

МІНІСТЕРСТВО ОСВІТИ І НАУКИ УКРАЇНИ
ДРОГОБИЦЬКИЙ ДЕРЖАВНИЙ ПЕДАГОГІЧНИЙ УНІВЕРСИТЕТ
ІМЕНІ ІВАНА ФРАНКА
MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE OF UKRAINE
DROHOBYCH IVAN FRANKO STATE PEDAGOGICAL UNIVERSITY

ISSN 2519-058X (Print)
ISSN 2664-2735 (Online)

СХІДНОЄВРОПЕЙСЬКИЙ ІСТОРИЧНИЙ ВІСНИК

EAST EUROPEAN HISTORICAL BULLETIN

ВИПУСК 22
ISSUE 22

Дрогобич, 2022
Drohobych, 2022

*Рекомендовано до друку Вченою радою
Дрогобицького державного педагогічного університету імені Івана Франка
(протокол від 24 лютого 2022 року № 3)*

Наказом Міністерства освіти і науки України збірник включено до КАТЕГОРІЇ «А»
Переліку наукових фахових видань України, в яких можуть публікуватися результати
дисертаційних робіт на здобуття наукових ступенів доктора і
кандидата наук у галузі «ІСТОРИЧНІ НАУКИ»
(Наказ МОН України № 358 від 15.03.2019 р., додаток 9).

Східноєвропейський історичний вісник / [головний редактор В. Ільницький]. – Дрогобич:
Видавничий дім «Гельветика», 2022. – Випуск 22. – 266 с.

Збірник розрахований на науковців, викладачів історії, аспірантів, докторантів, студентів
й усіх, хто цікавиться історичним минулим.

Редакційна колегія не обов'язково поділяє позицію, висловлену авторами у статтях,
та не несе відповідальності за достовірність наведених даних і посилань.

Головний редактор: Ільницький В. І. – д.іст.н., проф.

Відповідальний редактор: Галів М. Д. – д.пед.н., проф.

Редакційна колегія:

Манвідас Віткунас – д.і.н., доц. (Литва); **Вацлав Вєжбєнец** – д.габ. з історії (Болгарія); **Дюра Гарді** – д.філос. з історії, професор (Сербія); **Дарко Даровец** – д. філос. з історії, проф. (Італія); **Дегтярьов С. І.** – д.і.н., проф. (Україна); **Пол Джозефсон** – д. філос. з історії, проф. (США); **Сергій Єсельчик** – д. філос. з історії, доц. (Канада); **Сергій Жук** – д.і.н., проф. (США); **Саня Златановіч** – д.філос. з етнології та антропології, ст. наук. спів. (Сербія); **Мехмед Інбаши** – д.і.н., проф. (Туреччина); **Корсак Р. В.** – д.і.н., проф. (Україна); **Андрій Кравчук** – д.філос., проф. (Канада); **Олександр Кухіанідзе** – д.філос., проф. (Грузія); **Литвин М. Р.** – д.і.н., проф. (Україна); **Юрай Марусяк** – д. філос. з історії (Словацька Республіка); **Морозов А. Г.** – д.і.н., проф. (Україна); **Роман Новацький** – д.габ. з історії, проф. (Польща); **Падалка С. С.** – д.і.н., проф. (Україна); **Патриляк І.К.** – д.і.н., проф. (Україна); **Петречко О. М.** – д.і.н., проф. (Україна); **Потехіна І. Д.** – к.і.н., доц. (Україна); **Рассамакін Ю. Я.** – к.і.н., ст. наук. спів. (Україна); **Священко З. В.** – д.і.н., проф. (Україна); **Сергійчук В. І.** – д.і.н., проф. (Україна); **Ситник О. М.** – д.і.н., проф. (Україна); **Стародубець Г. М.** – д.і.н., проф. (Україна); **Анджей Стемпнік** – д.габ. з іст., проф. (Польща); **Степанчук В. М.** – д.і.н., ст. наук. спів. (Україна); **Тельвак В. В.** – д.і.н., проф. (Україна); **Данієла Ля Фореста** – проф. (Італія); **Футала В. П.** – д.і.н., проф. (Україна); **Сильвестер Чопек** – д.габ. з історії, проф. (Польща); **Чучко М. К.** – д.і.н., проф. (Україна); **Шаравара Т. О.** – д.і.н., проф. (Україна); **Міхал Шмігель** – д.і.н., доц. (Словацька Республіка).

Збірник індексується в міжнародних базах даних:

**Web of Science (Emerging Sources Citation Index), “Index Copernicus”
(ICV 2016-50.70; 2017-71.75; 2018-86.66; 2019-88.82; 2020-100); DOI 10.24919/2664-2735.22**

Статті збірника прирівнюються до публікацій у виданнях України, які включені до міжнародних науково-метричних баз відповідно до вимог наказу МОН України від 17 жовтня 2012 р. № 1112 (зі змінами, внесеними наказом МОН України від 03.12.2012 р. № 1380).

*Свідцтво про державну реєстрацію друкованого засобу масової інформації
«Східноєвропейський історичний вісник» Серія КВ № 22449-12349P від 28.12.2016 р.*

Усі електронні версії статей збірника оприлюднюються на офіційній сторінці видання
<http://eehb.dspu.edu.ua>

Засновник і видавець – Дрогобицький державний педагогічний університет імені Івана Франка.

Адреса редакції: Дрогобицький державний педагогічний університет
імені Івана Франка, вул. Івана Франка, 24, м. Дрогобич, обл. Львівська, 82100.
тел.: (0324) 41-04-74, факс: (03244) 3-38-77, e-mail: halivm@yahoo.com

© Дрогобицький державний педагогічний
університет імені Івана Франка, 2022
© Автори статей, 2022

Recommended for publication
by Drohobych Ivan Franko State Pedagogical University Academic Council
(protocol dd. 24.02.2022 № 3)

Under the Order of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine, the collection is included in CATEGORY "A" of the List of electronic professional publications of Ukraine authorized to publish theses of applicants for the degree of doctor and candidate of sciences in the field "HISTORICAL SCIENCES" (Order of the MES of Ukraine № 358 on 15.03.2019, Appendix 9)

East European Historical Bulletin / [chief editor Vasyl Ilnytskyi]. – Drohobych: Publishing House "Helvetica", 2022. – Issue 22. – 266 p.

This collection is meant for scholars, history lecturers, postgraduates, doctorants, students and all the readership interested in historical past.

Editorial board do not necessarily reflect the position expressed by the authors of articles, and are not responsible for the accuracy of the data and references.

Chief editor: Vasyl Ilnytskyi – PhD hab. (History), Professor

Executive editor: Mykola Haliv – PhD hab. (Education), Professor

Editorial Board:

Mykhailo Chuchko – PhD hab. (History), Professor (Ukraine); **Sylwester Czopek** – PhD hab. (History), Professor (Poland); **Darko Darovec** – PhD (History), Professor (Italy); **Paul Josephson** – PhD (History), Professor (USA); **Serhii Degtyarev** – PhD hab. (History), Professor (Ukraine); **Daniela La Foresta** – Professor (Italy); **Vasyl Futala** – PhD hab. (History), Professor (Ukraine); **Dura Hardi** – PhD (History), Professor (Serbia); **Mehmet İnbashi** – PhD hab. (History), Professor (Turkey); **Roman Korsak** – PhD hab. (History), Professor (Ukraine); **Andrii Krawchuk** – PhD (History), Professor (Canada); **Alexandre Kukhianidze** – PhD (Philosophy), Professor (Georgia); **Mykola Lytvyn** – PhD hab. (History), Professor (Ukraine); **Juraj Marušiak** – Mgr., PhD (History), (Slovak Republic); **Anatoliy Morozov** – PhD hab. (History), Professor (Ukraine); **Roman Nowacki** – PhD hab. (History), Professor (Poland); **Serhiy Padalka** – PhD hab. (History), Professor (Ukraine); **Ivan Patryliak** – PhD hab. (History), Professor (Ukraine); **Oleh Petrechko** – PhD hab. (History), Professor (Ukraine); **Inna Potekhina** – PhD (History), Associate Professor (Ukraine); **Yuriy Rassamakin** – PhD (History), Senior Research Fellow (Ukraine); **Volodymyr Serhiychuk** – PhD hab. (History), Professor (Ukraine); **Tamara Sharavara** – PhD hab. (History), Professor (Ukraine); **Michal Smigel** – PhD hab. (History), Associate Professor (Slovak Republic); **Galyna Starodubets** – PhD hab. (History), Professor (Ukraine); **Andrzej Stępnik** – PhD hab. (History), Professor (Poland); **Vadim Stepanchuk** – PhD hab. (History), Senior Research Fellow (Ukraine); **Olexander Sytnyk** – PhD hab. (History), Professor (Ukraine); **Vitaliy Tel'vak** – PhD hab. (History), Professor (Ukraine); **Manvydas Vitkūnas** – PhD hab. (History), Associate Professor (Lithuania); **Zinaida Svyaschenko** – PhD hab. (History), Professor (Ukraine); **Dochka Vladimirova-Aladzhova** – PhD (History) (Bulgaria); **Wacław Wierzbieniec** – PhD hab. (History), Professor (Poland); **Serhy Yekelchuk** – PhD (History), Associate Professor (Canada); **Sergei Zhuk** – PhD hab. (History), Professor (USA); **Sanja Zlatanović** – PhD (Ethnology and Anthropology), Senior Researcher Associate (Serbia).

The collection is indexed in the international databases:

Web of Science (Emerging Sources Citation Index), "Index Copernicus"
(ICV 2016-50.70; 2017-71.75; 2018-86.66; 2019-88.82; 2020-100); DOI 10.24919/2664-2735.22

The articles are equaled to publications in Ukrainian journals entered in international scientometric databases in accordance with the MES of Ukraine order dd. 17 november 2012 p. No. 1112 (amended by the MES of Ukraine order dd. 03.12.2012 No. 1380).

Print media registration certificate «East European Historical Bulletin» series KV No. 22449-12349P dd. 28.12.2016

All electronic versions of articles in the collection are available on the official website edition
<http://eehb.dspu.edu.ua>

Founder and Publisher: Drohobych Ivan Franko State Pedagogical University.
Office address: Drohobych Ivan Franko State Pedagogical University, Ivan Franko Str., 24, Drohobych, Lviv Region, 82100. tel.: (0324) 41-04-74, fax: (03244) 3-38-77, e-mail: halivm@yahoo.com

© Drohobych Ivan Franko State Pedagogical University, 2022
© Copyright by the contributors, 2022

ЗМІСТ

Святослав ТЕРСЬКИЙ, Ірина ЗІНКІВ. АРХЕОЛОГІЧНІ МУЗИЧНІ ІНСТРУМЕНТИ З ТЕРИТОРІЇ ГАЛИЦЬКО-ВОЛИНСЬКОЇ ДЕРЖАВИ В КОНТЕКСТІ СЛОВ'ЯНСЬКОГО ІНСТРУМЕНТАРІЮ X – XIV ст.....	8
Андрій ЦЕБЕНКО. ПРАВОСЛАВНА ЦЕРКВА В КОНТЕКСТІ ДЕРЖАВНО-ЦЕРКОВНИХ ПРОЦЕСІВ У ВЕЛИКОМУ КНЯЗІВСТВІ ЛИТОВСЬКОМУ, РУСЬКОМУ, ЖЕМАЙТІЙСЬКОМУ ТА КОРОЛІВСТВІ ПОЛЬСЬКОМУ (1458 – 1509).....	24
Віталій ЩЕРБАК. ТРАНСФОРМАЦІЯ СТАНОВИЩА УКРАЇНСЬКОГО СЕЛЯНСТВА НАПРИКІНЦІ XVI – У ПЕРШІЙ ПОЛОВИНІ XVII ст.: НА ПРИКЛАДІ КИЇВСЬКОГО ВОСВОДСТВА.....	33
Микола КУГУТЯК, Андрій КОРОЛЬКО. ПІТРИЦЬКА ОБИТЕЛЬ: ВИЗНАЧНА ДУХОВНА ПАМ'ЯТКА ГАЛИЧИНИ.....	42
Вікторія ВОЛОШЕНКО. “ПУБЛІЧНІ ОБРАЗИ ВІДЧУВАННЯ” ДЛЯ СЕЛЯН: ОБРАЗОТВОРЧІ ЛУБКИ У КОНТЕКСТІ УКРАЇНСЬКОГО КУЛЬТУРНОГО ДОСВІДУ.....	54
Руслан КУЦИК. ПАТРІОТИ І КРИТИКИ: ІСТОРІЯ ПРО ТЕ, ЯК ЗМІНЮВАЛОСЯ СУСПІЛЬНЕ СПРИЙНЯТТЯ ПОДІЙ ПЕРШОЇ СВІТОВОЇ ВІЙНИ В РОСІЙСЬКІЙ ІМПЕРІЇ.....	64
Зінаїда СВЯЩЕНКО, Ірина ТЕРПАН. ХАРЧУВАННЯ У ВИТРАТНІЙ ЧАСТИНІ БЮДЖЕТІВ СЕЛЯНСЬКИХ ГОСПОДАРСТВ УКРАЇНИ В ДОБУ НЕПУ (1921 – 1929).....	82
Олександр КРАВЧУК, Наталія КУЗЬМІНЕЦЬ. ПРЕЗИДЕНТ ЧЕХОСЛОВАЧЧИНИ ТОМАШ ГАРРІГ МАСАРИК І УТВОРЕННЯ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ГОСПОДАРСЬКОЇ АКАДЕМІЇ.....	91
Тетяна БОРТНІК, Юлія АРТИМИШИН. “З СОЙМУ ТА СЕНАТУ”: ПАРЛАМЕНТСЬКА ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ “СЕЛЯНСЬКОГО СОЮЗУ” 1924 – 1925 рр. НА СТОРІНКАХ ГАЗЕТИ “НАШЕ ЖИТТЯ”.....	103
Сергій АДАМОВИЧ. ІНФОРМАЦІЇ ТА КРИМІНАЛЬНІ СПРАВИ ПОЛЬСЬКИХ ПРАВООХОРОННИХ ОРГАНІВ НА УКРАЇНЦІВ У ПЕРІОД ІСНУВАННЯ КАРПАТСЬКОЇ УКРАЇНИ ЯК СТАТИСТИЧНЕ ДЖЕРЕЛО.....	115
Іван ПАТРИЛЯК, В'ячеслав ШАМРАЙ. “ВИЗВОЛИТЕЛІ”. ОБРАЗ БІЙЦІВ ЧЕРВОНОЇ АРМІЇ ТА СЛУЖБОВЦІВ РАДЯНСЬКОЇ АДМІНІСТРАЦІЇ КРІЗЬ ПРИЗМУ ЗВІТНИХ ДОКУМЕНТІВ ПІДПІЛЛЯ ОУН (1944 – 1945).....	127
Галина ГОРДІЄНКО, В'ячеслав ГОРДІЄНКО. ДЕРЖАВНА ПОЛІТИКА СОЦІАЛЬНОГО ЗАХИСТУ ІНВАЛІДІВ ВІТЧИЗНЯНОЇ ВІЙНИ В ПІСЛЯВОЄННІЙ УКРАЇНІ 1945 – 1950 рр.....	141
Ярослав СІРНИК. УКРАЇНСЬКЕ ПИТАННЯ У ПІСЛЯВОЄННІЙ ПОЛЬЩІ ЯК ОСОБЛИВИЙ ІНДИКАТОР РОЗУМІННЯ СКЛАДНИХ СУСПІЛЬНО-ПОЛІТИЧНИХ ВИКЛИКІВ СУЧАСНОСТІ.....	153

Віктор ДОКАШЕНКО, Вікторія КОНЦУР. РАДЯНСЬКІ ПРОФСПІЛКИ ТА ВІДНОВЛЕННЯ ІНСТИТУТУ ТРУДОВИХ СПОРІВ (1953 – 1964)	164
Павло ГАЙ-НИЖНИК. ОУН(Р-Б) У 1970 – 1980-ті рр.: БАЧЕННЯ СУСПІЛЬНО-ПОЛІТИЧНОГО УСТРОЮ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ДЕРЖАВИ	178
Вадим МАШТАЛП, Василь ШЕВЧУК. ПЕРЕМІЩЕННЯ ВІЙСЬКОВОСЛУЖБОВЦІВ У МЕЖАХ СПІВДРУЖНОСТІ НЕЗАЛЕЖНИХ ДЕРЖАВ (1991 – 1994).....	194
Ігор БЕГЕЙ, Юлія ЛІВІНСЬКА. ПРИЧИНИ ВИНИКНЕННЯ РОСІЙСЬКО-МОЛДОВСЬКОГО КОНФЛІКТУ 1992 р. В УКРАЇНСЬКОМУ ТА РОСІЙСЬКОМУ ІСТОРІОГРАФІЧНИХ ДИСКУРСАХ.....	206
Аріяна СОРОКІВСЬКА-ОБІХОД, Іванна ЧОБІТ. ЗАСТОСУВАННЯ ІНФОРМАЦІЙНОГО ВПЛИВУ НА ЦИВІЛЬНЕ НАСЕЛЕННЯ РОСІЙСЬКОЮ СТОРОНОЮ У РОСІЙСЬКО-ГРУЗИНСЬКІЙ ВІЙНІ В СЕРПНІ 2008 р.	216
Надія ЛЕВИЦЬКА, Людмила ЛУЦЬ, Богдан ЯКИМОВИЧ. СУЧАСНІ НАУКОВІ ПІДХОДИ ДО ІСТОРИЧНОЇ ТА ІСТОРИКО-ПРАВОВОЇ МЕТОДОЛОГІЇ: ЗБІГИ І ПАРАЛЕЛІ	226
Анатолій МОРОЗОВ, Вікторія ГРОН. БАЧЕННЯ СУТНОСТІ ТРАНСФОРМАЦІЇ ТОТАЛІТАРИЗМУ НА СТАДІЇ ГЛОБАЛІЗАЦІЇ В СУЧАСНІЙ АНГЛОМОВНІЙ ІСТОРІОГРАФІЇ.....	240

РЕЦЕНЗІЇ / REVIEWS

Галина ПРИСТАЙ. ПОТРЕБА ДУХОВНОГО ЛІДЕРА. Рецензія на монографію: Віднянський С. В., Вегеш М. М. Августин Волошин і Карпатська Україна в історії українського державотворення. Київ: НАН України, Інститут історії України, 2021. 372 с.....	251
Світлана БІЛА, Мирослава ЗИМОМРЯ. НОВЕ ВИДАННЯ ДО ІСТОРІЇ КАРПАТСЬКОЇ УКРАЇНИ (1938 – 1939). Рецензія на монографію: Ярнецькі Міхал, Колаковські Пьотр. “Український П’ємонт” на політичній шахівниці. Закарпаття в період автономії 1938 – 1939 / Переклад із польської Івана Зимомрі. Ужгород: Поліграфцентр “Ліра”, 2022. 384 с.	257
Оксана ФРАЙТ, Наталія СИНКЕВИЧ. ЕТАПИ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ІСТОРІОГРАФІЇ У КУЛЬТУРНОМУ ТА СУСПІЛЬНО-ПОЛІТИЧНОМУ КОНТЕКСТАХ XX – ПОЧАТКУ XXI ст. (рецензія на монографію “Культурний простір української історіографії у світлі радянзації та соціокультурних трансформацій XX – початку XXI ст.” О. Удода та О. Яся)	261

CONTENTS

Sviatoslav TERSKYI, Iryna ZINKIV. ARCHEOLOGICAL MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS FROM THE TERRITORY OF GALICIA-VOLHYNIA STATE AS PART OF SLAVIC INSTRUMENTS OF THE Xth – the XIVth CENTURIES	8
Andrii TSEBENKO. THE ORTHODOX CHURCH IN THE CONTEXT OF STATE AND CHURCH DEVELOPMENT IN THE GRAND DUCHY OF LITHUANIA, RUTHENIA, SAMOGITIA AND THE KINGDOM OF POLAND (1458 – 1509).....	24
Vitalii SHCHERBAK TRANSFORMATION OF THE SITUATION OF THE UKRAINIAN PEASANTRY AT THE END OF THE 16TH – THE FIRST HALF OF THE 17TH CENTURY: ON THE EXAMPLE OF KYIV VOIVODESHIP	33
Mykola KUHUTIAK, Andrii KOROLKO. PITRYTSKY MONASTERY: AN OUTSTANDING SPIRITUAL MONUMENT OF GALICIA.....	42
Viktoriia VOLOSHENKO. “PUBLIC IMAGES OF SENTIMENT” FOR PEASANTS: LUBOK PICTURES IN THE CONTEXT OF UKRAINIAN CULTURAL EXPERIENCE.....	54
Ruslan KUTSYK. PATRIOTS & CRITICS: THE STORY OF HOW PUBLIC RECEPTIONS OF WORLD WAR I IN THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE CHANGED.....	64
Zinaida SVYASCHENKO, Iryna TERPAN. NUTRITION IN THE EXPENDITURE PART OF THE BUDGETS OF THE PEASANT FARMS OF UKRAINE DURING THE NEP PERIOD (1921 – 1929).....	82
Oleksandr KRAVCHUK, Natalia KUZMINETS. THE PRESIDENT OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA TOMAŠ GARRIGUE MASARYK AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE UKRAINIAN ACADEMY OF ECONOMICS	91
Tetiana BORTNIK, Yuliia ARTYMYSHYN. “FROM THE SEJM AND THE SENATE”: PARLIAMENTARY ACTIVITIES OF THE “SELIANSKYI SOYUZ” (“THE PEASANTS’ UNION”) OF 1924 – 1925 ON THE PAGES OF THE NEWSPAPER “NASHE ZHYTTIA” (“OUR LIFE”).....	103
Sergii ADAMOWYCH. INFORMATION AND CRIMINAL CASES OF POLISH LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES AGAINST THE UKRAINIANS DURING THE PERIOD OF CARPATHIAN UKRAINE AS A STATISTICAL SOURCE	115
Ivan PATRYLIAK, Viacheslav SHAMRAI. “THE LIBERATORS”. THE RED ARMY SOLDIERS’ AND THE SOVIET ADMINISTRATION EMPLOYEES’ IMAGE THROUGH THE PRISM OF REPORTING DOCUMENTS OF THE OUN UNDERGROUND (1944 – 1945).....	127
Halyna HORDIYENKO, Vyacheslav HORDIYENKO. STATE POLICY ON SOCIAL PROTECTION FOR THE PATRIOTIC WAR INVALIDS IN POST-WAR UKRAINE IN 1945 – 1950.....	141
Yaroslav SYRNYK. THE UKRAINIAN ISSUE IN POST-WAR POLAND AS A SPECIAL INDICATOR OF UNDERSTANDING THE COMPLEX SOCIO-POLITICAL CHALLENGES OF TODAY	153

Viktor DOKASHENKO, Viktoria KONTSUR. THE SOVIET TRADE UNIONS AND RESUMPTION OF THE LABOR DISPUTES INSTITUTION (1953 – 1964).....	164
Pavlo HAI-NYZHNYK. THE OUN(R-B) IN THE 1970s AND 1980s: A VISION OF THE SOCIO-POLITICAL SYSTEM OF THE UKRAINIAN STATE.....	178
Vadym MASHTALIR, Vasyl SHEVCHUK. RELOCATION OF SERVICEMEN WITHIN THE COMMONWEALTH OF INDEPENDENT STATES (1991 – 1994).....	194
Ihor BEHEI, Yulia LIVINSKA. CAUSES OF THE RUSSIAN-MOLDOVAN CONFLICT OF 1992 IN UKRAINIAN AND RUSSIAN HISTORIOGRAPHICAL DISCOURSES.....	206
Ariadna SOROKIVSKA-OBIKHOD, Ivanna CHOBIT. INFORMATIONAL INFLUENCE APPLICATION ON THE CIVILIAN POPULATION BY THE RUSSIAN SIDE DURING THE RUSSO-GEORGIAN WAR IN AUGUST OF 2008.....	216
Nadiya LEVYTSKA, Lyudmyla LUTS, Bohdan YAKYMOVYCH. MODERN SCIENTIFIC APPROACHES TO HISTORICAL, HISTORICAL AND LEGAL METHODOLOGY: COINCIDENCES AND PARALLELS.....	226
Anatoliy MOROZOV, Victoria HRON. A VISION OF THE ESSENCE OF THE TOTALITARIANISM TRANSFORMATION AT THE STAGE OF GLOBALIZATION IN MODERN ENGLISH HISTORIOGRAPHY.....	240

РЕЦЕНЗІЇ / REVIEWS

Halyna PRYSTAI. THE NEED FOR A SPIRITUAL LEADER. (Review of the monograph: Stepan Vidnianskyi, Mykola Vehesh: Avgustyn Voloshyn and Carpathian Ukraine in the History of the Ukrainian State-Building: Kyiv: National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Institute of History of Ukraine, 2021. 372 p. 251	
Svitlana BILA, Myroslava ZYOMRYA. A NEW EDITION ON THE HISTORY OF CARPATHIAN UKRAINE (1938 – 1939). Review of the monograph: Michał Jarnecki, Piotr Kołakowski. “Ukraiński Piemont” (“Ukrainian Piedmont”) on the Political Arena. Zakarpattia during the Period of Autonomy in 1938 – 1939 / Translated from Polish by Ivan Zymomria. Uzhhorod: Polygraph Center “Lira”, 2022. 384 p... 257	
Oksana FRAIT, Natalia SYNKEVYCH. STAGES OF UKRAINIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY IN CULTURAL AND SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXTS OF THE XXth – THE BEGINNING OF THE XXIst CENTURY. (Review of the monograph “Cultural Space of Ukrainian Historiography in the Light of Sovietization and Socio-Cultural Transformations of the XXth – the Beginning of the XXIst century”. O. Udod and O. Yas).....	261

UDC 902:780.6(477)“09/13”
DOI 10.24919/2519-058X.22.253745

Sviatoslav TERSKYI

PhD hab. (History), Professor of the Academic Department of History, Museum Studies and Cultural Heritage Lviv Polytechnic National University, 12 Bandera Street, Lviv, Ukraine, postal code 79013; researcher at the Lviv Historical Museum (tersky@ukr.net)

ORCID: 0000-0003-0177-8087

Researcher ID: F-8617-2018

Iryna ZINKIV

PhD hab. (Art Criticism), Professor of the Academic Department of Music Theory Lviv National Music Academy named after M. Lysenko, 5 Nyzhankivsky Street, Lviv, Ukraine, postal code 79005 (i.zinkiv@gmail.com)

ORCID: 0000-0002-0406-3370

Researcher ID: AAD-1893-2021

Святослав ТЕРСЬКИЙ

доктор історичних наук, професор кафедри історії, музеєзнавства і культурної спадщини Національного університету “Львівська політехніка”, вул. С. Бандери, 12, м. Львів, Україна, індекс 79013; науковий працівник Львівського історичного музею (tersky@ukr.net)

Ірина ЗІНКІВ

доктор мистецтвознавства, професор кафедри теорії музики Львівської національної музичної академії ім. М. Лисенка, вул. О. Нижанківського, 5, м. Львів, Україна, індекс 79005 (i.zinkiv@gmail.com)

Bibliographic Description of the Article: Terskyi, S. & Zinkiv, I. (2022). Archeological musical instruments from the territory of Galicia-Volhynia state as part of Slavic instruments of the Xth – the XIVth centuries. *Skhidnoieuropeiskyi istorychnyi visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 22, 8–23. doi: 10.24919/2519-058X.22.253745

**ARCHEOLOGICAL MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS FROM THE TERRITORY
OF GALICIA-VOLHYNIA STATE AS PART OF SLAVIC INSTRUMENTS
OF THE Xth – the XIVth CENTURIES**

Abstract. *The discoveries of musical nature occupy a prominent place among the numerous nomenclature of medieval artifacts of the Galicia-Volhynia state period discovered during archeological excavations of its chronicle centers (Halych, Volodymyr, Zvenyhorod, Peresopnytsia, Dorohobuzh, etc.). The study purpose – to study archeological artifacts found in the historical lands of the Galicia-Volhynia state, identified by archeologists and instrumentalists as musical instruments, as well as to introduce into scientific circulation those artifacts that received incorrect nominations in archeological works or appear in archeological publications as items of “unspecified origin”. The methodology is the first ever attempt to combine archeological and musicological, in particular organological*

methods of the medieval musical instruments study (according to the international Hornbostel-Sachs classification). The proposed methodology can be applied to the study of medieval musical instruments of the Slavic world. **The scientific novelty.** The paper initiates a joint archeological and musicological study of medieval musical instruments found in the historical lands of the Galicia-Volhynia state. The considered archeological musical instruments of different types showed their existence in the Galicia-Volhynia state developed in a common stream with the all-Slavic musical and instrumental culture of the European Middle Ages. In the future, the authors plan to work on developing a Catalog of medieval musical instruments of Kievan Rus and Galicia-Volhynia state, which will be equally significant for both archeologists and representatives of historical organology (archeomusicology). **The Conclusions.** Paper research results are of methodological significance and will serve as the basis for correct identification by Ukrainian archeologists of musical artifacts from the musical and instrumental culture of medieval Ukraine.

Key words: musical archeology (archeomusicology), strings, percussion, wind musical instruments, Galicia-Volhynia state, Slavic world of medieval Europe.

АРХЕОЛОГІЧНІ МУЗИЧНІ ІНСТРУМЕНТИ З ТЕРИТОРІЇ ГАЛИЦЬКО-ВОЛИНСЬКОЇ ДЕРЖАВИ В КОНТЕКСТІ СЛОВ'ЯНСЬКОГО ІНСТРУМЕНТАРІЮ X – XIV ст.

Анотація. Серед чисельної номенклатури середньовічних артефактів доби Галицько-Волинської держави, виявлених під час археологічних досліджень її літописних центрів (Галич, Володимир, Звенигород, Пересопниця, Дорогобуж, ін.) помітне місце займають знахідки музичного призначення. **Мета дослідження** – вивчити археологічні артефакти, знайдені на історичних землях Галицько-Волинської держави, що ідентифікуються археологами та інструментознавцями як музичні інструменти, а також ввести до наукового обігу ті артефакти, що отримали в археологічних працях некоректні номінації або ж фігурують у публікаціях археологів як предмети “нез'ясованого призначення”. **Методологія дослідження** полягає у вперше здійсненій спробі поєднати археологічні та музикознавчі, зокрема органологічні методи дослідження середньовічних музичних інструментів (за міжнародною систематикою Горбостеля-Закса). Запропонована методологія може бути застосована до вивчення середньовічного музичного інструментарію слов'янського світу. **Наукова новизна.** Стаття започатковує спільне археологічно-музикознавче дослідження середньовічних музичних інструментів, знайдених на історичних землях Галицько-Волинської держави. Розглянуті археологічні музичні інструменти різних типів показали, що їх побутування в Галицько-Волинській державі розвивалося в спільному річищі із загальнослов'янською музично-інструментальною культурою доби європейського Середньовіччя. У подальшому автори планують працювати над створенням Каталогу середньовічних музичних інструментів Київської Русі та Галицько-Волинської держави, який рівною мірою буде потрібним як археологам, так і представникам історичної органології (археомузикології). **Висновки.** Наукові результати статті мають методологічне значення і стануть підґрунтям для коректної ідентифікації українськими археологами музичних артефактів музично-інструментальної культури середньовічної України.

Ключеві слова: музична археологія (археомузикологія), струнні, ударні, духові музичні інструменти, Галицько-Волинська держава, слов'янський світ середньовічної Європи.

The Problem Statement. The history and art of the Galicia-Volhynia lands have long been the subject of thorough research by archeologists, historians and art critics. Today, the musical instruments of the Galicia-Volhynia state remain an understudied area of the all-Slavic musical and instrumental culture. It is virtually unknown among the instrumentalists dealing with the issues of medieval musical instruments in Europe. So far, there is no separate study devoted to the musical instruments of the Galicia-Volhynia state in its comparison with the synchronous instruments of the Slavic world of medieval Europe. The difficulty of focusing on this problem is, in particular, the lack of contacts and consultations among

Ukrainian archeologists and instrumentalists. The scientists from many countries have long been cooperating in this area of study¹.

The following offers some reasons for this situation:

1). The authors in publications of archeological excavations mention briefly the artifacts with certain features of a musical instrument, presenting these in drawings among the total mass of other artifacts, describing them mainly with the general terms such as a “pipe”, “flute”, “whistle”, “bell”, etc.

2) Many of the artifacts, which may be musical instruments, are scattered in various archeological archives and museum repositories. Even the drawings of artifacts published by archeologists, which, according to the instrumentalists, have all the features of a musical instrument or its individual structural details (mouthpiece, pin, etc.), lack sometimes a detailed textual description.

3). Some artifacts found by archeologists who do not have professional knowledge of instruments and are insufficiently oriented in the specifics of the certain musical instruments structure, do not always receive a correct interpretation and often appear in reports and publications as objects of “indeterminate origin” or “household use” of needle-case type, which are the open flutes, or whistles, interpreted as accessories for twisting threads (“yurok”), etc.

The Analysis of Recent Research and Publications. Today, the most studied by archeologists medieval musical instruments include shaken idiophones in the shape of an egg – “Easter egg”² (V. Hupalo, H. Shovkoplias, D. Kozak) and whirling aerophones – “hurkala”, “brunchaky”, “brunchalky”³ (Hupalo, 2011, pp. 397–411; Povetkin, 1990; Terskyi, 1993; Serheieva, 2012). Exclusively instrumentalists of Central (Staššiková-Štukovská, 1981) and Eastern Europe (Russia, Ukraine) studied the wind instruments of medieval Slavs (Povetkin, 1997; Zinkiv, 2018). The works by I. Zinkiv (Zinkiv, 2013; Zinkiv, 2019) are devoted to medieval stringed instruments; the work by B. Kindratiuk (Kindratiuk, 2012) – to bells; the same author (Kindratiuk, 2001, pp. 105–131) devoted one of his works to a brief review of certain types of musical instruments.

The Purpose of the Article. The authors see the purpose of the paper in studying the archeological artifacts found in the historical lands of the Galicia-Volhynia state, identified by archeologists and instrumentalists as musical instruments, as well as in introducing into scientific circulation those musical and instrumental artifacts that were erroneously nominated in archeological works or publications as items of “unspecified purpose”.

In order to study the medieval musical instruments of Galicia-Volhynia state in the paper there is used the generally accepted in modern instrumentation international musical instruments classification by E. M. Hornbostel – K. Sachs (Hornbostel & Sachs, 1987, pp. 226–261). It is based on two criteria – the sound source (membrane, string, air column, etc.) and the method of its extraction (impact, pinch, friction, etc.). The proposed system divides all musical instruments into four main types, which differ in types of vibrator: 1) idiophones – self-sounding solids, 2) membranophones (membranes that require tension, drums), 3) chordophones (strings), 4) aerophones (winds). Each type has its main numerical nomenclature: 1 – idiophones,

¹ In 1986, the International Study Group on Musical Archeology was established at UNESCO (ISGMA) “The International Study Group on Music Archaeology, ISGMA. In 1990, V. Povetkin created the Novgorod Center of Musical Antiquities, the main activity of which was the study, reconstruction and popularization of ancient Slavic musical instruments.

² In parentheses, the authors present the traditional names of Ukrainian musical instruments.

³ In the archeological literature, this type of aerophones is defined differently: in the Russian terminology, the term “brunchalka” is used, in the Ukrainian sources it corresponds to the names “bruchak”, “brukalo”. The term “gurkalo” is used in the Ukrainian instrument science.

membranophones – 2, chordophones – 3, aerophones – 4, which using additional numbers are differentiated by specific morphological features. The constructive shape of the instrument, as well as the method of excitation of oscillations (sound production) identify the features of each sub-type: impact, pinch, friction (frictional method), and airblow. For example, chordophones are divided into simple (zither subtype) and complex (harps, lyres, lutes). According to the method of sound production, they are divided into plucked and bowed. Each sub-type of chordophones has its own varieties, which can be detailed further.

Aerophones are divided into *free* (index 41), which include *bullroarers* (another name “churyynha”) and Ukrainian “hurkala”, “brunchaky”, as well as the actual *wind* (all kinds of flutes, trumpets, etc.). Wind instruments have numerous types and sub-types, which are differentiated by specific design features and method of sound production, for example cutting the air column (flute), oscillations of the plate (a single or double reed – cane in oboes, clarinets), vibration of the performer’s lips in mouthpiece aerophones (trumpets, horns). Idiophones have numerous types and sub-types. In particular, shakenidiophones include ceramic rattles in the form of an egg (Ukrainian – “pysanka” [Easter egg]) and other forms (Ukrainian – “briazkaltsia”, “kalataltsia”), as well as metal rattles, bells, glockenspiels.

The Main Material Statement. Archeological discovery of a musical instrument always becomes a real scientific sensation, because “fossil” musical instruments (or their remains) belong to those isolated rarities, which can facilitate the reconstruction of significant musical and instrumental culture layers, interpenetration of different musical and ethnic traditions, and sometimes – the migration processes of medieval ethnic groups that have been settling in Europe, transferring to new lands their material and spiritual culture, including musical instruments.

The musical and instrumental culture of Galicia-Volhynia state has been developing along the general processes characteristic of the Slavic world of the Middle Ages. Its musical instruments also reflect the state of development of various musical instruments as part of the European musical and instrumental tradition, which characterized its development in the Xth – the XIVth centuries.

CHORDOPHONES:

lyre-like gusla, or Slavic lyres (321.2 + 314.12)

In 1984, the archeological expedition under the supervision of prof. I. Svieshnikov found a fragment of the upper gusli part during excavations of the annalistic Zvenyhorod suburbs (modern village of Zvenyhorod, Pustomyty district of Lviv region) (Fig. 1 a). Discoveries of string instruments and their fragments are usually a sensational event. They immediately became the subject of research by instrumentalists and music archeologists. However, a unique musical artifact of the Middle Ages, found in Galicia-Volhynia state was unknown to a wide range of specialists for over 40 years. I. Svieshnikov did not publish during his life the details of this discovery and its drawing. He briefly mentioned it in the local lore essay “Zvenyhorod” (Svieshnikov, 1987, p. 18). This unique musical artifact is the first evidence in Ukraine of the lyre-shaped gusla existence in the Middle Ages. Like in Ancient Novgorod, local peat soils have well preserved products of organic matter, which otherwise decompose completely. The method of dendrochronological analysis under the guidance of prof. V. G. Kolishchuk determined the exact date of instrument production – the first third of the XIIth century (Svieshnikov, 1987, p. 18).

The preserved fragment of the instrument upper part and reconstruction (based on analogues) of the lost body allowed identifying the type which belongs to the medieval lyre-like chordophones (Slavic lyres), as it has a hole in the upper part (Zinkiv, 2013, pp. 72–73).

According to Hornbostel-Sachs classification, the Zvenyhorod *gusla* can be defined as a synthesis of two instruments of different types – the lyre (index 321.2) and the zither with a sounding box (314.12). They inherited relict features from the lyre-like instruments – lateral risers and cross-bar, which eventually transformed into a large hole, and an elongated flat sounding body from the psalter-zither.

These *gusla* are a unique phenomenon of the medieval musical and instrumental culture of the Slavs. Their existence in Slavic instruments back at the end of the VIth – the beginning of the VIIIth centuries is evidenced by the discoveries of zoo- and anthropomorphic figures with images of this type of instruments (Fig. 1 d). They were discovered among the items of the Velestyn treasure in 1909 near the village of Velestyno in Thessaly (Greece) (Zinkiv, 2019, pp. 174–176), and a written mention of this type of Slavic chordophones can be found in the work by Th. Simokatta «The History» (VI century), where authors call it twice a “cithara” and once a “lyre”. In the 1940s, the Polish archeologists discovered the XIIIth century *gusli* with a hole in the upper part at the territory of Pomeranian Poland (Gdansk) (Fig. 1 c), and in the 1970s – the 1980s – the North-Western Russia (Novgorod) (Fig. 1 b) and Western Ukraine (Zvenyhorod) (Fig. 1 a) confirmed the existence of this type of chordophones in the instruments of the Eastern, Western and Southern Slavs used in their instrumental culture during the VIth – the XIIIth centuries.

Due to the lack of publication on Zvenyhorod *gusli*, researchers of this type of instruments Konrad Jazdżewski (Poland) and Vladimir Povetkin (Russia) came to erroneous conclusions about the distribution of this type of *gusla*, limiting their distribution area exclusively to the Baltic region (Jazdżewski, 1950; Povetkin 1989, pp. 116–121). Similar outlines of Novgorod, Gdansk and Zvenyhorod instruments and their common vertical type of holding suggest that they all had a single original prototype, the oldest image of which preserved on objects from the Velestyn treasure, and developed along the lines of a single Slavic musical and instrumental tradition of Southern, Western and Eastern Slavs.

The fact that this type of *gusla* was not a single phenomenon, but existed among instruments of Zvenyhorod inhabitants, and possibly other lands of Galicia-Volhynia state, is evidenced by the discovery of a pin for tensioning strings, which was found in a residential building of Zvenyhorod (building 49) (Hupalo, 2014, p. 324). Similar pins are known from excavations in ancient Novgorod (Povetkin, 1997, pp. 179–185. Tables 108, 9, 10; Povetkin, 1993, p. 150, Fig. 2–4). A similar pin was found north of the Galicia-Volhynia Principality, in Grodno (modern Belarus) (Voronin, p. 64, Fig. 27, 3). Probably, the reason for a few number of discoveries of wooden musical instruments in Galicia-Volhynia state (found in large numbers in Novgorod), is the fact that its towns and settlements (as evidenced by archeological excavations and historical sources) were constantly burned during the Mongol invasion. Another, more important reason, is that this type of *gusla* belonged to the oldest ritual pagan instruments, and had a sacred significance. Therefore, since Christianization of Rus', these *gusla* were destroyed as “demonic instruments”. Even before the XIIIth century, pagan Novgorod residents resisted Christianization and preserved ancient traditions, including ritual musical instruments (Zinkiv, 2013, p. 73).

AEROPHONES

Whirling aerophones (412.22):

“hurkala”, “brukala”, “brunchalky”

The excavations of the annalistic cities of the Galicia-Volhynia state – Zvenyhorod, Lutsk, Dorohobuzh, Peresopnytsia, Lviv, discover sometimes one of the types of aerophones defined

as “hurkala”, “brukala”, and “brunchalky” (Hupalo, 2011, p. 84; Pryshchepa, Nikolchenko, 1996, p. 212, Fig. 78; Terskyi 2014, p. 159, Fig. 112, 10; Terskyi, 1993, p. 69, Table 1) (Fig. 2 a). These instruments are found throughout Ancient Rus (Sergeeva 2011, p. 219, Table 48, 1–4; 25; Sergeeva, 2012, pp. 118–125; Povetkin 1990, pp. 187–188) (Fig. 2 b, c), as well as in the settlements and sites of the Western Slavs in Moravia, Germany and Poland (Fig. 2 d) (Staššiková-Štukovská 1981, p. 397, Fig. 6,6; Biermann 2008, p. 243, Fig. 2). According to Hornbostel-Sachs classification they belong to the whirling aerophones, where an instrument, rotating around its axis, produces sound (412. 22) (Hornbostel & Sachs, 1987, p. 255). “Hurkala” were made of short tubular bones of animals. A rope was stretched through the drilled hole to half its length, then wrapped around the bone, threaded from the other side to the same hole, with tied together two ends. To produce sound, the resulted loop was stretched with the thumbs of the left and right hands in different directions and quickly twisted until it squeezed the fingers. The bone, when stretching and loosening the rope, produced while rotating the sounds of different pitch levels. We would like to note that these Slavic medieval instruments belong to the same type of bullroarers (“churnyhy”), which have been known since the late Palaeolithic age and still exist among the aborigines of Africa and Australia. According to Hornbostel-Sachs classification, they belong to the same subtype as the “hurkala”, the sound of which is formed by rotating the instrument around its axis (Hornbostel & Sachs, 1987, p. 255). From ancient times, these instruments were considered magical and had exclusively ritual functions (Oliynyk, 2014, pp. 6–7). They were made of wood and bone and have been known since the late Paleolithic Age. Whirling aerophones had different shapes and sizes. Their original semantics symbolized the voices of spirits and totem ancestors. “Churnyhy”, “hurkala” made of wood and bones of animals and birds, as sacred sonorous symbols are still known among instruments of the peoples of Siberia, which even today are forbidden for use as the household items or children’s toys (Sheykin, 2002, pp. 87–88). Numerous ethnographic evidences of the ritual and magical functions of this instrument of different peoples give grounds to state that it had similar functions in the ancient Slavs. V. Povetkin, a researcher and reconstructor of musical instruments of Ancient Novgorod, considers this instrument one of the most archaic talismans (Povetkin, 1990, pp. 187–188). D. Staššiková-Štukovská holds the same opinion, noting that this instrument, having lost its sacred functions, eventually became a children’s toy (Staššiková-Štukovská, 1981, p. 399).

There is information about the use of “hurkala” in Ukraine at the end of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth century (Hrushevskiy, 1904, pp. 54–55). M. Hrushevskiy gives a detailed description of materials for producing the instruments (“bones of a pig’s or sheep’s leg”) and a rope (“twisted of wool”), noting that a woolen cord allows achieving the highest volume (Hrushevskiy, 1904, p. 55).

FLUTE-LIKE AEROPHONES.

Open flutes without finger holes (421.111.11)

Among the discoveries at the Muravytsia settlement, a bone tube was found (Pryshchepa & Nikolchenko 2001, Fig. 27.11) (Fig. 3 a). Archeologists mostly define these either as needle-case, or limit themselves to the definition of a “bone tube”, or present their images without definition, among other bone products. This type of flute instruments is well known to researchers of Slavic musical instruments from Central and Eastern Europe (Fig. 3 b, c) (Staššiková-Štukovská, 1981, p. 401, Fig. 6, 1–3; Hruby V., p. 179, Figs. 17, 7). In instrumentology, these are defined as open flutes without lateral, i. e., fingerholes (Hornbostel & Sachs, 1987, p. 255). Such tubes as “lures” for attracting animals also existed among

the traditional instruments of many modern peoples; they are known from archeological materials from the late Paleolithic Age. Interestingly, of a large number of these artifacts found in different archeological cultures, in different areas and in different chronological periods, the *needles inside occur extremely rare*. Therefore, to provide final dilemma solution whether a needle-case is a musical instrument, it is necessary to conduct a trasological study of each of these artifacts. Instrumentalists and wind instrument performers are well aware of the fact that the quality of cleaning and polishing of the inner channel determines whether the instrument will sound. If the inner channel has longitudinal mechanical damage (scratches) caused by the sharp edge of the needle – this clearly indicates that the object was used as an object for storing needles – a “needle-case”. If such damage is absent, and the inner channel is carefully polished, it is a wind musical instrument. Thus, the widespread use of archeological methods of trasological analysis will allow identifying more accurately these artifacts.

Whistle flutes without fingerholes. Whistle (421.221.11)

The archeological discoveries on the territory of the Galicia-Volhyniastate include *bone whistles* with one and two horizontally located holes. The main structural part of these wind instruments, which is preserved on a very rare occasions, is a wooden cork (other names – “chopyk” or “dontse⁴”) of a cut semicircular shape, which is inserted inside the blow-in hole so as to provide a channel between the wall with the whistle hole in it (Fig. 4 a), through which the air stream is directed to the hole, forming a whistle. These musical instruments are known, in particular, from excavations in Lutsk and the village of Horodnytsia (next to Ancient Halych) (Fig. 4 b), as well as in Poland, Moravia, Germany, etc. (Staššiková-Štukovská, p. 401, fig. 6.8–11).

Whistles with two horizontally located holes was found in Zvenyhorod, Horodnytsia, Plisnensk, Muravytske settlement (Hupalo, 2014, p. 154, Fig. 42, 12; 20; Pryshchepa & Nikolchenko, 2001, p. 61, Fig. 13, 15) (Fig. 4 b, c, d). They are also known from excavations of other settlements and sites in Ukraine (Sergeeva 2012, Fig. 3.3) and the lands of the Western Slavs (Fig. 4 e, f) (Kaminski, 1977, p. 46, Fig. 37; Biermann, 2008, p. 252, Fig. 11). Quite often these wind instruments are defined as “accessories for twisting threads”, or are limited to the definition of “bone product” and very rarely – as a whistle. If this artifact belongs to the objects of handicraft production, then the question arises: why, in contrast to weights and other devices of material production, it occurs so rarely. Unlike household items, the musical instruments usually make up a small percentage in any ancient culture. Thus, this fact makes it more likely to interpret these as *wind instruments*. The final solution to this problem is possible only after a trasological examination, which should determine the degree of polishing the two holes. If it was an accessory for twisting threads, there would be oval sections of the bone in front of the two holes. Otherwise, one can say confidently that this artifact is a musical instrument.

Whistle flutes with fingerholes – Recorder (421.221.12) (“sopilky”)

Whistle flutes have the same sounding device as whistles (cork and whistle hole on the body) and differ from them only by the presence of a certain number of finger holes along the body. They are made of elderberry, willow, viburnum, etc. The earliest written mention of *sopilky* (сопѣли) come from the XIth century. Thus, the saltimbanco’s play on *sopilka* caused the condemnation of Theodosius of Pechersk, and Kyiv Metropolitan Cyril (the XIIIth century) called this instrument a “devil’s pipe” (Cherkasy, 2003, p. 207).

Three instruments made of elderberry have been discovered in Zvenyhorod. One is preserved completely, and the other two – in fragments (Fig. 5 a) (Svieshnikov, 1987, p. 99).

⁴ That is why in the Hutsul region the whistle flute (“sopilka”) is called “dentsivka”.

They date from the end of the XIth – the first half of the XIIth century (Svieshnikov, 1985, p. 354). The preserved instrument is 8 cm long and 1.7 cm in diameter. There are five holes on one side and four holes on the other. Similar wooden sopilky are known from excavations in Novgorod (Fig. 5b) (Povetkin, 1997, p. 353, Tables 107, 7,8), as well as in Szczecin (Poland) (Fig. 5c). These instruments, without undergoing any constructive changes, still function among the traditional instruments of the Ukrainians (Cherkaskyi, 2003, pp. 206–212).

A unique discovery comes from Muravytskiy settlement of a bone mouthpiece from a wind instrument (Fig. 6a). This artifact was included among the illustrative material, but not commented on in the text of the work dedicated to the unique settlement (Pryshchepa & Nikolchenko, 2001, p. 75, Figs. 27, 17).

The mouthpiece discovery is an important evidence of the existence in the musical and instrumental culture of the Galicia-Volhynia state of other types of wind instruments – *mouthpiece-like, such as trumpet* (423.121.12), the image of which is preserved in a book miniature of the Kyiv chronicle in a scene depicting the reception by Prince Yaroslav Osmomysl of a group of boyars (Fig. 6c). A bone mouthpiece from a trumpet was also found in Wolin (Poland) (Fig. 6b) (Rulewicz, 1963, p. 221, tab. II, 9). Two similar instruments are depicted on the “Musicians” fresco from the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kyiv (1037) (Fig. 6d). The trumpets are also mentioned in “The Lay of Igor’s Warfare”: “Horses roar behind Sula, glory rings in Kyiv; *trumpets blare* in Novgorod, flags shiver in Putivl” (The Lay of Igor’s Warfare, 1970, p. 25). No trumpet-type instrument was found in Novgorod itself, but the existence of this variety among the Slavs, in addition to iconographic materials, is evidenced by the discovery of a trumpet in a Slavic settlement near Liodig Lake (near Parkhim, East Germany) (Fig. 6e) dating back to the XIth – the XIIth centuries. The instrument is about one meter long, made of one piece of conical shaped wood wrapped in a bark. This discovery is unique because allows us defining the technology and process for making the instrument. The tree was split in half and the core was chosen. Then the two halves were closed together, fastened with glue and wrapped with boiled bark. This technology of making wooden trumpets and horns is still preserved in the traditional Slavic culture of Polissia, the Carpathians, Poland, Slovakia, etc. (Zinkiv, 2018, pp. 26–28).

IDIOPHONES

Ceramic shaken idiophones

Egg-shaped (“pysanky”) (112.13)

The shaken idiophones – “pysanky” are the most studied among all Slavic musical instruments (Shovkoplias, 1980, pp. 92–98; Sushko 2011, pp. 46–53; Kozak, 2014, pp. 421–431). They belong to the type of vessel percussion idiophones (Hornbostel & Sachs, 1987, p. 241). About 100 discoveries of pysanka come from the territory of Kievan Rus. About a dozen of them were found in the cities and settlements of the Galicia-Volhynia principality – Zvenyhorod, Plisnensk, near Zhydachiv, Rivne, Khrinnyky (Fig. 7a) (Kozak, 2014, p. 425). This percussion instrument has been a sacred ritual instrument since the Eneolithic and Bronze Ages (Sushko, 2011, pp. 49–51; Kozak, 2014, pp. 424–425; Shovkoplias, 1980, p. 97).

Metal idiophones

***Glockenspiels (bells), bells* (111.242.122),**

rattles (“bubontsi”) (112.13)

Slavic metal idiophones are divided into two varieties in terms of shape and design features in instrumental science – hanging bells with internal strikers and shaken. The hanging bells include small and large bells with a striker inside (Fig. 7b, d). These instruments produce sound by the

elongated striker percussion against the body. According to Hornbostel-Sachs classification they have an index of 111.242.122 (Hornbostel & Sachs, 1987, p. 240). Shaken idiophones include spherical rattles (“bubonsti”) with one or two cross-shaped slots at the bottom and a metal ball inside (Fig. 7 e) (Hornbostel & Sachs, 1987, p. 241). The sound is produced by shaking the instrument or other movements that cause the ball to strike the walls inside the body. They belong to the type of vessel shaken idiophones and according to the musical instruments classification have an index of 112.13 (Hornbostel & Sachs, 1987, p. 241). This group of instruments also includes various forms of rattles (“kalataltsia”) made of clay, wood, wicker or dried fruits of plants.

The oldest type of bells with strikers include “*botalo*” or “shepherd’s bell” (Fig. 7 b, c). Unlike small and large bells cast of bronze, they were made of iron. Many cultures of the world considered wrought iron, hardened in fire and water, a powerful magical talisman. *Botalas* had a rectangular body shape and were made of a thin sheet of iron, about 2 mm thick. *Botala* of the Xth – the XIth centuries was found in the Lystvynske settlement. (Fig. 7 b) (Chaika, 2009, p. 163, Fig. 27.1). Similar instruments are known from excavations in Novgorod (Fig. 7 c). In Western Europe (Ireland) the oldest iron *botalas* of this shape are known from the Vth century, in Ukraine – from the time of Cherniakhiv culture (the first half of the IIIrd – first half of the Vth century). In ancient Rus until the XIIth century, the time of the beginning of casting bronze bells, *botalas* and *bylas* were used as signal and ritual instruments. *Botalas* tied to the neck of cattle also had signal and protective functions (Povetkin, 2008, p. 129).

The Galicia-Volhynia state, from the XIIth century, in addition to those imported from Latin-speaking Europe produced its own large bells (Fig. 7 d). It is known from chronicle sources that in the town of Kholm the King Danylo first “brought some bells from Kyiv” for St. John the Baptist Church, (a) and casted the others” (Terskyi, 2014, p. 133). Later, the chronicle mentions Volodymyr Vasylykovich who “casted the bells of a strange sound. There were no alike across the lands” (Terskyi, 2014, p. 133). The texts of ancient Russian chronicles mention the facts of convening community to meeting (*viche*) with bells’ sound. In particular, the “Russian Chronicle” mentions that the townspeople rang the bells to convene a community meeting when enemy troops surrounded the princely city of Vladimir in Volhynia (Kindratiuk, 2012, p. 186).

The fragments have been found on the central fortified part of Volodymyr (modern Volodymyr-Volynskyi) of broken bells, as well as in Luchesk and Peresopnytsia (Terskyi, 2014, p. 133). Fragments of broken church bells were also found in princely Halych on the foundation of the Assumption Cathedral, and a fragment of the canon of a large bell was found in the fields near ancient Halych. A fragment of a bell from the Resurrection Church of the second half of the XIIth and the beginning of the XIIIth centuries was found in Krylos, which gave grounds to claim the existence of a wooden church-chapel, which could serve as a bell tower (Lukomskyi, 2001, p. 286). Archeologists believe that such hanging bells were already common in the Galicia-Volhynia principality (Kindratiuk, 2012, pp. 183–184). Unique images of large bells, which were fixed on U-shaped beams, are preserved on the wall graffiti of the St. John the Theologian Church in Luchesk (modern Lutsk) (Fig. 7 e). According to chronicles, the bells in Galicia-Volhynia principality were casted after Kyiv occupation by the Mongol-Tatars (Rus Chronicle, 1989, p. 418).

Tiny bells (small bubontsi). In the IXth – the XIIIth centuries, these served as the elements of jewelry (temple rings, earrings, hryvnias, necklaces), decoration of clothes and hats, as well as horse harness (Fig. 8 a, b, c, d). From ancient times, the clothing and jewelry of many peoples of Europe included sound symbolism. Apotropaic function is the oldest function of bells, as well as of “pysanka-kalataltsi”.

A unique decoration of the ceremonial armor of the prince's horse was found in the Ancient Peremyl (Fig. 8 e) (Tersky, 2007, p. 20, Fig. 5.7). This is a bone plate-decoration, decorated with three cross-shaped motifs. Its center has four-round holes cut located by a cross-like principle. There is a central hole in between with four slots running crosswise. Round-shaped bells attached to the plate, which also had cross-shaped slits in the lower part.

The Conclusions. The presented in the paper artifacts the archeologists found in the cities and settlements of the Galicia-Volhynia state (Volodymyr, Halych, Dorohobuzh, Zvenyhorod, Kolodiazyn, Krylos, Lystvyn, Luchesk, Lviv, Peremyl, Peresopnytsia, Plisnensk, etc.) represent different types of instruments: strings (gusla), winds (flutes, sopilky, trumpets, whistles, etc.) and percussion (bells, tiny bells, bubontsi, kataltsia, etc.), and require detailed study as part of the medieval musical and instrumental culture of ancient Ukraine. Their analogues exist in the musical instruments of other lands of medieval Slavia.

The correct interpretation of certain archeological findings of musical instruments and their fragmented parts from the territory of the Galicia-Volhynia state allowed clarifying the controversial issues resulted from their incorrect identification by archeologists. To overcome this, further cooperation of archeologists and musicologists is needed, which will allow developing a full-scale catalog of medieval musical instruments in Ukraine, similar to publications in the Western Europe.

The medieval musical instruments presented in the paper, their fragmented parts and separate constructive details constitute a small part only of this type artifacts from the territory of the Galicia-Volhynia state. They need professional identification, impartial assessment and introduction into scientific circulation in order to be used by a wide range of archeologists and organologists (instrumentalists) who study the musical instruments of the medieval Slavic peoples.

Illustrations

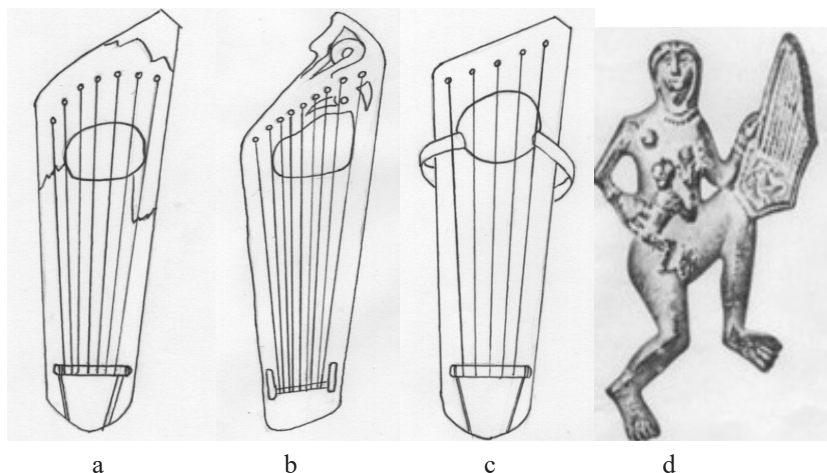


Fig. 1. Lyre-shaped gusla: a – Zvenyhorod (first third of the XII century, reconstructed by I. Zinkiv); b – Novgorod (XIII century); c – Gdańsk (XIII century); d – Velestyno (end of VI – beginning of VII century). According to: I. Zinkiv, 2013 (a); V. Povetkin, 1989(b); K. Jażdżewski, 1950 (c); N. Causidis, 2005 (d).

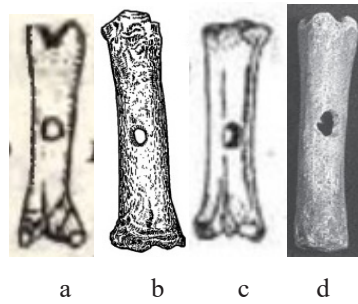


Fig. 2. Whirling aerophones “hurkala”, “brukala”, “brunchalky:
 a – Peresopnytsia; b – Kyiv; c – Novgorod; d – Pomerania (Poland). According to:
 S. Terskyi, 2014 (a), M. Sergeeva, 2011 (b); V. Povetkin, 1990 (c); F. Biermann, 2008 (d).

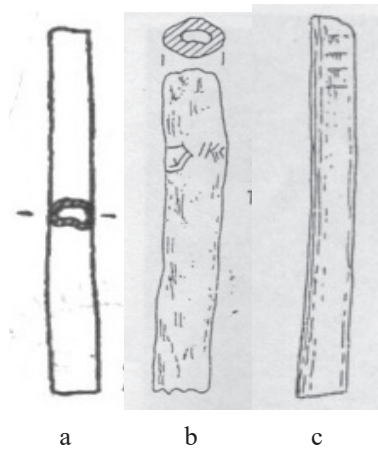


Fig. 3. Open flutes without fingerholes: a – Muravytske settlement;
 b – Wroclaw; c – Brno. (According to B. Pryshchepa, Y. Nikolchenko, 2001 (a);
 D. Staššiková-Štukovská (b); V. Hruby, 1957 (c).

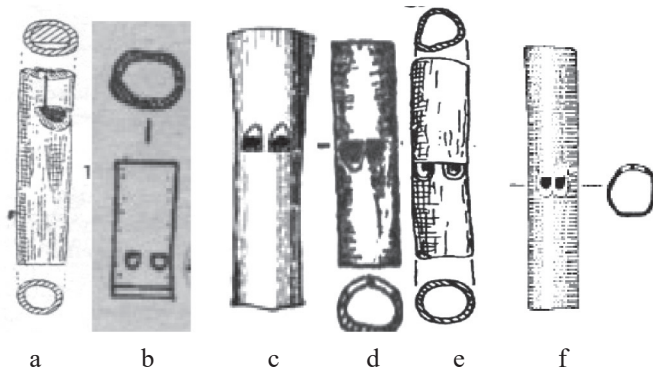


Fig. 4. Whistle flutes: a – Wolin (Poland); b – Horodnytsia; c – Zvenyhorod;
 d – Muravytske settlement; e – Opole (Poland); f – Gutenberg (Germany). According
 to: M. Rulewicz, 1963 (a); S. Terskyi, 1993 (b); V. Hupalo, 2014 (c); B. Pryshchepa,
 Y. Nikolchenko, 2001 (d); W. Kaminski, 1977 (e); F. Biermann, 2008 (f).

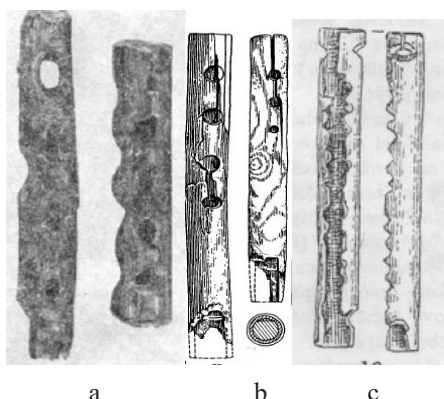


Fig. 5. Whistle flutes with fingerholes (sopilky):
 a – Zvenyhorod; b – Novgorod; c – Szczecin (Poland). According to:
 I. Svieshnikov, 1987 (a); V. Povetkin 1997 (b); M. Rulewicz, 1963 (c).

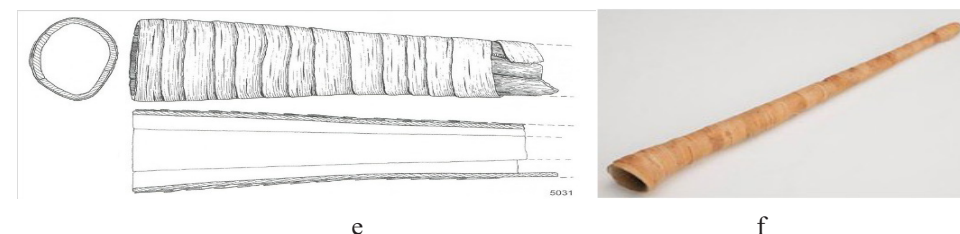


Fig. 6 a – trumpet mouthpiece (Muravytske settlement); b – mouthpiece (Wolin, Poland);
 c – a trumpet on a miniature from the Kyiv chronicle; d – trumpetson a fresco from the
 Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kyiv, e – a trumpet fragment of the
 XI – XII centuries from Parkhim (East Germany); f – folk trumpet (ligava). According to
 B. Pryshchepa, Y. Nikolchenko, 2001 (a); M. Rulewicz, 1963(b); V. Khomutskyi, 2014 (e).

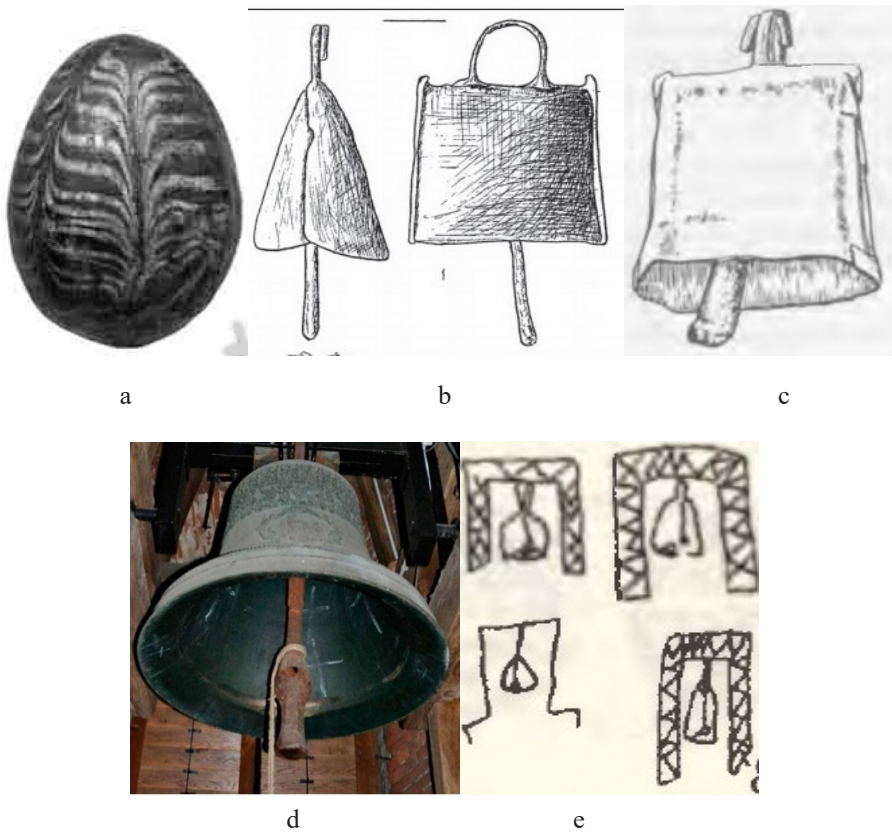


Fig. 7. Ceramic and metal idiophones: a – ceramic pysanka-kalataltse (Khrinnyky); b – metal bell “botalo” (Lystvyn); c – metal tiny bell “botalo” (Novgorod); d – Yakov Skora’s bell, 1341 (Lviv); e – bells on the graffiti of the St. John the Theologian Church (Lutsk). According to: D. Kozak, 2014 (a); R. Chaika (b); V. Povetkin, 2008 (p); S. Terskyi, 2014 (e).

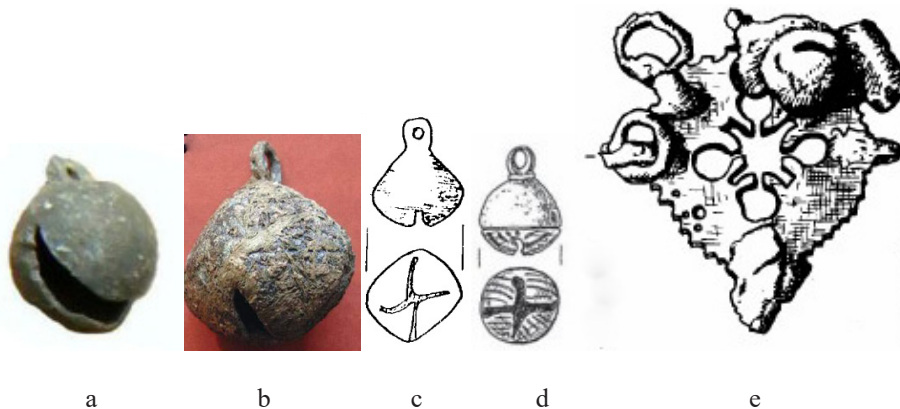


Fig. 8. Bubontsi: a – Pohorynnia (village of Verkhiv); b – Zvenyhorod; c – Dorohobuzh; d – Lystvyn; e – Peremyl. According to: B. Pryshchepa 2019 (a, c); V. Hupalo, 2014 (b); R. Chaika (d), S. Terskyi, 2007 (e).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Biermann, F. (2008). Die Knochen- und Geweihbearbeitung im nordwestslawischen Siedlungsgebiet vom 7./8. bis 12. Jahrhundert n. Chr. *Archäologie und mittelalterliches Handwerk – Eine Standortbestimmung Beiträge des 10. Kolloquiums des Arbeitskreises zur archäologisch Erforschung des mittelalterlichen Handwerks / herausgegeben von Walter Melzer*. Soest: Westfälische Verlagsbuchhandlung Mocker & Jahn, 239–266. [in German]

Causidis, N. (2005). Poganska religija Slavena u svjetlu ranosrednjovjekovnih materijalnih nalaza s područja Balkana [Slavic Pagan Religion in Light of Early Mediaeval Material Finds from the Balkans]. *Histria Antiqua*, (13), 437–456. [in Macedonian]

Chaika, R. M. (2009). *Davnioruske horodyshche Lystvyn ta yoho okolytsi u X – XI st.* [The ancient Russian settlement of Lystvyn and its environs in the X – XI centuries]. Lviv: Liha-Press, 214 p. [in Ukrainian]

Cherkaskyi, L. M. (2003). *Ukraiński narodni muzychni instrumenty* [Ukrainian folk musical instruments]. Kyiv: Technology. 263 p. [in Ukrainian]

Goncharov, V. K. (1950). *Raykovetskoye gorodishche* [Raykovets settlement]. Kiev: Publishing House of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, 216 p. [in Russian]

Hornbostel, E. & Sachs, C. (1987). Sistematika muzykalnykh instrumentov [Systematics of musical instruments]. *Narodnyie muzykalnyie instrumenty i instrumentalnaya muzyka – Folk musical instruments and instrumental music: collection of papers and materials: in 2 parts. P. 1* (pp. 229 – 261). Moscow: Soviet composer. [in Russian]

Hruby, V. (1957). Slovanské kostěné předměty a jejich výroba v Moravě [Slavic bone objects and their production in Moravia]. *Památky Archeologické*, (48), 118–207. [in Czech]

Hrushevskiy, M. (1904). Dytyachi zabavky ta ihry usiaki. Zibrani po Chyhyrynshehyni Kyivskoi Hubernii [Children's toys and games of all kinds. Collected in the Chyhyryn region of Kyiv Province]. *Kievskaiia starina – Kyiv Antiquity*, 86, July – August, 54–105. [in Ukrainian]

Hupalo, V. (2011). Oberehy ta apotropеiіchni znaky na pobutovykh predmetakh zi Zvenyhoroda [Charms and apotropaic marks on household items from Zvenyhorod]. *Materialy i doslidzhennia z arkhеologii Prykarpattia i Volyni – Materials and research on the archeology of Prykarpattia and Volyn*, 15, 397–411. [in Ukrainian]

Hupalo, V. (2014). *Zvenyhorod i Zvenyhorodska zemlia u XI – XIII stolittiakh (sotsioіstorychna rekonstruktsiia)* [Zvenyhorod and Zvenyhorodland in the XI – XIII centuries (socio-historical reconstruction)]. Lviv: I. Krypіakevych Institute of Ukrainian Studies NAS of Ukraine, 532 p. [in Ukrainian]

Jązdzewski, K. (1950). Najstarsze zachowane gęśle słowiańskie [The oldest preserved Slavic gęśle]. *Z otchłani wieków*, (1–2), 13–18. [in Polish]

Kamiński, W. (1977). *Instrumenty muzyczne na ziemiach polskich (Zarys problematyki rozwojowych)* [Musical instruments in Poland (Outline of development problems)]. Warszawa: PWM. 177 p. [in Polish]

Khomutsky, V. (2014). *Torgovoe poselenie na ostrove v ozere Lyoddig* [Trading settlement on an island of Lake Leddig]. URL: <https://historicaldis.ru/blog/43076224217/Torgovoe-poselenie-na-ostrove-v-ozere-Lyoddig>. [in Russian]

Kindratiuk, B. (2001). *Narysy muzychnoho mystetstva Halyts'ko-Volyns'koho kniazivstva* [Essays on the musical art of the Galicia-Volhynia principality]. Lviv; Ivano-Frankivsk, NASU, Inst. n.a. I. Krypіakevych, 142 p. [in Ukrainian]

Kindratiuk, B. (2012). *Dzvonarska kultura Ukrainy* [Bell culture of Ukraine]. Ivano-Frankivsk: V. Stefanyk Precarpathian National University, 898 p. [in Ukrainian]

Kozak, D. (2014). Hlyniana pysanka z Volyni. *Kultovi ta pokhvalni pamiatky u Vislo-Dniprovskomu regioni: problemy interpretatsii* [Clay Easter egg from Volyn. Religious and exequial monuments in the Vistula-Dnieper region: problems of interpretation], (7), 423–431. [in Ukrainian]

Kuchynko, M., Ohrimenko, G. & Savytskyi, V. (2008) *Kultura Volyni ta Volynskoho Polissia kniazhoii doby* [Culture of Volyn and Volyn Polissya of the princely era]. Lutsk: OJSC “Volyn Regional Printing House”, 328 p. [in Ukrainian]

Lukomskyi, Yu. (2001). Voskresinska tserkva XII – XIII stolit' u Krylosi [Resurrection Church of the XII – XIII centuries in Krylos]. *Zapysky NTSh – Notes of NTSh, (CCXLII)*, 275–298. [in Ukrainian]

Oliinyk, O. (2014). Do pytannia rekonstruktsii muzychnoho instrumentarii doby paleolitu-bronzy z terytorii Ukrainy [On reconstruction issue of musical instruments of the Paleolithic-Bronze Age from the territory of Ukraine]. *Ukrains'ka kultura: mynule, suchasne, shliakhy rozvytku [Ukrainian culture: past, present, ways of development: Scientific notes of Rivne State Humanities University]*, (20/1), 5–11. [in Ukrainian]

Povetkin, V. (2008). Bubentsy i kolokol'chiki sredi prochikh shumyashchikh i udarnykh prisposobleniy v obikhode drevnykh novgorodtsev [Bells and tiny bells among other noise-producing and percussion devices in the everyday life of the ancient Novgorod residents]. *Novgorodskiy istoricheskiy sbornik – Novgorod Historical Collection, (11/21)*, 110–141. [in Russian]

Povetkin, V. I. (1989). O proiskhozhdenii gusley s igrovym oknom (iz opyta vosstanovitel'nykh rabot) [About the origin of gusli with a game window (from the experience of restoration works)]. *Istoriya i kul'tura drevnerusskogo goroda – History and culture of the old Russian city*, 116–127. [in Russian]

Povetkin, V. I. (1990). Ob odnoy iz detskikh muzykal'nykh zabav na Rusi [About one of the children's musical fun in Russia]. *Materialy po arkheologii Novgoroda 1988 [Materials on the archeology of Novgorod 1988]* (pp. 187–191). [in Russian]

Povetkin, V. I. (1997). Muzykal'nyye instrumenty [Musical instruments]. *Arkheologiya. Drevniaya Rus'. Byt i kul'tura – Archeology. Ancient Russia. Everyday life and culture*, 179–185. [in Russian]

Pryshchepa, B. A. & Nikolchenko, Yu. M. (2001). *Muravyts'ke horodyshche* [Muravytske settlement]. Mariupol': Renata, 80 p. [in Ukrainian]

Pryshchepa, B. A. (2019). *Pohorynnia u Seredniovichchi: naseleattia, systemy zaselennia, urbanizatsiini protsesy* [Settlements in the Middle Ages: populations, settlement systems, urbanization processes]. (Doctor thesis). Kyiv. [in Ukrainian]

Petegyrych, V. (2019). Horodnytsia nad Dnistrom – nevidome misto Kniazhoii doby v Halytskii zemli [Horodnytsia over the Dniester – an unknown city of the Princely period in the Galician land]. *Materialy i doslidzhennia arkheolohii Prykarpattia i Volyni – Materials and research archeology of Prykarpattia and Volyn'*, (23), 126–153. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.33402/mdapv.2019-23-126-153> [in Ukrainian]

Rulewicz, M. (1963). Vczesnośredniowieczne instrumenty dźwiękowe z badań archeologicznych na Pomorzu Zachodnim [Early medieval sound instruments from archeological research in Western Pomerania]. *Materialy Zachodnio-Pomorskie, 9*, 221–240. [in Polish]

Sergeeva, M. S. (2011). *Kostorizna sprava u starodavniomu Kyievi* [Bone-cutting skill in Ancient Kyiv]. Kyiv: KNT, 256 p. [in Ukrainian]

Sheikhin, Yu. I. (2002). *Istoriya muzykalnoy kultury narodov Sibiri: Sravnitelno-istoricheskoye issledovaniye* [History of the musical culture of the peoples of Siberia: Comparative-historical research]. Moscow: Eastern Literature, 718 p. [in Russian]

Shovkoplias, G.M. (1980). Davnioruski pysanky (z kolektzii derzhavnogo istorychnoho muzeiu URSR) [Old Russian pysanka (from the collection of the State Historical Museum of the USSR)]. *Archeology, 35*, 92–98. [in Ukrainian]

Slovo o polku Ihorevim. (1970). Slovo o polku Ihorevim [The Lay of Igor's Warfare] (Introduction, ed. texts, rhythmic transl. of “Lay” and notes by L. Makhnovets). Kyiv: Dnipro, 168 p. [in Ukrainian]

Štaššiková-Štukovská, D. (1981). K problematike sredoeurópskykh aerofonov 7 – 13 storocia [To the problems of Central European aerophones]. *Slovenská Archeológia – Slovenian Archeology, (XXIX/2)*, 393–424. [in Slovenian]

Sushko, A. A. (2011). Davnioruski pysanky [Ancient Russian Easter eggs]. *Arkheolohiia – Archeology, 2*, 46–53. [in Ukrainian]

Svieshnikov, I. (1985). Rabota v Zvenigorode [Work in Zvenigorod]. *Arkheologicheskie otkrytiya 1983 goda – Archeological discoveries 1983*. (pp. 352–354). Moscow: Nauka. [in Russian]

Svieshnikov, I. K. (1987). Doslidzhennia davniogo Zvenyhoroda u 1982 – 1983 [Research of ancient Zvenyhorod in 1982 – 1983]. *Arkheolohiia – Archeology, 57*, 94–101. [in Ukrainian]

Svieshnikov, I. K. (1987). *Zvenyhorod: kraieznavchyi narys* [Zvenyhorod: locallore essay]. Lviv: Kameniar, 48 p. [in Ukrainian]

Sergeieva, M. S. (2012). Kostorizna sprava u davniomu Kolodiazhyni [Bone carving in ancient Kolodiazhyn]. *Arkheolohiia – Archeology*, 3, 118–125. [in Ukrainian].

Terskyi, S. (1993). Vyroby s kosti i rohu X – XIII st. z terytorii Prykarpattia i Volyni u fondakh Lvivs'koho istorychnoho muzeiu [Articles of bone and horn of X – XIII centuries. from the territory of Prykarpattia and Volyn in the funds of the Lviv Historical Museum]. *Naukovi zapysky L'vivs'koho Istorychnoho muzeiu – Scientific Notes of the Lviv Historical Museum*, (1), 68–87. [in Ukrainian]

Terskyi, S. V. (2014). *Arkheolohiia doby Halytsko-Volynskoi derzhavy* [Archeology of the Galicia-Volhynia state]. Kyiv: Ancient World, 164 p. [in Ukrainian]

Voronin, N. N. (1954). *Drevneye Grodno (Po materialam archeologicheskikh raskopok 1932 – 1949)* [Ancient Grodno (According to the materials of archeological excavations 1932 – 1949)]. Moscow: Publishing House of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, 240 p. [in Russian]

Zinkiv, I. (2019). Liropodibni gusla slovianskoho Sredniovichchia: poshuky vykhidnoho prototypu [Lyre-shaped gusli of the Slavic Middle Ages: the search for original prototype]. *IX International Congress of Ukrainians “National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine for 100 years: success, losses, prospects for development”*. Series: *Art History. Culturology*. (eds. S. Pyrozhev, A. Zahorodnii, G. Skrypnyk.), 171–182. URL: <http://www.etnolog.org.ua/pdf/stories/zbirnyky/2019/mk.pdf> [in Ukrainian]

Zinkiv, I. (2013). *Bandura yak istorychnyi fenomen* [Bandura as a historical phenomenon]. Kyiv: IMFE, 448 p. [in Ukrainian]

Zinkiv, I. (2018). Slovians'ki muzychni instrumenty serednoivichnoi Yevropy: pytannia rekonstruktsii, funktsii ta znachennia v dukhovnii kulturi [Slavic musical instruments of medieval Europe: issues of reconstruction, functions and significance in spiritual culture]. Abstracts of Papers: *Ukraine. Europe. World. History and names in cultural and artistic reflections*. (pp. 26–28). Kyiv. [in Ukrainian]

Myshanych, O. V. (Ed.) (1989). *Litopys rus'kyi: Za Ipativskym spyskom* [Russian chronicle: According to the Ipatiev list]. (L. Makhnovets, trans. from ancientrus.). Kyiv: Dnipro, XVI + 591 p. [in Ukrainian]

Povetkin, V. I. (1993) Novgorod muzykalnyi po materialam arkheologicheskikh issledovaniy. Raskopki 1992 [Musical Novgorod based on archeological research. Excavations 1992]. Abstract of Papers: *Novgorod i novgorodskaya zemlya. Istoriya i arkheologiya*, (7), (pp. 144–151). Novgorod. [in Russian]

Terskyi, S. V. (2007). Oboronnyi kompleks seredniovichnoho volynskoho mista Peremylia [Defense complex of the medieval Volyn city of Peremyli]. *Visnyk Lvivs'koho Politekhnichnoho Natsional'noho Universytetu – Bulletin of the Lviv Polytechnic National University*, 584, 13–26. [in Ukrainian]

The article was received April 24, 2021.

Article recommended for publishing 23/02/2022.

UDC 271.2-6(477+438)“1458/1509”
DOI 10.24919/2519-058X.22.253747

Andrii TSEBENKO

PhD (History), ThDr, Senior Lecturer, Department of History, Museum Studies and Cultural Heritage, Lviv Polytechnic National University, 3 Mytropolyta Andreia St., Lviv, Ukraine, postal code 79000 (tsebenko@gmail.com)

ORCID: 0000-0002-5774-049
ResearcherID: AAB-7148-2022

Андрій ЦЕБЕНКО

кандидат історичних наук, доктор теології (ThDr), старший викладач кафедри історії, музеєзнавства та культурної спадщини Національного університету “Львівська Політехніка”, вул. Митрополита Андрея, 3, м. Львів, Україна, індекс 79000 (tsebenko@gmail.com)

Bibliographic description of the Article: Tsebenko, A. (2022). Orthodox Church in the Context of State and Church Development in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Ruthenia, Samogitia and the Kingdom of Poland (1458 – 1509). *Skhidnoievropeiskyi istorychnyi visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 22, 24–32. doi: 10.24919/2519-058X.22.253747

THE ORTHODOX CHURCH IN THE CONTEXT OF STATE AND CHURCH DEVELOPMENT IN THE GRAND DUCHY OF LITHUANIA, RUTHENIA, SAMOGITIA AND THE KINGDOM OF POLAND (1458 – 1509)

Abstract. *The purpose of the study is to analyze the state and legal processes that influenced the organizational development of the Orthodox Church in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Ruthenia (Rus’), Samogitia (Žemaitija) and the Crown of the Kingdom of Poland and as the consequence – transformation of the society. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, systematic, scientific, verification, authorial objectivity, moderate narrative constructivism, as well as the use of general scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization) and special historical (historical and genetic, historical and typological, historical and systemic) methods. The scientific novelty of obtained results is determined by the fact that there have been comprehensively analyzed the state and church relations in the Ukrainian lands in the second half of the XVth – at the beginning of the XVIth centuries to comprehend the experience. The Conclusins. In the middle of the XVth century weakened Kyiv metropolitanate became the object of active interest of two religious centres – Rome and Moscow. Religious policy of the Lithuanian and Polish rulers of the second half of the XVth – the beginning of the XVIth century was determined by the pressure of the papal throne on the accession of the Orthodox to the Roman Church (including by means of the Union) and the personal attitude of this or that ruler. Religious intolerance on the part of the Catholic secular and ecclesiastical authorities forced the Orthodox population to seek protection among the rulers of the Grand Duchy of Moscow. Under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Kyiv there remained the dioceses, which were located on the territory of two states: the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Kingdom of Poland. The difficult situation of the Orthodox Church in the Catholic state, the appointment of dubious people to higher ecclesiastical positions by the king, put on the agenda the need for church reforms. The resolutions of Vilnius Synod were the results of the attempt of the Church, in the person of Metropolitan Joseph, to react to the transformed right of patronage and to propose a model of church and state relations. The decisions of Vilnius Synod reflected the struggle against the interference of the secular authorities in the affairs of Kyiv metropolitanate.*

Key words: *Kyiv metropolitanate, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the Kingdom of Poland, the Ukrainian lands, Union, religious policy, state and church relations.*

ПРАВОСЛАВНА ЦЕРКВА В КОНТЕКСТІ ДЕРЖАВНО-ЦЕРКОВНИХ ПРОЦЕСІВ У ВЕЛИКОМУ КНЯЗІВСТВІ ЛИТОВСЬКОМУ, РУСЬКОМУ, ЖЕМАЙТІЙСЬКОМУ ТА КОРОЛІВСТВІ ПОЛЬСЬКОМУ (1458 – 1509)

***Анотація. Мета дослідження** – аналіз державно-правових процесів, які вплинули на організаційний розвиток Православної Церкви у Великому князівстві Литовському, Руському, Жемайтійському та Короні королівства Польського і як наслідок – на трансформацію суспільства. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на принципи історизму, системності, науковості, верифікації, авторської об'єктивності, поміркованого наративного конструктивізму, а також на використання загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, узагальнення) та спеціально-історичних (історико-генетичний, історико-типологічний, історико-системний) методів. **Наукова новизна** одержаних результатів визначається тим, що комплексно проаналізовано державно-церковні відносини на українських землях у другій половині XV – початку XVI ст. для осмислення досвіду. **Висновки.** Ослаблена Київська митрополія в середині XV ст. стала об'єктом активних зацікавлень двох релігійних центрів – Риму і Москви. Релігійна політика литовських і польських правителів другої пол. XV – поч. XVI ст. визначалася тиском папського престолу на приєднання православних до Римської Церкви (у тому числі за посередництвом унії) та особистим ставленням того чи іншого володаря. Релігійна нетерпимість з боку католицької церковної і світської влади змушувала православне населення шукати захисту у правителів Князівства Московського. Київському митрополиту залишилися у підпорядкуванні єпархії, які були розташовані на території двох держав: Великому князівстві Литовському та Королівстві Польському. Важке становище Православної Церкви в католицькій державі, призначення королем на вищі церковні посади сумнівних людей, висували на порядок денний необхідність церковних реформ. Спробою Церкви, в особі митрополита Йосифа, соборно реагувати на трансформоване право патронату та пропонувати модель церковно-державних відносин стали ухвали Віленського собору. Вони відобразили боротьбу проти втручання світської влади у справи Київської митрополії.*

***Ключові слова:** Київська митрополія, Велике князівство Литовське, Королівство Польське, українські землі, унія, релігійна політика, державно-церковні відносини.*

The Problem Statement. The history of relations between the state and the Church makes it possible to trace the path of change: from a symphony between them to the denial of any church institution or a religious worldview in general. National and religious revival of the end of the XXth – the beginning of the XXIst centuries revealed a number of problems (national religion / Church of the Ukrainians, confrontation between the Greek Catholics and the Orthodox, split in the Ukrainian Orthodoxy, proclamation of autocephaly and its recognition, etc.) and led to the emergence of various ecclesiastical / political and religious formulas (Rusky world, Kyiv Church, etc.). The above mentioned issues highlight the need to study the experience of state and church relations in the Ukrainian lands, to study the origins and challenges of the current religious situation in Ukraine.

The chronological boundaries cover the period from 1458 to 1509. The lower limit is due to the interference of secular and Latin ecclesiastical authorities in the administration of Kyiv metropolitanate (appointment of the Union Bishop Hryhoriy Bolharin to the Orthodox Cathedral), which led to its weakening and split – completed the separation of the dioceses from its administrative territory (the formation of Moscow metropolitanate). The upper limit is connected with Vilnius Synod of 1509, which identified external and internal threats and possible consequences of the most acute problems of the Metropolitanate and outlined the vision of state and church relations, in particular the interference of the secular authority.

The Analysis of Sources and Publications. The source base of the study consists of the published documents: royal charters, metropolitan messages, chronicles, etc. Various

aspects of the issue under analysis were reflected in the works of Mykhailo Hrushevsky, Vasyl Biednov, Vasyl Kmet, Mykhailo Krumalenko, Ihor Skochyliias and the others.

The purpose of the study – analysis of state and legal processes that influenced the development of the Orthodox Church in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the Grand Principality of Ruthenia (Rus'), the Grand Duchy of Samogitia (Žemaitija) and the Crown of the Kingdom of Poland and, as the consequence – transformation of the society.

The Main Material Statement. In the first half of the XVth century attempts by the Greeks to save Byzantium by means of the church union with the Roman throne weakened Kyiv metropolitanate and intensified the authority of secular and ecclesiastical authorities. Accordingly, taking into account the Union policy of Constantinople of that period of time, Isydore, a Greek, was appointed to Kyiv metropolitan cathedra from among all the candidates. This appointment was done in order to make Constantinople as representative as possible at the expected Union Synod. In the discussion and preparation of the Union the cohort of Orthodox bishops (humanists-intellectuals) set pragmatic and political goals, which coincided with the state policy of Byzantium of that period of time. In addition, the patriarch apparently hoped that “the metropolitan would bring the money that was urgent for the Greeks” (Golubinsky, 1997, p. 427).

Thus, during the 50 – 60s of the XVth century the subject of active political negotiations between the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, on the one hand, and the Grand Duchy of Moscow, on the other, was the issue of subordination or re-subordination of individual dioceses of Kyiv metropolitanate, in which the main object was the Ukrainian-Belarusian lands. The result of the negotiations was the Decree of the Grand Duke of Lithuania and King of Poland Casimir IV of January 13, 1451 on the recognition of Iona Metropolitan of Kyiv and all Rus' (Akty istoricheskiye, 1841, pp. 85–86; Hrushevs'kyi, 1993, pp. 406–408). According to the document, all dioceses of Kyiv metropolitanate within the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Kingdom of Poland came under the jurisdiction of Iona, the metropolitan who was settled in Moscow.

In 1458, at the request of Isydore, the Union Metropolitan, the Pope issued a certificate to Hegumen Hryhoriy of approval to Kyiv Orthodox Cathedra. The episcopal ordination was performed by the Union Patriarch of Constantinople Hryhoriy Mamma and he conferred the title of “Metropolitan of Kyiv, Halych and All Rus'”. To prevent difficulties in appointing the Union representative to the Orthodox Cathedra, the pontiff sent an envoy to King Casimir.

Despite the efforts of secular and ecclesiastical authorities in the Grand Duchy of Moscow to prevent the Union Metropolitan Hryhoriy (1458 – 1470) to manage the Lithuanian-Ukrainian-Belarusian dioceses of the Metropolitanate (located on the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Kingdom of Poland), in 1458 he came to Lithuania from Rome. Thus, from the middle of the XVth century Kyiv metropolitanate found itself between two opposite religious poles and became a springboard for the competition of interests of two world religious centers – Rome and Moscow, which had an impact on the relations of Kyiv Metropolitanate with authority officials.

The Diocese, to which Metropolitan Hryhoriy was appointed, was to include dioceses on the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Moscow. The Union ideas were not accepted in Moscow, which in its turn outlined the limits of Hryhoriy's jurisdiction, and thus, the limits of the spread of the Union in Eastern Europe.

In 1460, at Beresteisky Sejm, King Casimir IV, under pressure of the Roman pontiff, officially recognized Hryhoriy as Metropolitan of Kyiv. Having strengthened his power

within the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Kingdom of Poland, the Metropolitan began seeking the extension of his jurisdiction to the northern dioceses zealously. In this case he had the support of the king, who called on the Duke of Moscow to recognize Metropolitan Hryhoriy, but this call did not have any expected result.

In 1470, Metropolitan Hryhoriy (1470 – 1473), due to the strong dissatisfaction of the Ukrainian-Belarusian parish clergy and the faithful, renounced the Union and joined the Orthodox Church. Patriarch Dionysius I the Wise of Constantinople (1461 – 1467; 1488 – 1490) officially confirmed Hryhoriy's metropolitan dignity and sent letters to Lithuania, Novgorod, and Moscow demanding that Hryhoriy be recognized as the legitimate Metropolitan of Kyiv. Despite this, Moscow still did not want to recognize Metropolitan Hryhoriy (already under the jurisdiction of Constantinople) as its bishop, and demonstrated disobedience to the Mother Church and the end of the unity with Kyiv metropolitanate, under whose administrative subordination it was. In fact, this meant the formation of an administratively separate Metropolitanate of Moscow.

In January of 1473, after the death of Metropolitan Hryhoriy, King Casimir IV did not give permission for the election of Metropolitan of Kyiv for some period of time (Ul'yanovs'kyi, 2004, p. 75). The reason was, probably, the opposition of the Latin bishop of Vilnius, Jan Losovic. After the appropriate permission of the king (on condition of approval of the elected Metropolitan by the Roman pontiff), the Synod of Bishops elected Bishop Mysail of Smolensk to Kyiv Metropolitan Cathedra (Vlasovs'kyi, 1988, p. 176).

The newly elected Metropolitan Mysail (1475 – 1480), at the request of the king, addressed a letter to Pope Sixtus IV (Trajdos, 2019, p. 188). The Metropolitan described the state of the Orthodox Church and complained about oppression. It is clear from the letter that Metropolitan Mysail (Pstruch) addressed the Pope not as a subject, but as a hierarch to a hierarch. He stated that the two Churches were equal and called for dialogue (Buchyns'kyi, 1909, p. 19).

The Metropolitan Mysail did not receive an answer from the Pope and terminated his relations with Rome, which were initiated by the king. The consequence of such forced correspondence with the Pope was that the patriarch of Constantinople Raphael I (1475 – 1476) did not approve Mysail in the dignity of a metropolitan, and on September 15, 1475 ordained Spyrydon to Kyiv Cathedra, without informing the king and local bishops (Vlasovs'kyi, 1988, pp. 176–177). Metropolitan Spyrydon (1475 – 1481) was not accepted in both Duchies (Lithuanian and Moscow) and imprisoned (Polnoye sobraniye Russkikh letopisey, 1853, p. 233).

For the next two decades, Kyiv metropolitans were elected at church synods with permission of secular authorities. However, the traditional right of the patriarchs of Constantinople to ordain / approve elected metropolitans was respected. Thus, Archbishop Simeon of Polotsk (1481 – 1488) was elected to Kyiv Metropolitan Cathedra. This time the king did not require a new Metropolitan to accept the Union and receive permission and confirmation of the Pope.

The Patriarch of Constantinople Maximus IV Manassis (1491 – 1497) confirmed Simeon as Metropolitan of Kyiv and All Rus' and sent him the Blessed Letter (Kartashov, 1993, p. 552.). The Patriarchal message was brought by two exarchs: Metropolitan Nifont and Bishop Feodorit, who enthroned the new Metropolitan together with the bishops of Kyiv metropolitanate in Novogradok, in 1481.

After the death of Metropolitan Simeon, Kyiv Cathedra remained vacant for several years. His successor was the Archbishop of Polotsk Iona Hlezna (1492 – 1494). He did not agree to head the Cathedra for a long time, but eventually received approval in Constantinople, which

he visited in person. After the death of Metropolitan Jonah, the Church Synod, without a prior blessing of the Patriarch of Constantinople, elected Archimandrite Macarius of the Holy Trinity Monastery of Vilnius to Kyiv Metropolitan Cathedra.

At the same time, messengers headed by the monks Dionysius and Herasym were sent to Constantinople to receive the patriarchal blessing. In the autumn of 1496 the messengers returned together with a representative of Patriarch Nifont (1497 – 1498) Joseph and a positive response. To the ban on further election of metropolitans without the patriarchal blessing, which was announced by his representative, the bishops replied that they did not renounce of “ancient customs of the Conciliar Church of Constantinople and the blessing of the patriarch, our father”, however did it because of “necessity, as did our brothers bishops under Grand Duke Vytautas” (Polnoye sobraniye Russkikh letopisey, 1980, p. 123). Confirmation from the Church of Constantinople for the Church of Kyiv was a hierarchical and institutional protection against strong pressure of the Catholic ecclesiastical and secular authorities of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Kingdom of Poland (Mončák, 1987, pp. 32–33).

The Metropolitan Macarius (1495 – 1497) strengthened the metropolitan power by his activity under the conditions of constant raids of the Tatar hordes to the Ukrainian lands, improved the financial situation of the Church, defended the rights of the Orthodox. During his metropolitan ministry, a marriage was concluded (on condition of granting the Duchess complete freedom in professing the Orthodox faith) between the new Grand Duke of Lithuania Olexandr (1492 – 1506) and Yelena, a daughter of Duke John III of Moscow. Both the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Grand Duchy of Moscow wanted to benefit from this marriage: Lithuania hoped to strengthen peace and establish good neighborly relations with Muscovy, the Grand Duke of Moscow – to influence the policy of the Lithuanian state, including the ecclesiastical policy, by means of the Duchess’s marriage. The Orthodox population of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania hoped to have a protector and patroness in the person of the Orthodox Grand Duchess, as Grand Duke Olexandr gave his father-in-law a written commitment not to force Yelena to accept the Catholic faith and to create all the conditions (to build a church, to have a priest, the orthodox servants, etc.) to perform the Orthodox rites. The marriage did not yield the results expected by the parties, as the Grand Duke of Lithuania did not keep his promises, not to irritate the Catholic clergy and nobility.

After the martyrdom of Metropolitan Macarius (May 1, 1497), as the chronicler wrote, the Grand Duke Olexandr “gave the metropolitanate of Kyiv and All Rus” to Smolensk Bishop Joseph (Polnoye sobraniye Russkikh letopisey, 1980, p. 125). Owing to Bishop Joseph, the Duke influenced his Orthodox wife, Duchess Yelena, to convert her to Catholicism (Akty, otnosyashchiesya k istorii Zapadnoy Rossii, 1846, pp. 154–155). Appointing Joseph Metropolitan (1498 – 1501), the Duke hoped to spread the Union. In 1500, the Metropolitan sent a letter to Pope Olexandr VI (1492 – 1503) declaring his readiness to submit to Rome. But the Pope did not answer the Metropolitan, but the Grand Duke Olexandr and the Latin bishop of Vilnius, Albert Wojciech, expressing his joy at their efforts to convert the Orthodox to the Roman Church, for they were evidently also the promoters of the Metropolitan’s pro-Union initiatives.

Religious policy of the Lithuanian and Polish rulers of the second half of the XVth century was determined by the pressure of the papal throne on the accession of the Orthodox to the Roman Church (including the mediation of the Union) and the personal attitude of a particular ruler. Observing a strong opposition to the Union in the Ukrainian lands, the Roman Curia tried to weaken by other ways with the help of Catholic state rulers, and eventually eliminate the

Orthodox Church. Among the ways, the restriction of its activities by state laws, deprivation of the leading force (the Orthodox nobility) by Catholicization and Polishization, discrediting in the eyes of the faithful (by the right of patronage) of unworthy clergy and the appointment of the Catholic government officials, in particular the first Kyiv voivode Martin Hashtold (Trajdos, 2019, p. 110). It should be noted that King Casimir IV, during whose reign the final division of Kyiv metropolitanate into Kyiv and Moscow took place, until the end of his long reign (1492) he did not change his tolerant attitude towards the Orthodox Church.

Some aggravation of the state and church relations was observed during the reign of Olexandr, the son of Casimir IV, who was the Grand Duke of Lithuania (1492 – 1506), and then the King of Poland (1501 – 1506). Under conditions of religious intolerance on the part of the Catholic Church and secular authorities, the Orthodox population, the clergy, dukes and boyars had been forced to place certain hopes in defending their religious rights on the rulers of the Grand Duchy of Moscow since. In 1500 a large part of the Ukrainian Orthodox dukes and boyars moved there, in particular the Bielsks, the Mosals, the Mtsensks, the Serpeis, the Starodubs, the Shemiachychs, and the others (Polnoye sobraniye Russkikh letopisey, 1859, pp. 238–239). According to the sources, “Moscow tyranny” was an obstacle for further move of the Orthodox (Rusina, 2005, p. 48).

Such circumstances forced the successors of Casimir IV to adjust their pro-Catholic religious policy. They did not issue official orders or laws restricting the rights of the Orthodox, but encouraged them to convert to the Catholic faith by private means (Bednov, 2005, p. 53). In a number of privileges and charters, King Olexandr even confirmed the rights and freedoms granted by his predecessors to the clergy, dukes, boyars and nobility regardless of religion and the unshakable right of the metropolitans and bishops of Kyiv metropolitanate, independence of their spiritual judicial prerogatives and rights to church property (Akty, otnosyashchiesya k istorii Zapadnoy Rossii... , 1846, pp. 120–122; 136–144; Krumalenko, 2004, p. 154). However, in practice the rights did not play any role, as the previous ones were not abolished.

After a break of almost two years after the death of Metropolitan Joseph, Jonah II (1503 – 1507) was elected to Kyiv Metropolitan Cathedral. This caused a temporary pause in the pro-Union protections of the authorities. During the last years of his life, King Olexandr distanced himself from his Latin advisers and brought the Orthodox Duke Mykhailo Hlynsky closer.

Soon after, Sigismund I (1506 – 1544) ascended the throne of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Joseph II began his metropolitan ministry (Солтан, 1507 – 1521). Patriarch Pachomius of Constantinople (1503 – 1513) approved Joseph II election to Kyiv Metropolitan Cathedral.

The threat of removing the Galician diocese from its jurisdiction caused the change of the title. Emphasizing his spiritual authority over all Ukrainian dioceses, in September of 1509 Metropolitan Joseph II began to be titled Kyiv, Galicia and All Rus' (Kmet', 2001b, p. 140). Although this title was approved by the authorities (used in royal charters), Sigismund I recognized Lviv Latin archbishop to have the right to appoint (or rather recommend to the king) a head of the Orthodox Galician Cathedral (Kmet', 2001a, p. 11). He motivated his actions by saying that it would be easier to “convert the Orthodox schismatics to the Catholic faith” (Kartashov, 1993, p. 576).

In Kyiv metropolitanate such examples of usurpation of rights over the Orthodox community by non-Orthodox people are not uncommon. As a result of such patronage, the real control over the dioceses / monasteries of Kyiv metropolitanate fell into the dubious reputation of secular “guardians” (Skochylyas, 2010, pp. 100–106).

To overcome the influence of the authority, to settle state and church relations, to bring order to the internal church life and other challenges of the Church, Metropolitan Joseph II convened a local Synod in Vilnius, the capital of the Duchy, on December 25, 1509. In addition to the Metropolitan's participation, seven bishops took part in the Synod (Volodymyrsky and Beresteisky Metropolitan Vassian, Lutsky and Ostroh Metropolitan Cyryl, Metropolitan Anthony of Przemyśl, Metropolitan Euphemia of Polotsk and Vitebsk, Metropolitan Varsonofy of Smolensk, Turovsky and Pinsk Metropolitan Arseniy, Kholm'sky Metropolitan Filaret), seven archimandrites, six abbots, seven archpriests and representatives of the parish clergy (Mironowicz, 2014, pp. 166–177).

The Synod adopted fifteen resolutions, which were called the rules, the elaboration of which is attributed to the Metropolitan (Kartashov, 1993, pp. 570–572). Obviously, this is a reaction to the state of the Church at that time and the attempt to resist the interference of secular rulers in its life unanimously.

Resolutions pointed at some abuses in the church environment, suggested the ways to solve them. In particular, the Synod Rules 8 – 11 regulated “the submission of parish churches and monasteries by patrons, also regulated the relationship among the church hierarchy, parish clergy and patrons” (Skochylyas, 2010, p. 370). The Synod banned simony, including the practice of buying church seats during the life time of those who held them and the ordination of unworthy bishops and priests, even when appointed by the Grand Duke or other secular authorities. Delegates decided to stop the arbitrariness of local nobles in the appointment or removal of parish clergy and determined the method of selection of candidates for church positions (Mironowicz, 2017, p. 156). In particular, priests appointed in the parish by the laity were forbidden to officiate without the blessing of the diocesan bishop and were threatened to excommunicate those who dared to confiscate church lands or property. It was decided to meet regularly at Synods to discuss urgent issues of church life.

The Conclusion. Thus, the interference of the Catholic secular and ecclesiastical authorities, the pragmatic and political goals of Byzantium and geopolitical realities facilitated the loss of Kyiv metropolitanate's custody of some of its northern dioceses, contributed to the formation of a separate ecclesiastical administrative unit – Moscow Metropolitanate. In the middle of the XVth century weakened Kyiv Metropolitanate of the Patriarchate of Constantinople (as well as the Patriarchate as a whole) became the object of active interest of two religious centres – Rome and Moscow.

Religious policy of the Lithuanian and Polish rulers of the second half of the XVth – the beginning of the XVIth century was determined by the pressure of the papal throne on the accession of the Orthodox to the Roman Church (including by mediation of the Union) and a personal attitude of a certain ruler. Religious intolerance on the part of the Catholic Church and secular authorities forced the Orthodox population, clergy, dukes and boyars to have certain hopes in the rulers of the Grand Duchy of Moscow in defending their Orthodox religious rights. The Metropolitan of Kyiv had under his authority the dioceses, which were located on the territory of two states: the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Kingdom of Poland.

The difficult situation of the Orthodox Church in the Catholic state, the appointment of unworthy people to higher ecclesiastical positions by the king and as a result – various distortions of a religious and moral life, in particular among the clergy, put forward the need for church reforms on the agenda. The resolutions of Vilnius Synod were the attempts of the Church, in the person of Metropolitan Joseph, to react to the transformed right of patronage

and propose a model of church and state relations. The resolutions reflected the struggle against the interference of the secular authorities in the affairs of Kyiv Metropolitanate.

Acknowledgements. The author would like to express sincere gratitude to the reviewers.

Funding. The author did not receive any financial assistance for research, preparation and publication of the article.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Akty istoricheskiye. (1841). *Akty istoricheskiye, sobrannyye i izdannyye Arkheograficheskoy komissiyey, 1334 – 1598*. [Historical Acts collected and published by the Archaeographic Commission, 1334 – 1598]. (in 5 vol., Vol. 1). Sankt-Peterburg, 608 p. [in Russian]

Akty, otnosyashchiesya k istorii Zapadnoy Rossii. (1846). *Akty, otnosyashchiesya k istorii Zapadnoy Rossii, sobrannyye i izdannyye Arkheograficheskoy komissiyey. 1340 – 1506* [Acts relating to the history of Western Russia, collected and published by the Archaeographic Commission. 1340 – 1506]. (in 15 vol., Vol. 1). Sankt-Peterburg, 432 p. [in Russian]

Bednov, V. (2005). *Pravoslavnaya Tserkov' v Pol'she i Litve (no Volumina Legum)* [Orthodox Church in Poland and Lithuania (on Volumina Legum)]. Kyiv: Mitropoliya UPTS, 431 p. [in Russian]

Buchyns'kyy, B. (1909). Studiyi z istoriyi tserkovnoyi uniyi. Mysayiliv lyst. [Studies in the History of Church Union. Mysail's Letter]. *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. T. H. Shevchenka, (90)*, 5–24. [in Ukrainian]

Golubinskiy, E. (1997). *Istoriya Russkoy Tserkvi* [History of the Russian Church]. (in 4 vol., vol. II, ch. 2). Moskva, 616 p. [in Russian]

Hrushevs'kyy, M. (1994). *Istoriya Ukrayiny-Rusy* [History of Ukraine-Rus']. (in 11 vol., Vol. 5). Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 687 p. [in Ukrainian]

Kartashov, A. (1993). *Ocherki po istorii Russkoy Tserkvi* [Essays on the History of the Russian Church]. (v 2-kh t., T. 2). Moskva, 686 p. [in Russian]

Kmet', V. (2001a). *L'vivs'ka yeparkhiya u XVI-na pochatku XVII stolittya* [Lviv Diocese in the XVIth – the beginning of the XVIIth Century]. (*Extended abstract of Candidate's thesis*). L'viv, 21 p. [in Ukrainian]

Kmet', V. (2001b). Yurysdyktsiynny status ta orhanizatsiyna struktura Halyts'koyi (L'vivs'koyi) yeparkhiyi (XII – seredyna XVI stolittya) [Jurisdictional Status and Organizational Structure of the Galician (Lviv) Diocese (the XIIth – the middle of the XVIth century)]. *Kovchek: naukovyi zbirnyk iz tserkovnoyi istoriyi, (3)*, 131–155. [in Ukrainian]

Krumalenko, M. (2004). Zalezhnist' pravovoho stanovyshcha naseleण्या na ukraiyins'kykh zemlyakh Velykoho knyazivstva Lytovs'koho u XIV – XVI st. vid relihiynoyi polityky derzhavy. [Dependence of the Legal Status of the Population in the Ukrainian Lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the XIVth – the XVIth centuries on the Religious Policy of the State]. *Aktual'ni problemy derzhavy i prava, 22*, 152–156. [in Ukrainian]

Mironowicz, A. (2014). Sobory wileńskie 1509 i 1514 roku. [Vilnius Synods in 1509 and 1514], pod red. Marzanny Kuczyńskiej i Urszuli Pawluczuk, Synody Cerkwi prawosławnej w I Rzeczypospolitej, *Latopisy Akademii Supraskiej, 5*, 71–82. [in Polish]

Mironowicz, A. (2017). Związki kulturowe monasteru supraskiego z kulturą serbską w XVI wieku. [Cultural Ties of the Supraśl Monastery with Serbian Culture in the 16th Century]. *Elpis, 19(19)*, 149–168. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.15290/elpis.2017.19.19>. [in Polish]

Mončak, I. (1987). *Florentine Ecumenism in the Kyivan Church*. Rome, 376 p. [in English]

Polnoye sobraniye Russkikh letopisey. (1853). *Polnoye sobraniye Russkikh letopisey* [Complete Collection of Rus' Chronicles]. (in 43 vol., Vol. 6). Sankt-Peterburg, 358 p. [in Russian]

Polnoye sobraniye Russkikh letopisey. (1859). *Polnoye sobraniye Russkikh letopisey* [Complete Collection of Rus' Chronicles]. (in 43 vol., Vol. 8). Sankt-Peterburg, 301 p. [in Russian]

Polnoye sobraniye Russkikh letopisey. (1880). *Polnoye sobraniye Russkikh letopisey*. [Complete Collection of Rus' Chronicles]. (in 43 vol., Vol. 35). Moskva, 306 p. [in Russian]

Rusina, E. (2005). La similitude du dissemblable. La Russie et la grande-principauté de Lituanie XIVe-milieu du XVIe siècle [The Similarity of the Dissimilar. Rus' and the Grand Principality of Lithuania the 14th-mid-16th Century]. *Cahiers du monde russe*, 46/1–2, 39–50. [in French]

Skochylas, I. (2010). *Halyts'ka (L'vivs'ka) yeparkhiya XII–XVIII stolit': orhanizatsiyna struktura ta pravovyy status* [Galician (Lviv) Diocese of the XIIth – the XVIIIth centuries: Organizational Structure and Legal Status]. L'viv: Vyd-vo UKU, 832 p. [in Ukrainian]

Trajdos, T. (2019). Dwa przyczynki do historii diecezji kijowskiej w XV w. [Two Contributions to the History of Kyiv Diocese in the 15th Century]. *Echa Przeszlosci*, 22/1, 107–128. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.31648/ep.4831>. [in Polish]

Ul'yanovs'kyy, V. (2004). *Mytropolyt kyyiv's'kyy Spyyrydon: Obraz kriz' epokhu, epokha kriz' obraz*. [Metropolitan Spyrydon of Kyiv: Image through Epoch, Epoch through Image]. Kyiv: Lybid, 374 p. [in Ukrainian]

Vlasovs'kyy, I. (1988). *Narys istoriyi Ukrayins'koyi Pravoslavnoyi Tserkvy*. [Essay on the History of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church]. (in 4 vol., Vol. 1). Kyiv: [b.v.], 294 p. [in Ukrainian]

The article was received April 12, 2021.

Article recommended for publishing 23/02/2022.

UDC 94(477):323.3:63-051“155/16”
DOI 10.24919/2519-058X.22.253748

Vitalii SHCHERBAK

PhD hab. (History), Professor of the Department of Ukraine's History of Borys Grinchenko Kyiv University, 18/2 Bulvarno-Kudriavska Street, Kyiv, Ukraine, postal code 04053 (shcherbak.vitalii@gmail.com)

ORCID: 0000-0001-8025-5684
ResearcherID: AAG-1704-2019

Віталій ЩЕРБАК

доктор історичних наук, професор, професор кафедри історії України Київського університету імені Бориса Грінченка, вул. Бульварно-Кудрявська, 18/2, м. Київ, Україна, індекс 04053 (shcherbak.vitalii@gmail.com)

Bibliographic Description of the Article: Shcherbak V. (2022). Transformation of the Situation of the Ukrainian Peasantry at the End of the 16th – the First Half of the 17th Century: on the Example of Kyiv Voivodeship. *Skhidnoevropeiskyi istorychnyi visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 22, 33–41. doi: 10.24919/2519-058X.22.253748

**TRANSFORMATION OF THE SITUATION OF THE UKRAINIAN PEASANTRY
AT THE END OF THE 16TH – THE FIRST HALF OF THE 17TH CENTURY:
ON THE EXAMPLE OF KYIV VOIVODESHIP**

Abstract. *The purpose of the study is to find out the specifics of land relations and forms of dependency of the peasants of Kyiv Voivodeship at the end of 16th – the first half of the 17th century. The research methodology is based on the use of general scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization) and special and historical (problem-chronological, historical and systemic, retrospective) methods. The Scientific Novelty. For the first time in domestic historiography, this study has examined the transformation of the peasants' situation of the Naddniprovyanshchyna which was conditioned by the official measures of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth government in order to “develop the Eastern Borderlands” of the state, which was accompanied by changes in land relations and mass colonization of the region by magnates and gentry of both Ukrainian and Polish origin. The Conclusions. Introduction of the folwark economy within Kyiv Voivodeship at the end of 16th century, where the labour of subordinated peasants used, led to a significant increase in social exploitation, including through labour rents. However, the nobility and royal officials were forced to take into account the existing realities: the threat from the Moscow Empire, the danger of the Tatar attacks and the increase of the Cossack stratum among the population, and to regulate tax rules depending on the situation in each region. The transformation of the legal status of the peasants was evidenced by the active development of serfdom, the legal basis of which was enshrined in the Statute of Lithuania of 1588. Peasants of Kyiv Voivodeship still had the opportunity to move to another place of residence, but were obliged to pay a number of taxes in favor of owner. This led to their mass participation in the armed Cossack uprisings.*

Key words: *peasantry, transformation, Kyiv Voivodeship, folwark economy, serfdom.*

**ТРАНСФОРМАЦІЯ СТАНОВИЩА УКРАЇНСЬКОГО СЕЛЯНСТВА
НАПРИКІНЦІ XVI – У ПЕРШІЙ ПОЛОВИНІ XVII ст.:
НА ПРИКЛАДІ КИЇВСЬКОГО ВОЄВОДСТВА**

Анотація. *Мета дослідження – з'ясувати специфіку поземельних відносин та форм залежності селян Київського воєводства наприкінці XVI – у першій половині XVII ст.*

Методологія дослідження спирається на використання загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, узагальнення) та спеціально-історичних (проблемно-хронологічний, історико-системний, ретроспективний) методів. **Наукова новизна.** Вперше у вітчизняній історіографії досліджено трансформацію становища селян Наддніпрянської України, зумовленою офіційними заходами уряду Речі Посполитої з «освоєння східних кресів» держави, які супроводжувалися зміною земельних відносин та масовою колонізацією краю магнатами і шляхтою як українського так і польського походження. **Висновки.** Запровадження у межах Київського воєводства на схилі XVI ст. фільваркового господарства, в якому використовувалася праця підданих селян, стало причиною суттєвого зростання соціального визиску, зокрема, й через відробіткову ренту. Проте шляхта та королівські урядовці змушені були враховувати реальності: загрозу з боку Московського царства, небезпеку татарських нападів, збільшення козацького прошарку серед населення та регулювати податкові норми залежно від ситуації у кожному регіоні. Про трансформацію правового становища селян свідчив активний розвиток кріпацьких відносин, юридична основа якого була закріплена у нормах Литовського Статуту 1588 р. Селяни Київського воєводства ще мали можливість переселитися на інші місця проживання, але при цьому зобов'язані були сплачувати цілу низку податків на користь власника. Це призвело до їх масової участі у збройних козацьких повстаннях.

Ключові слова: селянство, трансформація, Київське воєводство, фільваркове господарство, кріпацтво.

The Problem Statement. The beginning of the modern period for the European peasantry was characterized by the destruction of the working form of feudal rent due to the growth of commodity-money relations. However, in the east of the continent, medieval traditions were practiced for a long time and in some cases were developed successfully. A striking example of this phenomenon is the situation of the peasantry of Kyiv Voivodeship at the end of the XVIth – the first half of the XVIIth century. Measures of the government of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to “develop the Eastern Borderlands” of the state were accompanied by a change in land relations and the introduction of folwark economy, which used the labour of the peasants. However, the threat from the Moscow kingdom, the danger of attacks by the Tatar nomads and the presence of the Cossacks there forced landowners to regulate tax rules in each of their regions. Therefore, it is important to clarify the role of the state and the executors of its policy, representatives of the nobility of both Ukrainian and Polish origin in the colonization of the Naddniproianshchyna.

The Analysis of Recent Research Works and Publications. The first mention of the taxation of the peasants of the Naddniproianshchyna at the end of the XVIth – the first half of the XVIIth century is contained in Volume V of Mykhailo Hrushevsky's “History of Ukraine-Rus'” (Grushevs'ky`j, 1994, pp. 218–221). A more thorough study of the issues dates back to the Soviet era, which left its mark on the choice of the corresponding interpretation of the ruthless exploitation of peasants. Oleksiy Baranovich made successful attempts to describe the changes in the structure of land tenure, while studying the colonization of Cossack Ukraine on the eve of the Liberation War of the mid-XVIIth century (Baranovich, 1959). A similar aspect was partially outlined by Ivan Krypiakievych (Kry`p`yakevy`ch, 1990), who emphasized the significant deterioration of the situation of peasants, including in the Naddniproianshchyna. The population of Ukraine in the XVIIth century, in particular, migration processes, which significantly affected the economic situation of its inhabitants, is covered in the article by Olena Kompan (Kompan, 1960). The Ukrainian peasantry of the second half of the XVIth – first half of the XVIIth century became the subject of Ivan Boyko's study. Focusing on the development of the peasant households, he did not set aside the issue of land relations and duties of peasants (Bojko, 1963). During the period of the Ukrainian independence, the peasant theme of the early modern period ceased to appear among the

priority areas of domestic research. At the same time, generalized material on this topic is contained in Volume 1 of the collective monograph on the history of the Ukrainian peasantry (Smolii, 2006). The social status of the peasantry in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was also the subject of investigations by foreign historians A. Vynchans'kyi, P. Korys' and M. Malinovs'kyi (Wyczański, 1978, Korys, 2016, Malinowski, 2016).

The purpose of the article is to clarify the specifics of land relations and forms of dependence of the peasants of the Kyiv Voivodeship at the end of the XVIth – the first half of the XVIIth century.

The Main Material Statement. Kyiv Voivodeship was the largest territorial unit among the Ukrainian Voivodeships of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It was located on both banks of the Dnieper from the border with the Belarusian lands in the north and the Moscow Empire in the east. The southern borders reached the steppes of the Upper Dnieper to the nomad's camps of the Tatars. Despite the fertile black soil and favorable climatic conditions for agriculture, the southern part was sparsely populated due to constant invasions by nomads. In the north, with an extensive system of small rivers, preference was given to animal husbandry, forestry, beekeeping, hunting, fishing, and others. The left-bank Kyiv region covered mainly the Pereyaslav land, around which there was the so-called "wild field", where only summer hunting of hunters and fishermen took place (Arhiv, 1886, pp. 84–85, 101).

During the Lithuanian era, the vast majority of lands in the Kyiv Voivodeship belonged to the state. Accordingly, the provision of them for the use by the peasants obliged the latter to pay rent in certain amounts and forms, which depended on the evolution of aristocratic land tenure. However, in the second half of the XVIth century, the situation changed dramatically. This happened due to the socio-economic development of European countries and the involvement of landowners of the Commonwealth in both domestic and foreign markets. Commodity-money relations led to the active development of the folwark economy, which resulted in the introduction of labor rents. In Volyn' and Bratslavshchyna, which became part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth after the Union of Lublin, panshchyna in private ownership quickly reached a few days a week. A slightly different structure of land rent forms was observed in Kyiv Voivodeship, where folwarks were practically non-existent and peasants were considered free. They strongly opposed the introduction of new taxes on their land. Only in some villages of the northern Kyiv region, there were cases of labour rent for several days a year, usually seasonally (Grushevs'kyj, 1994, pp. 218–221).

To a large extent, the transformation of the situation of the peasantry in the Kyiv Voivodeship was conditioned by the Constitution of the Warsaw Sejm of April 19, 1590. The Resolution referred to the distribution of "deserts beyond Bila Tserkva, from which there were no profits, neither public nor private". The granting of lands was provided for people of nobility honored by the Commonwealth. This territory stretched from the Right-bank Ukraine, in particular Volodarka, Velyka Sloboda, Rokytne to the border with the Moscow on the left bank of the Dnieper (Volumina legume, 1859, p. 318).

Since then, the Naddniprianshchyna had become an arena of the so-called "land development" primarily by Russian / Ukrainian princes Vyshnevetsky, Ostrogski, Chetvertynsky, Zbarazhsky, who concentrated in their hands about 2/3 of the land, created huge latifundia, which led to redistribution of land relations (Kry'p'yakevy'ch, 1990, 16). Later, the Polish rulers Zolkiewski, Koniecpolski, Zamoyski, Zbarazki, and Potocki joined them (Litvin, 2016, pp. 492–527). Numerous noble families of the Polish and Ukrainian origin from Galicia and Volyn' arrived, while receiving land which was promised by the

state. At the same time, they also engaged in settlement activities by founding new farms and villages. Some of them were representatives of the Cossack families. Thus, Mykhailo Sulyma, the Volyn nobleman of Kremenets volost founded the village of Rohoshcha in Lyubetsky starostvo, where the future Cossack hetman was born. Ivan Sulyma continued his father's work in the Pereyaslav region, for which as a reward he received the villages of Lebedyn, Kuchakiv and Ravine, which later became known as the sloboda Sulimovka (Sulimovskiy arhiv, 1884, p. IV). Mykhailo Khmelnytsky, originated from a noble Galician family, having joined the service of Korsun-Chyhyryn starosta Jan Daniłowicz, founded the Subotiv village (Kry`p`yakevy`ch, 1990, pp. 41–42), and his son became the leader of the National Liberation War in Ukraine. Peasants from the western Ukrainian lands also joined the resettlement movement, unwilling to pay burdensome labor rents and rising taxes.

Thus, Kyiv Voivodeship changed its social face gradually. Along with new hamlets, slobodas and villages, towns and cities were founded, primarily in magnate latifundia. The volume of both domestic and foreign trade grew accordingly. However, the most significant phenomenon was the development of folwark economy, which was based on the principle of forced labor in favour of the owner. As a result, the peasants were gradually restricted from the right to move to a new place of residence, which they used in the previous period, although this process took place gradually and lasted for several decades. For a guaranteed income, the landowner did not apply the immediate introduction of panshchyna, because the peasants had the opportunity to move to the southern regions, despite the threat of the Tatar invasions. As a rule, in the newly established settlements, the peasants were given a kind of privilege – postponement of labour rent and payment of natural taxes from 3 to 20 years, which was of great importance for the development of their economic activities. Such settlement was in the status of “sloboda”. The term of such “slobodas” was often extended several times at the peasants' demand, which landowners had to put up with.

In order to clarify land relations in the region, it is possible to use mainly audits of royal estates, as documents of private property have hardly been preserved. However, there was no great difference in the forms and norms of rent in state and noble estates. The common desire of their owners was to use natural resources for their enrichment in the shortest possible time.

Agriculture provided the basis for the development of such industries as distillation, weaving, animal husbandry. In the territory of the Northern Kyiv region, fishing and animal husbandry even had advantages over agriculture. They required less labour in the presence of suitable pastures and long seasonal grazing. At the same time, it should be noted that the demand for livestock products was growing steadily. Large groups of cattle – horses, oxen, sheep – were driven from the Dnieper to Lviv, Kazimierz, Toruń and Gdańsk.

The evolution of relations between peasants and landowners should be considered in direct connection with the development of all sectors of the economy and the specific features of the regions. At the same time, due to the actual lack of inventories of estates in the Kyiv Voivodeship, in contrast to Bratslavshchyna and Volyn', lustrations of state property are of the greatest importance. Quite detailed evidence of them is provided by lustration materials. However, lustrations did not cover all taxable economic objects and therefore could not contain comprehensive material on land relations between the direct producer and the local government official. At the same time, the latter often hid entire villages and hamlets from the royal inspectors in order to reduce the tax on the property they owned.

According to the audit of Kaniv starostvo of 1615 – 1616, there were no villages, only the Cossack hamlets, on its territory (Źródła dziejowe, 1877, p. 104). Thereafter, the Cossack

population prevailed, and a small number of peasants did not perform any duties, except to protect the castle from the Tatar raids. However, seven years later (1622) the situation changed significantly. Lustrators noted the presence of 11 villages on the right bank of the Dnieper and 4 on the left bank, the residents of which served in favour of the castle. At the same time, they competed fiercely with the Cossacks, who “make all their goods in the fields as well as in the rivers, taking away almost all land not only in the city but also in the villages” (*Źródła dziejowe*, 1877, p. 131). That is, even in the face of the danger of the Tatar attacks, the peasants were forced to defend their rights to use the land.

It should be noted that in this steppe zone, there was no significant difference between the Cossacks, the bourgeoisie and the peasantry, as the latter considered themselves free, possessed weapons and skillfully used them. Therefore the ruler could not impose a forced rent, but instead tried to obtain a food or monetary tax from the direct producer. Only in exceptional cases the inspectors recorded small folwark farms. Thus, in the village of Kyrylivka, which was in the possession of Teodor Tyshkevych, the peasants performed *zazhynky*, *obzhynky*, *obkosity* and *toloky* on lords’ food, but did not pay any taxes (*Arhiv*, 1886, p. 285). However, this phenomenon was not typical for the region. At the same time, the farms of rural free producers and burghers, who had their farms, homesteads, apiaries, fishery and animal capture in the steppes, had many common features. Along with them, there were farms of runaway peasants who defended their freedom and the right to free labor with weapons in their hands. They independently managed the produced necessary and additional products.

The value of inventories is that they represent the real levels of taxes. Thus, in 1622, the peasants of Kaniv starostvo had to pay 20 Lithuanian groshy from the court, and the neighbours – 12 groshy (Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw. Crown treasury archive (CAHR.CThA), f. LVI, d. 13, p. 7). At this time, the latter made up half of the rural population. They helped the wealthy Cossacks, burghers and peasants to run households, and also served the state crafts. If necessary, statesmen were often forced to use hired labour. The Tatar raids and the Cossack uprisings remained a restraining factor in the introduction of folwark economy until the middle of the XVIIth century.

Similar circumstances were peculiar to Cherkasy starostvo, the territory of which was also on both sides of the Dnieper. In particular, it included such slobodas as Irkliiv, Govtva, Krapivna, Borovytsia. An important source of income of the Cherkasy starostwo were steppe fisheries on the rivers Vorskla, Tiasmyn, Poluzor. In 1615 – 1616 the auditors did not note the permanent duties of the peasantry, except for military service. This region also became the scene of mass migration of peasants in the 1720s – 1730s, which was accompanied by the emergence of dozens of new settlements. Naturally, the royal officials did not record the existence of labour rent, but only the payment of monetary tax by local residents (*Źródła dziejowe*, 1877, 107).

Korsun and Bohuslav starostvos were in somewhat more favourable conditions, as they suffered less losses from the Tatar raids and were located closer to commercial centres. This is clearly evidenced by the audits of the starostvo of 1615 – 1616 on income, although most of them were collected from crafts and livestock. Mass popular colonization also took place here, which was accompanied by the emergence of villages, slobodas and towns. Their inhabitants were mostly peasants and the Cossacks. Until the 1940s, there was no information about the presence of folwarks in Korsun and Boguslav starostvo. Instead, the subordinate population performed their duties in various industries – construction, mills, fishing, apiaries, etc. (*Źródła dziejowe*, 1877, pp. 108, 136). As for labor rent, it was just emerging in private ownership.

The highest level of development of the productive forces of Kyiv Voivodeship was observed in Bila Tserkva starostvo. In the first half of the XVIIth century, many private and processional estates appeared on its territory. In fact, the possessors moved forward to creating grain folwarks, although the peasantry was in a state of constant migration. At the end of the sloboda, the peasant had the opportunity to move to another place of residence and organize his own new farm.

Simultaneously with the creation of folwarks, panshchyna was introduced. According to the audit of 1616, in the village of Romanivka of Bila Tserkva starostvo, peasants worked 1 day a week in winter and 2 days a week in summer, and also paid chetvertyna tax. In the village of Strokov, the related peasants cultivated the folwark with the means of the landowner's labour (*Źródła dziejowe*, 1877, pp. 113, 114). The inhabitants of the village of Pivni worked 2 weeks a year mainly on haymaking and paid 17 zloty and gave a quarter of oats and one capon. And the neighboring villages of Zubari, Kozynky, Polovetske, Stav were on "slobodas", i.e., did not perform their duties, because those settlements "were burned by the Tatars" (Arhiv, 1886, 290). However, due to the high level of peasant migration, the noble folwark economy in Bila Tserkva did not have great prospects for development. The implementation of the principles of noble land policy by the government of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was in deep conflict with the economic interests of the region's inhabitants. Therefore, landowners often had to hire labour, as evidenced by the lustration of Kyiv Voivodeship.

The economic face of Kyiv and Zhytomyr starostvos had many differences compared to the neighboring southern districts. First of all, they were more densely populated and economically developed (Arhiv, 1876, pp. 224–225). The centers of large magnate land tenure appeared here along with small and medium nobility. At the same time, the authorities tried to lure peasants from other regions without the permission of their owners and settle on their lands, not introducing labour rents at first, but limiting to small duties. Thus, in the newly settled village of Pulyn, Kyiv starostvo, in the 1690s, peasants served settling servitude once a year, gave chynsh in cash – 10 kip of money and 14 buckets of fresh Zhytomyr honey. And the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages of Raika and Zbrylivka did not perform their duties because the villages were "free" (Arhiv, 1876, pp. 226–230). The peasants of Bystryk and Zhydivtsi near Berdychiv performed a number of duties: taxes on korchma, vodka, honey, beer, mill, pond etc., paid natural taxes: half of barley and oats, two chickens, one goose (Arhiv, 1876, p. 373). The lack of clear regulation of servitude and taxes often opened wide opportunities for arbitrariness of the landowner against the peasant.

However, since the beginning of the 1620s, there was a labour rent. Thus, the peasants of Baranivka, Pnyshchevo, Stanislavtsy and Gazyntsy of the Zhytomyr starostvo worked for the landowner 2 days a week in summer and 1 day in winter. Similar working rent was observed in Belgorod, which belonged to Princess Anna Chodkievich (Arhiv, 1876, p. 377). According to the data of 1622, private folwarks existed in the villages of Goyshyntsi, Stanishivka, Pnyshcheve, Veresy, Vaskov near Zhytomyr (Institute of Manuscripts of the National Library of Ukraine named after V.I. Vernadsky (IMNLU), f. 2, d. 27704, p. 49). In fact, the folwark economy gave the starostvo half of all profits, which indicates the growth of its marketability.

The rate of labor rent in the Kyiv starostvo was also not high and applied only to individual villages. Thus, in the village of Ostrivok, Ovruch County, as noted in the lustration of 1615 – 1616, the community "works two days a week" and gave a natural tax of "one measure of oats two of capons" in the absence of monetary rent. The norm of working was also clearly defined in the village of Pryschi, five owners of which had "to work one day a week in a

year” (Źródła dziejowe, 1877, p. 80). As a rule, this was done in a certain season, but later the summer-winter panshchyna was complemented with threshing and spring plowing of the lord’s field and a one-two-day norm was established.

Since the beginning of the XVIIth century, as the folwark economy expanded and the villages passed into private hands, the peasants were freed from working for the benefit of local government officials and had to serve the landowner all year round. This can be illustrated by the materials of the community of the village of Yolche, Lubetsky County, the peasants of which, along with chetvertyna tax and “zhitni dyakla”, had to “work for Lyubych three weeks a year”. And with the transfer of the village to Prince Semyon Lisko, according to the lustrator, they had “the weight of the house will be sent to the folwark, then they were not opposed to working 2 days a week in the spring” (Źródła dziejowe, 1877, p. 127).

Thus, all three forms of land rent coexisted on the territory of Kyiv Voivodeship: natural, monetary and labor rent. In the northern part of Kyiv region there was a predominance of natural rent in combination with two others. In the southern region, the peasants were still little involved in the nobility’s economy, so there were few or no rules because of the constant Tatar attacks. In the central starostvos, due to the introduction of folwarks, panshchyna was gradually established with the corresponding duties.

At the end of the XVIth century, significant changes had taken place in the socio-economic and legal situation of the Ukrainian peasantry. They were primarily conditioned by the development of folwark economy, which was based on the principle of forced labor and the need to provide it with labour forces. This led to the gradual restriction of the peasants in the so-called right of exit, which they exercised in the previous period. At the same time, the legislative base of panshchyna was formed.

The provisions of the Statute of Lithuania of 1588, which extended to the territory of Kyiv Voivodeship, provided that a peasant who lived for a certain period in the possession of a prince, lord or landowner and expressed a desire to leave had first serve his master or pay money for every week of established labor rent. The Statute also provided for the return of the escapees and the imposition of a fine in the amount of the damage he had done to the owner (Statuty, 2004, p. 573).

The situation of the so-called “pokhozhi” peasants, i.e., those who formally had the right to move, was not the best. After living on the land of a prince or nobleman for 10 years and deciding to leave the place of residence, the man had to pay 10 kips of money for the “zapomozhenie” (money or stock) provided by the owner even if it is not being used. In other words, landowners tried to legitimate the prohibition of peasants’ leaving and to provide supplies for abandoned households to make it easier to rebuild by settling new people. The Statute of 1588 explicitly stated: “If the children, being free, wished to go away, then these two parts of the property could take with them and they could go away, but only the land should be left to their master with rye sown, with houses and everything what they used while in the economic service” (Statuty, 2004, p. 630). Thus, it was inefficient for peasants to move to other places except in emergency situations. However, the growing social exploitation pushed the peasants to risky actions.

The issue of jurisdiction of his peasant was also resolved in favour of the landowner. The nobles were given the power to judge their own people and to impose fines on them. Public officials had the right to deliver justice to private subjects only in cases of robbery, rape, arson and infliction of bodily harm on a nobleman. In addition, peasants were forbidden to testify in court against their landowners (Statuty, 2004, p. 493).

The state peasants were in a slightly different position, as they were allowed to appeal to the referendum court against the statesmen of the royal estates. The reason for the lawsuit could be their abuse of the position, such as an increase in government duties or customary peasant duties. However, the declared right was violated in every possible way in everyday life. The court nobles sided with the accused, and the plaintiffs-peasants were fined and demanded the termination of the claims. In case of disobedience, the peasants were subjected to physical torture, accused of robbery (Loziński, 1903, p. 593).

The unequal status of the peasant in comparison with the nobleman is fixed by norms of the legislation. This, in particular, concerned the responsibility for the crime. For example, for the murder of a nobleman by a peasant, the latter had to be killed, and the nobleman only lost his hand. According to sources, the peasant deserved to die even when he used or bought stolen things, knowing their origin (Arhiv, 1876, pp. 212–214). The peasant was also deprived of the right to hold any government positions, both lower and higher state authorities.

At the same time, the medieval law was often more effective than the existing legal norms of the early modern period. Noble arbitrariness due to the introduction of panshchyna and armed robberies had a negative impact on the situation of the peasantry. Therefore, it is natural that peasants became more and more involved in the Cossack uprisings, which later grew into the National Liberation War of the Ukrainian people in 1648 – 1657.

The Conclusions. As a result of the government policy of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to “develop the Eastern Borderlands” of the state at the end of the XVIth – the first half of the XVIIth century, there was a radical change in land relations in Kyiv Voivodeship. It was accompanied by mass colonization of the region by magnates and nobility of both Ukrainian and Polish origin. Along with this, a large number of peasants from the western Ukrainian regions moved to the Naddniprianshchyna in search of a better life. The introduction of folwark economy led to increased social exploitation, including through labour rents. However, the nobility and royal officials were forced to take into account the existing realities: the threat from the Moscow Empire, the danger of the Tatar raids and the growth of the Cossack stratum; and to regulate tax rules depending on the situation in each region. The transformation of the legal status of the peasants was evidenced by the active development of panshchyna, the legal basis of which was fixed in the Statute of Lithuania of 1588. Peasants of Kyiv Voivodeship still had the opportunity to move to another place, but were obliged to pay a number of taxes. This led to their mass participation in the armed Cossack uprisings.

Funding. The author did not receive any financial support for his research, authorship and / or publication of this article.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie. Archiwum skarbu koronnego [Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw. Crown treasury archive – CAHR.CThA]

Arhiv. (1876). *Arhiv Yugo-Zapadnoj Rossii, izdavaemyj Vremennoyu komissieyu dlya razbora drevnih aktov, uchrezhdennoj pri Kievskom, Podol'skom i Volynskom general-gubernatore* [Archives of South-Western Russia, issued by the Temporary Commission for the Development of Ancient Acts, established under the Governors-General of Kyiv, Podolsk and Volyn], 6(1). Kiev, 614 p. [in Russian]

Arhiv. (1886). *Arhiv Yugo-Zapadnoj Rossii, izdavaemyj Vremennoyu komissieyu dlya razbora drevnih aktov, uchrezhdennoj pri Kievskom, Podol'skom i Volynskom general-gubernatore* [Archives of South-Western Russia, issued by the Temporary Commission for the Development of Ancient Acts, established under the Governors-General of Kyiv, Podolsk and Volyn], 7(1). Kiev, 647 p. [in Russian]

Baranovich, A. I. (1959). *Ukraina nakanune osvoboditel'noj vojny serediny XVII v.* [Ukraine on the eve of the liberation war in the middle of the XVII c.]. Moskva: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 209 p. [in Russian]

Bojko, I. D. (1963). *Selyanstvo Ukrayiny` v drugij polovy`ni XVI – pershij polovy`ni XVII st.* [Peasantry of Ukraine in the second half of the XVI – first half of the XVII c.]. Kyiv: Vyd-vo AN URSR, 332 p. [in Ukrainian]

Grushevs'ky`j, M. S. (1994). *Istoriya Ukrayiny-Rusy* [History of Ukraine-Rusy], Vol. 5. Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 687 p. [in Ukrainian]

Institut rukopysu Nacionalnoyi biblioteki Ukrayiny imeni V.I. Vernadskogo [Institute of Manuscripts of the National Library of Ukraine named after V.I. Vernadsky – IMNLU]

Kompan, O. S. (1960). Do py`tannya pro zaselenist` Ukrayiny` v XVII st. [Towards question about the settlement of Ukraine in the XVII c.]. *Ukrayinskij istorychnyj zhurnal*, 1, 65–77. [in Ukrainian]

Korys, P. (2016). Krepostnaya zavisimost, panshchina i ikh nasledie v Polshe [Serfdom, Feudal Land Tenure and Their Legacy in Poland]. *Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie*, 141, 94–108. [in Russian]

Kry`p`yakevy`ch, I. P. (1990). *Bogdan Khmelnytsky* [Bogdan Khmelnytsky]. L`viv: Svit, 406 p. [in Ukrainian]

Litvin, H. (2016). *Z narodu ruskoho. Shliakhta Kyivshchyny, Volyni ta Bratslavshchyny (1569 – 1649)* [From Ruskiy people. Shliakhta Kyivshchyny, Volyni and Bratslavshchyny (1569 – 1649)]. Kyiv: Dukh i litera, 616 p. [in Ukrainian]

Loziński, W. (1903). *Prawem i lewem, obyczaje na Czerwonej Rusi za panowania Zygmunta III* [Right and left, customs in the chervona Rus`during the reign of Zygmunt III]. Lwów, XI + 678 s. [in Polish]

Malinowski, M. (2016). Serfs and the city: market conditions, surplus extraction institutions, and urban growth in early modern Poland. *European Review of Economic History*, 20 (2), 123–146 Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ereh/hew002> [in English]

Smolii, V. A. (Ed). (2006). *Istoriya ukrajyns`kogo selyanstva* [History of Ukrainian peasantry]. (Vol. 1). Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 696 p. [in Ukrainian]

Statuty. (2004). *Statuty Vely`kogo knyazivstva Ly`tovs`kogo u 3 t. Statut Vely`kogo knyazivstva Ly`tovs`kogo 1588 roku* [Statute of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania of 1588], 3(1). Odesa: Yury`dy`chna literatura, 666 p. [in Ukrainian]

Sulimovskiy arhiv. (1884). *Sulimovskiy arhiv: Familnye bumagi Sulim, Skorup i Voytsekhovichey XVII – XVIII vv.* [Sulimov Archive: Family papers of Sulim, Skorup and Wojciechowicz of the XVII – XVIII c.] Kiev, XXII+316 p. [in Russian]

Volumina legume. (1859). *Volumina legume* [Volumina legume] / Ed. J. Ohryzko. Vol. 2. Petersburg, 482 p. [in Polish]

Wyczański, A. (1978). Le paysan, la tenure et le bail en Pologne au XVIe siècle [Peasant Tenure and Lease in Poland During 16th-Century]. *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 33 (4), 772–779. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.3406/ahess.1978.293970> [in French]

Źródła dziejowe. (1877). *Źródła dziejowe* [Historical sources] / Ed. A. Jabłonowski. Vol. 5. Warszawa, 226 p. [in Polish]

The article was received April 11, 2021.

Article recommended for publishing 23/02/2022.

UDC 271.4-523.6(477.83/.86)
DOI 10.24919/2519-058X.22.253731

Mykola KUHUTIAK

PhD hab. (History), Professor, Dean of the Faculty of History, Political Science and International Relations at State Higher Educational Institution Vasyl Stefanyk Precarpathian National University, 57 Shevchenko Street, Ivano-Frankivsk, Ukraine, postal code 76018 (dekanat_istor@ukr.net; mykola.kuhutiak@pnu.edu.ua)

ORCID: 0000-0002-8936-3080

Researcher ID: 4580543/mykola-kugutiak/

Andrii KOROLKO

PhD (History), Associate Professor of the Department of History of Ukraine and Methods of Teaching History at State Higher Educational Institution Vasyl Stefanyk Precarpathian National University, 57 Shevchenko Street, Ivano-Frankivsk, Ukraine, postal code 76018 (korolko_andr@ukr.net; andrii.korolko@pnu.edu.ua)

ORCID: 0000-0001-7435-5806

Researcher ID: Z-1663-2019

Микола КУГУТЯК

доктор історичних наук, професор, декан факультету історії, політології і міжнародних відносин Державного вищого навчального закладу “Прикарпатський національний університет імені Василя Стефаника”, вул. Шевченка, 57, м. Івано-Франківськ, Україна, індекс 76018 (dekanat_istor@ukr.net; mykola.kuhutiak@pnu.edu.ua)

Андрій КОРОЛЬКО

кандидат історичних наук, доцент кафедри історії України і методики викладання історії Державного вищого навчального закладу “Прикарпатський національний університет імені Василя Стефаника”, вул. Шевченка, 57, м. Івано-Франківськ, Україна, індекс 76018 (korolko_andr@ukr.net; andrii.korolko@pnu.edu.ua)

Bibliographic Description of the Article: Kuhutiak, M. & Korolko, A. (2022). Pitritskyi monastery: an outstanding spiritual monument of Galicia. *Skhidnoieuropeiskyi istorychnyi visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 22, 42–53. doi: 10.24919/2519-058X.22.253731

**PITRYTSKY MONASTERY:
AN OUTSTANDING SPIRITUAL MONUMENT OF GALICIA**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to highlight the geographical location, political and socio economic history of Pitrytsky Sviatouspensky Monastery in the Middle Ages and modern times on the basis of the archival and published materials and scientific works. Interesting little-known archival documents on the research problem can be found in five domestic and foreign archival, library and museum institutions. The methodology of the research is based on the principles of historicism, systematization, scientificity, objectivity, use of general scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization) and special historical (historical genetic, historical typological, historical systemic) methods. The scientific novelty is due to the introduction into scientific circulation of little-known archival*

and published sources, which allows revealing the poorly understood pages of the political and socio economic history of Pitrytsky Sviatouspensky Monastery.

The Conclusions. Pitrytsky Sviatouspensky Monastery was a well-to-do monastery of Galicia, which was under the direct authority of the Bishop of Halych, the monastery enjoyed respect and authority among other monasteries of the region. The monastery served as the spiritual court of the Galician diocese for a long time. Throughout its history, the monastery was closely associated with Krylosky Cathedral of Sviatouspensky Monastery. Under appropriate historical circumstances, Pitrytsky Sviatouspensky Monastery served as a Cathedral Monastery. Prominent church figures held monastic spiritual asceticism in Pitrytsky Cathedral. A great deal of efforts were made in order to liquidate hundreds of monasteries as part of church-monastery reform when the Austrian rule came to power in the 80-90s of the XVIIIth century. In connection with Krylosky Sviatouspensky Monastery and Sviatoillinsky Monasteries closure in 1783, Pitrych was annexed to the monastery in Zavalov, which in 1799 was also liquidated. Under these circumstances, Pitrytsky Sviatouspensky Monastery, one of the outstanding spiritual monuments of Galicia, completed its 700-year history.

Key words: monastery, monk, metropolitan, bishop, church, privilege, nobility, monastic possession, inventory, diploma.

ПІТРИЦЬКА ОБИТЕЛЬ: ВИЗНАЧНА ДУХОВНА ПАМ'ЯТКА ГАЛИЧИНИ

Анотація. Мета дослідження – на основі архівних і опублікованих матеріалів і наукових праць висвітлено географічне розташування, політичну та соціально-економічну історію Пітрицького Святоуспенського монастиря у період середньовіччя і нового часу. Цікаві маловідомі архівні документи з досліджуваної проблеми зберігаються у п'яти вітчизняних та зарубіжних архівних, бібліотечних і музейних установах. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на принципах історизму, системності, науковості, об'єктивності, використанні загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, узагальнення) та спеціально-історичних (історико-генетичний, історико-типологічний, історико-системний) методів. **Наукова новизна** зумовлена введенням до наукового обігу маловідомих архівних і опублікованих джерел, що дає змогу розкрити недостатньо з'ясовані сторінки політичної та соціально-економічної історії Пітрицького Святоуспенського монастиря. **Висновки.** Пітрицька Святоуспенська обитель була забезпеченим, середнім за господарським значенням, монастирем Галичини. Перебуваючи у безпосередньому підпорядкуванні Галицького єпископа, монастир користувався повагою і авторитетом серед інших чернечих обителей краю. Тривалий час виконував роль духовного суду Галицької дієцезії. Упродовж своєї історії був тісно пов'язаний з Крилоським катедральним Святоуспенським монастирем. За відповідних історичних обставин виконував роль катедральної обители. В Пітрицькій катедрі проходили чернече духовне подвижництво видатні церковні діячі. З приходом у 80 – 90-х рр. XVIII ст. австрійської влади докладено значних зусиль до ліквідації сотень монастирів у рамках церковно-монастирської реформи. У 1783 р., у зв'язку із закриттям крилоських Святоуспенського і Святоїллінського монастирів, Пітрич був приєднаний до обители в Завалові, яка у 1799 р. також була ліквідована. За таких обставин, завершив свою 700-літню історію Пітрицький монастир – одна з визначних духовних пам'яток Галичини.

Ключові слова: монастир, монах, митрополит, єпископ, церква, привілей, шляхта, монастирське володіння, інвентар, грамота.

The Problem Statement. Pitrytsky Sviatouspensky Monastery, which was located in the village of Pitrych for seven centuries, nowadays the eponymous village of Kozyn, Halych city territorial community of Ivano-Frankivsk district, Ivano-Frankivsk region, plays an important role in the history of the Galician monasteries. According to the archaeological data, the monastery was founded in the middle of the XIIth century. The monastery belonged to the first wave of monastic monuments of kniazhy Halych. In spite of the difficult historical circumstances, the monastery did not get lost in the darkness of the centuries. Apparently, the

monastery existed intermittently during the Middle Ages and modern times and was closed by the Austrian authorities at the end of the XVIIIth century.

The Analysis of Recent Research Works and Publications. Mykhailo Kossak was one of the first researchers, who studied the chronicle of Pitrytsky Monastery (Kossak, 1867). In the context of studying the antiquities of Ancient Halych, the sacred monument was studied by Yosyp Pelensky (Pelensky, 2018), Yaroslav Pasternak (Pasternak, 1998), Lev Chachkovsky and Yaroslav Khmylevsky (Chachkovskiyi & Khmylevskiyi, 1959). While exploring the Basilian monasteries of Galicia (Halychyna), the study of the above-mentioned monastery was analysed by the Ukrainian diaspora researcher of the church Mykhailo Wawryk (Vavryk, 1979) and the Polish researcher Władysław Chotkowski (Chotkowski, 1922). At the present stage, some aspects of the study of the history of Pitrytsky Monastery are covered by the Ukrainian historian and archaeologist Bohdan Tomenchuk (Tomenchuk, 2008) and the Polish researcher Beata Lorens (Lorens, 2014a; Lorens, 2014b).

In addition, the little-known archival documents of domestic and foreign archival, library and museum institutions are extremely important and informative for revealing the content of the issue: Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 4, c. 613; f. 364, d. 1, c. 183), Department of Manuscripts of Vasyl Stefanyk Lviv National Scientific Library (DMLNSL, відділ рукописів, f. 77, d. 1, c. 981/п. 116; f. 141, d. 1, c. 307/11) and the Department of Antiquities and Manuscripts of the Andrey Sheptytsky National Museum in Lviv (DAMASNM, rkl. 6630, p. 101); Main Archive of Ancient Acts (Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie (AGAD), zesp. 1, sygn. 19) and the Manuscripts Department of the People's Library in Warsaw (Zakład Rękopisów Biblioteki Narodowej w Warszawie (BN. OR. 33), zesp. 633, sygn 1332/11). The research is supplemented by original documents published in Volume 10 of the "Archives of South-western Russia" (Arkhiv Yuho-Zapadnoi Rossyy, 1904, pp. 55–57) and in the first and third volumes of the "Velykyi Skyt y Karpatakh", dedicated to the study of the Manyavskiyi Monastery (Velykyi Skyt u Karpatakh, 2013, pp. 135–137; Velykyi Skyt u Karpatakh, 2017, p. 223).

The purpose of the research is to highlight the geographical location, political and socio economic history of Pitrytsky Sviatospensky Monastery in the Middle Ages and modern times on the basis of the archival and published materials and scientific works.

The Main Material Statement. The first information about the ancient Pitrytsky monastery was published in 1867 by Mykhailo Kossak, the manager of the printing house of the Stauropegeion Institute in Lviv in "Schematism of the Province of St. Savior of the Order of St. Basil the Great in Galicia...". M. Kossak referred to the work written by Galician historian Isidor Sharanevych "The Ancient Halych", stated that in 1558 the monastery already existed and because it was located near the village of Kozyn and the monastery was often called "Kozynetsky". The monastery existed on the basis of royal privileges and foundations of the Crown Hetmans and nobility (Kossak, 1867, p. 163).

The renowned Galician archaeologist Yosyp Pelensky made considerable efforts in order to study the antiquities of the Ancient Halych. Combining archeological research methods with active archival searches for written historical sources, the scholar came close to determining the location of the ancient Uspensky Cathedral near which "there was a capital monastery with the seat of a bishop, later a metropolitan" (Pasternak, 1998, p. 60). Yo. Pelensky also studied Monastery Mountain near the village of Pitrych, where there was a "settlement of the so-called monks Kalohiyeriv in Pitrych with the Church of the Assumption of the Virgin" (Pelensky, 2018, p. 129). (The Ipatiev Chronicle of 1250 mentioned the Vydubychi Monastery

near Kyiv, which was designated as the monastery of the “Kaluheriv”. The Vydubychi Monastery was visited by Kniaz Danylo on his way to the Tatar khan. – Authors). The field research on the site of the monastery along with discovered archival sources persuaded him that the monastery was founded in the knyazhy period, it existed during the Middle Ages and modern times. According to Yo. Pelensky, Pitrytsky Monastery played a crucial role in the defense system of knyazhy Halych, as the “capital city” was covered from different sides by “four (defensive) monasteries from four corners of the world: St. Panteleimon, Pitrych, Sokol and Viktoriv” (Pelensky, 2018, p. 239). Yo. Pelensky also drew specific attention to the close connection of Pitrytsky Uspensky Monastery with the Cathedral Monastery of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin in the village of Krylos.

The amateur archaeologist Lev Chachkovsky and a physician Yaroslav Khmylevsky joined the study on knyazhy Halych’s monuments, including Pitrytsky Monastery from the middle of the 1920s to the beginning of the 1930s. In the book “Knyazhy Halych” (1938), the researchers, based on their experience of the topographic survey of ancient Halych, depicted the location of the Pitrytsky Monastery on the basis of historical documents. The main points were the following: “Above the village, located on the banks of the Dniester, rises a clay mountain called “Nad Khatamy” (“Above the Huts”). The mountain is cut off from the further, southern part of the high shore, where the old monastery once stood, a deep ravine. The top of the mountain “Nad Khatamy” (“Above the Huts”) is obliquely cut to the south-east and surrounded by a horseshoe-shaped roll so that both ends reach the edge of the steep decline from the Dniester. The length of the roll is 192 m, the width of the roll with a moat is 10 m, the distance between the two ends at the edge of the sloping hill is 80 m... In the agreement issued in 1556, made by the voivode Mykola Sinyavskyi with Pitrytsia monastery concerning the matter of delimitation of pastures, the mountain “Nad Khatamy” was named “Hora Horodyshche”... The one who wrote off the agreement from 1556 undoubtedly had in mind the mountain “Above the Huts” and called it quite correctly “horodyshche” (settlement). Thus, the demarcation line defined in the agreement came from “Nad Khatamy” mountain namely from the point where spring water flows from the side of the monastery mountain in the speed of the ravine, and where, as stated in the agreement, the first stone was laid then to the place overgrown with vines, where the second stone was placed, then turned south to the road leading from the monastery to Halych and where the third stone was placed under the oak, etc. The demarcation line, hence, embraced the monastery mountain with pastures laid further south of the river” (Chachkovskyi & Khmylevskyi, 1959, pp. 15–16). Covering Pitrytsky Monastery localization issue, L. Chachkovsky and Ya. Khmylevsky drew special attention to the fact that the monastery buildings were located not at the foot of the mountain, but on the top of the mountain, which is important for clarifying the location of the monastery (Chachkovskyi & Khmylevskyi, 1959, p. 60).

A new stage of scientific study on Pitrytsky horodyshche (settlement) was closely connected with the activity of Ivano-Frankivsk archaeologist Bohdan Tomenchuk. His archeological excavations in 1988 – 1989 made it possible to find the remains of a fortified monastery complex in the middle of the XIIth century on Monastyrska Hora (Mountain) with the temple’s foundations and numerous burials of monks and believers.

During the study of a small church, which was 4.8 m wide and 6.2 m long, 10 two-layer burials were discovered, some of them with a stone “pillow”. B. Tomenchuk found a cemetery near the church, which housed 66 two-layered monastic burials. Within the foundations of the church more than 600 fragments of ceramic tiles to the floor measuring 13x19x19 cm were

found. In 2008 a thorough monograph written by B. Tomenchuk was published in which the author, among other things, managed to summarize the results of his research on Pitrytsky horodyshche (settlement) (Tomenchuk, 2008, pp. 529–530, 592–597).

Beata Lorens, the Polish researcher showed interest in Pitrytsky Monastery. In her monograph concerning the activities of the Basilian monasteries of the crown province of 1743 – 1780, B. Lorens analyzed the pastoral, cultural, educational, and economic activities of the Basilian monks, including Pitrytsia monks (Lorens, 2014a). In 2014, B. Lorens published an article in Polish in the magazine “The Carpathians: Human, Ethnos, Civilization” about the Basilian monasteries of the Galician land, liquidated by the Austrian authorities in the third quarter of the XVIIIth century. The scientific research was based on the inventory descriptions of 1763 – 1764, in particular of Pitrytsky Monastery, carried out on March 17, 1764 (Lorens, 2014b, pp. 166–177).

Historical sources discovered in recent years expanded our knowledge of the monastery. The most representative sources of its late medieval and modern history were documents concentrated in domestic and foreign archives and libraries of Lviv, Krakow, Warsaw, Vienna. The vast majority of these sources in the content belong to the act, historical and legal documents. Furthermore, a separate group of them consisted of the charters and privileges of the Polish kings, the Crown Hetmans, Voivodes, elders, Bishops, and nobility. The royal charters, acts of visitations, inventory descriptions of Pitrytsky Monastery of the XVIIth – the XVIIIth centuries contained vital information concerning the monastery’s state.

Among the discovered written sources on the history of Pitrytsky Monastery, the oldest, nowadays, is a document from 1552 found in Fund 7 (Archive of the Crown Treasure) of the Main Archive of Ancient Acts in Warsaw. The document is a Latin list of 9 Pitrytsky Monastery monks, who were designated as kaluhery (from the Greek language: holy elders. – Author): 1. Andrew Filipkovich, 2. Hryenko Vasiutysh, 3. Misko Vasiutysh, 4. Hrytsko, 5. Andriy Horbach, 6. Hribysrychka, 7. Roman Popovych, 8. Kunash, 9. Prosynych (AGAD, zesp. 1, sygn. 19, k. 129). The value of the document lies in the fact that the personal lists of monks of certain monasteries in the XVIth century are relatively rare.

In the People’s Library in Warsaw in the discovered list of documents of the XVIth century, there is an agreement concluded on September 11, 1556, between Mykola Seniavsky, the voivode of the Ruthenian lands, the Crown Hetman, Halych and Kolomyia elders with the monks of Pitrytsky Monastery regarding the demarcation of “hayfields near Halych castle”. The above-mentioned agreement was approved by the Polish King Sigismund II Augustus in Piotrkow on June 25, 1557 (BN. OR., zesp. 633, sygn. 1332/11, k. 1).

There is a list of charters, privileges for forests, fields and hayfields of Pitrytsky Monastery, which could be found among the inventory acts and other historical documents in the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv. The monastery kept a copy of the privilege issued by King Sigismund II Augustus in 1567, which confirmed the right of Halych and Kolomyia elder M. Syniavsky “to the lands that were given in exchange, and now are in his use”, as well as land holdings that were owned by Pitrytsky Monastery (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 4, c. 613, p. 174). The original issue of the above-mentioned privilege, as well as the other documents, was lost during the Tatar raids. According to the privilege of Kamenets, Halych and Kolomyia castellan Hieronim Sieniawski, granted on July 9, 1574, in Halych Castle, the right of the monks to the lands along with the Solovche field was confirmed. The monks kept a flyout of the above-mentioned document, made by Danylo Markevych in 1693 (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 4, c. 613, p. 174). In April 15, 1608, Belz voivode, Halych and Kolomyia elder

Stanislav Vladko provided Pitrytsky Monastery with the confirmation of ownership on the land ownership in Halych Castle. The charter also mentioned the privilege of King Sigismund III (CSHAUL, f. 364, d. 1, c. 183, p. 78).

Volume 10 of the Archives of Southwestern Russia, which was published in Kyiv in 1904, contained a letter from the Polish King Stefan Batory dated November 16, 1582, indicating the special, episcopal status of Pitrytsky Monastery. It contained the appeal of the Hegumen (abbot) of Pitrytsky Monastery Stefan Grek (Herk), who pledged together with the monastic community of Halych Bishop Gideon Balaban to take the monastery under his care. The Hegumen motivated his request, expressed in a letter to H. Balaban on April 19, 1582, by his “deep old age” and the impossibility of conducting monastic affairs in this connection, “so that the saint church and the monastic place would not become a wasteland”. Father Stefan stated that “the Bishop of Halych did so at my request, as he began to donate and advise the holy churches of the monastery with all his possessions, and to protect me from all wrongs and claims, as well as my brothers and the whole order in the church and monastery to do and to guard and take care of the possessions of all kinds of monasteries, the hayfields and monastic gardens as well”. Motivated by these circumstances, Pitrytsky Monastery monks saw the protection of the monastic estates from the encroachments of the nobility in the high patronage of Halych bishop. At the same time the Hegumen provided the monks-kalyhery and himself with everything necessary from the monastery profits. Based on the above-mentioned information, he stated the following: “For me too as the Hegumen and the brothers, who will be kalyhery in the monastery, or servants of the monastery has the Father of the Bishop from the income of the monastery for livestock and for my needs as kalyhery to give and care” (Arkhiv Yuho-Zapadnoi Rossyy, 1904, pp. 56–57). The King by his charter approved Pitrytsky Monastery transfer to the subordination of the Bishop.

The ancient Pitrytsky Monastery was well-known to the church leaders of that time. Hieromonk Ignatius of Liubarov, author of the renowned hagiographic work “The Life of Iowa” (The life of the Job) in Ukraine, written in 1622 – 1628, emphasized that the founder of Maniava Skete of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross Ivan Kniahynytsky (Job of Manyava) in 1608 – 1610 met with Hieromonk Pankraty Pitritskyi Monastery Hegumen, as well as with the treasurer of this monastery, Hierodeacon Theodosius. Hierodeacon Theodosius aspired to join the ascetic community of Job in Maniava, as he had a desire for hermitage, but was first sent to obedience to Pitrytsky Monastery and only a year and a half later was admitted to Maniava Skete, and later became its first Hegumen (abbot), wrote his famous work “The Spiritual Covenant”. In 1611, Job began the construction of Maniava Skete and sought to build it on the model of Athos Vatopedi and Pitrytsky Monastery in Halych. In his address to Theodosius Knyahynytskyi stated the following: “You should be here, because you are the Galician and this place is in the land of Halych the only elder, also the ktetor (founder) is Galician, and it will be Halych monastery, like Pitrytsky Monastery, just be patient and determined” (Velykyi Skyt u Karpatakh, 2013, pp. 135–137).

Although Pitrytsky Monastery monks had to focus their efforts not only on spiritual asceticism but also on defending their estates. During the XVIIth – XVIIIth centuries the monastery was confronted with the Polish gentry’s seizures of the monastery’s land holdings. The lustration of its settlements appointed by the Sejm, with the simultaneous delimitation of the monastic lands from Halych, the villages of Dubivtsi, Kozyn and Krylos, carried out by the Royal Commissioners on April 21, 1617, confirmed the monks’ right to own land and the Solovche field. The lustration act was issued in 1642, and in 1728 it was included in the

Acts of Halych Castle and Zhydachiv Starostyn Books. On January 29, 1650, in Warsaw, King Jan Kasimir of Poland issued a charter confirming the charter of Sigismund II, August of 1557 on the delimitation of the monastery lands by Halych, allotted in exchange by His Majesty Mr. Mykola Seniavsky, voivode of the Ruthenian lands...defined by boundary markers” (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 4, c. 613, p. 174). The privilege was prepared on the basis of the oath of Halych burghers, taken in Warsaw, that the original charter of Sigismund II Augustus, issued to Pitrytsky Monastery monks on land demarcation, along with other documents was lost as a result of the Turkish and the Tatar invasion (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 4, c. 613, p. 174). Another privilege of the Polish king Mykhailo Vyshnevetskyi on August 17, 1671 confirmed the right of the monks to own “the lands and fields of Solovche” (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 4, c. 613, p. 174v.).

The royal privilege did not interfere with the owner of the village of Kozyn, a nobleman – Stanislav Yastrebskyi to commit an outright offense and capture the monastery field Solovche. The letter of King M. Vyshnevetsky to S. Yastrebsky of the same year confirming the monks’ right to the Solovche field did not help the case (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 4, c. 613, p. 174 v.).

In response to the arbitrariness of the nobility, Pitrytsky Monastery monks began a trial, which was held with varying degrees of success. Stanisław Potocki, a castellan from Kamianets and a Galician elder, defended the rights of monks in 1678, 1680 and 1682. The conflict occurred with renewed vigor after the nobleman dealt with the monk from Pitrytsky Monastery. In 1687, the Hegumen (abbot) and his community appealed to Halych court against S. Yastrebsky “for encroaching on the possession and beating of a religious person” (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 4, c. 613, p. 175). The nobleman ignored the court’s verdicts. In 1688, the monks again appealed to the court with a complaint about “driving oxen from the monastery forests by a peasant Tymko from the village of Kozyn, the subordinate of the nobleman Stanislav Yastrebsky, the owner of this village in violation of the right of the peaceful possession” (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 4, c. 613, p. 175).

In 1728 the conflict over the monastery estates reached a new level. The court of Halych received several complaints from Pitrytsky Monastery monks about the arbitrariness of Yastrebsky, who continued to hold the seized lands. The monks once again demanded the return of the “legitimate foundation of the Solovche land monastery and the reimbursement of the selected profits” (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 4, c. 613, p. 175). From Yastrebsky to the court of Halych the statement that “foundations were taken away as their own” arrived (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 4, c. 613, p. 175).

Having taken all possible measures on the local place, the monks decided to appeal to the Royal Court of Lublin. The process lasted for decades. During this time, Stanislav Yastrebsky’s son Mykhailo became the owner of the village, but the dispute over the monastery’s land holdings continued. In 1737 Metropolitan Athanasius Szeptycki of Lviv intervened. In 1743, a statement was submitted to Halych Starostinsky Court by the clergy of Pitrytsky Monastery, written by the monk Arseniy Danylovykh, against Mykhailo Yastrebsky regarding his father’s forcible seizure of the monastery’s land holdings. For the second time, the monks appealed to the courtroom of the Royal Tribunal of Lublin with a complaint about the seizure of Solovche land. Only on September 19, 1749, the nobleman Mykhailo Yastrebsky addressed a letter to the Hegumen (abbot) of Krylosky and Pitrytsky monasteries, Hilarion Levitsky, proposing the return of half of the Solovche monastery, and demanded “that Pitrytsky monastery monks send an appeal to Lublin tribunal to cancel the trial” (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 4, c. 613, p. 175).

Hence, one of the longest trials in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth ended, which lasted almost 80 years, from 1671 to 1749. Such litigation was common at that time.

Their main reason was the frequent attacks of the nobility on monastic possessions, which manifested itself in the unauthorized seizure of forests, pastures, hayfields, fields. The number of lawsuits in this regard in the XVIIIth century increased four times (Velykyi Skyt u Karpatakh, 2017, p. 223). The economic condition of the monasteries was undermined, devastated them financially due to the protracted litigation with the descendants of former donors, and even more with the nobility, who tried to appropriate the monastic possessions. Along with Pitrytsky Monastery, Maniava Skete of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, Hoshiv Monastery, Pehinsky Monastery, Pohonsky Monastery of Dormition of the Mother of God, Svarychivsky Monastery and other monasteries were forced to defend their land holdings in courts from the middle of the XVIIth to the middle of the XVIIIth century.

Nowadays, there were no documents found on the time and circumstances of the transition of Pitrytsky Monastery monks to the union. Apparently, it happened in 1700 along with the transition of the entire Galician diocese. The evidence was the letter of the Bishop of Lviv Iosyf Shumliansky for January 20, 1702, which mentioned the Hegumen (abbot) of Pitrytsky, at the same time the diocesan visitor Ioakynf Zhukovsky. On August 14, 1711, at Univ Cathedral, he signed the charter of the Order of St. Basil the Great (DAMASNM, rkl. 6630, p. 101; Kossak, 1867, p. 163).

Pitrytsky Monastery, along with Krylosky Monastery, Uspensky Monastery, were under the direct care of Lviv Bishop Iosyf Shumliansky. In the fund 364 “Lukan Stepan-Roman (1907 – 1943), OSBG (Order of Saint Basil the Great) priest, historian of religion, culture, bibliographer, journalist of the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv came across an excerpt of the foundation diploma of Iosyf Shumliansky without dating, in which he noted the following: “I fund, decree, ordain the seniority, government and power of the visiting father Ioakynf Zhukovsky in the monastery of Pitrytsky Halych under St. Basil rule and whatever they lacked – could quest. For this, a memorial service and one Divine Liturgy should be held every week” (CSHAUL, f. 364, d. 1, c. 183, p. 63). Iosyf Shumliansky also restored half destroyed Krylosky Sviatouspensky Cathedral Monastery. As a result, Iosyf Shumliansky bequeathed 10 thousand Polish zloty and his own village Komariv in order to support Krylosky Sviatouspensky Monastery on November 12, 1707. He subordinated the restored Uspensky Monastery with four monks to the Hegumen (Abbot) of Pitrytsky Ioakynf Zhukovsky (Kossak, 1867, p. 167).

In the middle of the XVIIIth century the Catholic Church took a number of measures in order to improve the condition of the Basilian monasteries. In 1744, Pope Benedict XIV, in a Papal bull “Inter plures”, approved decrees that monasteries that could not provide for eight monks were to be liquidated. In the same year, the decree of the Austrian Empress Maria Theresa provided for the unification of small and medium-sized monasteries with large ones, so that there were 10 monks in the monastery. On October 19, 1745, Metropolitan Athanasius Szeptycki of Halych issued a decree on joining Kryloskyi Monastery of St. Illya, as well as Sokil Monastery, Dorohiv Monastery and Lukvyanskyi Monastery to Pitrytsky Cathedral (DMLNSL, f. 141, d. 1, c. 307/11, pp. 10–11).

The archimandrite of OSBG Josaphat Sidletsky had to face with a difficult choice and was forced to join Pitrytsky monastery to Krylosky Cathedral Monastery in 1749. Hence, the monastery lost its independent status. The village of Pitrych was at the same time under the leadership of Krylosky Hegumen (abbot). According to the catalog of Sviatopokrovska (the Holy Intercession) Province, prepared by the archbishop archimandrite of OSBG Josaphat Sidletsky in 1754, there were 7 religious servants in both monasteries: Hilarion Levitsky,

hegumen; Father Halaktion Vlosovsky; Father Innokentiy (Innocent) Lyubachevsky; Father Arseniy Danylovych, the procurator of Pitrych; Herman Hatskevich, deacon; Ignatius Laskevych, deacon; Polycarp Hromnytsky, deacon (Vavryk, 1979, p. 108).

Before the liquidation of Pitritsky monastery, the provincial Josaphat Sidletsky gave command to the Hegumen (abbot) of Krylosky and Pitrytsky, appointed by him, Augustine Didytsky, to make an inventory of the monasteries. The inventory of Pitrytsky monastery on March 17, 1764 was written in Latin and Polish. It is an extensive document, which contained a detailed description of the monastery, a list of foundations and privileges preserved in the monastery, described its economic condition, along with a detailed list of monastery property.

According to the inventory we found out that the monastery was located on a mountain, and there was a double entrance gate in the north of it. The monastery was surrounded by a wooden fence with a shingled canopy. At the gate there was a gate leading to the bell tower, which was lined with shingles from the bottom to the top.

From the east, on the top of the mountain above the Dniester, from the village of Dubivtsi was a wooden single-domed church with six windows, built in the 1840s when the hegumen (abbot) Moses Bopachevsky conducted service. The altar part of the church together with the new iconostasis (Deisus) in 1749; made for donations collected by Father Bassian, with painted and gilded icons decorated with decorative carvings, were oriented to the east. Behind the iconostasis was a large carved altar of ancient work, painted and gilded. The crucifix of Jesus Christ was carved on it (DMLNSL, f. 77, d. 1, c. 981/п. 116, p. 2). On the left side of the altar was a prothesis. The nave has two small altars – St. Onuphrius and St. Jehoshaphat with icons of St. Onuphrius and the Virgin Mary of Pochaiv. The image of the Mother of God of Pochaiv was transferred from Krylosky Monastery of St. Illia. According to the visitation of 1749, it was first installed in a newly built church on a large altar (Lorens, 2014b, p. 172). Opposite to the iconostasis there were choirs for the worship.

There was a cross behind the altar with a cupboard for the liturgical books and a chest for felons. The church had two benches for the secular people and a confessor of carpentry.

The church utensils were kept in the church: 4 silver gilded glasses, 3 silver spoons for communion, 3 silver gilded crowns and other things. The set of liturgical robes (devices) included 15 felons with ornaments sewn from diverse fabrics (damask, crimson, Chinese, satin, lychakov). The altar linen included 20 tablecloths, 3 antimins, 4 linen corporals, or from a good Swabian cloth. During the liturgies, gonfalons were used (3), a shroud painted on white Chinese (1) (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 4, c. 613, pp. 300–300v., 477–477v.).

The monastery kept 34 liturgical books, 21 of which were published in the printing house of Lviv Stauropegion, the rest in Pochaiv, Univ, Kyiv. Among them: the Gospels, the Apostles, the Psalms, the Chronicles, the Minaeans, the Servants, the Revelers, the Octoichus, the Triodes, the Irmola, the Sermons. Most of them needed frames. The best preserved were the Gospels, framed in red velvet with silver clasps. Manuscripts were not mentioned in the inventory. In the 60s of the XVIIIth century libraries operated in 90% of monasteries (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 4, c. 613, p. 169v.).

From the south of the church the stairs led up the hill to the chapel called the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin. The worship services were not held there. From south to north there were 3 cells of monks, built under one roof. In front of the porch cells. The house needed new coverage. The Hegumen's (abbot's) cell had two windows, a stove and a closet. The annex has an oven and a closet, 10 images painted on the walls, a carpentry table, 3 chairs. The monk's cell, opposite the Hegumen's (abbot's), has an oven, one window, a table, two

chairs, and 6 painted images on the walls. The third cell with one window, without a stove (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 4, c. 613, p. 168).

There was a new bakery with two windows and two outbuildings with an oven and a cupboard for utensils situated to the southeast of the church. The refectory, which was located in the south of the church, was old and in need of renovation. It had two windows, a stove, a table, two benches, and a painted image on the wall. From south to north there was a pantry with bins and a cellar for drinks. Further south – teak (threshing floor) for threshing and storage of grain, fenced, near the barn, fences. Opposite to the stream there was a stable with a cart. Near the stable there were two barns under one roof, fenced, barn. Under the mountain – three gardens, a large garden on the Dniester. Behind the shop was a forest used for heating and fencing. There was a brewery with a malt house near the shacks of the monastery servants. The monastery farm had a large apiary, which had 33 stumps, providing monks with honey and wax (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 4, c. 613, p. 168v.).

The monastery owned 23.4 hectares of arable land, of which 16.8 hectares (28 days of plowing) from the town of Halych and over the Dniester River and 6.6 hectares from the village of Kozyn (11 days of plowing), 1.2 hectares were used by 4 monastic servants, who lived in the valley above the Dniester River. The inventory contained their names and surnames: Ivan Ostapovych, Andriy Mykhalchuk, Stepan Ryp'yansky and widow Khrystyna. Each of them had a garden, a field for two days of plowing, hayfields for 4 mowers, a house with barns, two oxen, 2–3 cows, 1–2 pigs. The religious servants performed two days of serfdom. They were not required to pay tribute in kind or under pretext. The income of the monastery was 980 Polish zloty, the expenditure reached 770 zloty. In addition, the monks of Pitrytsky monastery received 610 zloty per year as a percentage of the capital borrowed from the Tysmenytsia kahal. And about 100 zloty from donations (alms) and indulgences. The total amount of money received by the monastery was 1274 zloty from funds, offers and earnings. The live inventory of the monastery filwark was: 4 horses, 6 oxen, 12 bulls, 10 cows, 6 calves, 4 boars, 8 turkeys, 11 geese and 37 chickens. The monks did not keep sheep or goats (Lorens, 2014b, pp. 169–171; DMLNSL, f. 77, d. 1, c. 981/п. 116, p. 3).

According to the visitation of Krylosky Uspensky Monastery in 1749, Pitrytsky “monastery was rich in silver”. Counselor Eronim Ozemkevych mentioned that Halych burghers “had a brotherhood in Pitritskyi monastery under the title of the Transfiguration and disposed of all silver, as well as clothing, and where they wanted, there and kept”. The list of silver items included the “silver old-world cross”, as well as other silver crosses, the Gospel with silver salaries from Halych burghers, in particular the tomb of Thomas. After learning about the silver of Pitrytsky Monastery, which was in the possession of the burghers, in 1745 the consul partially returned it, the rest was to be transferred to the city church of Halych (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 4, c. 613, pp. 26v.–27).

In the 80 – 90s of the XVIIIth century the Austrian authorities made significant efforts to eliminate hundreds of monasteries in the country as the part of church-monastery reform, including the so-called “cassation”. At the beginning of 1780, Halych Governor Joseph Brigido ordered the liquidation of 10 Basilian monasteries. By the spring of 1787, 48 decrees were issued, according to which 42 monasteries of various categories were to be closed – large, medium, and small. Among them there were the following: in Krystynopil, Chortkiv, Hoshiv, Lavrov, Lutsk, Patsykov, Pitrych, Pidhirtsi, Pohon, Svarych, Shcheploty, Verkhvat, Zadar, Zbarazh, Zhovkva and other places. 6 monasteries were to remain in the region. The

liquidation of monastic monasteries took place with great haste, sometimes without the permission of the Court Office.

In 1783, in connection with the closure of Krylosky Sviatouspensky and Sviatoillinsky monasteries, Pitrych was annexed to the monastery in Zavalov, which was also liquidated in 1799. At the time of the closure, one monk-governor, Theodosius Dubytsky, was in Pitrych. The County Commissioner in Halych, Crasson, closed the monastery and transferred the monk to Buchach. Governor J. Brigido opposed the payment of 100 florins due to him. Meanwhile, the monastery estate in Pitrych was valued at 9 320 florins, in addition, another 7 599 florins were pledged. The monastery buildings were valued at 750 florins, which were sold in 1799 to Mykhailo Zayonchkovsky (Chotkowski, 1922, pp. 9–11, 29–30; Kossak, 1867, p. 163). Under these circumstances, Pitrytsky Sviatouspensky Monastery, one of the outstanding spiritual monuments of Galicia (Halychyna), completed its 700-year history.

The Conclusions. Pitrytsky Sviatouspensky Monastery was a well-to-do monastery of Galicia, which was under the direct authority of the Bishop of Halych, the monastery enjoyed respect and authority among other monasteries of the region. The monastery served as the spiritual court of the Galician diocese for a long time. Throughout its history, the monastery was closely connected with Krylosky Cathedral of Sviatouspensky Monastery. Indirect evidence points to a long-standing connection with Athos. Under appropriate historical circumstances, Pitrytsky Sviatouspensky Monastery served as a Cathedral Monastery. Prominent church figures held monastic spiritual asceticism in Pitrytsky Cathedral.

It must be acknowledged that if the socio-economic aspects of Pitrytsky Monastery can be traced to inventory descriptions and visits, the spiritual heritage of the monastery is practically unexplored. There were no handwritten spiritual works of Pitrytsky monks, which were found up till these days. The inventories of the XVIIIth century record mostly already printed church books, rarely handwritten. In 1749 the inventory of Krylos Assumption Monastery mentioned only the “ancient monument” of Pitrytsky Monastery, which was not discovered yet. According to the inventory of Pitrytsky Monastery in 1764, the above-mentioned “ancient monument” was absent.

Acknowledgements. The authors are grateful to the staff of the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv, Vasyl Stefanyk Lviv National Scientific Library, Andrei Sheptytsky National Museum in Lviv, the Main Archive of Ancient Acts and the People’s Library in Warsaw for their help in finding historical documents.

Funding. The authors received no financial support for the research, authorship, and publication of this article.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie [The Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw – AGAD]

Arkhiv Yuho-Zapadnoi Rossyy. (1904). *Arkhiv Yuho-Zapadnoi Rossyy yzdavaemy vremennoiu komysseyeu dlia razbora drevnykh aktov vysochaishe uchrezhdennoiu pry Kyevskom voennom, Podolskom y Volynskom heneral-hubernatore / Vremennaia komysyia dlia razbora drevnykh aktov [Archiv of South-Western Russia, issued by the Temporary Commission for the Review of Ancient Acts and approved by the Kyiv Military, Podolsk and Volyn Governor-General / Temporary commission for consideration of ancient acts]. Akty, otnosiashchyesia k istoriy halytsko-russkoi pravoslavnoi tserkvy (1423 – 1714) [Acts relating to the history of the Galician-Russian Orthodox Church (1423 – 1714)] (Ch. I, Vol. 10). Kyev: Typ. ymp. un-ta Sv. Vladimira akts. o-va pech. y izd. dela N. T. Korchak-Novytskoh, 967 p. [in Ukrainian]*

Chachkovskiy, L. & Khmylevskiy, Ya. (1959). *Kniazhyi Halych* [Princely Halych]. Chikaho: Ukr. Arkhiv-Muzei, 94 p. [in Ukrainian]

Chotkowski, W. (1922). *Redukcje monaszerów bazylijańskich w Galicji* [The reductions of Basilian monasteries in Galicia]. Krakow, 80 p. [in Poland]

Kossak, M. (1867). *Shematyzm provyntsiy sv. Spasytelia chyna sv. Vasylia Velykoho v Halytsyy, ulozheny po kapytuli ôtbuvshoisia v monastyri sv. Onufreiskym vo Lvovi dnia 24 y 25 Lyptsia 1866 y korotkii pohliad na monastyri y na monashestvo ruske, ot zavedenia na Rusy viry Khrystovoy azh po nynishnoe vremia* [Handbook of the Province of the Holy Savior of the Order of St. Basil the Great in Galicia, prepared in the monastery of St. Onuphrius in Lviv on July 24 and 25, 1866 and a brief essay on monasteries and Ukrainian monasticism from the introduction of Christianity in Rus' to the present day]. Lvov: V typhrafiy Ynstytuta Stavropyhianskoho, pid zariadom Stefana Huchkovskoho, 354 p. [in Ukrainian]

Lorens, B. (2014a). *Bazyliane prowincji Koronnej w latach 1743 – 1780* [Basilica of the Crown Province in the years 1743 – 1780]. Rzeszow: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, 559 p. [in Poland]

Lorens, B. (2014b). *Monastery bazylianskie w ziemi Hajickiey zlikwidowane w trzeciej cwierci XVIII wieku w swietle inwentarzy z lat 1763 – 1764* [Basilian monasteries in Hajickiey land, liquidated in the third quarter of the 18th century in the light of inventors from 1763 – 1764]. *Karpaty: liudyna, etnos, tsyvilizatsiia* [Carpathians: man, ethnic people, civilization], 5, 166–177. [in Poland]

Lvivska natsionalna naukova biblioteka Ukrainy imeni Vasylia Stefanyka, Viddil rukopysiv [Department of Manuscripts of Vasyl Stefanyk Lviv National Scientific Library – **DMLNSL**]

Natsionalnyi muzei u Lvovi imeni Andriia Sheptytskoho, Viddil starodrukiv ta rukopysiv [Department of Antiquities and Manuscripts of the Andrey Sheptytsky National Museum in Lviv – **DAMASNM**]

Pasternak, Ya. (1998). *Staryi Halych* [Old Halych]. Ivano-Frankivsk: Plai, 348 p. [in Ukrainian]

Pelensky, Y. (2018). *Halych v istorii serednovichnoho mystetstva: na osnovi arkeolohichnykh doslidzhen i arkhivnykh dzhherel* [Halych in the history of medieval art: on the basis of archaeological research and archival sources]. *Halych. Zbirnyk naukovykh prats* [Halych. Collection of scientific works], (4), Ivano-Frankivsk: Lileia-NV, 319 p. [in Ukrainian]

Tomenchuk, B. (2008). *Arkeolohiia horodyshch Halytskoi zemli. Halytsko-Bukovynske Prykarpattia. Materialy doslidzhen 1976 – 2006* [Archeology of settlements of the Galician land. Galician-Bukovynian Prykarpattia. Research materials 1976 – 2006]. Ivano-Frankivsk: Tretiak I.Ia., 695 p. [in Ukrainian]

Tsentralnyi derzhavnyi istorychnyi arkhiv Ukrainy u m. Lvovi [Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv – **CSHAUL**]

Vavryk, M. (1979). *Narys rozvytku i stanu Vasylianskoho chyna XVII – XIX st. Topohrafichno-statystychna rozvidka* [Essay on the development and state of the Basilian Order of the XVIII – XX centuries. Topographic and statistical research]. Rym, 217 p. [in Ukrainian]

Velykyi Skyt u Karpatakh. (2013). *Velykyi Skyt u Karpatakh. Pateryk Skytskyi. Synodyk* [Paterik monastery. Obituary] (Ed. M. Kuhutiak, Vol. 1). Ivano-Frankivsk: Manuskrypt-Lviv, 726 p. [in Ukrainian]

Velykyi Skyt u Karpatakh. (2017). *Velykyi Skyt u Karpatakh. Velykyi Skyt u Markovii pustyni: ukraïnskyi dukhovnyi i kulturno-istorychnyi fenomen* [The Great Monastery in the Markov Desert: Ukrainian spiritual and cultural-historical phenomenon] (Ed. M. Kuhutiak, Vol. 3). Ivano-Frankivsk: Manuskrypt-Lviv, 576 p. [in Ukrainian]

Zakład Rękopisów Biblioteki Narodowej w Warszawie [National Library in Warsaw – **BN.OR**]

The article was received May 12, 2021.

Article recommended for publishing 23/02/2022.

UDC 930.85(477):76.031.4(477)
DOI 10.24919/2519-058X.22.253725

Viktoriia VOLOSHENKO

PhD (History), Associate Professor, Associate Professor of the Department of Theory and History of State and Law National Transport University, 1 Omelianovycha-Pavlenka Street, Kyiv, Ukraine, postal code 01010 (antgrej@gmail.com)

ORCID: 0000-0002-1286-7870
ResearcherID: AAD-1263-2020/

Вікторія ВОЛОШЕНКО

кандидатка історичних наук, доцентка, доцентка кафедри теорії та історії держави і права Національного транспортного університету, вул. Омеляновича-Павленка, 1, м. Київ, Україна, індекс 01010 (antgrej@gmail.com)

Bibliographic Description of the Article: Voloshenko, V. (2022). “Public Images of Sentiment” for Peasants: Lubok Pictures in the Context of Ukrainian Cultural Experience. *Skhidnoievropeyskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 22, 54–63. doi: 10.24919/2519-058X.22.253725

**“PUBLIC IMAGES OF SENTIMENT” FOR PEASANTS: LUBOK PICTURES
IN THE CONTEXT OF UKRAINIAN CULTURAL EXPERIENCE**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to analyze the Ukrainian lubok pictures of the end of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth centuries as a part of a popular culture and as a communication channel of re-actualization of the Ukrainian cultural experience among the peasantry. The methodology of the research is based on application of the interdisciplinary approach at the intersection of peasant, art, and popular culture studies, and ethnology. The analysis of lubok phenomenon is carried out within the concept of lubok culture as a cross-cultural communication boundary. The Scientific Novelty.* For the first time the attention was drawn to the Ukrainian pictorial lubok as “popular images of sentiment” (C. Geertz), “naive” visual imagery of which concealed layers of synthetic scope of the Ukrainian popular culture of the XVIth – the XXth centuries. In the article there has been revealed coexistence of the remains of early-modern and contemporary popular visual art in the XIXth century and its influence on cultural consciousness of the peasantry. **The Conclusions.** *At the the end of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth the origins of the mass visual art with the Ukrainian lubok pictures being its part date back to the birth of popular icon-painting, engraving and related artistic practices of the XVIth – the XVIIth centuries. Modifications of “popular images of sentiment” reflect changes in a socio-cultural situation. Tradition of visual images reproduction was transformed at the end of the XVIIIth – the beginning of the XIXth centuries. Reduction in the system of images postured as Ukrainian as well as emphasis on their ethnographic and rustic component limits the understanding of “authentic Ukrainian” as a pre-modern, hierarchically subordinated phenomenon. At the same time popular artistic images give the opportunity to keep public field for actualization, sensory and emotional appropriation of the Ukrainian-centric narrative; the possibility of self-identification of the peasants with a community for whom the reproducible cultural codes were known and common opened a window for a dialogue with the past contributing to its incorporation into the fabric of current culture.*

Key words: *Ukrainian lubok picture, cultural experience, popular visual culture, emotionally-shaped education of peasants, identity.*

“ПУБЛІЧНІ ОБРАЗИ ВІДЧУВАННЯ” ДЛЯ СЕЛЯН: ОБРАЗОТВОРЧІ ЛУБКИ У КОНТЕКСТІ УКРАЇНСЬКОГО КУЛЬТУРНОГО ДОСВІДУ

Анотація. Мета дослідження. Розглянути українські образотворчі лубки зламу XIX – XX ст. як складову популярної культури і комунікативний канал реактуалізації українського культурного досвіду серед селянства. **Методологія дослідження** полягає у застосуванні міждисциплінарного підходу на перетині селянознавства, мистецтвознавства, етнології та студій популярної культури. Аналіз феномену лубків здійснений у межах концепту лубкової культури як помежів’я міжкультурних комунікацій. **Наукова новизна.** Вперше привернуто увагу до українських образотворчих лубків як “публічних образів відчуження” (К. Гірці), за “наївним” візуальним рядом яких приховані пласти синтетичного простору української популярної культури XVI – XX ст. Вказано на співіснування у XIX ст. решток ранньомодерного і новочасного популярного візуального мистецтва як чинника впливу на культурну свідомість селянства. **Висновки.** Витоки масового візуального мистецтва зламу XIX – XX ст., частиною якого були українські образотворчі лубки, сягають часів зародження у XVI – XVII ст. народного ікономалярства, гравєрства і споріднених з ними художніх практик. Модифікації “публічних образів відчуження” відбивають зміни соціокультурної ситуації. Традиція репродукування візуального ряду зазнає трансформації на зламі XVIII – XIX ст. Редукування системи образів, позиціонованих як українські, наголос на їх етнографічній і рустикальній складовій, сприяють обмеженню розуміння “українськості” як домодерного, ієрархічно підпорядкованого явища. Водночас популярні мистецькі образи уможливають зберегти публічне поле для актуалізації і чуттєво-емоційної апропріації україноцентричного наративу; можливості самоотождення селян зі спільнотою, для якої відтворювані культурні коди були знайомими і спільними, відкривали вікно діалогу з минулим, сприяючи його вживлянню до тканинитодішньої культури.

Ключові слова: українські образотворчі лубки, культурний досвід, популярна візуальна культура, емоційно-образна освіта селян, ідентичність.

The Problem Statement. At the end of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth centuries emancipatory changes, commercialization of peasantry (life of “people”) in the Ukrainian provinces under the Russian rule led to an increase in demand for new popular cultural forms, one of which was art lubok (pictures decorated with captions; a subtype of mass commercial printed production). Ir. Zhytetsky called them “living literature of the people” (Zhytetskyi, 1890), and B. Hrinchenko – “the only folk paintings”, emphasizing their educational and communicative function: “the peasants stuck the walls with them, read them, and were taught by them” (Hrinchenko, 1891). Peasants – mostly “new readers” or illiterates (in 1897 there were 91 – 96% illiterate of the rural population) (Kravchenko, 1997, p. 43) – pictures with texts entertained and taught, being a special type of emotional and figurative education that went beyond the educational project or folk pedagogy.

Popular visual images aimed at the mass consumer not only “reflected his tastes and ideas, his ideology and theology” (Plochy, 2018, pp. 107–108) or helped to adapt to the reception of the new reality but they were also an important communication channel between traditional and modern cultural symbols and codes. The “primitive” simplified visual series of non-elite art obscured the unreflected cultural strata on the margin of which the Ukrainian tradition of mass commercial popular visual art was formed and corresponded to, influencing the matrix formation of peasants’ cultural consciousness.

The Analysis of Recent Research and Publications. The history of art lubok is usually analyzed in the context of imperial and Russian cultural experience (bibliographic review: Chuchvaha, 2019). The Ukrainian educators of the end of the XIXth – the beginning the XXth centuries were the first ones to draw attention to the fact of the existence of the Ukrainian lubok (brochures and pictures with the Ukrainian-language texts or plots on the Ukrainian

themes) (Zhytetskyi, 1890; Hrinchenko, 1891), and were interested in developing the national language of popular visual culture as a means of forming a national identity. In the 2010s, this issue is back in scientific circulation in studies of the intermediate nature of popular literature (Hundorova, 2013), the role of lubok pictures in ensuring the Ukrainian-language reading (Karoyeva, 2015; Karoyeva, 2021) and within the analysis of the Ukrainian popular printed materials according to the concept of “street publications” (Voloshenko, 2019). The study of the issue acquires special importance against the background of research focus on the issues of the Ukrainian nation-formation of the end of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth centuries (Smolii & Vermenych, 2021) and the role of artistic practices in this process (Novakovych, Katrych & Chacinski, 2021).

The purpose of the study is to analyze the Ukrainian artistic lubok pictures of the end of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth centuries as a component of popular culture and a communicative channel for the re-actualization of the Ukrainian cultural experience among the peasantry.

The need to involve a range of visual sources when analyzing peasant history issues (Prysyazhnyuk, 2018) is actualized by means of interdisciplinary research methods at the intersection of peasant studies, art history, ethnology, visual studies (Kovalevska, 2019) and popular culture research (Berk, 2001), using the approach of considering culture as communication (Hrytsenko, 1998). The phenomenon of art lubok pictures is analyzed within the concept of lubok culture as a “tranhistorical and transcultural field”, which “combines multi-ethnic, multi-class and multi-ethnic interests”, is “the boundary between old and new traditions” (Hundorova, 2013, p. 277). Theoretically grounded are the theses of K. Hirts on the demand to place “public images of sentiment” in art (Geerts, 2004, pp. 63, 96).

The Main Material Statement. The beginnings of the general imperial lubok picture tradition are associated with the arrival of Western European engravings (wood carvings) in Moscow Tsardom at the end of the XVIIth century and circulation of painted and printed lubok pictures in Russia since the XVIIIth century (Reytblat, 1990, p. 7). As a formalized phenomenon of commercial art and printing, lubok culture emerged from the 1830s to the 1860s, under the conditions of government regulation of publishing pictures “for the people”. The development of the Ukrainian popular culture was influenced by the government regulations of 1864 and 1876 additionally (Voloshenko, 2019, p. 242).

Ir. Zhytetsky dates the appearance of the Ukrainian art lubok pictures in 1879. However, the origins of this cultural phenomenon are deeper and rooted in the Ukrainian traditions of icon painting, book and easel graphics, which become the basis for the formation of early modern popular visual art. Under the conditions of urban development, handicrafts and fair trade “folk icon painting” goes beyond the monastic environment from the XVIth century (Shchupak & Tymoshenko, 2013). In the 1630s the phenomenon of “folk easel engraving” was formed: paper icons were cheaper and more accessible than painted ones (Shpak, 1997). The public demand for popular art products was confirmed by the differentiation of icons types: home, carved in the form of crosses, processional, road, made on boards and canvases, etc. One of the reasons for the decline of folk engraving and icon painting is the spread of chromolithographed paper icons pasted on boards since 1870. Odesa publishing houses of Ye. Fesenko and I. Tyl were the first ones to publish chromolithographed paper icons in the Russian Empire. The demand for graphic prints of icons also caused the mass production of photographs of saints (Osadcha, 2010). The tradition of creating painted “folk paintings” was related to iconography. Thus, at the end of the XVIIIth century paintings depicting a

Cossack bandurist were performed by artists of painting schools at the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra and Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, and in the XVIIIth century this image started to belong to the realm of popular art (Biletskyi, 1960). Artistic practices of folk sculpture were related to folk painting (Mozdyr, 1980).

Samples of “non-canonical” artistic creativity were widely sold since the end of the XVIIth century (Shpak, 1997). Representatives of the Cossacks, artisans, merchants, schoolchildren, spudei, and travelling deacons acted as mediators who popularized new aesthetic and ideological landmarks. At the end of the XVIIIth century “folk paintings” became part of peasant mode of life (Osadcha, 2010). It is believed that the “folk character” of icons and engravings of that period is determined by the following: violation of established prescriptions, simplified iconography, little use of pictorial means, transimacy, hereditary and reproductive method of image reproduction, long-term recurrence of iconographic and compositional schemes (Shpak, 1997; Lykhach & Honchar, 2017). Imitation of high art styles turns into the transformation of the new “into something like the long familiar old” (Berk, 2001, p. 301). The canons of local artistic traditions, Byzantine iconography, the Renaissance and Baroque art samples are “digested” in the style of the Ukrainian folk art. The plot repertoire corresponds to apocrypha and hagiography (Shpak, 1997). Peculiarities of the shape of lubok pictures of the XIXth century are connected with the sacred culture – decoration of pictures with captions, multi-plot part of the images. For example, the visual connection between the text and the image, although in a different form, is already observed in the design of the “Kyiv Psalter” (1397): the pictures on its edges are connected by lines with the corresponding places in the text (Nelhovskiy, Stepovyk & Chlenova, 1976). The imported German and Dutch engraved Bibles are the direct prototype of lubok picture form. Each sheet contains visual images supplemented by biblical quotations. From professional religious engraving, the type of image with captions shifted to religious and secular popular painting. Analogies with the multipart form of lubok pictures evoke compositional schemes of life icons, in which marks with scenes of the lives of saints are placed around the central image (Burkovska, 2017). The icons of the XVIth century with a poly-ribbon composition were compositionally closer to the lubok multi-plot pictures (presented in the exposition of the National Art Museum). It is important to note that at the end of the XIXth – the XXth centuries psalters and hagiography were in great demand among peasants.

Works of folk engraving and icon painting were produced in a common cultural field, which is the evidence of close contacts between engravers and painters, the involvement of icon painters into the production of wood carvings. Practices of professional and amateur performance were also mixed. Folk wood carvings were made by both “traveling printers” and professionals at monasteries. In the XVIIIth century a significant number of professional craftsmen started to produce folk engravings, migrated to the periphery in search of markets due to ousting of wood carving techniques by chalcography. Tightening bans on the dissemination of folk art, the decline of monastic printing houses led to the intensification of private underground centers. One of them functioned in Podil in Kyiv (Shpak, 1997).

At the end of the XVIIIth – the XIXth centuries traditions of the Ukrainian early modern visual popular art were transformed under the influence of a number of socio-cultural factors – changes in the localization of art centers, narrowing the opportunities for exchange of skills and orientation at works of Western European art. At the same time, there intensified the mutual influences of art and handicraft practices in ceramics, carpet weaving, Easter eggs painting, quilting, weaving, carving, etc. (Yurchenko, 1967; Goshko, 1979; Stankevych,

2002). Demands for home decoration, decorative painting of houses and household buildings grew (Berchenko, 1930). Favourite subjects of folk pictures were also used in the design. Thus, at the beginning of the XXth century printed images of Mamai decorated the walls of peasant houses, painted images of Mamai – doors, furniture and even hives. The image of the modern “mamai” – Taras Bulba – circulated widely. Increasing the range and sales of decorative and applied arts accelerated the circulation of visual images. The domestic nature of their appropriation adjusted the outline of mass aesthetic tastes towards utilitarianism and decorativeness. In addition, along with the fact that lithographic Ukrainian art lubok pictures appeared only in the 1870s, during the period of the XIXth century in Chernihiv region there were centers preserved for the production of folk wood carvings (Shpak, 1997). Centers of folk icon painting were located in Chernihiv, Sumy and Poltava regions. “Bohomazy” (icon painters) worked in the villages. Specialized craft shops were established in Kyiv (Podil and Kurenivka) (Shchupak & Tymoshenko, 2013). In Poltava region such shops functioned until the 1920s (Lykhach & Honchar, 2017, p. 35). Industrial and artistic “folk” practices formed the aesthetic, value and technological basis for the preservation of the Ukrainian cultural experience against the background of mass spread of censored lubok production as a repeater of imperial cultural codes since the middle of the XIXth century. At the same time, the peculiarities of the cultural layer formation determined the inheritance by mass commercial art of only some of the previously formed art forms, which can be traced on the example of the transfer of thematic areas of popular visual art.

Secular themes of the Ukrainian lubok pictures of the XIXth century were not the latest heritage. Already in the miniatures of the “Kyiv Psalter” allegorical plots alternated with domestic and battle. From the XVth century in iconography, and from the XVth century – in engraving, the reflection of the real world sometimes acquired a “purely folk color”: the saints resemble peasants, genre scenes with household details were recreated, images of hell were saturated with folk humour (Nelhovskiy, 1976, pp. 52–55). From the end of the XVIth century household genre scenes in iconography became commonplace. Saturation with exquisite humour distinguished them from similar works of other cultures (Biletskyi, 1974, p. 49). Within the religious genre, military and civic plots appeared. From the field of professional early modern engraving of the XVIIth – the XVIIIth centuries originated the image of landscapes (Shpak, 1997), so popular among mass consumers at the end of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth centuries.

Baroque culture, with its inherent desire for decoration and beauty, adds the national flavour to iconography. On one of the folk paintings that adorned the gates of the Lebedyn Monastery in Kyiv region allegorically there is depicted the Church (“a bride”) of Christ in the image of a Ukrainian girl; another folk painting contains images of peasant plowing (Diachenko, 1895). By spreading the image of a Cossack-bandurist the Cossack theme was popularized and modified in the XVIIIth century. Mamai became the personification of the national avenger, was associated with the haidamatsky movement. In folk painting his image was spread together with portraits of the heroes of Koliyivshchyna – I. Honta and M. Zaluzniak (Nelhovskiy, Stepovyk & Chlenova, 1976, pp. 74–75). In his poem “Eneida” I. Kotliarevsky mentioned the painted “portraits of all the bagatyrs” (Mamai and “Zhelezniak”) and fairy-tale heroes – Teleshyk, Zheretia and Kotyhorokh (Hundorova, 2013). By the end of the XVIIIth century historical and mythological-fairy-tale plots had been also used in folk engraving.

Secular themes in folk wood carvings appeared with the simplification of engraving techniques simultaneously, increasing the tendency to secularize and primitivize images, their

decorative solution. Images of domestic and “anecdotal” character adorn sheet icons, often hand-painted with paints. At the beginning of the XXth century masters of folk engraving gave up using previous artistic and technological techniques finally (Shpak, 1997). Since the end of the XVIIIth century similar processes took place in folk iconography. During the XIXth century, according to iconographic interpretations, the folk icon became closer the folk picture, with its inherent folklore and national motifs and “naive” images. The localization of icons in houses changed: they were placed not only in the corner, but also on the walls, like paintings (Osadcha, 2010), i.e., there was profanation of consumption practice of icon painting.

Merging with ethnographic cultural forms, the modified remnants of early modern visual culture continued producing “public images of sentiment” during the XIXth century. The space of modern popular culture was formed next to (and in interaction with) these images: at the crossroads of the influence of Baroque literary, theatrical and artistic traditions, modernized forms of folklore, adaptations and stylizations of works of modern high Ukrainian literature and art. The Ukrainian language (and with it – the integrity of worldview, historical and cultural experience), “specifically Ukrainian content, Ukrainian themes and experiences”, close to traditional genres (Grabowicz, 2003, p. 456), verbalize elite and popular Ukrainian cultural forms. B. Hrinchenko aptly noted the interaction of types of popular culture, linking the reasons for the demand for Ukrainian lubok images with success of the Ukrainian ethnographic theater (Hrinchenko, 1891).

These processes were not sterile. Due to the colonial situation in the cultural sphere, one artistic solution could become a substrate for the development of both national and imperial popular culture. Even during the XVIIIth century the part of the Ukrainian cultural heritage was absorbed into the general imperial cultural model. Since the end of the XVIIIth century attempts to adapt elements of the cultural complex, which had the Ukrainian linguistic and ethnographic basis, had begun. Moreover, these cultural blocs in the imperial body were received more as “orientalized”, “provincial exoticism” (Hundurava, 2013, pp. 343–344), than the attributes of another culture.

Communicative properties of the Ukrainian lubok pictures of the XIXth century reflect the continuity and gaps in the invention of modernized symbolic artistic language. By the end of the XIXth century, in popular visual culture the works written in domestic, “humorous”, landscape genres had been associated with “Ukraine” and “Ukrainian”. Against the background of the Orthodox Church acquisition of the status of ideological support of the Russian Empire, the national connotation of the religious theme, which was previously widespread in the Ukrainian popular art, narrowed and reduced to stories about the wanders of the devil and ethnographic details of carols. Representation of military theme became the prerogative of the Russian lubok pictures. Visualized mentions of the Cossacks acquired a domestic character. With the inclusion of elements of the Ukrainian history in the imperial historical narrative, the images of individual Ukrainian hetmans were popularized. In addition, some wood carvings were destroyed under censorship in the 1830s. The fate of the popular arts was determined not only by administrative pressure.

By the middle of the XIXth century “exotic” Ukrainian themes, popularized through interest in the Ukrainian folklore and theater, the works of M. Gogol and M. Kostomarov, became well known in imperial educated circles and gained commercial potential in the eyes of the authors of lubok pictures, who spread them among the widest audience. The Ukrainian lubok pictures were produced, primarily, by Moscow publishers – in the same manner as other lubok pictures. By adapting such publications to the tastes of the Russian consumers,

publishers encouraged the deformation of the Ukrainian language and image system, forming a general imperial cultural space “from below”.

At the same time, own commercial publishing network, including publishers, emerged in Ukraine to serve the growing consumer interest. Despite the use of publishing algorithms of Moscow lubok painters, the Ukrainian artistic images and language were less tarnished in its products. Although in the shell of loyalty to the Russian Empire, but the scope of propaganda of the Ukrainian visual symbols expanded: since the 1860s the issue of “Malorosiysky” publications had been increasing; popular sketches of the Ukrainian history were published; in the 1870s, the public learned what the “Malorosiysky folk calendars” were. At the beginning of the XXth century the demand for replicated Ukrainian visual images was met not only by lubok pictures, but also in the field of graphic design (advertising, packaging production, etc.) (Hundorova, 2013, p. 350). The Ukrainian themes are even more widely popularized in the photo series “Types of Malorosiya” (“La Petite Russie”) and postcards. On the one hand, they reproduce the denationalized image of former peasants (“lackeys” and “maids”) who moved to towns and cities. On the other hand, patriarchal Ukrainian images known from folk paintings and wood carvings, modernized by prominent Ukrainian artists, were reproduced. Thus, at the beginning of the XXth century Kyiv publishing house “Rassvet” (1904 – 1916) published not only postcards with “bourgeois humour”, but also series of postcards with the Ukrainian landscapes, reproductions of works by S. Vasylykivsky, M. Pymonenko and the others. Kyiv publishing house “Chas” (1908 – 1920) published postcards with illustrations of the Ukrainian folk songs of A. Zhdakha (Kyrkach & Dukhin, 2013, pp. 3–4).

Even earlier, from the last quarter of the XIXth century, reproductions of paintings by the Ukrainian artists became a source of inspiration for lubok painters. According to the observations of Ir. Zhytetsky, lubok publishers copied the Ukrainian visual images from the works of K. Trutovsky, O. Slastion, M. Pymonenko, which popularized the Ukrainian themes in the Russian illustrated magazines “The World Illustration” (1869 – 1898), “The Nyva” (1869 – 1918), “The Rodina” (1879 – 1917) (Zhytetskyi, 1890). Of course, there were more artists who promoted the Ukrainian stories. For example, I. Izhakevych published a lot of works in “The Nyva” (Nelhovskiy, Stepovyk & Chlenova, 1976, p. 126). A. Zhdakha directly cooperated with “folk” publishing houses: the educational “Charitable Society for the Distribution of Cheap and Useful Books for People” (1898 – 1918) and Ye. Fesenko’s firm. The popular lubok image of a blind kobzar with a guide resembles the image from V. Sternberg’s etching to T. Shevchenko’s “Kobzar” (1840). Professional painters (S. Chuprynenko, M. Karazin, S. Vasylykivsky, etc.) developed the Ukrainian plots promoted by M. Gogol, especially Cossack and Christmas ones, which were also extremely popular in lubok art tradition.

Dating the appearance of the Ukrainian art lubok in 1879, Ir. Zhytetsky considers them modern work of that period of time. However, the system of images used by professionals, although passed through the ban on academicism, romanticism or realism, was not new. The system contained variations of familiar images (kobzars, Cossacks, girls, scenes of peasant life, landscapes), depicted in wood carvings, paintings and handicrafts. This tradition was not interrupted even after the Bolshevik ban on the production of lubok pictures in 1918: during the Soviet period of time, masters of folk paintings continue reproducing the image of the popular art at the end of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth centuries (Naiden, 2018), preserving the space of contact with the Ukrainian heritage and the conditions for the formation of national identity.

The Conclusions. The origins of the mass visual art of the end of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth centuries, the part of which were the Ukrainian art lubok pictures, date back to the XVIth – the XVII centuries – the origins of icon paintings, engraving and related artistic practices. Visual images of folk art combine the interactions of folklore and elite, church and secular, artistic and craft, authentic and borrowed cultural experiences. Modifications of “public images of sentiment” reflect changes in the socio-cultural life. The tradition of reproducing the visual series underwent transformation at the end of the XVIIIth – the XIXth centuries. Reducing the system of images positioned as “Ukrainian”, emphasizing their ethnographic and rustic component, contribute to limiting the understanding of “Ukrainianness” as a pre-modern, hierarchically subordinated phenomenon. The gap in cultural experience partially ousts the artistic understanding of social perspectives in the field of imperial culture. At the same time, popular artistic images give the opportunity to preserve the public field for the actualization and sensual appropriation of the Ukrainian-centric narrative.

When buying the “folk picture”, the peasants hardly thought about the ways of historical transfer of their favourite image, but at the level of emotional reception they identified themselves with the community, for which the reproduced cultural codes were clear and common, opened a window of dialogue with the past, contributing to its incorporation into the fabric of national culture.

The prospects for further research are related to the study of reception methods by peasants of visual images of mass art production.

Acknowledgements. I express sincere gratitude to all members of the editorial board for consultations provided during the preparation of the article for printing.

Funding. The author received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Berchenko, E. V. (1930). *Nastinne maliuvannia ukrainskykh ta hospodarskykh budivel pry nykh* [Painting on the Walls of Ukrainian Houses (Khatas) and Farmstead]. Kharkiv; Kyiv: Derzhvydav Ukrainy, 41 p. [in Ukrainian]

Berk, P. (2001). *Populiarna kultura v ranniomodernii Yevropi* [Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe]. Kyiv: UTsKD, 376 p. [in Ukrainian]

Biletskyi, P. (1974). *Skarby netlinni. Ukrainske mystetstvo u svitovomu khudozhniomu protsesi* [Imperishable Treasures. The Ukrainian Art in the World Art Process]. Kyiv: Mystetstvo, 192 p. [in Ukrainian]

Biletskyi, P. O. (1960). “*Kozak Mamai*” – ukrainska narodna kartyna [“Cossack Mamai” – Ukrainian Folk Painting]. B. m.: Vydavnytstvo Lvivskoho universytetu, 32 p. [in Ukrainian]

Burkovska, L. (2017). Ukrainski ikony iz zhytinoiu istoriieiu XIV – XVI st.: osoblyvosti strukturmoi pobudovy [The Ukrainian Icons with the Hagiographic Story in the XIVth – the XVIth Centuries: Peculiar Features of Structural Construction]. *Ukrainske mystetstvoznnavstvo: materialy, doslidzhennia, retsenzii – Art study: materials, researches, reviews, (17)*, 35–47. [in Ukrainian]

Chaichenko, V. [Hrinchenko, B.] (1891). Maliunki prostoliudnykh moskovskykh knyhariv na ukrainski siuzhety [Pictures of Moscow Commoner-Booksellers on the Ukrainian Plots]. *Zoria – Star, 15*, 276–277. [in Ukrainian]

Chuchvaha, H. (2019). Images, Words, and Book Production in the Russian Empire: Popular prints, lubok Books, and Illustrated Magazines (D. Atkinson, & S. Roud, Ed.). *Cheap Print and the People: Popular Literature in the European Perspective*. (pp. 191–222). Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. [in English]

Diachenko, I. (1895). Narodna relihiina zhyvopys [Folk Religious Painting]. *Pravda – Truth, LXXV*, 163–166. [in Ukrainian]

- Geerts, C.** (2004). *Interpretatsiya kultur* [The Interpretation of Cultures]. Moskva: ROSSPEN, 560 p. [in Russian]
- Goshko, Y. H.** (Ed.) (1979). *Narodni hudozhni promysly Ukrainy* [Folk Art Crafts of Ukraine]. Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 99 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Grabowicz, G.** (2003). *Do istorii ukrainskoi literatury. Doslidzhennia, eseji, polemika* [On the History of Ukrainian Literature. Research, Essays, Polemics]. Kyiv: Krytyka, 632 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Hrytsenko, O.** (1998). *Narysy istorii ukrainskoi populiarnoi kultury* [Essays on Ukrainian Popular Culture]. Kyiv: Ukrainskyi tsentr kulturnykh doslidzhen. Instytut kulturnoi polityky, 760 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Hundorova, T.** (2013). *Transytna kultura. Symptomy postkolonialnoi travmy: statyi ta eseji* [Transit Culture. Symptoms of Postcolonial Trauma: Articles and Essays]. Kyiv: Hrani-T, 548 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Karoyeva, T.** (2015). Pidpriettsi v zabezpechenna ukrainomovnoho chytannia v Rossiiskii imperii [Enterpreneurs as Guarantors of Reading in Ukrainian in the Russian Empire, 1881 – 1916]. *Ukraina Moderna – Modern Ukraine*, 22, 93–115. [in Ukrainian]
- Karoyeva, T.** (2021). A Repertoire of Lubok Books Covering Ukrainian History (the 1830s – the 1910s). *Slavic & East European Information Resources*, 22 (2), 133–146. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/15228886.2021.1917063> [in English]
- Kovalevska, O.** (2019). Liublinskyi seim 1569 r. u viziiakh myttsiv XIX – pershoi polovyny XX st.: istoriko-ikonohrafichnyi analiz [The Lublin Sejm of 1569 in the Visions of Artists of the XIXth – the First Half of the XXth Century: Historical and Iconographic Analysis]. *Ukrainskyi Istorychnyi Zhurnal – Ukrainian Historical Journal*, 4, 35–60. [in Ukrainian]
- Kravchenko, B.** (1997). *Sotsialni zminy i natsionalna svidomist v Ukraini XX st.* [Social Changes and National Consciousness in Ukraine in the XXth century]. Kyiv: Osnovy, 423 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Kyrkach, H. & Dukhin, O.** (Comps.). (2013). *Sviati Hory: Kataloh poshtovykh lystivok XIX – XX st.* [The Holy Mountains: Catalogue of Postcard of the 19th –20th Centuries]. (2th ed.). Donetsk: Skhidnyi vydavnychiy dim, 116 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Lykhach, L. & Honchar, P.** (Comps.) (2017). *Chyste mystetstvo (malyi kataloh myttsiv)* [Pure Art (a Small Catalogue of Artists)]. Kyiv: Rodovid, 94 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Mozdyr, M. I.** (1980). *Ukrainska narodna dereviana skulptura* [Ukrainian Folk Wooden Sculpture]. Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 192 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Naiden, O.** (2018). *Ukrainska naodna kartyna. Poetyka. Semantyka. Kosmoloheia*. [Ukrainian Folk Picture. Poetics. Semantics. Cosmology]. Kyiv: “Stylos”, 240 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Nelhovskiy, Y. P., Stepanyuk, D. V. & Chlenova, L. H.** (1976). *Ukrainske mystetstvo (vid naidavnishykh chasiv do pochatku XX stolittia)* [Ukrainian Art (from Old Times till the Beginning of the 20th Century)]. Kyiv: Radianska shkola, 135 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Novakovich, M., Katrych, O., & Chacinski, J.** (2021). The Role of Music Culture in the Processes of the Ukrainian Nation Formation in Galicia (the second half of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth century). *Skhidnoevropeyskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk – East European Historical Bulletin*, 19, 66–76. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.24919/2519-058X.19.233835> [in English]
- Osadcha, O. A.** (2010). *Ukrainska khatnia ikona-obraz kintsia XVIII – XX stolit yak etnokulturny fenomen (istoriia, typolohiia, khudozhni osoblyvosti)* [The Ukrainian Home Icon-Image of the End of the XVIIIth – the XXth Centuries as Ethno-Cultural Phenomenon (History, Typology, Artistic Features) (Extended abstract of Candidate`s thesis)]. Ivano-Frankivsk, 16 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Plukhy, S.** (2018). *Tsari ta kozaky. Zahadky ukrainskoi ikony* [Tsars and Cossacks. Mysteries of the Ukrainian Icon]. Kyiv: Krytyka, 398 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Prysyazhnyuk, Y.** (2018). Prospects of Peasant Studies as Areas of Research of Modern Ukrainian historiography. *Skhidnoevropeyskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk – East European Historical Bulletin*, 8, 179–186. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.24919/2519-058x.8.143300> [in English]
- Reytblat, A.** (Ed.). (1990). *Lubochnaya kniga* [Lubok Book]. Moskva: Khudozhestvennaya literature, 398 p. [in Russian]
- Shchupak, H. & Tymoshenko, N.** (2013). *Zhyvopys u zbirtsi Muzeiu Ivana Honchara* [Painting in the Collection of Ivan Honchar`s Museum]. URL: <http://honchar.org.ua/pro-muzej/zbirka/zhyvopys/> [in Ukrainian]

Shpak, O. D. (1997). *Ukrainska narodna hraviura XVII – XIX st. (Istoriia. Ikonohrafiia. Zasady dekoratyvnosti)* [Ukrainian Folk Gravure of the XVIIth – XIXth cc. (History. Iconography. Foundations of decorativity)] (*Extended abstract of Candidate’s thesis*). Lviv, 19 p. [in Ukrainian]

Smolii, V. A. & Vermenych, Ya. V. (2021). Idei natsietvorennia v ukrainskomu intelektualnomu prostori XIX – pochatku XX st. [Ideas of National Formation in Ukrainian Intellectual Space of the 19th – the Beginning of the 20th Centuries]. *Rukopysna ta Knyzhkova Spadshchyna Ukrainy – Manuscript and Book Heritage of Ukraine*, 27, 140–155. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.15407/rksu.27.140> [in Ukrainian]

Stankevych, M. Y. (2002). *Ukrainske khudozhnie derevo* [Ukrainian Wooden Artwork]. Lviv: Natsionalna akademiia nauk Ukrainy, Instytut narodoznavstva, 480 p. [in Ukrainian]

Voloshenko, V. (2019). Cheap Print for the Ukrainian People: Lubok Books, “Little Russian Literature”, and “Literature for the People” (D. Atkinson, & S. Roud, Ed). *Cheap Print and the People: Popular Literature in the European Perspective*. (pp. 223–251). Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. [in English]

Yurchenko, P. H. (1967). *Narodne mystetstvo. [Ukraina]* [Folk Art. [Ukraine]]. Kyiv; Mystetstvo, 39 p. [in Ukrainian]

Zh. Ir. [Zhytetskyi, Ir.]. (1890). Lubochnyye kartinki na malorusskiye temy [Lubok Pictures on Malorosyyski Plots]. *Kievskaya Starina – Kyiv Past*, 12, 504. [in Russian]

The article was received May 06, 2021.

Article recommended for publishing 23/02/2022.

UDC 94(100)“1914/1918”:316.47(=161.2)
DOI 10.24919/2519-058X.22.253732

Ruslan KUTSYK

PhD (History), Assistant Professor at the Chair of Ukrainian History, Faculty of History and Philosophy, Borys Grinchenko Kyiv University, 13-B Marshal Tymoshenko Street, Kyiv, Ukraine, postal code 04212 (kutsykr@gmail.com)

ORCID: 0000-0001-5631-9385

ResearcherID: AAA-5128-2020

Руслан КУЦИК

кандидат історичних наук, старший викладач кафедри історії України історико-філософського факультету Київського університету імені Бориса Грінченка, вул. маршала Тимошенка, 13-Б, м. Київ, Україна, індекс 04212 (kutsykr@gmail.com)

ORCID: 0000-0001-5631-9385

ResearcherID: AAA-5128-2020

Bibliographic Description of the Article: Kutsyk, R. (2022). Patriots & Critics: the Story of how Public Receptions of World War I in the Russian Empire Changed. *Skhidnoieuropeyskiy istorychnyi visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 22, 64–81. doi: 10.24919/2519-058X.22.253732

**PATRIOTS & CRITICS: THE STORY OF HOW PUBLIC RECEPTIONS
OF WORLD WAR I IN THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE CHANGED**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to outline the main features of society's reaction to the outbreak of World War I and the subsequent transformational changes in the mood of different population groups in the course of the war events. The methodology of the research is based on the principles of historicism, the effectiveness of systematic and scientific using national (analysis, synthesis, scientific abstraction) and special and historical (historical and comparative, retrospective and problematic) methods. The Scientific Novelty. For the first time the peculiarities of the moods of different population groups of the Ukrainian lands of the Russian Empire in 1914 – 1917 were comprehensively presented, taking into account not only the social status of the person, but also the age peculiarities and personal motives; clearly outlines the major stages of changing society's reception and understanding of World War I events. The Conclusions. Therefore, the initial stage of the war was marked by widespread patriotism, which, despite of its “mass” nature, had a differentiated, ambivalent and permanent character during the years of 1914 – 1917. The majority of “ardent” patriots were wealthy people who, owing to their privileged and financial position avoided military service and practically didn't participate in the hostilities, or representatives of ultra-monarchical circles. For some people the war was a way of showing their loyalty to the government, but for the others it was an opportunity to make money and enrich themselves. Other groups of the population were overwhelmed by a sense of patriotism and liberation struggle, though the main reason for this was not the love for the “great tsarist Motherland”, but understanding of the need to protect their “small homeland”. A similar vision and reception of the war was typical of the soldiers' environment, as it was based on village natives. In the early years of the war, the behavior of soldiers was determined by the humble, patient, and self-righteous fulfillment of their military duty. Delaying the timing of the war, defeats at the front, increasing of the number of victims, growing economic crisis triggered a process of destabilization*

inside the country. Distrust and dissatisfaction were spreading in the society. Negative trends began to show up in the army, in particular, a decline of patriotism, morale and religiosity. As a result, in 1916 – 1917, measures, adopted by the Russian imperial government in order to control the socio-political situation, could no longer hide the true situation and restrain the serious transformations in the mass public consciousness. The increase of political activity in the national consciousness of the Ukrainians was a notable phenomenon. It also was one of the important preconditions for the revolutionary events and the development of the Ukrainian statehood in the 1917s – 1920s.

Key words: World War I, Russian Empire, Ukrainian people, public consciousness, public mood, patriotism, criticism.

ПАТРІОТИ І КРИТИКИ: ІСТОРІЯ ПРО ТЕ, ЯК ЗМІНЮВАЛОСЯ СУСПІЛЬНЕ СПРИЙНЯТТЯ ПОДІЙ ПЕРШОЇ СВІТОВОЇ ВІЙНИ В РОСІЙСЬКІЙ ІМПЕРІЇ

Анотація. Мета статті: висвітлити основні особливості реакції суспільства на початок Першої світової війни та подальші трансформаційні зміни настроїв різних груп населення у ході воєнних подій. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на принципах історизму, об'єктивності, системності і науковості із використанням загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез) та спеціально-історичних (історико-порівняльний, ретроспективний, проблемний) методів. **Наукова новизна:** вперше комплексно охарактеризовано особливості настроїв різних груп населення українських земель Російської імперії у 1914 – 1917 рр., з урахуванням не тільки соціального становища людини, але й вікових особливостей та особистих мотивів; чітко окреслено головні етапи зміни сприйняття та розуміння суспільством подій Першої світової війни. **Висновки.** Отже, початковий етап війни відзначився широким патріотизмом, який, незважаючи на “масовість”, протягом 1914 – 1917 рр. мав диференційований, амбівалентний та перманентний характер. Переважно “ярими” патріотами були або заможні верстви населення, які завдяки привілейованому та фінансовому становищу могли уникнути військового обов'язку і практично не брати участі у військових діях, або представники ультрамонархічних кіл. Для одних війна виступала способом демонстрації власної лояльності до влади, а для інших – можливістю нажитися та збагатитися. Інші групи населення, якщо і пройнялися почуттям патріотизму та визвольної боротьби, то основною причиною цього була не любов до “великої царської Вітчизни”, а розуміння необхідності захисту власної “малої батьківщини”. Подібне бачення та сприйняття війни було характерним і для солдатського середовища, оскільки його основу становили вихідці із села. У перші роки війни поведінка солдат визначалася покірним, терпеливим і самовідважним виконанням військового обов'язку. Затягування термінів війни, поразки на фронті, збільшення кількості жертв, наростання економічної кризи запустили процес дестабілізації всередині країни. У суспільстві поширювалися недовіра та незадоволення. Серед населення розповсюджувалися чутки про зраду у вищих ешелонах влади, про шпигунів та німецьке засилля. Негативні тенденції проявлялися в армії, зокрема, спостерігалася спад патріотизму, зниження морального духу та релігійності. У підсумку, наприкінці 1916 – початку 1917 рр. заходи російської імперської влади щодо контролю за суспільно-політичною ситуацією вже не могли приховувати справжній стан справ і водночас стримувати серйозні трансформації у масовій суспільній свідомості. Помітним явищем стало значне зростання національної свідомості та політичної активності українців, що було однією із важливих передумов до революційних подій та розбудови власної державності у 1917 – 1920-х рр.

Ключові слова: Перша світова війна, Російська імперія, український народ, суспільна свідомість, суспільні настрої, патріотизм, критика.

The Problem Statement. The events of World War I caused considerable resonance in many countries of the world. For the first time in history, military conflict became so global and led to significant transformations in the socio-political and socio-economic life of people. Immediately after the outbreak of war, the governments of the belligerent states started an active propaganda campaign, which mission was to form the necessary views and beliefs in society for the importance of war for future peace and prosperity. The Russian

Empire as one of the active participants in the world conflict was no exception. The imperial government was well aware of the importance of information justification of country's participation in the war, and needed to mobilize human resources and implement geopolitical goals. At the same time, the heterogeneity of society and wide multiethnic diversity made this process more difficult. Due to different factors, each of the population groups accepted and understood the surrounding events differently. For some people the war was a way of showing their patriotism, heroic deeds, etc., for the others, on the contrary, a great burden with negative consequences, the beginning of a great catastrophe. In this context, the position of the population of the Ukrainian lands of that time was the subject of interest, which, owing to their spatial affiliation with the European world and their favourable geographical position, occupied one of the leading positions in the socio-political, socio-economic and cultural environment of the Russian Empire. In addition, during the war, the Ukrainian territories were close to the front lines and in certain regions, such as Southwestern region, which was based on the provinces of Kyiv, Podillia, and Volyn, was introduced a martial law, which led to an active propaganda campaign and increasing of censorship control.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. Scholars have demonstrated a strong interest in researching the matter of the information factor and its impact on the formation of public consciousness during World War I over the last two decades. The population's reaction to the events of the war, the nature of patriotism among different social groups, motives of individuals, increasing criticism and satisfaction are all gaining considerable attention. Among modern scientific studies undertaken in European countries (Germany, Austria-Hungary, the United Kingdom, France), the work of the following researchers should be brought to light: G. Schneider (Schneider, 1999), E. Machen (Machen, 2013), G. Tison, (Tison, 2015), K. Guenther (Guenther, 2017), D. Monger (Monger, 2018), S. Bonnerje (Bonnerje, 2019).

Historians place a high value on the Russian Empire as a major participant in World War I. The growth of articles published on the tsar government's information policy, methods of propaganda and public sentiment control, military censorship, reactions of various groups to war events, patriotism and its manifestations, the age of discontent and criticism of the government, and other subjects were especially notable. As a result, we will concentrate our efforts solely on the work that is the most thorough of the upcoming research.

Of great interest is the monograph of a German scientist, Professor at the University of Cambridge Jahn Hubertus, "Patriotic Culture in Russia during World War I" (Hubertus, 1995). It reveals the peculiarities of the development of artistic culture, its influence on the formation of patriotic moods of the population and national identity. While reflecting patriotism through artistic means, Jahn Hubertus uses the term "patriotic culture", which includes two aspects: 1) patriotic activity of artists, performers, entrepreneurs; 2) the response of the audience and society to the works of art and the surrounding events. As a result, the researcher states that in 1914 – 1917 the Russian patriotism had a differentiated nature, and at the same time reflected separate and even heterogeneous loyalties in the society (Hubertus, 1995, pp. 171–173).

In the context of our topic, Professor Eric Lohr's scientific work "The Russian Press and the "Internal Peace" at the Beginning of World War I" (Lohr, 2004) is relevant. The work deals with the peculiarities of the functioning of the military censorship institute, the establishment of enhanced control over the dissemination of information and the closure of a wide range of periodicals that didn't correspond to the official ideological and propaganda course of imperial power.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union the Russian historical science received a new impetus, and now it contains significant scientific works on the history of public consciousness

and the reaction of the population of the Russian Empire to the events of the war. We should single out the work of the Russian researcher Elena Senyavskaya “The Image of the Enemy in Minds of the Participants of World War I” (Senyavskaya, 1997), which revealed the socio-cultural and psychological specificity of the concept of “foreign” in the public consciousness during World War I (Senyavskaya, 1997, p. 63). Olha Porshneva’s monograph “Peasants, Workers, and Soldiers of Russia before and during World War I” (Porshneva, 2004) attempts to elucidate the basic patterns of transformation of public consciousness of the population of the Russian Empire under the conditions of war. The author traces the changes of stereotypes, values and behaviour of people. Olha Suhova’s article “World War I as a Challenge to the Russian Mentality: Public Moods in the Provinces in 1914 – 1917” (Suhova, 2014) is devoted to the formation of peasants’ social consciousness. The study points out that serious tectonic shifts were formed in the axiological sphere of mass consciousness, and were connected with the desacralization of the former main foundations of social life (Suhova, 2014, p. 130). The works of the Russian historian Aleksandr Astashov (2014, 2016) are thought to be fundamental because of their content and conclusions. They draw attention to such issues as the peculiarities of the motivation base and collective behavior of the military at the front, the main features of the psychological portrait of the soldier, the problems of moral and religious status in the army, reasons of reducing of their level and consequences.

Among the Ukrainian historians, the peculiarities of public mood during the war were analyzed by Oksana Vilshanska (2014a, 2014b). The author describes the influence of imperial propaganda on the formation of a public opinion of the population of the Dnieper Ukraine, notes the fact of the patriotic uplift among the youth in the first year of the war, and also outlines the specifics of the formation of a negative image of the enemy-German. The Ukrainian historian Ihor Kolyada tried to shed light on the general features of reaction of the Right-bank Ukraine’s population to the events of the war. In conclusions, the author points out that the mood of the population of cities at the beginning of World War I was marked by a significant emotional outburst, which combined interconnected patriotic uplifting with panic feelings of uncertainty and fear of the difficulties, created by any war (Kolyada, 2018, p. 29).

As you can see, the historiography of information processes on the territory of the Russian Empire during World War I has quite a large number of works. There is a noticeable increase in the interest of scholars in the study of consciousness and mood issues of the society. However, the problem of patriotism and the growing criticism on the part of the Ukrainian society of the events of war and power remains under-researched, which determines the relevance and novelty of our research.

The main place in the structure of the source base was occupied by materials of personal origin. In this context, the memoirs of the Ukrainian figures are informative, in particular: Dmytro Doroshenko (1882 – 1951) – a diplomat, historian, chairman of the Committee on the Southwestern Front of the All-Russian Union of Cities for Assistance to Sick and Injured Soldiers, Mykola Kowalewskyi (1892 – 1957) – a representative of the Ukrainian Party of Revolutionary Socialists, Oleksander Koshyts (1875 – 1944) – an ethnographer, composer, choirmaster and conductor of the Kyiv Opera. Of particular interest are the memoirs of the Ukrainian journalist Havrylo Hordienko (1902 – 1982), who provided a detailed overview of the socio-political situation of those times on the example of the provincial town of Oleksandrivska (present day – Zaporizhzhia, Ukraine) in Katerynoslav Governorate.

The memoirs of people, who were directly involved in the hostilities, played an important role in determining the public mood of the population. The memories of the Ukrainian

public politician Mykola Halahan (1882 – 1946), an adjutant soldier of the 20th Zaanur Border Regiment, have a historical value: “From My Memories (the 1880s – the 1920s): Documentary and artistic publication” (2005). These memoirs show the socio-political position of the military, their attitude to war and government. Also the memoirs of General, Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Army of the Southwestern Front, Aleksei Brusilov (1853 – 1926) were useful in our research. Of particular interest are the memories of the last Protospresbyter of the military and naval clergy of the Russian Empire, Father Georgiy Shavelskiy (1871 – 1951), who during the war was responsible for the pastoral service of priests at the front, and directly observed the mood among soldiers.

Along with memories, epistolary documents are valuable sources. Among the processed materials we highlight the letters of Leonid Zhebunov (1851 – 1919), a Ukrainian statesman, public activist and member of public organization “Prosvita”, an employee of the well-known Ukrainian newspaper “Rada”, former head of the Gendarme Administration of Galicia that was occupied by the Russian army (1915), to another well-known Ukrainian activist Yevhen Chykalenko (1861 – 1929), an active initiator of the creation of a secret political and public organization Society of the Ukrainian Progressionists (1908), a philanthropist, publisher of a newspaper “Rada”. These letters cover the events of 1907 – 1919 and vividly reflect the views and moods of the Ukrainian intelligentsia of that time.

In the work we also used the materials of the Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Kyiv (CSHAUK), the State Archives of Kyiv Oblast (SAKO) and the State Archives of the Khmelnytskyi Oblast (SAKhO).

The Purpose of Publication is to outline the main features of society’s reaction to the outbreak of World War I and the subsequent transformational changes in the mood of different population groups in the course of war events.

The Main Material Statement. In the Russian Empire, unlike the great countries of the Western world, ideological and psychological preparation for war, which could have a profound effect on the mass consciousness, was not carried on. In fact, the society had no idea of Russia’s place in the coming struggle, nor of its potential external opponent. The development of the ideological justification for the Russian Empire’s involvement in the world war began only after its entry into conflict on July 19, 1914, and was conducted, as in other countries, from the standpoint of protecting its land, its people, its indigenous interests and values against the encroachment of hostile states (Porshneva, 2004, p. 87). In this regard, Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Imperial Army of the Southwestern Front, General Aleksei Brusilov wrote in his memoirs: “The government omitted or didn’t allow the moral preparation of the people for the inevitable European war. If any commander in the army wanted to explain to his subordinates that our main enemy was the German, that he was going to attack us and that we should be ready to repel him, then this gentleman was immediately expelled or brought to court. Even a schoolteacher couldn’t talk about it, because he would be considered as dangerous pan-Slavist, an ardent revolutionary...” (Brusilov, 2013, p. 73).

The Russian Emperor Nicholas II outlined the main reasons and nature of Russia’s involvement in the European conflict in his manifestos (20 and 26 July, 1914) for the declaration of war with Germany and Austria-Hungary: protection of the territories of the country, its honor, dignity, position among the great states, as well as “single-blooded and single-minded Slav brothers” (Porshneva, 2004, p. 87). However, it is clear that, in reality, the outbreak of war was driven by the geopolitical plans of the imperial government, which foresaw the expansion of territories and the strengthening of spheres of influence in the world.

After the declaration of war, the authorities took a number of measures to control the public mood of the population. On July 20, 1914, Nicholas II issued a decree to the Senate. According to it the empire put into effect the “Temporary Provisions on Military Censorship”, and the Minister of the Interior was given the right to ban the dissemination of information related to Russia’s foreign security or its armed forces (CSHAUK, f. 316, d. 1, c. 21, p. 290). According to the “Temporary Provisions...”, the main task of military censorship was to prevent the publication and distribution of information that could harm the military interests of the state during the mobilization of the army and the war by printed, postal, telegraphic means, speeches and reports (CSHAUK, f. 442, d. 864, c. 296, p. 166).

On August 15, 1914, Kyiv Governor General Fyodor Trepov published a binding resolution, which banned the retailing of newspapers, leaflets, weekly and monthly magazines that didn’t have the “Censorship Allowed” stamp, except those published in St. Petersburg or Warsaw. The legislation provided an appropriate punishment if the order wasn’t fulfilled: imprisonment in a prison or fortress for up to three months, or a fine of up to three thousand rubles (SAKhO, f. 292, d. 1, c. 359, p. 22).

On December 15, 1914, the Main Department of the Press at the Ministry of the Interior issued a circular to the local governors, which forbade to place any articles or drawings concerning persons of the imperial family in the media without official permission. (CSHAUK, f. 1600 d. 1, c. 549, p. 131). The adoption of such measures intended to prevent the dissemination of information that could have a negative impact on the authority of the emperor and his family among the population.

It was an important task of the government to hide the negative facts about the events at the front and within the country. According to the circular of the General Directorate of the General Staff (August 28, 1914), addressed to the headquarters of Kyiv Military District, it was forbidden to publish any information about military events that could have a negative impact on readers in printed media (CSHAUK, f. 1600, d. 1, c. 549, p. 12). Thus, according to the List of testimonies and images, which composed Russia’s military secret (September 13, 1914), Paragraphs 22 and 24 prohibited the information on the loss of personnel, the unrest among the population on occupied territories, catastrophes, epidemics, explosions and fires in military units and institutions and naval agencies (CSHAUK, f. 278, d. 2, c. 6, p. 46).

In addition to concealment of information of military importance, it was also forbidden to disseminate any negative facts about the internal situation of the state. In the Telegram of the Minister of the Interior dated March 15, 1915, addressed to local governors, it was reported that the editors were prohibited from posting evidence of strikes in newspapers, as this could adversely affect workers’ mood (CSHAUK, f. 1600, d. 1, c. 549, p. 160). Also, it was forbidden to publish information about national, ration or other unrests in printed media (CSHAUK, f. 295, d. 1, c. 485, p. 98).

Thus, the country had a strong regime of control over the whole socio-political situation, and perhaps the most severe, compared to other belligerent countries. Such policy of the imperial government was aimed at providing information isolation of the society and for a certain time allowed to maintain the effect of “positive atmosphere in the air.”

The fact that Germany was the first to declare war on the Russian Empire, contributed to the formation of reception mechanisms of fair, defensive and necessary war to stop the German aggression. Due to the increased censorship control and active information propaganda at the initial stage of the struggle, a general patriotic rise was achieved among a large part of the population. In this regard, the Ukrainian researcher Oksana Vilshanska

notes that the beginning of World War I was marked by a remarkable cohesion of the society, regardless of social or national affiliation or even political views (Vilshanska, 2014a, p. 441).

However, it should be noted that each of the social groups accepted and experienced war differently. In one of their works, the Ukrainian researchers Oleksandr Reient and Olena Serdiuk point out that “patriotic rhetoric calls to “strengthen the unity of the king with people” were shown only by the representatives of the ruling classes and urban segments of population” (Reient and Serdiuk, 2004, p. 8). Thus, the most “active” and “fairly talkative” patriots were either wealthy people who, due to their privileged and financial status, avoided military service and didn’t participate in the hostilities, or those who wished to show their loyalty to the empire for the sake of profit. The Ukrainian journalist Havrylo Hordienko, a native of Alexandrivska city (Katerynoslav Governorate), wrote in his memoirs about this: “Wounded people from Galicia were brought to the hospitals in Alexandrivska. The first sanitary train was greeted almost as winners in laurel wreaths! ... The so-called “patriotic youth”, I mean high school students, and mostly the Jews, who persistently “juggled” [manipulated] the fact that they were “patriotic youth” rushed to carry the wounded from the wagons. But it is not surprising, because the real Russian should not emphasize in his country that he is Russian! And someone else has to do it! The patriotic youth may have met the second and third sanitary train, and later there was no trace of it.” (Hordienko, 1976, p. 87).

The “ardent” patriots were representatives of the Russian monarchical and ultranational organizations who succeeded after the revolutionary event of 1905 – 1907 and were called “The Black Hundred”. A famous Ukrainian composer and conductor Oleksander Koshyts mentioned the following in his memoirs about the situation in Kyiv: “During the daytime audition, a crowd of Black Hundreds burst into the garden with a shout and a song “God, save the tsar of ours”, interrupted us and the symphony orchestra, forced them to play the anthem with no end, began to make patriotic rallies, etc. It was no longer about the audition. We left everything and walked outside. People with furious faces were carrying a poor officer, and the policemen were already chasing the innocent people, administratively arrested the Germans and other foreigners to the Russian calaboose [prison]. In a word, it started as suddenly as plague...” (Koshyts, 1948, p. 190).

Usually in cities patriotism had collective nature and appeared in two most common forms: 1) holding festive events and demonstrations; 2) organizing charity events for the benefit of the army and war victims. The first form was mainly declarative and propagandistic, but the second was rational, since the need for money and food during the war didn’t lose its relevance. There were also cases of individual patriotism. A journalist Havrylo Hordienko wrote: “There were exceptional demonstrations of patriotism. For example, landowner Ivanenko from Andrievka village, at his own expense bought boots, beautiful cloth pants and soldier’s blouses for a thousand soldiers. It surprised me then, and will always be surprising that in such a “backward” Russia, in the county town of Aleksandrivska, such stocks of military clothes and shoes were found within a couple of days!” (Hordienko, 1976, p. 84).

During the war there were situations when students, while in a state of patriotic uplift and with no understanding of the seriousness of the problem, escaped to the front. Havrylo Hordienko wrote: “...In 1914, in the anniversary of the capture of Paris, a solemn event was organized at the Higher Primary School. Pupils of all classes came to the large school hall, the teachers were dressed in formal shirts with orders they had, and the school inspector Gavriil Vasylovych Krasnyanskiy and another senior teacher had swords with them... we have never seen such a parade again. The inspector said the opening statement about the

events of 1914, one of the teachers spoke more about the progress of the Napoleonic War of 1812 – 1814. After that, the school spiritual orchestra played cheerful marches. In the end, we all sang the hymn “God, save the tsar” and left the event with a patriotic delight. And soon one or two students “fled to war!” Such stunts we had back then.” (Hordienko, 1976, p. 62).

As we can see, patriotism among the urban population had rather ambivalent and marginal nature. The greater part of society was overwhelmed by a sense of patriotism and liberation struggle, though the main reason for this was not the desire to show their loyalty to the authorities and once again to be distinguished, but understanding of the need to protect their home from the enemy. This was especially relevant for the peasant environment.

The archetypal basis of the peasants’ attitude to the war was a permanent sense of their indefinable dependence on natural and social forces. This generated a fatalistic worldview, within which God was accepted as destiny, judgment, but on the contrary, the course of events of a natural or social nature was regarded as the unfolding of providential divine will. Because of this the war for peasants was a kind of unacceptable natural cataclysm, a punishment sent by God (Porshneva, 2004, p. 88). In such situation, the rural population became a “hostage” to their own narrow outlook. Due to the difficult financial situation, ignorance and information isolation, geopolitical interests of Russia and the personal claims of tsar were almost alien to a common peasant. His outlook was limited by his native village and the local district, and therefore, the main identifier that determined patriotism and peasant’s involvement in the war, was not the awareness of personal responsibility for protecting “Great” Russia, but the fear for his own home and family, as well as a sense of love for his native land – places where he was born, grew up and worked all his life.

At the initial stage of the war, patriotism was widespread among the peasants. Last but not the least, the stories of the heroic deeds of the soldiers and the first successes on the front line played a significant role. In one of the then publications in the newspaper “Kievskaya zemskaya gazeta” (August 29, 1914) was noted: “Rumors about the heroic deeds of our troops and the Cossacks soon started to spread in the village [Kryve of Skvyra County] and greatly inspired the population. Everyone has a warlike spirit and now they are only talking about the destruction of the Austrian and the German states” (Vojna i derevnya, 1914, August 29, p. 15).

Peasant patriotism appeared in various forms. First of all, it was material assistance to the front. At the beginning of the war people in the villages began to organize donations of bread and other supplies for the needs of the army. Such events had a massive nature in the fall (1914), so the Council of Ministers set a limit on donations: no more than 1/5 of personal stock or capital. Rural communities provided money for the treatment of sick and wounded soldiers. Peasant girls knitted and sewed warm clothes for the soldiers (Porshneva, 2004, p. 88).

It should be added that the peasantry was the main reserve for the replenishment of the Russian army: from 15.8 million people mobilized until autumn of 1917, more than 12.8 million were taken from villages (Porshneva, 2004, p. 90). Since the troops were based on village origin, the attitude of soldiers at the beginning of the war was almost similar to the attitude of peasants. A researcher Olha Porshneva notes that it was the peasant component of the army’s body that allowed the commanders to have full and uncontrolled power over the lower ranks. The soldiers were ready to entrust themselves to the full authority of the commanders if they, in return, as was customary in the authoritarian-patriarchal system of relations, would not only be responsible for their actions, but also show genuine parental concern for them. This axiom of consciousness of the peasant-soldier was the basis of their psychological perception of military service (Porshneva, 2004, p. 177). This leads to two basic

facts: first, for most soldiers and peasants-soldiers, the declared geopolitical goals of Russia in the war were incomprehensible and unacceptable; secondly, the words of the military commanders had considerable authority and, usually, weren't criticized. No wonder that such informational method as "appeal to authority" were used in media. In order to motivate and form the desired position in the war for the readers, the editors of the publications often posted texts or passages of the commanders' speeches.

A sense of "popular support" played a significant role in supporting the morale and fighting spirit of the soldiers; they believed that they are remembered at home and would get assistance in every possible way. One of the authors of that time wrote in the military front newspaper "Armeiski Vestnik": "The ordinary citizen... sends his gifts and donations to the soldiers willingly, joyfully or just by inertia, and probably doesn't suspect what he is doing. For him it's always a trifle... But in these little things a soldier feels that he isn't abandoned, torn off or left alone... Different gifts were handed out to officers, who returned on their positions. So many emotions, delight, joy! One soldier was given a shirt with embroidery: "From a high school student Shura [Olexandra] – from Poltava", and in a sleeve was a note filled with pleasant words. The soldier gone crazy from delight, he was jumping, bragging about it ... Every little thing a soldier gets, acts like an electric current... A great power of spirit is born – a force that pushes forward for amazing feats, for immortal courage and for the victory" (Novitskiy, 1916, February 9, p. 4).

It should be noted that there were also certain age and personality traits that influenced the soldiers' position at the beginning of the war. The young unmarried boys received the war as a fighting adventure that could tear them away from the routine and everyday life without being aware of the basic nature of the problem and its consequences. Protopresbyter of the military and naval clergy Father Georgiy Shavelskiy stated in his memoirs: "... He [a Russian soldier] considered to be his duty to continually show courage, often unnecessarily put his life at risk, and sometimes die to no avail. His motto was: I'll die for the tsar and the motherland. There was a serious defect in the mood and ideology of our officers, which wasn't noticed. ...It was often known, that a soldier, ready to lay down his life at any moment, developed some kind of nonchalance and careless attitude to the real battle situation, to military experience and science. He was fascinated by psychosis of heroism. The ideal of heroic deed of death overshadowed his ideal of victory. It was very dangerous thing for the affair" (Shavelskiy, 1954).

The family soldiers and masters were usually depressed, and felt only oppression and despair. When sent to the front and during breaks between battles, soldiers sang mournful and gloomy songs in hospitals. This depressed psychological condition was caused by a number of factors: a fatalistic view of war as God's punishment for sins and a natural cataclysm which had no salvation; historical memory of the spilled blood in the previous wars of imperial Russia, when the government tried to compensate for the enemy's military and technical superiority by the size of its infantry; the psychology of waiting for the unknown (Porshneva, 2004, pp. 179–180). In addition, these factors were compounded by sorrow and grief over their own families, family homes and lands that were actually left behind.

Owing to active enthusiasm, patriotism, a large number of troops, despite the backward material base, during the first period of the war the Russian army managed to carry out a number of victorious operations, occupied part of Eastern Galicia, Bukovina, Transcarpathia and retained the wide front line. But such success, gained by colossal human sacrifices and material destruction, was temporary. Later the situation in the country and at the front got worse. There was a clear dissonance between what the government and media claimed and what was happening in reality.

Even before the war, many people realized that war would bring significant problems and troubles to every day's life. The Ukrainian historian, a chairman of the Committee of the Southwestern Front of the All-Russian Union of Cities for Assistance to Sick and Injured Soldiers Dmytro Doroshenko wrote in his memoirs: "The mood among Kyiv Ukrainians was very depressive. Everyone expected the greatest disaster because of this war, especially if it goes well for the Muscovites. Hopelessness and despair took over people when they thought that these shackles for the Ukrainian life were forged by the Ukrainian hands, watered by the Ukrainian tears." (Doroshenko, 1969, p. 22).

Austrian researcher Hannes Leidinger notes that "hurray-patriotism" at the beginning of World War I, which, despite all efforts, was accepted mostly by small sections of the urban population and the "patriotic" Duma, which the monarch and his advisers treated critically and simply had to tolerate with its existence, hid the problems of the country, but only for a while (Dornik et al., 2015, p. 510). Within a year of the hostilities, public mood changed dramatically. Appeared a rethinking of the events of the war and a new understanding of its catastrophic consequences. Some part of the Ukrainian intelligentsia was overwhelmed by a depressive mood. Leonid Zhebunov wrote in his letter to Yevhen Chykalenko (September 4, 1915): "There is a kind of horror in my soul, an invincible burden that crushes my heart, because a real catastrophe has come, a universal catastrophe that has embraced half of the world... The main horror for me is that all those moral values produced by science, art and life, achieved by thousands of years of hard work and brilliant thought – are broken down, crushed. Not to mention the destruction of material goods. It will be renewed, but what about the moral laws or habits? Where did they go, and what will be established instead of them, how will this blizzard be stopped?! Sometimes I think – the faith in human progress is lost..." (Starovoitenko, 2005, pp. 188–189).

The socio-political situation became more complicated with every year. The factional strives in the Duma sharpened, left and right factions began to calculate how many heroes they had in each faction. There was a growing desire among men to avoid mobilization. The difficult economic situation and disappointing news from the front deprived the euphoria of society that prevailed in the first days and months of the war. The average citizens were forced to earn sufficient resources for livelihood in difficult conditions. The residents of the cities were worried about the lack of apartments, the shortage of basic necessities, fuel, the constant increase in prices, problems with transport (Vilshanska, 2014b, p. 65). Messages about making wrong decisions, corruption, and "preying on the war", as well as talks and rumors about the arrest of "rebels", who dared to express their indignation, dispelled the illusions even further (Dornik et al., 2015, p. 36)

The mentioned above father Georgiy Shavel'skij, wrote in his memoirs: "At that time we didn't want to think about the power of the enemy, our own unpreparedness, the various and countless sacrifices that war would require, flows of blood and millions of deaths... Everyone – young and old, both light-hearted and wise – eagerly wandered into this dreaded, unknown future, as if only in the flow of suffering and blood we could find our happiness. This mood didn't weaken during the months of the war, until our defects appeared on the front, and required many sacrifices" (Shavel'skiy, 1954).

The retreat of the Russian army in the spring – summer of 1915 clearly demonstrated the large-scale miscalculations in the country's preparation for war, the organization of the army supply, ammunition and uniforms, the consequences of the inconsistency and incompetence of military and civilian power. Since the beginning of the war, Russia suffered the greatest

losses among the armies of the belligerent states: about 3.5 million people were killed, wounded and captured, including 300 thousand killed, 1.5 million captured, and the officer corps lost 45 thousand people (Porshneva, 2004, p. 103). Such factors began the process of destabilizing the situation in the country and rethinking of the events, that happened lately.

Rumors about betrayal at the highest government levels, spies and German domination began to spread among the population. There were reports of mass dissatisfaction from army officers, who blamed the Ministry of Defense for the lack of ammunition. As a result, in order to reassure society, on June 12, 1915 the emperor decided to dismiss Minister of Defense Vladimir Sukhomlinov. Along with him some people lost their posts, such as: Minister of the Interior Nikolay Maklakov (June 6), Chief Prosecutor of the Holy Synod Vladimir Sabler (July 5), Minister of Justice Ivan Shcheglovitov (July 6). Their places were taken by: Minister of the Interior – Nikolai Shcherbatov, Minister of Justice – Aleksei Khvostov, Chief Prosecutor – Aleksandr Samarin, and Minister of Defense – Aleksei Polivanov (Oldenburg, 1949, p. 171).

The change of ministers and the convocation of the State Duma on July 19, 1915 were accepted positively by society, because it brought hope for better changes in the army. But at the same time, these actions didn't just calm people down, but created the desire for further, greater changes. People believed that those reforms, which were refused by government in peacetime, could be achieved in time of war. Misunderstanding between the state and society was growing bigger: the emperor considered it necessary for the purposes of war to concentrate power in his hands and to govern through people whom he could trust; for him the popularity or non-popularity of these people among the population didn't play a special role. On the other hand, the society believed that the moment had come, and it was given the opportunity not only to "throw off" but also to "appoint" its own ministers (Oldenburg, 1949, p. 172). The society's need and understanding of importance of changes were increasing every day.

The involvement of the Russian Empire in the war and its negative effects had intensified the process of spreading of negative rumors about members of the monarch family, betrayal of its members, and the desire to make peace with the enemy. Father Georgiy Shavel'skiy mentioned: "Two or three months after the start of the war, when the front ...endured many trials, when both the power of the enemy and our unpreparedness were seen, when the future of the war stopped to be cloudless, – at this time rumors about the Empress leaning toward the peace with Germans spread across the front. And these rumors confused everyone more than reports of terrible failures at the front. Under the influence of the general mood, I had to write a letter to Anna Vyubova [maid of honor of Empress Alexandra Fedorivna], asking her to influence the Empress with all her might, to dissuade her from thinking about premature peace" (Shavel'skiy, 1954).

Emperor Nicholas II was increasingly criticized and discredited. The slogan of 1914 about "unity of people with the king" lost its relevance and went against public opinion. The emperor was accused of treason and major problems, and from the defender of the state turned into responsible person for such difficult situation. A separate consequence of this situation was the gradual destruction of the sacred image of the monarch in the public consciousness. The emperor lost the status of "God's anointed" and turned into an ordinary government official, whose actions can be criticized, questioned and even condemned.

The press became bolder and more critical, and destroyed the established foundations of imperial traditions in its information material. The Moscow security chief stated in his report (October 23, 1916), that the press vigorously undermined the authority of the government, the spirit of society and optimism. He noted that sensations, which showed problems at the front and

at the home front, induced people to stock up on food and other goods, which ultimately increased the atmosphere of the crisis. In addition, the press hinted at the betrayal of the royal family. In the last months of the empire's existence, the "attacks" of journalists increased, merging with more or less fantastic rumors of crisis, defeat, corruption and betrayal (Daly, 2001, p. 40).

Negative trends began to show up in the army. The prolongation of the war, the decline of patriotism and morale were the reasons for the spread of such phenomena as the refusal of soldiers to fulfill order about the offensive and the voluntary imprisonment. According to Russian researcher Aleksandr Astashov, during World War I, the surrender of soldiers in the Russian army became massive. This was especially noticeable during and after the "Great Retreat" in the summer of 1915 (Astashov, 2014, pp. 416–418).

Frustration and reluctance to continue the war were spreading among the soldiers' corps. The negative consequence of this was the spread of such phenomena as desertion. The famous Ukrainian public politician and diplomat Mykola Halahan, who was mobilized to the ranks of the Russian army from the first days of the war and performed the functions of a regimental adjutant and personally saw the peculiarities of the occupation of Eastern Galicia, wrote in his memoirs: "... The signs of internal decomposition in the army were seen in 1915. The barometer of this phenomenon was desertion. In 1916 it became already a mass thing, there were more than a million deserters." (Halahan, 2005, p. 189).

In total, according to official data, from the start of hostilities in 1914 until the February Revolution, about 195 000 people deserted from the Russian army. However, this data isn't reliable, because the government usually downplayed the figures. In addition, it's not entirely clear by what principle the calculation was made and who was included in the general list: only those who were caught and brought to tribunal, or those who weren't caught or were fugitives. Today, the majority of the researchers refer to testimony of former State Duma Chairman Mikhail Rodzianko, according to which, from the beginning of the hostilities in 1914 to the February Revolution, there were about 1.5 million deserters in the Russian army, including captured and fugitives (Astashov, 2014, pp. 475–480).

Along with desertion, self-injury spread in the army. The average number of upper extremity injuries in the Russian army in previous military conflicts was 25–35% of the total. However, during World War I, this number had reached 45–55.8%, which was 10–15% more than usual. In general, the number of people who harmed themselves in the period of 1914–1917 was about 200–350 000 (Astashov, 2014, p. 42).

With each passing year, more and more petty officers tried to avoid engaging in military action by sitting in the rear. Such evaders were commonly called "zapilnyky" (clandestines) and "shkurnyky" (tradesmen, mercantilists, egoists). As a consequence, unskilled officers who had neither experience nor sufficient practice and little understanding of military affairs, were sent to the front instead of them. Mykola Halahan wrote in his memoirs: "... There were more and more typical "zapilnyky" and "shkurnyky" that didn't have any desire to "smell gunpowder"... There were some stubborn "zapilnyky" nobody could pull out from their well-settled places, even by the end of the war... The poor students and teachers, who had to become Warrant Officers during 6 or 8 months and were poorly prepared for the duties of the petty officers, were ruthlessly driven to the front because they were stepchildren, but "their brother" (staff officer) was kept in the rear." (Halahan, 2005, p. 184).

In order to avoid military service and engagement in combat, some officers resorted to simulations, pretending to be seriously ill. Mykola Halahan, who was repeatedly mentioned in our work, wrote: "... It was especially unpleasant to look at the "shall-shocked" simulants

and the so-called “wounded in the little finger”. They were ardent supporters of the “war to the end,” but didn’t fight by themselves... Of course, from the perspective of people it’s easy to understand that nobody wants to die. But to see the figure of a simulant-shkurnyk from senior staff, who screams about “the war to a victorious end,” but hides in the rear – is more than unpleasant” (Halahan, 2005, p. 184).

Fighting failures, hunger, bad uniforms, infectious diseases, as well as rumors of betrayal of the king and queen dramatically reduced the level of “trenchant religiosity”. Hope for God, faith in the power of prayer and the protective power of the cross were all gone. More and more soldiers had an anti-Church mood, religious kindness was supplanted by cynical views on faith, and “loss of soul” turned into drunkenness, depression, and open blasphemy. There were cases when soldiers burned crosses on mass graves. The religious-protest mood of the front-line soldiers escalated: in 1915 priests and the church were sometimes accused of retreating from the commandments of Christ, but in 1916 there were mass evasions from the performance of religious ceremonies, which were transformed even into the denial of God. The image of the priest-hero, who encouraged people to deeds by the cross, in the minds of soldiers changed into image of priests with “traditional” flaws (Petrov, 2014, p. 482). It is clear that the need for faith didn’t disappear, but its significance has decreased significantly since 1914.

With each passing year, incidents of anti-war and anti-government agitation by former soldiers, who returned home from the front, have increased. This phenomenon was especially widespread at the end of 1916 – the beginning of 1917. Such information was written in the prescription of the Chief of Podilskyi Governorate Gendarmerie Administration of January 24, 1917: “Commanders, as well as formerly wounded lower ranks, when coming from the front on vacation and on other occasions, propagandize against the war and call on the population to disobey the law and the government. I would like to draw attention to this phenomenon ... to clarify the agitators and to take the necessary measures in time to stop this propaganda” (CSHAUK, f. 301, d. 2, c. 195, p. 23).

It is clear that from the soldiers’ point of view this agitation had a rational explanation, since they, as direct combatants, experienced the basic horrors of war, the difficult living conditions at the front and the futility of hostilities that killed thousands of people.

In fact, 1916 was a decisive year for the Russian Empire. The economic crisis and unsuccessful hostilities led to an increase of number of workers’ protests. In that year, about 951 000 people participated in strikes and protests all over the empire. In addition, peasant protests intensified, while patriotic mood in the army weakened and even disappeared in some places. The end of the year was marked by a radical turn in the mass psychology and mood of a large part of the population, workers, peasants and soldiers, the essence of which was the spontaneous growth of the desire for peace (Zolotarev, 2014, p. 461).

In February of 1917, the governor of Kyiv noted in one of his circulars, addressed to the peace agents and chiefs of the local police, that number of parcels, sent from Russia to prisoners of war in Germany and Austria-Hungary, in which the border gendarmerie revealed negative messages, had increased. The author emphasized the difficult situation in the empire, the general cost of living, high prices for basic necessities, people’s dissatisfaction and various kinds of unrest, and also noted the growing desire for peace in society (SAKO, f. 1716, d. 1, c. 16, p. 17).

As a result, during World War I, significant transformations took place in the national consciousness of the Ukrainian people. The Ukrainians became more politically active and tried to counteract the Russian propaganda illegally. An important place in this context was

given to students. At the end of November – the beginning of December of 1914, a special, illegal Information Bureau of Kyiv Ukrainian Students (IBKUS) was organized at the Imperial University of St. Vladimir in Kyiv. It consisted of young people who didn't want to put up with the aggressive actions of the Russian government on the occupied territories of Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna and its chauvinistic policy towards the Ukrainians. In attempt to prevent the Russian domination and propaganda, the IBKUS started an active anti-Russian and anti-autocratic information policy.

On December 17, 1914, the Department of Military Censorship at Kyiv Military District Headquarters sent a message to the local Governorate Gendarmerie Administration chief, stating the need for appropriate orders to counteract such agitation. The document was accompanied by a sample of the leaflet of Information Bureau, dated December 2, which was disseminate to students. It referred to the cruelty of imperial power policy and called for a boycott of fundraising for the benefit of the “Russian” population of Galicia: “Comrades! Another prisoner appeared in the “Great Prison of Nations”. Galicia became a military prey of Russia, crushed, devastated, national culture of the population is destroyed... Thousands of best Galician Ukrainian intellectuals have been deported to Siberia. ...December 16 is a day of assistance to the “Russian population of Galicia”... Don't give money to the black hundred... Ukrainian students are appealing to you, comrades, to boycott the day of “crocodile tears” (CSHAUK, f. 274, d. 4, c. 325, pp. 56, 57).

Soon, another leaflet with the following content was published: “The Russian government will bring Galicia absolute economic ruin, spiritual oppression and violence against national consciousness. Comrades! Neither of us will go out to raise money on 16th of December! We won't give even a coin!” (CSHAUK, f. 274, d. 4, c. 325, p. 59). Such materials completely discredited the actions of the government in the eyes of society and became a threat of the formation of anti-Russian and anti-government positions among the population. Responding to this situation, on December 20, 1914, the Police Department, in a message to the Chief of the Kyiv Governorate Gendarmerie Administration, required to present evidence about the compilers and distributors of these leaflets. On February 11, 1915, Colonel A. Shredel stated in his reply that the local gendarmerie had failed to find any information about the authors (CSHAUK, f. 274, d. 4, c. 325, pp. 58, 60). This testifies to the fact that the activities of the police to identify “untrustworthy” people, who were engaged in “hostile” agitation, didn't always have a success.

During the entire period of the war, the IBKUS carried out active information activities against the Russian autocracy. On February 24, 1916, in connection with the anniversary of the death of the Ukrainian poet T. Shevchenko, the Information Bureau issued and circulated propaganda proclamations in Kyiv with the following content: “Comrades! the 26th of February is anniversary of T. Shevchenko's death... Let us add our voice to the all-democratic space against slavery, captivity and oppression. We protest against the oppression of our word, against total disregard for our rights and interests. ...we will boldly say: “Laugh, fierce enemy / but not too much”. Comrades, let us dedicate the day of February of 26 to the memory of a person, who has spent all his life and all his power to fight for the better fate for his people.” (CSHAUK, f. 274, d. 4, c. 548, p. 119).

Similar calls received positive feedback from Ukrainian youth. On the 26th of February there was a demonstration speech of students of Kyiv Imperial University and cadets of higher women's courses. The youth intended to sing a song for the eternal memory of the poet near the Vladimir cathedral, but the police prevented such action. Two people were

arrested and other participants (201 people) were fined. It is worth noting that not only ethnic Ukrainians but also representatives of other nationalities took part in the demonstration: 21 Caucasians, 58 Jews (CSHAUK, f. 274, d. 4, c. 548, p. 109). So, students, as a politically-conscious category of the population, tried to show their own national position and counteract imperial chauvinism.

It should be noted that the establishment of close contacts between the Ukrainians of the Dnieper Ukraine and Eastern Galicia, which were long divided between empires, had a significant influence on the growth of national consciousness. This happened because of: 1) the increasing of number of the Ukrainian prisoners of war, who fought on the side of Austria-Hungary and, after the capture, traveled to Kyiv, as it was the focal point of the entire Southwestern Front of the Russian Empire; 2) the growth of civilian Galician emigrants; 3) and the disposition of the Russian army on the occupied territories of Eastern Galicia and Bukovyna. On this occasion Mykola Kowalewskyi mentioned: "The presence of the Russian army in Galicia and Bukovyna had a huge impact on the growth of the Ukrainian consciousness among those soldiers and officers, who only spontaneously felt that they were the Ukrainians, but were not able to form these feelings and elevate them to the level of national consciousness. While staying in Galicia and Bukovyna, they came in contact with a population that showed a fairly high level of national consciousness, and it made many of them conscious Ukrainians." (Kowalewskyi, 1960, p. 194).

The Conclusions. Therefore, the initial stage of the war was marked by widespread patriotism, which, despite of its "mass" nature, had a differentiated, ambivalent and permanent character during the period of 1914 – 1917. The majority of "ardent" patriots were wealthy people who, through their privileged and financial position avoided military service and practically didn't participate in the hostilities, or representatives of ultra-monarchical circles. For some people the war was a way of showing their loyalty to the government, but for the others it was an opportunity to make money and enrich themselves. Other groups of the population were overwhelmed by a sense of patriotism and liberation struggle, though the main reason for this was not the love for the "great tsarist Motherland", but understanding of the need to protect their "small homeland". This tendency was peculiar to the peasant environment, whose outlook, because of informational isolation, archaic thinking, stereotyping, low education and poverty, had a local and limited character. Fear for family, home, household, and that the enemy could destroy everything, was a powerful and stimulating factor to volunteer to fight in the front or join the rear. A similar vision and perception of the war was typical for the soldiers' environment, as it was based on village natives. In the early years of the war, the behavior of soldiers was determined by the humble, patient, and self-righteous fulfillment of their military duty. Patriotic state and stable psychological atmosphere prevailed in the army and at the front due to active information propaganda, functioning of the institute of military censorship and activities of the clergy. A large number of soldiers believed in the liberation nature of the war and the rapid victory of the Russian Empire. It should be noted that the Russian army conducted military operations mainly on its territory, which formed in the public consciousness the perception of war as defensive and fair.

Delaying the timing of the war, defeats at the front, increasing of the number of victims, growing economic crisis triggered a process of destabilization inside the country. Distrust and dissatisfaction were spreading in society. Rumors about treason in the upper echelons of government, spies and German domination spread among the population. One of the main consequences of the war was the growing criticism of the emperor's personality and his role in

the life of the country, which led to the gradual destruction of the sacred image of the monarch in the public consciousness. Negative trends began to show up in the army, in particular, a decline of patriotism, morale and religiosity. This caused the spread of such phenomena as desertion, the refusal of soldiers to fulfill the orders of commanders, voluntary imprisonment, hiding in the rear, large number of simulations etc. As a result, in 1916 – 1917, measures, adopted by the Russian imperial government in order to control the socio-political situation, could no longer hide the true situation and restrain the serious transformations in the mass public consciousness, which included: the gradual destruction of traditional forms of imperialism and official ideology, based on the formula of Sergey Uvarov (1786 – 1855): Orthodox faith, autocracy, nation. The increase of political activity in the national consciousness of the Ukrainians was a notable phenomenon. It also was one of the important preconditions for the revolutionary events and the development of the Ukrainian statehood in the 1917s – 1920s.

In conclusion, we can allocate three main stages of society's reception and understanding of the events of war:

1) July of 1914 – spring 1915 – a stage of patriotic “euphoria”, a positive attitude to war and support of government's actions by the majority of the population;

2) the summer of 1915 – the summer of 1916 – the period of rethinking of the war events, a gradual understanding of its true goals and negative consequences, the decline of patriotism, the appearance of indifference and distrust of the population of civilian authorities and military structures;

3) the autumn of 1916 – February of 1917 – increasing of public dissatisfaction, negative criticism of the government's actions, intensification of anti-war and revolutionary mood, increasing of political activity of the society and actualization of national issues, in particular the Ukrainian one.

Acknowledgements. I would like to express sincere gratitude to all who contributed to the creation of this scientific article, in particular to Professor Vitaly Scherbak and Professor Oksana Salata, and especially to the editorial board of the journal that contributed to its publication.

Funding. The author received no financial support for the publication of this article.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Astashov, A. (2014). *Russkiy front v 1914 – nachale 1917 goda: voennyiy opyt i sovremennost* [Russian Front in 1914 – the beginning of 1917: military experience and modernity]. Moscow: Novyy khronograf, 740 p. [in Russian]

Astashov, A. (2016). Moralnyy dukh i nastroyeniya russkoy armii v Pervoy mirovoy voyne [Morale and Mood of the Russian Army in World War I]. In M. Yu. Myagkova, K. A. Pakhaliuk (Ed.), *Ot protivostoyaniya ideologiy k sluzheniyu idealam: rossiyskoe obshchestvo v 1914 – 1945 gg.: sb. st.* (pp. 33–46). Moscow: The Novyy khronograf. [in Russian]

Bonnerjee, S. (2019) “The lure of war”: reconsidering the motivations of nurses to volunteer in World War I. *Women's History Review*, 28 (7), 1096–1114. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09612025.2019.1608683> [in English]

Brusilov, A. (2013). *Moi vospominaniya* [My memories]. Moscow: Veche, 288 p. [in Russian]

Daly, J. (2001). Pressa i gosudarstvo v Rossii (1906 – 1917 gg.) [Repression and Freedom of the Press in Late Imperial Russia]. *Voprosy istorii*, 10, 25–45. [in Russian]

Derzhavnyi arkhiv Khmelnytskoi oblasti [SAkHO – State Archives of the Khmelnytskyi Oblast]

Derzhavnyi arkhiv Kyivskoi oblasti [SAKO – State Archives of Kyiv Oblast]

Dornik, W., Kasianov, G., Leidinger, H., Lieb, P., Miller, A., Musial, B. & Rasevych, V. (2015). *Ukraina mizh samovyznachenniam ta okupatsiieiu: 1917 – 1922 roky* [Ukraine between Self-determination and Occupation: 1917 – 1922]. Kyiv: Nika-Center, 512 p. [in Ukrainian]

- Doroshenko, D.** (1969). *Moi spomyny pro nedavnie-mynule (1914–1920). V chotyrokch chastynakh: Halyska Ruina – Doba Tsentralnoi Rady – Doba Hetmanshchyny – Doba Dyrektorii* [My memories of the recent past (1914–1920). In four parts: Galicia Ruin – Age of the Central Council – Age of the Hetmanate – Age of the Directory]. Munich: Ukrainske vydavnytstvo, 543 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Guenther, K.** (2017). A Question of Loyalty: German Churches in Reading During the First World War. *Pennsylvania History*, 84 (3), 325–353. [in English]
- Halagan, M.** (2005). *Z moikh spomyniv (1880-ti – 1920 r.): Dokumentalno-khudozhnie vydannia* [From my Memoirs (the 1880s – 1920s): Documentary and artistic pub]. Kyiv: Tempora. 656 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Hordienko, H.** (1976). *Pid shchytom Marsa: Spohady* [Under the Shield of Mars: Memoris]. (Vol. I). Philadelphia, 256 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Hubertus, F.** (1995). *Patriotic Culture in Russia during World War I*. Ithaca, N.Y. and London: Cornell University Press, 229 p. [in English]
- Kolyada, I.** (2018). Reaktsiia miskoho naselennia Pravoberezhnoi Ukrainy na pochatok Pershoi svitovoi viiny: sprobna retrospektyvy [Reaction of the Urban Population of the Ukraine at the Beginning of the First World War: an Attempt of Retrospective]. *Hileya: naukovyy visnyk. Zbirnyk naukovykh prats'*, 132, 27–30. [in Ukrainian]
- Koshyts, O.** (1948). *Spohady. Chastyna II. [Memories. Part II]*. Winnipeg: Kultura i osvita, 272 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Kovalevskiy, M.** (1960). *Pry dzherelakh borotby. Spomyny, vrazhennia, refleksii [At sources of struggle. Memories, impressions, reflections]*. Innsbruck, 719 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Lohr, E.** (2004) The Russian Press and the “Internal Peace” at the Beginning of World War I. In Troy R.E. Paddock (Ed). *A call to arms: propaganda, public opinion, and newspapers in the Great War* (pp. 91–113). Westport, Conn.: Praeger Publishers. [in English]
- Machen, E.** (2013) Soldiers of Faith behind the Lines: religious women and community patriotism during World War I in France. *Women's History Review*, 22 (1), 31–50. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09612025.2012.724919> [in English]
- Monger, D.** (2018). Tangible Patriotism during the First World War: Individuals and the Nation in British Propaganda. *War & Society*, 37 (4), 244–261. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/07292473.2018.1496786> [in English]
- Novitskiy.** (1916, February 9). *Sila dukha* [Strength of Mind]. *Armeyskiy Vestnik*, 231, 4. [in Russian]
- Oldenburg, S.** (1949). *Tsarstvovanie imperatora Nikolaya II. Tom 2* [Reign of Emperor Nicholas II. Volume 2]. Myunkhen: Izdanie Obshchestva rasprostraneniya russkoy natsionalnoy i patrioticheskoy literatury, 260 p. [in Russian]
- Petrov, Yu.** (Ed.). (2014). *Rossiya v gody Pervoy mirovoy voyny: ekonomicheskoe polozhenie, sotsialnye protsessy, politicheskyy krizis* [Russia during World War I: economic situation, social processes, political crisis]. Moscow: Politicheskaya ehnciklopediya, 982 p. [in Russian]
- Porshneva, O.** (2004). *Krestyane, rabochie i soldaty Rossii nakanune i v gody Pervoy mirovoy voyny* [Peasants, Workers and Soldiers of Russia before and during World War I]. Moscow: Rossiyskaya politicheskaya entsiklopediya, 368 p. [in Russian]
- Reient, O. & Serdiuk, O.** (2004). Zahostrennia superechnosti v imperskomu suspilstvi u roky Pershoi svitovoi viiny (lypen 1914 – liutyi 1917 rr.) [Aggravation of contradictions in imperial society during World War I (July 1914 – February 1917)]. *Problemy istorii Ukrainy XIX – pochatku XX st.*, 7, 5–47. [in Ukrainian]
- Schneider, G.** (1999). Zur Mobilisierung der Heimatfront. Das Nageln sogenannter Kriegswahrzeichen im Ersten Weltkrieg [The mobilisation of the home front: The nailing of the so-called war landmarks in World War I]. *Zeitschrift fur Volkskunde*, 95 (1), 32–62 [in German]
- Senyavskaya, E.** (1997). *Obraz vruga v soznanii uchastnikov Pervoy mirovoy voyny* [The image of the enemy in the minds of the participants of World War I]. *Voprosy istorii*, 3, 140–156. [in Russian]
- Shavel'skiy, G.** (1954). *Vospominaniya poslednego protopresvitera Russkoy armii i flota* [Memoirs of the Last Protopresbyter of the Russian Army and Navy]. New York: izdanie imeni Chekhova. URL: http://militera.lib.ru/memo/russian/shavel'skiy_gi/index.html [in Russian]

Starovoitenko, I. (Ed.). (2005). *Lysty Leonida Zhebunova do Yevhena Chykalenka. 1907 – 1919 roky* [Letters from Leonid Zhebunov to Yevgeny Chykalenko. 1907 – 1919]. Kyiv, 251 p. [in Ukrainian]

Sukhova, O. (2014). Pervaya mirovaya voyna kak vyzov russkoy mentalnosti: massovye nastroyeniya v provintsii v 1914 – 1917 gg. [World War I as a challenge to the Russian mentality: mass sentiments in the province in 1914 – 1917]. In S. M. Iskhakov, Yu. A. Petrov (Ed.), *Rossiya i Pervaya mirovaya voyna: ekonomicheskie problemy, obschestvennyie nastroyeniya, mezhdunarodnyie otnosheniya: sb. st.* (pp. 121–140). Moscow. [in Russian]

Tison, G. (2015). French pupils between the two wars of 1870 – 1871 and 1914 – 1918 Reading books and their patriotic consciousness. *History of Education & Childrens Literature*, 10 (1), 393–409. [in English]

Tsentralnyi derzhavnyi istorychnyi arkhiv Ukrainy v m. Kyievi [**CSHAUK** – Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Kyiv]

Vilshanska, O. (2014a). Povsiakdenne zhyttia i suspilni nastroi naselennia [Everyday Life and Public Mood of the Population]. In O.P. Reient (Ed). *Velyka viina 1914 – 1918 rr: i Ukraina. U dvokh knykhakh. Knyha 1. Istorychni narysy* (pp. 440–467). Kyiv: TOV “Vydavnytstvo “KLIIO”. [in Ukrainian]

Vilshanska, O. (2014b). Suspilni nastroi v Ukraini pid chas Pershoi svitovoi viiny [Public Mood in Ukraine during World War I]. In V. A. Smolii (Ed.), *Persha svitova viina y Ukraini (do 100-richchia pochatku Velykoi viiny): tezy dopovidei Vseukrainskoi naukovoii konferentsii z mizhnarodnoiu uchastiu (Kyiv–Cherkasy, 25–26 veresnia 2014 r.)*. (pp. 63–66). Kyiv: Instytut istorii Ukrainy. [in Ukrainian]

Voyna i derevnya (s. Krivoe, Skvirskogo uezda) [War and Village (the village of Krivoe, Skvirsky district)]. (1914, August 29). *Kievskaya zemskaya gazeta*, 33, 15. [in Russian]

Zolotarev, V. (Ed.) (2014). *Yevropa i Rossiya v ogne Pervoy mirovoy voyny. K 100-letiyu nachala voyny* [Europe and Russia in the fire of World War I. To the 100th anniversary of the start of the war]. Moscow: INEHS, RUBIN, 2014, 880 p. [in Russian]

The article was received April 17, 2021.

Article recommended for publishing 23/02/2022.

UDC 94(477)“1921/1929”:631.11:330.567.2
DOI 10.24919/2519-058X.22.253743

Zinaida SVYASCHEENKO

PhD hab. (History), Associate Professor of World History and Methods of Teaching, Pavlo Tychyna Uman State Pedagogical University, 28 Sadova Street, Uman, Ukraine, postal code 20300 (szv09@meta.ua)

ORCID: 0000-0001-5845-3115

ResearcherID: B-5144-2019

Iryna TERPAN

Post-graduate Student Pavlo Tychyna Uman State Pedagogical University, 28 Sadova Street, Uman, Ukraine, postal code 20300 (ira.terpan.95@gmail.com)

ORCID: 0000-0003-2780-8125

ResearcherID: ABF-7872-2020

Зінаїда СВЯЩЕНКО

докторка історичних наук, професорка кафедри всесвітньої історії та методик навчання Уманського державного педагогічного університету імені Павла Тичини, вул. Садова, 28, м. Умань, Україна, індекс 20300 (szv09@meta.ua)

Ірина ТЕРПАН

аспірантка Уманського державного педагогічного університету імені Павла Тичини, вул. Садова, 28, м. Умань, Україна, індекс 20300 (ira.terpan.95@gmail.com)

Bibliographic Description of the Article: Terpan, I. & Svyaschenko, Z. (2022). Nutrition in the Expenditure Part of the Budgets of the Peasant Farms of Ukraine during the NEP Period (1921 – 1929). *Skhidnoievropeiskyi istorychnyi visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 22, 82–90. doi: 10.24919/2519-058X.22.253743

**NUTRITION IN THE EXPENDITURE PART OF THE BUDGETS
OF THE PEASANT FARMS OF UKRAINE DURING THE NEP PERIOD (1921 – 1929)**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to analyze the structure of peasant farms expenditures budgets for food for their families comprehensively and their ratio to other expenses and actual incomes of peasant families during the financial year. The methodology of the research is based on the principles of systematicity, reliability, historicism, logic. General scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization) and special historical (historical typological, historical systemic) methods have been used. The scientific novelty is that for the first time in modern domestic historiography the costs of food in the peasant farms budgets' formation during the NEP (New Economic Policy) and their ration to other actual expenditure and income during the financial year have been considered. Quantitative and qualitative indicators of food have been analyzed; the quantity of the consumed staple food and their power value has been traced in dynamics. The Conclusions. It has been determined that the plant products prevailed in the average daily consumption of the rural population. According to the norms of the annual consumption of staple food of peasants in the district of the USSR, it was depicted that everywhere more than half of all consumed products was bread with certain regional differences*

in the share of the annual consumption of rye and wheat bread. At the same time, along with the increase in the absolute consumption of bread products, which were considered to be the basis of the rural population nutrition, their qualitative composition changed slowly, hence, it reflected some improvement in the economic condition of the peasantry. The daily norm for products of animal origin was not high. The peasant budgets reflected the difficult material life of peasant families in the 1920s, including the problem of food costs. The peasant families were forced to tighten their belts, in particular, to limit the already modest food standards and did not give any grain to livestock in order to get out of the predicament. The family abnegated itself any factory products – manufactures, shoes, sugar, kerosene and even needles became luxuries. It was noted that by reducing the cost of food, the peasants tried to balance the expenditure part of their budget and ensure its deficit. As a result, the diet of most farms was impoverished, especially in the spring, when there was a shortage of meat, milk and dairy products, while the consumption of bread and potatoes exceeded the norm. Prior to that, the quality of products, especially bread, in many cases was low.

Key words: expenditure part, budget, new economic policy, nutrition, ration, energy value, peasant economy.

ХАРЧУВАННЯ У ВИТРАТНІЙ ЧАСТИНІ БЮДЖЕТІВ СЕЛЯНСЬКИХ ГОСПОДАРСТВ УКРАЇНИ В ДОБУ НЕПУ (1921 – 1929)

Анотація. Мета статті – аналіз структури витрат бюджетів селянських господарств на харчування своїх родин та їх співвідношення з іншими витратами і фактичними доходами селянських родин упродовж господарського року. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на принципах системності, достовірності, історизму, логічності. Використано загальнонаукові (аналізу, синтезу, узагальнення) та спеціально-історичні (історико-типологічний, історико-системний) методи. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше у сучасній вітчизняній історіографії розглядаються витрати на харчування при формуванні бюджетів селянських господарств у період НЕПу та їх співвідношення з іншими фактичними витратами і доходами впродовж господарського року. Аналізуються кількісні і якісні показники харчування, простежується в динаміці кількість спожитих продуктів харчування, їх енергетична цінність.

Висновки. З'ясовано, що у середньому добовому споживанні сільським населенням переважали продукти рослинного походження. Норми річного споживання основних продуктів харчування селян у розрізі округ УСРР показують, що повсюдно понад половину усіх спожитих продуктів складав хліб з певними регіональними відмінностями щодо питомої ваги у річному споживанні житнього і пшеничного хліба. Одночасно зі збільшенням абсолютного споживання хлібних продуктів – основи харчування сільського населення, поволі змінювався і їх якісний склад, що засвідчило деяке поліпшення економічного стану селянства. Щодо продуктів тваринного походження, то їх денна норма була невеликою. Селянські бюджети відбивали складне матеріальне життя селянських родин у 1920-х рр., в тому числі і проблеми витрат на харчування. Щоб вийти зі скрутного становища, селянські родини змушені були обмежувати і без того скромну продовольчу норму, не давати ніякого зерна худобі. Родини відмовляла собі в будь-якій фабричній продукції – мануфактурі, взутті, цукрі, гасі і навіть голки ставали предметами розкоші. Зазначається, що за рахунок скорочення витрат на харчування селяни намагалися збалансувати витратну частину свого бюджету і забезпечити його бездефіцитність. Унаслідок цього харчовий раціон більшості селянських господарств був збідненим, особливо у весняний період, коли спостерігалася нестача м'яса, молока і молочних продуктів, натомість споживання хліба і картоплі перевищувало норми. До того ж, якість продуктів, особливо хліба, в багатьох випадках була низькою.

Ключові слова: витратна частина, бюджет, нова економічна політика, харчування, раціон, енергетична цінність, селянське господарство.

The Problem Statement. The study of the evolution of the peasant economy during the pre-farm period remains relevant today, as it provides a deeper understanding of the features and patterns of agricultural policy of that time and they should be taken into account when

solving modern problems of the Ukrainian countryside. The analysis of the structure and share of food in the expenditure part of the budget of peasant farms, which was one of the key peasant issues and determined the material standard of living of peasants objectively and its dynamics during the NEP, is especially relevant.

Owing to the nutrition costs analysis of the formation of the expenditure part of peasant budgets and their ratio to actual incomes during the financial year, the level of functioning and efficiency of peasant farms during the NEP could be seen.

The Analysis of Recent Research Works and Publications. Diverse researchers of the history of the Ukrainian village of the pre-collective farm period covered the topic of nutrition expenditures in the budgets of peasant farms of the NEP era upon to one degree or another, paying specific attention to the nutrition of peasant families. Numerous aspects of the issue were reflected in the works written by M. Hurevych (Hurevych, 1927), O. Kataiev (Kataiev, 1928), V. Kalinichenko (Kalinichenko, 1997, 2012), V. Lazurenko (Lazurenko, 2012, 2019), A. Morozov (Morozov, 1993), V. Olianych (Olianych, 2014), I. Rybak (Rybak, 2008), O. Sushko (Sushko, 2002) and other researchers. The issues were covered by S. Bilan (Bilan, 2019), S. Kornovenko (Kornovenko, 2018), L. Lanoviuk (Lanoviuk, 2018), V. Lozovyi (Lozovyi, 2021) indirectly, who studied some issues of the agricultural development and situation of the village in the 20s and 30s of the XXth century.

However, the issue was not studied comprehensively, and the available developments do not give a holistic view of the expenditures of peasant families concerning food and their share in the total expenditures of peasant families as an important component of the functioning of peasant farms in Ukraine in 1921 – 1929.

The purpose of the research is to analyze the structure of peasant farms expenditures of budgets for food for their families comprehensively and their ration to other expenses and actual incomes of peasant families during the financial year.

The Main Material Statement. The main structural part of the expenditure item of the budget of peasant farms was the cost of food. This is because the state of nutrition characterized the financial situation and ability to work of peasant families. Based on this, it is appropriate to do research on the cost of food for peasants.

It was found out that each peasant farm spent an average of 6.6 krb. on food (golden pre-Soviet karbovantsi), based on the analysis of the monetary budgets of 3422 peasant farms in 1923 – 1924. At the same time, the amplitude of indicators in this part of the expenditure budget between seedless farms and those that had more than 15 acres of land ranged from 2.1 krb. in the first and 15.7 krb. – in the others (Kotsur & Tarapon, 2010, pp. 145–146).

It should be mentioned that budget surveys found out the annual consumption of products by members of peasant families per “eater” a year earlier. Hence, in Sumy district of Kharkiv hubernia (province), it consisted of 10 poods of rye, 5 – 6 poods of wheat, about 2 poods of barley, 1 pood of buckwheat, 1 pood of millet and about 15 poods of potatoes. The structure of sowing areas was planned in accordance with the above-mentioned norms (Byudzhety, 1924, pp. 34–97).

According to a statistical survey of the budgets of peasant farms in Ukraine conducted in 1923 – 1924, it was clearly shown that the peasants consumed a high proportion of products grown and produced on farms. In particular, in January of 1924, the products of plant origin (in pounds per capita) prevailed in the daily diet of the rural population: rye bread – 1,404; wheat bread – 0.307; various flour (pastries, condiments, etc.) – 0.286; various cereals – 0.207; peas, legumes and lentils – 0.069; potatoes – 1,121; cabbage – 0.205; cucumbers

– 0,085; onion – 0.063; root crops – 0.107; mushrooms, berries, fruits (dried, salted), etc. – 0.048 (Trudy ... Vyp., 1924, p. 322).

Owing to the calculations given by V. Kalinichenko, we've got an idea concerning the daily diet of the Ukrainian peasant. According to him, the daily diet of the Ukrainian peasant in November of 1925 on average consisted of 630 g of baked bread (including home baking), 90 g of other products from flour, 70 g of cereals, 600 g of vegetables (of which 400 g of potatoes), 80 g of meat, 210 g of milk, 13 g of lard, 3 g of butter, 13 g of fish (Kalinichenko, 1993, pp. 265–266).

The generalized data in terms of individual districts of the UkrSSR, representing the main agricultural areas, provided an idea of the quantitative indicators of the annual diet of the rural population, while highlighting some regional differences (Table 1).

Table 1

Annual consumption of staple food in the districts of the UkrSSR per eater according to the results of three surveys in 1925 (in poods)

District	Rye bread	Other types of bread	Flour	Beef	Pork	Other meat	Fish, herring	Milk	Eggs
Berdychiv	12,19	1,73	3,06	0,45	0,43	0,28	0,38	7,27	0,14
Bila Tserkva	13,34	0,95	3,30	0,48	0,37	0,19	0,24	5,76	0,14
Kyiv	13,37	0,74	3,00	0,58	0,31	0,55	0,43	6,04	0,09
Kryvyi Rih	8,09	7,65	3,45	0,57	0,43	0,42	0,46	6,50	0,18
Odesa	4,17	8,42	2,94	0,43	0,39	0,54	0,67	6,99	0,32
Pavlohrad	8,59	8,0	3,29	0,49	0,26	0,34	0,33	4,45	0,15
Poltava	16,23	3,36	3,47	0,48	0,48	0,66	0,49	5,86	0,14
Romen	13,00	2,65	3,58	0,35	0,67	0,73	0,32	6,48	1,11
Chernihiv	11,92	5,14	3,49	0,27	0,79	0,73	0,50	5,04	0,11

Based on: (Materiialy... Berdychivska okruha, 1926, p. 22; Materiialy... Bilotserkivska okruha, 1926, p. 26; Materiialy... Kyivska okruha, 1926, p. 34; Materiialy... Kryvorizka okruha, 1926, p. 23; Materiialy... Mariupilska okruha, 1926, p. 22; Materiialy... Odeska okruha, 1926, p. 24; Materiialy... Pavlohradaska okruha, 1926, p. 22; Materiialy... Poltavaska okruha, 1926, p. 24; Materiialy... Romenska okruha, 1926, p. 22; Materiialy... Chernihivska okruha, 1926, p. 21).

It should be mentioned that based on the analysis of the qualitative composition of the diet of the peasants of that time, other products of plant origin had a limited range. Neither the publications of that time nor the memoirs of contemporaries, with some exceptions, mentioned the consumption of melons and fruits from their own garden. Such kind of situation occurred primarily due to the small area of the farmyard and taxes on fruit trees.

The daily norm of products of animal origin was small: in 1921 it was on average 80 g, and in 1925 even less – 60 g. In addition, the peasants ate meat several times a year, mostly on religious holidays – at Christmas, Easter and other holidays and commemorated family events. The contemporaries also stated the chronic shortage of meat: “If the father slaughters a piglet for Christmas, so is the piglet for the whole year. The piglet weighting 70–80 kilograms, and maybe a quintal, how who feeds” (Kotsur & Tarapon, 2010, p. 146).

Owing to the data obtained from expeditionary budget surveys, which made it possible to trace the dynamics of the staple food consumption in more detail, especially bread, by peasants from the beginning to the practical collapse of the New Economic Policy (1927 – 1928) (Table 2).

Table 2

**Dynamics of annual consumption of rural bread products
population of the UkrSSR in 1923 – 1928 (per capita)**

Financial years	Consumed bread products (pounds)	Including	
		flour	%
1923/1924	12,90	11, 92	93,1
1924/1925	11,27	10,39	92,3
1925/1926	12,63	11,80	93,4
1926/1927	13,44	12,36	92,0
1927/1928	13,73	12,62	91,9

Based on: (Kataiev, 1928, p. 43).

The above-mentioned figures show that after the crop failure of 1921, and after the famine, during the next two crop years, the absolute norms of grain consumption by peasants increased dramatically, reflecting the general improvement in the economic condition of the peasantry.

In general, the quality of flour also improved, not only in economically strong farms with a greater abundance of products, but also in weaker farms with the less sown area. It was possible to make the following statistical calculations (Table 3) due to the analysis of budget materials by group differentiation.

Table 3

**Dynamics of the specific weight of wheat flour in the diet of peasant farms
in accordance with sown area size in 1924 – 1927 (in %)**

Financial years	Low sowing areas	Medium sowing areas	Large sowing areas
1924/1925	20,6	29,5	42,8
1925/1926	23,7	30,7	57,6
1926/1927	31,6	43,1	60,3

Based on: (Kataiev, 1928, p. 44).

According to the above-mentioned data, it follows that the quality of the annual rate of flour per capita in the specified period increased in low sowing farms by 74.7%, in medium sowing farms – by 63.8% and in large sowing farms – by 60.4%. Hence, the rate of flour per capita in economically stronger peasant families was lower, the diet – more varied and more balanced.

Regarding the place and quality of products of animal origin in the diet of peasants, there was an increase in fat consumption during the period of 1924 – 1928, mainly due to increased lard standards (Table 4).

Table 4

**Dynamics of the annual rate of fat consumption by the rural population
of the UkrSSR in 1924 – 1928 (in poods)**

Financial years	Total fat of animal origin	Including	
		Lard	Butter
1924/1925	0,36	0,29	0,07
1925/1926	0,42	0,36	0,06
1926/1927	0,49	0,12	0,37
1927/1928	0,50	0,42	0,08

Based on: (Kataiev, 1928, pp. 44–45).

A crucial indicator of the quality of nutrition of peasant families is considered to be the energy value and quality of the daily diet of one person (the number of net calories). The quality of the daily diet in January of 1924 can be judged by the content of the main nutrients consumed by peasant families: protein – 117.4 grams; fat – 75.8 grams; carbohydrates – 746.5 grams (Table 5).

Table 5

**The state of nutrition of the rural population of the UkrSSR
in 1921/1922 – 1923/1924 financial years (daily number of net calories per eater)**

1921/1922		1922/1923		1923/1924	
October	February	October	February	February	June
3621	3013	4074	4013	4247	4320

Based on: (Trudy... Vyp. 5, 1924, p. 220; Trudy... Vyp. 7, 1924, p. 337).

Due to the Bolsheviks' policy of the "military communism", which led to reduced agricultural production and declining productivity, which exacerbated food shortages, the low level of calories and the general deterioration of food and starvation of the rural population in the 1921/1922 financial year could be seen. The drought that engulfed Ukraine, especially the southern regions, also became apparent.

The peasant food was poor in protein. According to researchers, the level of meat, lard, and butter consumed by peasants was lower than the norm, forcing members of peasant families to eat more bread and potatoes (Kalinichenko, 1997, pp. 265–266). The above-mentioned conclusions can be confirmed by the survey, which was carried out in June of 1924, according to which the share of animal products in terms of calories digested in non-sowing farms of Ukraine was 22.3%, low sowing – 16.0%, medium sowing – 18.3%, large sowing – 19, 8% (Trudy..., 1928, p. 155).

The peasant budgets reflected the difficult material life of peasant families in the 1920s, including the food costs issue. The party functionaries evidenced poor diet of peasant food and life poverty. According to the report drawn up by the Central Committee of the CP (B) in 1924, it was stated that "according to six comrades working in the field", the poor economy is making every effort to make ends meet, compensating for the deficit by malnutrition and additional earnings" (Narysy..., 2010, p. 141).

At the same time, the official publications of that time contained information about more prosperous peasant budgets, probably for propaganda reasons. Hence, the magazine "Poltavskyi Selianyn" (The Poltava Peasant) included an extensive article, written by O. Tkachenko "The budget of my farm", in which the author analyzed in detail, with digital calculations, the annual budget of his farm in the 1927/1928 financial year. Based on the information in the article, we found out that the family consisting of three people – the owner of the farm, his wife and mother, owning 6.35 acres of land, during the year had the following consumer structure per eater (products from their own farm): rye and wheat bread – 6.75 poods, potatoes – 9.3 poods, lard, sunflower oil and onions – 0.66 poods, meat – 1.66 poods, eggs – 66.6 pcs., cabbage – 2.3 poods, beets – 1, 66 pounds. In addition, during the year the family consumed some purchased food like sugar, tea, rice (oilseeds), salt, fish, millet, dried pears, berries. In this family, which was not typical for the village at that time, there was even enough money for 5 bottles of vodka and 15 bottles of beer. In general, the budget of this economy was deficit-free (Tkachenko, 1928, pp. 11–13).

Despite some improvement in the nutrition of peasants during the NEP period, the issue remained one of the most acute in the formation of budgets of peasant farms. The peasants tried to balance the expenditure part of their budget and ensure its deficit by reducing the cost of food. As a result, the diet of most farms was impoverished, especially in the spring, when there was a shortage of meat, milk and dairy products, while the consumption of bread and potatoes exceeded the norm. Prior to that, the quality of products, especially bread, was in many cases low.

The Conclusions. Hence, the cost of food for members of the peasant economy was the main part of the expenditure part of the budget of most farms and ranged from 20–25% of total family expenditures. The share of food expenditures in monetary and physical terms differed in groups of farms and, as a rule, was higher in economically stronger farms. In addition, some fluctuations in food costs also depended to a large extent on low prices due to unfavourable natural and climatic conditions and on the peculiarities of the state agricultural policy (land supply, taxation, pricing).

As for the quality of the diet of peasant families, it was found that its basis, with the exception of certain purchased products, was the products of own farms, mostly of vegetable origin – bread and potatoes. At the same time, more than half of the annual consumption was rye and wheat bread.

Taking into consideration the prospects of peasant studies, as emphasized by the Ukrainian researchers (Prysiazhniuk, 2018), the problem proposed in the article needs further elaboration through the involvement of new documentary and statistical sources.

Acknowledgements. The authors would like to express sincere gratitude to all members of the editorial board for the advice they provided during the preparation of the article for publication.

Funding. The authors received no financial support for the research, authorship, and publication of this article.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bilan, S. O. (2019). Zaprovdzhennia tovarystv spilnoho obrobitku zemli yak instrument vnutrinhopolitychnoi borotby radianskoho uriadu z ukrainskym selianstvom (1927 – 1939 rr.) [Introduction of societies of joint cultivation of land as an instrument of internal political struggle of the Soviet government with the Ukrainian peasantry (1927 – 1939)]. *Storinky istorii: zbirnyk naukovykh prats*, 49, 133–142. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.20535/2307-5244.49.2019.189545> [in Ukrainian]

Byudzhety. (1924). *Byudzhety krestyan Kharkovskoy gubernii v 1922 – 1923 godu* [The budgets of the peasants of the Kharkov province in 1922 – 1923]. Kharkov, 136 p. [in Russian]

Hurevych, M. B. (1927). *Pytannia suchasnoho selianskoho hospodarstva Ukrainy* [Issues of modern peasant economy of Ukraine] (zperedmovoiu M.M. Volfa). Kharkiv: Tsentralne statystychnne upravlinnia USRR, 182 p. [in Ukrainian]

Kalinichenko, V. V. (1997). *Selianske hospodarstvo Ukrainy v period NEPu: istoryko-ekonomichne doslidzhennia: monohrafiia* [Peasant economy of Ukraine in the period of NEP: historical and economic research: monograph]. Kharkiv: Osnova, 400 p. [in Ukrainian]

Kalinichenko, V. V. (2012). Biudzhets zemelnoi hromady Naddnyprianskoi Ukrainy v dokolhospnomu seli: vytratna chastyna [Budget of the land community of Dnieper Ukraine in the pre-collective farm village: expenditure part]. *Zbirnyk naukovykh prats “Visnyk NTU “KhPI””: Aktualni problemy istorii Ukrainy*, 24. URL: http://repository.kpi.kharkov.ua/bitstream/KhPI-Press/9863/1/vestnik_HPI_2012_24_Kalinichenko_Biudzhets.pdf [in Ukrainian]

Kataiev, O. (1928). Kharchuvannia silskoi liudnosti Ukrainy [Nutrition of the rural population of Ukraine]. *Visnyk statystyky Ukrainy*. V 3-kh ch. Ch. 3. Kharkiv: TsSU, 197 p. [in Ukrainian]

Kornovenko, S. (2018). A peasant component in the transition to the new economic policy (1921). *Skhidnoievropeyskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk – East European Historical Bulletin*, 7, 104–110. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.24919/2519-058x.7.132975> [in English]

Kotsur, V. & Tarapon, O. (2010). Kharchuvannia silskoho naseleння Ukrainy u 20 – 30 rr. XX st. [Nutrition of the rural population of Ukraine in the 20-30s of the XXth century]. *Istoriia povsiakdennosti: teoriia ta praktyka. Materialy Vseukrainskoi naukovoï konferentsii 14–15 travnia 2010 r.* Pereiaslav-Khmelnitskyi, 246 p. [in Ukrainian]

Kulchytskyi, S. V. (Ed.). *Narysy povsiakdennoho zhyttia radianskoï Ukrainy v dobu nepu (1921 – 1928 rr.): Kolektyvna monohrafiia* [Essays on the daily life of Soviet Ukraine in the NEP era (1921 – 1928): Collective monograph]. Vol. 1. Kyiv: Instytut istorii Ukrainy NAN Ukrainy, 445 p. [in Ukrainian]

Lanoviuk, L. P. (2018). Radianskyi mif pro ukrainske selo: instrumenty manipuliatsii istorychnoiu pamiatiiu [The Soviet myth of the Ukrainian countryside: tools for manipulating historical memory]. *Storinky istorii: zbirnyk naukovykh prats*, 46, 158–163. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.20535/2307-5244.46.2018.136739> [in Ukrainian]

Lazurenko, V. M. (2019). Rol selianskykh fermerskykh hospodarstv Ukrainy u rozvytku khlibnoho eksportu v period NEPu [The role of peasant farms in Ukraine in the development of grain exports during the NEP]. *Ukrainskyi selianyn*, 21, 66–73. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.31651/2413-8142-2019-21-66-73> [in Ukrainian]

Lazurenko, V. M. (2012). *Stanovlennia ta rozvytok selianskykh fermerskykh hospodarstv v Ukraini: sotsialno-ekonomichnyi aspekt (1921 – 1929 rr.)* [Formation and development of peasant farms in Ukraine: socio-economic aspect (1921 – 1929)]. (Doctor thesis). Pereiaslav-Khmelnitskyi, 542 p. [in Ukrainian]

Lozovyi, V. (2021). Peasant Agrarianist Approaches and Practices of Resolving the Agrarian Issue during the Period of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921. *Skhidnoevropeiskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk – East European Historical Bulletin*, 21, 78–86. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.24919/2519-058X.21.246902> [in English]

Materiialy...Berdychivska okruha. (1926). Materiialy do opysu okruh USRR: Berdychivska okruha [Materials for the description of the district of the USSR: Berdychiv district]. *Tsentralne statystychnе upravlinnia USRR*. Kharkiv, 62 p. [in Ukrainian]

Materiialy...Bilotserkivska okruha. (1926). Materiialy do opysu okruh USRR: Bilotserkivska okruha [Materials for the description of the district of the USSR: Bila Tserkva district]. *Tsentralne statystychnе upravlinnia USRR*. Kharkiv, 67 p. [in Ukrainian]

Materiialy...Chernihivska okruha. (1926). Materiialy do opysu okruh USRR: Chernihivska okruha [Materials for the description of the district of the USSR: Chernihiv district]. *Tsentralne statystychnе upravlinnia USRR*. Kharkiv, 64 p. [in Ukrainian]

Materiialy...Kryvorizka okruha. (1926). Materiialy do opysu okruh USRR: Kryvorizka okruha [Materials for the description of the district of the USSR: Kryvyi Rih district]. *Tsentralne statystychnе upravlinnia USRR*. Kharkiv, 64 p. [in Ukrainian]

Materiialy...Kyivska okruha. (1926). Materiialy do opysu okruh USRR: Kyivska okruha [Materials for the description of the district of the USSR: Kyiv district]. *Tsentralne statystychnе upravlinnia USRR*. Kharkiv, 90 p. [in Ukrainian]

Materiialy...Mariupilska okruha. (1926). Materiialy do opysu okruh USRR: Mariupilska okruha [Materials for the description of the district of the USSR: Mariupol district]. *Tsentralne statystychnе upravlinnia USRR*. Kharkiv, 64 p. [in Ukrainian]

Materiialy...Odeska okruha. (1926). Materiialy do opysu okruh USRR: Odeska okruha [Materials for the description of the district of the USSR: Odessa district]. *Tsentralne statystychnе upravlinnia USRR*. Kharkiv, 75 p. [in Ukrainian]

Materiialy...Pavlohradska okruha. (1926). Materiialy do opysu okruh USRR: Pavlohradska okruha [Materials for the description of the district of the USSR: Pavlograd district]. *Tsentralne statystychnе upravlinnia USRR*. Kharkiv, 61 p. [in Ukrainian]

Materiialy...Poltavska okruha. (1926). Materiialy do opysu okruh USRR: Poltavska okruha [Materials for the description of the district of the USSR: Poltava district]. *Tsentralne statystychnе upravlinnia USRR*. Kharkiv, 67 p. [in Ukrainian]

Materiialy...Romenska okruha. (1926). Materiialy do opysu okruh USRR: Romenska okruha [Materials for the description of the district of the USSR: Romen district]. *Tsentralne statystychni upravlinnia USRR*. Kharkiv, 58 p. [in Ukrainian]

Morozov, A. H. (1993). *Selo i hroshi: ukrainska kredytna kooperatsiia v dobu NEPu* [Village and money: Ukrainian credit cooperation in the days of the NEP]. Cherkasy : NDITEKhIM, 1993, 275 p. [in Ukrainian]

Narysy. (2010). *Narysy povsiakdennoho zhyttia radianskoi Ukrainy v dobu nepu (1921 – 1928 rr.): Kolektyvna monohrafiia* [Essays on the daily life of Radian Ukraine in the days of the NEP (1921 – 1928): Collective monograph] / Ed. S. V. Kulchytskyi. NAN Ukrainy. Instytut istorii Ukrainy. Book 1. Kyiv: Instytut istorii Ukrainy NAN Ukrainy, 445 p. [in Ukrainian]

Olianych, V. V. (2014). Ekonomichna efektyvnist selianskoho gospodarstva v USSR u 20-kh rr. XX st. [Economic efficiency of the peasant economy in the USSR in the 20s of the twentieth century]. *Zbirnyk naukovykh prats [Kharkivskoho natsionalnoho pedahohichnoho universytetu imeni H. S. Skovorody]*. Seria: "Istoriia ta heohrafiia", 50, 99–103. [in Ukrainian]

Prysiazhniuk, Yu. (2018). Perspektyvy selianoznavstva yak sfery doslidzhen suchasnoi ukrainskoi istoriohrafi [Prospects of peasant studies as areas of research of modern ukrainian historiography]. *Skhidnoievropeiskyi istorychnyi visnyk – East European Historical Bulletin*, 6, 187–193. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.24919/2519-058x.8.143300> [in Ukrainian]

Rybak, I. V. (2008). *Indyvidualne selianske gospodarstvo Podillia v dobu nepu: monohrafiia* [Individual peasant economy of Podillya in the days of the NEP: a monograph]. Kamianets-Podilskyi: Abetka, 244 p. [in Ukrainian]

Sushko, O. O. (2002). Rol selianskoho dvoru u formuvanni rynku silskohospodarskoi produktsii v roky NEPu [The role of the peasant's yard in the formation of the market of agricultural products during the NEP]. *Ukrainskyi selianyn*, 4, 70–76. [in Ukrainian]

Tkachenko, O. (1928). Biudzhet moioho gospodarstva [The budget of my farm]. *Poltavskyi selianyn*, 1, 11–13. [in Ukrainian]

Trudy. (1924a). Trudy Tsentralnogo Statisticheskogo Upravleniya [Proceedings of the Central Statistical Office]. Vol. VIII. Issue 7. Statisticheskii ezhegodnik 1924 god (Vypusk pervyy). Moskva: Tipografiya M.K.Kh., 186 p. [in Russian]

Trudy. (1924b). Trudy Tsentralnogo Statisticheskogo Upravleniya [Proceedings of the Central Statistical Office]. Vol. VIII. Issue 5. Statisticheskii ezhegodnik 1922–1923 g. (Vypusk pervyy). Moskva: Tipografiya M.K.Kh., 354 p. [in Russian]

Trudy. (1928). Trudy Tsentralnogo statisticheskogo upravleniya [Proceedings of the Central Statistical Office]. Vol. XXX. Sektsiya balansu selskogo khozyaystva. Issue 2. Sostoyanie pitaniya selskogo naseleniya S.S.S.R. 1920–1924 g.g. (po dannym periodicheskikh obsledovaniy pitaniya naseleniya, proizvedennykh Otdelom Statistiki Potrebleniya Ts.S.U.). Moskva, 172 p. [in Russian]

*The article was received April 04, 2021.
Article recommended for publishing 23/02/2022.*

UDC 378.6(437=161.2)“19”:342.511(437)
DOI 10.24919/2519-058X.22.253730

Oleksandr KRAVCHUK

PhD (History), Associate Professor, Associate Professor of the Department of World History at Vinnytsia Mykhailo Kotsiubynskyi State Pedagogical University, 32 K. Ostrozky Street, Vinnytsia, Ukraine, postal code 21001 (ol-kravchuk@i.ua)

ORCID: 0000-0003-3504-5041
ResearcherID: M-6141-2018

Natalia KUZMINETS

PhD (History), Associate Professor, Associate Professor of the Department of History of Ukraine at Vinnytsia Mykhailo Kotsiubynskyi State Pedagogical University, 32 K. Ostrozky Street, Vinnytsia, Ukraine, postal code 21001 (1974natalika1@gmail.com)

ORCID: 0000-0001-9939-2451
ResearcherID: AAX-9522-2020

Олександр КРАВЧУК

кандидат історичних наук, доцент кафедри всесвітньої історії Вінницького державного педагогічного університету імені Михайла Коцюбинського, вул. К.Острозького, 32, м. Вінниця, Україна, індекс 21001 (ol-kravchuk@i.ua)

Наталія КУЗЬМІНЕЦЬ

кандидатка історичних наук, доцентка кафедри історії України Вінницького державного педагогічного університету імені Михайла Коцюбинського, вул. К. Острозького, 32, м. Вінниця, Україна, індекс 21001 (1974natalika1@gmail.com)

Bibliographic Description of the Article: Kravchuk, O. & Kuzminets, N. (2022). The President of Czechoslovakia Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk and the Establishment of the Ukrainian Academy of Economics. *Skhidnoievropeiskyi istorychnyi visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 22, 91–102. doi: 10.24919/2519-058X.22.253730

**THE PRESIDENT OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA TOMAŠ GARRIGUE MASARYK
AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE UKRAINIAN ACADEMY OF ECONOMICS**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research* – to find out the role of Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, the President of Czechoslovakia, in the establishment of the Ukrainian Academy of Economics in Poděbrady. **The methodology of the research** is based on the principles of historicism, science, objectivity, general scientific (historical and logical) and special historical methods (retrospective, narrative and chronological). The research is done on the basis of archival and published sources, factual material of historical works, which revealed the role of the top leadership of Czechoslovakia in the development of the Ukrainian Academy of Economics. **The scientific novelty** of the study consists in setting the research topic and integrated use of different types of sources and special research works to solve it. This integrated use of different types of sources allowed the authors to objectively analyze the formation of the Ukrainian Academy of Economics in the context of the Czechoslovakia leadership policy towards emigrants. **The Conclusions.** The establishment of the Ukrainian Academy of Economics in Poděbrady took place

during the elaboration of President T. G. Masaryk's policy concept to support emigrants from the Romanov monarchy. The ideological basis of this action was the concept of the Slavic reciprocity, in which the President of the Czechoslovak Republic assigned his country the role of an organizer of higher education for the Ukrainian youth for their further re-emigration to their homeland. Despite a certain idealism of this plan, the political goal of which was not realized, because not all high school graduates could return home, and especially at that time to become a factor in the rapprochement of the Czechoslovak Republic and the Soviet state. However, the training of specialists was effective at the Ukrainian Academy of Economics. Its scientific and pedagogical staff and students made a significant contribution to the preservation and development of the Ukrainian intellectual potential, as well as the countries of their stay.

Key words: Ukrainian Academy of Economics, Ukrainian emigration, T. G. Masaryk, the Czechoslovak Republic, Poděbrady.

ПРЕЗИДЕНТ ЧЕХОСЛОВАЧЧИНИ ТОМАШ ГАРРИГ МАСАРИК І УТВОРЕННЯ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ГОСПОДАРСЬКОЇ АКАДЕМІЇ

Анотація. *Мета статті* – з'ясувати роль президента Чехословаччини Томаша Гарріта Масарика у становленні Української господарської академії у Подєбрадах. **Методологія дослідження** побудована на принципах історизму, науковості, об'єктивності, загальних наукових (історичний та логічний) і спеціальних історичних методах (ретроспективний, нарративний, проблемно-хронологічний). Стаття підготовлена на основі архівних та опублікованих джерел, фактографічного матеріалу історичних праць, що дало можливість розкрити роль вищого керівництва Чехословаччини у розвитку Української господарської академії. **Наукова новизна статті** полягає у постановці теми дослідження та комплексному використанні різних видів джерел і спеціальних праць для її розв'язання. Це уможливило об'єктивний аналіз становлення Української господарської академії у контексті політики вищого керівництва Чехословаччини щодо емігрантів. **Висновки.** Створення Української господарської академії в Подєбрадах відбулося у період розробки президентом Т. Г. Масариком концепції політики підтримки емігрантів з теренів монархії Романових. Ідеологічним підґрунтям цієї акції була концепція слов'янської взаємності, у рамках якої президент Чехословацької республіки відводив своїй країні роль організатора вищої освіти української молоді для її подальшої рееміграції на батьківщину. Попри певну ідеалістичність цього задуму, політична мета якого не була реалізована, адже не всі випускники високих шкіл могли повернутися на батьківщину, а особливо у той час стати чинником зближення Чехословацької республіки та радянської держави. Однак підготовка фахівців в Українській господарській академії була результативною. Її науково-педагогічні працівники та вихованці зійшли вагомий внесок у збереження і розвиток українського інтелектуального потенціалу, а також країн свого перебування.

Ключові слова: Українська господарська академія, українська еміграція, Т. Г. Масарик, Чехословацька республіка, Подєбради.

The Problem Statement. The First Czechoslovak Republic is known for its tolerant attitude towards refugees. From 1919 emigrants from Ukraine, Russia and Belarus found support there, from 1923 – Bulgaria, during the period of 1933 – 1934 – Germany and Austria. One of the largest emigrant communities in the country was the Ukrainian, whose number at the beginning of the 1920s reached 20 thousand people (Topinka, 2010, p. 108). The peculiarity of the Czechoslovak leadership's policy towards them was the elaboration of a programme of cultural assistance to emigration. As a result, many refugees were educated in the Czechoslovak educational institutions and the Ukrainian universities were established for them – the only free institutions of this level in the world at that time. The state of education level in Soviet Ukraine and the lack of such institutions in western Ukraine should be taken into account.

The Ukrainian Academy of Economics (UAE) (1922 – 1935) was the first Ukrainian higher education institution established in the Czechoslovak Republic.

The period of the Academy formation covers the years of 1922 – 1924, when the period of study increased from three to four years. The Czechoslovak President Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk played a key role in its establishment. On May 9, 1923, he met with its staff and students in Poděbrady. At the meeting Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk explained his understanding of the ideological basis of the emigrant support programme.

The analysis of recent research and publications gives reasons to state that that this issue has not become the subject of specific historical research. The role of T. G. Masaryk, the President of Czechoslovakia, in supporting the Ukrainian emigrants during various periods of time was mentioned in many publications. Among the scientific studies of the 1930s and the 1940s, we should single out O. I. Bochkovsky's monograph on the attitude of the first president of the Czechoslovak Republic to the Ukrainian issue (Bochkovskyi, 1930) and S. Narizhnyi's monograph on the history of the Ukrainian emigration (Narizhnyi, 1942). Both authors are the Ukrainian emigrants, who glorified the personality of T. G. Masaryk as the creator of the Czechoslovak state. They appreciated his attitude to emigration. Their works should be considered to belong to the state school of the Ukrainian historiography. After World War II the Soviet, Czech and Slovak historians did not study this issue due to political circumstances. Scholars were able to return to the issue only with the fall of the world socialist system. The goal of modern Czech and Slovak scholars is a deep and comprehensive study of all periods of T. G. Masaryk's activity. In the works of the Czech scholars (Zilynskyj, 2002; Doubek, 2016; Yerzhabkova, 1990; Kaleta, 2019; Ryhlyk, 1999; Sladek, 1991, 1993) and the Slovak scholars (Harbul'ová, 2013, Golenda, 1995) there is a general positive evaluation of the policy of the first president of the Czechoslovak Republic towards emigrants, among whom there were the Ukrainians from the former Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires. Modern Ukrainian scholars (Boriak, 2004; Vidnyanskyi, 1997; Kemin & Sudilovska, 2020; Ulianovska & Ulianovskyi, 1993) on the basis of the latest achievements of world historical science, analyze the role of T. G. Masaryk in creating favourable conditions for the preservation and development of the Ukrainian education, science and culture in Czechoslovakia. Due to the absence of special works on the role of T. G. Masaryk in the formation of the Ukrainian Academy of Economics, among the publications of the Ukrainian authors we single out the researches on various aspects of the history of this educational institution and some of its lecturers (Pasitska, 2019; Peschanyi, 2008; Utkin, 2015; Utkin, 2021; Truba, 2020; Shulha, 2019).

The purpose of the study is to elucidate the formation of the Ukrainian Academy of Economics in the context of T. G. Masaryk's emigration policy, the President of Czechoslovakia.

The sources of the study of this issue were archival and published materials on the history of the Ukrainian Academy of Economics, in particular, the record of its rector I. Shovheniv about the meeting with T. G. Masaryk in Poděbrady on May 9, 1923 (CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 3795, d. 1, c. 133, p. 10), memories of this event (Hordiienko, 1977; Kozlovskyi, 1923). Important information for the study of the historical context of the Academy establishment is contained in the works of the first president of Czechoslovakia (Masaryk, 2005, 2007), the collection of documents "Tomáš Masaryk and the Ukrainians" (Topinka, 2010), as well as in the works of emigrants (Laschenko, 1966; Martos, 1999; Shapoval, 1958).

The Main Material Statement. The world conflict of 1914 – 1918, subsequent military and political events resulted in the emergence of refugees in Central and Eastern Europe

(Doubek, 2016, p. 15). In the Ukrainian case, it was a political and military emigration from national state formations destroyed by the military actions of Poland and Soviet Russia. T. G. Masaryk, a man of a democratic worldview, knew about the Ukrainian movement on the eve of World War I (Kravchuk, 2021, pp. 306–307). He personally knew the leaders of the Ukrainian States, and in 1919 as the president of the Czechoslovak Republic he was ready to recognize the independence of Ukraine, believing that independence “is better than the collapse under Moscow’s incompetent centralism” (Korespondence T. G. Masaryk – Edvard Beneš 1918 – 1937, 2013, p. 129). But the destruction of the Ukrainian statehood returned him to the previous concept of reception of the Ukrainian issue, set out in the work “New Europe. Slavic Point of View”(1918). In it, T. G. Masaryk expressed his vision of the postwar system of Europe on the basis of maintaining the political balance of the continent. At the same time, T. G. Masaryk considered the transformation of Russia into a federal state as a counterweight to the possible revival of aggressive pan-Germanism in Germany and a potential support for the newly created Czechoslovakia. To strengthen such federal Russia, T. G. Masaryk considered necessary its certain territorial transformation. Recognizing the independence of Poland and Finland, in his opinion, the Dnieper region and the western Ukrainian lands should remain in the status of autonomy within Russia (Bochkovskiy, 1930, pp. 164–171). However, expectations of Russia’s democratization proved futile. The result of a deep internal political crisis was the establishment of a communist regime, the policies of which led to the emergence of refugees, in particular in Europe.

The President of Czechoslovakia, being grateful to the Ukrainian statesmen for their assistance in forming the Czechoslovak Corps at the end of 1917 and at the beginning of 1918, supported the Ukrainian emigration. At the same time, he did not want to express his views on this policy openly, taking into account the external political factors. In 1921, a cultural and humanitarian organization, the Ukrainian Public Committee, headed by M. Shapoval, was established to provide assistance. Information about the famine in the Soviet state formations caused T. G. Masaryk’s initiative to expand the scale of humanitarian aid, enshrined in the government decree of July 28, 1921. In official documents, it was considered as a programme to establish economic and cultural relations with Russia and Ukraine (Sladek, 1993, p. 32), known in historical works as “The Russian Humanitarian Action”. It was about supporting emigrants from the pre-revolutionary Russian Empire, both Ukrainians and people from the former Habsburg monarchy. Officially, the programme was motivated by humanitarian and Slavic ideals, gratitude for the help in the liberation movement of the Czechs and the Slovaks during World War II (Československá pomoc ruské a ukrajinské emigraci, 1924, p. 3). In addition, T. G. Masaryk sought to turn Czechoslovakia into a leading Slavic cultural center in Europe (Masaryk, 2005, p. 352). At the same time, a positive attitude towards the Slavic peoples of Eastern Europe was taken into account in the country (Masaryk, 2007, p. 295).

We believe that the elaboration of the policy concept towards emigrants also had a domestic political component. There was an urgent need to control the flow of emigrants and, in fact, refugees under the extremely difficult post-war socio-economic conditions in the Czechoslovak Republic.

In September of 1921 – October of 1922 the activity of the Prime Minister E. Beneš, who fully supported T. G. Masaryk’s political initiatives, was an important factor in further support for emigrants. In October of 1921 the Ukrainian Public Committee appealed to the President of the Czechoslovak Republic to provide the same humanitarian aid to the Ukrainian youth as it was provided to the Russian students (Topinka, 2010, pp. 108–109). There was founded the

Czechoslovak-Ukrainian Committee, which provided huge aid to students (Československá pomoc ruské a ukrajinské emigraci, 1924, p. 73; Narizhnyi, 1942, p. 73).

The development of support for emigrants led to the further initiative of T. G. Masaryk to implement it in a broad international context. At the same time, the Czechoslovak authorities considered it expedient to provide humanitarian aid to emigrants and victims of famine under the auspices of the League of Nations, as evidenced by the Czechoslovak memorandum to this organization of January 28, 1922 (Vatsulik, 2012, p. 264).

The reception of the refugee issue in the European context is conceptually reflected in the memorandum "Aid to Russia by Europe and America", on which the President worked in January – at the beginning of February of 1922. He handed it over to Western leaders on the eve of the Genoa Conference (Masaryk, 2007, pp. 233–245). Despite declaring aid to Russia, the memorandum generally referred to the entire post-imperial space controlled by Moscow. It should be noted that the President mentioned the existence of the formally independent Ukrainian Soviet Republic, noting that "Ukraine is still an immature state" (Masaryk, 2007, p. 237).

In the memorandum, T. G. Masaryk actually advocated the restoration of Western countries relations with the Soviet state as one of the prerequisites for the stable development of postwar Europe. In his opinion, aid to the Soviet state served to support its "Europeanization". Believing that in order to rebuild the country, the Soviet government would be in contact with the capitalist states of the West and would undergo transformations gradually, T. G. Masaryk sought to support this process. In this issue he expected some emigrants' support from the former Romanov empire. The President understood the complexity of this problem, because "the Bolsheviks condemn the European regime (democracy, parliamentarism, evolutionary socialism)". Believing that the Soviet state formations would need specialists for reconstruction, the beginning of which the Czechoslovak president saw in proclamation of the New Economic Policy, he considered his country a centre for educating emigrants. Of course, prospects for establishing further relations, in particular economic ones, with Soviet Russia and Ukraine were taken into account. Convinced that Bolshevism could be defeated only morally, by social reforms and political education, T. G. Masaryk emphasized an urgent need for ideas and people in the Soviet state. According to him, it "needs not only material aid, but also cultural, moral and spiritual assistance" (Masaryk, 2007, p. 234), in particular, professional training of emigrants who were supposed to return to their homeland, use their knowledge for its development and, thus, contribute to its "Europeanization".

T. G. Masaryk wrote about certain prerequisites for normalization of the situation. Moscow had to abandon propaganda, Western countries – plans for intervention. Moscow was to guarantee freedom to the Europeans in Russia and its citizens, to ensure freedom of thought, to allow the return of emigrants, to stop repression.

He advocated coordinated comprehensive and constructive economic, spiritual and cultural assistance of Western countries to help overcome the postwar and revolutionary devastation, in order to support a new kind of Europeanization of Russia. An important role was given to the restoration of trade and cultural relations.

T. G. Masaryk also advocated the assistance in specialization among emigrants in some countries. Czechoslovakia was to play the role of intellectuals and specialists training in various branches of economy. "The leading idea is to accustom the Russian intelligentsia, and in particular the youth, to systematic work again in order to avoid fantasies and demoralization of difficult emigration" (Masaryk, 2007, pp. 243–244).

On February 25, 1922, the President T. G. Masaryk met with the delegation consisting of M. Shapoval, N. Hryhoriyiv, V. Starosolsky, and B. Matiushenko (Shapoval, 1958, p. 70; Martos, 1999, p. 196). The President was asked to extend the assistance programme to the Ukrainian scholars not only among the Russian scholars (Shapoval, 1958, p. 144). The delegation also emphasized that among the Ukrainian emigrants the number of peasants and workers reached 75%. They did not speak other languages and were cut off “from the world of culture and science”. In this regard, a request was made to support the establishment of a higher agricultural school for emigrants and the publication of Ukrainian-language educational literature (Predstavnyky Ukrainskoho hromadskoho komitetu, 1922, p. 36). The President promised to consider the case and emphasized that “the Ukrainian refugees will not be left without guardianship, that cultural assistance to the Ukrainians will be similar to the others” (Shapoval, 1958, pp. 71, 144). The Ukrainian émigré newspaper “The Svoboda” (the USA) reported another important statement of T. G. Masaryk: “You know that I used to stand for the idea of Ukraine to be with Russia. But we are real politicians, we are convinced that the idea of a Great Russia vanished, so we will treat Ukraine on a par with Russia” (Ukrainci u prezydenta Masaryka, 1922, p. 2).

Activists of the Ukrainian Public Committee began further arrangement of the case of an educational institution establishment together with the Prime Minister E. Beneš, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs V. Girska, the leader of the Agrarian Party A. Shvehla, Minister for Agriculture F. Stanek, Minister for Education V. Shrobar (Shapoval, 1958, pp. 72–74). The Ministry of Agriculture advised them to elaborate the programme of the project university following the example of the Agricultural Academy in Tabor (Martos, 1999, pp. 196, 198). Thus, the name “Institute” was changed into “Academy” in the draft statute of April 19, 1922. (Československá pomoc ruské a ukrajinské emigraci, 1924, p. 35).

Selecting the city for its location, members of the Ukrainian Public Committee visited the towns of Tabor and Poděbrady on March 22–23, 1922. It was important for the Ukrainian emigrants to open an institution as soon as possible. “At that time we were happy with the hope that in about two years we will return to our homeland”, B. Martos recalled (Martos, 1999, p. 201). A small resort town of Poděbrady was the most suitable for the Ukrainians, as the local authorities were ready to help in this matter.

On April 28, 1922, the constituent assembly of the Professorial Council of the Academy was held, which elected I. Shovheniv a rector of the institution (Martos, 1999, p. 201).

On May 3, 1922, the activities to establish functioning of the Academy began in Poděbrady (Narizhnyi, 1942, p. 137). The office, the rector’s offices and the teaching staff office were originally located in the hotel “At the King of Jiřího” (“U Krále Jiřího”). There were three classrooms in the building of the local agronomic school, the same number of classrooms – in the town school (Ukrainska Hospodarska Akademia v Ch.S.R., 1923, p. 36).

On May 16, 1922, the Ministry for Agriculture approved the charter of the Ukrainian Academy of Economics as a three-year private polytechnic college, which was to train specialists in various fields of economics and technology (CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 3795, d. 2, c. 1, pp. 2–3; Narizhnyi, 1942, p. 138). It consisted of economic and cooperative, agronomic and forestry, engineering faculties (CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 3795, d. 3, c. 1, p. 45). Officially it began its activities on May 19, 1922 (Československá pomoc ruské a ukrajinské emigraci, 1924, p. 35).

As of June 15, 1922, 193 full-time students and 33 students of matura courses were admitted to the Academy. Successful studying at matura courses provided students with a secondary education diploma and the right to study at higher educational institutions

(Shapoval, 1958, p. 75). Subsequently, the number of students increased. Of the 707 applications for admission to the Academy, 270 were approved. Of the 422 applications for enrollment in matura courses, 122 were granted. Out of 70 candidates for teacher vacancies, 31 passed the competition (*Československá pomoc ruské a ukrajinské emigraci*, 1924, p. 36). The Czechoslovak authorities allocated 132 000 korunas a month for scholarships and matura courses students, and 70 000 korunas for other expenses of the Academy (*Ukrainska Hospodarska Akademia v Ch.S.R.*, 1923, p. 8).

Classes at the Ukrainian Academy of Economics began on June 22, 1922 with introductory lectures to the courses, and on August 28, 1922 – teaching courses according to curricula (*CSASAG of Ukraine*, f. 3795, d. 3, c. 1, p. 38; *Ukrainska Hospodarska Akademia v Ch.S.R.*, 1923, p. 36).

In some period of time students and lecturers had the opportunity to meet with T. G. Masaryk. The President came to Poděbrady at the invitation of J. V. Graski, in the past – a professor at the Czech Polytechnic Institute in Prague, a member of the Imperial Council of the Habsburg Monarchy, and at that time – one of the heads of the resort administration) (*Masaryk*, 2007, p. 419). The visit was a continuation of a kind of visits programme to the regions of the country by the President, during which he addressed the public with explanations of democratic initiatives of the government and other issues.

The President arrived in Poděbrady by car from Prague in the afternoon. The town was preparing for the meeting of the President. In the morning, festively dressed residents of the surrounding villages arrived in the town. As B. Martos recalled, “schools, gymnastic societies, craft, cultural and political organizations, women and girls in colorful national costumes lined the streets” (Martos, 1999, p. 209). The houses were “decorated with national flags, garlands, flowers. There were portraits and busts of the President Masaryk everywhere” (Kozlovskiy, 1923, p. 2).

At the main square of the town T. G. Masaryk was greeted by the mayor J. Koch and on behalf of the administration of the resort – J. V. Grasky (*Masaryk*, 2007, p. 419). Among the people who met the President there was N. Hryhoriyiv, the Deputy Chairman of the Ukrainian Public Committee (*Providyny Prezydentom Ch. S. Respubliky*, 1923, pp. 170–171).

More than 400 representatives of the Ukrainian Academy of Economics (professors, students, matura courses students) – stood in front of the hotel “U Krále Jiřího”, located near the resort building. The building was decorated with the Czechoslovak and Ukrainian national flags (Kozlovskiy, 1923, p. 2). For the Ukrainian community, T. Masaryk’s visit was an opportunity to show their achievements and express gratitude for support (*Zavorotna*, 2020, p. 55).

After visiting the castle, the resort building, listening to the greetings of the legionnaires and “The Sokil” society members, T. G. Masaryk, accompanied by the towns leaders, came up the Ukrainian community.

The Ukrainian Academic Choir, consisting of full-time students and students of matura courses, performed the anthem of the Czechoslovak Republic, which the President listened to carefully (*Providyny Prezydentom Ch. S. Respubliky*, 1923, pp. 170–171).

A student H. Hordienko recalled that he was standing opposite to the President, and he had the opportunity to see the President very well: “He was a kind man, but with the appearance of a sage, maybe even modern Socrates, and his public office gave him majesty, some exceptional dignity. All this could not go unnoticed” (Hordienko, 1977, p. 195).

N. Hryhoriyiv congratulated the President on behalf of the Ukrainian Public Committee. He expressed gratitude to the Czechoslovak people and the authorities for their help to the

emigrants, owing to whom several educational institutions were established for the emigrants in the country. After that N. Hryhoriyiv introduced T. G. Masaryk to the professorship and studentship of the Ukrainian Academy of Economics and students of the matura courses (Providyny Prezydentom Ch. S. Respubliky, 1923, pp. 170–171). The Rector, Professor I. Shovheniv addressed T. G. Masaryk with a short speech. He expressed gratitude to the President on behalf of the Academy for his help, and in a delicate way noted that “we would all like this help to continue as long as the Academy does not fulfill its task. ...” (Martos, 1999, p. 209) The Rector submitted a memorandum to the President on the current state of the Academy (Providyny Prezydentom Ch. S. Respubliky, 1923, pp. 170–171). Also, I. Shovheniv emphasized the great importance of functioning of “the Ukrainian cultural center – the Ukrainian Academy of Economics” and declared: “Glory to the Czech-Slovak people and their President Masaryk!”, and his words were supported by the present members of the Ukrainian community (Kozlovskiy, 1923, p. 2).

In response, the President said: “Thank you very much, gentlemen. I am fairly well informed about your school, how [it] is developing, I have got evidence of this development recently. I am glad that you have found not your homeland, of course, you cannot find it, but you have [found] good hospitality of the fraternal nation, which you can be satisfied with. And you tell to yourselves that you are satisfied and happy. I am glad that, despite all the misfortunes that have befallen Russia and your Ukraine, we can now make it more practical to carry out our pre-war Slavic programmes. The Slavic programme is not over and will not be over. We want you to be, I would say, more practical today than before; that those ideals, more or less abstract – and in Austria could not be different – are in fact confirmed nowadays. As far as it depends on me, I am happy to support you and your students” (Masaryk, 2007, p. 419).

After that, the President was greeted again with shouts of “Glory” (Kozlovskiy, 1923, p. 2). During a conversation with the administration of the educational institution T. G. Masaryk asked about the activities of the Academy (CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 3795, d. 1, c. 133, p. 10).

Then the student choir performed the national anthem “Ukraine is not dead yet”. After that, T. G. Masaryk, “bowing amiably”, moved on to do the town (Providyny Prezydentom Ch. S. Respubliky, 1923, pp. 170–171). Representatives of the Ukrainian community began to disperse, and everyone felt, according to O. Kozlovskiy, “that the President Masaryk’s words are true. The Czech-Slovak people are almost one of the Slavic peoples, who not only promote the idea of the unity of the Slavic peoples, but they also put it into practice; they put it into practice sincerely and uselessly” (Kozlovskiy, 1923, p. 2.).

After the President’s visit to Poděbrady, the situation of the Ukrainian Academy of Economics improved. Funding for the Academy increased. If in 1922 70 thousand Czech korunas were allocated monthly, in 1923 – up to 100 thousand, in 1924 – up to 200 – 250 thousand korunas (Ukrainska Hospodarska Akademia v Ch.S.R., 1923, pp. 8, 37; CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 3795, d. 3, c. 133, p. 41). Taking into account the expenditures on student scholarships, in 1922 the budget of the Academy was more than 475 839 korunas, in 1923 – 2 331 166, in 1924 – 5 446 593 (CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 3795, d. 1, c. 128, p. 50). The number of the Academy premises increased. From 1924 the study lasted for four years (the new charter of the Academy was approved by the authorities on September 11, 1925) (CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 3795, d. 2, c. 1, p. 9; Narizhnyi, 1942, pp. 133, 139). The conditions created by the Czechoslovak authorities contributed to the transformation of the Academy into one of the intellectual centers of the Ukrainian emigration in the Czech lands (Zilynskyj, 2002, p. 32).

In general, as the lecturer of the Academy, former Minister of the Ukrainian People's Republic S. Goldelman, noted, the Czechoslovak assistance to emigrants was not philanthropic, but constructive and gave the Ukrainian intelligentsia the ability to show the world that it was capable of creative and constructive activities" (CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 3795, d. 3, c. 1, p. 10).

The powerful intellectual potential of the Ukrainian Academy of Economics was illustrated by the publication of 658 scientific works by its lecturers in 1922 – 1932 (Peschanyi, 2008, p. 148). In the Academy there worked the founders of a number of disciplines which were new to the Ukrainian science at that time: Sociology (V. Starosolsky), Jurisprudence (O. Eichelman), Chemistry (I. Horbachevsky), Hygiene (B. Matiushenko), Statistics (F. Shcherbyna), new economic disciplines (S. Borodaevsky, O. Mytsiuk), National Studies (O. I. Bochkovsky) (Vidnyansky, 1997, p. 100; Narizhnyi, 1942, pp. 159–161). It should be noted that O. I. Bochkovsky became the author of a monograph on T. G. Masaryk (Bochkovskyy, 1930), and associate professor of the Academy M. Sayevych translated the memoirs of the President "World Revolution" into Ukrainian, which was published in Lviv in 1930.

By 1935, 559 engineers graduated from the UAE (Narizhnyi, 1942, p. 141). As H. Lashchenko noted, "at that time when many emigrants in other countries of their resettlement were forced to work physically and young people could not obtain higher education, in Czechoslovakia many thousands of young people graduated from higher and special studies institutions. And only, having a profession, armed with knowledge and diplomas, they went out into the world" (Laschenko, 1966, p. 13). In general, the Academy fulfilled its declared tasks. The majority of its graduates worked in Czechoslovakia (189 people) and Poland, in particular, in the ethnic Ukrainian lands that were the part of them during the interwar period (Narizhnyi, 1942, p. 141; Ukrainska Hospodarska Akademiia, 1931, p. 29). An entomologist S. Kolubayiv, a surveyor L. Hrabyna, and an engineer-inventor O. Yaroshevsky were among the graduates who remained to work in the Czech lands. A number of graduates worked in Transcarpathia, which in 1919 – 1939 was the part of the Czechoslovak Republic. A certain number of students, mostly after World War II, emigrated to Western countries, in particular, a botanist T. Pavlychenko, a librarian L. Bykovsky, an entomologist M. Haidak, an economist E. Glovinsky, a hydraulic engineer Z. Ivasyshyn, chemists O. Kumanovsky and S. Sozontov, a sociologist M. Kushnirenko, the representatives of the "Prague Poetic School" E. Malaniuk, L. Mosendz. They took an active part in the Ukrainian emigrant public life. The same concerns the teaching staff of the UAE, in particular, H. Dovzhenko, S. Dovhal, M. Zaitsev, S. Ivanys, B. Martos, Ya. Moralevych, V. Prykhodko, S. Tymoshenko and the others.

The Conclusions. The idea of establishing the Ukrainian Academy of Economics in Poděbrady began to be realized during T. G. Masaryk's elaboration of aid action concept to emigrants from the Romanov and Habsburg monarchies. The basis of this humanistic action was the Slavic idea, in which the President of the Czechoslovak Republic assigned to his country the role of an organizer of higher education for the Ukrainian youth for their further re-emigration to the homeland. If the support of emigrants had no political result to Czechoslovakia, its cultural and educational goal was achieved. Research and teaching staff, and students of the Ukrainian Academy of Economics made a significant contribution to the preservation and development of the Ukrainian intellectual potential and spiritual heritage, as well as the countries of their stay. The policy of the top leadership of the Czechoslovak Republic towards emigrants had a significant research potential. Studying materials from the archives of the Czech Republic, Ukraine, first of all, personal funds of leading figures

of emigration, periodicals is one of the prerequisites for further comprehensive study of this page in the history of the Ukrainian emigration and the Czech-Ukrainian relations in general.

Acknowledgements. The authors would like to express sincere gratitude to all members of the editorial board for the given advice during the preparation of the article for publishing.

Funding. The authors did not receive any financial assistance for research, preparation and publication of the article.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bochkovskiy, O. I. (1930). *T. G. Masaryk: Natsionalna problema ta ukrainske pytannia (Sproba kharakterystyky ta interpretatsii)* [T. G. Masaryk: The National Problem and the Ukrainian Issue (An Attempt at Characterization and Interpretation)]. Podiebrady: “Legiografie”, 244 p. [in Ukrainian]

Boriak, T. (2004). Orhanizatsiino-finansovi zasady funktsionuvannia emihratsiinykh instytutsii u Chekho-Slovatskii respublitsi v 1920 – 1930-kh rr. [Organizational and Financial Principles of the Functioning of Emigration Institutions in the Czechoslovak Republic in the 1920s and the 1930s]. *Arkhivy Ukrainy – Archives of Ukraine*, (4–6), 175–184. [in Ukrainian]

Central'niy derzhavniy arhiv vishchih organiv vladi ta upravlinnya Ukrainy [The Central State Archives of Supreme Authorities and Governments of Ukraine – CSASAG of Ukraine]

Československá pomoc ruské a ukrajinské emigraci. (1924). *Československá pomoc ruské a ukrajinské emigraci* [Czechoslovak help to Russian and Ukrainian emigration]. Praha: “Legiografie”, 128 p. [in Czech]

Doubek, V. (2016). *T. G. Masaryk a ruská otázka po roce 1917. Korespondence T. G. Masaryk – Slované. Rusové a Ukrajinci* [Correspondence of T. G. Masaryk and the Slavs. The Russians and the Ukrainians]. (pp. 7–27). Praha: Masarykův ústav a Archiv AV ČR. [in Czech]

Golenda, J. (1995). Ukrajins'ka gospodars'ka akademija v Podebradach (1922 – 1935) [Ukrainian economic academy in Podiebrady]. *Dukla*, 5, 29–36 [in Ukrainian]

Harbul'ová, L. (2013). T. G. Masaryk – ukrajinská otázka – ukrajinskí politickí predstavitelia (1917 – 1920) [T. G. Masaryk – Ukrainian Issue – Ukrainian Political Representatives (1917 – 1920) T. G. Masaryk a Slované [T. G. Masaryk and the Slavs]. (pp. 101–110). Praha: Historický ústav AV ČR, v. v. i. a Masarykův ústav a Archiv AV ČR, v. v. i. [in Czech]

Hordiienko, H. (1977). *Pid shchytom Marsa. Spohady* [Under the Shield of Mars. Memoirs]. Vol. 2: Moi Podiebrady (1922 – 1931). Filadelfia: Ukrapress, 231 p. [in Ukrainian]

Kalet, P. (2019). T. G. Masaryk and the Russian Aid Operation in Czechoslovakia. *Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal*. 11 (1), 23–31. doi: <https://doi.org/10.5817/cphjp-2019-003> [in English]

Kemin, V. & Sudilovska, M. (2020). Kulturno-osvitnia diialnist emihrantiv iz Halychyny v Chechoslovachchyni mizhvoiennoi doby [Cultural and Educational Activities of Emigrants from Galicia in Czechoslovakia during the Interwar Period]. *Aktualni pytannia humanitarnykh nauk – Current issues of the humanities*, 4 (27), 97–103. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.24919/2308-4863.4/27.203934> [in Ukrainian]

Korespondence T. G. Masaryk – Edvard Beneš 1918 – 1937. (2013). *Korespondence T. G. Masaryk – Edvard Beneš 1918 – 1937* [Correspondence of T. G. Masaryk – Edvard Beneš 1918 – 1937]. Praha: Masarykův ústav a Archiv AV ČR, v. v. i., 484 p. [in Czech]

Kozlovskiy, O. (1923). Prezydent Masaryk sered ukraintziv v Podebradakh [President Masaryk among the Ukrainians in Podiebrady]. *Svoboda – Freedom*, 26 maia, 2. [in Ukrainian]

Kravchuk, O. (2021). Postat' T. G. Masaryka u spryn'atti Ya. Ohorodnyka [Figure of Tomash Masaryk in Reception of Yakiv Ohorodnyk. *Rukopysna ta knyzhkova spadshhyna Ukrainy [Manuscript and book heritage of Ukraine]*, (27) 304–318. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.15407/rksu.27.304> [in Ukrainian]

Laschenko, G. (1966). Ravty prezidenta Masaryka. [Rauts of President Masaryk]. *OVID*, 4, Zhovten-gruden, 13–19. [in Ukrainian]

Martos, B. (1999). Zasnuvannia Ukrainskoi hospodarskoi akademii. [Establishment of the Ukrainian Economic Academy]. *Khronika 2000 – Chronicle 2000*, (20–30), 192–210. [in Ukrainian]

Masaryk, T. G. (2005). *Světová revoluce. Za války a ve válce 1914 – 1918.* [The World Revolution. During the War and in the War 1914 – 1918]. Praha: Masarykův ústav AV ČR, 640 p. [in Czech]

Masaryk, T. G. (2007). *Cesta demokracie II. Projevy – články – rozhovory. 1921 – 1923*. [The Path of Democracy II. Speeches – articles – interviews. 1921 – 1923]. Praha: Ústav T. G. Masaryka. [in Czech]

Narizhnyi, S. (1942). *Ukrainska emihratsiia. Kulturna pratsia ukrainskoi emihratsii mizh dvoma svitovymi viinamy* [Ukrainian Emigration. Cultural work of Ukrainian Emigration during the Interwar Period]. Praha: “Knihtisk”, 336 p. [in Ukrainian]

Pasitska, O. (2019). Ukrainian Academy of Economics in Poděbrady. *Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal*, 11 (1), 112–119. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.5817/cphpj-2019-014> [in English]

Peschanyi, O. O. (2008). *Ukrainska hospodarska akademiia v Podebradakh* [Ukrainian Academy of Economics in Poděbrady]. *Istorychnyi arkhiv. Naukovi studii. Zb. nauk. pr.Chornomorskoho derzhavnogo universytetu imeni P. Mohyla – Historical archive. Scientific studies: Coll. Science. Proceedings of the Black Sea State University named after P. Mohyla*, (2), 146–151 [in Ukrainian]

Predstavnyky Ukrainskoho hromadskoho komitetu. (1922). *Predstavnyky Ukrainskoho hromadskoho komitetu u prezidenta chesko-slov. respubliky*. [Representatives of the Ukrainian Civil Committee to the President of the Czech-Slovak Republic]. *Nova Ukraina – New Ukraine*, 30 bereznia, 36. [in Ukrainian]

Providyny Prezydentom Ch. S. Respubliky. (1923). *Providyny Prezydentom Ch. S. Respubliky. Ukrainskoi Hospodarskoi Akademii v Podiebradakh* [Provided by the President of the Cz[ech-S]l[ovak] Republic Ukrainian Academy of Economics in Poděbrady]. *Nova Ukraina – New Ukraine, cherven*, 170–171. [in Ukrainian]

Ryhlyk, Ya. 1999. T. G. Masaryk, Rossiya ta ukrayins'ke pytannya (1917 – 1923) [T. G. Masaryk. Russia and Ukrainian Issue, 1917 – 1923]. *Khronika 2000 – Chronicle 2000*, (29–30), 64–70. [in Ukrainian]

Shapoval, M. (1958). *Shchodennyk vid 22 liutoho 1919 r. do 31 hrudnia 1924 r.* [Diary from 22 February 1919 to December 31, 1924]. Comps. Inzh. Sava Zerkal. (Vol. I). New York, 157 p. [in Ukrainian]

Shulha, V. (2019). Ukrainian Economic Academy (1922 – 1935) as a Model of Development of Agrarian Education and Science by Ukrainian Diaspora. *Skhidnoevropeyskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk [East Europe Historical Bulletin]*, 12, 108–115. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.24919/2519-058x.12.177564> [in English]

Sladek, Z. (1991). *Russkaya i ukrainskaya emigratsiya v Chechoslovakii* [Russian and Ukrainian Emigration in Czechoslovakia]. *Sovetskoe slavyanovedenie – Soviet Slavic studies*, 6, 24–36. [in Russian]

Sladek, Z. (1993). *Russkaya emigratsiya v Chechoslovakii: razvitie “russkoy aktsii”* [Russian Emigration in Czechoslovakia: the Development of the “Russian Action”]. *Slavyanovedenie – Slavic studies*, 4, 28–38. [in Russian]

Topinka, Ye. (Comps.). (2010). *Tomash Masaryk i ukraintsi. Arkhivni dokumenty* [Tomash Masaryk and the Ukrainians. Archival documents]. Lviv.: Vydavnytstvo “Tsentr Yevropy”, 440 p. [in Ukrainian]

Truba, R. (2020). Markian Terletskyi in the Cultural and Educational Environment of Galicia and Czechoslovakia during the 20 – 30-ies of the XXth Century. *Skhidnoevropeyskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 17, 90–100. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.24919/2519-058x.17.218205> [in English]

Ukrainska Hospodarska Akademiia v Ch.S.R. (1923). *Ukrainska Hospodarska Akademiia v Ch.S.R.* [Ukrainian Economic Academy in Ch.S.R.]. Praha: Vydannia Ukrainskoho Hromadskoho Komitetu v Ch.S.R., 63 p. [in Ukrainian]

Ukrainska Hospodarska Akademiia. (1931). *Ukrainska Hospodarska Akademiia* [Ukrainian Economic Academy]. Praha-Podiebrady: Nakladom Ukrainskoi Hospodarskoi Akademii. [in Ukrainian]

Ukraiintsi u prezidenta Masaryka. (1922). *Ukraiintsi u prezidenta Masaryka* [Ukrainians are in [reception] President Masaryk]. *Svoboda – Freedom*, (121), 26. maia. [in Ukrainian]

Ulianovska, S. & Ulianovskyy, V. (1993). *Ukrainska naukova i kulturnytska emihratsiia u Chekho-Slovachchyni mizh dvoma svitovymi viinamy* [Ukrainian Scientific and Cultural Emigration in Czechoslovakia during Interwar Period]. In D. Antonovych (Ed). *Ukrainska kultura: Leksii*. (pp. 477–498). Kyiv: Lybid. [in Ukrainian]

Utkin, O. (2021). Profesor B. Martos: orhanizatorska ta naukovo-pedahohichna diialnist [Professor B. Martos: Organizational and Scientific and Pedagogical Activity]. *Ukrainskyj istorychnyj zhurnal – Ukrainian Historical Journal*, 4, 163–174. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.15407/uhj2021.04.163> [in Ukrainian]

Utkin, O. I. (2015). Ukrainska hospodarska akademiia v Chekhoslovachchyni: stvorennia ta diialnist [Ukrainian Economic Academy in Czechoslovakia: Creation and Activity]. *Istoriia nauky i biohrafistyka – History of science and bibliography*, 1. URL: http://nbuv.gov.ua/UJRN/INB_Title_2015_1_17. [in Ukrainian]

Vatsulik, Ya. (2012). Memorandum Vatslava Girsy o pomoshchi russkim i ukrainskim emigrantam, napravlennyy v Ligu Natsiy [Vaclav Hirs's memorandum on Aid to Russian and Ukrainian emigrants, sent to the League of Nations], *Russkaya aktsiya pomoshchi v Chekhoslovakii: istoriya, znachenie, nasledie* (pp. 263–268). Praha. [in Russian]

Vidnyansky, S. V. (1997). *Ukrayins'ke pytannya v mizhvoyennij Chekhoslovachchyni* [Ukrainian Question in interwar Czechoslovakia. Thesis for Doctorate in History]. Kyiv: Institute of History of Ukraine, National academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 108 p. [in Ukrainian]

Yerzhabkova, B. (1990). Ukraintsi v Prazi mizh dvoma svitovymi viinamy [The Ukrainians in Prague during Interwar Period]. *Vyzvolnyi shliakh – The way of liberation*, 7 (508), 860–874; 8 (509), 993–1007. [in Ukrainian]

Zavorotna, N. (2020). *Scholars in Exile. The Ukrainian Intellectual World in Interwar Czechoslovakia*. Toronto-Buffalo-London: University of Toronto Press, 260 p. [in English]

Zilynskyj, B. (2002). *Ukrajinci v Čechách a na Moravě: stručný nástin dějin* [The Ukrainians in Bohemia and Moravia: a brief outline of history]. [Praha]: Sdružení Čechů z Volyně a jejich přátel, 76 p. [in Czech]

*The article was received May 10, 2021.
Article recommended for publishing 23/02/2022.*

UDC 94:329(477)“1924/1925”:070.48(477)
DOI 10.24919/2519-058X.22.253724

Tetiana BORTNIK

Applicant of Department of Contemporary History of I. Krypiakevych Institute of Ukrainian Studies of the National Academy Sciences of Ukraine, 4 Kozelnytska Street, Lviv, Ukraine, postal code 79026 (t.bortnik1976@gmail.com)

ORCID: 0000-0002-2889-2755

ResearcherID: ABB-5467-2021

Yuliia ARTYMYSHYN

PhD (History), Junior research fellow of Department of Contemporary History of I. Krypiakevych Institute of Ukrainian Studies of the National Academy Sciences of Ukraine, 4 Kozelnytska Street, Lviv, Ukraine, postal code 79026 (julialviv1011@gmail.com)

ORCID: 0000-0001-8095-7379

ResearcherID: ABB-5770-2021

Тетяна БОРТНИК

здобувачка відділу новітньої історії Інституту українознавства імені Івана Крип'якевича Національної академії наук України, вул. Козельницька 4, м. Львів, Україна, індекс 79026 (t.bortnik1976@gmail.com)

Юлія АРТИМИШИН

кандидат історичних наук, молодший науковий співробітник відділу новітньої історії Інституту українознавства імені Івана Крип'якевича Національної академії наук України, вул. Козельницька 4, м. Львів, Україна, індекс 79026 (julialviv1011@gmail.com)

Bibliographic Description of the Article: Bortnik, T. & Artymyshyn, Y. (2022). “From the Sejm and the Senate”: parliamentary activities of the “Selianskyi Soyuz” (“The Peasants’ Union”) of 1924 – 1925 on the pages of the newspaper “Nashe Zhyttia” (“Our Life”). *Skhidnoievropeiskiyi istorychnyi visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 22, 103–114. doi: 10.24919/2519-058X.22.253724

“FROM THE SEJM AND THE SENATE”: PARLIAMENTARY ACTIVITIES OF THE “SELIANSKYI SOYUZ” (“THE PEASANTS’ UNION”) OF 1924 – 1925 ON THE PAGES OF THE NEWSPAPER “NASHE ZHYTTIA” (“OUR LIFE”)

Abstract. The purpose of the study. To analyze comprehensively the parliamentary activities of the Ukrainian Socialist Association “Selianskyi Soyuz” (“The Peasants’ Union”) in 1924 – 1925, to identify the key areas of activity, relations with other Ukrainian parties that were the part of the Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation during this period. **The research methodology** is based on the principles of historicism, the use of general scientific (generalization, typology) and special scientific research methods, in particular comparative and historical, historical and systemic, critical analysis of sources. **The Scientific Novelty of the Research.** On the basis of a comprehensive study of the newspaper “Nashe Zhyttia” (“Our Life”), all aspects of the political activity of the association “Selsoyuz” have been

traced fully. These aspects include the activities of the “Selsoyuz” group as the part of the Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation, interaction during parliamentary sessions with other parties, organization of congresses at local places, reporting to voters (the so-called “reporting chambers”) in Kholmshchyna (Chełm land), Pidliashia (in Polish – Podlasie), Volhynia and Polissia.

Based on the studied materials of the press and historiography, the authors came to **the conclusions**. During the period of 1924 – 1925 “Selianskyi Soyuz”, despite criticism and ideological differences within the Ukrainian Club, supported a number of constructive appeals and amendments to bills initiated by the UNDO activists. During this short period of time, the Ukrainian parties consolidated against the introduction of the utraquist school system, and for the implementation of a number of comments on draft laws on parcelling, land reform, which aimed at providing the Ukrainian landless peasants with allotments free of charge, or for a reasonable payment. Comprehensively, these measures were aimed at solving urgent problems of the Ukrainian community, as well as to resist the polonization of the territories mentioned above.

Key words: Ukrainian Socialist Association “Selianskyi Soyuz”, Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation, UNDO, Pavlo Vasynchuk, Serhiy Kozytsky, Maksym Chuchmai.

“З СОЙМУ ТА СЕНАТУ”: ПАРЛАМЕНТСЬКА ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ “СЕЛЯНСЬКОГО СОЮЗУ” 1924 – 1925 рр. НА СТОРІНКАХ ГАЗЕТИ “НАШЕ ЖИТТЯ”

Анотація. Мета дослідження. Цілісно проаналізувати парламентську діяльність Українського соціалістичного об’єднання “Селянський союз” у 1924 – 1925 рр., виокремити ключові напрями роботи, відносини з іншими українськими партіями, що входили до складу Української парламентської репрезентації у зазначений період. **Методологія дослідження** базується на принципах історизму, застосуванні загальнонаукових (узагальнення, типологізація) та спеціально-наукових методів дослідження, зокрема, порівняльно-історичного, історико-системного, критичного аналізу джерел. **Наукова новизна.** На основі комплексного вивчення часопису “Наше життя” цілісно прослідковано ключові ланки політичної діяльності об’єднання “Селянський союз”. Це, зокрема діяльність групи “Сельсоюз” як частини Української парламентської репрезентації, взаємодія під час парламентських засідань з іншими партіями, організація з’їздів на місцях, звітування перед виборцями (так звані “справоздавчі віча”) на теренах Холмищини, Підляшшя, Волині та Полісся. **Висновки.** “Селянський союз” протягом 1924 – 1925 рр., незважаючи на критику та ідеологічні розбіжності всередині Українського клубу, підтримував низку конструктивних відозв та поправок до законопроектів, які ініціювали діячі УНДО. Цей невеликий період українські партії консолідовано боролись проти впровадження утравістичної системи шкільної освіти, та за втілення низки зауваг до проектів законів про парцеляцію, земельну реформу, які мали на меті забезпечити українських безземельних та малоземельних селян наділами на безкоштовній основі, або ж за посилену виплату. Комплексно ці заходи мали на меті розв’язання нагальних проблем української спільноти, а також протистояти полонізації окреслених теренів.

Ключові слова: Українське соціалістичне об’єднання “Селянський союз”, Українська парламентська репрезентація, УНДО, Павло Васинчук, Сергій Козицький, Максим Чучмай.

The Problem Statement. The elections of 1922 were quite successful for the Ukrainian politicians of Kholmshchyna, Pidliashia, Volhynia and Polissia, as a result of which 20 Ukrainian deputies entered the Sejm and 6 – the Senate (Zajtsev, 1993, p. 73; Kramar, 2010, p. 122), and further formation of the Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation (the UPR) became an opportunity to solve the problems of the Ukrainian community legally. At the same time, ideological contradictions within the UPR, the arrests of the Ukrainian activists and the closure of the USDP by the Polish authorities led to the creation of a new political force, the Ukrainian Socialist Assosiation “The Peasants’ Union”, which was organized in Chełm, in August of 1924 (Bortnik, 2020, p. 11).

The initiators of a new organization and at the same time its presidium were P. Vasynchuk, A. Bratun, M. Chuchmai, S. Makivka, S. Kozytsky, S. Nazaruk and V. Dmytriuk, the Ukrainian ambassadors to the Polish Sejm (Grunberg, Sprengel, 2005, p. 454). In the spring and summer of 1924, after preparatory and organizational work, it was decided to hold the Constituent Assembly in Chełm on August 17, 1924 (Torzecki, 1989, p. 68). During the congress, the delegates listened to reports on the socio-political situation of the Ukrainian peasantry, their economic and cultural problems, approved the party's programme, its charter, and elected a chairman – P. Vasynchuk (Kholms'kyj povitovyj Z'izd, 1924, nr. 33, p. 2).

In the programme "The Peasants' Union" was defined as a class political association of peasants, which seeks to eliminate "exploitation" of the latter, as well as to increase its role in a socio-political life. "The Peasants' Union" set itself the main goal of completely replacing social capitalist relations with the socialist "labour" system. "Therefore, the party stood for the restructuring of a political, economic and cultural life, and the main thing was "the struggle for land, this main machine of peasant labour" (Prohramovi tezy i orhanizatsijnij, pp. 1–2).

The Sejm sessions of 1924 and 1925 were marked by the consideration of a number of bills, among which there were the projects on the housing of troops, land reform and the organization of schooling. In this context, it is important to study the parliamentary activities of "The Peasants' Union", its interaction with other political forces, work at the local level – the organization of mass reports at meetings, congresses of the Ukrainians from Kholmshchyna, Pidliashia, Volhynia and Polissia. These areas of "The Peasants' Union" activity are covered in detail on the pages of the weekly newspaper "Nashe Zhyttia", which was the Union's publication and is an important source in the study of the mentioned organization mentioned above.

The Analysis of Recent Research and Publications. The Soviet-era publications covered the activities of the parties during the interwar period, the majority of which belonged to the left-wing camp. These are the works of M. Herasymenko and B. Dudykevych (Herasymenko & Dudykevych, 1955), I. Zabolotny (Zabolotnyj, 1964), I. Vasiuta (Vasiuta, 1988), H. Syzonenko (Syzonenko, 1971), S. Makarchuk (Makarchuk, 1983), польських дослідників S. Krzykała (Krzykała, 1961), R. Szaflik (Szaflik, 1964), V. Mędrzecki (Mędrzecki, 1988).

Many researches published after 1991 covered the elections of 1922 and 1928 to the Polish Sejm and Senate, the consolidation of the Ukrainians, in particular, from Volhynia, Polissia, Kholmshchyna and Pidliashia, their further activities (Zajtsev, 1993, pp. 72–84; Kramar, 2010, pp. 115–124; Tsetsyk, 2010, pp. 125–132). Some, review stories of the national and political activities of the Ukrainian community of Kholmshchyna and Pidliashia during the interwar period are found in the works of Ye. Pasternak (Pasternak Ye., 1989), M. Hornyj (Hornyj, 2010), Yu. Makar (Makar, 2003; Makar, Hornyj, Makar V., Saliuk, 2011). Instead, more significant are the works devoted to the activities of the Ukrainian parties of various ideological orientations, including the left-wing, for example: I. Behej (Behej, 2015), H. Kuprianowicz (Kuprianowicz, 1995, pp. 171–210), Yu. Perha (Perha, 2014), pp. 95–100; Perha, 2016). M. Pyrih (Pyrih, 2016; Pyrih, 2020, pp. 61–71), I. Soliar (Soliar, 2010), Ya. Tsetsyk and M. Kucherepa (Kucherepa & Tsetsyk, 2011), M. Szumiło (Szumiło, 2006) and the others. However, there is still no comprehensive work on the activity of the Ukrainian figures who were the members of the Ukrainian Socialist Association "The Peasants' Union", their participation in a political life, especially based on the materials of the newspaper "Our Life", which was published in Chełm during 1921 – 1928. The newspaper covered in detail the activities of various political groups in the UPR, the speeches by the Ukrainian

parliamentarians and senators, the reports on the party congresses at local places, expressing the ideological view of “The Peasants’ Union” with a special emphasis after 1924.

The purpose of the article is comprehensive analysis of the activities of the Ukrainian Socialist Association “The Peasants’ Union” in 1924 – 1925 through the prism of its activity as the part of the Ukrainian parliamentary representation and intra-party relations in the Ukrainian Club, reflected in the columns of the newspaper “Our Life”.

The Main Material Statement. After the organization of “The Peasants’ Union”, the newly formed party joined the UPR. In September of 1924, in the process of discussing the budget of the Ministry of Land Reform in the Senate on behalf of “The Ukrainian Club” spoke a deputy M. Chuchmai, a member of “The Peasants’ Union”. The deputy made public the statement of the UPR about the refusal to support the budget of the Ministry of Land Reform, because of ignoring the needs of “the non-Polish population”, i. e., the lack of a procedure for allocating plots of land, the policy of Polonization-colonization (Z Sojmu ta Senatu. Promova posla M. Chuchmaia, 1924, nr. 36, p. 1).

On October 15, 1924, a meeting of the Land Commission was held to agree on the law on parcelling and settlement, a project to implement land reform. During the debate, the right-wing of the Sejm passed a resolution to withdraw the debate on the law, as the government had requested, until a government draft was submitted to the Sejm, which was to be agreed within three weeks. The right-wing party voted in favour of the resolution, while the left-wing of the Sejm and representatives of national minorities, including the Ukrainian one, opposed it (Z Sojmu ta Senatu, 1924, nr. 42, pp. 1–2).

At the same time, during the session of the Sejm on October 29 – 30, 1924, representatives of the UPR, including the members of “The Peasants’ Union”, criticized the statements of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland, Olexandr Skryzynski, who during the signing of the Protocol on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes of October 1, 1924 at the Conference of the League of Nations in Geneva said, that the policy of the Government of the Second Commonwealth on national minorities was aimed at “building and strengthening European peace” (Wnioski w sprawie polityki zagranicznej, 1924, pp. 10–11).

On November 4, 1924, the Sejm continued the discussion of the budget of 1925 and addressed the Prime Minister V. Grabsky and the Minister of Foreign Affairs A. Skryzhynsky. On behalf of the Ukrainian Club, Ambassador S. Khrutsky made a speech accusing the government led by the Prime Minister of ignoring the problems of the national minorities, especially the Ukrainian one. On November 11, representatives of the Ukrainian and Belarusian parliamentary clubs introduced two resolutions: a vote of no confidence in the Grabski government and a refusal to support the draft budget of 1925. However, the first resolution was supported only by the Ukrainian and Belarusian deputies (52 votes in favour) (Z Sojmu ta Senatu, 1924, nr. 46, p. 1).

In 1924, the autumn session of the Sejm was marked not only by a consolidated vote of the UPR activists of various ideological orientations against Poland’s statements in the international arena about the satisfactory conditions of the national minorities in the country, the state budget, but also significant personnel changes within the Ukrainian club. In October of 1924, Anton Vasynchuk (a brother of the head of the “The Peasants’ Union” – Pavlo) left the membership in the UPR. In a long speech on this occasion, the Ambassador noted that the decision to leave was made due to ideological differences between different groups that were the part of the Club and impossibility of developing a joint programme of action, which, according to A. Vasynchuk, should be based on a negative attitude to the Soviet Union

while supporting the idea of a broad Ukrainian autonomy within the Second Commonwealth (Vasyl'chuk, 1924, nr. 45, p. 2). A. Vasynchuk's position was condemned by the editorial board of the “Nashe Zhyttia” (“Our Life”), calling his approach inexpedient (Dva kroky, 1924, nr. 47, p. 1).

On November 28, 1924, during the session the bill on the housing deployment of troops was discussed in the third reading, which provided for the possibility of occupation of public and private buildings by the military of the Second Commonwealth (including school premises, private premises) in the so-called “eastern frontiers territories”. The resolution was criticized by the Belarusian and Ukrainian deputies, including the representatives of “The Peasants' Union”. Later on December 4, during a discussion of the Ministry of the Interior's budget, the UPR condemned the increase in spending on the police, as well as on the Polish government in general (Z Sojmu ta Senatu, 1924, nr. 49, p. 1).

At the same time, from the first days of its existence, “The Peasants' Union” tried to establish a network of local branches alongside its activities in Parliament. Thus, on October 5, the county congress of “The Peasants' Union” took place in Brest, and on December 7, in Volodymyr-Volynskyi. During the meetings, the district committees of the party were formed, the adoption of programme theses and the organizational statute of the party were agreed upon, and the Ukrainian ambassadors were called upon to defend the elimination of civil and military housing before official Warsaw, prohibition of unregulated parcelling of land and its division for the local peasantry, reduction of taxes for the landless peasantry, provision of loans and agro-technical assistance from the state budget for the reconstruction of farms, elimination of difference in prices for agricultural and factory products (Povitovyj z'izd “Selians'koho Soiuzu”, 1924, nr. 49, p. 3.; Vitaiemo, 1924, nr. 39, p. 1).

The end of 1924 was also marked by a lawsuit against the ambassadors – members of “The Peasants' Union”. On December, 18, after the session of the Sejm, Pavlo Vasynchuk, Serhiy Kozytsky, and Maksym Chuchmai were to be extradited to court due to the speech at the meeting on August 26, 1923. According to the indictment, the mentioned ambassadors “called on the Ukrainian population to take part in the anti-state action, not to pay taxes, but even to “various massacre and setting on fire the Polish estates”. The Ukrainian ambassadors were accused of the anti-state activities because of their statements against the Polish government and its policy (Vlasiuk, 2011, p. 151). Such decisions were opposed by the accused ambassadors, as well as representatives of all Ukrainian parties, who made a joint appeal. As a result, the Ukrainian ambassadors were not arrested, but were under 24-hour surveillance by police and secret agents. Subsequently, on February 11, 1925, P. Vasynchuk was summoned for questioning in the case of the “Chamber in Pochaiv 6 / VIII 1923”, and the search was conducted in his apartment, where S. Nazaruk also lived. Responding to this situation, the ambassadors headed by S. Pidhirsky prepared an appeal to the Minister of Internal Affairs with questions whether he was informed of these cases, after all, the search was carried out without a warrant, and whether this case was carried out on his direct instructions (Z Sojmu ta Senatu. Interpeliatsiia, 1925, nr. 8, p. 1).

Activists of “The Peasants' Union” also did not stay away from the problem of the Ukrainian schooling. The party closely followed the state policy in this area. On January 7, 1925, the Minister of Education issued an order on the previously adopted law “on the organization of schooling”. According to it, the national minorities were allowed to open schools on the same basis as the Polish private schools. In ethnically mixed regions, the main type of the state school was defined as an educational institution common for children of

the Polish and non-Polish nationalities. However, if 25% of the Ukrainians, the Belarusians or the Lithuanians lived in the commune, they had the opportunity to teach their children in their native language, if 40 parents who lived in the same school district expressed such wish. In response, on the pages of the newspaper “Our Life” the call for action was made by S. Kozytsky, the Ukrainian Ambassador of the “The Peasants’ Union”, who emphasized that applications to school inspectors to conduct the Ukrainian language lessons must be submitted by March 31 (Domahajmosia shkoly, 1925, nr. 6, p. 2).

However, the Ukrainian community encountered considerable difficulties in organizing schooling. The Ukrainian deputies received a number of complaints about the abuse of office by school inspectors who refused to accept declarations on the opening of schools by the Ukrainians. For example, such cases took place in Tovmach, Liubomyl, Kovel, Dubno, Horokhiv, and Brest. After the complaints of Ambassadors S. Kozytsky and V. Dmytriuk to the Department of General Schools of the Ministry of Education, the head of the Department promised to tackle the problem, but the process was constantly delayed (Z Sojmu ta Senatu. Interpeliatsiia posla S. Kozyts’koho, 1925, nr. 14, pp. 1–2).

In the spring of 1925, local deputies intensified their activities, despite the government’s ban on organizing meetings. On March 1, 1925, “The Peasants’ Union” held a county peasant congress with the participation of 97 delegates in Lutsk. On its agenda there were issues on economic activity of peasants, their self-organization, demands to change the policy to the one that would meet the interests of “labour peasantry”. The delegates also discussed the issue on educating the Ukrainians, noting that the key problems in this regard were: lack of a proper level of education of the community, the Ukrainian teachers and schools, deliberate obstacles in the organization of the Ukrainian schooling by the Polish authorities. In this regard, the delegates demanded a proportional allocation of funds in accordance with the number of the Ukrainians, the establishment of schools of all levels and types at which the language of teaching was the native language, legalization and transfer to the state maintenance of the Private Ukrainian Secret University in Lviv, and in Volhynia – all functioning private Ukrainian secondary schools there (Selians’kyj Z’izd u Luts’ku, 1925, nr. 11, p. 3). On June 21, 1925, the Congress of “The Peasants’ Union” took place in Dubno. The delegates of the Congress decided to join the ranks of “The Peasants’ Union” and called on the authorities: to reduce the state and municipal taxes; to postpone their payment by victims of hostilities for 3 years; to provide credit assistance for reconstruction; to eliminate the price disparity between industrial and agricultural goods. The Congress also condemned the practice of military and civilian housing on the Ukrainian lands. The next congress of “The Peasants’ Union” took place in Horokhiv, on September 6, 1925. Participants passed resolutions in support of the Ukrainian schooling and also opposed Polonization, the ban on opening “The Prosvita Society”, and the law on parcelling and settlement (Rezoliutsii pryjnyiati, 1925, nr. 38, p. 3).

Meanwhile, the court against the members of “The Peasants’ Union” P. Vasynchuk, S. Kozytsky, M. Chuchmai did not end in December of 1924, and continued – on May 6, 1925, in Rivne as it was scheduled for another hearing. This case resonated. Thus, well-known Ukrainian lawyers (L. Hankevych, D. Levytsky, etc.) agreed to defend the accused in court. On May 10, the court sentenced Chuchmai to 2 years in prison, and – Vasynchuk and Kozytsky to 1 year in prison. After the bail of 500, 300 and 100 zl., respectively, the Ukrainian activists were released, but their case did not end there, because an appeal was filed. It is worth noting that the lawsuit against the Ukrainian ambassadors became not only local but also international, because after the court P. Vasynchuk received letters of support

and sympathy from Paul Penleve, the Prime Minister of France, and Cachene, Ambassador of the French Parliament, and Canworth, Member of the British Parliament Canworth (Pislia protsesu, 1924, nr. 21, p. 2).

Finally, on October 29, 1925, the Court of Appeal in Lublin considered the case against the Ukrainian deputies P. Vasynchuk, M. Chuchmai, and S. Kozytsky. Lawyers O. Karpynsky, V. Krynytsky, E. Smyarovsky, and G. Lieberman defended the accused. The court again listened to the evidences of 9 witnesses who repeated their previous testimonies, i. e., confirmed their evidences in Rivne. Among them there were the following people: M. P. Vyzhykowski from the Polish People's Liberation Party, B. Kozubsky (a chairman of the council in Pochaiv), Ya. Voytiuk (a chairman of the Communist Ambassadorial Faction, which was the part of the Ukrainian Club in 1923). Prosecutor Khodetsky rejected the charge against the ambassadors of "collapsing the existing order", and instead he confirmed all other charges. However, the court gave the verdict that the Ukrainian ambassadors were innocent (Protse ukrains'kykh, 1925, nr. 44, p. 1).

Another important activity area of "The Peasants' Union" in the Polish parliament was the defense of the economic interests of the Ukrainian peasantry. On February 19, 1925, at the plenary session, the first reading of the governmental project on land reform took place, which had been the fourth such project since 1919. The Ukrainian club represented by S. Makivka, the representative of "The Peasants' Union", protested against this bill. The Ambassador prepared a detailed essay on this subject, in which he stated that such law did not contribute to resolving the land issue, it only contributed to Polonization. However, despite the criticism of the Ukrainian deputies, the majority of the Sejm voted for a further consideration of the law (Z Sojmu ta Senatu. Promova posla S. Makivky, nr. 9, p. 2).

In May of 1925, in the Sejm, P. Vasynchuk, the chairman of the "The Peasants' Union", made his speech on economic issues in the context of the state budget discussion of 1925. He noted that the government had neglected to assist the Ukrainian population in rebuilding the region after World War I, and had not established effective work of "The Committee on National Minorities from the Frontier Territory", which operated under the Council of Ministers, and in every way limited the scope of the Ukrainian language functioning. Therefore, the Ukrainian representation in Parliament decided to vote against the budget of 1925 (Z Sojmu ta Senatu. Promova pos. Pav. Vasyly'chuka, 1925, nr. 21, pp. 1–2).

On July 9, 1925, the Sejm began voting on the draft law on "land parcelling", which consisted of 93 items and 603 amendments. The bill was supported by the Polish right faction, the PPS and Piast. On July 14, 1925, a separate paragraph of the draft was to be voted on, and the Ukrainian deputies submitted amendments so that peasants could receive landlords' lands without any compensation. Instead, the Sejm Commission included the following items into the bill: the landlords were to receive compensation, the church lands were left to the Polish settlers, but parceled lands were not to be handed over to military colonists (Maiesh khlope, 1925, nr. 28, pp. 1–2).

The rhetoric of the Ukrainian ambassadors, as it can be seen from the press materials, was directed against the bill in which land plots were to be given to the Polish settlers and military colonists. The essence of this project, as Ambassador Stepan Makivka said, was "looting of the Ukrainian population in Volhynia, Chełm, Pidliashia, Polissia and Eastern Galicia" (Sojmova promova posla Step. Makivky, 1925, nr. 31, p. 2). 70% of the Ukrainian population in these territories, as A. Bratun, the deputy of "The Peasants' Union", pointed out, were landless or had few plots of land, therefore, they especially hoped to improve their situation

after the introduction of the new law, but its Polonization orientation was intended to increase the influence of the settlers, which only contributed to the deepening of misunderstandings among the Ukrainians and the Poles. Article 51 of Part 3 of this bill was of a particular concern, which deprived those who “were punished for crimes against the Polish state” of the opportunity to receive land plots. However, despite the protests, the bill was passed by 200 votes in favour, only 90 members of the Sejm voted against it (including members of the Ukrainian Club) (*Sojmovia promova posla A. Bratunia, 1925, nr. 33, pp. 1–2*).

In the autumn of 1925, a regular session of the Polish Parliament began. Illustrative for the description of the situation of the Ukrainian community in interwar Poland was the speech of S. Kozytsky, the representative of “The Peasants’ Union”, proclaimed in the Sejm on October 6, 1925, and this speech was paid special attention in the newspaper “Our Life”. The Ambassador, highlighting many problems in the national policy of the Polish state towards the Ukrainians, noted that the biggest problem, in his opinion, was the authorities’ neglect of the principles of self-determination of the national minorities who suffer from “national oppression”. According to his observations, during the period of 1919 – 1924 there was a planned, semi-legal transition of the Ukrainian schools to the Polish language of instruction. As a result, 80% of the Ukrainian school educational institutions were liquidated. At the same time, the adoption of the law on language in schooling on July 31, 1924, according to S. Kozytsky, created, de facto, legal grounds for the polonization of education. To confirm his words, the Ambassador cited statistics: according to official Polish statistics, in 1921 and 1923 there were 261 secondary schools, of which only 6 were Ukrainian; there were no Ukrainian schools at all among vocational and special schools; the resolution on the opening of the Ukrainian university was not implemented either. The Ukrainian university was one of the guarantees of granting the Ukrainian cultural autonomy by official Warsaw, announced during the meeting of the Council of Ambassadors in 1923. At the same time, Ambassador S. Kozytsky also considered the subordination of the Orthodox Church to the authorities to be another tool for Polonization, closing of churches, their transfer to the Catholic Church, or conversion into warehouses, archives, etc. (*Z Sojmu ta Senatu, 1925, nr. 44, p. 2*).

Further consistent defense of the Ukrainian interests under the conditions of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was hindered by permanent conflicts within the UPR itself. After a long break, a meeting was scheduled for November 18. It was especially insisted on by the activists of “The Peasants’ Union” faction, who were also supported by Ambassador S. Pidhirsky and Senator I. Pasternak. During the period of 18 – 19 November 1925, the meetings of the UPR in the Sejm and the Senate continued. The left-wing faction and S. Pidhirsky criticized “the actions of the presidium”, inaction of some ambassadors at local places, paying special attention to the organization authority decline and the inclination of the presidium (formerly non-party) to the party of the right-wing UNDO (the members of which they became). Therefore, taking into account the diversity of the UPR, “The Peasants’ Union” members and S. Pidhirsky, in order to balance the positions of all activists, proposed to re-elect the party leadership. The left-wing representatives nominated their candidates to be elected to the presidium: S. Kozytskyi, an active member of “The Peasants’ Union”, as a chairman, and I. Pasternak, a non-party representative, and B. Kozubskyi, a member of the UNDO, as deputies. I. Pasternak joined the right-wing faction and withdrew his candidacy. Thus, owing to the votes of the UNDO deputies and non-party figures, the elected presidium was formed only by the UNDO members: S. Khrutsky (a chairman), M. Cherkavsky and B. Kozubsky (deputies) (*Burkhlyve zasidannia, 1925, nr. 47, pp. 2–3*). But already on

December 19, 1925, new elections of the leadership of the UPR took place due to the so-called “agreement” with the Polish authorities of the previous leadership, as outlined by the members of “The Peasants’ Union” (Turchyn, 2019, pp. 85 – 86). Such accusations were made mainly due to the lack of critical remarks by the UNDO politicians in the case of Roman Smal-Stotsky’s appeal to Stanislaw Grabski, the Minister of Education of Poland, on behalf of Kyryl Studynsky, the head of NTSh, on the loyalty of the Ukrainian scholars concerning Poland (Vchena khroniada, 1925, nr. 51, p. 1). Ambassador S. Kozytsky (a chairman), M. Chuchmai and S. Nazaruk (deputies) won at the new elections of the Ukrainian Club leadership (Vid Ukrains’koi Parlamentarnoi, 1925, nr. 51, pp. 1–2).

Thus, December of 1925 was a turning point in the functioning of the UPR – re-election of the leadership took place, the leading positions from the UNDO passed to the Ukrainian Socialist Association “The Peasants’ Union”. At the same time, such personnel changes marked the end of the joint coordinated activities of the right and left-wings factions of the Ukrainian Club in the Polish Parliament, the relations between which only worsened.

The Conclusion. During the period of 1924 – 1925, despite the political and ideological disputes, the Ukrainian Socialist Association “The Peasants’ Union” acted in a consolidated manner with the right-wing faction of the Ukrainian Parliamentary Club, which had represented the UNDO since 1925. The political trial against the leaders of “The Peasants’ Union” increased the level of trust and their popularity at local places, as evidenced by a number of large gatherings in Kholmshchyna, Volhynia and Pidliashia during the period under analysis. However, “The Peasants’ Union” lacked the political weight to make independent decisions or to implement the declared postulates during the Sejm sessions.

Acknowledgement. We express our sincere gratitude to all members of the editorial board for valuable recommendations provided in preparing the article for publishing.

Funding. The authors did not receive any financial assistance for the research and publication of this scientific work.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Behej, I. (2015). *Ukrains’ka livytsia Halychyny: teoriia i praktyka (kinets’ XIX– persha tretyna XX st.)* [Ukrainian left-wing parties of Galicia: theory and practice (the end of the XIXth – the first third of the XXth century)]. Kyiv: UBS NBU, 374 p. [in Ukrainian]

Bortnik, T. (2020). Na shliakhu do stvorennia “Sel’soiuzu”: konsolidatsiia ukrains’koho politykumu Volyni, Kholmshchyn ta Pidliashshia [On the way to create “The Peasants’ Union”: consolidation of the Ukrainian politics of Volhynia region, Kholm and Podlasie regions (1922 – 1924)]. *Litopys Volyni. Vseukrains’kyj naukovyj chasopys*, 23, 7–12. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.32782/2305-9389/2020.23.01> [in Ukrainian]

Burkhlyve zasidannia Ukrains’koi Parlamentarnoi Rerezentatsii [Stormy Meeting of the Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation] (1925). *Nashe zhyttia*, 47 (29 lystopada), 2–3. [in Ukrainian]

Domahajmosia shkoly z ukrains’koiu movoiu navchannia. Dekliaratsiia [Fighting for Schools with Ukrainian as the Language of Instruction. Declaration] (1925). *Nashe zhyttia*, 6 (8 liutoho), 2. [in Ukrainian]

Dva kroky [Two Steps] (1924). *Nashe zhyttia*, 47 (30 lystopada), 1. [in Ukrainian]

Grunberg, K. & Sprengel, V. (2005). *Trudne sasiedztwo* [Difficult Neighborhood]. Warszawa, 832 p. [in Polish]

Herasymenko, M. & Dudykevych, B. (1955). *Borot’ba trudiaschykh Zakhidnoi Ukrainy za vozz’iednannia z Radians’koiu Ukrainoiu (1921 – 1939 rr.)* [The Struggle of the Workers of Western Ukraine for Reunion with Soviet Ukraine (1921 – 1939)]. Kyiv, 224 p. [in Ukrainian]

Hornyj, M. (2010). *Prometei Kholms'koi zemli: liudy, iaki prysviatyly sebe zberezheniu ukrainstva na Kholmschyni* [Prometheus of Chełm Land: People who Dedicated themselves to Preserving Ukrainianness in Kholm Region]. L'viv: SPOLOM. [in Ukrainian]

Kholms'kyj povitovyj Z'izd "Selians'koho Soiuzu" [Kholm County Congress of the "The Peasants' Union"] (1924). *Nashe zhyttia*, 33 (24 serpnia), 2. [in Ukrainian]

Kramar, Yu. (2010). *Parlaments'ki vybory 1922 roku v Pol'schi ta uchast' u nykh politychnykh syl Zakhidnoi Ukrainy* [Parliamentary Elections of 1922 in Poland and the Participation of Political Forces in Western Ukraine]. *Ukrainsi Kholmschyni i Pidliashshia: istorychna dolia, dukhovna i material'na kul'tura vprodovzh vikiv: zb. nauk. prats'* (Vols. 1–2, Volume 2) (pp. 115–124). Luts'k: VAT "Volyns'ka oblasna drukarnia". [in Ukrainian]

Krzykała, S. (1961). *Z dziejów KPP na Lubelszczyźnie (1918 – 1923)* [From the Works of K P P on Lublin Region (1918 – 1923)]. Lublin, 297 p. [in Polish]

Kucherepa, M. & Tsetsyk, Ya. (2011). *Ukrains'ki natsional'ni partii na Volyni (1921 – 1939 roky)* [Ukrainian National Parties in Volhynia (1921 – 1939)] (Vols. 1–2, Vol. 1). Luts'k: Volyns'kyj natsional'nyj universytet im. Lesi Ukrainky, 304 p. [in Ukrainian]

Kuprianowicz, G. (1995). *Ukraińskie życie kulturalno-oświatowe i ekonomiczne na Chełmszczyźnie i południowym Podlasiu w latach 1918 – 1926* [Ukrainian Cultural, Educational and Economic Life in Chełm and Southern Podlask Regions in the 1918 – 1926]. *Rocznik Chełmski*, 1, 171–210. [in Polish]

Maiesh khlope reformu "ril'nu" a zemlia pry nas zistanet'sia [You have a "reform" farm and the land will remain with us] (1925). *Nashe zhyttia*, 28 (19 lypnia), 1–2. [in Ukrainian]

Makar, Yu. (2003). *Kholmschyna i Pidliashshia v pershij polovyni XX stolittia. Istoryko-politychna problematyka* [Chełm and Podlasie regions in the first half of the XXth century. Historical and political issues]. L'viv: Instytut ukrainoznavstva NAN Ukrainy im. I. Kryp'iakevycha, 88 p. [in Ukrainian]

Makar, Yu. (2009). *Ukrains'ka kholms'ko-pidlias'ka problema u vntrishnij politytsi Druhoi Rechi Pospolytoi* [The Ukrainian Chełm-Podlasie Problem in the Internal Policy of the Second Rzeczpospolita]. *Ukraina – Yevropa – Svit*, 3, 32–46. [in Ukrainian]

Makar, Yu., Hornyj, M., Makar, V. & Saliuk, A. (2011). *Vid deportatsii do deportatsii. Suspil'no-polityчне zhyttia ukrainsiv kholms'ko-pidlias'kykh ukrainsiv (1915 – 1947). Doslidzhennia. Spohady. Dokumenty* [From Deportation to Deportation. Socio-political life of the Ukrainians of Chełm-Podlasie Ukrainians (1915 – 1947). Research. Memoirs. Documents] (Vols. 1–3, Volume 1). Chernivtsi: Bukrek, 880 p. [in Ukrainian]

Makarchuk, S. (1983). *Etnosotsyal'noe razvytye y natsyonal'nye otnoshenya na zapadnoukraynskykh zemliakh v peryod ymperyalyzma* [Ethnosocial Development and National Relations in the Western Ukrainian Lands during the Period of Imperialism]. L'vov: Vyssh. shk. Yzdrovy pry L'vov. un-te, 255 p. [in Russian]

Mędrzecki, W. (1988). *Województwo wołyńskie 1921 – 1939. Elementy przemian cywilizacyjnych, społecznych i politycznych* [Volhynia Voivodeship 1921 – 1939. Elements of Civilizational, Social and Political Changes]. Wrocław: PAN Instytut Historii, Wydawnictwo Ossolineum, 202 p. [in Polish]

Pasternak, Ye. (1989). *Narys istorii Kholmschyni i Pidliashshia* [Essay on the History of Chełm and Podlasie Regions]. Winnipeg, Toronto, 465 p. [in Ukrainian]

Perha, Yu. (2014). *Diial'nist' ukrains'koho tovarystva dobrochynoschi "Ridna khata" 1919 – 1930 rr.* [Activities of the Ukrainian Charity Society "Ridna Khata" 1919 – 1930]. *Chasopys ukrains'koi istorii*, 30, 95–100. [in Ukrainian]

Perha, Yu. (2016). *Suspil'no-polityčne zhyttia ukrainsiv Kholmschyni ta Pidliashshia 1918 – 1939 rr.* [Socio-political life of the Ukrainians of Kholmshchyna and Podlasie 1918 – 1939]. (*Candidate's thesis*). Kyiv, 190 p. [in Ukrainian]

Pislia protsesu [After the Process] (1924). *Nashe zhyttia*, 21 (24 travnia), 2. [in Ukrainian]

Povitovyj z'izd "Selians'koho Soiuzu" v Volodymyri-Volyns'komu [County Congress of "The Peasants' Union" in Volodymyr-Volynskyi] (1924). *Nashe zhyttia*, 49 (14 hrudnia), 3. [in Ukrainian]

Prohramovi tezy i orhanizatsijnyj statut Ukrains'koho sotsiialistychnoho ob'iednannia "Selians'kyj Soiuz" (w. y.) [Program theses and organizational charter of the Ukrainian Socialist Association "The Peasants' Union"]. Kholm: Ukrains'ke sotsiialistyčne ob'iednannia "Selians'kyj Soiuz", b. d. [in Ukrainian]

- Protses ukrains'kykh posliv** [The Case of the Ukrainian Ambassadors] (1925). *Nashe zhyttia*, 44 (8 lystopada), 1. [in Ukrainian]
- Pyrlih, M.** (2016). *Ukrains'kyj livoradykal'nyj rukh u Pol'schi (1919 – 1929 rr.)* [Ukrainian left-wing radical movement in Poland (1919 – 1929)]. (*Candidate's thesis*). Lviv, 245 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Pyrlih, M.** (2020). Ukrains'ke sotsialistychne selians'ko-robotnyche ob'iednannia (“Sel'rob”): stan doslidzhennia ta perspektyvy podal'shoho vyvchennia [Ukrainian Socialist Peasants and Workers Union (“Selrob”): the state of research and prospects for further study]. *Res Gestae*, 10, 61–71. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.24917/24504475.10.4> [in Ukrainian]
- Rezoliutsii pryjniati na z'izdi U.S.O. “Selians'kyj Soiuz” v Horokhovi 6 veresnia 1925 r.** [Resolutions Adopted at the Ukrainian Socialist Association “The Peasants' Union” in Gorokhov, September 6, 1925] (1925), *Nashe zhyttia*, 38 (27 veresnia), 3. [in Ukrainian]
- Selians'kyj Z'izd u Luts'ku** [Peasant Congress in Lutsk] (1925). *Nashe zhyttia*, 11 (15 bereznia), 3. [in Ukrainian]
- Sojmova promova posla A. Bratunia 4 lypnia ts. r. pry obhovoriuvanni ustavu o partseliatsii j osadnytstvi** [Soim's speech by Ambassador A. Bratun on July 4, when discussing the charter on partysettlement and settlements] (1925). *Nashe zhyttia*, 33 (23 serpnia), 1–2. [in Ukrainian]
- Sojmova promova posla Step. Makivky vyholoshena dnia 25 chervnia ts. r. pidchas obhovoriuvannia zakonu pro zemel'nu reformu, osadnytstvo ta partseliatsiiu (Dokinchennia)** [Soim's speech by Ambassador Step. Makivka was announced on June 25, during the discussion of the law on land reform, settlement and parcelling (Completion)] (1925). *Nashe zhyttia*, 31 (9 serpnia), 2. [in Ukrainian]
- Soliar, I.** (2010). *Konsolidatsijni protsesy natsional'no-derzhavnyts'kykh syl Zakhidnoi Ukrainy (1923 – 1928)* [Consolidation processes of the national-state forces of Western Ukraine (1923 – 1928)]. L'viv: Instytut ukrainoznavstva im. I. Kryp'iakevycha NAN Ukrainy, 2010. 150 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Syzonenko, H.** (1971). *Sel'-rob u borot'bi za vozz'iednannia* [“Selrob” in the struggle for reunification]. L'viv: Kameniar, 174 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Szaflik, J.** (Ed.) (1964). *Ruch ludowy na Lubelszczyźnie. Materiały z sesji naukowej zorganizowanej przez WK ZSL w Lublinie* [People's movement in Lublin region. Proceedings of the scientific session organized by WK ZSL in Lublin]. Lublin: Wydawnictwo Lubelskie, 409 p. [in Polish]
- Szumilo, M.** (2006) *Antoni Waszyńczuk 1885 – 1935. Ukraiński działacz narodowy i polityk* [Antoni Waszyńczuk 1885 – 1935. Ukrainian national activist and politician]. Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS, 147 p. [in Polish]
- Torzecki, R.** (1989). *Kwestia ukraińska w Polsce w latach 1923 – 1929* [The Ukrainian question in Poland in the years 1923 – 1929]. Kraków, 470 p. [in Polish]
- Tsetsyk, Ya.** (2010). Uchast' ukrains'koho naselennia Volyni ta Kholmschyny u parlaments'kykh vyborakh 1922 roku. *Ukrainci Kholmschyny i Pidliashshia: istorychna dolia, dukhovna i material'na kul'tura vprodovzh vikiv: zb. nauk. prats' (Vols. 1–2, Volume 2)* (pp. 125–132). Luts'k: VAT “Volyns'ka oblasna drukarnia”. [in Ukrainian]
- Turchyn, O.** (2019). *Ukrains'kyj klub v Sejmi ta Senati Pol'schi 1922 – 1927 rokakh. Mahisters'ka robota. Humanitarnyj fakul'tet Ukrainy koho katołyts'koho universytetu* [Ukrainian Club in the Sejm and Senate of Poland 1922 – 1927. Master thesis. Faculty of Humanities of the Ukrainian Catholic University.]. L'viv, 86 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Vasiuta, I.** (1988). *Formuvannia robotnycho-selians'koho soiuzu v revoliutsijnij borot'bi na Zakhidnij Ukraini 1921 – 1939* [Formation of the workers and peasants union in the revolutionary struggle in Western Ukraine 1921 – 1939]. L'viv: Vydavnytstvo pry L'vivs'komu derzhavnomu universyteti vydavnychoho ob'iednannia “Vyscha shkola”, 172 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Vasyl'chuk, A.** (1924). Dva komunikaty [Two communiques]. *Nashe zhyttia*, 45 (16 lystopada), 2. [in Ukrainian]
- Vchena khruuniada** [Scientific Chroniada] (1925). *Nashe zhyttia*, 51 (27 hrudnia), 1. [in Ukrainian]
- Vid Ukrainy koi Parlamentarnoi Rerezentatsii. Komunikat** [From the Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation. Communique] (1925). *Nashe zhyttia*, 51 (27 hrudnia), 1–2. [in Ukrainian]
- Vitaiemo! V dobryj chas** [Congratulations! In good time] (1924). *Nashe zhyttia*, 39 (5 zhovtnia), 1. [in Ukrainian]

Vlasiuk, O. (2011). Diial'nist' ukrains'koho sotsialistychnoho ob'iednannia "Selians'kyj sojuz" u 1924 – 1930 rr. [Activities of the Ukrainian Socialist Association "Selianskyi sojuz" of 1924 – 1930]. *Naukovi zapysky Natsional'noho universytetu "Ostroz'ka akademiia". Istorychni nauky*, 17, 149–162. [in Ukrainian]

Wnioski w sprawie polityki zagranicznej Rządu [Conclusions on the Government's Foreign Policy] (1924). *Sprawozdanie Stenograficzne z 157 posiedzenia Sejmu Rzeczypospolitej z dnia 29 i 30 października 1924 r.*, 10–11. [in Polish]

Z Sojmu ta Senatu [From the Seimas and the Senate]. (1924). *Nashe zhyttia*, 42 (26 zhovtnia), 1-2. [in Ukrainian]

Z Sojmu ta Senatu [From the Seimas and the Senate]. (1924). *Nashe zhyttia*, 46 (23 lystopada), 1. [in Ukrainian]

Z Sojmu ta Senatu [From the Sejm and the Senate]. (1924). *Nashe zhyttia*, 49 (4 hrudnia), 1. [in Ukrainian]

Z Sojmu ta Senatu [From the Sejm and the Senate]. (1925). *Nashe zhyttia*, 44 (8 lystopada), 2. [in Ukrainian]

Z Sojmu ta Senatu. Interpeliatsiia [From the Sejm and the Senate. Interpellation]. (1925). *Nashe zhyttia*, 8 (22 liutoho), 1. [in Ukrainian]

Z Sojmu ta Senatu. Interpeliatsiia posla S. Kozyts'koho i tovaryshiv z Kliubu Ukrains'koho do Ministra Osvity pro vidmovu inspektoriv pryjmaty deklaratsii shkil'ni vid ukraintsiiv [From the Sejm and the Senate. Interpellation of Ambassador S. Kozytsky and comrades from the Ukrainian Club to the Minister of Education on the refusal of inspectors to accept school declarations from Ukrainians] (1925). *Nashe zhyttia*, 14 (5 kvitnia), 1–2. [in Ukrainian]

Z Sojmu ta Senatu. Promova pos. Pav. Vasyl'chuka vyholoshena v pol's'komu Sojmi 25 kvitnia ts.r. pry heneral'nij biudzhetovij dyskusii. (Dokinchennia) [From the Sejm and the Senate. Speech by Ambassador Pav. Vasylchuk was proclaimed in the Polish Sejm on April 25 this year. during the general budget discussion. (Completion)] (1925). *Nashe zhyttia*, 21 (24 travnia), 1–2. [in Ukrainian]

Z Sojmu ta Senatu. Promova posla M. Chuchmaia, vyholoshena v Sojmi pry dyskusii nad biudzhetom Ministerstva Ril'nykh Reform [From the Sejm and the Senate. Speech by Ambassador M. Chuchmai, delivered in the Sejm during the discussion on the budget of the Ministry of Agricultural Reforms] (1924). *Nashe zhyttia*, 36 (14 veresnia), 1. [in Ukrainian]

Z Sojmu ta Senatu. Promova posla S. Makivky 18 liutoho 1925 r. pry pershim chytanniu ustavy o zemel'nij reformi [From the Sejm the Senate. Speech by Ambassador S. Makivka on February 18, 1925 at the first reading of the charter on land reform] (1925). *Nashe zhyttia*, 9 (1 bereznia), 2. [in Ukrainian]

Z'izd "Selians'koho Soiuзу" v Beresti [Congress of the "Selianskyi sojuz" in Berest] (1924). *Nashe zhyttia*, 41 (19 zhovtnia), 1. [in Ukrainian]

Z'izd "Selians'koho Soiuзу" v Volodymyri [Congress of the "Selianskyi sojuz" in Volodymyr]. (1924). *Nashe zhyttia*, 50 (21 hrudnia), 3. [in Ukrainian]

Zabolotnyj, I. (1964). *Neskorena Volyn': Narysy istorii revoliutsijnoho rukhu na Volyni. 1917 – 1939* [Unconquered Volhynia: Essays on the History of the Revolutionary Movement in Volhynia. 1917 – 1939]. L'viv, 213 p. [in Ukrainian]

Zajtsev, O. (1993). Predstavnyky ukrains'kykh politychnykh partij Zakhidnoi Ukrainy v parlamenti Pol'schi (1922 – 1939) [Representatives of the Ukrainian Political Parties in Western Ukraine in the Polish Parliament (1922 – 1939)]. *Ukrains'kyj istorychnyj zhurnal*, 1, 72–84. [in Ukrainian]

The article was received April 03, 2021.

Article recommended for publishing 23/02/2022.

UDC 94(477.87)“1938/1939”:355.535(438=161.2)
DOI 10.24919/2519-058X.22.253718

Sergii ADAMOWYCH

PhD hab. (History), Associate Professor, Department of Theory and History of State and Law of Vasyl Stefanyk Precarpathian National University, 57 Shevchenko Street, Ivano-Frankivsk, Ukraine, postal code 76018 (sergey.adamowych@pnu.edu.ua)

ORCID: 0000-0003-4236-741X

ResearcherID: 3897996

Сергій АДАМОВИЧ

доктор історичних наук, професор, завідувач кафедри теорії та історії держави і права Прикарпатського національного університету імені В. Стефаника, вул. Шевченка, 57, м. Івано-Франківськ, Україна, індекс 76000 (sergey.adamowych@pnu.edu.ua)

Bibliographic Description of the Article: Adamowych, S. (2022). Information and Criminal Cases of Polish Law Enforcement Agencies against the Ukrainians during the Period of Carpathian Ukraine as a Statistical Source. *Skhidnoevropeiskyi istorychnyi visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 22, 115–126. doi: 10.24919/2519-058X.22.253718

INFORMATION AND CRIMINAL CASES OF POLISH LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES AGAINST THE UKRAINIANS DURING THE PERIOD OF CARPATHIAN UKRAINE AS A STATISTICAL SOURCE

Abstract. The Purpose of the Study. *On the basis of materials of the State Archives of Ivano-Frankivsk region and memoirs the author of the article systematized the data on place of birth, age, educational level, profession, marital status, religion, membership in public and party organizations, repression of the Polish criminal justice system against the Ukrainians who made efforts to help Carpathian Ukraine in 1938 – 1939. In addition, the author focuses on the analysis of the time of the Polish-Czechoslovak border illegal crossing by the Ukrainians, the ways of participation of volunteers in the life of Carpathian Ukraine and the number of deaths in the confrontation. The methodology of the study is based on the principles of historicism, systematicity, verification, objectivity, as well as the use of general science (analysis, synthesis, generalization) and special historical (historical and genetic, historical and typological, historical and systemic) methods. The scientific novelty consists in the following issue: based on the Polish police reports, the personal data of 634 Ukrainians who tried to help Carpathian Ukraine have been analyzed. This analysis resulted in formation of an average socio-political portrait of a Ukrainian who responded to the call to help the newly created Ukrainian State in Transcarpathia. The Conclusions.* *As a result of the national educational mission of the Greek Catholic Church, the formation of national consciousness by the public organizations (“Prosvita” Society, Plast, “Ridna Shkola” Society, etc.), and owing to a significant organizational support of the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists (every 10th volunteer was a member of the organization), the Ukrainian youth participated in helping Carpathian Ukraine actively. The analyzed data of the Polish police show that all the regions of Poland inhabited by the Ukrainians responded equally to the call to help Carpathian Ukraine, more than 80% of the volunteers were young unmarried people. People with different education diplomas crossed the Polish-Czechoslovak border to participate in the development of the Ukrainian State, but 40% of them had gymnasium diplomas and about 20% studied at universities. In professional aspect, the volunteers reflected the socio-economic life of Galicia and therefore more than 30% of them were agricultural workers. The Ukrainians were the most active in crossing the border illegally and were detained by the Polish border guards and police in November of 1938, and they mostly replenished the*

ranks of the newly formed Carpathian Sich. The Polish law enforcement system arrested, imprisoned the Ukrainians, and used various forms of extrajudicial punishment.

Key words: Carpathian Ukraine, Galicians, Polish law enforcement agencies, Carpathian Sich, Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists, criminal cases.

ІНФОРМАЦІЯ ТА КРИМІНАЛЬНІ СПРАВИ ПОЛЬСЬКИХ ПРАВООХОРОННИХ ОРГАНІВ НА УКРАЇНЦІВ У ПЕРІОД ІСНУВАННЯ КАРПАТСЬКОЇ УКРАЇНИ ЯК СТАТИСТИЧНЕ ДЖЕРЕЛО

Анотація. Мета дослідження. Автор у статті на основі матеріалів Державного архіву Івано-Франківської області та мемуарних праць систематизував дані про місце народження, вік, освітній рівень, фах, сімейний стан, віросповідання, приналежність до громадських та партійних організацій, репресії польської кримінально-правової системи щодо українців, які доклали зусиль до допомоги Карпатській Україні в 1938 – 1939 рр. Крім того, у статті проаналізовано час нелегального перетину польсько-чехословацького кордону українцями, форми участі добровольців у житті Карпатської України та чисельність загиблих у протистояннях. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на принципи історизму, системності, верифікації, об'єктивності, а також на використання загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, узагальнення) і спеціально-історичних (історико-генетичний, історико-типологічний, історико-системний) методів. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що на основі польських поліційних донесень проаналізовано персональні дані 634 українців, які намагалися допомогти Карпатській Україні. Це дало змогу сформувати усереднений соціально-політичний портрет українця, що відгукнувся на заклик допомогти новостворюваній Українській державі на Закарпатті. **Висновки.** У результаті національно-виховної місії Греко-Католицької Церкви, формування національної свідомості громадськими організаціями (товариство “Просвіта”, Пласт, товариство “Рідна школа” тощо), а також завдяки значній організаційній підтримці Організації українських націоналістів (кожен 10 доброволець був членом організації) українська молодь активно долучилася до допомоги Карпатській Україні. Проаналізовані дані польської поліції свідчать, що на заклик допомогти Карпатській Україні рівною мірою відгукнулися усі заселені українцями регіони тогочасної Польщі, більше 80 % добровольців становили молоді неодружені особи. Польсько-чехословацький кордон для участі в розбудові Української держави переходили люди з різною освітою, але 40 % з них були охоплені гімназійною освітою і майже 20 % навчалися у вишах. У професійному плані добровольці відображали зріз соціально-економічного життя Галичини і тому серед них було більше 30 % сільськогосподарських робітників. Найактивніше кордон українці нелегально перетинали і затримувалися польськими прикордонниками та поліцією в листопаді 1938 р., в основному поповнюючи лави новостворюваної Карпатської Січі. Польська правоохоронна система арештовувала, ув'язнювала добровольців і застосовувала до них різні форми позасудової розправи.

Ключові слова: Карпатська Україна, галичани, польські правоохоронні органи, Карпатська Січ, Організація Українських націоналістів, кримінальні справи.

The Problem Statement. In 1938 – 1939, Carpathian Ukraine aroused the interest of the world's states in the Ukrainians, who were under difficult conditions of occupation by the USSR, Poland, Romania and Czechoslovakia. According to S. Ramiš-Pol from the national point of view, Czechoslovakia, as a centralized state, had a problem from the very beginning that the peripheral territories were unstable and demonstrated tendencies which differed from the centre of the state (Rychlík, 2021, p. 436). In turn, the Ukrainians believed that the Ukrainian State would finally be created and they were ready to help it. And if for the Czechs the beginning of World War II was associated with a stable narrative of a victim (Švaříčková Slabáková, 2019, p. 662), for the Ukrainians, Carpathian Ukraine was the beginning of another phase of the heroic struggle for independence.

The Ukrainians from the Polish-occupied lands also responded the most actively to support the Ukrainian autonomy in the Carpathians. They responded to the creation of Carpathian Ukraine with numerous demonstrations, statements and appeals of political parties, the Ukrainians raised funds to help young autonomy, crossed the Polish-Czechoslovak border en masse to join the development of autonomy, intensified anti-Polish movement in various forms.

At the same time, as V. Ilnytskyi notes in his article, opening of access to archival institutions of Ukraine and scientific interest in studying the issues which were previously presented unilaterally give the opportunity to expand the study of history significantly (Ilnytskyi, 2018, p. 94). In particular, the archival materials of the Polish law enforcement agencies give us the opportunity to form a collective image of a Ukrainian who tried to help Carpathian Ukraine.

The Analysis of Recent Research and Publications. Nowadays, in Ukrainian historiography there is a significant amount of scientific studies that elucidates the role of the Ukrainians from the Polish-occupied lands in the creation of Carpathian Ukraine. In the works of M. Vehesh, O. Bohiv, B. Halaiko, V. Zadorozhnyi, P. Mirchuk, O. Pahiria, M. Posivnych, V. Khudanych it is highlighted in what forms and ways the Galicians responded to the creation of Carpathian Ukraine, however, there are only approximate estimates of the number of Galicians who tried to cross the Polish-Czechoslovak border to support the Ukrainian autonomy in Transcarpathia. As for the total number of illegal immigrants to Transcarpathia at that time, P. Stercho, P. Sardachuk, M. Shvahuliak wrote about several hundreds of people, O. Bohiv, M. Vehesh, V. Zadorozhnyi wrote about the figure of 700 – 900 people, B. Halaiko believes that there were probably no more than half a thousand (Halaiko, 1999, p. 54; Bohiv & Zadorozhnyi, 1999, p. 61). According to the Polish researchers, only in October of 1938, 2 000 people crossed the border from Poland to Transcarpathia (Pahiria & Posivnych, 2009, p. 66).

The Purpose of the Article. Due to the lack of information about all Galicians and Lemkos who helped Carpathian Ukraine, it is unlikely that the memory of each of them will be memorialized. However, criminal cases against the Ukrainians who crossed the Polish-Czechoslovak border, police information, information about people involved in the history of Carpathian Ukraine, deposited in the State Archives of Ivano-Frankivsk region, memoirs and scientific publications give the opportunity to make correct generalizations and historical reconstructions, and to recreate a “collective portrait” of a Galician, who contributed to the development of the Ukrainian State in Transcarpathia in 1938 – 1939.

The Main Material Statement. In early autumn of 1938, on the Ukrainian territories occupied by Poland active agitation was launched in support of the border crossing to Carpathian Ukraine. This agitation was launched despite the fact that the Polish Army played a very important role in the south-eastern voivodships of the Second Polish Republic (Franz, 2020, p. 71).

After the calls of the Ukrainian organizations that “Ukraine emerged on the territory of Czechoslovakia and young people are needed there to serve in the Ukrainian army” (State Archives of Ivano-Frankivsk region, f. 226, d. 1, c. 678, p. 1) the Ukrainians of Galicia and Lemko region “put on better clothes” (SA IFR, f. 226, d. 1, c. 760, p. 1) and crossed the border to help Transcarpathian Ukraine, even tried to take some weapons and ammunition with them (SA IFR, f. 90, d. 1, c. 217, p. 13).

Before starting the analysis of archival materials of the Polish law enforcement agencies, which contain information about the Galicians, we will outline the source base. The author analyzed 106 archival files of Ivano-Frankivsk Regional State Archive (Fund 68 “Stanislaviv Voivodeship

Department of the State Police”, Fund 69 “Stanislaviv County State Police Department”, Fund 72 “Tlumach County State Police Department”, Fund 78 “Sniatyn County State Police Department”, Fund 86 “Horodenka Commissariat of Border Guard”, Fund 90 “Kolomyia District Court”, Fund 226 “Prosecutor’s Office of Stanislaviv District Court”, Fund 228 “Sianotska Branch of Prosecutor’s Office of Yaslivskiy District Court”, Fund 230 “Stanislaviv District Court”), which contain materials of criminal cases opened against the Galicians, lists of the Galicians suspected of crossing the Polish-Czechoslovak border with brief biographical data, information on the activities of the Ukrainians from Poland in favour of Carpathian Ukraine.

Mainly, in the Polish law enforcement information lists of the Ukrainians who crossed the Czechoslovak-Polish border in 1938 – 1939, and criminal cases against them there was contained information on age, place of birth and residence, parents, religion, education, profession, political orientation, civic activity, and membership in illegal organizations. Separately, in the documents there were periodically described the appearances and special features of the suspect, there were mentioned the circumstances of detention at the border, the purpose of crossing the border and further procedural actions of law enforcement officers.

Let us start the analysis with the regional origin of 634 volunteers of Carpathian Ukraine identified by the author, who were mostly natives of the Ukrainian lands, which belonged to Poland and brief data on them are collected in the monograph “To Help Carpathian Ukraine” (Adamovych, 2020, pp. 150–229).

In his memoirs, M. Koznarsky left us a vivid description of the Ukrainians who arrived from Poland: “Some of them are from Boikivshchyna, the others – from Nadprutianska Hutsulshchyna, Pidhiria, Podillia, the others – from Bukovyna and Yugoslavia. There are many Volynians, but there was the majority from Lemkivshchyna: more than 15 young men came from Vyslok Velykyi, 7 – from Vyslok Horishniy, 23 – from Komancha, 15 – from Oslavytsia, 3 – from Bosk, 4 – from Radozhyts, 5 – from Yavirnyk, 5 – from Dovzhytsia, several people from Surovychni Poliany, Dushatyn, Smilnyk, Pryluk, Turinske, Polonna, Uliuch, Prybyshev, Repedi, Sianichka. Only Dmytro Boivka from Yavirnyk led 36 guys to cross the border” (Hirniak, 1979, p. 41).

A whole group of boys and girls went from one village to Transcarpathia (5 people from the village of Berezhky, 4 from the village of Berehy Horishni (nowadays, the part of Litovyshsci Gmina of Bieszczady County, the Republic of Poland) (SA IFR, f. 228, d. 1, c. 100, p. 14). In January of 1939, 40 people from the village of Poliany Surovychni in Jasliiska Gmina of Krosnia County were detained during an illegal crossing of the Polish-Czechoslovak border (SA IFR, f. 86, d. 1, c. 120, p. 6). According to I. Liubchyk’s calculations, about 270 Lemkos tried to cross the border from Lisky, Sianotsky and partly Krosno counties (Liubchyk, 2020, p. 38).

According to data available, 66.4% (421 people) of all volunteers who helped Carpathian Ukraine were from Eastern Galicia, and 26.81% (170 people) were natives of the Ukrainian lands which belong to Poland nowadays. On the other hand, the representation from Volyn was insignificant 0.95% (6 people), one representative was recorded from Naddnyprianshchyna, Bukovyna and Russia. It was not possible to identify the place of birth of 34 people (5.36%), although we know about the majority of them that they were from Galicia (it is unclear whether from the eastern or western part). The data obtained in the regional context illustrate the high level of national consciousness among the inhabitants of the so-called Zakerzonnia in 1938 – 1939 debunking myths popularized by some political circles in Poland and Slovakia about the national separateness of the Lemko ethnographic group of the Ukrainian nation (Table 1).

Table 1

Regional Origin of Volunteers

Name of the Region	Amount	Percentage
Eastern Galicia	421	66.4 %
Ukrainian lands of the so-called Zakerzonnia	170	26.81 %
Volyn	6	0.95 %
Naddniprianshchyna	1	0.16 %
Bykovyna	1	0.16 %
Foreigners living in Galicia	1	0.16 %
No data available	34	5.36 %

The results of the analysis of age data of the registered Galician volunteers are predictable. Among the 553 volunteers whose age is known, the majority was young people aged 18–34 – 84.81% (469 people). In this age group, the percentage of twenty-five-year-olds (8.68%) and twenty-four-year-olds (9.40%), as well as twenty-year-olds (8.50%) was significant (Table 2). This activity of young Ukrainians is explained by their lack of family ties and the tendency among young people to radicalism and perfectionism.

In the second largest age category there were middle-aged men (35 – 60 years old) – 8.13% (45 people). Among people over 60, the Polish authorities registered only 2 people (0.36%) who helped Carpathian Ukraine. There were 37 teenagers among supporters of Carpathian Ukraine (4.88%) (Table 2). Among those who crossed the border successfully, the youngest was probably thirteen-year-old Mykhailo Shchur, who died in battle with the Germans in the spring of 1942 near Korostyshiv (Hirmiak, 1979, p. 78). Lubomyr Poliuh, one of R. Shukhevych’s bodyguards during the UPA resistance, recalled that his teenage friends tried to cross the Polish-Czechoslovak border, “because they wanted to become adults sooner, to fulfill the duty of a Ukrainian, to fight for high ideals” (Poliuha, 2003, p 25).

Table 2

Age Data of Volunteers

Year of Birth	Amount	Percentage
1	2	3
60 and older	2	0.36 %
1867	1	0.18 %
1877	1	0.18 %
35 – 60 years old	45	8.13 %
1881	1	0.18 %
1885	2	0.36 %
1886	1	0.18 %
1887	1	0.18 %
1888	1	0.18 %
1889	1	0.18 %
1890	2	0.36 %
1893	1	0.18 %
1895	3	0.54 %
1896	2	0.36 %
1897	2	0.36 %

Table 2

1	2	3
1898	5	0.90 %
1900	8	1.45 %
1901	4	0.72 %
1902	3	0.54 %
1903	8	1.45 %
18-34 years old	469	84.81 %
1904	6	1.08 %
1905	10	1.80 %
1906	10	1.80 %
1907	21	3.80 %
1908	16	2.89 %
1909	17	3.07 %
1910	31	5.60 %
1911	40	7.23 %
1912	42	7.59 %
1913	48	8.68 %
1914	52	9.40 %
1915	33	5.97 %
1916	17	3.07 %
1917	29	5.24 %
1918	29	5.24 %
1919	47	8.50 %
1920	21	3.80 %
Below the age of 18	37	4.88 %
1921	29	5.24 %
1922	5	0.90 %
1923	1	0.18 %
1924	1	0.18 %
1925	1	0.18 %

Probably, due to the predominance of young people among supporters of Carpathian Ukraine and less dependence of single people on the need to support their families, out of 338 people – 270 (79.88%) were single and only 68 had families (20.12%) (Table 3).

Table 3

Marital Status of Volunteers

Marital Status	Amount	Percentage
Married	68	20.12 %
Single	270	79.88 %

The analysis of the religious views of Galician volunteers is also envisaged, as it was the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church that prevented the Ukrainians in Galicia from being Polishized. According to the Polish law enforcement agencies, 97.53% of 405 people (395 people) were Greek Catholics (Table 4).

Table 4

Religious Views of Volunteers

Religious Views	Amount	Percentage
Greek Catholics	395	97.53 %
Orthodox	5	1.23 %
Roman Catholics	3	0.74 %
Protestants	2	0.49 %

In historiography, it is believed that the majority of those who crossed the Polish-Czechoslovak border “obtained only primary education certificates, although there were those who went to gymnasiums, and studied at seminaries, academies and universities” (Halaiko, 1999, p. 54). However, the available statistics data illustrate a high level of education of the Galicians who tried to help Carpathian Ukraine.

It should be noted that among 119 people about whom we have information on their education, only 3 were illiterate (2.52%). 9 people (7.56%) went to primary school of the first level, 5 people (4.2%) went to primary school of the 2nd level, 4 people (3.36%) received full primary education according to the standards of the Polish state (Table 5).

13 people went to vocational schools (6.84%). Among them 4 people went to trade schools and 4 studied at theological seminaries, 3 – agricultural school and 1 person studied at teacher’s seminary. However, the largest number of Galician volunteers had gymnasium education (47 people – 39.5%), where they were probably brought up in a national patriotic spirit. Concerning 6 people (5.04%) we have only information on their gymnasium education, a three-year gymnasium was finished by 9 people (7.56%), a five-year gymnasium – by 6 people (5.04%). Instead, as many as 18 people (15.13%) completed 8 years of study at the gymnasium and could enter higher education institutions. Among volunteers the percentage of students – 23 people (19.33%) and people with higher education – 15 (12.60%) was significant (Table 5).

Table 5

Educational Level of Volunteers

Educational Level	Amount
1	2
Illiterate	3
2 classes of comprehensive school	3
3 classes of comprehensive school	2
4 classes of comprehensive school	4
5 classes of comprehensive school	1
6 classes of comprehensive school	4
7 classes of comprehensive school	4
2 classes of vocational school	1
trade school	4
theological seminary	4
agricultural school	3
teacher’s seminary	1
available information on studying at gymnasium	6
2 classes of gymnasium	5
3 classes of gymnasium	4

Table 5

1	2
4 classes of gymnasium	4
5 classes of gymnasium	2
6 classes of gymnasium	2
7 classes of gymnasium	6
8 classes of gymnasium	18
Unfinished higher education + a student	23
Higher education	15

The professions range of volunteers was wide. Among those who helped Carpathian Ukraine were people who achieved success in various fields. Thus, Osyp Novytskyi, a native of Vovchynets village of Ivano-Frankivsk City Council, was a well-known football player and a football coach. From 1930 to 1934 he played for the team “Ukraine” in Lviv and was the coach of the football team “Breakthrough” in Stanislaviv. In 1934 – 1935 he played for “The Rus” Sports Club in Uzhhorod, in 1935 – 1936, in Przemyśl he worked in the editorial office of the sports publication “The Zmah” and coached “The Sian” football team. On November 23, 1938, he crossed the border illegally, came to Carpathian Ukraine, and joined the Carpathian Sich. He served in Khust police, at the same time under the pseudonym Osyp Khustetsky he was a correspondent for Lviv magazine “The New Time”. After the conquest of Carpathian Ukraine by Hungary, Osyp Novytskyi moved to Hamburg, Germany (SA IFR, f. 226, d. 1, c. 791, pp. 12, 14, 16).

High personal qualities of people who crossed the border are evidenced by the Polish characteristics. Thus, the Polish police wrote the following words about Roman Martynets, a native of Bohorodchany: “brave and capable of performing the tasks assigned to him, even those that were associated with danger of losing his freedom and even his life” (SA IFR, f. 69, d. 1, c. 1050, p. 1).

Bohdan Veselovsky, a popular Ukrainian singer, composer, and accordionist of the legendary “Yabtsia-Jazz” musical ensemble in Galicia in the 1930s of the XXth century became a soldier of the Carpathian Sich (Petrosaniak, 2015, pp. 86–89).

In the Polish police reports, on 328 Galicians we have information concerning their specialty, the largest number is recorded – 118 (35.98%), those were employees, which is explained by the probable lack of exact information on the insurgents in the Polish police. 103 people are recorded in the documents as agricultural workers (31.40%), which generally reflects agrarian orientation of Eastern Galicia economy at that time in general. Instead, the ratio of volunteer professions reflects the diversity of occupations of the region’s residents and is the evidence that the ideas of the Ukrainian independence were supported by all segments of the Ukrainian society (Table 6). It should be noted that in order to help the Ukrainians of Transcarpathia, 6 people evaded military service or deserted from the Polish army.

Under conditions of absence of a national state, education of nationally-conscious Ukrainians was taken over by public organizations. In this regard, the Polish law enforcement agencies in criminal cases recorded the affiliation of volunteers to the “Prosvita” Society (25 people), Plast (22 people), “Native School” educational society (5 people), “Luh” Fire Society (4 people), “Sokil” Society (4 people), “Prut” Gymnastics and Sports Society (2 people), “Renaissance” Anti-Alcohol Society (2 people), “Village Farmer” Society (1 person) (Adamovych, 2020, pp. 150–229).

Table 6

Professions of Volunteers

Profession	Amount
employee	118
agricultural worker	103
merchant	16
forest worker, forester	8
carpenter	7
smith	7
locksmith	6
teacher, scientist	6
tailor	5
cooperator	5
stonemason, construction worker	5
private official	5
electrician, technician	5
shoemaker	4
bookseller, printer	4
engineer	4
cantor	3
musician, composer	3
chauffeur	2
jurist, lawyer	2
doctor	2
editor, administrator of the magazine	2
bricklayer	1
furrier	1
butcher	1
baker	1
bank employee	1
railroader	1

Among the first migrants, there were many OUN members. At the end of September of 1938, they began to cross the Polish-Czechoslovak border illegally. In particular, at that time several active members of the OUN Regional Executive, led by Ye. Vretsiona, R. Shukhevych and Z. Kossak, crossed the border illegally (Bohiv & Zadorozhnyi, 1999, p. 51).

According to archival documents, we were able to identify 87 OUN members (13.72% of the number of people identified). Thus, every tenth person persecuted by the Polish authorities for helping Carpathian Ukraine was a member of the OUN. The information of the Polish police also contains data on 4 members of the right-wing radical Front of National Unity, which also posed a threat to the Polish state (Adamovych, 2020, pp. 150–229). Probably, among the patriots who tried to help Carpathian Ukraine were members of other Ukrainian parties, but those parties were legal and did not arouse interest of the Polish law enforcement officers.

Data from criminal proceedings opened against the Ukrainians by the Polish law enforcement agencies suggest that the Poles detained and arrested at least 239 Ukrainians during the attempt to cross the Polish-Czechoslovak border illegally, for providing assistance in crossing the border or for campaigning in favour of Carpathian Ukraine. It is also worth

noting that the Polish law enforcement system punished women being accused of sympathy for the Carpathian Sich (there is information about 5 punishments). It is known that 42 of those arrested were imprisoned on the basis of a court decision for helping Carpathian Ukraine, 3 people were deprived of citizenship (Adamovych, 2020, pp. 150–229). This number certainly does not reflect the full picture of repression, because after the fall of Carpathian Ukraine we do not analyze centralized data of the Polish police on Galician volunteers. It should be noted that 38 Galicians from Carpathian Ukraine were also imprisoned in Bereza-Kartuska concentration camp and the category “the Carpathian Sich” prisoners was formed. According to the Polish police operation “Iron Mask”, they were completely isolated from the outside world and other prisoners, so that no one would learn about the criminal shootings of the Galicians by the Poles on the mountain passes (Ilin & Mazur, 2019, pp. 436–437). This form of extrajudicial killings is an undoubtful evidence of the undemocratic nature of the political regime of that period of time and the anti-Ukrainian orientation of the Polish state policy.

The information analyzed gives reasonable grounds to state that the Ukrainians were the most active in crossing the border illegally and were detained by the Polish border guards and police in November of 1938 (65 arrests and 86 successful illegal border crossings). This is explained by the euphoria over the hope for the formation of the Ukrainian State in the Carpathians, which prevailed in the Ukrainian society. At the same time, a small number of the Ukrainians were detained by the Poles in January of 1939 (33 cases) and February of 1939 (32 cases) and a high number of successful border crossings (45 in January of 1939 and 57 in February of 1939) may be the evidence of the fact that the Ukrainians managed to establish safe illegal border crossings. In general, the collected statistics data show that the Polish law enforcement officers and border guards, despite extraordinary measures taken, were able to detain only every second Ukrainian who helped Carpathian Ukraine (Tables 7 and 8).

Table 7

**Period of Detention of the Ukrainians for Helping Carpathian Ukraine
by the Polish Law Enforcement Agencies**

Period of Detention	Amount
October of 1938	41
November of 1938	65
December of 1938	43
January of 1939	33
February of 1939	32
March of 1939	9
April of 1939	2

Table 8

Time of Illegal Crossing of the Polish-Czechoslovak Border by the Ukrainians

Time of Illegal Crossing	Amount
October of 1938	37
November of 1938	86
December of 1938	33
January of 1939	45
February of 1939	57
March of 1939	1

The data collected by us show that the majority of Galicians after crossing the Polish-Czechoslovak border became the members of the Carpathian Sich (125 people), in its artistic group “Flying Tribune” and in the Women’s Sich. At the same time, there were Galicians among employees, medical staff and the police (Adamovych, 2020, pp. 150–229).

The issue of the total amount of victims of the Galicians during the defense of Carpathian Ukraine on March 14 – 18, 1939 remains studied incompletely. It is known that many Ukrainians from Galicia and Lemkos’ territory took part in the battles with the Hungarians. Clashes took place in many parts of Carpathian Ukraine, but no one could stop the general advance of the Hungarian occupation army (Němeče, 2018, p. 1005).

Simultaneously with the fighting against the Hungarians, a confrontation broke out in the rear of Carpathian Ukraine between retreating Czechoslovak troops, border guards and gendarmes, and units of the Carpathian Sich for weapons, ammunition, and uniforms (Pahiria, 2019, p. 138). From the analyzed information materials we have biographical data on 3 Galicians who died in battles with the Czechoslovak troops, 2 Galicians – with the Polish soldiers and saboteurs and 26 Galicians who died in confrontation with the Hungarian military, saboteurs and in extrajudicial killings. We have also identified 16 Galicians who were imprisoned in the Hungarian concentration camps, including Voriuloposh concentration camp (Adamovych, 2020, pp. 150–229).

The Conclusions. Among the Ukrainians, who inhabited the territory of Poland and decided to help Carpathian Ukraine, there were farmers, as well as the Ukrainian intellectuals, party and military figures. In 1938 – 1939 volunteers, 80% of whom were young people, were brought up by the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, public organizations “Prosvita”, “Plast”, “Luh”, etc., legal political parties and the illegal OUN. At the same time, the joint participation of the Galicians, the Ukrainians from Zakerzonnia, the Volynians together with the inhabitants of the Carpathians in the defense of the Ukrainian State in Transcarpathia clearly destroyed the myths, spread by the Polish and Hungarian official circles about the differences between the inhabitants of Transcarpathia and Lemkos region from other Ukrainians. During the crossings of the Czechoslovak-Polish border, the Ukrainians broke the colonial chains and joined the formation of the Carpathian Sich. Instead, the Polish law enforcement system arrested, imprisoned volunteers, and used extrajudicial killings (including detention in Bereza Kartuska concentration camp). It should be noted that violence against Carpathian Ukrainian activists was carried out later as well. Thus, in the middle of 1945, “the Smersh” bodies in Transcarpathian region compiled lists of anti-Soviet counterrevolutionary elements, which included the surnames of 38 members of the Carpathian Sich and 262 police officers of Carpathian Ukraine (Vehesh & Vidnianskyi, 2018, p. 201).

The data revealed by the author about the Ukrainians from Poland who tried to help Carpathian Ukraine will be supplemented undoubtedly and the objective of further research will be to form a complete database of such people and to collect biographical data about them.

Acknowledgement. I express sincere gratitude to all members of the editorial board for consultations provided during the preparation of the article for publishing.

Funding. The author did not receive any financial support for the research, authorship and / or publication of this article.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adamovych, S. (2020). *Na dopomohu Karpatskii Ukraini* [To Help Carpathian Ukraine]. Ivano-Frankivsk: Lileia NV, 240 p. [in Ukrainian]

- Bohiv, O. & Zadorozhnyi, V.** (1999). *Karpatska Ukraina (Pidkarpatska Rus) u mizhnarodnykh vidnosynakh (traven 1938 r. – berezen 1939 r.)* [Carpathian Ukraine (Subcarpathian Russia) in International Relations (May of 1938 – March of 1939)]. Uzhhorod: VAT “Patent”, 116 p. [in Ukrainian]
Derzhavnyi arkhiv Ivano-Frankivskoi oblasti [State Archives of Ivano-Frankivsk region – SA IFR]
- Franz, M.** (2020). Stanislaviv in the Face of the Polish-Soviet War of 1939 Polish Garrison – Soviet Garrison. *Open Military Studies, 1*, 70–78. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1515/openms-2020-0107/html> [in English]
- Halaiko, B.** (2007). Sytuatsiia na polsko-chechoslovatskomu prykordonnoi u 1938 r. kriz pryзму diialnosti polskoi prykordonnoi okhorony [The Situation on the Polish-Czechoslovak Border in 1938 through the Prism of the Polish Border Guard]. *Ukrainskyi vyzvolnyi rukh, 9*, 45–60. [in Ukrainian]
- Hirniak, L.** (1979). *Na stezhkakh istorychnykh podii. Karpatska Ukraina i nastupni roky. Spohady i materialy* [On the Trails of Historical Events. Carpathian Ukraine and the Following Years. Memories and Materials]. Niu-York. 340 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Ilin, O. & Mazur, O.** (2019) *Narysy istorii Bereza-Kartuskoho kontstaboru (lypen 1934 – veresen 1939)* [Essays on the History of the Berez-Kartusky Concentration Camp (July of 1934 – September of 1939)]. Ternopil: Tzov “Ternohraf”, 2019, 640 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Ilnytskyi, V.** (2018). Revisiting the Functioning of the Ukrainian Insurgent Movement in TV 22 “Black Forest” (1945 – 1946). *Skhidnoievropeyskyi istorychnyi visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin], 9*, 93–107. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.24919/2519-058x.9.150359> [in English]
- Liubchuk, I.** (2020). *Lemkivski doli: trahizm i pam'iat pokolin* [Lemkos' Fates: Tragedy and the Memory of Generations]. Ivano-Frankivsk: Yaryna, 192 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Němeče, J.** (2018). Hořký epilog Mnichova [The Bitter Epilogue of Munich]. *Český časopis historický, 4*, 990–1011. [in Czech]
- Pahiria, O. & Posivnych, M.** (2009). Voienno-politychna diialnist OUN u Zakarpatti (1929 – 1939) [The OUN Military and Political Activities in Transcarpathia (1929 – 1939)]. *Ukrainskyi vyzvolnyi rukh, 13*, 45–88. [in Ukrainian]
- Pahiria, O.** (2019). Rozzbroiennia chlenamy Karpatskoi Sichi chechoslovatskykh viisk v umovakh ahresii Uhorschyny proty Karpatskoi Ukrainy (14 – 16 bereznia 1939 r.) [Disarmament of Czechoslovak Troops by Members of the Carpathian Sich during the Hungarian Aggression against Carpathian Ukraine (March 14 – 16, 1939)]. *Problemy humanitarnykh nauk: zbirnyk naukovykh prats Drohobyt'skoho derzhavnogo pedahohichnoho universytetu imeni Ivana Franka. Seriia Istorii, 2/44*, 121–146. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.24919/2312-2595.2/44.184673> [in Ukrainian]
- Petrosaniak, H.** (2015) *Polit na povitriani kuli* [Hot Air Balloon Flight]. Ivano-Frankivsk: Lilleia NV, 120 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Poliuha, L.** (2003). *Shliakhamy spohadiv. 1944 – 1956* [Through Memories. 1944 – 1956]. Lviv-Kyiv: Literaturna ahentsiia “Piramida”, 2003. 172 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Rychlik, J.** (2021) Sebastian Ramisch-Paul Fremde Peripherie – Peripherie der Unsicherheit? Sicherheitsdiskurse über die tschechoslowakische Provinz Podkarpatská Rus (1918 – 1938) [Sebastian Ramisch-Paul Foreign Periphery – Periphery of Uncertainty? Security Discourses on the Czechoslovak Province of Podkarpatská Rus]. *Český časopis historický, 2*, 434–438. [in Czech]
- Švaříčková Slabáková, R.** (2019). Česká generační paměť druhé světové války [Czech generational memory of the Second World War]. *Český časopis historický, 3*, 637–665. [in Czech]
- Vehesh, M. & Vidnianskyi, S.** (2018). Mishchanyn V. Radianizatsiia Zakarpattia 1944 – 1950 rr [Mishchanin V. Sovietization of Transcarpathia 1944 – 1950]. *Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal, 5*, 198–206. [in Ukrainian]

*The article was received April 08, 2021.
Article recommended for publishing 23/02/2022.*

UDC 94(477.8)“1944/1955”:355.08(47+57)
DOI 10.24919/2519-058X.22.253735

Ivan PATRYLIAK

PhD hab. (History), Professor of the Department of History of World’s Ukrainians, Dean of Faculty of History, Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, 60 Volodymyrska Street, Kyiv, Ukraine, postal code 01033 (ivan_patr@knu.ua)

ORCID: 0000-0002-4534-4654

ResearcherID: C-2749-2019

Viacheslav SHAMRAI

PhD hab. (Law), Associate Professor at the Department of Constitutional Law, Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, 60 Volodymyrska Street, Kyiv, Ukraine, postal code 01001 (vvshamrai@knu.ua)

ORCID: 0000-0001-8090-7523

Іван ПАТРИЛЯК

доктор історичних наук, професор кафедри історії світового українства, декан історичного факультету Київського національного університету імені Тараса Шевченка, вул. Володимирська, 60, м. Київ, Україна, індекс 01033 (ivan_patr@knu.ua)

В’ячеслав ШАМРАЙ

доктор юридичних наук, доцент кафедри конституційного права Київського національного університету імені Тараса Шевченка, вул. Володимирська, 60, м. Київ, Україна, індекс 01033 (vvshamrai@knu.ua)

Bibliographic Description of the Article: Patryliak, I. & Shamrai, V. (2022). “The Liberators”. The Red Army Soldiers’ and the Soviet Administration Employees’ Image through the Prism of Reporting Documents of the OUN Underground (1944 – 1945). *Skhidnoievropeiskyi istorychnyi visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 22, 127–140. doi: 10.24919/2519-058X.22.253735

“THE LIBERATORS”. THE RED ARMY SOLDIERS’ AND THE SOVIET ADMINISTRATION EMPLOYEES’ IMAGE THROUGH THE PRISM OF REPORTING DOCUMENTS OF THE OUN UNDERGROUND (1944 – 1945)

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to reconstruct the Red Army soldier’s and the Soviet administration employee’s image in the western Ukrainian regions, in 1944 – 1945, recorded in the reporting documents of the Ukrainian nationalist underground. The methodology of the research is based on the principles of historicism, systematicity, scientificity, as well as the use of general scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization) and special historical (historical typological and historical systemic) methods. The Conclusions.* Taking everything into consideration, it should be emphasized that the OUN underground reporting documentation of 1944 – 1945 provided quite rich material for the reconstruction of the image of the Soviet soldiers and administrators, who returned to the western region during the last years of World War II. First of all, it should be mentioned that the image of the Red Army soldier was quite colourful and controversial. The reporters always made a clear division

concerning the front lines and the rear units. The front lines soldiers, as a rule, had better weapons and uniforms, but for the most part (except in Lviv) there was a shortage of food, which made them loot. The front lines soldiers were also characterized as fairly brave warriors with clear traits of fatalism (“careless attitude to death”) and war fatigue (the desire to end hostilities as soon as possible and return home). It should be emphasized that the level of discipline, appearance, moral degradation, demotivation, and behavior of the units and subdivisions of the “Second Front Echelon” terrified the local population, who was the main informants of the OUN reports. Due to this, the Red Army soldier appeared in the reports of the underground, mostly as a ragged, always hungry and drunk robber and rapist, who, apparently, was, in general, correlating with the general state of the affairs. Their nationality and criticism of the Bolshevik government were of great importance to the formation of the underground’s opinion of the Red Army. According to the OUN documents, which demonstrated a sympathetic attitude towards the Ukrainian soldiers and other “nationalists” and depicted a cooler attitude towards the Russian and the Jewish origin Red Army soldiers. The Ukrainian soldiers were seen as potential allies in the struggle against Bolshevism, the Russian and the Jewish soldiers were considered to be the mainstay of the regime. However, it is important to note that the role of “support” of the Soviet power was given to the Russians increasingly rather than the Jews, as it was still believed in the OUN in 1939 – 1941. At the same time, the image of the Soviet administration in the OUN reports was less differentiated. It was mostly negative. The authorities were characterized as uneducated and primitive people without critical thinking, densely indoctrinated by the official ideology, prone to abuse, corruption and profit, hated by the rest of society.

Key words: the Red Army, the Soviet administration, the OUN underground, reporting documents, front line.

“ВИЗВОЛИТЕЛІ”. ОБРАЗ БІЙЦІВ ЧЕРВОНОЇ АРМІЇ ТА СЛУЖБОВЦІВ РАДЯНСЬКОЇ АДМІНІСТРАЦІЇ КРІЗЬ ПРИЗМУ ЗВІТНИХ ДОКУМЕНТІВ ПІДПІЛЛЯ ОУН (1944 – 1945)

Анотація. Метою дослідження є реконструкція образу вояка Червоної армії та службовця радянської адміністрації в 1944 – 1945 рр. на території західноукраїнських областей, зафіксованого у звітній документації українського націоналістичного підпілля. **Методологія дослідження** базується на принципах історизму, системності, науковості, а також на використанні загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, узагальнення) і спеціально-історичних (історико-типологічний та історико-системний) методів. **Висновки.** Узагальнюючи все написане вище, необхідно підкреслити, що звітна документація підпілля ОУН за 1944 – 1945 рр. дає доволі багатий матеріал для реконструкції образу радянських вояків та адміністраторів, які повернулися в західноукраїнський регіон в останні роки Другої світової війни. Насамперед варто відзначити, що образ воїна-червоноармійця був доволі строкатим і суперечливим. Звітодавці завжди чітко ділили передові фронтові частини й тиллові підрозділи. Перші, як правило, мали краще озброєння й обмундировання, але здебільшого (за винятком Львова) відчували брак харчів, що штовхало їх на грабунки. Вони також характеризувались як доволі відважні воїни з чіткими рисами фаталізму (“легковажне ставлення до смерті”) і втоми від війни (бажання якнайшвидше завершити бойові дії та повернутися додому). Щодо частин та підрозділів “другого фронтового ешелону”, то рівень їхньої дисципліни, зовнішній вигляд, моральна деградація, демотивованість та поведінка викликали жах і відразу в місцевого населення, котре було головним інформатором авторів оунівських звітів. За рахунок цього червоноармієць у звітах підпілля постає здебільшого, як обдертий, завжди голодний і п’яний грабіжник та гвалтівник, що, очевидно, в основному відповідало загальному стану справ. Велике значення для формування opinii підпільників щодо червоноармійців була їхня національність і критика в бік більшовицької влади. У документах ОУН помітне прихильне ставлення до солдатів-українців та інших “нацменів”, більш прохолодне – до службовців Червоної армії російського та єврейського походження. Перших розглядали як потенційних союзників у справі боротьби проти більшовизму, останніх вважали основною опорою режиму. Хоча важливо зауважити, що роль “опори” радянської влади щоразу більше відводилася росіянам, а не євреям, як це ще вважалося в середовищі ОУН у 1939 – 1941 рр. Водночас образ радянської адміністрації

у звітних документах ОУН є мені диференційованим. Він здебільшого негативний. Носії влади характеризуються як малоосвічені й примітивні особи без критичного мислення, густо індоктриновані офіційною ідеологією, схильні до зловживань, корупції і наживи, зненавиджені рештою суспільства.

Ключові слова: Червона армія, радянська адміністрація, підпілля ОУН, звітна документація, лінія фронту.

Among the gigantic array of sources left by members of the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists underground in the 1940s and 1950s, reports and information on the situation on the front lines in 1944 and at the beginning of 1945 occupy a special place. Much attention in this body of documents is paid to the state of supply, appearance, weapons, attitudes and behaviour of the Red and First Front echelons, as well as the Soviet administrators and specialists, who returned to the western region after crossing the front line to the West. Owing to the availability of a sufficient number of documents originating from different regions and chronologically covering the period from January 1944 to April 1945, researchers can verify the information for its authenticity. Hence, it gives an adequate idea of the image of the Red Army soldier and Soviet administrators, which took root in the OUN underground and the inhabitants of the Ukrainian villages and towns, who were their informants.

Owing to analyzed sources, which made it clear that in the vast majority of cases, the Soviet soldier appeared in the reports of the nationalist underground as a poorly dressed, hungry, unmotivated, drunk, prone to robbery and rape character, who was enrolled into the army by force. Only the Ukrainian soldiers and the representatives of other non-Russian peoples of the USSR, who criticized the Stalinist regime and expressed sympathy for the Ukrainian Liberation Movement, were enjoyed some sympathy by the reporters. In some cases, the OUN documents stated that the Red Army fought bravely and had good weapons and proper discipline, but their generalized image in the eyes of the Ukrainian nationalists was more criminal and tragic than heroic.

It should be mentioned that the characteristic features of the Soviet administrators and law enforcement officers, who followed the front line in the OUN’s reporting documentation looked even less attractive. They were described as primitive, uncultured people, who combined in their behaviour the pursuit of personal gain and the mechanical subordination of the will of the “party and government”.

It should be emphasized that the vision of a Soviet soldier or administrator, formed in the reporting documents of the OUN (B) underground in 1944 – 1945 was “fresh” and was not transformed through the prism of memories and subsequent experiences or rethinking, as was the case, for example, with former Russian White Guards in exile in the 1920s and 1930s (Kuzina, 2021) *Образ спивробітныка VNK-ODPU-NKVS u rosijskomu emigrantskomu dyskursi 1920 – 1930-kh rr.*

The Problem Statement. The German-Soviet front, which at the end of 1943 stabilized for some time in the west from the Ukrainian capital, in January of 1944 began to move rapidly to the West and South. Due to the predominant forces of the Red Army, the Wehrmacht retreated to Volyn and Galicia (Halychyna), being able to stop the rapid advance of the Soviet troops only at the end of winter and at the beginning of spring of 1944, stabilized the front from Kovel in the north to Kolomyia and in the south. After six months of “frontal stagnation”, the Red Army resumed its offensive operations in Ukraine in July of 1944, expelling the Germans and their Hungarian allies from the Ukrainian lands for the next four months. The Soviet army and government returned to the positions lost in the summer of 1941, but this time the army

and administration occupied areas with an extensive network of the Ukrainian nationalist underground and an active, centralized insurgent movement, which extended far beyond the former underground lands of Volyn and Galicia (Halychyna). As a result, the Kremlin faced entirely new military and political realities in the region. At the same time, the Ukrainian Liberation Movement also ran into the modified Red Army in 1944 and a different state apparatus from the realities of 1939 – 1941. The OUN underground and the UPA command paid special attention to thorough and objective fixation in the reporting documentation of the underground real state of the Red Army and the administrative apparatus of the Bolsheviks as they were convinced that the Soviet government could collapse under the pressure of internal contradictions, revolutionary crises, ethnic hatred, dissatisfaction of the population and the army with the socio-economic and political situation in the country at the final stage of World War II. Owing to the above-mentioned information, the historians got a unique chance to see the “liberators” of 1944, with all their advantages and disadvantages, through the eyes of the underground. Owing to the analysis of dozens of information reports, special reports, surveys of peasants, it became possible to verify the information and make the most correct image of the Red Army and Stalin’s administration, who returned to Ukraine after several years of the Nazi occupation. Attitudes and behavior, clothing and weapons, food and supplies, discipline and punishment – these and other aspects covered in the reporting documents of the OUN underground, give the opportunity to see an incredible relief, vivid image of the Soviet front and rear units, civilian commanders and the NKVD officers, to feel society of that time, to be imbued with its problems and concerns, to get rid of many stereotypical views on the life of the Ukrainian society during the last years of World War II and during the first postwar years.

The Analysis of Recent Research Works and Publications. Despite the extremely representative source base, the Red Army and the administration image issue in the representation of the OUN underground did not yet become the subject of a separate scientific study. Despite the fact that almost all scholars, who studied the history of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement, the struggle of the Soviet government against it or the formation of the Soviet administration in the western region, in one way or another tried to elucidate our topic (Kyrychuk, 2000; Kyrychuk, 2003; Rusnachenko, 2002; Kentij, 1999; Patryljak, 2012; Patryljak, 2020; Lesjkiv, 2008; Ilynykyi, 2016; Stasjuk, 2020; Stasjuk, 2018). The source base of the study is represented by dozens of published and unpublished reports of the OUN underground on the behaviour and condition of the Red Army soldiers and commanders and the establishment of the Soviet administration after crossing the front line.

The Main Material Statement. The failure of the Wehrmacht’s latest large-scale attempt to turn the tide on the Eastern Front in its favour in Kursk region marked the gradual but relentless return of the Red Army to Ukraine. On August 11, 1943, Germany began preparations for the creation of a strategic defensive line in Eastern Europe – the “Eastern Wall” (Ghrycjuk, Lysenko, Pyljavecj & Sydorov, 2015, p. 77). In September of 1943 the main leadership of the Bandera OUN distributed a leaflet, which was called “The frontline passes through our lands” as it was cognizant of the fact that the large-scale frontline was to take the entire territory of Ukraine by the storm (SSA SSU, f. 13, c. 376, vol. 74, p. 258). The above-mentioned document, with the dangers of calling for the best possible protection of one’s own life and property from destruction, revealed the methods of terror used by the Nazis and Bolsheviks against civilians. It was clear from the text of the leaflet that the OUN leaders had a well-established idea of the behaviour of the “Soviets” and cultivated their savage image based on historical experience and known facts. The authors of the document

put emphasis on the following: "It should be noted that the Bolsheviks, retreating from Ukraine in 1941, took with them everything they could (...) what they could not take, they destroyed (...) In addition to severe material destruction, the Bolsheviks caused massive destruction of people (...) Left-bank Ukraine is a desert today, because those who were lucky enough to escape from the Germans fell into the hands of hungry, ferocious Bolsheviks. The Bolsheviks, passing by, are trying to mobilize part of the population for war, and some part for hard work in the eastern regions of the USSR, many are accused of "treason" and shot on the spot" (SSA SSU, f. 13, c. 376, vol. 74, p. 258).

A few months after the above-mentioned leaflet emerged, the expected threat of a "Bolshevik flood" overcame an important Dnieper barrier (Lysenko & Pyliavets, 2019), reached areas where the Ukrainian nationalist underground had the highest density of its organizational network and the UPA units seized the main forests arrays. In the "Outline of the Review of Events, Life and Struggle under the Soviet Occupation from January of 1944 to July of 1944", the unknown author depicted the chronology and dynamics of the main events accurately: "After some stagnation of frontline action on the Dnieper line, the Bolsheviks broke through the German defenses on Kyiv – Kremenchuk section and advanced rapidly, capturing Rivne, Zdolbuniv, and Dubno in the middle of January. In fact, the "eastern" front became the "northern" front; the frontline passed through: Dubno, Kremenets, Proskuriv, Vinnytsia, Mykolayiv, the Crimea. Within a month, the Bolsheviks moved a little bit forward (...). It was not until the end of February of 1944 that the Bolsheviks conquered Kremenets, made a breakthrough on Proskuriv – Ternopil section, and in the first half of March of 1944 occupied the southeastern regions of Galicia as far as the Dniester. The second breakthrough was from Vinnytsia in the direction of Mohylev, and then to the west on the Romanian side surrounded by 7 German divisions, which made their way west as far as Buchach. In the middle of April, the front line ran from Yas, through the Dniester, Strypa, Zalizka, Brody, Lutsk, Kovel, and the front was established on this line until the middle of July of 1944 – at the request of leading cadres and the entire population" (Vovk & Kokin, 2006, pp. 445–446). The first underground reporting documents began to appear, depicting a long-lasting image of the Red Army and the Soviet administration, namely during the period from March to July of 1944. It should be mentioned that quite often the first major sources of information on the pages of underground reports were the stories of runaway peasants, who crossed the front line "on the German side", telling about their short experience of living in the Soviet reality. The first impressions of the Red Army were extremely colorful, ranging from extremely negative to moderately positive or neutral. Local residents and the OUN underground members were struck by the strange (compared to the Wehrmacht) appearance of the Red Army soldiers, their weapons and age. In particular, in a report from the territory of Rivne region dated February 1, 1944, the reporter wrote the following: "Weapons are different. The reconnaissance groups are armed, to a lesser extent, with rapid-fire rifles and finky (*finky* – *Shpahin's submachine gun was called in the OUN underground*) and submachine guns and, of course, krisy (*rifles – the author*). They also have grenades. All other armies are not well armed, what a person can get. Most of them are ordinary Soviet rats. (...) All kinds of people serve in the army, from 14-year-olds to 50-year-olds. (...) The national composition of the army is different. The majority are the Russians. There are also many Ukrainians. The intelligence units are dominated by very young Russians and, to a lesser extent, the Ukrainians. The Red Army men are dressed in overcoats, kufaika, cotton pants and, in small quantities, in sheepskin coats. Having whatever put on their feet: valianky, boots, high boots are very few. The Red Army soldiers are fed badly. They are asked to eat in the houses. To the question

of what exactly they are fighting for, what drives them forward, they answer: “Hatred of the Germans and terrible discipline”... (SSA SSU, f. 13, c. 376, vol. 74, p. 214). In fact, the same features of the Red Army soldiers were recorded in a report from the southern part of Volyn for the last decade of February of 1944. The author of the document pointed out the high age requirement of mobilized Ukrainians from the eastern regions – “even 50 years” (SSA SSU, f. 13, c. 376, vol. 74, p. 216), the inconsistency of their uniforms with the idea of a regular army (“the soldiers often dressed in their own clothes or have only a military overcoat” (SSA SSU, f. 13, c. 376, vol. 74, p. 216)), poor training of mobilized (“the recruits are trained for only two weeks and driven to the front”) (SSA SSU, f. 13, c. 376, vol. 74, p. 216).

On March 10, 1944, the OUN underground interviewed a group of peasants, who lived on the German side of the front near Berestechko but went to work near Dubno traditionally, where they were caught in frontline fighting, forcing them to live on the Soviet side for two weeks. The Red Army had negative impressions on the “migrant workers”: “They no longer saw partisan, but the army that is no different from each other. They have no commanders, only officers. The national composition is mainly the Moscals and the Caucasians. There are very few Ukrainians. There are the Jews, but not on the frontline, but behind it. The attitude of officers to the soldiers is under scrutiny. The soldiers’ provision is very poor, they walk ragged, barefoot, dirty, suffering from lice. They rob the population no worse than partisans, but still rob less. Armed with finky, empis (*apparently a pro-German submachine gun (Maschinen Pistole) MR-38 or MR - 40 – the author*) and rapid fire, but most of the krisy (crossbows). Weapons are different: the Soviet, the German, the Hungarian. Laces were fastened around the krisy (crosses) or finky instead of belts. Discipline seems to still exist, but the schedule is already visible. The soldiers scatter weapons and ammunition. This is often done on purpose, trampling it in the snow (...) There is strong desertion in the army. Entire units arbitrarily go behind and roam the villages, looking for food (...) The Red Army already has enough war. If the Germans could hold out longer, the Soviet army could scatter, judging by the mood of the Red Army. They say: “Drive the German behind the Buh, and let them there command as they want” (SSA SSU, f. 13, c. 376, vol. 74, p. 218).

The underground soldiers from Brody also noted the variety of appearance of the Red Army, their poor weapons, fatigue from the war (SSA SSU, f. 13, c. 376, vol. 74, p. 239) and peasants from the outskirts of Ternopil, who were returned under the control of the German troops at the end of March of 1944. The residents interviewed by an underground reporter noted that there were many Ukrainians among the Red Army mobilized from neighbouring regions (near Dubno and Shepetivka). They are resolutely against the Bolsheviks and the relationship between them and the commanders – the NKVD is extremely hostile (...) they are driven by force to the front” (SSA SSU, f. 13, c. 376, vol. 74, p. 259). “It should be also noted that the above-mentioned report divided military units very clearly into those led by the communist fanatics and ordinary officers indifferent to the Bolshevik ideology: “Units led by the Komsomol members and political instructors are more brutal in their behaviour. Instead, the parts in which they do not exist, behave more tolerantly (...) Cases of robberies happen, although they are legally forbidden to rob” (SSA SSU, f. 13, c. 376, vol. 74, p. 259). The underground reporter from Zboriv region depicted a similar portrait of the Red Army soldier in March of 1944 (SSA SSU, f. 13, c. 376, vol. 74, p. 229). At the same time, the reporter provided quite interesting information about the penal battalions, which were apparently located on this section of the front: “all the advanced units are people, who were sentenced to death by the Soviet authorities, then pardoned and sent to the front lines to

justify themselves. These divisions receive a strict order never to retreat. It is not allowed to take them on vacation until this department is distinguished by a heroic deed at the front... Then such a department is transferred to a normal state. Of course, very few or none of such units survive" (SSA SSU, f. 13, c. 376, vol. 74, p. 259).

In addition, interesting information about the state of the Soviet troops, the mood of the Red Army and the level of their material support was provided by the underground worker "Kalyna" in the "report" from the outskirts of Brody in the second half of March – at the beginning of May of 1944. According to the document, which showed the traditional ambiguous image of the Red Army soldiers, who were mobilized by force with the help of the "political hands" from "all nationalities" aged 16 to 60, imbued with anti-war sentiments and morally depressed by the low level of their military training and weapons, which doomed them to the role of the "cannon fodder". On the front line, they are held back by the fear of death "from their own comrades" in the case of retreat, flight or desertion. "The most striking thing is that the Red Army soldiers are ragged and hungry. Their first step in the newly acquired terrain (village) is the looting attacks. They rob the population of what they can get by their hands, leaving nothing behind, and they search hard for food..." (SSA SSU, f. 13, c. 376, vol. 74, p. 242).

The image of the Red Army robber was formed clearly on the basis of the reports written by the underground in Stanislaviv region. For instance, in a report of March and the beginning of April of 1944, the author highlighted that the Soviet soldiers "Robbed terribly, especially food and clothing. The looted clothes are exchanged for food. They drink horilka in abundance. There are often cases of robbing ordinary people. They hunt specifically for watches" (SSA SSU, f. 13, c. 376, vol. 74, p. 235). Due to poor provision, fatigue from continuous fighting, low chances of survival, weak discipline, the Soviet soldiers were pushed to alcoholism and looting of civilians, which could be recorded on the entire front line from Polissia to the Carpathians. Although it was not only these crimes that the "liberators" "distinguished" in Western Ukraine during the period of the front activities. The OUN underground informant from Pidhayechchynna provided new details concerning the morale of the Red Army soldiers, who established themselves along the Strypa River in April of 1944. In particular, the underground informant gave the facts of robbery of churches by soldiers and rape of women (SSA SSU, f. 13, c. 376, vol. 74, p. 241): "The Bolsheviks also rape women, saying that they have permission from their commanders. Girls even die of such rape" (SSA SSU, f. 13, c. 376, vol. 74, p. 241). Based on the above-mentioned small passage, we can infer that it was a mass phenomenon, and, apparently, gang rape, which resulted in the deaths of the victims. For example, the report from Radekhiv region of March-April of 1944 also recorded the brutal treatment of women by the Red Army soldiers and the "rape of women", which was "on the agenda" (SSA SSU, f. 13, c. 376, vol. 74, p. 243). As for the permissions from the command on sexual violence, it most likely meant "unofficial approval" or "turning a blind eye" to the facts of rape. Obviously, everything depended on the level of discipline and behaviour of the individual unit commander. For instance, the OUN reporter described the events of May-June of 1944 in northern Ternopil and southern Rivne regions, and said that there had been raped a 60-year-old woman, who "complained to the commander and pointed at the soldier, who had raped her. The commander shot him on the spot" (SSA SSU, f. 13, c. 376, vol. 74, p. 251). It is difficult to say which factor provoked such a sharp reaction from the commander – either his personal disapproval of violence against the civilians, the woman's age or desire to maintain discipline, but it was obvious that the method worked

because, according to the same report, the mass violence against women, looting of houses and churches stopped during the period of “stabilization” of the front in this area (SSA SSU, f. 13, c. 376, vol. 74, p. 251).

The above-mentioned reviews of the Soviet troops relate to the countryside, however, the most detailed and colourful characteristics of the Red Army and the Soviet administration could be found in the reports of the OUN underground from the Galician capital Lviv. The author of at least one of these documents (July 1944) (SSA SSU, f. 13, c. 376, vol. 74, pp. 41–45) was identified – Bohdana-Maria Svitlyk, the writer, the head of Lviv city women’s leadership of the OUN, wrote under the pseudonym “Dmytrenko” (SSA SSU, f. 13, c. 376, vol. 74, p. 45). This brave young woman, with her inherent literary flair, described Lviv during the Red Army’s entry, the course of the fighting in the city, the behaviour of the Polish underground, the impression of the new masters of the situation – the Bolsheviks. The description of the battles for the big city resembled the report of a skilled journalist, who recorded the greatest details, including the mood of the soldiers on the front line, the number of bombings and the caliber of weapons used. “At least on Friday, 27.VII.44, we were still dealing with things the old-fashioned way, – wrote Bohdana-Maria Svitlyk to the leadership of the underground – the Bolsheviks were already approaching from the green rohachaka (horn) and on Saturday the street fights broke out on Zelena street, Tarnavskoho street, Yatska street, Kokhanovskoho street. Single tracks reached Fredry street, Batoroho street, Lozynskyi street, Pelchynska street. On Saturday the Citadel was taken by the offensive from Pelchynska street. On Saturday and Sunday were the days of heavy street fighting on Batory street, Pilsudski street, Zelena street, in which several tanks and several soldiers were destroyed on both sides. It is characteristic that the Germans retreated three times on this section and each time they were turned over by the field gendarmerie. On Sunday afternoon, the Bolsheviks seized Akademichna street and began to move to the market, Halytska and Mariinska squares were the scene of heavy fighting again. The place of German defense were Brayer street, Krasyskyi street, Krakivska street, Zhovkivska street, Theodore Square, where the Germans stayed longer, securing a lapel, where the fighting went for almost every town in particular, as a result of which this area was severely destroyed. During the fighting, the Germans were blaze to the population, there is no record of any abuse or violence. When it comes to the characteristics of Lviv battles, they were only a miniature of what we used to think of the street battles, or those from 1939 – 41. Bombing is rare, no more than 10 – 15 bombs of the smallest caliber are dropped at a time, firefighting is also rare and light caliber, shooting in lazy street battles is minimal. There were almost no clusters of tanks and military units. During the Bolshevik offensive in Lviv, there were very few German troops at all. (All barracks were emptied before the fighting). The columns of the advancing Bolsheviks were also not very numerous, but went mostly along the main streets. Compared to what we had hoped for, the intensity of the fighting was very low. The Germans did not show any desire to fight, and when they defended, only with the thought of a lapel” (SSA SSU, f. 13, c. 376, vol. 74, p. 42).

It should be mentioned that the first units of the Red Army that entered Lviv had a favourable impression on the reporter surprisingly: “When it comes to the Bolshevik victors, who entered Lviv by attacking small units, at first glance, they made a very good impression. Armed all with the American submachine guns, the ‘kresy’ (firearm) were almost invisible. Also, the appearance of soldiers, healthy, well-off Ukrainians or Moskals, compared to 1939 is much better. Against the population were treated favourably, or indifferently favourably” (SSA SSU, f. 13, c. 376, vol. 74, p. 42).

Hence, it is quite difficult to state whether the above-mentioned record was made due to the fact that the Red Army’s first line of attack did not meet the established stereotypes of the Galicians concerning the Red Army, whether the command really decided to send the city’s best manned and armed assault units for predicted street fighting (in the spring of 1943, 15 engineering and assault brigades were deployed in the Red Army, which were used for urban battles primarily, had good training, the best equipment and uniforms). We should put emphasis on the fact that, in any case, the level of discipline and security of the first front units was quite high, as soon the behavior and appearance of the second echelon of the advancing troops were somewhat different: “In the first cultural departments, which treated the population well immediately, they themselves almost did not plunder private property in any case, except for some of the bases or crypts, began to flow in an endless river more and more. When, as described above, the first units are armed and *vyvinuvani* (*that is, provided, equipped – the author*) famously, the next are presented under that review even worse and worse. It is said that this phenomenon should not be explained by the lack of weapons, but that careful command gives weapons to *zhovnirs* (the Polish soldiers) before the front, just before the possibility of battle. It’s like equipped cars. First cargo tanks, later primitive cars in small numbers, and then an endless roll of carts, often of local Galician origin, and all the endless number of *zhovnirs*, who go and then go on feet without end. When it comes to comparisons with the Germans, we can say that the Germans had almost no *zhovnirs*, but had cars, and it is disgusting. The whole first week of the Bolsheviks’ stay in Lviv was an endless movement of their units to the west, which did not stop day or night. Between the army you can see many women, not assigned to separate formations, but together with men. They do the police service, Ardis-Telegraph, Communications and the alike.

The army itself has a very friendly impression. The army does not rob, does not commit any violence or abuse, it helps the population gladly. The army chat with the population.

There were cases when *zhovnirs* presented looted property to the population during the stretching of some bases in Lviv. Among the soldiers one could notice something if the consequences of our propaganda, hostility to the Jews, homesickness, awareness of the Poles, sentiment towards the Ukrainians. In general, there is an element to all these signs, which in its mentality can be a good ground for our propaganda.

Simultaneously with the army there is a propaganda department with a car and a map of the fronts, flyers, literature, radium, etc. The content of this is well known” (SSA SSU, f. 13, c. 376, vol. 74, p. 43).

Taking everything into consideration, the author of the document maintained a favourable attitude towards the Red Army generally, apparently captive to the belief that the OUN was underground that by agitation and propaganda it would be possible to raise the Red Army to revolt or revolution against the Bolshevik government. In addition, the OUN members tried to spot the confirmation of their own ideas concerning public sentiment and revolutionary prospects on an all-Union scale owing to every dissatisfaction of the soldiers, their statements and behaviour. It should be mentioned that what exactly was not a “fruit of imagination”, was often mentioned domestic anti-Semitism, inherent in the “liberators” of which were mentioned by almost all OUN publishers. The author of the report confirmed the claims concerning the dominance of anti-Semitic views among soldiers and officers of the front units, adding her own observations and stories of other witnesses: “Right after the final retreat of the Germans on the night of July of 28, the first Jews began to emerge timidly. They were nervous, completely exhausted, unbelievably thin, sick types for the most part for a long

time unable to lead a normal life. The population looked at them with unfriendly fear, hoping for a new privilege and new denunciations. However, in private conversations and individual explanations, the RA appears to be completely anti-Semitic. The fact: A convoy of prisoners killed a Jew, who struck a German prisoner in the face, relying on the Jewish tolerance. A Red Army soldier killed a Jew in Levandivka, who mentioned the return of money from a man, who was hiding him” (SSA SSU, f. 13, c. 376, vol. 74, p. 44).

It should be mentioned that being completely immersed in the stereotype of the privileged position of the Jews in the USSR, the OUN members often tried to compare the attitude of the Soviet government towards local Jews in 1939 and 1944 (SSA SSU, f. 13, c. 376, vol. 74, pp. 244, 247, 248, 252, 255), however, the issue was covered clearly in the report from Lviv of July of 1944. In particular, the leader of the OUN women’s network in the Galician capital depicted vividly the first mass rally held by the Soviet authorities after the city was free from the German troops, putting emphasis on an important detail – the intolerance of the “other Soviets” towards the victims of the Nazi genocide: “Finally on Sunday 30.VII. the population of Lviv was about to thank for the new liberation, and the new government was to speak in its own praise. According to the ancient custom, the demonstration of the whole population was prepared and it was proclaimed that Galicia is an inseparable part of Soviet Ukraine, and Poland is created only after Sianky. Kauev spoke outside the party, the commander of the Galician Front (*apparently Marshal Ivan Konev, who commanded the troops of the First Ukrainian Front, which took Lviv – the author*), Barvinskyi (*apparently – a composer and pianist Vasyl Barvinskyi – the author*) from the Ukrainians, a Pole, a colonel, congratulated on the new union country from the Poles, assured us of our salvation. They all saw the Ukrainian nationalists as the sworn enemies of the Ukrainian people. Characteristically, in contrast to 1939, no representative of the Jews spoke, and in general, not a word was mentioned about the Jewish issue. If we add to this that, in addition to the registration of 1 000 Jews, no aid action is held for them, their martyrdom is not glorified, and no documents are collected on anti-Jewish actions, it turns out that the attitude of the Bolsheviks towards the Jews has changed somewhat.

Of course, we could not learn anything about the most interesting thing for us – the attitude of the Bolsheviks towards the Ukrainians – because the assurances that the Bolsheviks fled in vain, the Bolsheviks will not persecute any of the Ukrainians (Khrushchev’s words) – we heard in 1939 and, therefore, carries no weight” (SSA SSU, f. 13, c. 376, vol. 74, p. 44).

Apart from a description of the Red Army, their moods and the first propaganda steps of the government, B.-M. Svitlyk focused on the creation of a new system of governance in the region – security agencies, management to mobilize the population for work, structures for military mobilization, civil administration, financial structures in her report (SSA SSU, f. 13, c. 376, vol. 74, pp. 44–45). The reporter was taken aback by the speed and clarity with which the Bolsheviks mastered the situation, which she explained by copying the German models of government, large-scale aid from the Western Allies and the morale of military victories that the Bolsheviks, in spite of all the obvious shortcomings inside (the “narrowness of the regime”), the low state of civilization, but not material weapons of arms (*equipment – the author*) pass the modern culmination of their expansivity (*expansivity – the author*). They copied their current strategy and internal organization very well (example: covering the whole almost complicated (*complex – the author*) organizational apparatus of Lviv in a few days) from the Germans, and being the last on the battlefield in the east, they adapted it in their campaign. At the same time, they have an easy time, because the Germans do not put up

any resistance at all (at least during Lviv campaign from Brody, Zolochiv to Lviv). In these easy-successes, however, lies an equally important factual and moral danger, in the event of a meeting with strong resistance at some point. Then we can just notice all these ailments that we all notice" (SSA SSU, f. 13, c. 376, vol. 74, p. 45).

Thorough reports to make the collective image of the "liberator" were also given by the reports of the OUN underground from Lviv for October (SSA SSU, f. 13, c. 376, vol. 74, pp. 46–50) and December (SSA SSU, f. 13, c. 376, vol. 74, pp. 51–52) 1944 and April 1945 (SSA SSU, f. 13, c. 376, vol. 74, pp. 53–54). Looking more closely at the restored Soviet power and the military units stationed in the city, the OUN members became more and more critical in their impressions of what they saw. They were taken aback by the Ukrainians from the east, who spoke only Russian, but hated the Bolshevik government and had vivid memories of the Ukrainian revolution of 1917 – 1921 (SSA SSU, f. 13, c. 376, vol. 74, pp. 51–52), shocked by the low level of critical thinking of the Soviet administrators and specialists arriving in the Galician capital: "The environment of gray Soviet mannequins is divided into those who do not think at all, for whom Stalin thinks "party and government" and those who think a little. These include non-partisans and those who have been under German occupation for at least one day. The latter feel the care of the former in the face of the NKGB and the NKVD, especially those who remained in the western regions" (SSA SSU, f. 13, c. 376, vol. 74, p. 54). At that time, the phrase "Homo Sovieticus" was not introduced into scientific and everyday use yet, but the way of thinking concerning this category of people, outlined in later Western Sovietology, was fully consistent with those features (for more details on the formation of the term "Homo Sovieticus", see: Yurii Kahanov Vision of a "New Soviet man" in European and American historiography of the second half of the XXth century), which was noticed by nationalists in 1944.

Although the behavior of civilians and the military in Lviv was the most surprising: "When we observe the influx of new "liberators" to our city, we notice, first of all, a large influx of civilian authorities and women. They come in the following "portions": 500 female teachers, 1 000 female government officials, etc. Also, every married man, regardless of his position, tries to get his wife here with "children". In addition, there is a lot of police of all kinds, but fewer stationed troops, that is, the troops that would be in the city; the old Polish and then German barracks are mostly empty, and the army is stationed in private houses, and especially around the city, where they are in very respectable numbers. Except for the well-known things, it is more and more striking concerning the attitude towards the RA, the barbaric mixing of healthy soldiers with the disabled, who with their well-deformed movements try to equal the pace of healthy comrades with their well-deformed movements. In general, the mass phenomenon of the most distorted young people in military uniforms most likely testifies to the quality of medical care, which has already been characterized many times" (SSA SSU, f. 13, c. 376, vol. 74, p. 40).

The OUN underground paid great attention to the mood of the army, in particular, to the manifestations of dissatisfaction with the command, the contradictions between the frontliners and the rear, fatigue from the war, and etc. Hence, in the October of 1944 report it was informed that "Another process is embedded in the mentality of the military: the split between the frontliners and the garrison. This conflict, which can be seen in every army, has deep causes on the Soviet ground. First of all, a frontliner is a Ukrainian, a nationalist and only rarely a Moskal. The Soviet frontliner is mostly a zhovnir at greatest risk, as in other armies, and almost literally cannon fodder (the Bolshevik strategy in this direction is

known), when to this is added the poor zhovnir's provision and a direct meeting with the local population, then all these circumstances create the types of desperate people, who are a "pan-brother" with death, who increasingly has the opportunity to develop an independent worldview and a corresponding assessment of the Bolshevik truth. Against this background, a certain conflict is already emerging. When such frontliner comes to the city, his whole grief is sprinkled on the "regulators" of the movement (women's police), which the frontliners at best completely ignore, and mostly verbally give vent to all their anger. There were even cases of injuries or running over. There are threats from them that after the war they will have to reckon with those from the backyard. In general, the army wants to go home and is feverishly looking for the cause of such a long war (SSA SSU, f. 13, c. 376, vol. 74, p. 40).

The situation of the Soviet women (both in the army and in civilian life), disenfranchisement and disrespectful attitude of the Soviet authorities to the motherhood, which provoked terrible social consequences, made a very negative impression on the Ukrainian underground activists in Lviv: "Even more, men are fed up with military "sapohy" (boots) designed for women in the army, the barbaric demands and men are very dissatisfied with their uniforms. However, there are rumors that all women will soon be removed from active service, with the exception of the Red Cross, but this is not very likely. The order was supposed to be in connection with the custody of a mother and a child, about whom much is being written now, but it is enough to look at a 30-year-old woman, who looks 40 years old, in the addition, suffering from a chronic disease and hears through the wall the cry of a 3-year-old child, whose mother has to go to work all day – to appreciate all these declarations about a happy childhood and women's rights (SSA SSU, f. 13, c. 376, vol. 74, p. 40).

The Ukrainian nationalists were somewhat flabbergasted by the Soviet government's solution to the issue of orphanhood caused by the Red Army's heavy fighting losses: "In order to curb the scourge of homeless children, the regime has come up with the amazing idea of enlisting children killed in the war ... into the army. The children aged 8 – 14 in military uniforms and with weapons are seen. These are the youngest volunteers. How the mentality of children is affected by their militarization, let the fact that in one movie during the performance such a "soldiers" cut off the shoulders of a Lviv "batiaryk", causing bloody wounds. After all, it seems that such an upbringing is not entirely accidental, taking into account that the "hero" of the Soviet Union is a soldier, who murdered 917 enemies, an official stamp with a photo and the inscription: Hero of the Soviet Union – destroyed 917 enemies of the people. Along the same lines are film performances for schools, which show the scariest faces for children 1 – 2 classes. This tendency is shown by newspaper articles, feuilletons and short stories, which similarly describe all sorts of deaths inflicted by soldiers on the Germans or anyone else" (SSA SSU, f. 13, c. 376, vol. 74, p. 40).

The image of the Red Army and the Soviet administrators is complemented by reports of the OUN underground from Stanislaviv, where 12 000 Red Army troops were stationed in October of 1944 and the NKVD and the NKGB apparatus was fully staffed (SSA SSU, f. 13, c. 376, vol. 74, p. 95). The reporter from this city noticed the high level of desertion among the ordinary soldiers, contradictions and conflicts between the Red Army and the state security officers, who persecuted fugitives from the army and carried out violent mobilizations of civilians (SSA SSU, f. 13, c. 376, vol. 74, p. 95).

The Conclusions. Taking everything into consideration, it should be emphasized that the OUN underground reporting documentation of 1944 – 1945 provided quite a rich material for the reconstruction of the Soviet soldiers and administrators image, who returned to the western

region during the last years of World War II. First of all, it should be mentioned that the image of the Red Army soldier was quite colourful and controversial. The reporters always made a clear division concerning the front lines and the rear units. The front lines, as a rule, had better weapons and uniforms, but for the most part (except in Lviv) there was a shortage of food, which made them loot. The front lines were also characterized as fairly brave warriors with clear traits of fatalism (“careless attitude to death”) and war fatigue (the desire to end hostilities as soon as possible and return home). It should be emphasized that the level of discipline, appearance, moral degradation, demotivation, and behaviour of the units and subdivisions of the “Second Front Echelon” terrified the local population, who were the main informants of the OUN reports. Due to this, the Red Army soldier appeared in the underground reports, mostly as a ragged, always a hungry and drunk robber and rapist, who, apparently, was, in general, correlating with the general state of the affairs. Their nationality and criticism of the Bolshevik government were of great importance for the formation of the underground’s opinion of the Red Army. According to the OUN documents, which demonstrated a sympathetic attitude towards the Ukrainian soldiers and other “nationalists” and depicted a cooler attitude towards the Russian and the Jewish origin Red Army soldiers. The Ukrainian soldiers were seen as potential allies in the struggle against Bolshevism, the Russian and the Jewish soldiers were considered to be the mainstay of the regime. However, it is important to note that the role of “support” of the Soviet power was given to the Russians increasingly rather than the Jews, as it was still believed in the OUN in 1939 – 1941. At the same time, the image of the Soviet administration in the OUN reports was less differentiated. It was mostly negative. The authorities were characterized as uneducated and primitive people without critical thinking, densely indoctrinated by the official ideology, prone to abuse, corruption and profit, hated by the rest of society.

Focusing on the further prospects of research on the topic, it should be mentioned that the analyzed corpus of the OUN underground reporting documents contains a large amount of information about the German and the Hungarian troops, the Polish underground, the psychological state of the Ukrainian citizenship, prices and social security, economic problems, etc. it is possible to use them in the future to create a holistic picture of military and political events and everyday life in Ukraine during the war.

Acknowledgements. The authors express sincere gratitude to all members of the editorial board for consultations provided during the preparation of the article for printing.

Funding. The authors received no financial support for the research and publication of this article.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ghrycjuk, V., Lysenko, O., Pyljavec, R. & Sydorov, S. (2015). *Strateghichni ta frontovi operaciji na terytoriji Ukrainy u 1943 – 1944 rokakh* [Strategic and frontline operations on the territory of Ukraine in 1943 – 1944]. Kyiv. Nacional'nyj universytet oborony Ukrainy imeni Ivana Chernjakhovskogho, Instytut istoriji Ukrainy NAN Ukrainy, 508 p. [in Ukrainian]

Haluzevyi derzhavnyi arkhiv Sluzhby bezpeky Ukrainy [Sectoral State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine – **SSA SSU**]

Ilnyckyi, V. (2016). *Karpatskij kraj OUN v ukrajinskomu vyzvolnomu rusi (1945 – 1954)* [The Carpathian Region of the OUN in the Ukrainian liberation movement (1945 – 1954)]. Drohobych: Posvit, 696 p. [in Ukrainian].

Kahanov, Y. (2019). Vision of a “New Soviet man” in European and American historiography of the second half of the XX century. *Skhidnoievropejskyi istorychnyi visnyk – East European Historical Bulletin*, 11, 202–214. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.24919/2519-058x.11.170713> [in English]

Kentij, A. (1999). *Ukrajinsjka povstansjka armija v 1944 – 1945 rr.* [Ukrainian insurgent army in 1944 – 1945]. Kyiv. Instytutistoriji Ukrajinjy NAN Ukrajinjy, 220 p. [in Ukrainian]

Kuzina, K. (2021). *Obraz spivrobotnyka VNK-ODPU-NKVS u rosijському emigrantskomu dyskursi 1920 – 1930-kh rr.* [The image of an employee of the VNK-ODPU-NKVD in the Russian emigrant discourse of the 1920s and 1930s.]. *Ukrajinsjkyj istorychnyj jurnal*, 5, 113–130. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.15407/uhj2021.05.113> [in Ukrainian]

Kyrychuk, Yu. (2000). *Narysy z istorijiukrajinsjkoghonacionaljno-vyzvoljnoghorukhu 40 – 50-kh rokiv XX stolittja* [Essays on the history of the Ukrainian national liberation movement of the 40-50s of the XXth century]. Ljviv: LDU imeni Ivan Franka, 304 p. [in Ukrainian].

Kyrychuk, Yu. (2003). *Ukrajinsjkyj nacionaljnij rukh 40 – 50-kh rokiv XX stolittja: ideologhija ta praktyka* [Ukrainian National Movement of the 1940s and 1950s: ideology and practice]. Lviv: Dobra sprava, 464 p. [in Ukrainian].

Lesjkiv, M. (2008). *Radjansjkyj rezhym u zakhidnykh oblastjakh Ukrajinjy (1944 – 1953)* [Soviet regime in the western regions of Ukraine (1944 – 1953)]. (*Extended abstract of Candidate's thesis*). Lviv, 18 p. [in Ukrainian]

Lysenko, O. & Pyliavets, R. (2019). *Bytva za Dnipro u Druhij Ssvitovij vijni: sprobna novoji konceptualnoji viziji* [The Battle of the Dnieper in World War II: An Attempt at a New Conceptual Vision]. *Ukrajinsjkyj istorychnyj jurnal*, 4, 88–117. [in Ukrainian]

Patryljak, I. (2012). *“Vstanj i borysj! Slukhaj i vir...”: ukrajinsjke nacionalistychnje pidpillja ta povstansjkyj rukh (1939 – 1960)* [“Get up and fight! Listen and believe...”: Ukrainian Nationalist Underground and Insurgent Movement (1939 – 1960)]. Ljviv: Chasopys, 592 p. [in Ukrainian]

Patryljak, I. (2020). *Vyzvoljna borotjba OUN i UPA (1939 – 1960)* [The liberation struggle of the OUN and the UPA (1939 – 1960)]. Kyiv: ADEF-Ukrajina, 712 p. [in Ukrainian]

Rusnachenko, A. (2002). *Narod zburenyj: Nacionaljno-vyzvoljnij rukh v Ukrajinj i nacionaljni rukhy oporu v Bilorusiji, Lytvi, Latviji, Estoniji u 1940 – 50-kh rokakh* [The people are upset: the National Liberation Movement in Ukraine and the national resistance movements in Belarus, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia in the 1940s and 1950s]. Kyiv: Puljsary, 519 p. [in Ukrainian]

Stasjuk, O. (2018). *Osoblyvosti formuvannja predstavnyckoji ghilky vlady u Zakhidnoukrajinsjkykh oblastjakh URSS u povojennyj period* [Features of the formation of the representative branch of government in the Western regions of the USSR in the postwar period]. *Skhidnoevropejskyi istorychnyj visnyk – East European Historical Bulletin*, 7, 151–159. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.24919/2519-058x.2664-2735.eehb.7.2018/> [in Ukrainian]

Stasjuk, O. (2020). *Roli miscevykh rad u politychnykh ta ekonomichnykh transformacijakh zakhidnykh oblastej URSS povojennogho periodu* [The role of local councils in the political and economic transformations of the western regions of the USSR in the postwar period]. *Ukrajinsjkyj istorychnyj zhurnal*, 4, 97–109. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.15407/uhj2020.04.097> [in Ukrainian]

Vovk, O. & Kokin, S. (Comps.) (2006). *Litopys UPA. Nova serija, tom. 8. Volynj, Polissja, Podillja: UPA ta Zapillya 1944 – 1946. Dokumenty i materialy* [Chronicle of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. New series, volume. 8. Volyn, Polissya, Podillya: UPA and Zapillya 1944 – 1946. Documents and materials]. Kyiv – Toronto, 1448 p. [in Ukrainian]

*The article was received May 30, 2021.
Article recommended for publishing 23/02/2022.*

UDC 349.3:364.3-056.24(477)“1945/1950”
DOI 10.24919/2519-058X.22.253728

Halyna HORDIYENKO

PhD (History), Associate Professor World History and its Methodology Department Pavlo Tychyna Uman State Pedagogical University, 2 Sadova Street, Uman, Ukraine, postal code 20300 (galinagordienko@ukr.net)

ORCID: 0000-0003-2424-2410

Vyacheslav HORDIYENKO

PhD (History), Associate Professor World History and its Methodology Department Pavlo Tychyna Uman State Pedagogical University, 2 Sadova Street, Uman, Ukraine, postal code 20300 (liskovets62@gmail.com)

ORCID: 0000-0003-1133-4199

Галина ГОРДІЄНКО

кандидатка історичних наук, доцентка кафедри всесвітньої історії та методик навчання Уманського державного педагогічного університету імені Павла Тичини, вул. Садова, 2, м. Умань, Україна, індекс 20300 (galinagordienko@ukr.net)

В'ячеслав ГОРДІЄНКО

кандидат історичних наук, доцент кафедри всесвітньої історії та методик навчання Уманського державного педагогічного університету імені Павла Тичини, вул. Садова, 2, м. Умань, Україна, індекс 20300 (liskovets62@gmail.com)

Bibliographic Description of the Article: Hordiyenko, H. & Hordiyenko, V. (2022). State Policy on Social Protection for the Patriotic War Invalids in Post-war Ukraine in 1945 – 1950. *Skhidnoievropeiskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 22, 141–152. doi: 10.24919/2519-058X.22.253728

**STATE POLICY ON SOCIAL PROTECTION FOR THE PATRIOTIC WAR
INVALIDS IN POST-WAR UKRAINE IN 1945 – 1950**

Abstract. The paper focuses on a special status of the Patriotic War invalids as a social group in a post-war Ukrainian society as well as the attitude towards them by the Soviet state. **The Purpose of the Research.** The objective is historically to reconstruct the basic principles of the Soviet policy on social protection of veterans with disabilities and its first results during the first post-war years. **The Methodological Basis.** The principles of objectivity, historicism, system, and research comprise the methodology basis. There have been applied historical and genetic, comparative, statistic, diachronic, historical and anthropological methods. **The scientific novelty** of the study consists in doing for the first time the analysis of the Soviet regime's attitude to the Patriotic War invalids against the background of the Third famine in Ukraine. **The Conclusions.** The institutionalization of the social protection system for the Patriotic War invalids in the Ukrainian SSR took place during the period of 1940 – 1946. During the period of 1940 and 1941 the authorities legitimated pensioning for the potential war invalids. With the outbreak of the German-Soviet war, the Union and Republic Governments identified people with disabilities as a result of the war with Germany among other invalids officially calling the first “the

Patriotic War invalids” and adding some new forms of social protection for them. The number of the Patriotic War invalids abruptly increased under conditions of the worsened economic situation and the beginning of the Third famine in the Ukrainian SSR. We have determined the fact of decreasing the number of registered war-disabled people with the help of “thorough medical and labour examination”. Medical and Labour Examination Commissions took such actions under the pressure of the Party and Government of the Ukrainian SSR. They declared invalids as “fully recovered”. Besides, many front-line invalids were transferred to lower groups of disability. The Ukrainian Republic governance had to turn to such actions to avoid the budget deficit for the system of social protection and additional economy of bread.

Key words: *The Patriotic War invalids, social protection, pensioning, social protection bodies, Medical and Labour Examination Commissions, group of disability.*

ДЕРЖАВНА ПОЛІТИКА СОЦІАЛЬНОГО ЗАХИСТУ ІНВАЛІДІВ ВІТЧИЗНЯНОЇ ВІЙНИ В ПІСЛЯВОЄННІЙ УКРАЇНІ 1945 – 1950 рр.

Анотація. Досліджено статус особливої соціальної групи післявоєнного українського суспільства – інвалідів Вітчизняної війни і ставлення до неї з боку радянської держави. **Метою роботи** є історична реконструкція провідних елементів радянської політики соціального захисту ветеранів-інвалідів і її результатів у перші післявоєнні роки. **Методологію** складають принципи об'єктивності, історизму, системності, науковості. Застосовано історико-генетичний, порівняльний, статистичний, діахронний, історико-антропологічний методи. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше проаналізовано ставлення радянського режиму до інвалідів Вітчизняної війни на тлі Третього голоду в Україні. **Висновки.** Становлення системи соціального забезпечення інвалідів Вітчизняної війни в УРСР відбувалося упродовж 1940 – 1946 рр. У 1940 – 1941 рр. влада юридично впорядкувала пенсіонування майбутніх інвалідів війни. З початком німецько-радянської війни постановами союзного та республіканського урядів було виділено осіб з інвалідністю внаслідок війни з Німеччиною з-поміж інших контингентів інвалідів, присвоєно їм офіційну назву “інваліди Вітчизняної війни” й додано нові види соціального захисту. В умовах погіршення економічної ситуації в УРСР і початку Третього голоду в республіці відбулося різке зростання кількості інвалідів Вітчизняної війни. Встановлено, що під тиском партійно-урядового керівництва УРСР Міністерство соціального забезпечення і Лікарсько-трудова експертні комісії провели акцію скорочення кількості взятих на облік інвалідів війни за допомогою “глибокої лікарсько-трудова експертизи”, оголошуючи їх такими, що “цілком одужали”. Крім того, багатьом інвалідам-фронтовикам знизили групу інвалідності. Причиною таких дій керівництва республіки стала необхідність уникнути дефіциту бюджету системи соціального забезпечення й додаткова економія хліба.

Ключові слова: *інваліди Вітчизняної війни, соціальне забезпечення, пенсіонування, соцзабези, лікарсько-трудова експертні комісії, група інвалідності.*

The Problem Statement. Coming of the next victory anniversary of the Anti-Hitler coalition forces over Nazi Germany and deepening in connection with this the conflicts of historical memories about World War II naturally increase the research interest of historians and specialists in various sectors of social sciences and the Humanities. A special place in the Ukrainian historical memory of World War II is the victory issue. In our historical science, this historical memory is expressed in the actualization of the human measurement of the war, in the transfer of research center to various social groups and communities under the conditions of war and peaceful time, and also in the growth of research using the methodology of social history, historical demography and historical anthropology. During the first post-war years the price of the victory was clearly illustrated by a large number of the war invalids, who returned home and had to adapt to extremely complex post-war conditions of an everyday life. In Soviet Ukraine problems of the war invalids' adaptation to a normal

life were significantly aggravated as a result of the Third famine of 1946 – 1947, which as well as the previous Holodomors became the result of the Soviet regime actions.

The Analysis of Recent Research. The beginning of research on this topic is illustrated by the works of famous Ukrainian historians – O. Lysenko, O. Perekhrest (Lysenko & Perekhrest, 2015), I. Mukovskyi (Mukovskyi & Lysenko, 1997), T. Vronska (Vronska & Lysenko, 2012). In particular, in a historical essay “Demographic Losses of Ukraine during World War II”, which was written by O. Lysenko, O. Perekhrest, I. Perekhrest, A. Irzhavska, for the first time in the Ukrainian historiography of World War II, there were summarized the study results of the special social group conditions of a post-war Ukrainian society – the Patriotic War invalids. The research is on the number of veterans-invalids in Soviet Ukraine, the main directions of the government social protection policy. The authors elucidated the complex of problems that arose in an everyday life of the Patriotic War invalids during the first post-war years (Lysenko, Perekhrest, Perekhrest & Irzhavska, 2011).

Among the few foreign researchers who during the last decades studied the life of the Patriotic War invalids in the postwar USSR, it is worth mentioning the Russian historians H. Horohorina (Horohorina, 2005), I. Pelih (Pelih, 2005) and O. Bolle (Bolle, 2009), as well as a German researcher B. Fieseler (Fieseler, 2014). The works of the Russian authors are characterized by a tendency to avoid or mitigate the dramatic and unattractive aspects of the interaction between the Soviet state and the war invalids. The works of B. Feseler, the German historian, on the invalids of the Patriotic War under conditions of Stalinism are more thorough. But her research is locally limited to the Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic (RSFSR) and is based on the materials of the Russian archives. It should be noted that in Soviet Ukraine, the post-war life of the Great Patriotic War invalids had its own dramatic history, which remained beyond B. Feseler’s research interests.

The Purpose of the Research. Taking into consideration the fact that the study of this issue is at the initial stage in the Ukrainian and foreign historical science, on the basis of new archival materials we intend to do comprehensive research on the basic principles of a social protection of the Patriotic War invalids, which was conducted by the party-government leadership of the Ukrainian SSR, and consequences for the veterans against the background of deteriorating socio-economic situation and the beginning of the Third Famine in the Ukrainian Republic.

The Main Material Statement. The institution formation of a social protection of the Patriotic War invalids began in 1940, i.e., before the emergence of this group of people, and lasted until 1946. In the context of preparations for the imminent war, the Council of People’s Commissars of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics (the CPC of the USSR) adopted two resolutions, which regulated the system of retirement, war invalids, who were bound to appear as a consequence of the imminent hostilities. It should be emphasized that the resolutions of the CPC of the USSR under No. 1269 “On Pensions to Servicemen of the Rank and Junior Chief Conscripts and their Families” of July 16, 1940 (Slobodianskyi & Hitman, 1949, p. 32) and under No. 1474 “On Pensions and Benefits to Servicemen of Senior and Middle Chief Conscripts, Servicemen of Junior Chief Conscripts of Overtime Service, to Specialists of the Rank-and-File of the Overtime Service and their Families” of June 5, 1941 (Slobodianskyi & Hitman, 1949, p. 23) did not concern the invalids of the local military conflicts of 1938 – 1940 in any way. And only with the beginning of the German-Soviet war the resolutions came into force. Heavy defeats of the Red Army, large-scale medical losses and a rapid increase in the number of the wounded and invalids made the Soviet government adjust the social protection of the war invalids significantly, adding new areas of social

protection: employment, prosthetics, training and retraining, medical rehabilitation, material and household support. On May 6, 1942, the CPC of the USSR, with its resolution under No. 640 “On Employment of Invalids of the Patriotic War”, not only introduced the official name of the contingent of people with disabilities as a result of the war with Nazi Germany—“the Patriotic War Invalids”, but also defined a special status of the contingent (Central State Archive of Higher Authorities in Ukraine – CSAHAU), f. 348, d. 3, c. 12, p. 33). On May 20, 1942, the Council of People’s Commissars of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (the CPC of the UkrSSR) and the Central Committee of the Communist Party (the Bolsheviks) of Ukraine (Central Committee of the CP(b)U) adopted a resolution under No. 115 almost identical in content (CSAHAU, f. 348, d. 3, c. 12, p. 35).

The People’s Commissariat of Social Protection (PCSP) (since 1946, the Ministry) was the leading institution that carried out the state policy of a social protection of the contingent of the Patriotic War invalids in the Ukrainian SSR. The PCSP as an important unit included Medical and Labour Expert Commissions (MLECs), at which the disability of veterans was diagnosed and the degree of disability, i.e., a disability group was defined. Local social protection bodies took into account invalids-veterans, assigned them a pension, employed them and organized reviews of the cases regularly.

Quarterly reports of the PCSP (MSP) from January 1, 1944 to September of 1946 illustrate a steady increase in the number of registered Patriotic War invalids by social protection bodies. As of July 1, 1945, 331 965 invalids of the Great Patriotic War were registered by the social protection bodies in the Ukrainian SSR. And on January 1, 1946, there were already 458 880 invalids-veterans in Ukraine. There were 401 030 war invalids, sergeants and non-commissioned officers and, accordingly, 57 850 officers among them (CSAHAU, f. 348, d. 3, c. 4, p. 2). By August 1, 1946, the social protection bodies of the Ukrainian Republic registered 503 224 soldiers-invalids of the Patriotic War, and at that time 49 963 officers-invalids were registered (Central State Archive of Public Associations of Ukraine (CSAPAU), f. 1, d. 23, c. 3071, pp. 13–17).

From the middle of September of 1946, the statistics of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs illustrated the opposite process: the number of the Patriotic War invalids registered by social protection bodies began to decline sharply. But before that, statistics showed two bursts of growth in the number of veterans with disabilities registered in the UkrSSR. The first – in April, and the second – in August-September of 1946. In particular, during August and until the middle of September of 1946, the increase in the number of the Patriotic War invalids of the rank and file, sergeants and officers was 62 076 people, or 12%. Accordingly, the number of the war officers-invalids increased by 1137, or 2.2%. In total, there were 616 400 Patriotic War invalids who were registered by the social protection bodies of Ukraine before September 16, 1946 (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 23, c. 5181, pp. 92–137, 104). The April flow of veterans to social protection bodies can be explained by the beginning of dry winds and an unprecedented drought, which made many of them think about the dangers of famine (Lel’chuk, 1967, p. 74). Apparently, many war invalids were delayed in registering in social protection bodies due to various circumstances. It is worth mentioning only one. The war invalids of Group II and Group III had to be re-examined by MLECs four times a year. It should be noted that the medical industry was recovering slowly and only in 1950 the amount of beds fund reached the pre-war period. For many veterans, it was not only humiliating, but also too burdensome. A disabled person who did not arrive on time for the next re-examination at MLECs was expelled from disability list and deprived of pension without

further explanation. Thus, when there was a threat of famine, many veterans went to social protection bodies because they knew that after registering, they had the right to count on little, but still guaranteed support. Analyzing the situation of that period of time, modern Ukrainian researchers use the expression “catastrophic decline in living standards” (Patryliak & Hryn 2020, p. 187).

The increase in the number of registered invalids of the Patriotic War in August – September, in our opinion, is caused by the adoption of the resolution under No. 1516 of July 9, 1946 by the Union Government (Hlazunov, 1970, p. 37) This document allowed social protection bodies register as invalids of the Patriotic War those veterans who, due to severe injuries at the front, lost their ability to work after the end of the German-Soviet war. Many Ukrainian veterans exercised their right under conditions of the imminent Third Famine.

Until the middle of 1946, the party-government leadership of the Ukrainian SSR adopted resolutions, orders, and instructions aimed at creating a regime of the greatest assistance to the Great Patriotic War invalids. But later the situation changed radically. Archival sources make it possible to determine the fact that the turn in the attitude of the leadership of the Ukrainian SSR towards the Patriotic War invalids took place after September 16, 1946, when at the same time there began reduction of the number of veterans-invalids registered in all social protection bodies of the Ukrainian Republic. On this day, an emergency meeting of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine was held in Kyiv, entirely devoted to the work of social protection bodies in Ukraine. The Ministry for Social Security of the UkrSSR and the Minister V. Muratov were severely criticized at the meeting. From the excerpt text of the minutes of the emergency meeting, it is known that the Minister was criticized for the unsatisfactory state of work, especially in the field of social protection of veterans-invalids. The drawbacks listed in the excerpt, in particular: “extremely neglected pension economy”, stealing and squandering of funds for war invalids, unsatisfactory work on employment, bureaucracy – really took place in the post-war social protection bodies. But in order to understand how the emergency meeting of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CP(b)U affected radical changes in the social protection policy of veterans-invalids and why, in fact, it was “emergency” meeting, it is worth analyzing the items of the document that concern MLECs and the heads of local social protection bodies. Thus, more than 900 MLECs of the Ukrainian Republic were accused of the fact that the share of invalids of World War II during the re-examinations “remains excessively and unreasonably high”. This issue needs further explanation.

As early as the beginning of the German-Soviet war, when many veterans-invalids appeared in the country, officials from the social protection system of the RSFSR came to the conclusion that the principles of determining disability should be reconsidered. As invalids of Group I and Group II were considered to be completely incapable of work, and therefore did not obey the strict Soviet labour legislation, it was decided with the help of MLECs to limit the number of Group II invalids. On August 9, 1941, the People’s Commissar of Social Security of the RSFSR A. Hryshakova by her order forbade MLECs of the Republic to determine disability for veterans, who with severe injuries (loss of an arm, a leg, an eye) were able to work according to their pre-war profession diploma. If a veteran with a disability had to choose a less skilled job, he was allowed to have Group III of disability (Feseler 2005, p. 23). In the bureaucratic depths of the People’s Commissariats of Social Security and Health Care, there was elaborated theory that “... all war injuries, in contrast to those acquired at the workplace, are nothing but locally limited dysfunctions that are easily compensated and do

not have particularly negative consequences for the body” (Feseler, 2005, p. 24). Based on this “theory”, in 1945 Russian MLECs established the following ratio among the disability groups of veterans: Group I – 2%, Group II – 23%, Group III – 75%. In the UkrSSR, officials of the social protection system together with MLECs began to “level” the ratio among the disability groups of veterans according to the Russian model in 1945. But this process was slow (it requires a separate study). As of September 1, 1946, the share of veterans-invalids of disability Group II was still 41.1% in the UkrSSR (Ananchenko, 1948, p. 7). This was the reason for the party leadership’s criticism of the post-war Ukrainian MLECs, but not only that. Behind this criticism there was the government’s dissatisfaction with the fact that social protection bodies and MLECs allowed a significant increase in registered veterans-invalids.

An excerpt from the minutes of the emergency meeting of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CP(b)U of September 16, 1946 also contains the resolution text from the report of the Minister for Social Security. It is quite interesting, the resolution lacks an item on the party’s task of MLECs of the Ukrainian Republic, despite harsh criticism in the statement part of the document. In our opinion, based on the logic of party resolutions, the directive for MLECs could be one – with the help of medical and labour examination to transfer a significant part of the Patriotic War invalids from disability Group II to Group III. Moreover, MLECs were apparently tasked with depriving many Group III invalids of the Patriotic War of their disability. The party leaders of the Ukrainian SSR did not dare to record such a directive on paper. Such instructions, in our opinion, were sent to the heads of social protection bodies and heads of MLECs only orally.

The matter is that the excerpt text from the resolution of September 16, 1946 did not include all the resolutions of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CP(b)U is evidenced by the following facts. The new Minister for Social Security F. Ananchenko during his speech at a national meeting of employees of his department on March 22 – 26, 1947 said that, according to the decision of the Politburo of September of 16, the heads of district and city social protection bodies were included into the nomenclature with the obligatory approval of the local party committee. There is no this item in the excerpt text (CSAHAU, f. 348, d. 3, c. 204, p. 24). The true goal of the resolution of the Central Committee of the CP(b)U of September 16, 1946 was well known for local social protection bodies. Thus, in his speech Malkevych, the head of the district social protection body in Vinnytsia region at the same meeting said: “In our region there has been done a lot since the decision of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CP(b)U on the work of MLECs in 1946, in particular in 1946, 4 162 invalids were expelled from the register lists as those, who fully recovered, more than 9000 people were transferred from disability Group II to Group III...” (CSAHAU, f. 348, d. 3, c. 204, p. 127).

One more item of this document is worth mentioning. Minister for Social Security V. Muratov lost his post. At the same time, the resolution called for radical personnel changes at all lower levels of the social protection system. There was an issue of full management updating of the social protection bodies and MLECs. Reliable cadres were needed to carry out the important but immoral task of the party. In order to encourage the heads of social protection bodies to perform such task, they were included into the nomenclature and an appropriate material support (special distributors, rations, etc.). According to S. Kulchytsky, “the state-commune did not rise above the society, but absorbed it: absorbed all the horizontal links and structures that functioned, stitched the society to its full thickness with its own vertical structures...” (Kulchytskyi, 2021, p. 184). Thus, the turn of the party-government

leadership of the UkrSSR in the attitude towards the Patriotic War invalids was expressed in the fact that invalids began to be massively deprived of disability and transferred from disability Group II to Group III.

As soon as the resolution of the Central Committee of the CP(b)U was studied by the local social protection bodies and verbal directives were received, a sharp reduction in the number of registered veterans-invalids began immediately. In just two weeks, the social protection bodies provided the Ministry for Foreign Affairs with information according to which the number of the Patriotic War invalids decreased by 55 306 people in the country. Then, during January – September of 1947, the reduction was somewhat slower (from 7 to 12 thousand per quarter). From October of 1947, the rate of decline in the number of invalids increased again: 17 925 were deregistered in October, 19 948 people – in December of 1947. The archival materials make it possible to determine precisely that the reduction in the number of war invalids in the UkrSSR, starting from October 1, 1946 and ending on January 1, 1950, was done by MLECs who recognized invalids as completely “recovered” and deregistered them as the Great Patriotic War invalids. The state, accordingly, completely waived all obligations to veterans. In his letter to the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (b) Mykyta Khrushchov dated January 8, 1948 with a request to help conduct a new register list review of the Patriotic War invalids in the UkrSSR, the head of the Ministry for Social Security F. Ananchenko wrote: “... The Ministry for Social Security of the UkrSSR on the basis of a number of measures taken from October of 1946 and in 1947, as a result of a thorough medical and labour check up reduced the number of Group II of the Patriotic War invalids by 10.1% and transferred to the category of healthy 62.5 thousand people. This measure saved the state funds for the payment of pensions together with a bread allowance of up to 160 8 million krb. The urgent need for revision is dictated not only by saving public funds for the payment of pensions, but by the need:... B) to check the correctness of determining the degree of disability and determination of a disability group... We anticipate a reduction of Group II invalids by 8% and a transfer to the category of healthy over 39 thousand people. This measure will save public pensions funds up to 120 million krb. per year” (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 23, c. 5181, p. 3–4) (underlined by us. – The authors).

High “efficiency” of the re-examination of invalids by means of the so-called “thorough medical check up” prompted F. Ananchenko to initiate another large-scale re-examination campaign, which was held during the first quarter of 1948. As a result of this review and re-examination, 53 555 veterans were declared completely healthy and expelled from the disability pensions lists (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 23, c. 5181, p. 70).

Thus, from October 1, 1946 to April 1, 1948, 116 055 invalids, former defenders of the Soviet homeland, were deprived of the status of “the Patriotic War invalids” in the Ukrainian SSR and expelled from the disability pensions lists. There is no information on 55 306 veterans-invalids during the period of the last two weeks of September of 1946, and due to a lack of archival sources, we can only make assumptions. The archival document, a letter from I. Kononenko, the Minister of Health of the Ukrainian SSR, to F. Ananchenko, the Minister for Social Security of the Ukrainian SSR, partially clarifies the situation with the sudden reduction in number of war invalids. In the letter I. Kononenko reports that in regional social protection bodies of Mykolaiv region as of November 1, 1946 there were registered 113 Patriotic War invalids who died, and also 613 veterans-invalids who moved to another places of residence. 171 dead invalids-veterans and 1 632 war invalids who left the place of permanent residence were still registered in the district social protection bodies

security of Stalin region (CSAHAU, f. 348, d. 3, c. 149, p. 94). In other words, the officials took into account the arrival of disabled veterans, and those who died or moved were left on the register lists due to negligence or selfish intent. It is worth noting the statement of a modern researcher that under conditions of austerity the crime against invalids grows even in a relatively prosperous society (Healy, 2020, p. 176). The documents of the Ministry for Social Security of the Ukrainian SSR of this period are replete with materials about “schemes” of pension funds stealing. In the middle of September of 1946, when a strict directive was received from Kyiv to reduce the number of the Great Patriotic War invalids, the social protection bodies “cleaned” the lists of veterans immediately.

Thus, as we can see, the rapid growth in the number of the Patriotic War invalids registered by the social protection bodies during the Third Famine in Ukraine was simply stopped by a resolution of the Central Committee of the CP(b)U of September 16, 1946. In fact, this growth necessitated an emergency meeting of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CP(b)U, at which the resolution was adopted.

Having determined the interference fact by the party and government leadership of the UkrSSR in the work of MLECs in order to stop the growth in the number of the Patriotic War invalids in the Ukrainian Republic, and then reduce the number of the latter, we will try to find out the reasons for this action. This interference fact is evidenced by the archival document “Brief Information on the Work of the Ministry for Social Security on Social Protection and Employment of the Patriotic War Invalids”, which was prepared for D. Korotchenko, the secretary of the Central Committee of the CP(b)U by V. Muratov, the Minister for Social Security of the UkrSSR. This document was prepared for the above-mentioned emergency meeting of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CP(b)U. The date under the document is September 14, 1946.

The first section of the document entitled “Pension Provision” contains information on the growth of the number of the Patriotic War invalids of the rank and file, sergeants and officers during the period of 2,5 years – from January of 1944 to July of 1946. It was significant that it indicated not only the total amount of pensions paid each year, but also the total amount of monthly pensions, which increased in proportion to the increase in the number of war invalids registered by social protection bodies. In the document it was written that in 1944 the amount of the monthly pension for the entire contingent of the Patriotic War invalids amounted to 24 171 krb., and in July of 1946 it reached 68 672 krb. (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 23, c. 3064, pp. 28–29). If we take into account that as of September 16, 1946, the average pension of a war invalid was 147 krb. in the USSR, and the social protection bodies registered 565 300 veterans-invalids of the rank and file, sergeants and officers, then the monthly pension of the Patriotic War invalids should have been 83 099 krb. If such number of them had been the same in the future, the annual amount of pensions only for veterans-invalids would have reached 1 billion krb. in the UkrSSR. It is known that in 1946 a total sum of 3 277 billion krb. was planned for pensions and social security benefits in the state budget of the UkrSSR. The sum of 886 million krb. was planned for pensions to the Patriotic War invalids in the UkrSSR in 1946 (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 23, c. 4891, p. 35). Thus, the sharp decline in the number of the German-Soviet war invalids during the second half of September of 1946 practically made it possible to maintain the monthly amount of disability pension at the level of August 1, 1946, and the annual amount of pensions for veterans-invalids did not exceed 824 million krb. Although, from the point of view of a modern theory of social protection of people with disabilities, income support funding, medical and social services should be planned as a single package because, only in this case it is possible to prevent

health deterioration and provide invalids with an early in-time treatment and support for a long-term treatment (Macdonald & Morgan, 2021, p. 1125).

As a result, it should be noted that a sharp change in the Soviet leadership social protection policy on the Patriotic War invalids, which took place in September of 1946, was due to socio-economic reasons. Due to the drought, Ukraine did not fulfill the plan of grain procurement, and therefore could not increase funding of social protection, the amount of which was approved in March – August of 1946. Reducing the number of war invalids registered by social protection bodies not only helped save social security budgets, but also created conditions for saving bread in the Ukrainian Republic. And this fact could be reported in the Kremlin. Social protection of 171 361 veterans-invalids was transferred from the state to the society, to invalids' families and, finally, to invalids themselves. If we add to this figure another 21 000 veterans expelled from the list of invalids during the revision of 1945, it turns out that 192 361 veterans lost their disability group, or one in three Ukrainians injured during the German-Soviet war.

Based on these facts, we can determine the closest to reality the number of the Patriotic War invalids in the UkrSSR during the post-war period. Thus, some Ukrainian historians stated that every second war veteran out of 3,5 million veterans who returned home was an invalid (Kondratiuk, 2007, p. 196). But in this figure, obviously, it is not taken into account that disability must be determined aptly. As it was mentioned above, there were 616 400 veterans-invalids in Ukraine before “a thorough medical check up”. To this number there should be also added the Patriotic War invalids – soldiers and officers of the NKVD troops who were registered and got pensions in their department. In the summer of 1945 there were 12 000 invalids (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 23, c. 1841, p. 126). Thus, in the middle of September of 1946, there were at least 628 400 Patriotic War invalids in the Ukrainian SSR.

The above mentioned fact raises some questions: What was “a thorough medical check up”? Perhaps, there were purely medical and scientific grounds for the mass deprivation of veterans of disability group and their transfer from disability Group II to Group III? These questions are answered by a fragment of V. Aber's speech, the director of the Central Institute for the Expertise of Invalids' Working Ability (CIEIWA), at the above-mentioned Republican meeting of social protection bodies in March of 1947: “This year we are striving for one important event, we want to create something in the form of diseases lists in different groups to determine disability and decide on employment prospects” (CSAHAU, f. 348, d. 3, c. 204, p. 188). In other words, it is said that the leading scientific institution for the examination of working ability only intended to elaborate clear guidelines for more than 900 MLECs of Ukraine on the correct determination of a disability group for veterans, while in the Ukrainian Republic there was already in a full swing “the fight against the inflated percentage in disability Group II” by means of “a thorough medical and labour expertise”. Thus, the so-called “thorough medical expertise” was a fiction. This term was used to cover up injustice towards veterans.

Disability Group II turned into a kind of “deficit” organized by the heads of social protection bodies. Group II certificate was often obtained by officials and the party nomenklatura, or “people of administrative and economic department”. The phenomenon was so widespread that in Dnipropetrovsk region it was decided to conduct a review in MLECs among the Patriotic War invalids who held leading posts. As a result, among 87 war invalids of Group II, 31 representatives of the nomenklatura had to be transferred to Group III, and among 167 invalids of Group III, 64 people were excluded from the list of disability Group. Among them there were those who obtained a disability certificate without having any injuries even (CSAHAU, f. 348, d. 3, c. 383, p. 47).

Another nuance is worth noting. The actions of the social protection bodies and MLECs aimed at establishing the “correct” ratio of disability groups among veterans-invalids in 1946 – 1948 became a sign of a political campaign. Like any political campaign initiated by the party, the campaign to combat the “inflated percentage of Group II invalids” was accompanied by storming events, an appropriate party and bureaucratic vocabulary, competition between social protection bodies, the announcement of “leaders” and “those who lag behind”.

However, this campaign took place during the end of 1946 and the beginning of 1947, not at the pace expected by the leaders of the Ukrainian SSR. We do not know the fact that anywhere in the USSR two members of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (the Bolsheviks) were present at the Republican meeting of social protection body clerks at the same time. Such phenomenon took place in Soviet Ukraine. Two comrades of Stalin: Lazar Kahanovych, at that time – the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CP(b)U and Mykyta Khrushchov – Chairman of the SNC of the UkrSSR – on March 24, 1947 were present at the Republican meeting of the Ministry for Social Security of the UkrSSR. The transcript of this meeting, which is stored in the archives, does not contain their speeches. However, knowing the peculiarities of the Soviet meeting, it is difficult to imagine that two well-known party leaders occupied the seats in the presidium and kept silent during the meeting. Apparently, the stenographic report was censored carefully, and their speeches were deleted from the text after the meeting. Perhaps, stenographers were instructed during the meeting. But even if we assume that Lazar Kahanovych and Mykyta Khrushchov did not say a word at the meeting, it is important for us to know what the meeting participants were concerned about in their presence. In the speakers’ speeches, in addition to the standard expression of calls to take care of employment, material support, treatment and recreation of the Patriotic War invalids, the main issue was one – reduction of the number of Group II war invalids by means of a “thorough medical and labour expertise” and their transfer to Group III. By their presence, Lazar Kahanovych and Mykyta Khrushchov “showed the sign” to intensify the campaign of “ousting” of Group II war invalids to Group III.

The Conclusions. Thus, the party-government leadership of the UkrSSR, verbally expressing concern for veterans-invalids, during the period of 1946 – 1950 initiated an action of mass reduction of the number of the Patriotic War invalids registered in the social protection bodies of the Ukrainian Republic. To do this, they used the mechanism of re-examination and review in MLECs using the so-called “a thorough medical and labour check up and expertise”. The basis of “a thorough medical and labour check up and expertise” was the manipulation with the category of “disability”. “A thorough medical check up and expertise” was used under pressure by social security officials also to reduce the amount of the disability group veterans in Group II and register them in Group III. All this was done in order to relieve the burden on the budget of the Ministry for Social Security and prevent its deficit against the background of a total regime of saving money and bread in the Ukrainian Republic, which “did not fulfill the plans of grain procurement” from the point of view of the Kremlin leadership. As a result, during the Third Famine, many Great Patriotic War invalids lost even the meager financial assistance provided by the Soviet state to veterans-invalids during the postwar period.

Acknowledgement. We express our sincere gratitude to the staff of the Central State Archive of the highest authorities and administration of Ukraine and the Central State Archive of Public Associations of Ukraine for their help in finding the necessary archival materials.

Funding. The authors did not receive any financial support for the publication of this article.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ananchenko, F. N. (1948). *O rabote organov social'nogo obespecheniya Ukrainskoj SSR* [On the work of social protection bodies of the Ukrainian SSR]. Kiev: M-vo social'nogo obespecheniya USSR, 64 p. [in Russian]

Bolle, E. N. (2009). Pensionnoe obespechenie invalidov Otechestvennoj vojny v voennye i pervye poslevoennye gody [Pension provision for invalids of the Patriotic War during the war and in the first postwar years]. *Voенно-istoricheskij zhurnal – Military History Journal*, 6, 50–56. [in Russian]

Feseler, B. (2005). “Nishchie pobediteli”: invalidy Velikoj Otechestvennoj vojny v Sovetskom Soyuze [“Poor winners”: invalids of the Great Patriotic War in the Soviet Union]. *Neprikosnovennyj zapas – Inviolable stock*, 2–3(40–41), 21–33. [in Russian]

Fieseler, B. (2014). Soviet-style Welfare: the disabled soldiers of the “Great Patriotic War”. In: Rasell, Michael and Elena Iarskaia–Smirnova (Eds.): *Disability in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union. History, Policy and Every day Life* (pp. 18–41). Abingdon-NewYork. [in English]

Healy, J. C. (2020). “It spreads like a creeping disease”: experiences of victims of disability hate crimes in austerity Britain. *Disability & Society*, 35(2), 176–200. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09687599.2019.1624151>. [in English]

Hlazunov, A. D. (1970). *Lhoty ynvalydam vojny [Benefits for War Invalids]*. Moskva: “Iurydycheskaia lyteratura”, 152 p. [in Russian]

Horohorina, G. A. (2005). *Politika gosudarstva v oblasti social'nogo obespecheniya i rehabilitacii invalidov vojny i truda v period 1941 – 1945 gg.: na materialah RSFSR* [State policy in the field of social security and rehabilitation of war and labor invalids in 1941 – 1945: on the materials of the RSFSR] (*Candidate's thesis*). Moskva, 275 p. [in Russian]

Kondratiuk, K. (2007). *Novinia istoriia Ukrainy. 1914 – 1945 rr.* [Recent history of Ukraine. 1914 – 1945]. Lviv: Vydavnychi tsentr LNU imeni Ivana Franka, 262 p. [in Ukrainian]

Kulchytskyi, S. (2021). Leninska derzhava-komuna yak instrument pobudovy spotovrenoho svitu [Lenin's Commune State as a Tool for Building a Distorted World]. *Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal – Ukrainian Historical Journal*, 2, 167–185. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.15407/uhj2021.02.167>. [in Ukrainian]

Lel'chuk, V. S. (1967). *Smeniv mechi na orala. Rasskaz o 4-j pyatiletke (1946 – 1950 gg.)* [Having changed swords for plowshares. A story about the 4th Five-Year Plan (1946–1950)]. Moskva: Izdatel'stvo politicheskoy literatury, 112 p. [in Russian].

Lysenko, O. Ye. & Perekhrest, O. H. (2015). Demografichni vtraty Ukrainy u roky Druhoi svitovoi viiny [Demographic Losses of Ukraine during World War II]. *Arkhivy Ukrainy – Archives of Ukraine*, 3, 8–34. [in Ukrainian]

Lysenko, O., Perekhrest, O., Perekhrest, I. & Irzhavska, A. (2011). Demografichni vtraty Ukrainy v roky Druhoi svitovoi viiny [Demographic losses of Ukraine during World War II]. In V. A. Smolii (Ed.), *Ukraina v Druhii svitovii viini: pohliad z XXI stolittia. Istorychni narysy* (v 2 vol. Book 2, pp. 737–784). Kyiv: Naukova dumka. [in Ukrainian]

Macdonald, K. & Morgan, H. M. (2021). The impact of austerity on disabled, elderly and immigrants in the United Kingdom: a literature review. *Disability & Society*, 36(7), 1125–1147. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09687599.2020.1779036>. [in English]

Mukovskyi, I. T. & Lysenko, O. Ie. (1997). *Zvytiaha i zhertovnist: ukraintsi na frontakh druhoi svitovoi viiny* [Victory and sacrifice: Ukrainians on the fronts of World War II]. Kyiv: Knyha Pamiati Ukrainy, 568 p. [in Ukrainian]

Patryliak, I. & Hryn, D. (2020). Unusual Nazism: Ukrainian National-Socialist Workers' Party in the Post-war Donbas. *Skhidnoievropeyskyi istorychnyi visnyk – East European Historical Bulletin*, 17, 184–196. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.24919/2519-058x.17.218197>. [in English]

Peliih, I. V. (2005). *Social'naya politika v SSSR v 1945 – 1953 gg.: Na materialah Krasnodarskogo kraja* [Social policy in the USSR in 1945 – 1953: On the materials of the Krasnodar Territory] (*Candidate's thesis*). Moskva, 194 p. [in Russian]

Sahach, O. M. & Lavrinenko, L. I. (2020). Osoblyvosti rozvytku systemy okhorony zdorovia Ukrainy u KhKh st. (na prykladni Chernihivshchyny) [Peculiarities of the health care system development in Ukraine in the twentieth century. (on the example of Chernihiv region)]. *Storinky*

istorii: Zbirnyk naukovykh prats – Pages of history: Collection of scientific works, 49, 204–224. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.20535/2307-5244.49.2019.189551>. [in Ukrainian]

Slobodianskyi, M. S. & Hitman, Sh. S. (1949). *Zbirnyk zakonodavchykh ta normatyvnykh materialiv po pensii nomu zabezpechenniu* [Collection of legislative and regulatory materials on pension provision]. Kyiv: Ministerstvo socialnogo zabezpechennia, 455 p. [in Ukrainian]

Tsentralnyi derzhavnyi arkhiv hromadskykh obiednan Ukrainy [Central State Archive of Public Associations of Ukraine – **CSAPAU**]

Tsentralnyi derzhavnyi arkhiv vyshchykh orhaniv vlady i upravlinnia Ukrainy [Central State Archive of Higher Authorities in Ukraine – **CSAHAU**]

Vronska, T. & Lysenko, O. (2012). “Okopne bratstvo”: frontovy mikrosotsium u konteksti voiennoi povsiakdennosti [“Trench Brotherhood”: frontline micro-society in the context of military everyday life]. *Storinky voiennoi istorii Ukrainy – Pages of military history of Ukraine*, 15, 8–25. [in Ukrainian]

*The article was received April 20, 2021.
Article recommended for publishing 23/02/2022.*

UDC 94(477:438)“19/20”
DOI 10.24919/2519-058X.22.253740

Yaroslav SYRNYK

PhD hab. (History), professor, deputy dean of the historical and pedagogical faculty of the University of Wrocław, 48 Shevska Street, Wrocław, Poland, postal code 50-120 (jaroslaw.syrnyk@uwr.edu.pl)

ORCID: 0000-0002-1026-5120

ResearcherID: ABB-5857-2020

Ярослав СИРНИК

доктор історичних наук, професор, заступник декана історико-педагогічного факультету Вроцлавського університету, вул. Шевська, 48, м. Вроцлав, Польща, індекс 50-120 (jaroslaw.syrnyk@uwr.edu.pl)

Bibliographic Description of the Article: Syrnyk, Ya. (2022). The Ukrainian issue in Post-war Poland as a special indicator of understanding the complex socio-political challenges of today. *Skhidnoievropeyskyi istorychnyi visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 22, 153–163. doi: 10.24919/2519-058X.22.253740

**THE UKRAINIAN ISSUE IN POST-WAR POLAND
AS A SPECIAL INDICATOR OF UNDERSTANDING THE COMPLEX
SOCIO-POLITICAL CHALLENGES OF TODAY**

Abstract. *The purpose of this work is to show that a set of issues that summarizes the term “Ukrainian Issue in Poland” can be a tool for understanding the universal problems of today. The article refers to the ways of understanding history, repected in such a delineated level of emotionality that it changes over time. From the XIXth century history became the basis of national legitimacy in modern states. Despite the changes that took place in the world over the past two centuries, the matrix of thinking of the Polish society is based on the national idea. This also applies to the Polish historical thinking. This factor plays a key role for the Ukrainians, citizens of Poland, who are mainly descendants of migrants from the Vistula campaign. And although there is an opinion in this community about their difference from the Polish majority, in their approaches to the past, the Ukrainians in Poland are similar to the majority. The article is based on hermeneutic methodology. The scientific novelty consists in an attempt to universalize the experience of the diaspora. The article ends in several practical conclusions. The Conclusions. The universalization of the experience of the Ukrainians in post-war Poland can replace unpromising accentuation. That is, writing it into the common code. We need to understand the other person’s emotions for this to happen. Empathy is needed for the second person. It takes work to measure the criteria by which we evaluate the world. At the same time, we also need a mature consciousness of possible manipulations to which we may be subjected. Universal in the experience of the Ukrainians in post-war Poland is loss, patience, fear, nostalgia, chance, but also stubbornness, sacrifice, or on the other hand curiosity, insignificance, naivety. Universal destinies of the Ukrainian partisans, underground fighters, prisoners, peasants and burghers, women, activists, priests, poets, engineers. A universal story about the road: from place to place, from time to time. A universal story of change. There is something to replace 1947, to stop fearfully thinking that we may indeed be “the last Ukrainians in Poland”.*

Key words: *historical thinking, the Poles, the Ukrainians, worldview, national idea.*

УКРАЇНСЬКЕ ПИТАННЯ У ПІСЛЯВОЄННІЙ ПОЛЬЩІ ЯК ОСОБЛИВИЙ ІНДИКАТОР РОЗУМІННЯ СКЛАДНИХ СУСПІЛЬНО-ПОЛІТИЧНИХ ВИКЛИКІВ СУЧАСНОСТІ

***Анотація. Мета роботи** – показати, що комплекс питань, які підсумовуються терміном “українське питання у Польщі”, може бути знаряддям для розуміння універсальних проблем сьогодення. Від XIX ст. історія стала у модерних державах основою національної легітимзації управління. Попри зміни, які впродовж останніх двох століть відбулися у світі, матриця мислення польського суспільства і надалі базується на національній ідеї. Сказане вище стосується і польського історичного мислення. Цей фактор відіграє ключову роль для українців, громадян Польщі, які в основному є нащадками переселенців з акції “Вісла”. І хоч у їхньому середовищі існує думка про відмінність від польської більшості, у підходах до минулого, українці у Польщі подібні до більшості. Стаття спирається на герменевтичну **методологію**. **Наукова новизна** полягає у спробі універсалізації досвіду діаспори. Стаття завершується низкою практичних висновків. **Висновки**. На заміну безперспективній акцентуації може прийти універсалізація досвіду українців у повоєнній Польщі, тобто вписання його у загальнозрозумілий код. Щоб це сталося, потрібне зрозуміння емоцій іншої людини, емпатія для неї. Потрібна праця, щоб мірила, якими оцінюємо світ, були однаковими. Потрібна при цьому і дозріла свідомість можливих маніпуляцій, яким можуть нас піддавати.*

Універсальні у досвіді українців повоєнної Польщі втрата, терпіння, страх, ностальгія, випадковість, як і впертість, жертвовність, чи, з іншого боку, заінтересованість, нікчемність, наївність. Універсальні долі українських партизан, підпільників, в'язнів, селян і міщан, жінок, діячів, священників, поетів, інженерів. Універсальна розповідь про дорогу: з місця до місця, з часу до часу. Універсальна розповідь про зміну. Є чим заступити 1947 р., перестати з острахом думати, що може й справді ми “останні українці у Польщі”.

***Ключові слова:** історичне мислення, поляки, українці, світогляд, національна ідея.*

The Problem Statement. It is easy to summarize that in the public sphere in Poland the prevailing view is that knowledge of history (along with language and religion) is one of the main components of a human identity¹. The same view is shared by members of the “indigenous” Ukrainian community in Poland (i.e., citizens who are mostly descendants of displaced people of the operation “Vistula” or residents of non-resettled parts of Podlasie), although they have some problems with the very concept of “identity”. As a rule, they refer to the standards of the XIXth and the first half of the XXth century, when the Ukrainian communities functioned in a compact form. Today, the Ukrainian “indigenous” community is mainly united by the idea and a virtual communication, which strengthens the position of history or collective memory, which should be understood as a transmission (often recorded) about the past.

The Analysis of Recent Research Works and Publications. There is no direct empirical data, no specialized opinion polls were conducted to confirm my hypothesis². **The purpose** of this work is to show that a set of issues that summarizes the term “Ukrainian Issue in Poland” can be a tool for understanding the universal problems of today.

¹ This leitmotif can be in the books of Roman Drozd, for example: Drozd R. (2013). *Українці в Polsce wobec swojej przeszłości (1947–2005)*. Słupsk: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Akademii Pomorskiej w Słupsku. [in Polish], but also in the title of a selection of materials edited by Roman Drozd and Igor Hałagida: Drozd R. & Hałagida I. (Ed.) (1999). *Українці в Polsce 1944–1989: walka o tożsamość: dokumenty i materiały*. Warszawa: Burchard Edition. [in Polish]. We could list many works by such authors as Bernadette Wojtowicz-Huber, Yaroslav Moklyak, and from the earlier works of Stepan Kozak in which the question of identity, and in fact outlined the type and content of identity and their connection with the understanding of the past.

² In 2017, a report was published by Tomasz Stryjek, Joanna Konieczna-Salamatin, and Kamila Zacharuk. However, the study was conducted in Ukraine. Stryjek T., Konieczna-Salamatin J., Zacharuk K. *Українці о історії, культурze і stosunkach polsko-ukraińskich*. More here: <https://nck.pl/badania/projekty-badawcze/raport-ukraincy-o-historii-kulturze-i-stosunkach-polsko-ukrainkich> (accessed: 12.06.2020)

The Main Material Statement. At the same time, it should be remembered that even scientific history is not the same as the past. History is only *an image of the past*. The image is created by someone on some basis, or so, and not otherwise read (given the possibilities, the will, etc.). The image is simplified. The complexity of reality, or life, always is given a condensed code as a word, a picture, a movie, a ritual. An image, whose meaning can be understood by content that is written and hidden, drawn and empty. Such an image can just as well “remind” the past, as well as “distort” it.

To evoke the past in presence, we often use the analogy of our own experience and compare it to the social experience of the past. Through history, they say, we can relate to other people’s experiences. The question of how to read the past, finally (naturally), makes you think about the meaning of life. At the same time, this very question, by the modalities of reading of the past, explains the phenomenon of social relations. They aren’t accidental, but hierarchical. There are embedded in the very essence of time: something was, something is, something (perhaps) will be. Words are spoken in order and only silence allows complicity. In other words – history as an attribute of the description of time becomes an attribute of the establishment of a hierarchical relationship. Here it “matters” who speaks and who listens to, in which turn the words fall, from which dictionary they are taken. Those who want to speak, those who agree/are forced to listen to, it is in which turn the words fall and in which dictionary they are written, it seems to fence off the real world from the past with a thick screen (although and so it is separated by time). This “fog” is paradoxically built of a mixture of secrecy (taboo) and selectivity. Neither those who speak nor those who listen will always be in a hurry to break such a curtain. Both sides are restrained by fear of misunderstanding, chaos. Fear gives energy to those who lead, at the same time forces those who get commands to listen. It is an eternal ritual of the emotional chain if we refer here to the famous sociologist Randall Collins (Collins, 2011). R. Collins notes that the ritual of establishing a hierarchical relationship does not always go smoothly, in which he sees the mechanism of a social conflict (Collins, 2011, p. 133). Transferring this to the basis of understanding history, one could see in this the actual mechanism of conflicts concerning understanding or interpretation of the past. This applies not only to the world of “big politics”, but also to quarrels between politicized or simply unaware communities, parishes or, ultimately, families.

The approach to history, along with the approach to religion, tradition or language (!) in reality can only be indicators of the deeper elements of our spirituality and emotionality. They may reflect our fear, which is transferred to attempts to dominate or turn into subordination. In addition, we are talking not only about the relationship of a man with the universe (i.e., most likely the relationship of a man with himself), or a relationship of the individual with another individual, but also a very important social aspect – the relationship of an individual with a community. If the community is conjunct by some understanding of the idea, then belonging to the community is measured, no doubt, by a zeal to confess to the idea.

At the end of the twentieth century, sociologists and anthropologists of culture were noted, that individual cultures or communities, who are bonded by elements of culture, including language, political structure, etc., can be grouped by personality indicator (IDV) (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2007 pp. 106–107). On one hand, such an indicator can help to understand the differences in the approach to history not only in different nations but also within one community. Opens new ways to analyze the reasons for the taboo of history, its mythologizing, an inclination to accentuation, and etc. On the other hand, it exposes the particular mechanism of the individual and group, including the pressure to which the

individual is subjected by the group, and unambiguously outlines the sources of the identity of the individual (group as a source of identity).

The general descriptions, of course, will not reflect the peculiarities of the Ukrainian community in Poland. Problems with the approach to history or the past, arise when we begin to analyze what it means to understand history, or how we treat our identity, and even more often when we move from a general statement to a conversation about the concrete past, which is remembered (or not) in individual events, or finally when we to process knowledge about the past to interpretations (here on occasion there is a question about the level of such knowledge). That is, when we create a story from single sentences.

The general formula of collective knowledge, or better the collective memory of the past, which in the works of historians of the Ukrainian origin³, but also articles in “Nashe Slovo”, “Vatra”, “Ridna Mova” or “Blahovist”, can be characterized by several points. First of all, this knowledge is national-centric. This is documented primarily by the topics raised in “Nashe Slovo”, initiatives for perpetuation (this is especially evident in the example of the struggle for the memory of the UPA guerrillas). Also, the majority of professional historians are ethnohistorians, when the subject of analysis we take their monographic studies.

In the nation-centric perspective, the most important factor is the affiliation, and in fact, the very clearly defined affiliation of the unit to the community. Such thinking is a manifestation of the superiority of the collective over an individual. Everything is further connected with the first. The most touching point in historical thinking is a simplification. This is primarily evidence of a paradoxically little knowledge of the past, sometimes dictated by fear, sometimes ordinary intellectual laziness. People who study history have their views, which are sometimes difficult to change under the influence of research. It seems even that the essence of these studies is to find “evidence” for their right. However, in my opinion, simplification is the most dependent on access to information and the availability of popular forms of such.

There are many simplifications or missing places in the knowledge of our past from the last 75–80 years. This applies even to seemingly recognizable topics, such as the martyrology of the Ukrainian villages in Lemkivshchyna, Boykivshchyna, Nadsyannia, Kholmshchyna in 1944 – 1947, the UPA, USKT, the functioning of churches, schools with Ukrainian as the language of instruction, and the problem of UB / SB informers network, attitude of the Polish state to the Ukrainian minority, possible influences of the Russian agents in displaced environments, etc. One of the unanswered questions is about the fate of those people who were

³ I drew the phrase “Polish historian of Ukrainian origin” from the biography of one of the historians in Wikipedia. Regardless of the wording, the phenomenon of the “generation of historians” in the Ukrainian community in Poland should be noted. Even before his appearance, in the communist period, he wrote and published his works, among others. in USKT publications, Roman Shagala, Mykhailo Kozak, Antin Serednytsky, Yaroslav Hrytskovyan or Stepan Zabrovary. Historical accents were found in the works of literary and linguistic scholars: for example, Mykhailo Lesiv, Volodymyr Mokry. Interesting points (for example, about the involvement of Ukrainians in the communist movement, participation in the Polish army, etc.) and interesting ways of covering them were found in mostly shorter studies of USKT figures, including Mykola Korolko, Stepan Makukh, memoirs of Mykhailo Donsky, etc. An important monograph on the Ukrainian question in Poland was published in 1990 by Myroslav Trukhan, a native of Poland. At the turn of the ‘80s and 90’s the works of Mykola Syvytsky, Oleksandr Kolyanchuk, Omelyan Vishka began to be published. Evhen Misilo (born 1954) should be recognized as a kind of luminary of the “generation of historians”. The outbreak of publications and the emergence of new authors began in the second half of the ‘90s. In this context, it is worth mentioning such persons as Bohdan Huk (b. 1964), Myroslav Sych, Marko Syrnyk (1962) or Roman Drozd (1963), and then Hryhoriy Kupriyanovych (1968), Ihor Halahida. (1971), Roman Vysotsky and others. In 2003, the Ukrainian Historical Society in Poland was founded, with Rostyslav Zherelyk (1956) as its first chairman. Among the members of the Society are Peter Gerent (1974), Maryush Humetski (1969), Bohdan Halchak, Petro Tyma (1966), Petro Syvytsky, Volodymyr Pylypovych, and Yaroslav Syrnyk (1970), and younger Andriy Bozhyk (1975), Marko Kozubel (1987), Magdalena Semchyshyn (1982), or Alina Bachich (1979). The society does not cover all historians of Ukrainian origin. There are also memoir initiatives (such as the Roman Kryk’s “Los” Foundation).

taken out in 1947 in the same trains as part of the “Vistula” campaign, which immediately “ceased to be ours”. It is somewhat surprising comfort that such persons are crossed out by one epic word “perekinchik” (=a kind of apostate). Of course, “on the dark side of the moon” were different people. Sometimes they are “neophytes in the second generation”, who – this is a fact – hold various government positions, become ambassadors, voivodes, starosts, actors, etc. Ukrainianness is not usually typical of them or it is the theme of taboo to them, it also happens that it turns into the most radical “anti-Ukrainianness”.

Interestingly, the experience of the Ukrainians in Poland did not stimulate them to attempt to find answers to universal questions: what is the role of women, how has it changed, what is the nature of the family, what are the causes of conflict, violence, what is power, whether there are alternatives for our planet, how to earn a living. All this is in the treasury of the past, which we did not even start, giving priority to the study of struggle and sacrifice, putting as an axiom of the meaning of life a striving to statehood, without even asking about the meaning of such.

Knowledge can be extracted from the history of real people, their not corrected biographies, from the history of individual families, or real communities provided that we will not be interested only in whether someone was in the UPA, USKT, or has written to “Nashe Slovo”, or “was a zealous member of the parish”. The leitmotif of fight or self-sacrifice crosses out to some extent the essence of an ordinary life. Tries to rise above it, thus establishing a symbolic hierarchy. History, like language, reduced to such function, becomes an instrument of control and subordination.

In addition to nationalism and simplification, a distinctive feature of our approach to history is imitation and related reactivity. Interestingly, at some point, one might notice a slightly different approach from community representatives or historians. Here I mean the break of the 80s and 90s of the twentieth century, when the works about the Vistula operation, memoirs of UPA soldiers, or later chronologically elaborations on the history of the Greek Catholic Church began to be published. However, something changed in the meantime. Firstly, the study of the Vistula action was not in-depth, which allowed the “other side” to establish the “alleged dilemma” of whether it was a political “action” or a military “operation”. Secondly, only for a short time did it draw attention to the issue of agential influence on our community by the communist services. Most importantly, however, until recently, the Ukrainians in Poland have failed to cope with the legacy of the UPA. To the accusations addressed to the UPA, whether they are justified or not, the reaction is fear and a chaotic search for counter-arguments. It is significant, that the Ukrainians in Poland “removed themselves” from learning the horrors of the “Volyn massacre”, on the second, how the same Ukrainians from Poland were pushed out of – albeit conditional – dialogue about Volyn, on the third – how the Ukrainian minority was used by the Polish politicians both within soft-politics of “reconciliation”, or the extreme policy of spokesmen “thesis of genocide”, where the Ukrainians, e.g., Petro Tyma, a former head of the Associations of the Ukrainians in Poland, became almost “a symbol of the Volyn liar”.

As in the case of a large part of the Polish historiography, the Polish thinking about the past, the attitude of the Ukrainians to the same past is emotional. Emotionality can be found in the words and phrases about “preservation”, “consistency”, “value”, “dedication”, “wrong”, etc. Even in works of a scientific nature only in a few cases (Huk, 2013), one can find an opinion that is based not only on emotions (they do not run away and they do not have a problem) but attempts to sift the empirical material theoretically substantiated by a sieve. Only a chronological establishment of facts based on available sources is, in principle, an agreement

to distort knowledge of the past. Although the key materials about the past, including the past of the Ukrainians in Poland, are not in Warsaw and not in Kyiv, but in Moscow, however, available materials should be analyzed using sociological, anthropological and psychological tools.

The universalization of the experience of the Ukrainians in Poland is essentially a translation into generally understood, regardless of a language, issues related to a human understanding of the world, passions, human expectations, and etc. One concrete example could be an updated interpretation of the Vistula operation. The only thing we know about the Vistula action is that it was unfair, that it was an insult to the Ukrainians in Poland. The Vistula action was an element of a much larger episode. Without that context, no useful conclusion emerges for the Ukrainians in Poland, but also it is impossible to describe in categories that are understandable for people in every corner of the Earth. First of all, the Vistula operation, together with the resettlement of the Ukrainians to the USSR in 1944 – 1946, was a common, albeit large-scale, land theft. At the same time, the consequences of which weigh on generations, political or military aspects go into the distance.

Approaching in more detail the rather universal issues listed above, I will dwell on the problem of the role and fate of the Ukrainian women. In the classical historical format, the Ukrainian woman is primarily not a woman, but a mother-wife-daughter or – and this is the second a paradoxical type of narrative – “main character” of the background of events. Interest in a women’s past, always, or mostly exist in a special context: struggle, martyrdom, labour. A woman is a mother of a hero, a wife of a hero, a daughter of a hero, an archetypal mother-sufferer, a widow, a maid, etc.

The fact that narratives, often used by women themselves, reflect the relevance of the patriarchal type of society we create, despite all the changes that have taken place, is one thing. More important is the actual will removal of women from the shadows of men and men-dominated history. By the way: history would have ended long ago without women. In other words, it is possible, first of all, to acquire knowledge about the fate of individual women, to create tools for studying them not only in connection with the heroic or martyrological but also everyday, ordinary, sometimes ugly.

Recently I have come across source materials about a young woman from Vysova (Lemkivshchyna). She was born in 1926 and died 20 years later. Her name was Sofiya. The material I’ve mentioned is the interrogation reports created by the OUN Security Service investigator. The young woman was detained when she crossed the Polish-Soviet border near Peremyshl at the end of autumn of 1945. There are five protocols left, only a few dozen pages written in small handwriting. They contain a lot of information and another unwritten one, although it specific one seems quite obvious. Sofiya was suspected of collaborating with the Soviets. At first, she denied it, then she admitted it, then she denied it again. Although this does not arise directly from the text, one can guess that she was finally shot. However, in the text itself, there is a lot of interesting information about the everyday life of the pre-war and occupied Lemko region, family relations, living standards, raising children, financial matters, inheritance from a mother who died, disagreement with a new father’s wife, recruitment to Germany and more. Then there is an interesting story about the journey of a 16-year-old Lemko woman through Krakow to Dresden region, and then the life in the part of the Czech Republic embodied in the Reich. A growing woman, away from home, in a strange environment, who struggles with various life situations in the context of war. Then a fragment of “life on the road”. Unhappy love, the Soviet camps in the Czech Republic, Romania, moving to Lviv and purely adventurous, albeit without happy-end shots of the last

weeks of life. Life and the fate of Sofiya from Vysova, are understood everywhere, mainly for people who were born a woman, who has a child or who was forced to live like a refugee. Universalization of experience seems incomprehensible for those who find it necessary to show the originality of Ukrainianness. It is a question of horizons. Whether the group should be closed, which directly leads to its self-destruction, or the group should be open, ready for change. The historian does not want to impose such a choice, but probably must be aware of the consequences of words and the way of thinking that is enclosed in words.

The question of assimilation for the community, whose members try to keep it the community “alive”, actually becomes a question of whether or not to be. That is why, it is emotional. If we combine the classical understanding of the past with ideology, then we must conclude that the ethnohistorical or nation-centric narrative of the past strengthens the ideologizing of the life of such community as a whole, as well as its members. Since in a full-fledged community the ideologisation of life must compete with the experience of real contact and exchange, then in the case of the Ukrainian community in Poland ideologisation closes the “identity aspect” of life in parentheses. Therefore, at work, at school, in the store, in hospital, in transport, etc., “native Ukrainians” are “ordinary” citizens, whose identity does not matter, but only for some reason is gaining importance in the middle of these brackets. This is transferred to the real relations, sometimes destroying them.

There are a few things to be aware of. First of all, one should stop using the word “assimilation” as a “horror story” or understanding it in the negative sense of identity. Assimilation is a process of change associated with time and therefore, from life to death, this category is obvious. Why should we argue that we are changing? What is important: is the vector of change. This begs the question: who determines this vector? Or maybe it’s better – how is it determined?

It is worth noting that those who write or talk about the past in the context of assimilation (which is provoked by some, for example, records of government documents related to the “Vistula”), emphasize the necessity for “preservation of identity”, “stability of views”, “obviousness of history”, etc., mostly made a choice that cancels out the most important alternative – the alternative of returning. We all “write from somewhere”. Not only metaphorically, but also really: from Gdansk, Slupsk, Szczecin, etc. That is, writing “from there” we give a solid testimony, which sometimes contradicts pathetic words. Assessing heroism or abomination, that is, using emotional and moralistic categories, we give ourselves the right to excuse: it is not my fault, we say that I am where I am. Just as it is easy to show off “patriotism” sitting on a comfortable chair 1 500 km from the front line in Donbas, just as it is easy to persuade yourself that “this is all I can do”, writing about examples of the heroic past, which can “warm-up” my ego with rays of “past glory”.

The problem with the category of “assimilation”, which we find in texts about the past, shows other things, e.g., the already mentioned methodological weakness of historical works. In-depth research with a sociological perspective is rare. The authors, with exceptions (including Bogdan Huk), actually use an intuitive popular vocabulary to describe the past. On the one hand, this improves communication with the reader, but also paradoxically narrows the circle of readers. The imitation of similar strategies in the case of the majority of society, government, education system, or media is counterproductive in my opinion, as the actions of the Ukrainians in Poland are spontaneous. This is an actional, closely related to individuals.

Understanding the variety of assimilation should seem to arise from knowledge of history. But it does not work. The figure of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky, Vyacheslav Lypynsky, but

also hundreds of unprocessed biographies of people from “mixed families” from the period of war, displacement, and finally the complexity of the Lemko or Podlasie issue – all this should indicate that our attitude to term “assimilation” motivated by fear or something similar, does more harm than good. Usually, a change has been directly related to the recognition of truth. But also with the courage to say “as is” and not as “as it should be” to speak.

One of the features of our understanding of the past is the strategy of non-reception. Those who take a voice in the affairs of the past naturally feel the need to “protect” the community of which they feel part. Whether for personal reasons or due to external pressure, at some point it turns into unambiguity and a kind of syndrome of “besieged stronghold” – intellectual positions become the final bastions. I experienced that when I listened to a well-known professor in Poland a few years ago (albeit a non-historian), who I previously accepted as a symbol of the Polish-Ukrainian dialogue. His way of life seemed unambiguous under that view. But from the same professor, I heard – and this in a public speech – unambiguous, emotionally-charged statements addressed to the idea of dialogue, which, as he said, did not take place. These were words full of disappointment.

Rejection is a kind of “soft” denial. The mechanism of accentuation, “mine-not mine” establishes clear preferences. If the choice is “my pain – someone’s pain”, of course, we will, first of all, relate to what affects us. It is worth following a selection of words and a selection of arguments of individual authors. When different words are used for a similar or identical phenomenon, it is a visible sign of the author’s unequal approach to the problem. It is not uncommon to see “our people being not killed”, but “our people are being eliminated”. This mechanism can be attributed to dehumanitary tools. The second, very common example, is when “ours is attacked by a forest gang” in response to which “a retaliatory action is carried out by a detachment”. You do not need any applications to understand what role is assigned to whom.

If a parallel analysis of what was written about the Polish-Ukrainian relations were made, perhaps its image would be exceptionally monotonous when it comes to wording and would differ only in the vector of content saturated with terms that are not subject to scientific analysis and terms that testify to the functionality of history. “Evidence”, “testimony”, “crimes”, “victims” are – in addition to the mentioned carriers of emotions – elements of the vocabulary of lawyers and politicians. The trouble is that many historians do not think about it at all. Much less numerous, but more aware of this fact very active group of cynical politicians is dressed as “respectable”, “objective” specialists.

In nature, a physical pain is difficult to imagine otherwise in human biology. However, because we do not stand on Darwinian positions, do not profess evolutionism or its modern variants, because we accept the existence of the human spirit as something more as a result of chemical processes. The transfer of understanding of a physical pain in the world of ideas can occur in different ways. This in no way contradicts the acceptance of the biological components of a human nature but complements them. One other example of understanding pain is its universalization. That is, “pain” becomes important whether it is ours or not.

Even attempts to find to the victims numerical data findings can be a type of division of the pain into ours or not ours. Radoslaw Zenderowski calls this a “The victimization battle” (Zenderowski, 2009), seeing in it several very dangerous processes, which is possible to wind the next spirals of violence. Since subjective experience is difficult to compare (in parallel, such experience is easily subjected to various forms of metaphors, or “poeticization”), there must be other things that say something about the past. On the one hand, the twentieth century, called the “century of genocide”, so it would be impossible to describe events

without numbers. The problem is an extraordinary focus on them. The consequences of such thinking are terrible. More victims subconsciously diminish their significance, making them either forgotten or at least “less important” victims.

The analysis of our approaches to the past always says a lot about ourselves and our understanding of the world in which we live. You can approach this in an individual dimension, i.e., for example, try to “understand” the understanding of the world by the author of these words, seeing in his books some traces of the other authors influence, strategies for proving their views, or even some more or less hidden things. Whether they are all true (of course not). The full content of the text might be hidden even from its author. Sometimes one or another reader realizes this which is the wisdom of Gadamer, who identified the truth in dialogue (Gadamer, 2008).

You can also try to find common or related elements of the narrative. Again, it is more about form than content. Here returns the already recalled case of the relationship between the individual and the community (group). You can make a thesis about the actual heroes of historical descriptions, despite the presence of various characters and events. In my opinion, as already mentioned, the advantage or even a monopoly belongs to the part of the group. It is defined in different ways (perfect illustration is in the descriptions of the same people who are the Ukrainians for some, the Lemkos for the others, the Ruthenians for the others, etc.). Assignment to a specific group is a separate thing. So, at far, the advantage is given to the group compared to the individual.

To the explanations used above about the distinction between individualistic and collectivist cultures (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2007), another factor should be added – globalization. The basis of globalization changes is in the field of communication, the disappearance of existing barriers (technical, political), the acceleration of information. However, instead of the old barriers, the world is not free, but a world is born in which various organizations but also smarter units try to establish new principles (i.e., – new barriers), adapted to the current opportunities and ambitions of some of them. The pressure created by change itself, but also attempts to correct changes in the world, which often contradict each other, i.e., the process of actually strengthening the pressure of change, brings a variety of reactions. One of them is defensive reactions, which are called the return to national roots. When we write about the varieties of situations, here we are primarily talking about establishing the level of the spontaneity of such phenomena. Some of them may be “sabotage” in nature (i.e., they are a direct or indirect consequence of global players’ rivalry).

Appetite for planetary domination is not a new phenomenon. And this is by no means a “conspiracy theory” but a statement about the actions of two blocks cut by the “iron curtain” in the second half of the twentieth century, which after a kind of vacuum in the ‘90s, more and more heading to the rivalry between China and its satellites, and the United States and its satellites. Russia also has its ambitions here.

Geopolitics influence historical narratives. And also narratives concerning the Polish-Ukrainian past. This is evident primarily in the anti-Moscow rhetoric of a significant part of the historiography of Poland and Ukraine. That is, there is a key in the new historiography, which contrasts the actual, true “Polishness” or “Ukrainianness” with all kinds of “Moscowness” (“Soviets”). On the anti-Moscow basis, the myths of the “cursed soldiers” and the UPA guerrillas were built. This is also a reaction to long-standing attempts to impose a mirror-opposite myth (which is now firmly restored in Russia) – the myth of the “evil, rotten West”, which has taken the form of the “Russian world”.

Thus, different people are calling (and some are forcing) to “join them”, “unite” with them. The problem with this is that joining in most cases means “acknowledging and obey”. That is, those who call to “join” to, have an interest that we become a part of their world. “Packaging” will be a promise, emotional blackmail, or a machine gun.

Another problem is that individuality is a very scarce commodity. That is, in principle, the individual has to choose not “alone or in a group”, but “in which group”. According to the principle on which they unite, there is a hierarchy of “political power” of groups. The national, ethnic principle turned out to be stronger in comparison with the class or modern idea. Also, a national principle is comparable to the religious one. Ideological principles uniting in groups mask the violence (physical, symbolic) that appears with each attempt to create a hierarchical structure. The power of this phenomenon is so great that every attempt to hint at the theoretical possibility of another kind of community (non-hierarchical) causes a stream of ridicule about another “utopia”.

In the real world, the vectors of influence of individual groups, their ideologies, actions, etc., create confusion. Whether it is seen or felt by individuals is an individual matter. My observations lead me to the conclusion that everyone needs a “solid foundation”. That is, the model we have accepted is required for normal functioning. Such individual models are necessary for our constant comparison and correction (although some like to declare themselves: “we are consistent”). In a full-fledged community, corrections are dynamic and multi-vector. When the community is crippled, there are not enough natural mechanisms to correct the model. This sometimes deepens the tendency to seal the remnants of the group, and eventually to its final decline. Following this path, we come to the wall: the success of one generation is only a postponement of the inevitable – and this is exactly what describes the state of our community in Poland. Provincialism cannot be competitive with geopolitics, and should not be compared with it. However, this is the formula that the next generation of “the Ukrainians in Poland” is trying to implement (Kryshtopa, 2019). Everything written in grief is in some way combined in accentuation, i.e., the psychological tendency to over-defend “one’s own” and at the same time underestimate “another’s”. The narrative of the past is full of resentment and a constant struggle for recognition of the exclusivity of the “Zakerzonnya” (= territory beyond the Curzon line) space for speculation. The lack of value (truth, and ultimately Truth, i.e., the Absolute) as a point of reference that should bind the national idea, destroys it. Therefore, any accentuation in the historical narrative is not only counterproductive but extremely harmful for people who are open to adopting such a distorted idea as a true idea.

The practicality of history and the true role of the historian are to cover the events of the past as carefully and comprehensively as possible and offer general conclusions that may be useful today. The historian is more like a data analyst, or a surgeon, than like Prometheus or Moses. The surgeon is not expected to weep over the operated patient. The surgeon must know “how and why”, although he and everyone else must be aware that his knowledge is relative. In turn, the data analyst knows that the quality of the conclusions depends on his data. This approach breeds criticism. If a community is to be treated as a whole, it needs such a sanitary means that it can develop. This is not “art for art’s sake”, as it seemed to someone. It is also not always a manifestation of extreme individuality, swollen egocentrism or the like.

Words, including words about the past, will not bring it back, will not reconstruct it. Just as in geometry one must understand what a plane projection is, so in history one must understand what a word projection is. The operation Vistula, like the past, is billions of episodes that no common denominator will give away. The action “Vistula” as words is only

a projection, and in fact – each time projections of the past. Today, we are experiencing the struggle for the projection pattern recorded in cultural memory, the key that will “unpack” further description. It will not change the past, but it can affect the future.

If the story of the past has its key, it is worth realizing what it is and what it is capable of, that is, what doors it opens. This is the responsibility of words, not just professional historians.

The universalization of the experience of the Ukrainians in post-war Poland can replace unpromising accentuation. That is, writing it into the common code. We need to understand the other person’s emotions for this to happen. Empathy is needed for the second person. It takes work to measure the criteria by which we evaluate the world. At the same time, we also need a mature consciousness of possible manipulations to which we may be subjected.

Universal in the experience of the Ukrainians in post-war Poland is loss, patience, fear, nostalgia, chance, but also stubbornness, sacrifice, or on the other hand curiosity, insignificance, naivety. Universal destinies of the Ukrainian partisans, underground fighters, prisoners, peasants and burghers, women, activists, priests, poets, engineers. A universal story about the road: from place to place, from time to time. A universal story of change. There is something to replace 1947, to stop fearfully thinking that we may indeed be “the last Ukrainians in Poland”.

Funding. The authors did not receive any financial assistance for research, preparation and publication of the article.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Collins, R. (2011). *Łańcuchy rytuałów interakcyjnych* [Chains of interactive rituals]. Kraków: Zakład Wydawniczy Nomos. [in Polish]

Drozd, R. & Hałagida, I. (Ed.) (1999). *Ukraińcy w Polsce 1944 – 1989: walka o tożsamość: dokumenty i materiały* [Ukrainians in Poland 1944 – 1989: struggle for identity: documents and materials]. Warszawa: Burchard Edition. [in Polish]

Drozd, R. (2013). *Ukraińcy w Polsce wobec swojej przeszłości (1947 – 2005)* [Ukrainians in Poland in the face of their past (1947 – 2005)]. Słupsk: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Akademii Pomorskiej w Słupsku. [in Polish]

Gadamer, H.-G. (2008). *Teoria, etyka, edukacja. Eseje wybrane* [Theory, ethics, education. Selected essays]. Selected by Rafał Godoń, introduction & ed. Paweł Dybel, transl. Andrzej Przyłębski & other. Warszawa. [in Polish]

Hofstede, G. & Hofstede, G. J. (2007). *Kultury i organizacje. Zaprogramowanie umysłu* [Cultures and organizations. Programming the mind]. Warszawa: Polskie Wydawnictwo Ekonomiczne. [in Polish]

Huk, B. (2013). *Ukraina. Polskie jądro ciemności* [Ukraine. The Polish heart of darkness]. Przemysł: Stowarzyszenie Ukraińskie Dziedzictwo. [in Polish]

Kryshchtopa, O. (2019). *Ostanni ukrainci Polshchi* [The last Ukrainians of Poland]. Ivano-Frankivsk: Dyskurs. [in Ukrainian]

Stryjek, T., Konieczna-Salamatin, J., & Zacharuk, K. (2020). *Ukraińcy o historii, kulturze i stosunkach polsko-ukraińskich* [Ukrainians on history, culture and Polish-Ukrainian relations]. URL: <https://nck.pl/badania/projekty-badawcze/raport-ukraincy-o-historii-kulturze-i-stosunkach-polsko-ukraińskich> [in Polish]

Szacka, B. (2006). *Czas przeszły, pamięć, mit* [Past tense, memory, myth]. Warszawa: PWN. [in Polish]

Zenderowski, R. (2009). Wyścig wiktymistyczny w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej. O wyższości Holocaustu nad Golden Age [The victimist race in Central and Eastern Europe. About the superiority of the Holocaust over the Golden Age]. *Studia Bobolanum*, 3, 65–93. [in Polish]

The article was received June 02, 2021.

Article recommended for publishing 23/02/2022.

UDC 331.105.44(47+57)“1953/1964”
DOI 10.24919/2519-058X.22.253729

Viktor DOKASHENKO

PhD hab. (History), Professor of the Domestic and Foreign History Department Chair of “Horlivka Institute for Foreign Languages” of the State Higher Educational Institution “Donbas State Pedagogical University”, 24 Vasily Pershin Street, Bakhmut, Donetsk region, Ukraine, postal code 84511 (v.m.dokashenko@ukr.net)

ORCID: 0000-0003-2769-7197

ResearcherID: AAS-5362-2020

Viktoria KONTSUR

PhD (History), Associate Professor of the Domestic and Foreign History Department Chair of “Horlivka Institute for Foreign Languages” of the State Higher Educational Institution “Donbas State Pedagogical University”, Vasily Pershin street 24, Bakhmut, Donetsk region, Ukraine, postal code 84511 (kontsurvv@ukr.net)

ORCID: 0000-0002-5461-2243

ResearcherID: AAS-5367-2020

Віктор ДОКАШЕНКО

доктор історичних наук, професор кафедри вітчизняної та зарубіжної історії Горлівського інституту іноземних мов ДВНЗ “Донбаський державний педагогічний університет”, вул. Василя Першина 24, м. Бахмут, Донецька область, Україна, індекс 84511 (v.m.dokashenko@ukr.net)

Вікторія КОНЦУР

кандидатка історичних наук, доцентка кафедри вітчизняної та зарубіжної історії Горлівського інституту іноземних мов ДВНЗ “Донбаський державний педагогічний університет”, вул. Василя Першина 24, м. Бахмут, Донецька область, Україна, індекс 84511 (kontsurvv@ukr.net)

Bibliographic Description of the Article: Dokashenko, V. & Kontsur, V. (2022). The Soviet Trade Unions and Resumption of the Labour Disputes Institution (1953 – 1964). *Skhidnoevropeyskyi istorychnyi visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 22, 164–177. doi: 10.24919/2519-058X.22.253729

**THE SOVIET TRADE UNIONS AND RESUMPTION
OF THE LABOR DISPUTES INSTITUTION (1953 – 1964)**

Abstract. *The research objective* is to identify and carry out the scientific tracing of the political component in the resumption of labour disputes against the general historical background of the trade union activities during the period of 1953 – 1964 (known as the Thaw) to define the causes and motives for the authorities' interests about labour disputes to grow. **The research methodology** is based on general historical principles; it is supplemented and concretized by the elements of the theory of social and labour relations which in the most generalized form cover the relationship between three subjects of relations:

workforce, an owner of production means and the state. **The scientific novelty** comprises the process of resumption of labour disputes which is analysed for the first time in the Ukrainian historiography in the context of forms and methods characteristic of political history based on the use of labour legislation of that period as a historical source in combination with traditional historical sources. There has been determined the nature and causes of collective and individual labour disputes latency in accordance with the political tasks of the Thaw. **The Conclusions.** The postwar resumption of the labour disputes institution which, in fact, began only in the mid-1950s, was influenced by two opposing tendencies: the need to change subject-object relations and the need to remain intact the dominant form of ownership and its political attributes. As a result of these mutually exclusive directions, collective disputes turned out to be outside the law and became the part of big politics. The trade unions that took care of these processes changed their function from social protection of workers to protection of political interests of the state.

Key words: industrial conflict, the Thaw, political history, totalitarianism, labour disputes, functions of trade unions.

РАДЯНСЬКІ ПРОФСПІЛКИ ТА ВІДНОВЛЕННЯ ІНСТИТУТУ ТРУДОВИХ СПОРІВ (1953 – 1964)

Анотація. Мета дослідження – на історичному тлі профспілкової діяльності у період 1953 – 1964 рр. (відомий як доба “відлиги”) виокремити та здійснити наукове простеження політичного компонента проблеми відновлення практики трудових спорів з визначенням причин та мотивів зростання до нього владних інтересів. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на загальноісторичні принципи, а також доповнюється та конкретизується елементами теорії соціально-трудова відносин, що в найбільш узагальненому вигляді охоплюють взаємовідносини між трьома суб’єктами: робочою силою, власником засобів виробництва та державою. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше в українській історіографії у контексті форм і методів, характерних для політичної історії, на основі використання законодавства про працю “епoxy відлиги” як історичного джерела в комплексі з традиційними історичними джерелами здійснено аналіз процесу відновлення інституту трудових спорів. Визначено природу та причини латентності їх колективних й індивідуальних різновидів відповідно до політичних завдань «відлиги». **Висновки.** Відправною точкою для висновків виступають політичні компоненти державної форми власності та планового ведення господарства і командно-адміністративної системи управління, що її супроводять. Повоєнне відновлення інституту трудових спорів, що фактично почалося лише з середини 50-х рр., відбувалося під впливом двох протидіючих тенденцій: потреби зміни суб’єктно-об’єктних відносин і необхідності утримання в непорушності панівної форми власності та її політичних атрибутів. У результаті дії цих взаємовиключних чинників колективні спори фактично опинилися поза межами права і стали частиною великої політики. У зв’язку з цим професійні спілки, які опікувалися цими процесами, поглибили видозміну функції з соціального захисту трудівників на захист політичних інтересів держави.

Ключові слова: виробничий конфлікт, “відлига”, політична історія, тоталітаризм, трудові спори, функції профспілок.

The Problem Statement. The proposed topic is an integral part of the labour problem which has always included a conflict as its integral companion. Eliminating or at least reducing of a conflict severity has always been relevant to all its participants. In addition, this is not a conflict based on, according to the Marxist interpretation, private ownership of the production means, but the conflicts that arose when this so-called “obstacle” had long since been removed and what is known as socialist property dominated on its ruins. In this regard, the institution of labour disputes, as one of the elements in the fight against this evil, acquired multiple political features. As a means of disguise the results of the state ownership domination, as a form of supporting the political ambitions of the government, as a way to overcome the resistance of Stalinism’s outspoken supporters, and, ultimately, as a model of social and labour relations of the future. Under modern conditions, this issue, to some extent, is updated by the development of a new labour legislation.

The chronological boundaries of the mid-1950s – mid-1960s provide probably the best opportunities for the study of these processes due to a range of reasons. The most important of them was the new paradigm of the postwar world, in which the ideas of liberalism took a prominent place and became its main vector of development. This new vector completely ruled out the possibility to use classical Stalinism as a political form of development for the Soviet society. This message in the postwar trend was a key one and had to be fully reflected in the new development of the Soviet state known as the Thaw. And even if at that time history suddenly had taken the subjunctive mood and Stalin had been lucky to survive the terrible blow of illness and betrayal of his allies; and Khrushchev, respectively, would have failed to embody his conspiratorial plan, the change in the political course of the USSR would have still happened. Although, perhaps, in a different time dimension and with the participation of other political players. The post-war liberalization of the world was to play a key role and the Soviet Union had to adapt to the conditions of the post-war world under all circumstances, because it was, in essence, about preserving the system.

In view of the above, the Thaw, that replaced the classical Stalinism, was to offer such a paradigm for the development of the Soviet society that would allow the USSR to adapt to the postwar conditions while helping to preserve its fundamental principles in the form of state ownership of the means of production and its accompanying attributes. For the most part, this was to be facilitated by the low level of conflict in production, which would have fully justified a large-scale social experiment based on state ownership and the accessories that ensured its inviolability. The institution of labour disputes, which was traditionally subordinated to the most popular public organization, helped the ruling power to maintain a safe level of conflict.

Established in 1918 as a component of new labour relations, it had undergone a complex path of transformation carried out in accordance with the needs of the Soviet state: from the demands of “war” communism to a new economic policy and then – to forced industrialization, and later – to the firing 1930s and at last until the war, when the need for it virtually disappeared. In the first postwar years (1947), an attempt was made to resuscitate the institution of labour disputes. It was also urgently needed by the Labour Code of the USSR. Adopted in 1922, the Labour Code grew with a huge number of amendments, and according to modern experts, remained a formal rather than a real source of legal regulation of labour relations. In 1952, this Code of laws was republished with the stamp “for official use”, and a special number was assigned to each copy of it (Kiselyov, 2003, p. 34). The latter made the Code actually inaccessible to the “broad strata” for which the Bolsheviks began their historical metamorphosis in 1917.

Thus, the new political team was faced with the task to fill the Code with a new content that would correspond to the spirit of the new era and, at the same time, could liberalize the system of relations between the state as the owner of the production means and employees. The Soviet trade unions, in which sphere of competence labour relations were, also needed renewal. The new paradigm of their functioning was formed in the resolution of the December (1957) plenum of the Central Committee. There is every reason to believe that this resolution was a somewhat belated reaction of the ruling party to Convention No. 87 of the International Labour Organization (ILO), which provided for freedom of association and protection of the right to join trade unions and entered into force on July 4, 1950 (Convention № 87... (1948).

Since the Thaw predicted completely new, unknown to the USSR, the charms of liberalism, this, of course, could not help but affected the nature of the postwar change in labour legislation. According to the researcher Kiselyov I., labour legislation “modernized, freed from the most

odious features of the Stalin era, became more democratic, more in tune with the generally accepted principles of legal regulation in the civilized world” (Kiselyov, 2003, p. 34). In the context of labour relations, the institute of labour disputes was also drifting.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Research Works. The above gives grounds to assert the multifaceted nature of the problem and its relevance, in addition to history, at least some more areas of humanities: labour law, political science, sociology, and, perhaps, even conflict studies. This fact significantly expands the research base and complicates the process of elaborating the issue. At the same time, this gives grounds to expect the conclusions to be strengthened.

Taking into account the political subordination of the trade unions, the analysis of sources involves not only the documents of the public organization itself, which are stored in the Central State Archive of Higher Authorities and Administration of Ukraine (CSAHA of Ukraine), but also party organizations, many of which are concentrated in the Central State Archive of Public Unions of Ukraine (CSAPU of Ukraine). However, taking into account a rather low level of their reliability, especially in terms of the trade union statistics and in the presentation of particular facts of the trade unions’ activity, priority is given to the documents of personal origin such as individual complaints of workers. The results of a comprehensive analysis of these documents, in our opinion, have significant potential to strengthen the source base. In the context of the problem, they provide sincere and, most importantly, truthful information about violations of labour rights of citizens. Many of them preceded the emergence of labour disputes, and the others, on the contrary, were the result of dissatisfaction with their decisions.

However, despite the well-structured and systematized research base and attractive scientific prospects of the outlined range of questions, the historiography cannot be considered exhaustive. We assume that this may be due to the specifics of the Soviet model of the trade union building, based on the excessive functionality of this public organization, which requires a variety of professional training from a researcher. The range of the trade union functions was indeed extremely wide, and with each new version of the Statute it increased with new details. According to our estimates, the number of the trade union functions increased by more than 30% from 1954 to 1959. We identified 51 competencies in the Statute of the Trade Unions adopted in 1959. (Dokashenko, 2008). Their diversity is impressive: social competitions, various aspects of social insurance, the care of medicine and sports, the leadership of the union of innovators and inventors, the control of pensions, catering, and so on and so forth. The resolution of labour disputes was only one of the trade unions’ functions, but they were extremely important for the state.

In our opinion, the historiography of the problem should be constructed like a layercake, which allows distinguishing several blocks of scientific works, while maintaining a close structural and logical connection between them. The first block covers the works that form a general historical background of the Thaw. Modern historians, dividing post-war historiography into three parts, single out the 1950s and 1960s as separate segments (2017, p. 128). The works by V. Baran, V. Danylenko (Baran & Danylenko, 1999), O. Pyzhikov (Pyzhikov, 2002), and R. Pikhoya (Pikhoya, 2019) are quite convincing to represent this group. Lipkan A., for example, rightly points to the cosmetic nature of M. Khrushchev’s changes. The author writes, “The history of the Soviet society was still appraised in the light of *The CPSU (b) Short Course History*. At the same time, the party’s policy was recognized as correct at all stages.” (2015, p. 85). This group also includes the sixth volume of the collective multi-volume work *Political History of Ukraine...* (2003), which adds a political component to the mosaic of Khrushchev’s decade.

The second block of scientific literature includes the works on the history of the Soviet trade unions and, first of all, those ones that are directly related to the subject of this research study. That is the researches on the trade unions' activities in resolving those issues in which an employer and employees could not reach an agreement. Unfortunately, such works are scarce, but there are some undoubted achievements. There are scientific papers summarizing the progress of the trade unions in Ukraine (Essays, 2002) and the monographs by V. Tsvikh *Trade Unions and Civil Society: Theory, Methodology, Practice* (Tsvikh, 2002) and L. Tupitsa *Trade Unions in the Political System of Modern Society: Dimensions of Functioning* (Tupitsa, 2008) which create a methodological basis for new researches.

It should be noted that the importance of the Soviet-era works must not be detracted. Of course, we do not see their value in defending the ideological postulates of the Soviet totalitarianism but in detailing its mechanism, which indirectly disavowed the whole essence of the USSR political system. Therefore, the works of that time tend to be attributed not so much to the historiography of the problem as to its source base. The collective work *Trade Unions – Subjects of Soviet Law* (Tsepin, 1973) can be given as an example which, among other things, tells about labour disputes. It does not directly concern the period of the Thaw and, of course, somewhat reduces its value as a historical source. At the same time, this work has an important advantage such as the justification of the alterations made to the legislation from the Khrushchev Thaw to the Brezhnev stagnation. Thus, the authors, logically connecting the two historical periods, allow our contemporaries to take full advantage of the principle of historicism in their research studies, and, consequently, to penetrate deeper into the essence of the problem. If it is remembered that the team of authors includes six top specialists in trade union issues, it is difficult to overestimate the significance of this publication. Hardly anyone could have explained better from a legal standpoint the essence of the state concept of the labour disputes institute, as well as the place and role of trade unions in its functioning than they had done.

It should be noted that the source value of the above studies is significantly increased by works that provide an objective analysis of the political, economic, and cultural state of the Ukrainian labour. This is especially evident in the works of the diaspora group of historians who, despite the inaccessibility of the archival database, were able to use the existing set of theoretical and methodological tools of world historical science. The result was the creation of an authentic, quite plausible concept of the situation of the Ukrainian workers (Nefedov, 2020, p.187).

The third block of researches includes the literature on labour law. These are numerous textbooks and a number of articles on the history of the formation and development of the labour disputes institution. Of course, their authors do not aim to trace the historical aspect of the problem or to investigate the political causes and consequences of the resumption of the above-mentioned institution, but characterizing labor law, they clearly show the tendency of subordination of law to politics. In the Khrushchev era, as well as after it, the distinction between political and legal aspects of the problem became increasingly illusory. Therefore, till nowadays “In the post-Soviet social space, the meaning of the rule of law is an imported commodity for both professional and general use”. (Rabinovich, 2021, p. 252).

Does it mean that law and politics will be completely separated? It is doubtful. Most likely it is a matter of achieving some reasonable balance. Lawyers have long been talking about the current trend of legal sciences, which continue to drift towards the rejection of the universal idea of law and increasingly declare its socio-cultural and historical conditionality (Varlamova, 2021, p. 32).

Summarizing the above, we emphasize that in none of these clusters of scientific literature the problem of the political dimension of labour disputes was not raised by the authors, although they have managed to create good conditions for its comprehensive study, which we are going to use.

The research objective is to single out the political component of labour disputes in the historical dimension of the Thaw and the subsequent determination of basic principles of existence and its impact on the emergence and resolution of collective and individual labour conflicts officially formalized in the form of labor disputes. Based on the above, the task is to find the points of latent intersection of political state interests with the functional activities of the institution built on the coalescence of public and administrative principles. There is hope that the achievement of the objective and accomplishment of tasks will give grounds for a conclusion on the transformation direction of the protective function of the most mass workers' organization. Considering the predominance of political motives in the problem, the scientific search will be carried out on the basis of forms and methods inherent in political history.

Methodologically, this problem is considered in the light of the social and labour relations theory, its adherents interpret labour disputes as part of “various social ties between working groups and units of the organization, as well as between individual employees within them, directly related to labour activity” (Kalyna, 2012, p. 60). In the most generalized form, the theory covers the relationship between three subjects: labour force, owners of the production means, and a state. Although these views finally united their supporters only at the end of the 20th century, this circumstance is not a warning against their application in the practice of labour relations in the period of the Thaw. The reasons for this are also provided by the fact that all these subjects, although in a rather specific form, existed within the studied chronological boundaries, and the influence of the state form of ownership gave its history a specific tragic colour. There were also relationships between the subjects of labour relations, which were traced through several planes: an employee – an employee, an employee – an employer, a trade union – an employer, an employer – a state, an employee – a state, and etc. Their presence detects the causes of labour conflicts. And the latter ones, according to the experts, “can occur for various reasons and at any stage of labour relations development” (Inshin, 2006, p. 73).

The Main Material Statement. To fully distinguish the political aspect of the problem, it is extremely important to clarify the conceptual apparatus. It is reasonable to start with the definition of *labour dispute*. Modern authors have formulated many of its definitions. In particular, the researcher V. Kabanets found eleven interpretations of this concept in scientific literature (Kabanets, 2005, pp. 146–148). We tend to use the wording proposed by V. Smolyarchuk. He interpreted this concept as “unregulated divergences that arose between an administration and an employee on the basis of labour legislation use or the determination of workers and employees' labour conditions that are resolved as established by law” (Smolyarchuk, 1973, p. 16). This formulation of the question for the period of the Thaw, in our opinion, is optimal as it allows at least partially to bypass the discussion which continues up today between the supporters of understanding this term in the broad (V. Safronov) and narrow (I. Kiselyov) meanings of the word (Tsepin, 1973, pp. 74–75). However, the latter, in our opinion, is more significant for juridical than historical research.

For us, the fact of legal division of labour disputes into individual and collective ones is much more important. According to modern experts, an individual dispute is “a duly motivated (formalized) labour dispute between an employee and an employer based on the protection of a violated labour law, submitted to an authorized jurisdiction according to

the procedure prescribed by the law.” A collective dispute is a disagreement that has arisen between the parties to social and labour relations regarding the establishment of new working socio-economic conditions and working environment or the alteration of existing ones; the conclusion or amendment of a collective agreement; the execution of a collective agreement, contract or some of their provisions; the non-compliance with the requirements of labour legislation (Inshin, 2016, pp. 404–406).

It is significant that the Soviet legislation of the postwar period did not recognize collective disputes at all, although the mechanism of their individual counterpart had been developed since the 1920s. In the Labour Code adopted in 1922 (with amendments as of March 1929), the mention of “a group competition” was still there, although it was more of a reservation than an independent unit. According to Article 169, all violations of the Code and other labour legislation acts were to be adjudicated directly at special sessions of people’s courts. The subject of a court case could be “all individual and group competitions between employers and workers and employees” (Code, 1929, pp. 40–41). We emphasize in passing that all other forms of group conflict resolution provided by the then current legislation, neither at the level of Pricing and Conflict Commissions nor in conciliation chambers and arbitration courts did not have such a prerogative.

However, even this was enough to recognize, all other circumstances being equal, that at the end of the 1920s, the way to resolve labour conflicts was a rather democratic one. Such satisfaction could indeed have taken place if not for the political circumstance enshrined in the formula of state ownership. The fact is that, remaining *de facto* the sole owner of production means, the state could not recognize the existence of group conflicts. The methodology of the so-called socialist form of ownership did not admit them *a priori*. One of the Soviet demiurges V. Molotov, characterizing the importance for the Bolshevik government of replacing private property with state one, in his report dedicated to the twentieth anniversary of the revolution, stressed that “This is not a small change, but a radical restructuring of the society, a radical overhaul of its economical basis” (Molotov, 1937).

It is clear that the form of ownership for the Bolsheviks was the main node in the mechanism of the Soviet-type state. Therefore, if one could think for a moment about the legitimacy of collective conflicts, logical questions would arise without clear answers. For example, if collective conflicts could not be avoided, then why was private ownership eliminated and in such a bloody way? It also turns out that the socialization of production means does not resolve the conflict between workers and an owner of production (in this case – the state). In view of the above, the recognition of group conflict legitimacy, especially one that requires the development of a special mechanism for its elimination in the general system of labour relations, erases the pathos of the concept formed under the influence of the events of October 1917. And, if in the 1920s their existence could be interpreted say as growth errors, in the mid-1950s such an explanation was practically excluded. Consequently, the lawyers did not see any sense to include it in the labour relations component.

The Thaw, which inherited the recognition of collective labour disputes, on the one hand had to add liberal features to the labour relations, but on the other hand it was forced to remove even the very concept of collective conflict and collective dispute from legal circulation. Both the first and the second actions had no right to take place primarily because, although indirectly, they questioned the legitimacy of private property transfer to state ownership. Under these circumstances, the authorities could afford to admit only “individual” labour conflicts and “single” labour disputes, which, of course, “could not have” any antagonistic

features. This could not be allowed also because the concept of a collective dispute had already been in a direct contradiction with the very important Stalinist formula of “a moral and political unity of the Soviet society”, invented by the “leader” at the 18th Party Congress (Stalin, 1939). Stalin’s team desperately needed this formula, because it easily covered up the mass repressions due to which the so-called unity was achieved. Eventually, time showed that it was completely demanded by the Thaw as well. It turned out that it was quite easy to string new ideologies on the formula, even such ones as the complete victory of socialism and the development of the material and technical base of communism.

Considering this circumstance, we are not surprised by the fact that collective labour disputes were not even mentioned in “Regulation on the Procedure for Considering Labour Disputes” developed by the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and approved by the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR on January 31, 1957. (Reference Book, 1958, pp. 319–325). Meanwhile, for the institution of labour disputes, it was the document of extraordinary importance. In fact, it began the postwar reincarnation of this institution. Soviet authors did not bother to search for special arguments in this regard. Thus, the well-known scientist of his time J. Davydovych, who gave the first doctrinal commentary on the Regulation..., did not comment on collective labour conflicts in the USSR in his work. Although one of the experts who studied the legacy of J. Davydovych, aptly and not without sarcasm, noted that he did not comment on collective conflicts, but made an effort to refute their existence in the USSR. In particular, he reduced his arguments to the fact that in the USSR, in contrast to capitalist countries, conflicts were not antagonistic in their nature, and therefore, there were no reasons for the clash of collective interests (Syrykh, 2011, p. 236).

Certainly, such explanations did not seem convincing to us. Therefore, to refute them, we tried to find documented facts and to confirm the real existence of collective conflicts, which would automatically raise the question of the need for resurgence of collective labour disputes. The latter gave grounds to claim that the absence of collective labour disputes in the above-mentioned Regulation... was politically motivated. However, since such disputes were not provided by the law, we were far from believing that there would be a chance to find at least one case of collective dispute in the archive. Although, in principle, it was possible to use other documents that would indirectly confirm our assumption. For example, it could be an official rejection to accept a plea of consideration or an issue with this wording raised at a meeting of the Factory and Local Committees (FLC), which was the next instance after the Labour Disputes Commission (LDC) to consider collective labour disputes. After all, it could be just a mention of such a dispute in the minutes of the party committee meeting. However, we could not find anything remotely close to it. Does it mean that there were no collective labour disputes?

It turned out that collective labour disputes took place and they were not sporadic cases. It is notable that they were not within the competence of trade unions and their labour dispute commissions, but within structural units of the KGB. Apparently, the collective disputes received their new name “violations of the work and rest regime” due to this organization. Each case was carefully studied by local authorities and immediately reported to the main department in Kyiv. There, all the incoming information from the field was analysed and immediately brought to the attention of the top party leadership of the republic. It was these documents that we had the opportunity to work with at the CSAPU of Ukraine.

It must be acknowledged that the vast majority of workers in towns and villages had sufficient grounds for collective protests. We have already written that in the late 1950s the output rate was increased by an average of 31% in a number of industries, which inevitably

led to a decrease in wages (Dokashenko, 2017, p. 40). It is not surprising that the majority of collective protests were related to the worsening social status of workers as the consequence of rising output rates and the parallel rise in food prices. Virtually all the collective labour disputes we have studied fit perfectly into the list of issues that could be considered by individual labour dispute commissions. But in the Regulation... the issue of “the use of established output rates and prices, as well as working conditions that ensure compliance with output rates” was placed at the top of the list of issues that could be considered by labour dispute commissions (LDC). It was the output rates that sparked off a strike of 160 employees at the Mykolaiv garment factory named after S. Kirov in October 1963. That same year, two tunnelling crews of 28 men at the mine Pioneer of the Dobropillivuhilia Trust (Donetsk Oblast) did not agree to start working because of the “impossibility of the plan”. At about the same time in Zhovti Vody, 151 workers at the Nova mine of the plant № 9 of the State Committee on Medium Engineering refused to leave the mine in response to the rudeness of the chief engineer of the enterprise (CSAPU of Ukraine, f. 1, d. 24, c. 5670, pp. 45, 61, 71).

Collective protests in the form of refusal to work were characteristic of absolutely all industries, including agriculture, regardless of an enterprise’s form of ownership. In 1962 in Artemivsk Raion of Donetsk Oblast, 40 livestock breeders did not start their work concurrently that was quite unexpected for the local authorities. In Kovel Raion of Volyn Oblast, 7 tractor drivers and 5 trailer hands did not join a sowing campaign. On the collective farm “Batkivshchyna” of Odesa Oblast, workers did not undertake their duties within 5 days, demanding the increase in payment for one working day not less than a kilogram of grain. (CSAPU of Ukraine, f.1, d. 24, c. 5670, pp. 5–6). To this can be added that the political side of the issue is quite clear in the above examples, especially given that these collective protests took place almost a year after the loud proclamation of the Program of building a communist tomorrow. The latter, at least, calls into question the expediency of its adoption. Perhaps that is why Artemivsk livestock breeders were quickly reminded of the reason for them to have been resettled from Lviv Oblast, apparently, they were alluded to the manifestations of so-called bourgeois nationalism. The tractor drivers from Volyn were also “explained” the importance of sowing for the whole country and the consequences for the people who disrupt a sowing campaign.

Thus, while the political affiliation of collective labour conflicts can be traced through their actual non-recognition by the authorities, the political side of their individual counterpart, on the contrary, is manifested in sufficient, even excessive attention to it. This conclusion arises from a careful analysis of the above Regulation... It includes absolutely everything: a deep detailing of a dispute procedure, determined stages, a carefully verified list of issues that could be submitted to the LDCs, as well as those that could not be discussed by them. In connection with the above, the natural question arises as to why the authorities of the Thaw did not recognize the existence of collective disputes in principle and clearly showed an increased interest in individual ones. The appropriateness of the issue becomes obvious when it is considered the nature of the disputes which was based on the state form of ownership and its accompanying attributes such as the command-administrative system and planned economy. That is, both collective and individual conflicts were based on the same factors, but the authorities’ attitude to these types of labour disputes was fundamentally different.

Why were individual conflicts nicer than collective ones to the government of the Thaw? To find out these details, we will try to clarify the reasons. In principle, they are the same and given in paragraph 10 of the Regulation, there are 14 cases in subparagraphs marked from “a”

to “o”. Hypothetically, each of them could be used with equal success in both individual and collective labour disputes, of course, provided that the latter are enshrined in law. Moreover, an individual conflict could instantly acquire the status of a collective one. According to modern experts, since the legal basis for conflicts was a violation of labour rights of one of the parties in the labour field (Inshin, 2008, p. 402), the simultaneous gross violation of workers’ rights for the same reason within, for example, one brigade or production unit threatened to cause a rapid growth of an individual conflict into a collective one. In essence, any such conflict could potentially turn into a collective protest. This interpretation does not just border on the possible political influence of workers on the government, but it is directly within it.

From this point of view, an individual labour conflict was no less dangerous for the authorities than a collective one. Of course, in order to prevent the latter, it was necessary to make every effort to block the possibility of the former. This approach is relevant for any type of government, and it was extremely important for its Soviet type. Under the conditions of state ownership, a conventional labour conflict between workers and administration of a factory or even a production unit was immediately filled with a political meaning, threatening the entire management system with serious political damage and the administrative chain from its bottom to the top with unpredictable consequences. Therefore, reducing the level of a conflict and, what was more important, its prevention became almost the main task of the authorities both in the centre and in the field.

For the leaders of the Thaw, it became especially relevant for another reason. Having seized power through a trivial coup d’etat and built their own strategy on rejection of Stalinism, the Thaw leaders were now not only forced to overcome a sharp political confrontation with the supporters of Stalinism, but also to constantly prove the advantages of their political course over the Stalin’s one to the community. That applied equally to all activities, but first and foremost to the labour rights of workers and employees, who were especially unceremoniously despised by the previous regime. By reducing the number of individual labour conflicts through the resolution of labour disputes, the leadership of the Thaw proved the benefits of its course of development to the society and thus enlisted the support of workers and employees, that was so much needed during the fierce political confrontation. This circumstance pushed the new government to find a tool that would, on the one hand, accurately measure the mood of the working class, and, on the other hand, would restrain the manifestations of possible dissatisfaction.

There was no need to look for such a tool too far. It was always nearby and became a companion of the Soviet economic system long ago. It was simply ignored for a long time. These were workers’ complaints about working, living and leisure conditions. They flocked to the party, state and trade union bodies from all over the country, signalling mass violations of the complainants’ labour rights. They ought to have been registered, grouped under problems, analysed, executives in charge ought to have been appointed and send these complaints out as intended to have taken appropriate actions. The only thing should have been done after the above steps, was to wait for replies about the satisfaction of complaints.

These documents were extremely important to determine the real volume of workers’ claims on labour issues. Without a quantitative dimension, the study of political processes is difficult even to imagine. Moreover, the source base of this and other similar studies suffers significantly from external impurities of untruth. The fact is that the statistics of trade unions on this issue can be called a statistic with a large share of conventionality. When party or state officials had to confirm the effectiveness of labour dispute commissions or a FLC, the number

of their meetings incredibly “increased”. Conversely, when they had to attest to the high level of workers’ consciousness, which became especially relevant after the party had set the course for the development of the material and technical base of communism, the number of meetings “declined inexorably”. Therefore, no one knew the actual number of cases considered.

In addition, as acknowledged by the resolution of the All-Union Central Trade Union Council dated June 25, 1963, the records of commissions and FLC on labour disputes were unsatisfactory at most enterprises. And one more thing that is especially important for the study, it is emphasized in the resolution that “Minutes of meetings are drawn up carelessly, and they are not kept at some enterprises at all” (Reference book, 1964, p. 298). This circumstance not only weakens the source base of the study, but also significantly complicates the confirmation of our previous hypothesis about the political component of labour disputes in the period of the Thaw. It is based on the assumption that the authorities were interested in concentrating the solutions of labour disputes within an enterprise, at the level of a production unit and a factory LDC. In extreme case, labour disputes were brought to the level of FLC and in an emergency – to the level of people’s judges.

Such a warning from the standpoint of the government’s interests was not accidental and much less superfluous. Even taking into account the conditional nature of constitutional provisions for the power, it should be stated that according to Art. 92 of the Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR (1937) judges were independent and subject only to the law, and Art. 91 proclaimed open consideration of cases in all courts of the Ukrainian SSR. This greatly complicated the intervention of party or administrative bodies in the solutions of labour disputes. At least formally, it was minimized. In fact, this meant that it was not an easy task to hide some glaring cases from the public or to influence a court decision. But was such an intervention necessary?

To confirm the above opinion we can use the materials submitted to the meeting of the presidium of Ukprofrada in February 1959. The presidium discussed the implementation of the resolution “On the work of the Chernihiv regional council of trade unions with letters and complaints of workers” by the Chernihiv regional trade union (CSAHA of Ukraine, f. 2605, d. 8, c. 2027, pp. 18–22). The re-examination of the issue revealed that 360 complaints had been received in the first nine months of 1959. In terms of number, the issues of dismissal and transfer to another place of work stood first on the list (20.5%); wage issues made the second highest number (18.6%). It is certain that the results would have been even more impressive if the Stalin or Voroshilovgrad Regional Council of Trade Unions had been heard with a report on this issue.

Relevant documents also confirm the high level of conflict over wages. In our opinion, the issue was also exacerbated by the reform of the management system and unsuccessful attempts to transfer the economy to an intensive way of development. It was these circumstances that required streamlining the output rates and wages, which affected the rate of wage. As a result, the number of complaints from workers grew rapidly. The All-Union Central Trade Union Council was forced to adopt a special resolution “On the results of the inspection of workers’ letters and claims on wages” in July of 1959. This resolution included information about a group of Kharkiv machine-building enterprises, as well as the Svetlanove Station (Stalin Railway) (Bulletin of the All-Union Trade Union Council, 1959, p. 1).

The above examples show a high level of labour conflict in the workplace quite convincingly and make the political component more eloquent. Assuming that a huge number of conflicts for their resolution would have been directed not to the LDCs and the FLC meetings, but to the people’s courts, the latter would hardly have been able to hide the real state of labour conflicts. And in this situation it does not matter whose side would have been taken by the courts. The judicial statistics would have recorded the decisions of all people’s courts. As of early 1962, there

were 604 courts in rural areas and 74 – in urban ones. Such statistics would have added cases from 25 appellate instances (National Economy, 1961, p. 33) and shown a staggering number of labour disputes in the republic. The latter could have completely eliminated all the efforts of Soviet propaganda aimed at convincing citizens of the advantages of the socialist mode of production, state ownership, alongside with the planned mode of management and the centralized form of government. This would have been a complete discrediting of the entire Soviet economy system and, at the same time, under certain circumstances could have become a powerful weapon of its destruction. The fact that this destruction did not happen was the exclusive “merit” of the most popular public organization, which enclosed solutions to these important issues for the state in its structure, thus preventing their discussion by the general public.

The Conclusions. The analysis allows to draw several final conclusions, which are based on the political aspects in the usage of state ownership of the production means and accompanying it the planned economy and command-administrative management in the USSR. Thus, firstly, we interpret the resumption of the labour disputes institution in the mid-1950s and mid-1960s as a forced step of the authorities aimed at modernizing the system of labour relations, which was essential for the country to adapt to the postwar world conditions. Secondly, the resumption of the above processes, which were carried out under the loud slogans of Soviet liberalism, was completed exclusively within the forms and methods inherent in the Soviet model of totalitarianism. The removal of such concepts as “a collective conflict” and “a collective dispute” from the Labour Code is a convincing evidence of this. Thirdly, the localization of individual labour disputes at the level of LDCs and FLC meetings was a balanced political step of the authorities aimed at preserving the problem within the enterprise, which prevented the wide publicity of the real scale of labour conflicts in the workplace. Fourthly, in these circumstances, the trade union guardianship was not only a factor in ensuring the process, but also a driving force in distorting the protecting function of the workers’ interests in the direction of protecting the political interests of the state.

Acknowledgement. We express our sincere gratitude to all the members of the editorial board for the consultations provided during the preparation of the article for publication.

Funding. The authors did not receive any financial support for the research and publication of this article.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Baran, V. K. & Danylenko, V. M. (1999) *Ukraina v Umovakh Systemnoi Kryzy (1946 – 1980-rr.)* [Ukraine in the conditions of systemic crisis (1946 – 1980)]. Kyiv: Vydavnychi Dim Alternatyvy, 333 p. [in Ukrainian]

Byulleten Vsesoyuznogo tsentralnogo Soveta professionalnykh soyuzov. (1959). [Bulletin of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions], (12), 4 p. [in Russian]

Danylenko, V. (2011). Sproby “sotsializatsii” radianskoi ekonomiky v roky khrushchovskoi “vidlyhy” (1955 – 1965) [Attempts to “socialize” the Soviet economy during the Khrushchev “thaw” (1955 – 1965)]. *Ukrayina XX st.: kultura, ideologiya, polityka. Zbirnyk naukovykh pracz. Instytut istoriyi Ukrayiny NAN Ukrayiny*, (16), 5–20. [in Ukrainian]

Danylenko, V. M. (Ed.) (2015). *Socialni transformaciyi v Ukrayini: piznij stalinizm i hrushhovska doba. Kolektyvna monografiya* [Social Transformations in Ukraine: Late Stalinism and the Khrushchev Era: A Collective Monograph]. Kyiv: Instytut istoriyi Ukrayiny NAN Ukrayiny, 698 p. [in Ukrainian]

Deineka, V. M. (2014). Poniattia ta vydy indyvidualnykh trudovykh sporiv [The concept and types of individual labor disputes]. *Visnyk Odeskoho natsionalnoho universytetu im. I. I. Mechnykova. Pravoznnavstvo*, 19(3), 73–79. [in Ukrainian]

Dokashenko, V. M. (2008). Oderzhavleniia profspilok u koli statutnykh povnovazhen (seredyna 50-kh – seredyna 60-kh rr. XX stolittia). [Nationalization of trade unions in the circle of statutory powers (mid 50's – mid 60's of the twentieth century)]. *Naukovi pratsi. Naukovo-metodychnyi zhurnal. Mykolaivskoho humanitarnoho universytetu imeni Petra Mohyly, Istorychni nauky*, 76(63), 21–27. [in Ukrainian]

Dokashenko, V. M. (2017). Profspilky, semyhodynni robochy den ta metamorfozy normvyrobitku (seredyna 50-kh – seredyna 60-khrr.) [Trade unions, seven-hour working day and metamorphoses of production norms (mid-50s – mid-60s)]. *Visnyk Skhidnoukrainskoho natsionalnoho universytetu imeni Volodymyra Dalia. Naukovi zhurnal*, 1 (231), 34–48. [in Ukrainian]

Gasparyan, A., Kulykov, D. & Saralydze, G. (2019). *Ottepel. Kak eto bylo?* [Thaw. How it was?]. Sankt-Peterburg: Pyter, 192 p. [in Russian]

Inshyn, M. I. (2006). Trudovi konflikty ta trudovi spory u systemi sotsialnykh konfliktiv [Labor conflicts and labor disputes in the system of social conflicts] *Forum prava, Naukovi zhurnal Kharkivskoho natsionalnoho universytetu vnutrishnikh sprav*, 2, 71–75. URL: file:///C:/Users/home/Downloads/FPindex_Htm_2006_2_10.pdf [in Ukrainian]

Inshyn, M. I., Kostiuk, V. L. & Melnyk, V. P. (Ed.) (2016). *Trudove pravo Ukrainy* [Labor law of Ukraine]. Kyiv: Tsentru uchbovoi literatury, 472 p. [in Ukrainian]

Kabanets, V. O. (2005). Shchodo vyznachennia poniatiinoho aparatu instytutu trudovykh sporiv [Regarding the definition of the conceptual apparatus of the institute of labor disputes]. *Pravo i bezpeka. Naukovi zhurnal Kharkivskoho natsionalnoho universytetu vnutrishnikh sprav*, (4), 144–148. [in Ukrainian]

Kalyna, A. V. (2012). *Ekonomika pratsi ta sotsialno-trudovi vidnosyny* [Labor economics and social-labor relations]. Kyiv: DP “Vyd. dim “Personal”, 498 p. [in Ukrainian]

Kiselev, I. Ya. (2003) *Trudovoe pravo v totalitarnom obschestve (Iz istorii prava XX veka)* [Labor law in a totalitarian society (From the history of twentieth-century law)]. Moskva: RAN INION, 84 p. [in Russian]

Kodeks zakoniv pro pracyu. (1929). [The Labour Code]. Kharkiv: Yurydychne vyd-vo NKIU URSR, 120 p. [in Ukrainian]

Konvenciya № 87. (1948). *Konvenciya № 87. Konvenciya o svobode ob'edinenij i zashchite prava ob'edyniat'sya v profsoyuzy* [Convention No. 87. Convention on Freedom of Association and the Protection of the Right to Trade Unions]. URL: https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/993_125 [in Russian]

Kulchytskyi, S. V. (2017). *Mizhvoienna ta povoienna istoriia Radianskoi Ukrainy na storinka “Ukrainskoho istorychnoho zhurnalnu” (1957 – 2017)* [Interwar and postwar history of Soviet Ukraine on the page of the “Ukrainian Historical Journal”] (1957 – 2017)]. *Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, 6, 123–139. [in Ukrainian]

Lipkan, A. H. (2015). Ukraina v period vidlyhy 1953 – 1964 rokiv. Osoblyvosti rozvytku [Ukraine during the thaw of 1953 – 1964. Features of development]. *Storinky istorii*, (27), 83–94. [in Ukrainian]

Maiboroda, O. M., Shapoval, Yu. I. & Haran, O. V. (2003). *Politychna istoriia Ukrainy. XX st.: u 6 t. T.6 (2003): Vid totalitaryzmu do demokratii (1945 – 2002)*. [Political history of Ukraine. XX century: at 6 vol. V. 6: From totalitarianism to democracy (1945 – 2002)]. Kyiv, 696 p. [in Ukrainian]

Molotov, V. M. (1937). K dvadtsatiletiyu Oktyabrskoy revolyutsii. Doklad na torzhestvennom zasedanii v Bolshom teatre 6 noyabrya 1937 g. [To the twentieth anniversary of the October Revolution. Report at a ceremonial meeting at the Bolshoi Theater on November 6, 1937]. *Literaturnaya gazeta, 1937, 10 noyabrya*. URL: <https://www.oldgazette.ru/litera/10111937/text1.html> [in Russian]

Nefodov, D. V. (2020). *Ukrainske robitnytstvo pisliavoiennoho periodu (1946 – 1965 rr.) v istoriopyssanni diaspory* [Ukrainian workers of the postwar period (1946 – 1965) in the historical description of the diaspora]. *Storinky istorii*, (49), 179–190. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.20535/2307-5244.49.2019.189573> [in Ukrainian]

Pikhoya, R. G. (2019). *Sovetskij Soyuz: istoriya vlasti. 1945 – 1991*. Izd. 3-e., ispr. i dop. [Soviet Union: History of Power. 1945 – 1991]. Moskva-Berlin: Direkt-Media, 655 p. URL: <https://biblioclub.ru/index.php?page=book&id=499416> Doi: <https://doi.org/10.23681/499416> [in Russia]

Pyzhikov, A. V. (2002). *Khrushhevskaya “otpepel”* [Khrushchevs “thaw”]. Moskva: OLMA-PRESS, 511 p. [in Russia]

Rabinovych, S. (2021) Chy mozhlyva depolityzatsiia konstytutsiinoho pravosudiva Ukrainy? *Ideology and politics journal*, 2(18), 238–259. URL: <https://www.ideopol.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/10.-ENG.-Rabinovych-final.pdf> [in Ukrainian]

Reient, O. P. (Ed.) (2002). *Narysy istorii profesiynykh spilok Ukrainy* [Essays on the history of trade unions of Ukraine]. Kyiv: Feder. spilok Ukrainy, 732 p. [in Ukrainian]

Rusnachenko, A. (2017). *Narysy novitnoi istorii Ukrainy. Knyha 4.* [Essays on the recent history of Ukraine. Book 4.]. Kyiv: Vydavets Oleh Filiuk, 539 p. [in Ukrainian]

Smolii, V. A. (Ed.) (2011). *Ekonomichna istoriia Ukrainy: Istoryko-ekonomichne doslidzhennia: v 2 t.* [Economic history of Ukraine: Historical and economic history: in 2 vol.]. Vol. 2. Kyiv: Nika-Tsentr, 608 p. [in Ukrainian]

Spravochnik profsoyuznogo rabotnika. (1958). *Spravochnik profsoyuznogo rabotnika* [Union Worker Handbook]. (pp. 319–325). Moscow: Profizdat. [in Russia]

Spravochnik profsoyuznogo rabotnika. (1964). *Spravochnik profsoyuznogo rabotnika* [Union Worker Handbook]. (pp. 297–299). Moscow: Profizdat. [in Russia]

SSSR v 1961 godu. (1962). *SSSR v 1961 godu. Statisticheskii ezhegodnik.* [USSR in 1961. Statistical Yearbook]. Moskva: Gosstatizdat TsSU SSSR, 861 p. [in Russia]

Stalin, Y. V. (1939). *Otchetnyy doklad na XVIII s'ezde partii o rabote TsK VKP(b)* [Report at the XVIII Party Congress on the work of the Central Committee of the CPSU]. URL: https://www.marxists.org/russkij/stalin/t14/t14_57.htm [in Russia]

Syryih, V. M. (Ed.) (2011). *Pravovaya nauka i yuridicheskaya ideologiya Rossii. Entsiklopedicheskii slovar* [Legal science and legal ideology of Russia. Encyclopedic Dictionary]. (Vol. 2). Moscow: RAP, 971 p. [in Russia]

Tsentralnyi derzhavnyi arkhiv hromadskykh obiednan Ukrainy [CSAPA of Ukraine – Central State Archive of Public Associations of Ukraine]

Tsentralnyi derzhavnyi arkhiv vyshchyykh orhaniv vlady ta upravlinnia Ukrainy [CSASAA of Ukraine – Central State Archive of the Supreme Authorities and Administration of Ukraine]

Tsepin, A. I., Yampolskaya, Ts. Ya., Schiglik, A. I., Maslyayev, A. I., Dodin, E. V. & Yaroshenko, K. B. (1973). *Profsoyuzyi–subyekty sovetskogo prava* [Trade unions are subjects of Soviet law]. Moscow: Izd-vo “Nauka”, 250 p. [in Russia]

Tsvykh, V. F. (2002). *Profspilky i hromadianske suspilstvo: teoriia, metodolohiia, praktyka* [Trade unions and civil society: theory, methodology, practice]. Kyiv: VPTs “Kyivskiy universytet”, 376 p. [in Ukrainian]

Tupytsia, O. M. (2008). *Profspilky v politychnii systemi suchasnoho suspilstva: vymiry funktsionuvannia* [Trade unions in the political system of modern society: dimensions of functioning]. Dnipropetrovsk: Vyd-vo Dnipropetrovskoho natsionalnoho universytetu, 352 p. [in Ukrainian]

Varlamova, N. (2021). Universalnye pravovyye kontseptyi v sovetskom sotsialno-politicheskom kontekste. [Universal legal concepts in the Soviet socio-political context]. *Ideology and politics journal*, 2(32), 32–50. URL: <https://www.ideopol.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/2.-ENG.-Varlamova-final.pdf> Doi: <https://doi.org/1036169/2227-6068.2021.0200002> [in Russia]

The article was received April 19, 2021.

Article recommended for publishing 23/02/2022.

UDC 94(477):323.1“1970/1980”
DOI 10.24919/2519-058X.22.253727

Pavlo HAI-NYZHNYK

PhD hab. (History), Deputy Director, Scientific Research Institute of Ukrainian Studies of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine, 18 Isaakiana Street, Kyiv, Ukraine, postal code 01135 (hai-nyzhnyk@ukr.net)

ORCID: 0000-0002-8912-8398

Павло ГАЙ-НИЖНИК

доктор історичних наук, заступник директора Науково-дослідного інституту українознавства Міністерства освіти і науки України, вул. Ісаакяна, 18, Київ, Україна, індекс 01135 (hai-nyzhnyk@ukr.net)

Bibliographic Description of the Article: Hai-Nyzhnyk, P. (2022). The OUN(R-B) in the 1970s and 1980s: a vision of the socio-political system of the Ukrainian State. *Skhidnoieuropeiskyi istorychnyi visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 22, 178–193. doi: 10.24919/2519-058X.22.253727

**THE OUN(R-B) IN THE 1970s AND 1980s: A VISION
OF THE SOCIO-POLITICAL SYSTEM OF THE UKRAINIAN STATE**

Abstract. *The aim of the research is to analyze and highlight the programme and ideological foundations of the Ukrainian nationalism by the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists (the Bandera revolutionaries) in the 1970s and 1980s and its vision of the socio-political and socio-economic system in the future Ukrainian State. The research methodology is based on the principles of scientificity, historicism, critical analysis, systematics. During the research work, both general scientific (analysis and synthesis, systematization and generalization) and special scientific methods were used: problem-thematic, chronological, as well as system-structural. The scientific novelty of the article is to elucidate the little-known pages of the history of the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists (the Bandera revolutionaries) in general and the place and role in its leadership in the 70s-80s of the twentieth century Yaroslav Stetsko, Vasyl Oleskiv and Slava (Yaroslava) Stetsko. It is directly about changes and clarification of programme, ideological and political principles of the Organization in its concept of building the Ukrainian Independent Conciliar State and the foundations of its socio-economic system, etc., the project of reviving the role of the Ukrainian State government in the liberation movement, political life of the OUN, due to the departure of the older generation, the stagnation of the political programme of the Organization and its isolation in the diaspora from the then existing reality in Ukraine, and etc. The Conclusions. It has been determined that the long stay under the conditions of emigrant, and diasporic political life under the conditions of the “iron curtain” and the Cold War caused stagnant phenomena in the ideological and political evolution of worldviews and the concept of statehood of the future Ukraine in the OUN (r-b) at the end of the twentieth century, as well as led to its gradual organizational decline, which caused the crisis in this political force and its unwillingness to powerfully and influentially interfere in the political and state-building processes in Ukraine with its independence.*

Key words: *the OUN, Stetsko, national liberation struggle, Ukrainian State Board.*

**ОУН(Р-Б) У 1970 – 1980-ті рр.: БАЧЕННЯ СУСПІЛЬНО-ПОЛІТИЧНОГО
УСТРОЮ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ДЕРЖАВИ**

Анотація. *Метою дослідження є аналіз і висвітлення програмових та ідеологічних засад українського націоналізму Організацією Українських Націоналістів (революціонерів-*

бандерівців) у 1970 – 1980-х рр., її бачення суспільно-політичного і соціально-економічного ладу в майбутній Українській Державі. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на принципах науковості, історизму, критичного аналітизму, системності. Під час дослідницької роботи використовувалися як загальнонаукові (аналізу і синтезу, систематизації та узагальнення), так і спеціально-наукові методи: проблемно-тематичний, хронологічний, а також системно-структурний. **Наукова новизна** статті полягає у розкритті маловідомих сторінок історії Організації Українських Націоналістів (революціонерів-бандерівців) загалом й місця і ролі у її керівництві в 70 – 80-х рр. ХХ ст. Ярослава Стецька, Василя Олеськіва та Слави (Ярослави) Стецько. Безпосередньо йдеться про зміни й уточнення програмових та ідейно-політичних засад Організації в її концепції побудови Української Самостійної Соборної Держави, основ її соціально-економічного ладу тощо, проєкту відродження ролі у національно-визвольному русі Українського Державного Правління та наростання і загострення кризових явищ в ідейно-політичному житті ОУН, зумовлених відходом з життя старшого покоління, стагнацією політичної програми Організації, її відірваності в умовах діаспори від тодішньої дійсності в Україні тощо. **Висновки.** Було встановлено, що тривале перебування в умовах емігрантсько-діаспорного політичного життя в умовах “залізної” завіси та Холодної війни зумовили застійні явища в ідеологічно-політичній еволюції світоглядних бачень та концепції державного устрою майбутньої України в керівних органах ОУН(р-б) наприкінці ХХ ст., а також призвело до її поступового організаційного занепаду, що спричинило кризові явища в цій політичній силі та її неготовності потужно й впливово влитися у політичні й державотворчі процеси в Україні зі здобуттям нею державної незалежності.

Ключові слова: ОУН, Стецько, національно-визвольна боротьба, Українське державне Правління.

The Problem Statement and the Analysis of Recent Research Works and Publications.

Unfortunately, historiography covers this issue only indirectly or fragmentarily, focusing on earlier and more dynamic periods of existence and activity of the OUN (r-b). At the same time it is necessary to single out also separate achievements of domestic scholars, among which are, in particular, the works of Ya. Antoniuk and V. Trofymovych (Antonyuk & Trofymovych, 2021), D. Viedieniev (Viedieniev, 2005), O. Zaitsev (Zaitsev, 2012), H. Kasianov (Kasianov, 1998; Kasianov, 2004), O. Sych (Sych, 2015) and the others. At the same time, these authors focus on specific or generalized theoretical aspects of this chronological segment from the past of the OUN, however, the authors do not elucidate the very project of the state and political system model and socio-economic system model of the future Ukrainian State in the programme concept of the Organization. Thus, in the article presented to the reader, this spectrum of the OUN's theoretical doctrine is elucidated, in which the period of the 70s and 80s of the 20th century is covered chronologically, and that is why, only official programme documents of the Organization were used for the analysis, which indicate its formally declared position (rather than the private and subjective opinions and considerations of certain politicians) in their vision of the model of the Ukrainian statehood and socio-economic and civil relations in it.

The purpose of the study is the analysis and coverage of programmatic and ideological foundations of the Ukrainian nationalism by the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists (the Bandera-revolutionaries) in the 1970s and 1980s and its vision of socio-political and socio-economic order in the future Ukrainian State.

The Main Material Statement. In the 70s of the twentieth century, in the OUN (r-b) there was only one living member of the ZCh OUN Central Committee, who was active until October of 1959 (Shche odyń, 1971, p. 2). Ya. Stetsko was this living member, who was not only the leader of the Organization, but also became, in fact, its only theorist and ideologist and undisputed authority. Thus, it is not surprising that since then the internal organizational

discussion had practically exhausted itself and the programme-ideological principles of the Organization had not been subjected to evolutionary tendencies. Instead, the programme-ideological principles were absorbed by the personal ideas and beliefs of Ya. Stetsko, who originated from the generation of the 1930s – the 1940s. The young intellectual and passionate generation either did not join the OUN (r-b) or stagnated within the framework of organizational discipline and its hierarchical framework.

In that situation, *in the autumn of 1974 the OUN (r-b) gathered for its V Grand Assembly*, young people were a significant part of the participants. As the leader and in the aureole of the last apostle of the Ukrainian nationalism, Ya. Stetsko announced the end of the period of internal organizational disputes and addressed the delegates of the Assembly with hope, that “everything small that can divide us, let it be left aside”, pointing out that the main task of the Organization is the defense and liberation of Ukraine, and all members of the OUN (r-b) were to become “obsessed with the idea of Unconquered Ukraine!” (Piatyi, 1975, p. 5). At the opening of the Grand Assembly the quintessence of Ya. Stetsko’s point of view and message to the members of the Organization can be considered the following statement: “We are marching on the broad front of a reborn nation, the core of which (the front) is the OUN with its clear positions, but the liberals believe in the “greater power” of relativism, as the way to broaden the front, losing the dogmatism of the idea, which is longed for by the greatest connoisseur of the soul of Ukraine, and the greatest modern example of self-sacrifice, the most prominent fighter – a cultural figure of Ukraine...” (Piatyi, 1975, p. 11).

Addressing the Ukrainians who served in the Soviet Army, delegates to the OUN Grand Assembly (r-b) denied the widespread allegation as if the Organization allegedly had sought to liberate Ukraine from communist occupation, even by means of nuclear war. “The OUN is generally against the war of foreign states on the Ukrainian soil, because it will bring destruction to our people. But the Moscow occupiers locate weapons of mass destruction in Ukraine, and in the coming war they are preparing for, they want the force of their opponents’ retaliatory nuclear strike to fall on Ukraine. Therefore, the OUN put forward another alternative: national liberation revolutions of the enslaved nations, which would destroy the Russian prison of nations from within and eliminate the danger of nuclear war”, – that was written in the collection of materials and resolutions of V Great Assembly (Piatyi, 1975, pp. 27–28).

At the Assembly once again it was revealed the influence of Ya. Stetsko’s ideological dogmatism and the Christian mysticism combined with pathetic revolutionary rhetoric on the liberation of Ukraine from communist totalitarianism under the conditions of living in exile in the democratic West, such as: “The nation is the most important human community on the Earth, the source of life, an indestructible natural formation”, “the biggest of all God’s creatures on the Earth, whose powers are unfathomable and inexhaustible”, which occupies its own “collective soul”, and “the unfathomable world of the subconscious”, but in “Ukraine they associate patriotism with religious pietism”, where, in particular, it is recognized the important place of religion in the life of a human being and nation”; “a human being is a creature created by God, that is why, he must be treated accordingly, must have the right to profess his faith”; “The world, the nation and a human being – creatures of God” and, etc. The participants of the Grand Assembly were convinced that in the Ukrainian SSR there was widespread the “worldview of the unconquered”, hostile to the violent, illegal, unjust system prevailing in Ukraine, condemning totalitarianism and dictatorship, rejecting the concept of “a cog man” and unlimited power of the state (Piatyi, 1975, p. 232).

Noting that the unconquered leaders of Ukraine seek to establish a just, people’s order in future sovereign Ukraine, based on a free Ukrainian man, explicitly guaranteeing his or her rights,

the OUN (r-b) asserted that “Freedom-loving Ukraine fights against imperial and totalitarian ethics, the chekist, slavish, bandit “morality”, contrasting it with its morality – heroic, human, national, Christian” (Piatyi, 1975, pp. 234–235). However, it was not about dissidents, as one would have thought. In the rhetoric of the OUN (r-b) ideology of that time, the Soviet dissidents were mentioned with the words “the so-called” and only as a category of critics of the regime that may have an impact on its weakening. Dissidents were considered as nothing more than “a category of regime reformers who aimed “to fix” it while preserving the empire and the communist system”, as those who “are in fact the defenders of this empire and its system”, – said the leadership of the OUN (r-b). – Defenders of the rights of Ukraine do not belong to the category of dissidents” (Piatyi, 1975, p. 280). Therefore, the attitude towards the Muscovites during the liberation revolution will be appropriate to their attitude towards the Ukrainian statehood, loyal residents of Ukraine of the Russian nationality will enjoy all civil rights, and disloyal residents will be treated “according to revolutionary laws” (Piatyi, 1975, p. 280).

The OUN (r-b) also emphasized that in the socio-economic struggle against unnatural Russian collectivism it was not about turning to capitalism (for example, in the claims of private plots of land), however, it was a struggle for the institution of a private property, specific to the spirituality of the Ukrainian people (therefore against the Russian flock social system, the “community”, for the free development of the Ukrainian socio-political system) (Piatyi, 1975, p. 268).

The organic principle of world order was still recognized as the national principle, and spiritual unity was considered possible only on the basis of the creativity of individual nations. The Ukrainians were required “to develop their high language, their most humane heroic criteria, their undeniable moral authority” (Piatyi, 1975, pp. 255–256). In Ukraine, among the ideological and programmatic principles of the liberation process there were put forward in the first place the following ones: a) the primacy of the spiritual in philosophy and social activity; b) the primacy of the nation, which in history and in the present is the cornerstone of relations among the states of the world, and the national issue in connection with the social – the world-historical; c) the ideal of one’s own state, independent of anyone, completely sovereign; d) social justice for all segments and strata of the nation; e) only nationalism is the basis for the revival and just ordering of the world, not pseudo-internationalism, communism or anarchism; f) the dignity of a human being as a God-like being; g) faith in God and the importance of a religious life; h) tradition and native historicity; i) the cult of honour and knighthood, freedom of thought and experience; j) heroic concept of life; k) the primacy of the common over the selfish; l) heroic national humanism; m) alternative to imperialism – nationalism as a separate path from socialism-communism and capitalism (Piatyi, 1975, pp. 263–264).

On political emigration, as an inseparable part of the Ukrainian nation, the OUN (r-b) assigned the task of mobilizing the pro-Ukrainian forces in the world, using Western countries for their own purposes, and spiritually militarizing revolutionary cadres abroad. Due to previous failures and because of it the OUN’s, under the leadership of S. Lenkavsky, refusal to throw marched groups into Ukraine, during the leadership of Ya. Stetsko, from the beginning of the 1970s, the development of a complex of direct action from abroad started again also by means of the preparation of new marched groups to be sent to Ukraine, the Ukrainian ethnographic lands, as well as outside the UkrSSR, in particular to Kuban, southern Voronezh and Kursk, and even to Siberia (Piatyi, 1975, p. 275).

The OUN did not consider Ukraine as the periphery of world processes, but “owing to its geopolitical position, economic wealth, population, revolutionary and dynamic

human potential, ideological and political concept of a new just order in the geopolitical space of Europe and Asia”, considered it as a global issue of international politics. It was assumed that in the international context, an independent Ukrainian State “will guarantee the independence of Eastern European and neighboring Asian nations”, and “the harmonious political and economic cooperation of free Ukraine with those peoples will open the door wide for the improvement of relations in Eastern Europe and neighboring Asia, and will be of great importance for the future of the whole of Europe” (Piatyi, 1975, p. 302). As a result, the prison of the peoples (the USSR) in the Eurasian space will be destroyed, which will be crucial for the new structure of forces on other continents (Piatyi, 1975, p. 302).

There were two visions of the idea of united Europe. If there were strong united Western Europe based on Europe-homeland (rather than a socialist attempt to nurture or diminish the weight of nations), with a projection of the decolonization of the European continent (i. e., the liquidation of the Russian Empire and the return of national independence to the enslaved peoples in the USSR and in the satellite countries), – then such event development would be recognized as positive, and Western Europe would play its creative role in regulating relations and lasting just peace not only on the European continent. However, the idea of Western European federation with a dominant role of one or another power, as predicted by the OUN leadership (r-b), would be a new imperial form, and the domination of socialist parties in various countries of Western Europe would allow Moscow to infiltrate and demobilize this formation. Therefore, the OUN (r-b) believed that Western Europe could not create any other long-term formation, except military and economic to defend against Moscow’s attack, with the prospect of supporting the liberation struggle of the enslaved peoples in the USSR and satellite countries.

Under the conditions of strong Western Europe, the bi-race of forces would become impossible, since its (including Great Britain) economic and technological potential would exceed the capacity of the USSR. Therefore, the OUN (r-b) considered the unification of Western Europe as the creation of an important anti-Russian bastion, rather than a long-term formation. After all, Western Europe was only a part of Europe, and therefore the enslaved nations would be able to take an independent position concerning the idea of united Europe only when they had their own independent nation-states. It was added that the economic integration of Western countries and efforts to create European federation or confederation could serve as a pretext for Moscow, to state that the period of “small” independent states in Europe is over and that integration in the West requires integration and the maintenance of “federal” ties in the East. Thus, the conclusion was made: building European military capacity (including nuclear), in partnership and alliance with the United States, – in the interest of free and enslaved nations, if the appropriate precondition is met. The precondition is the policy of liberation of enslaved peoples. It was also pointed out that there was a problem not with the disarmament of the free world, but on the contrary – its rearmament, in particular with conventional weapons. Under such circumstances the OUN (r-b) gave an important role to the psychological and political war, as a prerequisite for the insurgent war, which should turn into a liberated conventional just war of enslaved nations against the Russian occupier. The enslaved nations were a spiritual superpower and the decisive force of the era (Piatyi, 1975, pp. 306–307).

Renewed Christianity, which, according to the OUN leadership, was already growing in opposition to the leadership of the official Churches of that time, as opposed to the ruling circles of the Western Churches, the Vatican, the World Council of Churches, etc., was to become superpower (Piatyi, 1975, pp. 313–314). As for the issue of the Ukrainian Church, the OUN (r-b) advocated the establishment of patriarchy in both the Orthodox Church and the Greek

Catholic Church, and therefore, for example, considered positive the unification of the UAOC diocese at the joint Council of Bishops on October 18, 1971 and the resolution of the Synod of Archbishops of October 4, 1969 in Rome on the locality of the UCC and the patriarchate of the Supreme Archbishop, as well as the action of the clergy and laity for recognizing and implementing the locality of the UCC and the Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchate headed by Patriarch Joseph (Slipy). The OUN (r-b) identified as an urgent main task the achievements of the Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchate and the unification of all metropolitans of the Orthodox Church into a single UAOC. The OUN (r-b) also expressed support for the Ukrainian Protestant Churches in their struggle against atheism and the Russian violence in the USSR and, at the same time, identified “Jehovah’s Witnesses”, “the Pentecostals”, “the Adventists”, etc., as the sects. The organization called on the faithful to demand conducting church services in the Ukrainian language and to support priests who want the best for their people, noting that “Sundays and religious holidays should be celebrated” (Piatyi, 1975, pp. 332–334).

“The leadership of the OUN (r-b) also emphasized that “it opposes all discrimination against nations, racism, elder brotherhood, anti-Semitism, the theory of any herrenfolk, national socialism and all kinds of totalitarianism”, seeks to reach “an understanding with the Polish people on the basis of ethnographic delimitation of the borders between the two peoples and on the basis of respect for the state of each of them and a common front against common enemies”, that “fights against the Russian Empire, not against the state of the Russian people in its ethnographic territory”, and considered Ukraine’s natural allies, above all, “peoples enslaved in the USSR and in satellite countries” (Piatyi, 1975, pp. 315–316). At the same time, relying unconditionally on the Ukrainian people’s own strength in the national liberation struggle, the leadership of the Organization took into account that the imperatives of the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people demanded to take into consideration all possibilities of international conjuncture and various specific situations (eg, tensions between the USSR and China or the United States) to raise and resolve the Ukrainian issue positively (Piatyi, 1975, pp. 316–317, 319). If the West were unable to implement, let’s say, an offensive attack against Russia for the liberation of enslaved peoples, in particular, at the UNO tribunal, the OUN (r-b) advocated the UNO (as a forum for Russian and communist sabotage and propaganda) and the creation of another international organization with spokesmen of free and enslaved nations, but without Moscow agents. As a result, free, sovereign nation-states would emerge, and by the OUN (r-b) all sorts of state “unions”, “federations”, etc., were considered historical anachronisms and misleading slogans of the imperialists to deceive the people (“The [O]UN Charter, the [O]UN Resolution on Decolonization and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights must be implemented worldwide”) (Piatyi, 1975, pp. 320–322).

In the 1980s, the OUN (r-b) expressed numerous claims that “the era of revolutions and liberation wars was finally coming” and the belief that “no thermonuclear weapons would stand up to liberation nationalisms because it is also in our hands” that “nations have risen, there is nothing to break them!” and that the Ukrainian alternative, which the West neglected in World War II, “free nations will not neglect World War III if they do not want to go with their wives and children with the smoke of fires” (Manifest, 1981, p. 10). It was stated in *the Manifesto of the OUN*, proclaimed in the autumn of 1981 at VI Grand Assembly. Even at the beginning of the 1980s, the OUN (r-b) renounced National Socialism, fascism and racism repeatedly, and once again positioned its nationalist movement as extracurricular and traditionalist, social and democratic, anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist, anti-colonial and anti-totalitarian, etc. (Manifest, 1981, pp. 14–15).

In the autumn of 1981, *VI Grand Assembly of the OUN* considered the political situation in the world, in the USSR and in particular in Ukraine, focused on a comprehensive analysis of the “modern revolutionary situation in Ukraine and in the whole complex of the Russian imperial colonial domination” (Shostyi, 1984, p. 6). However, dissidents were no longer mentioned with the words “the so-called” but “heroic political prisoners” and once again the OUN declared the eve of the national revolution. The address of VI Grand Assembly to the Ukrainians in the free world on behalf of its presidium, in particular, stated: “The heroic attitude of the Ukrainian political prisoners, strengthened by the activities of the unconquered and revolutionary forces of Warring Ukraine, the growing rise of the Christian faith among people, intensification of youth participation in patriotic actions, growing resistance of the general public to chauvinistic Russification in Ukraine – all these phenomena indicate that the next stage of the Ukrainian liberation struggle, the stage of mass heroism is maturing” (Shostyi, 1984, pp. 101–102). In the greeting to the Ukrainian people in their native lands, in the penitentiary and scattered throughout the Russian Empire, the OUN (r-b) called on everyone to stand up and be ready for a nationwide uprising!” (Shostyi, 1984, p. 123).

One of the central issues discussed at Grand Assembly of 1981 was the threat of global or limited thermonuclear war, an alternative to which was recognized as the national liberation revolutions of Ukraine and other enslaved peoples. Ya. Stetsko (“St. Osinsky”) noted in this regard: “The concept of a limited thermonuclear war is not a solution to the global political crisis, because it can lead to unlimited nuclear war. Therefore, there is our alternative, which, for the time being, is still in a potential state in terms of its dynamic understanding by the official West. It is no longer in drawers as a reserve, but as a matter of thought” (Shostyi, 1984, p. 53). There was mentioned, in particular, the war in Afghanistan, which created a new international situation around the USSR, and the need for the OUN (r-b) to involve into this complex conflict in order to mobilize the Islamic world against Russia and to contribute to the political decay among the Soviet soldiers with the help of the OUN and ABN leaflets and a radio station. In this context, Ya. Stetsko also declared his intention to address “Western officials with a proposal of appropriate suggestions concerning the actions aimed at the collapse of the Russian Empire, in accordance with the slogan “Nothing without us about us”, singling out Ukraine as the central problem of this front and as its leading force. Therefore, he was convinced that it was in Afghanistan that the Ukrainian issue would move forward, and therefore the Ukrainians should be interested in maintaining the Afghan front as long as possible and create other fronts by forming the pro-Ukrainian positions among the Islamic world systematically (Shostyi, 1984, p. 54). And this is not surprising, because according to Ya. Stetsko, even at that time the world was in a state of World War III (Shostyi, 1984, p. 517). At the same time, however, the circles of “Wiesenthal-type were condemned, who, for American money, initiated lawsuits against the Ukrainians, including the OUN supporters in ZSA, in Canada, according to the KGB’s plan, to isolate the OUN from Western factors as a “German collaborator” and weaken Ukraine’s sympathetic attitude towards Israel” (Shostyi, 1984, p. 54). Thus, the conclusion was categorical and in the style of the 1940s: “Making the OUN a collaborating organization is vivid work of the Bolsheviks served by international Judaism together with the Masonic mafia, in which it largely dominated” (Shostyi, 1984, p. 55).

In general, the worldview of the OUN (r-b) coincided with its thesis that the revival of the humanity should be based on the idea of the nation not the idea of unlimited arbitrariness of an individual, on the idea of a national social human being – not a liberal selfish individual (Shostyi, 1984, p. 134). According to the worldview of the OUN, it was believed that the

new state and socio-political system in Ukraine “should be based on the idea of a nation-community, and not the exclusive selfishness of an individual; the good of the family, not hedonism and sexualism; a national social, public Human Being, not class-hating and a mutual devouring; a Nation, not a class; cooperation of all segments of the nation and the exclusion of exploitation of one part of the nation by another” (Shostyi, 1984, p. 138).

The OUN leadership thought, again in the spirit of the already overthrown Salazar corporatism, that one of such form of a socio-political system was the transition of power from political parties in the demoliberal system to organized social formations-professions, such as trade unions or technocratic associations. This transition, in the OUN leadership’s opinion, would indicate that a new factor in the will of the people should be taken into account when respecting the desire to create political formations that should not have a class basis, only a national one. This would mean, that instead of creating political formations on the basis of demoliberalism, they should be created on the basis of a nationalist worldview with an emphasis on one or another vital national rather than class issues. Freedom and human rights and sovereignty of the nation can be achieved not only by means of a demoliberal system. The Ukrainian democracy, according to ideologues of the OUN leadership (Ya. Stetsko) existed when demoliberalism did not yet exist in the West, and therefore, the state should be built on its priorities, respecting a Human Being – God-like being – within the Nation, which is the creature of God (Shostyi, 1984, pp. 138–139).

In his report “The Ethos of Labour and the Ideal of the Hero”, Ya. Stetsko outlined his own vision based on the socio-political system of the future Ukrainian State. In the report, he pointed out that the OUN fought for the three divisions of power that would best ensure the rule of law, in particular: the independence of the legislative, executive and judicial branches, as well as for establishment of broad self-government at the lower territorial levels (regions, counties, cities, rural communities). It was stated that national minorities would have guaranteed rights to free development of their special identity. Socio-political issues were to be based on the specific values, characteristics, aspirations, needs and moral and ethical values of the Ukrainian nation. The state had to ensure the right of every citizen to private property and a guarantee for every inhabitant of Ukraine to decent living conditions, personal security, increased welfare level and social security. The totalitarian, monocratic, colonial and collectivist system introduced in Ukraine by the Russian occupiers would be subject to complete destruction and eradication, as well as collective farm systems, internal passport systems in the state, etc. Social justice and equality should create equal conditions for work and use of the products of one’s own labour under the conditions of the widest possible mass ownership, as a basis for the full use of the products of free labour of each individual-producent. At the same time, the idea of free labour, which was stated by the author as the main key to the OUN’s social programme, in his vision of the nationalist concept of society, a priori excluded the presence of the so-called hired labour (there was recognized the division into different kinds of labour, the value of which is determined by the usefulness to society) (Shostyi, 1984, pp. 431–432).

It was declared consistently that “the Ukrainian national liberation struggle was waged in the plane of “superclassism” in the sense that in the future USSD the socio-political relations must be so concluded, that no “class” or stratum of people would be able to have a dominant economic position in society in order to be able to usurp various privileges and exploit other parts of people” (Shostyi, 1984, pp. 430–431). According to the concept of Ya. Stetsko, the nationalist system will eliminate the injustices of the system of financial capitalism and especially communism, since each of these systems was classocratic, class, not nationocratic, supraclass, nationwide.

In the Ukrainian State, peasants should receive a plot of land free of charge in the amount of labour farms as their private hereditary property, and all other people who want to work in food sphere, would receive appropriate assistance for free food production at factorries or small enterprises and could, after providing all the people with food, be also free to export various products to other countries. At the same time, the OUN will promote the creation of economic cooperatives, unions or other forms of management, depending on the will of peasants and food producers.

Means of communication and transport (public) will be either owned by the state or private-group, but under state control. The issue of ownership of mineral resources, energy products, forests and inland waters in the country, and the ownership of heavy industry and transport was to be decided by state and provincial (regional) legislatures in the aspect of state or social property. In industry, workers must have consensus in major economic and administrative matters. The greatest possible private and group initiatives in the creation of enterprises would be allowed. The main regulator of the national economy was to be market relations, not the centralist state plan and state totalitarian rule. In the country there could coexist public, private and cooperative banking and credit systems, regulated by the state, but the Ukrainian banking system should not become dependent on any foreign capital. According to Ya. Stetsko, the OUN also advocated the full right of workers to strike within the limits set by law and the situation, whereas it is a means of equitable distribution of income, social security and the improvement of working and living conditions, as well as for the right of workers to form their own professional and trade unions as a means of obtaining better economic and social conditions (Shostyi, 1984, pp. 433–434).

In the area of social security, the state had to establish a decent minimum salary that would provide basic conditions of personal and family life, as well as medical care, but with the consideration and admission of regional, local and private initiative and entrepreneurship in the care of medicine, hygiene and a high level of public health. Every able-bodied person had to be provided with the opportunity to work in the private, public or state sectors. At the same time, every citizen would have the right to choose or change work, occupation and place of residence freely. Complete equality was also to be established in socio-economic life for all citizens of Ukraine, regardless of gender, religion, origin or political views.

Outside Ukraine, all those people “whom the enemy occupation regime sent to carry out their imperial goals and they carried out these tasks” would be relocated (deported), and criminals of the occupation system should be punished for the extermination, oppression and exploitation of the Ukrainian people. At the same time, the Ukrainian State would provide assistance to all those Ukrainians who, as a result of the enslavement of Ukraine, found themselves outside its borders and who would like to return to Ukraine. The state also had to provide all necessary assistance to those Ukrainians who suffered as a result of enemy enslavement and participation in the liberation struggle. In particular, members of the families of fighters for the liberation of Ukraine had to obtain proper living conditions, and veterans of the liberation struggle, especially the disabled, should be under the full care of the community. The Ukrainian State will demand that the occupiers pay compensation to all victims during the occupation (Shostyi, 1984, pp. 435–436).

Concerning education, Ya. Stetsko, speaking on behalf of the OUN, stated that the Organization saw in the future Ukrainian State the policy of promoting the spread and development of free education, assuring all citizens of the best educational opportunities and equal access to appropriate educational institutions for all who wish to acquire knowledge.

Lower and secondary general and vocational education should be free and accessible to all, and access to higher education should be equally open to all by means of examinations (opportunities for private, local and minority schools were to be allowed for different special areas). According to Ya. Stetsko, in the Ukrainian educational system, religion, should be included in the school curriculum as a compulsory subject. The teaching of religion should be organized in such a way as to meet the religious needs of students of all faiths.

In the future independent Ukraine the church and the state will be two independent sectors of a single organism, which would have to cooperate as closely as possible and help each other. However, “militant atheism”, as well as the activities of groups that weaken and destroy national spirituality, will be prohibited. Taking into account the special role of the Christian religion in the life of the Ukrainian nation, the OUN sought to ensure that all conditions for the free development of the Churches and their organizations were provided in the Ukrainian State. In addition, the state was to promote the patriarchal structuring of the Ukrainian Christian Churches. At the same time, despite the free action of the Christian Churches, full freedom to other religions should be ensured in the Ukrainian State. The Russian Orthodox Church should be banned in Ukraine, and all its influence eradicated.

Despite the fact that the OUN (r-b) was against the promotion of atheism by the state, it supported the provision of freedom of conscience. At the same time, the state was to promote the development and dissemination, including outside Ukraine, of a cultural life and creativity of the Ukrainian cultural figures. The Ministry of Culture will have the task of assisting cultural processes, but without restricting the principle of free creativity and without granting privileges to individual groups. All the harmful effects of Russification, the Russian anti-human and murderous culture, as a result of the cultural enslavement of Ukraine by Russia, were to be get rid of (Shostyi, 1984, pp. 336–337).

During the lifetime of Ya. Stetsko, who died on July 5, 1986 in Munich, preparations began for the next *VII Grand Assembly of the OUN*. For this purpose, 15 commissions and their leaders were appointed. After the death of Ya. Stetsko, V. Oleskiv became acting head of the OUN leadership (“V. Kosovych”, “Orlyk”), who chaired this Grand Assembly (Chairman of the Presidium was V. Krymsky) in October of 1987 and opened it with his speech (Somyi, 1988, pp. 36, 5). The head of the Main Board of the OUN was elected *an engineer Vasyl Oleskiv*, who had previously been the head of the OUN Regional Affairs Sector (r-b), the leader of the OUN TP in Great Britain (1955 – 1963), a participant in seven Grand Assemblies and a member of the Main Board, Deputy Chairman of the Board under the leadership of Ya. Stetsko.

In three programme reports of the Assembly it was summarized: a) the state of the national liberation struggle in Ukraine under conditions of Moscow’s efforts to reform and modernize the Russian Empire – determination of the OUN tasks for the next years; b) the relevance of the main principles of the OUN’s foreign policy in the current international activity of reconciliation between Western powers and the Russian Empire, a significant rely on the people’s own forces and on the common front of the liberation movements of all nations enslaved by Russia; c) inclusion of the new young generation in the OUN and in the national liberation processes both in the native lands and in the diaspora (Somyi, 1988, p. 6). In the ideological programme area, an extract of current resolutions of the previous Grand Assemblies with certain additions was adopted, which in fact were not qualitatively or evolutionarily updated from the decrees and principles of IV Grand Assembly of 1968 (Hai-Nyzhnyk, 2017; Hai-Nyzhnyk, 2020). To a certain extent, only the resolutions in the sphere of

the Ukrainian cultural front and in terms of rather superficial slogans concerning the state of the Ukrainian science, including diaspora science, were enlarged, but not fundamentally. As for the socio-economic sphere and social and civil rights, etc., in the future Ukrainian State, the resolutions of VII Grand Assembly practically word for word duplicated the theses of the previous V and VI Grand Assemblies of the Organization (1974 and 1981, respectively) (Somyi, 1988, pp. 109–112), which, in turn, were a copy of the resolutions of the IV Grand Assembly of the OUN in 1968, which testifies to the intellectual crisis, ideological and theoretical stagnation of nationalist thought in the ranks of the OUN (r-b) in the context of a dynamic change in the world and in Ukraine during the period of twenty years.

At VII Grand Assembly of the OUN it was also mentioned that in 1968 its IV Grand Assembly under the leadership of Ya. Stetsko emphasized the need to establish a political liberation center, based on the revolutionary liberation concept, on the principles and in time, which the leadership of the Organization recognized as relevant and expedient in connection with the state revolutionary formations, initiated by the OUN, in particular the Ukrainian State Board in 1941. The period of the beginning of the 1940s, in fact the OUN's attempt to restore the Ukrainian State in 1941, was mentioned at VI Grand Assembly in 1981 in the context of the idea to revive *the Ukrainian State Board* in the latest political sphere, briefly headed by Ya. Stetsko after the Act of June of 30 and soon liquidated by the Germans. At the same time, in the way required by the Organization and its leader, the historical legacy was somewhat prepared to please the new political ambitions of the OUN leadership (r-b) and the personal pride of Ya. Stetsko. Thus, it was claimed that “the Ukrainian State Board was established by the will of the Ukrainian people on June 30, 1941, confirmed with great enthusiasm by the national approval throughout Ukraine, in particular, a plebiscite of the blood of the best sons of Ukraine, regardless of domestic Ukrainian political beliefs, with an overwhelming majority of the OUN members, the OUN groups, Wives of Ukrainian Nationalists (DUN), soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, never declared its solution, never obeyed the will of any occupier of Ukraine, and courageously defended the ideal of the nation – the Ukrainian Sovereign Conciliar State” and even more – that “the UDP and the Council of Seniors were the only democratic government and the only democratic parliament on the European territory of that time” (Shostyi, 1984, pp. 125–127). In addition, at VI Grand Assembly it was stated that the UDP, as the state institution, had never been liquidated, in part due to its long-term systematic preservation and continuation of “this bright state tradition in the history of our nation” and its gradual development by the chairman of the UDP, i.e., – by Ya. Stetsko (Shostyi, 1984, p. 129). At the same time, in 1986, after the death of Ya. Stetsko, the non-existent UDP was formally headed by an engineer B. Fedorak, under whose leadership there were established (also only nominally) three resorts: foreign, domestic and financial.

In 1987, VII Grand Assembly of the Organization took into consideration the fact that the Ukrainian State Government, which in fact existed only on paper and had no weight in the ranks of the OUN, nor among emigrant and diaspora circles, after the death of Ya. Stetsko was headed by Bohdan Fedorak, who after World War II was an inconspicuous, in the political sense, director of the Ukrainian Cultural Center in Warren (Macomb County, Michigan, the USA)¹. Thus, VII Grand Assembly adopted Declaration stating:

“1) The Ukrainian State Board (the UDP) is the legitimate state body of the Ukrainian State, restored on June 30, 1941.

¹ After the restoration of statehood in 1991, B. Fedorak became Honorary Consul of Ukraine in Detroit (Michigan, the USA).

2) Over the past decades, the UDP had a renewed mandate from the spokesmen of Unconquered Ukraine, and this mandate was an expression of the broad circles of the Ukrainian patriotic community till nowadays.

3) The UDP carried out a major liberation and political action over the past decades. The UDP is known to and recognized by leading politicians of enslaved and free peoples. The head of the UDP was recognized by prominent personalities of different states and peoples.

4) Therefore, the Great Assembly of the OUN declares its support for the Ukrainian State Board and appeals to the governing bodies of the UDP to use our unique anniversary of the Millennium of the Baptism of Ukraine-Russia to establish the All-Ukrainian State Center.

We believe that together we will obtain the Ukrainian Independent Conciliar State” (Somyi, 1988, pp. 97–98).

Therefore, the UDP was recognized as the latest sovereign government of Ukraine. Therefore, VII Grand Assembly decided to give full support to the UDP in its work, in particular in the direction of the creation of the All-Ukrainian State Center (the ASC) on the basis of the Ukrainian independent formations that existed during the period from 1917 to 1944 (Somyi, 1988, p. 97). It was another attempt of the OUN under the political project of the ASC to unite around itself and under its own leadership “all independent state formations of the 20th century – the UPR, Carpathian Ukraine (1939), UDP (1941) and UGVR (1944)” (Somyi, 1988, p. 176).

According to the decision, first of all, the attempt was made to find a common language with the State Center of the Ukrainian People’s Republic in Exile (DC of the Ukrainian People’s Republic). In 1987 negotiations began between the UDP and the DC of the UPR, which lasted until 1989. The UDP delegation (of three people) was headed by Omelian Koval, a longtime member of the revolutionary OUN (pseudo “Dyr”, “Demian”), a former Auschwitz prisoner, at that time the head of the UDP internal affairs department, secretary of the General Council of Ukrainian Public Organizations in Belgium (1970 – 1991), Secretary General of the Ukrainian Assistance Committee in Belgium, and since 1987 its head (until 2005). The DC UPR was represented by the Prime Minister of the UPR Prof. Ya. Rudnytsky in the presence of the President of the Ukrainian People’s Republic in exile M. Livytsky and one or two members of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian People’s Republic)². The course of negotiations in the OUN (r-b) was reported in the following interpretation: “The challenge to the UDP Project by the interlocutors of the Ukrainian People’s Republic was obstructed, saying that it would flow into the system of the Ukrainian People’s Republic, which had the legitimacy of an exile government. The UPR delegation constantly insisted on the OUN’s turn to the UNRada, and there, at its forum, it will be possible to settle all matters, including the creation of the All-Ukrainian State Center. Having exhausted all the arguments in defense of his positions, the President of the Ukrainian People’s Republic M. Livytsky stated that he could not recognize the UDP as the second government of Ukraine, and thus its capacity as a partner for further negotiations. This was already the case when an agreement was reached with M. Plaviuk (a chairman of the PUN) on the OUN (m) to take an active part in the UNRada, which was going to conduct its 10th session. Nevertheless, they promised to transfer the issue of the Project to the 10th session of the UNR and invited the OUN delegation to participate in that session. Bearing in mind the good deeds in

² Initially, it was assumed that the Central Committee of the Ukrainian People's Republic would be negotiated by a relevant Commission headed by Dr. Shandor, but it was not formed and it did not participate in negotiations with the UDP (actually with the OUN).

connection with political consolidation in the form of the All-Ukrainian State Center and successful action in the interests of Ukraine, the OUN leadership decided to send a two-member observer delegation to the 10th session of the UNRada. The issue of the Project, however, was not considered there, and the resolutions said that the UPR Central Committee should ensure that all political forces consolidate under the UPR flag. To do this, the Central Committee of the Ukrainian People's Republic had to convene a consolidation commission. The UDP made another attempt to clarify the matter of further negotiations, but the new DC of the Ukrainian People's Republic remained in its old position. Correspondence concerning that case between M. Plaviuk and the Chairman of the OUN (r) illustrates the attempt by M. Plaviuk to be involved in negotiations with the Central Committee of the Ukrainian People's Republic to restore the OUN as the part of the UNRada" (Vosmyi, 1991, pp. 182–183). The negotiations ended in failure.

However, despite the obvious anachronism and impracticability of such project (as well as attempts to revive the UDP at the end of twentieth century according to the model of 1941), this intention, even after the adoption of Act of State Sovereignty of Ukraine (July 16, 1990) by the Verkhovna Rada, and almost a month before the proclamation of the state independence of Ukraine, was declared *on July 16, 1991, at VIII Extraordinary Grand Assembly of the Organization* under the leadership of Slava Stetsko (a wife of Yaroslav Stetsko) (Vosmyi, 1991, p. 7). Returning to the issue of All-Ukrainian State Center, the OUN, one moretime mentioned the need for it "considering all state acts, beginning with the Acts of January 22, 1918 – 1919, the Act of November 1, 1918 in Lviv, the Act of Carpathian Ukraine of March 14, 1939, the Act of June 30, 1941 in Lviv and the Manifesto of the UHVR of July 1944. The existing state formations originated from those Acts – the Central Committee of the Ukrainian People's Republic and the Ukrainian State Board, should be united into one All-Ukrainian State Center for Coordination of the Ukrainian Liberation Policy until the establishment of legal power in Ukraine by means of free elections" (Vosmyi, 1991, p. 169). At the same time, it was added that the sovereign power of the Ukrainian people, which would be established after free elections on the basis of universal, equal, direct and proportional voting, in the absence of imperial structures, would be elected under the control of the United Nations.

At the Assembly it was stated that the situation in Ukraine and the USSR had reached such a critical point that there could be always an opportunity to start the formation of the USSD. Therefore, the OUN noted that the UDP should prepare for such moment. In this regard, at VIII Extraordinary Grand Assembly it was decided that "The organization must, as far as possible, oppose the colonial system of the USSR the legitimate Ukrainian State represented by the UDP to the colonial system of the USSR" (Vosmyi, 1991, p. 244). It was also pointed out that such opposition should be emphasized in Ukraine and in the countries of free world in order to undermine the prestige and legality of the Ukrainian SSR and strengthen the national statehood. In Ukraine, this mission was to be carried out by such political entities as the Ukrainian Inter-Party Assembly (UIA), the Association "State Independence of Ukraine" (SSU), the Ukrainian Christian Democratic Party (UCDP), the Society of Veterans of the National Liberation Struggle of the 1940s and 1950s, youth nationalist societies, etc. It should be pointed out that the OUN's units in Ukraine were not even mentioned, which testifies to the complete isolation of the Organization's emigration leadership from the realities of socio-political life in the Homeland and its ignorance of the real situation in the Homeland and the minimal OUN influence in public and political environment.

At VIII Extraordinary Grand Assembly of the OUN it was also advised the UDP to expand its structure, in particular to form “an appropriate legislature to which people could belong (individuals and groups) that recognize the restored state by the Act of June 30, 1941 as the newest Ukrainian State, and with it the longevity of this statehood under the guise of the UDP” (Vosmyi, 1991, p. 245). According to the OUN leadership, millions of Ukrainian citizens could be represented in such a legislative body, and it could, for example, be called “the Ukrainian State Council”. When expanding the work of the UDP, it seemed possible to create an independent control body, or even a court. In addition, the OUN leadership believed that with the restoration of the Ukrainian State, in different countries there would be a need for representations of its puppet and existing mostly on paper the UDP, as a basic foundations for the embassies of the future USSD, and during the transitional period of the creation of the state, they could be unofficial spokesmen for the UDP and all those Ukrainian forces that recognize the UDP and would fight for the restoration of the USSD. Taking into consideration the above mentioned, the question arises: was the OUN (r-b) leadership aware of the real state, influence and status of its pocket UDP? Obviously, was not, because, being aware of the realities, VIII NVZ could not state publicly and “gladly” that “the mandate of the UDP is renewed by mass recognition”, “by millions of the Ukrainian citizens who sign statements organized by the Ukrainian Inter-Party Assembly and other institutions”, etc. (Vosmyi, 1991, pp. 245–246).

Anachronism and detachment from the realities of Ukraine at the beginning of the 1990s were the programme materials of the VIII Extraordinary Grand Assembly, which, oversaturated with pompous and revolutionary slogans in the style of the 1950s – the 1960s, repeated the generalizing theses and statements of IV Grand Assembly of the OUN of 1968 in the socio-economic sphere (Vosmyi, 1991, pp. 166–168, 170). Moreover, even in the summer of 1991, the OUN leadership was unaware of the difference between emigration levels, attitudes and internal Ukrainian problems and worldview ideas, being under the illusion of its own dogma, that “the Ukrainian nation has a ruling force – the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists”, and “the authority of the OUN is enshrined in historical events” (Vosmyi, 1991, p. 212). In the end, such an ideological and political stupor of the Organization was actually confirmed at the *Conference of the Ukrainian Nationalists*, which took place on March 28 – 29, 1992 in Kyiv Teachers’ House (over 600 participants), by R. Zvarych, a secretary of the OUN leader Yaroslava Stetsko, in his foreword entitled “For a New Life” to the publication of the Conference materials (Konferentsiia, 1992, p. 4). “The OUN defined its programme of state-building long ago, which was worked out in detail at IV Grand Assembly in 1968 and supplemented and clarified at the next Great Assembly”, – he said (Konferentsiia, 1992, p. 5).

In her report Ya. Stetsko “The Ukrainian Nationalism and its Role in Consolidating and Building the Ukrainian Independent Conciliar State” spoke about nationalism as a system of the future, without resorting to the interpretation of its updated principles and modernized worldviews, but instead quoted an excerpt on the socio-political plane in the vision of the OUN according to the resolutions of VI Grand Assembly in 1981, not a word about the recent models of the Ukrainian State and the principles of its socio-political system, approved by IV Grand Assembly of the OUN in 1968, which were not repealed by any decisions and resolutions of the latter (Konferentsiia, 1992, pp. 19–22). The leader repeated unspecified theses about private ownership of land and means of production, and that the Ukrainian people should become masters of their land in the Ukrainian Independent Conciliar State. She also said that “it is from this angle that the programme of new state-building of Ukraine and the new world

order is being developed”, again without explaining what was meant and what the essence was (Konferentsiia, 1992, p. 23). As for the military and security aspects, it is worth noting the support of the OUN (r-b) for the nuclear disarmament of the Ukrainian army. “We stand for a nuclear-free Ukraine, but for the destruction of nuclear weapons on our territory, not its export to Russia, so that the growing forces of reaction will not blackmail us and the whole peace-loving world with it”, – Ya. Stetsko said in conclusion (Konferentsiia, 1992, pp. 24–25).

The conference ended with the call to life of a new political force – the Congress of the Ukrainian Nationalists (KUN), which in the status of a union of de facto emigrant OUN (r-b) and a number of small Ukrainian nationalist organizations formed a legal political party structure at its Constituent Congress on October 18, 1992 in Kyiv headed by Ya. Stetsko³ and, thus, practically buried and sent to the pages of history the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists, which was founded back in 1940 by the Revolutionary Leadership of the OUN headed by S. Bandera.

The Conclusion. At the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s, it became clear that prolonged stays under the conditions of emigrant and diaspora political life during the period of the Iron Curtain and the Cold War caused not only natural demographic (membership) losses in the Organization, which is characteristic of almost all long-term emigrant political circles, but also stagnant phenomena in the ideological and political evolution of worldviews and the concept of the state system of the future of Ukraine in the governing bodies of the OUN (r-b) at the end of the twentieth century, and also led to its gradual organizational decline, which caused crisis in this political force and its unwillingness to interfere in the political and state-building processes in Ukraine powerfully and influentially after the acquisition of state independence.

Acknowledgements. The author would like to express sincere gratitude to all members of the editorial board for the given advice during the preparation of the article for publishing.

Funding. The author did not receive any financial assistance for research, preparation and publication of the article.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Antonyuk, Ya. & Trofymovych, V. (2021). Protyborstvo spetssluzhb zakordonnykh tsentriv OUN iz KDB (1960-ti – pochatok 1990-ch rr.) [Confrontation between the Special Services of Foreign OUN Centers and the KGB (the 1960s – the beginning of the 1990s)]. *Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal – Ukrainian Historical Journal*, (3), 114–125. [in Ukrainian]

Hai-Nyzhnyk, P. (2017). Verkhovne kerivnytstvo i partiino-politychna systema USSD u derzhavnytskii modeli OUN(b) 1940-kh – 1960-kh rokiv [The Supreme Leadership and the Party-Political System of the USDS in the State Model of the OUN (b) of the 1940s and the 1960s]. *Ukrainskyi vyzvolnyi rukh – Ukrainian Liberation Movement*, (22), 57–84. [in Ukrainian]

Hai-Nyzhnyk, P. (2020). *Ukrainska Derzhava: suspilno-politychna model i sotsialno-ekonomichnyi lad v teorii ta ideologii OUN-b (1940 – 1990 rr.)* [Ukrainian State: socio-political model and socio-economic system in the theory and ideology of the OUN-b (1940 – 1990)]. Kyiv: Krok, 432 p. [in Ukrainian]

Konferentsiia (1992). *Konferentsiia Ukrainskykh Natsionalistiv. Kyiv, 28–29 Bereznia 1992. Dopovidi, Dyskusii, Postanovy* [Conference of the Ukrainian Nationalists. Kyiv, March 28–29, 1992. Reports, Discussions, Resolutions]. London, Kyiv: Vydannia Ukrainskoi Tsentralnoi Informatsiinoi Sluzhby (UTSIS), 224 p. [in Ukrainian]

Kasianov, H. V. (1998). Ukrainskyi natsionalizm: problema naukovooho pereosmyslennya [Ukrainian Nationalism: the Problem of Scientific Rethinking]. *Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal – Ukrainian Historical Journal*, (2), 39–54. [in Ukrainian]

³The KUN was registered by the Ministry of Justice of Ukraine on January 26, 1993 (registration number 385).

Kasianov, H. V. (2004). Ideolohiya OUN: istoriiko-retrospektyvnyi analiz [The OUN Ideology: historical and retrospective analysis]. *Ukrainsky istorichnyi zhurnal – Ukrainian Historical Journal*, (2), 68–82. [in Ukrainian]

Manifest (1981). *Manifest Orhanizatsii Ukrainskykh Natsionalistiv (OUN)* [Manifesto of the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN)]. W. p., 20 p. [in Ukrainian]

Piatyi (1975). *Piatyi Velykyi Zbir Orhanizatsii Ukrainskykh Natsionalistiv (OUN). Materiialy y postanovy* [Fifth Grand Assembly of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). Materials and Resolutions]. W. p.: Vydannia Orhanizatsii Ukrainskykh Natsionalistiv (OUN), 374 p. [in Ukrainian]

Shche odyn (1971). Shche odyn rik ye poza namy! [Another year is behind us!] *Biuletyn T. P. OUN u V. B.* – Bulletin of TP OUN in GB, *XIV(1)*, 2–5. [in Ukrainian]

Shostyi (1984). *Shostyi Velykyi Zbir Orhanizatsii Ukrainskykh Natsionalistiv (OUN)* [Sixth Grand Assembly of the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN)]. W. p., 630 p. [in Ukrainian]

Somyi (1988). *Somyi Velykyi Zbir Orhanizatsii Ukrainskykh Natsionalistiv (OUN). Materiialy y Postanovy* [Seventh Grand Assembly of the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). Materials and Resolutions]. W. p.: Vydannia Orhanizatsii Ukrainskykh Natsionalistiv (OUN), 238 p. [in Ukrainian]

Sych, O. (2015). Ukrainska emigratsiya i rosiysko-ukrainskyi konflikt (na prykladi vyzvolnoi kontsepcii OUN-revolutsiynoi) [Ukrainian Emigration and the Russian-Ukrainian Conflict (on the example of the liberation concept of the OUN-revolutionary)]. *Naukovi zapysky Instytutu politychnykh i etnonatsionalnykh doslidzhen im. I. F. Kurasa NAN Ukrainy*, (1), 322–333. [in Ukrainian]

Viedieniev, D. (2005). Diyalnist radyanskykh orhaniv derzhbezpeky proty natsionalistychnykh osередkiv ukrainskoi emigratsii (1945 – 1970 rr.) [Activities of the Soviet State Security Bodies against Nationalist Centers of the Ukrainian Emigration (1945 – 1970)]. *Naukovyi visnyk NA SB Ukrainy – Scientific Bulletin of the Security Service of Ukraine*, (23), 199–210. [in Ukrainian]

Vosmyi (1991). *Vosmyi Nadzvychainyi Velykyi Zbir Orhanizatsii Ukrainskykh Natsionalistiv (OUN). Materiialy y Postanovy* [Eighth Extraordinary Grand Assembly of the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). Materials and Resolutions]. W. p., 261 p. [in Ukrainian]

Zaitsev, O. Yu. (2012). OUN i avtorytarno-natsionalistychni rukhy mizhvoennoi Evropy [The OUN and Authoritarian and Nationalist Movements in interwar Europe]. *Ukrainsky istorichnyi zhurnal – Ukrainian Historical Journal*, (1), 89–101. [in Ukrainian]

The article was received April 25, 2021.

Article recommended for publishing 23/02/2022.

UDC 327:355.1(477:100)“1991/1994”
DOI 10.24919/2519-058X.22.253733

Vadym MASHTALIR

PhD hab. (History), Honour Edinventor of Ukraine, Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor, Colonel, Chief Inspector of the Main Inspectorate of the Ministry for Defense of Ukraine, 6 Povitroflotskyi Avenue, Kyiv, Ukraine, postal code 01135 (vadim_mashtalir@ukr.net)

ORCID: 0000-0002-8132-217X

ResearcherID: AAA-4240-2020

Vasyl SHEVCHUK

PhD hab. (History), Professor, Principal Researcher of Research Center for Military History of Ivan Cherniakhovskiy National Defence University of Ukraine, 28 Povitroflotskyi Avenue, Kyiv, Ukraine, postal code 01135 (voyen_ist@ukr.net)

ORCID: 0000-0001-9060-3507

Вадим МАШТАЛІР

доктор історичних наук, професор, заслужений винахідник України, полковник, Головний інспектор Головної інспекції Міністерства оборони України, пр. Повітрофлотський, 6, м. Київ, Україна, індекс 01135 (vadim_mashtalir@ukr.net)

Василь ШЕВЧУК

доктор історичних наук, професор, головний науковий співробітник науково-дослідного центру воєнної історії Національного університету оборони України імені Івана Черняхівського, пр. Повітрофлотський, 28, м. Київ, Україна, індекс 01135 (voyen_ist@ukr.net)

Bibliographic Description of the Article: Mashtalir, V. & Shevchuk, V. (2022). Relocation of Servicemen within the Commonwealth of Independent States (1991 – 1994). *Skhidnoieuropeiskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 22, 194–205. doi: 10.24919/2519-058X.22.253733

**RELOCATION OF SERVICEMEN WITHIN THE COMMONWEALTH
OF INDEPENDENT STATES (1991 – 1994)**

Abstract. *The aim of the research is to elucidate the significance of stabilization of the military and political situation in Ukraine in the interstate relocation of servicemen during the period of 1991 – 1994 within the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) from the standpoint of Ukrainocentrism; to study the relocation of officers and ensigns who expressed their desire to continue military service in the Armed Forces of Ukraine; to analyze the detachment conditions of servicemen from Ukraine to other state formations. The research methodology is based on a number of interdisciplinary methods of cognition (history, national and international law, political science), due to which the author made a retrospective reconstruction of the Ukrainian officer corps formation at the beginning of the 90s of the twentieth century. The scientific novelty is to highlight the conditions of interstate relocation (secondment) of servicemen within the CIS (1991 – 1994) and to clarify the place of this phenomenon in the formation of the Armed Forces of Ukraine. The Conclusions.* The relocation of servicemen

of the former Soviet Army within the post-Soviet states was carried out on the basis of democratic principles and made it possible to use the CIS status to solve an important social and military problems in Ukraine, to avoid the Russian attempts to use the CIS as a military instrument against the post-Soviet states. It allowed the Ukrainian authorities to stabilize the military and political situation and prevent a split in the officer corps, to involve officers who returned to Ukraine into the development of its Armed Forces according to the national interests, to complete recruitment of command staff, rear and technical services at middle and senior levels during the creation of the Armed Forces of Ukraine.

Key words: Ukraine, Commonwealth of Independent States, servicemen, officers, ensigns, military formations, post-Soviet states, political and legal principles, oath.

ПЕРЕМІЩЕННЯ ВІЙСЬКОВОСЛУЖБОВЦІВ У МЕЖАХ СПІВДРУЖНОСТІ НЕЗАЛЕЖНИХ ДЕРЖАВ (1991 – 1994)

Анотація. Мета дослідження – розкрити значення міждержавного переміщення військовослужбовців 1991 – 1994 рр. у стабілізації військово-політичної ситуації в Україні. З'ясувати політико-правові підстави та заходи державного та військового керівництва України щодо переміщення офіцерів, прапорщиків, які висловили бажання повернутися на батьківщину і продовжити військову службу у Збройних Силах України. Відзначити умови відкомандирування військовослужбовців з України в інші пострадянські державні утворення. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на низці міждисциплінарних методів пізнання (історії, правознавства, політології), завдяки яким здійснено ретроспективну реконструкцію поповнення офіцерського корпусу на етапі становлення Збройних Сил України. **Наукова новизна** полягає у висвітленні умов міждержавного переміщення (відкомандирування) військовослужбовців у межах СНД у 1991 – 1994 рр. та з'ясування значення цього явища у становленні Збройних Сил України. **Висновки.** Переміщення у межах пострадянських державних утворень військовослужбовців, що належали до фрагментів Радянської армії, здійснювалося на добровільних засадах, демократичних принципах і дало можливість використати статус СНД для розв'язання важливої соціальної і військової проблеми, уникнути намагань Російської Федерації скористатися СНД як прямим засобом військового впливу на пострадянські держави. Добровільне переміщення військовослужбовців допомогло українській владі стабілізувати військово-політичну ситуацію у військах і не допустити розколу в офіцерському корпусі; офіцерів, що повернулися в Україну, включити у розбудову збройних сил, завдяки їх переміщенню вдалося завершити комплектування командно-штабних, тилових та технічних посад у середній та вищій ланках на етапі створення основи Збройних Сил України.

Ключові слова: Україна, Співдружність Незалежних Держав, військовослужбовці, офіцери, прапорщики, військові формування, пострадянські держави, політико-правові засади, присяга, переміщення (відкомандирування).

The Problem Statement. The collapse of the Soviet Union resulted in the proclamation of 15 independent post-Soviet states, the majority of which declared the creation of their own national armed forces. Their intentions necessitated the solution of an important military and political task – to ensure the interstate relocation of servicemen of the Soviet military formations within the Commonwealth of Independent States established in December of 1991 (further – the CIS). As a result of the collapse of the Soviet army, each of the proclaimed states inherited the part of weapons and military equipment. A certain part of the personnel of the Soviet armed forces continued to be located on the territory of independent states. The creation of national armed forces required the re-subordination of the Soviet military units to the authorities of the newly created independent states. In addition, the collapse of the Military Organization of the USSR caused tensions among the military due to difficult social situation of the military personnel and uncertainty in their service future.

The Analysis of Recent Research. It should be noted that the issue of the military personnel relocation due to the collapse of the Soviet army is elucidated in researches in a rather limited

way. In the generalizing research devoted to creation and development of the General Staff of the Ukrainian Armed Forces, and servicemen's return to their Homeland, natives of Ukraine, those issues were elucidated only in the context of the interstate relocation completion of military personnel (Kyrychenko, 2007, pp. 9–10). The authors of the historical essay on the military personnel of the Ukrainian Armed Forces singled out the authorities engaged in the return of servicemen from the CIS countries to Ukraine (Dibrova, 2009, pp. 8–20). In his memoirs A. Lopata, Colonel-General, who at the first stage of the Armed Forces formation held the post of Chief of the General Staff (from 1994) of the Ukrainian Armed Forces and was directly involved into the relocation of servicemen to Ukraine, wrote that the efforts of the Ukrainian authorities were focused primarily on the return of soldiers, officers, and ensigns from the post-Soviet states where armed conflicts were taking place. He noted the difficulties that accompanied the servicemen and their families in moving to Ukraine (Lopata, 2002, pp. 67–87). Relocation solving was complicated by financial and material problems, lack of housing. Servicemen's children, who before returning to Ukraine went to the Russian-language schools only, faced considerable problems and it was difficult for them to enter the Ukrainian higher educational institutions.

After Ukraine's independence proclamation and the decision to form its own armed forces, thousands of reports, inquiries, collective and personal appeals began to be received by the state and military leadership of Ukraine from officers and ensigns abroad to help them move to Ukraine in order to continue their military service in the Ukrainian Armed Forces. In the sources there is mentioned a different number of officers, natives of Ukraine, who served in the Soviet Army during the collapse of the USSR. H. Perepelytsia states that the Ministry for Defense of the USSR kept more than 150 thousand cases of the Ukrainian officers (Perepelytsia, 2001, p. 552). A. Rusnachenko writes about the number of 300 000 officers, natives of Ukraine (Rusnachenko, 2001, p. 40). The Minister for Defense of Ukraine reported to the leadership of the Verkhovna Rada that at the end of March of 1992, about 153 000 servicemen served abroad, the majority of them – officers (Sectoral State Archive of the Ministry for Defense of Ukraine (SSAMDU), f. 3697, d. 34747, c. 5, p. 126).

Meanwhile, it was proven that thousands of officers, who belonged to the Ukrainian ethnic group, graduated from military schools, and the Soviet personnel sent them to serve far beyond their native place. For political reasons, the Soviet-communist system of government was afraid to leave the military, natives of Ukraine, in their ethnic territory, and therefore sent them to military units located in different regions of the former Soviet Union.

Analyzing the first formation stage of the Ukrainian Armed Forces, O. Pokotylo focused on the legal framework, which provided for the transfer of officers and ensigns from the CIS countries to Ukraine to serve in its Armed Forces (Pokotylo, 2010, pp. 42–48). O. Dashkevych, analyzing the formation process of the officer corps of the Ukrainian Armed Forces, elucidated the activities of personnel bodies that studied reports and appeals of servicemen on their transfer to Ukraine (Dashkevych, 2015). In his memoirs, M. Lopatin, Lieutenant General mentioned the surnames of generals and officers who returned to Ukraine on their own initiative and participated in the development of the Ukrainian Armed Forces actively. In general, according to the information of the former military leader, in 1992 – 1993, about 5 000 generals and officers arrived in Ukraine from the CIS countries and were appointed to command posts in the Air Force of the Ukrainian Armed Forces (Lopatin, 2003, pp. 88–89).

The purpose of the article is to elucidate the importance of the interstate relocation of servicemen in 1991 – 1994 in stabilizing the military and political situation in Ukraine and

to find out the political and legal grounds and measures of the state and military leadership of Ukraine on the relocation of officers, ensigns who expressed a desire to return home and continue military service in the Ukrainian Armed Forces.

The Main Material Statement. Ukraine, having embarked on the path of an independent development, with its resolutions consolidated the basic position on the creation of its own armed forces and began to consider it as a priority state task. On July 16, 1990, the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR adopted the “Declaration of State Sovereignty”, which stated that Ukraine had the right to form its own armed forces. On August 24, 1991, taking the first steps in the realization of the state sovereignty, the Verkhovna Rada proclaimed the independence of Ukraine and the creation of an independent Ukrainian State. Along with this historic act, the Verkhovna Rada adopted the resolution “On Military Formations in Ukraine”. By this resolution, the highest legislative body of Ukraine took under its jurisdiction and subordination the military formations of the armed forces of the former Soviet Union located on the territory of the Ukrainian Republic (*Zakonodavstvo Ukrainy z pytan viiskovoi sfery*, 2003). The Government of Ukraine undertook to start the formation of the Armed Forces and to approve the Ministry for Defense of Ukraine. These resolutions initiated the formation of the Ukrainian Armed Forces as an important institution of the state and an integral element of its military organization.

On the post-Soviet territories outside Ukraine, associations of the Ukrainian servicemen were formed, which set themselves the goal of returning to their Homeland. In particular, on January 17, 1992, in Moscow, the general meeting of the Society of the Ukrainian Officers appealed to the Verkhovna Rada and the Government of Ukraine to take under its protection officers, natives of Ukraine, who served in the regions of Russia, immediately recall them for further service in the Ukrainian Armed Forces. The society proposed to create an interstate Ukrainian-Russian personnel commission to determine the term and procedure for mutual exchange of officers. The appeal also referred to the legal and social protection of not only officers but also cadets who studied in the academies and military schools of the former republics, and to guarantee them the opportunity to return to Ukraine (SSAMDU, f. 3697, d. 34747, c. 2, p. 197).

In its address to the Government of Ukraine, Baku Regional Union of the Military Ukrainians “For Return to the Homeland”, which included representatives of 15 military units, schools and a military hospital, stated: “We will not swear to any state, except our Ukraine, because our Motherland is one, like one mother who gave birth to us” (SSAMDU, f. 3697, d. 34747, c. 10, p. 137). 350 officers, the Ukrainians, serving at the Baikonur Cosmodrome announced their intention to return to Ukraine. By correspondence, servicemen of Unit 51947 in Yakutsk found out the procedure for obtaining the Ukrainian citizenship, the possibility of a military service in the Ukrainian Armed Forces, pensions accrual and housing (SSAMDU, f. 3697, d. 34747, c. 22, pp. 2–3).

As of April 18, 1992, reports on transfers of 18 000 officers, the Ukrainians, from the former Soviet Army to Ukraine came from various regions of the former Soviet Union. Among them there were 1 656 platoon commanders, 1 422 squadrons, 380 battalions, 243 commanders and deputy commanders of regiments, 46 brigade commanders (Perepelytsia, 2001, p. 552).

In a civilized way Ukraine inherited from the former Soviet army one of the largest military groups in Europe. In terms of a human potential and number of servicemen, it occupied the second place, the first one was occupied by the Russian troops and the American military contingent in Europe. At the beginning of 1992, the total number of servicemen who joined the Ukrainian Armed Forces was 726 536 servicemen and 180 000 employees. Of this number, 410

were generals (admirals) (0.056%); 186 598 – officers (25.68%); 93 253 – ensigns (midshipmen) (12.72%); 470 622 – sergeants and soldiers (54.86%). The given data illustrate the following percentage: from the total number of military personnel generals and officers there were 187 thousand people and it was 25.73% of servicemen (Dibrova, 2009, pp. 20–21).

However, the Soviet military group, which became the part of Ukraine, was an unsystematic combination of individual elements of the former Soviet military machine. There was a need to bring the structure and size of the armed forces in line with Ukraine's defense needs and national interests. The young state was faced with an urgent task of transferring subordinate military formations to the service of the people of independent Ukraine, to accept and provide adequate social protection to servicemen – the natives of Ukraine, who were in the CIS countries, and in the development of the Ukrainian army to rely primarily on the experience and aspirations of nationally conscious officers and generals.

Despite a rather large corps of officers in the troops belonging to Ukraine, from the first days of the creation of the armed forces there was the shortage of military personnel at an operational and strategic level, which made it difficult to form posts of military administration. As of May 1992, out of 170 posts in the established military administration bodies, among posts that were to be occupied by specialists with higher education diplomas of operational and strategic level, only 35 people (21%) corresponded to such requirements (Dashkevych, 2015, pp. 176–177). During the Ukrainian army formation, the number of servicemen in the ranks of colonels, who were appointed to posts of senior officers, increased. Therefore, the relocation of military specialists to Ukraine, especially at the operational and strategic level, was very important at that time.

The first legislative acts of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine had a positive effect on the desire of servicemen who served outside Ukraine to move to an independent state and continue their service in its armed forces on building a legal, democratic state, the procedure for military service by the Ukrainian citizens. Under the Ukrainian law, servicemen had far more rights and guarantees from the state than under the Soviet law. The Ukrainian legislation enshrined the voluntary entry into military service, regulated the procedure for military service, relocation and promotion.

For the first time, servicemen had the right to form their own public associations, the right to challenge in court the illegal actions of military officials and leadership. The military had the right to be elected to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, and after the end of their parliamentary powers, the law guaranteed them the right to continue serving in posts not lower than those they had held before being elected deputies. Soldiers of the Ukrainian Armed Forces obtained the same right as all citizens to visit foreign countries. Among the social rights, the military obtained a guarantee of freedom of scientific, technical and artistic creativity. Soldiers, other than those who had served in the military, could not be discharged from military service without the right to a retirement pension. The Law of Ukraine of October 8, 1991 on Citizenship of Ukraine provided that persons serving in the military or studying outside Ukraine, and before that service resided on its territory permanently, were not citizens of other states, had to belong to the citizens of Ukraine.

The creation of its own armies in the newly created post-Soviet states ran counter to Russia's desire to establish military control over the post-Soviet space, and the Russian leadership began to actively interfere in the emergence of national armed forces in the former republics actively. On July 25, 1991, the President of the USSR Mykhailo Gorbachev issued a decree banning the creation of their own armed groups in the republics, citing the Soviet law, and already formed

military formations demanded to dissolve, and to hand over the weapon to law enforcement agencies. In January of 1992, the President of the Russian Federation Borys Yeltsyn issued a decree to take under the Russian jurisdiction all the armed forces of the former Soviet Union (Perepelytsia, 2015). Precisely because of a certain conservatism, corporatism of the army and the navy, which are typical of the state institutions, the armed forces were considered as a guarantor of the preservation and reproduction of the Soviet Union by many Russian politicians. Lieutenant-General H. Zhyvytsia, characterizing the views of Russia's top military leadership, stated that in September of 1991, the Russian Central Military Department was of the opinion that although military units and ministries for defense were formed in the former republics, "the unified armed forces and the unified General Staff, of course, in Moscow, must remain under all circumstances" (Zhyvytsia, 2001, pp. 72–77).

With the formation of the CIS, the Russian leadership began to consider it as a means of maintaining its influence in the former Soviet Union. Moreover, in Ukraine and abroad, the pro-Russian forces began to spread the idea that the armed forces created in the post-Soviet republics should be united and used for joint defense against an imaginary "external enemy". Taking advantage of the gaps and drawbacks in the post-Soviet states legislation system, the Russian military command began to organize an oath of allegiance to the CIS in the military units. This process was especially significant in January of 1992 in the military units of the Black Sea Fleet. Admiral V. Chernavin, Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Navy, arrived in Sevastopol to intensify the oath of allegiance to the CIS. For the Russian command, the Black Sea Fleet became a means of inciting the pro-Russian sentiment in the Crimea. At the same time, officers and sailors who had sworn allegiance to Ukraine were persecuted: they were discharged from military service, sent to service at shore, and subjected to various forms of pressure. The Russian command classified the oath content of allegiance to the people of Ukraine as secret documents, and declared the military, who made an independent decision to serve the Ukrainian people, – "villains", "nationalists", and "traitors".

For Ukraine, the CIS became the most acceptable way of "a civilized divorce" in the military sphere. The state leadership consistently rejected all attempts by Russia to transform the CIS into a supranational formation with intergovernmental functions. On December 20, 1991, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine adopted a special statement denying the possibility of transforming the CIS into a state entity. It was emphasized that Ukraine avoided the creation of institutions capable of transforming the Commonwealth of Independent States into a supranational formation. In May of 1992, Ukraine did not sign the Tashkent Agreement on Collective Security of the CIS member states, and in January of 1993 it ignored the CIS Charter, which provided for the establishment of supranational bodies and a joint army (Smolii, 2016, p. 192). In February of 1992, at the insistence of the Ukrainian side, representatives of the CIS countries agreed that servicemen should be recognized as citizens of the country from territory of which they were called up for a military service. In April of 1992, the Minister for Defense of Ukraine and the Commander-in-Chief of the Joint Forces of the CIS signed a protocol – agreement on the organization of training of officers and the procedure for relocation (secondment) of officers, ensigns and midshipmen from the CIS countries (Lopata, 2002, p. 67).

Political and legal grounds for servicemen's return, citizens of Ukraine, who as a result of the collapse of the Soviet Union were on service in the newly created post-Soviet states, were: the Act of State Independence of Ukraine and the Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada "On Military Formations in Ukraine", by which the military units of the Soviet Army

stationed on the territory of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic were subordinated to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine. In general, in 1991 – 1992, a solid legal framework was formed in Ukraine, which created the basis for the practical formation of the military organization of an independent state. By the end of 1991, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine adopted more than 70 legal documents on the issues of military formation, laying the legal foundations for it (Yakymovych, 1996, p. 257).

At the meeting on December 30, 1991, in Minsk, the leaders of the CIS member states acknowledged that Ukraine had a proper legal basis for the creation of its own armed forces and could begin this process at the beginning of next year. Sovereign Ukraine became the first republic of the former USSR to legislate the ways to create the national armed forces. On the last day of December of 1991, a coded telegramme from the Minister for Defense of Ukraine was sent to the troops instructing them to take the voluntary oath of allegiance to the people of Ukraine by servicemen of military formations stationed on the territory of Ukraine.

According to the order of the Minister for Defense of January 3, 1992, the personnel in the troops stationed on the territory of Ukraine began to take the oath of allegiance to the people of Ukraine voluntarily. The text of the military oath was adopted by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on December 6, 1991. The President of Ukraine L. Kravchuk called on the servicemen “to make personal choices and decide on further military service calmly and prudently”. The Minister for Defense of Ukraine demanded to prevent a split in military units based on political beliefs and national origin. He ordered the commanders of the military units to ensure “taking the oath only on a voluntary basis”. The leaders of the Central Office of the Ministry for Defense of Ukraine were the first ones to take the oath of allegiance to the people of Ukraine. By January 20, 1992, 270 000 servicemen had sworn allegiance to the people of Ukraine, and by July of the same year taking the oath had been almost completed. In some period of time, the Minister for Defense of Ukraine K. Morozov noted that “beginning in January of 1992, an oath of allegiance to the people of Ukraine was introduced in the army, and three months later we already had more than 80% of the personnel, who were legally determined to belong to the Ukrainian State” (Morozov, 1996, pp. 418–427). At that time, the oath was not taken by the personnel of the troops that were the part of the CIS Strategic Forces. Taking the oath by the military finally removed the issue of Ukraine’s participation in the so-called joint armed forces, the creation of which was imposed on the CIS states by the leadership of the Russian Federation.

Ukraine’s top state and military leadership, based on legal principles, took political and organizational measures to ensure the conditions for the voluntary relocation of the Ukrainian servicemen to their Homeland. Decrees of the President of Ukraine were important in solving this problem, on the basis of which the state and military structures responsible for the return of servicemen to Ukraine were determined. On March 24, 1992, the President of Ukraine issued Decree “On the return to Ukraine for service of the Ukrainian servicemen from military units stationed in Azerbaijan, Armenia and Moldova”. The state and military structures were to coordinate the return of servicemen to Ukraine with the leadership of the CIS countries. In December of 1992, a decree was issued by the President of Ukraine, which obliged the state authorities to ensure the return of officers, ensigns and conscripts from Georgia and Tajikistan in due time, taking into account their desire to serve in the army of their country (SSAMDU, f. 3697, d. 34747, c. 13, p. 162).

Based on the order of the Minister for Defense of Ukraine, during the period of 1992 – 1994 an operational group of the Ministry for Defense of Ukraine worked to coordinate the

process of returning military personnel to Ukraine. The work on the return of servicemen to Ukraine was significantly intensified with the establishment of the Personnel Department of the Ministry for Defense in January of 1992. In June of 1992, in the Permanent Mission of Ukraine to Moscow, a temporary post was opened – the Commissioner of the Government of Ukraine, who dealt with the return of servicemen to their Homeland. This task was performed by Lieutenant General B. Sharykov, who previously worked as an assistant to the President of Ukraine on military issues.

In connection with the active relocation of servicemen within the Department of Mobilization and Staffing of the General (since 1994 – General) Staff, the Department of Formation and Development of the Armed Forces of Ukraine was established, headed by Colonel D. Umanets (since August of 2001 – Lieutenant General). The Department was entrusted with the task of accounting for the number of servicemen and the deployment of associations, formations and units of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, working out proposals for their organizational and staffing structures and their replacement by servicemen, taking into account the arrived officers, preparation and working out of directives of the Minister for Defense and the Chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of Ukraine on organizational formation issues of the domestic armed forces.

The return of servicemen was decided, as a rule, on a mutual interstate contractual basis. For the first time between the Ministry for Defense of Ukraine and the Ministry for Defense of Belarus on December 17, 1992 the Protocol was signed on the transfer and dismissal of officers, ensigns and midshipmen, which provided for the order and procedure of a mutual transfer of servicemen. The Ministries for Defense of Ukraine and Belarus undertook to recognize the validity of military ranks, diplomas and documents on military service in the army of the former Soviet Union. The agreement stated that the military agencies would not interfere with the relocation of servicemen to their Homeland, would provide appropriate posts in the army, and would “facilitate the exchange of housing among the families of servicemen”.

Influential socio-political associations of Ukraine took an active pro-Ukrainian position on the return of servicemen to their Homeland. In particular, the Union of Officers of Ukraine, which consistently defended the need for Ukraine’s own armed forces, and in July of 1991 at its first congress addressed to the officers of the Ukrainian origin, who served abroad, with a call to consolidate, to return and participate in the development of the Ukrainian army. At the same time, there was expressed confidence that their problems and their families problems would find a better and faster solution in Ukraine.

Activists of the Union of Officers of Ukraine travelled to the military units of the CIS countries, where they explained the Ukrainian legislation on the formation of the Ukrainian Army, legal and social protection of servicemen and members of their families; participated in the work of attestation commissions, which analyzed reports and appeals of the military, which contained a request to send them to Ukraine, to serve in its armed forces. At the third congress of the Union of Officers of Ukraine in April of 1992, the head of the personnel department of the Ministry for Defense of Ukraine, General O. Ihnatenko, informed about the state of officers’ return to Ukraine and the availability of vacancies. At the same time, attention was focused on the return to Ukraine not only of staff officers, cadets who studied in military educational institutions outside their country (Rusnachenko, 2001, p. 40).

A wide range of issues related to the secondment of servicemen to Ukraine were raised by the primary organizations of the Union of Officers of Ukraine (hereinafter – UOU), which were established in many cities and towns of the former Soviet republics, where there were located

the military units of the Soviet army. During the second half of 1991 and at the beginning of 1992, the primary UOU organizations were established by the Ukrainian officers in military units stationed in Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. The primary UOU organizations were also founded in Murmansk, Kirov, Volhograd, Irkutsk, Arkhanhelsk, and Sakhalin regions of Russia. The Ufa Higher Helicopter School of Pilots had a primary organization of the UOU, founded by students of the school from Ukraine, which numbered 50 cadets (Shevchuk, 2018, pp. 36–40).

Participants of the primary organizations of the UOU held conferences, organized the study of the Ukrainian legislation on social and legal protection of servicemen, they were interested in the socio-political situation in Ukraine, raised before their command the possibility issue of leaving for their Homeland, which was busy forming its independence and its own army.

On August 23 – 24, 1991, the Second Congress of the Union of Soldiers' Mothers supported the Act of State Independence of Ukraine and called on the Verkhovna Rada to adopt a resolution to return the Ukrainian soldiers and sergeants during the termed period for them to be able to continue their military service in Ukraine. Soldiers' mothers demanded the establishment of a Committee in Ukraine for the social and legal protection of servicemen and members of their families. The Congress also called on the Ukrainian authorities to assist the military, who come from other republics, in their desire to return to the newly created state formations. On February 12, 1992, the Union of Soldiers' Mothers addressed the President of Ukraine with the request: "We, women, mothers, want one thing – to see our sons alive and unharmed" (SSAMDU, f. 3697, d. 34747, c. 2, p. 151).

Priority efforts by the state and military authorities focused on the return to Ukraine of troops stationed in areas of armed conflict. The events in the Caucasus, where armed conflicts with the use of military forces took place, caused special concern in the Ukrainian society. In 1992, 1 136 soldiers and sergeants and 1 087 officers of the Soviet military units were to be sent to Ukraine from this region. About 2 100 soldiers and sergeants and 2 000 officers were to be relocated from the Transcaucasian border troops area. In the middle of April 1992, officials of the Ministry for Defense of Ukraine went to military units stationed in Azerbaijan and Armenia. They made clear the possibility of returning to Ukraine soldiers and officers who were in military units there. The delegation, with officers from the Ministry for Defense, included members of the Committee for the Protection of Soldiers and activists of the Union of Soldiers' Mothers.

Clarification of the situation directly in the military units showed that obstacles were created in the Transcaucasian Military District regarding the voluntary relocation of soldiers, ensigns and officers to Ukraine. The pro-Russian command of the district reacted negatively to the decision of the Ukrainian leadership to return its citizens to the Homeland, describing it as "a purposeful attempt to weaken the Russian army and strengthen the Ukrainian armed forces" (SSAMDU, f. 3697, d. 34747, c. 13, pp. 210–218). Disinformation was spread in the military units of the district, aimed at intimidating the military with social problems that awaited them in Ukraine. Soldiers were deprived of vacations, delayed payment of salaries, and were not given any documents that could be used to move to Ukraine. Letters from Ukraine were perustrated, and the insistence of the servicemen to grant permission to return to Ukraine was regarded as desertion.

The available sources and recollections of the officers show that the process of servicemen's relocation from the CIS countries to Ukraine was slow and with considerable difficulties. They were due to the lack of stable legislation between the newly created states, the imperfection of temporal agreements between the post-Soviet states, the socio-economic crisis, which

significantly limited the state's ability to provide the military and their families with proper housing and living conditions. In January of 1992, about 80 000 families of servicemen and people discharged from military service in reserve or retired were registered in housing fund of the Armed Forces of Ukraine. Housing was needed for the families of servicemen whose military units were withdrawn from Eastern European countries in 1992 – 1994 and began to be stationed in Ukraine. 130 000 Soviet servicemen and 31 000 of their families were withdrawn from Germany, of whom 7.2% began to be stationed in Ukraine. They needed proper living conditions. Ukraine's extremely limited ability to provide servicemen and their families with housing proved to be the factor, which hindered the process of soldiers' returning to Ukraine, though they had a desire to return (Avtushenko, 2019, pp. 232, 237).

There were difficulties in transporting the families of servicemen. The Minister for Defense issued an order on financial support for the transportation of families and property of servicemen to Ukraine by rail, freight vehicles, and even military transport aircraft. However, due to extremely limited funding, transportation was carried out mainly at the own expense of officers and ensigns. From the remote regions (the Far East, Arctic, Siberia, Transbaikalia, Central Asia, Caucasus) servicemen were not able to transport family property to Ukraine at all and had to leave it in the places of a former military service and move to their Homeland only with a hand luggage.

The vast majority of officers, returning to Ukraine, wanted to serve in its Armed Forces. However, with the reduction of the Ukrainian army, their intentions were not always satisfied. As of April 1, 1993, the number of the Armed Forces of Ukraine was reduced from 726 000 to 525 000. There was set the tendency of reducing the Armed Forces of Ukraine, the pace of which had no analogues in European practice. K. Morozov, the Minister for Defense of Ukraine reported to L. Kuchma, the Prime Minister of Ukraine, that on November 19, 1992, lists of requests on 18 718 officers were sent to the personnel bodies of the military structures of the CIS countries for their relocation to the Armed Forces of Ukraine, but there were no real opportunities to place almost all the officers who arrived in the relevant posts in the Ukrainian army (SSAMDU, f. 3697, d. 34747, c. 36, pp. 3–4).

The return of the Ukrainian officers to their Homeland was hampered by reactionary and conservative forces that occupied command positions and were located in Ukraine. At the initiative of the political bodies of the military districts, there was launched a campaign of condemnation and “debunking” of the supporters of the creation of Ukraine's own armed forces. The Pro-Ukrainian officers were persecuted, threatened with dismissal, and accused of “stretching the army to national apartments”. Accordingly, the political bodies worked under the slogans “Let's Defend the Socialist Choice”, “No to Deprivation of the Army of the Party Ideology”. There were accusations against the democratic forces (the Union of Officers of Ukraine, the People's Movement of Ukraine) of intending to create their own military formations in opposition to the existing units of the Soviet Army stationed in Ukraine. The Soviet military press, which reacted very negatively to the creation of the Ukrainian National Army, became an aid in the propaganda pressure on servicemen (Scheda, 2012, pp. 299–300).

At the same time, some pro-Russian officers who were determined to leave for Russia facilitated the illegal export of weapons, equipment, real estate, and even military libraries from Ukraine.

The military, who decided to give up military service in Ukraine and move to the chosen CIS countries, were created all the conditions in accordance with the Ukrainian law by the Ukrainian authorities and the military administration. Soldiers and sergeants who were the

natives of other other republics and served in Ukraine left Ukraine by July of 1992. In turn, from the autumn of 1991, the recruitment of the Ukrainian army by personnel began to take place exclusively by conscripts from Ukraine.

Lieutenant General Ya. Skalko recalls that the procedure for relocating officers from Ukraine was insufficiently worked out. However, some commanders made the right decision: to facilitate the relocation of personnel who expressed a desire to continue serving in the newly independent countries that emerged in the former Soviet Union. At the airfields in Dubno, Rivne region, Cherliany, Lviv region, there was a ritual of seeing off officers to their Homeland: "We said goodbye in a human way, in an officer's way. Those who decided to leave Ukraine were provided with planes to transport personal belongings, and farewell ceremonies with units and battle flags were organized at airfields. Music conducted by military orchestra was played" (Hedz, 2004, pp. 14–15).

The interstate relocation (secondment) of servicemen within the CIS took place from 1991 to 1994. During this period of time, about 38 000 officers and ensigns were relocated from Ukraine to other CIS states. More than 33 000 servicemen, including 27 982 officers, returned to Ukraine (Kyrychenko, 2007, p. 14). The majority of them took the oath of allegiance to the people of Ukraine and continued their military service in the Armed Forces of Ukraine.

The Conclusion. The collapse of the Soviet Union and its military organization necessitated the relocation of servicemen of the former Soviet army within the Commonwealth of Independent States formed in December of 1991. The relocation of troops belonging to fragments of the Soviet army within post-Soviet state formations showed that at the first stage the CIS was a very effective mechanism for solving an important social and military issues. Contrary to Russia's attempts to turn the CIS into a means of its political and military influence on the post-Soviet states, Ukraine, by forming its own Armed Forces, concluded agreements with the military departments of the CIS countries on mutual relocation of servicemen, in which democratic principles were declared, which required mandatory consideration of a serviceman's personal desire in choosing the country to continue his military service and place of residence. The Ukrainian authorities also created conditions for the relocation of those soldiers who decided to return to the countries they chose.

With the collapse of the Soviet army, officers of various military ranks underwent tangible ideological challenges related to determining their attitude towards Ukraine's independence and creating its own army. The relocation of the military from Ukraine who wanted to move to other CIS countries allowed the Ukrainian authorities to ensure a relatively stable military and political situation and prevent a split in the officer corps during a critical period of the country's independent development. Officers who returned to Ukraine enlarged the officer corps and joined the development of the Ukrainian army. Due to this, the military units became more Ukrainianized and able to fight. The return to Ukraine of a significant number of officers, including senior officers, allowed to complete the staffing of command, rear and technical posts in the middle and top ranks at the stage of creating the basis of the Armed Forces of Ukraine.

Funding. The authors did not receive any financial support for the research, authorship and publication of this article.

REFERENCES

- Avtushenko, I.** (2019). *Derzhavna polityka Ukrainy shchodo sotsialnoho zakhystu viiskovosluzhbovtiv ta chleniv yikh simei (1991 – 2014 rr.)* [State Policy of Ukraine on Social Protection of Servicemen and Members of their Families (1991 – 2014)]. Monohrafiia. Kyiv: Firma "Inkos", 415 p. [in Ukrainian]

- Dashkevych, O.** (2015). *Vyshchyi ofiterskyi korpus: istoriia stvorennia ta komplektuvannia* [Senior Officer Corps: History of Creation and Acquisition]. Monohrafiia. Kyiv, 285 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Dibrova, A.** (Ed.) (2009). *Viiskovi kadry Zbroinykh Syl Ukrainy na rubezhi stolit (1991 – 2009 rr.)*. [Military Personnel of the Armed Forces of Ukraine at the Beginning of the Century (1991 – 2009)]. *Istorychnyi narys stvorennia systemy kadrovykh orhaniv Zbroinykh Syl Ukrainy*. (pp. 8–21). Kyiv. [in Ukrainian]
- Haluzevyi derzhavnyi arkhiv Ministerstva oborony Ukrainy [Sectoral State Archive of the Ministry for Defense of Ukraine – SSAMDU]*
- Hedz, V.** (2004). *Vony byly pershymy. Istoriia. Fakty. Osobystosti* [They were the First. History. Facts. Personality]. Vinnytsia: Kryla Ukrainy, 144 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Kyrychenko, S.** (Ed.) (2007). *Heneralnyi shtab Zbroinykh Syl Ukrainy: istoriia ta suchasnist* [General Staff of the Armed Forces of Ukraine: history and modernity]. Kyiv: Pres-Kit, 128 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Lopata, M.** (2002). *Odynadtsiat rokov Zbroinykh Syl Ukrainy. Dumky pro suchasne z ohliadu na mynule* [Eleven years of the Armed Forces of Ukraine. Thoughts on the present in light of the past]. *Viiskovo-istorychnyi almanakh*, 2(5), 67–87. [in Ukrainian]
- Lopatin, M.** (2003). *Na sluzhbi Ukraini [In the service of Ukraine]. Viiskovo-istorychnyi almanakh*, 1(6), 88–89. [in Ukrainian]
- Morozov, K.** (1996). *Analiz viiskovoho budivnytstva v 1991 – 1995 rokakh. Zdobutky ta pomylky* [Analysis of Military Formation in 1991 – 1995. Achievements and Mistakes]. *Vyzvolnyi shliakh*, 4, 418–427. [in Ukrainian]
- Perepelytsia, H.** (2001). *Ukraina: utverdzhennia nezalezhnoi derzhavy (1991 – 2001)* [Ukraine: the Establishment of an Independent State (1991 – 2001)]. Kyiv: Vydavnychy dim “Alternatyvy”, 552 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Perepelytsia, H.** (2015). *Ukraina – Rosiia: viina v umovakh isnuvannia* [Ukraine – Russia: War under the Conditions of Existence]. Kyiv: Vydavnychy dim “Stylos”, 880 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Pokotylo, O.** (2010). *Komplektuvannia Zbroinykh Syl Ukrainy ofiterskym skladom u 1991 – 1996 rr.: istoriohrafichnyi analiz* [Staffing of the Armed Forces of Ukraine in 1991 – 1996: historiographical analysis]. *Istoryko-filosofskyi zhurnal*, 6, 42–48. [in Ukrainian]
- Rusnachenko, A.** (2001). *Shanuimosia, panove ofitsery. Do 10-richchia Spilky ofitseriv Ukrainy. 1991 – 2001 rr.* [Let’s Respect ourselves, Officers. To the 10th anniversary of the Union of Officers of Ukraine. 1991 – 2001]. Kyiv: Varta, 399 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Sheda, S.** (2012). *Stanovlennia ta rozvytok ukrainskoi viiskovoi presy (XX – pochatok XXI stolittia)* [Formation and Development of the Ukrainian Military Press (the XXth – the beginning of the XXIst century)]. Monohrafiia. Rivne: Ovid, 504 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Shevchuk, V.** (2018). *Rol Spilky ofitseriv Ukrainy v konsolidatsii natsionalno svidomoi viiskovoi elity pry stvorenni Zbroinykh Syl Ukrainy* [The Role of the Union of Officers of Ukraine in the Consolidation of the Nationally Conscious Military Elite in the Creation of the Armed Forces of Ukraine]. *Voienno-istorychnyi visnyk*, 3(29), 36–40. [in Ukrainian]
- Smolii, V.** (Ed.) (2016). *25 rokov nezalezhnosti: narysy istorii tvorennia natsii ta derzhavy* [25 Years of Independence: essays on the history of the nation and state]. Instytut istorii Ukrainy NAN Ukrainy. Kyiv: Nika-Tsentr, 796 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Yakymovych, B.** (1996). *Zbroini Syly Ukrainy. Narysy istorii* [Armed Forces of Ukraine. Essays on History]. Kyiv: Prosvita, 360 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Zakonodavstvo Ukrainy z pytan viiskovoi sfery. Zbirnyk zakoniv ta inshykh normatyvno-pravovykh aktiv [Legislation of Ukraine on the Military Sphere].** Kyiv: Azymut-Ukraina, 1007 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Zhyvytsia, H.** (2001). *To buv chas napruzhenyi ta vidpovidalny*. [It was a Busy and Responsible Time]. *Voienno-istorychnyi almanakh*, 1, 72–77. [in Ukrainian]

The article was received May 18, 2021.

Article recommended for publishing 23/02/2022.

UDC 327.5(470:478)“1992”:930.2(477+470)
DOI 10.24919/2519-058X.22.253722

Ihor BEHEI

PhD hab. (Political Sciences), Lecture of The Lviv State College of Food Processing Industry of the National University of Food Technologies, 42 Ivana Puliuia Street, Lviv, Ukraine, postal code 79060 (begej@i.ua)

ORCID: 0000-0002-1201-8369
ResearcherID: AAC-1082-2022

Yulia LIVINSKA

Post-graduate student of Hetman Petro Sahaidachnyi National Army Academy, 32 Heroes of Maidan Street, Lviv, Ukraine, postal code 79026 (ulivinska@gmail.com)

ORCID: 0000-0002-4291-5618
ResearcherID: AAC-1204-2022

Ігор БЕГЕЙ

доктор політичних наук, викладач Львівського фахового коледжу харчової та переробної промисловості Національного університету харчових технологій, вул. Пулюя, 42, м. Львів, Україна, індекс 79060 (begej@i.ua)

Юлія ЛІВІНСЬКА

ад'юнкт Національної академії сухопутних військ імені гетьмана Петра Сагайдачного, вул. Героїв Майдану 32, м. Львів, Україна, індекс 79026 (ulivinska@gmail.com)

Bibliographic Description of the Article: Behei, I. & Livinska, Yu. (2022). Causes of the Russian-Moldovan Conflict of 1992 in Ukrainian and Russian Historiographical Discourses. *Skhidnoieuropeyskyi istorychnyi visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 22, 206–215. doi: 10.24919/2519-058X.22.253722

CAUSES OF THE RUSSIAN-MOLDOVAN CONFLICT OF 1992 IN UKRAINIAN AND RUSSIAN HISTORIOGRAPHICAL DISCOURSES

Abstract. *The purpose of the research* is a comparative juxtaposition of facts, assessments derived from the Ukrainian and Russian periodicals, materials of online publications concerning the causes of the Russian-Moldovan conflict in 1992. **The research methodology** is based on the principles of historicism, systematicity, scientificity, verification, authorial objectivity, as well as on the historical method and methods of analysis, synthesis and generalization. The historical method was used to study the events that took place in Moldova in 1992. Owing to the method of analysis and synthesis, the causes of the conflict itself and the proof by scientific means were identified. The method of generalization formed a general vision of the problem, the results of the study became the basis for the conclusions. **The scientific novelty** is that for the first time a comprehensive analysis of information and scientific research in Ukrainian and Russian historiography concerning the topic of the Russian-Moldovan conflict of 1992 was carried out, and the main reasons were also clarified and enumerated, which contributed to the development and actions of the above-mentioned conflict. **The Conclusions.** The main causes of the Russian-Moldovan conflict, which in fact became the first hybrid confrontation

between the countries neighboring Ukraine, in the Ukrainian and Russian historiographical discourse can be considered a number of factors, including the collapse of the USSR and the liquidation of the Warsaw Pact, which opened diverse new explosive situations in the territories of the former republics, including Moldova; crisis of the world political system; linguistic and geopolitical factor; economic factor. In general, the Russian-Moldovan conflict at the current stage of development of international relations is considered to be “frozen” and incomplete due to the unwillingness of the current authorities in Moldova to resolve the situation radically and the intervention and incitement of the conflict by the representatives of other states that are interested in its existence.

Key words: Ukraine, Moldova, historiography, causes of the conflict, post-Soviet space, Transnistria.

ПРИЧИНИ ВИНИКНЕННЯ РОСІЙСЬКО-МОЛДОВСЬКОГО КОНФЛІКТУ 1992 р. В УКРАЇНСЬКОМУ ТА РОСІЙСЬКОМУ ІСТОРИОГРАФІЧНИХ ДИСКУРСАХ

Анотація. *Мета дослідження* полягає у компаративному зіставленні фактів, оцінок, почерпнутих з української та російської періодики, матеріалів інтернет-видань стосовно причин початку російсько-молдовського конфлікту 1992 р. **Методологія дослідження** базована на принципах історизму, системності, науковості, верифікації, авторської об'єктивності, а також на історичному методі та методах аналізу, синтезу та узагальнення. Історичний метод застосовувався при дослідженні подій, які відбувалися на території Молдови у 1992 р. Завдяки методу аналізу і синтезу були виокремлені причини виникнення самого конфлікту та їх доведення науковими засобами. Методом узагальнення було сформоване загальне бачення проблеми, отримані результати наукових студій стали основою висновків. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше здійснено сукупний аналіз інформації та наукових розвідок в українській та російській історіографії на тему російсько-молдовського конфлікту 1992 р., а також з'ясовано і названо основні причини, які сприяли розгортанню та дії вищезазначеного конфлікту. **Висновки.** Основними причинами виникнення російсько-молдовського конфлікту, який фактично став першим гібридним протистоянням між країнами, сусідніми з Україною, в українському та російському історіографічному дискурсі вважають низку чинників, серед яких: розпад Союзу Радянських Соціалістичних Республік (СРСР) та ліквідація Варшавського договору відкрили багато нових вибухонебезпечних ситуацій на територіях колишніх республік, включаючи Молдову; криза політичної системи світу; мовний і геополітичний чинники; економічний чинник. Загалом російсько-молдовський конфлікт на сучасному етапі розвитку міжнародних відносин як через небажання чинної влади у Молдові радикально врегулювати означену ситуацію, так і через втручання тарозпалення конфлікту представниками інших держав, зацікавлених у подальшому його існуванні, вважається “замороженим” та незавершеним.

Ключові слова: Україна, Молдова, історіографія, причини конфлікту, пострадянський простір, Придністров'я.

The Problem Statement. The Russian-Moldovan conflict of 1992 should be studied in detail and is quite relevant for Ukraine. First of all, the above-mentioned conflict can be considered as a direct threat to the Ukrainian national security. This is because the territory borders on Ukraine and in case of any clashes, the conflict may be displaced at any time. Second of all, the majority of Transnistria's population consists of the Ukrainians and the Russians, which again indicates Ukraine's interest in resolving the ongoing conflict.

The analysis of the Russian-Moldovan conflict by the Ukrainian and the Russian historians in 1992 provides a deeper understanding of the options for the development of a hybrid conflict and uses the material developed to predict the situation of the current hybrid war in Ukraine. In addition, we find it interesting to compare the views of the Ukrainian and the Russian scholars concerning the 1992 Transnistrian conflict.

The Analysis of Recent Research Works and Publications. Since the outburst of the conflict in Moldova, much time has passed, which led to the emergence of a large number of

scientific papers and investigations into the details and descriptions of the conflict. Numerous scholars from many countries tried to analyze the problems and causes of the Russian-Moldovan conflict in 1992. The following domestic researchers, who studied the above-mentioned issue should be noted: O. Aliexsiechenko, O. Kava, O. Sadovnik, V. Anikin, I. Vyshnya, K. Vitman, I. Petrova, V. Pintsak, H. Perepelytsia, etc.

There were numerous Russian researchers, who covered the themes of the Moldovan conflict in their works: K. Myalo, N. Kharitonova, I. Kochedikov, A. Zubov, B. Bomeshko, N. Babilunha, K. Kodryan, I. Hrek, V. Shuryhin, D. Tukmakov, V. Matyash, M. Bergman and the others. It should be stated that the research topic was partially considered by Western researchers: the use of the factor of “separatism” in Transnistria by the Russian side was studied by K. Büscher (Büscher, 1996) and S. Troebst (Troebst, 2003); playing the ethnic card in the conflict was considered by King (King, 2001); the territorial dimension of the confrontation in 1991 – 1993 was analyzed by N. Lamont (Lamont, 2007).

The purpose of the research is to analyse scientific researches in the Ukrainian and Russian historiographies concerning the causes of the Russian-Moldovan conflict.

The Main Material Statement. The Transnistrian crisis, the Moldovan conflict, and the Russian-Moldovan conflict of 1992 – these are all names of one phenomenon that is often referred to in historiography as the collective name of the Transnistrian conflict. The above-mentioned confrontation is recorded in history as an armed conflict, which increases its importance and negative consequences. The conflict began on March 28, 1992, with an open armed confrontation in Transnistria. As a result, a state of emergency was declared in Moldova.

The international community is quite cautious about the determinants of the conflict and the perpetrators. However, Russia’s role in this conflict is almost undeniable. In addition, quite interestingly, it could be recognized in the Russian historiographical discourse. The representatives of the above-mentioned discourse, in order to raise Russia’s authority, often display it as a kind of philanthropist, who seeks to settle any disputes between states or parts of it peacefully. Although it is rather a veiled reason to intervene in the conflict and satisfy the interests of the Russian leadership.

Hence, it is appropriate to consider numerous aspects of the Transnistrian conflict and its causes in the Ukrainian and Russian historiographical discourse. Thus, O. Grom divides the historiography of this conflict into: inter-Romanian, the Soviet and modern (Grom, 2018, p. 130). The author began to study the conditions of the conflict not from the years of 1990 – 1992, but much earlier, he immersed in historical milestones. In addition, O. Grom emphasized the fact that for a long time the main works, which studied the conflict were the works written by Moldovan scholars, the objectivity of which is in great doubt (Grom, 2018, p. 140).

O. Grom, pointed at the specifics of the history of the region after 1917, stated that research on the sociopolitical movements in Bessarabia and, especially, on the history of local nationalism, was strongly dependent on the political situation and the continuous “war of identities” (Grom, 2018, p. 140).

N. Kharitonova noted in the abstract for the thesis “International political dimension of the Transnistrian conflict: strategic approaches to settlement” that the study of the Transnistrian conflict can be divided into several areas: the Transnistrian, the Moldovan, the Russian and the Western. The scholar found it quite interesting that the Russian and Transnistrian directions in general had the same essence, as well as the Moldovan and Western (Kharitonova, 2019, p. 6).

N. Kharitonova traced the connection between the number of scientific works and the discovery of new causes of the above-mentioned conflict. The researcher truly believed that

the above-mentioned conflict, like the others, occurred due to the transformation of the world political system in the 90s. In addition, the scholar also noted that the existence of entities with uncertain status was a consequence of the state system crisis (Kharitonova, 2019, p. 27).

According to I. Kochedykov, the cause of the political crisis in Moldova and, as a consequence, the armed confrontation in Transnistria, happened due to the nationalists, who came to power (Kochedykov, 2015, p. 86). Kochedykov called the discourse of the Moldavianism the second discourse of the Moldavian state (Kochedykov, 2015, p. 90). I. Kochedykov also believed that the linguistic aspect was closely intertwined with the conflict. In particular, the scholar stated that language policy became firmly entrenched in the worldview of the people of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic (MSSR), which ensured the group's internal unity and combined well with the aspirations of local elites to retain power and independence (Kochedykov, 2015, p. 91). In his research, I. Kochedykov tried to raise the issue of correlating the Moldovans with other nations and equated them more with the Russians.

Another researcher, Yu. Netkachev in his historical essay, called "The Unknown Truth about the Transnistrian Conflict of 1992", revealed the political circumstances of that period. Of course, in his work he did not leave behind the USSR collapse issue, which he considered to be a prerequisite for changing the political mood of the former Soviet republics. Yu. Netkachev was the Commander of the 14th General Army and described quite sharply all the events that he eyewitnessed. It was this army that was in Transnistria at the time. The question of belonging to the army of Russia or the Republic of Moldova drove the military into a dead end.

They were supposed to fight against former common peoples, people of different nationalities, in fact, on the orders of some people, who tried to carry out the separation of powers in the republic (Netkachev, 2019, p. 19). Yu. Netkachev highlighted the beginning of the formation of "new political thinking" and pointed at the need for changes in the political system of society, which had to meet the requirements of the time. In his work Yu. Netkachev also depicted the events in Transnistria. The scholar drew specific attention to the fact that the main part of Moldova's industry was concentrated in the Transnistrian region, and the Russian and Russian-speaking populations made up the vast majority. Due to the harassment by certain groups in Moldova, the Transnistrian population began to oppose rapprochement with Romania (Netkachev, 2019, p. 49). Based on the above-mentioned information, we can already grasp the different views of the population on the need for cooperation with the states.

Taking into consideration the Ukrainian historiographical discourse, it should be noted that the scientific works of the Ukrainian researchers of the Russian-Moldovan conflict and Ukraine's contribution to its solution were represented mainly by generalized analytical materials. Scholars distinguished numerous causes of the conflict, but they were also consistent with the Russian historiography.

Hence, the following reasons for its occurrence are singled out: historical reasons (Nechaieva-Iuriichuk, D. Yermolenko, O. Alieksieichenko), geopolitical reasons (O. Sadovnik, M. Plaksenko), ideological reasons (O. Alieksieichenko, O. Sadovnik), ethnic reasons, including ethno-political (O. Sadovnik, V. Kotsur), language factor (O. Sadovnik, V. Kotsur), economic reasons (Nechaieva-Iuriichuk, D. Yermolenko, political and legal reasons (H. Pereplytsia), political (V. Kotsur, O. Sadovnik), cultural reasons (Nechaieva-Iuriichuk, D. Yermolenko, O. Alieksieichenko).

It should be mentioned that in their works the Ukrainian scholars tried to do the research on the conflict in a more descriptive way, using safe statements and maintaining neutrality in views, especially without expressing a subjective point of view. In the Ukrainian historiography, the

Russian-Moldovan conflict was considered to be a sociopolitical confrontation. By typology – the ethno-political conflict, because in its historical development it went through all the stages of conflict interaction, which are inherent in this type of conflict.

One more scholar, O. Kava states that during the existence of the Soviet Union in Transnistria, the subjects of the conflict were already identified. On the one hand, O. Kava said, it was the Moldovan national elite, represented mainly by national democrats and ultranationalists, and on the other hand, the conservative nomenklatura of Transnistria, represented mainly by the board of directors. According to O. Kava, the escalation of the conflict was inevitable between these extremes, diametrically opposed in their ideological and political views and forces (Kava, 2004). In addition, the union autonomy issue was a crucial political precondition that gave Transnistria the opportunity to determine its new state status and determine its participation in the conflict.

S. Pyrozhev, a renowned Ukrainian scholar, diplomat and academician, who headed the diplomatic mission of Ukraine in the Republic of Moldova for a long time, recognised the Russian-Moldovan conflict as based on several dimensions: strategic, regional and domestic (Pyrozhev, 2006, p. 557).

S. Pyrozhev, comparing the armed conflicts in Transnistria of the Republic of Moldova and in the East of Ukraine, depicted similar and different signs among them. According to S. Pyrozhev, there was no ethnic or religious conflict in Transnistria, as almost the entire population was the Orthodox. “The Ukrainians and the Moldovans always lived in this area. The Ukrainians are a national minority, but they are not a classic diaspora formed as a result of migration from other countries, as was the case in the United States. This is essentially an indigenous ethnic group that formed the basis of the region’s population. The Russians appeared at the beginning of the XIXth century. That is why, these people lived in this territory since ancient times, had their own ethnic identity and it is now in relief and can be really observed” (Pyrozhev, 2006, p. 562).

The Ukrainian researcher V. Kotsur analyzed the Russian-Moldovan conflict in detail. According to V. Kotsur, there were three main reasons for the Transnistrian confrontation. Among them were the following: “sharp ethnic and political differences between Moldova on the west bank of the Dniester and Transnistria; polar geopolitical orientation of the extreme political camps of the politicum of Moldova and Transnistria; Russia’s military presence, personified by the remnants of the 14th Army stationed in Transnistria” (Kotsur, 2013).

H. Perepelytsia’s works, a specialist in foreign and military policy, military and political conflicts, who revealed the European security issue, analyzing regional and subregional conflicts, in particular, the causes and ways to resolve them, studying the conflict in Moldova differed from the other works significantly (Perepelytsia, 2001, p. 14).

According to N. Nechaieva-Iuriichuk, military assistance to official Chisinau from Romania and the readiness of the 14th Russian Army to side with Tiraspol created the conditions for the transition of the conflict from a latent stage to a stage of armed expansion (Nechaieva-Iuriichuk, 2010).

In addition, O. Kava states that the Russian troops’ deployment in Transnistria also exacerbates the frozen conflict nowadays (Kava, 2004).

Hence, O. Sadovnik considered the ethno-national factor to be one of the reasons for the armed confrontation, linking it with profound structural changes in the composition of the population of the MRSR in general, and the Transnistrian region in particular. “After all, the development of interethnic relations is in some connection with the ethnic structure of the population. Knowledge of ethnic statistics, the nature of changes in the number of peoples

provide an opportunity to show their role in the development of society, in the process of interethnic communication” (Sadovnik, 2018). In this context, the researcher highlighted the following: “the ethno-national structure of the Transnistrian region of Moldova (RM) differed significantly from the population of the Bessarabian part of the republic, that the Moldovan government ignored the cultural peculiarities of Transnistria and led to ethnopolitical conflict in the republic” (Sadovnik, 2018, p. 138).

Another factor that influenced the Russian-Moldovan conflict outburst in the Ukrainian historiographical discourse was the geopolitical and ideological factor that included language, as language is a multifaceted factor that relates to both cultural and historical and ideological factors. Transnistria was part of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic since 1940, before being part of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) (as part of the Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (MASSR)). In turn, the ethnic composition of Transnistria consisted of roughly equal groups: the Ukrainians, the Moldovans and the Russians. As for the population of the rest of Moldova, it was more homogeneous and the majority of people spoke Romanian. Thus, linguistic and ethnic differences became one of the preconditions for the rapid escalation of the conflict, and according to O. Alieksieichenko, Nechaieva-Iuriichuk had a significant impact on the beginning of the armed phase of the confrontation in Transnistria.

N. Nechaieva-Iuriichuk stated that at that time the Moldovan population of those areas on the left bank of the Dniester, which was part of the MASSR, was not the vast majority. It enabled the Soviet leadership to secure the appropriate state status of the new autonomous republic. The researcher considered one of the factors in the Russian-Moldovan conflict outburst, the fact that the population of the Transnistrian territories, which were part of the Moldavian Republic, did not consist of the majority of the Moldovans (Nechaieva-Iuriichuk, 2010).

O. Alieksieichenko emphasized that the armed phase of the confrontation in Transnistria was caused primarily by geopolitical factors. According to O. Alieksieichenko, “the main geopolitical motive for the Kremlin’s participation in the settlement of the conflict is the desire to get the world’s leading states to recognize the post-Soviet space as “Russia’s area of special responsibility” (Alieksieichenko, 2014).

O. Sadovnik singles out another group of causes of conflict – cultural and linguistic. According to the scholar, the Moldavian language was used only in an everyday life, it was excluded from the sphere of intellectual circulation, and its use in official speeches was seen as a manifestation of nationalism. Such kind of situation concerning the language issue did not suit the Moldovan intelligentsia, which not only took care of granting the status of the Moldovan language to the state, but also tried to recognize the identity of the literary Moldovan and Romanian languages and return to Latin graphics officially. A crucial impetus to significant changes in the sociopolitical climate of the republic were concrete steps, in particular, the adoption of numerous laws granting the Moldovan language the status of the state. O. Sadovnik believed that the diverse ethnic composition of the population of the Republic of Moldova led to disputes over the status of the state language (Sadovnik, 2018).

In addition, N. Nechaieva-Iuriichuk also determined that the language factor influenced its emergence. The researcher argued that at the end of the 1980s the process of ethnopoliticization of Moldovan society and party nomenklatura took place very quickly and under the slogans of Romanianization of Moldovan society. “The process of ethno-politicization of Moldovan society was not accepted and considered by the population of Transnistria, seeing in it a real threat to the existence of their own way of life. In such an uncertain situation, people united around the Transnistrian nomenklatura in a conflict with official Chisinau, which only

exacerbated the situation and intensified the conflict causing factors, one of which was the language” (Nechaieva-Iuriichuk, 2010).

H. Perepelytsia, commenting on the linguistic reason, which had an influence on the Russian-Moldovan conflict outbreak, stated that the adoption of the language law in Moldova on August 31, 1989, and the fact that the law made Romanian the official language with Latin spelling received a negative response from the Russian-speaking population of Transnistria, which responded with political strikes. Hence: “a sharp change in the language environment increased significantly the negative attitude of the Transnistrian population towards official Chisinau and became one of the causes of the conflict” (Perepelitsa, 2001).

Taking into account the fact that scholars of both the Ukrainian and Russian historiographical discourse revealed the Transnistrian conflict at a sufficient level, we understand that the topic is quite controversial and requires the rejection of subjective opinions. Although the scholars reached a mutual agreement that there were different groups of factors, each side interpreted the favourable positions and conditions of the above-mentioned conflict, wanting to use certain facts to their advantage, or condemn the actions of the other party.

Taking into consideration, the current tense relations between Ukraine and Russia and the hybrid war, it is impossible not to point at illegal interference and sometimes provocations by the Russian leadership both in Transnistria and in the current situation in Ukraine. We understand that such conflicts will be in a constant “smoldering” phase. That’s why, it is vital to turn to international means of resolving conflicts. Constant provocations, recruitment and intimidation of the local population, false media only add fuel to the conflict.

At the present stage, the leaders of the Republic of Moldova (RM) are making every effort in order to prove that the Transnistrian problem has nothing to do with the issue of the right of nations to self-determination. Their argument is that there is no “title” nation on Transnistrian land. Chisinau believes that the “Transnistrian issue” is the fruit of the ambitions of a group of leaders led by President I. Smirnov, who has Russian citizenship and does not want to lose control over the property of the Left Bank of the Dniester (Reintegratsiya Pridnestrovyya: pooshchrenie i prinuzhdenie (prezentatsiya proekta), 2017).

According to the Memorandum on the Fundamentals of Normalization of Relations between the Republic of Moldova and Transnistria, signed in 1997, which, despite attempts made by some political forces in Moldova to denounce it, is still recognized by the Moldovan leadership, Chisinau agreed to establish a “state legal relations”. According to this provision, the status of Transnistria should be based on the principles of mutually agreed decisions, which include delimitation and delegation of powers and mutually secured guarantees.

According to the “Kozak Memorandum”, drafted by Russia through a draft compromise between Transnistria and Moldova, Transnistria should gain legitimacy as a state entity within the Moldovan Federation. It should be mentioned that negotiations concerning the above-mentioned issue lasted a long time, but in November of 2003, the Moldovan President V. Voronin refused to sign the agreed text of the document. As a result, the story remains the subject of dishonest interpretations in Chisinau. On the eve of Parliamentary elections of 2005 (after which the new Parliament was supposed to elect the President), V. Voronin and his adviser on domestic affairs, M. Tkachuk, told the media that Moscow’s refusal to accept the “Kozak Memorandum” was due to “deception” by Moscow (Reintegratsiya Pridnestrovyya: pooshchrenie i prinuzhdenie (prezentatsiya proekta), 2017).

They claimed that the final text of the document, proposed by the Russian mediator, contained previously uncoordinated and unacceptable conditions for Chisinau. These include

the use of the term “Transnistrian Moldavian Republic” and the inclusion of a clause on the deployment of a Russian military contingent in Transnistria for a period of twenty years.

Apparently, Chisinau was very annoyed by the clumsy actions of the Russian side. Moscow lobbied for Tiraspol’s interests in maintaining Russia’s military presence, contrary to the declaration of 1999 of the Istanbul Summit of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), which called on Russia to withdraw troops from Moldova. However, both Russian and Western analysts are more likely to point otherwise.

V. Voronin’s rejection of Russia’s proposals came after he was pressured by the High Representative of the European Union (EU) for Foreign Affairs and Defense Policy H. Solan and the US Ambassador to Chisinau. The pressure was synchronized with anti-government protests in Chisinau demanding the resignation of V. Voronin and his “communist” regime. The psychological effect of the wave of the Rose Revolution in Georgia, which forced the “communist” President Shevardnadze to resign, also played a major role. V. Voronin did not want to face such fate, preferred to succumb to the Western pressure (Reintegratsiya Pridnestrovyia: pooschrenie i prinuzhdenie (prezentatsiya proekta), 2017).

There is no evidence that the principle of federalization of Moldova, which formed the basis of the “Kozak Plan”, caused serious objections from Chisinau. Furthermore, his version of federalization required much greater concessions from the Transnistrian side – it would have to abandon the de facto existing statehood. As to V. Voronin, the document could be a trump card, demonstrating his ability to overcome the country’s division and neutralize separatism. However, such kind of decision did not suit the West: a compromise reached with Moscow’s help could return Moldova to Russia’s sphere of influence.

Few opposition politicians question the prospects of Transnistria’s independence more openly. Although independence is a good and popular idea among the Transnistrian people, the Kremlin is not ready to recognize it officially. The best solution is a federal model with elements of a confederation, especially since Russia itself recognizes Moldova’s territorial integrity. All these realities are often ignored by those Russian politicians, who see Transnistria as a “bastion of Russia against the West”.

Russia’s geopolitical interests are intertwined with those of commercial groups, and this affects Russia’s position on Transnistria. There is a sense that Moldova is dealing with several Russian Ministries, representing the Kremlin, the State Duma, the Defense Ministry, the FSB and major private economic interests. At the same time, Moscow never advocated the recognition of Transnistria as an independent state.

Exacerbation of geopolitical conflicts in Europe brought attention to Transnistria, as a result of expanding the EU’s political and economic sphere of influence, signing Association and Free Trade Agreements with Ukraine and Moldova unrecognized Transnistrian Republic of Moldova (TRM) exchange and migration of citizens. Choosing the anti-crisis strategy for the development of Transnistria – an enclave between large neighbouring territories where the EU’s interests are realized, involves studying the factors and conditions that determine the real economic potential, analysis of management challenges and constraints, opportunities to achieve a certain level of self-financing (Kharitonova, 2014).

O. Sadovnik stated that the strategy of rivalry accompanied the conflict in the Transnistrian region at all its stages, and each of them was important both for the development of the conflict and its settlement in the future. That is why, the Transnistrian problem remains far from being solved today (Sadovnik, 2020, p. 102).

The topicality of research on the anti-crisis strategy of the TMR necessitates the search for ways and methods to solve problems of preservation and development of labour and

production potentials, strengthening the geopolitical significance of the Republic (one third of Russia, Ukraine and Moldova), increasing exports, increasing the intensity of production and scientific connections.

Nowadays, Transnistria maintains a high level of social spending of the state with the simultaneous economic impossibility of meeting the needs of the population with current production and employment in the public and private sectors of the economy, the share of retirees in the population. Management of the economy was adequate so far to the crisis period, and in the social sphere there are no measures to stimulate job positions growth, consolidation of the most skilled workforce.

The Conclusions. Having examined the theoretical research works of scholars of the Russian historiographical discourse, we can spot Russia's interest in trying to justify its "help" in resolving the Transnistrian crisis. But it is worth noting that this position is presented to scholars quite biased. Instead, the Ukrainian historiographical discourse is represented by a certain detachment from the analysis of events that cause conflict, and more by a historical description of events without additional expression of subjective views. In conclusion, it should be mentioned that among the main causes of the Russian-Moldovan conflict in 1992 there were political, economic, linguistic, geopolitical factors.

Acknowledgements. The authors would like to express sincere gratitude to all members of the editorial board for the given advice during the preparation of the article for publishing.

Funding. The authors did not receive any financial assistance for research, preparation and publication of the article.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aliexsieichenko, O. V. (2014). *Uchast Rosiiskoi Federatsii u Prydnistrovskomu konfliktu* [Participation of the Russian Federation in the Transnistrian conflict]. URL: <http://vmv.kymu.edu.ua/v/p08/16.pdf>. [in Ukrainian]

Büscher, K. (1996). Separatismus in Transnistrien: Die "PMR" zwischen Rußland und Moldova [Separatism in Transnistria: The "PMR" between Russia and Moldova]. *Osteuropa*, 46 (9), 860–875. URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44919772> [in German]

Grom, O. A. (2018). V poiskakh identichnosti "Bessarabskiy vopros" i moldavskoe natsionalnoe dvizhenie nachala XX v. v istoriograficheskoy perspektive [In search of identity: "The Bessarabian question" and the Moldavan national movement of the early 20th century in a historiographical perspective]. *Novoe proshloe*, 2, 130–145. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.23683/2500-3224-2018-2-130-145> [in Russian]

Kava, O. S. (2004). Prychyny vynyknennia prydnistrovskoho konfliktu naprykintsi 80-kh rokiv XX stolittia [The causes of the Transnistrian conflict in the late 80s of XX century]. *Mahisterium*, 17: *Istorychni studii*, 79. [in Ukrainian]

Kharitonova, N. I. (2014). Vozmozhnye posledstviya podpisaniya Soglasheniya ob assotsiatsii Respubliki Moldova s Yevropeyskim soyuzom [Possible consequences of signing the Association Agreement between the Republic of Moldova and the European Union]. *Gosudarstvennoe upravlenie. Elektronnyy vestnik*, 43, 39–54. [in Russian]

Kharitonova, N. I. (2019). *Mezhdunarodno-politicheskoe izmerenie Pridnestrovskogo konflikta: strategicheskie podkhody k uregulirovaniyu* [International political dimension of the Transnistrian conflict: strategic approaches to settlement]. (*Extended abstract of Doctor's thesis*). Moskva. 54 p. [in Russian]

King, Ch. (2001). The Benefits of Ethnic War: Understanding Eurasia's Unrecognized States. *World Politics*, 53 (4), 524–552. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1353/Wp.2001.0017> [in English]

Kochedykov, I. Ye. (2015). Natsionalizmy Moldovy [Nationalisms of Moldova]. *Sravnitel'naya politika*, 2 (19), 86–99. [in Russian]

Kotsur, V. (2013). *Etnopolitychnyi konflikt u Prydnistrovi u konteksti ukrainsko-moldovs'kykh mizhderzhavnykh vidnosyn* [Ethnopolitical conflict in Transnistria in the context of Ukrainian-Moldovan interstate relations]. Kyiv, 272 p. [in Ukrainian]

Lamont, N. V. (1993). Territorial dimensions of ethnic conflict: The Moldovan case, 1991 – March 1993. *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies*, 6(4), 576–612. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13518049308430119> [in English]

Nechaieva-Iuriichuk, N. V. (2010). Do pytannia pro prychny vynyknennia ta rozvytok Prydnistrovskoho konfliktu [On the question of the causes and development of the Transnistrian conflict]. *Istorychna panorama*, 11, 42–53. [in Ukrainian]

Netkachev, Yu. M. (2019). *Neizvestnaya pravda o Pridnestrovskom konflikte 1992 goda: istoricheskii ocherk* [The unknown truth about the 1992 Transnistrian conflict: a historical essay]. Moscow, 242 p. [in Russian]

Perepelitsa, G. N. (2001). *Konflikt v Pridnestrove: prichyny, problemy i prognoz razvitiya* [The Transnistrian conflict: causes, problems and development forecast]. Kyiv: Stilos, 147 p. [in Russian]

Pyrozhkov, S. I. (2007). Ukraina ta Moldova: vid susidstva do partnerstva [Ukraine and Moldova: from neighborhood to partnership]. *Ukraina dyplomatychna: nauk. shchorichnyk*, 8, 557–558. [in Ukrainian]

Reintegratsiya Pridnestrovyia: pooshchrenie i prinuzhdenie (prezentatsiya proekta) (2017). [Reintegration of Transnistria: encouragement and coercion (project presentation)]. Moskva: Institut effektivnoy politiki, 75 p. [in Russian]

Sadovnik, O. V. (2018). Prychny ta spryiaiuuchi faktory vynyknennia Prydnistrovskoho konfliktu kintsia 1980-kh – pochatku 1990-kh rr. [Causes and contributing factors to the Transnistrian conflict of the late 1980s and early 1990s]. *Zbirnyk naukovykh prats "Hileia: naukovyi visnyk" Istorychni nauky*, 132, 138–141. [in Ukrainian]

Sadovnik, O. V. (2020). *Prydnistrovskiy konflikt 1989 – 1992 rr.: khronolohichni mezhi ta holovni etapy* [Transnistrian conflict 1989 – 1992: chronological boundaries and main stages]. URL: <https://vspu.net/nzhist/index.php/nzhist/article/view/640>. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.31652/2411-2143-2019-31-99-104>. [in Ukrainian]

Troebst, S. (2003). “We Are Transnistrians!”: Post-Soviet Identity Management in the Dniester Valley. *Ab Imperio*, 1, 437–466. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1353/Imp.2003.0056> [in English]

The article was received April 11, 2021.

Article recommended for publishing 23/02/2022.

UDC 327.5:355.48(470:479.2)“2008”
DOI 10.24919/2519-058X.22.253742

Ariadna SOROKIVSKA-OBIKHOD

PhD Student scientific and organizational department of Hetman Petro Sahaidachnyi National Army Academy, 32 Heroes of Maidan Street, Lviv, Ukraine, postal code 79026 (ariadnasor@ukr.net)

ORCID: 0000-0002-4413-9480

ResearcherID: 3000102

Ivanna CHOBIT

PhD Student scientific and organizational department of Hetman Petro Sahaidachnyi National Army Academy, 32 Heroes of Maidan Street, Lviv, Ukraine, postal code 79026 (ivannachobit23@gmail.com)

ORCID: 0000-0001-6669-2474

Ариадна СОРОКІВСЬКА-ОБИХОД

ад'юнкт штатний науково-організаційного відділу Національної академії сухопутних військ імені гетьмана Петра Сагайдачного, вул. Героїв Майдану, 32, м. Львів, Україна, індекс 79026 (ariadnasor@ukr.net)

Іванна ЧОБИТ

ад'юнкт штатний науково-організаційного відділу Національної академії сухопутних військ імені гетьмана Петра Сагайдачного, вул. Героїв Майдану, 32, м. Львів, Україна, індекс 79026 (ivannachobit23@gmail.com)

Bibliographic Description of the Article: Sorokivska-Obikhod, A. & Chobit, I. (2022). Informational Influence Application on the Civilian Population by the Russian Side During the Russo-Georgian War in August of 2008. *Skhidnoievropeyskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 22, 216–225. doi: 10.24919/2519-058X.22.253742

INFORMATIONAL INFLUENCE APPLICATION ON THE CIVILIAN POPULATION BY THE RUSSIAN SIDE DURING THE RUSSO-GEORGIAN WAR IN AUGUST OF 2008

Abstract. *The purpose of the research* is to analyze the tools of interaction between the Russian side of the conflict and the civilian population of South Ossetia during the Russo-Georgian War in August of 2008; to determine the features of Russia's informational impact on the civilians before and during hostilities. The main instrument of influence was the Russian propaganda, which was conducted before the conflict actively. The paramount ultimate goal of Russia's information operations was to form in the international community the idea of Georgia as an aggressor state, which launched hostilities on its own territory against another ethnic minority. **The methodology of the research** is based on the general scientific principles of historicism, objectivity, systematicity, determinism and historical and logical dialectical unity. The main research methods are: generalization, logical and chronological analysis, periodization, as well as a special method of historical research: historical comparative. The following methods have been used: structural and functional analysis, search, formal

logical, system structural, and analytical. **The scientific novelty** is that for the first time the analysis of historical open sources was carried out, which described the methods and tools of information and psychological influence on the civilian population of South Ossetia used by the Russian Federation before and during the Russo-Georgian War in August of 2008 based on the studied source base using modern methodological approaches. The carried out research confirmed Russia's non-compliance with the norms of the international and humanitarian law, general provisions on human rights and the generally accepted principles and methods of military civil cooperation during the conflict. On the contrary, the Russian Federation special units used all possible methods in order to gather intelligence, organize systematic informational and psychological influence on the civilian population to form an opinion about the aggressor state Georgia and establish full control of the Russian Federation in South Ossetia. **The Conclusions.** The analysis revealed that the Russian Federation builds relationships with its neighbours, as with former colonies, without considering them as fully sovereign states. In order to achieve its goals, the Russian Federation uses separatism and irredentist claims in neighbouring countries. During the Russo-Georgian War, the main tools of influence on the civilian population of South Ossetia were the Russian propaganda and the confusion in facts. During the Russo-Georgian War in 2008, neither side established centers of civil and military cooperation due to the transiency of the conflict and the Russian Federation's unwillingness to develop civilized approaches to resolve the conflict and make peace. The lack of interaction between the civilian population and the military led to a large amount of inaccurate and falsified data on the exact number of losses of both parties and victims among the local population, which allowed the Russian propaganda to manipulate the consciousness of their own citizens and the opinion of the world community, deliberately increasing the number of victims, and thus, increase hatred and aggression against the Georgian side.

Key words: civil and military cooperation, information struggle, hybrid war, the Russian aggression, Russo-Georgian War in August of 2008.

ЗАСТОСУВАННЯ ІНФОРМАЦІЙНОГО ВПЛИВУ НА ЦИВІЛЬНЕ НАСЕЛЕННЯ РОСІЙСЬКОЮ СТОРОНОЮ У РОСІЙСЬКО-ГРУЗИНСЬКІЙ ВІЙНІ В СЕРПНІ 2008 р.

Анотація. Мета дослідження – проаналізувати інструменти взаємодії між російською стороною конфлікту та цивільним населенням Південної Осетії під час російсько-грузинської війни у серпні 2008 р. Визначити особливості організації російського інформаційного впливу на цивільне населення до початку та під час бойових дій. Головним інструментом впливу була російська пропаганда, яка активно велась перед початком конфлікту. Головною прикінцевою метою інформаційних операцій Російської Федерації стало формування у міжнародній спільноті думки про Грузію як державу-агресора, що розпочала на власній території бойові дії проти іншої етнічної меншини. **Методологія дослідження** вибудовувалася із застосуванням загальнонаукових принципів історизму, об'єктивності, системності, детермінізму та діалектичної єдності історичного і логічного. Основними методами дослідження є: узагальнення, логічний та хронологічний аналіз, періодизація, а також спеціальний метод історичного дослідження: історико-порівняльний. У ході дослідження використовувалися: структурно-функціональний аналіз, пошуковий, формально-логічний, системно-структурний, аналітичний методи. **Наукова новизна.** На основі дослідженої джерельної бази з використанням сучасних методологічних підходів уперше здійснено аналіз відкритих історичних джерел, які описували способи й інструменти інформаційно-психологічного впливу на цивільне населення Південної Осетії застосовані РФ до та під час російсько-грузинської війни серпня 2008 р. Проведене дослідження підтвердило недотримання РФ норм міжнародного, гуманітарного права, загальних положень про права людини та загальноприйнятих сьогодні принципів і методів військово-цивільного співробітництва під час конфлікту. Навпаки, спеціальними підрозділами РФ було застосовано всі можливі методи щодо збору розвідувальної інформації, організації системного інформаційно-психологічного впливу на цивільне населення для формування думки про державу-агресора Грузію та встановлення повного контролю РФ у Південній Осетії. **Висновки.** Проведений аналіз виявив, що РФ вибудовує взаємовідносини зі своїми сусідами як з колишніми колоніями, не розглядаючи їх як повністю суверенні держави. Для досягнення своїх

цілей РФ використовує сепаратизм та іредентистські претензії у сусідніх державах. Під час російсько-грузинської війни головним інструментом впливу на цивільне населення Південної Осетії була російська пропаганда та плутанина у фактажі. У ході російсько-грузинської війни 2008 р. жодною зі сторін не було створено центрів цивільно-військового співробітництва у зв'язку зі швидкоплинністю самого конфлікту та через небажання РФ формувати цивілізовані підходи до згортання конфлікту і встановлення миру. Відсутність налагодженої взаємодії між цивільним населенням та військовими стала причиною появи великої кількості недостовірних і сфальсифікованих даних щодо точної кількості втрат обох сторін та жертв серед місцевого населення – це уможливило маніпулювання органами російської пропаганди свідомістю власних громадян та думкою світової спільноти, свідомо збільшувати кількість жертв і у такий спосіб посилювати ненависть і агресію до дій грузинської сторони.

Ключові слова: військово-цивільне співробітництво, інформаційна боротьба, гібридна війна, російська агресія, російсько-грузинська війна серпня 2008 р.

The Problem Statement. The main goal of the Russian Federation is military and political dominance in the post-Soviet space, which is achieved with the help of the simultaneous use of the “concept of a strong state” and “soft power”. The policy is implemented by means of the “buffer zones” and “instability zones” creation; redistribution of influence spheres; splitting the existing alliances and preventing new alliances; acquisition of new markets. Georgia is a vivid example of one of the objects of the “strong state concept” implementation. In August of 2008, regular military units of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation (RF) invaded the territory of Georgia, which became an act of military aggression in accordance with international law. The military operation was conducted under the slogan of forcing Georgia to peace, was planned and prepared by the top military and political leadership of the Russian Federation carefully (Khatiashvili, 2018). Establishing communication between the civilian population and the military at the beginning, during and after the conflict is a modern civilized norm related to the observance of the basic principles of international, humanitarian law and general provisions on human rights. Communication is also a fundamental area of a civil and military cooperation, which is most often carried out through the centers of civil and military cooperation, which are equipped outside the location of the military units and subdivisions. Access to such centers is open to the local population and the civil society organizations’ representatives. In case of conflict, communication takes place through coordination meetings and during citizens’ appeals (Daniel & Wittichová, 2020). During the Russo-Georgian War in 2008, none of the parties of the conflict established centers of civil and military cooperation due to the ephemerality of the conflict. The lack of interaction between the civilian population and the military led to a large number of unreliable and falsified data concerning the exact number of casualties, which allowed the Russian propaganda to increase the number of casualties in the eyes of the world community (Chobit, 2019).

The Analysis of Recent Research Works. The amount of research works related to the Russo-Georgian conflict is significant. In the Ukrainian historiography, the above-mentioned issue is poorly studied. The most prominent are the works written by A. Shumka “Information Confrontation during the Georgian-Russian Conflict” (August 8–12, 2008), which stated that the “coverage of events in Georgia and Russia was based on reporting only their own position” (Shumka, 2009), N. Nechaieva-Yuriiichuk in “On the Causes and Probable Consequences of the Georgian-Russian Conflict in August of 2008”, stated that “the War was a manifestation of the imperfections of the modern system of the international relations”, A. Kyrydon “The Causes of the Russian-Georgian Conflict in 2008: the Global Dimension”, which identified clearly and analyzed the deep field of causes of conflict in the Caucasus and escalation into

war (Kyrydon, 2008). The Russian publications were not taken into account due to their bias. Among Western researchers there should be noted the works written by A. Cohen and R. Hamilton “The Russian Military and the War in Georgia” (Cohen & Hamilton, 2011), P. Shakarian’s “Russian Cyber Campaign against Georgia 2008” (Shakarian, 2011), T. Thomas “The Bear Went through the Mountain: Russia Estimates the Five-Day War in South Ossetia” (Thomas, 2009), R. McDermott’s “Russia’s Ordinary Armed Forces and the War in Georgia” (McDermott, 2009), A. Nicolle “Russia’s Rapid Reaction: A Short War Demonstrates the Lack of Modern Systems” (Nicolle, 2008), Ch. Blandy “Provocation, Deception, Capture: the Russo-Georgian Five-Day War” (Blandy, 2009), S. Cornell, N. Nilsson, J. Popjanevski, “Russian War in Georgia” (Cornell, Nilsson, Popjanevski, 2008), E. Lucas “New Cold War: Putin’s Russia and the Threat of the West” (Lucas, 2009), Ya. Rogoza “The Russian Propaganda War: the Media as a Weapon of Short-Range and Long-Range Action” (Rogoza, 2008), D. Hollis “An Example of Studying Cyber Warfare: Georgia 2008” (Hollis, 2011).

The purpose of the research is to analyze the tools of interaction between the Russian side of the conflict and the civilian population of South Ossetia during the conflict and to determine the features of Russia’s informational impact on the civilian population before and during hostilities.

The Main Material Statement. From the beginning of the 90s of the XXth century the Russian journalists and politicians waged a large-scale propaganda campaign against Georgia. When Putin came to power in 2000, former officers of the State Security Committee (KGB) and the Federal Security Service (FSB) appeared in all positions of Russia’s leading media, closely monitoring information policies in line with the official position of power. Georgia had been in the focus of the Russian propaganda since the end of the 1980s. Intensification happened during the period of 1992 – 1993, when the Russian special services conducted an operation to incite separatism, organize a war against the Georgian army, attract volunteers and the Cossack formations from the North Caucasus and Russia. At the same time, the first propaganda myths emerged, which a bit later turned into an information war with the use of the media. The Russian propaganda used the technology of “discrediting the enemy” to mislead the public with the beginning of preparations and during the war of 2008 (Sorokivska-Obikhod, 2019). Beginning with 2006, the Russian media reported frequently on President Saakashvili’s “madness”, the Georgian opposition’s plans to overthrow the current government, and Georgia’s preparations for terrorist acts in Abkhazia, South Ossetia, and even Russia. In August of 2008, a military attack was launched against Georgia in order to suppress objective information about the course of events. The Russian Federation’s paramount task was to change the pro-Western political leadership of Georgia and establish Russia’s control over its territory (Kyrydon, 2008).

The public opinion formation was conducted several months before the conflict. Georgia held presidential elections and a referendum on Georgia’s accession to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) on January 5, 2008. As a result, 53.47% of voters elected the President M. Saakashvili, and 72.5% voted in favour of Georgia’s accession to NATO. M.Saakashvili delivered a speech at Munich Security Conference on February 9, 2008 and stated the following: “Kosovo is a unique case, different from the existing conflicts in Georgia”, which caused concern and criticism of the Russian leadership. On March 21, 2008, the Russian State Duma adopted a resolution calling for the Kremlin to consider recognizing Abkhazia and South Ossetia in the event of Georgia’s accession to NATO. On April 7, 2008, a decision was made to lift sanctions on Abkhazia and deepen economic and political

cooperation with the Russian Federation. On April 8, 2008, Russian Foreign Minister S. Lavrov stated that Ukraine and Georgia were not allowed to join NATO. At the same time, the leading Russian Federation media began to prepare public opinion actively for possible war and called for the protection of the Russian-speaking population and Russian citizens in Georgia and reunification with “historical Russia” (Panfilov, 2020, pp. 367–421).

As a result, a large-scale military training, called “The Caucasus-2008” began in the North Caucasus Military District of the Russian Federation with the participation of 8 000 servicemen, 700 units of armored vehicles and ships of the Black Sea Fleet on July 15, 2008. During the military training in the printing house of the newspaper “Doblest” (Valor) of Motorized Rifle Division 19 the following leaflets were published: “Warrior, know the possible enemy!” with a description of the composition of the Georgian Armed Forces, which were distributed among the participants, who took part in the military training. On July 20, 2008 the first cyber attacks against Georgian state and information websites were recorded, for example, the website of the President of Georgia was blocked for 24 hours (Independent International Fact-Finding Mission on the Conflict in Georgia Report, 2009). Teimuraz Mamsurov, North Ossetian President announced that the Russian troops would enter Georgia in order to protect the Russian citizens and help peacekeepers on July 26, 2008. On August 2, 2008, four film crews from central Russian television channels (15 journalists) arrived in Tskhinvali from the Russian Federation. Due to the document problems the foreign journalists were allegedly banned from entering Tskhinvali. On August 7, there were already 50 journalists in Tskhinvali (Illarionov, 2009). Tskhinvali civilian population’s evacuation and surrounding villages by the Ministry of Emergency Situations (MOE) began on August 2, 2008, and by August 7, about 20,000 people had been evacuated to Russia, representing 90% of the population’s area. As the only route from Tskhinvali to Vladikavkaz (North Ossetia) was through the Roki Tunnel, the passage of the Russian military equipment could have been blocked if the civilians’ evacuation had not been carried out in advance (Sukhumi.info, 2018). The mobilization of volunteers, who assigned to the 19th Motorized Rifle Division and the North Ossetian Peacekeeping Battalion, began at the North Caucasus conscription stations on August 3, 2008. On August 4, 2008, 300 volunteers crossed the border to Georgia, and a blog called “Golos Dushi” (The Voice of the Soul) was launched announcing the evacuation to North Ossetia. On August 6, 2008, all institutions and shops in Tskhinvali were closed. On August 7, 2008, “Golos Dushi” blog published a report on the hostilities outbreak (Golos Dushi. Livejournal, 2008). On August 7, 2008, the Supreme Ataman of the Don Army, V. Vodolatsky announced that the formation of the Cossack battalions of volunteers began and they planned to arrive in South Ossetia. On August 7, 2008, Georgian General G. Karkarashvili received information from the military, the local population and representatives of the Provisional Administration of South Ossetia that “for the Russian troops to invade Georgia about 400 people must die”. In addition, the Georgian-Ossetian-Russian War forum of the Milkavkaz.net website also started working, announcing the outbreak of hostilities. The conflict itself began with the clashes between the Georgian and South Ossetian forces on August 7, 2008. The Georgian troops fired artillery at Tskhinvali and surrounding villages, followed by attacks carried out by ground and air forces. On August 8, 2008, units of the 58th Army of the Russian Armed Forces invaded South Ossetia, and the Russian artillery and aircraft struck targets on undisputed Georgian territory. On August 10, 2008, the Georgian command ordered the units to withdraw from South Ossetia. On August 12, 2008, the Russian units that were located in the south of the administrative

border with South Ossetia occupied the town of Gori. During a separate operation from the west through Abkhazia, the Russian forces occupied the Georgian cities of Poti, Zugdidi and Senaki (Panfilov, 2020, pp. 521–530).

According to a picture formed up by local media, there were two simultaneous conflicts in August of 2008: in Georgia, television and newspapers portrayed a country fighting against Russia's blatant aggression and defending its territorial integrity; in Russia, national television and print media portrayed Georgia as an aggressor and reported on the ethnic cleansing of the Ossetians and assistance to them by the Russian units. The Russian television channels broadcasted numerous destructions in Tskhinvali live and reported about 2 000 civilians killed (Rossiyskaya gazeta: Nedelya, 2008; Newsru.com, 2017). As part of the propaganda War, the Russian side created strong images of the enemy – Georgia, the Georgians, President M. Saakashvili and the collective image of the West, using the following concepts: “we” – “our state / homeland / nation”, which was opposed to “they” – “rival, the enemy” (Tønnessen & Kolstø, 2012). Diverse Russian media reports highlighted the “savagery and barbaric behaviour of the Georgians, who were shooting at the peaceful sleeping city of Tskhinvali”, alleging that “the Georgian military shouted in excitement, killing the Ossetian women and children” (Kolstø & Rusetskii, 2012). The Russian media also ignored M. Saakashvili's televised address on a unilateral ceasefire two hours before the start of hostilities (Thomas, 2009).

In both countries there were made attempts in order to provide real information to the public. The Georgian weekly “Quiris Palette” posted photos of the destruction in Gora, signing the photos the following: “The Barbarism of Peacekeepers in the XXIst Century. The Fascists!” But there were no photos of the destruction in Tskhinvali. A bit later it was reported that “it was the Russian military that fired on and destroyed Tskhinvali”. The Russian forces were portrayed as an occupier, who attacked Georgia suddenly in order to destroy democracy and independence. The Russian media did not mention the Georgian cities bombing at all. The Russian citizens saw only some scenes of destruction in Tskhinvali, which were accompanied by the interviews with the refugees – the Ossetians exclusively. Numerous stories were published on the Russian military that responded to Tbilisi's provocations in time and defended the Ossetians, portraying them as peacekeepers exclusively, while describing the savage behaviour of the Georgian military. Even the British BBC contributed to the confusion. Tim Whewell, the journalist in his report on the events in Georgia showed the public, on the one hand, an Ossetian mother who lost her son, and on the other hand, a conversation between the Georgian Foreign Minister, although he had previously visited many Georgian refugee families. Neither the Georgian nor the Russian TV and radio audiences were informed about the details and preconditions of the conflict. As a result, ordinary Georgians formed a strong belief that Russia had invaded Georgia suddenly and unjustifiably, and the ordinary Russians had the impression that the Georgians came up with stories of shooting, destruction, and casualties. The media on both sides presented only a “black and white” picture. According to the Georgian media, only the Ossetian and the Russian militias committed robberies, and the Georgians were victims of looting. The Russian media spread stories about gangs of Georgian looters in South Ossetia. The decision of the Georgian government to block access to the Russian TV channels and websites on the .ru domain from August of 11 helped the Georgian society significantly to form a one-sided picture of the situation (Akhvlediani, 2009).

The International Non-Governmental Organisation “Human Rights Watch” carried out a thorough investigation of the conflict after the end of hostilities. According to the organization's

report the following was: a) the Russian servicemen were disciplined and protected civilians from the Ossetian militants and looters, although there were also individual cases of the Russian military involvement in looting Georgian homes; b) although the Ossetian civilians reported robberies, there were no reports on any specific cases of ill-treatment of the Georgian units during the offensive; c) the Ossetian militias looted and burned houses in Georgian villages – it continued until November of 2008 periodically (Human Rights Watch, 2009).

Insinuations about the death toll in the Russian media were the subject of active debate in Russian society. The initial number of 2 000 civilians, who were killed in South Ossetia was broadcasted in the media constantly and became the basis for accusing Georgia of genocide against the Ossetian people. However, information about 162 deaths was published on the Russian prosecutor's office's website in the fall of 2008, the Russian media and officials continued to claim that there were 2 000 victims. On August 22, Russia's news agency "Regnum" released a poll conducted by the Public Opinion Foundation, according to which 94 % said that Russian television was their main source of information, and 61 % said that Russian television was impartial in the conflict (Panfilov, 2020, pp. 89–90).

The "United Nations Institute for Training and Research" was a part of a research programme using geospatial information technology for decision-making for peace and security, the "United Nations Satellite Center" (UNOSAT) with the participation of representatives of the organization "Human Rights Watch" analyzed satellite images, which were obtained in Georgia on August 10–22, 2008. The photos showed that the destruction of Tskhinvali was 5.5%, and the Georgian villages – 50%. In conclusion, it was stated that most of the damage and destruction was caused by fires, not combat operations (Human Rights Watch, 2009).

On September 7, 2008, Russia's "Novaya Gazeta" published excerpts from a UNOSAT report, which showed that the chronicle of the destruction of Georgian villages was the following: on August 10, after the end of hostilities, the village of K'wemet near Tskhinvali was arsoned; on August 12, the villages of Pirsi, Berulya, Eredvi, Kehvi, Kurta, Zemo-Achabeti, Tamarasheni were arsoned; on August 13, the Russian troops blocked a road south of Tskhinvali, burning the western part of the village of Eredvi, the village between Prineve and Avnevi, and the south of Kehvi, which was blocked by peacekeepers; on August 19, the villages of Kemerti, Kheiti, and Kvemo Achabeti were arsoned; on August 22, the villages of Berulya, Heiti, Dzarcevi, and Zemo Dodoti were arsoned. The UNOSAT experts enumerated 183 destroyed houses in Tamarashen, 88 destroyed and 33 damaged in Kvemo Achabet (51.9% of the total), 56 destroyed and 21 damaged in Zemo Achabet (41.6%), 123 destroyed and 21 damaged in Kurt (43.4%), 110 destroyed and damaged in 44 Kehvi (44.3%), 71 destroyed and 25 damaged in Kemert (30.6%); 25 destroyed and 8 damaged in Dzarcevi (15.3%) (Stern, 2009). According to "The Human Rights Watch" spokeswoman Anna Neistat, "the Ossetian volunteer groups said in talks that they were destroying the Georgian villages to prevent the return of refugees". On August 27, 2008, the organization issued a press release stating that Russia should have found those responsible for the destruction of the Georgian villages in South Ossetia and bring them to justice (Human rights watch, 2009). "The Human Rights Watch" also published testimonies from residents of the Georgian villages arsoned by the Ossetians: "The Ossetians left cars on the street, at first they looted, then brought hay, put it in a house and arsoned it" (Zhuzhuna Chulukhidze, 76, Upper Achavet); "The Ossetian militias beat me, looted my house, then brought gasoline and set it on fire" (Ilya Chulukhadze, 84, Nizhny Achaveti); "The Ossetians first took everything out of my house, then brought hay

and set it on fire, they didn't even let us take the documents" (Tamara Khutsinashvili, 69, Tamarasheni) (Stern, 2009).

"The Human Rights Watch" report, eyewitness testimonies, and analysis of media reports showed that the civilian population's cooperation with the parties to the conflict wasn't established during the Russo-Georgian War. The exchange of information and objective coverage is a function of civil and military cooperation and should take place at the level of local administrations, governments, international organizations, governmental and non-governmental organizations in order to create favorable conditions for planning and coordinating their activities. In the case of the Russo-Georgian War, the main tool for influencing the civilian population of South Ossetia was the Russian propaganda, which confused the facts (Human rights watch, 2009).

The measures taken by the Georgian civilian government and military leadership facilitated the immediate cause of the Russian invasion of Georgia. The War illustrated the gulf between civil society, the government, and the military. The plans for possible military clashes in South Ossetia were developed and worked out by the General Staff of the Georgian Armed Forces a few years before events of 2008. When it became clear that the Russian units were advancing deep into Georgia, these plans were ignored, and pre-training teams were formed that did not have prior training and did not have a common system of communication. The General Staff and civilian leaders of the Ministry of Defense, instead of acting from the command center, moved to the unequipped headquarters of the artillery unit near Tskhinvali. Due to a lack of communication and situational awareness of the conflict in real-time, the top civilian leadership issued controversial orders and failed to summon the necessary forces to stop the Russian invasion. There was also no civil and military cooperation between the Georgian military units and the civilian population of the Georgian villages in the War zone (Darchiashvili & Mangum, 2019). Information is exchanged and disseminated during conflicts with the help of the media, radio and television in order to inform the local population and other representatives of the civil sector about the presence and activities of the military in order to prevent the opposition from them. The above-mentioned aspect of civil and military cooperation in the Russo-Georgian War was completely absent (Chobit, 2019; Pater, 2018).

The Conclusions. The analysis revealed that the Russian Federation builds relationships with its neighbours, as with former colonies, without considering them as fully sovereign states. In order to achieve its goals, the Russian Federation uses separatism and irredentist claims in neighbouring countries. During the Russo-Georgian War, the main tools of influence on the civilian population of South Ossetia were the Russian propaganda and the confusion in facts. During the Russo-Georgian War in 2008, neither side established centers of civil and military cooperation due to the transiency of the conflict and the Russian Federation's unwillingness to develop civilized approaches to resolve the conflict and make peace. The lack of interaction between the civilian population and the military led to a large amount of inaccurate and falsified data on the exact number of losses of both parties and victims among the local population, which allowed the Russian propaganda to manipulate the consciousness of their own citizens and the opinion of the world community, deliberately increasing the number of victims and thus increase hatred and aggression against the Georgian side.

Acknowledgements. The authors would like to express sincere gratitude to the Chief/Dean of Hetman Petro Sahaidachny National Army Academy for support.

Funding. The authors received no financial support for the research, authorship, and publication of this article.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Akhvlediani, M.** (2009). The fatal flaw: the media and the Russian invasion of Georgia. *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 20(2), 363–390. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09592310902975497> [in English]
- Blandy, C.** (2009). Provocation, Deception, Entrapment: The Russo-Georgian Five Day War. *Advanced Research and Assessment Group, Defense Academy of the United Kingdom, March 2009, England: Shrivenham*. URL: https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/97421/09_january_georgia_russia.pdf [in English].
- Blog Alana Kochieva o politike i zhizni** [Alan Kochiev's blog about politics and life]. (2008). *Golos Dushi. Livejournal*. URL: <https://rupor-naroda.livejournal.com/663.html> [in Russian]
- Chobit, I. R.** (2019). Istorychnyi dosvid providnykh krain svitu u zaprovadzhenni ta funktsionuvanni struktur tsyvilno-viiskovoho spivrobitnytstva (CIMIC) [Historical experience of the world's leading countries in the implementation and operation of civil-military cooperation structures (CIMIC)]. *Viiskovo-naukovyi visnyk*, 31, 179–192. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.33577/2313-5603.31.2019.179-192> [in Ukrainian]
- Cohen, A. & Hamilton, R. E.** (2011). The Russian Military and the Georgia War: Lessons and Implications. *Strategic Studies Institute, June 2011*, 16–72. URL: <https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/130048/pub1069.pdf> [in English]
- Cornell, S., Nilsson, N. & Popjanevski, J.** (2008). Russian's War in Georgia: Causes and Implications for Georgia and the World. *Central Asia Caucasus Institute Silk Road Studies Program Policy Paper, August 2008*. URL: https://www.silkroadstudies.org/resources/pdf/SilkRoadPapers/2008_08_PP_CornellPopjanevskiNilsson_Russia-Georgia.pdf [in English]
- Daniel, J. & Wittichová, M.** (2020). Forging Civil-Military Cooperation: Domestic and International Laboratories of CIMIC Knowledge and Practice. *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, 14(5), 596–614. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17502977.2020.1812962> [in English]
- Darchiashvili, D. & Mangum, R. S.** (2019). Georgian civil-military relations: hostage to confrontational politics. *Caucasus Survey*, 7(1), 79–93. URL: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/326217740_Georgian_civil-military_relations_hostage_to_confrontational_politics Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/23761199.2018.1488119> [in English]
- Evakuatsiya v Rossiyu okolo 20 000 mirnykh zhiteley Tskhinvali 3 7 avgusta 2008** [Evacuation to Russia of about 20,000 Tskhinvali civilians 3 August 7, 2008]. (2018). *Sukhumi.info*. URL: <https://www.cyxymu.info/2018/08/evacuation-from-tskhinvali-3-7-august-2008.html> [in Russian].
- Hollis, D.** (2011). Cyberwar Case Study: Georgia 2008. *Small Wars Journal*. URL: <http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrn/art/cyberwar-case-study-georgia-2008> [in English]
- Illarionov, A. N.** (2009). Kak gotovilas vojna [How the war was prepared]. *Novaya gazeta*, 68, 29 June. URL: <https://novayagazeta.ru/articles/2009/06/28/42316-kak-gotovilas-vojna> [in Russian]
- Independent International Fact-Finding Mission on the Conflict in Georgia Report**. September 2009 (Vol. II, p. 218). URL: https://www.mpil.de/files/pdf4/IIFFMCG_Volume_II1.pdf [in English]
- Khatiashvili, M.** (2018). Understanding Russia's Soft Power Behavior in Georgia After the Russo-Georgian War. *European Journal of Transformation Studies*, 6(2), 5–24. URL: <http://www.journal-transformation.org/docs/EJTS.pdf> [in English]
- Kolsto, P. & Rusetskii, A.** (2012). Power Differentials and Identity Formation: Images of Self and Other on the Russian-Georgian Boundary. *National Identities*, 14(2), 139–155. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14608944.2011.646974> [in English]
- Kyrydon, A. M.** (2008). Prychyny rosiisko-hruzynskoho konfliktu 2008 r: hlobalnyi vymir. [The causes of the Russian-Georgian conflict in 2008: the global dimension]. *Visnyk Kyivskoho mizhnarodnoho universytetu. Seriya: Mizhnarodni vidnosyny*, 8. URL: <http://vmv.kyumu.edu.ua/series/vmv/vipusk8/5.pdf> [in Ukrainian]
- Lucas, E.** (2009). *The New Cold War: Putin's Russia and the Threat to the West* (pp. 141–147). New York: Palgrave Macmillan. [in English]
- McDermott, R.** (2009). Russia's Conventional Armed Forces and the Georgian War. *US Army War College Quarterly Parameters*, 39(1). URL: <https://press.armywarcollege.edu/parameters/vol39/iss1/7/> [in English]

Nechaieva-Iuriichuk, N. V. (2008). Do pytannia pro prychny ta ymovirni naslidky hruzynoro-siiskoho konfliktu u serpni 2008 r. [On the question of the causes and probable consequences of the Georgian-Russian conflict in August 2008]. *Istorychna panorama: Zbirnyk naukovykh statei ChNU "Ruta"*, 7, 157–165. URL: <http://politics.ellib.org.ua/pages-4792.html> [in Ukrainian]

Nicolle, A. (2008). Russia's Rapid Reaction: But Short War Shows Lack of Modern Systems. *Strategic Comments*, 14(7), 23–27. [in English]

Panfilov, O. V. (2020). *Neizvestnaya voyna. Chto proizoshlo v Gruzii v avguste 2008 goda* [Unknown war. What happened in Georgia in August 2008]. Kharkov: Folio, 847 p. [in Russian]

Pater, I. H. (Ed.). (2018). *Tsyvilno-viiskove spivrobotnyctvo na terytorii Donetskoi ta Luhanskoi oblastei: modeli, tendentsii, perspektyvy: kolektyvna monohrafiia* [Civil-military cooperation in Donetsk and Luhansk regions: models, trends, prospects: a collective monograph]. Lviv: Instytut ukrainoznavstva im. I. Kryp'iakevycha NAN Ukrainy, 498 p. [In Ukrainian].

Rogoza, J. (2008). Russian Propaganda War: Media as a Long- and Short-range Weapon. *Center for Eastern Studies*, November 2008, Issue 9, 1–5. URL: https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/91705/commentary_09.pdf [in English]

Shakarian, P. (2011). The 2008 Russian Cyber Campaign Against Georgia. *Military Review*. URL: https://www.armyupress.army.mil/Portals/7/military-review/Archives/English/MilitaryReview_20111231_art013.pdf [in English]

Shumka, A. V. (2009). Informatsiine protystoiannia v khodi hruzynsko-ro-siiskoho konfliktu (8–12 serpnia 2008 r.) [Information confrontation during the Georgian-Russian conflict (August 8–12, 2008)]. *Viiskovo-naukovyi visnyk*, 11, 254–260. [in Ukrainian]

Sorokivska-Obikhod, A. I. (2019). Istoriografichni aspekty vyvchennia rosiisko-hruzynskoi viiny serpnia 2008 roku [Historiographical aspects of the study of the Russian-Georgian war in August 2008]. *Viiskovo-naukovyi visnyk*, 31, 225–242. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.33577/2313-5603.31.2019.225-242> [in Ukrainian]

Stern, M. (2009). Attacks on the Press in 2008: Georgia. *Committee to Protect Journalists*. URL: <https://cpj.org/2009/02/attacks-on-the-press-in-2008-georgia.php> [in English]

Thomas, T. (2009). The Bear Went Through the Mountain: Russia Appraises its Five-Day War in South Ossetia. *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies*, 22(1), 31–67. Doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13518040802695241> [in English]

Tønnessen, H. & Kolstø, P. (2012). Journalistic Identities and War Reporting: Coverage of the 2008 Russian-Georgian War in the Russian Press. *Scando-Slavica*, 58(1), 101–121. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00806765.2012.669917> [in English]

Tsifry voyny [War figures] (2008). *Rossiyskaya gazeta: Nedelya, № 4729*, 13 August 2008. URL: <https://rg.ru/2008/08/14/voyna.html>. [in Russian]

Up In Flames. Humanitarian Law Violations and Civilian Victims in the Conflict over South Ossetia (2009). *Human rights watch*. URL: <https://www.hrw.org/report/2009/01/23/flames/humanitarian-law-violations-and-civilian-victims-conflict-over-south> [in English]

Zhertvami napadeniya Gruzii na Yuzhnyu Osetiyu stali svyshe 1400 chelovek, zayavil Kokoyty (2017). [More than 1,400 people became victims of Georgia's attack on South Ossetia, Kokoity said]. *Newsru.com.*: URL: <https://www.newsru.com/world/08aug2008/1400.html> [in Russian]

The article was received May 05, 2021.

Article recommended for publishing 23/02/2022.

UDC 930.2:340.115
DOI 10.24919/2519-058X.22.253749

Nadiya LEVYTSKA

Associate Professor-Trainee University of Białystok (Białystok, Poland), PhD (Law), Associate Professor of Department of Fundamentals of law of Ukraine, Ivan Franko National University of Lviv, 1 Universitska Street, Lviv, Ukraine, postal code 79000 (nlevytska67@gmail.com)

ORCID: 0000-0002-2865-5194

Lyudmyla LUTS

PhD hab. (Law), Professor of Department of Theory and Philosophy of Law, Ivan Franko National University of Lviv, 1 Universitska Street, Lviv, Ukraine, postal code 79000 (lutz.ludmyla@gmail.com)

ORCID: 0000-0002-8182-2449

Bohdan YAKYMOVYCH

PhD hab. (History), Professor, Honored Worker of Culture of Ukraine, Professor of the Department of Historical Local Lore; Department of Library Science and Bibliography Ivan Franko National University of Lviv, 1 Universitska Street, Lviv, Ukraine, postal code 79000 (b.yakymovych@gmail.com)

ORCID: 0000-0003-1597-1128

Надія ЛЕВИЦЬКА

доцентка-стажистка Білостоцького університету (м. Білосток, Польща), кандидатка юридичних наук, доцентка кафедри основ права України Львівського національного університету імені Івана Франка, вул. Університетська, 1, м. Львів, Україна, індекс 79000 (nlevytska67@gmail.com)

Людмила ЛУЦЬ

докторка юридичних наук, професорка, професорка кафедри теорії та філософії права Львівського національного університету імені Івана Франка, вул. Університетська, 1, м. Львів, Україна, індекс 79000 (lutz.ludmyla@gmail.com)

Богдан ЯКИМОВИЧ

доктор історичних наук, професор, заслужений працівник культури України, професор кафедри історичного краєзнавства, професор кафедри бібліотекознавства і бібліографії Львівського національного університету імені Івана Франка вул. Університетська, 1, м. Львів, Україна, індекс 79000 (b.yakymovych@gmail.com)

Bibliographic Description of the Article: Levytska, N., Luts, L. & Yakymovych, B. (2022). Modern Scientific Approaches to Historical, Historical and Legal Methodology: Coincidences and Parallels. *Skhidnoevropeyskyi istorychnyi visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 22, 226–239. doi: 10.24919/2519-058X.22.253749

MODERN SCIENTIFIC APPROACHES TO HISTORICAL, HISTORICAL AND LEGAL METHODOLOGY: COINCIDENCES AND PARALLELS

Abstract. *The purpose of the research* is to determine the characteristics of the methodology of modern historical science, the history of state and law, to increase the level of methodological effectiveness of scientific studies, in particular, on the history of state and law. The basis of **the research methodology** is the idea of historical science as a system of knowledge about the laws of a human development in the past, and the historical methodology – as a system of cognitive approaches, principles, methods aimed at identifying historical patterns. At the same time, legal science is understood as a system of knowledge about legal laws, methods and means of constructing legal reality organized by means of cognitive methodology, and its method – as a way (system of techniques) of knowledge with the help of which, the legal laws are revealed. Owing to methodological basis that allowed characterizing the historical and legal method, defining it, establishing the basic techniques that are part of it. **The scientific novelty** consists in the fact that for the first time in Ukraine through the prism of modern understanding of historical science and legal science, scientific methodology the composition of historical and legal method has been singled out, its definition has been formulated, problems of modern historical and legal methodology have been revealed and possible ways of their solution have been offered. **The Conclusions.** The analysis of scientific works on historical issues allows us to state that in historical science there has been formed an understanding of its essence and content, determined the methodology of historical research. But there are no clear ideas about the science of history of state and law, its methodology, historical and legal method of knowledge. The nature of this science, which has a cross-sectoral nature, its methodology, as well as its relationship with historical science has not been determined. This can lead to a number of problems, such as: identification of methods: historical and historical and legal; substitution of concepts; creation of “methodological catalogs” in legal studies, which do not allow to obtain objective knowledge about state and legal phenomena. And it, in turn, can generate a simplified understanding of historical and legal laws, their substitution, the fragmentary nature of their justification, the subjective interpretation of historical sources. The article focuses on the recognition of the leading role of the historical and legal method in retrospective studies of state and legal phenomena. The historical legal method is considered as a system of methods of cognition of state and legal phenomena of the past, identification of patterns of their functioning and development under specific conditions of the reconstructed period. First of all, the following methods should be included: collection and analysis of data on state and legal phenomena, in particular; criticism of sources (including analysis of documents, interpretation of their content, description); generalization; universal hypothesis; inductive, evolutionary; teleological; methods of reconstruction. Such kind of step will help to avoid the identification between the methods that are the part of the historical legal method and its varieties (historical legal, comparative, typological, etc.), substitution of the historical legal method by other general or special legal methods, as well as “terminological revision” of the conceptual apparatus (means of cognition). Owing to the point of view, which makes it possible to form a clearer idea of the suitability and limits of application of the conceptual historical and legal apparatus to the specific conditions of the reconstructed period, enrich the science of state history and law with effective methodological achievements.

Key words: historical science, methodology of historical science, science of history of state and law, history of state and law of Ukraine, historical and legal method.

СУЧАСНІ НАУКОВІ ПІДХОДИ ДО ІСТОРИЧНОЇ ТА ІСТОРИКО-ПРАВОВОЇ МЕТОДОЛОГІЇ: ЗБИГИ І ПАРАЛЕЛІ

Анотація. *Мета дослідження* – виявити характерні риси методології сучасної історичної науки, науки історії держави та права, підвищити рівень методологічної ефективності наукових студій, зокрема, з історії держави та права. В основі **методологічного дослідження** – уявлення про історичну науку як систему знань про закономірності розвитку людства в минулому, а історичну методологію – як систему пізнавальних підходів, принципів, методів, які спрямовані виявити історичні закономірності. Водночас правова наука розуміється як

організована за допомогою пізнавальної методології система знань про правові закономірності, способи та засоби конструювання правової дійсності, а її метод – як спосіб (система прийомів) пізнання, завдяки яким виявляються правові закономірності. Таке методологічне підґрунтя дало можливість охарактеризувати історико-правовий метод, дати його визначення, встановити основні прийоми, які входять до його складу. **Наукова новизна** статті полягає у тому, що в ній уперше в Україні крізь призму сучасного розуміння історичної науки та правової науки, наукової методології виокремлено склад історико-правового методу, сформульовано його дефініцію, виявлено проблеми сучасної історико-правової методології та запропоновано можливі способи їх розв'язання. **Висновки.** Аналіз наукової літератури на історичну тематику дає підставу констатувати, що в історичній науці сформовано розуміння її сутності та змісту, визначено методологію історичних досліджень. Але відсутні чіткі уявлення про науку історії держави та права, її методологію, історико-правовий метод пізнання. Не визначено природу цієї науки, яка має міжгалузевий характер, її методологію, а також її співвідношення з історичною наукою. Це може спричинити появу низки проблем, як-от: ототожнення прийомів історичного методу та історико-правового; підміна понять; створення «методологічних каталогів» у правових студіях, які не дозволяють отримати об'єктивні знання про державно-правові явища. А це, своєю чергою, може породжувати спрощене розуміння історико-правових закономірностей, їх підміну, фрагментарний характер їх обґрунтування, суб'єктивне тлумачення історичних джерел. У статті акцентується увага на визнанні провідної ролі історико-правового методу в ретроспективних дослідженнях державно-правових явищ. Історико-правовий метод розглядається як система прийомів пізнання державно-правових явищ минулого, виявлення закономірностей їх функціонування та розвитку в конкретних умовах реконструйованого періоду. До його складу слід зарахувати насамперед такі прийоми: збору та аналізу даних щодо державно-правових явищ, зокрема, критики джерел (що охоплює аналіз документів, інтерпретацію їх змісту, опис); узагальнення; універсальної гіпотези; індуктивні; еволюційні; телеологічні; прийоми реконструкції. Це допоможе уникнути ототожнення між прийомами, що входять до складу історико-правового методу та його різновидів (історико-правового, порівняльного, типологізаційного тощо), підміни історико-правового методу іншими загальнонауковими чи спеціально-юридичними методами, а також провести “термінологічну ревізію” поняттєвого апарату (засобів пізнання). Такий кут зору дає можливість формувати чіткіші уявлення про придатність та межі застосування поняттєвого історико-правового апарату до конкретних умов реконструйованого періоду, збагатить науку історії держави і права ефективними методологічними надбаннями.

Ключові слова: історична наука, методологія історичної науки, наука історії держави та права, історія держави та права України, історико-правовий метод.

The Problem Statement. At the beginning of the XXIst century, due to globalization challenges, humanity had to face diverse new problems, the solution of which, led to increased interest in scientific developments in the field of social sciences and humanities. The social sciences and humanities include historical science, as well as the science of the history of state and law. In general, humanity is the object of research for historical science, while the history of the state and law has a specific object of research – the state and legal phenomena. The correlation between these sciences always provoked heated discussions, in particular, the representatives of historical science considered the science of history of state and law as its variety or subsystem, and the representatives of the science of history of state and law (mostly) – a subsystem of legal science. Nowadays, the science of the history of the state and law can be convincingly described as intersectoral.

First of all, among the modern historical and legal methodology issues, the following issues should be singled out: the historical science issues, which are inherent in the science of history of state and law, such as identification of approaches, methods and techniques of cognition; terminological differences (the names of the same methods are different); scarcity

of the idea concerning the basic parameters of the historical method (its composition, set of techniques); lack of scientific criteria that would clearly reflect the true historical patterns and distinguish them from subjective research interpretation. Solving these issues would make it possible to obtain more objective results of historical studies, which will be an important methodological basis for the science of history of state and law.

As far as we are concerned, the previous stage of development of this science was determined by formal and strict ideological boundaries. They tried to solve the above-mentioned problem by proclaiming methodological pluralism, civilizational, and later integrative approaches, which, among other things, significantly led to methodological incomprehensibility and rejection of scientific criteria that formed identification requirements for objectively scientific results in legal research.

The current state of historical and legal methodology is characterized by a significant number of its own issues, for instance: the lack of monotonous understanding of the science of state history and law; the identification of this science with the academic discipline; the lack of vision to apply primarily specific historical approaches in historical and legal studies; the lack of clear ideas about the historical and legal methodology, in particular, the historical and legal method; the lack of understanding of its composition (methods of cognition); the replacement of the historical and legal method with “methodological catalogs” (philosophical, general scientific, special legal methods), which do not always allow to obtain objective scientific knowledge about historical and legal laws; the use of largely descriptive techniques that can only indicate the empirical level of knowledge. It should be mentioned that the above-mentioned issues can generate a subjective interpretation of historical sources, a simplified understanding of historical and legal laws, their substitution, the fragmentary nature of the justification.

Owing to the identification of these issues and analysis of scientific sources on the history, and history of state and law, allowed to formulate definitions of science of history of state and law, historical and legal method, to distinguish in its composition objectively necessary for the above-mentioned method some methods of cognition, to pay specific attention to the possibilities and limits of application of the conceptual historical and legal apparatus in the studies of state and legal phenomena of the reconstructed period (which would prevent the transfer of modern knowledge to the object of research of the reconstructed period and vice versa – because it plummets the objectivity of the results). The above-mentioned and other ways to solve the identified issues will increase the level of methodological effectiveness of the science of history of state and law, to obtain objective results of historical and legal research.

The analysis of research sources allowed obtaining information and analyzing the real methodological state of historical science, the history of state and law. First of all, specific attention should be paid to the works of researchers, who dealt with the development of the methodology of historical science, written by L. Zashkilnyak, N. Yakovenko, S. Stelmakh, I. Kolesnyk. In S. Stelmakh’s articles there was formulated the understanding of historical science as a system of knowledge about the past human experience, characterized the stages of development and evolution of basic historical theories, highlighted the specific historical approach, described the historical methodology and methods of cognition (empirical, theoretical, logical, special historical). V. Kovalchuk and M. Farion emphasized the features of special historical methods in economic research, and O. Drach – in research on the history of education. In the monographs, published by R. Lukych, V. Syrykh, V. Malakhov, in the article, written by L. Luts the attempt was made to generalize the methodology of legal science, and in the articles, written by V. Kyrychenko, V. Kovalchuk, M. Farion,

H. Kryvchyk, I. Kovalchenko, N. Krestovska, O. Hetman – the issues of historical, historical and legal, integrative and other approaches, historical, historical and legal method, general scientific and special legal methods, which were used in historical and legal research; in the articles, written by M. Kovalevskiyi, O. Kresin, S. Kudin, M. Maksymeyko, I. Nastasyak – the issues of historical legal, historical legal comparative, historical typological methodology were covered. The issues of the science of history of state and law of Ukraine were reflected in the textbooks, published by A. Shevchenko, I. Terliuk, the articles, written by B. Tyshchyk, and issues of the science of foreign history of state and law – in the textbooks, published by L. Bostan, S. Bostan. The empirical basis of the studies became the abstracts of dissertations for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and Doctor of Law in Specialty 12.00.01 – Theory and History of State and Law, History of Political and Legal Studies in the period 2015 – 2020.

The analysis of scientific literature was conducted in order to identify the historical science issues, as well as the science of history of state and law issues, to find objectively necessary ways to solve them, to increase the level of methodological effectiveness of research in historical science and history of state and law.

The Main Material Statement. Historical science is understood as a dynamic system of knowledge about the past human experience (*Entsyklopediia istorii Ukrainy*, 2003 – 2021). And the explanatory dictionary of the Ukrainian language provides the following interpretation of history: the natural consistent development of reality, changes in reality, in the process of life; a set of facts and events that belongs to the past; the science of the general development of a nation, country or society as a whole; the science that studies the course of development, successive changes in any field of nature, culture, knowledge, etc. (*Slovnnyk ukrainskoi movy*, 1970 – 1980).

Historical knowledge is the result of researchers' cognitive activity, establishing the laws of the past human experience in the process of analyzing available historical sources, creating new methodological approaches and research methods. Modern history is interpreted as a set of various subsystems of historical knowledge, interconnected areas of knowledge, among which the theory and methodology of history are also distinguished. All this knowledge is usually structured by epoch into two subsystems: national and foreign history (Antiquity, the Middle Ages, early modern period, modern times, the modern era – the XXth century). According to the development of historical thought, there are two stages of it: pre-scientific and scientific, in particular, the beginning of the second stage in Europe started in the XIXth century. Among the features that are inherent in it, the following are distinguished: awareness of the differences between history as an objective reality in the past and history as knowledge about them; the change of the principle of description to the principle of research of events; professionalization of historical knowledge; institutionalization of organizational forms of historical studies (Stelmakh, 2005).

Modern historical science underwent special changes at the beginning of the XXth century, new directions of its research were initiated, and its methodology was reconsidered. It should be mentioned that in the process of development of historical science not only new directions were formed, but also new concepts and methods of cognition were singled out (Veber, 1998).

The methodology of historical science is interpreted as a system of cognitive rules, principles, operations and methods, which are used in order to reconstruct the past truthfully (Stelmakh, 2009). According to L. Zashkilnyak, "The methodology of history approaches history as one of the sciences, with measures and principles adopted in science, trying to build a system of concepts, categories and principles that should help the historian move

consciously from sources to scientific historical knowledge, understand the role and functions of historical knowledge in society” (Zashkilniak, 1999, p. 7).

According to I. Kolesnyk, the methodology of history was ambivalent because historical knowledge “includes ontological and epistemological aspects: reflection on the process of history and reflection on the process of knowledge of history”. Consequently, the methodology of history “appears to be both as a theory of historical process and as a theory of historical knowledge” (Kolesnyk, 2013, pp. 71–72). Although the researcher considered the concept of “methodology of history” to be somewhat behind the times and preferred to use the concept of “historical style” as a set of ideological and theoretical principles and axiological guidelines.

A crucial issue for historical knowledge, which needs to be solved urgently, is the contradiction between real history and its interpretation by researchers, and, therefore, adherence to appropriate methodological principles should be a prerequisite for the objectivity of historical research results. For the Ukrainian historians and the humanities in general, the problem is more or less alienation from world science, due to primarily unfavourable for the development of national science events of the XXth century. Back in 2000, N. Yakovenko stated the unfortunate fact that “the technique of scientific discourse of the Ukrainian historians froze at the end of the XIXth – the beginning of XXth century – like a clock, the hands of which stopped at the moment of catastrophe” (Yakovenko, 2000). It should be mentioned that the issue was impossible to overcome in the two decades of the XXIst century, although changes for the better can be seen and some interesting and modern from a methodological point of view publications appear periodically.

Specific attention should be paid to the position of a historian and political scholar I. Monolatii, who noted the following concerning the Ukrainian historical science, “if it really wants to go beyond the national methodology of interpretation of political phenomena in their historical retrospect, it cannot but use the “extravagant” at first glance theories proposed by the Western intellectuals” and in one of his last articles he applied the theory of the “black swan” of the American mathematician of Lebanese origin N. N. Taleb successfully (Monolatii, 2020, p. 121).

In the foreign literature, we can come across that the historical methods of studies are understood as the instructions on how to study the past events systematically, describe them, interpret, compare to identify common and special (Manu Kumar, 2013). I. Kolesnyk enumerated (according to I. Kovalchenko) the following special historical or general historical methods: historical genetic, historical comparative, historical typological, historical systemic. During their use, general scientific methods were used (analysis, synthesis, induction, deduction, explanation, etc.) (Kolesnyk, 2013, pp. 70–71). In addition, the main methods of historical research include the method of periodization, sociological, hermeneutic, anthropological and the others.

In scientific publications there was emphasized the importance of historical methods for the study of information systems, the importance of characterizing their temporal and contextual parameters (Janet Toland Pak Yoong, 2011); international economic relations, the importance of temporal, spatial and comparative characteristics, in particular, the choice of alternatives, etc. (Buchley P. J., 2016). Some authors, while analyzing the possibilities of the historical method of economic research, stated that it denied the existence of general laws of economic development and focused on its national specifics, which limited the description of specific historical forms of economic development of individual countries (Kovalchuk & Farion, 2013).

Although there are no unanimous ideas concerning the historical method as a system of methods for understanding the objects of research and identifying its properties in a particular historical period of its development. What kind of techniques form up the historical method? Apart from the main requirement to combine empirical, theoretical and logical methods of cognition, in historical science a system of special methods of historical research is formed: ideographic (descriptive), which is considered to be used the most; comparison; biographical; mathematical statistics; criticism of sources; rational reconstruction (Drach, 2014), historical genetic, comparative, typological (Ogneviuk & Andreyeva, 2021, p. 69).

It should be mentioned that numerous techniques, which should be part of the historical method, some researchers identify as independent methods. First of all, there is a specific historical approach, which involves the study of the object in the environment that affects its formation (specific historical conditions when it emerges, functions, develops); taking into consideration the spatio-temporal parameters of its existence and development. Such kind of approach makes it possible to prevent the unjustified transfer of modern knowledge to the object of study and vice versa – to establish the limits of application of the modern conceptual apparatus.

According to the methods of cognition, the following ones are distinguished: the inductive method, which allows establishing causal links between the object of study and other phenomena, the causes of its occurrence (genetic techniques); the methods of universal hypothesis – the formation of a general hypothesis, which is confirmed by empirical (historical) facts; the methods of reconstruction of events, situations; the evolutionary (chronological) methods; the space-time methods; the comparative methods; the systemic methods; the methods of criticism of sources; the teleological methods; the descriptive methods, etc.

Although there is no structure of these techniques within the historical method, which plunges the level of its methodological effectiveness. And it is vital, as the formation of special historical methods for specific areas of scientific knowledge should be based on the generic concept, for example, the concept of historical method. It should be paramount for its varieties because it allows us to define their relationship clearly. Among such variety, the historical legal method is used, which should provide knowledge of state and legal phenomena in specific historical periods of their development.

N. Yakovenko proved the importance of the above-mentioned statement on the example of an incorrect understanding of the concept of “state” by researchers. The researcher spotted that in many modern works “that Kievan Rus’, the Hetmanate, and even the Zaporozka Sich function as analogs of modern states of a coherent political body with a bureaucratic apparatus of government, a coherent fiscal system, unified legislation, established borders, etc.” (Yakovenko, 2000). Such points of view were peculiar to the researchers of the XIXth century, but in the XXth century, especially in the second half of the Western historical science overcame these shortcomings of the classical historiography discourse.

Historical and legal methodology is interpreted differently in the legal literature, however, quite often the above-mentioned issues are ignored.

In the 80s of the XXth century, among the diverse ideas R. Lukych’s position stood out, who singled out the historical legal method among the classification varieties and included it in the non-independent legal methods (Lukych, 1981).

The domestic history of law, as well as all legal science, was characterized by the search for a methodological basis, which was called methodological pluralism and an integrative approach in historical and legal research after the 1990s (Kyrychenko, 2011, pp. 48–56).

Historical and legal studies are aimed at analyzing the processes of formation and development of state and legal phenomena that no longer exist at that time, and, therefore, their subject is the historical process of origin and development of law as a social phenomenon in its specific historical form. The legal literature is usually a set of philosophical, general and special legal methods that are part of historical and legal methodology, or a system of general and special principles and methods of organizing and building cognitive activity in the field of research state and legal reality in historical retrospect, which form the basis of historical and legal methodological approach. According to some authors, the characteristic features of the approach, are the polycentric scientific paradigm of historical and legal reality, the unity of the theory of history and legal theory as structural elements of such an approach; integrative principles and methods of studies; retrospective study of the object of knowledge. Hence, the structural elements of the historical legal methodological approach are historical legal theory, principles and methods of special historical and legal methodology (laws and conceptual apparatus, special principles and special methods).

Special methods often include: historical legal, comparative legal, historical legal comparative, special legal, method of structural diachronic analysis, content-analysis of historical and legal sources, etc. (Dolhoruchenko, 2019).

According to some modern authors, an integrative approach to the formation of methodological basis research allows combining the principles of pluralism and unity of subject and method. Numerous researchers share the above-mentioned position (Kyrychenko, 2011, pp. 52–53), in particular, I. Kovalchenko historical genetic, historical typological and historical systemic (Kovalchenko, 2003, p. 169). At the same time, it is stated that there is point of view that historical science should use a single method that combines individual techniques of knowledge of law (Shevchenko, 2003).

In addition, there are other considerations: the need to use techniques such as induction, deduction, analysis and synthesis (which the authors include in general scientific methods, not logical methods), as well as other general scientific methods: empirical (experiment, measurement, observation, modeling, questionnaires, surveys, testing, interviews, etc.) and theoretical (mathematical modeling, system structural, comparative, logical linguistic, abstraction, idealization, historical, etc.) (Kryvchyk, 2017, p. 59).

It should be mentioned that the following list of methods of monographic studies is also offered: the method of philosophical dialectics; general methods (analysis and synthesis, method of critical analysis, abstraction, deduction and induction); general and specific scientific methods (comparative, comparative historical and comparative legal, hermeneutic, systemic, synergetic, special legal (which, according to the author, aims to describe, generalize and systematize the views of domestic scholars on the essence of the comparative history of law) (Kudin, 2019, pp. 44–58) The principle of objectivity and historicism, special scientific and formal logical, bibliographic, chronological, portrait, thematic approaches, comparative law method, critical approach, update method were mentioned in the context of the methodology of dissertations (Hetman, 2006).

The analysis of abstracts of dissertations of historical and legal research, as well as any other, showed a formal approach to methodology, lack of relevant knowledge and skills to understand the essence and content, methods of using appropriate methods and obtain and justify appropriate scientific results.

Among the main approaches, which are used the following should be enumerated: anthropological, dialectical, civilizational, globalization (Luts, Nastasiak, Karmazina &

Kovbasiuk, 2021, p. 233), hermeneutic, urban, phenomenological, communicative, axiological, spatial, etc. And among the general scientific methods the following should be highlighted: historical, systemic, structural functional, logical, and comparative, typology, methods of history of law (evolutionary, periodization), history and sociology (institutional, formalization), history of political and legal doctrines (continuity), modeling method, statistical etc. As for special legal, it is: historical legal, formal legal, legal anthropological (Luts, Zozulia, Zozulia, Melnychuk, Kromivets & Karmazina, 2020, p. 803), hermeneutic legal, comparative legal, method of interpretation of legal prescriptions, historical legal reconstruction and periodization, dogmatic, legal semiotics, theoretical legal forecasting, etc. The attempt was also made in order to use philosophical methods: dialectical, metaphysical, hermeneutic, and etc.

Only in a few papers there is mentioned the descriptive method, which allowed the description, however, the vast majority of historical and legal studies are characterized by the description of the objects of study, rather than the results of the application of the methodology and its justification. Although some authors considered this method to be always fundamental in historical and legal science and even named the main cognitive techniques that were part of it: observation, verbalization, generalization and classification, temporal-spatial binding (establishing temporal and spatial framework of research), integration (Krestovska, 2011, pp. 110–113).

Although it should be mentioned that the description in the sociological methodology is the final stage in the application of certain techniques that are part of it. It is understood as the stage of fixing the results (initial data about the object) of sociological research with the help of natural or artificial language. The description is characteristic of the empirical level of general scientific methodology. The interpretation of the descriptive method corresponds to the position expressed at the time by R. Lukych to use historical and legal studies primarily sociological method (including description) (Lukych, 1981, p. 198).

And almost exceptional is the statement that the historical legal method is the main one for historical research of the state and law. The above-mentioned principle gives reason to ask: whether the history of the state and law is a system of scientific knowledge; and if so, is it formed in accordance with the scientific criteria: the subject and method of scientific knowledge?

It should be highlighted that the methodological requirements and scientific criteria are the basis for the formation of historical and legal science, as well as legal science and methodology – to form an idea of historical and legal methodology, historical and legal method.

Analyzing the Ukrainian scientific publications on the history of state and law, it should be mentioned that the subject, method of historical and legal science and its concepts are not thoroughly studied in them, and we can only record some attempts to do so. At the same time, the lack of definition of the concept of the “history of state and law” and its relationship with the science of history and legal science (Tyshchuk, 2017), ideas about the historical legal method does not create appropriate conditions to obtain well-founded results.

The lack of a similar understanding of the history of state and law as a system of knowledge about the patterns of origin and functioning of state and legal phenomena in the relevant historical periods does not allow to form a clear idea of the subject of this science and its method. Hence, it gives grounds for criticism of the methodology of history: the danger of a simplified understanding of historical and legal reality; large volume and mosaic of material that is difficult to rationalize; bias in the interpretation of empirical material; the narrative illustrative basis of historical and legal knowledge, which can be the basis for arbitrary analogies in the construction of historical processes; the danger of superseding historical patterns with situationality and uniformity of factual material (Malakhov, 2012, p. 59).

It should be highlighted that there are still no special monographs on historical and legal methodology. As a result, the criticism is being stirred, not only about how to present the place of history of state and law clearly in the system of scientific knowledge, to define the concept of the “history of state and law”, to clarify the subject methods of this science, but also about the descriptive nature of research, fragmentary historical explanations; use in historical and legal studies of techniques inherent in the historical method in general; lack of boundaries within which the modern historical and legal apparatus should be applied in studies of the reconstructed period.

In addition, as it was noted in the legal literature, quite often there are statements concerning the use of new methods or the replacement of names of known approaches and methods that are not traced in scientific works, there is no argumentation of scientific results, data on when to use these methods (Krestovska, 2011, p. 109). In particular, we are talking about synergetic, hermeneutic, cybernetic and other methods in historical and legal research. Although some of the types of historical and legal methods are developing under modern conditions quite intensively and in the context of the current patterns of a human development, we can predict their need. First of all, the historical legal comparative method (or the comparative legal method of the history of the state and law) should be mentioned.

Actualization of scientific focus on the problems of comparative legal methodology in domestic legal science happened at the end of the XXth – the beginning of the XXIst century, in particular, on the comparative typological approach (Nastasiak, 2015), the theory of comparative law, its structure and methodology comparative legal research (Shemshuchenko, 2006), methodological possibilities of typology (Kresin, 2017).

Special attention was also paid to historical and legal comparative studies. Historical and legal comparative studies appeared, including the works written by O. Kresin (Kresin, 2017), S. Kudin (Kudin, 2019). Nevertheless, the characteristics of the types of historical and legal methodology should correspond, first of all, to the idea of what is the historical science and its methodology, as well as the concepts of the “history of state and law”, “history of state and law of Ukraine”, “foreign history of state and law”, “methodology of historical and legal research”, “historical and legal method”.

The tendencies in the development of historical and legal methodology indicate the focus of historical and legal science on the “development” of new areas and methods in their research. However, it seems that for the domestic history of law it is time to reconsider some conceptual approaches, the conceptual apparatus, the idea of historical and legal research, their methodology.

The Conclusions. Analysis of scientific historical sources allows us to draw a number of conclusions: at the present stage of development historical science is interpreted as a system of knowledge formed by historical methodology, which means a system of cognitive approaches, principles, methods aimed at revealing historical patterns. The historical method should consist of a set of methods of cognition, which are aimed at elucidating the patterns of human development in the reconstructed periods of the past. Historical methodology is closely related to the concrete historical approach, although it is observed in different periods of development of historical science the use of other approaches, such as: formation, civilization, etc. Scientific publications contain the references on the use of methods of periodization, historical genetic, historical comparative, historical typological, systemic, sociological, hermeneutic, anthropological, etc.; methods of cognition: evolutionary, descriptive, biographical, statistical, critique of sources, inductive, genetic, universal

hypothesis, rational reconstruction, etc. There is an identification of approaches, methods and techniques; the same methods are called differently (terminological differences); undefined composition of the historical method; there are no clear criteria for scholars to resolve the contradiction between real history and its subjective interpretation. Hence, it requires to create the objective methodological parameters that researchers must adhere to in order to obtain reliable scientific results of historical studies; revise terminology and conceptual apparatus; to form the structure of the historical method (a set of objectively necessary research methods: inductive, universal hypothesis, reconstruction, etc.).

The study of scientific works on the history of state and law (both domestic and foreign) allows us to state that the efforts of the Ukrainian historical and legal science to move away from the formational approach and proclaim the so-called methodological pluralism, civilizational and later integrative approach ended in methodological incomprehensibility and violations criteria, identification requirements for scientific results (objectivity of scientific knowledge, their validity, scientific novelty, etc.)

It should be noted that there is still no stable idea of the relationship between historical science and the history of state and law: mostly there are opinions that the history of state and law is part of legal science (because its object is state and legal phenomena). Although the position of stable interaction with historical science in general is not rejected. However, this question is crucial not only to identify the place of the science of state history and law in the system of social sciences and humanities, but also to determine its subject, content, basic parameters, methodology. Otherwise, there would be problems of both research and the organization of knowledge in the appropriate system (scientific field).

There is no unanimous understanding of what is the science of the history of state and law, in particular Ukrainian and foreign, which can be its subsystems. Apparently, the intersectoral nature of the science of state history and law should be recognized, which will allow it to be understood as a system of knowledge about the laws of state and legal phenomena (setting boundaries for research in the history of state and law of Ukraine and foreign history of state and law). At the same time, the science of the history of the state and law should be distinguished by a cognitive discipline.

Understanding the cross-sectoral nature of the science of state history and law will show a closer connection with historical science in general, which will influence the choice of the main conceptual approach – specific historical. And it should be basic for scientific studies, even if you use other approaches inherent in legal science. After all, this approach is crucial for understanding state and legal phenomena. All this is important to understand the methodology of the history of the state and law, in particular the historical and legal method

It should be noted that today there is no clear understanding of the historical and legal method, there is its identification with historical methods in general or their varieties; use of techniques that are part of the historical method. Also created “methodological catalogs” (lists of methods: philosophical, general scientific, special legal), and real research have a descriptive nature (which should be inherent only in the empirical level). And it is not clear how the results of such research can be considered scientific or innovative. It can give rise to the fragmentary nature of historical explanations, simplified understanding of historical patterns, their substitution, subjective interpretation of historical sources.

Taking into consideration the methodological principles in research on the history of state and law, the leading principles should be always the historical legal method, and other methods (general, special legal) – optional, which would help to obtain objective results.

Based on this, the historical legal method should be understood as a system of methods of cognition of state and legal phenomena of the past and identification of patterns, how they function and develop under specific conditions of the reconstructed approach. It should include: methods of collecting and analyzing historical and legal facts: criticism of historical sources: (analysis of documents, interpretation of their content, description), generalizations, inductive (genetic), evolutionary (including periodization), universal hypothesis (coverage of individual events, general laws), reconstructions, as well as teleological techniques. This composition is due to the peculiarities of the object of knowledge – state and legal phenomena, as well as the subject – their historical patterns.

The following understanding of the historical and legal method will distinguish its varieties: comparative, typological, etc.; to find out the relationship between the historical legal and comparative legal method, or the possibility to apply certain techniques of the comparative legal method within historical legal studies. It will also make it possible to review and rethink the conceptual apparatus of the science of the history of state and law, will allow to distinguish its concepts with the concepts of historical science.

Taking into consideration the above-mentioned, it will help to form a clear idea concerning the possibilities and limits of application of the conceptual historical and legal apparatus in the study of state and legal phenomena of the reconstructed period. The above-mentioned and other ways of solving problems will increase the level of methodological effectiveness of research in the history of state and law.

Funding. The authors did not receive any financial assistance for research, preparation and publication of the article.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Buchley, P. J. (2016). Historical Research Approaches to the Analysis of Internationalisation. *ManagIntRev*, 56, 879–900. URL: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11575-016-0300-0>. [in English]

Dolhoruchenko, K. (2019). Istoryko-pravovyipidkhid u metodolohii doslidzhennia diialnosti spetsviddilu “Vineta” Ministerstva prosvity i propahandy Raikhu na okupovanykh ukrainskykh terytoriiakh [Historical and legal approach in the methodology of research of the special department “Vineta” of the Ministry of Education and Reich propaganda in the occupied Ukrainian territories]. *Iurydychnyi Visnyk*, 4, 161–166. [in Ukrainian]

Drach, O. O. (2014). Suchasni istoryko-osvitni doslidzhennia: tradytsii ta novatsii metodolohii [Current historical and educational achievements: traditions and innovations in methodology]. *Visnyk Cherkaskoho universytetu. Seriya: Istorychni nauky*, 9 (312), 47–55. [in Ukrainian]

Entsyklopediia istorii Ukrainy. (2003–2021) [Encyclopedia of the history of Ukraine]. (Vols. 1–12). Kyiv: Naukova dumka. [in Ukrainian]

Hetman, O. M. (2006). *Teoretyko-metodolohichni problem istoryko-pravovoi nauky v pratsiakh ukrainskykh vchenykh XIX – pochatku XX storichchia* [Theoretical and methodological problems of historical and legal science in the works of Ukrainian scientists of the XIX – early XX centuries]. (*Extended abstract of Candidates thesis*). Odesa. 20 p. [in Ukrainian]

Janet Toland Pak Yoong. (2011). An Exploration of Historical methods for Information Systems Research. *Conference, Pacific Asia Conference on Information Systems, PACIS 2011: Quality Research in Pacific Asia, Brisbane, Queensland, Australia*. URL: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/221229203_An_Exploration_of_Historical_methods_For_Information_Systems_Research. [in English]

Kolesnyk, I. (2013). *Ukrainska istoriografii: kontseptualna istoriia* [Ukrainian historiography: conceptual history]. Kyiv: Instytut istorii Ukrainy NAN Ukrainy, 566 p. [in Ukrainian]

Kovalchenko, I. D. (2003). *Metody istoricheskogo issledovaniya. Otdelenye istoriko-filologicheskikh nauk* [Methods of historical research]. Moskva: Nauka, 486 p. [in Russian]

Kovalchuk, V. & Farion, M. (2013). Istorychnyi metod ekonomichnykh doslidzhen ta “stara” istorychna shkola [Historical method of economical income and the “old” historical school]. *Visnyk TNEU*, 3, 69–76. [in Ukrainian]

Kresin, O. V. (2017). *Stanovlennia teoretychnykh zasad porivnialno-pravovykh doslidzhen u druhii polovyni XVIII – pershii tretyni XIX stolittia: komparatyvna kontseptualizatsiia* [Comparative jurisprudence in the system of legal sciences: Problems of methodology]. Kyiv: Lohos, 680 p. [in Ukrainian]

Krestovska, N. M. (2011). Apolohiia deskryptyvnoho metodu [Apology of the descriptive method]. *Abstract of Papers. '11*. Kyiv-Simferopol: “Dolia”, 620 p. [in Ukrainian]

Krychuk, H. H. (2017). Osnovni zahalnonaukovi metody doslidzhennia v istorychnykh naukakh [Basic general scientific research methods in the historical sciences]. *Naukovo-istorychnyi almanakh*, 12, 55–61. [in Ukrainian]

Kudin, S. V. (2019). *Porivnialna istoriia prava: vitchyzniana tradytsiia kontseptualizatsii* [Comparative history of law: the domestic tradition of conceptualization. Monograph]. Vinnytsia: TOV “TVORY”, 544 p. [in Ukrainian]

Kyrychenko, V. S. (2011). Intehratyvnyi pidkhid pry vyznachenni metodolohii istoryko-pravovoho doslidzhennia [Integrative approach in determining the methodology of historical and legal research]. *Abstract of Papers. '11*. Kyiv-Simferopol: “Dolia”, 620 p. [in Ukrainian]

Lukych, R. (1981). *Metodolohiia prava* [Methodology of law]. Moskva: Prohress. 304 p. [in Russian]

Luts, L. A. (2011). Typologies of Modern Legal Systems of the world. *Foundations of Comparative Law: methods and typologies*. London: Wildy, Simmonds & Hill Publishing, 354 p. [in English]

Luts, L. A., Nastasiak, I. Y., Karmazina, C. Y. & Kovbasiuk, S. V. (2021). Prospects for the development of modern interstate legal systems in the context of globalization challenges. *Amazonia Investiga*, 10, 233–243. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.34069/AI/2021.40.04.23>. [in English]

Luts, L., Zozulia, I., Zozulia, O., Melnychuk, S., Kromivets, T. & Karmazina, C. (2020). Protection of the Right to Information on One's Health by Authorized State Bodies. *Systematic Reviews in Pharmacy*, 11, 803–806. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.31838/srp.2020.10.120>. [in English]

Malakhov, V. P. (2012). *Metodologicheskiye i mirovozzrencheskie problem sovremennoi yuridicheskoi teorii* [Methodological and ideological problems of modern legal theory]. Moskva: YuNYTY-DANA, 431 p. [in Russian]

Manu Kumar. (2013). *Historical method in Research*. URL: <https://www.Slideshare.net/manukumarkm/historicalmethod-inresearch>. [in English]

Monolatii, I. (2020). “Chorni lebedi” Ukrainskoi revoliutsii: (ne)imovirni vypadky zakhidnoukrainskoi derzhavnosti [“Black Swans” of the Ukrainian Revolution: (un)moving downfalls of Western Ukrainian statehood]. *Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, 6, 120–138. [in Ukrainian]

Nastasiak, I. Yu. (2015). Spivvidnoshennia poniattia “typolohizatsiia” iz sumizhnymy poniattiamy [Correlation of the concept of “typology” with related concepts]. *Visnyk Lvivskoho universytetu. Seriia yurydychna*, 61, 37–44. [in Ukrainian]

Ogneviuk, V. & Andryeyeva, S. (2021). Borys Hrinchenko's Views: the Ukrainian National Revolution in the Middle of the XVIIth Century in the Coverage of the Intellectual. *Skhidnoevropeiskyi istorychnyi visnyk – East European Historical Bulletin*, 21, 68–77. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.24919/2519-058X.21.246917/> [in English]

Shemshuchenko, Yu. S. (Ed). (2006). *Porivnialne pravoznavstvo u systemi yurydychnykh nauk: Problemy metodolohii* [Comparative jurisprudence in the system of legal sciences: Problems of methodology]. Kyiv: Yurydychna dumka. 256 p. [in Ukrainian]

Shevchenko, O. M. (2003). *Istorychnyi metod piznannia prava (do metodolohii piznannia)* [Historical method of knowledge of law (to the methodology of knowledge)]. Kyiv: YurinkomInter. [in Ukrainian]

Slovyk ukrainskoi movy. (1970 – 1980) [Glossary of Ukrainian language]. (Vols. 1–10). Kyiv: Naukovadumka. [in Ukrainian]

Stelmakh, S. P. (2005). Istorychna nauka [Historical science]. *Entsyklopediia istorii Ukrainy.* (Vol. 3. pp. 562–566). Kyiv: Naukovadumka. [in Ukrainian]

Stelmakh, S. P. (2009). Metodolohiia istorii, metodolohiia istorychnoi nauky [Methodology of history, methodology of historical science]. *Entsyklopediia istorii Ukrainy*. (Vol. 6. pp. 621–627). Kyiv: Naukova dumka. [in Ukrainian]

Tyshchuk, B. Y. (2017). Istoriiia derzhavy i prava zarubizhnykh krainyak vazhlyva skladova vyshchoi yurydychnoi osvity Ukrainy [History of the state and law of foreign countries as an important component of higher legal education in Ukraine]. *Abstract of Papers. '17. Aktualni problemy vykladannia istoriko-pravovykh dystsyplin v systemi vyshchoi yurydychnoi osvity Ukrainy ta zarubizhnykh krain*. (pp. 15–20). Lviv. [in Ukrainian]

Veber, M. (1998). *Sotsiologhiia. Zahalnoistorychni analyzy. Polityka* [Sociology. Global-historical analyzes. Politics]. Per. z nim. Oleksandr Pohorilyi. Kyiv: Osnovy, 534 p. [in Ukrainian]

Yakovenko, N. M. (2000). Pro metodolohiiu doslidzhen serednovichnoi i rannomodernoï istorii Ukrainy [On the methodology of research of medieval and early modern history of Ukraine]. *Naukovi pratsi istorychnoho fakultetu Zaporizkoho derzhavnoho universytetu*. URL: https://shron1.chtyvo.org.ua/Yakovenko_Natalia/Pro_metodolohiiu_doslidzhen_serednovichnoi_i_rannomodernoï_istorii_Ukrainy.pdf. [in Ukrainian]

Zashkilniak, L. P. (1999) *Metodolohiia istorii: vid davnyiny do suchasnosti* [Methodology of history: from antiquity to modernity]. Lviv: LNU im. I. Franka, 228 p. [in Ukrainian]

The article was received April 29, 2021.

Article recommended for publishing 23/02/2022.

UDC 930.2=111:321.64:327.57(100)
DOI 10.24919/2519-058X.22.253734

Anatoliy MOROZOV

PhD hab. (History), Professor, Head of the Chair of Archeology and Special Branches of History, Cherkasy Bohdan Khmelnytskyi National University, 81 Shevchenko Boulevard, Cherkasy, Ukraine, postal code 18000 (anacid2012@ukr.net)

ORCID: 0000-0003-3832-4513

ResearcherID: 4989473/morozov-anatolii

Victoria HRON

PhD (History), teacher of the state educational institution “Cherkasy professional lyceum”, 13 Oleksiy Panchenko Street, Cherkasy, Ukraine, postal code 18034 (ghron@ukr.net)

ORCID: 0000-0002-1221-3658

ResearcherID: AAE-6353-2022

Анатолій МОРОЗОВ

доктор історичних наук, професор, завідувач кафедри археології та спеціальних історичних дисциплін Черкаського Національного університету імені Богдана Хмельницького, бульвар Шевченка, 81, м. Черкаси, Україна, індекс 18000 (anacid2012@ukr.net)

Вікторія ГРОН

кандидатка історичних наук, викладачка державного навчального закладу “Черкаський професійний ліцей”, вул. Олексія Панченка, 13, м. Черкаси, Україна, індекс 18034 (ghron@ukr.net)

Bibliographic Description of the Article: Morozov, A. & Gron, V. (2022). Vision of the Essence of the Totalitarianism Transformation at the Stage of Globalization in Modern English Historiography. *Skhidnoieuropeyskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 22, 240–250. doi: 10.24919/2519-058X.22.253734

**A VISION OF THE ESSENCE OF THE TOTALITARIANISM TRANSFORMATION
AT THE STAGE OF GLOBALIZATION
IN MODERN ENGLISH HISTORIOGRAPHY**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to clarify the economic and ideological and political foundations of the transformation of the concept of “totalitarianism” at the present stage. The methodological basis of the research is premised on the principles of systematics, objectivity, comprehensiveness and historicism. The investigation was carried out by applying the methods of induction and deduction, analysis and synthesis, abstraction, as well as comparative, problem-historical and retrospective methods. The novelty of the study is based on the approaches common in the English-language segment of the scientific literature on globalization. A comprehensive comparison of this concept with the concept of the nation-state was made, and the potential for the development of new forms of total control of political actors over society was considered. The Conclusions.* *The study makes it quite obvious that globalization is a process of formation, development and transformation of a system of unilateral advantages in the context of permanent capitalist competition and selective modernization. At present,*

these benefits are increasingly concentrated in the financial and information sector. The development of electronic means of control and communication, on the one hand, repeatedly strengthens the official ability of the world's leading nations to monitor the natural and mechanical movement of the population. On the other hand, it contributes to the limitation of the state powers by this function and accelerates the international money circulation outside the governmental competences, which especially weakens the position of political regimes in developing countries. In parallel with the degradation of national sovereignty, supranational corporate and sub-national ethnic clusters are rising. At the same time, together with the real power, the potential ability to create radical totalitarian forms flows here from the national level. In other words, the traditional notion of individual totalitarian and institutional democratic governance is contrasted with the concept of sub regional, national and supranational control.

Key words: totalitarianism, globalization, nation-state, "failed state", sovereignty, transnational corporations, competition, migration, technological progress.

БАЧЕННЯ СУТНОСТІ ТРАНСФОРМАЦІЇ ТОТАЛІТАРИЗМУ НА СТАДІЇ ГЛОБАЛІЗАЦІЇ В СУЧАСНІЙ АНГЛОМОВНІЙ ІСТОРІОГРАФІЇ

Анотація. *Мета дослідження* полягає у з'ясуванні економічних та ідейно-політичних засад трансформації поняття "тоталітаризм" на сучасному етапі. **Методологічне підґрунтя** роботи сформоване на основі принципів системності, об'єктивності, всебічності та історизму. Дослідження здійснювалося шляхом застосування методів індукції й дедукції, аналізу і синтезу, абстрагування, а також порівняльного, проблемно-історичного та ретроспективного методів. **Наукова новизна:** відштовхуючись від підходів, поширених в англomовному сегменті наукової літератури з питань глобалізації, було здійснено комплексне зіставлення вказаного поняття з поняттям національної держави, а також розглянуто потенційну можливість розвитку нових форм тотального контролю політичних суб'єктів над соціумом. **Висновки.** Проведене дослідження робить цілком очевидним, що глобалізація – це процес становлення, розвитку і трансформації системи односторонніх переваг у контексті перманентної капіталістичної конкуренції та вибіркової модернізації. Наразі згадані переваги дедалі більше концентруються у фінансовому й інформаційному секторах. Розвиток електронних засобів контролю й комунікації, з одного боку, багаторазово посилює офіційну здатність провідних держав світу наглядати за природним і механічним рухом населення. З іншого – сприяє загальному обмеженню державних повноважень вказаною функцією та прискорює міжнародний грошовий обіг за межами урядових компетенцій, що особливо послаблює позиції політичних режимів країн, які розвиваються. Паралельно з деградацією національного суверенітету відбувається піднесення наднаціонального корпоративного та субнаціонального етнічного кластерів. При цьому, разом з реальною владою сюди ж з національного рівня перетікає потенційна здатність витворювати радикальні тоталітарні форми. Інакше кажучи, традиційним уявленням про одноосібне тоталітарне й інституційне демократичне управління протиставляється концепція субрегіонального, національного та наднаціонального контролю.

Ключові слова: тоталітаризм, глобалізація, національна держава, "неспроможна держава", суверенітет, транснаціональні корпорації, конкуренція, міграція, технічний прогрес.

The Problem Statement. For more than a decade, the problem of globalization has been of concern to the world scientific community. After all, despite the rapid dynamics of universal change, scientists have not been able to establish clear boundaries of the term, as well as the causes, consequences, direction of further development, the "winners" and "losers" of the successive integration and unification of modern life. The only thing that the vast number of researchers have reached a relative agreement upon is the conclusion about the economic basis of globalization (Al-Rodha & Stoutmann, 2006, pp. 9–20). At the same time, the obvious effects of the fourth industrial revolution (Ford, 2016) and the gradual departure of central banks into the zone of zero and even negative interest rates force some of them to talk about the end of the era of classical capitalism. In turn, the instability of

economic institutions entails structural changes in the political superstructure, which again makes the issue of totalitarian methods of control and management relevant (Liodakis, 2005).

The Analysis of Recent Researches. These circumstances against the background of the intensified struggle of “old” and “new” economies with different types of regimes for world leadership (Rodrik, 2019, p. 26) causes to abandon the established views on the essence of global processes. All participants in this virtual discussion can be divided into two camps: supporters of systematic and non-systematic approaches. The first of them consider globalization to be the result of endogenous policies and, consequently, an irreversible outcome of the development of a market economy. Their opponents insist on the exogenous nature and reversibility of the outlined phenomenon and also seek to some extent to return the function of the main subjects of geopolitics to the nation-states (Fotopoulos, 2001), (Inglehart, 2001).

In fact, we are dealing with a specific categorical system in which the terms “global” and “national” are polar concepts relative to each other. Of course, no one is talking about the complete dismantling of nation-states in the context of globalization, although significant transformations are inevitable. However, some scientists, such as the British economist Martin Wolf (Wolf, 2001) believe (at least until 2008) that all is changing for the better. The others, such as Paul James, a professor at the University of Western Sydney, speak of the ambiguity and complexity of the process, in which not all elements have a positive meaning (James, 2005).

The Purpose of the Study. Since the term “totalitarianism” in scientific circulation is strongly associated with the system of state power, to clarify the essence of its latest modifications, it seems necessary to compare the concepts of “globalization” and “nation state” (given how this terminological pair is presented in the English-language scientific literature) comprehensively. Next, we should focus on the so-called “levels of globalization”, in other words, to explore how consistent unification and integration affect different spheres of public life and the distribution of power. Finally, we should provide a systematic assessment of the principles of formation of ruling elites in countries with dissimilar income and cultural and spiritual traditions in terms of the dilemma “political personality – political institution”.

The Main Material Statement. Thus, as noted by the above-mentioned Paul James, the institutions and structures of modern globalization and the modern nation-state arose almost simultaneously as a result of the deployment of parallel processes. And this is another common idea that unites representatives of various trends and schools. The differences between them begin at the stage of monitoring the interaction of the two processes. A large group of researchers consider them complementary, opponents insist on existence of a tangible tension between them (James, 2005, p. 198).

Proponents of the first approach start from the general rule: for legitimate functioning in the modern Westernized World, communities must be formed as nation-states of the Western model (Steger & Lames, 2013, p. 21). Only this way can they claim official recognition from major global players, most notably the United Nations. Moreover, some states exist only because of their membership in the UN (Thomas, 2007, p. 93). Nowadays, the popular term “failed state” become widespread due to, on the one hand, the rapid spread of quasi-state (sometimes overtly criminal) territorial and trans-territorial entities, which would, in other circumstances, simply reshape the political outlines of entire regions. On the other hand – due to the established system of international relations and activities of supranational bodies, which have made the dismantling of even completely insolvent states quite a troublesome affair (Krishman, 2016, p. 160).

In general, the logic of the defenders of the idea of a harmonious combination of global and national construction is based on the concept of constant transition from simple to complex forms. The evolution of statehood began with the control of tribes and polis cities and later rose to modern systems of governing nation-states. Further development of organized society went beyond national borders. But even in the future, the ability of people to enjoy the opportunities of international integration will depend on the quality of services provided by states – guarantees of property rights, security, basic education, etc. (Hosseni, 2015, p. 4).

However, not all scientists support the outlined concept. The famous American sociologist and historian I. Wallerstein called the modern world system a hierarchy of national communities, within which he distinguished among the “core”, “semi-periphery” and “periphery”. The scientist considered the division of countries into zones of high and low value added to be the basis of this hierarchy, which was directly related to the monopolization of production processes: the higher the monopolization, the higher the profitability (Deruder, 2003). Since the existence of monopolies (quasi-monopolies, according to Wallerstein) is not possible without strict protectionist measures, the “core” states are certainly strong ones. Accordingly, the quality and volume of services provided by such states significantly exceed all possible social benefits available to residents of the “periphery” (Wallerstein, 2004).

With the exception of the critique of traditional ideas about the progressive nature of the historical process, I. Wallerstein’s views also show fundamental differences with the Marxist doctrine of socioeconomic formations. Capitalism, from the researcher’s point of view, is not a capitalist mode of production, but a world economy formed as a result of the involvement of regions with different systems in the market system of Western countries, which did not become world empires, although this happened in the past, but remained nation-states (Wallerstein, 2002, pp. 1–6).

By the way, in two thorough publications, published under the same title “Trade and Empire”, the problem is presented somewhat differently, although entirely in the context of the “core-periphery” scheme. In particular, it is believed that there is a direct bilateral link between the expansion of empires and the expansion of international trade. “Trade policy of the metropolises may have been shaped by the colonial ties,” – say the authors of the first study and add: according to economists, European countries perceived the colonies as a means of introducing preferential trade relations (James & Weidemier, 2008, p. 18).

The authors of the cognominal work base their conclusions on the well-known but unpopular fact that in the first millennium AD Western Europe was the most backward peripheral region within Eurasia. But until the XVIIIth century it was able to become the geographical and political center of the continent. Comparing Western Empires with China, scholars emphasize the dependence of the former on external sources of gold production as opposed to the self-sufficiency of the latter. Thus, it turns out that it was the lack of own resources that pushed Europeans to aggressive expansion, making Europe the starting point of globalization processes (O’Rourke et al., 2008, p. 1). Of course, empires seem to have long since disappeared from the scene of humanity, but most of the states formed on their wreckage continue to consider international trade exploitative (Wolf, 2014, p. 23).

This observation, however, contrasts sharply with data on the assessment of globalization in developed and developing countries. People in France, Italy, Spain, South Korea, Japan, and Germany (and to a lesser extent in Britain and the US) are more likely to say: “Globalization is growing too quickly”. In contrast, people in Turkey, the Philippines, Indonesia, Brazil, Kenya, Mexico and the countries of Central America are more likely to say: “Globalization is proceeding too slowly” (BBC World Service Poll, 2008, p. 1).

Against this background, many scholars again spoke about the positive impact of globalization in the context of global convergence, overcoming inequality and reducing absolute poverty (Karatasli, 2016, p. 25). Particularly optimistic statements are made in China, which in some circles is associated with the reboot of integration processes or the launch of an updated version of “Globalization 2.0” (Barber, 2016).

However, the problem of the relationship between the global and the national can be solved not only in terms of the flow of sovereignty or interstate competition. Thus, the Brazilian economist Luiz Carlos Bresser-Pereira, considers globalization a modern stage of capitalist development, while the nation-state – a territorial and political unit designed to organize space and population in the era of capitalism (Bresser-Pereira, 2008, p. 557).

The author disagrees with the proponents of the theory of the transition of sovereignty from lower to higher forms of government, because his deep conviction is that instead of the gradual concentration of power in the hands of hypothetical world government or leadership, we have a global society without global state nowadays (Bresser-Pereira, 2008, p. 563). The vast majority of modern states, the researcher recalls, was formed not as a result of consolidation but as a result of collapse of great empires, and together with like-minded people wonders: why have the talks about the demise of the nation-state begun at time when it became the dominant world phenomenon (Bresser-Pereira, 2008, p. 564).

The solution to the essence of the paradox, oddly enough, can be found in the work of Luiz Carlos Bresser-Pereira. Firstly, the scientist asserts that nowadays the class struggle has long receded into the background, giving way to competition between countries with high and low labour cost (Bresser-Pereira, 2008, p. 564). This conclusion confirms the steady devaluation of internal social relations within a single country compared to the increasing importance of external conjuncture.

Secondly, in the above-mentioned interstate competition, rich countries use financial and other instruments to force poorer partners to adopt their own liberal economic model, which is characterized by a reduction in state competences (Bresser-Pereira, 2008, p. 558). Since states, as holders of power, must lose their significance everywhere under such circumstances, the distribution of world power should tend to be evenly scattered on the political surface. But in reality, the concentration of world power under the conditions of a total domination of the market economy and the free market not only does not disappear, but on the contrary increases (Fotopoulos, 2001). Thus, there is every reason to believe that in addition to states, there are other accumulators of force that are not under the control of democratic procedures. We are talking about corporations.

Thirdly, in the search for an adequate definition of the term “globalization”, Luiz Carlos Bresser-Pereira chooses an option where the phenomenon is described as a modern stage of capitalist competition for higher economic growth between corporations with the support of the respective nation states. He supports his thesis with the remark that “in absolute majority, ‘multinational corporations’ are national corporations, because they are controlled by the capitals and the knowledge of one or two countries. The cleanest evidence of this fact lies in the activities of the ambassadors of rich countries in developing countries. Each ambassador knows well which ‘his corporations’, i.e., which are the corporations whose interests he is supported to represent” (Bresser-Pereira, 2008, p. 560). In other words, in today’s world, the lines separating the spheres of influence of mega-corporations are beginning to play a more significant role than state borders.

The conclusion that national and transnational processes are not always structurally compatible is supported by many studies, including the English-language ones. Martin Wolfe,

already known to us, sees the reason for the instability of current life in the desire of states to continue to resist economic interconnectedness, while technical progress pushes economies to further integration (Wolf, 2014, pp. 23–25). The logic of free enterprise – the essence of globalization, is the constant search for new territories suitable for capitalist expansion. The crisis of traditional markets leads to unprecedented pressure from transnational agents (starting with the IMF, the WTO and ending with various NGOs) on the governments of nation states, forcing the latter to reduce budget expenditures (Hanspeter et al., 2006, p. 922). As a result, businesses are gaining more and more access to areas that until recently were considered the exclusive object of public care for society.

The elimination of the state monopoly on the use of military force has an even more impressive impact on the realities of today. Officials in the United States, the United Kingdom, France, or any other country are required to disclose information on military rearmament and defense expenditures to their own public and to oversight international organizations. At the same time, private companies mustn't disclose the details of their business operations. In numerous hotspots, stakeholders are increasingly turning to mercenaries instead of using regular troops.

As Armin Krishman writes in the monograph “War as Business. Technological Change and Military Service Contracting”, “The death of soldiers in action has to be reported by the government and this usually receives a lot of media attention, which affects public opinion. On the other hand, contractors killed in action, hardly make it into the news” (Krishman, 2013, p. 154).

Thus, attracting contractors is convenient and profitable for both states and contractors. The states avoid international publicity; the contractors have a guaranteed income (which, incidentally, calls into question their status as a disinterested player). All this, combined with the considerations of expanding the participation of large corporations in shaping the global agenda, refutes the optimistic claims that the expropriation of “excess” sovereignty from nation states in favour of business should lead to greater peace and stability. In a broader sense, the current stage of social evolution is characterized not only by competition between countries with high and low wealth, but also by the struggle of state and corporate clusters for the right to determine the future of civilization.

Translating the issue of redistribution of power into the human dimension, it should be noted that one of the features of the Western (which is considered the standard of progressive nowadays) worldview is the idea of reducing human responsibilities to the state. The real catalyst (more precisely, the factor of autocatalysis) of the spread of such ideas in this case is the acceleration of migration processes. However, the reverse side of the coin remains out of the attention of the general public. It is a question of loss by citizens of guarantees at formal preservation of the rights. Only states can guarantee the rights of citizens. International organizations that have assumed much of the sovereignty can only demand that states fulfill their functions. As a result, the global economy has faced a new serious challenge, the name of which is precariat.

From the point of view of the material possibilities of the social system, the concept of “a person” is limited to the actualization of two functions – a producer and consumer, the meaning of which is constantly changing depending on the replacement or permutation of other elements of the social mechanism. These include the means of production, means of consumption and the unifying link of the whole system – finance. These elements respond differently to the demands of “open” space and restructure the responsibilities and perspectives of nation-states. The formation of a new format takes place in the framework of two main projects: the management of migration flows and capital movements. Thus, let's move on to the next task of the research – the study of the so-called “levels of globalization”.

“While the movements of bodies, objects of exchange and process of disembodied inert-relation are all increasingly globalized, what most commentators miss is the relatively obvious point that they are globalized in different ways. In empirical terms, finance capital flies across “deterritorialized” national borders... while refugees are administered by states with a heavy-handed vigilance unknown in human history” (James, 2005, p. 197).

This remark by Paul James conveys the essence of the question: the easiest way to move money is without citizenship, the most difficult – by people who must have citizenship. “The Citizen – now the global taken-for-granted base condition of political normalcy in the world – is allowed to cross the borders of their own nation-state in the prioritized or facilitated fashion (James, 2014, p. 214). Despite the interconnectedness of the concepts of citizenship and the state, it is not difficult to be tempted to take such a remark as evidence in favour of strengthening the position of the nation-state until it acquires totalitarian traits. But in reality it may be a question, firstly, of concentrating the remnants of sovereignty around one function – controlling the dislocation of the population. Secondly, as Paul James rightly pointed out, the excessive fascination with the idea of free choice of residence, based on the belief that the right to “freedom of choice” will belong exclusively to the European race, more precisely, the residents of rich countries (James, 2006, p. 215).

“The people we want to slow down or restrict are those who move ambiguously and require resources from us – specifically, asylum seekers and irregular migrants” (James, 2006, p. 215). Because, as Paul James further argues, modern technology makes it possible to analyze, systematize, and codify vast amounts of information, easily separating “desirable” migrants from “undesirable” ones, “states can present to themselves data, which suggest that the number of refugees... are not going up. At the same time, however, those individuals called ‘internally displaced persons’ or IDPs – that is, those who are displaced but do not cross a national border – have been increasing, as have been the number of irregular migrants” (James, 2006, p. 216). Thus, reducing access to citizenship and strengthening official oversight of legalized migration multiply human flows beyond state capacity. If these flows are not controlled by the state, then someone else does. Accordingly, the role and importance of the state in the new political subordination is fatally reduced.

“As decision-making power moves away to trans-state or supra-state agencies, so sub-state ethno nationalist groups are encouraged to bypass what they perceive to be their unresponsive nation-states and seek solutions either higher level, where the real power is thought to be located and/or at more local level, where autonomy seems possible. Globalization and “tribalism” may, therefore, not only co-exist but mutually support each other” (James, 2005, p. 198). This quote reflects the logic of a new stage in the evolution of the world governance model. It began with the collapse of empires after World War II and was widely accepted as a process of emancipation of nation-states. However, the further course of events clearly testified to the continuing fragmentation of the political space with the disintegration of the now nation-states along the lines of ethnic enclaves. At the theoretical level, this transition was recorded in the 1980s and was called “unlimited disembodied globalization”. Since then, the notion of nation has been forever separated from the notion of the state [27, 4], which has faced an alternative in the form of a new system of control and exploitation of resources based on electronic trading, computerized information storage and relentless movement of capital (James, 2005, p. 206).

“When, in July 2008, the then-American presidential candidate Barack Obama spoke as a self-declared “world citizen” in Berlin, he oscillated between the national and global

imaginary in his call to nations to work together for global progress” (Steger & James, 2013, p. 26). The existence of national and global clusters in the structure of modern world elites means the presence of related genetic forms in the economic and political plane. National government is inherent in societies of industrial order, based on material production, the end product of which is an industrial commodity. Global governance dominates the post-industrial sector of intangible production with the final product as a service.

New types of conflicts are unfolding, primarily within individual states, according to the authors of the article “Europeanization and Transformation of the National Political Space: Six European Countries Compared”, because the effects of globalization are not the same for different members of national communities. From the public’s point of view, these are the so-called “winners and losers of globalization” – categories that have long been adopted by political parties in a radical restructuring of ideological orientations. Scientists consider employees and owners of companies, whose business is traditionally based on state support, which is to ensure high social standards and protection of property rights, to be “losers”. In contrast to “losers”, “winners” include firms whose business is integrated into international market structures that are interested in implementing world prices into the system of national economies. This usually means reducing the cost of local labour while reducing any government guarantees. Thus, it is concluded that globalization leads to the transformation and blurring of class contradictions and brings to the fore the conflict between integration and demarcation (Hanspeter et al. 2006, p. 922). In addition, the situation has long been aggravated by the factor of mass migration, which makes citizens of rich countries feel anxious about their own national identity and fear of further degradation of living standards (Hanspeter et al. 2006, p. 927).

If human flows move mainly from the countries of the “poor south” to the “rich north”, the production capacity since the late 60’s of the twentieth century is travelling in the opposite direction. Diverse graphs show the structure of the conflict between national and global regimes in the interstate plane. In the article on the highly specialized topic of gender inequality in developing regions, the authors, Stephanie Sequino and Caren Grown, unexpectedly reveal the full depth of the conflict, using its only aspect.

Firstly, the researchers point out that an unconditional stimulus to investment inflows and increased exports is to limit wage growth in the relevant industries. Secondly, they emphasize the disproportionately large number of women employed in industries financed by the so-called “vertical” foreign direct investment, which are used by large corporations to exploit “differences in factor costs among countries, concentrating labour-intensive activities in those countries with lower labour costs” (Sequino & Crown, 2006, p. 1091).

Thirdly, the ability of states to influence the economy through support for highly productive industries has declined markedly recently. States are under pressure from the World Trade Organization, which demands to liberalize trade, abandon protectionist measures, including preferential lending to strategically important enterprises, and expand access to foreign direct investment (Sequino & Crown, 2006, pp. 1092–1093).

According to scientists, what should be done to improve the situation of women employed in the export industry while maintaining positive economic dynamics? The answer is simple: it is necessary to strengthen the role of the state in monitoring the physical and financial flows of capital, as well as in the implementation of industrial or agricultural policy. From further reflections by Stephanie Sequino and Caren Grown, it follows that these recommendations are difficult to implement because young industrialized countries are under pressure from the financial interests of large powers (Sequino & Crown, 2006, p. 1098). Thus, the current

stage of the global political confrontation is nothing more than an updated version of the classic conflict between labour and capital, in which national groups seek to take control of the financial movement, and transnational – the labour movement.

Finally, we risk making some of our own assumptions about the “political personality – political institution” dilemma. It is usually considered in the context of the study of state elites in countries with different types of regimes. It is believed that under totalitarian rule there are individuals, under democratic – institutions. However, this thesis needs some clarification. Firstly, the very term “rule” is semantically related to the concept of “will”, which is defined as one of the highest mental functions of a man. Secondly, here we are based on the opinion of the famous British historian and journalist Neil Ferguson, the forerunner of modern forms of democracy are corporations – the first autonomous commercial organizations that emerged in a highly competitive environment of Western Europe in the Middle Ages (Ferguson, 2018, p. 78). Thus, in both totalitarian and democratic systems, the real subjects of government are human individuals who exercise their right to govern through political, administrative and economic institutions. But under totalitarianism, the state contour is the highest center of sovereignty, while in modern democracies, in combination with the most developed economies in the world, nation-states are already quite transparent about the secondary nature of corporate transnational networks.

The Conclusions. Traditional views on the nature of totalitarian regimes have their roots in the industrial age, when industrial production was the obligatory intermediary between resources and profit. Since then, we have received the misconception that the main purpose of business is to maximize supply to meet consumer needs. However, under the new conditions, the production link is losing its importance gradually. Accordingly, the political superstructure over the schemes of operation of raw material bases is changing. In other words, the change in technological systems leads to the rotation of management paradigms – national (production) and global (financial and digital). In this case, both paradigms have a genetic predisposition to the formation of radical totalitarian forms, and in this context, require separate research.

Acknowledgements. We express sincere gratitude to all members of the editorial board for consultations provided during the preparation of the article for publishing.

Funding. The authors received no financial support for the research, authorship, and publication of this article.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Al-Rohan, R.F. Nayef & Stoutmann, G. (2006). Definitions of the Globalization: A Comprehensive Overview and a Proposed Definition. URL: [https://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download? Doi: https://doi.org/10.1.1.472.4772&rep=rep1&type=pdf](https://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?Doi=https://doi.org/10.1.1.472.4772&rep=rep1&type=pdf). [in English]

Barber, L. (2016). Globalization 2.0 – an Optimistic Outlook. *Financial Times, January 14*. URL: <https://www.ft.com/content/3dff316-bad3-11e5-b151-8e15c9a029fb> [in English]

BBC World Service Poll. (2008). Widespread Unease about Economy and Globalization: Global Poll. URL: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/bsp/hi/pdfs/07_02_08worldservicepoll.pdf [in English]

Bresser-Pereira, L. K. (2008). Globalization, Nation State and Catching up. *Brazilian Journal of Political Economy, 28(112)*, 557–576. URL: <https://www.scielo.br/j/rep/a/dwRTqshRwh4v7KdB5cwfFT7k/?lang=en> Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1590/S0101-31572008000400002> [in English]

Deruder, B. (2003). Viewing the Capitalist World-System Through (inter-)city Lenses: Rationale, Methodology and First Results. *Belgeo, 3*, 269–288. URL: <https://journals.openedition.org/belgeo/16717?lang=en> Doi: <https://doi.org/10.4000/belgeo.16717> [in English]

Ferguson, N. (2018). *Tsyvilizatsiia. Yak Zahid Stav Uspishnym* [Civilization. The West and the Rest]. Kyiv: “Nash Format”, 488 p. [in Ukrainian]

Ford, M. (2016). *Pryshestia Robotive. Tekhnika i Zahroza Maibutnoho Bezrobittia* [Rise of the Robots. Technology and Threat of a Jobless Future]. Kyiv: “Nash Format”, 400 p. [in Ukraine]

Fotopoulos, T. (2001). Globalization, the Reformist Left and Anti-Globalization “Movement”. *Democracy & Nature*, 7(2), 233–280. URL: <https://www.staff.ncl.ac.uk/david.harvey/AEF806/Fotopoulos.pdf> [in English]

Hanspeter, K., Grande, E., Lachat, R., Dolezal, M., Bornshcier, S. & Frey, T. (2006). Globalization and the Transformation of the National Political Space: Six European Countries Compared. *European Journal of Political Research*, 45, 921–956. URL: <https://ejpr.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1111/j.1475-6765.2006.00644.x> Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6765.2006.00644.x> [in English]

Hosseni, S.A. Hamed. (2015). Globalization and the Nation-State. URL: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/276348393_Globalization_and_the_Nation-State Doi: <https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.1.5028.7528> [in English]

Inglehart, R. (2001). Modernization, Sociological Theories of. International *Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*, 9965–9971. URL: <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/B0080430767019215> [in English]

James, K. & Weidmier, M. (2008). Trade and Empire. Cambridge. URL: <https://www.nber.org/papers/w13765.pdf> [in English]

James, P. (2005). Arguing Globalization: Proposition towards an Investigation of Global Formation. *Globalization*, 2(2), 193–209. URL: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/233428640_Arguing_globalizations_Propositions_towards_an_investigation_of_global_formation Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14747730500202206> [in English]

James, P. (2006). Globalism, Nationalism, Tribalism: Bringing Theory Back In. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: “Sage Publication”. URL: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/270900449_Globalism_Nationalism_Tribalism_Bringing_Theory_Back_In Doi: <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446217603> [in English]

James, P. (2014). Faces of Globalization and the Borders of States: From Asylums to Citizens. *Citizenship Studies*, 18(2), 208–223. URL: <https://www.academia.edu/7773440> Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13621025.2014.886440> [in English]

Karatasli, S. S. (2016). The Capitalist World-economy in the Longue Duree: Changing Modes of the Global Distribution of Wealth, 1500-2008. *Sociology of Development forthcoming*, (2). URL: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/308764748_The_Capitalist_World-economy_in_the_Longue_Duree_Changing_Modes_of_the_Global_Distribution_of_Wealth_1500-2008 Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1525/sod.2017.3.2.163> [in English]

Krishnan, A. (2016). War as Business. Technological Change and Military Service Contracting. London and New-York: “Routledge”, 205 p. URL: https://books.google.com.ua/books?id=lymrCwAAQBAJ&pg=PAPA157&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false [in English]

Liodakis G. (2005). The New stage of Capitalist Development and the Prospect of Globalization. *Science & Society*, 69(3), 341–366. URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40404263> [in English]

O'Rourke, Kevin H., Leandro Prados de la Escosura, L. P. & Daudin, G. (2008). Trade and Empire, 1700 – 1870. URL: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/4849529_Trade_and_Empire_1700-1870 [in English]

Rodrik, D. (2019). Globalization’s Wrong Turn. And How it Hurts. *Foreign Affairs*, 98(4), 26–33. URL: https://drodrik.scholar.harvard.edu/files/dani-rodrik/files/globalizations_wrong_turn.pdf [in English]

Sequino, S. & Crown, C. (2006). Gender Equity and Globalization: Macroeconomic Policy for Developing Countries. *Journal of International Development*, 18(8), 1080–10104. URL: <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1002/jid.1295> Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1002/jid.1295> [in English]

Steger, M. B. & James, P. (2013). Levels of Subjective Globalization: Ideologies, Imaginaries, Ontologies. *Perspectives on Global Development and Technology*, 12(1–2), 17–40. URL: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/269947119_Levels_of_Subjective_Globalization_Ideologies_Imaginaries_Ontologies Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1163/15691497-12341240> [in English]

Thomas, G. M. (2007). Globalization: The Major Players. *The Blackwell Companion to Globalization* (George Ritzer, Ed.), 84–102. URL: <file:///C:/Users/user/Downloads/24003496-553431-1-10-20210930.pdf> [in English]

Wallerstein, I. (2002). *The Capitalist World-Economy*. Cambridge University Press. URL: <http://catdir.loc.gov/catdir/samples/cam034/78002955.pdf> [in English]

Wallerstein, I. (2004). The Modern World-System as a Capitalist World-Economy. URL: https://cdn.vanderbilt.edu/vu-my/wp-content/uploads/sites/1414/2014/04/14122105/Session_03_Wallerstein.pdf [in English]

Wolf, M. (2001). Will the Nation-State survive Globalization. *Foreign Affairs*, 80/1, 178–190. URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20050051?origin=crossref> Doi: <https://doi.org/10.2307/20050051> [in English]

Wolf, M. (2014). Shaping Globalization. *Finance & Development*, 51(3), 22–55. URL: <https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/2014/09/pdf/wolf.pdf> 10.1163/15691497-12341240 [in English]

*The article was received May 20, 2021.
Article recommended for publishing 23/02/2022.*

РЕЦЕНЗІЇ / REVIEWS

UDC 94(477.87)(092)
DOI 10.24919/2519-058X.22.253736

Halyna PRYSTAI

PhD (Philology), Associate Professor, Department of the Comparative Pedagogy and Methods of Teaching of Foreign Languages, Drohobych Ivan Franko State Pedagogical University, 24 Ivan Franko Street, Drohobych, Ukraine, postal code 82100 (hprystai@gmail.com)

ORCID: 0000-0003-0356-6635
ResearcherID: AAL-9037-2021

Галина ПРИСТАЙ

кандидатка філологічних наук, доцентка, доцентка кафедри порівняльної педагогіки і методики викладання іноземних мов Дрогобицького державного педагогічного університету імені Івана Франка, вул. Івана Франка, 24, м. Дрогобич, Україна, індекс 82100 (hprystai@gmail.com)

THE NEED FOR A SPIRITUAL LEADER

Review of the monograph: Stepan Vidnianskyi, Mykola Vehesh: Avgustyn Voloshyn and Carpathian Ukraine in the History of the Ukrainian State-Building. Kyiv: National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Institute of History of Ukraine, 2021. 372 p.

ПОТРЕБА ДУХОВНОГО ЛІДЕРА

Рецензія на монографію: Віднянський С. В., Вегеш М. М. Августин Волошин і Карпатська Україна в історії українського державотворення. Київ: НАН України, Інститут історії України, 2021. 372 с.

Under the conditions of increasingly rapid globalization, intensive linguistic and cultural contacts the problem of the preservation of unity and identity of the nation arises. Ukraine, which has celebrated the 30th anniversary of its independence recently, faces the task of impartially assessing the contribution of politicians, military, artists, educators, scientists, and clergy – those whose names have been concealed, distorted or banned. Reliable recommendations for protecting the identity of the state and the possibility of its development in new, often unfavourable socio-political circumstances are given by an objective historical analysis of the Ukrainian statehood over a certain period of its development through the prism of understanding the role and significance of great historical figures, their life experience, beliefs and actions, understanding their fate in the context of a particular historical epoch. Such a complex, laborious, but at the same time relevant and tempting both theoretically and practically task was set by S. V. Vidnyansky and M. M. Vehesh in a peer-reviewed monograph.

The versatility and influence of Avgustyn Voloshyn's figure on the history of statehood in Ukraine, in general, and Transcarpathia, in particular is difficult to overestimate: a priest, a teacher, a scientist, a writer, a publicist, a publisher, a generous benefactor, an organizer of cultural and educational movement, a public and political figure and statesman. A number of Ukrainian and foreign scholars studied the pedagogical views of A. Voloshyn (M. Zymomria, V. Homonnai, M. Vehesh, V. Rosul, M. Talapkanych, I. Senko), his cultural and educational activities (Yu. Baleha, V. Nimchuk, B. Halas, P. Chuchka, V. Turyanytsia, Y. Yusyp), literary works (O. Myshanych), his activity as a politician (O. Bohiv, M. Boldyzhar, V. Lemak, V. Zadorozhnyi, P. Chuchka, O. Myshanych, I. Chavarga, R. Ofitsynskyi, V. Hanchyn). However, the view on the life and calling of Avgustyn Voloshyn in such a thorough and detailed elaboration has not yet been the subject of a special research in the Ukrainian historiography. Thus, the work of S. V. Vidnyansky and M. M. Vehesh eliminates this significant gap in the Ukrainian history.

The peer-reviewed monograph consists of Preface, 9 Parts (Chapters), Epilogue and Applications.

Chapter I, "Silver Land: the Historical Destiny of Homeland of the Future President of Carpathian Ukraine" (pp. 12–72), contains a detailed description of the historical background, the events that unfolded in Transcarpathian region over the centuries. The authors, in particular, note that the favourable geographical location of historical Transcarpathia (from the upper reaches of the Tisza in the south to Poprad in the west and surrounded by the Carpathian ridges to the east and north) determined the invasion of various conquerors. Indigenous people (the East Slavic tribe of white Croats) who settled here in the 2nd century AD were subjugated. These lands were under the influence of Kyiv once in a while until the middle of the tenth century, and then they were delimited by the borders of neighbouring states – Hungary, Bulgaria, Poland, Transylvania, Austria-Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Romania. The researchers have carefully analyzed why this small stateless nation did not disappear or wasn't finally assimilated. They are convinced that religious separateness helped to preserve the identity and unity of Transcarpathian region. The scholars claim that the formation and development of culture was facilitated by living vernacular, having the same customs, way of doing business, having close religious ties with other Ukrainian lands as well as the migration movement of prominent figures such as Fedir Koriatovych, the defender of the Orthodox in the region (p. 17).

The authors of the book S. V. Vidnyansky and M. M. Vehesh have done a diachronic analysis of historical events, circumstances and figures that had a great influence on Transcarpathia over the centuries. Moreover, the researchers highlight the problem of national self-identification of the region as a key issue. Particular attention is paid to the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries when the language policy of Magyarization reached its apogee, Russophile propaganda spread among the intelligentsia, and the common people accepted themselves as "the Hungarian Ruthenians", "the Ruthenians", "the Rusyns" (p. 20) or "the Carpatho-Rusyns" (p. 24). According to the scholars, World War I as an "important geopolitical factor" was the reason for the movement to determine the region's affiliation: the rise of national self-awareness was evidenced by decisions and resolutions of the majority of Transcarpathian people's councils demanding withdrawal from Hungary and unification with Ukraine and some with Russia (p. 27); the Hungarianized population of Uzhhorod, Mukachevo, and Berehove sought to remain the part of Hungary; the western regions advocated accession to Czechoslovakia, and the eastern regions to Romania (p. 29). The indigenous population of Subcarpathian Rus' as the part

of the Czechoslovak Republic (1919 – 1939) gained political freedom which led to the intensification of the socio-political movement, the emergence of a number of political parties and cultural and educational societies. Ethno-national consciousness continued to divide the Transcarpathians and resulted in the confrontation of Russophile, Ruthenian and Ukrainian directions (p. 54). The authors of the monograph have made a scrupulous analysis of scientific sources on the characteristics of international circumstances and internal features of life in the region (political, economic, social and spiritual) while being part of Czechoslovakia.

In Chapter II, “Formation of Avgustyn Voloshyn’s Worldview” (pp. 72–96), is devoted to the study of the life of the President of Carpathian Ukraine. Sacrificial love of his native land and respect for people were instilled to little Avgustyn in the clergy family, his views and convictions were honed by reading books and archival documents, and his intelligence grew through encounters with great men of the time, such as the Metropolitan of Galicia Andrei Sheptytsky or the first President of Czechoslovakia Tomas Masaryk. Avgustyn Voloshyn was convinced that the reasons for the state of culture, family relationships, social and national system should be explained through the prism of history; he was sure that admiration for the prominent people's ideas to be possible through the interest in their life and work (p. 81). In our opinion, the peer-reviewed monograph by S. V. Vidnyansky and M. M. Vehesh proves the truth of A. Voloshyn’s beliefs. After all, this historical figure inspires love for the motherland, the desire to become better and work for the welfare of the native people.

Chapter III, “On Service of the Native People: Cultural and Educational, Socio-Political Activities” (pp. 96–125), deals with the analysis of A. Voloshyn's influence on various spheres of a political, religious, scientific, cultural and social life of Transcarpathia in the first half of the 20th century. Energetic and tireless, he worked for the victory of the Ukrainian idea in the region: he published political works (for example, “What the Ugric-Rus’ People Strive for” (1918)) and he defended the right of the Ruthenians to their church rite and preservation of the Cyrillic alphabet (such as “Defense of the Cyrillic Alphabet. How did the Subcarpathian Ruthenians Defend themselves against the Latest Attack of Madyarization before the Coup?” (1937)); he edited annual calendars, newspapers, magazines; he was the author and published textbooks for schoolchildren and teachers’ seminaries (42 books); he was a famous writer, playwright, poet (“Robinson”, “Forty Fairy Tales”, “Ilko-Yatsko”, “Fabiola”, drama “Maryika-Verkhovynka”); he was the initiator of the founding of “Enlightenment” in Uzhgorod in 1920; he was a founder and honorary chairman of the Teachers’ Community (1930 – 1938) as well as one of the organizers and leaders of the “Pedagogical Society of Subcarpathian Rus’”; he was the initiator of the creation of unions, societies, factories, cooperatives (in particular, the “National Cooperative Union” (1920), “Subcarpathian Bank” (1920)); he was a founder of the People’s Christian Political Party (1924) and representative in the Czechoslovak Parliament. Owing to hard work, Avgustyn Voloshyn gained great authority among the people, that’s why, he was called “Father”.

Chapter IV, “A. Voloshyn’s Political Activity in the Czechoslovak Republic” (pp. 125–158), outlines the formation and development of the political career of a leader Avgustyn Voloshyn in 1918 – 1938: from the time of the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy due to the formation of the Czechoslovak Republic until the election of the Prime Minister of the Autonomous Government. Thus, in 1918 Avgustin Voloshyn as an educated and influential man was a member of Uzhgorod “Council of Hungarian Ruthenians”, in 1919 he participated in the establishment of the Central Rus’ People's Council, in 1919 – 1921 he was a member of the Directory of the Provisional Government of Subcarpathian Rus’, in 1920 he was one

of the initiators of the Rus' Agricultural Party, in 1924 he was the organizer of the Christian-People's Party, from 1925 to 1929 he was ambassador to the parliament of the Czechoslovak Republic, in April 1938 he headed the First Rus' (Ukrainian) Central People's Council, in October of the same year he joined the first autonomous government and became the prime minister of the second autonomous government of Subcarpathian Rus'. The researchers draw attention to A. Voloshyn's diplomatic gift "to unite forces of different orientations around him" (p. 130), at the same time defending his convictions such as Christian faith, truth, justice, strengthening among the people "Rus' spirit and people's consciousness" (p. 137).

In Chapter V, "From the Prime Minister of the Autonomous Government of Subcarpathian Rus' to the President of Carpathian Ukraine" (pp. 158–205), there are covered 5 months chronologically. The authors of the monograph analyze the extreme conditions in which the government of A. Voloshyn had to work. Firstly, according to the decision of the Vienna International Arbitration, Subcarpathian Rus' lost 97 settlements and 175 thousand people. Secondly, the deep economic crisis led to low living standards, rising prices, unemployment and persistent budget deficits. Thirdly, the unstable domestic political situation was due to attacks by the Hungarian and Polish terrorists, information warfare of neighbouring states, conflicts between local people and the Czech officials. The government paid special attention to political and propaganda work, in particular, the organization of national defense "The Carpathian Sich" was formed under the leadership of Dmytro Klympush; a rigid vertical structure of executive power had been created; citizens were restricted in their constitutional rights (for example, all political parties were dissolved; some opposition publications were closed) (pp. 186–191). Elections to the Sejm of Carpathian Ukraine took place on February 12, 1939 and showed the support of 92.4% of voters in favour of the UNO ("Ukrainian National Union") – the pro-presidential party.

The scholars S. V. Vidnyansky and M. M. Vehesh step by step describe the events of the beginning of March of 1939: A. Hitler decided to liquidate Czechoslovakia on March 6, 1939, Slovakia declared its independence on March 14, 1939, on the same day A. Voloshyn officially declared Carpathian Ukraine as an independent state. On March 15, 1939, the Sejm of Carpathian Ukraine began its work in Khust. It passed laws on independence, state system, state name, language, coat of arms, flag and anthem of Carpathian Ukraine. The President of the newly created Ukrainian State, Avgustyn Voloshyn, was elected by secret ballot. On the same day, March 15, 1939, the Hungarian troops launched a general offensive which, "despite the heroic armed resistance of a small number of the Carpathian Sich units, ended on March 18 with its full occupation and annexation to Hungary" (p. 201). The authors conclude that the autonomous Carpathian Ukraine was objectively unable to function due to difficult domestic political and economic circumstances. On the other hand, the fate of Transcarpathia as an object of international politics in 1918 – 1939 was determined by the geopolitical interests of stronger neighbouring states.

Chapter VI, "In exile: from Professor to Rector of the Ukrainian Free University" (pp. 205–218), is devoted to the analysis of a large number of documents. They are the diary of a colleague of Fr. Avgustin, Vasily Grendzha-Donsky, protocols of interrogations of the Moscow TsAMGB (the Russian Federation), the State Archives of Baia Mare (Romania), as well as publications of the press of that time (Bulletin of the Ukrainian Society of Education in Zagreb, Nova Zoria, Women's Will in Galicia) and eyewitness accounts. They are gradually recreating Avgustyn Voloshyn's route abroad and his last years of life in Prague. According to the documents, until 1945 Prague remained one of the largest and most active centers of

the Ukrainian emigration in Europe with a number of scientific institutions and organizations (p. 212). A. Voloshyn “entered the service” at the Ukrainian Free University (nowadays, *Ukrainische Freie Universität in München*) as head of the Department of Pedagogy, later he received a doctorate in law. Besides, he fruitfully worked both on textbooks and manuals on the theory of education, pedagogical teleology, and pedagogical psychology. Moreover, A. Voloshyn cared for the Ukrainian orphans who lived abroad. In 1939 – 1940 he held the position of Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy. After the Soviet troops entered Prague, the head of the Ukrainian Free University and most of the professors went abroad, and Professor Voloshyn was assigned the duties of rector (p. 217).

In Chapter VII, “Imprisonment by the Soviet Special Services and the Last Days of Life of the President of Carpathian Ukraine” (pp. 218–233), there is described in detail the acquaintance of A. Voloshyn with SMERSH employees (counter-intelligence unit of the People’s Commissariat of Defense of the USSR). The researchers S. V. Vidnyansky and M. M. Vehesh by quoting Avgustyn Voloshyn’s Personnel file, memoirs of Ivan Mondich (the SMERSH translator), Fr. Zoreslav (S. Sabola), E. Dutka (the niece of Fr. Augustine) try to recreate a clear picture of arrest and interrogations (pp. 219–221). Memoirs of the Soviet spy L. Trepper, military prosecutor M. Ushov, and other prisoners testify to the formidable atmosphere of the Lefortovo Prison, a stronghold of the Ministry of State Security (p. 223). His cellmate V. Marchuk talks about the circumstances of Avgustyn Voloshyn’s stay in prison (p. 225). On the basis of archival materials (the indictments, medical opinion on complaints of weakness and pain in the heart and the act of forensic medical examination of the corpse of A. I. Voloshyn) the authors convey the tragic events of the last two months of the life of the President of Carpathian Ukraine (pp. 224–227).

It is of special interest to a reader to analyze and reflect on the “Testament” made by Fr. Avgustyn Voloshyn a year before his death, on August 19, 1944. It testifies, first of all, to deep and strong faith in God and love for his neighbours since the priest donated all his property for the benefit of the church and orphans (p. 229). In addition, as a far-sighted politician and spiritual leader, Avgustyn Voloshyn expressed the wish of the church union of all Ukrainians, which would certainly bring political freedom to the Ukrainian people (pp. 231–232).

Chapter VIII, “Avgustyn Voloshyn in the Memoirs of Colleagues and Contemporaries” (pp. 233–276), contains the evidence and reflections on the life, activities and actions of a man of flesh and blood and, at the same time, an extraordinary man, “Moses” of Subcarpathia (p. 237), “Father” of a national revival (p. 275), he who “with his national consciousness ... was ahead of his time” (p. 233), he who “gave all the fervor of his great heart and his talent to the service of the people near the Carpathians” (p. 242). A. Voloshyn’s ardent sense of belonging to his native land, his efforts to develop the national identity of Transcarpathian Ukrainians were noted by Fr. Dmytro Popovych, V. Grendzha-Donsky, his student and follower A. Shtefan, his close friend V. Birchak, writer V. Bazhansky, members of Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists Yu. Khymynets, S. Efremov, O. Olzhych, etc. All the researchers and eyewitnesses help to make a true portrait of Avgustyn Voloshyn, a political and public figure who was destined to be a leader and take the historical responsibility for the fate of his beloved people.

Chapter IX, “A. Voloshyn and Carpathian Ukraine in the Historical Sources and in Domestic and Foreign Historiography” (pp. 276–321), focuses on the analysis of a significant source base of the research. For example, the archival documents from the funds of Ukraine, Russia, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Romania allowed the authors to characterize

the socio-economic, political and cultural situation of Carpathian Ukraine objectively and impartially. In addition, the examined diaries and press publications allowed to illustrate the historical events of those times properly. Modern domestic and foreign scholars are trying to comprehend A. Voloshyn's legacy as a teacher, scientist, writer, philologist, historian or politician. The authors of the book S. V. Vidnyansky and M. M. Vehesh reasonably prove their own vision of the activities and deeds of Avgustyn Voloshyn as a politician, while encouraging us to further research.

With our remarks and wishes we urge the authors of the peer-reviewed monograph to reflect on the following: Chapter I describes the features of the development of the region in certain areas (political, national and cultural, socio-mental) analyzing diachronically each in particular. It is worth noting that sometimes it is difficult for the reader to follow, to say, the 19th century events in one paragraph (which describes the process of Magyarization) and switch to the events of the 13th and 14th centuries in the next paragraph (which describes the features of the conquest of Transcarpathian lands by Hungary) (p. 21). Furthermore, in our humble opinion, it would be appropriate to use photos of the mentioned historical figures and / or events related to them to make the monograph more illustrative.

These remarks do not diminish the originality of the peer-reviewed monograph, as the meaningful material provides food for thought and further discussion. The authors of the book S. V. Vidnyansky and M. M. Vehesh have made an important contribution to the Ukrainian historiography with their assessment of Carpathian Ukraine as an important stage of the Ukrainian State-building.

*The article was received November 02, 2021.
Article recommended for publishing 23/02/2022.*

UDC 94(477.87)“1938/1939”
DOI 10.24919/2519-058X.22.253719

Svitlana BILA

PhD (History), Associate Professor of the World History and Special Historical Disciplines Department, Historical Faculty, Drohobych Ivan Franko State Pedagogical University, 36 Ivan Franko Street, Drohobych, Ukraine, postal code 82100 (bilasvitlana24@gmail.com)

ORCID: 0000-0001-9506-2789

Myroslava ZYMOMRYA

PhD (Education), Associate Professor at the Department of English Language Practice at Drohobych Ivan Franko State Pedagogical University, Sambirska Street 84/36, Drohobych, Ukraine, postal code 82100 (zimok@ukr.net)

ORCID: 0000-0003-3564-6103

Світлана БІЛА

кандидатка історичних наук, доцентка кафедри всесвітньої історії та спеціальних історичних дисциплін історичного факультету Дрогобицького державного педагогічного університету імені Івана Франка, вул. Івана Франка, 36, Дрогобич, Україна, індекс 82100 (bilasvitlana24@gmail.com)

Мирослава ЗИМОМРЯ

кандидатка педагогічних наук, доцентка кафедри практики англійської мови Дрогобицького державного педагогічного університету імені Івана Франка, вул. Самбірська, 84/36, м. Дрогобич, Україна, індекс 82100, (zimok@ukr.net)

**A NEW EDITION ON THE HISTORY OF CARPATHIAN UKRAINE (1938 – 1939)
Review of the monograph: Michał Jarnecki, Piotr Kołakowski. “Ukraiński Piemont”
 (“Ukrainian Piedmont”) on the Political Arena. Zakarpattia during the Period of
Autonomy in 1938 – 1939 / Translated from Polish by Ivan Zymomria. Uzhhorod:
Polygraph Center “Lira”, 2022. 384 p.**

НОВЕ ВИДАННЯ ДО ІСТОРІЇ КАРПАТСЬКОЇ УКРАЇНИ (1938 – 1939)

**Рецензія на монографію: Ярнецькі Міхал, Колаковські Пьотр. “Український
П’ємонт” на політичній шахівниці. Закарпаття в період автономії 1938 – 1939 /
Переклад із польської Івана Зимомрі. Ужгород: Поліграфцентр “Ліра”, 2022. 384 с.**

Modern historiography has been enlarged by a new collective monograph on Carpathian Ukraine (1938 – 1939), written by two renowned Polish scholars, Michał Jarnecki and Piotr Kołakowski this year. It should be noted that it is a translation of their Polish-language edition “Ukraiński Piemont”. *Ruś Zakarpacka w okresie autonomii 1938 – 1939* (Warszawa: Oficyna Wydawnicza RYTM, 2017. 384 p.).

We should put emphasis on a high professional level of translation of the above-mentioned monograph by Ivan Zymomria, Doctor of Philology, Professor of Uzhhorod National University.

In 2018, the book was awarded the prestigious prize of the Polish Historical Society and the Waclaw Felczak and Henryk Wiereszzyk Jagiellonian University Prize (Poland). The authors of the text are experienced historians, who have written dozens of scientific studies – Michał Jarnecki, Dr. Hab. (Ph. D.) in History, Professor at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan (the author of two monographs: “Irredenta ukraińska w relacjach polsko-ukraińskich w latach 1918 – 1939” (Kalish-Poznan, 2009) and “Stefan Szolc-Rogoziński” (Kalish, 2013); Piotr Tadeusz Kołakowski, Dr. Hab. (Ph. D.), Professor, Head of the International Relations Department of the Institute of History and Political Science of the Pomeranian Academy in Słupsk (the author of 16 monographs).

Zakarpattia (Transcarpathia) is a typical borderline territory or a region that is considered to be a transitional territory, where for many centuries in various forms (peaceful, armed) interacted various political, social and ethnocultural forces. That is why, the scholars of the Humanities (domestic and foreign) tried to cover the history of Zakarpattia (Transcarpathia) in the first half of the XXth century. Instead, in the Polish historiography, the above-mentioned issue did not find a comprehensive solution (despite the presence of a number of important publications that elucidate some aspects of the history of the region). It was the main argument for Michał Jarnecki and Piotr Kołakowski in preparing the monograph ““Ukrainian Piedmont” on the Political Arena. Zakarpattia during the Period of Autonomy in 1938 – 1939”. The purpose of the work was outlined by the authors as the following: “presenting the history of Zakarpattia (Transcarpathia) during the interwar period with special emphasis on 1938 – 1939, as well as filling a significant gap in the Polish historiography, regardless of the significant efforts of other authors”.

It should be also noted that the source base of work is extensive. The source base includes materials from the Polish, the Slovak, the Ukrainian, the Czech and the Hungarian archives. In particular, the documents from the National Archives (Prague), the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic in Prague (Archiv Ministerstva zahraničnych věcí České Republiky), from the diplomatic mission of the Czechoslovak Republic in Warsaw were subject to analysis (Narodni archiv) (Politické zpravy. Vyslanectví Varšava 1919 – 1939), the Cabinet of Ministers (Kabinet Ministra 1918 – 1939) and Section II of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (II Sekce 1918 – 1939), Masaryk Institute, Archives of the Czech Academy of Sciences in Prague (Masarikův ústav a Archiv Akademie věd ČR), Military Historical Archive in Prague (Vojenský ústřední archiv – Vojenský historický archiv), Funds of the Presidium of the Ministry of National Defense (Presidium Ministerstva národní obrany), General Staff of the Ministry of National Defense (Ministerstvo národní obrany – Hlavní Štab 1919 – 1939), from the Archives of the Office of the President of the Republic in Prague (Archiv Kanceláře prezidenta republiky), Department of the Archives of the Ministry of the Interior in Kanica (Archiv Ministerstva vnitra), the State Archives of Zakarpattia Region, the Central State Archives of the Supreme Bodies of Government and Administration of Ukraine, the State Archives of Ivano-Frankivsk Region, the Archives of New Acts in Warsaw, the Central Military Archives in Warsaw-Rembert, and the others. In addition, numerous periodicals (the Czechoslovak, the Polish, the Ukrainian, the Hungarian and the British magazines), as well as memoirs, were used.

In its style, the presentation of the monograph is more reminiscent popular science style, and not purely scientific. It is clear and logical. The work consists of an introduction, thirteen chapters, epilogue, bibliography and index. In particular, the authors singled out the following parts: “Historical Outline of Transcarpathia before 1918” (Chapter 1, pp. 19–46);

“An Unexpected Gift of Fate. Accession of Transcarpathia to Czechoslovakia” (Chapter 2, pp. 47–66); “Difficult Management of the Unexpected Acquisition. Subcarpathian Rus’ as Part of Czechoslovakia before the Munich Tragedy” (Chapter 3, pp. 67–98); “Subcarpathian Rus’ in the International Politics of the Interwar Period” (Chapter 3, pp. 99–116); “Autonomy *ante* and *intra portas*. On the Way to the Realization of the Ruthenian dream of Giving Autonomy to Subcarpathian Rus’” (Chapter 5, pp. 117–134); “Under the Boiling Volcano – the Beginnings of Autonomy. The First Government of the Autonomous Region and the Division of Subcarpathian Rus’ by a Decision of the Vienna Arbitration” (Chapter 6, pp. 135–152); “Everyday Autonomy. Building the Foundations of Statehood” (Chapter 7, pp. 153–184); “Is it Game with Rus’ or Game for Rus’? “Ukrainian Piedmont” (Autonomous Subcarpathian Rus’ and Carpathian Ukraine) in International Politics” (Chapter 8, pp. 185–208); “Elections to the Sejm, that is, the Appointment of the Owner of the Region” (Chapter 9, pp. 209–218); “Tensions in the Czech-Slovak-Ukrainian Relations, the March Crisis and the Conflict among the Transcarpathian elite Representatives” (Chapter 10, pp. 219–240); “The Place and Role of Subcarpathian Rus’ in the Plans and Actions of the Polish Military Intelligence” (Chapter 11, pp. 241–274); “Once again about the Subversive Activities of Poland in Subcarpathian Russia” (Chapter 12, pp. 275–310); “Above Khust Crows Croak...”. Memorable March Days and the Liquidation of Carpathian Ukraine” (Chapter 13, pp. 311–338). At some points, the authors go beyond the established chronological boundaries.

The titles of the chapters seem to us to be too journalistic. With these titles, the authors direct the reader to the conclusion that it is necessary to establish a constructive dialogue among different cultures. The authors elucidate the history of Transcarpathia until 1918, outline the circumstances of the region’s accession to the Czechoslovak state after World War I, analyze the activities of the Czechoslovak administration in Transcarpathia, in Subcarpathian Rus’ before the Munich Conference (1938), describe the role of Transcarpathia in European politics during the interwar period, reveal the essence of the crisis in Czechoslovakia (1938) and the process of granting autonomy to Transcarpathia, the implementation of this autonomy, adjustment of domestic and foreign policy; at the same time the role of Subcarpathian Rus’ in international politics is analyzed, features and work directions of the Polish military intelligence in Transcarpathia (the 1920s – the 1930s) are elucidated, the Polish sabotage operation “Lom” is analyzed (as a sharply negative reaction, and hence, a set of measures to eliminate the danger of the Carpatho-Ukrainian State formation), which was implemented in Transcarpathia (the autumn of 1938) and, finally, the collapse of Czechoslovakia and the occupation of Transcarpathia by the Hungarian army are analyzed (March of 1939).

The authors outline the essence of Poland’s policy towards Carpathian Ukraine with the following quote: “National interests, as they were understood in Warsaw, could not allow the consolidation and domination of the Ukrainian factor in the lands of Subcarpathian Rus’”. The diplomacy of the Second Republic of Poland was not limited to observing the processes taking place on the other side of the Eastern Beskids. It tried to pursue an active policy, strengthening anti-Ukrainian sentiment and supporting the creation of another Russophile party the RNAP in the 30s of the twentieth century, taking care of its leader, the Uniate priest (*notabene* led a secular life) Stepan Fentsyk” (p. 341).

There should be noted a well-chosen illustrative material (submitted at the end of each chapter and properly designed), which allows a reader to visualize the described events and not even expressed opinions, to some extent to unload the text from the facts. It allows to show the context of historical processes by interpreting a specific fact.

Indeed, this book combines at the same time the image of “the greatness and tragedy of Carpathian Ukraine”. The authors made an attempt to fully elucidate the main trends in socio-political development of the region in 1938 – 1939 and include them into the context of foreign policy events. In particular, they specified the contradiction of the general policy of the great powers through the prism of their personal, carpet agreements to spread their influence in this area and its invasion. At the same time, the authors manage, sometimes too detailed, the review of international events, focusing less on internal Transcarpathian processes.

Undoubtedly, the work would have benefited if the authors had highlighted more about the peculiarities of an everyday life of the local population, which was held hostage in the struggle of great powers for the territory of Transcarpathia. It would also be appropriate to provide a geographical indication. Although this does not significantly diminish the importance of the peer-reviewed publication. Therefore, the monograph allows you to get a holistic view of the research subject research, to reveal some unknown or little-known circumstances in the history of Transcarpathia in 1938 – 1939 properly. Undoubtedly, the peer-reviewed work will be of interest to both average reader and the professional circle of historians. In this regard, the attempt to reproduce objectively (through the prism of interpretation in the language of the goal) the facts and events by Professor Ivan Zimomri as an interpreter deserves a high praise. This is served by his numerous reasoned notes, which illustrate his competent training, in fact, the professional qualifications of the interpreter. It is worth noting that the translation of the monograph by the Polish researchers is not the only one in the amount of translation works of Ivan Zymomria. He translated the important work of John Paul II “Get up, Let’s Go” (Drohobych, 2005, 200 p.), exceptionally original – philosophically closed – reflections of His Holiness the Pope (a co-author of the translation – Mykola Zymomryia). The above-mentioned leads to the conclusion: the monograph of Michał Jarnetski and Piotr Kolakowski ““Ukrainian Piedmont” on the Political Arena. Transcarpathia during the Period of Autonomy of 1938 – 1939” will enrich the arsenal of historiographical research to study the fate of the Ukrainian lands, and hence, will strengthen the cultural interaction of the Ukrainian and Polish neighbouring nations.

*The article was received January 08, 2021.
Article recommended for publishing 23/02/2022.*

UDC 930(477)“19/20”
DOI 10.24919/2519-058X.22.253738

Oksana FRAIT

PhD hab. (Art History), Associate Professor of Musicology and Piano Department, Institute of Musikal Art of Drohobych Ivan Franko State Pedagogical University, 24 Ivan Franro Street, Drohobych, Ukraine, postal code 82100 (oksana_frajt@ukr.net)

ORCID: 0000-0001-6903-7096

Natalia SYNKEVYCH

PhD (Art History), Associate Professor of the Department of Methodology of Music Education and Conducting, Institute of Musik Art of Drohobych Ivan Franko State Pedagogical University, 24 Ivan Franko Street, Drohobych, postal code 82100 Ukraine (synkewych@ukr.net)

ORCID: 0000-0002-9576-2387

Оксана ФРАЙТ

доктор мистецтвознавства, доцент кафедри музикознавства та фортепіано Дрогобицького державного педагогічного університету імені Івана Франка, вул. Івана Франка, 24, м. Дрогобич, Україна, індекс 82100 (oksana_frajt@ukr.net)

Наталія СИНКЕВИЧ

кандидат мистецтвознавства, доцент кафедри методики музичного виховання і диригування Дрогобицького державного педагогічного університету імені Івана Франка, вул. Івана Франка, 24, м. Дрогобич, Україна, індекс 82100 (synkewych@ukr.net)

**STAGES OF UKRAINIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY IN CULTURAL
AND SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXTS
OF THE XXth – THE BEGINNING OF THE XXIst CENTURY
(review of the monograph “Cultural Space of Ukrainian Historiography
in the Light of Sovietization and Socio-Cultural Transformations
of the XXth – the Beginning of the XXIst century”. O. Udod and O. Yas)**

**ЕТАПИ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ІСТОРІОГРАФІЇ У КУЛЬТУРНОМУ
ТА СУСПІЛЬНО-ПОЛІТИЧНОМУ КОНТЕКСТАХ ХХ – ПОЧАТКУ ХХІ ст.
(рецензія на монографію “Культурний простір української історіографії
у світлі радянзації та соціокультурних трансформацій ХХ – початку ХХІ ст.”
О. Удода та О. Яся)**

The formation stages of historical science (historiography) are currently developing on the basic principles formed with the acquisition of the state status of Ukraine in 1991. A vast source base and an objective approach are the leading aspects. The Ukrainian history of the twentieth century also provides rich comparative methodological opportunities to elucidate historiographical priorities not only in the brief outbreak of the state building and

various occupations, power structures, but also in regional and territorial coordinates and chronological comparisons with diaspora science.

The monograph of Oleksandr Udod and Oleksiy Yas consists of two chapters, each of which is supplemented by documents and materials, general names, subject and geographical indexes. In the Preface there is formulated the general idea of the book “On the Transformations of the Cultural Space of Ukrainian Historiography in the Soviet and Post-Soviet Era” (p. 7). There is given the definition of the concept of “a cultural space of historiography” as a peculiar, dynamic and relative combination of internalist and externalist factors, components, circumstances and preconditions that developed in a certain temporal perspective or during a specific period in the history of historiography” (p. 9). The activists-heroes of the cultural space, who created, mastered and at the same time adapted to it, are mentioned (pp. 8–9). However, it should be noted that there were many activists (at least M. Lysenko and I. Franko) who created the cultural space contrary to the prevailing doctrines, went beyond existing boundaries, paving new paths in culture and science. Due to historical and political reasons, the division of the Ukrainian territories between empires contributed to the differentiation of regional cultural features, which continued to be noted and taken into account in a socio-humanitarian discourse, including historiography.

O. Yas is the author of Chapter I “The Ukrainian Soviet Historiography: Cultural Territories, Spatial and Regional Configuration”. In Subchapter 1.1 “The Ukrainian Historiography on the Cultural Landscape of the Habsburg and Romanov Empires” there are analyzed the pre-Soviet achievements of the Ukrainian researchers – both Austrian and Russian subjects. Nevertheless, more attention is paid to the historians of the Romanov empire, in particular, the author of Chapter I elucidated the functioning of the following two basic organizational forms: 1) associations of researchers for historical studies of local environments; 2) creation of institutions of an archeographic and archival direction (societies at universities, other higher schools, archival commissions, etc.). On the examples of M. Hrushevsky’s employment at Lviv University, where he held the position of a head of “The Second Ordinary Department of World History” and failures at St. Volodymyr University in Kyiv it was concluded that the situation was radically different for the Ukrainian historians and other scholars in the two empires (on the other hand, I. Franko, as it is well known, failed at becoming a professor at Lviv University). Many scholars, without indication as the Ukrainians, took an active part in the development of Russian “imperial science”, because, according to statistics, there were 71 societies by 1917. In 1906, in Kyiv the Ukrainian Scientific Society (USC) was founded with various departments (leading positions were occupied by History, including the study of “History of Art”, History of Literature, History of Law, etc.) (p. 23). There was also emphasized the leading role of M. Hrushevsky in the reorganization of the Lviv NTSh.

But especially fruitful and encouraging sprouts of a national scientific growth gave the next period, when there was “formation of the national cultural space in the light of the revolutionary transformations of 1917–1921 and the metamorphosis of the post-revolutionary decade” (Subchapter 1.2.). From the excerpts of explanatory notes of well-known Ukrainian figures and scholars to the draft laws on the establishment of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, later, due to the integration tendency of All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, there is support for the national consciousness of people, raising the level of its culture and education. An institutional network was developed “to study the history of Ukraine from the perspective of different socio-cultural dimensions, territorial and spatial segments and state and political scale” (p. 26). However, the unstable socio-political reality slowed down widespread plans

to establish the National Library, National Archives, commissions, departments and other institutions to ensure “a full development of the Ukrainian past” (ibid.), district studies and publications.

Subchapter 1.3 “Total Sovietization as a Socio-Cultural Basis and Traumatic Component of the Ukrainian Cultural Field Formation of the 1930s – the Beginning of the 1950s” begins with a shocking quote-marking of prominent Ukrainian historians as hostile elements, “fascists” and “national democrats”. Careful analysis of documents and materials illustrates the Soviet scientific realities truly, which were based on manipulations of the mass consciousness, distortions of obvious facts and repressive mechanisms, and were dictated by the party apparatus. The Ukrainian national past disappeared as such, and scholars had to focus on the history of factories, coal-minings, and enterprises against the background of “great socialist transformations” (p. 46). This meant that academic science, according to O. Yas, “mastered ideological schemes and algorithms for the production and development of “new knowledge”, in particular, the basis of the institutional network became “Histparty” – the centers of historical and party science” (p. 48).

From 1939, at the beginning of World War II, the discourse of “reunification of the Ukrainian lands in a single Soviet state” was born and developed, in fact, as the author noted, it was nothing more than the annexation of the western Ukrainian lands of the USSR (p. 52), which inspired the transformation of the entire cultural landscape. There are mentioned the ways of involving Galician historians into the course of ideological reorientation of the scientific sphere, reorganization of departments and institutional study of the common history of the USSR for all nations. Meanwhile, during the years of the German occupation of Galicia, there was probably a change (though short-lived) in the outlined vectors of the Soviet historiography in the regional environment (as happened at that time, for example, in Musicology, Art History, Literary Studies, and etc., however, it is not mentioned in this Chapter as well as about the same period (though shorter) in central Ukraine. On Page 54 there is V. Petrov’s description of the psychological state of the Ukrainian artists, writers and scholars evacuated or exiled to Ufa, but the range of activities of this extraordinary personality is narrowed: a famous scholar (writer, archaeologist, ethnographer, folklorist), a teacher and the Soviet spy, he was also a prominent figure in the OUN.

Subchapter 1.4 “Liberalization of the End of the 1950s – the 1960s and its Collapse in the Cultural Sphere of the Ukrainian Soviet Historiography” focuses on the period of the party and ideological pressure weakening on culture and science and its gradual intensification. The author convincingly presented the notable results of “the Khrushchev thaw” or “the Shelest era”. The greatest achievements were recorded in the publishing industry – including “The Ukrainian Historical Journal” and professional scientific collections to multi-volume publications. Although their scientific value was not homogeneous, they became good reasons for further historiographical research.

In Subchapter 1.5 “The Era of Cultural Stagnation in Terms of Institutional Life of the 1970s – the 1980s” there is elucidated the impossibility of the development of the Ukrainian historical science, as well as historiography under the conditions of “stagnation” of the Brezhnev’s period. This is explained by various factors, including self-restraint inspired by censorship and repression: “a centralized and vertical model of knowledge policy prevailed, which imposed a passive and inertial algorithm of thinking, aimed at the “eternal” expectation of instructions and guidelines of the party leadership” (p. 77). It is rightly noted that the fall of “the Chinese wall” in the cultural sphere before the collapse of the Soviet Union, during

the years of “perestroika”, and the “parade of sovereignties” caused by it, as we know, made a powerful wave of free creativity in art, literature and science.

In Chapter II “The Ukrainian Historiography of the Post-Soviet Era: Spatial and Regional Dimensions and Environments” its author, Olexander Udod, analyzed the principles of functioning of this scientific field in terms of the state sovereignty and its entry into a new level of world standards. First of all, there is stated the reorientation of historical research to the cultural space – history as a factor of culture, due to which the term “socio-cultural history” was introduced (p. 171), and, taking into consideration the content of the book, the term “socio-cultural space” should be used in its very title. On the other hand, culture is also a factor of history. This can be seen in the example of “Excerpt from the Explanatory Note of D. I. BaHaliy, A. Yu. Krymsky ... to the Commission for the Draft Law on the Organization of the Historical and Philosophical Department of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences [August 10, 1918]”, in which it is written that the history of the Ukrainian people “now covers not only its actual events, but also all pages of its historical life and, in general, the archeology of the region, and historical geography with ethnography, and the history of culture, church, art” (p. 84).

O. Udod called the strengthening of the role of regional research the innovation of modern historiography, singling out regionalism as one of the important subdisciplines. All these aspects were also planned and developed by M. Hrushevsky, it is mentioned about it in Chapter I – hence, the current process is rather a restoration and enrichment of the ideas of M. Hrushevsky and other prominent Ukrainian historians of the past.

In five Subchapters, O. Udod raised other numerous issues and problems, including changes in the object, functions, methodology of modern historical science and the very vision of national history, internal and external factors of its progress. Some of these issues and questions are answered in detail, while the others are challenges that need to be solved. It is fair and natural for the current stage that “the history of a country (nation) is no longer imagined outside the world context, without comparison with other types of historical development, without determining the place of one’s own country in world history” (p. 174). We can agree to the thesis about the difficulty of being a researcher in the near future (and hence, the need for a vision from the point of a longer retrospective), and with observations about the competition between science and mythmaking, about the emergence of “historical culture”, about the danger of instrumentalization of history for political purposes, etc. There are important considerations about the ambiguity of interpretive discourses of history, when one should avoid both the presentation of the Ukrainian martyrology itself and the omission of little-known important victories. In addition to cultivating pride of military victories, one should “show achievements in the intellectual and cultural sphere” (p. 172).

At the same time, the author showed his commitment to controversial interpretations of some “painful points” of the Ukrainian historical existence. This concerns, for example, such narratives as the Pereyaslavskaya Rada, which allowed Russia “to incorporate” Ukraine (there is no unanimity in the qualification of this event among scholars, because the agreement was not observed by the Russians) and make, according to O. Subtelny, “a giant step forward on the path to becoming a great power” (Subtelny, 1992, p. 125), while for centuries Ukraine remained in Russia’s shadow to the world (A. Kappeler); “victimization” of the historical memory of the Ukrainians about the Holodomor (every ordinary and normal nation that survived this horror would honor the victims and demand compensation, especially after its recognition as genocide); participation of the Ukrainians in the Holocaust (the fact of hiding and saving the Jews by the Ukrainians is omitted in the monograph), and this can be contrasted with the

participation of the Jews in repressive Soviet bodies. As for the cultural factor of history, it is necessary to emphasize the need for public memory of “the Shot Renaissance” of the 1930s, as a result of which the Ukrainian literature suffered numerous irreparable losses, suffered severe moral and psychological consequences. A tragic fate befell a large number of composers: in particular, B. Kudryk was deported to Siberia on completely unfounded charges (he died there), V. Barvinsky, who was innocently convicted of allegedly giving information on L. Munzer, a Jew, during the German occupation. V. Barvinsky was the director of M. Lysenko Lviv State Conservatory and had previously employed L. Munzer, J. Kofler, S. Barbag, and under pressure signed a “sentence for his work: “I allow the destruction of my manuscripts”” (Pavlyshyn, 1998, p. 8) and spent 10 years in the camps of Mordovia. Both the knowledge of these and other national cultural and historical tragedies and the analysis of their causes do not contradict the truth of the belief of O. Udod, that “the Ukrainian historical science confidently assimilates the best methodological examples of European historiography, in which a critical approach to history, evaluation of historical themes and plots from the point of view of universal principles of humanism has long been asserted” (p. 188).

If in Chapter I there is written about the contribution of diaspora historians to national historiography, their importance in debunking the Soviet myths (p. 80) and other merits (as evidenced by the article by O. Dombrovsky), in Chapter II it is rightly noted about the artificial division into diaspora and mainland science among modern historians. This division follows from the understanding of the spatial environment of the Ukrainian historiography as a cultural space of the whole segment of historical science (pp. 173–174). After all, we must strive for the unity of this environment and the humanities in general in Ukraine and the diaspora, having common goals and objectives, especially taking into consideration new occupation threats from Russia.

On Page 186 we come across a technical inaccuracy in referring to V. Lyzanchuk’s textbook, namely the discrepancy in the title of the text (“Genocide, Ethnocide, Linguicide of the Ukrainian Science: Chronicle”) and in the footnote (“Genocide, Ethnocide, Linguistic of the Ukrainian Nation: Chronicle”), while in the list of literature this position is absent.

In the Afterword to the book there are summarized the stages in the development of the Ukrainian historiography and there are outlined the prospects for research practices and strategies dictated by globalization, digitalization and virtualization of our time. The monograph is of value not only from the scientific and professional point of view, but also from the point of view of educational and editorial processes. Its multifacetedness organically fits into the colorful dynamics of the epistemological and ontological picture of the world of the XXIst century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Pavlyshyn, S. (1998). *Vasyl Barvinskyi ta ukrainskamuzychnakultura* [Vasyl Barvinskyi and Ukrainian Music Culture]. *Vasyl Barvinskyi ta ukrainska muzychna kultura: statyi ta materialy* (O. Smoliak, Comp.). (pp. 5–9). Ternopil’. [in Ukrainian]

Subtelnyi, O. (1992). *Ukraina. Istoriia*. [Ukraine. History]. (Yu. Shevchuk, Trans.). (2nd ed.). Kyiv: Lybid’, 512 p. [in Ukrainian]

*The article was received November 06, 2021.
Article recommended for publishing 23/02/2022.*

НАУКОВЕ ВИДАННЯ

**СХІДНОЄВРОПЕЙСЬКИЙ
ІСТОРИЧНИЙ ВІСНИК**

**EAST EUROPEAN
HISTORICAL BULLETIN**

**ВИПУСК 22
ISSUE 22**

Головний редактор
Василь Льницький

Відповідальний редактор
Микола Галів

Літературне редагування
Ірина Невмержицька

Редагування англomовних текстів
Віра Слінецька, Юлія Талалай

Технічний редактор
Лілія Гриник

Макетування та верстка
Наталія Кузнєцова

Дизайн обкладинки
Олег Лазебний

Здано до набору 15.03.2022 р. Підписано до друку 25.03.2022 р.
Гарнітура Times. Формат 70x100 1/16.
Друк офсетний. Папір офсетний.
Ум. друк. арк. 21,61. Зам. № 0322/092
Наклад 300 примірників

Друкарня – Видавничий дім «Гельветика»
73034, м. Херсон, вул. Паровозна, 46-а
Телефон +38 (0552) 39-95-80,
+38 (095) 934 48 28, +38 (097) 723 06 08
E-mail: mailbox@helvetica.ua
Свідоцтво суб'єкта видавничої справи
ДК № 6424 від 04.10.2018 р.