Key words: the Pochayiv Monastery, the Pochayiv Lavra, the Greek Uniate Church, the Greek Russian Church, Uniates, clergy, the Russian Orthodox Church.

ПРОЦЕДУРНІ ПИТАННЯ ПЕРЕДАЧІ ПОЧАЇВСЬКОГО МОНАСТИРЯ У ВЛАСНІСТЬ ГРЕКО-РОСІЙСЬКОГО ДУХОВЕНСТВА У ДРУГІЙ ТРЕТИНІ ХІХ ст.

Анотація. *Мета дослідження* полягає у з'ясуванні механізму передачі Почаївського монастиря у структуру Російської православної церкви у 1831 р., кола конфліктних питань між російським та греко-уніатським духовенством, а також участі у цьому процесі представників державної влади. **Методологія дослідження** базується на дотриманні принципів об'єктивності та системності. Для розв'язання поставлених завдань застосовувалися загальнонаукові методи – аналізу, синтезу, узагальнення, індукції та дедукції, а також спеціальні методи історичного пізнання – історико-генетичний і компаративний. На етапі відбору архівного матеріалу застосовувалися методи класифікації та критики джерел. **Наукова новизна** полягає у залученні до наукового вжитку низки невідомих архівних матеріалів, які уможливили вперше в українській історіографії з'ясування обставин передачі Почаївського монастиря Російській православній церкві. **Висновки.** Указ імператора від 1831 р. про включення Почаївського монастиря у структуру Греко-російської церкви, комплекс заходів, розроблених Головним управлінням духовних справ іноземних віросповідань, розпорядження Міністерства внутрішніх справ свідчать про його вагоме значення у намірах уряду зміцнити позиції православ'я у західному регіоні імперії. У цих документах обумовлювалася низка заходів, які мали забезпечити безконфліктну передачу монастиря від василіан до православних і його безперервне функціонування. Участь представників державних органів влади у роботі комісії та навмисне усунення з її складу греко-уніатів вказували на політичну мотивацію цього акту. Ігнорування повноважень Греко-уніатська колегії, зверхне ставлення до її представників з боку православних уможливило звинувачення василіан у небальному веденні обліку та приховуванні майна. Таким чином, порушення процедури передачі Почаївської обителі не лише сприяло поглибленню міжконфесійних протиріч, але й чітко окреслило напрям етноконфесійної політики царату, яка спрямовувалася на ліквідацію в Російській імперії опозиційних православ'ю конфесій, зокрема Греко-уніатської церкви.

Ключові слова: Почаївський монастир, Почаївська лавра, Греко-уніатська церква, Греко-російська церква, уніати, духовенство, Російська православна церква.

The Problem Statement. The institution of the Orthodox Church of Ukraine raised the issue of belonging to the Ukrainian spiritual shrines, among which a prominent place belongs to the Pochayiv Lavra. The jurisdictional variability of the above-mentioned religious center is a proof of the complex political and ethnic confessional transformations that occurred in the history of our people. The formation of the monastery dates back to the times of Kyivan Rus, when its Metropolitanate was subordinated to the Patriarchate of Constantinople. Consequently, in 1596 the Union of Brest triggered the Greek Uniate Church establishment

and the monastery became the property of the Basilian Fathers at the beginning of the XVIIIth century. Due to geopolitical processes of the end of the XVIIIth century, which led to the division of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Rzeczpospolita), as a result of which Right Bank Ukraine became the part of the Russian Empire, hence, in 1831 the Pochayiv Monastery came under the rule of the Greek Russian Church. In the XXth century, as a result of the two World Wars, the Lavra changed jurisdiction twice. It should be mentioned that the jurisdictional palette of the Pochayiv Lavra was determined by a set of socio-political circumstances that had features during each historical period. Therefore, the procedure for the transition of the monastery from one denomination to another differed.

The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications. Modern Ukrainian scholars pay special attention to the study of the role of religion and the Church in the socio-cultural history of Ukraine. The Church religious processes and the place and role of monasteries in them are reflected in the works of O. Buravskiy (Buravskiy, 2016) S. Zhyliuk (Zhyliuk, 2010), V. Klymov (Klymov, 2008), N. Stokolos (Stokolos, 2003), P. Sheretiuk (Sheretiuk, 2012) and other scholars. Moreover, the studies dedicated to the rethinking of the Pochayiv monastery as a religious, educational, cultural, financial and economic center were covered by J. Isaievych (Isaievych, 2002), V. Bochkovska (Bochkovska, 2008), V. Dudar (Dudar, 2008), and Y. Martyniv (Martyniv, 2018). In addition, O. Karlina published the article, which reflected the circumstances of Pochayiv Basilians persecution in the first half of the XIXth century (Karlina, 2012). Some aspects of the integration of the Pochayiv Lavra into the structure of the Russian Orthodox Church, which began in 1831, can be found in the articles written by E. Bystrytska (Bystrytska, 2020), and E. Bystrytska and N. Volik (Bystrytska, Volik, 2021). However, this period requires further comprehensive research. The array of archival materials used in the article is stored in the State Archives of Ternopil region. The authors analyzed a number of cases of Fund 258 “Spiritual Cathedral of the Pochayiv Lavra”, which enabled scientific research of the problem and substantiation of conclusions.

The purpose of the research consists in elucidating the mechanism of the Pochayiv Monastery transfer to the structure of the Russian Orthodox Church in 1831, the range of conflict issues between the Russian and Greek Uniate clergy and the government officials participation in the above-mentioned process.

The Main Material Statement. The Tsar pursued a policy consistently, which was aimed at eliminating the Greek Uniate Church since the incorporation of Right-Bank Ukraine into the Russian state. In addition, the integration of the newly joined territories into the Russian Empire provided for the establishment of the mono-confessional nature of the Moscow Orthodox model in the religious sphere. It should be mentioned that the reign of Nicholas I is the embodiment of the revival of the above-mentioned process, which was characterized by the centralization of government and the use of repressive methods against dissidents.

The imperial authorities received grounds to change the owner of the monastery during the Polish November Uprising of 1830 – 1831, which was supported by some monasteries, including the Pochayiv monastery. In August of 1831, Volyn and Podilskiyi interim military governor Vasyl Levashov reported to the Commander-in-Chief of Army 1, Field Marshal Count Fabian Sacken, on the printing of anti-Russian leaflets in the monastery printing house, raising money in order to support the insurgents and direct participation of individual Pochayiv monks in the uprising (Karlina, 2013, p. 70). As a result, D. Bludov, the Minister of Internal Affairs supported Vasyl Levashov’s proposals concerning the Pochayiv Monastery transfer to the Orthodox Church and later on the Emperor was informed of it.

Consequently, in September of 1831 Nicholas I issued a decree ordering the following: “the Basilian Pochayiv Monastery with all the church property, real estate and capital to be transferred to the office of the Orthodox Greek Russian Clergy, using the proceeds to maintain the monastery with its large buildings” (State Archives of Ternopil region, f. 258, d. 3, c. 10, p. 2vols.). In addition, the Emperor also approved numerous proposals of the Main Department of Spiritual Affairs of Foreign Religions concerning the transfer of the monastery. First of all, it was about the eviction of Basilian monks of the Pochayiv Monastery. The Greek Uniate Theological Collegium was instructed to place them in other monasteries before the arrival of the Orthodox. However, it was considered to be decent to leave in the monastery those monks temporarily, who were in charge of the monastery property and economy in order to transfer cases “on legal grounds” to the Greek Russian Church. Hence, they were allowed to conduct liturgies in order to maintain the continuity (SATR, f. 258, d. 3, c. 10, p. 2v., 3).

Therefore, it was ordered to establish surveillance of those monks, who remained in the monastery as the Basilians’ dissatisfaction with the government decisions was foreseen. Thus, the officials tried to prevent the Basilians from taking out the relics of the monastery, temple decorations, icons, which were equally revered by the Greek Uniates and the Orthodox. Although there was a possibility of returning certain church things, priests clothes, church and liturgical books to the former owners, as they were not used by the Orthodox clergy (SATR, f. 258, d. 3, c. 10, p. 3).

It should be pointed out that the document stipulated a separate procedure for the transfer of the Pochayiv Monastery, which included taking into account the movable and immovable property, capital, documents in accordance with the descriptions and inventories. As a result, the transfer was to be attended by representatives of the Greek Uniate and the Orthodox clergy and the officials, who were given a task to keep an eye on the “acceptance of confiscated property” and document the procedure accordingly (SATR, f. 258, d. 3, c. 10, p. 4).

The Emperor confirmed the proposal of the Holy Synod of 1823 to move Volyn Eparchial Bishop with his staff, consistory, seminary, county and parish theological schools to Pochayiv monastery. Moreover, the Emperor outlined the task of maintaining the monastery as a center of pilgrimage for the Greek Uniates, the Roman Catholics, the Orthodox, the believers from abroad and instructed the Holy Synod to ensure the appointment of monks to the Pochayiv Monastery, who by the example of spiritual service could establish the “precarious state of Orthodoxy” in Volyn (SATR, f. 258, d. 3, c. 10, p. 4 v.).

Next government document, which determined the procedure for the transfer of the Pochayiv Monastery “to the Orthodox clergy with all church affiliation, real estate and capital”, was the order, issued on September 23, 1831, by the Board of the Ministry for Internal Affairs of the Russian Empire. Hence, the Greek Uniate Collegium, guided by the above-mentioned document, instructed the Lithuanian Consistory to make the necessary orders to transfer the Pochayiv monastery and move the monks of the monastery to other Basilian monasteries on September 26, 1931 (SATR, f. 258, d. 3, c. 55, p. 23–23v.).

The Lithuanian Consistory received an order on October 13 of the same year, which appointed its representatives to the Commission for the transfer of the Pochayiv Monastery, which was to begin work on October 16 (SATR, f. 258, d. 3, c. 55, p. 22). According to the order, Volodymyrskyi Dean Father Abramovych and the Abbot of Kremenets monastery Father Hrynevetskyi as the Greek Uniate Church representatives were supposed to arrive in Pochayiv at the first request and transfer the monastery with all its property to the Greek Russian clergy, as well as the temples of the former Russian Basilian province (SATR, f. 258, d. 3, c. 55, p. 24). As a result, V. Levashov, the military governor and Volyn Greek Russian Consistory were informed about the appointment of the members of the Commission by the Greek Uniate Collegium (SATR, f. 258, d. 3, c. 55, p. 24 zv.). However, there was no answer.

In fact, the Commission members, with the exception of the Greek Uniates, arrived at Pochayiv Monastery on October 8, 1831 (SATR, f. 258, d. 3, c. 7, p. 16v.). The Commission included the representatives from the Ministry for Finance ('kolezhskiy' advisor Ivan Vilyashevych), the Holy Synod ('kolezhskiy' assessor Alexei Wojciechowski), the gendarme corps (lieutenant Mikhail Kireyev), the Greek Orthodox Church (a secretary of Volyn Spiritual Consistory, a titular adviser Anton Karashevych). Archimandrite Flavian of Volyn Theological Seminary, Archpriest Narkis Novytskyi, district Protoiereus of Volyn Cathedral, Hryhoriy Rafalskyi, Archpriest of Kremenets (SATR, f. 258, d. 3, c. 7, pp. 16–16v.). Each member of the Commission received a notification from the Chief Prosecutor of the Holy Synod concerning participation in the procedure of receiving the Pochayiv Monastery (SATR, f. 258, d. 3, c. 10, p. 5–8v.). In general, the Commission was instructed to act quickly and not to draw attention to its activities (SATR, f. 258, d. 3, c. 7, p. 16v.).

The Emperor Decree concerning the Pochayiv monastery transfer was announced to the Basilian monks in the dining-room. The rector of Volyn seminary, Archimandrite Flavian, and the locksmith of Volyn Cathedral, Narkis Novytskyi, held the Orthodox service, water consecration, evening liturgy and prayer service on October 10 (SATR, f. 258, d. 3, c. 7, p. 17). The Commission members began to perform their direct functions on October 11 and worked until November 25 (SATR, f. 258, d. 3, c. 10, pp. 26–26v.).

Meanwhile, the Commission approved the property and found out that the financial capital of the monastery, which consisted of: the capital, which was secured by the pledge of estates; the promissory notes and the receipts; the collateral; cash; silver and copper foreign coins, the exchange rate of which is unknown. In addition, the Commission also described and accounted for valuable church products, silver ingots and things, some of which were stored in the monastery treasury (SATR, f. 258, d. 3, c. 10, p. 26v.–27).

It should be mentioned that Father Abramovych and Father Hrynevetskyi received an order from the Lithuanian Consistory to go to Pochayiv to carry out the task entrusted to them only on November 9, 1831, a month after the commission began its work. Upon arrival, they appeared before Bishop Amvrosiy¹ and announced their authority. In fact, the work of the Commission was coming to an end. Most of the property of the Pochayiv monastery was accounted for. As a result, Bishop Amvrosiy then declared that the monastery was already accepted and "it finds no need for the deputies to be appointed by the Lithuanian Consistory" (SATR, f. 258, d. 3, c. 55, p. 24v.). The bishop sent them to a member of the government Commission, Archimandrite Flavian, who said in a letter that the list of rules approved by the Emperor did not include provisions on the participation in the monastery transfer to the Lithuanian Consistory representatives. In addition, he also stated that the Pochayiv monastery transfer to the Orthodox was completed and the provincial churches were waiting for their turn (SATR, f. 258, d. 3, c. 55, p. 24v.).

However, the Lithuanian Consistory representatives were not allowed to participate in handing over the provincial churches. Hieromonk Hrynevetskyi arrived in Pochayiv at the request of the Spiritual Council of the Lavra. During the conversation, Bishop Amvrosiy admitted that he intended to involve the hieromonk in the reception of the provincial church, but later changed his decision. Consequently, the Pochayiv monastery property became the property of the Orthodox clergy, without any resistance from the Basilians and the inhabitants of the town. Apparently, the above-mentioned circumstances added to the confidence of the bishop, who stated that he had the confidence of the government in resolving the most important issues, in the case of the provincial church he "trusts himself more" than the numerous members of the Commission (SATR, f. 258, d. 3, c. 55, p. 25).

¹ Volyn and Zhytomyr Bishop Amvrosiy (Morev) arrived from Annopol in Pochayiv on October 24, 1831.

After the monastery was transferred to the ownership of the Russian Orthodox Church, among the “monastery papers” there was found an income-expenditure book, founded by Bishop Jacob Martusevich in 1819. In addition, the records in it were kept until December of 1830, the expenses and revenues of 1831 were not specified, which aroused the suspicion of the new owners in the deliberate concealment of monastic funds by the Basilians. The suspicions were heightened when certain sums were found in the sacristy of the Cathedral, the cells of cashier Longin Shavurskyi and the head of the candle factory, hieromonk Abramovych, the “monastery treasury”, the printing house, the pharmacy and candle shops. The funds, which were found, were not confirmed by entries in the accounting documents, mostly they were found in hidden places: walls, under the floor, hidden boxes, among old things, etc. (SATR, f. 258, d. 3, c. 47, p. 12).

The Orthodox leadership of the Pochayiv Lavra placed the responsibility for concealing property and accounting books entirely on the Greek Uniate Theological Collegium. Departmental correspondence between the Ministry for the Interior, the Holy Synod, the Greek Uniate Theological Collegium, and the Lithuanian Consistory revealed that the Pochayiv monastery transfer was disrupted severely because the Greek Uniates did not participate in the transfer of the monastery. Instead, the Greek Uniate Theological Collegium made a number of claims pointing at the dishonesty of the Orthodox clergy. Without their knowledge, the Basilian monks were expelled from the monastery. The new owners did not return to the Basilians 36 titles (161 volumes) of liturgical books unsuitable for the Greek Russian clergy. In October of 1833, by order of Pochayiv leadership, the provincial church was appropriated. However, the Board did not receive any documents. In addition, the Orthodox appropriated 489 rub. in silver left by the former secretary of the Ruska province in the provincial treasury (SATR, f. 258, d. 3, c. 55, p. 25v.).

Meanwhile, the Greek Uniate Theological Collegium rejected strongly the claims of the Orthodox clergy regarding the negligent management of documents and theft of property by the Basilians (SATR, f. 258, d. 3, c. 55, p. 27v.). In 1837, the Greek Uniate Theological Collegium heralded their point of view concerning the “theft of property by the monks of Pochayiv Monastery” at the meeting of the Holy Synod (SATR, f. 258, d. 3, c. 55, p. 73v.). The leadership of the Collegium believed that such accusations could not cast a shadow over all members of the Greek Uniate Church and once again emphasized the violation of the procedure for the transfer of the Pochayiv monastery to the Orthodox.

The Conclusions. Integration of Right-Bank Ukraine into the Russian Empire involved the spread of the Orthodoxy and the displacement of other denominations in the newly annexed territories. According to the Emperor Decree, a set of measures was developed by the Main Department of Spiritual Affairs of Foreign Religions, and orders of the Ministry for Internal Affairs in order to include Pochayiv Monastery in the Greek Russian Church, which also proved the importance in the government intention to strengthen the Orthodoxy in the western part of the Empire. The above-mentioned documents laid down diverse measures, which were taken to ensure the transfer of the monastery from the Basilians to the Orthodox. In addition, the government officials’ participation in the Commission work and the deliberate removal of the Greek Uniates from its membership indicated the political motivation of the act. Ignoring the powers of the Greek Uniates Collegium, the superior treatment of its representatives made it possible to accuse the Basilians of negligent document management and concealment of property. Hence, the procedure for the transfer of the Pochayiv monastery was violated by the current authorities, which clearly outlined the direction of the Tsar’s ethnic confessional policy, which was aimed at eliminating opposition denominations in the Russian Empire, including the Greek Uniate Church.

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STATE AND RELIGIOUS POLICY OF THE RUSSIAN AUTOCRATIC GOVERNMENT REGARDING THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN VOLYNIA IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE XIXth – THE BEGINNING OF THE XXth CENTURIES

Abstract. The Purpose. Based on archival sources the article analyzes the interfaith processes in Volynia in the second half of the 19th – the beginning of the 20th centuries, specifies the nature of ethno-confessional

transformations carried out by the Orthodox clergy and the Russian autocracy in the South-Western region. **The Methodology of the Research.** The research objectives have been solved on the principles of historicism, systematics, objectivity, verification, narrative constructivism, on historical and genetic, historical and typological, historiographical and biographical methods, as well as on general scientific methods of analysis, synthesis and generalization. **The Scientific Novelty.** The article, based on previously unknown archival sources and scholarly research, found out that Volyn accession into the Russian Empire was accompanied by significant transformations of the region's religious and ecclesiastical complex. The mechanism of the state-Orthodox mission was aimed primarily at neutralizing Catholic proselytism through large-scale propaganda work and means of force regulation. **The Conclusions.** The state and religious policy of the Russian autocracy in Volhynia in the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries was aimed at instilment of Orthodoxy and extirpation of Catholicism, elimination of the activity of the Roman Catholic Church. This policy was pursued in close alliance between the state and the Russian Orthodox Church, since the mission of the "militant" Catholic confession was perceived as the danger for strengthening of national, in particular Polish, separatism. The Roman Catholic Church, on the other hand, resisted political pressure, mostly for patriotic reasons. The Roman Catholic mission in the Ukrainian lands was not imbued with a spirit of widespread hostility to the Orthodox. The prevailing opinion in the society was that the intolerance of Orthodoxy came from the Roman Catholic clergy, and not from the folk lower classes of the Roman Catholic faith, that were characterized by a friendly attitude to both Orthodox parishioners and the clergy. The analysis of interfaith relations in the South-Western region at the beginning of the twentieth century suggests that, despite the elimination of economic independence of the Roman Catholic Church, this denomination maintained a tendency to increase the number of followers.

Key words: Volynia, confession, clergy, Roman Catholic Church, Catholicism, Orthodoxy, Orthodox proselytism.

ДЕРЖАВНО-РЕЛІГІЙНА ПОЛІТИКА РОСІЙСЬКОГО САМОДЕРЖАВСТВА ЩОДО РИМО-КАТОЛИЦЬКОЇ ЦЕРКВИ НА ВОЛИНІ В ДРУГІЙ ПОЛОВИНІ ХІХ – ПОЧАТКУ ХХ СТ.

Анотація. *Мета дослідження* – на основі архівних джерел проаналізувати міжконфесійні процеси на Волині в другій половині ХІХ – початку ХХ ст., з'ясувати характер етноконфесійних трансформацій, які здійснювались російським самодержавством і православним духовенством у Південно-Західному краї. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на принципах історизму, системності, об'єктивності, верифікації, нарративного конструктивізму, на історико-генетичному, історико-типологічному, історіографічному і біографічному методах, а також на загальнонаукових методах аналізу та синтезу, узагальнення. **Наукова новизна.** У статті, яка базується на невідомих раніше архівних джерелах і дослідженнях науковців, встановлено, що входження Волині до складу Російської імперії супроводжувалося значними трансформаціями релігійно-церковного комплексу регіону. Механізм державно-православної місії був спрямований насамперед на нейтралізацію католицького прозелітизму шляхом великомасштабної пропагандистської роботи і засобами силової регламентації. **Висновки.** Державно-релігійна політика російського самодержавства на Волині в другій половині ХІХ – початку ХХ ст. спрямовувалась на насадження православ'я та викорінення католицизму, ліквідацію діяльності Римо-католицької церкви. Ця політика здійснювалася у тісному союзі держави з РПЦ, оскільки в місії "войовничої" католицької конфесії вбачалася небезпека посилення національного, зокрема польського, сепаратизму. Римо-католицька церква, навпаки, чинила опір політичному тиску, переважно з патріотичних мотивів. Римо-католицька місія на українських землях не була пройнята духом всеохопної ворожнечі до православних. У суспільстві панувала думка, згідно з якою непримиренність до православ'я йшла від римо-католицького духовенства, а не від народних низів римо-католицького віросповідання, які вирізнялися доброзичливим ставленням як до православних парафіян, так і до священнослужителів. Аналіз міжконфесійних відносин у Південно-Західному краї на початку ХХ ст. дає підстави стверджувати, що, незважаючи на ліквідацію економічної самостійності Римо-католицької церкви, ця конфесія зберігала тенденцію до кількісного збільшення віруючих.

Ключові слова: Волинь, віросповідання, священнослужителі, Римо-католицька церква, католицизм, православ'я, православний прозелітизм.

The Problem Statement. Historically, Catholicism played an important role in the cultural and civilizational chore of the South-Western region for several centuries. With the entry of Right-Bank Ukraine, in particular Volhynia into the Russian Empire, the autocracy took a course towards strengthening of state control over local church life and weakening of the pro-Polish Catholic influence. The tsarist government strove to control tightly both the Orthodox and Catholic and Uniate clergy in the annexed lands. Thus, the entry of Volhynia into the Russian Empire was accompanied by important transformations of the religious and ecclesiastical complex of the region.

Emphasizing this fact, it should be noted that the scientific understanding of the Orthodox-Catholic relations, the study of the peculiarities of ethno-confessional transformations carried out by the tsarist authorities in Volhynia in the second half of the 19th – the beginning of the 20th centuries is an important task of modern Ukrainian historical science.

The Analysis of Recent Researches. The dynamics and nature of transformation processes in the life of the Christian denominations of Volhynia province in the middle of the 19th – the beginning of the 20th are traced in the thesis of B. Boyko (Boyko, 2009). The thesis of V. Denisyuk analyzes the main changes in confessional life in Volhynia in 1795 – 1862, their impact on the Ukrainian-Polish relations (Denisyuk, 2012). N. Stokolos made a significant contribution to the study of the history of interfaith relations of this period (Stokolos, 2012). G. Nadтока analyzed the causes and consequences of the struggle of the Roman Catholic clergy with the Russian autocracy on the Right Bank, the tension of interfaith relations between Orthodoxy and Catholicism in the region at the intersection of the 19th – 20th centuries (Nadtoka, 1998). A. Coretskaya studied the problem of polyconfessionalism of the Volhynia province at the end of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth centuries (Horets'ka, 2011).

Various aspects of the history of the Roman Catholic Church in the Russian Empire were also covered by contemporary Russian scientists. Thus, D. Bilunov examined the situation of the Roman Catholic Church after 1863, pointed out its close connection with the Polish national liberation movement, and characterized the features of the policy of the Russian government towards the Roman Catholic clergy (Bilunov, 1996). A. Kopylov's thesis provides a retrospective review of the life activity of the Roman Catholic Church in Russia at the end of the 9th – the beginning of the 21st centuries. The author tried to analyze objectively the policy of the autocracy towards the Roman Catholic Church, the means of its subordination to the Russian government, to point out the reasons for the conversion of the Russian nobility to Catholicism (Kopylov, 2012). At the same time, issues related to interfaith processes in Volhynia in the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries have not been sufficiently studied.

The purpose of the research is to analyze interfaith processes in Volhynia in the second half of the 19th – the beginning of the 20th centuries, features of the state and religious policy of the Russian autocracy during this period.

The Main Material Statement. In the second half of the 19th century the issue of the Russian-Polish confrontation in confessional relations became acute in Right-Bank Ukraine. In Volhynia province more than 90% of the Roman Catholics were ethnic Poles and belonged to the nobility. After the suppression of the rebellion in 1863 and the breach with the Vatican, the Russian government in Volhynia began to actively implement anti-Polish measures, the success of which in many cases depended on the ethnic and confessional scope of the population.

The Roman Catholic Church had mostly the Poles among its followers. The share of the Poles among the Catholics in Volhynia province was 97.03%, the Ukrainians, the Russians and the Belarusians – 2.96% (Bilunov, 1996, p. 24). Therefore, the main content of the Catholic

issue in Russia was the clash of Polonism with the Russian national idea, and the arena of this confrontation was the territory of the Right Bank of Ukraine, in particular Volhynia.

As of January 1, 1896, there were 266 046 Catholics living in Volhynia province. Their religious interests were served by 99 Roman Catholic priests. It should be noted that 243 Roman Catholic churches were concentrated in Lutsk-Zhytomyr eparchy, including: Volhynia – 95; 52 branches (Volhynia – 25); 349 chapels (Volhynia – 186) (Estimated by: SAZR, f. 178, d. 1, c. 30, pp. 8, 13).

According to statistics, Volhynia province had the largest number of the Roman Catholics followers and the Roman Catholic priests, as well as church institutions. This was primarily due to the fact that this region was dominated by large Polish landowners who were the most active defenders of Catholicism.

At the end of the 19th century, 6.16% of the Poles lived in Volyn, mainly in the western counties (Rivne, Lutsk, Volodymyr-Volynsky, Zaslavsky, Dubensky and Ostroh). At the beginning of the 20th century, they accounted for almost 1/10 of the total population. Among them, the Poles (98%) and the Czechs (28.6%) predominated. Taking into consideration the development of the migration movement of the Czech colonists in Volhynia province in the second half of the 20th century, representatives of the tsarist government were the most significantly interested in religious issues. In principle, the government tried to limit the influence of the Roman Catholic Church on the Czechs due to the existence of the Hussite religious movement. However, the problem remained complicated, as evidenced by the propaganda of Orthodoxy and Catholicism among the Czech population. The upper class among the Czech colonists was predominantly Roman Catholic, and the lower class often converted to the Orthodox faith (Horets'ka, 2011, pp. 14–15).

The analysis of the reports of the right-bank governors in 1898 suggests that they implemented the Russification policy of tsarism actively, zealously fought for the instilment of Orthodoxy and the eradication of Catholicism in the South-Western territory. Thus, the governor of Volhynia noted that a large number of solid Roman Catholic churches built at the expense of the Polish nobility, compared to the Orthodox, mostly poor churches, which did not have enough space for parishioners, forced the latter to pray in the Roman Catholic churches (CSHAUK, f. 442, d. 626, c. 20, pp. 22, 39).

Archive documents reveal new facts about the persecution of the Roman Catholic priests in Volhynia, who were deported to remote provinces for converting the Orthodox to the Catholic faith. This was done with the rector of Kosteliensky parish church, the Roman Catholic priest Tochytzky, who was accused of converting 40 Orthodox people to Catholicism. Therefore, recognizing Tochytzky's stay in Volhynia province as harmful, the governor ordered his deportation (SAZR, f. 178, d. 7, c. 2398, p. 390).

The local administration in Volhynia prevented representatives of the Roman Catholic faith from occupying positions in state administration. For example, as of 1860 in Novohrad-Volynsky, Ovruch, Rovensky, Ostrozhsky, Krem'yanetsky, Kovel counties, all police officials were the Orthodox. In other counties there were only four Catholics (Denisyuk, 2012, p. 131).

The Orthodox priests often acted as agents for local police departments: reported to the local authorities about the anti-government actions of the Roman Catholic clergy, Catholic religious people and the others. For example, on January 31, 1864, a priest from Volodymyr-Volyn reported to the county police board: "in 1860, A. Gidzynski, a bourgeois, was Orthodox, but when the Polish uprisings began (the January Uprising of 1863 – note of the Authors), under the influence of the Roman Catholic priest Piotrowski, he renounced of Orthodoxy and

forbade his wife to attend the Orthodox Church ask the police board to deal with Gidzinski in accordance with the law, taking into account that by his betrayal he clearly proved to be involved in the uprising". On May 18, 1864, Volodymyr-Volyn County Police Board informed the judicial investigative district that, under the law of June 8, 1860, Gidzynsky, a bourgeois, was imprisoned for betrayal of Orthodoxy (SAVR, f. 359, d. 1, c. 860, pp. 5, 7).

On September 11, 1865, Archbishop Anthony of Volhynia and Zhytomyr sent a letter to Isidore Metelsky, a benefactor of Lutsk district, in which he warned of the influence of Catholicism on the Orthodox in the diocese: "During a visit to the diocese, I learned that many Orthodox often visit the Roman Catholic churches during worship. This fact shows how deeply rooted Catholicism is and how it is necessary for priests to convince the Orthodox people that the true faith is only Orthodox, that it is necessary to follow it entirely in order to save one's soul, otherwise backslide is inevitable" (SAVR, f. 359, d. 1, c. 860, p. 301).

Some of the best ways to distract Orthodox from visiting the Roman Catholic churches were: improvement of the parish church, worthy worship, proclamation of sermons understandable to the common people. On October 13, 1865, the consistory listened to the order of the Volhynia governor of June 30, 1865 under № 6835, where he noted that before and during the Polish uprising, Latin priests, as reported by a judicial investigator of Zhytomyr County, converted some Orthodox people to the Roman Catholic faith, and that in Volhynia Province almost all officials were the Roman Catholics (SAVR, f. 359, d. 1, c. 860, p. 302).

The Consistory considered it necessary to collect information about people converted from Orthodoxy to Latin to inform the Governor of Volhynia; to entrust all parish priests to gather information about all followers of their parishes, converted to Catholicism, explaining when, for what reasons each person converted to the Roman Catholic faith, who was the initiator of the conversion; to instruct the police of Volhynia province to administer strict supervision over people of the Roman Catholic faith who tried to convert people of the Orthodox faith to Latin, as well as those Orthodox who visited Roman Catholic churches. It was necessary to report on such individuals to the authorities, and to punish them in accordance with the law, to oblige parish priests to tail such people; in case of conversion of any of the parishioners to inform the diocesan authorities, as well as the local police official (SAVR, f. 35, d. 1, c. 14, p. 303).

The Russian authorities meticulously monitored the steady growth of the Orthodoxy gravitas and prevented the conversion of religious devotees from Orthodoxy to any other denomination. For example, on July 4, 1852, the governor of Volhynia sent a secret circular to Kovel city magistrate, which stated that apostasy from Orthodoxy in heresy (in other religions – note of the authors) was punished by deprivation to penal battalions (SAVR, f. 229, d. 1, c. 289, p. 3).

On September 22, 1866, Volhynia governor informed the Minister in charge of interior affairs that Volhynia Chamber of the Criminal Court sent him a case concerning the Guardian of the Ushomir Roman Catholic Church in Zhytomyr District of Volhynia Province, the Roman Catholic priest Yancharsky, and Vicar Nesterovych, convicted of baptism according to the Catholic rite of children born to Orthodox parents. The court found the Vicar of Ushomir Roman Catholic Church, Geronim Nesterovich, guilty of the baptism of Grigory Vygovsky and, according to Art. 146, he was deprived of his post for six months, and the Guardian of the Roman Catholic Church, a priest Eduard Yancharsky, was warned strictly (RSHA, f. 821, d. 125, c. 1164, pp. 1–4).

On June 30, 1867, Volhynia Chamber of the Criminal Court sent a message to the Minister of the Interior stating that the archpriest of Kremenets Orthodox Church, a priest Klyukovsky,

accused the Roman Catholic priest Shchepanovsky of converting Kremenets resident Martin Koltunov from Orthodoxy to Catholicism. (RSHA, f. 821, d. 125, c. 1165, p. 3).

In the report of Rivne district governor to Volhynia governor from April 29, 1869 it was reported that a parish priest of the village of Gorodka Matviy Berestovsky stated that, economic clerk – a peasant Kozyarsky of Orthodox faith, attended the Roman Catholic church, did not go to the Orthodox church, did not confess, used peasants at work on holidays, did not allow them to perform the sacrament of confession, proclaimed among the peasants the idea of restoring Poland. The conducted investigation established that Kozyarsky showed indifference to the Orthodox faith, as a result of which he was summoned several times by the archpriest of Rovno to catechesis (SARR, f. 379, d. 1, c. 17, p. 4).

Clashes arose between the police and the Roman Catholic clergy in terms of the education of the Roman Catholic people. The Roman Catholic clergy often allowed the Orthodox people to studying process and taught subjects (the Polish – authors' note) that were not allowed by the government. On March 11, 1866, the governor of Volyn ordered that people of the Orthodox faith should not be allowed to studying process in the schools at the parish churches of Volhynia province (SAZR, f. 178, d. 52, c. 14, p. 34).

It should also be noted that in the 90s of the XIXth century the Russian authorities fought actively against the remnants of cultural heritage of the Greco-Uniate Church as well. In particular, the decrees of Volhynia ecclesiastical consistory of 1890 – 1891 contained requirements for the priests to change crosses and crucifixes of the Catholic type to the Orthodox ones, to remove the remnants of the Union and Catholicism from the Orthodox Churches. (Stokolos, 2012, p. 102).

New life for the Roman Catholics in Russia began at the beginning of the 20th century. The Decree of Nicholas II “On religious tolerance” of April 17, 1905 stated:

1) to recognize that apostasy from the Orthodox faith in another Christian religion or doctrine is not the subject to persecution and should not cause any adverse personal or civil consequences, and besides, people, that have fallen away from Orthodoxy after reaching the age of majority, are recognized as belonging to the religion or creed that they have chosen for themselves;

2) to recognize that during the conversion of one of the spouses who profess the same Christian faith to another religion, all children who have not reached the age of majority remain in the former faith professed by another spouse, and at the same conversion of both spouses their children under 14 years adhere to faith of parents, and till this age remain in the former religion;

3) to appoint that people who are Orthodox, but in fact profess a non-Christian faith, to which they or their ancestors belonged before joining Orthodoxy, may, if they wish, leave the Orthodox;

4) to allow the Christians of all denominations, if they adopt unbaptized children or children of unknown parents, to baptize them according to the rite of their faith (Polnoye sobraniye zakonov Rossiyskoy imperii, 1908, pp. 257–258).

After this Law, that resolved the right of citizens of the Russian Empire to convert to any confession, entered into force it was found out that most of all there were people who sought to convert from Orthodoxy to Catholicism. Thus, according to official statistics, 233 000 people converted from Orthodoxy to Catholicism between 1905 and 1909. However, the “decree on religious tolerance” did not provide the desired equality to the Roman Catholic Church because of the domination of the Orthodox Church in the Empire. Authorities continued to oppress the civil rights and freedoms of the Roman Catholics (Kopylov, 2012, pp. 218–221).

Trials of the Catholic Pastors became commonplace in interchurch relations. For example, the trial of Volhynia priest Vikentiy Moravych was turned into a demonstration: the Roman Catholic priest confessed Orthodox parishioners for 5 years, “provoking” numerous cases of the latter leaving the ruling church (History of religion in Ukraine, 2001, p. 111).

Volhynia Archbishop Anthony demanded to bring the Roman Catholic priest of the Novohrad-Volyn Roman Catholic Church Vladislav Lyakhovych to court, accusing him of spreading Catholic propaganda among the Orthodox population (Boyko, 2009, pp. 82–83).

On the basis of official reports and articles in local diocesan publications, Archpriest F. Titov from the perspective of the Russian Orthodox Church acknowledged, that in Volhynia diocese from the time of the Imperial Decree from April 17, 1905 to 1907 almost 900 people were converted to Catholicism. F. Titov explained this dynamics by the intensification of the Catholic propaganda and the confusion of the Orthodox priests. During the propaganda, the Roman Catholic priests focused on mixed marriages, aiming at attracting the Orthodox to their churches through listening to the organ, good singing and solemn worship. Assistants to the Roman Catholic priests in the promotion of Catholicism were members of various Catholic fraternities – rosary, scapular, sobriety, etc. (Titov, 1908, pp. 5, 6, 33, 35).

Residents of the town of Gorodok, Kremenets County, in particular retired Field Marshal Lukyan and his wife Maria Marcyniuk, complained about the vicar of the city’s Roman Catholic parish, Father Boleslaw Sawicki, who persuaded their daughter Anna to convert from Orthodoxy to Catholicism. He also promoted the Catholic faith among the Orthodox population; with his sermons he turned Catholics with hostility against Orthodox. For this he was later dismissed from his post (SAZR, f. 178, d. 13, c. 1312, p. 1).

It should be noted that the epicenter of the struggle against the Roman Catholics was in Volhynia. Thus, Bishop Anthony of Volhynia urged to beware of communication with the “Latin heresy” and, in particular, with the Roman Catholic priests, who “with their theatrical procession and music performances in churches attract the simple-minded, and with mixed marriages complete their tricks”. However, the people of Volhynia still remembered the former metropolitan of Kyiv and Halych, Platon, who during the tours of the diocese entered the Roman Catholic churches and publicly prayed in them (History of religion in Ukraine, 2001, pp. 111, 115).

After the decree was issued on April 17, 1905, Archbishop Anthony of Volhynia worked out and distributed messages and appeals among his obedience through parish priests, where he described the essence of Latin as a false doctrine. In addition to messages and appeals, together with the vicars, he made trips to settlements with active Catholicism propaganda. They held ceremonial services, during which speeches against the Catholic propaganda were proclaimed. On April 27, 1907, the archbishop convened a meeting of the clergy of Volhynia diocese, at which measures to counteract Catholicism were determined, among which special emphasis was placed on the conduct of a solemn liturgy.

Missionary and preaching activities organized by the ministers of the Pochaiv Lavra were of great importance in the fight against the Catholic propaganda in the region. Missionary teachings were proclaimed on the days when many worshipers gathered here to come to worship the local shrines. According to the ideologist of Orthodoxy, Archpriest F. Titov, the Pochaiv leaflets revealed to the common people the falsity of the speeches of local Roman Catholic priests and Catholic missionaries who came to Volhynia (Titov, 1908, p. 35).

State support for Orthodox proselytism found expression primarily in the financial sphere. The missionaries received a salary (780 rubles a year) and travel expenses (500 rubles a year).

In the case of fulfilling the duties of a county observer, the salary was increased (up to 1000 rubles). Missionaries also received relatively high pensions.

In 1905, Volhynia assembly, headed by Archbishop Antoni Khrapovytsky, was engaged in the development of the anti-Catholic tactics under the conditions of religious freedom.

A special role in the system of the anti-Catholic measures in Ukraine was assigned to national missionary courses. In Ukraine there was one pastoral and missionary seminary for the professional training of the clergy. The mission was inextricably linked with the construction of new Orthodox churches. For example, the priests of Volhynia, on the initiative of Pastor Viktor Kashubsky, even managed to begin construction of a memorial church "Victory of Orthodoxy over Catholicism" in Zhytomyr County (Nadtoka, 1998, pp. 94–95).

The changes that took place in the empire forced Pope Pius X to issue a decree in 1907, according to which Russian was recognized as the second church language after Latin in Russia. Numerous Ukrainian Catholic communities demanded that the Roman Catholic priests use the native language of the majority of parishioners during worship. The Kyiv Society of Roman Catholics reached out the people, urging their fellow believers to strive for inclusion the Ukrainian language, history and literature in the curriculum of Zhytomyr Catholic Seminary (History of religion in Ukraine, 2001, p. 114).

On September 26, 1907, Archbishop Anthony of Volhynia and Zhytomyr sent a letter to the Minister of the Interior P. Stolypin accusing the ministry of conniving at foreign Catholic missionaries in their attempt to promote Catholicism in the province. "The ministry entrusted to you, the archbishop wrote, has already twice allowed Catholic monks from Galicia to come to Volhynia (the first time to Lutsk and the second – to Ostroh) allegedly for resistive action against agrarian disorders. In Volhynia province, the Catholic peasants did not arrange any agrarian riots. The choice of places for the Catholic preaching there was determined not by agrarian, but by religious propaganda conditions, because namely Lutsk, Ostroh and Novohrad-Volynsk are the main centers of Latin propaganda in Volhynia. Therefore, with the departure from Lutsk of priests, who in their sermons had to condemn the agrarian disorders, and not only focus on family life, soon the governor of Volyn received a great number of petitions to convert the Orthodox women who were married to the Catholics to Catholicism. On behalf of the entire Orthodox Volhynia, I strongly urge you not to allow foreign Catholic monks to visit Volhynia anymore" (RSHA, f. 821, d. 125, c. 3304, vol. 1, pp. 109–110).

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Russian government officials closely monitored the fall from Orthodoxy to Catholicism of the inhabitants of the Right Bank in order to return them to their previous faith. The governor of Volhynia demanded that the abbots of the Roman Catholic parishes inform on a monthly basis about people who had converted from Orthodoxy to the Roman Catholic religion. In a letter to the Lutsk-Zhytomyr Roman Catholic Spiritual Consistory, he emphasized, that by the circular of the Minister of Internal Affairs of April 24, 1909, it was ordered annually (until January 1) to submit to the Department of Spiritual Affairs of Foreign Confessions statistical information on the number of people who fell away from Orthodoxy. However, almost all the abbots of the Roman Catholic churches of Volhynia province did not send such information.

On November 17, 1910, the consistory decided: to oblige the deans of Volhynia province to monitor strictly the implementation of the governor's order by the abbots of the parishes: to submit to the Office of the Governor-General of Kyiv, Podolsk and Volhynia the lists of persons who converted from Orthodoxy to Catholicism last year (SAZR, f. 178, d. 10, c. 1483, pp. 1–12).

In 1905 – 1907, more than 170 000 people converted from Orthodoxy to Catholicism. This figure could have been even higher, but was restrained by the onerous rules of conversion from Orthodoxy to another confession, issued on June 25, 1905. According to them, those who wanted to leave the Orthodox had to write a petition to the name of the governor, and the latter should inform the bishop. For a month, the case was under consideration of secular authorities and the consistory. The “abjurors” were forced to repent several times, after which the local clergy declared them anathema publicly. Only then did the governor issue certificates of the right to convert to another religion. In the event of mass transitions, a special commission of inquiry was created, which included a rural dean, a missionary assistant and a police official. For example, such a commission conducted an investigation when 60 residents of Novohrad-Volynskyi district simultaneously wrote statements about the conversion from the Orthodox faith to the Catholic (Boyko, 2009, p. 82).

Thus, the missionary and preaching activities of the Russian Orthodox Church in the fight against the Catholic propaganda in the region could succeed only with the help of the police and administrative pressure.

In 1908 there were 346 375 Roman Catholics in Volhynia province (see Table 1).

Statistics gives grounds to assert that in the areas of compact residence of the representatives of the two Christian denominations in Volhynia, the missionary advantage belonged to the Roman Catholic clergy. In 1911, there were 384 162 Roman Catholics in the region so far. Representatives of this faith visited 104 churches, where the liturgy was conducted by 163 priests (SAZR, f. 178, d. 2, c. 6, pp. 4, 6, 13–14).

On July 14, 1914, the governor of Kholm informed the vicar of Volhynia province that Korolina Loshak, a resident of Pulmiv volost of Volodymyr-Volyn district, had converted to Catholicism (SAVR, f. 416, d. 1, c. 72, p. 222). Thus, from 1905 to 1914 there was a significant replenishment of the Roman Catholic Church funded with the Orthodox.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the presence of Catholicism in Volhynia was quite noticeable. The Roman Catholic churches were built and maintained mainly at the expense of the neighbourhood landowners.

On December 27, 1912, Lutsk-Zhytomyr Ecclesiastical Consistory accepted a donation (a plot of land of 50 50 square fathoms) from the nobleman R. Verzhbytsky. (SAZR, f. 178, d. 2, c. 79, pp. 3–4). In the same year, the last will and testament were issued from the bourgeois Adam Yasynetsky (100 rubles) for the needs of Pulyn Church of the Novohrad-Volynsky District of Volhynia Province (SAZR, f. 178, d. 2, c. 16, p. 3; c. 71, pp. 1–2).

The analysis of interfaith relations in Volhynia province at the beginning of the twentieth century suggests that, despite the elimination of the economic independence

Table 1

The Number of the Roman Catholic Parishioners of Volhynia Province in 1908

Counties	Number of Roman Catholics
Zhytomyr	66126
Lutsk	29033
Dubno	16767
Volodarsk-Volynsky	32783
Kovel	10531
Rivne	34067
Novograd-Volynsky	54276
Ostroh	17474
Zaslav	22243
Starokostiantyniv	29009
Kremenets	21017
Ovruch	13058
Total in the province	346375

(Compiled by the authors: SAZR, f. 178, d. 1, c. 557, pp. 18–21).

of the Roman Catholic Church, this denomination maintained a tendency to increase the number of followers. Although with the entry of Right-Bank Ukraine into the Russian Empire, the tsarist government sought to control tightly both the Orthodox and the Catholic and Uniate clergy in the annexed lands, and pursued a policy to weaken the pro-Polish Catholic influences.

During the period under study, the Orthodox clergy supported the policy of the autocracy, for which the tsarist government provided them with material and legal assistance. Despite its humiliating dependence on the Russian state mechanism, the Ukrainian Orthodox clergy for the most part fulfilled the ideological claims of the autocracy, supported government policy, and was hostile to the patriotic movement of the local nobility.

The Roman Catholic Church, on the contrary, resisted political pressure, mostly for patriotic reasons. However, the resistance was weakened significantly by the fact that a smoothly running imperial police and bureaucratic mechanism protected the social interests of the clergy more effectively than the governmental structures of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth disrupted by political anarchy.

Any attempt to convert to the Roman Catholic Church was persecuted as a betrayal. The Russian authorities consistently fought against the Catholic proselytism. Each such case was investigated carefully, and punishment awaited not only the initiator but also the priest.

The Roman Catholic mission in the Ukrainian lands was not laced with the spirit of wide-reaching hostility to the Orthodox. The prevailing opinion in the society was that intolerance of Orthodoxy came from the Roman Catholic clergy and not from the lower classes of the Roman Catholic faith, who were friendly to both the Orthodox parishioners and the clergy.

The Conclusions. The inclusion process of Volhynia into the Russian Empire was accompanied by significant transformations of the religious and ecclesiastical complex of the region. The main direction of the state and religious policy of the Russian autocracy in the South-western Territory in the second half of the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth centuries was aimed, primarily, at the complete neutralization of the Catholic proselytism through large-scale propaganda work and means of force regulation. This is explained not only by anti-clerical policy, but also the ethno-national one, since the region was characterized by a compact settlement of the Poles, the vast majority of whom were followers of the Roman Catholic Church. The Russian government understood the mission of the “bellicose” Catholic denomination as a danger of increasing national, in particular the Polish, separatism. The Orthodox clergy also took an active part in the Russification policy of tsarism; they zealously fought for the instilment of Orthodoxy and the eradication of Catholicism in Volhynia. At the same time, the Russian authorities fought actively against the remnants of the cultural heritage of the Greco-Uniate Church as well.

Although the Russian autocracy and the Orthodox clergy tried to limit the activities of the Roman Catholic Church through a system of anti-Catholic measures, the effectiveness of the tsarist government’s anti-religious practices and their implementation in Volhynia region had contradictory consequences. On the one hand, we cannot say that they did not affect the functioning of the Roman Catholic Church in any way, and on the other hand, their result was not such as expected.

The research of interfaith processes in Volhynia in the second half of the 19th – the beginning of the 20th centuries gives grounds to claim that, despite all the drama surrounding the abolition of the economic independence of the Roman Catholic Church and the closure of the monastic orders, the extensive system of the Roman Catholic communities maintained a tendency to increase the number of followers. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the social base of the Roman Catholic Church became different qualitatively. A feature of its

national assets was the high proportion of ethnic Ukrainians, who along with the religious of the Polish origin, determined the ethno-religious map of Catholicism in Ukraine.

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**LVIV SYNOD OF 1891: PREREQUISITES
FOR THE CONDUCT, PROCEDURE AND DECISIONS**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to carry out a systematic analysis of the prerequisites, procedure and decisions of Lviv Synod of 1891 and determine its influence on the modernization of the Greek Catholic Church and the Canon law at the end of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth century. The methodology of the research.* *The interdisciplinary nature of work with a combination of religious, cultural, social and legal aspects has led to a complementary approach to the choice of research methods. While choosing research methods, the authors took into account their compliance with such criteria as efficiency and reliability. Such approaches were used in the study as: dialectical, descriptive, historical, technical and comparative law. The scientific novelty is that the article highlights the reasons, procedure*

and significance of Lviv Synod of 1891, which had not only a religious significance for the renewal and modernization of the church, but also contributed to the intensification and consolidation of the entire liberation movement of the Ukrainians for national revival at the end of the XIXth century – the beginning of the XXth century. **The Conclusions.** The decisions carried out by Lviv Synod had a positive effect on both the Church and the Ukrainian population as a whole. The intensification of all Ukrainian socio-political life in Halychyna (Galicia) during the last decades of the end of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth centuries is the “indirect” consequence of the Synod. In particular, the local social movement began to acquire a more organized character with a certain national color. Lviv Synod of 1891 became an important source for the particular law of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. Although there were two “internal currents” among the Synodal Fathers, such as the conservative and the reformist, their sometimes polar positions did not split the Synod, but rather added their own identity.

Key words: Eparchy, liturgy, Lviv Synod, metropolitan, Synodal Fathers.

ЛЬВІВСЬКИЙ СИНОД 1891 р.: ПЕРЕДУМОВИ ПРОВЕДЕННЯ, ХІД ТА РІШЕННЯ

Анотація. Мета дослідження. Здійснити системний аналіз передумов, ходу та рішень Львівського синоду 1891 р., визначити його вплив на модернізацію греко-католицької церкви та канонічного права наприкінці XIX – на початку XX ст. **Методологія дослідження.** Міжгалузевий характер роботи з поєднанням у ній релігійного, культурного, соціального й правничого аспектів зумовило комплементарний підхід до вибору методів дослідження, обираючи які, автори враховували їхню відповідність таким критеріям, як ефективність та надійність. Під час дослідження використано низку підходів: діалектичний, описовий, історичний, формально-юридичний та порівняльно-правовий. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що в статті окреслені причини, хід та значення проведення Львівського синоду 1891 р., який мав не лише суто релігійне значення для оновлення та модернізації церкви, а й сприяв активізації та консолідації всього визвольного руху українців за національне відродження наприкінці XIX – на початку XX ст. **Висновки.** Рішення Львівського синоду мали позитивне значення як для церкви, так і загалом для українського населення. З-поміж “непрямих” наслідків синоду можна виокремити активізацію всього українського суспільно-політичного життя Галичини впродовж останніх десятиліть XIX – на початку XX ст. Зокрема, місцевий громадський рух почав набувати більш організованого характеру з визначенням національним забарвленням. Львівський синод 1891 р. став важливим джерелом для партикулярного права української греко-католицької церкви. Хоча серед синодальних отців виділялися дві “внутрішні течії”, такі як консервативна та реформаторська, проте їх деколи полярні позиції не розколяли синод, а навпаки, додали йому самотутності.

Ключові слова: єпархія, літургія, Львівський синод, митрополит, синодальні отці.

The Problem Statement. One of the paramount functions of any law is the regulation of human relations, hence, the distribution of responsibilities. However, the state community differs from the church community, the purpose of which exceeds the secular tasks. The Canon law is aimed not only at regulating the internal organization of the church as an institution, but, above all, to assist in the pastoral mission implementation. The canonical law established by the Supreme authority of the Catholic Church, the Bishop of Rome and the College of Bishops, is also called upon to preserve the above-mentioned unity. As the Catholic Church exists and manifests itself in the communion of particular churches and churches of its own right. The Canon law task is to maintain the diversity of the Ecumenical Catholic Church. In addition to it, the corpus of the Canon law formed over many years today consists of the Code for the Roman Catholic Church, the Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches and documents governing certain areas of church life common to the Ecumenical Catholic Church.

It should be mentioned that the Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches includes laws and legal customs that apply to all Eastern Catholic Churches. It is a kind of “constitutional right”.

Its purpose is to preserve the unity of the Eastern Churches. At the same time, it should be highlighted that the above-mentioned churches came from different traditions and each of them has its own characteristics. Particular law is a disciplinary legacy that takes into account the cultural characteristics and circumstances of historical development in each Church of its law.

The Ukrainian church was a church of its own right, could and should have adopted its own laws, the sources of which were to be the Holy Scriptures, the Ecumenical Councils, and the norms of the Roman Apostolic See. Sources of Particular law may also include laws issued or approved by Synods of Bishops of the Ukrainian church (such as the Zamoysky Synod or the Lviv Synod) or norms established by metropolitans or individual eparchial bishops.

The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications. There is no separate comprehensive study in which the issues of holding Lviv Synod of 1891 were covered comprehensively. It is worth mentioning A. Klish's thesis, which is devoted to the Ukrainian social Christian Movement in Galicia (Halychyna) at the end of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth centuries (Klish, 2020). In addition to it, the author managed to analyze the general tendencies in the development of Galician Ukrainians during that chronological period comprehensively in the above-mentioned work. The Ukrainian church played an important role in the spiritual revival of Galicia. Some issues related to the development of the particular law of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church at the end of the XIXth century were studied by A. Velykyi (Velykyi, 1976), S. Mudryi (Mudryi, 1995) and O. Kaskiv (Kaskiv, 2000; Kaskiv, 2007).

The purpose of the research is to carry out a systematic analysis of the prerequisites, procedure and decisions of Lviv Synod of 1891 and determine its influence on the modernization of the Greek Catholic Church and the Canon law at the end of the XIX th – the beginning of the XXth century.

The Main Material Statement. To begin with, the Provincial Synod did not occur in Kyiv Church for a long time after the Zamoysky Synod (Zamość). In fact, it was the time of anticipation and a kind of controversy concerning the liturgical topics among priests. As a result, the above-mentioned “polemical period” is considered to be the embodiment of the Council convening (Kaskiv, 2000, p. 59).

It should be mentioned that Pope Pius IX confirmed Joseph Sembratovych on the Galician metropolitan throne. In 1878 Joseph Sembratovych asked for an assistant in the person of Sylvester Sembratovych. In 1882 J. Sembratovych resigned from the administration of the metropolis. Hence, the Galician metropolitan throne was presided over for the next three years by Auxiliary Bishop Sylvester Sembratovych. Sylvester Sembratovych received a nomination for Metropolitan only on March 26, 1885 and headed the Metropolitanate until 1898 (Kaskiv, 2007, p. 12) When Sylvester Sembratovych was at the head of the metropolis, he was engaged in a protracted struggle, opposed Moscophiles, fought against atheism and consolidated the faith by visits, sermons, pilgrimages, worship services and Catholic academies. (Mudryi, 1995, pp. 320–321). According to the modern researcher A. Klish, “Metropolitan S. Sembratovych was not active in political issues. Instead, he was more interested in social issues” (Klish, 2020, p. 176). In particular, S. Sembratovych published a pastoral message “On the Great Dignity of Man” in 1876, which proposed a number of measures for political, economic and moral educational improvement of the situation in Galicia (Halychyna). S. Sembratovych took an active part in direct public activities as he understood the strategic danger of the so-called “Moscophiles” for Galicia. Hence, S. Sembratovych promoted and supported the Ukrainian National Liberation Movement in every possible way. Special attention was paid to the education of the young Ukrainian

clergy. Due to the efforts made by Metropolitan in 1885 that a new, third Galician Diocese, Stanislavivska, was founded, the First Bishop of which was Yu. Pelesh (Nazarko, 1981, p. 120). At this point, S. Sembratovych's activities did not end, but rather intensified. As a result, the Ukrainian Collegium for the Education of the Young Clergy was founded in Rome in 1895 (Mudryi, 1995, p. 331).

However, the most crucial event during his metropolitanation was the Lviv Synod of 1891, which was attended by three bishops – S. Sembratovych, Yu. Pelesh, Y. Kuilovskyi and the clergy representatives with the right of the advisory vote. It should be emphasized that for a number of both objective and subjective reasons and circumstances, the Ukrainian church did not have its own Provincial Synods for a long time in order to resolve church affairs jointly. In 1720 the last Synod took place in Zamość owing to which certain ecclesiastical affairs were resolved. In general, the Synod of Zamość became both the basis of the Ukrainian ecclesiastical law and the norm of ecclesiastical law and order. Subsequently, many cases arose, especially ceremonial, which stopped the modernization of the church, and therefore, Joseph Sembratovych the predecessor of Sylvester Sembratovych considered it appropriate to hold the Synod. Furthermore, the Ukrainian Church prepared a similar Synod in 1765, but it did not take place due to the Polish authorities resistance and interference with purely ecclesiastical affairs and issues.

In spite of the apparent opposition of the Polish administration, the Ukrainian priests did not ignore the expediency issue and necessity of holding the Synod. In particular, Metropolitan M. Levytskyi, together with Bishop H. Yakhymovych of Przemyśl, planned to open the Synod in 1853. But the opening of the Synod again did not take place due to a number of external circumstances. Among them the most important are the following: the final subordination of the Kyivan Metropolitanate to the Russian Orthodox Church (from 1722 Kyivan Bishop received the rank not of a Metropolitan, but only of an Archbishop); legal consolidation of Galicia into the Austrian Empire as a result of the division of the Commonwealth during the period of 1772 – 1795; destruction of the Greek Catholic Church in Ukraine and Belarus during the reign of the Russian Emperor Nicholas I (decision of the Cathedral of Holy Wisdom in Polotsk in 1839). The Revolutionary Movement of 1848 – 1849 (“the Spring of Nations”), into which there were also included the Ukrainian lands that were the part of the Austrian Empire, was also of great importance (Velykyi, 1976, p. 245).

The above-mentioned factors, as well as internal disputes concerning the calendar, alphabet, the spread of Moscovites on the territories of Galicia and Transcarpathia, prevented the convening of such a much-needed local Synod. Due to the lack of joint discussion and resolution of disagreements, disputes and various misunderstandings the church suffered a lot at that time. The Synods became rare because of political and religious circumstances, which became a stumbling block for the convening of all bishops and priests.

Furthermore, right after the founding of the Stanislaviv Eparchy (1885), Metropolitan S. Sembratovych intensified the expediency of convening the Synod, taking into consideration the remote time of the Zamoysky Synod, the needs of the church and the presence of a third eparchy in Galicia, as well as the common desire of the Ukrainian bishops (Chynnosity, 1896, pp. 3–7). As a result of the Metropolitan's active work, on August 10, 1891, the Cardinal Prefect of the Propagation of the Faith replied to the Metropolitan that the Congregation and the Cardinals approved the unanimity of the bishops on the need to convene the Synod. In February of 1891, the scheme of the future Synod was sent to Rome. Meanwhile, preparatory pre-synodal meetings were held in Lviv, which ended in June. As a result, the Metropolitan announced the convening of the Synod on July 1, which would take place from September 27 to October 13 in 1891.

Hence, the Metropolitan announced the relevant decision officially on July 27 (Chynnosty, 1896, pp. 7–16). We should state that owing to his incredible devotion to the church and his active civil position that the Metropolitan managed to do what his predecessors failed at.

Owing to the permission and blessing of the Pope, as well as the previous Synods, the above-mentioned one took place at the end of the XIXth century. Hence, the Galician metropolitanate asked for the Apostolic See consent in order to convene the Synod and highlighted the pitfalls, which made it impossible to convene it since 1720. The Pope gave permission and his own blessing to the meeting of the Synod of the Ukrainian Church and delegated to it the Apostolic Lieutenant A. Chaska, Archbishop Lyaryskyi on August 10, 1891 (Velykyi, 1976, p. 247).

It should be mentioned that the Apostolic Capital paid great attention to the renewal of the church. No wonder Pope Leo XIII published the encyclical “*Rerum Novarum*” in 1891, which handled with the idea of creating the “social policy” by the church, the state and the trade unions. According to the Pope: “the church is the bearer of the idea of love for neighbor” (Klish, 2020, p. 121).

Metropolitan S. Sembratovych informed the bishops, clergy and monks about the convening of the Provincial Synod, which was bound to take place in the autumn of 1891. The Metropolitan asked to pray for the successful passage of the crucial event for the church. In general, 156 Synodal Fathers took part in the Synod directly under the leadership of three bishops – Metropolitan E. Sembratovych, Bishop of Przemyśl Yu. Pelesh and Bishop of Stanislavivskyi Yu. Sas-Kuyilovskyi (Kaskiv, 2007, p. 12).

It was planned that the decisions of the Synod would cover 15 titles:

Title I. On the Catholic Faith.

Title II. About Secrets and their Giving.

Title III. About Consecration and Blessing.

Title IV. About Public Worship of God.

Title V. On the Divine Liturgy.

Title VI. About Temple Buildings Dedicated to the Service of God.

Title VII. About the Church Hierarchy.

Title VIII. About Theological Seminaries.

Title IX. About Priests.

Title X. About Monks.

Title XI. About Lents.

Title XII. About Services for the Dead.

Title XIII. About Church Courts.

Title XVI. About Synods.

Title XV. About Church (Possession) Estates (Kaskiv, 2007, p. 13).

Consequently, the general meeting began on September 24 in the chapel of the Metropolitan Chamber. The Metropolitan himself celebrated a solemn liturgy, giving a short speech on the purpose of the meeting and the benefits of the Synod. In addition, the Apostolic Delegate called on all present to make a promise to keep the secret. Judges, synod promoters, secretaries, notaries, theologians, and canonists were also elected (Chynnosty, 1896, pp. 27–32). In order to discuss the decrees, even three separate commissions were appointed. The Synod Fathers, in turn, wrote to the Apostolic Delegate their letters of attendance at the Synod. Furthermore, the decrees were heralded for the decision of the first meeting, which were already prepared with the consent and advice of the Bishops (Chynnosty, 1896, pp. 17–27). They were the following:

- I. Decree on the Opening of the Synod.
- II. Decree on Confession of Faith that all were to Make.
- III. Decree on the Way of Life at the Time of the Synod.
- IV. Decree on the Inviolability of Human Rights.
- V. Decree that the Synod Should not Be Left.

It should be mentioned that the first meeting took place on September 27 after the service in the Cathedral of St. George. In addition, a breve was read on it, which announced the decision of Pope Leo XIII to appoint A. Chaska as an Apostolic Delegate for the convening and departure of the Provincial Synod in Lviv. In his speech before the audience, the Apostolic Representative expressed his personal hope for the Ukrainian Church active development after the decisions and resolutions made by the Synod. Subsequently, Decree was made to open the Synod and Decree to profess the faith. Hence, Metropolitan S. Sembratovych made a confession of faith directly. Later on the head of the Church, the bishops, priests and a representative of the Stauropegeion Institute presented their confession of faith. With the consent of the Bishops, decrees on the way of life at the Synod, on the inviolability of human rights and on not leaving the Synod until its final conclusion were also read and attached to other synodal acts.

The second general meeting of the Synod was under the chairmanship of A. Chaska in the church of the seminary on September 29, 1891. The Metropolitan addressed the audience with a speech, put emphasis on the general benefit and importance of the Synods for church affairs. The following titles and chapters were presented at the meeting for discussion in the commissions:

Title I. On Faith.

- Chapter 1. On the Confession of Faith.
- Chapter 2. On the Catholic Faith.
- Chapter 3. On Religious Indifference.
- Chapter 4. On Relations with Heretics and Schismatics.
- Chapter 5. On the Censorship of Books.
- Chapter 6. On Freemasonry and other Sects.
- Chapter 7. On the Preaching of the Word of God.
- Chapter 8. On the Catechism.

Title II. About Secrets.

- Chapter 1. On Baptism.
- Chapter 2. On the Anointing.
- Chapter 3. On the Eucharist.
- Chapter 4. On Repentance.
- Chapter 5. On Anointing of the Sick.
- Chapter 6. About the Priesthood.
- Chapter 7. About Spouses.

Title IV. About Public Worship of God.

- Chapter 1. On the Sacrifice of the Liturgy.
- Chapter 2. On Intentions and Donations for the Services of God.
- Chapter 3. On Church Rules and other Worship Services.
- Chapter 4. On the Conduct of Worship.
- Chapter 5. About Church Singing.
- Chapter 6. About the Holiday.
- Chapter 7. On the Veneration of Saints.
- Chapter 8. On Holy Processions (Campaigns).

- Chapter 9. On the Private Worship of God.
- Title VI. About Churches.
- Chapter 1. On the Structure of the Church.
- Chapter 2. On the Internal Structure of the Church.
- Chapter 3. About Church Utensils.
- Chapter 4. On the Colour of Church Vestments
- Title VII. About the Church Hierarchy.
- Chapter 1. About the Pope.
- Chapter 2. About the Metropolitan.
- Chapter 3. About Bishops.
- Chapter 4. On the Chapters.
- Chapter 5. About Deans.
- Chapter 6. About Pastors.
- Chapter 7. About Employees.

Moreover, the participants of the meeting could express their own opinion on the above-mentioned titles. After detailed elaboration, all present agreed with the proposed changes and additions. A. Chaska, after consulting with the Episcopate, agreed that those resolutions were supposed to be proclaimed during the second meeting. The following decrees were solemnly proclaimed at the meeting on October 1:

- Title I. On Faith.
- Title II. On Secrets.
- Title IV. About Public Worship of God.
- Title VI. About Churches.
- Title VII. On the Church Hierarchy (Chynnosty, 1896, pp. 65–66).

Therefore, it was decided to include them in the acts of the Synod by a mutual consent of the bishops. At the third general meeting, the following titles were submitted for discussion in the commissions:

- Title III. About Sanctification and Blessing.
- Title IX. About the Priests of the New Testament.
- Title X. About Monks.
- Title XI. About Lent.
- Title XII. About Praying for the Dead.
- Chapter. About the Divine Service.
- Chapter. About Studies.

The final general decision concerning the titles was to be announced at a regular meeting. The third meeting was on October 4 in the Metropolitan Church. Consequently, the respective titles were approved by the Bishops and inscribed in the acts of the Synod. At the fourth meeting, which took place under the personal chairmanship of the Metropolitan and with the consent of the Apostolic Delegate (the latter was absent), the titles were discussed:

- Title VIII. About Seminaries.
- Title XIV. About Synods.

The issue concerning reducing the prayer word was considered separately. After the liturgy, the fathers of the Synod gathered in the Metropolitan Church for a meeting. It was there that the rest of the important synodal decisions were made. In particular:

- Title VIII. About Seminaries.
- Chapter. About Small Seminaries.

Chapter. About Big Seminaries.

Title XIII. About Church Courts.

Title XIV. About Synods.

Title XV. On Church Property (Chynnosty, 1896, pp. 69).

It should be stated that all, without exception, the participants of the Lviv Synod signed the previously adopted Decrees. After that, a General Decree was read on the future next local Synod, which was planned to be held in 1896. With the consent of Metropolitan and Bishops A. Chaska decided to issue Decree on the completion of the Synod in 1891. In the speech to the participants, the Apostolic Delegate expressed personal confidence in the Lviv Synod Decisions. In addition, he also expressed hope that after the Papal approval of the decrees, the bishops would make every effort to implement the joint decisions taken. At the end of the Third Local Synod, the Metropolitan expressed gratitude in person to all its participants and proclaimed the traditional “Mnohaya Lita” (Chynnosty, 1896, p. 42).

It is worth noting that the Lviv Synod took care of reviving piety among the faithful, not only traditional, but through popular veneration of saints, veneration of relics and images, participation in church processions, pilgrimages, missions, retreats and domestic religious practices. With regard to missions, the Synod separately ordered that at least one mission must take place in each deanery each year. It was decided to issue separate instructions for small and large seminaries. In particular, that there should be at least one seminary in Galicia, in which students would learn to “take a pious part in St. Mysteries, to celebrate the Blessed Eucharist, to love the Blessed Virgin Mary, to participate diligently and devoutly in St. Liturgies, with the benefit of meditating and reading pious spiritual books”. The Lviv Synod adopted detailed instructions on education and training in large seminaries, emphasizing the dignity, duties and sanctity of the life of priests.

Separately, the Synod approved the monastic reform of the Basilians. The Lviv Synod also initiated the spiritual reform of the Basilians, publishing separate instructions on this issue. The basic of which was the careful upbringing of female youth. It was this disposition concerning the Basilians that began to be gradually realized in Galicia and Transcarpathia, with their novitiate in Slovit. A new convent of the Congregation of the Sisters of the Servants was soon established. The Metropolitan tested the statutes with his authority, and the Servants soon began to spread in Galicia, founding primarily “Zakhoronky” for children. The direction of the Basilians work concerning the spread of spiritual culture and piety among the people also intensified. They actively distributed spiritual and religious literature. The Servants maids took care of the minors and the sick. It should be noted that in 1893 the Basilians received a separate recognition of Pope Leo XIII, and the Servants maids – an apostolic encouragement to continue to act in the chosen way.

The Conclusions. As time has shown, the decisions made by the Lviv Synod had a positive significance both for the Church and for the Ukrainian population as a whole. Among the “indirect” consequences of the Synod is the intensification of all Ukrainian socio-political life in Galicia during the last decades of the XIXth – beginning of the XXth centuries (Arkusha, 1996, p. 82). In particular, the local social movement began to acquire an increasingly organized character with a certain national color.

Of course, the Lviv Synod of 1891 became an important source for the particular law of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. Of course, many of its resolutions repeated or confirmed the previous Zamoysky Synod, but they were still more progressive. It should be noted that although two “internal currents” stood out among the Synod priests, such as the

conservative and the reformist, their sometimes polar positions did not split the Synod, but, on the contrary, added some identity.

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**BORYS HRINCHENKO'S HISTORICAL VIEWS:
THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL REVOLUTION IN THE MIDDLE
OF THE XVIIth CENTURY IN THE COVERAGE OF THE INTELLECTUAL**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to reconstruct B. Hrinchenko's historical views concerning the events of the Ukrainian National Revolution of the mid-XVIIth century, the author's assessments of B. Khmelnytskyi's and the Hetmans of Ukraine during the 'Ruina' time (Ruin), to determine the reasons for the loss of the Ukrainian statehood and actualization of this historical experience for the Ukrainian Liberation Movement development at the end of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth century. The methodology of the research is based on the principles of historicism, systematicity, anthropic, interdisciplinarity. General historical methods of analysis and synthesis have been used,*

as well as special historical ones – historical genetic, comparative, typological. The authors adhere to the basic principles of historiographical analysis. **The scientific novelty** consists in the fact that a wide range of historical, historiographical and literary sources covered B. Hrinchenko's views on the history of Ukraine in the middle of the XVIIIth century (Khmelnychchyna and Ruina). **The Conclusions.** B. Hrinchenko's works on historical themes are a talented popularization of the history of Ukraine in a form accessible to the masses, without primitivization and distortion of facts. Conceptually, B. Hrinchenko relied on the longevity of the Ukrainian history according to M. Hrushevskiy. Due to elaboration of historical sources and scientific literature, which allowed him to rise to the popular science and even research level (the monograph "Hetman Ivan Vyhovskiy, his Life and Deeds", 1909). In addition, B. Hrinchenko focused on activity of several Hetmans: B. Khmelnytskyi, I. Vyhovskiy and P. Doroshenko. He was critical of B. Khmelnytskyi's activities and the Treaty of Pereyaslav with Moscow in 1654, considered the treaty forced, but historically tragic for the Ukrainian statehood fate. I. Vyhovskiy's and P. Doroshenko's state-building activity and geopolitical combinations were assessed by B. Hrinchenko as the experience of struggle against Moscow influences.

B. Hrinchenko's long-term, persistent work on popularization of the historical experience of the Ukrainian National Revolution of the middle of the XVIIIth century prepared, under the conditions of the public life modernization and the Ukrainian nationally conscious elite formation, a favorable ground for the further struggle for the Ukrainian statehood and its revival in 1917 – 1921.

Key words: B. Hrinchenko, the Ukrainian National Revolution of the middle of the XVIIIth century, historical views.

ІСТОРИЧНІ ПОГЛЯДИ БОРИСА ГРІНЧЕНКА: УКРАЇНЬСЬКА НАЦІОНАЛЬНА РЕВОЛЮЦІЯ СЕРЕДИНИ XVII ст. У ВИСВІТЛЕННІ ІНТЕЛЕКТУАЛА

Анотація. Мета дослідження – реконструювати історичні погляди Б. Грінченка на події Української національної революції середини XVII ст., авторські оцінки діяльності Б. Хмельницького та гетьманів України часів Руїни, визначення причин втрати української державності й актуалізація ним цього історичного досвіду для розгортання українського визвольного руху наприкінці XIX – на початку XX ст. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на принципи історизму, системності, антропологізму, міждисциплінарності. Використано загальноісторичні методи аналізу і синтезу, а також спеціально-історичні – історико-генетичний, компаративний, типологічний. Автори дотримуються основних принципів історіографічного аналізу. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що на широкому колі історичних, історіографічних та літературних джерел досліджено погляди Б. Грінченка на історію України середини XVII ст. (Хмельниччина та Руїна). **Висновки.** Твори Б. Грінченка на історичну тематику є талановитою популяризацією історії України в доступній для широких мас формі, без примітивізації та спотворення фактів. Концептуально Б. Грінченко спирався на тяглість української історії за М. Грушевським. Ґрунтовне опрацювання історичних джерел та наукової літератури допомогло йому піднятися на науково-популярний і навіть дослідницький рівень (монографія "Гетьман Іван Виговський, його життя й діла", 1909). У центрі уваги Б. Грінченка опинилися постаті кількох гетьманів – Б. Хмельницького, І. Виговського та П. Дорошенка. Він критично ставився до діяльності Б. Хмельницького та Переяславського договору з Москвою 1654 р., вважав його заходом вимушеним, але в історичній перспективі трагічним для долі української державності. Державотворчу діяльність та геополітичні комбінації І. Виговського та П. Дорошенка Б. Грінченко оцінював як досвід боротьби із московськими впливами.

Багаторічна, наполеглива робота Б. Грінченка з популяризації історичного досвіду Української національної революції середини XVII ст. підготувала, в умовах модернізації суспільного життя та формування української національно свідомої еліти, сприятливий ґрунт для подальшої боротьби за українську державність та її відродження в 1917 – 1921 рр.

Ключові слова: Б. Грінченко, Українська національна революція середини XVII ст., історичні погляди.

The Problem Statement. Borys Dmytrovych Hrinchenko (1863 – 1910) – a prominent Ukrainian public and political figure, a writer, a teacher, an ethnographer, a folklorist,

a linguist. In his creative work, pedagogical and educational work, he turned to stories from the national history repeatedly, and in the controversy over the current issues of the political and social life at the end of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth century resorted to historical parallels. Moreover, B. Hrinchenko's historical works were mainly written for the uneducated Ukrainian peasantry and, in particular, children. He tried to present factual material on the history of Ukraine, drawn from historical sources and scientific literature in a popular, accessible form. The purpose of this popularization was to instill in the Ukrainians a national consciousness, dignity, patriotism, and a sense of pride for their ancestors. This great ascetic work contributed to the formation of the Ukrainian nation from the ethnic mass of the Ukrainian people, a social organism capable of independent cultural and political life. On the other hand, the historical examples, understanding the main mistakes and geopolitical miscalculations of the national leadership as a factor in the loss of the Ukrainian statehood in the middle of the XVIIth century were for Borys Dmytrovych an important basis for the national intellectual and political elite formation of the modern era.

Hence, B. Hrinchenko's historical views reconstruction on the days of the Ukrainian National Revolution in the middle of the XVIIth century is of utmost importance both for studying the legacy of B. Hrinchenko and determining his role in the Ukrainian liberation struggle at the beginning of the XXth century.

The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications. Due to the interest in the multifaceted creative and scientific achievements, the figure of B. Hrinchenko and his role in the Ukrainian Liberation Movement led to the formation of an interdisciplinary field of research – Hrinchenko Studies in recent decades. First of all, we should mention the monographic studies written by A. Zhyvotenko-Piankiv, N. Zubkova, N. Kobyzhcha, A. Nezhyvyi and A. Pohribnyi, A. Hoptiar, V. Yaremenko, etc., devoted to the study of B. Hrinchenko's literary, cultural, educational, pedagogical activities and his contribution to certain branches of the Ukrainian humanities. However, his historical works and views did not become a separate subject of study.

The subject of our analysis was a wide range of works written by B. Hrinchenko – journalistic ones (“The Letters from the Dnieper Ukraine”, 1892 – 1893 (Hrinchenko, 1994), public education (“How the Ukrainian People Lived (A Brief History of Ukraine)”, 1906) (Hrinchenko, 2014, pp. 331–358)), numerous studies on the Ukrainian folklore, in which there were reflected data on prominent historical figures of the Cossack times, popular science work “Hetman Ivan Vyhovskiy, his Life and Deeds”, 1909 (Hrinchenko, 2014, pp. 424–489) and publications of the Ukrainian Radical Party, one of the founders and ideological inspirers was B. Hrinchenko (written under the pseudonym L. Yavorenko: “What do We Need?”, 1905 ([Yavorenko], 1905a) and “Why don't We still Have a Good Power?”, 1905 ([Yavorenko], 1905b)).

Furthermore, the preparatory materials for B. Hrinchenko's works on historical topics can be found in his personal fund at the Institute of Manuscripts of Vernadsky National Library Of Ukraine (MI NLUV, f. I, d. 1). They are of interest for the reconstruction of the researcher's historical views and illustrate his creative laboratory, work with sources and literature. The unfinished Russian language article “Material on Ukraine's Accession to Russia...”, 1905, is of the greatest interest in elucidating the topic (MI NLUV, f. I, d. 1, c. 31504, 20 p.).

A separate group of sources consists of B. Hrinchenko's works of art from the Ukrainian past – the plays “Yasni Zori” (Bright Stars) (1894, 1897) (Hrinchenko, 1991, pp. 340–420), “Stepovyi Hist” (Steppe Guest) (1897 – 1898) (Hrinchenko, 1991, pp. 421–458) and “Sered Buri”(In the Storm) (1897) (Hrinchenko, 1991, pp. 459–548).

It should be mentioned that scholars, mostly philologists focused on the historical and patriotic dramas written by B. Hrinchenko. In general, the works are considered in the general course of the transition stage from a populist realistic drama to the latest modern drama of the end of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth century. Consequently, the appeal to the “conditional history” is one of the leading features of the modern Ukrainian drama, when “history” is only a “background” for the plot development. The characters are placed within a certain framework of the historical epoch, but they act in accordance with the present. The main idea of such works is to evoke pride in the heroic struggle of ancestors against the national oppression (Protsiuk, 1993; Spiridonova, 2019).

Nowadays, the Ukrainian historiography has considerable experience in reconstructing the historical views of writers, both prominent national figures (T. Shevchenko, I. Franko, Lesya Ukrainka) and writers of “the secondary plan” (Gonchar, 2018).

The purpose of the research is to reconstruct B. Hrinchenko's historical views concerning the events of the Ukrainian National Revolution of the mid-XVIIIth century, the author's assessments of B. Khmelnytskyi's and the Hetmans of Ukraine during the ‘Ruina’ period (Ruin), to determine the reasons for the loss of the Ukrainian statehood and actualization of this historical experience for the Ukrainian Liberation Movement development at the end of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth century.

The Main Material Statement. Hetman Ivan Mazepa was the first historical figure, B. Hrinchenko got interested in. He wanted to write a publication about him, but abandoned the idea when he learned that the topic had been taken by a renowned public figure, historian and publicist F. M. Umanets, with whom they collaborated in Chernihiv Hubernia (Province) Zemstvo and Chernihiv Scientific Archival Commission, had much in common concerning the views on the Ukrainian history and the Ukrainian national affairs. Moreover, F. Umanets used a wide range of sources, including private collections of Doroshenko, Markovych, etc.; the texts of the original historical documents were included into the appendices to the monograph (see Umanets F.M. Hetman Mazepa. St. Petersburg, 1897). The author tried to give a positive assessment of I. Mazepa as a person and a statesman. The above-mentioned monograph became to a certain extent a methodological and ideological reference point for B. Hrinchenko in his further work on the historical plots on the history of The Hetman Ukraine.

Later on, B. Hrinchenko managed to amass his own collection of the original historical documents of the Cossack times, mostly legal and private. In addition, he also made copies of important Hetman's Universals and other documents. These materials are now stored in his personal fund in the Central State Archive-Museum of Literature and Arts of Ukraine (Kyiv) (TsDAMLUMU, f. 15, d. 1).

Furthermore, the Hrinchenko family book collection has got a wide range of historical literature, which contained more than six thousand volumes. These are the publications of sources, scientific literature and periodicals, popular science works on the national history. Nowadays, the collection is scattered, the main part can be found in Vernadsky National Library Of Ukraine (Kataloh fondiv. Bibliotechni kolektsii. Vyp. 1: B. D. Hrinchenko, 1998).

Hence, B. Hrinchenko turned to his younger friend, at that time a figure of Kyiv “Prosvita” D. I. Doroshenko, as a historian-specialist, for consultation and review, selection of historical and literary materials, illustrations to his works on the history of the Cossack times (Andryeyev & Andryeyeva, 2020, p. 89).

B. Hrinchenko considered the period of the Ukrainian National Revolution in the middle of the XVIIIth century (Khmelnichchyna and Ruina) as one of the key periods of the Ukrainian

history, and called the events from the beginning of the uprising of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi to the Treaty of Pereyaslav in 1654 a “tremendous revolution” (MI NLUV, f. I, d. 1, c. 31504, p. 1).

B. Hrinchenko wrote the following words on the pretext of Khmelnychchyna: “Our Ukraine was a magnificent land, and it was a paradise for the ‘pany’, and hell for the working Ukrainian people. But the people could not endure such a disaster forever” (Hrinchenko, 2014, p. 344). Hence, the reasons for the difficult situation in Ukraine were attributed to the fact that Ukraine was the part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Hence, in his opinion, the process of enslavement of the Ukrainian peasantry, the oppression by the Polish ‘pany’ (land owners) and the Jewish tenants, the policy of Polonization and Catholicization led to a revolutionary explosion (Hrinchenko, 2014, pp. 338–339).

The plot in the drama “Stepovyi Hist” unfolds at the initial stage of the Khmelnytskyi uprising. The author portrayed the hopes of the peasant, the Cossack strata and part of the nobility for the social, national and religious liberation, and, at the same time, depicted the split in the Ukrainian society.

B. Hrinchenko characterized the figure of B. Khmelnytskyi, a prominent Ukrainian statesman and leader of the revolutionary events of 1648 – 1657, as an extraordinary personality, an educated, intelligent, cunning statesman, diplomat and military leader, a Cossack warrior with a difficult fate, who took part in military campaigns, sea voyages repeatedly, was subjected to the Turkish captivity and the Polish imprisonment (Hrinchenko, 2014, pp. 345–346).

In fact, B. Hrinchenko covered the history of the Khmelnychchyna based on M. Hrushevskiy’s ideas (see Hrushevskiy M. S. Essay on the History of the Ukrainian People. St. Petersburg, 1904) and provided short but vivid sketches on the events of that time.

Hence, B. Hrinchenko depicted B. Khmelnytskyi’s escape from the Polish prison to the Zaporozhian Sich, the transition of the Cossacks to his side, the alliance with the Crimean Khan, the campaign in Ukraine, the support from the urban Cossacks and the masses, the battle of the Zovti Vody River, near Korsun, Pyliavtsiamy, Zboriv and Zbarazh. The author did not hide the cruelty in the confrontation between the rivals (Hrinchenko, 2014, p. 345).

In particular, B. Hrinchenko paid special attention to the battle of Zborov separately. According to B. Hrinchenko, B. Khmelnytskyi’s victory over the Polish army was inevitable, but the Crimean khan’s actions did not allow “such conditions to get what he wanted” Hetman. The content of the Treaty of Zboriv (1649) between Hetman B. Khmelnytskyi and King John (Jan) II Casimir, which legalized the Cossack self-government within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Zaporizhzhya Army or the Hetmanate), was briefly presented in an accessible but qualified form. However, B. Hrinchenko considered quite rightly that the above-mentioned agreement could not satisfy either the Ukrainians or the Poles, which led to further escalation of the conflict (Hrinchenko, 2014, p. 345).

In addition, B. Hrinchenko focused on the Pereyaslav Rada and its significance for Ukraine. In his works, he tried to convey to readers the fact that B. Khmelnytskyi entered into an alliance with Muscovite Russia compulsorily and without much desire, because he was prompted by the circumstances of that time and the difficult situation of the Ukrainian state. B. Hrinchenko covered in great detail the conditions “under which Ukraine had to live with Moscow”, which, in our opinion, was caused by the author’s attempt to show the treacherous, insidious policy of the northern neighbour, who broke all his promises and obligations to Ukraine.

Hence, according to the author’s interpretation, Ukraine under the protection of the Russian Tsar should be completely independent with all its liberties and rights, neither the Tsar nor his authorities could interfere in the Ukrainian affairs, the Hetman retained the right to maintain diplomatic relations with other states and receive their embassies, the Hetman had to pay tribute

to the Tsar, but collected it himself without Moscow interference, and the Tsar undertook to defend Ukraine with his army (Hrinchenko, 2014, p. 346). It should be emphasized that B. Hrinchenko in this context relied on V. Serheyevych's authoritative opinion, the Russian historian of law, and interpreted the treaty as a personal union (see V. I. Sergeevich. Lectures and research on the ancient history of Russian law. St.-Petersburg, 1903).

According to B. Hrinchenko, the consequences of the alliance with Moscow were negative for Ukraine. Thus, B. Hrinchenko, while elaborating the above-mentioned thesis, in the spirit of M. Kostomarov (see N. I. Kostomarov. Two Russian nationalities. St.-Petersburg, 1861), resorted to a comparison of Ukraine and Muscovite Russia. To B. Hrinchenko's mind, Ukraine was characterized by democracy in all spheres of life, and Moscow tradition was characterized by despotism, neglect of freedom and individual rights. Describing the realities of the time, he put emphasis on the fact that in Ukraine the people were free, the officials were elected, the country was ruled by an elected Hetman, and the Zaporozhian Sich was "completely free". Moreover, Moscow system was quite different as the population was enslaved and "the chiefs-pany offended the people seriously", there was no election, "the Tsar ruled everyone" and "the poor Muscovites lived under their masters even worse than in Poland under the Polish rule" (Hrinchenko, 2014, p. 347).

The author also drew attention to the discrepancies between the Ukrainian and Moscow Orthodoxy, compared the state of education and printing in Ukraine and Muscovite Russia. As a result, B. Hrinchenko making an infer on his comparative analysis, stated that the Ukrainian culture fell into complete disharmony with the established traditions of the new "ally" (Hrinchenko, 2014, p. 348). The negative complementarity of the two cultures and states, could not but lead to growing contradictions, increasing tensions and the emergence of confrontation between Ukraine and the Tsardom of Moscow.

B. Hrinchenko expressed himself more radically concerning B. Khmelnytskyi's policy as a "narrow panskyi", "dual" in the unfinished work, which was called "Danylo Nechay" (1885) (Hrinchenko, 2017, pp. 348–359). Due to the social orientation, the Hetman was forced to make concessions to the Poles in the most important moments of the Ukrainian revolutionary struggle. B. Hrinchenko accused the Hetman, who twice "holding Poland" "in his hands" (namely after the death of King Wladyslaw and the victory at Zboriv) did not take advantage of these historical chances. Moreover, B. Hrinchenko contrasted B. Khmelnytskyi with Danylo Nechay, the "representative of the masses", who died in 1651 tragically.

B. Hrinchenko accused B. Khmelnytskyi of adhering to the Moscow state for several times (Hrinchenko, 2014, p. 121).

It should be emphasized that B. Hrinchenko also focused on the figures of two Hetmans of Ukraine – Ivan Vyhovskyi (adhered to the pro-Polish orientation) and Petro Doroshenko (entered into the alliance with Turkey), who, according to B. Hrinchenko, were the most consistent in trying to preserve the Ukrainian state during the 'Ruina' period.

Due to the significance of the Treaty of Hadiach in 1658, which "made some corrections" in Pereyaslav articles by B. Khmelnytskyi and "separated" Ukraine from the Moscow state, B. Hrinchenko was interested in the figure of Vyhovskyi. As a result, B. Hrinchenko dedicated his thorough work to Vyhovskyi "Ivan Vyhovskyi. His Life and Deeds", which was first published in Kyiv in 1909. At the end of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth centuries the figure of the Hetman was insufficiently studied in Ukrainian historiography and little known among the wider circles of the Ukrainian society. However, among the Ukrainian intellectual elite, the above-mentioned figure was considered one of the most interesting and attractive figures in the Ukrainian history.

Hetman's biography, like previous works, is a popularization of historical knowledge about Ukraine. But there was a drastic difference, for instance, the scientific apparatus, a wide range of used sources and literature, including the latest scientific and archeographic publications, carefully and critically processed by the author, showed that he rose to a new level in his historical studies. B. Hrinchenko managed to summarize the research of representatives of the Ukrainian, the Polish and the Russian historiography, for example, Y. Antonyi, V. Antonovych, O. Vostokov, V. Herasymchuk, M. Hrushevskiyi, D. Korenets, M. Kostomarov, V. Lypynskiyi, F. Ravita-Havronskiyi, S. Solovyov, O. Fotynskiyi and the others. Moreover, the author used the Cossack chronicles as the sources actively (Samovydet, G. Grabianka and S. Wielyczko), "Acts relating to the history of Southern and Western Russia" (vol. IV, V, VII, XI, XV), "Monuments Issued by the Temporary Commission for the Analysis of Ancient Acts" (Kyiv, vol. I-IV), "Archives of South-western Russia" (ch. III, vol. VI), "Collection of Chronicles Relating to the History of Southern and Western Russia" (1888), "South Russian Chronicles, Discovered and Published by N. Belozerskyi" (vol. I), etc. (Hrinchenko, 2014, p. 489).

However, taking into consideration the preparatory materials for the topic, testified that the study consisted of a much wider range of sources and literature, a chronology of events was compiled, there were collected biographical data of the Cossack officers, etc.: "Extracts about the Figures of the XVIIth Century. [Vyhovskiyi, Dzhulai, Loboda, Chaadayev, Bezpalnyi and the others]" (MI NLUV, f. I, d. 1, c. 31 452, 185 p.), "Materials for the Work on Vyhovskiyi" (MI NLUV, f. I, d. 1 c. 31 557, 142 p.) and the others.

In addition, in many respects, B. Hrinchenko's vision concerning Hetman's activity was based on M. Kostomarov's estimations (see Kostomarov N. *The Hetmanship of Vyhovskiyi*. St.-Petersburg, 1872), whose works he referred to in the text plentifully.

Modern researchers regard the work written by B. Hrinchenko as the populist national period in the study of the issue (along with the works written by V. Herasymchuk, M. Hrushevskiyi, M. Stadnyk), when the formation of the national scientific vision of I. Vyhovskiyi era took place (Kazmyrchuk & Kazmyrchuk, 2019, pp. 62-64, 66).

The author singled out twelve chapters in the work on I. Vyhovskiyi, which covered certain stages of his biography: I. General Secretary; II. Elected Hetman; III. The Fight Breaks Out; IV. The War with Pushkar and the Moscow Ambassadors; V. Between Moscow and Poland; VI. Hadiach Treaty; VII. Before the War; VIII. At the Polish Sejm; IX. The War; X. The End of the Hetmanate; XI. Last Years; XII. The Death.

According to B. Hrinchenko, I. Vyhovskiyi was a prominent military leader, politician and statesman, the successor of B. Khmelnytskyi's policy, who fought for its independence under difficult, unfavorable for Ukraine historical circumstances. First of all, B. Hrinchenko was interested in the Hetman's activities on the agreement between the Hetmanate and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth on Ukraine's membership as the "Grand Duchy of Moscow" – the third equal Republic in alliance with Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Owing to I. Vyhovskiyi's desire to liberate his homeland from Moscow power, the researcher was attracted to him obviously and was prompted to study and popularize the life and work of the Hetman.

The author dwelled in detail on I. Vyhovskiyi's oscillations between Muscovite and Poland, the Treaty of Hadiach, and the Battle of Konotop, which revealed the Hetman's remarkable military talent. Moreover, B. Hrinchenko strongly believed that the Ukrainian leader initially adhered to the agreement with Moscow, but later leaned towards an alliance with Poland, because "from Poland, he hoped to receive more rights for Ukraine than from Moscow" (Hrinchenko, 2014, p. 455).

B. Hrinchenko, while covering the Treaty of Hadiach and giving it a historical assessment, leaned towards its positive, in the case of implementation, significance. In addition to it, a special role was assigned to General Secretary Yuriy Nemyrych by the researcher, who, in his opinion, reoriented the Hetman to an alliance with Warsaw, and was one of the concept's creators of the "Grand Duchy of Moscow" and the main author of the Treaty of Hadiach (Hrinchenko, 2014, pp. 460–461). However, B. Hrinchenko believed that the transformations envisaged by the treaty remained only on paper, as the Sejm in Warsaw ratified it in a much reduced form, and Poland was unprepared to give Ukraine the status of an equal partner and the Commonwealth co-ruler (albeit with limited rights). In addition, according to the researcher, the successful implementation of the Treaty of Hadiach was hampered by the lack of understanding of I. Vyhovskyi's plans and his project "Grand Duchy of Moscow" by the majority of the Ukrainian people, especially ordinary Cossacks, who did not want the return of the Polish pany and the Cossacks starshyny become shliakhtha (Hrinchenko, 2014, p. 476).

It should be highlighted that we keep to the point that B. Hrinchenko's views on I. Vyhovskyi's activities and the Treaty of Hadiach significance were conditioned by his then political convictions, the desire to gain autonomy and independence for Ukraine. The author, like the majority of the Ukrainian historians of the time, sought answers to the questions of the present in the past. As a result, the most attention was paid to the figure of I. Vyhovskyi in B. Hrinchenko's historical studies.

In spite of its research nature, B. Hrinchenko's work on I. Vyhovskyi was written in an accessible form, in good Ukrainian, which made it possible to present an interesting biography of the Hetman against the background of events in Ukraine in the mid-XVIIIth century and to convey the latest achievements of the Ukrainian historical science to the mass Ukrainian reader.

Instead, Doroshenko's alliance with Turkey aimed to "separate" Ukraine from the Polish state. B. Hrinchenko's attention to the person and activity of P. Doroshenko once again demonstrated that in the past of Ukraine he was interested in the experience of liberation from a foreign rule. Consequently, B. Hrinchenko amassed rich historical and folklore material, researched how Hetman's image was engraved in folk art. The researcher's conclusions were tested in speeches and discussions at meetings of the Ukrainian Scientific Society in Kyiv on November 15 and December 23, 1907. Moreover, he dated back to the folk song about Doroshenko and Sahaidachnyi during P. Doroshenko's Hetmanship, and the character "Sahaidachnyi", according to the author, was a contemporary of the Hetman, possibly a descendant of P. Konashevych-Sahaidachnyi (Hrinchenko, 1908a; Hrinchenko, 1908b).

It should be mentioned that the preparatory materials for the above-mentioned studies could be found in the author's personal archive: "Song of Doroshenko and Sahaidachnyi [text of the song and its description, with corrections and additions, 1907]" (MI NLUV, f. I, d. 1, p. 31394–31395, 60 p.) and "Folk Poetry about Doroshenko and other Materials about him" (MI NLUV, f. I, d. 1, c. 31507, 26 p.).

According to the memoirs of M. M. Hrinchenko's wife (pseudo – M. Zahirnia), he collected folklore until his last breath for the work dedicated to Kobzar Dumas about I. Mazepa and P. Doroshenko (Zahirnia, 1999, pp. 100–101).

Therefore, there were several attempts made by B. Hrinchenko to comprehend the historical role of P. Doroshenko in artistic form as well. Hopes for the unification of Ukraine under the mace of Doroshenko and liberation from foreign invaders were the historical context in the plays "Yasni Zori" (the action took place in the Turkish Azov in the 1670s) and "Sered Buri" (events in Kalnik in the autumn of 1671).

One of the main characters of “Yasni Zori”, a young Cossack Dmytro, tells old Panas the latest information about the division of Ukraine, the presence of two Hetmans: “on our side, here” – Petro Doroshenko, “on the other side, there” – Dem’yan Mnohohrshnyi (the Sinner). Moreover, the “side” has no correlation with Right-Bank Ukraine and Left-Bank Ukraine or the location of Azov; Hetman Doroshenko was clearly affiliated with the notions of “our” and “here”. Dmytro concludes the following: “There is no order, because there is no head...” and clearly regrets the weak prospects for the unification of the state headed by Doroshenko (MI NLUV, 1991, p. 342).

B. Hrinchenko wrote a play on five acts “Petro Doroshenko”, where the theme of the moral and historical choice of the Hetman about the loyalty of the course to the Alliance with Turkey was a common issue through the plot– “Materials for the Drama “Petro Doroshenko” [1907?]” (MI NLUV, f. I, d. 1, c. 31489, 22 p.). The drama was not completed, in particular, due to a lack of historical sources.

It should be mentioned that there was a great public demand for these topics in the Ukrainian society, which was evidenced by the favorable attitude of the public, including Kyiv public, to the release of the play on five acts by L. M. Starytska-Chernyakhivska (see Starytska-Chernyakhivska L. M. Hetman Doroshenko. Lviv, 1911).

To our mind, B. Hrinchenko summed up efficiently the historical experience of the Ukrainian statehood in the middle of the XVIIIth century. B. Hrinchenko in a letter to V. Hnatiuk issued on October 8, 1901 wrote the following: “Our grief is that we still did everything for tomorrow. And we are lucky to achieve something only for those who always do today ... Our second grief is that we are always united with someone, and a friend sat on our necks for help. It is sufficient to mention at least the combination of Khmelnytskyi and his successors with the Turkic-Tatars. Our third calamity is that we were never able to unite with ourselves: it is enough to remember the story of Pushkar and Vyhovskyi, the story that still happens to us in all variations, because we still eat ourselves worse than all our enemies” (Hrinchenko, 2020, p. 255).

The Conclusions. Thus, the educational and artistic works written by B. Hrinchenko are a talented popularization of the history of Ukraine and the historical experience of the Ukrainian National Revolution of the middle of the XVIIIth century, compiled in the form accessible to the masses. At the same time, the author managed to do it without primitivizing and distorting the facts. Conceptually, B. Hrinchenko relied on the longevity of the Ukrainian history according to M. Hrushevskyi, used historical argumentation to justify Ukraine’s right to independence. Such long-term, persistent work aimed at educating patriotism and national consciousness and prepared a favorable ground for the further struggle for the Ukrainian statehood and its revival in 1917 – 1921.

At the same time, B. Hrinchenko’s work on I. Vyhovskyi was his first attempt to go beyond the genre of popularization and rise to the level of popular science and even research. M. Hrushevskyi said that he had come to politics through history, and B. Hrinchenko, we think, could say that he came to history through socio-political activity. With the needs for education, he began to study scientific works on history seriously and finally came close to independent research in the field of the Ukrainian history.

We believe that B. Hrinchenko’s historical views need further study, which will reconstruct his argumentation of the historical rights of the Ukrainian people, debatable issues of historical relations with other nations, current political sympathies (for democratic historical forms of government and social rights), the importance of works on historical topics in cultural, educational and pedagogical activities. It will also allow to clarify the political views of B. Hrinchenko, to understand exactly what he wanted to see in the Ukrainian state and society.

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PEASANT AGRARIANIST APPROACHES AND PRACTICES OF RESOLVING THE AGRARIAN ISSUE DURING THE PERIOD OF THE UKRAINIAN REVOLUTION OF 1917 – 1921¹

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to analyse the agrarianist by their content approaches and practices of solving the agrarian issue as a realization in practice of peasants' hopes and ideas about their just future; to establish criteria for clarifying the agrarianist essence of practices for solving the agrarian issue, to determine the types of these practices; show the dynamics of changes in peasant agrarian approaches and practices under different forms of government during the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921. The research methodology is a socio-cultural approach, which allows to explain how Ukrainian peasantry's mental guidelines, ways of seeing the solution of the agrarian issue affected the practices of solving the land issue and influenced the emergence of domestic agrarianism in 1917 – 1921. The scientific novelty consists in the following: it has been substantiated that during the revolutionary period of 1917 – 1921 there was a dynamic change in peasant agrarianist approaches and practices to solve the agrarian issue: from socialization policy based on the rejection of private ownership of land, free requisition of land from the owners and its transfer to the peasants for cultivation, to the inclination of the peasant community to receive land in private ownership for redemption to the state. The Conclusions.* *The following criteria for the agrarianist essence of approaches and practices for solving the agrarian issue during the revolution of 1917 – 1921 have been defined: if we consider the Bolshevik-Communist model, it is a denial of the nationalization of land and collective management on it; if we consider the bourgeois and capitalist model, it is a denial of large private ownership of land. Since in the grain growers' mentality the fundamental principle of land ownership or use was personal work on it, the main peasant agrarian approaches and practices to solve the agrarian question during the revolution of 1917 – 1921 were: 1. preservation of small peasant private ownership of land; 2. transfer of land for life with the right of inheritance (which in the understanding of the peasantry was close to the right of private property in addition to the possibility of selling land). At the same time, a large part of the peasantry saw socialization as a certain transition period to private property, which had to go through the following stages: confiscation of land from landlords – its transfer to peasants for life – legitimization of peasant private ownership of this land.*

Key words: *peasantry, Ukrainian revolution of 1917 – 1921, agrarian issue, socialization, private property, land, Ukrainian agrarianism.*

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СЕЛЯНСЬКІ АГРАРИСТСЬКІ ПІДХОДИ ТА ПРАКТИКИ ВИРШЕННЯ АГРАРНОГО ПИТАННЯ У ПЕРІОД УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ РЕВОЛЮЦІЇ 1917 – 1921 рр.

Анотація. Мета статті – проаналізувати аграристські за змістом підходи та практики розв’язання аграрного питання як реалізацію на практиці селянських сподівань і уявлень про їхнє справедливе майбутнє; встановити критерії для з’ясування аграристської сутності практик із розв’язання аграрного питання, визначити різновиди цих практик; показати динаміку зміни селянських аграристських підходів та практик за різних форм влади у період Української революції 1917 – 1921 рр. **Методологією дослідження** є соціокультурний підхід, що дає можливість пояснити, як ментальні настанови, способи бачення розв’язання аграрного питання українського селянства, позначилися на практиках розв’язання земельної проблеми та вплинули на появу вітчизняного аграризму в 1917 – 1921 рр. **Наукова новизна** полягає в обґрунтуванні того, що протягом революційного періоду 1917–1921 рр. спостерігається динаміка зміни селянських аграристських підходів та практик розв’язання аграрної проблеми: від політики соціалізації, базованої на відмові від приватної власності на землю, безоплатної реквізиції землі у власників та передачі її селянам у користування, до схиляння селянського загалу отримати землю у приватну власність за викуп державі. **Висновки.** Визначено такі критерії аграристської сутності підходів та практик із розв’язання аграрної проблеми в період революції 1917 – 1921 рр.: якщо брати більшовицько-комуністичну модель – це заперечення одержавлення землі та колективного господарювання на ній; якщо брати буржуазно-капіталістичну – це заперечення великою засадою володіння чи користування землею була особиста праця на ній, основними селянськими аграристськими підходами та практиками із розв’язання аграрного питання у період революції 1917 – 1921 рр. були: 1) збереження дрібної селянської приватної власності на землю; 2) передача землі у пожиттєве користування з правом успадкування (що у розумінні селянства було близьке до права приватної власності крім можливості землю продавати). Водночас значною частиною селянства соціалізація вбачалася як певний перехідний період до приватної власності, яка мала пройти такі етапи: конфіскація землі у поміщиків – передача її селянам у довгочасне користування – легітимізація селянської приватної власності на цю землю.

Ключові слова: селянство, Українська революція 1917 – 1921 рр., аграрне питання, соціалізація, приватна власність, земля, український аграризм.

The Problem Statement. Currently there are complex processes of land reform, implementation of the agricultural land market in our country. For the qualitative implementation of this reform in Ukraine, it is important not only to study the achievements of other countries, but also the powerful constructive experience that our country had during different periods of its history, including the revolutionary period of 1917 – 1921.

Peasant and agrarian topics are a traditional segment of the domestic historiographical process. However, some issues have not been properly understood and developed. Therefore, among the important areas of further study of the history of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921 is to clarify the peasant agrarianist approaches and practices of solving the agrarian issue in the context of the socio-political model of the Ukrainian agrarianism.

The purpose of the article is to analyse the agrarianist by their content approaches and practices of solving the agrarian issue as a realization in practice of peasants’ hopes and ideas about their just future; to establish criteria for clarifying the agrarianist essence of practices for solving the agrarian issue, to determine the types of these practices; to show the dynamics of changes in peasant agrarianist approaches and practices under different forms of government during the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921.

The Analysis of Recent Researches. Domestic historians fruitfully research various aspects of the topic of agrarianism. In the collective monograph “Peasant-centric Dimension

of the Socio-cultural Space of Ukraine during the Revolution of 1917 – 1921” low-studied issues of modern domestic and foreign historiography concerning the content of agriculture as a peasant-centric phenomenon of the Ukrainian revolution of 1917– 1921 and the phenomenon of Central and Eastern European countries during the socio-political changes at the beginning of the twentieth century (Kornovenko, Telvak, et Lozovyi). Considering the subjective factor of the agrarian issue as one of the preconditions for the revolutionary events of 1917 – 1921, S. Kornovenko concluded that a new active subject appeared on the forefront of history – the peasant-ideoman (Kornovenko, 2017, pp. 83–94). S. Kornovenko and N. Zemziulina studied the phenomenon of the Ukrainian agrarianism during the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921 as a variant of Eastern European agrarianism, represented in the political programs of the Ukrainian national parties (Kornovenko, Zemziulina, 2019, pp. 14–20). S. Kornovenko and Y. Pasichna highlighted the intellectual foundations of the Ukrainian agrarianism of the revolutionary era in the views of V. Lypynsky (Kornovenko, Pasichna, 2021, pp. 107–121). The mentioned authors also found out the reasons for the emergence of Eastern European agrarianism, revealed the understanding of this concept, and along with other variants of agrarianism, singled out its Ukrainian variety (Kornovenko, Pasichna, 2019, pp. 24–30). S. Kornovenko and V. Telvak elucidated the origins and essence of agrarianism phenomenon in the countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe in the second half of the nineteenth – the first third of the twentieth centuries and gave it its own definition (Kornovenko, Telvak, 2020, pp. 10–16). K. Galushko, having studied the “grain grower ideology” of V. Lypynsky, came to the conclusion that it is similar to Czechoslovak and Bulgarian agrarianisms, which represent an attempt to solve a set of socio-political issues of agrarian society, which suffered from the consequences of modernization (Halushko, 2000, pp. 164–200). However, the topic of peasant agrarianist approaches and practices of solving the agrarian issue in the context of clarifying the issue of formation and implementation of agrarian policy in the times of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921 is poorly developed and needs further research.

The Main Material Statement. The social structure of the Ukrainian society in the Dnieper region at the beginning of the twentieth century was dominated by the peasantry. A characteristic feature of agrarian relations in Ukraine was the presence of large landowners and peasant smallholdings, which caused social tension. About 19% of Ukrainian peasants employed in agriculture were landless (Koval’ova, 2020, p. 116).

During the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921, the peasantry became the subject of the political process and gave a strong voice to the solution of the most important issue for themselves – the land one. The socio-political model of the Ukrainian agrarianism was an alternative to the bourgeois capitalist and Bolshevik-communist models, the “third”, “different” peasant way of society development (Kornovenko, Pasichna, 2019, pp. 24–30).

By peasant agrarianist approaches and practices of solving the agrarian issue, we mean the activity of the peasantry as a subject of socio-political process, which intends to solve the land issue according to its socio-economic interests and accordingly historically formed mental guidelines.

To understand the system of worldviews adequately and to some extent the ideological views of the peasantry, there should be considered the social values and ideals that it professed. Their views on property, especially land, can explain the phenomena of peasant behaviour. In the minds of peasants, the labour invested was valued above the right of private property legally enshrined in state (for peasants – lordly) laws (Ryl’skiy, 1903, p. 26); (Shanin, 1997, pp. 221–222). They claimed that the land “was not made by anyone, but created by God”, the landowners seized the land and used the labour of the peasants

(Kolysnychenko, 2006, p. 62). Therefore, the ownership of land by lords who do not work on it is not fair. The peasant worldview always meant that the land owned by the landowner for centuries was cultivated by “labour and sweat” of many generations of grain growers in the village and accumulated the whole set of their labour efforts. The peasants understood this material connection with their predecessors well and believed that the landlord’s property was objectified by an additional product created by their labour and the labour of their great-grandparents. This formed a strong belief that the landlord’s wealth in truth and law should belong to the peasants and became a kind of peasant ideological justification for the need to expropriate land from the landlords and transfer it to working grain growers.

The consciousness of the peasantry determined the relations of property with the existing state institutions, with the relations of power. As the latter change, so must property relations. When, after the revolution of 1917, the old system collapsed, its components – the repressive power, the payment of taxes, and private ownership of land by landlords – ceased to be perceived as legitimate in the peasant consciousness.

In June of 1917, the First All-Ukrainian Peasants’ Congress proclaimed the socialization of land and decided to seek the abolition of private ownership of land and its transfer without redemption to the Ukrainian land fund for further distribution among poor peasants (Ukrayinsky natsionalno-vyzvolnyy rukh, 2003-34). 350). At the same time, a great public discussion began about the implementation of socialization. Some noted that the Ukrainian peasant “more or less the owner and he wanted” to have the right to own land. The others argued that socialization would ensure social justice in the countryside (Zemelne pytannya, 1917, p. 13).

At the initial stage of the revolution, when the SR propaganda was only gaining momentum, the peasants, according to ancient traditions, advocated family possession or use of land, but with mandatory indication of the principle of personal work. It should be noted that this circumstance, which, in our opinion, significantly influenced the attitude of the peasantry to the agrarian policy of different governments: the people’s legal consciousness did not clearly distinguish between “property”, “possession”, “use” (Ukrayins’kaRSR v period hromadyans’koyi viyny, 1970, p. 16). For the peasants, all these concepts merged into one: to have a piece of land to ensure the existence of their family.

It is self-evident that a significant part of the Ukrainian peasants, having no experience of communal redistribution of land, preferred individual land tenure. However, later, under the pressure of political and socio-economic circumstances, their views evolved. This was prompted by the dynamics of revolutionary events after February of 1917, as a frantic propaganda campaign to popularize the idea of socialization was launched by the Ukrainian and Russian Socialist-Revolutionaries. The principles of agrarian transformation developed by them were approved by numerous peasant congresses of various levels and in fact legitimized in the minds of the general public the socialization of land as a manifestation of peasant aspirations. In the socialist press, at rallies and meetings, it was argued that socialization best reflected the interests of the peasants.

In addition, it should be noted the specifics of socio-economic differentiation of peasants. Within the community, there was a division on the basis of property between the rich and the poor, those who had land and those who sought to have it (Pervyy kamen (otkrytye volostnoho zemstva), 1917, p. 2). It is self-evident that these two strata of the peasant community had completely opposite orientations in resolving the agrarian issue. With the spread of democratization and the elimination of administrative pressure, the poor and middle peasants, being in the majority, could make decisions that became the decisions of the

gathering, i.e., the whole community, and elect their representatives to various congresses, who voted for socialization.

Peasants-small landowners were afraid of socialization, because they believed that their land earned and bought by hard work could be taken away from them. In the newspaper "The Peasant Union" it was claimed: "The worst way to reconcile with the socialization of the land of those small landowners who work hard, without exploiting another, got a dozen acres of land and hold it with his teeth and hands. The greatest excitement and concern in the countryside over the land issue is in that part of the peasants who own rags of 10 – 25 dessiatyns of land..." (Pro zemlyu, 1917, p. 2).

The press noted the paradoxical situation in the countryside: the Ukrainian peasants-individualists, i.e., owners, supported socialization, i.e., the abolition of private property, at their forums. This situation can be explained by the propaganda of the thesis that land ownership "brings poison into the life of the peasant". To buy land, the grain grower works hard and "does not see the light". When he knows that his children will already have land, that is, use it, it will bring peace and confidence in his soul that he will not die of starvation. The peasants were told that when there was no property, everyone would become "the master of the land, not a hireling, a half-worker or a worker for a sheaf" (Dumky pro zemlyu, 1917, p. 1). The latter statement had a special weight for the peasant mentality, so it sounded quite convincing.

A peculiar customary law justification for the return of land to the peasants was the dominant principle of "capture law" by the landlords in the peasant consciousness (CSAHAAU, f. 1412, d. 1, c. 8, p. 137). Accordingly, grain growers began to seize and divide privately owned land. Regional land administrations explained the agrarian movement by the fact that among peasants there was a strong notion that land that could not be cultivated by their own, personal labour should be "alienated for smallholders and landless" (CSAHAAU, f. 1412, d. 1, c. 46, p. 39).

In November of 1917, the Central Council, with its Third Universal, abolished land ownership and declared it an all-people property (CSAHAAU, f. 1115, d. 1, c. 4, p. 9). The main principle of the agrarian ideology of the Central Rada was the principle of personal labour inherent in peasant psychology, which was especially emphasized in the appeals and instructional documents of the Ukrainian authorities. Therefore, it was noted that the property is cancelled only by those who "do not work with their own hands". At the same time, landowners who have land areas of less than 50 dessiatyns, i.e., "in the size of the labour economy the Universal does not affect. Such labour property is not abolished, but remains as it was" until the Constituent Assembly (CSAHAAU, f. 1412, d. 1, c. 10, p. 28). Discussion in December of 1917 of the agrarian law of the UPR at a meeting of the Central Council, where representatives of the peasantry strongly opposed the proposed slightly lower labour rate of 40 dessiatyns (Ukrayinska Tsentralna Rada, 1997, pp. 26–27), shows that the rules left to the owners' land in 40 – 50 acres peasants considered unjust.

Peasants were mostly in favour of the transfer of land to the hereditary, indefinite permanent use, although proposals were made to endow the land for 10 – 15 years (CSAHAAU, f. 1390, d. 1, c. 105, pp. 1–74). At the same time, almost everywhere the Ukrainian peasantry opposed joint land management (CSAHAAU, f. 1060, d. 1, c. 26, pp. 63–64).

Wealthy peasants and some middle peasants reacted to the agrarian reform of the Central Rada "with distrust, and even hostility", because they believed that its implementation could end in "economic catastrophe" (CSAHAAU, f. 1793, d. 1, c. 41, pp. 4, 107). In some regions, where there were a large number of wealthy peasants, they strongly opposed the implementation of land transformations.

Uncertainty over land led to a significant reduction of sown areas in the spring of 1918. Grain growers did not know whether the land would remain in their use or would be redistributed within the community. The peasants sought certainty, and they showed a powerful instinct of the individual owner-landowner. Regional administrations reported to Kyiv that “uncertainty in land affairs is very harmful, although the peasantry has divided the land, does not know whether it will be their property or not...” and that many peasants came to the local authorities and said that the land should be given “at least less, but in property” (CSAHAAU, f. 1793, d. 1, c. 41, p. 93).

An interesting phenomenon was observed: evidence of the peasants’ desire to transfer land to private ownership was contained in the reports of local authorities, but in fact did not appear in the decisions of provincial and county peasant congresses, which should express and record the agrarian aspirations of the peasantry and legitimize them in public consciousness for further implementation.

In our view, this paradoxical phenomenon testifies to the struggle between the immanent for peasant nature’s desire for private property and the vision of social justice that was spread by SR propaganda. The ideal of social justice of the Russian community “to equalize all” was instilled on the Ukrainian soil. Not only smallholders and landless, but also the middle peasantry came under its influence, because in their understanding agrarian equality and the use of a few *dessiatyns* to ensure the biological existence of the family was a better socio-economic system than the existence of highly productive farms with large amounts of land. But, in this case, for the Ukrainian peasant, the question was not so much property (which he wanted) as justice. And the path to the second led through the abolition of the first, because the implementation of the requirement of justice led to the receipt of land, because its “surplus” from the owners had to be redistributed. And here it is necessary to state a typical peasant “trick”, which determined the paradox of their behaviour: to get ownership of land, farmers supported the abolition of private property of landlords.

Here we should emphasize another circumstance: the regional difference in land tenure. If everything is clear with the Left Bank and the South, because there, at the gatherings, the peasants passed sentences on the transfer of land to communal use, then the issue arises about the Right Bank: did really the peasants who had land in individual possession, agree to socialization and want their property to become a national good? Paradoxically, the fact is that the peasants of the Right Bank almost did not declare at congresses and gatherings that they want the land to be privately owned. Thus, in our opinion, the Ukrainian peasants in regions with predominant individual land ownership accepted socialization only as a transitional stage – the stage of land expropriation from landlords, and further hoped to obtain land and through the mechanism of hereditary land use actually make it their private property. Thus, during the implementation of agrarian reform, the peasants of the Right Bank did not expect the abolition of property, but primarily the change of ownership, the ideological justification of which, as noted, was to be the principle of personal labour. And the community peasants, defending the transfer of privately owned lands to the rural community, with a ban on their sale, hoped that the distributed plots would be in their use almost forever.

Ethnographers who studied in the 20s of the twentieth century the phenomenon of seizure of landlord land by peasants during the revolution of 1917 – 1921 from the point of view of customary law wrote: “The revolution gave the peasants the opportunity to return the land actually, but the revolutionary method of seizure was not considered completely legal by the peasants. Honest feeling, legal consciousness was not completely reassured; the fact of seizure

the peasants still felt, despite the decrees of the early days of the revolution on the right of all workers to land. Obviously, for a long time the traditions of the centuries that established the forms of land acquisition competed with the new norms, but the tradition, which gave certain habits, won, the element of crime felt in the seized lands through individuals and entire communities did not calm down until then until it is formalized by a resolution of the land department on the consolidation of land, giving it legal force” (Pratsi Komisiyi, 1928, pp. 307–308). That is, having seized the landlord’s lands, which the peasants already considered their own, they still sought to legalize this fact.

Dissatisfaction of the owners you used the Ukrainian Democratic-Agricultural Party and held on April 7, 1918 in Lubny the grain grower congress of six povits of Poltava region. This representative assembly (more than 2,000 delegates) recognized the agrarian policy of the UPR government as destructive for the economy and demanded the restoration of private ownership of land. The Grain Growers’ Forum proposed its principles of agrarian transformation: to leave a certain minimum of land to large farms, and to lease the rest to small farmers. Delegations with similar requirements came to Kyiv from different regions of Ukraine (Koval’ova, Kornovenko, Malynovs’kyy, Mykhaylyuk & Morozov, 2007, p. 87). But this part of the rural population was not heard by the Central Rada and the UPR government.

With the coming of Hetman P. Skoropadsky to power, private ownership of the land was restored, which was ordered to be returned to the landlords. All statements of higher authorities emphasized that the main task of agricultural policy is to protect and strengthen small land ownership, “to meet the land needs of smallholder and landless grain growers” (Pravytelstvenne povidomlennya, 1918, p. 2.). It was declared that peasants would be able to increase their households by purchasing land purchased by the state from large landowners after the law established a certain size of land tenure.

The Hetman’s government restored the rule of law and did not pay any attention to the fact that the psychology of the peasant masses had changed dramatically during the year of the revolution. The peasantry considered the previous agrarian division in their favour quite legitimate and just, and hoped for a favourable solution to the land issue. But the authorities actively pursued a policy of returning land and property to former landlords, which caused peasant riots and uprisings.

During the period of the Directory, which returned to the policy of land socialization, there is a clear tendency to change the agrarian approaches of the peasantry. The local authorities of the Ukrainian People’s Republic noted a “change in the mood of the peasantry, which turned from socialization to the perpetual possession of land”, and that the peasant “wants the land only in property” (CSAHAAU, f. 2192, d. 2, c. 6, p. 93). At its meetings and conventions, it increasingly expressed a desire to obtain land for possession and redemption to the state. Even if the peasants spoke out against private ownership of land, they still insisted that it should be in the individual hereditary use of members of a certain family (CSAHAAU, f. 1062, d. 1, c. 89, pp. 189, 213), i. e., it little different from private ownership. The peasants advocated such a land reform, under which land was to be given to each farm separately, and opposed the nationalization of land and collective management, which was promoted by the Bolsheviks and part of the SRs.

The peasants saw that during the whole period of agrarian transformations their status as land users was not determined. The land was given, then taken away. Then the pragmatic mind of the peasant began to incline to the purchase of land and the establishment of private ownership of it. The peasants claimed that they would be willing to pay the state for the land

(CSAHAAU, f. 1062, d. 1, c. 89, p. 213). This would give the peasant the confidence of the landowner and would lead to the restoration of productive forces in the countryside. But the socialists in the UPR government adhered to their doctrines, ignoring the mood of the peasantry and the political expediency of changing agrarian policy to a more adequate socio-economic situation in the countryside.

The Conclusions. Thus, the peasant agrarianist approaches and practices of solving the agrarian issue and the agrarian and revolutionary process in the countryside were influenced by the following important factors: 1. historically formed mental guidelines of the peasantry to solve the land issue (denial of ownership of non-working elements and the belief that “the land belongs to God”, and it must be owned by those who work on it”; the tendency of the peasantry to individual land ownership or land use); 2. dominance in the political space of socialist parties, which strongly spread their ideology (propaganda and agitation for the socialization of the land); 3. the dynamics of political change, the constant change of government, which saw the solution to the land issue in different ways and none of them was able to implement agrarian reform.

Since the socio-political model of the Ukrainian agrarianism was an alternative to the bourgeois capitalist and Bolshevik-communist models, the “third”, “separate” peasant way of society development, we can define such criteria of agrarianist essence of approaches and practices to solve the agrarian issue during the revolution of 1917 – 1921: if we take the Bolshevik-Communist model, it is a denial of the nationalization of land and collective management on it; if we take the bourgeois capitalist model, it is a denial of large private ownership of land.

In the grain grower mentality, the fundamental principle of owning or using land was personal work on it. The main peasant agrarian approaches and practices for solving the agrarian issue during the revolution of 1917 – 1921 were: 1. preservation of small peasant private ownership of land; 2. transfer of land for life inheritance (which in the understanding of the peasantry was close to the right of private property except the possibility of selling land). At the same time, a large part of the peasantry saw socialization as a certain transition period to private property, which had to go through the following stages: confiscation of land from landlords – its transfer to peasants for life – legitimization of peasant private ownership of this land.

During the revolutionary period of 1917 – 1921 there was a dynamic change in peasant agrarianist approaches and practices of solving the agrarian issue from the policy of socialization based on the renunciation of private land ownership, free requisition of land from owners and its transfer to peasants for use, to persuading the peasant community to get land in private property for redemption to the state.

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HOW DID THE SPANISH INFLUENZA IMPACT THE 1918 UNION OF TRANSYLVANIA WITH ROMANIA?

Abstract. *The National Assembly, scheduled for Alba Iulia on December 1, 1918, was meant to proclaim the Union of Transylvania, Banat, and Partium (parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire until 1918, but with a Romanian ethnic majority) with the Kingdom of Romania. Among the worst enemies for the organization of this Assembly was the Spanish Influenza.*

Towards the end of 1918, explanations about this pandemic were partly modern. Transylvanian newspapers made some efforts to depict the Spanish flu, emphasizing a scientific dimension, occasionally giving space for the medical discussions, although theories without scientific support were present as well. In some countries around the world, modern procedures were taken against the spread of the flu, such as wearing a mask or the interdiction to organize events with numerous participants, but in Transylvania, at the end of the war, it appeared that very few cared for real measures regarding the pandemic. The major imperatives of the period were hundred per cent towards the national emancipation. There was also a vacuum of authority which needed to be filled.

The deputies for the National Assembly were elected 4 – 7 days prior the event established to take place in Alba Iulia. A significant number of them got sick in this period, becoming unable to make the trip to Alba Iulia. Most of them sent telegrams to the Assembly organizers, specifying that they were victims of the Spanish flu and that they were forced to stay in bed. Some of those afflicted were replaced by substitutes already elected. Nevertheless, other Romanian leaders, although being very ill, made a considerable effort and managed to be present at the event. Carrying the flu germs (knowledge about viruses was extremely limited) and putting others in danger was not seen as a major problem.

Key words: *pandemic, flu, World War I, post-war, Transylvania, unification, National Assembly.*

ЯК ІСПАНСКИЙ ГРИП ВПЛИНУВ НА СОЮЗ ТРАНСИЛЬВАНІЇ І РУМУНІЇ 1918 РОКУ?

Анотація. *Національні збори, заплановані в Альба-Юлії на 1 грудня 1918 р., мали проголосити союз Трансильванії, Банату та Партіуму (частини Австро-Угорської імперії до 1918 р., але з румунською етнічною більшістю) з Королівством Румунія. Одним із найлютіших ворогів організації цієї Асамблеї був іспанський грип.*

Ближче до кінця 1918 р. пояснення цієї пандемії стали частково сучасними. Трансильванські газети докладали певних зусиль, щоб змалювати іспанський грип, підкреслюючи науковий вимір.

час від часу надаючи простір для медичних дискусій, хоча також були присутні теорії без наукових пояснень. У деяких країнах світу застосовувалися сучасні заходи проти поширення грипу, наприклад, носіння маски і заборона організовувати заходи з численними учасниками, але в Трансильванії наприкінці війни виявилось, що мало хто піклується про реальні кроки проти пандемії. Головні імперативи того періоду стовідсотково були спрямовані на національну емансипацію. Сформувався й вакуум влади, який потрібно було заповнити.

Депутатів Національних зборів обирали за 4–7 днів до заходу, призначеного для проведення в Альба-Юлії. Значна частина з них у цей період захворіли, не будучи в змозі поїхати до Альба-Юлії. Більшість надсилали телеграми організаторам Асамблеї, уточнюючи, що вони постраждали від іспанського грипу і змушені залишитися вдома. Деякі з цих депутатів були замінені вже обраними заступниками. Проте інші румунські лідери, хоча й були дуже хворі, доклали значних зусиль і змогли бути присутніми на заході. Перенесення мікробів грипу (знання про віруси були вкрай обмежені) і зараження на небезпеку інших не вважалися великими проблемами.

Ключові слова: пандемія, грип, Перша світова війна, повоєнна, Трансильванія, об'єднання, Національні збори.

The Problem Statement. The Union of Transylvania with Romania from December 1, 1918, a decision taken in Alba Iulia, a small town in the centre of Transylvania, is considered the most important event from the history of the Romanians. At the time, the National Assembly of Romanians from Transylvania, Banat and the Hungarian Parties (north-western territories of present-day Romania), as a constituent forum, voted for the unconditional union with the Kingdom of Romania.

This historical process is one of the most analysed in the Romanian historiography, through all its dimensions, but until a recent stage, the matter of Spanish Influenza – in progress in that period – and how this influenced the political course and the associated events, was never very focused or it was considered a minor issue for the structure of a much greater historical phenomenon. But, as always, the present defines the way we see the past: the present COVID-19 pandemic automatically determines a different positioning of any historian in relation with such issue, and reconsidering its importance becomes mandatory.

The Analyses of Sources and Recent Researches. Throughout decades there have been numerous studies dedicated to 1st of December 1918 act of Union and the process that conjugates this event. Yet none of them are really worth noting regarding how the Spanish Influenza evolved in Transylvania by the end of 1918, and, more important, if and how this pandemic influenced the course of events. However, there are studies about this pandemic on a larger scale, regarding its spread and evolution in Europe, or the world, and most of the time from a perspective – let's say – of the history of medicine (e.g.: Patterson 1986, Valleron *et alii* 2010, Humphries 2013, Spinney 2020). Transylvania and the Romanian territory in general are not covered. Most of the historical productions barely mentioned this issue, which was seen as an exotic fact, but worthy only for *en passant* references. Nonetheless this manner was determined by an apparent lack of sources. Probably due to the imperatives of 1918 with its significant political transformations, there was no coherent attention distributed towards the pandemic, which determined less information, media-productions, literature, or scientifically approaches as it should have been in normal conditions.

However, there are sources that can be analysed regarding the matter in question, even though not so many as one would expect; consequently, the present study tries to go back to primary sources and to retrieve and exploit this kind of information. Most of these sources are not very known for the Romanian historical research: several press articles from the end of 1918 that pay significant attention to the evolution of the pandemic mostly in Transylvania,

some specific or even peculiar situations related also by the newspapers, fragments from private diaries, and a set of documents (letters, telegrams) issued around the event of 1 December 1918 and in relation with it.

The only historical studies regarding exactly the same matter were published in a recent period by the same author of the present article (Roșu, 2020a, pp. 71–75; Roșu, 2020b, pp. 135–144).

The Purpose of the publication. This article focuses on the impact of the Spanish Influenza for the course of events of 1918 in Transylvania, a subject which was treated as a minor one in the Romanian historiography, but which seems to be very fresh and of great interest lately, due to the nowadays pandemic realities.

The Main Material Statement. Organizing the National Assembly in Alba Iulia was, however, not a simple feat, and the event had its own enemies: the mostly unconcealed opposition of the Hungarians, occasionally “spiced” with bullets, the intimidation coming from the German troops transiting the Transylvanian territory (during their retreat from Romania to Germany), or the pressure put by the Serbian forces on the Banat participants. But the fiercest enemy was the “Spaniard” one. The pandemic that was increasing every day towards the end of 1918 confined to their beds many of the Romanians who wanted to reach Alba Iulia (Roșu, 2020a, pp. 71–75).

The election or appointment of deputies for the National Assembly, which was to be the supreme forum of the Romanian nation in Transylvania on December 1, 1918, took place throughout the province, only a few days prior the event. In fact, scheduling the Assembly on December 1 was only decided on November 20. Unmistakeably, the members must have been elected from among those who wanted and were able to travel. However, 4 – 5 days following the election, some of these delegates were no longer in their full physical strength. Most of those absent from the December 1 Assembly blamed the terrible pandemic.

The “Spanish influenza” is believed to have caused between 40 and 100 million deaths during 1918 – 1919, at least double the total number of casualties caused by World War I, with the military and civilians combined. The figures circulated at the beginning of the 1920s reported around 20 million deaths, but revising the calculations in the following decades always increased the estimated values, reaching up to 100 million deaths. A sociologist and philosopher Max Weber, a painter Gustav Klimt, writer Guillaume Apollinaire, Prince Eric of Denmark, as well as Romanian Army General Eremia Grigorescu were among the famous personalities who succumbed to the Spanish flu. According to specialists, the pandemic was caused by a H1N1 virus, more dangerous, but not fundamentally different from viruses in its category. However, the war and post-war conditions aggravated its manifestation. The unusual feature of the Spanish flu was that it produced a higher mortality among young adults (age 20–40, with a higher incidence in men) than any other flu.

There had been two major influenza pandemics in the previous century: one between 1830 – 1831, which, despite causing very severe forms of the disease, was not as widespread as the subsequent influenza pandemics (Patterson 1986, pp. 32–36); respectively, a second one in 1889, the so-called “Russian” flu, the last great pandemic of the nineteenth century – spread throughout the planet in only four months and having had recurrences until 1895; produced about half a billion diseases and one million deaths (Valleron et al. 2010, pp. 8778–8781). One of the explanations for the increased mortality of the 1918 Spanish flu among young people around the age of 28 was that their generation did not experience the so-called “herd immunization” with the 1889 flu (having been born after).

It is estimated that at least 10% of those who fell ill in the 1918 – 1919 pandemic died. Despite being named “the Spanish flu”, the epidemic is unlikely to have started in Spain. It

is well known that Spain, a neutral country in World War I, was the only one that actually paid attention to the flu in its first phase. Information circulated that King Alfonso XIII and members of the government had fallen ill. The other countries involved in the war initially blocked the information related to the appearance and spread of the plague to prevent the demoralization of the troops. Therefore, the “blame” fell on the Spaniards.

However, more recent research places “patient zero” in China (Humphries, 2013, pp. 71–72), while others place him in France or the United States (Spinney, 2020, pp. 55–56, 185–199). In this last variant, the first case would have appeared in Kansas in March of 1918, and by May of 1918, the first wave of the pandemic had manifested itself. Incomparably stronger, however, was the second wave, which began in August, covering all of Europe until the end of September and affecting the population severely between October and December (Spinney, 2020, pp. 58–61).

The few explanations that circulated in Transylvania regarding the origin of the pandemic were in line with the level of medical knowledge of the time and the horrors of the war, which were related to the cause of the disease. Some analyses on the subject are purely bewildering to the eyes of modern readers, others, on the contrary, seem realistic and in accordance with the rules of contemporary medicine. It should be noted, however, that little was known about viruses in 1918; no tests existed, and antibiotics had yet to be invented. Physician training was not standardized. In 1917, the United States introduced for the first time worldwide the medical examination of soldiers to be sent to the front and hundreds of thousands of men deemed unfit for war were sent home, which was a total novelty. Although mankind had skyscrapers,

telephones, automobiles, and believed in the quantum theory, it was also a society that still believed strongly in witchcraft, and where owning a bathtub was a prerogative of the wealthy (Spinney, 2020, pp. 50–52).

As for the Transylvanian and the Banatian spaces, newspaper *Românul*, the journal of the Central Romanian National Council in Transylvania, offered an epic hypothesis: “*The Spanish pandemic – in the opinion of a German physiologist, is not caused by bacilli, but by toxic gases used on the war fields for years and years as means of combat, which furthermore expanded and saturated to some extent the entire layer of air that envelops the earth globe. Cases of the Spanish disease indeed look like mass poisonings. As daring and adventurous as the physiologist’s theory may seem, it cannot be called absurd, if we consider how many millions of m3 of rarefied gases, all slightly heavier than air, have been spread by winds throughout the atmosphere. Thus, it is likely that even in their very poor condition today they are poisonous. [...] The gas theory, if it proves to be true, will shed new light on the barbarities associated with the war*” (*Epidemia*, 1918, p. 4).



**Book cover of the 1919 volume
by U.S. professor Wade Oliver.
Printed in Melbourne**

Newspaper *Libertatea* reported in a similar register: “According to some German scholars, the Spanish disease is caused by the poisoning of the air, by gas bombs that exploded during the war” (*Libertatea*, 1918, no. 5, p. 4).

In November of 1918, Newspaper *Glasul Ardealului* also blamed the disease on the effects of the war, but in a much more scientific way, appealing to the words of doctor Mircea Mocanu [medical staff of the Military Command from Braşov]: “*The Spanish influenza came like a sudden thunder bolt [...] – it spread like a flood over the entire Europe and made as many victims as all the infectious diseases together: abdominal and exanthematous typhus, smallpox (chicken pox) and cholera, dysentery and malaria, scarlet fever and measles throughout the whole war did not cost so many victims. The influenza began her European tour in the spring of 1918, and visited not only the capitals but also the provincial towns and villages, and attracted about 30% of the population to her gloomy performances – which in many cases were real family and social tragedies.*” Regarding the etiology of the disease, the Braşov newspaper found antecedents in the epidemics of 1837 (actually, 1830) and 1889 – 1890, and the spreading of the disease was considered to have started from around Moscow-St. Petersburg; the disease was attributed to “Pfeiffer’s¹ coco-bacillus”, transmitted “*only by contact or through objects.*” The rapid spread was rightly attributed to the modern means of transportation: “*it widens as fast as trains run. The claim that the flu would spread through the air at a distance did not come true and in general this type of infection belongs only to the history of medicine.*” Closer to the explanations currently accepted by medicine, Dr. Mircea Mocanu showed that “the bacilli that reach the nose or mouth through the infected hand - stay here longer – multiply and soon enter the deeper airways, trachea, bronchi, lungs. From here, the most effective means of defence against the influenza is already required, namely the frequent washing of the hands, nose and mouth”; The doctor also talks about rinsing one’s mouth with “warm water in hypermangan red”, the need to isolate the infected, the risk of recurrence of the disease; he insists on prophylactic measures, and emphasizes that smoking and alcohol do not stop the disease, as many believe. Symptomatology, diagnosis and therapy are considered specialized issues, less relevant to the general public, and Mocanu reminds only a few details, for example that if the temperature does not drop after 5 days, there are certainly pulmonary complications and one must call a doctor (Mocanu, 1918, pp. 2–3).

Other articles, including reports from newspaper *Glasul Ardealului*, mixed information that is still scientifically supported today with elements rejected by modern medicine: for example, there was talk of isolating the patient, distancing crowds, avoiding kissing objects, etc., but it was considered good for the patient to drink hot wine, at least in the first phase of the disease’s evolution (Sbarcea, 1918, p. 3). It should be noted that the notion of isolation also existed in Transylvania, but no one seemed to believe that it could really be put into practice: “[...] *we could escape more easily if people knew what isolation meant (to separate the ill from the healthy ones) and if they adhered closely to the requirements of isolation. The good proof of isolation is that during the plague or cholera, lonely and secluded monasteries remained untouched*” (*Libertatea*, 1918, no. 6, p. 3).

October of 1918, known as the “month of horror” (Pop 1978, p. 30), represented the climax of the pandemic worldwide. In Budapest, who back then was capital of Transylvania, a third of the population had fallen ill, and 50–100 people died every day. But the months

¹ Named, in fact, Richard Pfeiffer, he was a student of physician and bacteriologist Robert Koch. In 1892, Pfeiffer identified the flu bacteria. In 1918, however, the issue for doctors was that Pfeiffer's bacillus, despite being commonly found in a person's throat, does not always cause the flu. The virus that causes the disease is 20 times smaller than a bacterium, too small to be seen under an optical microscope (Spinney, 2020, pp. 86–87).

of November – December of 1918 and the first months of 1919 also produced disastrous numbers. The newspaper *Alba Iulia* noted, on Christmas Eve of 1918: “The Spanish disease continues to haunt villages and towns. In Pest, in one day, 413 became ill and 54 died” (*Alba Iulia* 1918, p. 4).

The disease also manifested itself strongly in the Romanian area. Despite not having satisfactory statistics, there are numerous case reports, especially among those who passed away from the disease. For example, in Prejmer, near Brașov, in one day (November 9/22), three sisters died, leaving 14 children orphaned (*Jertfele*, 1918, p. 4). A lawyer Emil Dan, a legal adviser at Banca Albina in Brașov, aged 42, also died of the Spanish flu (*Revista economic*, 1918, p. 446). Likewise, the priest from Sacoșul Unguresc [near Caransebeș] (*Church and School*, 1918, p. 4). A medical student Victor Lupu Hossu, aged 29, became a “sacrifice of the disease” (1918, no. 13, p. 4). Other situations of death seemed somewhat paradoxical in the eyes of the 1918 public opinion: a second lieutenant named Traian Gliga, after four years of war in which he had always been in the fire of battle, decorated several times, present on the fronts in Galicia, Serbia, Montenegro, Bukovyna, Bessarabia, Italy, and France, was killed by the Spanish disease on October 12/25, in the final days of the war (*Glasul Ardealului*, 1918, p. 4).

However, the general idea, around December 1, was that “*the Spanish disease is haunting the entire country, reaping people more atrociously than did the battle [war] reap. Fathers, mothers and children are dying in many places. Entire families are dying out*” (*Libertatea*, 1918, no. 6, p. 3).

Faced with the Spanish flu, Romanian doctors were “lacking in experience, prophylaxis and medicines”, noted Transylvanian politician and medical doctor, Alexandru Vaida Voevod (Vaida Voevod, 1994, p. 226). “*The symptoms were not always the same. But it was a disaster. A safe man today, was a dead man tomorrow or the day after. Fever was the more common symptom. Young, pregnant women fell – almost without exception – sacrificed to the disease. [...] In our villages, on the same day, there were several funerals. [...] The only medicine I had was aspirin. Certain pains decreased, but I could not find power to heal*”, added Vaida, the one who escaped untouched by the flu, despite having contact with many patients (Vaida Voevod, 1994, p. 226).

Beyond the mountains, Queen Maria of Romania did not have the same fortune on her side; hers was perhaps the most famous case of the Spanish flu in Romania. The queen was severely affected by the disease, reaching climax a week after December 1. Queen Maria left in her diary an eloquent description of how the disease manifested: “*I was ill, very ill, struck by surprise and unexpectedly, backhandedly, as one would say, and I was confined to bed – precisely when the world desired to rejoice alongside me. The disease knocked me by Saturday: I woke up with a heavy and painful head, I could hardly endure a few audiences and I even took an automobile to the palace [...] But I felt exhausted [...] Yet, I was sick – a horrible, painful illness I had never had in my life. For days and days, a tormenting fever and nausea, weakness, severe hallucinations and uninterrupted insomnia, until I thought I was going crazy. So, this is the famous Spanish flu – well, now I know it is not to be trifled. And, alas, my poor head, how much it suffered and what a terrible torment all was, every sound, every smell, every taste, every colour, even the shape and name of things made me nauseous and horrified. I was a changed, miserable, weak being and brought to the brink of despair by so much headache and the terrible estate of illness that left me weak*” (Maria, 2015, pp. 435–436).



**Commercial in newspaper *Libertatea*, around November/December 1918 –
“The Anti-Spanish dust disinfects, therefore it is the best shield against the Spanish
disease. Let each man be provided with this dust. Price 4 crowns”**

Therefore, “with the Spanish disease everywhere” (*Libertatea*, 1918, no. 4, p. 1), the organization of the National Assembly suffered as well. Soldiers from the National Guards, who had undertaken the security of the area, also suffered from the flu, especially since they were often insufficiently equipped for the cold weather and had to patrol permanently in the localities and outside them. However, the encouraging voice of the commanders had strong effects, and the thought that those days were decisive for the fate of the nation made them move on (Hulea, 1978, p. 448). As already mentioned, several delegates were absent from Alba Iulia, most likely falling ill in the time lapse since their nomination as representatives of the Romanian nation [most elections were held on November 25–27] and the scheduled date for the trip to Alba Iulia [mostly, on November 29–30].

Prophylactic measures must be contextualized, of course, within the mentality of the time, in accordance to the imperatives of those last days of November of 1918. Compared to the western countries, where modern methods of prophylaxis were tried, from protective masks to the isolation of those affected, the gap is visible. In Transylvania, according to some testimonies of the December 1 event, people wore garlic beads around their necks, hoping to prevent the flu. The idea of isolation, of not traveling while being sick, did not exist. The example of the octogenarian Gheorghe Pop de Băsești, who travelled to Alba Iulia in an advanced state of the disease, was perceived as proof of heroism. He arrived in the city of the Union on November 30, “but the fatigue of the road knocked him to bed. Despite all the fever that laboured him, he got up, came to preside over the National Assembly and to bless its happy purpose” (Dragomir, 1984, p. 278). Ștefan Cicio Pop, the leader of the Romanian National Council, was also far from the fullness of his physical strength, because the doctors had forbidden him to leave the bed and considered him seriously ill, but, he remembered proudly, “the disease could not stop me” (Cicio Pop, 1984, p. 557). Ștefan Cicio Pop had been ill since early November, bringing the flu from Budapest (Cicio Pop Birtolon, 1978, pp. 237–238).

Naturally, nowadays such examples would be deemed negative due to their facilitating of the spread of influenza, but in 1918 the paradigm was completely different. Alba Iulia’s voice was louder. Therefore, absents were those so ill that could not even travel physically. In many cases, the desire to take part in the National Assembly lost to the physical disability caused by the disease. “The Spanish flu, which only six weeks ago took my wife, also took over me,

knocking me to bed. Fever-stricken for the last four days, I search in vain for the cure that would set me up, so that I too can go to Alba Iulia to pay for my duty as an honest Romanian and as a delegate of my national church” (*Documentele Unirii*, IV, p. 11 – Letter of Archpriest Adrian Deșeanul), confessed a delegate, while looking for resources to be able to travel.

It is very possible that a certain segment of deputies was absent from Alba Iulia without notifying the organizing committee by telegram, and it is also possible that certain telegrams or other documents announcing the absence of some deputies, to be lost. Also, some of those who announced their absence did not even appear in the credentials, a sign that they were replaced in the meantime, either by alternates or by other people, and, consequently, the credentials changed.

However, it is impossible to establish the number of those absent due to illness only based on the existing documents. The documents that have been preserved, quite many, in fact, usually contain the following information: they announce the regret of not being able to participate; motivate absence through the effects of the disease, often mention that it is due to the flu; emphasize, in almost every case, that they agree with the decisions to be taken, or, explicitly, speak about the union with Romania, breaking apart from the Hungarians, etc.

We furthermore quote from these documents:

– “for sanitary reasons I cannot participate physically in the most brilliant historical act of the Romanian people”, it was shown in the letter of the archpriest Ioachim Muntean from Agnita (*Documentele Unirii*, VI, p. 114);

– Archpriest Iovian Andreiu from Gârbou (Sălaj): “I regret that due to illness I cannot participate in the great celebration” (*Documentele Unirii*, VI, p. 102–103);

– “retained by disease from participating”, announces archpriest Dobre (*Documentele Unirii*, IV, p. 676);

– “completely bedridden, I regret my absence” (*Documentele Unirii*, IV, p. 226)

– “being diseased”

– “hindered because of the disease that reigns in my family...” (*Documentele Unirii*, I, p. 97)

– “Following the Spanish illness for more than three weeks and its subsequent consequences, with deep regret...” (*Documentele Unirii*, I, p. 51)

– “I lie in Spanish disease with burning in my lungs [...] but I am with you dear Romanian brothers and with all the fire and warmth of my soul [...] I adhere to the decision of the Constituent Assembly”, announced Ioan Sociu from Sibiu (*Documentele Unirii*, VI, p. 54);

– “We regret that because of the disease that afflicts us we cannot take part personally in the great Romanian national assembly, but we are with you in soul”, transmitted priest Nemeș and teacher Chintoanu from Satu Nou of Bârsa (*Documentele Unirii*, IV, pp. 146–147);

– “I am very sorry, that due to being sick, I cannot take part personally... But I assure you that I am with soul in the middle of my brothers... My whole being is mastered by the ideal...”, announced Vasile Stan from Sibiu (*Documentele Unirii*, IV, pp. 28–29);

– In similar manner, several others announced the disease: president of the Sibiu Craftsmen’s Meeting, Victor Tordășianu, archpriest Tâmaș from Popești (Bihor), Coriolan Papp from Oradea, Petruțiu from Chișinău-Criș (“sick, confined to bed”), lawyer Grozda from Buteni, Arad (“ill [with the Spanish flu], I deplore that I cannot be present”), Romul Câdea from Cisnadie (“due to a long illness”).

Overall, the Spanish flu was an impediment to the organization of the National Assembly in Alba Iulia, but not a fundamental one. Practically, no obstacle could tame the national momentum, which was at its peak. The meeting took place and the enthusiasm of the day was immense. The medical doctors, “about 20 in number” (*Românul*, 1918, no. 22, p. 4), grouped in the sanitary service of the Assembly, also contributed to the success of the organization. At Câmpul lui Horea, where over 120,000 people gathered, there were at least three health

and first aid points. In order to be visible from a distance, at each such point two flags were hoisted: one tricolour and one white with a red cross. Each point was led by at least one doctor, aided by two health officers. Furthermore, each point was equipped with a stretcher, tools and medicines of first necessity, but also with means of locomotion (Marin, 1993, p. 58; Marin, 1989, pp. 586–587). However, the sources do not mention to what extent the health and first aid points were faced with cases of influenza.

Across the world, crowded celebrations of the end of the war increased the number of diseases, during the second wave of the pandemic (Spinney, 2020, p. 63). The same effect must have occurred after the National Assembly in Alba Iulia. But by the end of the year of 1918, most parts of the world had been free of the flu. In some parts of the world, which were previously quarantined, restrictions had been lifted. It is, perhaps, what favoured the outbreak of the third wave of the pandemic, in 1919, with a degree of virulence that surpassed the first two. Europe reached its peak in the first months of 1919, when the works of the Peace Conference had already begun in Paris. However, the evolution of the Spanish flu was more closely related to the change of seasons than the 2020 pandemic: in May of 1919, the pandemic had already ended in the northern hemisphere, and would linger for a few more months in the southern hemisphere with a few more outbreaks in smaller areas in 1920 (Spinney, 2020, pp. 64–65).

The Conclusions. The Spanish flu represented a hindrance for the organization of the National Assembly in Alba Iulia, yet it was not seen as an important one. Organizers had not proceeded accordingly to the amplitude of this threat. Even though there was a significant number of sicken representatives, who were elected to be part of the National Assembly, the meeting took place and the enthusiasm of the day was greater than ever.

Regarding the knowledge related to the pandemic, this was of very poor quality and impregnated with non-scientific ideas or believes. Few doctors tried to spread scientifically proven information (but considering the medicine coordinates of 1918) throughout the press, but the impact was not considerable.

The present article may be considered as an outset for an extensive research, although, at this instance, it seems there are not so many potential sources left for this matter.

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REACTION OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL FORCES OF ZAPORIZHZHIA TO THE BEGINNING OF THE HETMANATE ERA (APRIL – MAY OF 1918)

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to elucidate the reaction of social and political forces of Zaporizhzhia region to the events of the proclamation of Pavlo Skoropadsky Hetmanate in April – May of 1918. The Methodology of the Research.* The research is based on history, objectivity, multifactority, political pluralism principals, as well as on a complex of general scientific and special, and historical methods, among which, first of all – analysis, synthesis, historical and genetic, and historical and comparative methods. **The Scientific Novelty.** For the first time, the spectrum of social and political forces reactions of Zaporizhzhia region to the establishment of the Hetman P. Skoropadsky regime in Ukraine has been characterized. The course of events that accompanied these reactions has been reconstructed, their character, expressions, social carriers and peculiarities of social ideas in the reception of the Hetmanate in Zaporizhzhia region have been determined. New archival materials from the fund of Oleksandrivsk City Duma and Council and a unique source – a non-partisan democratic newspaper of the Ukrainian organizations “The Sich” (Oleksandrivsk, 1918) have been introduced into scientific circulation. **The Conclusions.** It is claimed that the content of the revolutionary events in Zaporizhzhia in April – May of 1918 had a distinct national and democratic character and was aligned with the reaction to the public’s reception of the Hetmanate in other regions of Ukraine.

The Left socialist and liberal forces criticized the establishment of the monarchical regime, recognizing it as a return to tsarist times. At the same time, their reaction was manifested in the forms of democratic content: meetings, adopted resolutions, convocation of congresses, outlining prospects for further activities. A motivational factor for the development of more dynamic actions was the conservative traditional thinking, which was expressed by the peasantry, engaged in farming and dissatisfied with the Bolshevik experiments of destruction of private property in the region in January – March of 1918. The factors of ethnic diversity and russification of the region also provided regional specificity of the society's reaction to the establishment of the new government.

Key words: the Hetmanate, Central Rada, coup d'Etat, conservatism, revolution, tradition.

РЕАКЦІЯ ГРОМАДСЬКО-ПОЛІТИЧНИХ СИЛ ЗАПОРІЗЖЯ НА ПОЧАТОК ДОБИ ГЕТЬМАНАТУ (квітень–травень 1918 р.)

***Анотація.** Мета роботи – показати реакцію громадсько-політичних сил Запорізького краю на події проголошення гетьманату Павла Скоропадського у квітні–травні 1918 р. **Методологія** дослідження ґрунтується на принципах історизму, об'єктивності, багатofакторності, політичного плюралізму й комплексі загальнонаукових та спеціально-історичних методів, серед яких передусім – аналіз, синтез, історико-генетичний та історико-порівняльний методи. **Наукова новизна.** Вперше розгорнуто охарактеризовано спектр реакцій громадсько-політичних сил Запорізького краю на встановлення влади гетьмана П. Скоропадського в Україні. Реконструйовано хід подій, що супроводжували ці реакції, визначено їхній характер, виразників, соціальних носіїв та особливості суспільних ідей у сприйнятті гетьманату на цій території. Введено до наукового обігу нові архівні матеріали з фонду Олександрівської міської думи та управи і унікальне джерело – позапартійну демократичну газету українських організацій “Січ” (Олександрівськ, 1918). **Висновки.** Стверджується, що зміст революційних подій на Запоріжжі у квітні–травні 1918 р. мав виразний національно-демократичний характер і відповідав реакції на сприйняття гетьманату громадськістю в інших регіонах України. Ліві сили соціалістичного та ліберального спрямування виступили з опозиційною критикою встановлення монархічного режиму, вбачаючи у ньому повернення до царських часів. Їхня реакція проявилася у демократичних формах: зібраннях, винесенні резолюцій, скликанні з'їздів, накресленні перспектив подальшої діяльності. Стримувальним фактором для розгортання більш активних дій була консервативна традиційність мислення, виразником якої виступало селянство, перейняте хліборобськими справами та невдоволене більшовицькими експериментами руйнації приватної власності на території краю у січні–березні 1918 р. Регіональної специфіки реакції суспільства на утвердження нової влади надавали також чинники етнічного багатоманіття та зрусифікованості регіону.*

***Ключові слова:** Гетьманат, Центральна Рада, державний переворот, консерватизм, революція, традиція.*

The Problem Statement. In publications little has been written about Zaporizhzhia context of the beginning of Pavlo Skoropadsky Hetmanate. In particular, about the first steps after the Hetmanate proclamation in April – May of 1918. This context is certainly worth being considered in details. After all, this is one of the pages of the decisive events of the newest history of Ukraine during the period of modern Ukrainian nation formation. Filling in the gaps of the decisive events will add new facts about the nature of the Ukrainian revolution of 1917 – 1921, the centenary of which we celebrate these years, it will supplement the description of the revolutionary processes peculiarities in the South of Ukraine, it will be the key to understanding of many vicissitudes of a modern socio-political life.

In historiography the reasons for lack of interest to this issue, as well as to many other issues of the struggle for the Ukrainian statehood, are traditional. First of all, these are the consequences of the long-lasting Soviet paradigm of the “Russian world”, which imposed the stereotype of “a minor significance” of events in the Ukrainian “periphery”. This is a post-genocidal lack of

awareness among generations of historians of their responsibility for the future of the Ukrainian statehood, for the democratic development of the country, for the development of a civil society.

The fact of this lack of awareness is indirectly confirmed by a sufficient source base for studying the issue. Historical and regional, historical and local lore aspects of this broad issue are inexhaustible. In our opinion, owing to these aspects we should look for answers to these fundamental contradictions.

The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications. There is a substantial historiography about P. Skoropadsky's Hetmanate. In this historiography there should be singled out the works of H. V. Papakin (Papakin, 2003), R. Ya. Pyrih (Pyrih, 2016), O. P. Reient (Reient, 2003), V. F. Soldatenko (Soldatenko, 2009), Yu. I. Tereshchenko (Tereshchenko, 2008), which are of a conceptual and, at the same time, controversial nature. For example, H. V. Papakin claims that "the proclamation of the Ukrainian State on April 29, 1918 did not cause a widespread resistance in the society, except for rallies and anarchist measures provoked by the Ukrainian Socialist Revolutionaries" (Papakin, 2003, pp. 46–47). Instead, V. F. Soldatenko, on the contrary, claims that "in 1918, the Ukrainian society split into two unequal camps, the largest of which strongly disapproved of the recipes proposed by P. Skoropadsky for the "recovery" of the nation" (Soldatenko, 2009, p. 145).

The issue raised by us was analyzed by historians superficially during the first years of the state independence of Ukraine in scientific works on the struggle for the Ukrainian statehood in southern Ukraine (Turchenko, & Gerashchenko, 1995, pp. 96–97), about the fate of the free Cossacks in Zaporizhzhia (Ihnatusha, & Tedeiev, 1995, pp. 27–42). Researches were intensified during the year of the 80th anniversary of the proclamation of the Ukrainian State (Liakhotskyi, 1998). At the beginning of the 2000s, the era of the Hetmanate in Zaporizhzhia was first described in an innovative textbook on the history of the native land (Ihnatusha, Tkachenko, & Turchenko, 2001, pp. 41–54). Later on, some events were covered by H. F. Turchenko in the publications about the socio-political struggle during the period of the Hetmanate in southern Ukraine (Turchenko, 2007). The activity of the free Cossacks in Zaporizhzhia was continued to be analyzed in the publications of V. H. Bondarenko (Bondarenko, 2010). Yu. I. Shchur made progress in raising the issue (Shchur, 2016, pp. 33–42). The historian elucidated the course of the armed struggle, outlined in memoirs, for the Ukrainian statehood and national, cultural formation in Zaporizhzhia (Shchur, 2018). Yu. I. Shchur also edited and republished some of the memoirs of the participants in the events of 1918 in Zaporizhzhia, which had been published in the diaspora (Shchur, 2019).

However, in the scientific publications there has not been analyzed the range of reactions of Zaporizhzhia public concerning the approval of the Hetmanate.

The purpose of the article is to elucidate the reaction of socio-political forces of Zaporizhzhia region to the events of the proclamation of Hetman P. Skoropadsky's power in Ukraine. We'll find out how their reaction was manifested and on what basis. We'll reconstruct the course of events, determine their nature and socio-political expressions of public views.

We'll use a range of sources almost not used by researchers – archival documents of local governments of Oleksandrivsk and neighbouring territories – from the funds of the State Archives of Zaporizhzhia region; local (provincial and county) periodicals, in particular – a unique source: a non-partisan democratic newspaper of the Ukrainian organizations "The Sich" (Oleksandrivsk, 1918).

The Main Material Statement. The end of the era of the Central Rada and coming to power of the Hetman P. Skoropadsky were treated by Oleksandrivsk public, at first glance,

not as acutely as the events, which took place in Kyiv. There were no arrests, blockades and disarmament of military units. But there was also a high tension and political struggle.

Oleksandrivsk continued to be filled with the achievements of the democratic national revolution led by the Central Rada. In April of 1918, after a six-month political crisis resulting from the Russian-Bolshevik intervention, Oleksandrivsk City Duma, elected on the basis of a democratic law of 1917, resumed its work. Its composition by the nationality of deputies turned out to be mainly Ukrainian. For Oleksandrivsk, this was a typical phenomenon, unlike many other cities in southern Ukraine. According to O. V. Cheremisin, a significant proportion of members of the municipality – 42% were the Russians, the Jews, the Germans (Cheremisin, 2017, p. 184). In the Duma the largest in number was the socialist bloc of the Russian Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, who were supported by 60% of voters. The second and third places were shared by the Jewish and Ukrainian socialist blocs (Ihnatusha, Tkachenko, & Turchenko, 2001, p. 24). Therefore, such composition of Oleksandrivsk city government could not show a clear commitment to the Hetmanate as a national form of the Ukrainian statehood.

The Russification of the urban environment, the pro-Russian majority in local governments, educational and cultural institutions created too shaky basis for estimation of the benefits of the Ukrainian national, state-formation policy. The fragmentation of the political circle, the number of parties and organizations, their weak structure, made the spectrum of a public opinion unstable.

In May, at the penultimate session of Oleksandrivsk Duma, deputies honored the memory of the figure of the Russian socialist movement H. V. Plekhanov. S. I. Hurovych, Chairman of the Duma, called him “the leader of the working class and all democracy” (State Archives of Zaporizhzhia Region – SAZR, f. 24, d. 7, c. 103, p. 66). This point of view was supported by M. F. Mukhin, the Menshevik, who described the modern political moment as “when the achievements of people’s democracy of deep people’s movement perish” (SAZR, f. 24, d. 7, c. 103, p. 66).

Even after the proclamation of Ukraine’s independence by the Central Council, the socialist bloc of Oleksandrivsk City Duma considered it to be its political duty to declare that “the task of democracy in Ukraine, as well as in other parts of the former Russian state, is, as well as before, the creation of a unitary Federal Russian Republic, with the convening of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly” (SAZR, f. 24, d. 7, c. 98, p. 39).

The Jewish faction of Oleksandrivsk Duma took a more distinct pro-Ukrainian position. In April of 1918, it was declared: “To live and to give the others the opportunity to live is the motto of healthy nationalism, let it be the motto of the Ukrainian state. In the full confidence that free Ukraine will be the motherland of all the peoples who inhabit it, the Jewish democracy will dedicate its best forces and devote all its energy to creating its happiness and prosperity. “Long live Free Ukraine. May all the peoples who inhabit it live and develop freely” (SAZR, f. 24, d. 7, c. 98, pp. 2, 38).

On the eve of the Hetman coup, on April 25, 1918, the socialist bloc and the Jewish democratic faction of Oleksandrivsk City Duma issued declarations in support of the Ukrainian Central Rada and democratic freedoms (SAZR, f. 24, d. 7, c. 98, pp. 37–41; Tkachenko, 1999, pp. 25–29). They emphasized the reform of the city government actively, it was demanded convening of a congress of city and zemstvo governments by May of 12, in Kyiv.

National democratic sentiments were expressed by the majority of the county’s population – the peasantry. At the congress of the county peasant union, which took place on April 28 – 29 in Oleksandrivsk, 94 representatives from 32 volosts of the region, congratulated the Central Rada and its government – the Council of People’s Ministers – on the declaration of

Ukraine as an independent state (Z zhyttia povitu, 1918). The public also discussed the terms of the treaty signed by the Ukrainian People's Republic (UNR) with the Alliance of the four countries – Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey (Myrnyi dohovir, 1918). The treaty promised the Ukrainian land a long-awaited peace.

In April of 1918, in Oleksandrivsk there continued to operate public institutions established during the period of the Central Rada. Peace was guarded by the Ukrainian army – the Legion of the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen (USS), who came there in mid-April with the Allies, liberating the region from the Bolsheviks. The military group of the Austrian army, which included the USS Legion, was headed by Wilhelm von Habsburg – Archduke of the Habsburg dynasty (a grandson of the Austrian Emperor Franz-Joseph and a nephew of Karl I – the last Emperor of Austria-Hungary), known as Vasyl Vyshyvany – a colonel, diplomat, poet. His figure – a Ukrainian patriot, a defender and sympathizer of the Ukrainian peasantry, – later became the personification of the candidate for President of the Ukrainian State, for the part of the Ukrainian society dissatisfied with the figure of P. Skoropadsky, who was more oriented towards the Russian forces. However, the attempts of the Ukrainian military (a colonel V. Petriv, a lieutenant colonel P. Bolbochan) and the left-wing political forces to implement such a political project of handing over the Hetman's mace to Wilhelm von Habsburg were not continued (Tereshchenko, & Ostashko, 1998, pp. 189–195; Snaider, 2011, pp. 102–109).

In the spring of 1918, in Zaporizhzhia region there was a deepening political crisis, a significant factor in which was the uncertainty of national and political priorities.

The polyethnicity of the South, which was clearly manifested in the urban environment with its significant Russian, Jewish, Polish, and German minorities, had a significant impact on the course of events. There manifested itself quickly the factor of dissatisfaction with the presence of German-Austrian troops on the territory of the region and their position as owners. Although in April – May of 1918 these factors had not yet resulted in mass protest movements.

Despite the fact that diametrically opposed political vectors were observed in the landmarks of local elites (in some – Western, in others – Eastern), the general content of their aspirations remained anti-Bolshevik.

The acuteness of the political moment was significantly smoothed by the agricultural tradition of Zaporizhzhia, which felt the fresh breath of spring, its worries and anxieties. "... There began trees to be covered with a delicate leaf. Everything got rejoiced. The peasants rejoiced, rejoiced that this year there will be harvest in the gardens, but useless joy, the work in vain. In May three frosty nights destroyed the lush flowers of cherries, apples, plums, apricots ... Strong winds blew again and blew away everything", – Danylo Liakh, an agronomist from the village of Ivanivka, wrote in the county newspaper "The Sich" (by the way, Danylo Liakh is a grandfather of a famous Zaporizhzhian historian, Professor S. R. Liakh) (Liakh, 1918). The Christian tradition also had a significant influence on the sentiments of April of 1918. The majority of the population of the county and the city were Orthodox, who lived in anticipation of a religious holiday – the Resurrection of the Christ. That year it was celebrated on May 5.

News from Kyiv about the establishment of the Hetmanate began to be known in Zaporizhzhia region during Holy Week, before Easter. The imposition of political news on Christian traditionalism created a considerable deterrent effect. Awareness of the tragedy of Holy Week shifted a public opinion from the fleeting political issue to the comprehension of the eternal. Such sentiments were felt by the Ukrainian military who were in Zaporizhzhia. Ostap Lutsky, adjutant of Wilhelm von Habsburg, wrote about the sorrow caused by the news "about the forced transition of supreme power in Kyiv to the hands of the Hetman",

which was combined with the joy of the first Easter holidays in free Ukraine. He conveyed these sentiments in the lines of O. Oles's poetry as follows: "sorrow embraced with joy" (Shchur, 2019, p. 30).

Official reports did not come immediately. The illegitimacy of the Hetman's power, which was established without democratic procedures, led to the information delay about the removal of the Central Council from public administration.

The meeting of the Ukrainian political parties and public organizations representatives of the city was held at 8 am, on May 4 in the People's House of Oleksandrivsk. At the meeting there were discussed the events in Kyiv: the search in the premise of the Central Rada, the arrest of several ministers of the Ukrainian People's Republic by the German troops, and the proclamation of P. Skoropadsky as the Hetman of Ukraine.

The reaction to these events turned out to be extremely negative. The rejection concerned both the very fact of the destruction of legitimate power and the monarchical person. This fact of rejection is indicated by the ironic expressions used in quotation marks: "clairvoyant" and "coronation". The events painfully reminded the meeting participants of the reactionary laws of 1906 after the revolutionary events of 1905 "with all the hallmarks of an autocratic system", which returned the working people "to the previous yoke of big landowners and industrialists" (Khronika, 1918). We cannot but mention the analogy of 2014 with the reactionary "Laws of January of 16", which caused a wave of a nationwide opposition to the regime of Viktor Yanukovich ...

The following week, Oleksandrivsk City Duma and the council held a joint meeting on the latest political events with the Council of Workers' Deputies, the Peasants' Union, and all political parties. The resolution adopted on it became an ideological platform for public bodies and associations.

On May 8, 1918, the population of Katerynoslav region learned about the appointment of provincial and county commandants officially, whose competence included the struggle against anarchy, the collection and protection of military property, and the management of administrative and military affairs.

The Committee of the Ukrainian Organizations, whose interests were expressed by the first Ukrainian-language democratic newspaper, "The Sich" (which had just begun to be published in Oleksandrivsk on May 1, 1918), responded to the events with the article dated on May 9. It began with an unfinished phrase: "And again Skoropadsky ...". The text of the article conveyed concern, pessimism and anxiety for the future of the country. Representatives of the democratic wing of the Ukrainian socio-political movement characterized the content of political competition in Ukraine and its drama clearly: "And again Ukraine is facing the abyss, again it is experiencing a huge crisis. Two powerful social forces encountered. On the one hand, democracy and the masses of people are moving in the direction of radical, decisive reforms, especially in the land issue, which no one had yet implemented. On the other hand, big and medium-sized land ownership that does not want to leave the position of its old privileged position" (I znov Skoropadskyi, 1918). It was written in the newspaper: "The wisdom of the state is to find a middle ground between the struggling classes". It is significant that to solve the issue, there were appeals to the national historical experience of the Ukrainian revolution of the mid-seventeenth century – "History of Khmelnytsky Uprising".

On May 10, the provincial commandant, Colonel Voloshynov, informed the county centers of the change of government. The commandant's telegrammes and letters forbade any rallies and demonstrations, gatherings in private houses, or going out-of-doors after 9 p.m. On

the same day – May 10, 1918 – martial law was imposed on the territory of Katerynoslav province. Acting assistant of provincial headman, a colonel Osypenko, was authorized to apply imprisonment to violators for up to three months or a fine of up to 3 000 rubles by the Provincial Commandant (SAZR, f. 24, d. 7, c. 97, p. 33). This was an undisguised restriction of civil rights.

On May 10, Oleksandrivsk County Zemstvo convened a meeting. The topic of discussion unchanged. Representatives of township councils hurried to Oleksandrivsk to show the attitude of their voters towards the events in the capital. It was necessary to form a common position of the zemstvo self-government. The meeting was opened by K. B. Mikhno, a chairman of the county zemstvo administration, who, outlining the perspective, stated unequivocally: “This fact pushed us far away from the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly again” (Narada zemskykh predstavnykiv volosnykh uprav, 1918). It should be noted that there was a previous decision of the Central Council and the government to convene the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly on May 12, 1918. The Hetmanate became an obstacle to this convocation.

The discussion about the attitude to the new regime was emotional. A member of Chucha district council stated about the significance of the moment and expressed his conviction that the peasantry would not easily give up their positions. A representative of Polohy volost stated that in volost it was decided to protest against “infringers of our rights”, i.e., against the Hetman and his forces. In the village of Pokrovske it was decided: 1) to protest against violence; 2) to support the Central Council before convening the Constituent Assembly; 3) to focus on facilitation of the Constituent Assembly convening. According to the representative of Zhrebetska volost (the village of Zhrebets – nowadays, Tavriyske), two thousand people came to the meeting. They protested against the decision of the farmers’ congress in Kyiv. “These are not farmers, but ... Money-Recipients. The peasantry is protesting”, – the representative of Zhrebetska volost said. In the words of the representative there was determination: “The inhabitants of the whole Zhrebets said they would take the guns to fight against the Hetmanate” (Narada zemskykh predstavnykiv volosnykh uprav, 1918).

After the discussion, the representatives of the zemstvos decided to join the resolution adopted by the joint meeting of Oleksandrivsk local self-government, the Council of Workers’ Deputies, the Peasants’ Union and the political parties mentioned above. In the first paragraph of this resolution it was emphasized that the German military authorities interfered in the internal affairs of Ukraine. This interference was regarded as an intention to restore the power of landowners, led by the autocratic Hetman. The actions of allied Germany were regarded as disrespect for the Ukrainian nation. This fact, in turn, formed a negative attitude towards the Germans.

Determination became important that the proclamation of the laws on the temporary state system of Ukraine by the Hetman “contradicts the will and legal consciousness of the people and causes indignation of the people, awaiting legislative expression of their will by the Constituent Assembly” (Mistseve zhyttia, 1918). Describing the coming of the Hetman to power, the members of the meeting did not use the term “coup”. They called the event “the conduct of the German military authorities in Kyiv”, “the act of landowners and Skoropadsky”, “Hetman’s attempt”, “adventure similar to the Bolsheviks”. But at the same time they believed unequivocally that this event went beyond the legal field and on its basis it was impossible to establish a strong government. On the contrary, the democratic forces of Zaporizhzhia region predicted the use of repressive measures by the Hetmanate, which “will cause a new anarchic and terrorist movement, agrarian and political”. The resolution stated that the Hetman’s power would be able to last for a short time. The only condition for its existence will be the support of German bayonets. Life showed that these predictions of the

democratic forces of Zaporizhzhia region, made at the beginning of May of 1918, proved to be true and fully fulfilled.

On May 12, official reports came from the county centers that “all power in Ukraine had passed to the glorious Hetman since April 29” (SAZR, f. 64, d. 3, c. 1, p. 26), the powers of the representatives of the General Secretariat of the Ukrainian People’s Republic were terminated.

Administrative changes were clearly recorded in Colonel Osipenko’s circular to the city administrations of Katerynoslav region of May 18, 1918. He demanded that the mayors send him information about the time of meetings of cities дума and councils and their agenda, as well as resolutions with all the annexes to them. Such orders were received by all provincial and county state institutions and county zemstvos (SAZR, f. 24, d. 7, c. 87, pp. 35, 52).

Oleksandrivsk City Duma adopted the order to be fulfilled. The fact is evidenced by sending the order to the address of Katerynoslav provincial headman on June 19 under No. 5767 of the minutes of the regular meeting of Oleksandrivsk City Duma of June 4, 1918 (SAZR, f. 24, d. 7, c. 87, pp. 35, 49).

In “The Katerynoslav Provincial News” it was reported on strengthening of the power vertical. On May 15, 1918, by order No. 1 of the acting Katerynoslav provincial headman, acting county headmen were appointed to all counties. Kliuchnykov was appointed an acting county headman in Oleksandrivsk (Prikaz № 1 Yekaterinoslavskogo gubernskogo starosty, 1918). As H. Hordiienko, a member of the liberation movement in Zaporizhzhia, wrote about him, Kliuchnykov was “one of the petty misters of our county”, and he was Russified, as well as his supporters, because he “issued orders in Russian” (Hordiienko, 1976, pp. 149–150). The same order called for the end to any agitation against the new authorities for fear of arrest and trial. Land committees, which dealt with the seizure of private property from landowners, were liquidated immediately. Volost zemstvos were deprived of money, and were demanded to hand it over to the treasury on deposits of county headmen. These actions clearly contradicted democratic social sentiments.

In the villages, even in those where councils of peasant deputies had been previously established, the authorities returned to volost and village administrations, headmen.

In Zaporizhzhia region representatives of local authorities emphasized appropriately that it was the local power who was the mainstay of the central government and the entire legal system. Therefore, representatives of local authorities tried to make known their position to the German and Austro-Hungarian governments and parliaments of these countries “to offer the Hetman to renounce the Hetmanship for the benefit of the Ukrainian state, and thus give the Central Council the opportunity to convene the Constituent Assembly”. Otherwise, the local authorities were responsible “for possible serious consequences, such as [for example –] protests against landowners, Hetman-appointed government officials and the German army” (Mistseve zhyttia, 1918).

As we can see, the provisions put forward by democratic organizations and associations of Zaporizhzhia region were based on democratic ideological beliefs. Zaporizhzhia political declarations contained specific ideas aimed at normalizing the political situation. The resolution, adopted by Oleksandrivsk City Duma and the administration together with the Council of Workers’ Deputies, the Peasants’ Union and all the political parties mentioned above, reflected the main idea of self-government, combined with the opinion of public and democratic institutions and organizations: “only the provisional parliament can be recognized the only body of power – the Central Council, which has the obligation in agreement with the legitimate bodies of local self-government to bring the Ukrainian state to convening the Constituent Assembly” (Mistseve zhyttia, 1918).

The word “coup” soon appeared in the vocabulary of the local political elite to describe the events in Kyiv on April 29, 1918. On May 21, 1918, “The Sich” newspaper published an editorial reporting on the events of the first days of P. Skoropadsky’s hetmanship, beginning with the words: “After the coup which took place in Kyiv ...” (Oleksandrivsk, 1918). The first lines of the article gave a concentrated definition of the essence of the events: “the land bourgeoisie, organized and relying on foreign bayonets, overthrew the Central Rada and appointed Pavlo Skoropadsky the Hetman of all Ukraine” (Oleksandrivsk, 1918).

It can be concluded that in Zaporizhzhia region the attitude towards the events from the time of the coup to the publication of this newspaper issue (on May 21) did not undergo fundamental changes. Pessimistic expectations were confirmed by the facts of the collapse of the democratic revolution achievements and the development of freedom of thought persecution. “Everything that people gained during the revolution is lost”, – that was the wording of one of the central theses of this analytical publication. “Numerous all-Ukrainian peasants’ and workers’ congresses in Kyiv are being dispersed, their participants are being arrested, elected on a democratic basis city governments are being dispersed in some cities, and are substituted by those people who served the tsarist autocracy. The same process is observed with land committees. There is little left of the freedom of speech, press, and meetings”, – the author continued. According to the observations of the above-mentioned participant of the events H. Hordiienko, the population of Oleksandrivsk, regardless of nationality, was dissatisfied with the Hetmanate, and it was even a greater burden for the peasantry (Hordiienko, 1976, pp. 159–160).

This was the way the left, socialist and liberal-democratic wing of the society reacted. However, the Duma accepted political realities, cooperated with the military and civilian administration established by the Hetmanate in Zaporizhzhia region.

Despite the position described above and the mood of the left-wing of Zaporizhzhia politicum, this position was not unanimous. Many Ukrainian cultural figures of the region accepted the establishment of the Hetmanate as the fact that did not hinder the course of transformations initiated by the revolution. This fact was indicated by a number of arguments, in particular, continuation of functioning of “The Ukrainian Culture Society”, founded in the provincial center of Katerynoslav. It included 52 cultural and economic organizations of Katerynoslav and its suburbs, named as the territory of the “Sich Land”, which reached the territory of Oleksandrivsk County. The society scheduled the convening of peasant congress on May 8, 1918 to solve educational and cultural issues exclusively (Selianskyi osvittii z’izd, 1918). That is, the society authorities were convinced that the work they had begun would not stop under the influence of recent state and political changes.

Similar sentiments are confirmed by the information spread in the mass media about the preparation of the congress of delegates of the volost teachers’ unions scheduled on May 25 – 26 in the village of Polohy. Such information was spread in the press controlled by the Hetmanate. This meant that the political regime did not consider any real threats in the teachers’ union and its congress. Time had passed since the events of April of 29 in Kyiv, the period that was quite enough for the establishment of the Hetmanate in local areas and a possible violent response on its part to public initiatives that could threaten the security of the regime.

The fact of unobstructed activity of public organizations and local government institutions established during the period of the Central Rada created the effect of the absence of abrupt and undesirable changes in a public life. The above mentioned O. Lutsky, an adjutant of Archduke Wilhelm von Habsburg, recollecting the events of May of 1918 in Oleksandrivsk, mentioned: “alive, ebullient and even in its sorrows wonderful time of the miraculous

resurrection of the Ukrainian people and the state” (Shchur, 2019, p. 26). Optimism was fueled by the awareness that the state, national and cultural formation were carried out in the desirable Ukrainian direction, although not as quickly and efficiently as one would like.

Despite the change of power, local authorities continued receiving and accepting, at least until the end of September, orders from the ministries of the Ukrainian People’s Republic, which testified to the continuity of national and cultural formation by the Hetmanate, in particular – in the field of language, education, state representation. The example of this fact is the circular of the Department of self-government of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian People’s Republic dated on March 13, 1918, received by Oleksandrivsk City Duma on September 21, 1918, in which all people’s councils and administrations were required to use the Ukrainian language as the state language in the records of institutions, and national symbols – the state flag and the Ukrainian state coat of arms – in representative attributes, instead of the destroyed Russian symbols (SAZR, f. 24, d. 7, c. 98, p. 79). It concerned not only spreading these requirements to all people’s councils, but also to hospitals, schools, workshops, roads, areas for horse-drawn carriages, street names and, etc. The content of the circular coincides with the circular of Katerynoslav provincial revolutionary council of April 29, 1918 (SAZR, f. 24, d. 7, c. 98, pp. 7–8) and the text of the “Resolution of the Ministry of Internal Affairs on Ukrainization”, published in No. 13 of the Bulletin of the Council of People’s Ministers of the Ukrainian People’s Republic.

Thus, during the first weeks of the Hetmanate the part of the Ukrainian intelligentsia did not feel the threat of disrupting the Ukrainian national and cultural, educational, economic projects. The Ukrainian intelligentsia continued national and cultural activities, showing the ability to the nation-formation.

Analyzing the reaction of the conservative forces of Zaporizhzhia region, we state that they saw the desired political changes in the establishment of the Hetmanate. These forces gained hope for the restoration of property rights, private initiative. “There are held all kinds of congresses of “farmers” – these hefty men, there are congresses of manufacturers, industrialists, financiers, the Cadet Party”, – it was written in the newspaper “The Sich” by the author from Oleksandrivsk on May 21, 1918. The conservative movement found support at various levels of power – not yet strong central power and heterogeneous in its political sentiments and economic interests of local power. It was reported in the above-cited publication: “The latest telegrammes inform of the return of land to the landlords and all living and unliving inventory, which were distributed among the poorer peasantry by land committees. Collective agreements between workers and employers are cancelled, and an eight-hour working day is also cancelled” (Oleksandrivsk, 1918).

The facts of such return are mentioned in the materials of “The Katerynoslav Provincial News”. It was not only about the return of property to large entrepreneurs and landowners, but also about the restoration of “justice” in some episodes of encroachment on private property. Thus, in particular, Fedoriv volost zemstvo of Oleksandrivsk county published the announcement in “The Katerynoslav Provincial News” that they looked for owners of horses and property confiscated from two Red Army soldiers by local self-defense forces in April of 1918 (Rozysk khozyaev k loshadyam i imushchestvu, 1918). Such actions of the authorities fueled healthy conservatism and confidence in the rule of law declared by the Hetman’s power. “Please forget all class, national, religious and party quarrels. It is high time there should be stopped murders, robberies, violence, seizures of other people’s property and all kinds of anarchic demonstrations”, – Major-General Chernikov called on May 26, 1918 (Prikaz Yekaterinoslavskogo gubernskogo starosty, 1918).

The state machine of the Hetmanate tried to keep balanced systems, traditions, concepts, that is why, the political changes did not seem catastrophic. Researchers emphasize that P. Skoropadsky's supporters were also liberal-conservative forces – local cadets or Octobrists, the Ukrainian farmers-democrats, partly – socialists-federalists (Turchenko, 2008, p. 162).

The breadth of this public opinion flank was also formed by the ethnic diversity of the southern region and, especially, the county town of Oleksandrivsk, clearly represented in local authorities, socio-political organizations: “Someone felt himself Ukrainian, someone thought it was possible to belong to the Ukrainian and Russian culture at the same time and to be a “maloros”, some identified themselves with the Russian nation, the others were captivated by territorial patriotism and did not consider Ukraine as a separate national and territorial reality” (Turchenko, 2008, p. 162). But the sense of this identity was unstable for many people. The sense of identity was strongly influenced by the severity of unresolved social, national and cultural problems.

Analyzing the situation in Zaporizhzhia region during the period of the Hetmanate, it is worth agreeing with H. F. Turchenko, who notes that the environment in which the support for the Hetmanate matured was amorphous. Unfortunately, analogies can be drawn in this case again – as well as the environment of the majority of the Ukrainian voters in 2019 – 2020.

The Conclusions. These facts show that the events in Kyiv, related to the change of the political vector of the state formation in April – May of 1918, were received impartially, concerned and responsibly by the public of Zaporizhzhia region.

The demand for objective information about the events that took place in the capital, Ukraine and the world grew rapidly. The role of the printed word grew, in particular, of newspapers, which became the means of the interests verbalizations of various political groups. There took place information competitions of political elites. The change of key players in the supreme state power gave a new impetus to the intensification of the political struggle in Zaporizhzhia region. The fact that the Hetman came to power was quickly and unequivocally regarded by the majority of public organizations in Zaporizhzhia region as a coup d'état. He was associated with the return of power to large landowners and the abolition of the democratic gains of the revolution. In the coup a key role was considered in the politics and military presence of the German power. The ideas concerning the key role in the coup were defended by representatives of local authorities formed during the national democratic revolution, activists of the left-wing socio-political parties and organizations that had the greatest support of the society. The social forces that protested against the establishment of the Hetman power in Ukraine were the intelligentsia, the peasantry, and the workers.

The reaction to the establishment of the Hetman power was caused by the popularity of socialist ideas in the society, which was significant, as well as significant achievements of the nation-formation during the era of the Ukrainian Central Rada. At the same time, socially and ethnically heterogeneous environment of Zaporizhzhia region gave rise to both politically neutral and more conservative political ideas, which were a source basis for the new power. After all, the latter sought to avoid socialist experiments, to balance the economic mechanism on the basis of understandable economic factors – private property and market economy.

This reception of the Hetmanate in Zaporizhzhia region coincided with the public reception of Kyiv events in other regions of Ukraine, but it also had its own specifics, which reflected the ethnic diversity and Russification of the region.

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THE EDUCATION SYSTEM IN BUKOVYNA DURING THE FIRST POSTWAR YEARS (1919 – 1923)

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to analyze the education system transformation in Bukovyna during 1918 – 1923, when the region belonged to the Kingdom of Romania. The methodology of the research is based on general scientific principles (analysis, synthesis, induction, deduction), as well as the application of special historical methods (credible historical, etc.). The scientific novelty of the study is to analyze the changes in the educational system in Bukovyna during the first postwar years (1918 – 1923). It was an extremely crucial period when the Romanian authorities, by joining these territories with their state, tried to transform the educational system of Bukovyna in their own way. The Conclusions.* Taking everything into consideration, we should state that the system of educational institutions in Bukovyna during the first years after the Great War of 1914 – 1918 underwent significant changes. On the one hand, the Romanian authorities tried to adapt these institutions to their own,

which existed in the Kingdom of Romania before World War I with the help of educational measures. On the other hand, such actions should gain loyalty and integrate the various national communities of the region as soon as possible. However, with these actions, the new government administration only caused a negative attitude of these ethnic communities to such steps and to the Romanian government in general. Although these measures taken by the Romanian government representatives should be assessed not only from the point of view of the internal political life of the Kingdom of Romania, but also considered in the broader Central and Eastern European context of that time.

Key words: World War I, the Kingdom of Romania, Bukovyna, the system of education.

СИСТЕМА ОСВІТИ НА БУКОВИНІ У ПЕРШІ ПОВОЄННІ РОКИ (1919 – 1923)

Анотація. *Мета статті* – проаналізувати перетворення системи освіти Буковини упродовж 1918–1923 рр., коли цей край був приєднаний до складу Королівства Румунії. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на загальнонаукових принципах (аналіз, синтез, індукція, дедукція), а також застосуванні спеціально-історичних методів (порівняльно-історичний тощо). **Наукова новизна** дослідження полягає у тому, щоб проаналізувати зміни освітньої царини на Буковині в перші повоєнні роки (1918 – 1923). Адже це був надзвичайно важливий період, коли румунська влада, приєднавши ці території до складу своєї держави, намагалася трансформувати освітню систему Буковини на свій лад. **Висновок.** Підбиваючи підсумки, зазначимо, що система освітніх закладів на Буковині у перші роки після Великої війни 1914 – 1918 рр. зазнала суттєвих змін. Румунська влада намагалася за допомогою заходів у царині освіти, з одного боку, адаптувати ці інститути до власних, які існували у Королівстві Румунія до початку Першої світової війни. З іншого, такими діями заручитися лояльністю та якомога швидше інтегрувати різні національні спільноти краю. Однак цими діями нова владна адміністрація лише спричиняла негативне ставлення цих етнічних громад як до таких кроків, так і до румунської влади загалом. Однак ці заходи представників румунської владної адміністрації слід оцінювати не лише з точки зору внутрішньополітичного життя Королівства Румунії, але й розглядати у ширшому центрально-східноєвропейському тогочасному контексті.

Ключові слова: Перша світова війна, Королівство Румунія, Буковина, система освіти.

The Problem Statement. Central and Eastern Europe was an extremely interesting region during the interwar period. The modernization transformations took place in the newly created states formed on the territories of the former continental empires (Kaiser's Germany, Austria-Hungary and Tsarist Russia) after the end of the Great War of 1914 – 1918. In addition, the above-mentioned changes affected almost every area of their socio-political, socio-economic and cultural life. Consequently, it is obvious that such measures faced significant internal and external difficulties, and at the end of the 1920s and the beginning of the 1930s it became clear that modernization according to the liberal democracy and market economy model failed. As a result, numerous coups and the authoritarian political regimes establishment took place in almost every country in the Central and Eastern European region in the next years. According to the Ukrainian historian Oleksandr Sych, who emphasized decently, one should not assume that the first democratic experience did not give anything to these peoples. Even a short period in a democratic system triggered the process of forming the foundations of a modern civil society, and the authoritarian dictatorships established by conservative forces could not fully restore a traditional society (Sych, 2019, pp. 79–85).

Furthermore, the history of the Kingdom of Romania of the above-mentioned period seems no less interesting. According to the decisions made at the Paris Peace Conference by the “architects” of the post-war world order, the Romanian ruling elite managed to realize its foreign policy concept of the “Greater Romania”. Nowadays, the Romanian state includes the territories inhabited by multifarious national communities (the Germans, the Jews, the

Hungarians, the Ukrainians), whose loyalty had to be gained. The education system was one such mechanism, which was controlled by state institutions and could help achieve ethnic commitment. The Romanian government made great efforts to establish educational institutions in the new territories (Transylvania, Bukovyna, Bessarabia).

The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications. Ukrainian and foreign scholars studied the education system in Bukovyna. To our mind, such researchers should be singled out as V. Botushanskyi (Botushanskyi, 2017), O. Dobrzhanskyi (Dobrzhanskyi, 2002), I. Zhytaryuk (Zhytaryuk, 2011), I. Piddubnyi (Piddubnyi, 1997), P. Rykhlo (Rykhlo, 2005), S. Osachuk (Osachuk, 2005), I. Skurtu (Skurtu, 2005), M. Mandryk-Melnychuk and H. Kotsur (Mandryk-Melnychuk & Kotsur, 2020). It should be mentioned that the above-mentioned scholars analyzed the functioning of educational structures in their works during the interwar period. First of all, they were interested in issues related to the financial support of the educational system during the above-mentioned period, the opportunity for representatives of national communities to study at schools and universities, staff and material support, and etc. However, their research focus did not concentrate on the short but rather important period of time when the Romanian authorities, by joining those territories with their state, tried to transform the educational system of Bukovyna in their own way.

The purpose of the research is to analyze the education system transformation in Bukovyna during the period of 1918 – 1923, when the region started to belong to the Kingdom of Romania.

The Main Material Statement. The western Ukrainian lands, which were the part of Austria-Hungary, were divided among different states after World War I, for instance, Bukovyna became the part of Romania, the northern part was mainly inhabited by the Ukrainians, as well as Bessarabia, where along with other nationalities, the Ukrainians lived. As a result of significant territorial gains, Romania went from being a virtually mono-ethnic state to a multinational country in which the non-Romanians made up 38 percent of the population. The domestic policy of the Government of the Kingdom of Romania on the national issue was aimed at the Romanianization of the national minorities members. Hence, in Bukovyna, such a state policy was facilitated, in particular, by the state of siege that lasted from 1918 to 1928. While implementing the project of the Romanianization of this region, the Romanian government practically violated the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye signed in 1919 and the Treaty on the rights of the national minorities.

The Romanian authorities took advantage of Ion Nistor's position, the renowned politician of that time, which was aimed at eliminating any signs of Bukovyna autonomy, the implementation of the Romanianization of all institutions, from administrative institutions to schools. In addition, the version that the population of the region was "the Romanians, who forgot their mother tongue" also met the needs. The new government began to liquidate schools with Ukrainian and other languages of instruction, substituted the Ukrainians as principals and teachers with the Romanians, expelled the Ukrainian priests from the region, introduced the Romanian language as a common language due to the long dreamed struggle for the Romanian school in the northern part of the region. As a result, very active policy of Romanianization led to the liquidation of educational institutions of different levels with the Ukrainian language of instruction by 1924 (Piddubnyi, 1997, p. 210).

It should be mentioned that the Romanian authorities actions were the most active in the field of school education. First of all, the authorities began to move the Ukrainian teachers from northern Bukovyna to the southern, brought in more Romanian language, and appointed

the Romanian teachers in order to supersede the displaced. The Ukrainian school inspectors were superseded by the Romanian ones. Consequently, the process of the Romanianization of Ukrainian schools was accelerated and 38 Ukrainian schools with 5,536 children were Romanianized in 1919. Still, even in 1922, there were 150 Ukrainian schools. In Ukrainian schools there began the introduction of teaching of some subjects in Romanian, or the entire educational process was conducted in Romanian. During the “gradual” constitution of 1923, an explanatory law was introduced stating that the Ukrainians were “the Romanians, who had forgotten their mother tongue”. Therefore, when the legislation came into power, the Ukrainian teachers were forced to take an exam in the Romanian language and literature, Geography, Romanian History and the Romanian Constitution under the threat of dismissal. Hence, at the end of 1919, another 84 schools were Romanianized in such counties as Storozhynets and Seret, where approximately 16,000 Ukrainian students studied (Kvitkovskyyi, 2019, pp. 672–674).

According to the Romanian statistics, which provided the following figures there were only 508 schools in Bukovyna, 257 of which were Romanian and 157 allegedly Ukrainian in 1920. Moreover, there were 64 German schools at that time, 27 Polish and 2 Hungarian. About 48,000 students went to Romanian schools, and 51,000 in other schools (Kvitkovskyyi, 2019, p. 674).

However, in 1923 there were 575 schools in Bukovyna, 175 of which were Ukrainian schools. There were already 319 Romanian schools, 47 in the German community, 25 in the Polish community, and 2 in the Hungarian community. At that time, almost 53,000 children went to the Romanian schools, and in the others – about 45 thousand. But we should not forget that at the so-called Ukrainian schools then there already was either the Romanian language of instruction, and Ukrainian was only one of the subjects or at least half of the subjects were taught in Ukrainian and half in Romanian (Kvitkovskyyi, 2019, p. 674).

A similar situation was at Chernivtsi University. If we compare the number of the Ukrainian students studying during the Austrian period with that of the Romanian period, their number decreased. Due to the lack of archival documents, we cannot indicate the exact number of the Ukrainian students, who studied at that time. We have the opportunity to use only fragmentary data, however, and it, to our mind, confirms the existence of the process of Romanianization in higher education. Let’s consider the data only for the academic year of 1923 – 1924, when there was a total amount of 77 students at the faculties of Philology and Natural Sciences, among them the percentage of the Ukrainians was only 12.7 %, 47.8% – the Romanians, and the rest – of other nationalities. Unfortunately, there are no figures for Theological and Law faculties, where the percentage of the Ukrainians was slightly higher. The information provided indicates that representatives of the Ukrainian community had great difficulty in obtaining higher education. On the one hand, it was due to the lack of material resources in the Ukrainian community. On the other hand, the Romanian administration disapproved of them openly (Kvitkovskyyi, 2019, p. 699).

However, we should also keep in mind that graduating from University did not bring many benefits to the Ukrainian studying youth, because very often, in order to take a position according to specialty, a graduate had to change one’s social and political position. What’s more, it was necessary to declare th Romanian citizenship, often even to change one’s surname. But only a few agreed to such conditions (Kvitkovskyyi, 2019, p. 700).

Moreover, there were many Ukrainian young people with a University Degree, who could not get a job in the specialty in Bukovyna. Under such circumstances, the particularly poor peasantry and bourgeoisie were not very happy to send their children to study at University. If we add to this the fact that the liquidation of the Ukrainian departments at Chernivtsi

University during the Romanian administration destroyed the University attractiveness among the Ukrainian population, we have a rough picture of why the percentage of the Ukrainian students decreased, despite the fact that the population increased (Kvitkovskiy, 2019, p. 700).

Dwelling on the issue of Chernivtsi University, it should be noted that in the framework of the rapid Romanianization strategy in Bukovyna, the educational reform was to change the multinational nature of all education, including higher education, in favour of Romanian. Hence, the last meeting of the academic senate took place at German University on July 25, 1919. Rector prof. A. Tarnavskiy said goodbye to his German colleagues, who expressed a desire to go to Austria. On September 6, 1919, at 3 p.m., the German professor left Chernivtsi without any official celebrations. However, hundreds of University students and alumni accompanied their lecturers to the railway station with sadness and words of gratitude. According to Mayer Ebner, a renowned leader of the Bukovynian Zionists, wrote the following: "Likewise, we, the Jews do not want to keep silence and need to say a word of respect for the departing German University, and no one can deny that the thought that German University is leaving the beautiful city on the Prut River forever brings feelings of sadness. For thousands of Jewish University graduates, the University was a true alma mater, not a stepmother. Honor and glory to the departing University!" However, not all German professors at Chernivtsi University were forced to leave Bukovyna – a philosopher Carl Siegel, a novelist Eugene Herzog, a paleontologist Karl Penecke, a pharmacologist Fritz Mayer, who spoke Romanian, continued their work at the Romanian University in Chernivtsi. It should be mentioned that the only professor of German nationality, who was allowed to teach at the Royal Romanian University in German and take exams in German was the famous economist Friedrich Kleinwächter (Osachuk, 2005, pp. 91–92).

Due to the closure of the German University in Chernivtsi, there was a problem of obtaining higher education in German, so in the winter semester of 1919 – 1920 on the initiative of the German community of Bukovyna higher public education courses were opened, whose interesting reports were provided by German professors Herzog, Kleinwächter, Raubicsek, Siegel and the others. By the press and church parishes of the two denominations, the Roman Catholic and Evangelical governments of the German community drew attention to the work of these courses, which became the substitute for the liquidated German university. The purpose of the courses was to maintain a high level of science and culture among the Germans of the region, and the money earned was used for creating and operating the German language courses for the German youth (Osachuk, 2005, pp. 92–93).

The educational issue for the Germans of the region, as well as for the Ukrainian community and other national communities of Bukovyna, became vital because it was associated with the problem of the national development of the ethnic group. Along with the above-mentioned issue, all other issues of political, economic or cultural development receded into the background, because with the destruction of schooling, the basis of the national existence of the ethnic communities of the region was shaken (Osachuk, 2005, pp. 98).

As a result, the Romanianization of educational institutions triggered protests from the Bukovynians, hence, the Bukovynian Social Democrats representatives in the Parliament of the Kingdom of Romania K. Kracalia and H. Hryhorovych opposed the introduction of compulsory exams in the Romanian language at the entrance to the gymnasium, the liquidation of the departments of Eastern European History and the Ukrainian language at Chernivtsi University (Pidubnyi, 1997, p. 210).

However, the main role in defending the right to education in the mother tongue was to be played by the Bukovynians themselves, the representatives of minorities, because the

Romanianization of educational institutions led to the gradual denationalization of non-Romanians in the long run. Hence, along with the intensification of the Romanianization process, in particular, the introduction of compulsory education in Romanian in 1922 – 1923, there were many public protests. Therefore, after the decision to Romanianize Chernivtsi gymnasiums issued on June 18, 1922, in the German House in Chernivtsi gathered the representatives of the German, the Jewish and the Ukrainian communities numbering in 1 thousand people. The renowned figures of that time V. Dutchak, M. Ebner, A. Kolrus and the others got their messages across to the audience. The paramount aim of the meeting was to identify public protest and the way national minorities in the country were treated. The content of the speeches was generally almost the same and all speakers put emphasis on the contradictions between the Romanian government law on the rights of national minorities and the Romanian administration action to Romanianize the region, dividing the population of Bukovyna into upper and lower classes. Moreover, the speakers also gave examples, in their opinion, concerning the unfair solution of the national minorities issue in Italy and Czechoslovakia. In addition, criticism of the Romanian government actions accused the Romanian ministers of the “Bolshevism” for their ways of introducing the Romanian language in Bukovyna. The meeting adopted a final resolution stating that representatives of the Germans, the Poles, the Ukrainians and the Jews, obeying the Romanian law and recognizing the Romanian state, insisted on respect for the development of national minorities in Bukovyna and permission to use other languages in education (Piddubnyi, 1997, pp. 210–211).

The protests against the Romanianization of Bukovyna were also expressed at the meeting of the Social Democratic Party of Bukovyna, which took place in 1922 in the Workers’ House in Chernivtsi, where J. Pistiner, T. Roznovan, p. Viktorchuk, F. Bilek, R. Haidosh delivered speeches. The result of the meeting reflected the summary made by R. Haidosh, in which it was stated that in court, the representatives of all nations of the region must speak their native language (Piddubnyi, 1997, p. 211).

The German community representatives also protested against the Romanianization of educational institutions. At the meeting on November 26, 1922, the issues of German loyalty to the Romanian administration were discussed and the task of achieving rights with the Romanians in the field of education was set. There was also a demand for the return of the German schools in Radovce, Kimpulung, Seret and Dorno-Vatri. Consequently, the Romanianization of education was so intense that even members of those national communities that in November of 1918 agreed to join the Kingdom of Romania, hoping that the government would respect the cultural rights of its people, were forced to fight for the resumption of education in their native language (Piddubnyi, 1997, p. 211).

Although all public protests in Chernivtsi went unnoticed by the authorities, its representatives tried to continue activities aimed at returning the native language (the Ukrainian, the German, and the Polish languages as a language of instruction) to schools. A special role in the activities of the Ukrainian representatives was played by the press, which was a source of information and could also act as a textbook. The Ukrainian periodicals of that time repeatedly published materials about the difficult situation of the Ukrainians, about the deprivation of their rights declared by the Romanian constitution and international agreements, published separate works with scientific evidence of the autochthonous Ukrainian population in Bukovyna (Piddubnyi, 1997, p. 212).

The Ukrainian press also published critical remarks about the consequences of the Romanianization of educational institutions. One issue of “Zoria” quoted a member of

Parliament, I. Siminovic, as saying that the Romanian school system was in a difficult position and emphasized that in Transylvania and Bukovyna, professorships were held by people with insufficient education. Commenting on this speech, the editors of the newspaper “Zoria” pointed out that “the future will show the damage caused by the Romanian chauvinists in their dementia to their region, destroying the education of the minorities and neglecting the cultural level of the Romanian population” (Piddubnyi, 1997, p. 212).

At the same time, the Ukrainian press, fighting for the rights of the Ukrainians, was critical of the disunity that prevailed in the Ukrainian community. The Ukrainians belonged to different political currents, there was no organization capable of uniting them, although different political parties put forward slogans in their programmes to protect the cultural rights of the Ukrainians. The Ukrainian People’s Democratic Party (UNDP), formed on the basis of the former People’s Party in 1921, also dealt with these issues. Its leadership at the first organizational meeting proposed to appeal to the Romanian authorities with a demand for teaching in Ukrainian at schools, abolishing the ban on the import of the Ukrainian literature from abroad, increasing the number of the Ukrainian counties to their pre-war number (Piddubnyi, 1997, p. 212).

It is worth emphasizing that the Ukrainian community tried to draw attention of the international community to the dire situation in Bukovyna. Moreover, the Ukrainian emigrant circles were also involved in this process. For example, one of the leaders of the Ukrainian Revolution (1917 – 1921), Yevhen Petrushevych, who was outside Ukraine at that time and headed the Ukrainian National Council, which coordinated the activities of the Ukrainians abroad, addressed notes of protest to Western governments and international institutions. One such appeal was sent to the League of Nations, an international body that played the role of the modern UN during the interwar period. It stated that the Government of the Kingdom of Romania “does not fulfill its international obligations towards the Ukrainian population, demanded the commencement of international proceedings for these illegal actions and measures to prevent such measures in the future” (Petytsiia Ye. Petrushevycha, 2005, p. 150).

However, when assessing the policy of Romanianization in the field of education in Bukovyna, the following factors should be taken into account – internal factors and external factors. As for the internal factors, such measures, which took place not only in the field of education, implemented by the Romanian authorities, concerned all national minorities living in the region. Due to the above-mentioned situation, the government and other national communities rejected the government action. Their opposition was in the legal field: writing petitions and memoranda demanding to resume teaching in their native language. The Romanian authorities justified such steps from the following positions. The Representatives of national minorities can be interpreted quite freely in the areas of the new provinces (districts) in the country, as Article 8 of the first chapter of the first section introduced into the legislative field of education “citizens of the Romanian origin, who lost their mother tongue”, who were obliged to send children to the Romanian schools.

The foreign policy factor is much more complicated, because it is necessary to take into account the political trends that took place in Central and Eastern Europe after World War I. Almost each of the newly created states or those that received numerous territorial possessions as a result of World War I, reproduced, ostensibly in miniature, the Empire that previously included its peoples, in particular, included ethnic minorities, usually dissatisfied with their status in these new states, whose governments denied their right to self-determination, realizing it only for their peoples. Moreover, the situation of ethnic minorities in the newly

formed states worsened somehow. It happened because the candidates for the legacy of the former empires were nationalist leaders of National Liberation Movements, who were inclined to support and who were short-sightedly indulged by the leaders of the Entente, relying on their anti-Bolshevik positions (Sych, 2010, pp. 110–129).

The Conclusions. Taking everything into consideration, we should state that the system of educational institutions in Bukovyna during the first years after the Great War of 1914 – 1918 underwent significant changes. On the one hand, the Romanian authorities tried to adapt these institutions to their own, which existed in the Kingdom of Romania before World War I with the help of educational measures. On the other hand, such actions should gain loyalty and integrate the various national communities of the region as soon as possible. However, with these actions, the new government administration only caused a negative attitude of these ethnic communities to such steps and to the Romanian government in general. Although these measures taken by the Romanian government representatives should be assessed not only from the point of view of the internal political life of the Kingdom of Romania, but also considered in the broader Central and Eastern European context of that time.

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**PAGES OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ACTIVITY OF OLEKSANDR LOTOTSKIY
IN EMIGRATION DURING THE PERIOD OF 1926 – 1932
(ACCORDING TO THE MATERIALS FROM THE BRANCH STATE ARCHIVE
OF THE FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE SERVICE OF UKRAINE)**

Abstract. *The aim of the research* is to analyze some circumstances of Oleksandr Lototskiy's participation in activity of émigré establishments on the territories of Central and Western Europe during the period of the 1920s – 1930s and to verify the continuance of his social and political activity. **The research methodology** is based on the principles of historical methods, scientism, objectiveness; also on the use of general scientific (analysis, synthesis, systematization, typology) and special and historical (historic and comparative, problematic, problematic chronological) methods. Apart from it, the research is based on the principles of a biographical approach and theoretical methodological principles of "intellectual history", as the present research adds to the factual intellectual biography of O. Lototskiy. **The scientific novelty** consists in reconstructing the events of Oleksandr Lototskiy's life (1870 – 1939) as a social and political figure and historian during the emigration period while making use of open materials from branch state archives of the foreign intelligence service of Ukraine. There are given facts relevant to the figure's participation in activity of various establishments and organizations founded on the territories of Central-Western Europe during the period of the 1920s – 1930s. The main centers of O. Lototskiy's social and political activity in emigration were Prague and Warsaw. If the Prague period was characteristic of partaking in social and political organizations, the moving to Warsaw was connected with joining to the Government of the Ukrainian People's Republic (UPR) in exile under the leadership of A. Levytskiy. There is a plenty of information relevant to O. Lototskiy's cooperation with representatives of the Ukrainian emigration: participation in conferences, congresses, taking care of Ukrainian Church problems, coordination of the UPR Government's functioning. Apart from it, there are found documents proving O. Lototskiy's contribution to reorganizing of political circles of the Ukrainian emigration as well as establishing of multi-branch social activity.

The Conclusions. As a result of the present investigation, conclusions are made proving that the emigration period of O. Lotozkiy's life during the years of the 1920s – 1930s was filled not only with scientific and teaching work, but also with numerous events of social and political character. During the last decades of his life O. Lotozkiy dedicated his time not only to the history of Ukrainian Church, but also took leading positions in the work of the establishments founded by representatives of the Ukrainian emigration in Warsaw, Prague and Paris which shows the continuance of his social and political activity.

Key words: O. Lotozkiy, biography, emigration, social and political activity, Warsaw, Prague.

СТОРИНКИ ГРОМАДСЬКО-ПОЛІТИЧНОЇ ДІЯЛЬНОСТІ ОЛЕКСАНДРА ЛОТОЦЬКОГО В ЕМІГРАЦІЇ УПРОДОВЖ 1926 – 1932 рр. (ЗА МАТЕРІАЛАМИ ГАЛУЗЕВОГО ДЕРЖАВНОГО АРХІВУ СЛУЖБИ ЗОВНІШНЬОЇ РОЗВІДКИ УКРАЇНИ)

Анотація. Мета дослідження – проаналізувати умови участі Олександра Лотоцького в діяльності українських еміграційних установ та організацій на теренах Центрально-Східної Європи упродовж 1920 – 1930-х рр. і підтвердити тяглість його громадсько-політичної діяльності. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на базові принципи історизму, науковості, об'єктивності; загальнонаукові (аналіз, синтез, систематизація, типологізація) та спеціально-історичні (історико-порівняльний, проблемний, проблемно-хронологічний) методи. Крім того, дослідження ґрунтується на принципах біографічного підходу, а також теоретико-методологічних принципах “інтелектуальної історії”, адже розвідка розширює наявну інтелектуальну біографію О. Лотоцького. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що на основі матеріалів Галузевого державного архіву Служби зовнішньої розвідки України доповнено події еміграційного етапу життєвого шляху українського громадсько-політичного діяча та історика Олександра Лотоцького (1870 – 1939). Подаються факти щодо його участі у діяльності різноманітних установ та організацій, що виникли на теренах Центрально-Східної Європи протягом 1920 – 1930-х рр. Головними осередками громадсько-політичної активності О. Лотоцького в еміграції стали Прага та Варшава. Якщо празький період ознаменувався участю у громадсько-політичних організаціях, то переїзд до Варшави був пов'язаний з входженням до лав Уряду Української Народної Республіки (УНР) в екзилі під головуванням А. Левицького. Маємо різноманітну інформацію щодо співпраці О. Лотоцького з представниками української еміграції: участь у конференціях, з'їздах, опікування проблемами Української церкви, робота в Уряді УНР. Крім того, наявні відомості, що засвідчують внесок О. Лотоцького у реорганізацію політичних кіл української еміграції та налагодження розгалуженої громадської діяльності. **Висновки.** У підсумку проведеного дослідження були зроблені висновки, що еміграційний період у житті О. Лотоцького (1920 – 1930-ті) був насичений не лише науково-викладацькою роботою, а й численними акціями громадсько-політичного характеру. Протягом двох останніх десятиліть свого життя О. Лотоцький не лише присвятив час студіюванню історії Української церкви, а й обійняв чільні посади в установах, започаткованих представниками української еміграції у Варшаві, Празі, Парижі, зберігши тяглість своєї громадсько-політичної діяльності.

Ключові слова: О. Лотоцький, біографія, еміграція, громадсько-політична діяльність, Варшава, Прага.

The Problem Statement. The establishment of the Ukrainian State at the end of the XXth century and at the beginning of the XXIst century is accompanied with reviving a lot of pages from the history of Ukrainian territories. Living in the cages of the Russian Empire and the USSR led to forming a lot of lacunas which haven't been filled by historians yet. Under the circumstances of the war with Russia, which is going on in the East of our country, a special attention should be given to those episodes in our history that were accompanied with attempts of establishing our statehood. The fundamental study of those events, firstly, will give us new proofs of the Ukrainians' right to their own state and, secondly, will provide a possibility to describe and analyse mistakes made earlier. In this aspect, the events of national

and liberating attempts on the territories of Ukraine during the period of 1917 – 1920 and during the emigration period of the 1920s – 1930s are very meaningful.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. At the beginning of the XXth century on the Ukrainian territories in the field of social and political activity of Oleksandr Lototskiy (1870 – 1939) became an important figure who having started from an idea to broaden rights of the Ukrainians within the borders of the Russian Empire arrived at a deep conviction that our people should have a right not only to Autocephaly Orthodox Church independent of Moscow Patriarchy but also a right to an independent state. His social and political and literary activity was profoundly elucidated in various works at the end of the XXth – the beginning of the XXIst centuries. We have traditional biographic narratives of O. Lototskiy's *curricula vitae* (Ul'janovskiy, 1993; Shvydkiy, 2002; Dudko, 2005), researches on intellectual biography of the figure (Mychailenko, 2014), researches on particular aspects of his creative works or some particular period in the life of the scholar (Pas'ko, 1997; Mchytaran, 1995; Strelskiy, 2006). Numerous remembrances about O. Lototskiy are found in works which described current events at the time of the Ukrainian revolution in 1917 – 1920 (Nagaevskiy, 1994; Verstuk, Ostashko, 1998; Vedeneev, Goshulak, 1998 etc.). O. Lototskiy's activity in Poland as a director of Ukrainian Scientific Institute and a teacher of at Warsaw University was elucidated in various publications on the territories of Poland (Kozak, 1996; Potocki, 1998; Wiszka, 2004). Since a series of publications about O. Lototskiy represents particular pages from intellectual biography of the scholar, it is worth mentioning that researches on intellectual biography of Ukrainian figures are added, in particular we have new publications concerning intellectual biography of V. Petrov (Andryeyev, 2019; Andryeyev, 2019; Andryeyev, Kariaka, 2019).

However, O. Lototskiy's emigration period was mainly depicted making use of universities and organizations' reports, of chronicles of the Ukrainian emigration events, published in émigré periodical newspapers or from memoirs of representatives of the Ukrainian emigration. They contain to the most extent scientific and teaching aspects of the figure's activity in the 1920s – 1930s, thus, in publications in the preceding years it was emphasized that scientific and teaching activity took the first place in O. Lototskiy's professional life during the emigration period (Mychailenko, 2014, p. 134). The materials from the Branch State Archives of the Foreign Intelligence Service of Ukraine make it possible to add to the above list of scientific and teaching activities.

The Purpose of Publication is to reveal key moments of O. Lototskiy's partaking in activity of Ukrainian émigré organizations and establishments on the territories of Central-Western Europe during the period of 1917 – 1930 and to prove the continuance of his social and political activity: social activity in Ukrainian circles in St. Petersburg at the beginning of the XXth century – participation in the Ukrainian revolutionary struggle in 1917 – 1920 – partaking in reorganization of Ukrainian emigration in 1920 – 1930.

The Main Material Statement. O. Lototskiy's views as for political destiny of Ukrainian territories were substantially radicalized as a result of his political activity during the period of 1917 – 1920, and outside Ukraine he did not give up attempts of other emigration representatives to gain support from European countries in solving the Ukrainian issue on the international scale of Europe. In the materials from the Branch State Archives of the Foreign Intelligence Service of Ukraine there are remembrances relevant to his partaking in activity of various Ukrainian émigré establishments during the period of 1926 – 1932. Thus, we have got a report of the Minister of the Ukrainian People's Republic (UPR) A. Levitskiy from 5.03.1926 concerning the organization and activity of the Ukrainian emigration in Czechoslovakia Republic. It deals

with key decisions that provided organized in the best way political and cultural activity. Among some affiliated groups the Ukrainian republican Club is also mentioned under the readership of O. Lotozkiy, F. Scherbina and A. Jakovlev (Branch State Archives of the Foreign Intelligence Service of Ukraine (BSA FIS of Ukraine), Case 6, a, p. 138).

One of the tasks which was put before the Ukrainian emigration and solving of which Oleksandr Lotozkiy attempted at was to unite politically divided Ukrainian communities in foreign parts. At the end of 1926 following this aim O. Lotozkiy together with D. Doroshenko, M. Slavinskiy, K. Mazievich and O. Shulgin became a co-founder of Committee of united national parties. The Committee uniting a row of political groups and broadening its activity on the territories of Romania, Poland, France, Germany and southern-slavish lands aimed at preparations for returning to Ukraine (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 16, b. p. 190). This attempt to unite politically conscious Ukrainian emigrants was described in A. Levitskiy's letter to I. Tokarzhevskiy who resided in Paris at the time (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 16, c, pp. 250–250 P.T.O.).

Oleksandr Lotozkiy was also mentioned in 1926 among the leaders of League of Ukrainian Statehood, which was considered as a factual centre of "Petlurahood" and which numbered up to 100 people in Prague and about 50 in Paris (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 16, d, p. 376). In the list of the Ukrainian emigrants living in Czechoslovakia which include short biographical notes there is a characteristic of O. Lotozkiy's figure describing him as a gentle but at the same time very cunning person (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 1, a, p. 250).

Murdering of S. Petliura in 1926 as well as promoting A. Levitskiy to his place in the government of the UPR was of a great resonance among the Ukrainian emigrants, which was reflected in a report of the head of State Political Administration of the USSR V. Balitskiy to General Secretary of Central Committee of Communist Party of the Bolsheviks of Ukraine L. Kaganovich (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 16, e, pp. 516–517).

In report from the following years there were numerous mentions of not only enforced reorganizing of politically conscious groups of Ukrainian emigration but also those of some measures aimed at commemorating S. Petliura, in particular on activity of Foundation after S. Petliura, among participants of which O. Lotozkiy was also mentioned (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 14, a, p. 213). Apart from that, during the year of 1927 it was reported on joining by O. Lotozkiy Ukrainian Club in Warsaw, which should be accompanied with a series of speeches at public meetings, lectures (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 14, b, p. 46) and on negotiating with O. Shul'gin about starting up a new periodical edition which would be an official organ of Ukrainian radical and democratic party (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 14, c, p. 112).

In reports from August of 1927 Oleksandr Lotozkiy was presented as the Minister of Internal Affairs of the UPR under the leadership of A. Levitskiy (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 14, d, p. 266); at the Congress of the UPR Government in June of 1928, which, as it was reported, had been summoned at the request of French Government, the staff was finally confirmed in which O. Lotozkiy occupied the abovementioned position (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 17, a, p. 200). Later mentions of the figure showed substantial increase in his social and political activity: participation in the Congress of the Ukrainian emigrants in Prague in July of 1928 (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 17, b, p. 204); mentions of organizing a row of consultations in the rank of the Minister for Internal Affairs in July – August of 1928 with former administrators at the time of the UPR in Prague (the aim: to elucidate former experience and to develop a system of government for future, which showed the necessity of renewing the system which had worked during the last period of Central Council, but with adding military reinforcements) (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 17, c, p. 217); participation in

the Congress of “Petliura’s men” in Paris at the beginning of July of 1928, the aim of which was to discuss foreign policy of the UPR, in particular confirming expediency of enlisting England and France on the side of Ukraine (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 17, d, p. 332).

In the materials from 1928 there increased a number of reports concerning O. Lototskiy’s relations with the Polish circles: supporting persons who belonged to the UPR after their moving to Poland (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 17, e, p. 175), and receiving a permission from the Polish to found the Ukrainian gymnasium in Volyn region; 4 visits to Warsaw within 3 months, co-operation with Polish Consul (which caused a displeasure among some representatives of Ukrainian emigration in Prague actually, for example S. Sheluchin) (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 5, b, p. 68; Case 17, f, p. 413), and receiving money from Poland for Prague emigrants (the part of it O. Lototskiy sent to France with the purpose of publishing “Trident” (“Tryzub”) (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 17, g, p. 422). The note from 11 May 1928 contains the list of teachers of Ukrainian University in Prague with short characteristics among which Oleksandr Lototskiy is also mentioned as a member of A. Levizkiy’s Government and as a representative of Poland’s Government in Prague with a mission to control the Ukrainians (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 5, c, pp. 61–61 P.T.O.) In the report from 18 July 1928 concerning the Ukrainian issue in Poland and Czechoslovakia we have detailed information: O. Lototskiy wins perfect confidence in Poland’s Government and is regarded as “a friend” at the Polish Embassy in Prague; the Ukrainians who wanted to gain a visa to Poland had to get an agreement with O. Lototskiy first, as the Embassy gave visas only after the recommendations were received (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 5, d, p. 76).

Apart from it, beginning from September of 1928, in reports there were mentioned O. Lototskiy’s preparations for moving first to Warsaw, then, perhaps, Lviv where it was planned to open University (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 17, h, p. 422 P.T.O.); the direct moving to Warsaw, performances in his honor in Podebradach by I. Myrny’s wife, delegating his authority of the Head of Republican-democratic Club (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 4, a, pp. 13–13 P.T.O.) and even a farewell party with O. Lototskiy in Prague at “Graff” hotel on 29 October 1928 (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 5, e, p. 206).

The most part of the Ukrainian emigration greeted O. Lototskiy’s moving to Warsaw. In particular, K. Mazievich in his letter to Oleksandr Lototskiy from 5 December 1928 says that the Republican-democratic Club and Prague’s circles on the whole felt O. Lototskiy’s absence, although they quite understood his moving, as he could do more in Warsaw for the common Ukrainian deed (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 2, a, p. 7). Ye. Lukasevich in his letter to K. Mazievich in the spring of 1929 was glad that there gathered a lot of honorable people in Warsaw including O. Lototskiy (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 2, b, p. 82).

The first years in Warsaw were the time of increased social and political activity, which was evident from the materials from the Branch State Archives of the Foreign Intelligence Service of Ukraine. Already in 1929 O. Lototskiy was amid the leaders and active participants of All-Ukrainian emigrant’s centre which had the objective of preparing the Ukrainians for the Ukrainian issue in the League of Nations (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 4, b, p. 138 P.T.O.). In the materials from July of 1929 there are found reports concerning the meetings of A. Levitskiy and O. Lototskiy with the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Italy Dino Grandi as for organizing of Anti-Bolsheviks actions and founding of an body aimed at counteracting the Bolsheviks, where of financial support from Italian side was not mentioned (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 2, c, p. 112). I. Tokarzhevskiy writes on the expediency of co-operation with the USA in his letter to O. Lototskiy. In particular, he notes that in financial circles in Paris

they spoke about the interests of America's capitals in economic renaissance of Ukraine, so it would be very useful if O. Lotozkiy met with a representative of American financial groups Deve (there is no more detailed information about Deve in the source. – The author) and presented him a statistical survey of economic situation in Ukraine before the war and at the current time (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 2, d, p. 172).

On 25–27 July Oleksandr Lotozkiy took part in the conference of the Ukrainian emigrants in Prague (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 2, e, p. 165). In the report from 15 August 1929 there was given an extended list of participants of the emigrants' conference and information concerning the number of Ukrainian emigrants' organizations presented during the conference (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 2, f, p. 182). According to the report from 26 October 1929 there is information concerning the plans to organize Ukrainian University in Lutsk with the help of Polish Ministry, among the authors of the project O. Lotozkiy is mentioned (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 2, g, p. 321). The issues of activity in Volyn region were also discussed at the congress of "Petliura's men" in Warsaw in December of 1929 (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 2, h, p. 287).

Taking into account the heterogeneousness of the Ukrainian emigration and its ideological diversity even among representatives of a certain political movement, it is not surprising that time from time in reports there appeared information about conflicting situations and misunderstandings. For example, a part of the Ukrainian emigration, who was the followers of the UPR and represented military circles, looked with precaution at the figure of the leader of UPR's Government A. Levytskiy as well as at Minister of Internal Affairs Oleksandr Lotozkiy. In particular, such attitude was traced in the letter of a representative of Military Ministry of the UPR A. Kmet towards Military Minister V. Salskiy. The roots of this attitude are interpreted as an old "cold" attitude from the side of the military men to representatives of civil sphere ("circles") and the attitude of O. Lotozkiy towards the issue of granting entry visas to Poland for military men (alas, the details of this case are not explained) (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 2, i, p. 17). Sometimes it came to intercepting letters; in particular, O. Lotozkiy reported that General V. Salskiy intercepted his letter from the Soviet Ukraine and refused to give it back according to the address; he also did not let him know the content (due to O. Lotozkiy's suppositions it concerned the Ukrainians' attitude to coup d'état in Ukraine in the aspect not favorable for V. Salskiy) (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 1, b, p. 92). However, the co-operation went on, in particular, in the summer O. Lotozkiy and E. Chikalenko visited Prague to coordinate civil representatives of the UPR's partaking in military gatherings which were going to take place on 29 July in Kalysh under the name of "The Congress of the UPR Army's Invalids" (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 9, a, p. 413).

Oleksandr Lotozkiy himself supported A. Levitskiy as a leader of the UPR's Government; in particular, in the confrontation of the latter with Military Minister V. Salskiy (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 1, c, pp. 91–92; BSA FIS Ukraine, Case 15, a, p. 274), however, at the same time he propagated an idea of reviving the Directory instead of A. Levytskiy alone. At the same time, against both O. Lotozkiy and A. Levitskiy in Prague M. Slavinskiy rendered agitation supposedly (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 2, j, p. 270 P.T.O.). The confrontation between A. Levytskiy and V. Salskiy resulted in a meeting of the Council of the Ukrainian Central Committee (UCC) on 8 July 1930 (O. Lotozkiy also took part in it), on which the majority of the present argued the impossibility of splits at the current time in the Ukrainian emigration. As a result, the Council of the UCC made a decision not to change anything in the leadership as well as in the UPR (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 1, d, p. 94). Moreover, the achievements at the beginning of the 1930s required really uniting but not quarrel. Positive changes in the Ukrainian community of the so-called "Petliura's men" were noted even in

some reports. In particular, it was supposed that during the period of 1922 – 1924 the Ukrainians in emigration were morally corrupted and ran off organizationally, instead during the year of 1930 they became a united community under the leadership of Warsaw's centre. As the outer factor, which helped regenerating the UPR, the increased Polish financial support was noted after killing of S. Petliura. The inner factor – the activity of the UPR's members. Among the figures, who played a special role in the renovation of the UPR in exile, O. Lotozkiy was mentioned who together with his colleagues was very active in organizing the Ukrainian communities in Central and Western Europe (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 3, a, pp. 99–99 P.T.O.).

At the same time, information about a possible split among the followers of the UPR continued to appear. The reasons which caused quarrels, first of all, were the increase of the Polish influence in Western Ukraine (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 9, b, p. 20) and expediency of removing the emigration centre to Prague or Paris (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 9, c, p. 407). According to the materials from the Branch State Archives of the Foreign Intelligence Service of Ukraine, on 15 April 1931 members of the UPR's Government (O. Lotozkiy among them) visited Prague to make a deal with the Czechs about moving as well as holding a council with Paris governmental group of the UPR (BSA FIS Ukraine, Case 9, d, p. 306). In case of the UPR's moving it was planned that some person-members should stay on in Warsaw among whom, of course, O. Lotozkiy was also mentioned (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 9, e, p. 217).

Parallel to it, in a row of reports (May – June of 1931) they spoke about organizing meetings of the Polish Government and members of the UPR's Government (with O. Lotozkiy's partaking) and achieving agreements on opening of Ukrainian University in Warsaw and the professorate's moving from Prague (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 9, f, pp. 326, 370). In the report from June of 1931 they spoke about, according to A. Jakovlev's words, Poland's setting up new requirements to the UPR which even A. Levytskiy and O. Lotozkiy (being supporters of Polish-Ukrainian cooperation) regarded as unacceptable (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 9, g, p. 426).

On a background of reports about a possible split among emigrants-supporters of the UPR in the summer of 1931 there appeared reports about O. Lotozkiy's leaving the Ministry. Among the reasons for such decision they mentioned his wish after his wife's death to leave politics and to concentrate himself on Church activity as well as on the Polish-Ukrainian contradictions which became aggravated in 1931 (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 9, h, pp. 327, 367). O. Lotozkiy himself supposedly explained his leaving the Government by the fact that the UPR began to lose independence lately, yielding to the Polish Government influence (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 9, I, p. 456). In his letter to V. Murskiy he noted that because of his personal catastrophe he did not feel enough strength to take up work which requires a lot of energy and initiative (BSA FIS Ukraine, Case 9, j, p. 522). In September of 1931 there appeared a report according to which O. Lotozkiy was planning to leave the UPR in order to accept a bishopric for Volyn Eparchy from Metropolitan of the Orthodox Church in Poland Dionysii (Valedynskyi) or to localize an autocephaly movement there (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 8, a, p. 1). However, it remained only as possible plans or rumors.

The leaving of the UPR's Government did not mean a full stop in a social activity of Oleksandr Lotozkiy, in particular, he was a participant of the second Ukrainian scientific congress which took place in Prague as well as a row of secret councils of the UPR's leaders during the first half of 1932 (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 7, a, p. 400). On 16 – 17 July 1932 the congress of Ukrainian organizations took place in France. O. Lotozkiy was present there among representatives of the Central Council of Ukrainian organizations (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 6, a, p. 46). In September of 1932 the conference of Ukrainian emigration took place in Prague at

which O. Lotozkiy was present too (BSA FIS Ukraine, Case 6, b, p. 321). He also made a report at the October conference of the UPR where the issues of political situation in the world and the demands to unite all Ukrainian forces were discussed (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 6, c, p. 337).

A great deal of the work concerning both social and political, scientific and educational activities of the Ukrainian emigration in Poland during the period of 1920 – 1930 was connected with functioning of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute (USI) in Warsaw under the leadership of Oleksandr Lotozkiy. Some reports in the materials from the Branch State Archives of the Foreign Intelligence Service of Ukraine are relevant to the above Institute in particular. For example, in a report from February of 1931 there is information about holding public lectures in the Polish language at the recently opened Institute, which though were not popular yet (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 9, k, p. 13). There is information already from March about opened at the USI seminar in law which was aimed at studying the Soviet Legislation and that necessary corrections should be made at the beginning in case of returning to Ukraine (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 9, l, p. 167). They spoke about readiness for O. Lotozkiy's moving to Ukraine in the next future at the meeting of Lawyer Society (BSA FIS Ukraine, Case 9, m, p. 168). They also spoke about a possible upheaval in Ukraine in the spring of 1931 in the report from May as well as about a meeting of D. Gerodot and O. Lotozkiy (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 9, n, p. 340). Dated from May of 1931 there is a more informative report about the USI's activity in Warsaw: the USI had 4 departments (economical, historical philological and engineering); at the head – the board under the leadership of O. Lotozkiy; the objective of administrative-law department – educating a staff for the future government of Ukraine; the Institute was also engaged in publishing activity (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 9, o, p. 324).

In the field of social and political activity Oleksandr Lotozkiy was still busy in Church issues. Judging by the figure's publications dated from the 1920s – 1930s we can see a profound study of the Ukrainian Church conducted by O. Lotozkiy; the materials from the Branch State Archives of the Foreign Intelligence Service of Ukraine show that the scientist continued to be engaged in acknowledgement of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church from the part of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople. For example, V. Prokopovich in his letter to O. Lotozkiy from 15 June 1930 informed that during his meeting with the Patriarch he reminded the latter of the importance of solving the Church issue in Ukraine and that in reply he was given a promise that the issue would be solved and that Patriarch passed blessing to the Ukrainian emigration (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 1, e, p. 22). In the report from 27 August 1930 it was noted that on V. Prokopovich's arriving from Turkey an important meeting of the UPR's Government members was held in Warsaw, but what was being discussed about was not exactly ascertained (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 1, f, p. 177 P.T.O.). At V. Kedrovskiy's request O. Lotozkiy turned to a representative of the UPR in Turkey V. Murskiy concerning the matters of American part of the Ukrainian Autocephaly Church which sought for mutual understanding with the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople while asking V. Murskiy about mediation (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 15, c, p. 154).

Oleksandr Lotozkiy planned an election of Metropolitan Boris (most likely – Razumov. – The author) as an extraordinary member of the UPR about which he consulted with V. Murskiy. The latter helped O. Lotozkiy in the search of official books which were to be translated in Ukrainian by the Commission organized at the UPR for the purpose of translating Holy Scripture and divine service books (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 8, b, p. 154).

In other letters O. Lotozkiy told V. Murskiy that as a representative of the Patriarch in Warsaw Bishop Alexander Zotos had been invited and that he had a “decent” attitude to the Ukrainian deed; that in June of 1932 a group of 3 representatives was going to visit the Aphon

to take part in a preparatory cathedral gathering aimed at summoning the Eight Ecumenical Council; in the letter he also asked to pass congratulations to Metropolitan Boris on his behalf and promised to send new volumes of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute works in Warsaw (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 7, b, p. 334). In particular, in the summer of 1931 he sent some exemplars of his work “Ukrainian Sources of Church Law” for V. Murskiy and Metropolitan Boris and on returning from Paris, where he stayed at his children, he planned to send 2 more exemplars for the Patriarch and Patriarch’s library (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 9, p, p. 522).

The leaving of active social and political work made possible for O. Lototskiy to be plunged in teaching work at Warsaw University, to concentrate himself on scientific work and dedicate his time to remembrances. So, in 1935 and in 1938 2 volume work “Autocephaly” was published. The work was dedicated to elucidating general foundations of Church Autocephaly and history of some Orthodox churches (Lototskiy, 1935; Lototskiy, 1938). During the years of 1932 – 1934 emigrant society could be acquainted with 3 volume memoirs “Pages of the Past” by O. Lototskiy (Lototskiy, 1932; Lototskiy, 1934), and in 1939 – with a separate volume of memoirs dedicated to his stay in Turkey (Lototskiy, 1939).

The Conclusions. During the period of the 1920s – 1930s O. Lototskiy’s activity took place on the territories of Central-Western Europe. Taking into account both his concentrated practice of social and political work in the previous years and professionalism in the matters of researching the Church history, it should be noted that functioning of a lot of emigrants’ establishments and organizations was possible due to his partaking. Previous researches in O. Lototskiy’s intellectual biography have shown the continuance of his interests in the history of Church on the whole and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in particular. At the same time, the materials from the Branch State Archives of the Foreign Intelligence Service of Ukraine provided a basis for making an addition to the emigration period of O. Lototskiy’s life with facts of intense social and political activity. Already at the beginning of 1926 while staying in Prague he was a participant of the Ukrainian Republican Club, the Committee of Ukrainian National Parties Unity, the League of political activity, as he took the position of Minister for Internal Affairs of the UPR’s Government in exile under of leadership of A. Levytskiy. Hereafter, we have reports on his partaking in various conferences, congresses, councils the aim of which was to reorganize the Ukrainian emigration, to unite it and prepare conditions for an Anti-Bolsheviks upheaval (coup d’etat) in Ukraine. The moving to Warsaw opened new possibilities: under the leadership of Oleksandr Lototskiy the Ukrainian Scientific Institute was established in Warsaw. Tragic circumstances of his private life and the refusal to avow a failure in independency of the UPR Government activity led to O. Lototskiy’s exit from the membership of the UPR Government in exile. However, it made possible for him to dedicate more time to his teaching activity at Warsaw University and be plunged to full extent in scientific work.

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**“EVERY EVIL EVOLVES FROM DRUNKENNESS”:
ANTI-ALCOHOL POLICY OF “NASH LEMKO”**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research* is to find out the features of the anti-alcohol policy of the newspaper editorial board of “Nash Lemko” (“Our Lemko”). *The methodology of the research* is based on the interdisciplinary approach. The following methods and approaches have been used as systematic, comparative and critical analysis of the source base, represented by large text arrays. The application of the content analysis technique made it possible to carry out the correct interpretation of various genres of newspaper information. *The scientific novelty* is that for the first time an attempt has been made of a comprehensive analysis of anti-alcohol issues on the pages of the newspaper “Nash Lemko”. **The Conclusions.** Taking into consideration the anti-alcohol issues on the pages of “Nash Lemko”, we will point out its richness and plot, which correlated with the real scale of this threat to the Ruthenians during the interwar period of the XXth century. In the newspaper there was the issue of promoting a

healthy lifestyle among its readers quite systematically as the newspaper editorial board even used the considerable work of the European and Ukrainian movement activists, who were fighting for sobriety at that time. Appealing to the readers' minds with eloquent data of statistics and criminal chronicles, the newspaper at the same time disturbed the imagination of the Ruthenians by many means of artistic influence. The consequences of the above-mentioned policy, despite its sometimes inconsiderable moments, were a growing awareness among the Beskyd population that numerous problems were due to their own abuse of alcohol and nicotine. The Lemkos, in general, gave a worthy answer to the social disaster, as evidenced by the positive dynamics of the "Vidrodzhennia" ("The Renaissance") Society foundation in the mountain villages, which united more and more Ruthenian abstainers. Such consolidation was very important for the Lemkos community on the eve of the ordeal of World War II.

Key words: "Nash Lemko", Ruthenian, anti-alcohol policy, II Rzeczpospolita, "Vidrodzhennia" Society.

"ВІД ПИЯТИКИ БЕРЕ ПОЧАТОК УСЯКА ПОГАНЬ": ПРОТИАЛКОГОЛЬНА ПОЛІТИКА "НАШОГО ЛЕМКА"

Анотація. Мета дослідження полягає у з'ясуванні особливостей протиалкогольної політики редакції часопису "Наш лемко". **Методологічне підґрунтя** роботи становить міждисциплінарний підхід. У статті використано такі методику та підходи, як систематичний, порівняльний і критичний аналіз джерельної бази, представленої великими текстовими масивами. Здійснити коректну інтерпретацію різножанрової газетної інформації уможливило застосування методики контент-аналізу. **Наукова новизна** статті полягає у спробі комплексного аналізу протиалкогольної проблематики на сторінках часопису "Наш лемко". **Висновки.** Підсумовуючи протиалкогольну проблематику на сторінках "Нашого лемка", вважаємо на її насиченість і полісюжетність, що корелювало з дійсними масштабами цієї загрози для русинів у міжвоєнне двадцятиліття. Використовуючи тогочасні чималі напрацювання активістів європейського й українського руху за тверезість, часопис підійшов доволі системно до справи популяризації здорового способу життя у середовищі своїх читачів. Апелюючи до їх розуму промовистими даними статистики та кримінальної хроніки, видання водночас збуджувало увагу русина багатьма засобами художнього впливу. Наслідками такої політики, попри її подекуди неприглядні моменти, було зростаюче розуміння серед населення Бескидів, що причинами багатьох негараздів є власне нерозважливе ставлення до алкоголю та нікотину. Лемки, загалом, дали гідну відповідь цьому громадському лиху, свідченням чого була позитивна динаміка закладання гуртків Товариства "Відродження" у гірських селах, що об'єднували дедалі більше русинів-абстинентів. Така консолідація була дуже важливою для лемківської громади напередодні важкого випробування, яким виявилася Друга світова війна.

Ключові слова: "Наш лемко", русини, протиалкогольна політика, Друга Річ Посполита, товариство "Відродження".

The Problem Statement. Diverse researchers of the history of the Lemko sub-ethnic group are practically unanimous in their belief in the importance of the interwar period for the crystallization of the national self-awareness of the representatives of this westernmost branch of Ukraine. Hence, the clear quantitative dominance of literature could be easily explained, which covered various aspects of the life of the Ruthenians in the Second Commonwealth (II Rzeczpospolita). Thus, nowadays we are quite well informed about the cultural and economic life of the Lemkos, as well as their difficult struggle with the challenges of that time, first of all, the anti-Ukrainian policy of the Polish governments, which neglected the national choice of their citizens, as well as the mass emigration, as a result of which the Beskyds were rapidly depopulated.

However, almost nothing was written so far concerning the Lemko activists reaction to the problems, the roots of which were in the Ruthenian environment. It is, first of all, about the epidemic nature of the spread of alcoholism, which destroyed the Lemko community

from within. The paramount evidence of the above-mentioned threat is the ever-increasing attention of the Ruthenian periodicals, in the columns of which the rapid addiction to alcohol of the Lemkos is marked by the greatest social disaster of the time. Therefore, ignoring this problem by the Lemkos researchers contrasts with its scale clearly, which makes it impossible to reconstruct the Ruthenian phenomenon of the interwar period completely. Therefore, as the first step towards the study of this topic, we should recreate the anti-alcohol discourse of the newspaper “Nash Lemko” (1934 – 1939), the most popular among the Ruthenians of the Second Commonwealth (II Rzeczpospolita).

The Analysis of Recent Researches. Taking into account the special importance of the newspaper “Nash Lemko” as a historical source for the reconstruction of the history of interwar Rusynism, the magazine was mentioned in the historiography of the Lemko studies many times by numerous researchers (Telvak & Nakonechny, 2019). At the same time, currently there are no independent studies to clarify the heuristic value of the newspaper materials for the reconstruction of the anti-alcohol struggle in the Lemko region during the interwar period. As a result, the above-mentioned information determines the relevance of our study.

The purpose of the research is to find out the features of the anti-alcohol policy of the newspaper editorial board of “Nash Lemko” (“Our Lemko”).

The Main Material Statement. First of all, we should describe briefly the genesis of the abstinence discourse of the Ruthenian periodicals during the interwar period. Taking into consideration the growing threat of the alcohol addiction spread in the Lemkos environment, since the last decades of the XXth century in the territory of the Ukrainian Beskyds, the movement for sobriety became more and more active. At that time it was headed by the Greek Catholic pastors, who were almost the only representatives of the Ruthenian intelligentsia. For instance, the renowned Ruthenian intellectual, the priest Anton Beskyd (Za tverezist, 1934, p. 3), was especially active in the field of public struggle against alcoholism. Hence, it should come as no surprise that when his grandson Yulian Tarnovych headed the editorial board of the authoritative Ruthenian biweekly newspaper “Nash Lemko” (“Our Lemko”), he turned it into a mouthpiece for the active sobriety movement among his compatriots.

First of all, the authors of the magazine resorted to diagnosing the “ulcers” of a public life, according to their fair observation, reaching the origins of the problem of the Ruthenian alcoholism. While covering genesis of the issue, the authors of “Nash Lemko” came to the paradoxical conclusion that the acquisition of personal freedom in 1848 “had very serious consequences to our people, and among other things it concerned their sobriety” (Za tverezist, 1935, p. 8). It was written that before 1848 a peasant-alcoholic could drink and pay the only money he had earned, but it was very difficult for him to get rid of his house and a plot of land, because it required the permission of the ‘pan’ (owner, master) and some other measures. After liberation from serfdom, the peasant became a full owner of his house, garden and field. Since then, each peasant-owner received a large loan from a barkeeper and could drink until he drank his own property and became a beggar. “Indeed, since 1848,” the newspaper correspondent claims, “drunkenness has spread even more among our people; vodkarni, taverns multiply even more, and thousands of our peasants drink away all their property easily, which passes into the hands of the others” (Za tverezist, 1935, p. 8). In addition, the rapid spread of drunkenness among the Lemkos, the reporters also explained the material interest of didych (the title of a hereditary owner of a certain estate) and innkeepers, to whom the sale of horilka and tobacco brought unprecedented benefits. It even came to the point that in the 1870s and the 1980s, in many suburbs of the Lemko region, the people

received horilka and tobacco as their wages not money, which further spread drunkenness among the peasants.

The scale of this disaster increased significantly during the interwar period. Then the chemical industry was enriched by the invention of relatively cheap technical alcohol for domestic use. As this product did not belong to food items, the police were not interested in the peculiarities of its use and distribution for a long time. Instead, various dealers learned how to make a strong-alcohol denaturant from it, which received several names – “shpirytaika”, “eter” and “kropka” by the Lemkos. In addition, its toxicity was significantly higher than that of ordinary horilka, leading to faster habituation of the body weakened by chronic malnutrition and considerable disability due to irreversible damage to the digestive, visual organs and psyche. Taking into account the above-mentioned information, the Lemko periodicals sounded the alarm, showing many readers the perniciousness of the new-fangled drink. Hence, the newspaper “Nash Lemko” explained the following: “Eter mixed with horivka has the characteristics that people are more intoxicated by it than horivka. Consequently, those who drink eters very soon fall into the trap of drunkenness and the so-called drug addiction, of which they should be cured in the appropriate hospitals later” (Troily, 1934, p. 1).

It should be mentioned that while understanding the reasons for such a significant popularity of alcohol in the then Ruthenian environment, the newspaper “Nash Lemko” stated decently that it was one of the consequences of the frustration of unrealized life plans. It was said that the inhabitant of the mountain village, burdened with landlessness and unbearable taxes, also felt his own helplessness before the arbitrariness of the foreign bureaucracy, which treated him as a man of a lower class. As a result, people with insufficient resistance chose to escape from the unattractive reality and preferred increasingly the state of alcohol-altered consciousness due to the existential hopelessness. It should be mentioned that the authors of the magazine depicted the above-mentioned issue on a national scale, emphasizing the unhealed historical trauma of the Ukrainians. “Both poisons were not inflicted on any people in the past and do not bring as much harm to the present as to the Ukrainians, – the correspondent of “Nash Lemko” emphasized. – Maybe because the nation has been and is in captivity for the longest time of all, which sucks the best forces out of it and destroys its resilience. And that is why, our people must fight in front of others with poisons that threaten their lives and break their strength” (Berezhitsia, 1937, p. 7).

Furthermore, realizing the threat of alcoholism to the very existence of the Lemko world, the Ruthenian activists, including the authors of the newspaper “Nash Lemko”, launched a broad information campaign. First of all, an economic argument that was particularly sensitive to the average impoverished Ruthenian was adopted. Using state statistics, the newspaper “Nash Lemko” demonstrated eloquently that despite the chronic economic crisis, the population of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (II Rzeczpospolita) did not reduce its spending on bad habits. The newspaper claimed the following, while illustrating the amount of such costs: “The terrible numbers speak for themselves: 120 million złoty spent on alcohol and 60 million złoty on tobacco! This very figure of 180 million złoty, spent annually, denies the fact as if nobody had drunk or smoked, because there is nothing to be spent ... Let these terrible figures shake the dormant conscience of the citizenry, and draw attention” (Do naishliakhetnishoi borotby, 1936, p. 4). In addition, analyzing large figures of state statistics and the daily expenses of a peasant, one of the issues of “Nash Lemko” provided indicative information that for one glass of horilka you can buy a wide range of goods either 6 glasses of milk, 3 eggs, a kilogram of bread, 12 rolls, 350 grams of cheese or 4 kg of potatoes (Shcho mozhna kupyty, 1938, p. 4).

The economic argument on the pages of the newspaper was reinforced by the depiction of numerous personal and social troubles that alcoholism brings to the Lemko environment. Thus, one of the active contributors to the newspaper, who hid under the pseudonym “Vidrodzhenets” (“Renaissancer”), systematized in great detail the calamities that bring drunkenness to a man. First of all, he claimed that alcohol can destroy a person spiritually, because it stunned his mind, took away consciousness, weakened resistance to bad influences, shortened memory, destroyed the balance of the spirit, pushed him to adventure and adversity. Moreover, the author of the post carried on writing, highlighting that alcohol may destroy people physically, it causes irreparable damage to the offspring, “causing great spiritual devastation”. In addition, the “Vidrodzhenets” (“Renaissancer”) pointed out that drunkenness can destroy a person financially, wasting hard-earned money and leaving the family hungry. In the end, the post put emphasis on the fact that alcohol can also also destroy a person socially. The point was that a person devoted to drunkenness became incapable of any positive social work and active life. “Vice versa! – the author put emphasis, – It becomes a burden for the society which for maintenance of itself before it has to keep guards of a public safety, criminals, personalities and courts!” (Vidrodzhenets, 1937, p. 3). Hence, the “Vidrodzhenets” summed up, the Lemko community was destroyed by an alcoholic addicted person because of the alcoholic his family suffered from poverty, as a result, may lose its strength for cultural progress. While demonstrating the threat of alcoholism from various aspects, the author urged his readers: “Therefore, let us beware of alcohol and related poisonous drinks, both formidable and dangerous, and private and family, as well as the national enemy, who repeatedly tried to destroy our people [...]” (Vidrodzhenets, 1937, p. 3).

Furthermore, the newspaper “Nash Lemko” went on to explain to its reader a positive programme to overcome this social disaster by depicting the many misfortunes that accompany alcoholism. It should be mentioned that its main points were developed by figures of the authoritative Ukrainian anti-alcohol society “Vidrodzhennia” (“Renaissance”) in Western Ukraine, and the Lemko newspaper adapted them to the realities of its reader’s life. First of all, “Nash Lemko” drew attention to the young part of its audience justifiably, in which the dynamics of alcoholism was particularly threatening. Hence, the newspaper took the initiative to establish anti-alcohol clubs in the senior classes of rural schools, in order to distract young people from the bad habits of the older generation. According to the newspaper “Nash Lemko”, in order to be efficient and successful concerning the above-mentioned case, it should be taken care of by education officials. “[...] The school authorities must take care, – we read on the pages of the newspaper, – that in all schools, without distinction, there must be established anti-alcohol clubs and appropriate reports must be made for the young and the old to teach how to conduct anti-alcohol work among the rural population” (Shche pro denaturku, 1936, p. 7).

In addition, one more vital initiative, which was taken and presented to its readers by the Lemko biweekly was the idea of holding non-alcoholic holidays. In the columns of “Nash Lemko” we can spot numerous calls for a sober celebration of milestones as weddings, birthdays, baptisms, Christmas and Easter. In order to reinforce their appeal emotionally, the authors of the newspaper contrasted the descriptions of diverse misfortunes that occurred on holidays with alcohol, with the depiction of the carefree fun of abstainers. There was a lot written about fights, murders, robberies and deaths as a result of denaturation poisoning at the Lemkos parties in the section of information messages. Such news was accompanied by the expected summary – “It is time for our peasants to have a mind and not to cause trouble to themselves and people” (Palinka, 1935, p. 7).

It should be highlighted that in contrast to such information, descriptions of non-alcoholic celebrations were given in a completely different tone – a tradition that gradually gained popularity in the Lemkos villages. Often such texts were published on the first column, which raised their significance in the eyes of a reader. For example, with a lot of emotional enthusiasm on the pages of “Nash Lemko” it was written about non-alcoholic weddings in the villages of Riabim and Matviyeva. The newspaper informed that during these celebrations, conscious Lemkos raised funds for the Ukrainian disabled people and for the “Ridna Shkola” Society. “Honor to the conscious Brothers!”, – an eyewitness of the events tried to encourage the others to follow a piece of advice (Na bezalkoholnim, 1936, p. 1). Moreover, non-alcoholic celebrations of Christmas and Easter were depicted with no less expression. The festive issues of “Nash Lemko” dedicated to them certainly contained appeals to refrain from consuming strong drinks. For greater authority, such appeals were signed by renowned religious or secular figures. The newspaper assured: “Only sober holidays will give you pleasure and leave you the best memory. [...] Get the poison out of the holiday table! [...] Alcohol and tobacco destroy health and destroy property! They are our enemies and we will not allow them to violate the sanctity of Christmas!” (Sviatkuimo, 1937, p. 2).

The newspaper “Nash Lemko” also acquainted its readers with the past and present state of anti-alcohol struggle in different parts of the world with a clear propaganda goal. Reaching its origins, the newspaper reported that the first sobriety society was founded in North America in the town of Moreau in 1808, the second appeared in Boston, in 1813, and later such centers began to appear in other US cities. As early as in 1865, the American Sobriety Society was founded. In Europe, such the oldest society was founded in Scotland, in 1826, and then in Sweden, in 1837. The Ukrainians did not lag behind Western Europeans in terms of consciousness, founding such society on the initiative of Cardinal Mykhailo Levytskyi in 1844. Somewhat later, similar organizational centers originated in Norway, in 1850, in Germany, in 1883, in Austria, in 1887, and etc.

Hence, it was expected that the newspaper paid the most attention to the development of the anti-alcohol struggle in the Ukrainian sub-Austrian territories. Its peculiarity was the considerable involvement of the Greek Catholic clergy in this matter: “The leaders of sobriety and fighters against drunkenness were the Ukrainian priests, who worked to improve the moral and ethical condition of the Ukrainian countryside” (Tovarystva, 1935, p. 2). The anti-alcohol struggle was led by representatives of the secular intelligentsia only at the beginning of the XXth century, who in 1909 founded the above-mentioned Ukrainian Anti-Alcohol Society “Vidrodzhennia” (“Renaissance”), which since became the flagship of the movement for a healthy lifestyle. Its popularity among the Ukrainians was evidenced by the fact that in 1914 the society had 6 regional branches and 50 circles with more than a thousand active members.

Furthermore, the newspaper “Nash Lemko” paid a lot of attention to the demonstration of contemporary, sometimes quite radical, practices in the fight against drunkenness. Hence, the newspaper informed its reader that in Germany the police escorted chronic alcoholics with signs on their necks with the inscription “I drank all my earnings” along the streets of cities (Novyi sposib, 1935, p. 3). In turn, Australia decided by Parliament to send alcoholics to distant islands, where they had to work hard under strict security supervision until they get rid of addiction (Avstraliia, 1937, p. 12). According to the newspaper “Nash Lemko”, much was done to fight against alcoholism in the Second Commonwealth. Hence, the pages of the newspaper contained a detailed description of the activities of the International Anti-Alcohol Congress in Warsaw with the participation of the Prime Minister (Borotba, 1937, p. 3).

Instead, in the article “America is Drunk” the newspaper criticized sharply the demolition of the well-known “dry law” in the United States (Ameryka, 1934, p. 3)

It should be emphasized that the newspaper “Nash Lemko” also tried to convert its readers to a healthy lifestyle by the power of the artistic word. For example, the newspaper published stories written by the popular Ruthenian writer Ivan Shevchyk-Lukavychenko “Paliunka” and “Faika”. In addition, a number of stories on anti-alcohol issues were published in the newspaper by its editor Yu. Tarnovych. The column of the publication was also full of motivating slogans such as “The ear of a drunken slave does not hear the rattle of the shackles in which he is chained”, “Money spend on drinking and smoking is money thrown into the swamp!”, “Do not go to the tavern – but go to the reading room!”, “Victory belongs to the sober, to drunkards – captivity”, “Wealth enters the inn, and need comes out” and etc. The newspaper “Nash Lemko” aroused the abstinent mood of a reader by the power of the visual image, containing appropriate thematic drawings in which the theme of bad habits was combined with death and ruin.

The Ruthenian newspaper initiated a broad campaign to establish the centers of the “Vidrodzhennia” (“Renaissance”) Society in the villages as a right consideration of the systemic nature of the anti-alcohol struggle in the Lemkos region as a guarantee of its success. The systematic work was carried out under the general slogan “Spreading the ideas of the “Vidrodzhennia” (“Renaissance”) Society in the Lemko region!”. As a result, the newspaper “Nash Lemko” persuaded the contributors to establish abstinence circles in their villages and to conduct agitation among their compatriots. Numerous articles published on the pages on the Ruthenian newspaper, which chronicled all the new activities of the advocates of a sober living, speak of its effectiveness. The most popular were the solemn oaths in the church of the new “Vidrodzhentsi” (“revivalists”), who promised to give up bad habits forever (P. H. vidrodzhenets, 1935, p. 8). Such information summaries were usually conducted in a similar way: “All sworn Lemkos join the “Vidrodzhennia” (“Renaissance”) Society and read anti-alcohol literature carefully. We ask you all, take Lemkos, set up “Vidrodzhennia” (“Renaissance”) Circles in your villages, let’s leave that spirit secret once again [...]. We take care of our future with common sense – or the better tomorrow of our people” (P. H. vidrodzhenets, 1935, p. 8). It should be noted that the largest number of anti-alcohol actions took place in February, which was the international month against drinking.

In general, the popularization of the activities of the “Vidrodzhennia” (“Renaissance”) by the Ukrainian press of the Second Commonwealth, but also by the newspaper “Nash Lemko”, proved to be quite effective. According to the report of the Society itself, in 1936 the organization actually doubled its work as compared to the previous year. If in 1935 the Society had in circulation 36,527 zloty, then in 1936 – 57,145 zloty; in 1935 there were published 122,500 copies of popularization publications, and in 1936 – 136,000 copies; the press published 500 anti-alcohol materials in 1935 and 950 – in 1936. In 1936, the number of branches increased to 13 and the number of circles to 115 (Ukrainskyi, 1937, p. 4).

At the same time, we should point out a certain inconsistency of the newspaper “Nash Lemko” in the fight against bad habits among the Ruthenians. Thus, the newspaper constantly put emphasis on the fact that tobacco was no less dangerous than alcohol addiction. That’s why, many plots were devoted to demonstrations of the dangers of smoking for an individual and the whole community (Chomu ne treba, 1934, p. 7). After all, the “Vidrodzhennia” (“Renaissance”) Society popularized by the Ruthenian newspaper also focused on the fight against this long-standing enemy of a healthy person. At the same time, urging to get rid of nicotine addiction, the newspaper “Nash Lemko” also published cigarettes advertisements of

the Ukrainian manufacturers. Ironically, those mutually contradictory materials were often contained in one column! Such kind of illogicality in the editorial policy of the Ruthenian newspaper was explained, apparently, by the urgent need for the financial survival of the chronically subsidized publication.

A dubious shadow of the newspaper “Nasho Lemko” anti-alcohol policy was a doubtful search of those responsible for the rapid spread of bad habits among the Ruthenians. Having completely succumbed to the anti-Semitism of European fashion at the time, the newspaper called the bartender of the Jewish origin, perhaps, the main reason for the alcoholism in the mountainous areas. Therefore, xenophobic statements such as the “Jewish-leech” or the “Jewish-impudent” were common on the pages of the newspaper “Nash Lemko”. It should be pointed out that in order to justify the blatantly racist invectives, the Ruthenian newspaper resorted to another common method of contemporary journalism, bizarrely combining in the person of a Jew the main threats to the Lemkos, both economically and ideologically. Hence, according to the columns of the newspaper, the Jews appeared not only as the only source of alcoholic but also as the communist dope. It should be noted that the mentioned plot requires a deeper special understanding in the broad context of the cultural stereotypes transformation of the European journalism during the interwar period.

The Conclusions. Taking into consideration the anti-alcohol issues on the pages of the newspaper “Nash Lemko”, we should point out its richness and plot, which correlated with the real scale of this threat to the Ruthenians during the interwar period of the XXth century. The newspaper approached the issue of promoting a healthy lifestyle among its readers quite systematically as its editorial board even used the considerable work of the European and Ukrainian movement activists, who were fighting for sobriety at that time. Appealing to a reader’s minds with eloquent data of statistics and criminal chronicles, the newspaper, at the same time, disturbed the imagination of the Ruthenians by many means of artistic influence. The consequences of the above-mentioned policy, despite its sometimes inconsiderable moments, were growing awareness among the Beskyd population that numerous problems were due to their own abuse of alcohol and nicotine. The Lemkos, in general, gave a worthy answer to the social disaster, as evidenced by the positive dynamics of the “Vidrodzhennia” (“Renaissance”) Society foundation in the mountain villages, which united more and more Ruthenian abstainers. Such consolidation was very important for the Lemkos community on the eve of the ordeal of World War II.

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OPERATIONAL AND MOBILIZATION MEASURES OF THE SOVIET STATE SECURITY BODIES IN 1939 – JUNE OF 1941

Abstract. *The purpose of the study is to elucidate, through the prism of declassified documents, the real state of implementation of mobilization measures in Ukraine and operational mobilization plans of the Soviet special services on the eve of World War II and Nazi Germany's attack on the Soviet Union. The research methodology is based on the principles of objectivity, systematics and dialectical combination of cause-effect relationships, the use of general scientific methods – historical and logical, abstraction, analysis, synthesis, generalization, and specific scientific methods – historical genetic and historical comparative. The scientific novelty of the article consists in elucidating the role of the USSR state security agencies in the elaboration of mobilization plans in 1939 – June of 1941, control over their implementation and development of specific operational and mobilization tasks. The shortcomings and misjudgments in the measures taken have been elucidated and the real state of combat readiness of the USSR has been clarified. The publication is prepared on the basis of previously inaccessible to researchers archival documents. The Conclusions. The documents do not show the intention of the USSR to be the first to strike at Nazi Germany in the summer of 1941, but in the event of aggression, the plan was clear – to relocate hostilities outside the territory of the state quickly and defeat the enemy at its territory. In this aspect, the communist leaders likened their plans, albeit in a different sequence, to the Nazi plans for a “Blitzkrieg”. According to the imaginary scenario of the coming war, intelligence and operational measures of the Soviet intelligence and counterintelligence were envisaged in the west of the USSR, in particular in Ukraine, and abroad. Organizationally and materially unsupported strategy of defeating the enemy even on the far frontiers and the frontal transition to the offensive resulted in weak defense and mobilization training of the Soviet troops and civilians. Despite attempts made by the state security authorities to exercise a total control over the activities of the mobilization services, a single mobilization plan was not developed in the country. The incessant informing of the higher party and state bodies about the disruption of the disparate mobilization tasks by the Soviet Union and republican departments, and defense enterprises testified that the reaction to the intelligence services' reports was belated and ineffective. To verify the conclusions, it is perspective to study the peculiarities of the air defense system formation during this period and the network formation of command posts and fortified areas.*

Key words: *Ukraine, World War II, state security agencies, mobilization, operational measures.*

ОПЕРАТИВНО-МОБІЛІЗАЦІЙНІ ЗАХОДИ РАДЯНСЬКИХ ОРГАНІВ ДЕРЖАВНОЇ БЕЗПЕКИ У 1939 – ЧЕРВНІ 1941 р.

Анотація. *Мета дослідження* – крізь призму розсекречених документів розкрити стан виконання мобілізаційних заходів в Україні й оперативно-мобілізаційні плани радянських спецслужб напередодні Другої світової війни та нападу нацистської Німеччини на Радянський Союз. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на принципах об'єктивності, системності й діалектичного поєднання причинно-наслідкових зв'язків, використанні загальнонаукових методів – історичного та логічного, абстрагування, аналізу, синтезу, узагальнення, конкретно-наукових методів – історико-генетичного й історико-порівняльного. **Наукова новизна** статті полягає у тому, що в ній показано роль органів державної безпеки СРСР у розробленні в 1939 – червні 1941 р. мобілізаційних планів і контролі за їх виконанням, опрацюванні специфічних оперативно-мобілізаційних завдань. З'ясовано недоліки і прорахунки проведених заходів і уточнено справжній стан боеготовності СРСР. Публікація підготовлена на основі раніше недоступних для дослідників архівних документів. **Висновки.** Із документів не вбачається намірів СРСР першим завдати удару по нацистській Німеччині влітку 1941 р., проте у разі агресії розрахунок однозначно був на швидке перенесення бойових дій за межі держави і розгром противника на його території. У цьому комуністичні лідери уподібнювали свої плани, хоч і в іншій послідовності, до нацистських планів на “бліцкриг”. Згідно з уявним сценарієм майбутньої війни, передбачалися агентурно-оперативні заходи радянської розвідки й контррозвідки на заході СРСР, зокрема в Україні, та за кордоном. Із організаційно та матеріально невідкріпленої стратегії нанесення поразки ворогу ще на дальніх рубежах і фронтального переходу до наступу впливала слабка оборонно-мобілізаційна підготовка як радянських військ, так і цивільного населення. Незважаючи на спроби тотального контролю за діяльністю мобілізаційних служб з боку органів державної безпеки, єдиного плану мобілізації в країні не було розроблено. Безупинне інформування вищих партійних і державних органів про зрив союзними й республіканськими відомствами й оборонними підприємствами розрізаних мобілізаційних завдань свідчило, що реакція на повідомлення спецслужб була запізнілою і неефективною. Для подальшої верифікації висновків перспективним вбачається дослідження особливостей формування у зазначений період системи протиповітряної оборони і розбудови мережі командних пунктів та укріплених районів.

Ключові слова: Україна, Друга світова війна, органи державної безпеки, мобілізація, оперативні заходи.

The Problem Statement. The period of 1939 – 1941 is one of the most controversial in the world history. Layering of ideological and propaganda clichés, limited documentary sources, a prolonged ban on the access to archival information resources led to incompleteness and distortion of knowledge about the causes, course and consequences of World War II, the culprits of its incitement, winners and the defeated. The issues of the war nature, the responsibility of the Nazi and communist regimes for escalating pre-war tensions and the outbreak of war also remain open and not fully elucidated. The topicality of the problem is confirmed by the results of a study by Yuri Nikolaiets, set out on the pages of the “Eastern European Historical Bulletin” (Nikolaiets, 2019, p. 226): “On the eve and during World War II, achieving goals by the warring countries involved a large-scale manipulation of ethnic values and historical memory. Being included into the basis of the people mobilization to war, such manipulations inevitably affected the nature of the organization of propaganda campaigns, and in some period of time, the coverage of the war events by researchers ... The policy of commemorating World War II is still used as an obstacle to the development of the Ukrainian statehood and a means of mobilizing some Russian citizens to conduct combat in Ukraine by the Russian Federation”.

The Analysis of Recent Researches. For obvious reasons, the study of many aspects of the history of World War II became possible in the former Soviet Union only at the end

of the XXth and in the XXIst centuries. Under different historical conditions, the priority in analyzing the problems of the Soviet-German war objectively belonged to Russian and Western researchers. Viktor Koval, an authoritative researcher of World War II, emphasized rightly that 85% of the published materials purchased abroad for hard currency by the citizens of the USSR were brought to Moscow. The absence of many documents in the original language in Ukraine caused a catastrophic situation to the Ukrainian historians (Koval, 1996, p. 52). Such a valuable source as the documents of the Soviet state security agencies was out of the questions because of an obvious inaccessibility.

The complete reversal in the discourse of World War II took place owing to the hypothesis of Viktor Suvorov, a former Soviet spy, expressed at the end of the 1980s on the pages of the documentary book “Kryholam” (“Icebreaker”). This hypothesis consisted in the fact that in 1941 the Soviet Union was at the final stages of readiness to invade Europe (Suvorov, 1993, pp. 333–334). According to Mark Solonin, a modern Russian military historian, who studied the Russian and German archives, the documents found make it possible to formulate such assumption by means of a documented truth. Without elucidating the details, he wrote about the unfinished covert mobilization in the USSR, held until June 22 (Solonin, 2013, p. 15). Owing to M. Solonin, the author of numerous publications on “alternative history”, the scientific world received a documentary answer to the question of the defeat causes of the USSR during the first months of the war. One of the reasons – the unwillingness of the enslaved peoples, in particular the Ukrainians who survived the Holodomor genocide of 1932 – 1933 and the Bolshevik terror, to fight for the Communists – is a *fait accompli* in modern historiography.

In 2021, for the first time in two decades in Western historiography, the thesis of the Soviet Union’s preparation for the attack on Germany was analyzed by Sean McMeekin, American historian, who analyzed “The Politburo Special Folders”. However, in an interview with Oleksandr Gogun, the Russian researcher of World War II, he stated that neither his research nor researches of other historians provide answers to the question of the exact date of the attack: “My main archival find is the information about the active planning of offensive actions and aggressive deployment of military bases on the border between the USSR and Germany by Stalin” (Gogun, 2021).

Unfortunately, the document published by the author of this article on the pages of “The Ukrainian Historical Journal” in 2006 remained practically unnoticed by researchers. In the document it goes about the instruction of Foreign department of the State political administration of the UkrSSR to special divisions concerning wartime in case of invasion to the enemy’s territory by the Soviet army units (Instruction, p. 123). In this regard, in the document, dated August of 1932, Poland, Romania “and other countries” were mentioned.

The Purpose of the Article. The disclosure of “special funds” and archives in independent Ukraine, where many confidential documents were kept, created qualitatively new opportunities for the development of the Ukrainian historiography. Unlike previous researchers, who relied on the documents published abroad or taken from the archives of the Ministry for Defense of the USSR and covered the military and political aspects of the problem, in this article, the author aims at elucidating operational, mobilization measures and plans of the Soviet state security agencies in 1939 – June of 1941 through the prism of legal and informational documents.

The Main Material Statement. Willingness to deter and punish the aggressor is determined, primarily, by the presence of well-trained and technically equipped armed forces, ability in the shortest possible time to rebuild the economy militarily, to mobilize society to fight against

the enemy. On the eve of World War II, the mobilization conscription and subsequent wartime conscription in the Soviet Republics were to be made on the basis of a resolution of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR by orders of the People's Commissar for Defense. It was supposed that when mobilization was announced, all those who served in the army and the navy would continue their service until further notice, and conscripts assigned to military units come there at the time appointed in the mobilization order.

Inspections carried out systematically by authorized members of the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs (the NKVD) showed that coordination efforts were not enough, and that mobilization was neglected in the country.

In military units, officers of special departments had the right to inform of the mobilization readiness state of personnel and conscript personnel, and to make report on it to the leaders of the NKVD and party bodies. However, their efforts to obtain information on the mobilization readiness of the Red Army led to aggravation of relations between the representatives of the People's Commissariats for Internal Affairs and Defense. According to Directive No. 78245 of February 27, 1939 by K. Voroshylov, Marshal of the USSR, the People's Commissar for Defense, the military commissars did not allow the NKVD to check the mobilization readiness and did not provide such information themselves. It did not seem possible to assess the situation according to the agency's reports, because in order to prevent information leakage, a narrow circle of people with strict segregation of duties was allowed to be informed of mobilization campaign (Sectoral State Archive of Security Service of Ukraine (SSA SSU), f. 16, d. 32 (1951 r.), c. 72, p. 88).

According to Order No. 00433 of April 20, 1939 of the NKVD of the USSR, to elaborate a unified mobilization plan for the preparation of the NKVD bodies and troops for war and to establish control over the mobilization readiness, the mobilization department of the NKVD of the USSR was established with the entry into force of the correspondent provision (SSA SSU, f. 9, c. 8, p. 189). I. S. Sheredeha, a major of the State Security, was appointed a head of this department. Until that period of time, there was another permanent body, established as the part of the Joint State Political Administration, – Mobilization council, which coordinated mobilization campaign. With the outbreak of World War II, L. Beria, the People's Commissar for Internal Affairs of the USSR, to assess the forces subordinate to the People's Commissariat, ordered to establish a general alphabetical file of personnel of the NKVD, troops and the active reserve of the Main Directorate of the State Security (the GUDB) and the NKVD troops, the reserve of the GUDB of the NKVD of the USSR within a month.

The next step was the order of the NKVD of the USSR of September 25, 1939 on the development of intelligence and operational measures in case of war and the preparation of operational and mobilization plans. According to the instruction, the mobilization plans were to include a number of tasks, the implementation of which was entrusted to the departments of the state security bodies, and it was required not to postpone the work for the mobilization period, and without prejudice to operational interests to prepare for war and implement the planned measures.

First of all, it was proposed to keep records of the agency personnel, who was mobilized in the army and sent to special units of the NKVD during the mobilization period, the register persons, whose surnames appeared in the lists of the state security agency checks and cases-forms, to replenish the intelligence network of territorial and transport departments, among the commanding and rank-and-file staff of the Red Army and the NKVD troops. The departments of the Main Directorate of the State Security of the USSR were to take measures to identify the defeat sentiments of the “counterrevolutionary and anti-Soviet elements”, and

not only those, who were registered, but also those, who during the war, could be the basis for the subversive work of the enemy.

Heads of departments were also required to work out specific mobilization tasks and to be ready to perform them during the war: Department 1 of the GUDB – special protection measures; Department 2 – control of the press and entertainment; Department 3 – operational supervision over the activities of foreign diplomatic and trade missions; Department 5 – special operations abroad; Department 7 – introduction of new rules for maintaining, storing and forwarding information and mobilization correspondence. Even at that time, special units began preparing instructions on work among the civilian population on the enemy's territory, among prisoners of war, defectors and interned foreign citizens, military and political control (Sovietskije orhany, 1985a, pp. 84–85).

The mobilization tasks required the deployment of the state security bodies, taking into account the conscripts assigned to them, and the staffing of special units in accordance with the mobilization plans of the People's Commissariat for Defense of the USSR. Intelligence and operational measures included the transfer of connection of special departments of the intelligence apparatus with conscripts in the army and the use of the reserve to replenish the ranks of informants in industry and transport. Valuable agents involved into the work with foreigners, especially diplomats, may not have been conscripted into the army at the request of the NKVD. Counterintelligence units relied on them as a proven source of information, by means of which the enemy could be disoriented.

A particular importance was attached to the replacement of people potentially dangerous to the Soviet authorities from the border areas and defense strategic sites. Even before the start of the hostilities, the plans of mobilization measures were to provide information on the following: from which areas and facilities to replace the unreliable, their quantity, who and by what criteria will be the subject to be replaced from defense facilities, eviction, imprisonment, etc. In case of war, all people on whom there was compromising material and whose surnames were included into special lists were the subject to isolation and sending to camps. This instruction requirement played a sinister role, because even those people mentioned by the arrested during the investigation, during the years of mass political repression were registered. Soon some of these people disappeared on the basis of standard charges or without any explanation in the camps and prisons.

Operational and mobilization measures of the Soviet state security bodies included strengthening of anti-sabotage activities as well. By special services there was demanded a close supervision of objects, ruining or seizure of which by saboteurs could seriously impede the movement of manpower and equipment – bridges, roads overpasses, tunnels, etc.

The Special Department of the NKVD, the Main Economic and Main Transport Departments had to focus on fortified areas, airfields, military ports, firearm bases, military warehouses, depots, defense-industrial enterprises, electric power stations, oil depots, and other regime buildings.

By regional and official means, the regional departments of the NKVD in Ukraine checked the mobilization readiness of all defense enterprises, which after the announcement of mobilization were to expand the production of military products significantly, switching to day and night work or using reserve capacity. According to the mobilization plans, the union and republican People's Commissariats and enterprises were to produce the required number of strategic military or dual-use goods in due time – aircraft, tanks, guns, tractors, locomotives, engines, special tools. The mobilization fund, which consisted of reserve units, was formed

within the needs for 1 – 2 months. During mobilization fund formation, it was important to calculate labor needs correctly (workers, employees, engineers, service personnel) and sources of substitution after conscription into the Workers 'and Peasants' Red Army.

The NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR used operational means to study the mobilization and technical condition in detail, in particular, of Kharkiv machine-building enterprises, Kyiv Engine Plant, and "The Red Excavator" Plant. In 1939, the latter was responsible for the production of 30 000 shells of steel cast iron, 92 000 shells and 69 000 air bombs. According to the information of the NKVD of the UkrSSR, sent to the Main Economic Department of the NKVD of the USSR, the mobilization plan for the production of special goods by "The Red Excavator" Plant was not fulfilled during the specified period of time (Radianski orhany, 2009, pp. 84–85).

There were significant problems in the implementation of mobilization measures by sewing and knitting factories of the People's Commissariat of Light Industry in the UkrSSR. Disorganization and negligence of the mobilization departments of the Union and Republican People's Commissariats disrupted the implementation of the state order for the manufacture of uniforms and underwear for the needs of the Red Army. There was no necessity to refer to the insidiousness of the enemy forces, because there were obvious disputes among the People's Commissariats, the lack of raw materials and the actions inconsistency of the mobilization units. Mobilization tasks failed because of lack of proper units, inconsistency with the raw materials supply, transfer of tasks from one mobilization department to another.

On November 15, 1939 I. Sheredeha signed instructions on drawing up mobilization plans of the NKVD territorial bodies. In the document the inevitability of a future war was stated: "Mobilization is the transition of the Red Army, the Navy and the whole country from a peaceful situation to a military one... The mobilization of the NKVD bodies consists in their systematic and timely transition from a peaceful to military situation on the basis of mobilization plans elaborated during peacetime" (SSA SSU, f. 9, c. 6–Sp, p. 162). The instruction provided for the procedure according to which the mobilization plan was elaborated by each NKVD body independently on the basis of instructions from senior authority. The People's Commissar for Internal Affairs of the USSR or his deputy had orders to put into effect the mobilization plans elaborated by the NKVD.

The state security bodies took on the role of the total controller of the mobilization preparation in the country, because the shortcomings in the implementation of mobilization plans permeated the activities of nearly every enterprise. For the sake of secrecy, even secretaries of the party committees or bureaus of local party organizations and party members of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) were prohibited to participate in mobilization work. They had to pass a special inspection by the NKVD officers of the republics, regions and oblasts. According to the decision of the directive-making bodies, this practice was abolished by a separate order of the People's Commissar for Internal Affairs of the USSR in October of 1939. The procedure for access to the secret-mobilization work of the heads of city, district institutions and enterprises, who were ex officio admitted to secret documents, remained in force. In response to inquiries from a number of the NKVD departments and executive committees of the western regions of Ukraine with the NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR, it was clarified that local leaders could participate in the elaboration of mobilization issues only with the sanction of the NKVD. The special inspection was accompanied by intelligence surveillance and, if compromising material was found on anyone, the party organizations were asked to expel a person.

In a separate order of the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs of the USSR (January of 1940) there was listed the most important information which was the state secret in the field of the mobilization measures (SSA SSU, f. 9, c. 15–Sp, p. 44–44bs.). This order included documents on the preparation of the country and the army for mobilization, plans, reports, correspondence on mobilization, mobilization needs, accumulated resources (people, equipment, raw materials), training materials, evacuation plans. A limited number of certain individuals could know about the mobilization system, the terms and procedure for its deployment.

A wide range of information scattered in various documents that many people had to deal with could not protect against information leakage. The lack of material preconditions for the implementation of the mobilization tasks gave rise to new stages of calculations, agreements, correspondence on the organization of activities and interaction of the party, economic and military authorities. It took much time to resolve issues related to construction and repair work, to establish reliable notification and timely arrival of conscripts at certain places during mobilization.

As a result, during the period of 1940 – 1941, the disparate mobilization plans prepared by the central apparatus of the NKVD of the USSR, the People's Commissariats of the Union Republics, and regional administrations were adjusted many times. Unified measures for the mobilization period and during the war were almost never elaborated, the list of measures was kept in units, each of which provided for a separate list of priority actions. The leading body in the mobilization was the special departments of the NKVD. In January of 1941, instructions on mobilization work in special units appeared, but the document became obsolete as soon as these units were reorganized into Department 3 of the People's Commissariats for Defense and the USSR Navy.

In order to prepare the Soviet special services for operation under the most difficult conditions of a military attack and large-scale hostilities anticipation, the People's Commissariat for State Security (the NKGB), recently separated from the NKVD of the USSR, turned to the mobilization plans in March of 1941. The main directions, forms and methods of mobilization preparation of the Soviet state security bodies were disclosed according to Order No. 00148 of April 26, 1941 of the NKGB of the USSR. The departments and divisions of the NKGB of the USSR, the People's Commissariats for State Security of the Union and Autonomous Republics, and the departments of the NKGB of the regions and oblasts were tasked with elaborating measures in case of war within a month according to the list of mobilization issues. The heads of state security bodies and their deputies were personally responsible for high-quality measures elaboration.

The list of tasks set out in Order No. 00148 during the mobilization period and during the war included carrying out activities abroad, on the main transport arteries, industrial and energy facilities, on the territory occupied by the enemy, among prisoners of war, internees and defectors.

The mobilization plans of Directorate 1 of the NKGB of the USSR provided for priority actions upon the entry of the Red Army into enemy territory. Operational materials concerning the whereabouts, abroad of those considered anti-Soviet elements were to be kept in full readiness, – the White Guards, Trotskyists, nationalists, kurkuli (kulaks), the so-called “non-returnees” who settled in capitalist countries and were the subject to immediate neutralization, liquidation or transfer to the Soviet counterintelligence.

The Soviet intelligence worked out in advance the task of registration and studying strategic, economic and political objects on the territory of probable enemy – railway centres and highways, waterways, bridges, mineral deposits, military plants, warehouses (Sovietskije orhany, 1985a, p. 371). It was planned to intensify sending a qualified reserve agency and

illegal residencies to these objects for performing special mission during the war. Particular attention was paid to the development of intelligence activities in neutral and oriented to Nazi Germany and its allies states. Already on these days it was required to prepare residency materially and financially for work under special conditions abroad – to provide means of communication, to make passports, to create money funds, to outline additional channels of information transmission by means of couriers, radio transmitting devices, etc.

In accordance with the tasks assigned in the Union Center and in the republics during peacetime, urgent issues of mobilization preparation were put forward for being worked out in the units of (counterintelligence) Department 2. Much guardianship was established over foreign embassies and consulates, trade and economic missions, including spying on the Soviet citizens, staff and visitors to foreign missions. There was no trust concerning political immigrants to whom the Bolshevik leadership had granted asylum in the Soviet Union on the basis of far-reaching plans to expand their influence in international relations. Counterintelligence agencies drafted and prepared government resolutions on the internment of certain categories of foreigners. With the start of hostilities, special task forces were to operate at strategic defense facilities and in transport to ensure the safety of military production and transportation. During the mobilization period, the Soviet counterintelligence agencies were required not to arrest identified foreign intelligence agents in order to control them and misinform the enemy. Counterintelligence agents interfered in the conscription campaign and, if necessary, exempted from conscription especially valuable agents who could bring greater benefits by their work for intelligence.

Confidence in the inevitable transfer of hostilities to the territory of the aggressor stemmed from the need to work together on the issues of intelligence and operational activities abroad by Departments 2 and 3. To do this, it was already necessary to elaborate a plan for the formation of the NKDB units on the border sections of the railways by the analogy with the former road transport departments of the NKVD. The mobilization plan paragraph on the use of border agents outside the country, agreed with the Main Directorate of the Border Troops of the USSR, directed the NKGB personnel of counterintelligence and secret-political departments at the successful campaign of the Red Army. Organizationally, these agents were at the disposal of the NKGB, and with the advance of the Red Army units into enemy territory, the agents were to stay in place (Sovietskije orhany, 1985a, p. 373). The NKGB bodies had to determine the contingent of people who were to be isolated or relocated inland during the mobilization period immediately, as well as measures to clean up border areas, industrial centers and defense facilities from anti-Soviet elements.

The central and regional bodies of the NKGB also planned their mobilization actions concerning the control of telephone conversations, radio intelligence, neutralization of hostile propaganda, personnel, administrative, economic, and financial work. Archival units formed displacement lists order of intelligence, investigative personnel and other materials from dangerous areas, supported the readiness to accept documents from special units of military units that went to the front.

The NKGB of Ukraine, like the rest of the Soviet republics, during the last months before the Soviet-German war received detailed instructions to elaborate special measures of mobilization preparation and take them under control, as well as to ensure the implementation of all previous directives concerning the “German line” and to inform the central apparatus of the NKGB of the USSR about the results obtained. Further events development did not provide a chance for thorough preparation and testing of mobilization plan and the latter

remained unfulfilled in practice. The role of mobilization plan was to clean up border areas, defense and important industrial facilities from unreliable elements, to strengthen the security regime and a number of measures with the use of intelligence. It was planned to replenish mobilization plan significantly in case of war, registration of agents and informants mobilized in the army, registration of people, who were recorded in operational cases, intensification of intelligence work with foreigners suspected of espionage and subversive activities, organization of intelligence and operational work at conscription points.

The drawbacks of the combat readiness of the Red Army units and the NKVD troops were clearly shown by their joint training held in April – May of 1941. Realizing that in case of hostilities the first attack will be made on frontier guards, the frontier troops authority of the NKVD of the USSR came to the conclusion on the need to implement immediate changes into the combat and mobilization preparation of their subordinate units. By June 15, 1941, the task was to complete the organization of defense, and the approval of plans to carry out directly on the frontier guard units. Having exact, reliable data on the increased concentration on the opposite side of the border of enemy manpower and equipment, the command of the border troops of the NKVD of the USSR decided to restructure the internal operational communication service and to establish contacts with its posts in the units of the Red Army that were drawn up to the border. Awareness of external threats and the belated response to them were evidenced by the requirements for increasing the combat readiness of border troops: “By August 1 to achieve excellent training of personnel of the frontier guard units for defense tasks, combats with the overwhelming enemy and maneuvering under difficult conditions” (Pohranichnyje vojska, 1970, p. 381).

In the orders and instructions of the Soviet border troops command concerning service in the summer, in accordance with the plans of combat training, there were combined both adequate calculation and underestimation of the realities of the situation at that time. On the one hand, special attention was paid to actions in case of combat with a numerically superior enemy troops, to the skills acquisition of new automatic weapons, the ability to fire at night and on rough terrain, on the other hand, at the border they had to practice the methods of prosecution, search and elimination of violators, put in order the control and investigative strip, which is typical of peacetime.

The measures, taken to increase the mobilization readiness of the Soviet military units stationed at the border, had no prospects. The inspections of the plans implementation scheduled for June – July coincided with the beginning of the war.

In accordance with the directive of the NKGB of the USSR, sent on the morning of June 22, 1941, the People’s Commissariats and the Department of the State Security of the republics, the regions and oblasts reported on the operative-NKGB mobilization (Sovietskije orhany, 1985b, p. 24). In one of the reports, in particular, it was written about ensuring the security of Moscow city and Moscow region. At that time the most organized forces were the border troops, which together with the internal troops, were previously brought into a full combat readiness and occupied the lines of defense. The Soviet armed forces showed inability to mobilize quickly; in a number of regions of Ukraine, the mobilization of conscripts and other measures were not carried out at all (Nikolaïets, 1997, p. 170). The orders of the Soviet military command on the first days of the war to launch offensive operations could not be carried out.

The Conclusions. The institutionalization of the Soviet state security agencies led to the identification of several main areas of their operational and mobilization activities, which became especially important with the outbreak of World War II. These activities include

counterintelligence support of the military units and defense facilities, information support of military orders, covert control over the mobilization preparation of units of all types of troops, development of plans and maintenance of their own mobilization readiness.

According to operative reports received, in particular from Ukraine, the mobilization plans had unrealistic deadlines and were the proof of organizational disorder in the army and infrastructure preparation for the war. Disturbing signals about the real state of affairs in the military industries and the disruption of preparatory plans for mobilization in case of war were ignored in fact. The country's top military and political leadership did not take into account the possibility of advancing enemy troops to territorial depths.

According to the documents of the Soviet state security bodies, the increase in the mobilization and combat training of the Soviet military formations was the part of the measures of the Soviet state, aimed not so much at averting the threat of war, but at its localization and rapid transfer of hostilities to the enemy's territory.

In the spring and summer of 1941, the Soviet Union was neither ready to be the first one to strike at Nazi Germany, nor it was ready for a defensive war. The Soviet secret services had exact, reliable information about the situation on the western border, where the Ukrainian lands were. From the orders and secret information of the NKGB it becomes clear that in the nearest future (April – May of 1941) operational and mobilization measures of the Soviet state security agencies were taken by the analogy with organization of activities during the offensive campaign of the Red Army in September of 1939. It did not prevent the border troops, which had always been the part of the NKVD–NKGB, from carrying out mobilization plans and preparing to repel the obvious enemy.

At the beginning of the Soviet-Nazi war, not only the means and well-thought-out tactics were lacking to mobilize the country to fight against the enemy and prevent the advance of enemy troops into the territory, but also the desire of the Red Army to defend the communist power. The mistakes made on the eve of Nazi Germany's attack on the USSR led to enormous human and material losses, in particular on the Ukrainian soil, and allowed the aggressor to capture the initiative from the first days and gain a strategic advantage.

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**THE ACTIVITY ISSUE OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES
OF THE REICH COMMISSARIAT "UKRAINE" (1941 – 1944)
IN MODERN UKRAINIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY**

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is a historiographical analysis of researches by domestic scholars on the activities of local authorities bodies of the Civil Administration of the Reich Commissariat "Ukraine" (hereinafter – the RCU) in the vertical of the Nazi occupation regime, clarifying the main directions of these studies, determining insufficiently studied issues and outlining promising areas for further research on this topic. The research methodology is based on the scientific principles of historicism, objectivity, continuity, scientificity and systematics. To study the historiographical context of the problem, the authors used the methods of historical comparative studies, source studies, structural*

and functional, retrospective analysis. **The scientific novelty** of the study consists in the systematic analysis of the main achievements and problematic issues of domestic historiography in the field of reconstruction of one of the little-known, in general, insufficiently studied and controversial pages of the past of Ukraine during the Nazi occupation of 1941 – 1944. **The Conclusions.** The issue of functioning peculiarities of local authorities bodies subordinated to the German civil administration of the RCU is analyzed quite actively in modern Ukrainian historiography. As a result of these researches the basic directions of activity and powers of regional, city and rural administrations in social and economic, cultural and educational, municipal and household spheres are found out. Objectively contributing to the implementation of the occupation policy tasks, these local authorities worked in parallel to meet the needs of local socium under the extreme conditions of the war. The regional aspects of local authorities functioning of the RCU seem to be studied sufficiently. The authors elucidated the organizational structure, official powers, clarified the relationship with the structures of the German military and civilian occupation authorities. Despite these positive tendencies, in the scientific narrative there is some confusion in the conceptual apparatus, especially in the segment of identifying these bodies as “self-governing”, “Ukrainian” or “public”. Some researchers exaggerate the participation of the OUN and nationally oriented Ukrainian intelligentsia in the creation and activity of local authorities bodies, in particular during the period when the occupied Ukrainian lands were under control of the German temporary military administration.

Key words: occupation regime, local authorities body, the Reich Commissariat “Ukraine”, self-government, temporary military administration.

ПРОБЛЕМА ДІЯЛЬНОСТІ ОРГАНІВ МІСЦЕВОГО УПРАВЛІННЯ РАЙХСКОМІСАРІАТУ “УКРАЇНА” (1941 – 1944) У СУЧАСНІЙ УКРАЇНСЬКІЙ ІСТОРИОГРАФІЇ

Анотація. Метою статті є історіографічний аналіз досліджень вітчизняних вчених з проблематики діяльності установ місцевого управління цивільної адміністрації Райхскомісаріату “Україна” (далі – РКУ) у вертикалі органів нацистського окупаційного режиму, з’ясування головних напрямів цих студій, виявлення недостатньо вивчених питань та окреслення перспективних напрямів подальших досліджень цієї тематики. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на наукових принципах історизму, об’єктивності, наступності, науковості та системності. Для студіювання історіографічного контексту проблеми автори застосовують методи історичної компаративістики, джерелознавчого, структурно-функціонального та ретроспективного аналізу. **Наукова новизна** дослідження полягає у системному аналізі основних здобутків і проблемних питань вітчизняної історіографії у сфері реконструкції однієї з маловідомих, назагал недостатньо вивчених і контрверсійних сторінок минулого України доби нацистської окупації 1941 – 1944 рр. **Висновки.** Проблематика особливостей функціонування органів місцевого управління, підпорядкованих німецькій цивільній адміністрації РКУ, в сучасній українській історіографії наразі розробляється доволі активно. У результаті цих досліджень з’ясовано основні напрями діяльності та повноваження районних, міських і сільських управ у соціально-економічній, культурно-освітній, комунальній та побутовій сферах. Об’єктивно сприяючи реалізації завдань окупаційної політики, ці низові управлінські структури паралельно працювали й на забезпечення в екстремальних умовах війни потреб місцевого соціуму. Достатньо вивченими виглядають регіональні аспекти функціонування органів місцевого управління РКУ. Авторами встановлено їх організаційну структуру, службові повноваження, з’ясовано взаємостосунки зі структурами німецької військової та цивільної окупаційної влади. Попри ці позитивні тенденції, напрацьований науковий наратив не позбавлений певної плутанини в понятійному апараті, особливо у сегменті ідентифікації цих органів як “самоврядних”, “українських” або ж “громадських”. Окремі дослідники гіперболізують участь осередків ОУН і національно орієнтованої української інтелігенції у створенні та діяльності інституцій місцевої влади, зокрема у період перебування окупованих українських земель під контролем тимчасової німецької військової адміністрації.

Ключові слова: окупаційний режим, орган місцевого управління, Райхскомісаріат “Україна”, самоврядування, тимчасова військова адміністрація.

The Problem Statement. Documentary reconstruction of the objective events picture of the history of World War II and the Nazi occupation regime, established and maintained by the Nazis in Ukraine in 1941 – 1944, belongs to the range of leading objectives of modern domestic historiography. This process is facilitated by both democratization of a public life in the country and almost complete, in contrast to the Soviet period of time, openness of archival sources, in particular the so-called “occupation funds”. Analyzing the occupation past in the aspect of power and society, modern researchers inevitably face the need to clarify the place and role of local authorities, which in the tradition of the post-Soviet historiography continue to be not quite justifiably called “subsidiary”, in the system of the “new order” established on the territory and population of the Reich Commissariat “Ukraine”. At the same time, the issue of the local authorities bodies functioning of the RCU are analyzed either superficially, within the framework of research on other aspects of the occupation period, or are singled out in a special subject of scientific research.

The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications. Nowadays, domestic historical science has a fairly wide range of different in volume, depth and quality of scientific analysis of historical works, the subject of study which are certain aspects and features of rural, township and city administrations on the territory of the RCU, the functional component of these local authorities bodies is analyzed in the vertical of the Nazi “new order”. At the same time, there is still a lack of deep historiographical analysis of the outlined range of issues. In general, these attempts were made by the authors of qualification research for Candidate of Sciences and Doctor of Sciences Degrees, and were published in separate sections of monographs by dissertators as approbation results of doctoral research. In professional scientific journals publications on this topic also belong to the post-graduates and were written by them in accordance with the procedure requirements for the qualifications research.

In the sphere of thematic special researches in which there were various, in particular regional aspects of local authorities bodies functioning of the RCU, there should be mentioned the monographs by Oleksiy Honcharenko (Honcharenko, 2011), Serhiy Stelnykovich (Stelnykovich, 2015; Stelnykovich, 2016), Yuri Levchenko (Levchenko, 2017), the dissertation researches of Lina Melnichuk (Melnichuk, 2013b), Bohdan Zek (Zek, 2016), Oleksandr Kostiuchok (Kostiuchok, 2012), Yuri Levchenko (Levchenko, 2015), Oleksandr Tishyn (Tishyn, 2020). There are also special monographic studies by O. Honcharenko and Mykhailo Kunytsky, in which the establishment and work issues of local authorities bodies of the RCU are analyzed (Honcharenko, 2014; Kunytsky, 2014). Nevertheless, there is still a lack of separate historiographical studies of the outlined scientific achievements. One of these historiographical studies has been recently published by the co-author of this article (Honcharenko, 2020b). Other similar studies are mostly small publications by Tetiana Zabolotna, L. Melnichuk and A. Ivanenko, the authors of which analyze some works of researchers known to them (Zabolotna, 2010; Melnichuk, 2012; Ivanenko, 2019b). It should be also mentioned that with few exceptions (Honcharenko, 2010; Honcharenko, 2020a), in modern domestic historiography there are almost no works, the subject of which is the activities of village and regional administrations under the Nazi occupation.

The purpose of the article is a historiographical analysis of researches by domestic historians on the activities of local authorities bodies of the civil administration of the RCU in the vertical of the Nazi occupation regime, clarifying the main directions of these studies, identifying insufficiently studied issues and outlining perspective areas for further research on this topic.

The Main Material Statement. Researches on the reconstruction of the functional activities of local authorities bodies of the RCU, carried out by modern researchers, are mostly concentrated in several problem-thematic niches. There are the following ones among them: determining the legal status of local authorities bodies; finding out their place in the hierarchical vertical of the German occupation authorities; studying the facts of direct participation of local authorities officials in providing the repressive measures of the Nazis (including the Holocaust); analyzing the social and legal status of administrations employees of different levels; finding out the reasons for the participation of local population in the work of these authorities bodies.

Analyzing the work of modern Ukrainian researchers in the thematic context outlined in the title of the article, it is impossible to ignore the scientific heritage of Mykhailo Vasyliovych Koval, a famous historian, a researcher of the Ukrainian history during World War II (1939 – 1945). He was one of the first titled and well-known researcher in the domestic historians world, who in the mid-1990s made the so-called radical departure from the Soviet historiographical tradition and outlined a number of scientific problems of the Ukrainian history during the Nazi occupation, which remain completely or partially unanalyzed even nowadays. Among other problems of the occupation past, which, according to M. Koval, needed to be reconsidered, the researcher named the work of local authorities bodies on the Nazi-occupied territories. Presenting the German strategic line in conquered Ukraine as purely colonial, the historian noted that without the participation of local authorities, the Nazis would not have been able to implement in practice certain tasks of the occupation policy so quickly (Koval, 1999). The conceptual nature of M. Koval's research did not allow the author to dwell on clarifying the structure or official competence of local authorities bodies in detail.

In the mid-1990s Pavlo Rekotov initiated the tradition of an interdisciplinary historical and legal analysis of administrative bodies establishment and activity of the Nazi occupation regime. The author's historical research is characterized by the application of the legal science methods. The scientist clearly identifies local authorities bodies both during the period when the territory of Ukraine was in the area of responsibility of the temporary military administration, and after their transfer to the RCU. Having determined the organizational structure of the city, district and village administrations established by military officials, the researcher claimed that the RCU administration maintained the same approaches in its organizational and administrative activities.

Despite the undeniably positive features of P. Rekotov's researches, they did not do without obviously erroneous approaches in analyzing the nature of the RCU local authorities. These are the characteristics of the RCU rural and urban administrations proposed by the scientist as "public administrations" and "self-government bodies" (Rekotov, 1997). Describing local authorities as "self- government bodies", the researcher began a false tradition of identifying such local authorities bodies. These local authorities bodies under the Nazi occupation regime were not and could not be self-governing and have at least some signs of independence in decision-making. It should be noted that such authorities as "public administrations" did not operate in the military occupation zone or in the RCU. A short period of "public administrations" operation during the first weeks of the German occupation, mainly in the western regions of Ukraine, did not form any experience, because these bodies were liquidated.

Clarifying the typical organizational structure of local authorities bodies, P. Rekotov did not take into account some independence of the German military and civilian administrators in this issue. This independence led to the approval of different officials in staff lists of village and city administrations, to constant transformations, to the search of optimal management models, and etc.

By analogy with P. Rekotov, Ivan Terliuk characterizes a typical structure of local authorities bodies. As a result, for some reason, the control of police departments activity was included into the list of official powers of local authorities bodies (Terliuk, 2009). The researchers did not take into consideration the fact that purely nominal inclusion of police departments into the staff lists of local authorities bodies did not mean the transfer of power to local authorities to control the activity of police departments. Moreover, the German administration sought to limit the powers of local authorities as much as possible, to turn them into an appendage necessary for the implementation of the main tasks of the occupation policy.

Oleksandr Lysenko, one of the leading researchers of the occupation period, does not consider the local authorities bodies established by the German authorities to be self-governing either. On the contrary, he argues that these local bodies, by their nature and official competence, were much closer to the subsidiary authorities than to the self-governing ones (Lysenko, 2009). Similar conceptual conclusions were developed by the historian in other, later publications (Honcharenko, 2010), as well as in a joint generalizing monograph by O. Honcharenko and M. Kunytsky (Honcharenko, 2014).

L. Melnichuk's dissertation is the only special research which deals with the study of the activity of local authorities bodies of the RCU. The author of this dissertation quite reasonably, on the basis of the analysis of various layers of archival sources, singles out the main directions of local authorities activity, proves their complete dependence on the German administration of the Reich Commissariat. L. Melnichuk states that the reason for the emergence of a certain degree of autonomy in the activity of city and district authorities was the administrative procedures introduced by regional and local leaders of the German authorities of the RCU. However, any act of disobedience or independence was punished by the German authorities severely and without any hesitation (Melnichuk, 2014).

The participation of local authorities in the economic and tax spheres was reconstructed in the works of Oleksandr Potylchak (Potylchak, 1999), Ihor Vietrov (Vietrov, 1999), Natalia Handrabura (Handrabura, 2017), Natalia Hlushenok (Hlushenok, 2005), Oleksandr Perekhrest (Perekhrest, 2011), M. Kunytsky (Kunytsky, 2019a, 2019b). This direction of local authorities activity is interpreted by the researchers as the one that corresponds to the general, strategic line of the German administration regarding the organization of an overall and openly predatory exploitation of all available resources of Ukraine to provide Germany and the Wehrmacht with food and raw materials. It is obvious that without a proper activity of local authorities bodies, the German occupation administration would not have been able to implement strategic and vital tasks under conditions of a total war.

The socio-cultural sphere in the local authorities activities during the occupation period was also the subject of research by modern domestic historians. These aspects of local authorities activities were studied by Inna Honcharenko (Honcharenko, 2012), O. Honcharenko (Honcharenko, 2014), Volodymyr Hinda (Hinda, 2007), O. Potylchak (Potylchak, 2006), Iryna Spudka (Spudka, 2013), Bohdan Kytsak (Kytsak, 2018). These authors review and analyze the activities of local authorities bodies in the field of resumption of general and vocational education. Historians interpret such steps of the occupation authorities as forced and caused by an acute shortage of qualified personnel in almost all sectors of economy and utilities. Domestic researchers focus on the provision of certain forms of social assistance to the local population, the organization of a medical care by the local authorities bodies.

A characteristic feature of a current state of researches on the activities of local authorities bodies of the occupation period is an active elaboration of regional thematic niches of the

outlined issue. Therefore, the objective of such researches is to single out and analyze certain territorial specifics, which was found out in the activity of local authorities bodies. For example, S. Stelnykovich states that local authorities bodies established by the occupation administration of “Zhytomyr” General District were essentially subsidiary formations. The researcher emphasizes that some of these local authorities bodies were established by members of local branches of both factions of the OUN, “Polissia Sich”, as well as individual representatives of the Ukrainian national intelligentsia. The specificity of this region was functioning of the Belarusian subsidiary administration at the beginning of the occupation. However, with the establishment of the RCU, the German occupation administration began a systematic elimination of the influence of nationalists on local authorities bodies, and previously controlled by nationalists various levels of authorities came under a total control of the German administration (Stelnykovich, 2016).

Regional features of local authorities bodies activities in different administrative districts of the RCU were analyzed by Valentyna Vlasenko (2013), Serhiy Ivanov (Ivanov, 2017), Volodymyr Udovik (Udovik, 2005), Bohdan Zek (Zek, 2016), T. Zabolotna (Zabolotna, 2010), O. Kostyuchok (Kostyuchok, 2012), Volodymyr Orliansky and Oleksandr Tedeiev (Orliansky & Tedeiev, 2010), Yuriy Oliynyk and Oleksandr Zavalniuk (Oliynyk & Zavalniuk, 2012). Clearly defined territorial issues of their studies relate to the analysis of the main areas of activity of local authorities, mostly in the socio-economic, cultural, educational and household spheres. It is also important that in their works the above mentioned authors trace the transformations and changes, which took place in the activity of local authorities bodies, especially after their transition under control of the civil administration of the RCU. However, there were recurrences of erroneous opinions of the 1990s concerning the nature of local authorities bodies activities during the occupation period as “self-governing”.

Valentyna Shaikan analyzes the issue of the local authorities activity in the context of collaborationism manifestations on the occupied territory of Ukraine. The researcher elucidates different activity areas of local authorities, determines their structure, analyzes the activities of individual units, in particular, legal departments; in the context of collaborationism phenomenon she characterizes the activity of individual executives and ordinary employees (Shaikan, 2005). A. Ivanenko analyzes such a specific area of activity of local authorities as the establishment of a regulatory framework for the application of occupation criminal and civil law and justice (Ivanenko, 2019b).

Peculiarities of personnel formation of local authorities bodies on the territory of the RCU were studied by M. Kunytsky. According to the historian, the social and legal status of administrations employees of different levels was different from the rest of the civilian population and was determined, primarily, by the professional powers. Endowed with considerable rights, employees of district, city and village administrations had a privileged position. Their place between the German authorities and the local population was conditioned by the fact that the Nazis set them specific tasks, without a particular resorting to the means and methods of their implementation. The historian is convinced that the heads of administrations, although they could, within the limits of the issued normative prescriptions, at their own discretion determine the directions of realization of the tasks set by the occupiers, however, this fact did not mean their independence from the German administration (Kunytsky, 2014).

M. Koval also made some significant remarks concerning the staff of local authorities. The researcher argued that representatives of various social groups of the population of Ukraine went to work for the occupation authorities bodies. The researcher considered such

behavior of people to be one of the consequences of the Bolshevik policy during the period of the 1920s and the 1930s (Koval, 1999).

Ihor Shakhraichuk, a researcher of Dnipropetrovsk city administration during the years of occupation, emphasized that in the activity of this administrative body took part mainly those citizens, who were oppressed by the Soviet authorities during the pre-war period, such as the former dispossessed, as well as representatives of the Bandera underground. In addition, the researcher pays tribute to the city administration in providing all possible social assistance to the poorest strata of the city population (Shakhraichuk, 2020). Another researcher of the history of Dnipropetrovsk during the Nazi occupation, Vladyslav Borysov, studies the issue of local intelligentsia participation in the activity of Dnipropetrovsk city administration. According to the author, despite solving the tasks on social assistance to the local population and the work to preserve the municipal infrastructure of the city, the practical activities of city administration officials were subordinated to the political, ideological and economic needs of the German authorities in general (Borysov, 2020).

One of the popular genres of researches on the occupation past is historical biographic studies. The subject of such researches is the details of the life and work of individual heads of local authorities. The authors: Ihor Verba (Verba, 1999), Vitaliy Hedz (Hedz, 2014), Oleksandr Kucheruk (Kucheruk, 2007), researching the personal stories of such people, not only dwell on the characteristics of these mostly extraordinary personalities, but also try to find out for what reasons and life circumstances these people agreed to work in the occupation apparatus of power. Characteristic features of the majority of these researches are avoiding any labelling of "traitors", who went to the service of the occupiers, and the depiction of the professional activities of these people in a much broader context of events. In particular, it concerns the activities of local authorities heads aimed at helping the local population to survive under the extreme conditions of the war.

The degree and nature of the participation of representatives of the local authorities bodies in providing repressive and punitive measures is an extremely difficult and contradictory issue, which researchers of the occupation period try to find out. It is obvious that local authorities did not have punitive functions in their list of powers. However, by their daily activities they formed the very system of occupation administration. Following the regulatory framework of the German authorities, local authorities ensured punitive actions, including those directed against the Jewish population of Ukraine. These aspects of local authorities activities are emphasized by O. Honcharenko (Honcharenko, 2010) and M. Kunytsky (Kunytsky, 2014).

A clear feature of the modern historiographical process in the context of research on the Nazi occupation regime in Ukraine is the formation of a national school of the Holocaust researchers. Some of its researchers consider, among other issues, the problems of local authorities bodies involvement in providing measures for the Nazi repression against the Jews. The limited scope of this publication does not allow us to do a detailed analysis of the entire layer of such studies. Therefore, we dwell on historiographical researches on this issue. In particular, the insufficient study of the issue of local authorities bodies participation in the Holocaust is emphasized by O. Honcharenko (Honcharenko, 2017) and Maryna Strilchuk (Strilchuk, 2018) in their publications. Some facts of the participation of local authorities bodies in the Holocaust were covered on the pages of the monograph by M. Kunytsky (Kunytsky, 2014), in the publications by Faina Vynokurova (Vynokurova, 2009) and Ihor Shchupak (Shchupak, 2012).

The participation of Dnipropetrovsk city administration in the registration of the local Jewish population is analyzed, in particular in a collective monograph edited by I. Shchupak.

The authors of the monograph convince us that the local authorities did not organize the Holocaust in Dnipropetrovsk. Nevertheless, the local authorities, following the German regulations, carried out measures for the operational registration of the city Jewish population, distributed and used confiscated property for their own purposes. It is important that non-compliance with the orders of the city administration threatened the heads and owners of houses with repressions “according to the laws of wartime”. The same can be said about discriminatory decisions of local authorities concerning food supply of the Jewish population of the city, who was deprived of food totally (Shchupak, 2017).

Roman Mykhalchuk analyzes organization and carrying out of passport-registration actions by local authorities of Rivne region. According to the text of his publication, the heads of local authorities took the appropriate measures not on their own initiative, but only on the basis of the mandatory German directives (Mykhalchuk, 2011). This author also did the research on the economic aspects of the Holocaust in the region. R. Mykhalchuk proves the fact of participation of local authorities of Rivne region in the robbery of real and movable property, which belonged to the Jews, in particular after the mass murders of the latter. All property of the Jewish population was registered by local authorities bodies, and a large part of it was recorded on the balance sheets of these authorities bodies after the murder of people (Mykhalchuk, 2013). R. Mykhalchuk drew the conclusion that the local authorities of Rivne region took part in the direct economic exploitation of these collective victims of the occupation regime (Mykhalchuk, 2015). The same economic aspects of the Holocaust, in particular the participation of local authorities employees, but on the example of Kyiv region, were analyzed by O. Honcharenko (Honcharenko, 2006).

The Conclusion. Nowadays, the peculiarities issues of functioning of local authorities bodies subordinated to the German civil administration of the RCU is analyzed quite actively in modern Ukrainian historiography. As a result of these researches the basic directions of activity and powers of regional, city and village administrations were found out in socio-economic, cultural and educational, municipal and household spheres. Objectively contributing to the tasks implementation of the occupation policy, these local authorities bodies worked in parallel to meet the needs of local socium under extreme conditions of the war.

The regional aspects of the local authorities bodies functioning of the RCU are studied sufficiently. The authors elucidated the organizational structure, official powers, clarified the relationship with the structures of the German military and civilian occupation authorities. Despite these positive tendencies, in this scientific narrative there is some confusion in the conceptual apparatus, especially in the segment of identification of these bodies as “self-governing”, “Ukrainian” or “public”.

Some researchers exaggerate the participation of the OUN and nationally oriented Ukrainian intelligentsia in the establishment and activity of local authorities bodies, in particular during the period when the occupied Ukrainian lands were under the control of the temporary German military administration.

The reasons for the participation of representatives of the Ukrainian civilian population in the work of local authorities bodies are largely explained by the consequences of the pre-war Soviet reality, or by the desire of people to survive on their own and save the lives of their loved ones under the extreme conditions of the war and occupation.

The participation of local authorities bodies of various levels in providing measures for the Holocaust remains a relatively insufficiently studied area of local authorities activity. Researchers, who work in this problem-based niche, mostly consider the participation of

local authorities bodies in passport and registration activities and in organized property looting of the Jewish population.

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

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

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

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

ПОВСЯКДЕННЯ ІНТЕЛІГЕНЦІЇ ЗАХІДНОГО РЕГІОНУ УКРАЇНИ У 1944 – 1953 рр.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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FORMATION OF CONCEPTUAL PRINCIPLES AND ARSENAL OF ASYMMETRIC ("HYBRID") WARFARE DURING THE PERIOD OF INTERBLOC MILITARY AND POLITICAL CONFRONTATION IN THE WORLD (1946 – 1990)

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to identify the formation of a set of conceptual principles during the period of the "Cold War", global confrontation in the world and the collapse of the world colonial system, of relevant military and political structures and specific strategies, forms and methods of military and special activities, which formed the basis of doctrines and arsenal of modern asymmetric ("hybrid", unconventional) conflict. The methodological basis of the work is based on the methods of classification, typology, structural-system, historical and comparative, historical and typological, historical and genetic methods, methods of military and special science, security science, political conflictology. The scientific novelty of the study consists in the authors' attempt to study systematically, on the historical material of the period of the "Cold War", the formation of doctrinal preconditions and strategy, a set of special structures and methods of destructive activity, which found their structured*

embodiment in “hybrid” conflicts at the beginning of the XXIst century. **The Conclusions.** During “World War III” or “Cold War” (1946 – 1990) paradigms, forms and methods of hybrid confrontation, its doctrinal and conceptual principles, and the relevant theoretical and methodological, scientific, practical and technological principles achieved unprecedented development. Special services and affiliated with them “non-governmental” and paramilitary (irregular) structures, specialized analytical, forecasting and research centers, media structures became able to influence purposefully the change of political reality in the national, interstate and transnational dimensions.

There was a qualitative improvement of Special Forces which became an important (sometimes decisive) factor in local wars and armed conflicts, participation in complex special operations, the deployment of controlled irregular armed formations. A new qualitative stage in the organization of “elite troops” began – their reorganization into special operations forces as autonomous component of the armed forces. As part of SOF, units (structures) of information and psychological struggle and work with civilian population were further developed.

During the period of inter-bloc confrontation in the post war world, the core of which was the psychological war, significant and growing importance acquired the methods (mechanisms) of influence on the sphere of controlling collective activity of people, reformatting the mass consciousness and worldview by manipulating human consciousness and creating virtual reality by means of modern information and socio-cultural technologies.

On the basis of the powerful legacy of the planetary confrontation of social systems and the inter-bloc confrontation of 1946 – 1990 numerous strategic, tactical and technological, and information-cognitive preconditions for the formation of a new qualitative type of conflict developed – “hybrid”, in the sense of synthesizing various new forms and methods of destructive activity, and their complex and coordinated application.

Such essential features of “hybrid” confrontation developed as lack of registration in accordance with international law of war; use of anti-government organizations and movements, illegal armed formations, separatist movements, extremist groups, destructive communities, etc., a priority role of special services, special operations forces, use of other methods of non-military pressure on the victim state, including diplomatic, financial and economic, humanitarian and the others. The main driving forces of the asymmetric strategy were non-governmental organizations, insurgent and “opposition” movements, special operations forces, means and forces of psychological operations, and the focus in the strategy shifted in favor of special operations and low intensity conflicts.

Key words: military and special art, military theory, intelligence, subversive activities, special forces, intelligence agencies, information and psychological warfare.

ФОРМУВАННЯ КОНЦЕПТУАЛЬНИХ ЗАСАД І АРСЕНАЛУ АСИМЕТРИЧНОГО (“ГІБРИДНОГО”) ПРОТИБОРСТВА У ПЕРІОД МІЖБЛОКОВОГО ВОЄННО-ПОЛІТИЧНОГО ПРОТИСТОЯННЯ У СВІТІ (1946 – 1990)

Анотація. *Мета статті* полягає у виявленні формування в період “холодної війни”, глобального протистояння у світі та розпаду світової колоніальної системи комплексу концептуальних засад, відповідних воєнно-політичних структур, а також специфічної стратегії, форм і методів військової та спеціальної діяльності, що лягли в основу доктрин і арсеналу сучасної асиметричної (“гібридної”, неконвенційної) конфліктності. **Методологічну основу** праці становлять методи класифікації, типології, структурно-системний, історико-порівняльний, історико-типологічний, історико-генетичний, методи військово-спеціальної науки, безпекознавства, політичної конфліктології. **Наукова новизна** полягає у спробі авторів впорядковано дослідити на історичному матеріалі часів “холодної війни” формування доктринальних передумов й стратегії, комплексу спеціальних структур та методів деструктивної діяльності, котрі знайшли своє структуроване втілення у “гібридних” конфліктах початку XXI ст. **Висновки.** У період “III світової”, або “холодної війни” (1946 – 1990) нечуваного розвитку сягнули парадигми, форми і методи гібридного протистояння, його доктринальні й концептуальні засади, відповідні теоретико-методологічні, науково-практичні та технологічні засади. Спеціальні служби, афілійовані з ними “неурядові організації”

та парамілітарні (ірегулярні) структури, профільні аналітико-прогностичні та науково-дослідні центри, медіа-структури стали здатні цілеспрямовано впливати на зміну політичної реальності в національному, міждержавному і транснаціональному вимірах.

Відбулося якісне удосконалення військ спеціального призначення, котрі перетворилися на важливий (інколи – вирішальний) фактор ведення локальних війн і збройних конфліктів, участі у комплексних спеціальних операціях, розгортання керованих ірегулярних збройних формувань. Розпочинається новий якісний етап в організації “елітних військ” – їх реорганізація в сили спеціальних операцій як автономний компонент збройних сил. У складі ССО подальшого серйозного розвитку набули підрозділи (структури) інформаційно-психологічної боротьби та роботи із цивільним населенням.

У період міжблокового протистояння у новосвітному світі, стрижнем якого виступала саме війна психологічна, суттєвого й зростаючого значення набули методи (механізми) впливу на сферу управління колективною діяльністю людей, переформатування масової свідомості та світогляду за рахунок маніпулювання свідомістю людини і створення віртуальної реальності через застосування сучасних інформаційних та соціально-культурних технологій.

На основі потужної спадщини планетарного протистояння суспільних систем та міжблокової конфронтації 1946–1990 рр. склалися численні стратегічні, тактико-технологічні й інформаційно-когнітивні передумови для формування нового якісного типу конфліктності – “гібридної”, у розумінні синтезування різноманітних новітніх форм і методів деструктивної діяльності та їх комплексного, скоординованого застосування.

Набули розвитку такі сутнісні ознаки “гібридного” протистояння, як відсутність оформлення відповідно до міжнародного права війни, використання антиурядових організацій та рухів, незаконних збройних формувань, течій сепаратистського характеру, екстремістських угруповань, деструктивних спільнот тощо, пріоритетна роль спеціальних служб, сил спецоперацій, застосування інших методів невійськового тиску на державу-жертву, включаючи дипломатичні, фінансово-економічні, гуманітарні та інші. Основними рушійними силами асиметричної стратегії ставали неурядові організації, повстанські й “опозиційні” рухи, сили спецоперацій, сили і засоби психологічних операцій, а наголос у стратегії зміщувався на користь спецоперацій та конфліктів малої інтенсивності.

Ключові слова: військове й спеціальне мистецтво, військова теорія, розвідка, підривна діяльність, спеціальні війська, спецслужби, інформаційно-психологічне протиборство.

The Problem Statement. The issues of reforming the security and defense sector of Ukraine, increasing its research analytical, and forecasting capabilities require in-depth studies of the conflict of a new non-traditional (hybrid, asymmetric) type, which in recent decades has become one of the leading factors in the world and military political strategy. In “The National Security Strategy of Ukraine” there was generalized an expanded view on a set of very diverse in origin and content the latest threats to the state system and society of Ukraine; there was emphasized the need for a serious analysis of “lessons of hybrid aggression against Ukraine” by the state, and the experience analysis of modern local wars to elaborate “new doctrinal approaches to military security” (Prezydent Ukrainy, 2020)

Extensive cognitive opportunities for understanding the genesis and essence of hybrid conflict are opened by the period of “the Cold War” of 1946 – 1990 and inter-bloc confrontation in the world, which is characterized by (on conditions of mutual destruction of global rivals by nuclear arsenals) rapid strategy development, forms and methods of asymmetric confrontation, including such essential components as information and psychological warfare, shadow diplomatic combinations, local wars in the “third world”, support for allied regimes and inspiration of anti-state armed movements of insurgent and terrorist nature, secret special operations, etc.

The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications. The research objective set in the article on the complex retrospective analysis of functional and conceptual components genesis of the hybrid confrontation arsenal caused the involvement of a polythematic complex of scientific works (including publications of special services) by the authors, in

which the relevant topic was under a special professional analysis with the slightest coverage ideologisation of the issues raised.

First of all, it is meant the research work of domestic and foreign authors on the post-war period wars and local conflicts with the direct or latent participation of the main actors of "the Cold War": Lavrenov S. Ya. & Popov I. M. (Lavrenov & Popov, 2003); Hurzhiy O. I., Mosov S. P. & Makarov V. D. (Hurzhiy, Mosov & Makarov, 2006); Rybak M. I. & Badakh Yu. H. (Rybak & Badakh, 2000); Rohoza S. L. & Achkasov N. B. (Rohoza & Achkasov, 2007); Shyshov A. V. (Shyshov, 2006). Significant cognitive opportunities are open up with scientific work in the study of insurgent guerrilla actions and tactics of irregular armed formations: Bruderer H. (Bruderer, 1998); Hrynychak V. (Hrynychak, 2002); Zelnytsky V. & Sidorov S. (Zelnytsky & Sidorov, 2005); Spolnykov V. N. (Spolnykov, 1987).

Significant are the works on the study of the special operations art of the intelligence services of the world's leading states – participants in the inter-bloc global confrontation: Bogatyriev S. G. (Bogatyriev, 1962); Damaskin I. (Damaskin, 2003); Kolpakidi A. I. & Prokhorov D. P. (Kolpakidi & Prokhorov, 2000); Sudoplatov P. A. (Sudoplatov, 1997); Faligo G. & Koffer R. (Faligo & Koffer, 1998); Shyronin V. (Shyronin, 1997); Peskov Ye. B. (Peskov, 1974). The scientific researchers' achievement of information and psychological confrontation as a leading component of "the Cold War" is extensive: Bobkov F. D. & Sydorenko A. G. (Bobkov & Sydorenko, 1976); Komarovskiy V. S. (Komarovskiy, 1978); Panarin I. N. (Panarin, 2006); Rimarenko Yu. I. (Rimarenko, 1989); Shyronin V. (Shyronin, 1997). There was formed a huge historiography of the evolution and combat use of special forces: Bohdan B. (Bohdan, 1999); Boltunov M. (Boltunov, 1998); Viedenieiev D. V., Bystrukhin H. S., Semuka A. I. (Viedenieiev, Bystrukhin & Semuka, 2010); Kozlov S. and the others (Kozlov and al, 2003); Sliusarenko A. V. (Sliusarenko, 2019); Stryzhevskiy V. V. (Stryzhevskiy, 2002); Chikishev A. (Chikishev, 2004).

The purpose of the study is the scientific reconstruction of the leading conceptual and functional principles (model principles) formation of the unconventional (hybrid) type of confrontation (conflict) under the specific historical conditions of indirect global (inter-bloc) confrontation during the period of "the Cold War".

The Main Material Statement. "The Cold War" (1946 – 1990, formally its end is the adoption of the Paris Peace Charter in November of 1990) was a global confrontation between the capitalist and socialist systems (led by the United States and the Soviet Union), the NATO military and political blocs, and the Warsaw Treaty Organization (The Warsaw Pact). At the same time, the gradual achievement of strategic nuclear missile parity, the guarantee of mutual destruction and global catastrophe during the thermo-nuclear war, the existence of the Yalta-Potsdam diplomatic system and the periods of detente kept the rivals from starting the war.

The doctrine of "mass nuclear response, retaliation", officially enshrined on March 12, 1947 in the form of the doctrine of "deterrence of communism" ("The Truman's Doctrine") and confirmed in 1953, provided, in particular, the mass introduction of the agency into enemy territory, the use of armed opposition. The adoption on August 18, 1948 of the top-secret Directive 20/1 of the US National Security Council was of a fundamental importance from the point of view of introduction of a set of methods of hybrid conflict strategy into the global confrontation of "the Cold War" era ("The USA goal for Russia"). It was emphasized that "our ultimate goal is war and the overthrow of the Soviet government", the periods of war and peace did not differ, and restrictions on violations of international law were rejected, and the strategy of indirect confrontation should be planned that way that the US government cannot be accused of involvement in subversive actions (Yakovlyev, 1983, pp. 33–34, 40).

Since 1949, in the conceptual documents of the US military and political circles, peculiar attention had been paid to “special subversive operations” (in the implementation of which a significant role was given to the organization of insurgent and underground movements in enemy territory). In the same year, the US Congress passed a special decree on the CIA (which gave intelligence and subversive activities the status of public policy, placing it above the institutions of a democratic control). In the CIA there was established “the Donovan-Dulles Service” (later – Office of Strategic Services) for conducting special operations. The U.S. “Mutual Security Act” provided for subversive activities of up to \$ 100 million annually. By the mid-1970s, in the largest of the CIA’s operational establishments, the Secret Operations Office, there were 15 departments in which 6 000 employees were hired (out of 16 500 in the office), half of whom worked abroad, and in general up to 2/3 of employees were involved into secret operations abroad (Sergeyev, 1983, pp. 23–29; Peskov, 1974, pp. 13–14).

The directive of the US National Security Council No. 5412/1 of March 12, 1955, adopted with the permission of President D. Eisenhower, was also notable in this aspect. According to it, the CIA in its daily activities was, in particular, to facilitate the deployment of guerrilla and underground movements in the territories of a potential enemy, to provide assistance in subversive activities to the correspondent insurgent and emigrant groups (Drozдов, 2000, pp. 403–404). The US Army’s “Guerrilla Warfare” Statute (1956) gave an important role to involving the local population into the theater of operations to rebel in favour of America (Bogatyrev, 1962, p. 23).

During “the Cold War”, for asymmetric actions in the context of indirect confrontation, the Soviet intelligence also formed units for sabotage, terrorism and other subversive activities abroad (although the scale of their activities was significantly smaller than that of the secret services of geopolitical opponents). On May 4, 1946, the “DR”, i.e., the department was established within the USSR State Security Committee, which was subordinated directly to the head of the State Security Committee department. It is known about the special operation of the mentioned above special unit to assist the security services of the Chinese Communist Party to counter the separatist Uighur movement in western China, in Xinjiang. The separatist demonstrations in the region under the leadership of Osman Batyr were initially inspired by the Japanese secret services, and sabotage was organized against the Soviet military enterprises located there. In 1944, with the support of the bourgeois nationalist government of Chiang Kai-shek, anti-communist speeches were led by the Uighur activist Ali Khan Tere, who proclaimed the independence of East Turkestan. With the help of emissaries of the NKDB-MGB of the USSR, there was organized an effective counteraction to Chiang Kai-shek’s special services. In the battles of 1946 – 1949, the separatists suffered a serious defeat (Sudoplatov, 1997, pp. 394–396).

Under the conditions of the military, industrial and nuclear superiority of the United States and the NATO over the Soviet Union, plans were developed for asymmetric intelligence and sabotage operations against the infrastructure and important military facilities of a potential enemy during a “special period” (in particular, the plan of sabotage and destabilization against the NATO’s strategic military bases in Western Europe in case of war was approved in 1952). First of all, it was planned to destroy the communications of the NATO headquarters. The priorities were set for further actions, such as strategic air force bases – carriers of nuclear weapons; armaments and military equipment warehouses to supply the US Army in Europe and the Far East; naval bases in Brest and Le Havre (France), Norway; oil refineries, oil pipelines and oil storage facilities (in particular, the special unit “DR” planned to deploy an agency network among the personnel of the oil refining complex in Western Europe, etc.).

At the same time, the Soviet secret service deployed an intelligence network of intelligence and sabotage specialization on the Western Coast of the United States, in California (consisting of agents with sabotage experience during the war, acting under the guise of emigrants from Czechoslovakia who lived in Latin America). An agent-sabotage network of K. Wiesel, an experienced saboteur, also appeared on the Eastern Coast (Sudoplatov, 1997, pp. 398–404). The task of the intelligence service on asymmetric actions outside the country was confirmed in the report of the head of the KGB of the USSR O. Shelepin (1960), it was necessary “to take active measures aimed at dismantling and liquidation of the most dangerous anti-Soviet emigration centers, compromising the leaders of bourgeois nationalists” (Sbornik KGB SSSR, 1960, p. 14).

During “the Cold War” a qualitative step towards the strategy plan and methods of indirect (hybrid) confrontation was the development of *complex special operations* which included “correction” activity, in the interests of aggressive actions initiators, of a political reality and the state system of sovereign states while maintaining formal and peaceful relations with the object (country, government, etc.) – the victim of subversive actions.

In this regard there should be mentioned the coup of 1953 in Iran (the operation “Ajax” of the US CIA). On March 15, 1951, the Iranian Parliament passed a law to nationalize the oil industry. The demands of the United States and Great Britain to change the new course were not accepted, and the British intelligence began planning measures against the new government headed by of M. Mossaddek. K. Roosevelt, the head of the Middle East department and the CIA’s chief resident in the region, (a nephew of the US President Theodore Roosevelt), was directly involved into preparation-work for the coup. In 1952, according to an intergovernmental agreement, an American economic aid mission (120 people) was launched in Iran, which consisted of personnel intelligence. American economic aid mission opened branches in all major cities of the country, created positions of influence in the state apparatus and law enforcement agencies.

K. Roosevelt not only communicated vigorously with M. Mossaddek’s opponents, but he also chose a successful candidate for the future dictator, the pro-fascist General F. Zahedi, a former interior minister and personal enemy of the prime minister. General N. Schwarzkopf established an illegal “Committee to Save the Homeland”, which consisted of Iranian generals and officers, including the head of military intelligence, General Mokkadam. The CIA allocated \$ 19 million to bribe the military leadership. Many commanders joined the ranks of the rebels – on their side there were the shah’s guard, the command of tanks and other units, police and gendarmerie. The intelligence work was carried out with the influential Islamic clergy, the traditionalist “bazaar” (trade and craft circles).

On August 19, 1953, a large group of K. Roosevelt’s agents staged a riot in the center of the capital with the participation of “bazaar”, the clergy under the slogans of the overthrow and death of M. Mossaddek. Natural riots and pogroms became widespread, and F. Zahedi’s troops entered the city to “suppress” them. 9-hour skirmishes broke out with government loyalists, but the army sided with the rebels gradually (they seized key Tehran facilities and a radio station). F. Zahedi seized power, key positions in Iran and its oil industry passed to the United States, in 1955 the country joined the military political bloc – “The Baghdad Pact” (Glazunova, 2013, pp. 100–117; Damaskin, 2003, pp. 387–390; Sergeev, 1983, pp. 44–62; Faligo & Koffer, 1998, pp. 26–28).

A typical example of a special operation to correct a political reality was the political coup in Czechoslovakia on September 20 – 25, 1948, organized with the participation of the Soviet special services to bring to power Moscow-oriented government of local communists led by

K. Gottwald. By 1947, in Prague there was established an illegal residency of the intelligence of the State Security Committee of the USSR, headed by B. Rybkin, an experienced spy, which operated under the guise of an export-import company and was identified as a base for possible sabotage operations in Western Europe and the Middle East.

A “special purpose brigade” of 400 members of the Soviet secret services was sent to Prague to support and protect K. Gottwald. To put pressure on the current government, a one-hour strike was organized at industrial enterprises with the participation of 2.5 million workers. Rallies were held across the country. On February 21, up to 100 000 citizens came to the square in Prague. On February 25, 6 000 paramilitary fighters, an armed unit of the “people’s militia” (a total of more than 40 000 members, including experienced partisans of the anti-Nazi era), took control of important facilities in the capital. The government resigned, and the Cabinet formed on February 27, 1948, included 11 communist ministers. After the resignation of E. Benes on June 14, 1948, K. Gottwald became the President, the country moved to the socialist path of development (Sudoplatov, 1997, pp. 382–385).

Indirect confrontation of superpowers in local wars and armed conflicts in “the third world” countries reached special proportions during “the Cold War” (***mostly in the former colonies or dependent territories of Western countries in Asia and Africa***), which took place without a declaration of war between the United States, the NATO bloc, and the Soviet Union and its allies.

The war in Korea in 1950 – 1953 demonstrates the real scale of the military confrontation between social systems and military political blocs, which is not recognized in international law. From November of 1950 to July of 1953, military pilots of Air Corps 64 of the Soviet Army, fighting on the side of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, shot down 1 106 US aircraft (its troops made up 70% of the forces of the anti-communist camp of the Korean War) and South Korea, 212 aircraft were shot down by anti-aircraft artillery of the Corps. The losses of the Soviet aircraft are the following: 335 aircraft and 120 pilots (total losses – 315 soldiers). In general, the indirect confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union with their allies in the “local” war in Korea cost, South Korea more than 181 thousand dead, the United States – more than 33 thousand, North Korea – 1.6 million (of which up to 60% were the Chinese “volunteers”).

The Vietnam War of 1960 – 1975 is the most illustrative historical episode of defending one’s own geopolitical interests by means of a covert military confrontation. In addition to the army of the pro-Soviet Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the insurgents of South Vietnam (Viet Cong), there warred millions of soldiers of the army of pro-Western South Vietnam, the US allies in the SEATO bloc, and at the peak of the “local” war it involved a total of up to 3 million people, up to 600 tanks, more than 7 000 guns and 5 000 aircraft. 2.5 million American soldiers were involved into the war (up to 60 000 killed and missing, 300 000 wounded, \$ 146 billion spent).

Unofficially, 6 359 Soviet servicemen took part in the Vietnam War (13 were killed). In particular, in North Vietnam, there served two corps of 18 anti-aircraft missile brigades, which guarded the capital of Hanoi, ports, air bases, etc. By 1991, the Soviet Union had supplied Vietnam with more than 2 000 tanks, 1 708 BBMs, 7 000 guns, 158 ZRKs, and more than 700 fighter jets.

Special mention should be made of the supply of huge arms and military equipment by big states, the deployment of military advisers, specialists and limited military contingents. Thus, during the postwar period the USSR became an indirect participant in more than 15 military conflicts: in Korea (1950 – 1953), Laos (1960 – 1970), in Egypt (1962 – 1974),

Algeria (1962 – 1964), Yemen (1962 – 1963), Vietnam (1965 – 1974), Syria (1967 – 1973), Cambodia (1970), Bangladesh (1972 – 1973), Angola (1975 – 1979), Mozambique (1967 – 1969), Ethiopia (1977 – 1979), Afghanistan (1978 – 1991), etc.

Military and technical assistance from the USSR and the USA to the allied countries grew steadily. If in 1966 – 1975 the volume of the Soviet supplies amounted to \$ 9.2 billion, then in 1978 – 1982 – \$ 35.4 billion, in 1980 – 1984 36 countries received assistance. During the last 5 years of its existence, the USSR supplied to developing countries more than 6 000 tanks and self-propelled guns, 10 000 armored combat vehicles, up to 9 500 guns and RSZV, 2 500 warplanes, 1 650 attack and transport helicopters, 50 large and 185 other warships, 190 000 anti-aircraft missiles, other weapons and equipment. During the Arab-Israeli war of 1973, the United States provided Tel Aviv with 20 000 tons of military cargo, including 128 fighter jets, 150 tanks, 4 000 PTURs, and thousands of missiles, cluster bombs, and etc. (огляд дано за: Lavrenov & Popov, 2003, pp. 369–379; Hurzhiy, Mosov & Makarov, 2006, pp. 112–124; Rogoza & Achkasov, 2007, pp. 32–73, 212–280; Shishov, 2006, pp. 282–307, 433–439).

The global rivalry of the great powers, the use (incitement) of ethno-religious factors, and the disintegration of the world colonial system led to the spread of *specific unconventional wars, which were based on the state confrontation with insurgent-guerrilla movements*. The USSR conducted considerable work on military and special training of revolutionary, anti-colonial, and radical movements.

It concerned, in particular, the armed formations of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), which were provided with active military technical support and assistance in training of saboteurs. From 1956 to 1991, at least 1 500 Palestinian militants underwent special training in the USSR. In September of 1972, the supply of weapons to the OVP began. By 1982, it had received up to 100 modernized BM-21 “Hrad”, up to 100 guns of 122 calibre and 130 mm caliber, 250 units of armored vehicles, a significant number of submachine guns and RPGs) (Lekarev & Viktorov, 2003; Lekarev, 2002; Rossiya (SSSR) v lokal’nykh voynakh, 2000, p. 209).

From the point of view of the hybrid model genesis of confrontation by a large-scale testing of asymmetric confrontation methods (formation, armament, combat use of irregular armed units on the basis of ethno-religious factor) was the Afghan war of 1979 – 1989.

Tens of thousands of specialists in guerrilla warfare, sabotage and terrorist actions were trained in about a hundred training camps. At the peak of mujahideen activity, 178 camps were set up in Pakistan and 34 in Iran, where more than 1 500 instructors could train 75 000 guerrilla warfare specialists a year. It was possible to train 75 thousand various specialists of guerrilla warfare with the help of more than 1 500 instructors during the period of a year. In 1982 – 1992, 35 000 Muslim radicals from 43 countries gained combat experience in Afghanistan. As it was written in “The American Washington Post” in 1985, “The US CIA’s secret assistance to the Afghan rebels grew into the most significant covert operation since the Vietnam War. This assistance will exceed 80% of the CIA’s annual covert operations in the current fiscal year” (Bruderer, 1998, pp. 353–361; Grinchak, 2002, pp. 9–15; Zel’nyts’kyi & Sydorov, 2005, pp. 122–125; Obobshchennyi opyt, 1987, pp. 28–42; Spol’nikov, 1987, pp. 42–57).

It should be emphasized that the long-term global confrontation between geopolitical opponents (civilizational rivals) during “the Cold War”, and numerous wars for the overthrow of colonial dependence, local conflicts, and the artificial creation (or support) of radical and terrorist organizations by big powers as instruments of asymmetric confrontation in the global confrontation, led to the spread of insurgent movements, radical organizations and extremist groups, terrorist centers of various ideological or ethno-confessional orientation,

development of appropriate doctrinal views, tactics of destructive activity, accumulation of huge contingents of “professional rebels” in the postwar world. All these aspects mentioned above created a huge reserve for recruitment under the current conditions of “infantry” for unconventional wars, which, in particular are begun by the centers of global superpower to maintain control over the resource and strategic regions of the world.

The historical era of “the Cold War” and the global inter-bloc confrontation was marked by the vigorous development of such a classic GV weapon as *the Special Forces* (SPF). In 1952, the Office of Special Methods of Warfare was established within the US Department for Defense, which began the formation of military units of special purpose for combat operations in the rear of the troops of the USSR and its allies, as well as on other potential TVD. Each of these units or “groups” was considered capable of deploying up to 100 000 insurgents from the local population at its base in the enemy’s rear. According to the plans of the American command, only in the European part of the USSR there were up to 30 “operational areas” for the actions of “guerrilla” troops (“green berets”) (Dresvyagin, 1998, p. 369).

There is recorded D. Kennedy’s well-known conceptual statement on the mission of special forces in his speech to graduates of the West Point Military Academy (June of 1962): “This is a completely different kind of fighting, completely new in its intensity, but at the same time as old as the war itself... This is the war of guerrillas, exploders, rebels... It needs a new strategy and tactics, special forces and new forms of military action” (Yefimov, 2000, p. 1).

In 1958, to the Combat Statute of the US Army “Guerrilla War” EM-31-21 there was introduced the definition of “guerrilla warfare”. In the US Army Field Statute of Warfare (at the beginning of the 1960s) it was emphasized that the use of intelligence and sabotage groups grew. With the intensification of ideological struggle, increasing the effectiveness of the media and methods of psychological confrontation, the Field Statute of the “Groups and Large Units” defined the main goals of special forces:

- to penetrate to the location of the enemy and to leave it by air, sea and land;
- to survive and to act for a long time in remote areas, in a hostile environment without support and instructions from the outside;
- to create, to equip, to train and to manage “local forces” (armed formations of anti-government forces) during the guerrilla warfare;
- to take part in the captivity release of servicemen of their own armed forces;
- to conduct intelligence and surveillance in remote areas on enemy territory;
- to attack especially important objects in remote areas or in big cities, to carry out sabotage there;
- to train personnel of the armed forces of the USA and allied states in methods of special combat operations, to provide them with military technical and other support (an overview of the formation of US special forces is presented in: Bogdan, 1999, pp. 14–21; Vyedyenyeyev, Bystrukhin & Semuka, 2010, pp. 26–55; Stryzhevs’kyy, 2002, pp. 28–35).

The organizational and functional model of the SPP troops of the Soviet Union had a noticeable specificity, which underwent numerous reorganizations in the 1950s and the 1991s, but retained a general focus on its application precisely in the context of a large-scale modern war with the NATO bloc in order to conduct special intelligence, sabotage and combat operations in the deep rear of the enemy (in particular – to neutralize its missile and nuclear weapons). By 1979, the Special Forces of the GRU of the General Staff of the Soviet Army numbered 14 brigades of district subordination and almost 30 separate units of the armies and groups of troops (Kolpakidi & Prokhorov, 2000a, pp. 140–142).

The Afghan war of 1979 – 1989 proved convincingly the need for the widespread use of special forces units in specific hostilities against irregular guerrilla-insurgent formations. In March – April of 1985, Brigade 15 and Brigade 22 of the SPP, with a total number of up to 4 000 soldiers, encamped in Afghanistan. Their main tasks were intelligence and destruction of mujahideen formations and their caravans, search and destruction of weapons depots, identification of enemy concentration areas and directing aircraft at them, capture of prisoners and other specific tasks.

The first year of the Afghan war forced the formation and sending to the Republic of Afghan of non-structural special units of the KGB of the USSR "Zenith" and "Cascade" (the KGB officers and special reservists were sent to form special units, trained by Department 8 of Office "S" (illegal intelligence) PHU of the KGB of the USSR). Under the common name "Cascade" there were groups of the KGB officers from different regions, including the group – "The Carpathians" from the Ukrainian and Moldavian SSRs. In terms of the development of the unconventional fighting art, the experience value of these special units of the KGB was the following: they proved the need to fight against the insurgents with adequate methods and means, the importance of developing and applying non-standard tactics of irregular formations from within, the spread of discord in relations among insurgents, careful consideration of the specifics of a particular country (див.: Boltunov, 1998; Kozlov, 2003; Otryad, 2000; Chikishev, 2004).

The ideological and information-psychological spheres became the key field of the post-war global confrontation (which under modern conditions of development of information-cognitive technologies and all-encompassing technological means of virtual social reality formation turned into the main theater of a hybrid conflict). As "the Cold War" broke out and the strategic military parity between the United States and the Soviet Union progressed gradually, the emphasis in the global confrontation shifted in favour of destructive information and psychological influence on the population of the socialist camp countries. In 1961 – 1964, the doctrines of "flexible response", "aking friendly relations", "silent counterrevolution", and etc., were approved in the United States officially.

Under the term "psychological war" as a constituent part of the "the Cold War" the Soviet specialists understood the use of propaganda, economic and diplomatic pressure, the use of intelligence and sabotage actions aimed at controlling people's behavior, the destruction of ideological, political and moral unity of the socialist countries citizens. In the Soviet scientific publications, the practice of the state security services and the propaganda apparatus, and the concept of "ideological diversion" were established – as the most acute form of psychological warfare of the West against the USSR and its allies during the period of "the Cold War". It was emphasized that ideological diversion is characterized by destructive influence on human consciousness, its erosion, "ideological rebirth", manipulation of feelings and thoughts, undermining the foundations of the state system; according to its individual characteristics, ideological sabotage was similar to the agency activity. Among the possible signs of ideological sabotage there were subversive propaganda, intelligence and subversive activities in forming and supporting illegal groups to fight against the existing state system (Bobkov & Sidorenko, 1976, pp. 8–9, 16–17, 23–27).

During the first years of "the Cold War", the United States and the West in general, in a short period of time formed an original system of information and psychological confrontation with the communist bloc, which consisted in the use of special technologies to influence the mass consciousness, meta-action (synthetic, complex, indivisible action on a single plan) with the help of coordinated and long-term actions of such elements as:

- the highest authorities of the leading Western states and informal structures of transnational (global) governance;
- departments of foreign policy relations;
- special services and socio-political, information and other state and formally non-state structures under their control;
- media structures (news agencies, radio stations, publishing houses, etc.);
- public and private research and analytical institutions (“brain tanks”);
- various private and semi-public funds that provide financial support for projects of information and psychological impact on opponents;
- opposition, anti-government organizations, groups, individual figures in the countries of the communist camp, who were assigned the role of the “fifth column”.

In 1951, the Office of Psychological Warfare under the National Security Council (NSC) of the United States (since 1953 – the Office of Coordination of Operations, the OCO) was established. In 1953, under the auspices of the US National Security Service (which was carried out by the capabilities of the OCO and the US State Department) formed a leading body of the US foreign policy propaganda – American News Agency (USIA). By 1966, in USIA there were 11 628 employees, 106 branches abroad, 142 information centers, 168 libraries, in 1965 it distributed 25 million copies of brochures, it published 85 magazines in 25 languages, and 60 newspapers. In 1967 – 1968 the budget of the institution was \$ 186.3 million. The radio station “The Voice of America” reached the amount of 850 hours per week in 38 languages (Vidyasov, 1959, pp. 85–86; Sbornik materialov, 1969, p. 3).

In 1987, the sum of \$ 887.9 million was allocated for USIA, and the radio stations “Liberty” (“Svoboda”) and “Free Europe” (“Vilna Yevropa”) received \$ 125 million. In 1977, the newspaper “The New York Times” reported that the CIA’s information operations were served by up to 800 propaganda publications and bodies, and that the CIA department “Soviet Russia” coordinates ideological operations against the USSR, the special operations department supervises the work of “Svoboda” and “Vilna Yevropa” radio stations. According to the Institute of Sociology of the USSR Academy of Sciences, up to 30% of young people in large cities of the European part of the USSR regularly listened to foreign radio stations (“voices”), especially since in 1973 the “jamming” of a number of government radio stations of Western countries was stopped. By the beginning of the 1980s, the United States had completed the construction of up to 20 broadcasters of such power that it was not possible to silence their transmissions (Merzlikin, 1980, pp. 38–40; Komarovskiy, 1978, pp. 98–100).

The USSR built its own system of informational influence on foreign audiences. The main body of foreign policy propaganda of the USSR was the Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union (TARS), established in 1925. In the 1970s and 1980s, TARS prepared and transmitted more than 300 home and international communications daily. The main editorial office of information for foreign countries prepared special materials in 6 languages for 115 countries (73% of countries).

Being established in 1961, other opportunities had a “public information service” of the Union of Journalists, the Union of Writers of the USSR, the Union of Soviet Friendship Societies and cultural relations with foreign countries, and the “Znannia” (“Knowledge”) Society, the Agency Press “News” (APN). The main purpose of the APN was to form a positive image of the USSR, the spread of analytical materials, translations of official documents, reviews, literature, etc., in the interests of a long-term impact on foreign consumers of information. The APN was successful in countries with weak or moderately developed infrastructure and

mass media technologies. By 1989, in the agency there were bureaus, branches and offices in 90 countries, 26 departments in the capitals of the Union Republics and major cities of the USSR, 4 thousand employees. The authors of the materials were more than 3 000 Soviet and foreign politicians and public figures, scientists, writers, artists, and the others.

The APN cooperated with more than 4 500 media agencies from 120 countries, provided materials to 110 countries, published 2.2 million copies of newsletters, newspapers and magazines in 45 languages for foreign audiences, and distributed them in 130 countries. It was formally considered that the Soviet state was not legally responsible for the activities of the APN.

The structure of the State Television and Radio of the USSR included the main directorate of programmes – the main editions of information and propaganda on broadcasting to individual countries and regions. Broadcasts were conducted in 75 languages, 1800 hours a week. Since 1978, the world service of Moscow Radio had been launched. In 47 countries there were cultural centers and Houses of the Soviet science and culture (Panarin, 2006, pp. 189–194).

At the end of 1981 – the beginning of 1982 the US President Ronald Reagan, together with several close associates, elaborated a new strategy for global confrontation with the USSR (the first comprehensive programme of a large-scale hybrid warfare), the essence of which was the secret coordinated blows and pressure on the most vulnerable parts of the Soviet political and economic system. Under the President of the United States, a special coordinating body was created – the National Security Planning Group. At the beginning of 1982, a group of advisers began to elaborate an offensive strategy “to dismantle the Soviet empire”. There were identified the main areas of implementation of the strategy on undermining the USSR:

- secret political, intelligence, material and financial support of the opposition movement “Solidarity” in Poland in order to provide a source of instability within the Warsaw Bloc;
- intensification of assistance with modern weapons, finances, trained personnel to the Afghan armed Islamic opposition, its transfer of hostilities to the Soviet Central Asia;
- nuclear missile blackmail, militaristic propaganda, intimidation, etc., in order to involve the USSR in an excessive arms race;
- a series of measures to reduce foreign money income from the sale of oil and by the USSR;
- restriction of the USSR’s access to advanced technologies and technical disinformation of the enemy;
- comprehensive psychological warfare and support for the ideological and political opposition in the countries of the socialist camp (Kalashnikov, 2008, pp. 78–87; Shveytser, 1995, pp. 5–6).

The doctrine of information warfare underwent some changes. Maintaining a number of its traditional components (the formation of the “fifth column”, the emphasis on the “human rights problem”), the attempts to influence political decision-making in the USSR, etc.), in the doctrine it was emphasized on the need to use the latest information technologies (satellite television, the Internet), to coordinate all efforts of the media, government and non-governmental organizations, special services to demoralize the Soviet leadership and to facilitate the coming to power of politicians who made political concessions.

At the beginning of the 1980s, Z. Brzezinski, the State Security Adviser to the President of the United States, submitted a report to the State Department entitled “Game Plan. Geostrategic Structure of the Struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union”. It was suggested emphasizing the “decentralization of the empire” by means of “real conflicts, which may erupt in the Baltic republics, in Belarus and Ukraine which were close to Russia in the cultural relations...” (Shironin, 1997, pp. 80–81).

Revealing the basis for the implementation of such promising programmes, in April of 1988, the KGB of the USSR spread the information that the US intelligence services in cooperation with the intelligence of Germany and France intensified efforts to destabilize the domestic political situation, creation of a political opposition, a multiparty system, “free trade unions”, use of nationalist and religious extremist sentiments in the USSR. A special mission was assigned to the political centers of emigration (diasporas) of the peoples of the socialist countries (Rimarenko, 1989, p. 177).

The specifics of the global confrontation made theorists of military affairs and special arts form some *theoretical and applied concepts (views) on the art of asymmetric confrontation, the strategic foundations of a new type of conflict*. The book of the famous English military theorist B. Liddell-Garth (1895 – 1970) “Strategy of Indirect Action” was a kind of manifesto of such searches, based on the study of world martial arts for 2500 years (Liddell Gart, 1957). The author spoke in favour of mobility as opposed to defense without any mobility or frontal attacks, “a detour as the shortest way”, bringing the enemy out of balance as a guarantee of victory, intellectual victory as a prerequisite for success on the battlefield.

From the point of view of the genesis of theoretical and conceptual ideas about asymmetric war and models of a new type conflict, Eugene Messner’s concept “rebellion-war” became really far-sighted. E. Messner (1891 – 1974) was a professional soldier, finished the course of the General Staff Academy before the revolution, and took part in World War I and the Civil War of 1918 – 1922.

The main ideas of E. Messner are set out in the books “Rebellion – the Name of World War III” and “World Rebellion War” (Messner, 2004; Khochesh’ mira, 2005).

The author’s reasoning is based on the analysis of the vast empirical material of contemporary wars and armed conflicts, national liberation movements and uprisings. The author distinguishes between “traditional warfare” and rebellion-war as a new type of war. The riot rebellion-war “is mixed with strikes from the underground (for example, terrorism) of secret organizations, or sabotage groups, or disparate individuals, and it is not easy to classify their main considerations: revenge on the occupiers, liberation of the country, political and social coup...”.

The researcher aptly formulated such cornerstones of hybrid confrontation as the formally undeclared status of conflicts, their going beyond international law, the lack of a clear boundary between states of war and peace, emphasis on the defeat of public consciousness as a guarantee of achieving goals without a possible direct confrontation, the diverse nature of the driving forces and participants with the predominance of non-governmental associations of network (non-hierarchical) system, marginal or antisocial segments of the population, covering almost all spheres of a public life, insidious nature of “warfare” with the emphasis on information-psychological, political subversive, insurgent-guerrilla, sabotage and terrorist actions (“psychological warfare”, “irregular warfare”), etc. (Khochesh’ mira, 2005, p. 50).

The Conclusions. In the postwar world “the Cold War” included military and political confrontation and a race for all kinds of weapons; support for allies in local wars and conflicts; intelligence and sabotage activities; ideological confrontation and information-psychological war with the steady growth of non-military, “indirect” methods of confrontation until a nuclear-missile parity is achieved, and etc. This structure of confrontation caused a radical shift in the center of gravity of the arsenal of military and political conflict in favor of indirect, unconventional (asymmetric) methods and their combination in a hybrid strategy.

During “the Cold War”, the core of which was psychological warfare, methods (mechanisms) of influence on the sphere of controlling collective activity of people, acquired

significant and growing importance, reformatting the mass consciousness and worldview by manipulating human consciousness and creating virtual reality through the use of modern information and socio-cultural technologies. Such algorithms of destructive influence became qualitatively developed and widespread in the strategy of today’s “hybrid” nowadays.

It was during the era of “World War III, the Cold War” that the paradigms, forms and methods of hybrid confrontation, its doctrinal and conceptual principles, the relevant theoretical and methodological, scientific, practical and technological principles were achieved. Special services, affiliated “non-governmental organizations” and paramilitary (irregular) structures, specialized analytical and forecasting and research centers, media structures became able to purposefully influence purposefully the change of political reality in the national, interstate and transnational dimensions.

There was a qualitative improvement of special forces, which became an important (sometimes decisive) factor in local wars and armed conflicts, participation in complex special operations, the deployment of controlled irregular armed formations. A new qualitative stage in the organization of “elite troops” begins – their reorganization into special operations forces as an autonomous component of the armed forces. As part of the SSO, units (formations) of information and psychological struggle and work with the civilian population were further developed

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**MATVIY STAKHIV'S WORK IN SCIENTIFIC
AND EDUCATIONAL CENTERS IN EMIGRATION**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to clarify and characterize Matviy Stakhiv's main directions of scientific publishing, editorial journalistic and teaching activity during the post-war emigration period. The methodology of the research is based on the principles of historicism and scientific objectivity. The principle of historicism allowed us to analyze M. Stakhiv's period of scientific publishing, editorial journalistic and teaching activity in dynamics, taking into account concrete historical conditions and chronological sequence. The principle of scientific objectivity has been used in the involvement of the whole set of facts and allowed for a holistic, unbiased study of the subject of the research. The scientific novelty is that for the first time the attempt was made to study M. Stakhiv's scientific publishing, editorial journalistic and teaching activities during the post-war emigration period comprehensively. Owing to the analysis of his works, reports and speeches, it was possible to elucidate his views on the Ukrainian historical science and the Ukrainian statehood issues. The Conclusions.* M. Stakhiv developed an active

scientific publishing, editorial and teaching activities during the postwar period when he was in exile in Germany and the United States (USA). On the European continent, M. Stakhiv mastered a new specialty – a teacher. A number of Ukrainian educational institutions in Germany invited M. Stakhiv to teach, which allowed him to earn money in order to provide for his family. After moving to the United States, he carried on his scientific publishing and editorial journalistic work, as well as established contacts with the Shevchenko Scientific Society (ShSS) leading members. As head of the American department of the ShSS (1969 – 1973), M. Stakhiv tried to overcome conflicts in the Ukrainian emigrant scientific community. Among the main directions of scientific publishing, editorial journalistic and teaching activity of M. Stakhiv during the post-war emigration period it is necessary to single out three most important ones: 1) work in the ShSS; 2) preparation of scientific research for the “The Encyclopedia of Ukraine” and publication of multivolume publications on the history of Ukraine; 3) teaching work.

Key words: M. Stakhiv, the Ukrainian Free University, the Shevchenko Scientific Society, “The Encyclopedia of Ukraine”, emigration period.

ПРАЦЯ МАТВІЯ СТАХІВА У НАУКОВИХ І ОСВІТНІХ ОСЕРЕДКАХ В ЕМІГРАЦІЇ

Анотація. Мета дослідження полягає у з'ясуванні та характеристиці основних напрямів науково-видавничої, редакційно-публіцистичної та викладацької діяльності Матвія Стахівця повоєнного еміграційного періоду. **Методологічною основою** дослідження є принципи історизму та наукової об'єктивності. Принцип історизму дав змогу розглянути період науково-видавничої, редакційно-публіцистичної та викладацької діяльності М. Стахівця в динаміці, з урахуванням конкретно-історичних умов і в хронологічній послідовності. Принцип наукової об'єктивності полягає у залученні всієї сукупності фактів і уможливив цілісне, неупереджене вивчення предмета дослідження. **Наукова новизна** статті визначається спробою комплексного вивчення науково-видавничої, редакційно-публіцистичної та викладацької діяльності М. Стахівця повоєнного еміграційного періоду. Завдячуючи аналізу праць, доповідей та виступів вдалося розкрити його погляди на проблеми української історичної науки та українського державотворення. **Висновки.** У повоєнний період в еміграції у Німеччині та Сполучених Штатах Америки (США) М. Стахів розгорнув активну науково-видавничу, редакційно-публіцистичну та викладацьку діяльність. На європейському континенті він освоїв нову для себе спеціальність – викладача. Низка українських освітніх закладів Німеччини запросила його на викладацьку роботу, що дало йому змогу заробляти кошти на утримання сім'ї. Після переїзду до США він продовжив науково-видавничу та редакційно-публіцистичну працю, а також налагодив контакти із провідними членами Наукового товариства імені Шевченка (НТШ). Очолюючи американський відділ НТШ (1969 – 1973), намагався врегулювати конфлікти в українському еміграційному науковому середовищі. Серед основних напрямів науково-видавничої, редакційно-публіцистичної та викладацької діяльності М. Стахівця повоєнного еміграційного періоду слід виокремити три найважливіші: 1) праця в НТШ; 2) підготовка наукових розвідок до “Енциклопедії Українознавства” та публікація багатотомних видань з історії України; 3) викладацька робота.

Ключові слова: М. Стахів, Український вільний університет, Наукове товариство імені Шевченка, “Енциклопедії Українознавства”, еміграційний період.

The Problem Statement. After Ukraine gained independence, the subject of scientific research of historians was the public and scientific work of many Ukrainian figures of the last century. However, M. Stakhiv's scientific publishing and editorial activities, which took place during the emigration period in Western Europe and the United States, are of utmost importance to the researchers and the wider Ukrainian community because they clearly reflect the complexity of social and national factors of the Ukrainian National Liberation Movement, which were not sufficiently covered by domestic and foreign scholars.

The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications. Numerous researchers focused on the renowned personality's work. In his research, N. Stetsiuk covered fragmentary

M. Stakhiv's social and scientific life in exile (Стецюк, 2008), in which there was mentioned the period of teaching at the Ukrainian Free University (UFU), the Ukrainian Technical and Economic Institute (UTEI) and participation in the Shevchenko Scientific Society (ShSS), the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA) and the World Congress of Free Ukrainians (UWCC). Matviy Stakhiv's attitude to the significant problems of the Ukrainian statehood formation at the beginning of the XXth century and his views on the initial stage of existence of the Directory of the Ukrainian People's Republic (UPR) became the subject of consideration in the publication by O. Malets (Malets, 2009). In addition, the publication edited by O. Shablii "Volodymyr Kubiyovych. Memoirs. Reflections. Selected Letters" (Shablii, 2000) can be considered as an important source for studying the scientific heritage of the Ukrainian national figure. The correspondence between V. Kubiyovych and M. Stakhiv, which was published in the above-mentioned edition, provided valuable information concerning the joint preparation of the "Encyclopedia of Ukraine" and the tense relations in the organization work of the Shevchenko Scientific Society (ShSS).

The purpose of the research is to clarify and to characterize Matviy Stakhiv's main directions of scientific publishing, editorial journalistic and teaching activity during the post-war emigration period.

The Main Material Statement. M. Stakhiv began his scientific and pedagogical activities in Munich (Germany) after World War II. There, from 1946 to 1949, he conducted lectures at the Ukrainian Free University (UFU), the Ukrainian Technical and Economic Institute (UTEI), the Ukrainian Economics High School (UEHSH), and other educational institutions. At the same time, M. Stakhiv published his lectures on Sociology in German in two volumes. In 1946 he became an Associate Professor at the UVU, and later on, M. Stakhiv received the status of Professor of Science of State and Constitutional Law (Stercho, 1985, p. 889).

It should be mentioned that M. Stakhiv came to the UFU, when it was in the prime of life: the number of scientists was constantly increasing; the number of students was constantly growing. In 1947 – 1948, about 500 students studied at the university, and the teaching staff consisted of 44 Professors, 16 Associate Professors and 18 Teachers and Assistants (Yaniv, 1980, p. 3418). The contemporaries put emphasis on the fact that the university was a much respected scientific institution, and on this occasion the UFU was officially recognized by the Bavarian Ministry and was equated its diplomas with diplomas of the German universities. According to the decision, issued by the Ministry for Education of Bavaria No. XI 60710 on the 16th of September in 1950, the UFU was authorized to award scientific degrees of Master, Doctor and Doctor Habilitated (Shafoval, 2011, p. 33).

The UFU was active in publishing, in particular, University Professors prepared for publication a series of the Ukrainian studies textbooks for the Ukrainian universities. Hence, M. Stakhiv also prepared "Textbooks on Public Administration and Administrative Law" (Stercho, 1985, p. 889). According to P. Stercho, "Professor M. Stakhiv was connected with the UFU and to some extent with the UTEI until his death on the 2nd of June in 1978" (Stercho, 1985, p. 889).

P. Stercho stated the following: "Hundreds of Ukrainian intellectuals in different countries of the free world received their higher education under the leadership of M. Stakhiv. They mention him as the one who emphasized the need to acquire and consolidate perfect knowledge in the chosen field of science, because the Ukrainian nation needs highly qualified specialists, and in the world only perfect knowledge can ensure the acquisition and consolidation of prominent positions in science, industry or administration, not to mention free professions" (Stercho, 1985, pp. 889–890).

In the 1960's in the United States, there was a significant development of the Ukrainian professional and academic life. During the above-mentioned period, a number of professional organizations and research institutions began their activities. On the 2nd of September in 1961, the Ukrainian-American Association of University Professors (UAAUP) was established in Parma, a suburb of Cleveland. Owing to the UAAUP publishing house, which was called, "The Professor News" M. Stakhiv, as the Shevchenko Scientific Society American Department President, addressed the American Research and Publishing Center of the Ukrainian Studies with a request to order and distribute "all editions of the ShSS in the American scientific world as well as to order it for the Center" (Humetska, 2008, p. 32). In this context, the editorial board of "The Professor News" put emphasis on the following: "Each book sold brings new income that can be used immediately to publish the next work. Let us remember that the ShSS, like the UFU or another Ukrainian institution, will be as good as we want and are able. Quitting work at our institutions and talking cynically about them requires neither courage nor wisdom, because anyone can be a cynic, but to support and cooperate for improvement are worth noting" (Humetska, 2008, p. 39).

It should be highlighted that M. Stakhiv's important area of scientific activity was his work in the Historical and Philosophical Section of the Shevchenko Scientific Society (ShSS). M. Stakhiv was a regular member of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv since 1931. He was elected a full member of the historical and philosophical section in 1942. In Munich, M. Stakhiv was one of those who resumed the activities of the ShSS in exile. In 1947, at the general meeting of the ShSS on March 30, in Munich, M. Stakhiv informed, "that after the withdrawal of the Bolsheviks from Lviv, the ShSS resumed its activities, despite the lack of permission from the German authorities" (Vynar, 1973, p. 18). After moving to the United States, he served as a member of the Board, First Deputy Chairman, and later Chairman. In particular, at the general meeting of the ShSS, which took place in Munich, in 1949, M. Stakhiv joined the Control Commission (Zvidomlennia, 1954, p. 7).

In the USA the Shevchenko Scientific Society (ShSS) scientific activity was carried out in the sections and commissions, which arranged scientific conferences and reports. Within the Historical and Philosophical Section, there were 8 Commissions. Moreover, in three of them, M. Stakhiv was the Chairman of the Commissions in New York, in particular, the Commission on Law and Social Sciences, the Commission on the Ukrainian-Jewish Relations, and the Commission on the Borders of Ukraine. The first Commission studied the history of state building and defense during the existence of the Ukrainian sovereign state in 1917 – 1920. The second Commission prepared materials on the history of the Ukrainian-Jewish relations from the beginning of the Jewish settlement in Ukraine to 1914. The third Commission collected materials on Ukraine's borders on the basis of ethnographic, legal, economic, and defense documents (Naukove tovarystvo, 1963, pp. 20–21).

In the diaspora the Shevchenko Scientific Society (ShSS) scientific activity took place in three sections, which united all Ukrainian scholars: Historical and Philosophical Section (a director I. Mirchuk, in the USA – M. Stakhiv); the Philological Section (H. Luzhnytskyi); the Mathematical Natural Medical Section (M. Zaitsev) (Popovych, 2009). In 1969 the latter was divided into Mathematical Physical Section (O. Andrushkiv, since 1974 – V. Petryshyn) and the Chemical Biological Medical Section (O. Arkhimovich, since 1974 – R. Osinchuk). Since in 1969 M. Stakhiv headed the Shevchenko Scientific Society department in the USA, in the same year the Historical and Philosophical Section was headed by O. Ohloblyn, and later by V. Lentsyk; Philological Section – by V. Lev (Lev, 1972, p. 28). Each section was

divided into Commissions with narrower tasks. In addition, the Society maintained formal relations with many Ukrainian organizations through its clerks, in particular, in the Ukrainian Workers' Union (UWU) the liaison officer was M. Stakhiv (Diialnist, 1960, p. 11).

It should be mentioned that in 1955, with a change in the structure of the Society in exile, the organizational period in its history came to an end: departments in Europe, the USA, Canada and Australia were transformed into autonomous regional societies, and the Main Department was named the Main Council of the Shevchenko Scientific Society (ShSS) (Kushnir & Feloniuk, 2019, p. 70). In 1969, as the Shevchenko Scientific Society Chairman in the USA, M. Stakhiv was delegated to the Main Council of the Shevchenko Scientific Society. The Main Council united and directed the scientific work of the members of all four sections. Ye. Vertyporokh became the President of the Council, and M. Stakhiv became the Deputy (Lev, 1973, p. 32).

The relations in the Shevchenko Scientific Society, in particular in the Historical and Philosophical Section, were quite tense, due to the ideological diversity of the leading members of the Society, geographical diversity (the Galicians and the Dnieper Ukrainians) and differences in views on the future development of the leading Ukrainian emigration institution. For these reasons, M. Stakhiv chaired the Society for quite a short time – only five years. In 1973, the preparation for the celebration of the 100th anniversary of the society in New York was led by a new Chairman – O. Andrushkiv (Padokh, 1990, p.7).

M. Stakhiv's activity in the Shevchenko Scientific Society fell on an extremely difficult period of this organization (initially M. Stakhiv was the Deputy Head of the American department (headed by R. Smal'-Stotskyi). It should be emphasized that 10 meetings took place, which can prove rather intensive Society work (Zvidomlennia, 1954, p. 23).

However, in a letter to R. Smal'-Stotskyi dated April 5, 1950, V. Kubyiovych wrote openly about the disappointing situation in the Shevchenko Scientific Society: "Things are not very pleasant. As you know from our bulletins, 4 issues of the "The Encyclopedia of Ukraine" were published, the 5th is out of print, and we can say that our work is over. We do not have money for other publications, but we will try to find the way out somehow. Annoying incidents occurred with the American department. You know about all these cases from the materials that we sent to the government, as well as from a letter that I will allow myself to send to you and, in addition, to several colleagues (I. Vytanovych, Shandruk, Shlemkevych, Padokh, Stakhiv, Okinshevych and, perhaps, some others – these are letters to my good acquaintances)" (Shablii, 2000, p. 357).

In a letter to M. Stakhiv dated on the 17th of September in 1950, V. Kubyiovych called the financial crisis one of the main problems of the Shevchenko Scientific Society activity. "Therefore, we must," V. Kubyiovych emphasized, "have as many new subscribers and Notebook funders as possible in the USA and Canada. The case of your \$ 600 is almost SOS for us. Soon we will also launch an urgent campaign to increase the number of subscribers, we will contain a number of articles about the Encyclopedia of Ukraine, and in those cases we will ask you for help. We also ask you to help us with the collection sheets that are on the way to America. Thank you so much for raising \$ 15 to the Encyclopedia of Ukraine press fund (Shablii, 2000, p. 265).

The Shevchenko Scientific Society development issues are the main topic of correspondence between the two scholars. It should be noted that M. Stakhiv took a rather active part in the work of the Society. In particular, he chaired the Commission on Law and Social Sciences, where during the period of 1950 – 1953 he delivered three speeches and presented reports: "Sociological and Legal Quality of Modern Dictatorships" (August 26, 1950);

“Sociological Characteristics of the Ukrainian Parties” (February 17, 1951 and April 24, 1951); “The Provisional Constitution of the Ukrainian People’s Republic from January of 1919” (January 31, 1953). (*Zvidomlennia*, 1954, p. 28).

It should be mentioned that M. Stakhiv, while corresponding with V. Kubyiovych, not only reported on the results of work on the American continent but also discussed the prospects for the Shevchenko Scientific Society (ShSS) development, increasing the Society influence on the Ukrainian emigration. For instance, M. Stakhiv asked to collect materials about Zakerzonnia and the UPA in a letter to V. Kubyiovych dated October 10, 1950. Hence, V. Kubyiovych wrote the following, as a reply letter dated October 22, 1950: “It is not all that you wanted to have, but still it has some value. However, these materials were not easy to get. It is a pleasure for me to serve my friends” (Shablii, 2000, p. 268). V. Kubyiovych also touched upon the issue of relations between the Ukrainian Free Academy of Science (UVAN) and the Shevchenko Scientific Society (ShSS). According to the author of the letter, “all talks about the merger of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Science (UVAN) and the Shevchenko Scientific Society (ShSS) will end in complete disaster for us. After a while, we will be majorized and a new emigration from the Eastern lands will solve the Shevchenko Scientific Society (ShSS) issue or take it into their own hands. I wrote about this to Chubatyi. In my opinion, there can be only talks about the cooperation of both institutions, but never about merging into one” (Shablii, 2000, p. 269).

V. Kubyiovych expected a piece of advice from M. Stakhiv on the Shevchenko Scientific Society (ShSS) further activities in France in another letter dated January 2, 1951: “At the ShSS, next to the EU (*Encyclopedia of Ukraine*), we will not do anything, because we have to postpone all things until France, but even with the departure there are a lot of trouble. Our financial base is extremely modest. By the way, I ask you to advise practically in what way it is possible in the territory of America and from what establishments to receive financing for this purpose the so-called the House of Ukrainian Science in Paris, because that’s what we call our institution. This is, in fact, the only most respected scientific plant, and it will die without help. Understanding the mentality of Americans, I think it will not be easy to get money...” (Shablii, 2000, p. 715).

Attempt to reform the Shevchenko Scientific Society (ShSS) was also made during this period. The Presidium of the Scientific Society created a separate Statutory Commission, the legal section of which included M. Chubaty, Ya. Padokh, Yu. Fedynsky and M. Stakhiv. The discussions on the project lasted until July of 1953, which helped to develop the optimal structure of the organization (*Zvidomlennia*, 1954, pp. 16–17).

The political component was the vital component of the Shevchenko Scientific Society (ShSS) members’ correspondence. As a result, V. Kubyiovych informed M. Stakhiv confidentially that he would perform some functions for the State Center of the Ukrainian People’s Republic in exile and that it might even contain a cultural center there in one of his letters. At the same time, M. Stakhiv was informed of the most important news in the ShSS in the second half of 1950: “#11 EU Notebook (Art) was published, and some of the missing Notebooks 7, 8, 9 and 12 are already in stock, so we completed about 70% of the first part” (Shablii, 2000, p. 206).

Consequently, M. Stakhiv invited V. Kubyiovych to the United States as he was unable to organize adequate financial support for the Society. In a letter dated March 21, 1951, V. Kubyiovych thanked M. Stakhiv for the offer to take part in the meeting of the ShSS members in New York, at the same time emphasizing: “I am writing a message to the three of you, because of the ShSS matters, and here I will raise a few cases on the margins briefly.

You must make every effort to win our cause. I will say quite frankly and sincerely that I have the greatest hopes for you, and this is because you have the greatest experience, tact, and in particular, common sense... The most important thing is to organize the elections at the general meeting not by correspondence because there is no need for it. However, different opinions must fight with themselves in a frank battle. You need to think carefully about your suggestions on the composition of the ShSS Department. I think it would be best if you took the post of a secretary, as you would have taken the post in the General Department at the time, if you had not gone to America..." (Shablii, 2000, p. 312).

However, V. Kubyiovych's friendly tone of letters addressed to M. Stakhiv at the end the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s changed to aggressive. In particular, informing V. Yaniv about the conflict of Professor O. Ohloblyn with M. Stakhiv, V. Kubyiovych emphasized the following: "Prof. Ohloblyn threatens to leave the ShSS in connection with the continuation of the line of the deceased head by a new one – by prof. Stakhiv. But prof. Smal' -Stotskyi still had other traditions than Dr. Stakhiv" (Shablii, 2000, p. 876).

The establishment of a section on the History of Ukraine was also a stumbling block among the members of the ShSS. In this regard, I. Kedrin, another Ukrainian historian and politician, a full member of the ShSS, expressed his opinion on the events of that time, mentioning in his memoirs that: "Dr. Matviy Stakhiv was angered by the anomaly that the vast majority of full members of the Historical and Philosophical Section are in the USA, and the directorate of that Section is permanently in Europe with prof. V. Kubyiovych, as a director. Dr. Stakhiv – and not only he – was angry with the demand of prof. Kubyiovych to bring to the level of full members of the ShSS several of our scholars, who were among 35 teachers of American universities, who signed the "Application", which seemed to be a visible sign of readiness for a "dialogue" with the Kremlin rulers. Against this background, Dr. Matviy Stakhiv came up with the idea to create a new section of the Ukrainian history at the ShSS. The Main Council of the ShSS at the chairmanship of prof. Yevhen Vertyporokh also approved the new section at its meeting on May 6, 1972" (Kedryn, 1976, p. 585).

In turn, V. Kubyiovych noted that "The abolition of the illegal resolution of the Main Council in the case of the so-called Section of the History of Ukraine at the suggestion of the acting chairman of the American Shevchenko Scientific Society, prof. Stakhiv is just the beginning of our possible cooperation. The IF Directorate of the Section and the membership of this Section may not permit the American Shevchenko Scientific Society to hinder its work – to discredit its elected members" (Shablii, 2000, p. 885).

V. Kubyiovych in a letter dated February 13, 1974, addressed to V. Stetsiuk, dwelled on the conflict situation in the ShSS. "It is good that you went to the meeting of the Board of ShSS together; it is difficult for me to say that you did the right thing by leaving the meeting (you are an important person – the secretary). Mr. Stakhiv and his assistant, Mr. Stercho, as well as the others, are attacking you and us. Who is the initiator of this action? It is important to know this (Shablii, 2000, p. 893).

It should be emphasized that the conflicts in the Society did not affect the efficiency of its work and scientific activities. In particular, on February 11, 1967, the ShSS in America organized a scientific conference in New York, dedicated to the scientific and political activities of M. Hrushevskiy. In addition, M. Stakhiv made a report "Hrushevskiy's view on Federalism", in which he noted, "that the so-called federalism of M. Hrushevskiy was completely state-oriented" (NTSh vshanuvalo, 1967, p. 1). On March 10, 1973, a conference of the ShSS dedicated to Taras Shevchenko was held in New York. V. Lev, O. Andrushkiv,

M. Stakhiv made reports. M. Stakhiv stated in his report "In the Spirit of Shevchenko's Testament Mykhailo Hrushevskiy Wrote and Created the History of Ukraine" clarified the figure of M. Hrushevskiy as an outstanding historian and creator of the Ukrainian historical school and noted his important work as the Head of the ShSS in Lviv, as the Chairman of the History and Philosophy Section and the author of "History of Ukraine-Rus" (NTSh vshanuvalo, 1973, p. 1).

Subsequently, on November 23 – 25, 1973, the Jubilee Scientific Congress was organized in New York to mark the 100th anniversary of the ShSS. At the plenary session, M. Stakhiv, the Chairman of the Main Council of the ShSS, addressed the participants of the Congress with an introductory speech. Noting the great merits of the Society on the development of the Ukrainian science, he emphasized that the ShSS together with the Ukrainian people over the past 100 years experienced a period of prosperity and difficulties, as well as the forcible liquidation by the Soviet authorities. At the second final plenary session of the Congress on November 25, M. Stakhiv made a report, which was called "The Status of the Ukrainian SSR in the USSR System". In addition, at one of the meetings, his plans were announced to publish in English "History of Ukraine-Rus" (V Niu-Yorku, 1973, pp. 1, 5).

M. Stakhiv was one of the editors of the EU prepared by V. Kubyiovych. The latter enthusiastically repeatedly stated the following: "If everyone had helped me in editing of the EU as you [M. Stakhiv – *the authors*], it would have been much better. But the majority of people do not help, but do harm. People do not have a clear notion of editing (this concerns departmental editors), and not less evil – they have no political sentiment" (Shablii, 2000, p. 130).

Despite numerous obstacles, the contacts between the two scholars concerning the preparation of an encyclopedic publication intensified during the 1950s. V. Kubyiovych expressed gratitude to all the reviews of the articles in "The Encyclopedia of Ukraine" prepared by M. Stakhiv: "I have to make every effort to make the latest history as good as possible, and this can only be done with joint efforts. Because the Latest History and Law are not ready yet, we have printed 10 notebooks now. Later it will be 11 and 12, and only later we will do 7, 8 and 9. I am glad that you like the division of the general part into 3 volumes. The rapid printing we have embarked on and the emigration of most emigrants, including subscribers, to America are the cause of the financial crisis in which we find ourselves" (Shablii, 2000, p. 868).

Moreover, quite often V. Kubyiovych informed M. Stakhiv of the state of writing of other articles of "The Encyclopedia of Ukraine": "With the Law Section in the EU, it's getting dark. Very good are the articles written by Dr. Tsiutsiura on the Soviet Law. He is an open mind and it will be interesting. It is a pity that he is going to America. He should be taken care of. We have to change Yurchenko's article (it's entrusted for you), i. e., to rewrite it, because Okinshevych claims that this is a good article, but it is outright scandalous". At the request of V. Kubyiovych, M. Stakhiv prepared a section "The State System of the Ukrainian State in 1917 – 1920" for "The Encyclopedia of Ukraine". It should be also noted that in the letters of V. Kubyiovych to M. Chubatyi, V. Kaye-Kisilevsky, J. Padokh, S. Smal'-Stotskyi the situation with the publication of "The Encyclopedia of Ukraine" was discussed, and M. Stakhiv was mentioned as a reviewer of the section "Sociology" (Shablii, 2000, p. 840).

The Conclusions. M. Stakhiv developed an active scientific publishing, editorial and teaching activities during the postwar period when he was in emigration in Germany and the United States (USA). On the European continent, M. Stakhiv mastered a new specialty – a teacher. A number of the Ukrainian educational institutions in Germany invited M. Stakhiv

to teach, which allowed him to earn money in order to provide for his family. After moving to the United States, he carried on his scientific publishing and editorial journalistic work, as well as established contacts with the Shevchenko Scientific Society (ShSS) leading members. As the head of the American department of the ShSS (1969 – 1973), M. Stakhiv tried to overcome conflicts in the Ukrainian emigrant scientific community. Among the main directions of scientific publishing, editorial journalistic and teaching activity of M. Stakhiv of the post-war emigration period it is necessary to single out three most important ones: 1) work in the ShSS; 2) preparation of scientific research for the “The Encyclopedia of Ukraine” and publication of multivolume publications on the History of Ukraine; 3) teaching work.

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COOPERATION OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS WITH LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT BODIES AND STATE AUTHORITIES IN 1988 – 2021 (ON THE EXAMPLE OF THE WESTERN REGION OF UKRAINE)

Abstract. *The purpose of the article – in a historical context to study the effectiveness of public organizations cooperation of the western region of Ukraine with local self-governments and state authorities (1988 – 2021) on the example of a unique “The Lion Society”, Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Cultural and Scientific Society (CSS) “Rukh”, Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Association of All-Ukrainian T. Shevchenko Society “Prosvita”. The research methodology is based on the principles of objectivity and historicism, which provide for the analysis of individual phenomena and processes in their development and close connection with the system of relevant social relations; historical facts are considered against the background of political processes, which in its turn involves the use of the method of comparative analysis, which clarifies the essence of many significant events in the Ukrainian socio-political thought. The scientific novelty: the problems faced by public organizations and local self-governments and state authorities have been outlined; the achievements*

and prospects of the Ukrainian cultural and educational societies at different historical stages have been generalized; the programme of action between public organizations and local self-governments, and the state authorities has been elaborated. **The Conclusions.** Nowadays, an effective mechanism for cooperation between public organizations and local governments, and state authorities has been created and tested in Ukraine, but not implemented at the national level yet. The function of supporting the civil society can and must be taken over by both public organizations and local self-governments, and the state authorities. Unfortunately, they still have many prejudices against each other. The founders of "Prosvita" Society (the so-called "mother" of the Ukrainian societies) were deeply aware of the need to create the nation and its self-affirmation under the conditions of a foreign occupation. Assessing the achievements and prospects of the Ukrainian cultural and educational societies at different historical stages, it is necessary to focus on preserving the genetic memory of the people. After the proclamation of Ukraine's independence, the task arose of forming a civil society, reviving and developing the spirituality of the Ukrainian people. "The Lion Society", Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Cultural and Scientific Society "Rukh", Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Association of the All-Ukrainian T. Shevchenko "Prosvita" Society and the others elaborated the programme of action: introduction into the public consciousness of understanding the need for self-organization of communities, an active citizenship, the priority of traditional Ukrainian national values; support of the Ukrainian language, history, culture, church, Christian morality; promoting the formation of a comprehensively developed highly educated, nationally conscious, socially active personality.

Key words: "Prosvita" Society, native language, historical memory, Ukraine, civil society.

СПІВПРАЦЯ ГРОМАДСЬКИХ ОРГАНІЗАЦІЙ З ОРГАНАМИ МІСЦЕВОГО САМОВРЯДУВАННЯ ТА ДЕРЖАВНОЇ ВЛАДИ У 1988 – 2021 рр. (НА ПРИКЛАДІ ЗАХІДНОГО РЕГІОНУ УКРАЇНИ)

Анотація. Мета дослідження – в історичному контексті дослідити ефективність співпраці громадських організацій західного регіону України з органами місцевого самоврядування та державної влади (1988–2021) на прикладі унікальних за своєю потугою "Товариства Лева", Івано-Франківського обласного культурно-наукового товариства (КНТ) "Рух", Івано-Франківського обласного об'єднання Всеукраїнського товариства "Просвіта" ім. Т. Шевченка. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на принципи об'єктивності та історизму, що передбачають розгляд окремих явищ і процесів у їх розвитку та тісному зв'язку із системою відповідних суспільних відносин; історичні факти аналізуються на фоні політичних процесів, що передбачає застосування методу порівняльного аналізу, завдяки якому з'ясовано сутність багатьох знакових для української суспільно-політичної думки подій. **Наукова новизна:** окреслено проблеми, з якими зустрічаються громадські організації та органи місцевого самоврядування й державної влади; узагальнено здобутки й перспективи українських культурно-освітніх товариств на різних історичних етапах; вироблено програму дій між громадськими організаціями та органами місцевого самоврядування й державної влади. **Висновки.** На сьогоднішній день в Україні створено й апробовано, але не впроваджено на загальнодержавному рівні, ефективний механізм співпраці громадських організацій та органів місцевого самоврядування й державної влади. Функцію підтримки громадянського суспільства можуть і повинні брати на себе як громадські організації, так і органи місцевого самоврядування та державної влади. На жаль, вони мають одні до одних ще багато упереджень. Творці "Просвіти" (матері українських товариств) глибоко усвідомлювали потребу творення нації та її самоутвердження в умовах іноземної окупації. Оцінюючи здобутки й перспективи українських культурно-освітніх товариств на різних історичних етапах, необхідно акцентувати увагу на справі збереження генетичної пам'яті народу. Після проголошення незалежності України постало завдання формування громадянського суспільства, відродження і розвитку духовності українського народу. "Товариство Лева", Івано-Франківське обласне культурно-наукове товариство "Рух", Івано-Франківське обласне об'єднання Всеукраїнського товариства "Просвіта" ім. Т. Шевченка та інші виробили програму дій: впровадження у суспільну свідомість розуміння необхідності самоорганізації громад, активної громадянської позиції, пріоритету традиційних українських національних цінностей; підтримка української мови, історії, культури, церкви, християнської моралі; сприяння формуванню всебічно розвиненої високоосвіченої, національно свідомої, соціально активної особистості.

Ключові слова: товариство "Просвіта", рідна мова, історична пам'ять, Україна, громадянське суспільство.

The Problem Statement. Democracy in Ukraine, as in the rest of the world, cannot function without conscious citizens who trust democratic institutions and take an active part in the society life. At this historical stage, a civil society faces many obstacles: nostalgia for the totalitarian state of “control and supervision”, disappointment with imperfect institutions and procedures of democracy, exclusion outside the boundaries of entire social groups. The activity scope of a civil society grows constantly. One of the leading roles in this process should be played by public organizations and government agencies.

It is important for the Ukrainian public to realize that it is possible to interact with the authorities productively. Local self-governments can order some of the services, let's say, of a social nature, from organizations that are better at this issue (from within) and perform this task for less money. Local self-governments and authorities can announce competitions in many spheres of a public life among organizations, followed by funding for the best projects. The most effective diagnosis of the needs of the local community can be made by public organizations. These circumstances should be used by local self-governments for common identification of social problems. To achieve effective results, the public should combine various forms of influence (dialogue, lobbying, protests) actively. It is especially useful to inform public authorities about their activities, initiatives and opportunities, to identify promising areas of cooperation and to offer specific recommendations when discussing certain issues. In terms of membership in public organizations, Ukraine is inferior not only to developed democracies, but also to many post-totalitarian countries in Latin America. The experience of democratic states of the world shows that proper public participation contributes to the effectiveness of public administration, openness and transparency of public bodies, increases the level of trust in the state authorities.

The purpose of the article – in the historical context, to study the effectiveness of public organizations cooperation in the western region of Ukraine with local self-governments and state authorities on the example of a unique “The Lion Society”, Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Cultural and Scientific Society (CST) “Rukh”, Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Association of All-Ukrainian T. Shevchenko Society “Prosvita”.

The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications. Scientific approaches to the development of a civil society in Ukraine, the role of interaction in this process between government and non-governmental organizations are reflected in numerous publications of researchers: V. Bulba, S. Vysotska, L. Honiukova, V. Kupriya, M. Lohunova, S. Malash, Ya. Malyk, V. Rebkalo, V. Rubtsova, S. Teleshun and the others. Nowadays, the system of public administration needs to be improved in the area of delimitation of powers of executive bodies and local self-government bodies and their public relations. These public relations are analyzed by a wide range of researchers nowadays. The scientific basis for the study of this issue were the works of many researchers in the field of public relations, for example: O. Babikov, V. Bebyk, R. Voitovych, V. Karpenko, V. Komarovsky, V. Korolko, V. Malynovsky, V. Mamonova, N. Nyzhnyk, H. Odintsova, P. Petrovsky, V. Shapoval and the others. They consider public relations as a supporting function in public administration.

At the present stage of Ukraine's development, reforming public administration and local self-government is one of the main tasks. Their low quality hampers the economic and social development of the country and the reason for lagging in the world competition. The issue of improving the dialogue between the public, public organizations with the authorities directly at all levels for the successful reforms implementation of is especially topical.

The delimitation issue of functions and powers, and interaction directions between local state administrations and local self-government bodies is topical because these bodies often come into

conflict with each other due to different understanding of the use limits of their functions and powers, and all this has a negative impact on the public relations. The need for differentiation is substantiated by the researcher Ya. Malyk for a number of reasons: the need to establish specific political and legal responsibility of these bodies for the areas of work defined by the constitution and laws; violation of the established balance of interests between these bodies; the presence of gaps in the regulation or duplication of certain powers (Malyk, 2015, p. 360).

M. Rykun, a researcher, emphasizes that public relations should include honest, open and friendly relations between public authorities and local self-government bodies. They are obliged to inform the population of the development directions, programmes and services provided by them, to report on their activities and to be responsible. Democratic countries have been forming the experience of a social activity for centuries. In these countries, the government recognizes the importance of a public opinion and the need to take it into account when making responsible decisions (Rykun, 2013, p. 216).

It was such practice, for one of the authors of the article (O. Maliarchuk), as for a beginner, a school teacher of History, to participate in the activities of Kalush T. Shevchenko Association of the Ukrainian Language Society “Renaissance” since 1990 and to summarize the cooperation experience with authorities and local self-government. In 2020, the book “Kalush City Council of the First Democratic Convocation: History in Documents” was published (Малярчук, 2020) in which this issue was partially outlined. In 2021 – “Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Cultural and Scientific Society “Rukh” – a harbinger of the Ukrainian Revival of 1988 – 1991” (Maliarchuk, Kohut, Ivasiv & Ostapiak, 2021) and the others.

The Main Material Statement. On March 11, 1996 in Ivano-Frankivsk the leaders of 20 public organizations of Prykarpattia established the Council of Non-Governmental Organizations. The purpose of the Council of non-governmental organizations – to increase the social activity of citizens in building democracy and socially-oriented market relations in Ukraine, improvement of the legislative and normative field of activity of non-governmental (public organizations) and formation of a single information network. Three years later, the Council included 26 leading organizations in the western region of Ukraine. Key positions were occupied deservedly by – “The Lion Society” (Lviv), Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Cultural and Scientific Society “Rukh” and Ivano-Frankivsk T. Shevchenko City Society of the Ukrainian Language “Prosvita”. These are the first public organizations in Ukraine – “harbingers of independence”. In the recollections of “The Lion Society”, “Rukh”, “Prosvita” old members you can hear that nowadays it is difficult to find out how “once it was” – the process of organizations formation is meant. In 1989, the societies were at the peak of popularity. From the very beginning, they had three areas of activity – ethnographic, environmental and historical. The societies were a response to a social demand. In 1991, Ukraine’s independence was on the agenda. Their leadership went into big politics. However, in the societies there was preserved Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk format (in Kyiv – The Ukrainian Cultural Club, “Heritage”, “Community”, in Ternopil – “Vertep” (“The Nativity Scene”), in Chernivtsi – “Oberih”), in Kamianets-Podilsky – “Creativity”, in Vinnytsia – “Truth”). In fact, the societies were political organizations, an the alternative to the CPSU – CPU. Hundreds and later thousands of people joined the societies, who agreed to selfless work for the future of Ukraine. Nowadays, Ivano-Frankivsk regional association of All-Ukrainian T. Shevchenko Society “Prosvita” is the most organized and effective establishment within Ukraine and the diaspora.

At the beginning of the 1990s, in Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk and Ternopil regions the overwhelming majority in the region, district, city, and village councils of people’s deputies

were the representatives of the national democratic forces. This allowed the formation of a strong political opposition in the Verkhovna Rada of the UkrSSR called the “People’s Council”. Although they were in the minority (120 deputies out of 450), they were followed by millions of citizens and the future. The fateful historical milestones were July of 16, 1990, the adoption of the Declaration of the State Sovereignty of Ukraine, August of 24, 1991, the proclamation of the Act of the State Independence of Ukraine with the All-Ukrainian referendum on December 1, 1991, the work of the “Galician Assembly” and the others.

The national revival and socio-political processes in Ivano-Frankivsk region had their own peculiarities. At the end of 1987, young patriots organized Ivano-Frankivsk Cultural and Scientific Society (CSS) “Rukh” (“Maly Rukh”), headed by Markiyan Chuchuk, Yaroslav Shevchuk and Zinovy Duma. “The Krok” newspaper, following Lviv “The Postup”, launched a new non-censorship press in the region. The active work of these organizations created a favorable political background and gave impetus to the resumption of “Prosvita” in the form of T. Shevchenko the Ukrainian Language Society as a mass socio-political organization throughout Ukraine. Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Society (CSS) “Rukh” is one of the sources of the People’s Movement of Ukraine (NRU), the newest political parties, societies, unions and on March 4, 1990 the election on an alternative basis of deputies of local, district, regional and the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine. From Ivano-Frankivsk region 11 out of 12 elected deputies of the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR were supported by T. Shevchenko the Ukrainian Language Society and Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Cultural and Scientific Society “Rukh” (Maliarchuk, 2015, p. 400).

Twice there was adopted the programme “Prosvita: the XXIst Century” (2013 – 2016 and 2017 – 2021) with appropriate funding in Ivano-Frankivsk region with the participation of representative and executive authorities, clergy, intelligentsia. Why is there no such programme at the state level, as in other regions, in particular in Lviv, where the Society “Prosvita” was born? Obviously, the upper echelons of government still do not sufficiently understand the importance of “Prosvita” activities. In turn, “Prosvita” members and the public do not properly defend this national cause. In this sense, the adopted regional target programmes “Prosvita: the XXIst Century” can be a model for other regions and extended throughout Ukraine (Volkovetskyi, 2018, p. 11).

An important achievement in the activities of Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Society was the adoption of the Concept of the revival of “Prosvita” in all towns and villages, educational and labor collectives of the region by the regional council. This, a rather ambitious task for “Prosvita” members was approved by the regional council and became the basis for the adoption of regional target programmes. These programmes provided support for “Prosvita” activities, including financial support by the authorities – both regional, district and city councils. About 90% of the funds were spent to maintain and support the activities of the People’s House “Prosvita”. This programme gave the opportunity for a wide range of activities, to be at the centre of a public life and to play a consolidating role.

Nowadays, Ivano-Frankivsk regional association of the All-Ukrainian Taras Shevchenko Society “Prosvita” includes 17 district and city associations, which work in accordance with their statutes, and with a membership of 12 thousand people. In some districts of the region, societies were established in each village in accordance with the Concept of “Prosvita” revival. According to many public activists of Ukraine and our personal point of view – Ivano-Frankivsk Regional “Prosvita” is the most organized and effective society in Ukraine (Volkovetskyi, 2020).

The essence of the above-mentioned Concept is that on the basis of the “Prosvita” tradition in each village the “Prosvita” society should be established, which would become the basis of the community, its active core. It should include educators, cultural workers, priests (without distinction of religion), the head of the united territorial community elected by the locals, and authoritative persons – “Prosvita” activists. In Galicia “Prosvita” started this practice during the Austrian period, and continued it during the interwar period of the Polish occupation. It proved to be effective – it worked for the Ukrainian national idea and Ukraine’s independence.

The head of Ivano-Frankivsk regional association of VUT “Prosvita” S. Volkovetsky notes: “There is another aspect and political need for such societies. The Ukrainian state has set itself the goal of creating a civil society where the basis should be the community. But, as we know, the basis of the community and its core are active people, so it is about this asset being formed precisely on the basis of the “Prosvita” idea. This is especially important in connection with the ongoing reform of the state on decentralization, the creation of a united territorial community (OTH). It is obvious that the community will be able and effective when an active core is formed there, which we propose to form on the basis of the “Prosvita” tradition” (Volkovetskyi, 2018, p. 12).

The “Prosvita” People’s House in Ivano-Frankivsk was the headquarters of the formation and headquarters of the opposition forces at the time of the two Maidans – the Orange Revolution and the Revolution of Dignity. With the establishment of the Yanukovich regime in the country, “Prosvita” activists organized a regional opposition organization to power – the Committee for the Defense of Ukraine, headed by the deputies of Ukraine of the first convocation: S. Volkovetsky and D. Zakharuk. This Committee proved itself by organizing mass protests, various appeals at the time when the general public had not yet seen the danger of this anti-people regime. With the beginning of the Russian aggression in the East of Ukraine, Ivano-Frankivsk regional association T. Shevchenko “Prosvita” Society became the initiator and organizer of the People’s Homeguard of Prykarpattia as a form of a territorial defense. It organized the training of young men who later proved themselves in the war zone in eastern Ukraine.

Nowadays, “Prosvita” activists and “Rukh” activists of the region see their task in passing on the glorious historical traditions to the younger generation. The leadership of the societies seeks to modernize the structures of the organization and make them attractive to young people, using the latest information technologies and means of communication. For example, the “Prosvita” newspaper “The Halytska Prosvita” is published, “Prosvita” Society has its own website, at which the events are elucidated on social networks. “Moloda Prosvita” and “Molodyi Rukh” are active as well, summer youth camps are organized every year, youth events are held, and new forms of work with the younger generation are sought.

In the scientific publications it is generalized that the practice of public relations involves, first of all, informing the public in order to give it a general idea of the activities, implementation of plans and problems they have to solve. To achieve this goal, the executive authorities use the following main types of communication channels: a direct communication – personal contacts among citizens (associations of citizens), on the one hand, and officials of the authority – on the other hand; communication by means of telephone, various forms of personal correspondence; indirect communication through the media (press, television, radio, computer networks). According to L. Hurina, in order to achieve mutual understanding, friendly relations and cooperation between public authorities and the public, the following requirements should be met: to provide broad, adequate information to both the whole public and its individual social groups; to organize effective “feedback” with the public; to involve the public into the discussion and decision-making process (Hurina, 2013, p. 78).

Public participation is an important tool for the development of democratic processes, which, unfortunately, is still underused in Ukraine and is clearly underestimated. Much remains to be done to create a stable mechanism for public participation and the effective use of its benefits in the decision-making process. To do this, it is necessary to improve legislation, to develop information systems, to strengthen ties among the state authorities, the media and public organizations. In general, in recent years the involvement of public organizations into the decision-making process on many important issues has reached a new stage of development. The society became more open, citizens have more rights to access information and the opportunity to influence decision-making. However, citizens still face serious difficulties. The reasons for these difficulties consist in the lack of democratic traditions in the society, the lack of necessary skills in conducting qualified procedures for a public participation. The general underestimation of the importance of public involvement into the decision-making process has also a negative impact on the realization of the legal rights of citizens.

In other words, an effective mechanism of interaction between public societies and public administration bodies has not been worked out, which is a necessary condition for democratization of the society. This, of course, would help solve many topical problems

At the same time, it is worth mentioning the dedicated activities of public organizations members. The Ukrainian intelligentsia of that period of time considered the activities their sacred duty. And what is observed nowadays? Are there many public activists among teachers, doctors, lawyers, priests, engineers, teachers, civil servants? There is something to think about...

International and domestic societal challenges were, are and will be. In previous historical epochs there were of one kind, nowadays – of a different one. And if our predecessors were able to overcome the challenges under incredibly difficult conditions of totalitarian political regimes, often risking their lives and the well-being of their families, then why can't we do it nowadays, after the proclamation of Ukraine's independence? The task of the time is essentially the same – to introduce a national ideology into people's minds through "Prosvita" activity.

What is needed for a full-fledged activity of "Prosvita" in this direction?

Firstly, the state support. Ideological work is a function of the state. Naturally, the state should properly fund ideological work at all levels (center – region – district (OTH) – city – township –village). "Prosvita" projects and work are an integral part of the state programmes at both national and regional levels. These activities (lectures, talks, meetings) should be conducted by highly qualified specialists for whom the national idea is their own conviction. During the Soviet period of time, lecture groups of the party committees and organizations of the "Znannia" Society conducted specialized lectures and seminars on various topics in the most remote mountainous and forest villages.

Secondly, "Prosvita" activities should cover all spheres of public life in terms of national interests aimed at developing the spiritual and material culture of Ukraine. The elite, intelligentsia and the most active part of the society, beginning with the upper echelons of power and ending with each settlement of the state, should be concentrated around institutions of the organization. Prestige should be supported by a positive assessment of the state and society, which would be taken into account in the growth prospects for employees, especially in the civil service, education, culture, science.

Thirdly, to introduce modern information management, information marketing with computer equipment and the Internet into the activities of "Prosvita" societies. Communicative connections provide unprecedented opportunities in terms of sharing experiences, lectures, events. Cooperation with the Ukrainian communities and other formations abroad will allow to rise to a higher and larger level of activity.

The main tasks of the state bodies, in our opinion, are:

- not to consider the public as a group of scandalmongers (“extremists”), who are not able to think constructively, but to consider the public group as an ally;
- to strengthen cooperation with non-governmental organizations and the mass media, to provide them with information regularly, to keep them informed of their activities;
- to be interested in the work of non-governmental organizations, to discuss possible forms of development and strengthening of cooperation with them, to involve them into participation in various projects;
- to invite the public to assess projects, to initiate the development of alternative solutions to problems;
- to finance the activities of public organizations.

The public also needs to work to make the partnership with local self-governments and public authorities successful. This requires the following:

- to work openly, to try to understand and respect each other;
- to initiate a dialogue between both participants actively;
- to be open to alternative ideas, proposals;
- be able to compromise.

Among many problems faced by public organizations is the lack of established mechanisms for cooperation with the state bodies. At the same time, it should be noted that the cooperation of public organizations with the authorities officials is at a rather weak level. As a rule, the authorities do not have constant contacts with non-governmental organizations. The authorities officials lack information about public organizations and their activities. In the majority of cases, meetings, public hearings and other forms of interaction are initiated by public organizations. In practice, the involvement of the general public in the decision-making process is infrequent. Sometimes the public is informed about projects and programmes at the final stage of their development, which leads to serious conflicts. Sometimes it happens the other way around – when the public is involved in the discussion, but an active response is not received. Sometimes passivity of the public is due to the low level of consciousness of the population, disbelief in the ability to change anything. In their speeches and reports decision-makers often declare the need to involve the general public, but in practice avoid this, considering public activists scandalous, unable to make professional proposals. Of course, the creation of such image is often the fault of the representatives of public organizations themselves, who prefer confrontation to dialogue, considering in turn authority officials as bureaucrats who do not want to solve problems taking into account the interests of citizens. In our opinion, a retrospective analysis of the activities of the first – new in form and content societies, their significant experience of constructive cooperation will be interesting.

The Conclusions. Taking into consideration the historical tradition of “Prosvita” – the creation of an environment of education of the people in the national and patriotic spirit for self-awareness of being the Ukrainians – the society was a prototype of the Ukrainian state. Its mission is to promote the Ukrainian values: language, traditions, the Ukrainian Church, culture, history – all that makes us the Ukrainians. The wave of the national upsurge at the end of the 1980s could not replace the planned work of “Prosvita” of previous periods and overcome the spiritual devastation of the Ukrainian people, which for centuries the ruling political regimes of foreign states carried with them. That is why, we have a situation with the ruling elite in the state that is far from desirable – it mainly reflects not the interests of the people, but their own or clan interests. The introduction of the state ideology is a necessary

component in the implementation of the national idea in Ukraine. Modernized “Prosvita” could carry out this important mission on the national scale successfully.

Assessing the achievements and prospects of the Ukrainian cultural and educational societies at different historical stages, it is necessary to focus on preserving the genetic memory of the people. Historical merit in the national revival of Ukraine belongs to the oldest public organization “Prosvita”, which began its activities a century and a half ago in Galicia (founded on December 8, 1868 in Lviv, the first chairman was elected Anatoliy Vakhnianyn, professor of the academic gymnasium). It united the best representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in its ranks and gave impetus to the organization of other societies and political parties. Public organizations established by the Ukrainian patriots formed and hardened the national spirit, especially among the youth. After the proclamation of Ukraine’s independence, the task arose of forming a civil society, reviving and developing the spirituality of the Ukrainian people. “The Lion Society”, Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Cultural and Scientific Society “Rukh”, Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Association of the All-Ukrainian T. Shevchenko Society “Prosvita” elaborated an action programme: introduction into the public consciousness of understanding the need for self-organization of communities, active citizenship, the priority of traditional Ukrainian national values; support for language, history, culture, Christian morality; promoting the formation of a comprehensively developed highly educated, nationally conscious, socially active personality.

The issue of mass public organizations formation in the second half of the 1980s throughout Ukraine, their cooperation with the societies of the Baltic States, the Caucasus, and other republics of the USSR and the diaspora, requires a separate historical study.

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**PARTICIPATION OF IHOR YUKHNOVSKY
IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROCESSES OF 1990 – 1996**

Abstract. *The purpose of the study* is to elucidate the content of I. Yukhnovsky's activity as a lawmaker and an active participant in the constitutional processes of the first half of the 1990s. **The research methodology.** *The main methods used in the study of this issue were:* comparative and historical, chronological, historical and genetic, historical and typological, synchronous, as well as biographical and prosopographic approaches. *There were useful oral history materials in the form of memoirs and interviews of participants and witnesses of the events of 1990 – 1996.* **The Scientific Novelty.** *Despite the special role of Academician I. Yukhnovsky in the development of constitutionalism in Ukraine, there are no scientific studies in domestic historiography which would shed light on his contribution to constitutional rule-making.* **The Conclusions.** *In the article there has been elucidated I. Yukhnovsky's participation in the activities of the Constitutional Commission of 1990 – 1993, and elaboration of the Concept of the Basic Law in June of 1991; there has been characterized the activity of the democratic bloc of the People's Council, the leader of which I. Yukhnovsky was, in search of a political compromise with the*

pro-communist majority of the Verkhovna Rada for the formation of democratic principles of a domestic constitutional process. In the article there have been also highlighted the measures of I. Yukhnovsky to overcome the contradictions between the legislative and executive branches of power in Ukraine and resumption of work on the Basic Law; and there has been also characterized his participation in achieving a political parity in the form of the Constitutional Agreement of 1995 in the work on the final version of the Constitution of Ukraine. It is stated that I. Yukhnovsky always tried to combine the best achievements of world constitutionalism with the historical traditions of the Ukrainian state formation.

Key words: Ihor Yukhnovsky, the Constitution of Ukraine, People's Rada, Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, Concept of the Constitution, Leonid Kuchma, Constitutional Agreement.

УЧАСТЬ ІГОРЯ ЮХНОВСЬКОГО В КОНСТИТУЦІЙНИХ ПРОЦЕСАХ 1990 – 1996 рр.

Анотація. Мета дослідження передбачає розкриття змісту діяльності І. Юхновського як законотворця й активного учасника конституційних процесів першої половини 1990-х років. **Методи дослідження.** Основними методами, що були задіяні під час дослідження цієї теми стали: порівняльно-історичний, хронологічний, історико-генетичний, історико-типологічний, синхронний, а також біографічний та просопозографічний підходи. Корисними стали матеріали усної історії у вигляді спогадів та інтерв'ю учасників і свідків подій 1990 – 1996 рр. **Наукова новизна.** Незважаючи на особливу роль академіка І. Юхновського у розвитку конституціоналізму в Україні, у вітчизняній історіографії відсутні наукові дослідження, які б висвітлювали його вклад у конституційну нормотворчість. **Висновки.** У статті розкрито участь І. Юхновського в діяльності Конституційної комісії 1990 – 1993 рр., розробці Концепції Основного Закону в червні 1991 р.; охарактеризовано діяльність демократичного блоку Народної Ради, лідером якого був І. Юхновський, у пошуках політичного компромісу із прокомуністичною більшістю Верховної Ради для формування демократичних принципів вітчизняного конституційного процесу. У статті також відображено заходи І. Юхновського щодо подолання суперечностей між законодавчою і виконавчою гілками влади в Україні й відновлення роботи над Основним Законом, а також показана його участь задля досягнення політичної паритетності у вигляді Конституційної Угоди 1995 р. в роботі над остаточним варіантом Конституції України. Констатується, що І. Юхновський завжди у своїй діяльності намагався поєднувати кращі досягнення світового конституціоналізму із історичними традиціями українського державотворення.

Ключові слова: Ігор Юхновський, Конституція України, Народна Рада, Верховна Рада України, Концепція Конституції, Леонід Кучма, Конституційна Угода.

The Problem Statement. The period of 1990 – 1996 was decisive in the formation of the Ukrainian sovereignty, during which a significant component of the state-building processes was the activity of deputies of the Verkhovna Rada on the creation of a new Constitution (Basic Law) of Ukraine. Despite the fact that Ukraine was one of the first Soviet republics to gain independent status, the constitutional process in the young state was completed only on June 28, 1996. Until that time, the Soviet Constitution of 1978 was in force with numerous amendments and changes, which often contradicted each other and did not provide a full-fledged regulation of the state and legal relations. Academician Ihor Yukhnovsky, the leader of the first parliamentary opposition, who became an iconic figure during the formation of the Ukrainian statehood, was an active participant in all constitutional processes that took place during the years of independence.

The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications. Despite the importance of the figure of I. Yukhnovsky for the recent Ukrainian history, among the scientific works devoted to this period there is neither comprehensive study of the personality of a prominent scientist and politician, nor those studies in which I. Yukhnovsky's participation would be considered in one of the many areas of his activity. In particular, this concerns the issue of the opposition leader's

participation in the drafting of the Constitution of Ukraine. However, the process of writing the Basic Law was often the subject of reflection of the Ukrainian scholars, who could not omit the figure of I. Yukhnovsky in their researches. Among them there could be singled out «The Anthology of the Constitutional Process in Modern Ukraine», published by the Razumkov Center in 2017 (Musiiaka, 2017). This paper presents the most important sources for studying the peculiarities of the creation of the Basic Law in independent Ukraine. “The Anthology of the Constitutional Process in Modern Ukraine” also contains expert-analytical materials and comments of scholars aimed at explaining certain stages of the constitutional process.

In honor of the fifteenth anniversary of the Ukrainian Constitution, a scientific article by Mark Orzikh and Albert Ezerov “The Constitution of Ukraine is in Force, Constitutional Transformations are Underway” was published (Yezerov & Orzikh, 2011), in which the authors elucidate the political background in the Soviet Union and Ukraine, which made it possible first to make amendments to the Constitution of 1978, and later to write a new Basic Law of the republic.

The issue of creating the Basic Law is highlighted in a comprehensive study of the state-building processes in Ukraine by V. Lytvyn in the research “Ukraine: Experience and Problems of the State-building (the 90s of the XXth century)” (Литвин, 2001). In the monograph, the historian analyzed the decades of Ukraine’s independence through key events in its history, describing the influential figures of the time.

The media were important for doing the research, in which both I. Yukhnovsky and his associates covered the events of the 1990s, the original sources obtained from the analysis of transcripts of plenary sessions of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine (hereinafter – the VRU). The study of these materials gave the opportunity to analyze and understand the position in the Parliament of I. Yukhnovsky and other democrats, who were often forced to justify the necessary provisions of the Constitution for an independent state in the confrontation with pro-Russian political forces.

The Purpose of the Article. The study aims at determining the stages of work on the creation of the Basic Law through the prism of the activities of an opposition leader, a democrat, I. Yukhnovsky. Important for the elucidation and characterization of the complex formation process of the Ukrainian legislation is understanding of the political environment, which in the 1990s was heterogeneous and contradictory, that complicated and delayed the process of writing the Basic Law. The article focuses on the analysis of the path taken by the Ukrainian Democrats led by I. Yukhnovsky in order to adopt the Ukrainian Constitution and fill it with patriotic content successfully.

The Main Material Statement. Work on constitutional transformations began in the Ukrainian parliament immediately after the adoption of the Declaration of State Sovereignty and aimed at laying the basis for the realization of independence and the country’s economic independence. In October of 1990, the Verkhovna Rada deputies began discussing amendments to the Constitution of the USSR, in particular, Sections 6 and 7 – “Local Bodies of State Power and Administration” and “State Plan of Economic and Social Development and State Budget of the Ukrainian SSR”. The analysis of the transcripts of the plenary sessions shows that the people’s deputies sought to discuss all possible articles and changes related to them at the same time, which created a certain inconsistency. In this regard, I. Yukhnovsky proposed not to create a holistic constitutional document at once, but to amend and work on articles gradually, starting with the items set by the Commission on Legislation and Legality on October 8, namely the government, parties and the prosecutor’s office (Verkhovna Rada Ukrainy, 08.10.1990). This suggestion was supported by the parliament and the Basic Law

was amended on October 24 (Pro zminy i dopovnennia Konstytutsii (Osnovnoho Zakonu) Ukrainskoi RSR, 1990, p. 606). On the same day, the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR analyzed the issue of forming a Constitutional Commission (Verkhovna Rada Ukrainy, 24.10.1990), which included Academician I. Yukhnovsky (Pro Komisiu po rozrobtsi novoi Konstytutsii Ukrainskoi RSR, 1990, p. 607). In more than six months of its activity, the Commission worked out seven versions of the Constitution, which allowed to start considering the formation of the Concept of the Basic Law in June of 1991.

After reviewing the draft document and discussing it with deputies from the Narodna Rada opposition bloc, its chairman, I. Yukhnovsky, delivered a report to parliament which reflected the position of his colleagues on constitutional changes. He noted that the opposition was ready to support the draft Concept, taking into consideration certain amendments. The Democratic Parliamentary Union did not agree with the wording “socialist” in the name of the republic, but instead offered to leave formulation “The Republic of Ukraine”, which corresponded to European tradition. According to I. Yukhnovsky, the socialist type of state discredited itself in the past and could not be transferred to the Basic Law of the future. From a scientific point of view, the scientist criticized the reform foundations of the Soviet Union proposed by the Kremlin leadership, headed by Mykhailo Gorbachov, and considered it inexpedient to preserve the previous principles on which the Soviet state system was built.

The deputies of the People’s Council categorically objected to the attempt of the Communist majority to preserve in the draft Basic Law the provisions on the republic’s entry into the future Union of Sovereign States. The opposition leader believed that such project threatened the entire model of Ukraine’s development as a sovereign state. The scientist saw the existence of the USSR only on the fundamental principles of international law in the form of economic and defense cooperation of fifteen independent republics (Verkhovna Rada Ukrainy, 15.05.1991). However, the opposition leader’s insistence on removing the provision from the draft was not supported (Pro Kontseptsiiu novoi Konstytutsii Ukrainy, 1991, s. 466).

The August events of 1991 made adjustments to the constitutional processes in Ukraine. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, it became clear that legal regulation in an independent state should be based on new principles, which led to a revision of the Concept of the Basic Law. On July 1, 1992, the Parliament considered the draft of the new Constitution and decided to submit it for public discussion (Pro proekt novoi Konstytutsii Ukrainy, 1992, p. 550). During the first months of public discussion on the draft, the Constitutional Commission received more than 50 000 comments and suggestions.

Later, on October 8, 1993, the Parliament passed a resolution according to which the draft Basic Law was to be finalized based on the results of the public discussion and submitted to the Verkhovna Rada (Pro proektnovoi Konstytutsii Ukrainy, 1993, p. 403). The final version was proposed by the Constitutional Commission on October 26, 1993 (Musiiaka, 2017, p. 20), which can be considered the completion of the first stage of the constitutional process in Ukraine.

At the end of 1993 and the beginning of 1994, the political situation worsened and any progress towards the adoption of the Basic Law was impossible due to the sharp confrontation between the president and parliament, caused mainly by the division of spheres of influence. The majority of deputies of the Verkhovna Rada insisted on the preservation of the foundations of the Constitution of 1978 and did not accept the version with the vertical of power, which originates from the President. Discussions continued on the question – which republic Ukraine should become – parliamentary or presidential. The parliamentary elections in March and the presidential elections in June of 1994 marked a new stage in the work on the Constitution.

In May of 1994, the Verkhovna Rada of the second convocation began its work, and I. Yukhnovsky became its deputy again. At the first sessions of the new Parliament the academician headed the deputy group “Derzhavnist” (Statehood) (Verkhovna Rada Ukrainy, 25.05.1994), which initially included 25, and a year later the number increased to 29 members, who were representatives of the national democratic parties (the Ukrainian Republican Party, the Democratic Party of Ukraine) and national radical (the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists), as well as non-party deputies, who made up the majority of the group (Liubovets, 2011, p. 157). The deputy group “Derzhavnist” (Statehood) worked for two years and during this period often became the driving force of constitutional changes in the state.

In October of 1994, the Parliament began discussing the future composition of the Constitutional Commission and the principles of its formation. The option of proportional representation proposed by the “left” was unacceptable for democratic parties, because it involved as many as four Communist deputies. The candidacies from the Communist Party, H. Kriuchkov and O. Kotsiuba, caused a particular indignation, and were criticized by I. Yukhnovsky in his speech, who emphasized their unprofessionalism and anti-Ukrainian position. The Academician did not support proportional representation from factions and groups in the Constitutional Commission, arguing that such Commission required exceptional professionalism and experience, which is difficult to achieve by introducing quantitative quotas. (Verkhovna Rada Ukrainy, 13.10.1994). However, parliamentarians once again did not listen to his words.

On October 21, 1994, the Verkhovna Rada adopted the conditions for the formation of the Constitutional Commission, among which there was the principle of proportional representation, which allowed the Communists to delegate four deputies, but without the candidacies of H. Kriuchkov and O. Kotsiuba (Pro sklad Komisii z opratsiuvannia proektu novoi Konstytutsii Ukrainy (Konstytutsiinoi komisii), 1994, p. 419).

The new Constitutional Commission, having received the status of “national”, began its activities on November 10, 1994 and consisted of fifteen deputies under the quota of the President, the Chairman of the Constitutional Court of Ukraine, two representatives from the Supreme and two from Supreme Arbitration Courts and the Prosecutor General’s Office, one from the Autonomous Republic of the Crimea, the Secretary of the Commission and two Co-chairmen, the President L. Kuchma and O. Moroz, the Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine (Pro chyselnyi sklad Komisii z opratsiuvannia proektu novoi Konstytutsii Ukrainy (Konstytutsiinoi Komisii), 1994, p. 367). The draft Constitution of October 26, 1993 was taken as the basis for the work of the Constitutional Commission.

Despite the fact that the executive and legislative branches of power in the country were changed, this did not speed up the work on the adoption of the Basic Law, because the reason for the discussions remained the same – the division of powers between the Parliament and the President. In December of 1994, L. Kuchma submitted to the deputies the draft of the Constitutional Law “On State Power and Local Self-Government in Ukraine”, which was to delineate the spheres of influence clearly between the legislative, executive and judicial branches of power, and to solve other issues of a public life (Verkhovna Rada Ukrainy, 30.05.1995). In the Verkhovna Rada, there was a widespread opinion about the expediency of choosing the form of the state at a national referendum, according to the results of which a new parliament was to be convened. Some deputies, including V. Stepanko, were ready to quit their deputy mandates due to new constitutional circumstances (Verkhovna Rada Ukrainy, 24.05.1994).

After numerous debates and discussions on May 18, 1995, the law “On State Power and Local Self-Government in Ukraine” was adopted, which provided for the suspension of

certain provisions of the Constitution of 1978 until the entry into force of the new Basic Law (Verkhovna Rada Ukrainy, 30.05.1995). However, this document did not tackle the problem of contradictions of the Ukrainian authorities. Then I. Yukhnovsky addressed the people's deputies with a proposal to demonstrate to the society the unity and coherence of the state power actions by signing an agreement by L. Kuchma and O. Moroz, which would enshrine the principles of their cooperation.

An important condition for the adoption of such document had to be the following: both sides should not raise the issue of trust in each other at the referendum and not to initiate changes in the state system before the adoption of the Constitution. (Verkhovna Rada Ukrainy, 18.05.1995). Thus, the document was to play the function of a temporary law for a transitional period. I. Yukhnovsky was convinced that under the conditions of political crisis such act would become almost the only chance to establish cooperation between the President and Parliament and would make it possible to create a new parliamentary majority and ensure more effective legislative activity of the state power (Verkhovna Rada Ukrainy, 25.05.1995).

Therefore, on May 30, 1995, on behalf of eight groups and factions, including "Center", "Agrarian of Ukraine", "Reforms", "Unity", "Statehood", "The Independent", the Interregional Deputy Group and the faction the People's "Rukh" of Ukraine, V. Omelich, a deputy, suggested supporting the adoption of the Constitutional Agreement on the basic principles of organization and functioning of the state power and local self-government in Ukraine for the period prior to the approval of the Basic Law (Verkhovna Rada Ukrainy, 30.05.1995). However, the opinions of deputies on this issue were divided, and its discussion dragged on in numerous discussions and debates for several days. The difficult process of finding a compromise between the president and parliament was complicated by the nationwide poll initiated by L. Kuchma on May 31, 1995. The nationwide poll on trust in L. Kuchma and the Verkhovna Rada was scheduled for June 28 of the same year (Pro provedennia opytuvannia hromadskoi dumky z pytan doviry hromadian Ukrainy Prezydentovi Ukrainy ta Verkhovnii Radi Ukrainy, 1995), which made it impossible to sign any agreements. This step by the president caused a wave of indignation among the deputies, because the decision of the plebiscite could not be in favor of the people's deputies due to numerous protracted decision-making processes, partly caused by L. Kuchma. However, representatives of the democratic forces were able to make the situation less tense, in particular, owing to the efforts of I. Yukhnovsky and his colleagues from the deputy group "Derzhavnist" (Statehood), who managed to convince colleagues of the need for such document (Semkiv, 2010). As a result, the parliament supported the Constitutional Agreement by a simple majority of votes – 240 deputies voted in favor (Konstytutsiinyi Dohovir, 1995, p. 133).

To certify the recognition of the document by representatives of other states, the academician suggested the President signing the Agreement holding a solemn ceremony with the participation of international delegations (Verkhovna Rada Ukrainy, 30.05.1995). The event took place on June 8, 1995 in the Mariinsky Palace, where I. Yukhnovsky was invited. The Constitutional Agreement, signed by L. Kuchma and O. Moroz, consisting of 61 articles, among other things, obliged the authorities to adopt a new Basic Law not later than one year after this event. On the same day, the President abolished his previous decree on the nationwide poll on trust in the legislature and executive powers (Hasiuk, 1995, p. 790).

The idea of the Agreement was regarded in parliamentary circles ambiguously. In particular, it was considered an "act of capitulation" of parliamentarians to the president because no concessions were made to the Verkhovna Rada (Verkhovna Rada Ukrainy,

31.05.1995). R. Bezsmertny, one of the authors of the Agreement, who in 1995 was the secretary of the deputy group “Derzhavnist” (Statehood) considered the document a unique case of parliamentarism not only because he and his colleagues worked on it, but also because it was justified in the end (Samokhvalova, 2016).

Such actions of the Ukrainian authorities in the constitutional process were highly appreciated at the geopolitical level. During the ceremony, Italian Ambassador to Ukraine Vittorio Surdo stated about the confidence of the international community that “a democratic and stable Ukraine is an important subject of European security” (Hasiuk, 1995, p. 790). Signing of the document was regarded by European experts as an example of achieving a civilized legal solution to the problem, which aimed at establishing a constitutional order in the country (The European Commission for Democracy through Law, 1995). This international body, the Venice Commission, was involved into the drafting of the Ukrainian Constitution since 1992. The Venice Commission provided professional support and expert analysis of draft versions of the Basic Law. Until 1995, this work took place at an unofficial level and was not documented by any regulations (Ilkov, 2016, p. 19). In considering Ukraine’s application to join the Council of Europe, the Constitutional Agreement served as an argument in favor of a positive solution to the issue (Parliamentary Assembly, 1995) on November 9, 1995 (Council of Europe, 1995).

The first half of 1996 was the final stage on the way to the adoption of the new Basic Law. The first reading of the Constitution draft began on March 28 and lasted until June 4. However, its representation in parliament did not receive an immediate extension by involving the necessary regulatory procedure for work on the bill, which resulted in the process delay.

O. Moroz suggested the idea of creating a Temporary Special Commission to consider the Constitution at the beginning of April of 1996. It was envisaged to form a new structure of representatives of deputy groups and factions on a proportional basis with a quota of at least two delegates from each, with one vote from 25 deputies of Ukraine. I. Yukhnovsky opposed the proportional distribution of seats again, but together with his colleagues they supported the idea of representing one deputy from a group or faction with the right to change the delegate. As a result of the discussions, proportional representation was preserved with the right of the commission to choose the voting process independently (Verkhovna Rada Ukrainy, 04.04.1996).

In order not to deviate from the constitutional process, on April 4, 1996, factions and groups representatives of national democratic and liberal orientation, on their own initiative, set up an Inter-Factional Conciliation Group to finalize the draft of the Constitution (Musiiaka, 2017, p. 24), which I. Chyzh, the deputy from the socialists, called it at first “amateur”, and after the presented results of activity, he changed the name to “initiative” (Verkhovna Rada Ukrainy, 05.05.1996). Under conditions of instability and uncertainty, in February of 1996 I. Yukhnovsky was the first one to suggest assembling to write the Constitution on the basis of the draft proposed by L. Kuchma. About twenty deputies came to the first meeting, which was a great result (Disiuk, 2017). Subsequently, there was communication with people’s deputies of different factions, and on May 1, the meeting was attended by O. Moroz, the Speaker (Yak pysaly Konstytutsii Ukrainy: rozpovid vid odnogo z avtoriv, 2019). According to I. Yukhnovsky, they began working on the Constitution arbitrarily, “nobody summoned” them. The deputies of the initiative group started working on the Constitution in a side corridor on the second floor of the Verkhovna Rada. In some period of time, when the basic provisions of the Basic Law had already been written, O. Moroz delegated the socialists

to the initiative group, which caused a revision of all passed points (Kurovets, 2014). Among those who joined the work during the initial period of the initiative group's activity there were no communists, who defended the preservation of the Constitution of 1978 (Yak pysaly Konstytutsiiu Ukrainy: rozpovid vid odnoho z avtoriv, 2019). I. Yukhnovsky made an emotional speech on this occasion that, regardless of official recognition, they would complete their work honestly and agree on the project with the President and the Speaker, and later sign it by the majority of deputies (Verkhovna Rada Ukrainy, 04.04.1996).

However, even after the Commission was formed with the representation of all political forces, the work was still often delayed due to openly destructive proposals of the deputies of the "left" parties. Despite all the difficulties, on May 17, 1996, the Temporary Special Commission approved the final version of the draft Constitution and submitted it to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine.

On May 28, 1996, when the draft was resubmitted for the first reading, the socialists and the communists staged a political *démarche*, which was demonstrated by the refusal to register in the session hall, and after the beginning of the plenary session – by initiating breaks and proposals to postpone consideration of the document. The decision to adopt the draft Constitution during the first reading, proposed by the Temporary Special Commission, was adopted on June 4, 1996.

The final period of the constitutional process began on June 19, 1996, but the results of work on it remained unpredictable until the very end, because of non-acceptance of those results by the "left" part of the deputy corps. The supporters of the President aspired to preserve a rigid vertical of L. Kuchma's power (Musiiaka, 2017, p. 26).

The most controversial issues were the distribution of powers between the branches of power, the problem of property, the state symbols, the status of the Ukrainian language and the status of the Autonomous Republic of the Crimea, which led to the creation of separate groups to work on the above mentioned issues (Yezerov & Orzikh, 2011, p. 34). In these disputes, the President's position was supported by the National Democrats, and their opponents were the CPU and SPU factions. In particular, representatives of the CPU made amendments to grant the Verkhovna Rada of the Autonomous Republic of the Crimea the right of legislative initiative in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine. The emotional atmosphere in the session hall was very tense (Lytvyn, 2001, p. 470).

On June 21, the Verkhovna Rada began considering the text of the draft Constitution, starting with the preamble. Each article was considered separately and the author of the proposal or remark could justify his position in his speech. Such an experience was a precedent for the history of the Ukrainian parliamentarism (Musiiaka, 2017, p. 27).

On the eve of the adoption of the Basic Law, there was no unity in the highest echelons of power in the vision of the constitutional order of the state. L. Kuchma monitored the process constantly, analyzing each article of the future Constitution. I. Yukhnovsky mentioned that the text often needed editing, because the President did not always like something (Kurovets, 2014). L. Kuchma's team prepared 12 proposals to be included into the text of the Basic Law. After rejecting the majority of the items, the President convened the Council of heads of regional state administrations, and then – the National Security Council. In addition, a meeting with the leaders of the factions was planned, to which L. Kuchma was late for several hours deliberately, thus creating moral pressure on politicians.

The President stated that he had signed the Decree appointing a referendum on the draft Constitution on September 25, amended by the Constitutional Commission of March 11,

1996. This Decree was a direct violation, because according to the Agreement concluded between the Parliament and the President: “Until the adoption of the new Constitution, the Agreement Parties shall not submit to an all-Ukrainian referendum, consultative referendum and public opinion polls the issues other than the adoption of the new Constitution of Ukraine, the text of which will be agreed” (Konstytutsiyni Dohovir, 1995, p. 133).

It was assumed that the draft Constitution version of the Parliament was to be put to a referendum, as L. Kuchma insisted (Tse bula, 2011). I. Yukhnovsky always shared that opinion, presenting this idea both to the President and to the working deputy group. However, this version was supported by 72 deputies only, in particular, due to the threat of aggravation of the political crisis as a result of the Parliament dissolution (Kurovets, 2014).

The presidential Decree forced the Verkhovna Rada to speed up the work on the draft Constitution. Under such circumstances, on the morning of June 27, 1996, O. Moroz suggested that the deputies should not have left the Verkhovna Rada hall until the text of the Constitution was adopted finally. The work lasted all day and all night from June 27 to 28, and every article of the Basic Law was discussed and debated, beginning with a preamble in which there was the phrase «before God», which confused the atheists. Then O. Moroz solved this situation by adding to the previous wording the words “before conscience” for those who did not believe in God (Musiiaka, 2017, p. 27).

On June 28, 1996, at 9:20 a.m., the Parliament adopted the Constitution of Ukraine: 315 people’s deputies voted in favor (Verkhovna Rada Ukrainy, 28.06.1996). This day became a fateful one for the whole Ukrainian society, as the rights and responsibilities of the Parliament, the Autonomous Republic of the Crimea and local self-government bodies were defined. According to the Basic Law, the President gained almost complete control over the formation of the Cabinet of Ministers, the leadership of central and local executive bodies. The political influence of the Verkhovna Rada as a representative body decreased (Musiiaka, 2017, p. 27). In terms of presidential powers, the Ukrainian legislation had similar features to the Russian one. L. Kuchma managed to fill the content of the Basic Law with provisions that would allow him, as the head of the state, to build a rigid vertical of power. Only in Russia and Belarus the President had more rights and opportunities (Berghun, Sedelius, 2012, p. 25). Yu. Barabash, a lawyer, referring to the European experience of constitutionalism, believes that the Ukrainian Basic Law of 1996 did not differ much from its Soviet prototype. Only after the Orange Revolution and the reform of the Constitution our legislation became more similar to the European standards (Kozachenko, 2016, p. 7).

According to I. Yukhnovsky, the Constitution of 1996 was a vital process for the state. However, it was far from perfect, as it was created during the political instability of the Parliament and the dominance of the descendants of the previous regime, which led to the acceptance of the conditions of the socialists and communists – to allow some ideological vagueness, not to emphasize the importance of the Ukrainian language, to ignore the education of patriotism of the nation (Iukhnovskiy, 2018). The last item was and remains the main problem of the Basic Law, which failed to be solved after the decades of existence of an independent state.

The Conclusions. Thus, during the period of 1990 – 1996, under conditions of political instability and economic crisis, the work began on the formation of the Basic Law of the country, which took place in several stages and was complicated by constant confrontations between representatives of various branches of power and various political camps. Under these circumstances, I. Yukhnovsky and his associates, at first from the People’s Council

and then from the deputy group “Derzhavnist” (Statehood), took a decisive position on creating the Constitution with national interests and ensuring Ukraine’s sovereign status. The academician was an active figure in all key events of the writing process of the Basic Law. I. Yukhnovsky was a member of the first Constitutional Commission and elaborated a draft Concept of the Constitution, defended the fundamental principles for the people of the country in the Parliament hall. He helped to overcome the political crisis of the mid-1990s and facilitated signing of the Constitutional Agreement, which was a compromise between the legislative and executive branches of power. In April of 1996 the formation of the initiative group was the key to the positive result of the constitutional changes that became possible, in particular, due to the persistence and hard work of I. Yukhnovsky, who managed to organize the activities of the democratic corps of the Verkhovna Rada, coordinating the interests of often conflicting political forces in the Parliament of independent Ukraine.

The theme of the article can be continued in the future scientific researches on the issues of I. Yukhnovsky’s participation in the constitutional processes of 2004, and writing his own draft of the Basic Law with a two-chamber Parliament, which the academician tried to implement many times during the years of his political activity.

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**WEST BALKANS IN THE POLITICAL STRATEGY
OF THE EUROPEAN UNION (1990 – 2020)**

Abstract. *The study is aimed at highlighting the main issues that affect the establishment and implementation of the European Union's strategy for the Western Balkans. **The research methodology** is based on the principles of historicism, impartiality, problem-chronological presentation of the material. The method of comparative analysis of different stages of formation of the EU strategy for the Western Balkans has been used. **The Scientific Novelty.** A comparative analysis of the EU strategy for various countries in the Balkan region, as well as for the Eastern Partnership countries has been carried out. **The Conclusions.** The European Union is not ready for the final acceptance of the countries of the region as members. As of 2020, the problem of the new format of the EU's relations with the United Kingdom remains unresolved. Britain's exit has unbalanced the EU and exacerbated the contradictions between the “old” and “new” EU member states, between the “rich” and the “poor” ones, between the northern and southern EU member states. The EU's Balkan enlargement increases*

the number of southern member states. Obstacles to the Western Balkan countries' compliance with the political, economic and legal criteria for the EU membership still remain difficult. Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Serbia, and the Republic of Northern Macedonia must complete the establishment of institutions of functioning and effective democracy, a competitive market economy, and complete the implementation of European law into national law. It is also necessary to leave behind great-power chauvinism, which destabilizes the Balkans. Only in this case, the EU's political strategy towards the Western Balkans can be considered historically successful.

Key words: *Western Balkans, European Union, European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), Kosovo, NATO, Eastern Partnership.*

ЗАХІДНІ БАЛКАНИ В ПОЛІТИЧНІЙ СТРАТЕГІЇ ЄВРОПЕЙСЬКОГО СОЮЗУ (1990 – 2020)

Анотація. *Мета дослідження* полягає у висвітленні основних проблем, які впливають на формування та реалізацію стратегії Європейського Союзу щодо країн Західних Балкан. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на принципах історизму, неупередженості, проблемно-хронологічному викладенні наукового матеріалу. Використаний метод порівняльного аналізу різних етапів становлення стратегії Євросоюзу щодо країн Західних Балкан. **Наукова новизна.** Проведений компаративний аналіз стратегії ЄС щодо різних країн балканського регіону, а також щодо країн “Східного партнерства”. **Висновки.** Євросоюз не готовий до остаточного включення країн регіону до свого складу. Станом на 2020 р. неврегульованою залишається проблема нового формату відносин ЄС з Великою Британією, вихід якої розбалансував ЄС та посилив суперечності між: “старими” і “новими” країнами-членами ЄС, “багатими” і “бідними”, північними і південними країнами-членами ЄС. Балканське розширення ЄС розширює коло південних країн-членів, складними залишаються перешкоди на шляху до виконання країнами Західних Балкан політичних, економічних і правових критеріїв набуття членства в ЄС. Албанія, Боснія та Герцеговина, Косово, Сербія, Республіка Північна Македонія мають завершити формування інститутів функціональної та ефективної демократії, конкурентоспроможної ринкової економіки і завершити імплементацію норм європейського права до національного законодавства. Також необхідно залишити в історії примари великодержавного шовінізму, який дестабілізує Балкани. Тільки у цьому випадку політичну стратегію Євросоюзу щодо країн Західних Балкан можна буде вважати історично успішною.

Ключові слова: *Західні Балкани, Європейський Союз, європейська політика сусідства, Косово, НАТО, Східне партнерство.*

The Problem Statement. The newly independent states that emerged in the Balkans after the break-up of Yugoslavia today are still in the centre of the geopolitical confrontation of different world powers. For the European Union, the Western Balkans are a test of the ability to contribute to European democratic values in a strategically important region for the EU. The processes of disintegration and interstate conflicts that took place in the Balkans during 1991 – 2008 challenged the security and existence of the European integration project. The United States, which played a crucial military and political role in resolving the bulk of the Balkan conflicts (the Dayton Peace Treaty for Bosnia and Herzegovina, the recognition of Kosovo's independence), handed the region over to the EU at the beginning of the 21st century. However, as NATO's leader, the United States remains a guarantor of regional security. Russia, which is trying to maintain its influence in Serbia, is demonstrating its presence in the Balkans. However, the main political actor in the Balkans naturally is the European Union that determines the pace of progress of the Western Balkan countries towards a united Europe, the degree of economic and political stability in the region. The complexity of the problems facing the EU in the region makes the process of developing and implementing a strategy for the Western Balkans contradictory.

The Analysis of sources and recent researches. The scientists considered the political process of forming the European Union's strategy for the Western Balkans in detail in the academic literature. The bibliographic reviews of this issue consist of thousands of monographs and articles. The Balkan 1991 – 1999 wars intensified discussions on the role of the national factor in the further development of the region. The 1991 – 1995 wars (Serbo-Slovenian, Serbo-Croatian, and Serbo-Bosnian) completed the process of forming the modern Croatian and modern Slovenian nations. Even after joining the European Union (Slovenia in 2004, Croatia in 2013), the Slovenes and the Croats have preserved a national identity based on Europeanness and a radical rejection of the Balkan syndrome (permanent interethnic wars) (Feith, 2013, p. 32). In this sense, the Macedonian experience is impressive. At the beginning of the 1990s, owing to preventive actions by the United Nations, the introduction of peacekeeping forces on the Macedonian-Serbian border at the end of 1992, it was possible to exclude the Republic of Macedonia from the Balkan wars. The European Union and NATO played a positive role in promoting Macedonia's European identity. Greece, as a member of both unions, adapted its national policy on the Macedonian question to the needs of the European security (Dunay & Lachowski, 2006, p. 18).

Helfried Münkler emphasized the importance of taking into account the historical factor of the influence of empires in the Balkans (Helfried Münkler, p. 34). Paul Welfens shows how Britain's exit from the EU negatively affected the European integration process (Welfens, 2017, p. 67). Ulrika Guerot sees the solution to the Balkan problem in the creation of a European republic (Guerot, 2017, p. 213).

The Purpose of the Research. The article aims at highlighting the main issues that affect the formation and implementation of the European Union's strategy for the Western Balkans.

The Main Material Statement. Another test for the Balkan region was the pandemic. Sporadic protests against quarantine measures, which negatively affected the state of the national economy, took place in Serbia, Montenegro, and Kosovo. The European Union had to allocate 3.3 billion euros urgently to overcome the current security threats in the region (Peljic, p. 2). The military and political situation around Kosovo no longer makes it possible to withdraw peacekeepers. KFOR troops remain the guarantor of regional stability (21 years of KFOR, p. 1).

The choice between modern nation-building and integration into supranational European and Euro-Atlantic structures remains a strategic challenge for the Balkan countries. Success in solving this problem of predominantly mono-ethnic Croatia and Slovenia has not yet become a model to follow. Objective reasons can explain it. It is still not possible to resolve, relatively speaking, the Serbian and Albanian national issues. Serbia's defeat in the Balkan wars of 1991 – 1999 over the creation of a "Greater Serbia" led to the country's territorial fragmentation. Former ally Montenegro in 2006 withdrew from the "small Yugoslavian union", i.e., the union of Serbia and Montenegro. In February of 2008, Kosovo declared its independence. It was the Kosovo issue that put the "Albanian dilemma" on the agenda. After all, two national Albanian states de facto emerged in the Balkans. Attempts to create a union of Kosovo and Albania could turn the region into a whirlpool of ultra-nationalist contradictions. After all, a potential "Greater Albania" can claim not only Kosovo but also the Albanian-populated territory of the Serbian Sandzak, the Albanian territories of the Republic of Northern Macedonia and even northern Greece. Besides, the Albanian national question keeps the Serbian national question in a state of uncertainty. Serbia's political elites and people must make a strategic choice between not recognizing the existing territorial and political realities in the Balkans and the European integration. In the event of developments under the

option of non-recognition of existing realities, the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina may worsen. Serbian nationalist circles in this Balkan state insist on the self-determination of the Republika Srpska and its accession to Serbia.

However, such a hypothetical fragmentation of the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina may override the achievements of the 1995 Dayton Peace Accords. Bosnia and Herzegovina were then formed as a confederate state of three equal national groups: the Bosnian Croats, the Bosnian Serbs and the Bosnian Muslims. Since then, Bosnia and Herzegovina have been the de facto Balkan protectorate of the European Union. In these circumstances, a favourable option for the integration of all Balkan countries into the EU and NATO is possible given Serbia's pragmatic choice of this path. An additional stimulus for Belgrade on this path was the Montenegrin issue. At the beginning of 2020, the Montenegrin authorities announced the creation of an autocephalous Montenegrin Orthodox Church, separating it from the Serbian Orthodox Church. This decision once again sharpened national feelings in both Serbia and Montenegro. Therefore, the question remains whether the Balkan peoples have overcome all stages of historical development in order to move from the national ideas of the nineteenth century to the modern European national identity.

The European Union has started accession negotiations with Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Republic of Northern Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro. The success of these negotiations depends on the readiness of the EU and the ability of these Balkan states to adopt European norms and rules. During the second half of 2020, the EU plans to approve the Community budget for 2021 – 2027, and significant expenditures of this budget should be aimed at completing the integration of the Western Balkans into the EU.

The eventual accession of all Balkan nation-states to the European Union must finally close the “Balkan window” of the vulnerability of a united Europe. After all, nation-building in the Balkans based on ethnic nationalism sharply contradicts the purpose and current values of the process of European integration. For more than three decades, the EU has been pursuing a policy of human rights, the rule of law, democracy and economic development in the Balkans. However, the region remains vulnerable to the influence of non-European geopolitical forces: the United States, Russia, Turkey and China.

During the period of 1991 – 2020, the United States made considerable efforts to help the European Union consolidate its policy in the Balkans. This region has taken an important place in the global strategy of the United States. Kosovo is home to NATO's most extensive Bond-steel base, which plays a crucial logistical role in reaching the US military and political forces in the Middle East, the Mediterranean and North Africa.

Russia is trying to maintain its position in the Balkans based on the historical Slavophile sentiments. However, it cannot offer anything alternative to European integration to the Balkan states. However, Serbia is trying to use the Russian factor to blackmail the European Union and the United States. Serbia's nationalist circles consider Russia as a guarantor of preventing Serbia from joining the EU and NATO. Nevertheless, Russia's limited influence in the Balkans was demonstrated in 2018, when the Russian private military company failed at carrying out an anti-European coup in Montenegro. This fact proved the ineffectiveness of Russia's conservative strategy in the Balkans. For Gazprom, the region remains attractive for the security of the South Stream gas pipeline. Turkey is also interested in the operation of this gas pipeline. However, Turkish interests in the Balkans are much larger than Russia's. The retreat from the Balkans in 1900 – 1918 ended with the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. In the process of disintegration of the former Yugoslavia, the sympathies of Turkey were on the side of the Bosnian Muslims.

The former “core” of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans – Albania, Kosovo, Bosnia – remains a priority area of Turkish interest in the region. At the same time, Turkey is trying to use its influence in the Balkans in its own EU accession talks. Formally, these negotiations began in February of 2005 and have not yet progressed to completion.

On the contrary, the destabilization of the situation in the Middle East influenced by the events of the “Arab Spring” in 2011 and then the refugee crisis in 2015 postponed the negotiation process until better times. Under these circumstances, it seems that Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan is more likely to demonstrate his intention to implement a neo-Ottoman project than a European one. The transformation of Hagia Sophia into a mosque in May of 2020 created another cause for tension in relations between Greece and Turkey. The material basis of the Greek-Turkish contradictions is the division of the gas-bearing shelf in the Aegean Sea and near Cyprus. However, under these circumstances, the Balkan vector of Turkish foreign policy has receded into the background compared to the Syrian, Iraqi and Libyan vectors.

The US’s global competitor, China, has its interests in the Balkans. Beijing has been waiting for almost three decades until the end of the hot phase of the Balkan 1991 – 1999 wars.

However, Greece’s financial problems in 2008 – 2012 allowed the Chinese to buy several Greek seaports, which play a significant role in China’s “One Belt, One Road” trading strategy. For logistics, the Balkans are becoming an important trade route for China to the European Union. The other scenario of the big Balkan geopolitical game mainly depends on the pro-European national consolidation of the Balkan peoples and the effectiveness of the European Union’s strategy in the Balkans.

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace expert M. Samorukov drew attention to the inconsistency of the EU strategy towards the Western Balkans. The unwillingness of the EU to accept these countries into its circle, as well as the unwillingness of the Balkan countries themselves to meet the criteria for EU membership creates a regional geopolitical vacuum (Samorukov, 2019, p. 1). There is an ongoing discussion in the scientific literature about the appropriate enlargement of the EU to the Western Balkans (David & Wunsch, 2019, p. 2). This historiographical review reveals the main range of strategic problems facing the European Union in the Western Balkans.

Progress in European integration can be achieved based on a combination of long-term, medium-term and short-term factors. One of the main long-term factors in the success of European integration is the European idea of the territorial and civilizational unity of Europe, consolidated by the commonality of historical destiny, which requires institutionalization. Receptions of Europe’s geographical boundaries have changed as political ideas have been transformed into which peoples can be considered European and which cannot. We are witnessing a change in the value content of the concept of “Europe”. Until recently, it was combined with the concept of Christendom, and in the postmodern era began to be identified with the idea of the centre of global post-industrial civilization. Before the UK’s exit from the EU, London was the biggest supporter of the EU enlargement, seeing it as a means of preventing the formation of a consolidated federal European Union. After all, Brexit has become an exception, not a trend, and the UK is losing out, not the EU.

On May 1, 2004, 10 new member states joined the EU at once: Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovakia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Slovenia, Cyprus, and Malta. A new treaty was prepared to establish the preconditions for the institutional reform. Until 2004, Greece, Ireland, Spain, and Portugal received funds from the consolidation fund (for the development of backward regions). On January 1, 2007, Bulgaria and Romania joined

the EU. Since then, Ireland has not received funds from the Consolidation Fund, but Greece, Spain, Portugal and all “newcomers” have received funding from the old member states.

On December 1 2009, following the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty, the Community transferred its rights and responsibilities to the EU. However, EU documents on security and defence and the common foreign policy are not of obligatory force but a political one. The entire array of existing EU rules and regulations, including unwritten rules and regulations, is the *acquis Communautaire*. Accordingly, the EU legal order is the rights and obligations of the EU system and its institutions, as well as the existing EU law as it is interpreted and applied by the Court of Justice. The EU cannot create new areas of its activities that distinguish it from a federal state. The EU international agreements with the third countries are part of the EU law. They are acts of direct action. On January 1, 2003, the EU officially took over the peacekeeping mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The EU contingent was to train Bosnian police and border guards. The first Concordia military operation was launched on March 18, 2003, in Macedonia to ensure the implementation of the Ohrid Agreement between the Macedonians and the Albanians. The largest contingents were sent there by France, Italy, Belgium and Germany.

In 2013 (before Britain left the EU on the 28th), Croatia became a member of the EU. The official contenders for membership are the Northern Republic of Macedonia (since 2019), Montenegro, Turkey (since 1999), Albania, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina (since 1995 under the actual protector of the EU), possibly Kosovo (February of 2008). Iceland abandoned the idea of joining. The main goal is to stabilize and consolidate the EU on the achieved positions.

The EU is a union of developed countries with a high standard of living. In the wealthiest country, Luxembourg, the standard of living is seven times higher than in Bulgaria and Romania. For less developed regions are characterized by high unemployment, low educational development, lack of infrastructure development. The EU enlargement prompted the improvement of regional policies aimed at equalizing the level of regional development in order to bridge the gap between the richest and poorest EU countries. As the number of member states increases, the EU space becomes less homogeneous. So far, only Ireland was able to close the gap successfully. In terms of living standards, the Irish caught up with the Dutch, the Danes and the Austrians.

The EU regional policy is designed to consolidate the regions into a single integration complex, to ensure a rational combination of common interests with the interests of individual states. There is no goal to completely equalize all regions because inequality is a characteristic of a market economy and a stimulus for development. Within the EU, there is no redistribution of funds among regions, as federal states do. Regions in need can benefit from the EU structural funds. In 1975, the European Regional Development Fund was established, in 1960 – the European Social Fund, in 1993 – the Consolidation Fund and the European Investment Bank. The principles of work of structural funds: 1) subject and territorial concentration of efforts on the choice of a limited number of directions of activity and selection; 2) multi-annual program approach, 3) partnership of authorities at all levels, 4) supplementation of national and regional policy resources by the EU funds. The main directions of regional policy are convergence, i.e., promoting the development of areas with low welfare, competitiveness – assistance to areas with structural problems, human capital development, the fight against long-term unemployment, the creation of retraining centres. Socio-economic convergence is the second-largest item in the EU’s joint budget

after agricultural policy. In the 2007 – 2013 budget, € 300 billion was spent on these needs (David & Wunsch, 2019, p. 3). After the accession of new countries to the EU in 2004, 2007, 2013, it was decided that the amount of financial assistance may not exceed 4% of gross domestic product; otherwise, it is possible to disperse inflation and create imbalances in the national budgets of the new EU member states. As a result of the expansion, Poland became the primary recipient of these funds. Large expenditures go to Italy, East Germany, Portugal, Greece, the Czech Republic and Hungary also received significant funding.

The EU enlargement has made some adjustments to the EU social policy. Social policy should contribute to the conditions ensuring public welfare. The welfare states, which developed in Europe in the second half of the twentieth century, are traditionally divided into four types. The first type, Scandinavian, is typical of Denmark, Sweden and Finland. There, active social policy is funded by a progressive income tax scale. At the beginning of the 1990s, they somewhat liberalized their labour markets to improve the competitiveness of their national economies. The second type, liberal Anglo-Saxon, is typical of Britain and Ireland. The social system of this type is financed mainly by insurance premiums. The third type of social policy, corporate, is used in Germany, France and the Benelux countries. Social insurance is dominant here, but the state also regulates market relations. Finally, the fourth, southern European type, is typical of Spain, Italy, Greece and Portugal. Here the level of social protection is relatively low. The EU sets only minimum social standards, although the EU's common agricultural policy can be considered socially oriented. The countries of the Western Balkans belong instead to the fourth type of development of the welfare state. However, it should be noted that the Balkan wars of the end of the twentieth century, significantly limited the possibilities to carry out the efficient social policy. The global economic crisis of 2008 and the 2020 pandemic also have a negative impact.

The European Social Fund provides structural assistance for the member managing unemployment. After the establishment of the Common Market, the national welfare regime works not only for the citizens, for example, in Germany, but also for all those who work legally in that country. In July of 1996, the EU adopted the first joint directive on social policy for the care of infants. However, the EU abandoned the goal of harmonizing national social protection systems due to its incredible diversity. Left-wing political forces believe that this is due to the dominance of liberal market ideology in the EU. However, Article 136 of the Amsterdam Treaty states that social policy is a joint responsibility of the national member state of the EU and EU bodies. Owing to this treaty, the creation of new jobs has been added to the EU's goals. In this sense, the countries of the Western Balkans are an example of a deep European periphery, where nation-states have limited opportunities to pursue active social policies.

All EU countries implement national transport policies. However, a trans-European transport network is emerging. There is a redistribution of load on specific modes of transport. Joint infrastructure projects are funded. There is a question of increasing transport safety. In 2001, 30 joint trans-European transport projects in this sphere were approved for 20 years. The strategic goal is to create a common market for transport services, and the Western Balkans play an essential role in the transport networks of the EU. Instead, the countries of the new Eastern Europe still need to prove the realism of their ambitions to achieve this level of association with the European Union. It will be recalled that as a result of the EU enlargements in 2004 and 2007, the European Union reached the border with the post-Soviet states. It was proposed to develop a 'ring of friends' along the borders of a united Europe. On March 11, 2003, the European Commission's report "An Enlarged Europe – New Neighborhood: A New Format for Relations with Our Eastern and Southern Neighbours" was

published. On May 12, 2004, the European Commission's report "European Neighborhood Policy. Strategic Report". On October 24, 2006, the regulations on the establishment of the European Neighborhood and Partnership Instrument (ENPI) were approved. These documents set out the principles, composition of participants, content and mechanisms for implementing the European Neighborhood Policy. Of course, the EU is interested in ensuring that there are no problems along its borders related to armed conflicts, weak public administration and organized crime. The EU enlargement should not have led to new dividing lines in Europe. The main principle of selecting participants in the European Neighborhood Policy is respect for the values of democracy and respect for human rights. The role of political cooperation is growing significantly. The content of the European Neighborhood Policy concerns all three pillars of European integration (Emerson, 2006, p. 1).

As of mid-2010, 16 states were involved in the European Neighborhood Policy: 10 from the Mediterranean and six from the post-Soviet space. Azerbaijan since November 14, 2006, Armenia on November 14, 2006, Belarus (in case of the lifting of sanctions), Georgia since November 14, 2006, Moldova since February 22, 2005, Ukraine on February 21, 2005, Algeria (conditional), Egypt, March 6 2007, Israel, April 11 2005, Jordan, June 2, 2005, Lebanon, January 1, 2007, Libya (conditional), Morocco, July 27, 2005, Palestine, May 4, 2005, Tunisia On July 4, 2005, Russia refused to participate in this project (Marchetti, p. 2). The Balkan countries were not included in the programme because, in December of 2002, the EU confirmed to them the possibility of gaining full membership in the EU. It was confirmed that the European Neighborhood Programme and the EU enlargement are different processes. The mere fact of the participation of European states in this policy does not predetermine their future relations with the EU.

Substantially, the European Neighborhood Policy provides for the observance of democratic norms, the formation of regional security systems, a gradual movement towards the free movement of goods, capital, labour and services under the EU law. In May of 2009, the EU approved the Eastern Partnership programme as a particular dimension of the European Neighborhood Policy. Its goal was to intensify the movement of Eastern European and Caucasian countries towards political association and economic integration with the EU. The first Eastern Partnership summit took place on May 7, 2009, in Prague with 27 EU countries, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine. Russia believes that the Eastern Partnership has become a "partnership against Russia".

Negotiations on the EU accession are underway with the Northern Republic of Macedonia, which received candidate status in December of 2005, and negotiations with Turkey began in June of 2006. Albania signed an Association and Stabilization Agreement on June 12, 2006, Montenegro signed a similar agreement on October 15, 2007, Serbia on April 29, 2008, and Bosnia and Herzegovina – on June 16, 2008. To promote the process of European integration of the Balkan countries in 2001, a particular financial programme Community for Assistance for Reconstruction, Development and Stabilization – CARDS was developed, which provides for the development of state institutions and legislation, strengthening democracy, the rule of law and human rights, civil society and independent mass media, ensuring the functioning of a market economy, carrying out structural reforms. By 2010, € 5 billion had been spent on this programme. Nevertheless, so far, there is no clear understanding of when the Balkan countries will meet the criteria for the EU membership (EU-Western Balkans, 2020, pp. 1–2). As a result, the European Union's strategy for the Western Balkans is flexible and has vague chronological boundaries for achieving the goal of full integration of all countries in the region into the European Union.

The Conclusions. The development of the EU's political strategy for the Western Balkans at the beginning of the 2020s has gone through at least three stages. The first one was related to the active phase of the Balkan wars of 1991 – 1999 when the core of the EU strategy was attempting to pacify a region whose destabilization posed severe threats to European security. The second phase of 2000 – 2013 was driven by the need to resolve the Kosovo conflict and prepare Slovenia and Croatia for the EU accession (joined respectively in 2004 and 2013). Finally, the third period began after Croatia acceded to the EU and continues to this day. The structural crisis of the European Union and the economic problems caused by the coronavirus pandemic harm the implementation of the EU strategy for the Western Balkans. Before the June 23, 2016 referendum on Britain's exit from the EU, Britain was an active supporter of the process of intensive EU enlargement. The British motives for such policy included the desire to maximize the number of EU member states in order to make it impossible to create a federal format of the European Union.

However, the prospect of completing the UK's exit from the EU necessitates compensation for the Common Market from London's decision. Of course, even all the countries of the Western Balkans cannot replace Great Britain either demographically or economically. Nevertheless, the integration of the Western Balkans into the EU should help solve the problem of the "geopolitical vacuum" in the region and strengthen the security of the European Union in all its dimensions. However, there can be no straightforward way to achieve this goal. Even NATO's military and political alliance has gradually expanded its influence in the Western Balkans. The members of the North Atlantic Alliance are Albania, Slovenia, Croatia and Montenegro. Existing territorial, ethno-political, military and political problems still prevent Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Kosovo from becoming members of NATO (the independence of this country is not recognized by all members of NATO and the EU – Spain, Cyprus, Greece, Romania oppose recognition). The Republic of Northern Macedonia embarked on the path of joining the EU and NATO after the settlement of disputes with Greece. NATO remains an insurance policy for the EU in the Western Balkans. It is not easy to approve the EU budget for 2021 – 2027. The structure of this strategic EU financial document does not provide for the integration of the Western Balkans into the EU. Therefore, it may take the entire decade of the 2020s to complete this process. The obstacles to the Western Balkans' compliance with the political, economic and legal criteria for the EU membership remain difficult. Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Serbia, and the Republic of Northern Macedonia must complete the establishment of institutions of functioning and effective democracy, a competitive market economy, and complete the implementation of European law into national law. It is also necessary to leave in history the ghosts of great-power chauvinism, which destabilizes the Balkans. This situation refers to abandon projects to establish a "Greater Albania" or "Greater Serbia". Only in this case, the EU's political strategy towards the Western Balkans can be considered historically successful.

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**IDEOLOGY AND CONTROVERSY OF THE RETURN
OF PEREIASLAV-KHMELNYTSKYI HISTORICAL NAME PEREIASLAV:
MANAGEMENT ASPECT**

Abstract. *The article focuses on the analysis of the ideological aspects and contradictions of returning the historical name Pereiaslav to the city of Pereiaslav-Khmelnyskyi. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, objectivity, methods of scientific analysis, generalization. The scientific novelty is that for the first time the ideological aspects and contradictions regarding the return of the historical name of Pereiaslav to the city of Pereiaslav-Khmelnysky are analyzed. The Conclusions. In the scientific discourse of historians, we should highlight two approaches of changing the toponymic names of settlements. It is revealed that the returning to the city of its historical name Pereiaslav should be considered in the light of two historical concepts: of the Soviet “All-Russian nation” and of the restoration of historical memory of the Ukrainian nation. At the present stage of*

state-making and nation-building processes in Ukraine, the main motives of the returning to the city of its historical name Pereiaslav, especially the historical, political and ideological, domestic, have been identified. Based on history lessons, the main stages of returning the city to the historical name have been identified. The public and political initiatives of the 1990s have been highlighted, where the problem of restoration historical memory and state processes since the times of Kyiv Rus and the role of Pereiaslav Principality was raised in the circles of local historians and researchers. There have been elucidated the political attempts of restoring the historical name of Pereiaslav at the beginning of the 2000s. It is proved that the activation of public and political initiatives on the return of the city's historical name Pereiaslav in 2014 – 2019 brought to the restoration of historical justice and, at the legislative level of the returning to the city of its historical name.

Key words: *Pereiaslav, Pereiaslav-Khmelnytskyi, Bohdan Khmelnytskyi, renaming, return of historical name, ideology, “brotherly peoples”, “reunification”.*

ІДЕОЛОГІЯ ТА ПОЛЕМІКА ЩОДО ПОВЕРЕННЯ МІСТУ ПЕРЕЯСЛАВ-ХМЕЛЬНИЦЬКИЙ ІСТОРИЧНОЇ НАЗВИ ПЕРЕЯСЛАВ: УПРАВЛІНСЬКИЙ АСПЕКТ

Анотація. У статті проаналізовано ідеологічні аспекти та суперечності повернення історичної назви Переяслав місту Переяслав-Хмельницький. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на принципах історизму, об'єктивності, методах наукового аналізу, узагальнення. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше аналізуються ідеологічні аспекти та суперечності щодо повернення історичної назви Переяслав місту Переяслав-Хмельницький. **Висновки.** У науковому дискурсі істориків слід виділити два підходи до зміни топонімичних назв населених пунктів. Виявлено, що повернення місту історичної назви Переяслав слід розглядати у річищі двох історичних концепцій: радянської “всеросійської нації” та відновлення історичної пам'яті українського народу. На сучасному етапі державо- і націєтворчих процесів в Україні визначено основні мотиви повернення місту історичної назви Переяслав, передусім історико-політико-ідеологічні, побутові. Беручи до уваги минуле Переяслава, визначено основні етапи повернення місту історичної назви. Висвітлено громадсько-політичні ініціативи 1990-х рр., де в колах краєзнавців та дослідників порушувалася проблема відновлення історичної пам'яті з урахування державотворчих процесів часів Київської Русі та ролі Переяславського князівства. Висвітлено політичні спроби відновлення історичної назви Переяслава на початку 2000-х рр. Доведено, що активізація громадських та політичних ініціатив щодо повернення місту історичної назви у 2014 – 2019 рр. привела до відновлення історичної справедливості, а на законодавчому рівні – до повернення місту його історичної назви.

Ключові слова: *Переяслав, Переяслав-Хмельницький, Богдан Хмельницький, перейменування, повернення історичної назви, ідеологія, “братні народи”, “возз'єднання”.*

The Problem Statement. For decades, not only in the circle of the Ukrainian historians, political scientists, but also public and state figures, there was an ongoing discussion about returning to the city of Pereiaslav-Khmelnytskyi its historical name – Pereiaslav. After the Revolution of Dignity, military aggression and continuing “hybrid war” of Russia against Ukraine, the return of the historical name to Pereiaslav acquired special importance, not only in the sense of national importance, but also in the sense of the revival of the chronicle truth. The well-known historian, Professor Anatolyi Podolynnyi in his article “Renaming as Part of the Ideological Policy of the State in the Past and at Present” quite rightly notes: “Unfortunately, this problem is not just an interesting phenomenon from the past for us today – it remains topical, as Ukraine has not yet established itself as a fully independent state entity. The threat of losing this independence is quite real” (Kotsur, 2016). At the same time, a well-known Ukrainian contemporary writer Vasyl Shklyar notes: “We have never known our true history, it was written to us by the occupant, distorted everything backwards. He called heroes bandits and bandits – heroes” (Shkliar, 2015). Consequently, the Soviet authorities tried to fix in the

names of settlements proper, not Ukrainian, history. The beginning of the ideological renaming of settlements by the communist authorities began back in the 20s of the twentieth century. At the same time, new settlements (Mnikh) began to be named after revolutionary figures.

The purpose of this review is to debunk the Soviet and post-Soviet myths about the return of Pereiaslav-Khmelnyskyi historical name Pereiaslav, the transition of this topic from the counterversion to scientific constructivism in the context of the restoration of historical memory, the formation of a local toponymic strategy and practice, the model of returning the city of its historical name.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. Renaming and toponymic policy in Ukraine, in particular ideologization, deideologization, politicization of toponymy and memory policy in Ukraine have been the subject of research by a large cohort of domestic scholars, in particular, V. Viatrovycha (Reply Pereiaslav, 2016), S. Butka, S. Horobtsia, I. Karetnikova, B. Korolenka, M. Maiorova (Butko et al, 2015), I. Drohushevska (Drohushevska, 2017, pp. 22–27), Y. Karpenko (Karpenko, 1967, pp. 3–12), D. Buchko (Buchko, 1991, pp. 60–73), V. Luchyk (Luchyk, 2009, pp. 28–33), S. Kovtiukh (Kovtiukh, 2015, pp. 67–71), L. Beley (Beley, 2015, pp. 12–15), etc. The researchers dealt with the issues of restoring the historical name of Pereiaslav: T. Nahaiko, V. Kotsur, M. Tomenko, O. Lukashevych, O. Kolybenko, M. Tovkailo.

The Main Material Statement. In pursuit of ideological and political goals, in October 12, 1943 by the decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR and KPU and the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic the city Pereiaslav was renamed to Pereiaslav-Khmelnyskyi (Kotsur & Nahaiko, 2018, p. 16), and only 76 years later, in October 30, 2019 the city of Pereiaslav was restored of its historic name.

The famous Ukrainian historians O. P. Motsia and V. M. Rychka also supported the return of the historical name to the city. They noted that Pereiaslav played an important political role during Kievan Rus (Program of the round table Pereiaslav... 2016). Another opinion is expressed by historians Petro and Oleksii Tolochky, who do not support decommunization and renaming. Thus, A. Tolochko notes: "You and I are present at the reformatting of historical consciousness of Ukrainian ... As a historian, I believe that renaming should be stopped. Otherwise, we will learn that all our heroes are actually traitors, and yesterday's traitors are actually heroes" (Chervonenko, 2019).

However, in our opinion, the cities of Ukraine should return their historical names. It is not the political conjuncture of certain eras, but immemorial historical national traditions that have the right to eternity. If we follow the "logic" of the Soviet totalitarian era, then the city of Pereiaslav-Khmelnyskyi could be renamed to "Pereiaslav-Shevchenkivskyi", or "Pereiaslav-Sholomaleikhenskyi", etc. As Illia Erenburh (born in Kyiv in January 18, 1891) once noted, during World War II there was a total renaming of cities after liberation from the German Fascist Invaders. Sometimes this was done in order to "improve" the name of the city. For example, after the liberation by the Soviet troops of the city of Propoisk (Belarus), it was named Slavhorod, but the military unit that liberated the settlement was not called "Propoisk", but instead it was called as "Slavhorod" (Kotsur, 2016, p. 4).

At the present state and nation building processes in Ukraine, there was a justified request of society and, in particular, the community of Pereiaslav, to get rid of the last remnants of totalitarianism and communist propaganda, which "settled" in the local toponymic names. The historical local history practice synthesized first of all several motives for returning the historical name Pereiaslav to the city, namely:

Historical motif. The first written mention of the city of Pereiaslav refers to the year of 907. The Ukrainian nation was formed in the triangle of Kyiv-Chernihiv-Pereiaslav, according to historical reconnaissance of the prominent Ukrainian statesman and historian Mykhailo Hrushevskiy. Precisely Pereiaslav was in the epicenter of the heroic and at times tragic ancient and medieval history of Ukraine. At the end of the XIth century the reigning in Pereiaslav was an obligatory stage of the princely career before the transition to the Kyiv throne. The historicity of Pereiaslav and its name is testified by the systematic annalistic references, which confirm its importance as one of the main centers of the Old East Slavic state. Even the first mentioning of the word “Ukraine” in 1187 in the Ipatiiiv Chronicle is directly connected with the ancient city, with the death of Volodymyr Hlibovych, who was the King of Pereiaslav.

Political and ideological motives. The renaming of Pereiaslav city in 1943 has little political and ideological motivation. People’s deputy of Ukraine Mykola Tomenko also mentioned this. He notes that the return of Pereiaslav city its historical name is a logical step towards the decommunization of society, the dismantling of the Stalin-Brezhnev ideological rubble (Tomenko, 2016). The renaming of Pereiaslav-Khmelnyskyi is ideological and counter-versionist. Pereiaslav-Khmelnyskyi and its distortion of its historical name should be considered from the perspective of the Soviet historical concept of “three fraternal peoples”, with a pronounced Russocentrism of the Ukrainian state concept of restoring historical memory. The Soviet concept took over the modern Russian Federation, turning it into an element of “hybrid politics”. The neo-imperial geopolitical doctrine of the “Russian world” is closely linked to the all-Russian idea. Modern Russian historians-ideologists of the “Russian world” consider the figure of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi as one of the factors of imperial neocolonialism.

It should be mentioned that during the 1930s – 1950s the Soviet historiography rewrote the history of Ukraine actively in order to establish the idea of “three fraternal peoples” where the leading role was played by Russia with the center in Moscow. In the new Soviet historiography the main hero of the “reunification” of the Ukrainian and Russian peoples was Bohdan Khmelnytskyi and the Pereiaslavsk Rada together with c. Pereiaslav. It is noteworthy that in the 1930s the Pereiaslavsk Rada was interpreted by the Soviet historiography as “the union of the Ukrainian feudals with the Russians” (Yusova & Yusov, 2004, pp. 96–121), which in essence was the beginning of the Russian colonial domination over Ukraine, and colonial policy according to the concept of Marxism-Leninism was an unconditional evil.

For the first time, Moscow authorities decided to rehabilitate B. Khmelnytskyi as a hero in 1937. In a resolution of the jury of the government commission for a contest for a textbook on the history of USSR, however, the historians of that time failed to cope with the task. However, already in 1939 Kyryl Osipov’s book “Bohdan Khmelnytskyi” was published, written on the basis of Kostomarov’s research. Also in 1939 Oleksandr Korniiichuk completed the creation of the play “Bohdan Khmelnytskyi” where he managed to reanimate the heroic image of the hetman, which was actively used for propaganda and ideological purposes (Kraliuk, 2017).

The Ukrainian historians of the 1940s succeeded in putting B. Khmelnytskyi at the service of the Soviet ideology finally. At that time M. Petrovskiy was one of the most professional historians, whose field of research was the history of Ukraine of the XVIIth – the XVIIIth centuries. He wrote a number of objective historical works in the 1930s, but already at the end of the 1930s M. Petrovskiy began to mount ideological constructions dangerous to the Ukrainian identity in the history: “seniority” of the Russian people; the “Eternal” desire to unite Ukrainian and Russian “Bratnii Narod” with the leading role of Moscow (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 70, c. 399, pp. 1–5) and committed the ideological treatment of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi

(CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 70, c. 399, pp. 27–28). In the ideological works of M. Petrovskiy we can see how he interprets the national revolutionary war under the command of B. Khmelnytskyi: “In 1648 the national and civil war began in Ukraine. On behalf of the Ukrainian people there became a patriot of the native land, a progressive activist of those times, the great (the word “great” is fixed) hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi...”. In this case M. Petrovskiy generatively describes the beginning and the course of World War II (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 70, c. 146, p. 95). At the same time he introduces into these theses the official ideology of the Kremlin, where he states: “A lot of the Russians, especially Don Cossacks, fight in the Ukrainian army. At the time of the temporary disasters, many Ukrainians resettled in the interregnum of the former Russian state, in the so-called Slobodska Ukraina. Bohdan Khmelnytskyi proposes and begins to implement a plan for the reunification of our people in the Ukrainian state. According to the will of his people, from the first steps of the war of liberation the hetman began negotiations with the Russian government on the accession of Ukraine to Russia (characteristically, during the war Khmelnytskyi did not interrupt these negotiations, but always led them (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 70, c. 399, p. 22). Finally, at the beginning of 1654 this accession happened. Our people expressed aspiration for eternal unification with the Russian people on the well-known council in Pereiaslav in January 8, 1654 with cries: “God assure, God strengthen that we are all one for ever”. The incorporation of Ukraine into Russia strengthened ties of the Ukrainian and Russian peoples ... Until his death / 1657 / B. Khmelnytskyi, strengthening the act of annexation of Ukraine to Russia, also fought for the liberation from the occupiers of the Western Ukrainian lands ...” (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 70, c. 146, pp. 96–97).

The ideological pressure on history intensified even more after 1947, when leading historians of the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR were accused of bourgeois nationalism. Then a dictatorship of incompetent people began to reign in scientific institutions. Under the fear of reprisals and accusations, the Ukrainian historians finally subjected to revision the significant moments of the Ukrainian history, a number of the main concepts that were correct and reflected the real historical process. Among a large part of the rewritten historical events there was the celebration of the 300th anniversary of the Pereiaslavskaya Rada. At that time, this event was given the importance of almost a “revolutionary event of all mankind” and, above all, such policy manifested itself in a change of terminology. Instead of “incorporation” it was declared “reunification” for Ukraine and Russia, which became obligatory for all scholarly researches of that time. But after 1947 the reunification of Ukraine with Russia began to be estimated as the best prospect for the Ukrainian people, as an unconditional good, as a natural result of the entire previous history of the two great “brotherly nations”. Thus, a cognitive dissonance arose in the history of Ukraine, because it turned out that the Ukrainian people had been fighting against their own independence for many centuries. The ideological collision was built by “exalting” of the Russian nation and, as a consequence, the Soviet Union became the heir to the “one and indivisible” Russia.

At the same time, the real ideological motive behind the rewriting of history with the heroization of certain individuals perpetuated in toponymic names was as follows:

First of all, the Ukrainian national hero Bohdan Khmelnytskyi was characterised in the Radianska historiography as the main fighter and enemy of the Poles, who always fought for the reunification of the Ukrainian and Russian peoples. The reason for such a prominent emphasis on the post of B. Khmelnytskyi was that the great hetman did not openly wage war with Moscow, and, therefore, his image was ideally suited for an ally of the Moscow tsar.

At the same time, the Soviet historians envisioned the fact that B. Khmelnytskyi waged a national war of will against both the Poles and the Muscovites.

Secondly, during World War II B. Khmelnytskyi was used to strengthen the support of the Ukrainians against the German occupation and to mobilise the population for the war. B. Khmelnytskyi was presented as a folk hero, who for the support of the people was able to oppose any external threat. This thesis is confirmed in the ideological articles of that period (“The Great Heroic Ancestors of the Ukrainian People: Bohdan Khmelnytskyi”, etc.). For example, in this article it is stated that “eight thousand Germans massacred Bohdan’s units at Kostiantyniv in 1648, Ten thousand Germans were killed by the Cossacks and killed in the battle of Batogom in 1652 ... People made all these sacrifices just to free Ukraine from the enemies ... Bohdan always had as many people as he needed. He always had a great number of people who were inevitably captured by the enemy and there they gave inhumane information even unto death and the enemy was wounded. The women went far into the enemy’s til for reconnaissance... The Ukrainians! Glorious partisans and partisans! Be worthy of our glorious ancestor – the national hero Bohdan Khmelnytskyi...”. (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 70, c. 145, pp. 92–93).

Thirdly, the historical memory of the Ukrainians remained especially stable in the cities, which had an ancient history and which was much deeper than the history of Russia. The antiquities of the Ukrainian cities carried a direct threat to the existence of the myth of “brotherly peoples” and the “seniority” of the Russians. Therefore, the policy of erasing the memory was transferred to the practical plane, in particular renaming towns and villages, had a powerful symbolic meaning, preserving the national memory and identity of the Ukrainian. That is why, when renaming the city of Pereiaslav to Pereiaslav-Khmelnyskyi on October 12, 1943, during the terrible years of World War II, the ideologists of Stalinism wanted to uproot the tree of its thousand-year history and transplant it into an artificial pot of the form of 1943. The insidiousness of the colonial policy of the “big brother” was that, by adding to the name of our city the glorious name of the leader of the national liberation revolution of the Ukrainian people in 1648 – 1657, they wanted “to cut off Pereiaslav from the state and historical origins of Kievan Rus” permanently. In addition, after adding the name of our city to the glorious name of the leader of the national liberation revolution of the Ukrainian people in 1648 – 1657, B. Khmelnytskyi, they sought to “cut off” Pereiaslav from the state historical origins of Kievan Rus forever, losing it in the vast maze of provincial cities, mentioned only in connection with the anniversary of the falsified agreement on the “reunification of the Russian and Ukrainian peoples.

Fourthly, the belonging of the Ukrainians only to the Cossack period automatically made our people “lesser brother” of the Russians and at the same time wrapped in the Soviet myths and distorted concepts the figure of B. Khmelnytskyi made of him not a fighter for the Ukrainian national state, but only a fighter for reunification of the Russian and Ukrainian “brotherly” peoples, who in fact they never were.

Fifthly, adding to name of the city of Pereiaslav the word “Khmelnyskyi” was used only for propaganda and consolidation in the consciousness of the Ukrainian Pereiaslavsk Rada of 1654, during which allegedly “Khmelnyskyi accomplished the will and desire of the Ukrainian people to achieve that in 1654 Ukraine was annexed to Russia. Two fraternal, single-blooded nations united” (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 70, c. 145, pp. 93–94).

The situation looks completely different in the current Ukrainian-Russian context. During his speeches the Russian president V. Putin emphasized that the Russians and Ukrainians are not just brothers, but even one people (Putin: Russians and Ukrainians, 2017), the Ukrainians are trying with all their might to prevent it. Thus, the re-consideration of the problem of

decommunization, the return of historical names to the settlements at the time, because, as V. Vernadskyi pointed out: “Old knowledge is enriched with modern ideas, new ideas, methods, competences are generated... Science is constantly moving forward, rethinking its own past” (Kolesnyk, 2013, p. 122).

In modern scientific discourse the policy of restoration of historical memory, rewritten in the Soviet times pages of the Ukrainian history, which led to the change of settlements, ancient cities and villages of our country being actively promoted.

The renaming of Pereiaslav on October 12, 1943, in our opinion, resulted not only in the distortion of its historical name but also in the devaluation of the state process in Ukraine and the formation of the modern Ukrainian nation. It should be noted that the renaming of Pereiaslav took place in the first weeks after the liberation of the city from the German occupation. At the time when Pereiaslav residents had not yet come to their senses, had not recovered from the tragic consequences of the forcing of the Dnipro river. From the stories of their parents, grandfathers and great grandfathers, the native Pereiaslav citizens know that about one million soldiers of the Red Army, including only those mobilized from Left-bank Ukraine, without arms and equipment died liberating Kyiv for the anniversary of the Bolsheviks revolution in 1917. As the Soviet writer Viktor Astafiev noted: “When 25,000 soldiers entered on one side of the Dnipro river, no more than 5 – 6 thousand came out on the opposite side” (Hrabovskiy 2017). Those tragic events are reminded by famous mass graves and erased in the memory of burials in the villages and towns of Kyiv and Pereiaslavschyna, museum tours, awards of soldiers. Nowadays, historians open new pages of the heroic and tragic history of the Battle of the Dnipro, bring to light the unjustifiability of hundreds of thousands of victims for the sake of Stalin’s ideological projects. In all armies of civilized countries the warrior-defender was pincinated, while predominantly Stalinist commanders viewed the soldier only as a means to achieve strategic goals, and the life of an ordinary man was seen as “expendable material” not worth anything (Kotsur, 2016, p. 4).

At the same time, the policy of creating a negative resonance around the renaming of Pereiaslav is noticeable nowadays. V. Viatrovych, Chairman of the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory (2014 – 2019) calls the aggravation of the situation about the decommunization of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi “inappropriate sarcasm”. He notes: “...in fact, this process is not the implementation of the law on decommunization, although it is certainly related to the overcoming of the Soviet legacy”. The historian notes that the renaming is important for a better understanding of the significance of this city in history and “will allow not to look at it only through the prism of the Pereiaslavsk Rada and reunification with Russia”. K. Halushko, a historian, supports this thesis, in particular he notes: “I do not see in the renaming any humiliation of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi”. The appendix to the name of Pereiaslav is a legacy of the Soviet era, when the emphasis was placed precisely on the Pereiaslav Rada in the succession of Hetman ... He notes that the alliance with Russia for B. Khmelnytskyi was temporary, lasted for not long period of time, and soon his allies were already Sweden and Transylvania. At the same time, the historian notes that B. Khmelnytskyi’s name will remain immortalized in the name of the regional center, and there will be no such Soviet connotation. He pointed out that in 1943 the Soviet authorities renamed Pereiaslav to Pereiaslav-Khmelnytskyi solely for “opportunistic purposes” in order to perpetuate the Pereiaslav Rada of 1654 and the role of B. Khmelnytskyi. “... We should talk not so much about the fact that Bohdan Khmelnytskyi’s name was removed from the title, as about the deconstruction of the Soviet myth of the Pereiaslav Rada as the eternal

unification of Ukraine with Russia... which, by the way, did not really exist: it was a political military union”, summed up K. Halushko (Chervonenko, 2019).

Domestic motive. The use of the modern name of the city of Pereiaslav-Khmelnyskyi leads to a number of everyday inconveniences, coincidences and metamorphoses. On official documents, advertising signs and road signs there should be distortions in the spelling of the official name “Pereiaslav-Khmelnyskyi”, “Per.-Khmelnyskyi”, “P.-Khmelnyskyi”, “P.-Khm”. Often an average citizen confuses the regional center of Khmelnyskyi with the ancient historical city of Pereiaslav. This situation causes inconvenience both in everyday life and business.

Since the city is a historical, cultural and tourist heart of Kyiv and Ukraine, such motives became the basis for returning the historical name to the city.

The initiative to return the historical name of the city can be divided into several stages.

The first stage can be considered the beginning of the 1990s. It was with the restoration of the Ukrainian independence in the narrow circles of local historians, scientists raised the problem of restoring historical memory, processes of state since Kievan Rus, where at that time the leading role in the political map was played by Pereiaslav. At that time, the return of the city to its historical name can be traced in the discourse of historians, the Ukrainian intelligentsia of the 1990s. Thus, a senior researcher of Pereiaslav-Khmelnysky State Historical and Cultural Reserve (nowadays, NIEZ “Pereiaslav”) Mykola Tovkailo in his article “Pereiaslav needs Khmelnysky Annex” notes: “... changing the name of the city in 1943, adding to the name the name of the glorious hetman Bohdan Khmelnyskyi is unlawful neither from a historical, nor ethical or moral point of view”. After all, by adding the name of a famous commander in Pereiaslav, it was tied to a specific historical era, namely the XVIIth century. But we know that the name of the city arose in the IXth century (and probably earlier). That is why, consciously or unconsciously, one-sidedness of the history of Pereiaslav took place, one page of its history was covered excessively, to the detriment of the others ... Nobody asked Pereiaslav inhabitants whether they agreed with such renaming in 1943. “In the huge Stalin’s cauldron, where everything was mixed up, where entire peoples disappeared from the historical arena, and from the geographical maps their names, the addition of another name of a small ancient town could weigh...” (Tovkailo, 1990, p. 3). Mykola Tovkailo’s scientific research was a manifestation of the author’s anti-Soviet views and simultaneously one of the first official publications on the restoration of the historical name of the city of Pereiaslav. This article was published in the Soviet local press, and therefore the newspaper editors did not share the author’s conclusions and suggestions.

The second important stage in the restoration of historical justice should be considered the beginning of the 2000s. In particular, the initiative of the Pereiaslav-Khmelnysky City Council to return the historical name Pereiaslav (Minutes of the plenary session of 15, 2000). At that time, initiative groups were created that collected signatures of citizens in support of the name change. It was planned to hold the local referendum together with the all-Ukrainian (Minutes of the plenary session of 16, 2000). The question was supposed to be considered in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, but was blocked by the Communist Party of Ukraine. Thus, the Communist Party of Ukraine together with local communists sued the local court to cancel the referendum, because there were violations in the signature lists, in particular, almost all signatories indicated their address as “c. P.-Khmelnyskyi”. The court, which received a recommendation from above, recognized these drawbacks as significant violations and ruled in favor of the CPU. The deadline for re-collection of signatures passed, and thus the local referendum did not take place (Sokur, 2017). However, under the political and ideological

conditions of the time, the issue of changing the names of settlements was debatable. Most of the decisions to change the names of administrative and territorial units were never made. In legal practice, there were four cases of failure to implement decisions on the naming and renaming of settlements. The procedure for naming or renaming of settlements (1991 – 2012) provided for: the holding of a local referendum, the application of the regional council to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine for the renaming of a population center and the adoption by the Verkhovna Rada of a resolution on the renaming of settlements. For example, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine did not support the decision adopted by citizens to rename the village Leninske into Tarasivka, Skvyra region of Kyiv oblast, initiated by citizens in 2000. Leninske village regained its historical name only in February 2016 as part of the reform of decommunization. In general, the non-implementation of decisions made in referendums at that time were one of the most problematic aspects of the mechanism functioning of local referendums (Experience of local referendum in Ukraine, 2016).

The third and final stage is 2014 – 2019. Public and political initiatives to return the city to its historical name of Pereiaslav became more active after the Revolution of Dignity, under conditions of the Russian aggression and in connection with the latest processes of decommunization of the Ukrainian society. In general, in the situation with Pereiaslav, it should be understood that the figure of Khmelnytskyi was used here only for ideological purposes – to bind Ukraine to Russia forever. One cannot deny the fact that the Soviet state had a monopoly on the renaming of settlements. It carefully monitored the implementation of the official policy of memory, embodied through targeted ideological measures.

In modern Ukraine, in accordance with Paragraph 29 of Paragraph 1, Article 85 of the Constitution of Ukraine, the question of renaming settlements refers to the powers of the Verkhovna Rada (the Constitution of Ukraine). Nowadays, the society actively joined the process of returning the historical names to the cities by means of public discussions, round tables with attraction of the expert environment. Before the Revolution of Dignity and the appearance of the Heavenly Hundred, the Soviet toponymy in our state was accepted neutrally, both by representatives of the state authorities, and a certain part of ordinary Ukrainians. Under modern conditions, against the background of the events that took place, such an attitude is contrary to the national interests of Ukraine. Our state is gradually shifting from the policy of transformation of the post-Soviet space to the construction of a new modern Ukrainian state. At the same time, in the neighboring Russian Federation, where, in the words of the well-known scholar and public figure Yaroslav Potapenko, a “collective Putin” with the characteristic features of a “mafia state” has formed, where fascism in the Russian dimension, has won, a return to the historical past of the Soviet era is underway. The more comprehensive the ideological break between Russia and Ukraine, the faster Ukrainians will become a nation with its own history. Therefore, it was not only necessary to participate in the return of historical truth, but also extremely important in the context of informational counteraction to the external aggressor. At the same time, the way to return the city to its historical name of Pereiaslav turned out to be difficult in terms of the current political situation and bureaucratic and legal obstacles. We remind you of the timeline of events on this issue.

At a meeting of the toponymic commission, its members unanimously supported the proposal to return the historical name of the city and held a round table “Pereiaslav through the ages” March 4, 2016 with leading experts in history and archaeology: Doctor of Historical Sciences, Director of the Institute of Archaeology, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine Alexander Moschi and doctor of historical sciences, professor, leading researcher of the Institute of History, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine Volodymyr Rychka.

On March 26, 2016 – the executive committee of the Pereiaslav-Khmelnyskyi City Council appealed to the Chairman of the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory, Volodymyr Viatrovykh, with a request to support the initiative of the city community to return Pereiaslav-Khmelnyskyi its historical name.

On April 11, 2016 – The Ukrainian Institute of National Memory reported that, given the historical facts, the initiative of the city council, in the case of a corresponding appeal of Pereiaslav-Khmelnyskyi City Council to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, it will support its recommendation to return the city's historical name (Appeal of the Mayor of Pereiaslav-Khmelnyskyi, 2016).

On May 20, 2016 – public hearings on the return of the historical name of the city “Pereiaslav” were held. During these hearings 70% of the participants of the public discussion voted “for” and only 5% “against”, all the rest abstained.

On June 23, 2017 – members of the Public Council under the executive committee of Pereiaslav-Khmelnyskyi City Council made a proposal to return the historical name “Pereiaslav” to the city, and on June 26, 2017 the chairman of the Public Council Vitaly Kotsur sent a letter to Mayor T. Kostina with a request to consider the return of the historical name “Pereiaslav” at the next session (Appeal of the Public Council, 2017).

As a result, on October 3, 2017 the Executive Committee of Pereiaslav-Khmelnyskyi City Council created a working group (decision № 351-17 from 3.10.2017) in order to return the historic name “Pereiaslav” to the city.

The return of the historical name “Pereiaslav” to the city was supported by the political elite, public figures, and intellectuals of the Pereiaslav region. Thus, in the name Pereiaslav-Khmelnyskyi the appendix “Khmelnyskyi” was too heavy, but at the same time there was a loss of the historical brand. Residents began to be referred to as “Pereiaslavkhemelnichany”. He noted that only in the case of a return to its historical roots and sources will Pereiaslav get a spiritual victory, which will lead us to the cohort of outstanding, famous cities of European Ukraine (Sokur 2017). But a local historian, T. Nahayko noted that in January of 2014 pro-Russian representatives of the so-called Sobor of Slavic peoples Tsarev and Zatulyn held a propaganda campaign in Pereiaslav to celebrate the 360th anniversary of the “Reunification of Ukraine and Russia”. Then Moscow Patriarch Kirill, then-Prime Minister Mykola Azarov, and Russian presidential advisor Sergey Glazyev addressed the meeting participants with official greetings. Two months later, the annexation of the Crimea took place, followed by the Russian Federation's military invasion of Donbass. In the context of Russia's current hybrid war against Ukraine, the ability to resist information and ideological influence is important for us. Our society should possible abandon the practice of confessing the Soviet ideological cliches as soon as, the artificiality of which is quite obvious. Both at the state level and at the level of local communities there should be purification from the imposed imperial stereotypes of the past. Against the background of democratic pro-European changes, the urgent task is to prevent the influence of Russian ideological myths on the formation of consciousness of modern generations of the Ukrainians. The revival of Pereiaslav in its historical name testifies to the role of the city in the formation of the deep state traditions of our homeland, returns not only the local community, but also the nation face to the memorable heritage of our ancestors (Nagayko).

At the same time, some district leaders of the 2018 – 2019 sample thought that B. Khmelnyskyi was a person who, in the interpretation of the Soviet historiography, realised “the centuries-old aspirations of the Ukrainian people to unite with the fraternal Russian people”, and therefore the older generation of people was not against leaving the city with its Soviet name, while only the

new generation of Pereiaslav residents demanded the renaming (Korolyova, 2019).

On October 26, 2017, the city council of Pereiaslav-Khmelnyskyi decided to return the city its historical name (decision #03-44-VII) (Deputies Pereiaslav, 2017).

Before local deputies voted to return Pereiaslav-Khmelnyskyi its historical name, a letter from former mayor Hryhoriy Sokur (Sokur 2017) was published on the official portal of the city council. Unlike Yuri Klimenko, the ex-mayor is confident that the renaming will improve the life of the city in all spheres. "It is the name that will unite all residents of the community, will be a factor, a stimulus for progress, the development of the territory. The name of the city determines its history, character, life, architecture, culture, transport infrastructure, the behavior of its inhabitants" (Koroleva 2019). This opinion was supported by the mayor T. Kostin, who noted: "the decision to rename did not affect the attitude of residents to the historical figure of the hetman. Bohdan Khmelnytskyi is a powerful figure in history, and we respect him very much".

He recalls that at the beginning of the campaign to return the city's historical name, the majority of local residents opposed the initiative. At the same time, at public hearings, 70% of those present voted for the return of the historical name (Koroleva 2019). Bohdan Korolenko, the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory, (UNIMP) notes that the decision taken was not exactly in the context of decommunization, but rather in decolonization, since the name of the city of Pereiaslav-Khmelnyskyi did not contain symbols of the communist totalitarian regime. "It is about getting rid of the Soviet ideological stamps and clichés" noted B. Korolenko (Why they renamed ...).

On December 14, 2017 it was decided to initiate a petition before the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine by Kyiv Regional Council of the seventh convocation to return the name "Pereiaslav-Khmelnyskyi" to the city of Kyiv region.

On April 4, 2018 – the Committee on State Building, Regional Policy and Local Self-Government recommended the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine to support the submission of Kyiv Regional Council to rename Pereiaslav-Khmelnyskyi city of Kyiv region to Pereiaslav city.

On May 19, 2018 – there was registered a draft resolution on the renaming of the city of Pereiaslav-Khmelnyskyi Kyiv region (№ 8307 from 19.04.2018).

This issue was several times put on the agenda of the plenary sessions of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of the VIIIth convocation, but was not adopted.

On September 18, 2019 – Committee on the organization of state power, local government, regional development and urban development on behalf of the Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of the IXth convocation, Dmytro Razumkov considered and unanimously approved the submission of Kyiv Regional Council on the renaming of Pereiaslav-Khmelnyskyi city of Kyiv region to Pereiaslav city (Draft Resolution, 2019).

On October 30, 2019, the city of Pereiaslav was returned to its historical name (Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada, 2019). Recall that the UOC-Kyivan Patriarchate was the first to return the historical name to Pereiaslav in 2018, without waiting for the decision of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine. Patriarch of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Kyiv Patriarchate (UOC-KP) Filaret said that their church "renamed" the city without waiting for official decisions. As soon as the decision was made at a session of Pereiaslav-Khmelnyskyi city council, it changed the title of Metropolitan Epiphany of Pereiaslav-Khmelnyskyi to "Pereiaslavskyi". Changes were also made in the corresponding church documents.

The Conclusions. Thus, after the Revolution of Dignity (2013 – 2014) the state and society had unique opportunities to return the city of Pereiaslav memorable name. Firstly, there was a

public demand to get rid of the last remnants of totalitarianism and communist propaganda that had “settled” in the local toponyms. Secondly, the expert environment supported the initiative to return one of the oldest cities in Ukraine (the first written mention in 907) to its historical name. Thirdly, the Verkhovna Rada of the IXth convocation had all preconditions to return the city its historical name. With the restoration of the name Pereiaslav we return to our historical sources, where in the triangle Kyiv-Chernihiv-Pereiaslav, according to the historical researches of the prominent Ukrainian statesman and historian Mykhailo Hrushevsky, the Ukrainian nation was formed. It was Pereiaslav that was in the epicenter of the heroic and at times tragic ancient and medieval history of Ukraine. By giving our city its original name, we have returned it to the great Ukrainian history, and now the “museum city” may argue for inclusion in the UNESCO World Cultural Heritage List. The return of the historical name to the city of Pereiaslav is an essential indicator of the national self-consciousness, self-identification, and an inherent sign of the state-territorial affiliation. Under the conditions of the “hybrid war” of the Russian Federation against Ukraine, the preservation of the old name Pereiaslav-Khmelnytsky would mean a historical, ideological, value capitulation to the Russian imperial neocolonialism, both on the scale of the small motherland and Ukraine as a whole. The return of the historical name to Pereiaslav is a rejection of politicized and ideologized markers of the Soviet era and simultaneously a revival in the European civilized world.

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РЕЦЕНЗІЇ / REVIEWS

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FORMATION OF LEGAL TRADITIONS IN UKRAINE AND EUROPEAN STATES WITH A FEDERAL SYSTEM (THE Vth CENTURY BC – THE XVIIth CENTURY):

A NEW VIEW (review of the monograph: Tsvietkova Yu. V.

Legal tradition of religious tolerance in European states with a Federal System (the Vth century BC – the XVIIth century). Kyiv: Talcom, 2020. 512 p.)

СТАНОВЛЕННЯ ПРАВОВИХ ТРАДИЦІЙ В УКРАЇНІ ТА ДЕРЖАВАХ ЄВРОПИ З ФЕДЕРАТИВНИМ УСТРОЄМ (V ст. до н. е. – XVII ст.): НОВИЙ ПОГЛЯД

(рецензія на монографію: Цвєткова Ю. В. Правова традиція релігійної толерантності в державах Європи з федеративним устроєм (V ст. до н. е. – XVII ст.). Київ: Талком, 2020. 512 с.)

Nowadays, the return of religion to a legal, national life, global politics and international relations is accompanied by the need to increase religious tolerance in the spiritual and moral sphere of life. Focusing on the history of religion in Ukraine, in particular the formation of

religious tolerance, awakens a national pride, forms spirituality and historical memory, the role of which in the development of the Ukrainian state is very significant.

The reviews of the monograph by Yu. V. Tsvietkova: *The Legal Tradition of Religious Tolerance in European States with a Federal System (the Vth century BC – the XVIIth century)* were written by V. M. Palchenkova in “*The Prykarpattia Legal Bulletin*” (Palchenkova, 2020, pp. 195–196), O. F. Melnychuk in “*The Legal Bulletin*” (Melnychuk, 2020, pp. 213–215), N. Korchak in the scientific and practical, economic and legal journal “*The Entrepreneurship, Economy and Law*” (Korchak, 2020, pp. 441–442).

The monographic research by Yu. V. Tsvietkova under the title: “*Legal Tradition of Religious Tolerance in European States with a Federal System (the Vth century BC – the XVIIth century)*” is topical in the issue of religious tolerance formation in Ukraine and foreign countries (Tsvietkova, 2020). The monograph deals with the origin and development peculiarities of the legal tradition of religious tolerance under the conditions of local residence in the pre-modern and early modern states of the Western law tradition of certain ethno-religious groups. In the monograph there is substantiated the connection between the legal tradition formation of religious tolerance and the presence of the representative bodies of these ethno-religious groups, representing their interests, their own legal mentality, religion, which differs from the generally accepted in the state. Much attention is focused on the historical and legal characteristics of the development of federalism in pre-modern and early modern states. In the monograph there have been considered the legal regulation mechanisms of religious relations in these multi-religious state spaces; there have been analyzed the constructive and destructive effects of the legal tradition of religious tolerance and its implementation in social and state development. Substantiating the relevance of the topic of the monograph, the author emphasizes rightly that the achievement of political stability and legality in the field of legal regulation of religious relations depends on the correct emphasis in solving the problem of religious tolerance mechanisms, taking into consideration the fact that religion in the history of law and the state has always been and remains the factor that can unite or, on the contrary, split the society.

All of the above mentioned issues indicate the indisputable topicality and timeliness of the peer-reviewed monographic study of Yu. V. Tsvietkova. Relevance of the topic of the monograph by Yu. V. Tsvietkova is also characterized by the fact that in modern Ukraine it is important to take into account the historical, national, legal experience and to use the results of scientific research to improve the current legislation of Ukraine. The topic of the monographic study, chosen by Yu. V. Tsvietkova is relevant, important and useful for the national, historical and legal science, and therefore deserves approval and support.

The analysis of the peer-reviewed monograph gives grounds to claim that the author has formed the structure of her research successfully. The monograph by Yu. V. Tsvietkova consists of introduction, 4 chapters, 15 subsections, conclusions, a list of sources used, appendices. The monograph corresponds to the nature of historical and legal research, as well as the problem-chronological principle of historical and legal material presentation.

In Chapter I “*Conceptual and Terminological Apparatus and Research Methodology*” there is a thorough description of the application of methodological approaches and methods of the study, the conceptual apparatus and theoretical foundations of the nature and functions of the legal tradition of religious tolerance are defined.

The monograph by Yu. V. Tsvietkova is based on a systematic and sophisticated methodological basis. The author’s methodological concept of the peer-reviewed monographic work deserves support. The author’s work in this direction can be taken into account in the

discussion on the periodization of the history of the state and law of Ukraine, concerning which there is a lively discussion among historians of law. In general, the correct use of methodological tools, the correct attitude to the scientific achievements of predecessors and reliance on primary sources ensured the overall reliability of the results of the peer-reviewed study.

In the monograph the author's concept of the legal tradition of religious tolerance is considered and its nature is described in the historical and legal dimension. The author "based on an ideal-realistic approach to understanding the law tested the hypothesis about the nature of the legal tradition of religious tolerance as a contractual consensus principle in non-organized legal communication in the field of religious relations in the Western tradition of law, its rational teleology, evolution, connection with natural law and the subsidiarity of power, which are the main factors in the legal tradition formation of religious tolerance".

The author gives her own definition of the legal tradition as the unity of historically formed, critically meaningful collective experience of legal activity. The meaning of the concept of "legal tradition of religious tolerance" is successfully elucidated through the dialectics analysis of the basic concepts relation of "legal tradition", "religious tolerance", which are included into the concept of "legal communication".

The doctrine of the legal tradition of religious tolerance elaborated by Yu. V. Tsvietkova allowed to substantiate and suggest the conception according to which "the law-making reflection of a legal communication is focused on the concepts of the society agreement, people's sovereignty, protection of ethno-religious minorities and the influence of the society on the state's policy on the regulation of religious relations". The peer-reviewed monograph is valuable for innovative developments of scientific and legal definitions, in particular the author's concepts. Thus, in this chapter the author identifies and analyzes the connection of the legal tradition of religious tolerance with the concepts of "federalism" and "legal mechanism" successfully. There was also suggested the author's conception of the so-called "pre-modern federalism" as a paradigm of the state for the cognition of nature and the legal tradition formation of religious tolerance". The author argues that the principle of subsidiarity in federalism from balance and consensus to achieve "unity in diversity" of higher and local state bodies and ethno-religious communities of the federal states of Antiquity and the Middle Ages is extrapolated in modern European society into the paradigm of finding optimal models of relations between the state and religious organizations and the fundamental principles of their pluralism, democratic principles of the society organization, people's sovereignty and self-determination of nations".

The provisions of Chapter II of the monograph "Formation of the Legal Tradition of Religious Tolerance in Relation to Local Religions of the Federations of Ancient Rome" should be recognized as a positive point in the peer-reviewed work, in which in comparison with the existing historical and legal literature, comprehensively and objectively there have been analyzed "objective and subjective factors of the genesis and evolution of the legal tradition of religious tolerance in the system of the Western tradition of law – the Roman law. The author of the peer-reviewed monograph expresses interesting reflections that "during the republican and early imperial eras the legal tradition of religious tolerance was established in the field of private law, and this legal tradition acquired a systemic character due to the separation of jurisdiction in the regulation of religious relations between the central authorities and the local authorities". Its teleological aspect manifested itself in its role in the centripetal processes of the state building through the elimination of the religious *casus belli* in relations with the subjects".

It should be expedient to mention the author's analysis of the influence of the ancient form of government on the nature formation of the legal tradition of religious tolerance. Interesting are the definitions of the features of ancient "federalism", in particular "the asymmetric and contractual nature of the territory formation of the state as a condition for ensuring effective control over the annexed territories and optimizing the regulation of religious relations by federal authorities; asymmetry of the federation; frequent changes in the territorial composition of the state; individuality of approaches and legal mechanisms for the regulation of social relations in each of the annexed territories; combination of polis model and model of territorial organization of Asian type; the institute of revision of certain conditions or general texts of *foedus* treaties, according to which joined state or tribal entities were annexed, and the variability of legal terminology that defined legal phenomena and institutions".

The author's achievements include a thorough analysis of the peculiarities of the legal tradition transformation of religious tolerance under the conditions of the proclamation of the state religion in the Roman Empire (the IVth – the VIth centuries).

This chapter focuses on the analysis of the legislation norms on the religious relations regulation (edicts of Galerius, Constantine, Constantius II, Julian, Theodosius, Alaric, Hunerich, Theoderich, etc.), the treaties with federates and law enforcement practices. The author succeeded in finding out the facts of serious inconsistencies and contradictions in the imperial legislation on religious issues, fundamental differences in the competence of the imperial authorities depending on the status of the territories in the asymmetric federation and attempts to transfer the regulation of religious relations from the private law to the public law sphere".

The most successful are the provisions of Chapter III of the peer-reviewed monograph "Formation of the Legal Tradition of Religious Tolerance Regarding the Federal Subjects' Religions of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Commonwealth", in which at the appropriate scientific and methodological level there was elucidated "the regulatory role of the legal tradition of religious tolerance in the legal mechanism taking into account the peculiarities of the legal regulation of local mass religions in the lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Commonwealth with different legal status of the subjects of the federations". The author successfully determined the influence on the development of the legal tradition of religious tolerance the presence of these states on the border of the western and eastern traditions of law; its significant role in centripetal and centrifugal processes; the connection of its formation with the treaty and subsidiary principles of federalism and foreign policy factors.

A thorough description of the "legal consolidation of the principle of tolerance under the conditions of religious pluralism of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania" is the indisputable advantage of the monographic work of Yu. V. Tsvietkova. The author generalizes the historical experience of legal observance of religious parity and tolerance in the polyreligious space of legal communication of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania during the XIVth – the XVIth centuries, and its role as a factor in intensifying centripetal or centrifugal tendencies in the state was determined".

A positive feature of the peer-reviewed monograph is a thorough analysis of legal sources, norms that regulated religious relations: "The Krevsk Union of 1385 (The Union of Krewo), Vilnius Privilege of 1387, Privilege of 1492, The Treaty of Kraków of 1525, Pacta Subiectionis of 1561, Vilnius Privilege of 1563 and the others; chronicle narratives, etc". The author elucidated the ways used in the law-making technique of the highest authorities of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania to regulate religious relations: a permissive way, which guaranteed freedom of religion of a particular local area religion; a blanket way – when,

in an effort to avoid conflicts and aggravations, the legislator postponed the adoption of direct regulation norms or delegated them to other entities; a discriminatory way – in which legal norms restrict or prohibit a particular religion. In the latter case, the legal phenomena of natural law prevailed over the conceptions of normativism: the practical implementation of the legal tradition of religious tolerance, which enshrined in the legal consciousness of the population of federal entities, in fact, nihilized the legislative initiatives of the higher legislature, when they were in conflict with local customary law.

Analyzing the legal sources, the author revealed “the regularity which consists in the fact that formation of the legal tradition of religious tolerance occurs in close connection with the federal state and legal mechanisms, according to which ensuring the practice of a non-state religion of the local majority population was guaranteed by local representative or appointed bodies”.

In the monograph by Yu. V. Tsvietkova “characteristic features of the principles transformation of the legal tradition of religious tolerance under the conditions of the domination of the state religion in the Commonwealth have been analyzed comprehensively. There have been determined the features of political and legal regulation of interfaith relations in the Commonwealth in the context of the influences of Western and Eastern traditions of law. The normative acts regulating religious relations have been analyzed: the blanket norms of the Lublin Act of 1569, the Act of the Warsaw Confederation of 1573, numerous religious acts of the kings of the Commonwealth and the others. In the regulation of religious relations there is the implementation of the experience and law-making techniques of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the success of which appeared at the territories of the federation of the Commonwealth with a developed system of local representative bodies supported by the population and had a strong influence on the national decision-making”.

Chapter 4 “Evolution of the Legal Tradition of Religious Tolerance of the Subjects of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation)” is a significant scientific result of the study of Yu. V. Tsvietkova, in which owing to the use of a wide source base there have been elucidated the conditions for the legal tradition of religious tolerance transformation from the local legal case of the Czech Kingdom through the reception of Roman law on the *conditio sine qua non* existence of the legal system and the state of the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation.

The author described thoroughly the influence of the Holy Roman Empire on the legal ensuring of religious tolerance. Yu. V. Tsvietkova substantiated that the structure of the Empire corresponded to the conceptual features of the pre-modern federation.

At the appropriate scientific and methodological level the author highlighted “the features of consolidating the legal tradition of religious tolerance as a phenomenon of legal communication during the period of Confessionalization. Yu. V. Tsvietkova analyzed successfully the imperial legislation of 1555 – 1648, which finally legitimized Protestantism, focusing further legal activities on clarifying the rights of the rulers of individual entities to establish a certain denomination at their territory”.

In the monograph “the models institutionalization of state-religious relations in the context of modern European legal doctrine of religious tolerance have been analyzed. The emphasis has been focused on the interrelation of the legal tradition of religious tolerance with the conception formation of the human rights through the emphasis transfer from community rights to the guarantee and protection of individual rights”.

The monographic study of Yu. V. Tsvietkova ends in logical and thoughtful conclusions that determine its relevance and a proper scientific level.

In general, the above mentioned items single out such positive features of the monograph by Yu. V. Tsvietkova as topicality, scientific novelty, practical significance, methodological validity

and accessibility for reception. At the same time, the monograph, like any really important creative work, provokes a number of reflections, opens a wide space for scientific discussion. In this review it is necessary to dwell on some specific controversial provisions, statements that require additional argumentation, comments and suggestions to the author, in particular:

1. The author characterizes the Roman Empire as a federation. This thesis is controversial, because in the works of many researchers, the Roman state is characterized as the empire, not federation. It is common knowledge, federation (in Latin *foederatio* – association, union) – it is a form of state system in which the territorial units of the state have a certain legally defined political independence, which differs from the administrative, territorial units of a unitary state. The constituent parts of the federation are a kind of state-like formations, which are called the subjects of the federation, and the territory of the federation consists of the territories of its subjects. Further explanation is needed: how does the author give arguments concerning federativeness of the Roman state at different stages of its development?

2. In the monograph modern legal terms are used too often: “legal regulation”, “state and political development”, “legal principles”, etc. Such imposition of modern terminology on legal relations and legal institutions of the period under study does not seem entirely appropriate. In our opinion, it would be appropriate to dwell on the use of terminology of that time, explaining the meaning of terms not in the text, but in a separate terminological glossary (forming it as a separate appendix to the monograph).

3. Some remarks concern the presentation of individual monographic provisions. Thus, the author supports the idea of a two-vector influence of the legal phenomenon of religious tolerance on the processes of state building, considering it both as a centripetal and centrifugal factor of development. This approach provokes some discussions about the dogma recognized in European jurisprudence about the unconditionally positive (for the state and society) guarantee of the maximum amount of human and civil rights and freedoms. In this context, the issue of the current difficult situation in Ukraine cannot but arise. It was necessary to explain the possible solutions to complex religious problems in modern Ukraine additionally.

4. In the conclusions to the monograph it would be interesting to suggest useful ideas for improving and enhancing the effectiveness of current legislation of Ukraine on freedom of conscience and religious organizations; to determine the main priorities of modern religious policy of Ukraine, etc. The monograph seems to represent an old-fashioned view, and there is no way to the present period of time, and there are no recommendations, suggestions.

5. In our opinion, insufficient attention is paid to the judicial practice of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Commonwealth. The cases of ecclesiastical and secular courts contain rich material for historical and legal research of religious relations in these states. The use of this rich material could additionally illustrate the author’s thesis about different approaches to religious diversity on the territories of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Commonwealth. The author of the monograph should have used archival materials of the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine and other archives, which would have allowed to highlight certain aspects of the legal tradition formation of religious tolerance in the federal states of Europe (the Vth century BC – the XVIIth century) at the appropriate scientific level. However, taking into account the fact that the monograph is of a complex historical and legal nature, we should note that the study of archival materials, in our opinion, would increase the scientific and practical significance of the peer-reviewed study.

The remarks made are caused by the complexity of the study of the issue, and do not affect the overall positive assessment of the monographic study of Yu. V. Tsvietkova significantly, as

they are mainly debatable. This allows us to conclude that the peer-reviewed monograph by Yu. V. Tsvietkova is an interesting, relevant, independent, complete creative scientific research. The publication of this monograph is an extraordinary positive phenomenon in Ukrainian, and possibly in European – historical and theoretical jurisprudence. Therefore, it would be worth dreaming about the possibility of translating the monograph by Yu. V. Tsvietkova into English.

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**NEWSPAPER JOURNALISM OF OSTAP NYZHANKIVSKY, A COMPOSER,
A TEACHER, A PUBLIC ACTIVIST (1863 – 1919)**

**(review of the monograph: Molchko U. Newspaper Word of Father
Ostap Nyzhankivsky. Striy: TOV “Publishing House “Ukrpol”, 2021. 328 p.)**

**ГАЗЕТНА ПУБЛІЦИСТИКА КОМПОЗИТОРА, ПЕДАГОГА,
ГРОМАДСЬКОГО ДІЯЧА ОСТАПА НИЖАНКІВСЬКОГО (1863 – 1919)
(рецензія на монографію: Молчко У. Газетне слово отця Остапа Нижанківського.
Стрий: ТОВ “Видавничий дім “Укрпол”, 2021. 328 с.)**

Recently, a monograph has been published on the journalistic work of Fr. Ostap Nyzhankivsky, the famous Galician composer and public figure (1863 – 1919). Its author is Ulyana Molchko, an associate professor at Drohobych Ivan Franko State Pedagogical University, who has been researching the multifaceted activities of the priest for a long time. It should be noted that other researchers, in particular Ya. Kolodiy, also wrote about Ostap Nyzhankivsky as a composer (Kolodiy, 1994), R. Soviak (Sov’iak, 2019). In contrast to previous works, which only outline the main journalistic heritage of the priest briefly,

U. Molchko found, analyzed and published almost all journalistic articles by O. Nyzhankivsky, who during the second half of the XIXth – the first decades of the XXth century was one of the leading representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia of Galicia and carried out large-scale educational work among the Ukrainian peasantry of that period.

The monograph consists of five chapters and appendices, which contain journalistic materials of O. Nyzhankivsky. In Chapter I, the author tried to elucidate the “worldview” of O. Nyzhankivsky as a journalist. The researcher declares the priest’s “Ukrainocentrism” to be the defining worldview constant. It should be noted that this statement may immediately seem somewhat contradictory taking into consideration the affiliation of O. Nyzhankivsky to the Greek Catholic clergy. U. Molchko, seeking to highlight the fundamental principles of the worldview of the historical figure under analysis, naturally analyzes his upbringing and education in a family environment. She notes that O. Nyzhankivsky was born on January 24, 1863 in Stryi in the family of a Greek Catholic priest, where “dedication to the service of God was laid down by previous generations” (Molchko, 2021, p. 16). Having characterized of O. Nyzhankivsky’s family, the researcher calls the Greek Catholic clergy “the Ukrainian advanced class”. Undoubtedly, the leaders of the Ukrainian national revival in the Ukrainian lands of the Habsburg Empire in the XIXth century were mostly representatives of the Greek Catholic clergy. However, it should be acknowledged that a significant part of this clergy was Polonized, came from Polonized Russian noble families, spoke Polish at home. In the middle and second half of the XIXth century the Greek Catholic clergy in the dominance of the ideas of Romanticism, seeking to find and emphasize their own national identity, took the position of Russophilia, and later – Muscovite. Russophile ideas were widespread among the vast majority of the Greek Catholic clergy of Galicia under the Austrian rule. Therefore, we consider it somewhat incorrect to cite in the monograph A. Rudnytsky’s unscientific statement about the Ukrainian priestly families as a “treasury” where the traditions of the Ukrainian nobility developed (Molchko, 2021, p. 17).

Of course, it cannot be taken into consideration that some Greek Catholic priests held the position of Galician representatives and defended their own Ukrainian identity. But in the monograph we did not see evidence that such views dominated the family in which O. Nyzhankivsky grew up. However, U. Molchko proves O. Nyzhankivsky’s Ukrainocentrism in his adulthood by emphasizing the priest’s participation in the Ukrainian social and cultural life of Galicia and Dnieper Ukraine, emphasizing his friendly relations with famous Ukrainian figures Anatol Vakhnianyn, Ivan Franko, and Kyrylo Studynsky, Mykola Lysenko. In addition, the author speaks of “Fr. O. Nyzhankivsky’s contribution to building the foundations of the Ukrainian state”. By stating this she means the participation of the priest in the organization of the dairy unions, cooperatives and credit unions of the Raiffeisen system in Stryi region, as well as participation in the establishment of youth branches of the societies “Falcon” and “Sich” in the villages of the same county (Molchko, 2021, pp. 23–24). In addition, O. Nyzhankivsky was a co-organizer (together with a lawyer Yevhen Olesnytsky) of the socio-political organization “Pidhirska Rada”, the representatives of which defended the rights of the Ukrainians in Stryi region. At the beginning of the XXth century the priest became the head of Stryi district school council and advocated the formation of classes in the state gymnasium of Stryi with the Ukrainian language of instruction. At the beginning of August of 1914, he was present during the military oath of the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen and blessed this military formation, which participated in World War I as the military unit of the Austro-Hungarian Army. In November of 1918, O. Nyzhankivsky became an official of the

Western Ukrainian People's Republic and headed the county Ukrainian National Council in Stryi region. As a composer O. Nyzhankivsky turned to the Ukrainian folklore, founded the societies for singing (Molchko, 2021, pp. 25–28). In general, the author proved that during his public activity O. Nyzhankivsky protected the Ukrainian national positions. However, we consider the term “Ukrainocentrism” not very proper.

In Chapter II “Origins of Fr. Ostap Nyzhankivsky's Newspaper Activity” U. Molchko intended to point out and analyze the first newspaper publications of Ostap Nyzhankivsky, published during his studies at Lviv Theological Seminary. However, in this small chapter the author writes about only one article by O. Nyzhankivsky – “In Memory of Denys Leontovych on the First Anniversary of his Death” (Molchko, 2021, pp. 31–35). This article appeared in the Lviv magazine “Zoria” in 1888 and was dedicated to the biography of a young Ukrainian pianist and composer Denys Leontovych, who died prematurely at the age of 21. The author partly analyzes and partly retells the content of this article, emphasizing O. Nyzhankivsky's thoughts on the talent of artists and his critical analysis of D. Leontovych's waltz “Souvenir”. In our opinion, it is not entirely justified to extend the description of one article to the boundaries of the entire chapter of the monograph.

The author devoted Chapter III exclusively to O. Nyzhankivsky's musicological journalism. It is known that since 1889 the young composer became an active contributor to the Ukrainian daily newspaper “Dilo”, writing in its columns about various artistic events in Galicia. Thus, he announced and described the “artistic journey” of Lviv students to different cities of the region, often covered the concerts of the youth choir “Dvanadtsiatka” (“Twelve”), (which he headed), reported on the publication of collections of the Ukrainian carols, formation and activity of the choir “Lviv Boyan”, events initiated by Ivan Franko “Committee for the Systematic Collection and Publication of Folk Songs”, etc. A significant part of O. Nyzhankivsky's journalistic publications is devoted to the activities of world-famous Ukrainian singers: Solomiya Krushelnyska, Oleksandr Myshuha, Mykola Levytsky. The contributor, for many years, reported honestly on the production of operas and concerts at the stage of Lviv Theater with the participation of these artists. In 1910, he published an article in the newspaper “Dilo” about the Ukrainian National Theater in Berezhany under the direction of Yosyp Stadnyk, a well-known theater director.

Analyzing some of these publications, U. Molchko resorted to internal criticism of sources (the publications of O. Nyzhankivsky), in particular, she tried to find out the motives of the author, to outline his character traits. Thus, speaking of a short journalistic article by O. Nyzhankivsky “Invitation” (1892), in which the composer invited Galician vocalists to take part in the concert on the occasion of the planned visit to Lviv of the Emperor of Austria-Hungary Franz Joseph I, the author of the monograph wrote the following: “The elevated tone of the publicist in addressing the singers highlights the traits of his character, which are a keen sense of civic and professional duty. He treats each member of the choir with respect, that is why, he publishes a detailed list of priests and students of the seminary, which includes 57 people, and encourages them to take part in the dress rehearsal...” (Molchko, 2021, p. 46). We believe that O. Nyzhankivsky's presentation of the entire list of the choir could have had other motives, not only “respect for each member of the choir”. However, in this case, any statement will be hypothetical.

In Chapter IV – “Musical Life of Lviv at the End of the XIXth – the Beginning of the XXth Centuries in the Reviews of Fr. Ostap Nyzhankivsky” – U. Molchko gives the most accentuated reviews of the composer. Thus, O. Nyzhankivsky published a number of reviews

of concerts of the Polish choir “Liutnia” and the Ukrainian choir “Stryisky Boyan”, for opera performances in Lviv in 1895 (“Manon Lescaut” by Giacomo Puccini and “La Traviata” by Giuseppe Verdi), to the choral oratorio of Mechyslav Soltys “The Oath of Jan-Kazim”, to the concert in Kyiv on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of Mykola Lysenko’s creative activity (1903), to the concert of sacred music in Lviv (1904) and other artistic events. Many of O. Nyzhankivsky’s works are dedicated to concerts and celebrations on the anniversaries of Taras Shevchenko and Markiyan Shashkevych, in which the composer analyzed the performance of each singer or choir and the performance of a particular song. At the same time, U. Molchko gives a description and some analysis of O. Nyzhankivsky’s review of the collection of the Ukrainian songs “Nasha Duma”, which was collected and published by Filaret Kolessa (Molchko, 2021, pp. 63–65). In general, in this chapter the author makes many quotations from the extensive reviews of O. Nyzhankivsky, often giving musicological characteristics to the composer’s critical remarks.

Chapter V of the monograph deals with public, cultural and educational journalism of O. Nyzhankivsky. The author of the monograph mostly names and characterizes the articles of O. Nyzhankivsky, which deal with the establishment of the dairy unions in Stryi region, the formation of the “Regional Economic and Dairy Union”, the “People’s Meetings” in Stryi. U. Molchko focused considerable attention on the article of a public figure about the founding of the Ukrainian gymnasium in Stryi, calling this publication “a reflection of the struggle of the Galician intelligentsia (obviously, the Ukrainian intelligentsia in Galicia. – Auth.) for the establishment of the Ukrainian language of instruction in educational institutions, including gymnasiums” (Molchko, 2021, p. 113). The article contains a petition of the Ukrainian public of Stryi region to the Regional Skin Council in Lviv, in which, appealing to the Ukrainian population of the county, O. Nyzhankivsky asked for the opening of parallel Ukrainian classes in Stryi State gymnasium. The author notes rightly that similar petitions were sent to the Regional School Council by representatives of the Ukrainian community in other counties, including Drohobych, although without any success. Unfortunately, U. Molchko does not explain the reasons for the “failure” of the Ukrainians’ demands for the establishment of public schools with Ukrainian as the language of instruction.

No less widely, with long quotations, U. Molchko presents another article by O. Nyzhankivsky – “Feast of the Presentation of the Sich Banner” (1912). In the report there is written about the solemn meeting of the youth sports organizations “Sich” and “Falcon”, which took place on July 28, 1912. The author emphasizes again that such articles reflected the worldview of O. Nyzhankivsky, a composer, a teacher and a public figure (Molchko, 2021, pp. 116–118).

In general, we can fully agree with the researcher that the journalism of O. Nyzhankivsky is an important and valuable source for the history of the Ukrainian social and cultural and artistic life of Galicia at the end of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth centuries. In the second part of the monograph U. Molchko published 42 newspaper articles by O. Nyzhankivsky, classifying them according to a chronological order. In addition, she compiled a bibliographic index of the priest’s publications, which contains 44 items.

Along with the positive assessment of the work of V. Molchko, we note some shortcomings. The structuring of the monograph does not seem to be thought out well. In Chapter II on “the origins of the newspaper activity” of O. Nyzhankivsky it would be appropriate to describe not only the article about D. Leontovych, but also other articles written by the young artist during his studies at Lviv Theological Seminary. We believe that the third and fourth chapters should be combined, as both deal with musical life in Lviv at the end of the XIXth – the

beginning of the XXth centuries. The author should have used Natalia Kolb's monograph on the Greek Catholic parish clergy in Galicia in the 90s of the XIXth century (Kolb, 2015).

U. Molchko collected and edited O. Nyzhankivsky's articles published in the periodicals "Zoria", "Dilo" (Lviv), "Pidhirska Rada", "Hospodar i Promyslovets" (Stryi), but she did not indicate that the bibliography of the press publications of the historical figure is complete. We assume that O. Nyzhankivsky was published in the magazine "Stryi Visnyk" – the body of the county commissariat of Stryi region in 1918 – 1919. It is known that on November 15, 1918 the priest, as a representative of Stryi County Council, made a report on the situation in the region at the meeting of Parliament of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic – the Ukrainian National Council in Lviv (Velykochyi, 2003, pp. 184, 187). It is possible that some aspects of this report were published in the magazine.

Thus, the monograph by U. Molchko deserves attention of researchers of the views and activities of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, cultural, educational and socio-political life of Galicia at the end of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth centuries. For the first time, in the monograph there are collected rare works of the artist, the teacher and a public figure, which reflect the panorama of cultural and social development of Galicia at the turn of two centuries.

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**BIOGRAPHY OF ANTON OLIYNYK THROUGH THE PRISM
OF DOCUMENTS OF THE SOVIET SPECIAL SERVICES**

(Review of the monograph: Zhyviuk Andriy. Anton Oliynyk: Unconquered Dream. Scientific and Documentary Edition. Rivne: Diatlyk M., 2019. 312 p.

**ЖИТТЄПИС АНТОНА ОЛІЙНИКА
ЧЕРЕЗ ПРИЗМУ ДОКУМЕНТІВ РАДЯНСЬКИХ СПЕЦСЛУЖБ**

**Рецензія на: Жив'юк А. Антон Олійник: Нескорена мрія.
Науково-документальне видання. Рівне: Дятлик М., 2019. 312 с.**

The changes associated with the fall of the communist regime influenced methodological approaches to the study of the historical past. The civilizational approach, which focuses on the personification in general, and personification of the historical process, acquired a new

understanding and development. At the same time, it remains topical to involve new sources into the scientific circulation, which would clarify the course of the national liberation struggle of the Ukrainians by the return of forgotten figures. In this context, it is important for modern Ukrainian historiography publishing a scientific and documentary monograph authored by Andriy Zhyviuk “Anton Oliynyk: An Unconquered Dream”.

In the book there is depicted the life story of the Ukrainian insurgent Anton Oliynyk, a native of the hamlet of Berezyn, which belonged to the village of Drukhiv, Liudwypil gmina, Kostopil povit (*powiat* in Polish), Volyn voivodeship. The formation of the worldview of a little Anton, who worked on the soil from an early age, was decisively influenced by the “Prosvita” society literature, which was distributed in Western Ukraine, although he was educated under the Polish, the Soviet and the Nazi rule. In fact, the policy of these regimes, aimed at levelling the Ukrainian national identity, gave impact to him to join the ranks of the Ukrainian resistance in 1943. As the head of the district leadership of the youth network, he received the pseudonym “Dream”. After completing the OUN’s propaganda “training”, he headed the youth regional leadership under the pseudonym “Hindu”.

Referring to a wide source base, the author of the book traces the struggle of A. Oliynyk in the ranks of the UPA, the first arrest in 1947, and the sentence – 25 years in prison camps and 5 years of deprivation of political rights, without confiscation of property because of the absence of such. Since then, his “prison history” began, which lasted for almost 20 years. He was imprisoned in Volgograd, Minlag, Dubravlag, two prisons (in Kirov, Vladimir), changed a large number of replacements and penalty isolators. The imprisonment did not break Anton Oliynyk’s spirit, but on the contrary, he intensified his thirst for struggle and strengthened his desire to oppose totalitarianism.

The reconstruction of the insurgent’s struggle against the Stalinist system is based on the 15-volume archival criminal case (ACC) of Anton Oliynyk taken from the Sectoral State Archives of the Security Service of Ukraine, for the first time introduced into scientific circulation. In addition, the author added to the monograph and critically analyzed the scientific and memoir literature, periodicals. During the Soviet period of time, tens of thousands of the ACCs were kept top secret and stored in the KGB archives. In the 1990s, the ACCs were partially transferred to the state archives in accordance with the Decree of the Presidium of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of September 9, 1991. “On the Transfer of Archival Documents of the State Security Committee of Ukraine to the State Archives of the Republic”. More than 1.5 million cases were transferred to implement this decision, of which about 169 000 are the ACCs for rehabilitated persons.

Analysis of the ACCs of the so-called “Basic” Fund for persons who were not rehabilitated, became possible only after the adoption of the Law of Ukraine of April 9, 2015 “On Access to the Archives of the Repressive Bodies of the Communist Totalitarian Regime of 1917 – 1991”, therefore, the return of the true story of many people will continue.

The ACCs documents are a specific historical source that requires obligatory verification with other materials, a careful examination, comparison, a detailed analysis, consideration through the prism of the historical circumstances in which the ACCs documents were made. The author coped with it quite well, after all he managed to compare A. Oliynyk’s records, investigative, judicial documentation, operative materials of the KGB and look at the events of that time through the eyes of their participants. Extensive author’s comments, notes with thorough explanations, detailed information about the people whose names are mentioned in the monograph, illustrate an extremely meticulous, careful reading of all documents found in the archives.

The materials of the criminal case against the insurgent Anton Oliynyk prove that the KGB made every effort to present him to the public, first of all to his compatriots, as a “bandit and villain”, a “bloody murderer”. For this purpose, publications of various levels were used, including the central ones (Moscow), which published incriminating articles; dozens of meetings and rallies were organized; reburials of the remains of people who allegedly became victims of A. Oliynyk were arranged. At the same time, from the pages of the book we see that there was alternative information, published by the Ukrainian diaspora about the trial of A. Oliynyk, but for ordinary Soviet people they were unknown and inaccessible.

The issues – a man against the system; a person against totalitarianism – more than one year are actively discussed in historical science. Andriy Zhyviuk managed to see how under the conditions of strict regulation and subordination to totalitarian structures not only of a human behavior, but also of his inner world, an individual could resist the state machine. On the pages of the book we see an example of a rebel who could not be broken by the system, a man who sought freedom and even in prison he was seriously engaged in self-education. Having deprived him of his physical freedom, the system could not make him renounce his own national and state convictions, as evidenced by numerous cases of a camp life. It seems no coincidence that Anton Oliynyk had the pseudonym “Dream”, the dream of being a free man in a free state. But this dream was given to our people at a too high price.

The book consists of an introductory article by the author, archival materials containing 73 documents, photo appendices, nominal and geographical indexes, as well as lists of abbreviations and acronyms. The analytical introductory article “And Who Is a Fighter, Gets the World” is divided into separate thematic blocks: *Family and School; Underground; The First Arrest and Sentence; Man and the Totalitarian System; The First Escape; The Second Escape; Change of Strategy and Tactics; Reading and Ideas; Grimaces of “Camp Democracy”; The Third Escape; Secret and National Historical Routes; Detention; the KGB Know-how: Investigation of “Scientific Patterns”; “Universal Witnesses”; Textbook on Methodology and Awards; Demonization; Echoes*. A unique addition to the documentary block of the monograph is the unique photographs collected by the author, which describe the story of Anton Oliynyk.

Thus, the opportunity to “see a person” against the background of socio-political phenomena of Ukraine’s postwar development is, first of all, an opportunity to look differently at the difficult, dramatic period of the national liberation struggle of the Ukrainians. We believe that Andriy Zhyviuk’s scientific and documentary monograph “Anton Oliynyk: An Unconquered Dream” will be useful for researchers of the Ukrainian national liberation movement, local historians, teachers, students, and anyone interested in history.

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NOTES

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