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**IMAGE OF EUROPE IN CIVILIZATION IDEAS OF PANTELEIMON KULISH:
DILEMMA OF CHOOSING BETWEEN “ALIEN” AND “CIVILISED”**

The purpose of the research is to study the collective image of Europe (the West) as a form of manifestation of spatial and civilizational ideas in the historical works written by Panteleimon Kulish; tracing the specifics of civilizational identity of this scholar; elucidation of his ideas regarding the relationship between the historical images of Russia-Ukraine and Europe-West in Kulish's historical texts. The methodology of the research is based on mental mapping as a strategy of cognitive reproduction of geographical objects in scholars' imagination. The basic component of the used methodology is imagology as a method of studying one's own/another person's images. In the research there is used deconstruction of the semi-Orientalism as a specific way of receiving and describing Eastern Europe by representatives of the “Western” intellectual thought. The scientific novelty of the

research consists in the fact that it is the first attempt at a special historiographical reflection of the image of Europe-West in the historical works of Panteleimon Kulish. **The Conclusion.** In the research there has been summarized the specificity of the Slavic civilizational identity's conceptualization in the historical works written by Panteleimon Kulish with his view of Europe (the West) as an "alien" civilizational space. It has been substantiated that the Germans were the main representatives of the collective image of the West for the scholar. The signs of Eurocentric worldview and the beginnings of a tolerant reception of Western attributes can be traced in his late historical texts, which was expressed in the recognition of Europe as a "civilized" and "cultural" environment and a positive interpretation of the European "enlightenment". It has been summarized that the worldview evolution of Panteleimon Kulish illustrates defining stage of civilizational identity genesis of the Ukrainian scholars of the 19th century – the beginning of the transition from the Slavic to European identity.

Key words: Panteleimon Kulish, West, Europe, East, civilization, image, identity, historiography.

ОБРАЗ ЄВРОПИ В ЦИВІЛІЗАЦІЙНИХ УЯВЛЕННЯХ ПАНТЕЛЕЙМОНА КУЛІША: ДИЛЕМА ВИБОРУ МІЖ “ЧУЖИМ” ТА “ЦИВІЛІЗОВАНИМ”

Метою статті є дослідження збірного образу Європи (Заходу) як форми вияву просторових та цивілізаційних уявлень в історичних працях Пантелеймона Куліша; простеження специфіки цивілізаційної ідентичності цього вченого; з'ясування його уявлень стосовно співвідношення історичних образів Русі-України та Європи-Заходу у Кулішевих історичних текстах. **Методологічною основою** статті обрано ментальне картографування як стратегію когнітивного відтворення географічних об'єктів в уяві вчених. Засадиною складовою використаної методології постає імагологія як спосіб вивчення образів свого / чужого. У дослідженні застосовано деконструкцію напіворієнталізму як специфічного способу сприйняття та описування Східної Європи представниками “західної” інтелектуальної думки. **Наукова новизна** статті полягає у тому, що вона є першою спробою спеціальної історіографічної рефлексії образу Європи-Заходу в історичних працях Пантелеймона Куліша. **Висновки** статті резюмують специфіку концептуалізації слов'янської цивілізаційної ідентичності в історичних працях Пантелеймона Куліша з його поглядом на Європу (Захід) як “чужий” цивілізаційний простір. Обґрунтовано, що головним репрезентантом збірного образу Заходу для вченого були німці. Простежено у його пізніх історичних текстах ознаки європоцентричного світогляду й початки толерантної реценції атрибутів Заходу, яка виражалася у визнанні за Європою статусу “цивілізованого” і “культурного” середовища й позитивній інтерпретації європейської “просвіти”. Підсумовано, що світоглядна еволюція Пантелеймона Куліша ілюструє визначальний етап генези цивілізаційної ідентичності українських вчених XIX ст. – початок переходу від слов'янської ідентичності до європейської.

Ключові слова: Пантелеймон Куліш, Захід, Європа, Схід, цивілізація, образ, ідентичність, історіографія.

The Problem Statement. In modern intellectual space of Ukraine, the opinion about its purely European cultural and civilizational affiliation is widespread. At the same time, quite often the position of those figures, or even entire scientific currents of the Ukrainian intellectual history, which did not share the foundations of the European identity, is not taken into account. Among them, one of the leading places belongs to Panteleimon Kulish. The scientific consideration of the image of Europe in his civilizational representations determines *the relevance* of our article.

The Analysis of the Recent Research and Publications. Panteleimon Kulish belongs to renowned and already researched figures, as a significant figure in Ukrainian intellectual history. There were several attempts to assess the contribution of this figure to cultural and socio-political processes holistically nowadays. First of all, there should be noted the scientific works of a literary critic Yevhen Nakhlik, in particular his fundamental study “Panteleimon

Kulish: Personality, Writer, Thinker” (Nakhlik, 2007a; Nakhlik, 2007b). In a separate study, Ye. Nakhlik made a survey attempt to outline civilizational images in the works by P. Kulish (Nakhlik, 2000). P. Kulish’s contribution to the Ukrainian historiographical process is an issue, which wasn’t studied properly. Separate aspects of the issue “Panteleimon Kulish as a historian” were analysed by the Ukrainian scholars. First of all, there should be noted the publications of Oleksiy Yas, in which the chief focus is on the peculiarities of P. Kulish’s historical texts style (Yas, 2007; Yas, 2019). The analysis of P. Kulish’s views on the Ukrainian Cossacks was carried out by Mykola Vysotin (Vysotin, 2016). However, despite a certain number of studies on the role of this scholar in the Ukrainian historiographical process, the issue of his civilizational ideas and orientations has not been clarified yet.

The purpose of the research is to do a comprehensive analysis of the civilizational identity of this scholar, primarily his views on Europe (the West), on the basis of a historiographical analysis of Panteleimon Kulish’s historical works. In the framework of this article, first of all, we will answer the following question: was Europe (the West) in Panteleimon Kulish’s worldviews and historical texts presented as “native” or “alien” civilizational environment?

The Results of the Research. Panteleimon Kulish had a unique civilizational orientation – he identified himself with *Slovianshchyna* (*the Slavic world*) as an independent and original civilizational community, like the majority of his contemporaries in the Ukrainian intellectual environment. Terminologically, “*native*” civilizational community was marked in his texts as *the Slavs*, *the Slavic world*, *Slovianshchyna*, etc. P. Kulish and his contemporaries singled out a somewhat narrower cultural and civilizational community – *the rusky world*, within the boundaries of the Slavic world. The Eastern Slavic lands in which the Orthodoxy was practiced were included within its borders. In general, the Slavic world in the understanding of intellectuals is treated as a civilizational opponent in relation to the West (Europe) or the Germanic world. The representatives of this movement formulated the history of the Slavic countries as a permanent struggle against the hostile expansion of the Germanic peoples. Hence, the West in general and the Slavic world were defined as primordial antagonists. The formation of P. Kulish as a scholar took place in an era when, as Andrzej Valitskyi noted, the way of receiving the “Western” values became the main prerequisite for ideological and worldview confrontations (Valitskyi, 1998, p. 69). In fact, we can consider P. Kulish a vivid representative of the Ukrainian Slavophilism, which is characterized by xenophobia and suspicion towards everything “alien”, that is “non-Slavic”. In his historical texts, we find almost all the components that determine the essence of the Slavic identity (Kutsyi, 2019b, pp. 89–90). There was characteristic such a typical feature of this identity as greater attention was paid to the conceptual delineation of primarily “alien” and not “his native” community for a scholar. We should emphasize that Ukrainian historians of the end of the 18th – at the beginning of the 20th centuries defined their own civilizational identity by a complete “inclusion” of their ethno-national space (Rus-Ukraine) in one of the civilizational images, which automatically meant complete “exclusion” and opposition to the image of “another” civilization (Kutsyi, 2019a, p. 156). That is, if P. Kulish included *Rus-Ukraine* in the image of *the Slavic world*, then he excluded it from the image of *the West* or *Europe* automatically.

As among the majority of Slavic identity carriers, in P. Kulish’s ideas, *Europe* or the *West* acted as the main cultural and civilizational antagonists of “his native” civilizational community (i.e. the Slavic world). If the term *Europe/European* in many of his writings was used in a geographical and spatial sense, then he used the term *West* to denote the cultural and

civilizational space. The scholar also used the ethnonyms *the Germans, the Germanic tribe* as a general name for the European peoples.

The historical texts analysed in the article, despite P. Kulish's inconsistent and mostly contradictory attitude towards the West, illustrate numerous considerations of that time about the "hostility" of Europe and the Slavic world. It should be noted that the rapid worldview evolution of this scholar-intellectual did not affect his reception of Europe as an "alien" environment for the Slavs radically. For example, metaphorically P. Kulish described the image of Europe as one of two antagonistic civilizations that expanded into the Slavic world since the ancient times. In the fundamental study "History of the Reunification of the Rus" we read that the ancient "Variahorusy" and later the Ukrainian Cossacks fought against the same forces that carried out aggression against the Rus: "one in the name of Europe, the other in the name of Asia". The scholar found the influence of two civilizations – European and Asian – on the Ukrainian Ruthenians in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The Ukrainian ("Maloruska") nation, summarized P. Kulish, generally found itself in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth between two opposing forces: "One was pulling it to the West, the other – to the East" (Kulish, 1874a, p. 181). It should be emphasized right away that P. Kulish spoke about Europe as an "anti-Slavic civilization" in the Ukrainian historical opinion of the time the most clearly (Kulish, 1877, p. 263).

P. Kulish summarized that the experiences gained by Western Europe during the ancient civilization turned out to be "unsatisfactory". That is, Europe was outlined in his texts as a "world" that was developing chaotically in a way of "dubious" progress. Therefore, the historian, based on numerous facts, expressed disbelief in this progress. He emphasized that the Western ("Latin") culture had negative consequences for the development of the Slavic peoples. In his early work, "The Book of the Affairs of the Ukrainian People and the Glorious Zaporizhzhia Army", he spoke rather cautiously about the cultural influence of "aliens" on "his native": still the Rus cannot recover from "a foreign child" (Kulish, 1990, p. 67). As a result of comparing cultural and historical experiences of the ancient Rus and the Kingdom of Poland, the scholar came to the opinion: the eras of Volodymyr Monomakh in Kyivska Rus and Danylo Halytskyi in Red Rus (Red Ruthenia) illustrated self-sufficiency of the Slavic "enlightenment" without any intervention of the "Latin enlighteners". The scholar stated that in the Rus this "enlightenment" functioned more successfully than among the "Latinized liakhy". P. Kulish found the first impulse of the cultural expansion of the West to the East in the actions of Emperor Charles the Great. It is important that the historian paid attention to the "deceptive tricks" of the European culture, which often "seduced selfish minds" with various temptations. In this way, the elite of the Rus society was "tempted" by the "pink colour" of these promises. The scholar interpreted the Ukrainians of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as valiant people, but "stuck by Latin", "influenced in a foreign way" (Kulish, 1877, pp. 319, 365). As you can see, P. Kulish did not hide his conviction that Western ("Latin") cultural trends "corrupted" the Slavic and even more widely Christian values. The above mentioned concerned not only the Poles, but also the Ruthenians. The reception of Europe in the texts of the late P. Kulish falls under the following scheme: the West is "alienated" and to a large extent "hostile" for the Slavic world. However, in terms of "enlightenment" and "civilization", it significantly surpassed Sloviashchyna, in particular during the post-Tatar era.

We should emphasize that the representatives of the Slavic identity did not conceptualize the holistic image of Europe scientifically, but focused their attention on the individual representative components of the Europeanness. Hence, P. Kulish's anti-Western prejudices

were expressed in his interpretations of the European ethno-national traditions related to Ukrainian history. For instance, the historian interpreted the Italian court culture of the 16th century as “moral depravity” that “vices and villainy” were inherent in it. He also developed this opinion with an emphasis on the fact that the “political depravity of minds” was characteristic not only of the Italians, but of the Europeans in general. P. Kulish considered culture incompatible with the Slavicism, which “was first owned by the barons of the border German marks, then by the German clergy, brought up by feudalism, then belonged to the enlighteners of Italy, Popes and Cardinals, who did not allow the natural rotation of the Earth in the heavenly spheres, but human hearts – in the field of useless aspirations” (Kulish, 1874a, p. 250). As the historian Kulish asserted, in the Polish state, “Latin Europe” was created from “Rus Asia” successively. He illustrated the spread of the European culture in the Ukrainian lands with the metaphorical plots of a military nature. Thus, according to his reasoning, the ruska elite had to overcome the centuries-old results of the “Latin” culture, which “advanced its trenches” far beyond the borders of the actual Catholic space – into the territory of the former state of Volodymyr and Yaroslav. P. Kulish’s attitude towards Europe was expressed by the thesis that it “gave Russia two imposters”. The metaphorical nature of P. Kulish’s statements about the image of an “aliened” civilization cannot fail to impress a modern reader. For instance, in the three-volume work “The Fall Away of Malorussia from Poland (1340 – 1654)” (1888) we read the following: “But wave after wave they invaded the rusky (Ruthenian) ruins from the West and applied to our native soil the garbage of someone else’s life” (Kulish, 1888a, p. 169).

If the collective image of Europe/the West in the writings of historians of the Slavic identity was characterized by blurring and indistinctness, then its main representative components were characterized by ambiguity, completeness, and figurative detailing. To the greatest extent, this concerns *Catholicism*, which was interpreted not only as a confessional factor, but much more widely. In the historical texts, written by P. Kulish, as well as in other scholars of the Slavic identity (M. Maksymovych, M. Kostomarov, O. Yefimenko), Catholicism was read as the broadest civilizational image, identified with the Europeanism in general. It was even accepted as a cultural and social megastructure. It should be added that the content of the image of Catholicism (i.e. its internal differentiation, colourful national, dynastic and political structure) was largely ignored by the historian. Hence, P. Kulish had subjective thought concerning the Catholic world as a homogeneous and integral entity, and not as a collection of antagonistic countries, ethnic groups or dynasties. The term Catholic world was often used in the writings of P. Kulish as identical to the concepts of the West and Europe. It mostly meant not a religious teaching or a confessional institution, but rather a civilizational entity. The synonymous series (*Papism, Catholicism, Latinism*) was imbued in P. Kulish’s texts with ironic and contemptuous pathos. The administrative hierarchical structure of the Catholic Church was accepted by the historian as a factor in the institutional unity of the European civilization. The Pope of Rome appeared to P. Kulish not only as a spiritual, but primarily as a political leader of Western civilization. Rome in the historical texts of P. Kulish is seen not only as the administrative and spiritual centre of the Catholic world. This is most often an allegorical image of the West.

In the historical works of P. Kulish, we trace a rather colourful characteristics of Catholicism, whose representatives (the “Roman wolves”, the “Papists”, the “Latins”) separated the “Ruthenian flock”. In “The Tale of the Ukrainian People”, P. Kulish described Bohdan Khmelnytskyi’s war as the Rus was “cleansing” from the Catholics (Kulish, 2005c, p. 51).

In his later historical works, he motivated persistently the thesis about “the mistake of the great Catholic idea – to turn our living Slovianshchyna into a religious petrification” (Kulish, 1874a, p. 263). The Roman church structure was considered these works as the “conqueror” and as one that defiantly invaded Slovianshchyna in “all-armed political tyranny”. P. Kulish expressed his indignation regarding the “hidden thought” of the Roman Curia, which sought to “seize the head of the universe by subordinating the Orthodox East” (Kulish, 1877, p. 209). The historian noted the ancient non-acceptance of the Eastern religious tradition of the Slavs by Catholicism: “Latinism”, he repeated, had cultivated “hostility” to the Eastern rite. The scholar described both the Latin creed and all the spiritual and cultural traditions of Europe with the metaphor of “darkness”. For instance: “The Ruthenian Church /.../ was still a light shining in the darkness; and all the same, it is necessary to give it honour that the darkness did not embrace its light, despite all the efforts of such angels of darkness, which were the preachers of the Papism in Rus” (Kulish, 1874a, pp. 214–215). P. Kulish-historian often articulated unethical formulations, such as, for example, the “Catholic barbarism”. We should emphasize that he considered Polotsk Archbishop Josaphat Kuntsevych as the bearer of the “papal invasion” into the Orthodox Slavic world. P. Kulish’s attitude to Catholicism was clearly illustrated by the thesis that “the Roman system of uniting the Slovianshchyna with the peoples of the old formation turned into nothingness our rich contribution to the treasury of the Polish spirit” (Kulish, 1877, p. 50).

P. Kulish’s reception of the Catholic spirituality was highlighted by one of his renowned works – “Khutirska Filosofiya i Viddalena od Svitu Poesiya” (1879). The author also emphasized the uncompromising confrontation between the Catholic Europe (“aliened”) and the Orthodox East (“native”). He wrote the following “The European God, was on the Earth in the person of the Roman Pope and bowed his head down; ours was in heaven and lifted heads and hearts up. /.../ Orthodoxy, which penetrated to us from Byzantium, did not oppress us, like Latinism did to Transcarpathian Europe” (Kulish, 2005a, p. 215). The historian stated striking differences between the West and the Slavic world in the motivation for the introduction of Christianity: in Europe, as we read, Christianity was introduced to protect against the strong; in Rus, Christianity had the mission of “loyalty to the weakest”.

A similar tendency can be found in Kulish’s interpretations of Western European scholasticism, originated from “Latinism”, which he called the “moral scurvy” and “drought” of human minds. According to the scholar’s observations, at Kyiv St. Volodymyr University, this scholasticism gave way to the German scholasticism. In “Khutirska Filosofiya...” the author especially metaphorizes the trends of Western European cultural influences on Ukraine, comparing them to the “foreign plants”. As we found, these “foreign plantations, due to the ineptitude of the vertogradars themselves, were difficult to accept on the Ruthenian soil, grew stupidly, bloomed with empty flowers; and the wild plants of this soil were killed by the predators, they drowned in the shadows, they were trampled and even uprooted on purpose. It was the general character of what in our country corresponded to the European revival” (Kulish, 2005a, pp. 221–222). The historian P. Kulish interpreted the European educational influences of the era of Petro Mohyla with no less prejudice, the content of which he assessed as the actions of the “sect of mental castrates”. The appeal to theological terminology also illustrated Kulish’s reception of the Catholicized Ukrainians as “tempted”. As you can see, P. Kulish’s historical texts illustrate the reception of Catholicism as the greatest antagonist of the Orthodox Slavic world repeatedly. It should be added that P. Kulish’s image of the Islamic East, when compared with the Catholic world, appeared to be much less dangerous. It turned out that

the Catholic world for P. Kulish is characterized by the same negative features as the West in general: aggressiveness, insidiousness, bellicosity, expansionist efforts, immorality, neglect of the principles of true Christianity, etc. While certain features of European civilization (such as “enlightenment”, culture, ethics, “civilization”) were interpreted favourably by P. Kulish, the Catholic (“Latin”) components were evaluated unequivocally negatively. In this way, “Latinism” in the collective image of the European West was outlined as the most representative feature of civilization. Therefore, P. Kulish’s reception of Catholicism was to a large extent consonant with the views of M. Maksymovych (Kutsyi, 2018, pp. 11–12). In this aspect, we have reason to interpret P. Kulish as a typical representative of the Slavophile paradigm.

Another representatives of the collective image of the West were *the Germans* on the pages of Kulish’s historical works. Actually, the scholar considered the Germans in the ethno-national sense to be the people, who the most clearly represented civilizational image of the West. The ethnonyms *the Germans* or *German* were articulated in the works of P. Kulish in three meanings: as a purely German people; as a collection of all ethnicities of the Germanic family; as a collective term for all Western European ethnic groups in general. We do not trace a certain sequence in the use of this ambiguous concept. *The Germans* were synonymous with the second version of the understanding of this concept (*the Germanic family people*). By its derivative form (*Germanism*), P. Kulish denoted the entire set of Western European cultural and civilizational features. The historian thought of *Germanism* as the antithesis of Slavism in the national past. In P. Kulish’s texts we find another derived concept – *the Germanic world* as a terminological synonym of Western civilization. The scholar sometimes spread the content of the Germanic world beyond the borders of the Germanic peoples. We should clarify that it is precisely the Germanic world that most often appears in the texts of P. Kulish as a “hostile” civilizational space in relation to Slovianshchyna.

P. Kulish’s image of the Germans absorbed the widest range of negative stereotypes of *the Westernity*. For the most part, P. Kulish interpreted the Germans not just as “alien”, but even as “hostile” to the Slavs. The German ethnic group, as the brightest representative of the Western European community, was depicted as belligerent, aggressive, cunning, insidious, and arrogant. The Germans were interpreted as the conquerors, who were constantly expanding into Slovianshchyna with the aim of conquering and assimilating it. The antagonistic position of the Germans in relation to the Slavs was interpreted in some places as their primordial or even innate characterological feature.

P. Kulish emphasized the fact of non-acceptance of representatives of the German ethnic group among the Slavic peoples. The scholar found the German expansionism in the Slavic world primarily in the fact of the resettlement of the Germans in Polish and Ruthenian towns, which became “half-German” as a result. This situation caused, according to the historian, “a feeling of disgust in rural Poland for urban Poland”. In this way, German cities got rid of their “burdensome and harmful” “unnecessity”, since the “worst” Germans were the first to find themselves in Polish and Ruthenian lands. At the same time, the Germans from the Slavic world lured young people to them (Kulish, 1888a, p. 36). The anti-Germanic instructions of the historian were also manifested in his assessment of the Teutonic Knights (“kryzhaky”), whom he characterized as aggressive and “predatory” neighbours. At the same time, the scholar emphasized their ingratitude: after Poland gave them the lands of Baltic Pomerania, they “thanked” Poland for this with constant wars (Kulish, 1888a, p. 37).

In everyday realities of the German settlers, P. Kulish found vivid manifestations of “democratic rudeness of customs” (Kulish, 1877, p. 250). Evidence of the “wickedness”

of the “unholy aliens” newly arrived in the Slavic lands were behavioral facts, when during religious holidays they organized auctions in churches with various entertainments, which was unacceptable during the service. The historian traced the obvious “alienness” of the German settlers in their family life and social practices. For the Slavic autochthons, it was unacceptable that the Germans, being married, “concluded new marriages by pouring, i.e. drinking, and in this way had several wives. /.../ During handicrafts, the Germans dressed in such short and strange clothes that it was even considered indecent to look at them. Monday, celebrated by the Germans, was marked by extreme violence and debauchery, similar to a pagan bacchanalia” (Kulish, 1888a, p. 36). P. Kulish justified the civilizational “otherness” of the Slavs and the Germans with similar examples. By analogy with other scholars-carriers of the Slavic identity (primarily such as M. Maksymovych or M. Kostomarov), P. Kulish made attempts to fit even the ancient Varangians into the image of the Germanic world. Thus, in his early essay “History of Ukraine from the Earliest Times” he described the Varangians as the “predators” (Kulish, 2016, p. 181).

The above-mentioned statements confirm that on the civilizational maps of the Slavic identity supporters, the image of Europe (the West) occupied the place not only of the main “alien”, but also of the “enemy”. The European attributes on these mental maps were sharply contrasted with signs of the Slavicness. The content of the generalized image of the West was based on the psychomental traits and cultural achievements of the first Germanic (and sometimes Romanic) peoples. P. Kulish considered the German expansion into the Slavic lands as a natural and primordial characteristic of the Germanic world, which had quite different manifestations in different eras. Here he attributed the arrival of the Gothic tribes to the Northern Black Sea region, and the penetration of the Germans into Baltic Pomerania in later times, and the Varangian campaigns on the Ruthenian lands, and the invasion of knightly orders into the Polish and the Lithuanian lands, and the commercial and economic colonization of towns by the German settlers, and even active presence of the Germans in administrative and military service in Poland and Russia. P. Kulish’s arguments about the “antiquity” of the German expansion into the Slavic world were aimed at establishing among their readers the opinion about the genetically determined aggressiveness of the German-Europeans and their cultural and spiritual incompatibility with the Slavic mentality. P. Kulish contrasted a set of the representative Slavic traits (honesty, spirituality, peacefulness) with the psycho-mental traits of the Germans (insidiousness, aggressiveness, immorality). He substantiated the primordial “hostility” of the European West and Slovianshchyna by doing it.

A deeper analysis of P. Kulish’s historical texts gives grounds to state that his reasoning regarding the West as a civilizational antagonist of the Slavs was not unambiguous and consistent. By focusing the scholar’s attention on the Muslim (Asian) threat, the previous “hostile” West was transformed in his text into a supercivilizational community shared with the Slavic world, that is, the Christian world. In other words, former “Catholic enemies” were transformed into Christian accomplices textually. The degree of “hostility” of the West depended, as we can see, on the situational rhetorical strategy of the author; it could change dynamically within the framework of one and the same work. P. Kulish-historian, despite his distinct Slavic identity, sometimes articulated sympathetic, sometimes approving theses and considerations regarding individual components of the civilizational image of the West. Thus, the scholar fully recognized the European “superiority” in the spheres of culture, education, industry and technological development. As we can see, the civilizational “otherness” of Europe did not prevent Kulish from stating its achievements.

Despite the outlined prejudices of P. Kulish regarding the West, the influence of the typical mental map of the bearers of the Eurocentric worldview with their inherent beliefs about the European West as the embodiment of high culture and civilization can still be seen in his views. When in some fragments of the works the historian equated Europeanness almost with barbarism, then in other fragments of the same works Western Europe stood as the pinnacle of civilization. Such a changing reception of Europe as a model of cultural development can be seen in numerous fragments of the majority of historical works. It should be highlighted that it is precisely in his historical texts (as well as in the texts of M. Kostomarov) that we trace the beginnings of a positive reception of Europeanism. It should be emphasized that the reception of Europe as a model of civilization was traced in early P. Kulish's works. For instance, in the work "Povist pro Ukrainskyi Narod" ("The Tale of the Ukrainian People") he already talked about civilization (in the sense of the highest degree of cultural development) as an attribute of Western Europe in particular (Kulish, 2005c, p. 75). Later, in the autobiographical essay "Moye Zhyttia" on the pages of Kulish's historical works ("My Life") (1868), P. Kulish also expressed his pro-European sympathies, "surprised at the civilization of happy peoples and saddened that cunning people do not allow their native Ukraine to be so civilized" (Kulish, 2005b, p. 130). During this period of his work, the historian quite clearly presented his own assessment of Europeanness in the folkloristic work "Prostonarodnist v Ukrainskiy Slovesnosti". In it, we read that Western European civilization was never as imperceptible for the Ukrainians as it was for the Russian Slavophiles, who even "declared the West rotten and invented a purely Russian view of science and art" (Kulish, 1862, p. 10). Numerous judgments of P. Kulish regarding the history of the Cossacks also show the Eurocentric principles in his worldview.

If we analyse P. Kulish's historical texts of different periods, then a comprehensive analysis of civilizational considerations in them does not give grounds to generalize about his complete rejection of Western European civilization. As we already indicated repeatedly, the historian had a negative attitude only to individual components of the collective image of the West. In the 1870s and 1880s, P. Kulish, generally remaining a bearer of the Slavic identity, began to quite openly publicize his views on Western Europe as a space of high civilization and cultural achievements. It should be emphasized that precisely the two mentioned criteria – civilization and culture – became priorities in the axiological hierarchy of P. Kulish values. Therefore, the civilizational views of the late P. Kulish's works violate the typical imagological regularity: "his" community (the Slavic world) was accused of uncivilization and barbarism; instead, an "alien" civilization (i.e. the European West) was represented as a model of the civilized world. As it was already mentioned before, in the scale of European cultural achievements, the greatest value for the historian was the "enlightenment". In his reflections on Ukrainian culture, he was forced to admit its backwardness compared to "enlightened Europe". On this occasion, Ye. Nakhlik came to the conclusion that for P. Kulish it was even characteristic of the desire to "Europeanize" the Ukrainians by "assimilating the achievements of Western and world civilization" (Nakhlik, 2019, p. 50). We can also enumerate many articles, written by P. Kulish, which testify to the first stage of the Slavic identity transformation, i. e. the direction of its carriers to identify themselves with European civilization.

The Conclusion. Hence, we consider P. Kulish's historical legacy as a significant source of research into the genesis of the civilizational thought of the Ukrainian humanitarian scholars of "the long 19th century". The scientific historical and historiosophical legacy of this iconic intellectual conceptually reflects the worldview principles of the Slavic identity supporters in general and illustrates their attitude towards Europe clearly. P. Kulish took a key

place in the transformation processes of the Ukrainian intelligentsia civilizational identity. He emerged as one of the leading conceptualizers of the Slavic civilizational identity with distinct ideas about the West (Europe) as a completely “alien” cultural and civilizational environment for the Slavs. Still, in P. Kulish’s late historical texts, the signs of a Eurocentric worldview and the beginnings of a tolerant reception of Europeanism can be traced. It was expressed in his recognition of Europe as a “civilized” and “cultural” environment, the first in a positive interpretation of European “enlightenment”. The worldview evolution of P. Kulish should be stated as a turning point in the genesis of the Ukrainian civilizational thought – the initial stage of the transition from the Slavic identity to the European identity.

The outlined transformation of civilizational views did not involve a complete rejection of the foundations of the Slavic identity: P. Kulish did not renounce it. Worldview changes were primarily related to the reception of the image of the West – from a completely negative to a partially positive one. In the later texts of P. Kulish, the statement of “alienness” and “hostility” of Europe no longer dominated, but attention was also paid to its “enlightenment” and level of civilization. The outlined worldview transformation of P. Kulish’s civilizational views gives grounds to talk about the first stage (the 1860s – the 1880s) of the establishment of European identity in Ukrainian intellectual thought. Later, at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, a similar formula of civilizational identity became common among the Ukrainian historians.

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STATE CONTROL OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION PROCESS IN KATERYNOSLAV PROVINCE (1870 – 1907)

Abstract. *The purpose* of the research is to elucidate the effectiveness of state control over municipal election process in Katerynoslav province (1870 – 1907). **The research methodology** is based on the principles of historicism, scientificity, interdisciplinarity significance approach, the use of general scientific (analysis, synthesis and generalization) and special scientific (historical and genetic, comparative and historical, modelling) methods. **The scientific novelty** is determined by the use of unpublished archival and published source materials that have not yet been introduced into scientific circulation and have not been used by modern researchers for historical analysis, in order to clarify the details of state control over municipal election process in Katerynoslav province (1870 – 1907). **The Conclusion.** *The identified and analysed sources illustrate the fact that Katerynoslav Provincial Presence (Prystutsviye) in zemstvo and city affairs played the role of a central link of state control over municipal election process in the province. It was this body that determined the presence or absence of*

current legislation violations by municipal public administrations. This body took measures to restore legality. It has been determined that in the vast majority of urban communities of Katerynoslav province there were cases of elections results annulment to administrative or executive institutions of municipal self-government due to procedures violations of the municipal election process and the rights of voters. It has been proven that Presence (Prysutstviye), as a body of state control over public administrations, when adopting resolutions, misinterpreted the imperial legislation. There has been found out effectiveness weakening of state supervision of legality due to rare cases of delay in a legal formation of the municipal self-government institutions and a small number of city residents who received the right to vote. It has been determined that in the event of disputes regarding decisions of Presence (Prysutstviye – the imperial body), an excessive centralization led to transfer of even minor cases resolution to a higher level of state administration, their accumulation there and untimely resolution. Deprived of a rational organization, the movement of individual Senate decrees, which protected the decisions of self-governing institutions to interested parties, seems to be slow.

Key words: Katerynoslav province, city public administration, self-government, province Provincial Presence (Prysutstviye) in zemstvo and city affairs, Senate, municipal election process, city council.

ДЕРЖАВНИЙ КОНТРОЛЬ ЗА МІСЬКИМ ВИБОРЧИМ ПРОЦЕСОМ У КАТЕРИНОСЛАВСЬКІЙ ГУБЕРНІЇ (1870 – 1907)

Анотація. Мета дослідження – розкрити ефективність здійснення державного контролю за міським виборчим процесом у Катеринославській губернії (1870 – 1907). **Методологія дослідження** спирається на принципи історизму, науковості, міждисциплінарності та ціннісний підхід, використання загальнонаукових (аналізу, синтезу й узагальнення), і спеціально-наукових (історико-генетичний, порівняльно-історичний, моделювання) методів. **Наукова новизна** визначається застосуванням неопублікованих архівних та опублікованих джерельних матеріалів, які досі не введено до наукового обігу і не використано сучасними дослідниками для історичного аналізу, з метою з'ясування деталей державного контролю за міським виборчим процесом у Катеринославській губернії (1870 – 1907). **Висновки.** Виявлені й проаналізовані джерела засвідчують, що Катеринославське губернське в земських та міських справах присутствіє (Присутствіє) відіграло роль центральної ланки державного контролю за міським виборчим процесом у межах губернії. Саме цей орган встановлював наявність або відсутність порушення міськими громадськими управліннями чинного законодавства, вживав заходів щодо відновлення законності. Встановлено, що переважна більшість міських громад Катеринославщини мали у своєму пасиві випадки скасування результатів виборів до розпорядчих або виконавчих установ міського самоврядування через порушення процедур міського виборчого процесу та прав виборців. Доведено, що Присутствіє як орган державного контролю за громадськими управліннями, ухвалюючи постанови, припускалося й помилкового тлумачення імперського законодавства. З'ясовано наявність послаблення результативності державного нагляду за законністю через непоодинокі випадки зволікання у справі легального формування установ міського самоврядування та невелике за кількістю коло міських жителів, які отримали виборче право. Констатовано, що у разі виникнення суперечок стосовно ухвал Присутствія надмірна централізація призводила до переведення розв'язання навіть дріб'язкових справ на вищий рівень державного управління, накопичення їх там та несвоєчасного вирішення. Позбавленим раціональної організації видається повільний рух окремих сенатських указів, які захистили рішення установ самоврядування, до зацікавлених сторін.

Ключові слова: Катеринославська губернія, міське громадське управління, самоврядування, губернське в земських і міських справах присутствіє, Сенат, міський виборчий процес, міська дума.

The Problem Statement. Euro-Atlantic aspirations of Ukraine determine modern Ukrainian state formation, establishment of the rule of law, development of local self-government and decentralization of power, implementation of the principles of people's rule and subsidiarity. In this regard, it is useful to study the experience of urban public administration reforms implementation in the territories of Ukraine under the Russian rule

in the last third of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries under conditions of increasing urbanization, when self-governing institutions began to play an important role in the development of cities.

At the same time, there is an urgent need to get rid of remnants of the colonial and totalitarian past, which are fueled by awareness of belonging to the Russian (Eastern Slavic) world and mythology of the imperial heritage, which gives rise to a significant part of the Ukrainian citizens, to say the least, moral resistance to the European vector of Ukraine's development. An important component of getting rid of imperial myths is deconstruction of ideas about greatness and "civilizing mission" of the Romanov empire. Taking into consideration the above mentioned, it is topical to highlight extreme inefficiency of the imperial body on the example of administrative supervision of city self-government. At the same time, finding out defense facts of a legal scope of competence by public administrations, as well as by citizens of their civil rights, can contribute to enrichment of local history treasury of a number of cities and towns in South-Eastern Ukraine.

The Analysis of Recent Research and Publications. General issues of state control over city public administration were analysed in Vasyl Horbachov's research on implementation of the city and town Reform of 1870 in Ukraine (Horbachov, 2008). Peculiarities of the state policy of the Russian Empire and Austria-Hungary in the sphere of regulating development of self-government were analysed in the monograph and article by Serhiy Dobrzhansky (Dobrzhansky, 2020; Dobrzhansky, 2021).

Oleh Marchenko's research focused on comparing the main provisions of the city election process, which were determined by City Regulations of 1870 and 1892 (Marchenko, 2005). The subject of Liubov Shara's research is the influence of province administration on the formation and activity of city public administration determined by Law of 1892 (Shara, 2015). Oleksandr Cheremisin's comprehensive study focuses on the analysis of certain aspects of the municipal election process and very generalized practices of state control over it (Cheremisin, 2017). The same author and Oleh Predmestnikov did the research on the role of a human factor in city self-government institutions in Southern Ukraine, especially during the period of validity of the municipal laws of 1870 and 1892 (Cheremisin & Predmestnikov, 2021).

The historiographic study of urban self-government issues in Ukraine as part of the Russian Empire was carried out by Oleksandr Bondarenko (Bondarenko, 2020). According to Valentyna Shandra and Bohdan Yanyshyn, currently history of city self-government bodies is one of the best-developed aspects of urbanism in Ukrainian historiography (Shandra & Yanyshyn, 2021).

Despite a number of works on city self-government in Ukraine during the imperial era, state control in terms of monitoring the legality observance of the election process has not become a subject of study either at the all-Ukrainian or at regional levels.

The purpose of the article is to elucidate effectiveness of state control over the city election process in Katerynoslav province (1870 – 1907).

The Results of the Research. During the period under analysis, a rapid industrial development and expansion of trade, transportation and services, which primarily affected the southern Ukrainian provinces, were accompanied by acceleration of a social mobility, destruction of existing social barriers, and activation of entrepreneurship (Shlyakhov & Donik, 2022, pp. 59–60). The South Ukrainian region actually acted as a locomotive of modernization transformations at that time (Shlyakhov, 2021, p. 45). Powerful social transformations that were observed in Ukraine during the Russian imperial era were accompanied by nomination

and implementation of useful initiatives in the field of charity, education and culture, as well as local self-government.

Elucidating the subject of research, we should start with defining important categories used in the article. In the imperial legislation, the term “city public administration” is used for the names of institutions in cities that were entrusted with “care and management” in matters of “city economy and improvement” (PSZRI-2, 1874, № 48498, p. 823). Based on this functional purpose of the above mentioned institution, as a synonym for its name, we use the terms “local self-government”, “city self-government”, “municipal”, i.e. the one related to city self-government. The interpretation of these terms by the researcher O. Cheremisin was taken as an example (Cheremisin, 2017, p. 13).

Before the reform of 1870, the powers of the city public administration institutions were maximally limited and absorbed by governors and district police. According to the law of 1870, public administration acted independently within the limits of powers granted to it. The city Regulations of 1870 initiated the establishment of a relatively lenient system of state control over public administration institutions.

In Article 1 of the municipal law, it was stated that supervision of legal performance of duties by municipal institutions belonged to the governor (PSZRI-2, 1874, № 48498, p. 823). The highest official of province made sure that the city’s public administration did not go beyond the limits set for it by law. The head of the governorate was provided with special means for supervision, such as: 1) notification by a mayor of the Duma convocation and issues to be discussed in it (Art. 56), 2) receiving copies of all resolutions of the Duma immediately (Art. 68, 106, 151). The Duma decisions came into force after a governor determined their compliance with legislation (Art. 68) (PSZRI-2, 1874, № 48498, pp. 829–830, 833, 839).

In case of disagreement between the governor and the City Duma regarding the legality of its decision, the former was not the judge of the case directly: he suspended the implementation of the Duma’s resolution for a period of no more than a month (Art. 155) and referred it to the Provincial Presence (Prysutstviye) in city affairs (Art. 150). The composition of this collegial institution included Governor (a chairman), a vice-governor, a manager of treasury chamber, a prosecutor of district court, a chairman of congress, a chairman of provincial zemstvo administration and a mayor of a provincial city (Art. 11). Provincial Presence (Prysutstviye) considered various complaints about violations of election procedure (Articles 45, 46, 158). Its decisions on any issues of city self-government were implemented immediately (Art. 152), but were not final (PSZRI-2, 1874, № 48498, pp. 824, 827–828, 839).

The law gave the city self-government the right to prove illegality of provincial Presence (Prysutstviye) decision. Its decisions could be challenged in the Governate Senate (Art. 153). In 1872, Article 153 of the City Regulation was supplemented with a note: complaints of the Senate against the resolutions of the Presence are submitted to Governor, who presents them, with proper information and explanations of the Presence, to Department 1 of the Senate within a month from the day of receiving a complaint (PSZRI-2, 1875, № 51469, p. 894).

In 1890, in line with implementation of the imperial policy of strengthening state control in all areas of internal life, a new Regulation on provincial and district zemstvo institutions was adopted, which, among other things, determined the provincial Presence (Prysutstviye) in zemstvo affairs. Following the example of the City Regulations of 1870, the provincial Presence was entrusted with legality supervision of Zemstvo institutions activity. At the same time, the drafters of the law found it necessary to entrust the Presence (Prysutstviye) with

the right to determine “correctness” of resolutions and zemstvos orders (PSZRI-3, 1893, № 6927, p. 496).

The City Reform of 1892 put an end to the formation of provincial body control over local self-government. By new city regulations, the provincial body in zemstvo affairs was renamed into Presence (Prysutstviye), the provincial body in zemstvo and city affairs, with the introduction of a provincial city mayor into permanent members of this institution (PSZRI-3, 1895, № 8708, p. 432).

The City Reform of 1892 strengthened guardianship of administrative power over city self-government, restricted and narrowed boundaries of its independence significantly. Compared to the City Regulation of 1870, control of the provincial administration over the city election process was strengthened (elections, compilation of voter lists, voting, as well as election of public administrations officials) (Korobka, 2010, p. 9).

The head of province approved the date of elections, on his initiative, in case of violation of the legal order, the provincial presidium passed a decision on incorrectness or invalidity of elections and on annulment of their results (Articles 23, 49, 51, 52). The innovation of the Law of 1892 was the norm on mandatory participation of representatives in the Duma sessions. For violation of this rule without valid reasons, the decision of the administrative body of public self-government was to impose a fine on an absentee (Articles 60, 61) (Korobka, 2011, p. 51). Finding out of gross violations of election procedures defined by law, as a rule, resulted in annulment of election results by the decision of the imperial body (Prysutstviye), with a simultaneous resolution on the appointment of a new voting, and the previous one was declared invalid (Article 51). In case election of individual representatives was recognized as incorrect, the imperial body (Prysutstviye) ordered to hold additional elections (Article 52). One of the first cases we found concerning cancellation of city elections in Katerynoslav province happened in Luhansk. The prologue to these events was the granting of Luhansk factory village and the nearby village of Kamiany Brid, under the Supremely approved Regulation of the Committee of Ministers, the status of city under the name of Luhansk on September 3, 1882. The law on a new city formation obliged the Minister of Internal Affairs to order the introduction of City Regulation of 1870 in Luhansk (PSZRI-3, 1886, № 1085, pp. 395–396).

A new step towards Law of 1870 introduction there was the official and solemn opening of Luhansk regional city on March 27, 1883, with the participation of the head of province and all representatives of local authorities (Yekaterinoslavskie gubernskie vedomosti, 1883). It seems that the preparations carried out after that made it possible to hold the elections to the City Duma on May 11, 1884. However, due to the inconsistency of the local election process with legislation, their results were cancelled by the provincial body Prysutstviye.

Re-elections were held shortly after that, on June 19, 1884. Formed as a result of correcting improper actions, after new elections the Luhansk City Duma began exercising its powers on October 24, 1884 (RSHA, f. 1287, d. 38, c. 1304, p. 1). As we can see, little time was spent on the restoration of legality and formation of the Luhansk City Duma, apparently a legislative act was introduced, which obliged the Minister of Internal Affairs to implement Luhansk city reform personally.

Later, the facts of annulment of regular elections results to administrative institutions of city self-government were mentioned in the reports of Katerynoslav governors to the Ministry for Internal Affairs at the beginning of the 20th century. In particular, Prysutstviye imperial body declared invalid the elections to the Pavlohrad City Duma for the four-year

term from 1902 to 1906. The re-election ensured the election of a full set of representatives and did not raise doubts about legality (RSHA, f. 1288, d. 25-1913, c. 18, p. 65v.).

In 1905, Katerynoslav Prysutstviye body annulled the elections results to the commissioners assembly of Slovianoserbsk town due to “incorrectness” (in small towns simplified administration functioned, which provided for the election of commissioners at town assembly instead of dumas). Compliance with the law was restored at reelections (RSHA, f. 1288, d. 25-1913, c. 18, p. 69).

Elections of representatives to the Bakhmut City Duma for four years since 1905 were held three times during the same year. For the first time, on June 30, a full set of representatives was not elected. Such case was foreseen by the legislation. If during primary elections, electoral assembly elected fewer than necessary for the legal number of representatives and candidates for them (reserves in case of elimination), then a mayor had the right to order convening of new elections, however, he had to inform the governor about them (Art. 53) (PSZRI-3, 1895, № 8708, p. 440). Therefore, on July 29, additional elections were held, which were recognized by Prysutstviye as invalid due to the election process violations. Finally, on December 2, 1905, at additional elections, the prescribed number of representatives of the Bakhmut Duma was elected – 32 people (RSHA, f. 1288, d. 25-1913, c. 18, pp. 57, 57v.).

By resolution of June 1, 1907, Prysutstviye body recognized the fact that on May 3 and 4 the elections of three representatives in the Oleksandrivsk City Duma were partially incorrect. In this regard, additional elections were held on June 16, at which the required number of representatives and their candidates were elected (RSHA, f. 1288, d. 25-1913, c. 18, pp. 56, 56v.).

With no less difficulties, the Luhansk City Duma was formed for four years since 1906. At the initial meeting, which lasted for three days from September 27 to 29, the legal number of representatives and candidates for them were not elected, and therefore additional elections were scheduled for January 8, 1907. They seemed to ensure the election of the required number of representatives, but both main and additional elections, following the complaint of some voters, were declared invalid by the Presence (Prysutstviye) imperial body. According to our reasoning, this time the supervisory institution came to the defense of voters whose rights were violated, but only on March 16, more than three months after their implementation. This defense of voters caused the need for new elections, which, due to the repeated insufficient legal number of voters, took place only on September 24, 1907 (RSHA, f. 1288, d. 25-1913, c. 18, pp. 61, 61v.).

Difficulties in administrative institutions formation of city self-government according to Law of 1892 were caused not only by violations of city election process rules. Attempts of controlling authorities to restore legality ran into difficulties caused by the municipal law. The application of the norms of City Regulation of 1892 reduced the number of city residents who could obtain the status of a voter, due to increase of property tax. The reduction of city’s electoral field also occurred due to deprivation of voting rights of the Jews. Under Law of 1892, in the towns of Katerynoslav province, the percentage of voters from the total number of city residents when elections were held for the first time ranged from 0.8 in Katerynoslav and to 2.7 in Mariupol. The negative impact on the quality of election process was also observed in such a characteristic feature as avoidance of participation by a large part of a town electorate (Korobka, 2015, pp. 43, 47). This avoidance led to election process that lasted for several days, as well as additional elections.

Violations of city election process also occurred during the executive institutions formation of city self-government. In particular, as a result of the representatives’ protest of the Katerynoslav City Duma, Pavlo Shyshkin, Oleksandr Ostroukhov, Ivan Zaitsev, Ivan

Yankovsky, and Konstantyn Hehello, the provincial Prysutstviye annulled the elections results of the mayor, members of the the city administration, and the city secretary, conducted by the newly elected representatives on January 10, 1875, for new quadrennial. Their statement of disagreement was based on two facts. Firstly, the procedure regulated by Article 52 of City Regulation was violated, namely: determination of the city council officials' maintenance amount took place under the chairmanship of the mayor Dei Minakov. Secondly, the procedure for electing members was violated. It was carried out simultaneously with voting for candidates for the specified positions, which was a deviation of the normative provision of Article 84 (RSHA, f. 1287, d. 38, c. 1639, p. 244).

The City Duma took note of the resolution of the Provincial Prysutstviye and, eliminating previous mistakes, on January 28, 1875, according to the correct procedure (under the chairmanship of Semen Klimov – senior in terms of the number of electoral balls), appointed future city officials a salary for their service, as well as conducted new elections of the city mayor, his deputy and members of the city administration and candidates (RSHA, f. 1287, d. 38, c. 1639, pp. 244, 345).

There were also errors in the provincial Prysutstviye decisions. Thus, in Mariupol there was to be a rotation of members of the local city administration. On the basis of Article 124 of City Regulation of 1892, every two years half of the members of the city administration had to be eliminated in turn. Moreover, according to the notes to the same article, in the first two years after new City Regulations were put into effect, the members of the local city administration had to leave their positions by lot. Since in January of 1896 the two-year term of service of Mariupol administration members, formed for the first time under Law of 1892, was ending, on December 15, 1895, the Mariupol City Duma considered the rotation issue of its executive body. At the same time, it was taken into account that at the time of the Duma assembly, one member died (S. Karamanov), and it consisted of only two members – S. Chentukov, elected by the Duma, and A. Frantov, appointed by the governor on the basis of Article 119 of City Regulations. The Duma passed a resolution, by which they offered both to draw lots. It was decided to hold the election of two members of the city council – one to replace the deceased S. Karamanov, and the other to replace the one who will be eliminated by lot – at the nearest Duma assembly (SADR, f. 113, d. 1, c. 190, pp. 4–5).

On January 20, 1896, the governor of Katerynoslav D. Martynov suggested the mayor of Mariupol I. Popov stopping the implementation of this resolution (SADR, f. 113, d. 1, c. 190, p. 6). On March 16, 1896, Katerynoslav Prysutstviye passed a decision to cancel the Mariupol Duma resolution regarding the participation of A. Frantov in the drawing of lots to determine the person who was to quit the powers of a member of the city administration. At the same time, this collegial body was guided by the reasoning that, allegedly, the rotation prescribed by law does not apply to members appointed by the government (SADR, f. 113, d. 1, c. 190, pp. 6–7).

In response to this decision, on April 13, 1896, the Mariupol City Duma, by an overwhelming majority of votes (27 in favour, 2 against) authorized Mayor I. Popov to appeal in the Senate the resolution of Prysutstviye imperial body on the cancellation of its decision regarding the possibility of rotating a member of the city council appointed by the Governor (SADR, f. 113, d. 1, c. 190, pp. 8–9). On June 28, 1896, the mayor of Mariupol, in strict accordance with the law, submitted a complaint to the Governor of Katerynoslav to the Ruling Senate against the Prysutstviye decision of March 16, 1896.

Disagreement with the city self-governance supervisory body regarding improper actions, as well as the appeal of its decision in the Senate did not remove the need to replenish the city

administration, which did not work in a full force. Thus, on May 31, 1896, at the assembly of the City Duma, Mayor I. Popov made a report, in which it was suggested holding regular elections of one member of the city council to substitute the deceased S. Karamanov (SADR, f. 113, d. 1, c. 190, p. 10). In general the Duma agreed with the reasoning of its leader. At the same meeting, Anton Sofronovych Karamanov was elected as a new member of the city administration, who was approved by the Governor of Katerynoslav on June 6 (SADR, f. 113, d. 1, c. 190, pp. 11, 24).

The decision of the Senate regarding the complaint of the mayor of Mariupol was made on November 25, 1896. While considering the case, the Senate found that Art. 124 of City Regulation of 1892 does not establish difference between the members of the city administration elected by the Duma and those appointed by the government authorities in terms of their elimination by lot after the first two years the law came into force. Because of this, recognizing the contested resolution of the mayor of Mariupol as illegal, the Senate decided to cancel it (Kantorovich, 1903, pp. 614–615).

On April 29, 1897, a copy of this Senate decree was sent to Mariupol city administration by Katerynoslav vice-governor (more than four months after the resolution). This information was announced to the Duma at its regular session only on May 30, 1897. At the Duma session it was decided: the members Frantov and Chentukov should not be subjected to a lottery, because the elimination of one of them would result in the necessity of electing a new member of the municipal executive body. Such course of affairs was considered inexpedient due to the fact that at the end of the current year planned elections to the Duma and, accordingly, additional new members elections of the municipal executive body were to be held (SADR, f. 113, d. 1, c. 190, pp. 27–28).

Thus, between the two resolutions of the Mariupol Duma from December 15, 1895 (about the intention to rotate its executive body) until May 30, 1897 (decision to postpone it) almost a year and a half passed. During this time, despite establishing the legitimacy of the first resolution, it lost its relevance. When observing the decisions dates of various instances regarding this resolution, especially the substantiated Senate decree, its movement to the places and taking notice in Katerynoslav and Mariupol, there is an impressive lack of haste, which reflected general inefficiency in the state apparatus functioning of the empire in general and the municipal institutions within it in particular.

The cancellation of the elections of January 29, 1904, held by the Pavlohrad Duma for the position of associate director of the local City Public Bank Erast Stetsenko, by Presence (Prysutstviye) imperial body is connected with improper interpretation of the law, on the grounds that the elected official did not have his own property tax. Dealing with the complaint of the person not admitted to the position, the Senate found out that in fact the elected official had a documentary proof of a real estate existence – notarized applications of two daughters about the assignment of their inheritance parts to their father. In this regard, on June 24, 1905, the Senate determined: to cancel the resolution of Presence (Prysutstviye) imperial body, instructing this institution to resume Erast Stetsenko to the post of associate director of the Pavlohrad City Public Bank, about which a decree was sent to the complainant and other interested parties. In this case there can be seen, among other things, a slow resolution of problems that arose as a result of erroneous decisions by institutions of state control over city self-government (RSHA, f. 12880, d. 5-1904, c. 14, pp. 6–7).

In the orbit of city self-government was city orphans' court, which was in charge of guardianship and orphan cases. During the rise of a public activity, under the conditions of the

first Russian revolution and legislative admission of the Jews to the elections to the State Duma, Katerynoslav Jewish merchant Pavlo Zun decided to run for position of a member of the local orphans' court. However, on the basis of the law, the deputy mayor of Katerynoslav ordered that Jewish merchants should not be allowed to participate in these elections. Two complaints by P. Zun to Prysutstviye imperial body, and later to the Senate, remained without consequences. As we can see, the discriminatory imperial legislation did not give grounds for different readings of the law provisions in different instances (Kantorovich, 1903, pp. 566–567).

Sometimes there are observed elements of detailed regulation of city self-government activity by Katerynoslav provincial administration. According to Law of 1892, the participation of representatives in the Duma sessions was mandatory. For violation of this rule without valid reasons, the administrative body of public administration imposed a fine on the offender: for the first case – a remark, for the second one – a fine (up to 70 rubles), for the third one – temporary exclusion from the Duma (Art. 60, 61) (PSZRI-3, 1895, № 8708, pp. 440–441). Of course, the cases of the absence at meetings were numerous and certainly became the subject of the Duma's consideration. In particular, the Luhansk City Duma, by Resolution of September 29 – October 2, 1900, recognized the reasons for the absence of five representatives at previous meetings as worthy of respect (Stryzhachenko and Maltseva – due to leaving the city, Dvornikov and Pershyn – due to family reasons, and the Jew Lvovych in connection with “Kushchi” Holiday). However, the head of the province questioned the legality of this decision and referred it to the provincial Presence (Prysutsviye) body, which in turn cancelled the above mentioned Resolution due to the inconsistency of Art. 60 of City Regulation, in which there were listed valid reasons for non-attendance (no transport service, disease of representatives, serious illness or death of a close relative, or special work in city service) (RSHA, f. 1341, d. 172, c. 849, p. 1). In our opinion, in Prysutstviye's decision, there is an attempt to belittle, against the background of compliance with the letter of the law, the already fragile independence of the self-governing institution.

On January 9, 1902, the appeal of this decision by the deputy mayor of Luhansk was considered by the Senate. The Senate's interpretation of the law in relation to this case was reduced to the fact that the right of city councils to recognize the reasons for absence of members as deserving respect, and in other cases not specified in the law, cannot be denied. Imposing a penalty on a member who did not attend the meeting is only a right, not an obligation of the City Duma. It is the City Duma that is given the right to make a conclusion regarding seriousness of reasons for absence of a member at the meeting. Therefore, the decision of the Provincial Presence (Prysutstviye) body, which cancelled the Resolution of the Luhansk City Duma regarding the specified case, was cancelled by the Senate due to unfoundedness (RSHA, f. 1341, d. 172, c. 849, pp. 11–12).

Katerynoslav Prysutstviye body considered the issue of legal quantitative composition of city administrative institutions and quorum. One of the reasons for this was the decision of the Luhansk City Duma of April 29, 1900, which was cancelled by the Presence (Prysutstviye) body, because there was an insufficient number of members present. The fact is that the initial number of members of the Luhansk Duma decreased from 29 (due to the elimination of four) to 25 people. From this actual presence, the city public administration proceeded, determining the necessary quorum – half of the total number of members. At the meeting on April 29, 1900, decisions were made by 14 members. And this quantity, according to the mayor's opinion, which was expressed in the complaint to the Senate, was more than half of available staff.

The case hearing in the Senate took place, not surprisingly, only six years and nine months later, on January 30, 1907. The Senate Resolution consisted in the following: with the end of elections for the next quadrennial, the number of members necessary for the legal composition of the City Duma is fixed by the governor's order and the final list is published in local press. It is the specified list that determines the total number of members, which should be used when determining the legal composition of the Duma. In this regard, the Senate found out the fact that Katerynoslav province Prysutstviye in zemstvo and city affairs on a legal basis cancelled the Resolution of the Luhansk City Duma. It was decided not to satisfy the complaint of Luhansk mayor (Mantsevich, 1911, pp. 149–150). As we can see, the presence of collegial institutions did not save from a long-term bureaucratic red tape.

In general, the Senate was flooded with a lot of complaints, which hindered its effective work. A large volume of its activity is evidenced by at least the collection of resolutions on city and zemstvo cases, compiled by a lawyer Yakov Kantorovych. It contains as many as 2,483 definitions, only chosen by the lawyer, from an even greater number of resolutions of Department 1 of the Senate for 10 years (1891 – 1900) (Kantorovich, 1903, p. II).

The Conclusion. The identified and analysed sources testify that Katerynoslav Prysutstviye body played the role of state control central link over the city election process within the province. It was this body that determined the presence or absence of violations by city public administrations of current legislation, took certain measures to restore legality. According to our observation, in the vast majority of urban communities of Katerynoslav province there were cases of annulment of elections results to administrative or executive institutions of city self-government due to violations election process and rights of voters. Katerynoslav Prysutstviye body, as a body of state control over public administrations, when passing resolutions, misinterpreted the imperial legislation. This is explained, in our opinion, by the lack of awareness of governorate heads and other members of collegial institution in the Senate practice of cancelling resolutions of governorates in city and zemstvo affairs.

At the same time, the systemic defects of the imperial state system were indicated. In particular, effectiveness of state supervision of legality was significantly weakened by the occasional cases of delay in the legal formation of city self-government institutions due to a small number of city residents who received the right to vote, and absenteeism of a large part of them.

At the same time, in the event of disputes regarding the decisions of the Presence (Prysutstviye) body, excessive centralization led to transfer of even trivial cases resolution to a higher level of state administration, their accumulation there and untimely resolution. Deprived of rational organization, movement of individual Senate decrees, which protected the decisions of self-governing institutions, to interested parties seems to be slow. The analysis of actual material provides new confirmation of inefficiency and imperfection of the imperial state body.

The obtained results and the available facts testify to the need for a more detailed study of administrative supervision of compliance by city public administrations with regulatory frameworks in the management of communal services, provision of private property interests of citizens, relations with officials and institutions outside city self-government, etc.

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DEPUTIES OF THE UKRAINIAN DUMMA COMMUNITY AND STATE DUMA OF RUSSIA, THEIR ACTIVITIES IN THE AUTONOMISTS' UNION

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to determine the issues and areas of the Ukrainian Duma community's deputies activity in the Autonomists' Union – an organization of peoples in the Russian Empire, which emerged during the revolution of 1905 and sought decentralization of the Russian Empire under the conditions of the national autonomy and autonomism. To find out the reasons and principles of Russia's transformation from an empire to a union of nations with broad autonomous powers. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism and objectivity. The logic of the presentation of the material is based on the problem historical principle, which made it possible to reveal in a chronological order the main directions of the Ukrainian Duma community's deputies activity and the State Duma of Russia in the Autonomists' Union. The scientific novelty of the research consists in understanding of historical experience of solving the national issue in a multinational state. There has been made an attempt to do an in-depth analysis of Ukrainian deputies-citizens' activities of the First State Duma of Russia and their activities in the Autonomists' Union. Chief focus was on the coherence of actions in terms of resolving the autonomous rights of the Ukrainian and the Polish*

deputies. **The Conclusion.** The Russian Empire was a “prison of nations”, where the majority of its population did not have any elementary rights and national freedoms. In the article there have been analysed the main stages of the Autonomists’ Union in Russia and the Ukrainian deputies participation, the members of the Ukrainian Duma community and the State Duma in the direction of solving the national issue. The study of the citizens’ deputies participation in the Autonomists’ Union remain suite promising direction of research, because the available materials provide information about the activities of the organization, mainly I. Shrah, and occasionally V. Shemet.

Key words: duma, declaration, community, faction, magazine, deputy, autonomy, national issue.

ДЕПУТАТИ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ДУМСЬКОЇ ГРОМАДИ І ДЕРЖАВНОЇ ДУМИ РОСІЇ ТА ЇХ ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ У СОЮЗІ АВТОНОМІСТІВ

Анотація. Мета дослідження – встановлення проблем і напрямів діяльності депутатів української думської громади у Союзі Автономістів – організації народів у Російській імперії, яка виникла під час революції 1905 р. і добивалася децентралізації Російської імперії на умовах національної автономії та автономізму. З’ясувати підстави та засади трансформації Росії від імперії до спілки народів з широкими автономними повноваженнями. **Методологія дослідження** – базується на принципах історизму та об’єктивності. В основу логіки викладу матеріалу покладено проблемно-історичний принцип, що дає змогу в хронологічній послідовності розкрити основні напрями діяльності депутатів української думської громади І Державної Думи Росії у Союзі автономістів. **Наукова новизна** дослідження полягає в осмисленні історичного досвіду розв’язання національного питання у багатонаціональній державі. Здійснена спроба поглибленого аналізу діяльності українських депутатів-громадівців І Державної Думи Росії та їх діяльність у Союзі автономістів. Акцентовано увагу на узгодженості дій у плані вирішення автономних прав українських та польських депутатів. **Висновки.** Російська імперія була “в’язницею народів”, де більшість з її населення не мали елементарних прав та національних свобод. У статті проаналізовано основні етапи діяльності Союзу Автономістів Росії та участь у ньому українських депутатів, членів Української думської громади І Державної Думи у напрямі розв’язання національного питання. Перспективним напрямом дослідження залишається вивчення участі депутатів-громадівців у Союзі Автономістів, позаяк наявні матеріали дають інформацію про діяльність в організації, головно І. Шрага, та епізодично В. Шемета.

Ключові слова: дума, декларація, громада, фракція, часопис, депутат, автономія, національне питання.

The Problem Statement. The strong urge for freedom, generated by the revolutionary events that began in Russia in January of 1905, found quite favourable ground in Ukraine. The empire, which at that time included our territories, at the beginning of the 20th century outgrew itself and ceased to be national. The imperial government had to change from a government of the national policy to a government of the people. Despite the presence of urgent problems in this direction of a social life, tsarism was in no hurry to make even minimal changes in terms of expanding the rights of the national minorities. The emergence of the Autonomists’ Union and the Ukrainian Duma community’s deputies activities in it were aimed at fighting for broad national self-governing rights.

The Analysis of the Recent Research. The activities of the Ukrainian deputies issue in the First State Duma of the Russian Empire was studied in national and world history in detail. Although there remains a number of problems to which researchers, due to various reasons, do not pay much attention. One of them was the activity of citizens’ deputies in the Autonomists’ Union, who sought to solve the national issue in the then Russian Empire not only for themselves but also for other peoples enslaved by tsarism. Therefore, according to the authors, there should be paid much attention to the above-mentioned issue.

In the 19th century the national issue appeared in the work, written by Taras Shevchenko, standing out in the call to build one's "house" in which "one's own truth, and strength, and will". Instead, Kobzar's followers did not continue the work started by him, immersing themselves in all-Russian movements, socialist and populist, for the social problems solution, hoping that the national issue would be solved automatically the very next day after the social revolution.

It was M. Mikhnovskiy, who in his work "Independent Ukraine", taking into account the centuries-old tradition of the Ukrainian statehood, argues for the "historical right" of Ukraine to independent existence and wrote out the first priority requirement on the way to this – "to return the rights specified in the Pereiaslav Agreement of 1654 with the introduction of those rights throughout the territory of residence of the Ukrainian people in the Russian Empire" (Shevchuk, 1999, pp. 176–177).

But after 1903, the Ukrainian movement moved away from the struggle for its statehood and, first of all, focused on demands for autonomy from Russia.

The majority of the materials related to the activities of the Ukrainian Duma community's deputies in the Union of Autonomists were analysed in the works of the head of the Ukrainian Duma community, an active member of the Union of Autonomists I. Shrah (Shrah, 1906, p. 66).

Modern researchers mention the above-mentioned issue only in the context of highlighting other issues: Donik O., Opria B., Fedkov O., (Donik, Opria, Fedkov, 2021), Kolesnyk V., Cheberiyako O. (Kolesnyk, Cheberiyako, 2022), Shandra V., (Shandra, 2017), Shandra V., (Shandra, 2022), Shliakhov O., (Shliakhov, 2021). In particular, Demchenko T., (Demchenko, 2012), Strel'skiy H., (Strel'skiy, 1996. p. 257) turned to this problem studying I. Shrah's biography. Baran S. analysed the activity of the Ukrainians in the Autonomists' Union studying the prominent Polish figure – J. Baudouin de Courtenay (Baran, 1999, p. 303).

Modern Russian researchers Borzova E. (Borzova, 2011), Timiryayev D. (Timiryayev, 2019) while researching the activities of the Polish deputies in the First State Duma of Russia and the Autonomists' Union, also mention the Ukrainian representatives in this organization, but characterize their point of view of the mentality of typical imperialists. According to the authors, the above-mentioned issue should be paid much attention due to the significance of the national issue, which is becoming more acute in modern globalized world.

The Purpose of the Research. To analyse the Ukrainian Duma community deputies' contribution to the activities of the Autonomists' Union and their contribution to solving the national issue within the framework of the Russian Empire in general and Ukraine in particular. To elucidate interaction of the Ukrainian deputies with the representatives of the democratic movements of other peoples of the empire.

The Research Results. The revolution that began in 1905 encouraged the Ukrainians to fight not only for the solution of the socio-economic, but also the national issues. This issue was especially relevant among the representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia and Zemstvo officials. On April 21, 1905, Congress of Zemstv from different regions of Ukraine was held in Kyiv, the document adopted by the Congress stated that the solution of the national issue "will solve many issues of state life and will affect well-being of all of Russia seriously". It was further emphasized that "the right and just solution of the national issue in the Russian Empire will be when the state system principles will be developed at the upcoming constituent assembly, which will allow taking into account the national interests of various peoples, including the Ukrainian one, in the autonomous seyms, and state-wide issues will be concentrated in the competence the All-Russian Parliament. It is noteworthy that the

autonomy of the Ukrainian or other people must be fixed by a special statute, supported by the entire population of this autonomous unit and approved by the basic laws of the country. All residents of this territory, regardless of nationality or gender, should enjoy equal rights guaranteed by the basic laws of the country” (Chykalenko, 1955, p. 375).

The idea of autonomy was urgent not only for Ukraine, but also for other national regions. As one of the leading autonomists of Ukraine at the time, Iliia Shrah, a Chernihiv lawyer and public figure, testified that the mayor of Tyflis and a deputy from Vilna turned to him for the support in order to organize an all-Russian Congress that would resolve the issue of granting the national rights to the peoples of the then Russian Empire.

In order to achieve their goal the autonomy supporters used all legal possibilities under the conditions of the Russian autocracy at that time. I. Shrah, on behalf of the Ukrainian hubernia (province), initiated a resolution, drawing attention of his Russian colleagues to “a successful and just solution of the national issue will largely allow solving most of the other significant problems of state life”, there was a demand for the introduction of political freedoms in the country, the assembly of the Constituent Assembly and the introduction of such a state system “when the national interests of the Ukrainian people, as well as other nationalities, will be taken into account in the autonomous Diet, and all-Russian interests will be concentrated in the national parliament” at the Moscow Congress of Zemstvo officials in April of 1905 (Demchenko, 2012).

The idea of autonomy received more and more support among the national minorities of the empire, this led to the fact that its supporters convened a preparatory congress on November 19–21, 1905 in St. Petersburg, with 115 delegates, who presented 13 peoples of the empire, among them were: the Azerbaijanis, the Armenians, Belarusians, the Georgians, the Jews, the Kyrgyz, the Latvians, the Lithuanians, the Poles, the Tatars, the Estonians, and there were 25 Ukrainians among them (Shrah, 1906, p. 66).

The delegates of the Congress had different visions of solving the autonomous system problem. The representatives of the Cossack lands (Orenburg and the Urals) declared their readiness to join the Union, but set the condition that the word “federalism” should be deleted from the name of the institution – “The Union of Autonomists-Federalists”. Some of them expressed the opinion to omit the word “autonomy” and suggested replacing it with the term “zemstvo self-government”.

But I. Shrah and a member of the Cadet Party of Russia, V. Obninskyi, opposed this vehemently, proving that the majority of the non-state nations representatives would not want to participate in the organization, which would only dream of “zemstvo self-government”, but under the pressure of the majority, the term “federalism” still had to be omitted at the Congress (Shrah, 1906, p. 67).

Then the Poles took the initiative in the work of the assembly. Professor of St. Petersburg University J. Baudouin de Courtenay, who represented the Polish delegation, made a speech. In his opinion, the main task was the “a full return of the Polish autonomy”, only then “it will be possible to grant the same or limited autonomy to some provinces”, including “with a united Ukraine, i.e. Malorus” (Baran, 1999, p. 303).

The resolutions of the Congress defined the principles of the future association. The state system was supposed to ensure freedom and completeness of the national development for each of the peoples; the state power and the organization of people’s rights on the ground provided for the decentralization on a federal basis. In the national structure, norms were to be established that would ensure the inviolability of its national affairs and interests. In

addition, the Congress recognized the system of proportional representation, both in the national Parliament and regional representative bodies.

The Congress elected Committee of 20 people under the chairmanship of Professor J. Baudouin-de-Courtenay in order to carry out further organization of the Union formation. The representative of Ukraine, I. Shrah, was elected as Deputy Chairman of the Committee on the organization of the All-Russian Congress, and later became the Deputy Chairman of the Autonomists' Union (Strelskyi, 1996, p. 257).

The Committee finished its preparatory work even before the Duma was convened; when the members of the Duma gathered, there were at the meetings those people, who were at the origins of the above-mentioned organization.

Thus, the demands for autonomy in Ukraine and other regions of the empire sounded louder and louder, they were expressed not only by the individual politicians, public figures, but also by the press representatives.

The next stage in the activities of the Ukrainian deputies regarding the autonomous ideas development was the participation in the work of the First State Duma of the Russian Empire, which was convened by the autocracy to reduce the revolutionary movement in the country. Tsarism saw problems in the national issue and was going to implement some changes, but this did not apply to Ukraine, as evidenced by the statement of the Minister of Internal Affairs P. Sviatopolk-Myrskyi: "Finland will be given the national concessions; the Poles will be given the national concessions – this is necessary in order to calm the outskirts of Russia. There is no need to give the Ukrainians anything" (Kuras, 1992, p. 86). The Russian tsarism absolutely ignored the national characteristics of the region, subjecting it to all-round brutal exploitation, thereby turning Ukraine into a colony. Evidence of this can be seen even in V. Lenin, who in his speech in Switzerland in 1914 (not included in the complete collection of works, fifth edition) emphasized that Ukraine "is to Russia what Ireland was to England" (Subtelnyi, 1991, p. 239).

The First State Duma worked from April 27 to July 9, 1906. There were 102 deputies from the Ukrainian hubernias (provinces), who took part in the work of the Duma, 44 of them created a faction – the Ukrainian Duma community at their meeting on May 1 – to solve the urgent issues that arose at that time in Ukrainian society. The Parliamentary faction was organized by deputies, who were members of the URDP: I. Shrah, V. Shemet, P. Chyzhevskyi, M. Onatskyi, they enlisted the help of the conscious Ukrainians – the residents of St. Petersburg, and in November of 1905 they founded a Political Club to help their Motherland. Its members were: O. Lototskyi, O. Rusov, S. Rusova, P. Stebnytskyi, V. Pisnyachevskyi (Lototskyi, 1934, p. 12).

At this meeting, the governing bodies of the community issue was considered, the head of which was elected I. Shrah, Chernihiv deputy. The collegial management body – bureau of the faction consisted of: P. Chyzhevskyi, V. Shemet, H. Zubchenko, M. Onatskyi, I. Tarasenko, S. Taran, A. Hrabovetskyi (Domanitskiy, 1906).

In order to help the Duma community, Professor M. Hrushevskyi came to St. Petersburg from Lviv, who had information about the practical steps of the Ukrainian deputies in the regional seyms of Galicia and Bukovyna, as well as the Austrian Parliament. He became the organizer and ideological inspirer of the magazine "Ukrainskyi Visnyk".

The goal of the magazine was to cover the Ukrainian issue and contacts of the Duma community with Ukraine. The founders of the publication were the members of the St. Petersburg Ukrainian community, the publisher – N. Pototska, the editor – M. Slavynskyi, the

secretary – D. Doroshenko. M. Hrushevskyi prepared main articles, political life was described by O. Lototskyi. Among the contributors to the magazine were: O. Rusov, S. Rusova, V. Domanytskyi, P. Stebnytskyi, D. Doroshenko. The best scholars and writers of Ukraine participated in the preparation of the magazine: B. Hrinchenko, M. Tuhon-Baranovskyi, F. Vovk, S. Yefremov, I. Franko, V. Korolenko. There were, I. Shrah, V. Shemet, H. Zubchenko, P. Chyzhevsky among the Ukrainian parliamentarians, who collaborated with the weekly magazine.

The convening of the first parliament, on which great hopes were placed, posed an important task to the Ukrainian citizenry – to convey ideas to a wide range of the public and to continue the work that the Ukrainian movement previously carried out in underground activities, to expand national rights and freedoms.

In this way, the main task in the national policy of the Ukrainian Duma community emerged – the acquisition of autonomy for the native region.

On the other hand, in the government declaration made in the Duma by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers I. Horemikin, the national issue (as well as in the throne speech of Nicholas II) was not classified as a priority. However, the government still declared its readiness to reorganize local administration and self-government, taking into account the characteristics of the surrounding areas (*Dumskiy sbornik*, 1906, p. 113).

The community did not start its work in the First State Duma in an empty place, it already had some improvements on the national issue worked out by the Union of Autonomists. On this issue Ukrainian deputies consulted with Ukrainian deputies of the Austro-Hungarian Parliament, as evidenced by the letter of I. Shrah to the head of the Ukrainian faction of the Austrian Parliament Ye. Olesnytskyi: “I am sure that you, honorable sir, will not object to helping us with your experience; more than ever it is necessary to establish the closest ties between us, because the situation is such that we, above all, will have to unite in the parliamentary struggle; our interests are common both in Austria and in Russia (*Lyst Illi Shraha*, p. 83).

The main efforts of the Duma community were directed to the development of Declaration on the Autonomous Organization of Ukraine. Its creation was a long and painstaking process, primarily on the pages of the magazine “*Ukrainsky Vestnik*”. The most productive work was done by M. Hrushevsky, who published 10 articles on this topic in the magazine’s columns. The works published in “*The Ukrainian Vestnik*” by famous scholars D. Ovsyanyko-Kulykivskyi, D. Beaudoin-de-Courtenay, and D. Doroshenko were involved in the development of the Declaration. The head of the Ukrainian Community I. Shrah took an active part in its development (Ovsyanyko-Kulykovskyi, 1906, p. 24). Much help for Ukraine to obtain autonomy was provided by the members of the St. Petersburg Political Club, created by the Ukrainians who lived in the capital, in particular, O. Rusov, S. Rusova, V. Domanytskyi, who were regular contributors to “*The Ukrainian Vestnik*”. Mainly, M. Hrushevskyi worked on the creation of the text of the Declaration with the support of community lawyers I. Shrah, A. Viazlov, Ye. Sholp and with the assistance of the above-mentioned St. Petersburg Ukrainians (Domanytskyi, 1906, p. 161).

The authors could not find the text of the Declaration itself, but its description is given in M. Hrushevsky’s “*Our Demands*”, from which we can see the demands made by the people, among other things, they demanded a solution to the Ukrainian issue in the context of the reconstruction of the entire country on the basis of the equality of peoples and regions, national and territorial autonomy, considering it a constituent part of all-Russian problems. Without dividing nationalities into “mature” and “immature”, the community demanded that

when solving national affairs, it should be based “on the actual state of affairs, on the real needs of the population, and not on historical facts and references”.

It contained progressive, as at that time, demands regarding the federal structure of the Russian Empire and the specific definition of Ukrainian powers in it; presence of a regional governing body; prohibition of centralization in the sphere of church administration, as well as artificial rearrangement of national elements in the army and creation of conditions for military service as close as possible to the soldiers’ homeland; recognition of all the rights of the Ukrainian language while preserving the status of the national language for Russian. The Ukrainian community demanded that this programme be implemented in the state and its constituent parts, “in the interests of successfully solving the great tasks set by the liberation movement of Russia, and the friendly work of its regions and peoples in their implementation, this national and regional programme that we put here as a postulate of Ukrainianness, in an inextricable connection with the reconstruction of the whole of Russia on the basis of national equality and regional autonomy, must be implemented – and implemented immediately” (Hrushevskiy, 1906, p. 273).

The declaration was planned to be announced from the Duma rostrum by the head of the Ukrainian Duma community, I. Shrah, but on July 9, 1906, the First State Duma, after 72 days of its work, was dissolved.

The next stage in the activities of the Union of Autonomists was the meeting of representatives of the peoples of Russia on April 26, 1906. Representatives of the Poles, the Jews, the Germans, and the Ukrainians made suggestions on reorganizing national relations in the empire. On behalf of the Ukrainians, I. Shrah reported, his speech was based on the programme prepared by the organizational department of the Podillia Society “Enlightenment” (Prosvita) for deputies from the territory of Ukraine. The section “Desire for Enlightenment” did not directly demand national-territorial autonomy, but it contained a broad programme of Ukrainization of the region: introduction of the Ukrainian language at schools, colleges and universities; introduction in institutes of Ukrainian history, ethnography and Ukrainian literature (Natsionalna prohrama ukrayintsiv-podolyan, 1906).

The idea of national revival has reached various sections of the population, as evidenced by the following materials. Thus, on April 20, 1906, I. Shrah, among other instructions, received an order from the voters of Chernihiv at a ceremonial send-off – to ensure Ukraine’s national and cultural development (Posol, 1906). Telegrammes with a similar content were also addressed to the head of the Community I. Shrah already during the period of work of the First State Duma. One of them is from Mykolayiv region, in which the voters demanded from the citizen deputies “to stand firm in the struggle for national free life and for the wide development of the native language in courts and schools throughout Ukraine”. The demand for autonomy was joined by the voice of professor D. Bahaliya, who called on the deputies to first of all solve their national problems (Nastav moment velykoyi vahy, 1906). On May 17, 1906, Deputy V. Shemet also received a telegramme from his constituents from Poltava region, which contained the demand “Unyieldingly pursue freedom, nationalization of the land and autonomy of Ukraine” (Nakaz selyan, 1906). By order to the deputy M. Kovalevskiy, the Ukrainians of Kholm region wanted to join their native land. Similar demands were contained in the telegrammes of the students of the Kyiv Theological Academy, the Ukrainian circle from Baku, compatriots from Bukovyna and Galicia, in which it was proposed to direct all efforts to achieve “cultural and political self-determination of the Ukrainian people” (V.P., 1906).

The Union of Autonomists resumed its activities during the work of the First State Duma of the Russian Empire on May 11, 1906, 120 deputies from various regions of the empire

joined its ranks, and R. Lednytskyi, a well-known Polish figure in Moscow, was elected as the head of the Presidium of the Union (he, being a member of the Russian Cadet Party, took an active part in Polish affairs). Ukrainian I. Shrah and Azerbaijani A. Topchibasha were elected vice-chairmen, and Georgian V. Helovani was elected secretary.

As during the work of the preparatory congress on November 15 – 21, 1905, the Poles set the tone for the organization's activities by creating two parliamentary associations, the "Polish Circle" and the "Group of Western Neighborhoods", which included the Poles elected to the Duma from Belarusian and Ukrainian provinces. Polish deputies declared that they would fight for "our rights and general freedom" (Borzova, 2011).

The parliamentary grouping of the members of the Union was "not a party in which they unite on a broad programme covering all political, economic and social issues, but only a "faction", where many of its members remain members of their parties who were elected to the Duma, belong to one or another party, which is most characteristic of their views on general political, economic and social issues" (Shrah, 1906, p. 68).

Working to solve the national issue, the Union of Autonomists initiated a meeting of the political clubs of the First State Duma. One of the meetings took place on July 1, 1906 in the premises of the cadet club. I. Shrah gave a speech, he noted that the liberation movement should give freedom not only to the individual, but also to every nation that participates in the life of the Russian state. Then, the speaker asks the question, how to reconcile the recognition and provision of the rights of individual peoples to live freely with the unity and indivisibility of the Russian state? In his opinion, there is only one way out of this: to seek an autonomous system for oneself, that is, broader self-government and the right to adopt laws for one's region. The only difference is that some want "regional" autonomy, while others want "national and territorial" autonomy, in particular, Siberia, for example, seeks the first, Ukraine the second. If individual peoples become autonomous, then under such circumstances, Russia must transition to a federal system, i. e. turn into a state with a union of individual peoples. The federal system, if it is established properly, will not only not harm the unity of the Russian state, but, on the contrary, will strengthen it. The best example of such a union, according to the speaker, was demonstrated by the German federation, where the state consciousness, under the federal system, was more developed than in Russia at the time.

Next, the speaker explained which cases go to the state seyms and which remain in the hands of the central parliament, listed the provinces where the Ukrainians lived. The number of the Ukrainians – 27 million – greatly surprised those present and most of them did not even know that there was such a large part of Russia inhabited by the Ukrainians, but thought that Ukrainians, like the Jews, were scattered throughout southern Russia.

On the basis of historical data, the speaker proved that autonomy for Ukraine is not only necessary, but also necessary. The ideas of people's rights among the Ukrainian people did not disappear even under the worst conditions of their lives, starting from the period when, in 1654, B. Khmelnytskyi was convinced that he had harnessed the "freedom-loving people to the Moscow kolymaga" (Pisnyachevskyi, 1906). And so, at the beginning of the century, the Ukrainian people sent their deputies in the first Duma many orders, among which the issue of autonomy occupied a prominent place, and that is why many Ukrainian deputies won the elections under this slogan.

Concluding his speech, the speaker noted that the cause of Ukraine's autonomy is not something from a book, it has deep foundations in the history of the Ukrainian people. In his opinion, the right of our people to political autonomy should be derived not from historical

grounds, but from socio-economic modern circumstances. Dispelling the fears of those who saw some danger in autonomy, I. Shrah declared at the end of his speech: “That unity is not strong and strong, which rests on bayonets and machine guns. A clear future awaits not a centralized Russia, but one in which every nationality will be given the right to satisfy its needs, in which the interests of every nation will be ensured. Russia will not be happy when, as Pushkin said: “The Slavic rivers merge into the Russian sea”, but when, as Shevchenko said, when all Slavs living in Russia “will become native brothers” (Pisnyachevskyi, 1906).

After the speech, a debate began, during which representatives of all nationalities represented in the Duma spoke, Russian and Ukrainian social democrats were the most active. The Russian deputy I. Bych was the first to speak, who initially agreed with the speaker that different sections of the population have their own understanding of the word “autonomy”. Completely agreeing with the words of I. Shrah that the Ukrainians do not have their own “masters”, he noted that there is a bourgeoisie and a proletariat on the territory of Ukraine: the bourgeoisie understands the term “autonomy” to ensure the national rights of the Ukrainian people, and the proletariat to the economic development of the country. After mentioning the Union of Autonomists and the “Polish circle”, he ended with the Constituent Assembly, which, in his opinion, can grant autonomy to Ukraine. I. Shrah noted in response that the Union of Autonomists unites people regardless of one or another party, where everyone has the right to their own understanding of the term “autonomy”, but this issue will arise in the Duma, all its members must unanimously vote for it. As for I. Bych’s idea that only the Constituent Assembly will grant autonomy, the head of the Ukrainian Duma faction noted that even if we adhere to this opinion, the current work in the Duma in this direction will not only not harm the case, but on the contrary will make it easier for future assemblies. In other words, all opportunities must be used to achieve the goal.

Further, deputy V. Shemet developed the ideas of the head of the community, noting that, in his opinion, there is no reason in the words of I. Bych, who argued that it is inappropriate to put the question of autonomy on the agenda. If the issue in the Duma is not initiated by the Ukrainians, but by deputies from other nations, then the community must be involved in this (Pisnyachevskyi, 1906).

V. Shemet was very active in the activities of the Union of Autonomists, he advocated radical independent ideas, which were interpreted as utopian in autonomist circles. This is confirmed by L. Zhebunev’s letter to I. Shrah “We ask you to get to know Shemet better. He is a very handsome man, and the most sincere Ukrainian, but he is a little worried about the “independence of Ukraine” and because of this, his attempt must be stopped another time...” (State Archive of Chernihiv Region – SACHR, f. 1081, d. 1, c. 58, p. 10).

The Russian member of the Social-Democratic Party H. Kuzmin said that this Duma cannot give real autonomy, because it is cadet-bourgeois and because of this, it will try to pass even such bills as on freedom of the press and assembly against the interests of the people. H. Kuzmin declared all the autonomists to be people who want to break the state into separate pieces so that it would be easier to stop their liberation movement. Based on this, the speaker concludes – “now we are not ready for autonomy” and, first of all, it is necessary to exterminate those who wring strength from the working people (Pisnyachevskyi, 1906). This performance broke the applause of only a part of the ignorant workers of St. Petersburg.

At that time, such demagogic shouts were heard not only at meetings, but also from the pages of periodicals, evoking sympathy among inexperienced members of the Duma, although it is difficult to say exactly how the speaker understood the “destruction” of the

exploitative capitalists by revolutionary means, because at that time it was difficult to establish a socialist order in Russia, given the current situation, it is unlikely that even the Constituent Assembly would be able to.

I. Bych continued to convince those present that only the Constituent Assembly could resolve the issue of autonomy, due to the fact that the Duma is bourgeois. However, the question arises, will there not be any bourgeoisie in the Constituent Assembly, convened even on the second day after the dissolution of the Duma – neither big nor small, but only the proletariat, or the majority of it?

The fact that the social democrats of other oppressed peoples did not support the platform of the Russian social democrats regarding the Duma testified to the falsity of such a position. In addition, not only social democrats, but also representatives of other Russian parties and groups opposed the autonomy proposed by the Union of Autonomists, seeing in it a veiled desire for the revival of Poland within the boundaries of 1772 (Timiryayev, 2019).

It should be noted that I. Shrah clearly distinguished two points of view of the Russians on the issue of Ukraine's autonomy. Firstly, the position of the outright chauvinists. Naturally, starting any discussion with them "would be strange". Secondly, the position of "Miliukov, Korolenko, Ikonnikov, who are ready to recognize the autonomy of everyone except the Ukrainians", outraged him (SACHR, f.1081, d. 1, c. 34, p. 11).

At the end of the debate, a resolution supported by a slight majority of those present was adopted that autonomy should not be rushed, but should wait until the opening of the Constituent Assembly.

The Union of Autonomists intended to prepare a law on languages that would regulate the use of national languages in the empire, entrusting the development of the project to St. Petersburg Ukrainians O. Lototskyi, O. Rusov, and P. Stebnytskyi.

However, their activities encountered resistance from representatives of Russia in the Union of Autonomists, where their position regarding national languages in general, and Ukrainian in particular, was illustrated by the words of the famous imperial publicist A. Budilovich – "In the regions of Malorosiya, some separatists assign such a role to the Malorosiya dialect, which is known in poetry especially on the works of T. Shevchenko, and at schools he received some development in Galicia and Bukovyna, however, in a very corrupted, half-Polish form, being called the Ukrainian language there" (Timiryayev, 2019). The very idea of the functioning of the languages of national minorities, in parallel with Russian, was perceived among the Great Russian deputies as the destruction of the unified linguistic and cultural space of the empire.

In the second half of May, an agrarian commission was created, which was supposed to cover land issues in accordance with local needs, but due to the premature dissolution of the First State Duma, it did not bring the expected results.

Instead, on July 8, 1906, after 72 days of work, the First State Duma of the Russian Empire, accused of supporting unrest, instead of pacifying the revolutionary-minded people, was dissolved by the Tsar's decree of Nicholas II, thus eliminating the activities of the Union of Autonomists.

The Conclusion. Therefore, the short-term existence of the Union of Autonomists did not give an opportunity to develop its activities. The fact of the existence of the Union, and participation of the Ukrainians in it, was of great importance, first of all – fundamental, allowing for the first time widely and publicly, for the whole world, to put the issue of state decentralization on the agenda. The creation of this organization testified that the

state-liberation idea was deeply rooted in the minds of the peoples of the Russian Empire, primarily the Ukrainians, and as the subsequent events of the development of the Union of Autonomists showed, they were used by national liberation movement. The ideas of the Union: the resolution of inter-ethnic relations in a multinational state, the presence of its regional governing body, the distribution of powers between the centre and the periphery. They were developed in the Declaration on Autonomy, adopted by the Ukrainian Duma community, in the Universals of the Central Rada and the Declaration on the Sovereignty of Ukraine on July 16, 1990. The theoretical assets of the documents listed above were reflected in the Act of Proclamation of Independence of Ukraine.

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**EDUCATION ISSUE UNDER THE CONDITIONS OF THE RUSSIAN
OCCUPATION OF EASTERN GALICIA AND NORTHERN BUKOVYNA
(1914 – 1917)**

Abstract. *The purpose of the study is to analyze and characterize formation and organization principles of educational policy of the Russian occupation authorities in Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna during World War I. The research methodology is based on general principles of historical knowledge, which in its turn is based on the principles of historicism, systematicity, scientificity, verification, authorial objectivity, reliance on historical sources. Both general scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization, method of analogies), special and historical (historiographic, historical and genetic, historical periodization, retrospective) methods have been used in the research. The scientific novelty consists in characteristics of formation process and elucidation of general trends of the Russian educational system introduction in the occupied territories during the period under analysis. Scientific publications and archival documents that supplement historical knowledge of the outlined issues have been introduced into a wider historiographical context by analyzing the main components of*

the Russian authorities policy in the field of education. **The Conclusion.** It has been elucidated in detail that the education issue was one of the constituent parts of Russification and the struggle of the Russian authorities against the Ukrainian national movement. It has been determined that the presence of official Ukrainian school in the Austro-Hungarian Empire complicated the fight against "Ukrainian separatism" in the Russian Empire. The Russian occupation would make it possible to destroy the nucleus of the Ukrainian national movement hostile to Russia and to establish the Russian national identity in the occupied lands. It has been found out that the use of the education issue to strengthen the Russian occupation power in Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna during the period of 1914 – 1917 led to the opposite of expected results mostly. Politicization and unreasoned actions of the Russian officials, as well as persecution of the local intellectual elite, not only did not increase the number of supporters of Russia, but also discredited it seriously.

Keywords: World War I, Eastern Galicia, Northern Bukovyna, Russia, Austro-Hungary, occupation, education, repressions.

СТАНОВИЩЕ ОСВІТИ В УМОВАХ РОСІЙСЬКОЇ ОКУПАЦІЇ СХІДНОЇ ГАЛИЧИНИ ТА ПІВНІЧНОЇ БУКОВИНИ (1914 – 1917 рр.)

Анотація. Мета дослідження – полягає в аналізі та характеристиці принципів формування й організації освітньої політики російської окупаційної влади у Східній Галичині та Північній Буковині під час Першої світової війни. **Методологія дослідження** базується на загальних засадах історичного пізнання, що ґрунтується на принципах історизму, системності, науковості, верифікації, авторської об'єктивності, опори на історичні джерела. У процесі дослідження використано як загальнонаукові (аналіз, синтез, узагальнення, метод аналогій), так і спеціально-історичні (історіографічний, історико-генетичний, історичної періодизації, ретроспективний) методи. **Наукова новизна** полягає у характеристиці процесу становлення та розкритті загальних тенденцій впровадження російської освітньої системи на окупованих територіях окресленого періоду. Через визначення основних складових організації політики російської влади у сфері освіти введено до ширшого історіографічного контексту наукові публікації і архівні документи, які доповнюють історичні знання з окресленої проблематики. **Висновки.** Докладно показано, що питання освіти було однією зі складових частин русифікації та боротьби російської влади проти українського національного руху. Визначено, що наявність офіційної української школи в Австро-Угорській імперії ускладнювала боротьбу із "українським сепаратизмом" в Російській імперії. Російська окупація дала б змогу знищити ядро ворожого для Росії українського національного руху та утвердити російську національну ідентичність на захоплених землях. З'ясовано, що використання питання освіти для зміцнення російської окупаційної влади у Східній Галичині та Північній Буковині упродовж 1914 – 1917 рр. призвело здебільшого до результатів, протилежних очікуванім. Політизованість та непродумані дії російських чиновників, а також переслідування місцевої інтелектуальної еліти, не тільки не збільшили кількість прихильників Росії, але й серйозно її дискредитували.

Ключові слова: Перша світова війна, Східна Галичина, Північна Буковина, Росія, Австро-Угорщина, окупація, освіта, репресії.

The Problem Statement. Among underestimated, but extremely important issues of World War I, which require separate coverage, is the issue of general education system formation and functioning in Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna during the period of Russian occupation in 1914 – 1917.

The beginning of the 20th century was marked by modern nations active formation and a clear national identity formation, which became possible owing to a purposeful process of nationalization implemented by means of two state modern institutions – army and education. In fact, directions determination for education development was in a political plane, which, in turn, forced the stateless European peoples to focus on solving the issues of forming their own national education and introducing a wide network of educational institutions at all levels.

Taking into consideration the lack of the official Ukrainian school in the Russian Empire and a low general level of literacy among the population, it was Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna that became the centre of the Ukrainian national movement development. Therefore, the main goal of the Russian imperial government was destruction of the Ukrainian cell, the so-called “mazepynstvo”, in which the imperial government saw the threat of possible separation of the Ukrainian lands from Russia, as well as due to fear of refuting the myth of a common Russian nation, which, according to the Russian authorities, destroyed the state core.

The Analysis of Recent Research and Publications. The education issue of the Russian occupation administration policy in Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna during World War I has not yet been the subject of a separate thorough study and this topic remains poorly studied, as evidenced by the amount of relevant scientific research publications. However, it is still possible to trace certain tendencies in the historiographical tradition, primarily based on the works of I. Baran and O. Mazur (Baran, 2014, pp. 148–156; Baran & Mazur, 2012, pp. 99–107), A. Bakhturina (Bakhturina, 2000; Bakhturina, 2004), whose publications are saturated with certain ideological stamps, V. Liubchenko (Liubchenko, 2000, pp. 345–368), S. Orlyk (Orlyk, 2018; Orlyk & Mekheda, 2020, pp. 153–162), I. Lozynska (Lozynska, 2017, pp. 21–30) and the others. The files of the State Archives of Ternopil region, Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Lviv, Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Kyiv are main components of the research source base. In the study, in addition to sources of the State Archives of Ukraine, there were used the funds of Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire, Russian State Historical Archive, materials of the funds of the State Public Historical Library of Russia (Galitsiya, 1916; Vysochayshie manifesty, 1915). Memoirs of D. Doroshenko (Doroshenko, 2007), I. Krypiakievych (Petrovych, 1915) and P. Milyukov are of great importance (Milyukov, 2001), who, being contemporaries of those events, in our opinion, described the Russian authorities’ activities in the occupied territory sufficiently, focusing on educational processes.

The purpose of the research consists in the analysis and characterization of the educational policy formation and organization principles of the Russian occupation authorities in Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna during World War I. To achieve the goal, the following objectives have been outlined: analysis of archival documents, historiographical analysis, description of the Russian officials and military administration activities in the occupied territories.

The Results of the Research. Having occupied Eastern Galicia in September of 1914 as a result of the Battle of Galicia, and Northern Bukovyna – in October, the Russian authorities started establishing their administration on the occupied territories. After liquidation of all Austrian government structures, a system of the Russian occupation administration was formed, which was headed by the military general-governate (Lozynska, 2017, p. 23). On the instructions of the commander-in-chief of the South-Western Front armies, General M. Ivanov, H. Bobrynskyi, and the Chief of Army Supply, General O. Zabielin, elaborated the document “Temporary Regulation on Administration of Austria-Hungary Regions...”, approved on September 1, 1914 by Supreme Commander-in-Chief Mykola Mykolayovych (Galitsiya, 1916, p. 8). On September 18, 1914, the military governor-general H. Bobrynskyi arrived in Lviv, whose primary task in the field of education was to carry out a number of measures regarding state and private educational institutions and establishment of a special body under the governor-general to manage public education (Vysochayshie manifesty,

1915, p. 23). On September 19, 1914, H. Bobrynskyi issued Resolution “On Prohibition of Functioning of Various Types of Clubs, Unions and Societies and on Temporary Closure of Existing Educational Institutions, Boarding Schools and Courses in Galicia, with the Exception of Educational Workshops” (Galitsiya, 1916, p. 9). Resolution was obligatory. Violation of it was punishable by administrative arrest for three months or a fine of 3,000 rubles (Baran & Mazur, 2012, p. 101).

A member of the State Duma, D. Chykhachov, a well-known nationalist and Black Hundred member, became the government representative at the governor-general’s office and the initiator of education reforms in the occupied territories (Rossowski, 1916, p. 264). At the beginning of September of 1914, he submitted the document to H. Bobrynskyi “On Educational Matters in Eastern Galicia and Bukovyna” (RSHA, f. 821, d. 150, c. 38, p. 43), in which he set the goal of the Russian authorities to establish an exclusively Russian school at all levels in the coming years.

According to D. Chykhachov, all higher education institutions should be closed for an indefinite period of time, and their further fate issue would be the subject to a legislative decision. To manage the education system in the occupied territories, he suggested appointing a director and 5 or 6 inspectors of public schools, inviting experienced officials from the Ukrainian provinces of the Russian Empire. A separate item of the programme provided for organization of the Russian language courses for teachers, introduction of the Russian language learning as a compulsory subject in all educational institutions from January 1, 1915. Understanding the problems in this issue implementation, it was recommended temporarily to allow teaching in the languages in which it had been conducted before, even “in the Malorussky dialect”, however, the phonetic spelling was to be replaced by the Russian one (Bakhturina, 2000, pp. 91–92). In order to implement the idea of Russification of education, D. Chykhachov recommended taking measures to familiarize the teaching staff and students with the Russian language and literature, history, and geography of Russia by distributing books, organizing part-time and Sunday classes, prohibiting textbooks and books that are in their nature “hostile to the Russian statehood” at schools (SATR, f. 370, d. 1, c. 2, p. 8).

Governor-General H. Bobrynskyi to some extent shared D. Chykhachov’s views. In the note “On Languages in Galicia and Bukovyna” he noted: “This time Chervonna Rus has become part of the Russian state, and the artificial success of “the Ukrainian language” and phonetics must collapse ...” (RSHA, f. 821, d. 150, c. 38, p. 48). On September 27, 1914 there was issued a circular “On Educational Affairs in Eastern Galicia and Bukovyna”, which contained the list of main measures, including: Russification of secondary education, termination of public organizations activities and control over the Russian Orthodox clergy. There was also the item on the closure of all primary, secondary and higher educational institutions, and the issue of resuming classes depended directly on the reliability of teachers and their level of the Russian language proficiency (SATR, f. 370, d. 1, c. 4, p. 23). Thus, in the shortest possible time, it was planned to liquidate “Austrian” state educational institutions completely, as well as schools with such languages of instruction as Polish, German, and Ukrainian, which were considered “deeply hostile to Russia” (RSHA, f. 2005, d. 1, c. 13, p. 38).

On October 3, 1914, H. Bobrynskyi sent the project “Temporary Regulation on Supervision of Educational Unit ...” to General M. Ivanov for consideration. In an explanatory note, among other things, he suggested giving permission to the Governor-General directly, if necessary, to issue orders to regulate various aspects of educational sphere; to control education in the occupied territories, it is necessary to introduce the position of a head at

public schools in Lviv. It was suggested inviting B. Plesky, the director of public schools in Kyiv province; in each of the three provinces, to introduce two full-time positions of inspectors located in Lviv, Ternopil, Stanislaviv, Chernivtsi, Stryi and Kolomyia. Specialists from Kyiv educational district who speak Ukrainian and Polish should have been invited to the positions of inspectors (CSHAUK, f. 361, d. 1, c. 110, pp. 10, 11).

Practical measures regarding implementation of H. Bobrynskyi's ideas on the control of educational institutions were entrusted to the directorate of public schools established by Order of the Supreme Commander-in-Chief on November 25, 1914 (RSHA, f. 2005, d. 1, c. 13, p. 19), and B. Pleskoi was appointed the director (Kamenev, 1936, p. 66). Under wartime conditions, the directorate became, in fact, the executive body of the military governor-general in the field of public education, the primary task of which was to develop a new project for education organization, create a network of educational inspections, and organize the Russian language courses for teachers (RSHA, f. 2005, d. 1, c. 13, p. 38).

In practice, the most difficult issue turned out to be the Russian-speaking staff issue, without whom any reform would hamper (Florczak, 2018, p. 79). Adhering to the policy of total Russification, the Russian authorities resorted to recruiting the necessary specialists on the territory of the Russian Empire. Thus, V. Ovsievskyi, the former inspector of Poltava public schools, was appointed as the inspector of Lviv school district, the inspector of public schools of Poltava province P. Feshchenko – the inspector of public schools of Lviv, the inspector of public schools of Chernihiv province P. Arkhangelsky – the inspector of public schools of Ternopil and the others (CSHAUL, f. 768, d. 1, c. 1, pp. 1, 2).

More than 300 applications of people who applied for the positions of teachers were considered by a special commission under Kyiv educational district directorate during the period of 1914 – 1915. During the process of “selecting” specialists, the directorate paid special attention not so much to their professionalism as to their reliability and personal connections. Such quantity of applications can be explained by financial benefit, since, according to the documents, teachers were sent on business trips with full state maintenance and preservation of their main jobs (CSHAUL, f. 768, d. 1, c. 1, p. 2).

However, it was clear that it was impossible to solve the shortage of teachers by personnel from the Russian Empire. On December 16, 1914, two-month courses of “All-Russian Literary Language” were announced for teachers of Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna, which were successfully started in January of 1915. First of all, courses were opened in large cities that could provide suitable conditions, however, not all among those who wanted to be enrolled could attend them. Thus, in Lviv, out of 230 applicants, only 68 were enrolled in the course, in Sambir, only 58 out of 120, in Ternopil, 63 out of 155 applicants and in Stanislaviv 62 were enrolled in the course. Attempts to open courses in Chernivtsi could not be implemented due to a small number of students (Bakhturina, 2004, p. 152). Additionally, in Lviv, Sambir, Stanislaviv, and Ternopil, local inspectorates of public schools organized pedagogical libraries for teachers who completed the courses for their self-education (Bakhturina, 2000, p. 97).

In addition to the courses organized by the Russian authorities, similar ones were actively promoted by local muscophiles. In particular, “M. Kachkovskyi Society” opened several centres with the number of up to 50 people for the Russian language courses. In February of 1915, six-week Russian language courses were opened in Lviv, attended by 140 students, and at the same time, three-month courses, attended by 100 peasants (Bakhturina, 2000, p. 94). In May of the same year, the society founded four-month courses of the Russian language and

literature, history and geography for high school youth (RSHA, f. 465, d. 1, c. 12, pp. 1, 2), the Russian language practice courses for adults (CSHAUK, f. 361, d. 1, c. 1166, p. 1).

Yu. Yavorskyi was responsible for the courses (Semeniv, 2018, p. 78), who, on September 22, 1914, in the newspaper "Prykarpatska Rus" published an article about the future of Galicia, in which he wrote that "First of all, the great and powerful Russian language must rise victoriously! At schools and offices, at meetings, in the press, in announcements and speeches in a historically Russian region, there should be no other language than Russian" (Petrovych, 1915, p. 22). He called for making the language of primary, secondary and higher schools exclusively Russian as soon as possible, and to give leadership to teachers from Russia in schooling (Petrovych, 1915, pp. 65–66). Yu. Yavorskyi explained his position by the fact that among teachers appointed from the local elite, "irreconcilable enemies of the Russian culture and nationhood – mazepa agitators" may enter the school (Semeniv, 2018, p. 80). In this aspect, the Russophiles were even ahead of the Russian officials, who recommended distinguishing between the leaders of "the Ukrainian movement" and "the grey mass of citizens", not allowing only the former into public service, but with others "... behave quite conciliatory, consigned to oblivion their past activities" (AFPRES, f. 135, d. 474, c. 136, p. 2).

The actual closure of educational institutions caused indignation among local population, some members of the State Duma and the State Council, among whom was P. Myliukov (AFPRES, f. 135, d. 474, c. 191, p. 44). At the beginning of October of 1914, he extremely negatively treated the acts of violence and Russification in Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna: "After the occupation of the territory, the population of which had broad political rights, to withdraw books in the Ukrainian language, to close all cultural and educational societies, to liquidate everything that the Ukrainians achieved during a long struggle is to create the ground for a new struggle, but already against the Russifying nationalist course of our bureaucracy..." (Milyukov, 2001, p. 402). In his opinion, such policy had fatal consequences for the Russian interests, since it turned the Ukrainian population of the occupied territories against Russia, who at the beginning met the Russian army not hostilely at all and could actually treat it as a "liberator", if this "liberation" did not immediately turn into "violence against conscience and conviction of millions of people" (Doroshenko, 2007, p. 26).

On December 17, 1914, H. Bobrynskyi issued a circular allowing private schools to be opened from January 1, 1915, but after fulfilling a number of conditions, including: personal permission of the Governor General; providing a list of teachers; compulsory study of the Russian language 5 hours a week; for the study of History and Geography, use only textbooks approved by the Ministry of Public Education of the Russian Empire (Galitsiya, 1916, p. 33); children of the Orthodox and Greek Catholic faiths were not supposed to study at educational institutions of the Roman Catholic orders. Violation of at least one of these rules led to the closure of the educational institution (Baran, 2014, p. 154). However, the effect of this order did not extend to state schools and higher educational institutions, which were not functioning (Galitsiya, 1916, p. 33).

After the publication of the circular, the directorate of public schools began considering applications for opening schools, inspecting educational institutions, studying the personnel of teachers and educational programmes. For this purpose, educational inspectorates were created in Lviv, Ternopil, Stanislaviv, Chernivtsi and Sambir, which were to become the basis of local management bodies in the field of education. They were entrusted with the function of monitoring educational institutions. Analysis of archival materials shows that by February of 1915, 12 schools were opened (CSHAUL, f. 768, d. 1, c. 37, pp. 1, 2). There were also cases

of arbitrary opening of schools. Usually, the organization of a new school was reported to the relevant authorities quite quickly, after which inspectors reported to the directorates of public schools about violation of the governor-general's circular (CSHAUL, f. 658, d. 1, c. 28, p. 4).

By March of 1915, the primary and secondary education reform project was practically ready. The Russian occupation administration expected to open 9,000 people's schools in the occupied territories over the next five years, opening 1,800 annually. To train the necessary number of teaching staff, it was planned to open 70 higher public schools, 25 male and 25 female gymnasiums, 10 teacher seminars and at least 2 teacher training institutes (Bakhturina, 2000, p. 94).

During the first Russian occupation of Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna, several so-called "fully Russian-speaking" model elementary schools were opened. Such activity was especially observed in Ternopil province – in the villages of Velyki Birky, Ihrovytsia, and Velyky Hlybochok (CSHAUL, f. 768, d. 1, c. 36, pp. 1–11). On January 25, 1915, the first Russian school was opened in the village of Zapytiv, Lviv province. The solemn opening was attended by Count O. Bobrynskyi, D. Chykhachov, the state Duma member and V. Dudykevych, a famous Muscovite (Baran, 2014, p. 154).

It was also planned to open "Russian Government People's School" in the town of Horodok, Lviv province, the villages of Yamnytsia, Stanislaviv province, and Mohyliany, Zhovkiv district, and establishment of 100 more primary schools and two Russian gymnasiums in Lviv in 1915. Initially, 125 thousand rubles were allocated for this project, later the amount increased to 175 thousand rubles, but in March of 1915, the financing of the project was refused (CSHAUL, f. 768, d. 1, c. 37, pp. 2, 3).

Such position is quite understandable, since in 1915 almost all expenditures were reduced in comparison with expenditures in 1914, and some were removed from financing altogether, including expenditures for the maintenance of educational institutions (Orlyk, 2018, p. 761). The increase in expenses was foreseen in the budget only for articles that were caused by increased expenses related to the presence of Russian troops, maintenance of sanitary conditions and law and order, maintenance of the police, repairs of roads, bridges, canals and unforeseen expenses (Orlyk & Mekheda, 2020, p. 156).

Despite the decrease in funding, during September of 1914 – May of 1915, the Russian occupation authorities, with the support of local muscophiles, managed to open 10 primary schools with the Russian language of instruction. The Orthodox clergy achieved much greater success. In March of 1915 the Orthodox clergy managed to open 33 church parish schools, which were intensively provided with icons, portraits of the tsar and teaching aids by Volyn Diocese (Kompaniets, 1960, p. 245). From the first days of the war, higher church authorities declared the need for the development of schooling as an integral component of Russification, and set the goal of opening a church school in every Orthodox parish (Veryha, 1998, p. 37). The first church schools were opened already in October of 1914, the supervision of which was entrusted to the diocesan school council by Archbishop Yevlohiy (Baran & Mazur, 2012, p. 105). Further steps towards the policy in the field of education were not implemented due to successful offensive of the Austro-Hungarian and German troops in May – June of 1915, which caused hasty retreat of the Russian army from the territory of Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna.

In 1916, after the recapture of significant territories of Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna, "Galician-Bukovyna General-Governorship" was restored with its centre in Ternopil first, and then – in Chernivtsi (Doroshenko, 2007, p. 66). According to O. Brusylov,

under the conditions observed in 1916, only unconditional military rule was possible, without fanatical solutions to religious, school and other issues important for the Russian government in 1914 – 1915. (RSHA, f. 821, d. 150, c. 38, p. 43).

On August 4, 1916, new Governor-General F. Trepov, guided by new management principles, taking into consideration coming of a new academic year, appealed to Ternopil and Chernivtsi leaders concerning educational process organization, F. Trepov also informed the Minister of Public Education of this issue (CSHAUK, f. 361, d. 1, c. 991, p. 10). Ternopil Governor I. Czartoryzskyi considered it quite possible to resume classes at schools, but emphasized “that resumption of classes at schools can be only allowed with permission of provincial administration in each individual case” (Kompaniets, 1960, p. 227).

On August 9, 1916, in response to F. Trepov’s appeal, the Minister of People’s Education P. Ignatiev informed of not objecting to the opening of educational institutions, and suggested that the head of Kyiv educational district, I. Bazanov, should prepare regulations on supervision of school sphere (CSHAUK, f. 361, d. 1, c. 110, p. 3). On August 28, 1916, O. Brusylov allowed opening of primary and secondary schools “as needed” in the occupied regions east of the line Ternopil-Terebovlia-Buchach-Nyzhniv-Kolomyia-Kuty-Hura-Humora (Liubchenko, 2011, p. 361).

In September of 1916, having analyzed elaborated projects for education organization, P. Ignatiev in a letter to F. Trepov expressed special concern about the possibility of using Ukrainian as the language of instruction at schools: “I’d like you to focus on the fact that it might be necessary to use artificial Malorusska as the language of instruction at the state expense again, i.e. the language of Hrushevsky and his supporters. Is it right? It seems to me that at school the language of the winners should be used for the benefit of those who’ll live under the Russian State» (CSHAUK, f. 361, d. 1, c. 1166, p. 22).

On April 13, 1916, in response to P. Ignatiev, S. Yevreyinov, Acting Governor of Chernivtsi and Przemyśl during the period of 1914 – 1915, outlined his position on Russian as the language of instruction at schools and general principles of education policy “... during the first occupation of Galicia, as experience showed, it was religious and educational issues that were the most dangerous ..., therefore, F. Trepov chose the programme of activities for public education, according to which it is possible to allow opening of previously existing educational institutions using previous programme and to concentrate supervision in the hands of the Russian authorities, so that manifestations hostile to Russia or harmful to the Russian army and authorities are not allowed in the region” (CSHAUK, f. 361, d. 1, c. 991, p. 10).

The position of F. Trepov was fully understood, taking into consideration the fact that introduction of the Russian language into educational process led to solving some issues, such as search of teaching staff, selection of textbooks, position of a new subject in an approved school programme. All these actions would have made sense in a more stable political situation, but under the current conditions they could only generate mass discontent and once again compromise the Russian government.

In 1916 educational process was to be carried out on the basis of “Temporary Regulation on the Work of Educational Unit” dated October 14, 1916, which made it possible to open schools and start training according to previously approved programmes. It was allowed to resume studies in the Ukrainian gymnasiums, two people’s schools and the Ukrainian teachers’ seminary in Ternopil, however, it was not possible to call gymnasiums “Ukrainian”, but – a gymnasium (Doroshenko, 2007, p. 67). The occupation authorities did not allow the use of the term “Ukrainian” in the official sphere, but did not always monitor compliance

with this instruction scrupulously. For example, on December 27, 1916, with the permission of Ternopil police chief, an announcement was published about recruitment to public schools and gymnasiums “with the Ukrainian language of instruction” in the city, this kind of announcement was also published in Chernivtsi quite legally (Liubchenko, 2011, p. 361).

The school board was headed by D. Yankovsky, the director of Gymnasium 6 in Kyiv, with a reputation as a liberal. D. Yankovsky, on the one hand, did not close Ukrainian schools and helped teachers to improve their financial situation, and on the other – threatened them with Siberia for using the term “Ukraine” (Doroshenko, 2007, p. 67).

It turned out that schools opened in Buchach, Chortkiv, Skalat, Tovste, Mykulyntsi and Hrymailiv, financed by the funds of All-Russian Zemstvo Union and All-Russian Union of Cities, and mainly served the Jewish population: “For the purpose of strict unification of educational affairs and to avoid imposing a random or tendentious school on the local population” non-governmental organizations were prohibited to establish educational institutions in the occupied territories (Liubchenko, 2011, p. 361). Such focus on the activities of public associations can be explained by their success and popularity among the population, and some representatives of the authorities began to consider them as political opponents (Kovalenko, 2021, p. 103). A way out of this situation was found quite quickly. The work of educational institutions was to be organized at shelters, which were opened at monasteries and charitable organizations mainly (SATR, f. 370, d. 1, c. 30, p. 20). At first, there were manual labour schools, and then, without changing the name “Children’s Shelter of All-Russian Union of Cities” and under the flag with a red cross there was introduced a normal schooling. Students and teachers from Naddniprianska Ukraine were appointed as heads, so that they would be officially responsible for institution, and local teachers were invited to teach for a salary “for hire” (Doroshenko, 2007, pp. 69–70). During May – June of 1916, by means of zemstvo and city unions, it was possible to restore public schooling almost completely, and the language of instruction was Ukrainian (Doroshenko, 2007, p. 71).

The problem of providing educational literature was solved by using the Ukrainian textbooks printed in Russia. In July of 1916, a congress of local teachers who belonged to zemstvo and city unions took place in Ternopil, at which the idea of using textbooks from Naddniprianska Ukraine was supported. After the necessary decision was made, tens of thousands of copies of the Ukrainian school textbooks were purchased at the expense of the unions. In his memoirs D. Doroshenko wrote that “Everything that was found in the Ukrainian bookstores in Kyiv, Poltava, Kharkiv and Katerynodar was purchased” (Doroshenko, 2007, pp. 71–72).

The Ministry for Foreign Affairs (hereinafter – MFA) remained openly dissatisfied with the school policy, where, despite complex information from the fronts, in the future, the Ministry believed that the organization of teaching at schools was the matter of a primary importance, as it was closely related to the “general issue of Ukrainianness and attitude of the Russian government to it” (AFPRES, f. 135, d. 474, c. 196, p. 4). The importance of this problem to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs can be explained by fears that weakening of education in the occupied territories will affect public opinion in the Ukrainian provinces of the Russian Empire, which in turn could cause consequences of a political nature.

In March of 1917, after the February Revolution, in accordance with decision of the Provisional Government, on the territories of Austria-Hungary occupied by the Russian troops, there was established “Regional Commissariat of Galicia and Bukovyna” with its centre in Chernivtsi, headed by D. Doroshenko, the Ukrainian politician. Despite the change in leadership, civilian personnel remained in their positions, D. Doroshenko’s chief focus was

involvement of the Ukrainians into administrative work. However, these changes could not affect the general situation significantly. The political crisis in the Russian Empire, defeats at the front forced the Provisional Government to focus, first of all, on the preservation of the army's fighting capacity, the return of the territories of the Russian Empire under a full control, the territories where national movements were activated.

The Conclusion. Thus, the Russian occupation administration actions in the field of education actually caused the destruction of all levels of extensive network of educational institutions that functioned in Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna during the pre-war period.

The authorities of the Russian Empire tried to solve educational problems simultaneously with religious and language issues in order to achieve their political goals. Education was the cornerstone of the Russian leadership plans, because after the victory over Austria-Hungary, the joining of Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna to the empire should implement the idea of the so-called "historical justice".

The presence of an official Ukrainian school complicated the fight against "Ukrainian separatism" in the Ukrainian provinces of the Russian Empire. However, the use of education as a factor to strengthen their positions in the occupied territories turned out to be unsuccessful. Biased assessment of the local population mood and the retreat of Russian troops in June of 1915 led to the collapse of the Russian government's plans for the Russification of Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna. Politicization of the Russian officials discredited the government seriously, and radical and thoughtless actions of local muscophiles intensified these processes.

The Russian occupation regime established in the second half of 1916 in Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna was more moderate in terms of programme and much "softer" than the previous Russian occupation regime of 1914 – 1915. It was based on the thesis of the priority satisfaction of the of the Russian army interests and needs and avoidance of any actions that could lead to political or social crises among the Ukrainian population in the occupied territories.

Despite efforts to impose the Russian education system, it did not have any mass support. Practically all teaching personnel invited to work in Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna, as well as the majority of graduates of short-term pedagogical courses, on the organization of which a lot of efforts and money were spent, left the territories with the retreating Russian troops. Personnel policy in the field of education collapsed. Plans for "far-sighted" reforms did not have a sufficient basis for their implementation.

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**DMYTRO-YAROSLAV VITOVSKY (1919 – 1947) AND HIS ROLE
IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE SOVIET AUTHORITY**

Abstract. The Purpose of the Study. In the article, on the basis of archival and memoir materials and scientific publications, the author has done the research on a little-studied biography of the famous military figure Dmytro-Yaroslav Vitovsky and analysed his role and place in the activities of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) in 1943 – 1946. In addition, in the article there has been covered the history of the first Slovak campaign of the UPA in 1945. **The research methodology** is based on the principles of historicism, systematicity, verification, objectivity, as well as the use of general scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization), special and historical (historical and genetic, historical and typological, historical and systemic) methods. **The scientific novelty** consists in the fact that Dmytro-Yaroslav Vitovsky's figure, who held prominent positions in the UPA (a head of the Military Field Gendarmerie, a commander of the UPA raiding units in Slovakia in 1945 and the tactical division “Makivka”), is poorly researched and the only significant source is the materials of the criminal case of the Soviet special services, which remain unverified. **The Conclusion.** The phenomenon of Dmytro-Yaroslav Vitovsky's figure has been revealed in the very fact that, despite being brought up in the family of a Polish officer and going to the Soviet aviation school, under the influence of Plast, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and with the help of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, he was formed as a Ukrainian patriot and contributed to the creation and functioning of the UPA significantly. Together with the UPA, Dmytro-Yaroslav Vitovsky acted in various areas of the army's life effectively: he participated in the formation of the Ukrainian officer elite at the senior school of the UPA “Oleni” (Deer), ensured discipline among the insurgent formations members as the head of the Military Field Gendarmerie, organized the first propaganda raid in Slovakia and headed the units of the Tactical Division-24 “Makivka”. Unsuccessful attempts to commit a suicide during detention in March of 1946 and in the prison hospital, the materials of the criminal case and the very court verdict of the Soviet punitive and repressive system (execution) lead to the opinion that Dmytro-Yaroslav Vitovsky remained loyal to the Ukrainian national idea and refute the versions spread by the Soviet special services about his betrayal of insurgents.

Key words: Dmytro-Yaroslav Vitovsky, Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, Military Field Gendarmerie, Slovakian UPA Raid of 1945, Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

ДМИТРО-ЯРОСЛАВ ВІТОВСЬКИЙ (1919 – 1947) І ЙОГО РОЛЬ У БОРОТЬБИ ПРОТИ РАДЯНСЬКОЇ ВЛАДИ

Анотація. Мета дослідження. Автор у статті на основі архівних та мемуарних матеріалів і наукових досліджень опрацював малодосліджену біографію відомого військового діяча Дмитра-Ярослава Вітовського і проаналізував його роль та місце у діяльності Української повстанської армії (УПА) у 1943 – 1946 рр. Крім того, у статті широко висвітлено історію першого Словацького походу УПА в 1945 р. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на принципи історизму, системності, верифікації, об'єктивності, а також на використання загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, узагальнення) та спеціально-історичних (історико-генетичний, історико-типологічний, історико-системний) методів. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що постать Дмитра-Ярослава Вітовського, який займав чільні посади в УПА (керівник Військово-польової жандармерії, командир рейдуєючих частин УПА в Словаччині в 1945 р. та тактично відтинку “Маківка”) залишається слабо дослідженою і єдиним значним джерелом до сьогодні залишаються не верифіковані матеріали кримінальної справи радянської спецслужби. **Висновки.** Феномен постаті Дмитра-Ярослава Вітовського розкривається уже в тому, що, незважаючи на виховання у сім'ї польського офіцера та навчання в радянській авіаційній школі, він під впливом Пласту, Організації Українських націоналістів (ОУН) та за допомоги митрополита Андрія Шептицького сформувався як українській патріот і значною мірою доклався до створення і функціонування УПА. Разом з УПА діяч ефективно проявив себе на різних ділянках життєдіяльності армії: брав участь у формуванні української офіцерської еліти в старшинській школі УПА “Олені”, забезпечував збереження дисциплінованості повстанських формувань на посаді керівника Військово-польової жандармерії, організував перший пропагандистський рейд у Словаччину та керував підрозділами Тактичного відтинку-24 “Маківка”. Невдалі спроби закінчити життя самогубством під час затримання у березні 1946 р. та у в'язничній лікарні, матеріали кримінальної справи і сам судовий вирок радянської карально-репресивної системи (розстріл) – схиляють до думки, що Дмитро-Ярослав Вітовський залишився вірним українській національній ідеї і спростовують поширювані радянськими спецслужбами версії про його зраду повстанців.

Ключові слова: Дмитро-Ярослав Вітовський, Організація Українських націоналістів, Військово-польова жандармерія, Словацький рейд УПА 1945 р., Українська повстанська армія.

The Problem Statement. During the period of eighty years since the creation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, in the Ukrainian historiography there have not been written detailed biographies of its leading figures, among whom the person of Dmytro-Yaroslav Dmytrovych Vitovsky (a pseudonym Zmiyuka, since July of 1945 – Andriyenko) is poorly researched. The study of Dmytro Vitovsky's biography acquires a special significance from the point of view of the generational inheritance of the Ukrainian liberation struggle, since his father D. Vitovsky became the organizer of the November Uprising of 1918 in Eastern Galicia and the first minister of defense of the West Ukrainian People's Republic (ZUNR). In addition, in general, the study of the national liberation movement in Western Ukraine in the 1940s and 1950s of the 20th century is topical, since in foreign historical science there is the opinion, that in Ukraine decommunization processes are associated with a non-critical analysis of the history of the OUN and the UPA, and that the state historical policy supplants an open discussion on this issue in the society (Peters, 2016).

The Analysis of Recent Research and Publications. V. Viatrovych and P. Sodol made an attempt to do a scientific analysis of D. Vitovsky's biography (V'iatrovych, n. d., Sodol, 1995). D. Vitovsky's activity in Plast is outlined by A. Sova and Yu. Yuzych fragmentarily (Sova & Yuzych, 2015). Nowadays the part of D. Vitovsky's criminal case is published in Volume 9 of the new series “Chronicle of the UPA” (Kokin & Ishchuk, 2007). Fragments

of D. Vitovsky's activity as the head of the Military Field Gendarmerie were elucidated by V. Ilnytskyi (Ilnytskyi, 2016, 24). D. Vitovsky's role in the organization and conduct of the UPA raid in Slovakia in 1945 was analysed in the works by V. Viatrovych and V. Ilnytskyi (Ilnytskyi, 2015; V'iatrovych, 2001). In Volume 48 of "Chronicles of the UPA" and publications by R. Drozd, M. Syrnyi and M. Shmigel, the first insurgent raid into Slovakia is analysed through the prism of the Slovak and Czech documents (Drozd & Smigel, 2020; Shmigel, 2010, Shmigel & Syrnyi, 2019).

The Purpose of the Article. At the current stage of scientific research, the figure of Dmytro-Yaroslav Dmytrovych Vitovsky's military activity is researched in historiography insufficiently. The scientific article focuses on D. Vitovsky's role in the activities of the OUN and the UPA.

The Results of the Research. It should be noted that there are different interpretations of Dmytro-Yaroslav Vitovsky's birthplace (born on July 7, 1919). In some sources there is mentioned a small village of Broshniv-Osada as his homeland, and in D. Vitovsky's testimony in the criminal case of the Ministry of State Security, the town of Rozhniativ is mentioned (SSA SSU, f. 5, c. 67449, p. 2), although this village and town are located next to each other in Kalush district of Ivano-Frankivsk region. The future national figure was born in the family of Dmytro Vitovsky, a prominent ZUNR figure, and a teacher Mariya Lishchynska, who registered their marriage in the village of Broshniv on April 30, 1916 (SA IFR, f. 631, d. 8, c. 162, p. 281). D. Vitovsky junior was called in the sources differently: Dmytro, Yaroslav, Oleh. The answers to these questions are provided by the church record book, in which it is written that during the baptism by the priest Volodymyr-Rudolf Yatskovsky, the child was named Dmytro-Yaroslav and he was born in Rozhniativ. Dmytro-Yaroslav's godparents became Roman Kurbas, a well-known public figure, a lawyer, and Bohdana Borodyevych, the wife of a centurion of the Ukrainian Galician army Yevhen Borodyevych (SA IFR, f. 631, d. 9, c. 45, p. 90).

After a short time, Dmytro Vitovsky and his mother moved to the village of Broshniv-Osada to live with Pavlina Lishchynska, a grandmother. In 1926, the activist's mother married the Polish officer Józef Dzik and moved to the town of Ożarów (Poland). In 1929, a young man and his family moved to the city of Vilnius, and in 1937 he graduated from the gymnasium and entered the University, Geography Faculty.

As D. Vitovsky noted, since 1934 he had already been financially independent because of his stepfather's and the family's unfriendly attitude towards him. He was a member of Plast, a participant of the Plast Camp in Pidliute (1930), an educator (children aged six – eleven) in Ostodor camps (Sova & Yuzych, 2015, p. 59). Thus, in 1938, M. Sayevych was the guardian of in "Choty Krylati" camp in Pidliute, and D. Vitovsky was his assistant. As Ya. Dubytsky mentioned, D. Vitovsky was disliked in the camp because of his excessive desire for punishment for infractions of discipline violation, and that is why, the camp commandant even sent him to supply the camp with food (Dubytskyi, 1996, p. 59).

In August of 1938, in Pidliute D. Vitovsky met Metropolitan A. Sheptytsky, who promised him a scholarship for studies because D. Vitovsky was the son of a prominent ZUNR figure. Owing to this support, D. Vitovsky moved to Lviv and until June of 1939 he studied at the Faculty of Geography at Lviv University (SSA SSU, f. 5, c. 67449, p. 8). In March of 1939, on the initiative of the organizational referent at Lviv University (a pseudonym Lys), he became a member of the OUN and the organizational referent at the Faculty of Geography and a head of the society of 15 people.

In February of 1940, after the occupation of Western Ukraine by the USSR, D. Vitovsky was mobilized into the Red Army and studied at the aviation college in Engels near Saratov. In March of 1941, he graduated from the college having the rank of a junior lieutenant, specialty – a reconnaissance-pilot, and was sent to serve in special Squadron 273. In the summer of 1941, on the eve of the German-Soviet war, D. Vitovsky received a leave of absence in connection with the injury received during the plane crash and arrived in Lviv on June 12, 1941. In Lviv he re-established contact with the OUN owing to the aforementioned Lys and University Professor Yuriy Poliansky. D. Vitovsky never returned to the Red Army. In 1940 Dmytro Vitovsky married Halyna Katerynivna Holobrodzka, who was a student at the Geography Faculty of Lviv University.

From July 3 to December 30, 1941, when the Germans invaded the region, the activist worked in Perehin district as a forester of A. Sheptytsky's metropolitan forests, then as a forester in the village of Borove, Rava-Ruska district, and from June of 1942 to July of 1943 in Pidhirske Forestry of Kalush district. In the village of Dovpotiv of Kalush district, after a meeting with Yaroslav Melnyk (Robert), the OUN regional leader, and Volodymyr Livy (Mytar), the representative of the OUN Security Service of Stanislaviv OUN, D. Vitovsky changed his legal status into illegal (SSA SSU, f. 5, c. 67449, pp. 9–11).

In the summer of 1943, he joined the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, received the rank of khorunzhyi, became an adjutant to the commander of the UPA starshynska school "Oleni", Fedir Poliovy (Pol), at which he was responsible for economy and security. During this period, he participated in 4 battles with the Nazis, caught deserters, found a new location for the school. In total, at the first and second schools "Oleni" there were graduates, i. e. about 700 senior officers (starshyn) and candidates for senior officers (Illytskyi, 2016a, p. 387).

In November of 1944, the commander of Military District-4 "Hoverla" Mykola Tverdokhlib (Hrim) appointed D. Vitovsky the commandant of the Military Field Gendarmerie (MFG) of the UPA in Stanislavsky region (nowadays – Ivano-Frankivsk region). Zmiyuka was guarded by 24 fighters, his responsibilities included territorial leaders management of the Ukrainian Armed Forces and investigation of desertion cases in the UPA (according to the investigation case about 240 people were sentenced to death in Stanislavsky region, 14 of them were personally executed by D. Vitovsky), he arrested the UPA leaders who started cooperating with the enemy. D. Vitovsky and his bodyguard were involved in combat clashes with the Red Army units in the area of the villages of Pidsukhy, Kropyvnyk, Hrabivka, Chorny Potik, etc. (SSA SSU, f. 5, c. 67449, p. 16).

As Ya. Dubytsky mentioned, D. Vitovsky was assisted by two dogs with the nicknames Hitler and Stalin, and he "was strict, but very fair" (Dubytskyi, 1996, p. 59). Thus, Z. Tershakovets (Fedir), D. Vitovsky, M. Bobanych (Triasylo) and the others were engaged in the case investigation of the "Mesnyky" hundred, whose fighters robbed the population, did not follow orders, abused alcohol, did not carry out any action in the village of Kozakivka (nowadays – part of Bolekhiv, Ivano-Frankivsk region) during the winter. Commander Andriyenko made the decision to execute the commander of the "Mesnyky" hundred and every tenth one to be shot and to disband this unit in the summer of 1945. The sentence was carried out, the hundred was disbanded, and the rest were sent to other units. The military tribunal also considered the case of Volodymyr Vereshchynskyi (Yasmin), the commander of the "Haidamaky" hundred (TD-23 "Mahura"), due to the fact that he did not organize a proper breaking through the front line, dispersed fighters and was unable to organize the "Haidamaky" hundred again (Illytskyi, 2016b, pp. 96–97).

D. Vitovsky was the author of the UPA disciplinary statute which consisted of 119 articles, which provided for the following degrees of punishment: warning, transfer of the guilty to another department, arrest and trial, and execution for particularly serious violations (SSA SSU, f. 5, c. 67449, p. 82).

In May of 1945, the functions of the Military Field Gendarmerie were transferred to the Security Service of the OUN, and D. Vitovsky was appointed a commander of TD-24 “Makivka”. According to D. Vitovsky, there were hundreds in the territory of Drohobych region, with a total number of 1,188 people (SSA SSU, f. 5, c. 67449, pp. 15–16). According to Yu. Melnychok, in the spring of 1945, the composition of TD-24 “Makivka” included: “Yavora” hundred, a commander Ivan Pankiv-Yavir; “Wolves” hundred, a commander Stepan Hnativ-Karmeliuk; “Mesnyky” hundred, a commander Mukha (disbanded in the summer of 1945); “Falcon” hundred, a commander is unknown; “Bulava” hundred, a commander Volodymyr Hoshko-Myron; “Brodych” hundred, a commander Mykola Lavryk-Brodych; “Bui-Tur” hundred, a commander Dmytro Suslynets-Bui-Tur; “Krylati” hundred, a commander Victoria (defeated on January 1, 1945); “Yevhen” hundred, a commander Mykhailo Hushtak-Yevhen (defeated in spring-summer of 1945) (Melnychok, 2018b, p. 82).

P. Sodol characterizes D. Vitovsky as an “energetic, combat commander” (Sodol, 1995, pp. 16–17). On Andriyenko’s instructions, only in July of 1945, a “Zhuravli” hundred killed 34 soldiers of the Red Army in the area of the Maidan Forest, “Myron” hundred – 16 soldiers of the Red Army near in the village of Skorodne, Nyzhni-Ustrytsky district, “Falcons” hundred from the Prut range attacked a distillery in Sambir district, 23 enemy automobiles were destroyed. In particular, the above mentioned hundreds became active with the aim of disrupting the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on February 10, 1946, and the district centers of Drohobych region were attacked (SSA SSU, f. 5, c. 67449, p. 17, 83).

Andriyenko contributed to the formation of the Heroes cult, and during the Whitsun of 1945, near the graves of the fallen insurgents in the battle with the Germans in 1943 – 1944, a commemoration of the dead took place. D. Vitovsky opened the commemoration ceremony. He called for a one-minute silence to honour the fallen heroes, and after that he made a short speech (Sodol, 1992, p. 114).

Since July of 1945, D. Vitovsky was the commander of the Slovak Raid, whose task was to carry out propaganda work in Czechoslovakia and establish cooperation with the local anti-communist underground. As noted it was noted by the Slovak researchers M. Shmigel and M. Syrny, “from the beginning of the preparation of the raid to its end, the priority was given to creating the most positive image of the Ukrainian nationalist in Slovak society” (Shmigel & Syrny, 2019, p. 26).

V. Ilnytskyi emphasized the experience and authority of D. Vitovsky, pointing out that it was the latter who was tasked with organizing and carrying out the UPA raid into Slovakia in 1945 (Ilnytskyi, 2015, p. 33). In the raid there were involved the following hundreds: a hundred “Bulava” (a commander Volodymyr Hoshka-Myron) from TD-24, and from TD-22 “Chornyi Lis” – the “Pidkarpatskyi” fire brigade (a commander Pavlo Vatsyk-Prut), which included hundreds “Zmiyi” (a commander Mykola Korzh-Sokil), “Zavedii” (a commander Buria). Preparation for the raid began in Sambir region, it included a month-long training course, where special emphasis was focused on political education classes to train not only a soldier, but also to form a propagandist (Ilnytskyi, 2015, p. 33).

On July 25, 1945, at 10 p.m. in Sambir region, a meeting of all commanders of the combined division was held. Andriyenko, who had arrived the day before with his headquarters and

a security detachment, gave each division the direction of march and mustering places in case of divisions defeat. Due to the fact that it was quite far from the Curzon line, and the territory was filled with Bolshevik troops, the divisions had to move in sub-divisions in order to rejoin into one division in Lemkivshchyna later and head towards the Slovak border (Propahandyvnyi reid, 1946, p. 33; V'iatrovych, 2001, p. 64).

As Ivan Bohuslavskiy (Spivak), a senior vistovyi, recalled in his memoirs, that Andriyenko joined "Pidkarpatskyi" kurin in the forest between the villages of Sprynia and Nedilna. A commander Prut assembled the division and made a report to D. Vitovsky. In his speech, Andriyenko said: "we will go on a raid on Zakerzonnia, and maybe even further" (Sodol, 1992, p. 91). Hryhoriy Kostiuk (Nezломny) recalled about the reception of Zmiyuka by the riflemen: "The commander Zmiyuka (Andriyenko) was of a high stature... He knew how to speak well, perform clerical tasks well, and in battles he passed the initiative to his subordinate UPA senior officers" (Sodol, 1992, p. 113). Zmiyuka's hundred was numerically smaller than "Pidkarpatsky" kurin, but they had better uniforms and were not so exhausted by the campaign. D. Vitovsky invited the kurin fighters to his place and treated them to "goulash cooked by him", which also shows Andriyenko's leadership qualities from the best side (Sodol, 1992, p. 113).

Kurin under the command of Prut went on a raid on the night of July 25, and Andriyenko with the rest of the divisions on July 29, 1945. Sambirsky, Starosambirsky, and Ustrytsky povits were crossed in three days. On August 2, the insurgents engaged in a battle with units of the division of internal forces of the Bolsheviks near the village of Skorodno, in which three soldiers were killed and one was seriously wounded, but they were able to break through the border (Propahandyvnyi reid, 1946, p. 33).

On August 3, 1945, all insurgent divisions gathered again in the forest near the village of Lopinka in the commune of Tisna in Lemkiv region, where the last two-day rest took place (Propahandyvnyi reid, 1946, p. 33). After that, the units under a command of Andriyenko were engaged in battle with Polish armed units twice, D. Vitovsky also tried to establish relations with the Polish anti-communist underground through negotiations with one of their leaders under the pseudo Rolek (SSA SSU, f. 5, c. 67449, pp. 83–85). Thus, the UPA units had a battle with units of the Polish Army and the Polish Security Government in the village of Prybyshiw, in which 18 Poles were killed, and there were 27 killed and 20 wounded the UPA fighters in the battle near Odrekhova later (Sodol, 1992, pp. 91–92).

On August 22, the last meeting of units commanders before leaving for Slovakia was held in the village of Poliana Surovychna. A commander Andriyenko "once again discussed the raid to Slovakia precisely" (Propahandyvnyi reid, 1946, p. 33). That same night, about 500 UPA soldiers crossed the Polish-Slovak border without firing a single shot (V'iatrovych, 2001, pp. 64, 66). According to the aforementioned Spivak, "every time we were further from the border, people treated us more and more kindly. We raided the areas of Medzhyabyrtsi and Stropkiv. A commander Andriyenko went to Pryašiv region with two groups and, as we later found out, he had to make some negotiations with the UPA representatives there, who were supposed to be in Slovakia at that time" (Sodol, 1992, pp. 92–93).

D. Vitovsky emphasized that riflemen should not engage in combat with the Slovak military units, unless the UPA were attacked by the Soviet special services units (Propahandyvnyi reid, 1946, p. 35). In general, during the raid there were no significant combats between the units of the Czechoslovak army and the UPA riflemen, and in all insurgent reports on the first Slovak raid there is emphasized the extremely friendly attitude of the Slovaks towards

the UPA riflemen. A friendly attitude was even characteristic of some employees of state security agencies (V'iatrovych, 2001, pp. 69, 74). As for the local population's support for the UPA riflemen, the Czechoslovak communists blamed internal political opponents – non-communist parties, especially the Slovak Democratic Party, as well as the Greek Catholic Church (Drozd & Smigel, 2020, pp. 104–105).

The raiders entered the villages in the evening. First of all, they occupied the local police station, detained its members and assured them that the UPA riflemen would not use violence and it was forbidden for them to offend the local population. Propaganda lectures were held in the villages, at which they explained their goals and reasons for the struggle. Then the population was gathered, and during the meeting, a political worker of the UPA or OUN promoted the activities of the Ukrainian partisans. Other riflemen of the UPA went from house to house and had individual conversations. At the same time, they looked for overnight accommodation with the possibility of cooking. At night, or at dawn, the UPA riflemen left the village (Shmigel, 2010, p. 17).

It should be noted that already in the first village on the Slovak side, the insurgents managed to get the support of local residents during a joint prayer: "...when the villagers heard the Our Father..., they did not know what was happening to them. Then they just saw that we were not any bandits" (Propahandyvnyi reid, 1946, p. 34).

On August 28, in the village of Diyapalovtse of Stropkivsky district Andriyenko, after receiving a dispatch from Ukraine, conducted a division of the raiding unit. A part of it, led by D. Vitovsky, went through Transcarpathia to Galicia, another part under the command of P. Vatsyk-Prut returned to Lemkivshchyna, and it was there on September 10. V. Hoshko-Myron led the rest of riflemen who continued the raid in Slovakia, along with several members of TD "Makivka" staff (V'iatrovych, 2001, p. 69).

And only on September 11, 1945, a military operation was launched by the Czechoslovak army in cooperation with the Soviet troops to clear the territory of North-Eastern Slovakia from the UPA units. A military operation started late, because at the same time (on September 10–11, 1945) two of the three raiding hundreds of the UPA, including the commander Andriyenko, left the territory of Slovakia (Shmigel, 2010, p. 22).

After the end of the raid in Czechoslovakia, TD-24 commander Andriyenko with his staff and VPZh returned to Stryishchyna through Zakarpattia to the place of post (at that time, in the headquarters there was a political educator of TD-24 H. Dulyk-Kruk, Mirshuk-Klymenko, Baran-Smok, the Italian Grandi and the others) (Ilnytskyi, 2015, p. 33). By order of the Main Military Staff of the UPA, part 3/45, "Zmiyuka" was awarded the rank of a lieutenant with the date of seniority on August 31, 1945 (Melnychok, 2018a, p. 184).

Serious losses in combats with the operational military forces of the NKVD-NKGB and the inequality of combat capabilities, along with the need for specific actions to preserve forces and disrupt Sovietization, led to the development of new foundations for the tactics of the armed underground of the OUN (Viedenieev, & Sehed, 2020, p. 179). In December of 1945, the commander of VO-4 "Hoverlia" M. Tverdokhlib, issued an order to Zmiyuka to disband hundreds of troops in the districts of Drohobych region. After that, the commanders of tactical units, kurins, and hundreds had to coordinate all work with the field leaders of the OUN. The placement of hundreds under the numbers from 470 to 478 was carried out by D. Vitovsky and it was based on the activity of the Soviet punitive and repressive units, the size of districts, the relief of the area, the forest cover (SSA SSU, f. 5, c. 67449, pp. 46, 52–53).

Zmiyuka developed a special cipher for correspondence with hundreds, which prevented the enemy from using captured documentation (SSA SSU, f. 5, c. 67449, pp. 46–51).

On January 21, 1946, military Chekist units attacked Zmiyuka's place of staying, but he had been warned by two fighters of the fighter battalion a day before and moved to another hideout. However, on March 19 (26), 1946, near the village of Kamianka of Skoliv district in Lviv region, D. Vitovsky with a group of his bodyguards was ambushed by the group of rifle regiment 215 of the internal troops under the command of Major Makarov. One of the guards, as D. Vitovsky said, turned out to be a traitor and led the punitive group to the winter shelter place, on the other hand, L. Shankovskiy, based on some data, claimed that the traitor was one of foreign couriers (Shankovskiy, 1990, p. 210).

At that time, Andriyenko with 12 guards and the district leader of the Security Service (a pseudonym – Chornyi) with 14 guards, the district organizational leader (a pseudonym – Arkadiy) with two people and one person responsible for economic OUN of the village Kamianka were in winter shelters. The insurgents broke through the encirclement and tried to escape from the Chekists. On March 21 (28), 1946, they encountered the enemy again. Eight insurgents died in the battle, their commander, in a hopeless situation, shot at his temple using a Belgian pistol¹. The prisoner was found with Sudayev gun, four maps, correspondence with the UPA officials and “Magura” UPA staff (SSA SSU, f. 5, c. 67449, pp. 4, 7, 22, 42–43). A. Rusnachenko claimed that the capture of Zmiyuka was the result of the work of a special group, which included re-recruited insurgents (Rusnachenko, 2002, p. 292).

After that, severely injured D. Vitovsky was given a medical care in the prison hospital in Stanislaviv. During the treatment, the soldier made an unsuccessful attempt to strangle himself (Sodol, 1995, pp. 16–17). The Soviet special services hoped to get valuable information from him, that is why, doctors saved his life. On June 25, 1946, according to the order of the Minister of Internal Affairs, Lieutenant General Strokach, the wounded man was transported to Lviv Department of Internal Affairs, and interrogation began immediately. In the criminal case there is provided a verbal description of the arrested person: tall (171–180 cm), a thin figure, shoulders down, a thin neck, blond hair, gray eyes, an oval face, a high forehead, long-sighted wide eyebrows, a long thin nose, a small mouth, thin lips, a sloping chin, small ears (SSA SSU, f. 5, c. 67449, p. 6).

On July 3, 1946, a warrant was issued for the arrest of D. Vitovsky and he was to be held in prison No. 1 of Lviv. By the decree of July 4, 1946, he was again staged to the city of Stanislav, and on August 9, he was taken to the city of Kyiv (SSA SSU, f. 5, c. 67449, pp. 3, 23, 40). Such movements of the arrested person can be explained by his importance for the Soviet penal and repressive authorities.

The investigation lasted from June 25 to December 16, 1946. In the indictment dated December 25, 1946, the first charge was: “betrayed the Motherland, joined the OUN, whose goal was to separate Ukraine from the USSR and create an independent Ukraine” (SSA SSU, f. 5, c. 67449, p. 71).

The Soviet punitive and repressive bodies distributed leaflets as if Andriyenko had admitted his guilt, repented, called on the participants of the underground “to confess” (Horyn, 2003). In the criminal case of D. Vitovsky, there is a list of 36 people whom Zmiyuka described as members of the resistance movement, but the question remains open to what extent they were reachable and needed by the Soviet special services at that time (SSA SSU, f. 5, c. 67449, pp. 61–64).

¹ In diaspora research works it was written that D. Vitovsky had been poisoned by gas in a shelter, and as a result was taken in captivity (Sodol, 1990, p. 11).

On February 5, 1947, during the court session, the insurgent declared: “Our goal and task is uncompromising struggle against the state security agencies of the USSR, in the indictment it was incorrectly stated that we had fought against the Red Army. Our main goal is to separate Ukraine from the USSR and create an independent state” (SSA SSU, f. 5, c. 67449, p. 82). Thus, from the perspective of the norms of international humanitarian law, D. Vitovsky emphasized the postulate of the right of any nation to self-determination and its own statehood and thereby legitimized the Ukrainian national liberation movement (Lysenko & Pastushenko, p. 152).

In his speech, Zmiyuka also emphasized that “he was strict and demanded the unquestioning execution of all orders” (SSA SSU, f. 5, c. 67449, p. 82). As a result, the tribunal rendered a verdict – to deprive D. Vitovsky of the military rank of a junior lieutenant and, on the basis of Articles 54-1 “b”, 54-II, to sentence him to the highest degree of punishment – execution and confiscation of all personal property. On March 14, 1947, the Military Board of the Supreme Court of the USSR rejected the cassation appeal as unfounded and the verdict was not changed. On April 8, 1947, the head of the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR V. Ulrich ordered the head of Department “A” of the MGB of the USSR to find and repress the adult relatives of D. Vitovsky (fortunately, they were not found), and execute the sentence regarding him immediately. However, there is no information on the execution time of the sentence in the criminal case (SSA SSU, f. 5, c. 67449, pp. 87, 91–92), although the date of his death is in the sources as April 29, 1947. It should be noted that L. Shankovskyi, without indicating sources of information, wrote that when D. Vitovsky refused to cooperate with the Soviet punitive authorities, he was sent to a concentration camp in the village of Potma, and the insurgent was seen there suffering from lung disease by the German prisoners of war (Shankovskyi, 1990, p. 210).

It should be noted that on April 8, 1997, in independent Ukraine, O. Atamaniuk, the military prosecutor refused to rehabilitate a repressed Ukrainian activist, because “he was an active member of the organization, which set itself the goal of waging armed resistance to the bodies of the Soviet authorities to the detriment of the military power of the USSR, state independence or the inviolability of its territory” (SSA SSU, f. 5, c. 67449, pp. 97–98).

The Conclusion. Thus, Dmytro-Yaroslav Vitovsky played an important role in the formation and activities of the UPA, he distinguished himself in various areas of the Ukrainian armed underground activity. Dmytro-Yaroslav Vitovsky took part in the education of senior cadres, he was an organizer of the Military Field Gendarmerie and the author of its statutory documents, he distinguished himself as an organizer in the propaganda raid of the UPA in Slovakia in 1945 and in the management of TD-24 “Makivka”. The fate of Dmytro-Yaroslav Vitovsky was similar to the fate of other Galicians who were under pressure of the occupying Polish, Nazi and Soviet regimes, but during his life, Dmytro-Yaroslav Vitovsky kept to Ukrainian statesman positions. His attempts to end his life by suicide during detention and in the prison hospital, as well as the death sentence handed down by the Soviet court, are proof of his indomitable Ukrainianness. However, Dmytro-Yaroslav Vitovsky’s youth period of life remains insufficiently studied, and his participation in the UPA is not fully researched.

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VIACHESLAV LYPYNSKYI'S CONCEPT OF POLITICAL POWER

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to find out the meaningful essence and defining components of the political power concept developed by Viacheslav Lypynskyi, as well as its comparison with the characteristics of political power in modern political science. The methodology of the research is based on the principles of systematicity, dialectics, reliability, concrete historical approach, logic. General scientific (analysis, dialectical, synthesis, structural functional, generalization) and special (content analysis, comparative, systemhistorical) methods have been used. The scientific novelty consists in the analysis of Viacheslav Lypynskyi's political views, which has been carried out in the context of his development of the political power concept, the mechanisms of its implementation, and the legitimacy of power. A comparative analysis of this concept with the theory of political power presented in modern political science has been carried out. The Conclusion.* Based on the analysis of Viacheslav Lypynskyi's political views, it has been found out that the concept of political power is formulated in them. The scholar covered diverse aspects of its formation and functioning. The development of this concept could be explained by the scholar's reaction to the defeat of the National Liberation Movement

of 1917–1920. In his opinion, its reasons were related to the inability to create stable forms of the state. In fact, it can explain the main focus on the organization of the power issues. The specified concept contains sufficiently detailed characteristics of the political power, mechanisms of its implementation, principles of ensuring its legitimacy. The scholar also highlighted the issues of social composition of the authorities. He emphasized that they must include representatives of industrial and land owners class necessarily. Only they were able to ensure consistent progressive development of society, restraining possible manifestations of radicalism in state politics. The classical theory of the political power appeared in political science in the second half of the 20th century. Hence, V. Lypynskyi's developments should be considered as a component of it and an integral stage of its formation.

Key words: power, political power, state, legitimacy, power resources.

КОНЦЕПЦІЯ ПОЛІТИЧНОЇ ВЛАДИ В'ЯЧЕСЛАВА ЛИПІНСЬКОГО

Анотація. Мета дослідження: з'ясування змістової сутності та визначальних складових концепції політичної влади, розробленої В'ячеславом Липинським, а також її зіставлення з характеристиками політичної влади в сучасній політології. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на принципах системності, діалектики, достовірності, конкретно-історичного підходу, логічності. Використано загальнонаукові (аналізу, діалектичний, синтезу, структурно-функціональний, узагальнення) та спеціальні (контент-аналіз, порівняльний, системно-історичний) методи. **Наукова новизна.** Вперше здійснено аналіз політичних поглядів В'ячеслава Липинського у контексті розробки ним концепції політичної влади, механізмів її реалізації, легітимності влади. Здійснено порівняльний аналіз цієї концепції з теорією політичної влади, представленою в сучасній політології. **Висновки.** На основі аналізу політичних поглядів В'ячеслава Липинського виявлено, що в них сформульована концепція політичної влади. Вчений торкнувся багатьох аспектів її формування і функціонування. Створення цієї концепції пояснюється реакцією вченого на поразку національно-визвольного руху 1917–1920 рр. На його думку, її причини були пов'язані з неспроможністю створити стабільні форми держави. Власне цим і можна пояснити головну увагу на проблемах організації влади. Зазначена концепція містить достатньо докладні характеристики політичної влади, механізмів її реалізації, принципів забезпечення її легітимності. Вчений зробив також акцент на питаннях соціального складу органів влади. Він наголошував, що до них мають обов'язково належати представники верстви великих промислових і земельних власників. Лише вони здатні забезпечити послідовний прогресивний розвиток суспільства, стримуючи можливі прояви радикалізму у державній політиці. Класична теорія політичної влади з'явилася в політичній науці вже у другій половині ХХ ст. Тому розробки В. Липинського варто розглядати як її складову та невід'ємний етап становлення.

Ключові слова: влада, політична влада, держава, легітимність, ресурси влади.

The Problem Statement. After the defeat of the National Liberation Movement of 1917–1920 and attempts to restore the statehood, the Ukrainian public figures of various ideological orientations tried to determine its causes. The paramount cause among them was inability of political leaders at that time to create an effective form of the state power organization due to a low professional competence and lack of managerial experience. At the same time, the representatives of various directions of public opinion (from the left to the right-wing radicals) offered new models of the state. The principles of its construction are the most thoroughly laid out in the fundamental work of Viacheslav Lypynskyi, “The Letters to Brothers-Breadmakers”. In his political concept, the scholar focused on the issues of power, the formation and functioning mechanisms of power bodies. He interpreted power as a determining factor in the activity of a full-fledged state. Accordingly, quite high demands were placed on the personnel of the authorities. These should be really the best representatives of society by all criteria.

The historical research was one of the means of substantiating this concept. Thus, V. Lypynskyi, analysing the events of 1917–1920, compared them with the Liberation War

led by Bohdan Khmelnytskyi. In particular, he argued that at that time a decisive role in the generally successful state-building process was played by the transition of the Orthodox Ukrainian nobility to the side of the insurgent masses. The emphasis was on the personality of Yu. Nemyrych (Masnenko, 2018). In this way, the scholar put emphasis on the drastic need to involve large landowners as the descendants of the nobility in the process of the Ukrainian statehood forming.

The political concept of V. Lypynskyi, in addition to defining the practical ways of the Ukrainian state-building, is also of a theoretical significance. According to the authors, it can be considered a significant contribution to the development of the theory of political power, political elite. It contains provisions on the issues of the legitimacy of the authorities. In fact, this is actually its scientific significance. The study of the concepts of power by domestic scholars, in our opinion, is crucial for the implementation of their theoretical heritage objective structuring. It will contribute to a better systematization of the political theories of the Ukrainian specialists. On the other hand, the analysis of their views on the issue of political power will deepen theoretical knowledge regarding the specified issue.

The Analysis of the Recent Research. The state power organization issues occupy an important place in the theoretical heritage of the representatives of the Ukrainian political thought. In particular, their detailed development is presented in the work, written by Viacheslav Lypynskyi “The Letters to Brothers-Breadmakers” (Lypynskyi, 1995). In it there were outlined the basic principles of his concept of power. The analysis of its essence is contained in the researchers’ publications of V. Lypynskyi’s studies, the diaspora representatives: V. Isaiv and V. Rudko (Isaiv, 1984; Rudko, 1985). They considered the main components of the scholar’s concept in detail.

It is worth noting the publications, written by modern Ukrainian scholars, who study the heritage of V. Lypynskyi, for instance: P. Hai-Nyzhnyk, V. Masnenko, I. Perederii (Hai-Nyzhnyk, 2018; Masnenko, 2018; Perederii, 2011). They emphasized V. Lypynskyi’s analysis of a determining role of the state and the proper organization of the state power in the process of forming the Ukrainian nation.

Viacheslav Lypynskyi’s concept of power was created under certain historical conditions, when the Ukrainian National Liberation Movement of 1917 – 1920 was defeated. It can be called a kind of reaction to those events. The main problems that accompanied the state-building processes at that time were analysed in the articles by V. Verstiuk, D. Reshetchenko, B. Yakymovych (Verstiuk, 2019; Reshetchenko, 2018; Yakymovych, 2019).

The Purpose of the Research. It is vital to state the actual absence of publications in the Ukrainian scientific publications concerning the contribution of the Ukrainian scholars to the world political science. Hence, the purpose of the article is to clarify the meaningful essence and defining components of the political power concept developed by Viacheslav Lypynskyi, as well as to compare it with the characteristics of the political power in modern political science.

The Results of the Research. Power is one of the key categories of political science and central issues of political practice. The entire political sphere to one degree or another concerns various aspects of its formation and functioning. It determines the main direction of the political subjects activity. The power issue was always in the focus of the political researchers of different historical periods. It was also the subject of study by the representatives of the Ukrainian political opinion. The principles of the organization of power are reflected in Viacheslav Lypynskyi’s political concept the most fully and comprehensively. First of all, it

is appropriate to determine the historical context in which it was created in order to provide a thorough definition of the essence of the above-mentioned concept. The above-mentioned approach seemed to us to be justified, since it was a certain consequence of previous historical events. After all, V. Lypynskiy focused on the problems of power, as he considered the inability to create stable power bodies by the activists of the Ukrainian People's Republic as the main reasons for Ukraine's loss of statehood. The following state of affairs was superimposed on the personal rejection of each other by the Ukrainian politicians of that time.

Modern Ukrainian historians also noted the fact that these problems influenced the political processes of 1917 – 1920 decisively. In particular, B. Yakymovych emphasized the basic lack of “a sense of one's own strength for independence”, the inability of the leadership of the UNR and ZUNR to “realize the unity, help each other at the most critical time” (Yakymovych, 2019, p. 192). In general, he characterized the policy of the Ukrainian leaders at that time as treasonous. “Incompetence, indifference, laziness, arrogance and even slowness, especially in decision making by the state or military officials, also become the traitors and treason for the state at the turning points of its history, precisely when it comes to its existence” (Yakymovych, 2019, p. 191). According to V. Verstiuk, in general, “the political leaders of both parts of Ukraine did not have a clear answer to the challenges created by the World War and the Revolution, and the most importantly, they did not develop a common ideal of future national statehood” (Verstiuk, 2019, p. 92). The continuation of heated discussions and mutual accusations was as a kind of apotheosis of these processes in emigration. They were carried out by the “antagonists in the National Liberation Contests of 1917 – 1921 – the government-in-exile of the Ukrainian People's Republic and the Hetmans the most actively” (Reshetchenko, 2018, p. 113).

Therefore, such historical prerequisites had influence on the essence of post-revolutionary political concepts directly, in which the main focus was on defining new ways of the state formation and, in particular, on the power organization issues.

First of all, it is necessary to specify the main categorical apparatus for the analysis of the power institution. V. Lypynskiy focused on the state power. It could be explained by the fact that during the period of the 20s and 30s of the 20th century the political power was considered as the state power exclusively. Other varieties of it did not exist at that time, at least at the level of theoretical elaboration. Therefore, the scholar considered the principles of the state power functioning. Modern Ukrainian researchers of his theoretical heritage highlighted this issue. According to I. Perederii, V. Lypynskiy put the creation of the Ukrainian nation in direct dependence on the process of the state formation. “Without the Ukrainian state, the Ukrainian nation cannot exist”. “Only after receiving their own state, the Ukrainians will turn from an ethnographic mass into a full-fledged conscious state political nation” (Perederii, 2012, p. 434). In the monograph “Ukraine of the 20th Century: Socio-political Models of the National State” edited by P. Hai-Nyzhnyk, it was also emphasized that the state for V. Lypynskiy was a determining factor in the process of nation-building. “The state is an indispensable condition for self-determination and creation of nation”. “State”, “civil society” and “nation” are closely interconnected and mutually determining in the progress of civilization” (Hai-Nyzhnyk, 2018, pp. 310–311). That is, in order for the Ukrainians to become a real nation, a full-fledged state is needed. The main reason for this should be a highly professional, competent administrative apparatus.

The state power as the main type of political power has specific properties. According to the authors, in order to clarify V. Lypynskiy's concept, there was a need to compare it with the

interpretation of state power accepted in modern political science. Its leading characteristics include “the political organization of society with sovereign power, territory and the right to use coercion, the main function of which is management” (Levenets, 2011, p. 199). Hence, the state power has priority over other types of power and concerns the majority of social relations.

Viacheslav Lypynskyi defined the essence of the state power through its functional orientation. The authorities should create certain organizational forms of life activities of the society under government. But the scholar was not limited to the need to perform tasks related to public administration exclusively. He considered the authority in the field of education of the public masses to be an equally important task. That is, the creation and distribution among them of certain “cultural, moral and civilized” values, which become the national property gradually. “The lead in the transformation of any passive national unconscious collective into an organized, self-conscious nation, and the lead in the creation of ever new, organizational forms of public life of an already conscious nation is carried out everywhere and always by a certain active minority, which puts itself at the head of the nation and creates these dynamic – material and spiritual – public values, which are then taken over by the whole passive majority of the nation, uniting it all the time into one continuous, self-aware national organism” (Lypynskyi, 1995, pp. 185–186).

V. Lypynskyi focused on the mechanisms, means (resources), exercise of power. First of all, he noted the personal qualities of those in power. In particular, the scholar noted that they should possess a highly developed will to power and strive to implement it in society. “Each social group that wants to build and organize society must extract strength from itself. Only its own inner strength determines its influence on the whole society” (Lypynskyi, 1995, p. 70). The scholar considered certain human mental properties to be the main essential component of such inner strength, one of which is a natural tendency to dominate. He highlighted that every person strives for development, for the realization of his potential constantly. This desire is based on instincts, “illogical, spontaneous, irrational desires” (Lypynskyi, 1995, p. 362). That part of society in which they are more developed forms the basis of the ruling group formation. It differs from the rest of people in a stronger desire for leading positions in society. But this desire must be rationally realized and understood. It cannot be built only on the instincts. That is why, V. Lypynskyi put emphasis on the need to transform this “spontaneous desire” into a direct desire to achieve power. “The main sign of the movement, which distinguishes the leaders in a political public life, is a greater innate desire for power, greater imperialism (or a greater political temperament)” (Lypynskyi, 1995, p. 362).

It should be noted that the scholar considered the presence of such a conviction in his natural vocation to be insufficient to realize himself as a true subject of power. The “primitive desire for power” alone is “only the first impulse to the political action” (Lypynskyi, 1995, p. 363). It is vital that “the belief prevails in a person’s consciousness that his spontaneous desires, which drive him to action, are true, legal, and necessary. The movement increases to the extent that people, creating that movement, begin to believe that their creativity is not the result of only their personal subjective will, but is a manifestation of some higher than such subjective desires, an objective, legitimate and necessary truth” (Lypynskyi, 1995, p. 363). That is, in order to strengthen their aspirations, subjects of power must realize their direct connection with the objective historical processes. The scholar considered this combination of “spontaneous irrational desire for power” with belief in its legitimacy to be a kind of engine of historical development. But at the same time, he highlighted in every possible way that such “imperialism” and “mysticism” should not cross the limits of what is reasonable, sufficient, and

expedient. In order to prevent the arbitrariness on the part of the authorities, it is crucial to limit such inclinations constantly. In particular, religion, norms of public morality. On this occasion, V. Rudko, a researcher of the heritage of V. Lypynskiy, wrote that his “doctrine is voluntarist, but this voluntarism in his deep vision of the conditional value of such and similar worldview elements is balanced, bound by others (reason, religion, etc.)” (Rudko, 1985, p. 491).

Therefore, the scholar supported the point of view that the power, determined only by a highly developed, unlimited “will to rule” cannot ensure the normal development of the society. It will turn into the usual arbitrariness and dictatorship of the ruling power. Under such circumstances social order can only be maintained by means of violent methods. Hence, in the process of exercising power, the will of power must be justified and regulated by rational factors.

In addition to the above-mentioned personal qualities, V. Lypynskiy emphasized the importance of external resources, which the subjects of power must possess in order to perform their functions successfully. It is obvious that his vision of this issue is significantly different from the visions of later scholars. But no one covered this issue previously. Hence, we can state the fact that it was the Ukrainian scholar, who for the first time considered the issue of power resources and their importance in politics.

In modern political science, power resources are defined as “a set of means used by the subject of politics to achieve their political goals, strengthen and expand political power” (Levenets, 2011, p. 636). They are classified depending on the spheres of public life: economic, legal, social, power, cultural and informational, etc. V. Lypynskiy argued that the effectiveness of the ruling group’s activities could be ensured not only by a strong will to power, while analyzing the issue of power resources. The effectiveness of its implementation increases in the presence of certain external factors to a large extent. According to V. Isaiv, another researcher of Viacheslav Lypynskiy noted in this regard, “the scholar distinguishes the concept of “internal power” in the ruling minority very clearly from what we can call the concept of “external power”. The external power is a purely material force, i.e. control over the means of coercion” (Isaiv, 1984, p. 85).

Hence, the scholar considered the government’s resources as a set of certain primarily material means that would confirm the “will” of the ruling stratum to rule. “In order to be able to fulfill an organizational role in the nation properly, it must have material power greater than any other group in the nation” (Lypynskiy, 1995, p. 136). The scholar considered this factor extremely important for the exercise of power. He considered the concept of the material power as a combination of two components. First of all, these are “means of war and defense of one’s nation, i.e. the state apparatus and the army” (Lypynskiy, 1995, p. 189). This tool is fully consistent with modern understanding of this type of power resource as coercion, which can be used by the state power to maintain the social order. Second of all, the performance of management functions requires the availability of certain means of production among the subjects of government. In particular, they must “own agricultural means” (Lypynskiy, 1995, p. 189). These means include “technical means of war and peace” that are essential for the organization of the “economic life and material defense of the nation” (Lypynskiy, 1995, p. 189), i.e. those that support a proper level of vital activity of a subordinate society. Possession and disposal of the main means of production were a vital prerequisite for the successful exercise of power for V. Lypynskiy.

According to the scholar, the social basis of the Ukrainian government, “the unifying and organizing basis in the matter of nation-building and state-building in Ukraine is only the “class of the Ukrainian breadmaker” (Kornovenko & Pasichna, 2021, p. 113). In addition to

the fact that the “class of the Ukrainian breadmaker” has the necessary means of production. It is the state ideology bearer. “Khliborobska (breadmaking) ideology is ideology whose ideologies contribute to a broader understanding of the essence of nations, it is a universalist ideology” (Kornovenko & Pasichna, 2021, p. 118).

Justifying the significant role of the productive classes in the state-building process, the scholar explained in detail why it was important for the subjects of power to own and dispose of property. Those who personally produce bread and goods, who own the means of production (land and factories), who have the material power to rule and to be responsible for the rule, and who, in addition, “with their people and their material wealth” are to exercise power functions directly: lands and factories” will bear responsibility “for their power, for their rule” (Lypynskyi, 1995, pp. 153–154). V. Lypynskyi argued the need for the owners to form the basis of the state leadership with it. Only for them, personal economic interests will be fully aligned with the need for a stable functioning of the state. Hence, exercising its power, the ruling group will strive for the gradual improvement of the existing social and political system, and will restrain radical changes in it.

The scholar justified this point of view by means of his own historical research. A fairly massive transition of the Ukrainian Orthodox nobility to the side of the rebel Cossacks during Khmelnychyna was a significant moment to him. In particular, he provided the example of Yuriy Nemyrych, a statesman of the 19th century. His transition to the side of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi became a reflection of a crucial trend during the Liberation War, when the Ukrainian nobility became an active participant on the side of the rebel Cossacks. Such participation gave the Cossack movement an organized form and directed it towards the implementation of a clear political programme – the formation of a new state. “For Lypynskyi, it was an extremely important landmark event, as it was evidence of the end of the difficult and long-term maturation of the Ukrainian Cossacks, which turned from a nationless military robber caste that rebelled against the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth into a state-national class” “The figure of Yuriy Nemyrych was of a special interest to V. Lypynskyi only because of the fact that he, having entered the service of the Ukrainian state” (Masnenko, 2018, p. 60), retained his status and consciousness of belonging to the nobility.

V. Lypynskyi considered recognition of the right to rule by the subordinate society as another important and decisive factor in a proper performance of their functions by the authorities. The ruling group “must have a legal basis in the understanding of the entire nation, must correspond to the concepts of legality and public morality that the entire nation lives by at this historical moment” in order to implement it (Lypynskyi, 1995, pp. 136–137). The scholar called it “a moral authority”. Using the terminology of modern political science, it can be noted that this feature corresponds to the “legitimacy” category. It is connected not only with the purely legal side of legality, i.e. a formal compliance with legal norms of the authorities themselves and their practical actions. The essence of legitimacy as a practical phenomenon and a theoretical category is the recognition by society of the existing political institutions as the most acceptable, regardless of the attitude towards specific representatives of the government. This is “the ability of the system to create and maintain the belief that these political institutions are optimal for society” (Lipset, 1960, p. 77). Bodies and officials of state power acquire this position if subordinates recognize the legality and expediency of their existence as such, as well as the directions of their activity in general.

Achieving legitimacy is quite a difficult problem for any government. At different historical stages of their functioning, power institutions in all countries solved tasks in

different ways. In addition, there is no single, unified approach to ways of ensuring it. Since legitimacy is built on society's reception of power as legitimate, it is appropriate to note different aspects of such recognition depending on what content is attached to the concept of legitimacy. "Socio-cultural is related to the established principles of social life, which are based on historical, national, cultural, religious, moral, legal, psychological, worldview determinants of society's existence. In the moral and ethical sense, legitimacy acts as the correspondence of political activity, its goals and means to people's moral ideas about the ideal order, leading social values. In the legal dimension, legitimacy is compliance with law, justice, the principles of which are recorded in the legal acts of the state, or compliance with public receptions of justice" (Vysotskyi, 2004, pp. 24–25). The political component consists in "recognition by society or its overwhelming majority of the power, rights and powers of a certain person, body, organization, their behaviour, policy and practical activities" (Levenets, 2011, p. 394). The society's reception of its power as legitimate occurs in the context of the mentioned approaches. At the same time, it should be taken into account that in different societies the grounds for perceiving the authorities as corresponding to their interests are significantly different.

V. Lypynskiy considered his concept of moral authority precisely from the point of view of such an approach, i.e. he characterized legitimacy precisely from the point of view of the above-mentioned multidimensional understanding. Authority, in his opinion, primarily consists in the observance by subjects of power of the morality existing norms and in subordinating their actions to "some one, accepted by all and binding on all – both strong and weak – law" (Lypynskiy, 1995, p. 186). Another manifestation of the essence of "moral authority" depends on "the degree of acceptance by the passive masses of those forms of public organization that, in accordance with their moral characteristics, are reproduced by the active national aristocracy" (Lypynskiy, 1995, pp. 130–131). Hence, V. Lypynskiy considered it not only as the legitimization of power in the eyes of subordinates, but also as the subordination of power itself to existing social and legal norms. By the way, it educates a subordinate society in an appropriate spirit. According to the authors, there is every reason to note the development of V. Lypynskiy regarding the "moral authority" of the government as a certain contribution to the theory of legitimacy.

The scholar compared the activities of the Ukrainian government during the periods after Bohdan Khmelnytskyi and in 1917 – 1920, and identified certain analogies in them. In particular, the loss of statehood, in his opinion, was directly caused by the delegitimization of power and the loss of authority among the people. Political ambitions and engagement of candidates for the mace" (Stepanchuk, Fedurko, 2021, p. 222) were combined with the desire to secure external support". Ultimately, this led to a prolonged political crisis.

Another principle of legitimacy, according to the scholar, was its historical validity. Under the conditions of the actual crisis of power in Ukraine during the years of 1917 – 1920, when no model of statehood could take hold, it is necessary to turn to its historical form of government. On this basis, V. Lypynskiy noted the following: "the restoration of the state should be carried out taking into account the traditions and history of the Cossack era", and "the Hetmanship is the only natural form of organization of state power in Ukraine" (Grycenko & Shcheglov, 2020, p. 122). At the same time, the power of the Hetman is necessarily lifelong, as a guarantee of the state stability. The scholar emphasized that only Hetman power will ensure "our Ukrainian legitimacy in those forms in which it is possible with our weak state national tradition and will enable us to revive this weak national state

tradition of ours, strengthen and ourselves, having disciplined and organized, the foundations for laying the structure of the Ukrainian State” (Lypynskiy, 1995, pp. 44–45). Only the Hetman’s power will be accepted by society as legitimate and expedient due to its conformity to traditions. That is why, V. Lypynskiy saw in the Hetmanate of Pavlo Skoropadskiy the most adequate form of state under the current conditions for him. Created, albeit for a short time, “the state machine of the Hetmanate tried to preserve balanced systems, traditions, and concepts” (Ihnatusha & Frolov, 2021, p. 107). The scholar considered its main feature to be the rejection of constant experiments with the principles of power organization and desire to stabilize it. And in this way, the real legitimacy of the government is ensured.

The Conclusion. Thus, the issue of political power was one of the central ones in Viacheslav Lypynskiy’s research. His concept of power was a certain result of the scholar’s historical research. He analysed the events of 1917 – 1920 in detail in order to identify the reasons for the failure of attempts to restore statehood. Mainly, he saw them in the fact that during this period it was not possible to establish stable forms of organization of state power, to form full-fledged authorities and ultimately to develop and implement clear state policy measures that would meet the needs and challenges of the time. V. Lypynskiy explained this situation by the fact that the stratum of large land and industrial owners, who could ensure stability and clear determination of state policy, were actually removed from the leadership of the National Liberation Movement and from any political activity in general. Instead, the left-wing radical slogans were thrown into society, which caused disorientation and discord in it. The scholar confirmed this position by analogy with the Liberation War of the 17th century led by Bohdan Khmelnytskyi. V. Lypynskiy argued that at that time the main prerequisite for success in the state-building process was full participation of the Ukrainian Orthodox nobility in it. It was its representatives, who ensured the direction of the spontaneous Cossack movement into organized political activity, which made it possible to create an effective state, quite progressive for that time.

The theoretical component of the mentioned concept contains sufficiently detailed characteristics of the functional essence, mechanisms, means and methods of exercising power. Considerable focus is on issues of power legitimacy, ways of its real implementation. Under the conditions of an actual crisis of power, it is very important to ensure a positive reception of the government by society. And this can be done only by implementing a clear, stable state policy in accordance with the interests and needs of society.

In general, Viacheslav Lypynskiy’s concept of power should be considered as a certain contribution to the development of the theory of political power, which was created already in the second half of the 20th century. The categorical apparatus and criteria of government efficiency developed by him can be used for further research.

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**PERSONALITY OF YURIY KOSACH IN THE UKRAINIAN
NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to study Yu. Kosach's influence on the social and political processes in Volyn Voivodeship, which were connected with the organizational formation of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) in 1920 – 1930, reconstruction of the image of Yu. Kosach as the founder of the nationalist underground organizational network in Volyn, the study of his political views evolution. The methodology of the research is based on the principles of objectivity, historicism, systematicity, scientificity. The following methods have been used: comparative, statistical, synchronous, diachronic and comparative analysis. The scientific novelty is that the author managed to reconstruct the image of Yu. Kosach as an active participant in the National Liberation Movement, a leader and founder of the OUN organizational network in Volyn for the first time; there has been analysed the personal composition of the OUN small groups: the first threes and fives in Kovel region; information on birth date and reasons for forced emigration have been clarified. The Conclusion. Yu. Kosach was born into the renowned Drahomanov-Kosach family, he developed as a creative and charismatic person. After graduating from the first Józef Pilsudski Gymnasium in Lviv in*

1928 successfully, he entered the Faculty of Law of the University of Warsaw. While studying at the University he began to support the idea of the Ukrainian state revival actively. Due to an active communication with D. Dontsov, A. Livytsky, B. Kravtsiv and other participants of the National Liberation Movement, Yu. Kosach was convinced that there was a drastic need to prepare and implement the national revolution. The ideology of the Ukrainian integral nationalism could be traced clearly in the work, written by Yu. Kosach. He tried to implement his own political views into practice by creating the first OUN headquarters in Volyn. Owing to his efforts, the first nationalist underground network was established in Kovel, and later on, in the territory of Volyn Voivodeship Yu. Kosach was persecuted by the Polish police, which forced him to emigrate in 1933. In the future, he didn't have a direct connection with the nationalist underground, but Volyn leadership that he founded increased in number and took an active part in the National Liberation Movement.

Key words: nationalism, National Liberation Movement, underground, Volyn, police, emigration.

ПОСТАТЬ ЮРІЯ КОСАЧА В УКРАЇНСЬКОМУ НАЦІОНАЛЬНО-ВИЗВОЛЬНОМУ РУСІ

Анотація. Метою роботи є дослідження впливу Юрія Косача на суспільно-політичні процеси у Волинському воєводстві, що пов'язані з організаційним становленням Організації українських націоналістів (ОУН) у період 1920 – 1930 рр., реконструкція образу Ю. Косача як засновника організаційної мережі націоналістичного підпілля на Волині, дослідження еволюції його політичних поглядів. **Методологію** складають принципи об'єктивності, історизму, системності, науковості. Застосовано біографічний, статистичний, синхронний, діахронний та метод порівняльного аналізу. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що автором реконструйовано образ Ю. Косача як активного учасника національно-визвольного руху, провідника і засновника організаційної мережі ОУН на Волині; відтворено персональний склад першої трійки і н'ятірки ОУН на Ковельщині; уточнено інформацію про дату народження та причини вимушеної еміграції. **Висновки.** Народжений у відомій сім'ї Драгоманових-Косачів, Ю. Косач сформувався як творча і харизматична особистість. Після успішного закінчення навчання 1928 р. у першій Львівській гімназії імені Юзефа Пілсудського, вступив на правничий факультет Варшавського університету. У студентські роки активно підтримував ідею відродження Української держави. Активне спілкування з Дмитром Донцовим, Андрієм Лівіцьким, Богданом Кравцівим та іншими учасниками національно-визвольного руху переконали його в необхідності підготовки та реалізації національної революції. Ідеологія українського інтегрального націоналізму яскраво прослідковується у творчості Ю. Косача цього періоду. Реалізувати на практиці власні політичні погляди він намагався через організацію перших осередків ОУН на Волині. Завдяки його зусиллям було створено першу націоналістичну підпільну мережу у м. Ковель, а згодом і на території Волинського воєводства. Переслідування з боку польської поліції змусили його у 1933 р. емігрувати. В подальшому він не мав прямого стосунку до націоналістичного підпілля, але започаткований ним волинський провід збільшувався чисельно, брав активну участь у національно-визвольній боротьбі.

Ключові слова: націоналізм, національно-визвольний рух, підпілля, Волинь, поліція, еміграція.

The Problem Statement. The study of the National Liberation Movement requires elucidation of such aspects as the formation of ideology, organizational formation, an attempt to implement a political doctrine and consequences to which this struggle led. The study on the charismatic leaders' personalities, who not only headed parties or their branches, but also had influence on the social and political processes, built tactics and strategies of the struggle, and determined its ultimate goal remains a crucial aspect. During the period of 1921 – 1939, Galicia became the leader in the spread of radical nationalist ideas, where the right-wing parties were active, among which the OUN, which personified the National Liberation struggle of the 1930s – at the beginning of 1950s, should be singled out. The Liberation Movement had regional features in Volyn, among which personalities, who played the role

of local leaders of the OUN, structured this movement and were its spokesmen. The figure of Yu. Kosach stands out among such leaders, who came from the glorious Drahomanov-Kosach family, a son of Lesia Ukrainka's younger brother Mykola. The family environment, upbringing in a creative atmosphere set Yu. Kosach a difficult task to meet high criteria of the family, to find his own place as a representative of the Ukrainian cultural or political elite. He grew up as a gifted, multifaceted personality. The majority of people accept him as a writer, literary critic, publicist or artist. Therefore, philologists and culturologists dominate among the researchers of his figure, and as a result, the majority of scientific studies focus on the analysis of his creative work. The activity of Yu. Kosach as a politician is little known and is limited to a few theses about involvement in the Ukrainian military organization and persecution by the Polish government agencies. The following research is done in order to fill a gap in Yu. Kosach's biography and correct some inaccuracies that are spread in the publications of both Ukrainian and foreign scholars.

The Analysis of Publications and Recent Research. The person of Yu. Kosach stirs up the interest of both Ukrainian and foreign researchers. First of all, it is connected with his creative activity and belonging to the family of the Ukrainian luminaries, the classics of national literature – the Drahomanov-Kosach family. The vast majority of scholars were Philologists, who studied the biographical pages and creativity, and, therefore, focused on the writer's periodization, historical prose, poetry collections, and characterized him as a personality mostly. They were the following scholars: V. Aheieva (Aheieva, 2018), M. Hnizdytska (Hnizdytska, 2018), Lviv researchers I. Denysiuk, T. Skrypka (Denysiuk & Skrypka, 1999), S. Romanov from Lutsk (Romanov, 2009). The political activity of Yu. Kosach was only stated in their research papers and highlighted through the prism of the content load of the works. Certain aspects of the current issue were highlighted in the work, written by S. Hupalo (Hupalo, 12 July 2002). S. Hupalo focused on separate issues – Kovel underground and Yu. Kosach's trials. The works, written by O. Kalishchuk (Kalishchuk, 2019; 2020), Ya. Bruskyi (Bruskyi, 2020), Y. Kramar та A. Shvab (Kramar & Shvab, 2020) deal with the study of the socio-political situation on the territory of Volyn and its influence on the Polish-Ukrainian relations, activation of the National Liberation Movement during the interwar period. Hence, the above-mentioned studies are relevant and are designed to correct inaccuracies in the biography and highlight unknown pages of Yu. Kosach's biography through the prism of the history of Volyn during the interwar period.

The Purpose of the Research. The main purpose of this research is the study of the Ukrainian National Liberation Movement, the peculiarities of its spread in Volyn in the 1920s and 1930s, and reconstruction of Yu. Kosach's image of as the founder of the of the nationalist underground organizational network.

The Results of the Research. Yu. Kosach was born on December 5, 1908 in the village of Kolodiazhne of Volyn hubenia (province) of the Russian Empire, as it was evidenced by the entries in the metric book of this village parish, which are kept in the State Archives of Volyn region. He was given the name Heorhiy at baptism. Yu. Kosach travelled a lot in his childhood. The family lived in Chernihiv region, Poltava region and Zhytomyr region until they returned to the village of Kolodiazhne after his father inherited the family estate. In 1918, he went to study at Józef Pilsudskyi first Lviv academic gymnasium, which he finished in 1928 successfully (Romanov, 2009, pp. 29–42). Getting into the atmosphere of politically active Galicia, where the ideas of the Ukrainian state sovereignty and resistance to the Polish policy of assimilation were widely spreading, Yu. Kosach became interested in

the rights violation of the national minorities in Poland and chose the profession of a lawyer. During this time, his civic position was formed – the desire to join the process of the National Liberation of Ukraine and the motives of a creative personality were observed. In 1927, Yu. Kosach's poems were first published in Lutsk magazine the "The Ukrainska Hromada" ("The Ukrainian Community") (Aheieva, 18 October 2018). A period of a constant search of self-affirmation, philosophical reflections on the role, place and duty of a Ukrainian writer began in his life (Hnizdytska, 2018, pp. 47–57).

After entering the Faculty of Law of Warsaw University in 1928, Yu. Kosach got into the environment of politically engaged Ukrainian youth, some of whom professed radical ideas of the Ukrainian nationalism. He got acquainted with Bohdan Kravtsiv, who was a member of the regional executive of the OUN (established in 1929), Andriy Livytskyi – the future President of the Ukrainian People's Republic in exile, began an active cooperation with the magazine "The Literature and Scientific Bulletin", which was published in Lviv under the editorship of Dmytro Dontsov, a renowned ideologue of the Ukrainian radical nationalism. There were also left radicals among Yu. Kosach's circle of communication, in particular Olha Bachynska, who tried to convince him to join the support of the communist ideology and persuaded him that the socialist revolution in the western Ukrainian lands had no alternative. Although, at that time Yu. Kosach's choice was in favour of the right-wing radicals, in the future he vacillated between this choice, for which he was isolated by the political Ukrainian emigration, which could not forgive him for his Sovietophile views (State Archives of Volyn Region, f. 46, d. 9, c. 1326, p. 22).

The choice in favour of the nationalist movement could be confirmed by Yu. Kosach's participation in the student organization "The Party of the Ukrainian State Nationalists" in 1928, later in the more radical organization "The Chornomortsii", for which he developed the "Plan for the Development of the Nationalist Movement in Volyn". The Ukrainian researcher Serhii Hupalo stated that the text of the above-mentioned document was prepared by Yu. Kosach on the personal instructions of A. Livytskyi (Hupalo, July 12, 2002). Mostly, Volyn remained apolitical during World War I and the Ukrainian revolution. The emergence of the first Ukrainian schools and the national patriotic education of the population were connected with the activities of the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen, later on, the veterans of the liberation struggle (Kalishchuk, 2020, pp. 101–111; Vasianovych & Lozynskyi, 2019, pp. 94–103). The attempts made by the Polish authorities to implement their own political programme and create a single-national state were opposed by the local population. Radical ideas gained popularity (Bruskyi, 2020, pp. 22–37). At the beginning of the 1920s, the Sovietophilism dominated in Volyn due to the active propaganda and subversive activities of the Soviet special services (Kramar & Shvab, 2020, pp. 163–175).

Eventually, the OUN had a decisive influence on Yu. Kosach's political choice. Yu. Kosach kept in touch with Lviv Regional Executive owing to the above-mentioned B. Kravtsiv. Illegal propagandistic literature and instructions for organizing the nationalist underground came from Galicia. In the end, after becoming a member of the OUN, he was ordered to establish the organization's branches in Volyn. The implementation of this task required a thorough plan and keeping to a strict conspiracy. Yu. Kosach came to the conclusion that, first of all, it was vital to create a literary society in the village of Kolodiazhne in his family home, while he was pondering over where to start. It was planned to involve old friends, who could be trusted in order to establish the literary society. Yu. Kosach planned to promote the idea of the need for a national liberation struggle among the former classmates and patriotic youth

carefully as he acknowledged the danger of exposure by the Polish police and the possibility of betrayal. First and foremost, Yu. Kosach planned to put on patriotic plays, provoke conversations about the drastic need to revive the Ukrainian state, observe the reaction, and only then offer the nationalist literature for reading. The final stage was the formation of the basic small groups of the OUN: threes (tryky) and fives (piatirky). The above-mentioned plan was approved by Lviv Regional Executive of the OUN and began to be implemented in 1930 (Lenartovych, 2011, pp. 84–85).

When Yu. Kosach came back home for the holidays after the end of the academic semester, in the village of Kolodiazhne he created the theatre troupe and put on stage several plays, the audience was the residents of surrounding villages and the town of Kovel. The troupe members consisted of 8 people, which corresponded to the number of the OUN members in the lower ranks (the so-called group of threes and fives). There were among them: Pavlo Vitruk, Illia Sydorskyi, Volodymyr Markevych, Myroslav Onishkevych, Zinovii Samchynskyi, Serhiy Samchynskyi, Illia Kunytsia, Mila Hilevska (SAVR, f. 46, d. 9, c. 1826, p. 22).

Yu. Kosach supplied them with illegal literature, which he brought personally, mostly the magazine “The Surma”. Reading such literature became mandatory for the former members of the theatre troupe. In order to protect themselves from being exposed, they went to the Turiya River, got into boats, sailed from the shore and read the literature, discussing the received information and agreeing on the plans to join the nationalist underground. In case of danger, the prohibited literature was thrown overboard and they explained their own presence on the river as an ordinary entertainment.

One of the primary tasks of the OUN branch created in Kovel region was to supply and distribute the illegal literature to the territory of Volyn Voivodeship, which was in a kind of isolation from the rest of the Ukrainian territories as part of the Polish state, particularly Galicia. It was a consequence of the state assimilation policy implementation carried out by the Polish government and, directly, its representative in Volyn, H. Jozewski. One of its elements was the creation of such kind of “sanitary” or Sokal border. Everyone who went to Volyn had to go through the procedure of checking documents and inspecting personal belongings. It was forbidden to transport the Ukrainian-language literature, even fiction. Despite the security measures taken by the authorities, the Polish police stated that about 2,000 copies of the nationalist literature were getting into Volyn every month. Mostly, it was about the above-mentioned magazine “The Surma”. The local OUN underground took part in this work actively. In order to distribute it couriers and railway transport were used (the literature was hidden among building materials in Galicia, and in Volyn railway workers handed it over to the OUN members), horse-drawn carriages that secretly crossed the above-mentioned “sanitary” border (SAVR, f. 46, d. 9, c. 1826, p. 44).

The need to distribute propaganda literature was connected with the process of the OUN organizational formation in Volyn. The main object of the nationalist propaganda was the youth, because it was the youth, who was supposed to become the basis of the combat units that would carry out the national revolution and revive the Ukrainian statehood. Due to Yu. Kosach’s efficient activities, the number of the OUN sympathizers grew rapidly. He communicated with them in person and encouraged the creation of lower ranks of the organization. After such meetings, the small groups and circles of the OUN with their leaders emerged in the village of Dovhopole of Dubenskyi povit (Leonid Berezovskyi), the town of Torchyn of Lutskyi povit (Yevhyniy and Oleksandr Novitskyi), the village of Bila Tserkva

of Kremianets povit (Yuriy Trofymchuk-Novytskyi), Kremianets town (Pavlo Kravetskyi), the village Derazhno of Rivne povit (Nil Khasevych), Pochaiv town of Kremianets povit (Oleksandr Sadovskiy), the village of Sedlyshche of Kovel povit (Serhiy Hrytsiuk) and the others (SAVR, f. 46, d. 9, c. 1826, p. 22). Hence, owing to Yu. Kosach's efficient activities, the organizational structure of the OUN grew on the territory of Volyn.

In general, since the creation of the OUN in 1929, the Polish state security agencies and the police recorded an increase in violent actions against the Polish population. In 1931, the following crimes were registered: destruction of private and state property – 11 cases; terror against people – 10 cases (4 people killed, 2 injured, 3 people beaten, 1 arson); robbery – 8 cases (2 attacks on state authorities, 1 attack on the post office, 1 attack on a representative of the state administration, the rest – on ordinary citizens). The majority of those actions were recorded on the territory of Galicia (SAVR, f. 46, d. 9, c. 2003, p. 15). There was only one case, among them, which was related to Volyn. It was the arson of a bridge near the town of Ratne on November 11, 1931. Even nowadays, the local population calls this place, which is located at the entrance to the settlement from Kovel direction, the “burnt bridge”.

According to the documents of the district branch of the state police, this combat operation was carried out by Kovel branch of the OUN. The personal composition of the arson was mentioned above, organized by Yu. Kosach. It is known that in addition to the members of the organization, H. Lisnevych took part in the arson, who probably aspired to become a member of the organization, implementing a personal task-test performed by the applicants for the membership in the OUN. The report says that it was he, who set the fire, and the rest of the people helped him and provided security. It was their first combat training. In the future, the activity of the OUN increased in Volyn (SAVR, f. 46, d. 9, c. 1826, p. 7).

The terrorist attacks and political actions of the OUN in the territory of the voivodeship began to spread massively. Volyn, which was considered to be apolitical and was chosen by the Polish authorities as a region for conducting political experiments, declared itself by activating the National Liberation Movement. If in 1931 there were only two cases of terrorist attacks recorded, then in 1932 – 16, and in 1933 – more than 100 (SAVR, f. 46, d. 9, c. 1076, p. 26).

The Polish police linked this activity with the activities of the Ukrainian Military Organization (UMO), created in 1920 from the former soldiers of the UNR army and the Sich riflemen, who set the goal of reviving the Ukrainian state within its ethnic boundaries and practiced violence against the Polish authorities representatives. The police didn't have sufficient information about the OUN at that time, usually enrolled the right-wing radicals in the UMO, which had influence on the false information formation about the political activity of certain figures of the Ukrainian National Liberation Movement, in particular Yu. Kosach. It was also facilitated by the position of Yu. Kosach's defense in the person of his lawyer Samiylo Pidhirskyi after his arrest in February of 1931. In order to reduce the sentence, he stated that his client belonged to the non-existent, at that time, organization of the Ukrainian State Nationalists Party, which aimed at fighting against the Soviet authorities in the Dnieper Ukraine (Naddniprianshchyna). The defendant himself also confused the investigation in every possible way, trying to avoid punishment, in particular, he emphasized that he considered the Soviet government to be the enemy of the Ukrainian people, he was born in Kyiv and supported the Liberation Movement in the Dnieper Ukraine (Naddniprianshchyna), that he received offers to lead the nationalist movement in Volyn, but he refused. The efforts of the lawyer and the family were successful. After eight months of imprisonment, Yu. Kosach was released from Warsaw prison. There was mortgage of 500 zlotykh (Hupalo, 2002).

After being released from prison, Yu. Kosach found himself under constant police surveillance. The activation of the nationalist underground in 1932 and the expansion of its network within the voivodeship instigated the investigation to renew the criminal case. The reason for the next arrest was the denunciation of one of the members of the underground, Yevhen Dmytruk, who reported on the preparation of the terrorist attacks in Volyn and the supply of weapons from Lviv. This time, Yu. Kosach ended up in Lutsk prison. At the court proceeding on November 4, 1932, the prosecutor K. Skorupskyi accused him of belonging to the UMO and preparing an armed uprising. The sentence provided for a year in prison, but half a year was considered as time spent under investigation, and the rest of the term was subject to amnesty. Hence, Yu. Kosach was free again. The prosecutor, who was dissatisfied with the verdict, appealed to the Court of Appeal in Lublin. According to a new court decision in mid-1933, Yu. Kosach was sentenced to four years in prison and five years of deprivation of civil rights. The threat of a new arrest forced him to flee and emigrate. At first he stayed in Lviv, later he went to Prague and finally to France.

It should be mentioned that his departure did not end the national liberation struggle in Volyn. S. Hupalo wrote about the “end of Kovel underground”, but this is not true. V. Markevych took the place of the district leader of the OUN in Kovel povit. Under his leadership, the nationalist underground increased in numbers and took an active part in the political actions of the OUN, in particular, the “anti-school” (struggle for the Ukrainization of schools) and the others, which took place during the period of 1933 – 1934. The threat of arrest also prompted him to emigrate. On August 30, 1936, he went to France. Since 1935, Yevhen Supruniuk headed the OUN in Kovel povit (SAVR, f. 46, d. 9, c. 4678, p. 8).

Propaganda work became the primary task of the nationalist underground. Gradually, the OUN spread its influence on public, cultural and educational organizations in Volyn, in particular, “The Ukrainian Women’s Union”, “Osnova”, “Prosvita”, as well as the cooperatives – “Narodna Torhivlia”, “Dobrobut”, “Hospodar”, “Zlahoda”, etc. The priority task was to attract young people to the future struggle, therefore, the organization’s attention was focused on spreading its own influence on the youth military and sports organizations “Sokil”, “Luh”, “Plast” and creating its own organisation “Yunak”.

The active work of the OUN underground made it possible to create centres of the organization in every county of Volyn Voivodeship. On January 1, 1935, the structure of the OUN was the following: regional executives – 2 (in Lutsk and Rivne), district – 9 (in Dubno, Horokhiv, Kovel, Lutsk, Rivne, Volodymyr, Zdolbuniv), district – 8, circles – 34, fives – 22, threes – 67.

On January 1, 1935 the total number was about 932 people (SAVR, f. 46, d. 9, c. 1825, p. 34). These were the underground people, who were found by the Polish police, so the number could be much bigger (SAVR, f. 46, d. 9, c. 1825, p. 34). The activity of the nationalist underground increased year by year, regardless of the mass arrests and the risk to one’s own life. The Volynians took an active part in the defense of the Carpathian Ukraine, where some died, the others were captured by the Polish border guards and were shot, the rest were forced to emigrate to Germany. Volyn leadership was weakened, organizational ties were severed. Ivan Skopiuk restored the organizational structure of the OUN in the region in 1939 (Adamowych, 2022, pp. 115–126; Pahiria, 2019, pp. 121–146).

The Conclusion. Therefore, despite the forced emigration of Yu. Kosach and several of his friends, who started the first OUN circles in Volyn, the nationalist underground, both in Kovel region and in the rest of the voivodeship, not only did not disappear, but became

much more powerful. In the future, Yu. Kosach had no direct relation to the development of the organizational structure or leadership of the OUN branches. Being an emigrant, he was engaged in creativity. In 1935, he received the prestigious prize of I. Franko Society of Writers and Journalists for the published works “The Sun in Chyhyryn” (a historical novel about the Decembrists) and the poetry collection “Cherleny”. He returned to Ukraine in 1943, to the Nazi-occupied Lviv for a short time, but in the end he was forced to emigrate again. He was a talented and creative person, who is treated ambiguously. An internal search prompted him to side with the right-wing radicals and then with the Sovietophiles. Therefore, criticism in his direction came from both sides. Someone considered him to be a genius writer, and someone considered him an “intellectual vagabond.” In any case, he played a crucial role in Ukrainian history and culture.

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**YULIAN TARNOVYCH AS THE AUTHOR OF “NASH LEMKO”:
IDEAS, PROBLEMS, RECEPTION**

Abstract. The purpose of the research is to understand the multifaceted issues of the journalism by Yu. Tarnovych in the columns of the “Nash Lemko”. The methodology of the research is based

on an interdisciplinary approach. In the article there have been applied the following methods and approaches: systematic, comparative and critical analysis of the source base represented by large text arrays. The use of the content analysis method made it possible to interpret various newspaper information correctly. **The scientific novelty** of the article consists in an attempt to analyse the interwar journalism of Yu. Tarnovych comprehensively. **The Conclusion.** Taking into account the journalistic work of Yu. Tarnovych on the pages of the “Nash Lemko”, we should note its diversity and multifaceted issues discussed. Their circle defined the very life of the Ruthenians, which was well known to the editor-in-chief from his own experience. It allowed Yu. Tarnovych to identify the causes of the Lemko community numerous problems and offer effective ways for overcoming them. What is important, he did it not from the position of an external observer, but in a constant respectful dialogue with his wise, albeit poorly educated reader. Owing to such a trusting tone, the inhabitants of the Ukrainian Beskyds, overcoming the insularity formed over the years gradually, gained valuable experience in the social activism. This dialogue turned the “Nash Lemko” into an important platform of the Ruthenians’ public communication in their struggle with life’s challenges and constant confrontation with the arbitrariness of the Polish administration. The solidarity promoted by Yu. Tarnovych’s journalism proved to be extremely useful for the Lemkos on the eve of the numerous trials brought by World War II and later mass expulsion from their native lands. The conducted research proved that the journalism of Yu. Tarnovych is a significant component of his creative heritage. Its comprehensive study should bring us closer to the creation of an intellectual biography of this prominent Lemko figure.

Keywords: Yu. Tarnovych, “Nash Lemko”, journalism, socio-economic problems, cultural and educational topics.

ЮЛІАН ТАРНОВИЧ ЯК АВТОР “НАШОГО ЛЕМКА”: ІДЕЇ, ПРОБЛЕМАТИКА, РЕЦЕПЦІЯ

Анотація. Мета дослідження полягає в осмисленні багатоаспектної проблематики публіцистики Юліана Тарновича на шпальтах “Нашого лемка”. **Методологічне підґрунтя** роботи становить міждисциплінарний підхід. У статті використано такі методику та підходи, як систематичний, порівняльний і критичний аналіз джерельної бази, представленої великими текстовими масивами. Здійснити коректну інтерпретацію різножанрової газетної інформації уможливило застосування методики контент-аналізу. **Наукова новизна** статті полягає у спробі комплексного аналізу міжвоєнної публіцистики Ю. Тарновича. **Висновки.** Підсумовуючи публіцистику Ю. Тарновича на сторінках “Нашого лемка”, відзначимо її різножанровість і багатоаспектність обговорюваних питань. Їхнє коло визначало саме життя русинів, добре знане головному редактору з власного досвіду. Це давало йому змогу виявляти причини багатьох проблем лемківської громади і пропонувати дієві рецепти їхнього подолання. Що важливо, він це робив не зі становища зовнішнього обсерватора, а в постійному шанобливому діалозі зі своїм мудрим, хоча й малоосвіченим читачем. Завдяки такому довірливому тону мешканці українських Бескидів, поступово долаючи сформовану віками замкненість, набували цінний досвід соціального активізму. Все це перетворило “Нашого лемка” на важливий майданчик громадської комунікації русинів у їхній боротьбі із життєвими викликами та постійному протистоянні зі свавіллям польської адміністрації. Пропагований публіцистикою Ю. Тарновича солідаризм виявився надзвичайно корисним для лемків напередодні численних випробувань, що їх принесли Друга світова війна та пізніше масове вигнання з рідних земель. Проведене дослідження засвідчило, що публіцистика Ю. Тарновича є вагомою складовою його творчої спадщини. Її комплексне дослідження повинно наблизити нас до створення інтелектуальної біографії цього визначного лемківського діяча.

Ключові слова: Ю. Тарнович, “Наш лемко”, публіцистика, соціально-економічні проблеми, культурно-освітня тематика.

The Problem Statement. In the history of the Lemkos intellectual culture, Yulian Tarnovych occupies a special place as one of the most outstanding “wakers” of the Ukrainian population of the Beskyds in the 20th century. His name is associated with such successful

publishing and institutional projects as the newspapers the "Nash Lemko", "Lemkivshchyna", "Lemkivski Visti", "Ukrain'ske Slovo" and "Ukrain'skyi Robitnyk", as well as the Lemko Commission by the "Prosvita" Society. Their goal was modernization of all aspects of the Ruthenian community life, which was somewhat backward in its civilizational progress and national self-awareness. Taking into consideration the above-mentioned, Yu. Tarnovych is mentioned quite often in Lemko Studies literature. At the same time, the researchers write a lot about the editorial and organizational achievements of the Ruthenian activist, leaving behind many other aspects of his public service. Among them, the multi-genre journalism of Yu. Tarnovych stands out as having a special influence on the contemporaries, in which often for the first time the challenges relevant to the Ruthenians were carefully diagnosed and effective ways of overcoming them were suggested. Drawing the attention of colleagues to this practically unresearched issue, we will try to summarize the journalistic work of a prominent figure on the pages of the periodical the "Nash Lemko" edited by him.

The Analysis of Recent Research. Despite the above-mentioned popularity of the figure of Yu. Tarnovych among the Lemko studies scholars, even today his creative heritage has been researched in an extremely fragmented way. Currently, there are only a few biographical essays of a descriptive nature in the Lemko literature and a number of references to his mostly editorial activities (Nakonechnyi, 2018; Telvak, Nakonechnyi, 2020; Telvak, Nakonechnyi, 2021). To date, only the Polish-Ukrainian discourse of interwar journalism by Yu. Tarnovych has received a special study (Nakonechnyi, 2019). This obviously does not correspond either to the scale of a creative personality of a prominent figure, or to the importance of his influence on the lives of his compatriots in the 20th century. Therefore, pointing out the obvious need to reconstruct the multifaceted creative heritage of Yu. Tarnovych, we consider it the priority to understand journalistic component on the example of the writer's articles in the first Ruthenian periodical of a pro-Ukrainian orientation. This aspect determines the relevance of our research.

The purpose of the research consists in understanding the multifaceted issues of journalism by Yu. Tarnovych in the columns of the "Nasho Lemko".

The Results of the Research. In January of 1934 the "Nash Lemko" began to be published in Lviv. In the beginning, three Lemkos intellectuals worked on its publication: Petro Smerekanych was as the Chief Editor, and Mykhailo Dudra and Yulian Tarnovych were the editors. However, soon P. Smerekanych left for university studies in Western Europe. M. Dudra was in exile by the Polish administration for his active pro-Ukrainian activities outside the country, as he had American citizenship. Therefore, Yu. Tarnovych had a considerable burden of the editorial duties, which he performed faithfully until the periodical was closed due to the outbreak of World War II.

The biggest issue for the editor-in-chief was the scarcity of permanent contributors who, with the necessary understanding, could cover various aspects of the Ruthenian life. Under these conditions, Yu. Tarnovych had to fill the newspaper columns and form the ideology of the publication largely on his own. It is clear that he could not do it only under his own name, so he had to use numerous variants of the cryptonyms (Yu. T., T., (t), (yut), (-n-ch.), -vych, etc.) and various pseudonyms. A bit later Yu. Tarnovych revealed by himself the secret of the latter in his memoirs: "In order to at least approximately fill the more important gaps in the work, following the principles of a healthy Lemko's brain, the editor signed all the more crucial political and public articles in the "Nash Lemko" with his real surname; he signed the literary and educational ones with the family name of his mother from the Beskyd family,

the household ones – with the surname of his friend from his youth, who died in the war during the Liberation Struggle – Yuriy Zemlian, and everything with the surname of the old owner, who was distinguished by his narrative talent and extraordinary quickness of mind – Osyp Zubryd” (Beskyd, 1954, p. 12). Actually, using the above-mentioned hint, we searched for the editor-in-chief’s posts from a lot of other publications. At the same time, we should note that a considerable array of journalistic texts in the periodical was cited without indicating the authorship at all, which allows us to assume that they belong, at least partially, to Yu. Tarnovych. However, this crucial issue remains open for the Lemko scholars in the future, because it requires processing the archive of the figure, the bulk of which were deposited in the museum named after him in Toronto.

Yu. Tarnovych set himself the goal of modernizing all aspects of the lives of his compatriots as quickly as possible, and he focused on the economic dimension primarily that was the most tangible for the Lemkos. After analysing the causes of the economic issues of the Ukrainian population of the Beskyds, the editor of the “Nash Lemko” suggested a well-thought-out programme for the economic transformation of the mountain areas. First of all, according to his valid conviction, it was vital to change the mental stereotypes of the Ruthenians, who were immersed in their own mountain microcosm. It was about their centuries-old habit of complaining about allegedly fatal mountain farming conditions and associated inertia of economic thinking.

Yu. Tarnovych reacting to this issue, popularized the experience of other European peoples (the Bulgarians, the Italians, the Swiss, and the Belgians) on the pages of the periodical constantly, which had similar, and often more severe, farming conditions to the Lemkos, but they fed themselves fully and sold a lot for export (Tarnovych, 1938, p. 4). Providing examples of effective management of the rural work in other regions, the editor of the “Nash Lemko” called on his compatriots to be proactive and smart. He proclaimed the slogan from the columns of the magazine – “Don’t Cry, but Obtain!”, as he emphasized the need for an activist attitude to life constantly. First of all, this involved familiarization with the specifics of agricultural zoning in Lemkivshchyna for the cultivation of crops suitable for the type of soil and climatic conditions. “Our land, – Yu. Tarnovych emphasized repeatedly, “will not let us perish, but we must know how to use it” (Tarnovych, 1936d, p. 7).

The editor of the “Nash Lemko” saw quite rightly the paramount reason for the above-mentioned inertia of the Ruthenian economic thinking in their total ignorance. Taking everything into account, Yu. Tarnovych introduced the rubric the “Economic Page” in the edited periodical, in which, almost in every issue, contained mostly both specific economic instructions and pieces of advice on a broader worldview and organizational plan. The last ones of the mentioned posts are of a particular interest to us. In the plan the editor-in-chief, first of all, pointed out the urgent need to overcome mass illiteracy in Lemkivshchyna, which was almost the highest among other European regions. In order to do it Yu. Tarnovych called for establishing schools for children, later sending them to the craft schools, as well as teaching adults by the method of self-education from fellow villager to fellow villager. Hence, Yu. Tarnovych stated that a community of educated farmers will emerge in every village, who will study agricultural literature together, raising the profitability of their farms in solidarity. Therefore, they should create in their village a branch of the “Silskyi Hospodar” society, which will provide the necessary literature free of charge and help with the purchase of the necessary equipment ((t), 1934, p. 5). As a result, the editor emphasized, “the village must create its own labour force, establish a kind of domestic trade in agricultural and farm products, [...] use the hard-earned penny for family purposes!” (Yu. T., 1934a, p. 5).

Another reason for the economic modernization of the Lemko village, according to Yu. Tarnovych, was the cultivation of solidarist values in the Ruthenian environment and the related establishment of cooperatives. The editor constantly put emphasis on the following "a terrible disease must be eradicated from the village: indifference and brokenness" (Tarnovych, 1936b, p. 2). He advised his countrymen "to start a mental economy" persistently; he explained that it was based not only on the skillful cultivation of products, but also on their logistically thought-out sales. It was about the fact that traditionally the Lemkos gave the fruits of their hard work virtually for nothing to various dealers, thereby barely returning the invested resources. Instead, the founding of cooperatives, the editor explained on the pages of the "Nash Lemko", will allow producers to reach the final consumer themselves, obtaining the maximum profit. "Joint work leads to better research," Yu. Tarnovych emphasized to his reader. – It provides new sources of income, creates income for those with little land, and even the landless, who throw themselves in all directions in order to earn something and clothe themselves. [...] Only cooperatively, together, we will be able to banish the specter of hunger and combat unemployment from our homes" ((-n-ch.), 1934, p. 7).

The mass deployment of the cooperative movement in the Ruthenian villages, the editor of the "Nash Lemko" is convinced, will make it possible to solve the age-old civilizational problem of the cultural conflict of the Ukrainian village with the foreign-speaking Polish-Jewish city. He insisted that the surplus funds from rational management of the economy and the well-thought-out sale of own goods are the most profitable to invest in the development of the Ukrainian trade network in towns that in ancient times had a Ruthenian face, but were later dominated by colonizers of other cultures. Proposing a programme of a gradual cultural and economic de-occupation of the Lemkos towns, Yu. Tarnovych wrote: "From this emerges the ultimate need to create new labour in towns, to move to towns, to take root. First of all, lay down our Ukrainian shops, bazaars, crypts and shops. Here, the Ukrainian peasant will sell and buy everything that the land gives birth to, that the owner feeds and cares for, and this is all that he has to buy for himself. The engine of a new life should become the call "Ukrainian Money – in Ukrainian Hands", then we will get these new stations" (-vych, 1934c, p. 2).

The mentioned measures, aimed at the economic strengthening of the Lemkos community, according to Yu. Tarnovych's idea, were supposed to solve another problem, which took on the proportions of a true epidemic, threatening even the physical existence of the Ruthenians in their native lands. It was about the one started in the middle of the 19th century the uncontrolled emigration of the Ukrainian Carpathians, as a result of which the depopulated Ruthenian territories were actively colonized by the Polish settlers, changing the ethnic landscape formed over the centuries. Such emigration significantly exhausted the Ruthenian community itself, because its most proactive and dynamic representatives left in search of a better fate, and mostly stayed permanently in their new host countries. By compensating for their long absence from home with constant remittances, the Lemkos emigrants largely encouraged a consumerist attitude to life among their fellow villagers, further exacerbating economic troubles in their native lands. From the columns of the "Nash Lemko", the editor used many examples to convince us to build a better life in the small Motherland, and not to look for it in foreign countries. "We have nothing to ban America, we are even richer than the Americans, but we are not touched by a new life," Yu. Tarnovych insisted. – The same work at home would bring much better success and pay for both the worker and the people. [...] Only by collective work, agreement, community of aspirations will we build lasting foundations.

Through consciousness and continuous eradication and neglect of other people's whispers, we will build America at our land – the promised land" ((-vych), 1935, p. 7).

Along with the solution of acute socio-economic problems, according to Yu. Tarnovych's conviction, there should be active cultural awareness work. Its core, the editor-in-chief of the "Nasho Lemko" pointed out, should be the permanent fight against illiteracy mentioned above – both among children and among adults. In the first case, it was about mass and compulsory education of children, which required the establishment of a primary school in every village (Tarnovych, 1936a, p. 10). At the same time, the Lemko activist paid special attention to justifying the need for mother-tongue education (Yu. T., 1938, p. 6). This emphasis was due to the persistent attempts of school administration of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to turn the Ruthenians away from Ukrainianism, imposing on them, if not Polish, at least an artificially constructed "Carpatho-Russian" identity. For this purpose, Ukrainian teachers were forcibly removed from Ruthenian schools, their place was occupied by anti-Ukrainian Polish teachers, primers in the Russian and the Lemkos dialect were introduced, etc. Consistently and ruthlessly Yu. Tarnovych criticized such school policy of the Polish authorities, exposing the magazine he edited to constant confiscations. Explaining to his reader the need for the Ukrainian-language primary school, he emphasized: "Today, every Lemko knows that he can use his dialect near his house, but the common Ukrainian literary language must prevail at school" (vych., 1934a, p. 3).

With regard to education of adult population of Lemko region, Yu. Tarnovych persistently popularized the distribution of the "Prosvita" Society centres in the villages in the pages of the edited periodical. He repeatedly emphasized in the "Nash Lemko": "The Prosvita reading room is the centre of a cultural life in the community, the second shrine next to the church" (YuT., 1934, p. 1). It is under the auspices of this most respected Ukrainian educational institution and using its considerable organizational experience, Yu. Tarnovych insisted, that people's homes and libraries should be founded, cultural events should be held and self-education should be vigorously pursued. Winter months, which the editor of the periodical urges to be filled with self-education, are especially suitable for such enlightening work: "That's why, we turn to you, Lemko brothers, with a fervent appeal: in those long winter evenings, let's turn to the book, take it in our hands, let's drive the darkness out of our houses! You, Lemko youth, be the first to join the ranks of readers, fighters for a better fate [...]. Let's leave unnecessary quarrels, religious disputes, let's throw away intolerance, various parties, demoralizing parties and other philanderings and take the book in our hands! Let science be our greatest wealth, and guarantee of the people's destiny, a better tomorrow..." (Tarnovych, 1934, p. 2).

Calling the Ruthenians for self-education and popularizing activities of Ukrainian educational institutions, Yu. Tarnovych directly participated in this cultural work in the periodical he edited. Thus, shaping the reading culture of his compatriots, the editor introduced a permanent column "New Books" in the columns of the "Nash Lemko". In it, Yu. Tarnovych briefly told about the most important work for the Lemkos in the field of agriculture, history and culture, raising children, health care, etc. Drawing the Ruthenians' attention to the need for a systematic reading, he wrote: "We call: pound the rock! Buy books, organize your own library. Read and teach others to read books. And the rock will crack: the fulfillment of this most important task will benefit us and bring new, bright days to our entire nation..." (YuT., 1934, p. 1).

Along with such appeals, the editor often acted as a talented popularizer of the history and culture of the Ruthenians on the pages of the periodical. Explaining to the reader of the "Nash Lemko" the importance of acquiring knowledge about native history, Yu. Tarnovych insisted: "Whoever wants to live, must know his past. A nation without the past is dead" (Yu. Beskyd, 1936, p. 6). His popular science essays "Historical Monuments in the Western Carpathians" and "Historical Dictionary of Lemkivshchyna" were of a considerable interest to the reader, which were published in the "Nash Lemko" for many issues, and later appeared in book format in the "Library of Lemkivshchyna" series. Along with historical essays, Yu. Tarnovych contained various local history materials in the columns of the periodical, showing the wealth of material culture and natural beauty of his native land. Also, the editor of the "Nash Lemko" popularized the world of Ruthenian spirituality, publishing in the periodical the songs, legends and carols he recorded in the villages. We would like to note that the activities of Yu. Tarnovych as a historian, local historian and folklorist are a completely unknown aspect of his intellectual biography, which deserves special study.

Along with the cultural and economic issues mentioned above, Yu. Tarnovych was very interested in the moral and ethical climate of the Lemko village. Its relevance was caused by a rapid destruction of the traditional Ruthenian world under the influence of powerful modernization changes brought about by World War I and the post-war settlement of the world. As an extremely threatening trend, the editor of the "Nash Lemko" wrote about the ever-deepening penetration of then-fashionable communist ideology, sectarian beliefs, the culture of free love, many harmful habits, etc., into the Lemko settlements. All these phenomena, Yu. Tarnovych was convinced, had a demoralizing effect on the Ruthenians, destroying their unity in the face of threat of nationalization and economic ruin. The editor of the "Nash Lemko", who came from an ancient Greek-Catholic priestly family, saw a way out of such an extremely dangerous situation for his compatriots in a return to traditional Ukrainian values. Reflecting on the mentioned problem and offering his recipe for public recovery, he wrote: One of the most formidable manifestations of our national life, which we see in our lands [...] is the lack of mutual consent, social development, carnality, unity, which our grandfathers and great-grandfathers were proud of not so long ago. With that unity, Lemkivshchyna stood firm and unshakable for hundreds of years, overcoming all the storms that fell upon it, and with that unity and solidarity, we built more than one national institution – not only at home, but also in distant emigration, in America. [...] So keep and defend St. Churches, reading rooms, People's Houses and all public institutions, on an equal footing with the native land, firmly and in solidarity, until the last strength!" (Tarnovych, 1936c, p. 2).

However, Yu. Tarnovych was by no means a conservative in his assessment of modernization challenges that faced society in the interwar twenty years. On the contrary, on the pages of the "Nash Lemko" he persistently popularized new social practices suggested by philanthropists of that time. Especially often, the editor turned to the then extremely fashionable feminist issue, interpreting it in the vein of the Mother cult, traditional for the Ukrainians. Pointing out the relevance of the appeal to women's issues, he noted: "We are aware of what a great task and what a difficult role our Ukrainian women in the Lemkos region play" (vych., 1934, p. 3). Evidence of the seriousness of Yu. Tarnovych's attitude to feminist issues was his establishment of a permanent thematic column "Women's Page" in the periodical he edited, which the editor filled together with his wife Anna.

Projecting feminist slogans of liberating women from the burden of family and economic responsibilities and giving her the opportunity to become an effective member of society

in the reality of the Lemkos village, Yu. Tarnovych was the first among the Ruthenian publicists to advocate the idea of organizing a network of kindergartens in the villages. This, he rightly points out, should significantly free up the time of the Lemko women, giving them opportunity to immerse themselves in public projects of interest to them. In view of this instruction, many posts on the pages of the “Nash Lemko” described the advantages of systematic preschool education and gave practical advice on its optimal organization. “Think about it, conscientious relatives, and try to have a kindergarten in your village this year,” Yu. Tarnovych insisted. – You will be greatly relieved, and your children will be greatly comforted and benefited” ((Iu), 1935, pp. 6–7).

Arguing the expediency of liberating the Rusyn women from family and household chores, the editor of the “Nash Lemko” urged them to become active members of their communities. Conceiving the new social roles that women can acquire under these conditions, Yu. Tarnovych drew attention to their natural abilities in raising the younger generation and communicative talents in establishing economic networks. In the first case, it was about women obtaining a teaching profession and further work in rural preschools and primary schools (Yu. T., 1934b, p. 5). In economic terms, the editor emphasized the need to involve the Lemko women in the development of cooperative movement centres in the countryside: “Our woman can play a big role, she can contribute to the development of cooperative life in a thousand ways” (-vych, 1934b, p. 2).

Yu. Tarnovych interpreted the plots analysed above also in an artistic way, printing small stories on the pages of the edited periodical. Their peculiarity was that they were all written in the Lemko dialect. Such an editorial technique can be explained by the author’s attempt to establish communication even with such a reader who did not have sufficient knowledge of the literary language and had no desire to immerse himself in a serious discussion of public problems. Therefore, on the pages of the “Nash Lemko” we see the stories of Yu. Tarnovych, in which the issues of combating bad habits (“Kropka”, “Drinkers”), maintaining a healthy lifestyle (“Stolitni liudy”), observing family values (“Such a Story”, “Nanashko”, “Karplykova Shchystia”), difficult existence of the Lemko emigrants (“To Hamerika”, “Christmas in Canada”, “Overseas. Commemoration of Brothers across the Ocean”) and the others.

The stylistic features of Yu. Tarnovych’s journalism in the columns of the “Nash Lemko” are also worthy of attention. It should be noted that the above-mentioned complex problems of the Ruthenian existence were covered by the editor as simply and concisely as possible, taking into account the averagely modest educational level of his reader. At the same time, what is important, he did not fall into false didacticism and a didactic tone. On the contrary, Yu. Tarnovych tried to build a trusting dialogue with his reader. A clear example of this can be the article “Where is our Salvation”. In it, the author, depicting threats to the existence of the Lemko world, is in no hurry to immediately give answers about ways to overcome them, but on the contrary encourages the reader: “Let’s think about them together” (Tarnovych, 1934, p. 2). It is expected that this dialogic style of journalism contributed to the growth of the Lemkos’ trust in their newspaper and stimulated an activist attitude to life.

The faithful dialogue of the “Nash Lemko” with its readers attracted a wide circle of the Ruthenians. This is evidenced by numerous letters of the periodical’s subscribers, published in the “Correspondence” and “Tribune of our Readers” sections. Addressing the editor with words of sincere gratitude, they certified the periodical as “the most expensive” and “theirs”, because it was a wise adviser in many life collisions and consolation in difficult times. This caused an increase in the circulation of the “Nash Lemko”, which allowed its publishers not to raise the

cost of subscriptions despite the considerable inflation in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the confiscations that were constantly imposed on them by the censorship committee.

The Conclusion. Summing up the journalistic work of Yu. Tarnovych on the pages of the “Nash Lemko”, we note its diversity and multifaceted issues discussed: the very life of the Ruthenians, which is well known to the editor-in-chief from his own experience. The allowed him to identify the often hidden causes of many problems of the Lemkos community and to offer effective ways for overcoming them. What is important, he did it not from the position of an external observer, but in a constant respectful dialogue with his wise, albeit a poorly educated reader. Owing to such a trusting tone, the inhabitants of the Ukrainian Beskyds, gradually overcoming the insularity formed over the years, gained a valuable experience in social activism. All this turned the “Nash Lemko” into an important platform of public communication of the Ruthenians in their struggle with life’s challenges and constant confrontation with arbitrariness of the Polish administration. The solidarity promoted by Yu. Tarnovych’s journalism turned out to be extremely popular for the Lemkos on the eve of numerous trials brought by World War II and later mass expulsion from their native lands.

In conclusion, we note that the conducted research proved that Yu. Tarnovych’s journalism is a significant component of his creative heritage. Its comprehensive study should bring us closer to the creation of an intellectual biography of this prominent Lemko figure.

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ASSYRIANS IN THE USSR: DEMOGRAPHIC AND LANGUAGE ASPECTS OF THE SOVIET POLICY

Abstract. *The historical Soviet legacy presents us with the positive achievements of state building. The issue of the vital activity of national communities in different chronological periods of the Soviet epoch occupied from a leading to secondary place in the state-party rhetorical programme activities. A striking example of this thesis was the policy of the Soviet government in the Assyrian national minority. When having a low educational and socio-economic level, demonstrating an internally consolidated structure and an indifferent attitude to the Soviet realities, the community was doomed to a tough regulatory policy on the part of the state. **The purpose of our research** is to study the level of mastery of the national language in the projection of the Soviet epoch on the territory of the USSR. This research context was chosen as a direct factor of assimilationist state policy and the artificial change of minority self-identification under the influence of state policy. Determining demographic indicators in a chronological perspective as an indicator of the effectiveness of the state's national policy becomes an integral part of our research task. **The methodological basis** of the study is a statistical method that allows analyzing the dynamics of assimilation processes and drawing conclusions about the imperfection of the demographic accounting of the Assyrians in the territory of the USSR. The publishing of parallel statistical calculations made by representatives of the national minority and regional state bodies reveals the true intentions of the Soviet authorities towards the community. **The Scientific Novelty.** Involvement in the scientific circulation of statistical data of the censuses of the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union, their correlation with archival materials, contributes to the formation of research effectiveness. These aspects have not yet been the results of scientific research.*

*The author using the statistical and source material draws the following **conclusions:** the Soviet authorities deliberately reduced the number of the Assyrians on the territory of the USSR, through deportation, ban on entry, dispersed resettlement; statistical indicators in the 1920s and 1930s of the actually available number do not reflect the real picture and are significantly underestimated; the Soviet censuses demonstrate the effectiveness of the assimilation policy in relation to the national minority, for almost 60 years more half of the Assyrians used Russian as their native language, in comparing with the pre-Soviet and early Soviet periods when their self-identification was based on 100% mastery of their native language.*

Key words: *the Assyrians, USSR, Soviet national policy, population censuses of the USSR, linguistic assimilation.*

АССИРІЙЦІ В СРСР: ДЕМОГРАФІЧНІ ТА МОВНІ АСПЕКТИ РАДЯНСЬКОЇ ПОЛІТИКИ

Анотація. *Історична радянська спадщина презентує нам позитивні досягнення державного будівництва. Питання життєдіяльності національних громад у різні хронологічні періоди радянської епохи посідало від провідного до другорядного місця в державно-партійній риторичній програмній діяльності. Яскравим прикладом такої світоглядної позиції була політика радянської влади до ассирійської національної меншини. Маючи низький рівень освіти, демонструючи внутрішню консолідовану структуру та індивідуальне ставлення до радянських реалій, громада була приречена до жорсткої регуляторної політики із боку держави. Метою наших пошуків постає дослідження рівня володіння ассирійцями національною мовою у різних часових вимірах радянського періоду. В основу гіпотези дослідження було покладено тезу про наявність прямої залежності штучної зміни самоідентифікації меншини під впливом державної політики. Визначення демографічних показників у хронологічній перспективі як індикатора результативності національної політики держави стає невід'ємною складовою нашого дослідницького завдання. Методологічною основою дослідження є статистичний метод, який дає змогу визначити динаміку асиміляційних процесів та зробити висновки про недосконалість демографічного обліку ассирійців на території СРСР. Презентація паралельних статистичних підрахунків, зроблених представниками національної меншини та регіональними органами державної влади, відкриває справжні наміри радянської влади до громади. Наукова новизна. Залучення до наукового обігу статистичних даних переписів Російської імперії та Радянського Союзу, кореляція їх із архівними матеріалами, сприяє формуванню результативності дослідження. Зазначені аспекти це не були предметом наукових пошуків дослідників.*

Автор на підставі статистичного матеріалу та джерел, доходить таких висновків: радянська влада свідомо зменшила кількість ассирійців на території СРСР, шляхом депортації, заборони в'їзду ассирійцям з інших країн, дисперсному розселенню; статистичні показники у 1920 – 1930-х рр. фактично наявної кількості не відображають реальної картини та значно занижені; радянські переписи демонструють результативність асиміляційної політики стосовно національної меншини, майже за 60 років переважна більшість ассирійців використовували російську мову як рідну, порівняно з дорадянським та початковим радянським періодами коли їх самоідентифікація базувалась на 100 % володінні рідної мови.

Ключові слова: СРСР, ассирійці, радянська національна політика, переписи населення СРСР, мовна асиміляція.

The Problem Statement. The Assyrian issue on the territory of the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries was never a priority of state policy. The low demographic indicators of the minority took it beyond the primary tasks of the government. The absence of the national state as a guarantor of rights, the low level of education of the population, nationwide socio-political and economic upheavals led to the levelling of the satisfaction of the cultural needs of the national minority. Instead, the Soviet ideological doctrine presented guaranteed opportunities for the comprehensive realization of the Assyrians' needs and their privileged quality of life, compared to compatriots who remained in other countries. Reports on the national and cultural development of national minorities of the USSR presented positive statistical dynamics of indicators, although the de facto situation was fundamentally the opposite. The stereotypical vision of positive changes in the Assyrian national environment as a result of the Soviet modernization has become a scientific and public informational trend of recent times. Scientific works, which aimed at rethinking and presenting the real historical situation, is an urgent task of responsible historical science and scholars.

The purpose of our research was to study the statistical level of mastery of the national language and its correlation with mastery of Russian in the context of self-identification of the Assyrians as a way of worldview. Definition of demographic indicators in a chronological

perspective as an indicator of the effectiveness of the state's national policy is an integral part of our research task.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Research. The historiographical analysis of research on the issue demonstrates the lack of attention paid by internal and foreign researchers to the research context we defined. The authors of these works use statistical indicators to confirm scientific hypotheses in the context of the descriptive and logical structure of the presentation of their own materials.

The majority of works have regional specificity in the presentation of the material. Among the latter, it is possible to identify the appearance of printed research on the history of the Assyrians who lived on the territory of the former RSFSR (Mykhailov, 2020). In Ukraine, the Assyrian issue also has quality coverage (Margulov, 2017; Margulov, 2016). There are scientific papers, which describe the life of the Assyrians in Georgia during the Soviet period (Margulov, 2021; Mamuka, 2006; Osipov, 2000).

The works mentioned have a regional and republican character and do not reflect the general development trends of the national community. In the presence of the Soviet historiographical heritage, today there is a lack of new conceptual views. Only some works have a generalized presentation of the material, although they present the factual material in a bibliographic and statistical dimension (Sado, 2017). Therefore, there is currently a need for comprehensive scientific research that would reflect the trends of the Soviet state policy in relation to the Assyrian community.

Our attention was focused on national censuses that were conducted in different chronological periods and differed in the political, legal and ideological content of the conduct. For the analysis we considered the statistical indicators of the population censuses of the Russian Empire (1897) and the national population censuses of the USSR (1926, 1939, 1959, 1970, 1979, 1989).

The source bases of our searches are materials presented by archive funds, they are: the State Archives of the Russian Federation, the State Institution "National Archive of the Republic of Adygea", the Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History, the Central State Archive of Higher Authorities and State Administration of Ukraine (CSAHASA of Ukraine), the Russian State archive of economics.

The Purpose of the Research. The goal defined of scientific research directs us to use the statistical research method. We used official statistical data from state censuses and a parallel count made by the national minority and regional authorities. The correlation of this a mass of information directs the researcher to a critical paradigm of search and results.

The Results of the Research. According to information, in 1891, 2,272 Assyrians lived within the Russian Empire. The geography of their stay included Kara region, Tiflis and Yerevan provinces (Erivan and Sharuro-Daralage county) (Alphabetical list of peoples, 1895, p. 6).

The first general population census of the Russian Empire in 1897 records Syro-Chaldeans or Aysors (Assyrians) who numbered 5,353 (3,353 men). Almost all of them (82.8%) were located in the Caucasus region within Tiflis (1,570 people) and Erivan (2,865 people), partially Elizavetpol provinces. The main part is the native population of the region; the smaller part comes from the neighboring regions of Turkey and Persia. In addition to the Caucasus, the Assyrians settled on the territory of the European part of Russia (45 men and 2 women), in Siberia (17 men), Central Asia (3 men) (Troinitsky & Patkanov, etc., 1905, p. XVII).

The majority of the Assyrians in the first years of their life on the territory of the Russian Empire had foreign citizenship and did not claim to change it. Despite constant oppression

in Turkey and Persia, they did not consider Russia as a place of permanent residence. They settled in the border regions despite the strategic potential of the entire territory of the empire. The state also did not see any prospects for their mass migration because of their low economic and educational levels in the presence of an internal demographic resource. Statistical indicators confirm the hypothesis that the Assyrian community preserves a communal traditional patriarchal way of life, such as living in compact enclaves, excluding women from socio-economic activities, and the absolute indicator of mastery of the national language speaking (Zub (Rudenko), 2014, pp. 16–18).

The census recorded 100% mastering in the national language of all interviewed respondents. As for the resettlement of the Assyrians on the territory of the empire, they preferred to be placed on the countryside. Thus, 24.41% of the respondents lived in cities, and 75.58% – in counties. This thesis can be confirmed by the fact that the ratio of sexes in cities was 1:5.25 (one woman for five men), and in counties – 1:1.25. In our opinion, these statistics testify to the permanent character of residence in the territory of county (rural areas) and situational in cities (pendulum labour migration) (Troinitsky & Patkanov, etc., 1905, pp. 18–19).

Based on the statistics of the Census, it can be concluded that 1898 men and 102 women had self-employment (37.36% of the total population). Employment indicators testify to the existence of patriarchal practices in the national environment. This is directly indicated by the percentage of employed women – 5.1% of the total female population, compared to only 5.3% of employed men. Employment is characterized by a low educational level of employment: in agriculture sector there were 604 men and 25 women, in sphere of activities and private service, including servants and day labourers there were 204 men and 24 women, in work on arrangement, repair and maintenance of housing, construction there were 494 men, in trade operations were engaged 141 men and 1 women. It should be noted that the number of employed men significantly exceeded the number of employed women and family members. Only in agriculture this proportion had an inverse coefficient. Such an imbalance indicated that employment in agriculture was traditional for the general mass of the Assyrians, where they felt comfortable, which encouraged them to reproduce family relations. Other employment was seen as temporary or perspective, mastery of which was undertaken by men without families or by single men.

Despite the general low level of education among the Assyrians, there were isolated cases of participation in the intellectual sphere of employment. Four people were employed in administration, court, police, four people were employed in public and estate services, five people were employed in educational and educational activities, and five people were employed in medical and sanitary work. One hundred forty one persons engaged in various types of commercial activity (Troinitsky & Patkanov, etc., 1905, pp. 354–355).

The system of planned management of the Soviet economy needed clear statistical indicators. Based on this need and taking into account the fact that statistics were considered a priority during the crisis, the Soviet authorities decided to conduct the All-Union Population Census (1926). The determination of the respondents' nationality was based on self-identification and self-determination. Based on its data, the statistical situation changes fundamentally - the territory of the Caucasian republics stopped to be the only enclave of the Assyrian resettlement.

The census records 9,808 Assyrians (5,139 men and 4,669 women) on the territory of the state. That period 3,430 and 3,022 women chose the urban way of life, 1,709 and 1,647 women chose the rural way of life. If according to the census statistics of 1897, 75.58%

of the Assyrians lived in rural areas, then in 1926, the census records that 34.21% of the Assyrians lived in rural areas. It should be noted that the decrease in the indicators of living in rural areas occurred due to the expansion of the geography of the settlement of the Assyrians on the territory of the USSR, mainly in urban conditions due to the influx of a large number of refugees from the territory of Persia and Turkey. Thus, in the RSFSR, 1,290 men and 1,182 women lived in cities (in rural areas there were 209 men and 162 women); in the Ukrainian SSR, respectively, there were 455 men and 400 women (in rural areas there were 3 men and 2 women), in the Transcaucasian SFSR there were 1672 men and 1431 women (in rural areas there were 1497 men and 1483 women), in Belarusian SSR there were 2 men and 4 women, in the Uzbek SSR there were 8 men and 5 women, in the Turkmen SFSR there were 3 men (Vsesoyuznaya perepis naseleniya, 1928, pp. 12–13). In the city, there were 881 Assyrians women per 1,000 people, and 964 Assyrians women per 1,000 people in the countryside. In general, this indicator was 909 Assyrians women per 1000 men in the state (Vsesoyuznaya perepis naseleniya, 1928, p. 132).

Demographic indicators were positively affected by the migration waves of refugee masses in 1914 – 1918. During this period, uncontrolled population flows (mainly refugees) moved to the territory of the Russian Empire, radically changing the socio-economic and statistical indicators of the national minority. Not having access to land resources and means of production, they were forced to merge with the masses of the population of the state in the urban environment. The educational level of the population is also changing. In 1926, 2,476 Assyrians people (25.2%) recognized themselves as literate, including 1,704 (33.2%) men and 772 (16.5%) women (Vsesoyuznaya perepis naseleniya, 1928, pp. 106–107). Similar statistics are presented in the territory of the European part of the RSFSR, where the percentage of educated Assyrians men in the republic is 30.6%, the percentage of educated the Assyrians women is 16% (Vsesoyuznaya perepis naseleniya, 1928, p. 48). It should be noted that the developers of the census defined the definition of “literate” as “the ability to read means as understanding printed words, at least by syllables, the ability to write means the ability to write one’s own surname.” Thus, this indicates the basicity of the educational level (Vorobyev, 1938, p. 33).

As the native language of the Assyrians, the developers of the census recognized the New (Novo) - Syrian language. In the instructions for conducting censuses, it was determined that the native language is the language that a person knows best or in which he or she speaks constantly. The Novo-Syrian language was recognized on a national scale by 15,510 Assyrians people. To compare the ratio of nationality and native language, we should take into account the population of the Transcaucasian SFSR where the existing Assyrian population was 6,083 people and the New Syrian language was spoken by 6,055 Assyrians people (Vsesoyuznaya perepis naseleniya, 1928, pp. 32–33). In other republics, there are many more speakers of the New Syrian language than ethnic Assyrians. In this, in our opinion, there are reasons to assert the discrepancy between the determined number of the Assyrians and their actual presence on the territory of the Soviet state. This discrepancy is also influenced by the fact that in the All-Union Census of 1939, the Assyrian language was native to the Lakhluks (ethno-linguistic group of the Jews). This approach complicates statistical calculations of the existing Assyrian population.

The positive growth dynamics of the country’s Assyrian population raises questions for researchers. Despite the nationwide format of the census and the high level of its preparation, there are inconsistencies that are given both by state bodies and national public institutions. In the address to the Executive Committee of the Comintern dated January 21, 2021, the head

of the Central Committee of the Assyrian Socialist Party of Transcaucasia determined the number of the Assyrians residing in the territory of Soviet Russia as 45,000 Assyrians people (RSASPH, f. 495, d. 1, c. 51, p. 127).

According to the report of the North Caucasian Regional Executive Committee dated February 17, 1926, there were 10,000 Assyrians there (NA Republic of Adygea, f. P21, d. 1, c. 21, p. 288). Another example that points at statistical inconsistencies is the result of the survey of the Assyrians on the territory of the USSR. It was made by O. Bit-Shumun, the head of the House of Peoples of the East (Kyiv) in 1926. According to his observations, 10,000 Assyrians lived on the territory of the Ukrainian Republic. Later, this figure passed to the republican reporting and calculations of the size of the Assyrian population (CSAHASA, f. 166, d. 4, c. 974, p. 46; SARF, f. 3302, d. 1, c. 255, p. 121). According to "Hoyad-Atura" (all-Soviet Assyrian public organization), as reported on January 13, 1926, there were 16,000 Assyrians who lived in the RSFSR; there were 9,000 Assyrians people who lived in the Ukrainian SSR; there were 4,000 Assyrians people in the Armenian SSR; there were 6,000 Assyrians people in the Georgian SSR; in the Azeybarzhan SSR there were 3 000 Assyrians people (SARF, f. 3302, d. 1, c. 186, p. 7). The geographical differentiation of sources and their status indicates the significant shortcomings of the Soviet statistical accounting of the population.

The migration policy of the Soviet leadership in relation to the Assyrians was not stable: it was from comprehensive support and assistance to restrictions and prohibitions. We analysed the order to the heads of the political departments of the Red Army dated November 8, 1920, which stated the need for educational work among representatives of the peoples of the East. It was about disseminating information about the Soviet government, promoting a positive attitude towards the Soviet reality, and conducting communist propaganda (RSASPH, f. 495, d. 154, c. 65, p. 1). In 1927, at a meeting of the commission of the Council of Labour and Defense, a secret decision was made to refuse the resettlement of 20,000 Assyrians from Upper Mesopotamia to the USSR (SARF, f. 364p., d. 7, c. 11, p. 3).

The results of the 1937 population census of the USSR raise a number of debatable questions among researchers. The census was conducted in January of 1937, and in September its materials were recognized as "incorrect". The annulment of its results under the conditions of a totalitarian state management system leads the researcher to the negative indicators of its verification for the state. According to this census, the number of Assyrians was recorded at 3,214 people. The census statistics indicated that 3,164 Assyrians lived on the territory of the Armenian SSR (Zhyromskaya & Kiselev, 1996, pp. 83–86).

The decrease in demographic indicators may indicate the fact of massive undercounting of the Assyrian population. Demographic indicators were negatively affected by re-immigration sentiments, for example, in the report on the results of the operational work of the ODPU employees in the Armenian SSR, migration sentiments of the Assyrians to Turkey and Persia were recorded (CA FSB, f. 2, d. 8, c. 679, pp. 181–319). The following document can be cited as proof of this fact.

In a conversation with People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs M. M. Litvinov, Iran's ambassador to the USSR Saed noted the fact that the Iranian government was forced to accept 40,000 Iranians who are not adapted to life in the country and have no means of livelihood. A large percentage of these persons are the Assyrians and the Armenians born in the USSR. A request was also formulated for the filtering of 1,200 Iranians whom the NKVD was going to additionally deport (RFFPA, f. 06, d. 1, c. 1, pp. 215–217). In the report note of the instructor of the Presidium of the Central Central Committee A. Yelbayev to the head of the Central Committee of the USSR M.I. Kalinin has information about the number of the Assyrians living

on the territory of Moscow in 1936 – 2,500 people. From the description of the minority, he noted the backwardness of cultural and mass political and educational work, international education, remnants of national customs and religious education (Vermenych, 2022, pp. 158–175). That period the All-Soviet Assyrian newspaper “Dawn of the East” dated December 2, 1936, number 1343 described the resettlement of 25,000 Assyrians to the land (SARF, f. 3302, d. 1, c. 26, p. 97). According to the data of the All-Union Union of the Assyrians there were 35–45 thousand Assyrians in people lived in the USSR in the 1930s (SARF, f. 3302, d. 2, c. 65, p. 22). The contradiction of the statistical indicators demonstrates the discrepancy between the actual and the number of the Assyrian population determined by the census.

The All-Union Census of 1939 records the presence of the Assyrian population on the territory of the USSR at 20,256 people. Of which, 14,273 people (70.5% of the existing national population) lived in cities, and 5,983 people (29.5%) lived in rural areas; 14,870 people (73.41%) chose Assyrian as their mother tongue, 4,304 Assyrians people spoke (21.24%) Russian, 893 Assyrians people (4.4%) used the language of the Union Republics, 189 people (0.93%) spoke other languages. In cities, 4,759 women (68.23%) and 4,993 men (68.40%) considered Assyrian to be their native language, in rural areas they were 2,704 men (85.50%) and 2414 women (87.94%). The Russian was spoken by 1906 Assyrians women and by 1,938 Assyrians men. In rural areas they were 2,704 men and 2414 women (RSAE, f. 1562, d. 336, c. 1056, pp. 1–10).

The census demonstrates a new geography of Assyrian settlement. On the territory of the RSFSR there were 6,452 people (3,224 men and 3,228 women) who lived in cities, and there were 1,080 people (697 men and 383 women) who lived in rural areas. It was 37.18% of the total number of the Assyrians in the USSR. In the Georgian SSR there were 3,742 people (1,962 men and 1,780 women) who lived in cities and 965 people (518 men and 447 women) who lived in rural areas. It calculated 23.23% of the total number of the Assyrians on the territory of the USSR. In the Armenian SSR there were 400 people (230 men and 170 women) who lived in cities, and 2,880 people (1,420 men and 1,460 women) who lived in rural areas, which was 16.19% of the total number of the Assyrians on the territory of the USSR.

In the Ukrainian SSR there were 2,087 people (1,046 men and 1,041 women) who lived in cities and 114 (106 men and 8 women) who lived in rural areas. It calculated 10.86% of the total number of the Assyrians on the territory of the USSR. In the Azerbaijan SSR there were 1,197 people (621 men and 576 women) who lived in cities, and 618 people (317 men and 301 women) who lived in rural area; it was 8.96% of the total number of the Assyrians on the territory of the USSR. In the Byelorussian SSR there were 227 people (124 men and 103 women) who lived in cities, 8 men in rural areas, which is 1.16% of the total number of the Assyrians in the territory of the USSR. In the Kazakh SSR there were 67 people (34 men and 33 women) who lived in cities and 59 people (50 men and 9 women) who lived in rural area. It presents 0.62% of the total number of the Assyrians on the territory of the USSR. In the Turkmen SSR there were 13 people (6 men and 7 women) who lived in cities, which was 0.06% of the total number of the Assyrians on the territory of the USSR. In the Kyrgyz SSR, 9 people (3 men and 6 women) lived in cities, which was 0.04% of the total number of the Assyrians on the territory of the USSR. In the Tajik SSR, 4 people (3 men and 1 woman) lived in cities, 2 men lived in rural areas, which was 0.02% of the total number of the Assyrians in the territory of the USSR (RSAE, f. 1562, d. 336, c. 1056, pp. 10–100).

According to the results of the 1959 census, there were 21,803 Assyrians on the territory of the USSR. Among them, 14,021 (64.3%) people considered their native language as the

language of their nationality, 6,360 (29.1%) people used Russian as native language, and 1,422 (6.5%) another language. If we consider these indicators by gender we can see the following: among men (they were 10,910 people of the total number of the Assyrians in the territory of the USSR) 6,830 Assyrians people considered the language of their nationality to be their native language. The Russian language was native for 3,298 people; other languages were used by 782 Assyrians people. Among women who were 10,893 of the total number of the Assyrians in the territory of the USSR 7,191 Assyrians women considered the language of their nationality to be their mother tongue, the Russian language was native for 3,062 Assyrians women, another languages were used by 640 Assyrians women (The results of the All-Union population census of 1959, 1962, pp. 185–186.)

According to the 1970 census, there were 24,294 Assyrians in the USSR. 15,662 people (64.4%) considered the language of their nationality as their mother tongue, 7,267 (29.9%) spoke Russian, and 1,365 (5.6%) – another language. Of the total number of the Assyrians, 11,229 Assyrians people spoke Russian. The nature of their resettlement was as follows: 9,927 men lived in the city. Assyrian was the native language for 5,784 people, Russian was used by 3,572 Assyrians people, and the language of another nationality was spoken by 571 Assyrians people. There were 9,965 Assyrians women who lived in the city.

The Assyrian language was the native language of 5,989 people; the Russian language was spoken by 3,419 people, the languages of another nationality were used by 557 Assyrians people. In rural areas, these indicators made up the following picture: there were 2,249 people. Among them Assyrian was the native language for 1971 people; Russian was native for 154 people, the language of another nationality was used by 124 people. There were 2,153 women who lived in rural areas. We can see that 1,918 women spoke Assyrian as their mother tongue, 122 women spoke Russian, and 113 people spoke the language of another nationality (Maksimov, 1973, pp. 11, 21–125).

The analysis of indicators draw us to the conclusion that in cities among the Assyrians for whom the national language was their mother tongue there were 59.1% population, the Russian language was spoken by 35.1% Assyrians population, in rural areas similar indicators were 88.3% and 6.2% respectively.

As a result of the 1979 census of the USSR, the number of the Assyrians was determined at 25,170 people. From this indicator, 13,813 people (54.8%) considered the Assyrian language to be their native language; 9,791 Assyrians people (38.89%) said it was the Russian language as their native language, and 1,566 people (6.22%) spoke the language of other nationalities of the USSR. 10,499 Assyrians people were fluent in the Russian language, and 5,390 people spoke a language of another nationality of the USSR (Makarova, 1984, pp. 78, 134, 135). The situation with national language identification is worsening, as indicated by the fact that even in the territories of compact living in rural areas (the Armenian SSR), only 56.8% of 6,183 Assyrians indicated the Assyrian as their native language, and 34.3% pointed Russian as their native language.

According to the results of the 1989 census, 26,160 Assyrians lived in the USSR, among whom 15,584 people (59.6%) spoke the national language, 8,313 Assyrians people (31.7%) spoke Russian, and 2,263 (8.6%) Assyrians people spoke the language of the peoples of the USSR (Isupov, 1990, p. 37).

It should be noted that similar processes took place among other nationalities that lived dispersedly on the territory of the USSR and were hostages of state policy. To confirm this thesis, we can cite statistical indicators of the Gypsies according to the Soviet censuses.

In 1897, they demonstrated 100% mastery of their native language (Troinitsky & Patkanov, etc., 1905, p. 7). In 1939, the Gypsy language was spoken by 55.3% as their mother tongue and 21.8% population said it was Russian (Polyakov, 1992, pp. 79–80). In 1959, 59.3% of the total national population considered the Gypsy language to be their native language; 1970 they were 70.8%. In 1970, Russian was considered as native language by 53% Gypsy population (Maksimov, 1973, p. 10).

The Conclusion. As we can see the percentage of fluency mastering in the Russian language and its identification as a native language among the Assyrians depended on the active phase of modernization of the Soviet state, i.e. the peak indicators were presented in the 1920s and 1930s with further expansion. This period there was a fundamental change in national self-identification in the direction of active russification as a way of everyday life. Each subsequent census records a progressive decrease in the number of speakers of the national language and an increase in the Russian-speaking component, regardless of the geography of settlement on the territory of the USSR. Those processes were more intense in the urban environment, and were less intensively in places of compact residence (rural areas).

During less than half a century of living in the Soviet state, almost half of the Assyrians people deformed their linguistic identification. When refusing to use and study the national language, the minority confirmed the “successful” course of the Soviet national experiments. The growing number of the Assyrians who lived in the USSR, according to census, hides the true statistical information. In fact, it was the process of depopulation. During the 1920s and the 1930s, the Soviet authorities contributed in every possible way to the artificial reduction of the existing Assyrian population on its territory. The community was dispersed throughout the state without the possibility of compact living, which in the conditions of intensified industrialization testified to the prerequisites for gradual assimilation.

The positive results of russification were possible owing to an active state policy and had standardization in relation to representatives of all national minorities. The crisis of socio-economic life against the background of revolutionary events, the course towards industrialization of the state contributed to the priority of redistribution of internal labour reserves. The issue of labour shortage was solved by the redistribution of resources from the village to the city and, in the case of the Assyrians, testified to the artificial destruction of the national and cultural and traditional practices of an everyday life.

Mass reorientation to the urban way of life also took place during the period of the 1920 – 1930s, during the active phase of modernization of society. Preservation of territories of compact residence in rural areas did not become an ethno-consolidating factor for the Assyrian community, which was dispersed throughout the territory of the USSR. Despite the formation of formats of national-state management (collective farms), the percentage of russification was significant. Such situation testified to the conscious policy of the state to limit the use of the national language. Under conditions of forced life in an urban environment, the Assyrians became participants in “standard” assimilation practices in the absence of other alternatives.

In the short term, the Soviet modernization did not bring a qualitative educational and professional high level to the national community, nor did it positively affect the well-being of the Assyrians. Acting as a tool for the unification of society, it was aimed at reformatting the national mental and cultural identity in the context of state policy. The period of the transitional stage to the real industrial era, reinforced by state ambitions and international conjuncture, left no choice between state needs and the preservation of national and

cultural identity. This was a conscious choice of the Soviet leadership under the conditions of the existence of an authoritarian and totalitarian model of public administration. The consequences of these processes were linguistic assimilation and the progressive reduction of the Assyrian community on the territory of the USSR.

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**LEGISLATIVE REGULATION OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROCESSES
IN THE UKRAINIAN SSR (1990 – 1991): GENERAL TENDENCIES,
PRACTICAL RESULTS**

Abstract. *The article focuses on the analysis of socio-economic processes in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic through the prism of the activities of the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR at the final stage of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics existence (USSR). The purpose of the article is to analyze the legislative regulation of processes in the economic sphere in the Ukrainian SSR against the background of a large-scale socio-economic crisis that covered all branches of industry and agriculture. The methodology of research of a complex of problems related to the legislative activity of the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR during the period under analysis is determined by general scientific (comparative, dialectical, structural and functional, etc.) and special historical (historical and genetic, historical and comparative, historical and typological, historical and systemic, etc.) methods. Doing research seems impossible without using the principles of historicism, consistency, scientific pluralism, objectivity, systematicity, and comprehensiveness. The scientific novelty of the article*

consists in the formulation issue that has not been the subject of a special scientific study: in historical retrospect, the measures of the central authorities have been considered, primarily, the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR, aimed at combating “negative phenomena” in the socio-economic sphere of the Ukrainian SSR; there have been analyzed the basic legislative acts aimed at overcoming the crisis in the basic sectors of the economy, and their effectiveness / ineffectiveness has been singled out.

The Conclusion. At the final stage of the glasnost policy, democratization, and perebudova in the Ukrainian SSR, a large-scale socio-economic crisis continued in the country, caused, first of all, by an imperfect command-administrative system of managing economy. Under the conditions of political pluralism and multipartyism, the Communist Party of Ukraine (CPU), which in 1990 – 1991 formed the majority in the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR, unsuccessfully tried to improve the situation in the agro-industrial sector of the country, to raise the standard of living of the population by introducing elements of market economy, which, however, did not achieve the expected results and caused a flurry of criticism by the population, radicalized public sentiment.

Keywords: Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR, legislative acts, economy, socio-economic crisis, reforms.

ЗАКОНОДАВЧЕ РЕГУЛЮВАННЯ СОЦІАЛЬНО-ЕКОНОМІЧНИХ ПРОЦЕСІВ В УКРАЇНСЬКІЙ РСР (1990 – 1991): ЗАГАЛЬНІ ТЕНДЕНЦІЇ, ПРАКТИЧНІ РЕЗУЛЬТАТИ

Анотація. Стаття присвячена аналізу соціально-економічних процесів в Українській Радянській Соціалістичній Республіці крізь призму діяльності Верховної Ради Української РСР на заключному етапі існування Союзу Радянських Соціалістичних Республік (СРСР). **Мета статті** – проаналізувати законодавче регулювання процесів в економічній сфері в Українській РСР на тлі масштабної соціально-економічної кризи, яка охопила всі галузі промисловості та сільського господарства. **Методологія дослідження** комплексу проблем, пов'язаних із законодавчою діяльністю Верховної Ради Української РСР упродовж досліджуваного періоду детермінована загальнонауковими (компаративний, діалектичний, структурно-функціональний та ін.) та спеціально-історичними ((історико-генетичний, історико-порівняльний, історико-типологічний, історико-системний та ін.) методами. Підготовка розвідки видається неможливою без використання принципів історизму, послідовності, наукового плюралізму, об'єктивності, системності та всебічності. **Наукова новизна** статті полягає у постановці проблеми, яка раніше не була предметом спеціального наукового дослідження: в історичній ретроспективі розглянуто заходи центральних органів влади, насамперед Верховної Ради Української РСР, спрямовані на боротьбу із “негативними явищами” в соціально-економічній сфері Української РСР; проаналізовано базові законодавчі акти, покликані подолати кризу в базових галузях економіки, та показано їх ефективність / неефективність. **Висновки.** На завершальному етапі політики гласності, демократизації, перебудови в Українській РСР, у країні продовжувалася масштабна соціально-економічна криза, викликана насамперед недосконалою командно-адміністративною системою управління економікою. В умовах політичного плюралізму та багатопартійності Компартія України (КПУ), яка у 1990 – 1991 рр. сформувала більшість у Верховній Раді Української РСР, безуспішно намагалася поліпшити ситуацію в агропромисловому секторі країни, підвищити життєвий рівень населення шляхом запровадження елементів ринкової економіки, що, однак, не принесло очікуваних результатів і натомість викликало шквал критики у населення, радикалізувало суспільні настрої.

Ключові слова: Верховна Рада Української РСР, законодавчі акти, економіка, соціально-економічна криза, реформи.

The Problem Statement. M. Gorbachov's coming to power, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, was received with considerable enthusiasm by the Soviet society, expecting primarily positive changes in the socio-economic sphere from a new head of the country, which in the second half of the 1980s went through a crisis. In this context, the Ukrainian SSR was not an exception – at the end of the 80s and the beginning of the 90s,

the Republic was characterized by such phenomena as: impoverishment of the population; shortage of essential goods; numerous abuses by the party officials, directors of enterprises; social insecurity of the population; gradual increase in prices, etc. The elections of 1990 to the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR and local authorities, which were held for the first time in the history of the USSR with participation of political parties opposed to the Communist Party of Ukraine, had to change the situation for the better. The newly formed legislative body of the country tried to reform the agro-industrial sector on the basis of the idea of economic sovereignty of the Republic, and it also adopted a number of resolutions that affected socio-economic processes in the Republic.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Research. The complex of issues on the legislative activity of the Supreme Council of the Ukrainian SSR in the economic sphere is an understudied issue of modern Ukrainian historiography. Some of its aspects are considered in complex scientific works (O. Boiko (Bojko, 2002), S. Kulchytskyi (Kulchytskyi, 2001), V. Lytvyn (Lytvyn, 1994)), scientific studies dedicated to the history of the Communist Party of Ukraine, the activities of parliamentary factions and groups in the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR (M. Karabanov (Karabanov, 1993), O. Muravskiy (Muravskiy, 2012), I. Pidkova, O. Sukhyi (Pidkova & Sukhyi, 2019), V. Chura, Ye. Kopeltsiv-Levytska (Chura & Kopeltsiv-Levytska, 2021), V. Banakh, A. Nagirnyak (Nagirnyak & Banakh, 2021), P. Datskiv, O. Sukhyi (Sukhyi & Datskiv, 2021), O. Maliarchuk, O. Kohut (Maliarchuk & Kohut, 2021)).

The main goal of the research is a comprehensive analysis of the legislative activity of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine in the socio-economic plane in the context of socio-political and socio-economic processes in the Ukrainian SSR at the end of the 80s and the beginning of the 90s of the 20th century. The source base is the materials of the Central State Archive of Public Associations of Ukraine, transcripts of meetings of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, materials of the periodical press.

The chronological framework of the article covers the period from March of 1990 (elections to the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR and local authorities) and ends with the restoration of the Ukrainian statehood (August of 1991).

The Results of the Research. According to Programme “Main Directions of Economic and Social Development of the USSR for the Years of 1986 – 1990 and for the Period up to 2000” declared by M. Ryzhkov, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, the gross domestic product (GDP) was expected to increase by 19 – 22% during the perebudova period, output of industry – by 21 – 24%, means of production – by 20 – 23%, consumer goods – by 22 – 25%, etc. (Osnovnye napravleniya, 1986, p. 7). However, at the end of the 1980s an unrealistic nature of such plans became obvious for the state-party authorities of the USSR and Ukrainian SSR.

A new stage of the agro-industrial sector reforming was associated with the elections to the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR and local authorities by the society (March of 1990). “A characteristic feature of current elections was that they were held on the basis of new democratic laws, with wide publicity, under people’s control. For the first time, the highest body of the state power was formed not by unanimous voting for the proposed candidate, which, in fact, was often a manifestation of the political apathy of voters, but under the conditions of alternative, intense pre-election struggle, without any regulation of quality composition of candidates for deputies”, – noted V. Boiko, the Chairman of the Central Election Commission (CEC) for the elections of People’s Deputies of the Ukrainian SSR (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïns’koho RSR. Meeting 1, 15.05.1990).

Actually, on March 4, 1990, elections to the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR and local authorities were held in 450 territorial electoral districts of the Republic (2,672 candidates for people's deputies) (CSAPOU, f. 1, d. 28, c. 109, p. 54), the vast majority of whom – more than 80% were candidates / members of the CPSU (CSAPOU, f. 1, d. 32, c. 2751, p. 37). However, innovations in the electoral legislation allowed political parties in opposition to the Communist Party of Ukraine, which formed the People's Council, to enter Parliament (CSAPOU, f. 1, d. 32, c. 2746, p. 67). First of all, with the activities of opposition deputies, the society hoped for radical reforms, and therefore, for an increase in the standard of living of all sections of the population. In the economic sphere legislative innovations of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine are conditionally divided into several periods.

The First Session of the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR of the 1st Convocation (May – July of 1990)

During this period, the main directions of the economy reform of the Ukrainian SSR were laid, the central authorities, which took care of socio-economic issues, underwent transformation and personnel renewal, profile commissions of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine (on issues of economic reform and management of the national economy (a chairman V. Pylypchuk), on issues of planning, budget, finance and prices (a chairman D. Zakharuk) and the others were created. The position of the Communist Party of Ukraine regarding the situation in the agro-industrial sector of the Republic was announced by V. Ivashko, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, at the first meeting of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on May 15, 1990 (CSASBPU, f. 1, d. 16, c. 4490, p. 105). “As you know, in the Republic and the country social tension has increased in recent days. Discussion of issues related to proposals of the USSR Government to increase retail prices for consumer goods, and above all the food group, caused a heightened, I would say, painful reaction of millions of people”, – he stated (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïnsjkoji RSR. Meeting 19, 28.05.1990).

“We are deeply convinced that the transition to a regulated market economy is definitely necessary. Under current conditions, this is the only way out of the crisis and there is no alternative. But, unfortunately, in the report of the Government of the USSR, this transition, for reasons that are not clear, is suggested beginning with an increase, from the rigidly established, as before, state retail prices,” – V. Ivashko summed up (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïnsjkoji RSR. Meeting 19, 28.05.1990).

V. Ivashko suggested that the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR should adopt a resolution in which there should be stated: 1. The Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR considers it inadmissible to take any decisions on raising state retail prices, including for bread and bread products, without a comprehensive discussion with all the Union Republics and a national referendum. 2. To instruct the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR to make suggestions regarding the concept of price reform in the country (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïnsjkoji RSR. Meeting 19, 28.05.1990).

At the same time, V. Masol, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR, considered it necessary to supplement the above mentioned resolution with one more point. “First of all, I believe that laws must first be developed that will stimulate the transition of our economy to market relations, and today we want to adopt the Law on the transition to market relations, without having any normative and legislative acts,” the party functionary noted (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïnsjkoji RSR. Meeting 19, 28.05.1990).

The initiatives of the leaders of the Communist Party of Ukraine caused ironic comments from the representatives of the parliamentary opposition. Thus, V. Chornovil (Chairman

of Lviv Regional Council (Shevchenkivskiy Electoral District, Lviv Region)) noted that “Deputy Ivashko’s suggestion reeks of populism” (Verkhovna Rada Ukrainjskoho RSR. Meeting 19, 28.05.1990). The People’s Deputy stated: “Of course, such decisions are not made by any referendum. The only thing we can accept today is to adopt laws and on political sovereignty, and especially on economic independence, and the creation of prerequisites, namely: breaking the vertical structure in the economy, forming prerequisites for a market economy, horizontal structures, development of a normal pricing system, until then the market, the so-called controlled market, is like a bottomless kettle. Until then, there cannot be any increased prices” (Verkhovna Rada Ukrainjskoho RSR. Meeting 19, 28.05.1990). The co-founder of the NRU concluded his speech: “Today we really only need to make a decision on a moratorium on price increases. Was this suggestion until the end of the year? Why was it until the end of the year? Because time is needed for the development of prerequisites by the Ukrainian Parliament for the transition to a market economy. Otherwise, it would be a big adventure...” (Verkhovna Rada Ukrainjskoho RSR, Meeting 19, 28.05.1990).

Discussions about initial economic reforms continued during the election of Parliament speaker. Candidates’ vision of the way out of the economic crisis correlated with political beliefs and field of professional interests. For example, V. Yavorivskiy (Secretary of Writers’ Union of Ukraine (Svitlovodsk electoral district, Kirovohrad Region)), a candidate for the post of the Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine noted that in economic reforms issue “he would hardly be able to add anything” (Verkhovna Rada Ukrainjskoho RSR. Meeting 28, 01.06.1990). However, he immediately stated: “Today it is clear for all of us, and we supported it – this is denationalization. We must somehow stretch this gigantic monster that works for itself, that has completely forgotten about a human being, about his or her interests, about his or her needs today. I’m against it...” (Verkhovna Rada Ukrainjskoho RSR. Meeting 28, 01.06.1990).

Having impartially analyzed the economic programmes of candidates for the position of Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, we note that one of the most important (albeit unrealistic) is the programme of V. Chornovil, in which it was suggested ensuring “economic independence of Ukraine” by:

- declaration of lands, soil and natural resources of Ukraine as sovereign national wealth;
- equality of all forms of individual and collective property, including private property;
- liquidation of the system of vertical connections in the economy – ministries, departments, etc.;
- giving enterprises complete freedom in choosing partners, forms and methods of activity;
- termination of uncontrolled money emission;
- national currency;
- reorganization of the wholesale price system based on the international price index;
- strict measures to protect the national consumer market;
- radical agrarian reform with the transfer of land to peasants, with a course to transform collective farms into agricultural cooperatives and a gradual separation of farms, etc. (Vystup narodnoho deputata URSR V. Chornovola, 1990, p. 12).

According to V. Chornovil, the outlined measures were supposed to prepare the Ukrainian economy for “the economy of further structural changes and entry into the European economic system”. As for the social sphere, the people’s deputy suggested “declaring a war on psychology of maintenance”, which he suggested conducting under the slogan “Long live master!” or, “Long live kurkul!” (Verkhovna Rada Ukrainjskoho RSR. Meeting 28, 01.06.1990).

As for the representatives of the Communist Party of Ukraine, who applied for the position of Parliament speaker, the economic programme of V. Ivashko received the greatest criticism of the members of the People's Council. Thus, M. Shvaika (a senior researcher of Lviv branch of the Institute of Economics of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR (Zolochiv electoral district, Lviv region) stated that "the candidate for the post of Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR V. A. Ivashko did not draw up a programme for Ukraine's exit from the state of crisis and ensuring the Republic's sovereignty. What kind of political sovereignty of Ukraine can we talk about under the conditions when V. A. Ivashko will govern Ukraine with the help of instructions received from Moscow? The applicant did not offer anything constructive to rebuild the economy of Ukraine, which is a colonial appendage of the Centre! Will the suggested by comrade V. A. Ivashko make us masters at our local places, on our land, free us from the tribute we pay to the Centre, which takes 2/3 of the national product without any equivalent?" (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïns'koho RSR. Meeting 23, 30.05.1990).

In July of 1990 the situation in the economic sphere of the Ukrainian SSR was aptly described by V. Pylypchuk (Associate Professor of the Ukrainian Institute of Water Management Engineers (Zhovtnevyi electoral district, Rivne region), who, making speech in Parliament, noted: "We have turned our economy into a big distributor, when Moscow distributes everything among the republics, depending on who and how treats the Centre. The Republic distributes everything among regions. Regions distribute everything among districts and everything is based on personal connections. There is no economic basis for the functioning of our society. We have no economy" (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïns'koho RSR. Meeting 56, 05.07.1990).

The block of economic issues was lively debated by people's deputies during the adoption of Declaration on State Sovereignty of Ukraine (CSASBPU, f. 1, d. 16, c. 4490, p. 105). On behalf of the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR, the Commission on State Sovereignty, Inter-Republican and International Relations considered the suggested drafts of Declaration, which were submitted by the Presidium of the Verkhovna Rada, People's Deputies Hnatkevych, Holovatyi, Kosiv, Semenchuk, Yakheyeva and Khmara. A head of the Commission, M. Shulha (a head of the national relations department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine (Lutuhynsky electoral district, Luhansk region)) admitted that "the economic section turned out to be... the largest", and "attempts to make it more compact did not yield results" (CSASBPU, f. 1, d. 16, c. 4490, p. 109).

According to the Chairman of the Commission, this situation arose because "it is in the field of economics that the independence issue is felt the most acutely... Therefore, despite the fact that the document... has a declarative nature, in this section there is a tendency to specify it" (CSASBPU, f. 1, d. 16, c. 4490, p. 109). Moreover, representatives of the People's Council considered the economic block of Declaration the most important and insisted on enshrining the provision on the sovereignty of the Ukrainian SSR economic status (Deklaracija pro derzhavnyj suverenitet Ukraïny, 2010, p. 403). As a result, Chapter VI of Declaration provided for the independence of the Ukrainian SSR in the economic sphere, the equality of all forms of ownership (state, private), and authorized the formation of its own financial, banking, tax systems and monetary unit (Deklaracija pro derzhavnyj suverenitet Ukraïny, 1990, p. 4).

On July 16, 1990, V. Masol, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the UkrSSR, was forced to admit in Parliament that "the adoption of Declaration on State Sovereignty of Ukraine by the Verkhovna Rada of the Republic is, certainly, a significant historical event in the life

of our people, which confirms the fact of the national statehood restoration of Ukraine. The adoption of Declaration means that our people finally get the exclusive right to be owners, to use their national wealth..." (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïns'koho RSR. Meeting 67, 16.07.1990).

Demagogically V. Masol noted that "the economic independence of the Republic is guaranteed by the supremacy of republican laws and regulations over the Union ones operating on the territory of the Republic" (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïns'koho RSR. Meeting 67, 16.07.1990), and Ukraine "from now on, in person of its authorities, management and self-government, will manage the economy of the Republic independently, taking care of the full-fledged political, social and cultural development of the peoples of Ukraine" (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïns'koho RSR. Meeting 67, 16.07.1990). Moreover, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the UkrSSR convinced the deputies of his readiness "to ensure the economic independence of the Republic in practice, to do everything that its natural wealth, a powerful economic potential contribute to improvement of the living standard of our people, their spiritual revival" (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïns'koho RSR. Meeting 67, 16.07.1990).

V. Masol suggested implementing the plan by introducing elements of the market economy. "I would like to explain my position to you: I see the transition to market relations as the only way out of the Republic's economy crisis. This transition must be well-thought and verified at every step. It is necessary, without any delay, to develop not only a legal, but also economic mechanism for a painless entry of the national economy into this period and its normal functioning under market conditions," stated the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïns'koho RSR. Meeting 67, 16.07.1990).

The party functionary also suggested transforming the function of ministries and departments from "directive management bodies, which they are today", into economic centres with fundamentally new functions, focused primarily on satisfying human needs, determining directions of scientific and technical progress, analyzing the market situation, activating foreign economic relations, solving cross-industry tasks, optimal placement of productive forces, coordination of enterprises efforts to improve environment (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïns'koho RSR. Meeting 67, 16.07.1990).

Declaration on the State Sovereignty of Ukraine summed up the first stage of legislative innovations in the economic sphere by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of the new convocation. The result of the activity of the Ukrainian parliamentarians did not receive public approval due to the lack of practical results.

The Second Session of the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR of the 1st Convocation (October – December of 1990)

Real attempts (although de facto fruitless) to improve the economic situation in the Republic were made by the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR during the second session, which was reflected, in particular, in the preparation of a number of legislative acts (CSASBPU, f. 1, d. 16, c. 4497, p. 98). Even during "parliamentary" holidays, three meetings of the Presidium took place, where draft laws on the implementation of Law "On Economic Independence of the Ukrainian SSR" were considered and elaborated. The main attention of the deputies was focused on the concept and programme elaboration of transition to market economy, preparation of draft legislative acts that would ensure economic independence of the Republic (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïns'koho RSR. Meeting 1, 01.10.1990).

L. Kravchuk, Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR, was forced to admit: "the session is starting under conditions of a threatening economic imbalance, political instability, and serious public tension. The situation is simply dangerous... The actions of the

authorities, or rather their inaction, cause concern among sober-minded people... Economic ties established over the years are chaotically being torn apart, natural exchange is increasing, metastases of the shadow economy are developing... ” (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïnsjkoji RSR. Meeting 1, 01.10.1990).

Under difficult social and political conditions, the central authorities tried to find the answer to the question: “Who is to blame?” V. Rudenko (a deputy chairman of the executive committee of Hoshchansky district Council of People’s Deputies (Hoshchansky electoral district, Rivne region) noted, that “the Council of Ministers wants to transfer the responsibility for the extremely difficult economic situation to Parliament of the Republic”, and this, according to the deputy, “is nothing more than a disdainful attitude of the Government towards the people’s elected officials” (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïnsjkoji RSR. Meeting 5, 05.10.1990).

According to B. Markov (a head of Subcommittee of the Verkhovna Rada Commission of the Ukrainian SSR on economic reform and management of the national economy (Suvorov constituency, Kherson region)), the problem was that the government considered the problem of stabilization and the problem of transition to the market separately. “We can stabilize the market only by market relations. Anyone who thinks that we can achieve anything by screwing up the nuts and bolts, making extensive use of the tools we’ve used for so long, is wrong. Both our experience and international experience show that this is a dead end. Let’s look at what is happening in South and North Korea today. And we can draw the most far-sighted conclusions from this,” he noted (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïnsjkoji RSR. Meeting 5, 05.10.1990).

On October 2, 1990, Parliament adopted Programme for transition of the Ukrainian SSR to regulate market economy (CSASBPU, f. 1, d. 16, c. 4497, p. 102). In the future, the Verkhovna Rada focused its attention on the issue measures to stabilize the economic situation in the Republic (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïnsjkoji RSR. Meeting 47, 04.12.1990). Thus, on October 10 of the same year, the deputies continued to consider the issue “On a complex of urgent measures to stabilize the economic situation of the Republic during the transition period” (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïnsjkoji RSR. Meeting 11, 10.10.1990).

In V. Masol’s report, which was devoted to the outlined issue, it was noted that stabilization of the economy is today “the key issue of our life” (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïnsjkoji RSR. Meeting 11, 10.10.1990). The speaker noted that “the question is: will we be able to overcome a deep economic crisis and ensure an organized, without social upheavals, transition to a human-oriented market economy, or will the Republic face a collapse with the most severe consequences for society? I believe that this is precisely what determines a completely understandable interest of people’s deputies, their activity and acuteness when discussing issues” (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïnsjkoji RSR. Meeting 11, 10.10.1990).

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR asked the People’s Deputies to adopt a number of legislative acts, which were related to: preservation by the Republican enterprises of established / mutually beneficial ties and establishment of new economic ties until the end of 1991; introduction of a single state order for the manufacturing of goods, performance of work and services on the territory of Ukraine; management of state property of Ukraine. “We [Government – the author] believe, that these decisions of the Verkhovna Rada will be another important step towards practical implementation of Declaration on State Sovereignty of Ukraine and Law on Economic Independence. They will also provide the Government with certain legal guarantees for carrying out the already started work on stabilizing the economic situation on a larger scale and more comprehensively,” noted V. Masol (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïnsjkoji RSR. Meeting 11, 10.10.1990).

The lateness of the Government's measures often caused surprise among people's deputies. "I cannot understand, dear Vitaly Andriyovych, why our Government, both past and present, and it is not so new, by the way, has not done anything today to stabilize the economy?" V. Bilyi asked rhetorically (Chairman of Dubno Town Council of People's Deputies, Second Secretary of Dubno Town Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine (Dubno Electoral District, Rivne region). – Wasn't it obvious that the economic and reactionary mechanism of production management, cross-industry and territorial proportions are broken?" (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïns'koho RSR. Meeting 11, 10.10.1990).

V. Durdynets, the First Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR, also expressed concern about the economy state, who noted that "recently, the economic, socio-political and criminal situation in the Republic has become threatening and has a tendency to be complicated further" (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïns'koho RSR. Meeting 17, 17.10.1990). In his opinion, such situation is characteristic of Kyiv, Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Ternopil, the Crimea and other regions. "The situation that has developed is consequence of the economy imbalance, a massive violation of labour discipline... All these factors disorganize the work of state institutions, transport, cause tension in cities and other populated areas" (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïns'koho RSR. Meeting 17, 17.10.1990).

In this context, from October 29 to November 2, the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR continued to consider a set of issues related to the "market transition programme" (CSASBPU, f. 1, op. 16, spr. 4497, p. 104). V. Fokin, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR, Chairman of the State Economic Committee of the Ukrainian SSR, presented the programme to Parliament (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïns'koho RSR. Meeting 22, 29.1.1990). He noted that "a real alternative to improving the economic situation of the Republic is the full economic and political independence of Ukraine and transition to market economy with profound constitutional changes that will constitute a new structure of socioeconomic relations and production" (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïns'koho RSR. Meeting 22, 29.1.1990).

V. Fokin noted that the Government was forced to choose fundamentally different ways of the Republic renaissance, which would meet the requirements of Declaration on State Sovereignty and Law on Economic Independence of Ukraine. "As achievement I consider the fact that Programme suggested for your consideration does not have significant fundamental disagreements with the ideological platforms of various political groups," he summarized (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïns'koho RSR. Meeting 22, 29.1.1990). It should be noted that V. Pylypchuk, Chairman of the Commission of the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR on economic reform and management of the national economy, called Programme "the first attempt of the Government to do something" (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïns'koho RSR. Meeting 26, 31.10.1990). In his opinion, the deputies "must free the hands of the Government for it to work and correct the errors simultaneously" (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïns'koho RSR. Meeting 26, 31.10.1990).

For the Government the situation was complicated by a tense political moment: in November of 1990 the arrest of S. Khmara, the People's Deputy of the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR, intensified the confrontation between the Communist Party and democratic forces significantly. On November 20, the People's Council made a statement in Parliament in which it placed the responsibility for the difficult state of economy on the Communist Party of Ukraine. In the Statement, in particular, it was mentioned: "Recent events in Ukraine testify that the administrative and command system strengthens opposition to progressive changes. An example of this is the statement of the parliamentary majority against the

fundamental provisions of economic reform suggested by the representatives of the People's Council... This is the primary cause of parliamentary crisis... Such actions testify to the desire of extreme reactionary forces to achieve absolute power and preserve economic foundations of old regime" (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïns'koho RSR. Meeting 37, 20.11.1990).

It was during this period that debates continued within the walls of Parliament on the foundations of financial and budgetary system of the Ukrainian SSR, the draft Laws "On State Tax Service in the Ukrainian SSR", "On Property", Land Code of the Ukrainian SSR, etc. (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïns'koho RSR. Meeting 48, 04.12.1990). The importance of the issues raised was dictated by the requirements of the time. As O. Yemets (Chairman of the Commission of the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR on Human Rights "Central Election District, Kyiv") observed rightly, the problem had Hamlet's rhetoric: to be or not to be? (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïns'koho RSR. Meeting 48, 04.12.1990). "To be or not to be a radical restructuring of our society? Shall we create or not create the conditions under which a healthy economy could live and develop? – he remarked. – To live and develop, not to exist, because the economy is a kind of a living organism. An open, self-regulating and self-reproducing system, as once we read in the textbook on Biology at school. What we had before it had been artificially created by a mechanical system that acted only under the pressure of an external force..." (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïns'koho RSR. Meeting 48, 04.12.1990).

Deputies of the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR devoted the last weeks of December to the issues of approving the budget of the Ukrainian SSR for 1991, consideration of the draft Law "On Enterprises in the Ukrainian SSR" (the first reading), approval of the "Main Directions of Economic and Social Development of the Ukrainian SSR for 1991" (the first reading) (CSASBPU, f. 1, d. 16, c. 4497, p. 107). On the border between economics and politics, there was the problem of introducing changes and additions to the Constitution, as well as the issue of dividing rights and powers between the Union and Republican authorities (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïns'koho RSR. Meeting 55, 17.12.1990).

The second session of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of the 1st convocation, which ended its work at the end of December of 1990, did not live up to the expectations of the government and society. The economic situation in the Republic remained, according to the people's deputies, "explosive". In the Ukrainian SSR socio-political and socio-economic processes were beyond the control of the Communist Party.

The Third and Fourth Sessions of the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR of the 1st Convocation (February – August of 1991)

Socio-economic processes in the Ukrainian SSR are one of the leading topics of discussion in the session hall of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of the third and fourth convocations (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïns'koho RSR. Meeting 4, 06.02.1991). At the beginning of the session (on February 8, 1991), the deputies listened to the speech of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR V. Fokin "On Social and Economic Situation in the Republic and Social Protection of Population during Transition to Market Relations" (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïns'koho RSR. Meeting 8, 08.02.1991). The speaker admitted that there are only "potential opportunities for a more complete stabilization of the socio-economic situation in the Republic", instead "recently the state of affairs in the economy has not changed for the better" (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïns'koho RSR. Meeting 8, 08.02.1991). According to V. Fokin, "there was no reason to hope for something else, if every day the majority of branches of the national economy of Ukraine work worse and worse..." (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïns'koho RSR. Meeting 8, 08.02.1991).

The miners' strike in the spring and summer of 1991, which led to significant negative economic consequences, made the situation even more complicated. Reflecting on this protest action, the Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR L. Kravchuk criticized the miners' initiative. "I want to say that working conditions and social protection conditions of miners are extremely difficult, and we can say with responsibility that they are insufficient today. Everyone is well aware of this, he stated. – The miners also know about this, but for some reason they want to strike now, when our Government started to act, when measures are being taken to implement the resolutions and agreements concluded with them. Active work on aggravating social and economic tension in Donbas has begun again" (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïnsjkoji RSR. Meeting 19, 28.02.1991).

Taking into account the fact that on March 1, 1991, the day when the strike began, the absolute majority of miners' collectives went to work, L. Kravchuk, on behalf of the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR, sincerely thanked the miners, trade unions, management of the collectives, who "understood the situation, took into account the difficult economic situation and are working for the economy of Ukraine to get out of the crisis it got into..." (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïnsjkoji RSR. Meeting 21, 01.03.1991).

However, the issue of miners' strikes did not disappear from the agenda of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine. Thus, on March 22, 1991, a representative of a group of miners (S. Beseha) spoke at Parliament session, who declared the demands of strikers. The speaker stated that "against the background of the general economic crisis of the Soviet society, the standard of living of ordinary people, caused by the anti-people policy of the leadership of the Union, is catastrophically declining and sooner or later will lead to a social explosion. The wheel of strikes has turned, and every day more and more miners' collectives are joining the strikers..." (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïnsjkoji RSR. Meeting 28, 22.03.1991).

According to the miners, they understand that "the economic demands set by Resolution No. 608 will not be able to be solved by the Government, which took a bold step – took the basic branches of the national economy under the control of the Republic, crippled by an unwise centralized administration" (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïnsjkoji RSR. Meeting 28, 22.03.1991). In their opinion, "political instability and paralysis of the economy of the Republic is death for Ukraine, and it is beneficial only for the Communist Party majority and the centre, in order to prove by example the inability of independent management of the national economy" (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïnsjkoji RSR. Meeting 28, 22.03.1991). The miners stated that they are not only making demands to the capital to resolve the issue of ending the strike, but also making suggestions for resolving the conflict. "We declare with full responsibility that from the moment of receiving guarantees of solving our problems, the strike at the enterprises will stop," – noted S. Beseha (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïnsjkoji RSR. Meeting 28, 22.03.1991).

However, even after a month, the miners' economic and political demands remained unheard by the central state and party authorities. On this occasion, at a meeting of the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR, I. Skoryk (Associate Professor of the Department of Architecture of Kyiv State Art Institute (Artemivskyi electoral district, Kyiv) remarked, that strikes continue in Donetsk region, they are not abating in Lviv-Volyn coal basin, and it is not known when they will be stopped" (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïnsjkoji RSR. Meeting 29, 23.04.1991). According to the deputy, the main problem was the political demands of the strikers. "The strikers are taking their stand and asked to convey that they insist that the Verkhovna Rada consider and decide on the political demands urgently..." he summarized (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïnsjkoji RSR. Meeting 29, 23.04.1991).

Against the background of a mass strike movement and economic devastation, the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR continued to produce legislative acts of economic content. Among the most important are the Laws “On Protection of Consumer Rights”, “On Limitation of Monopolistic Activities and Development of Competition”, as well as Laws: on the taxation system; on taxes from enterprises, associations and organizations; on income tax on citizens of the Ukrainian SSR, foreign citizens and stateless people, etc. (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïnsjkoji RSR. Meeting 47, 12.05.1991).

In general, we note a rather high pace of work of the highest legislative body of the country: as of June 3, 1991, the agenda of the third session of the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR included 62 main issues and 34 issues that could be considered after their preparation at the request of the Presidium (in total, 96 questions). 61 plenary sessions were held in 4 months. 143 issues were considered, including 22 were fully resolved. The Verkhovna Rada did not start discussing 28 of the main issues. 10 draft laws were adopted in the first reading and 4 were submitted for revision. Many draft laws were specifically related to the socio-economic sphere, although the basic ones were not adopted until the time of the collapse of the USSR (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïnsjkoji RSR. Meeting 62, 03.06.1991).

In particular, the Law “On Taxes” was not adopted even in the first reading. Also, at the third session, the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR did not consider the issues of denationalization of property, indexation of the population’s monetary income, pension provision, communal property, etc. “These are the main laws demanded by voters today, demanded by parliamentarians, and heads of enterprises. I suggest moving away from our agenda and start a discussion of economic issues that are very important for Ukraine today,” Y. Zbitnev was indignant in June of 1991 (Deputy Chairman of the Commission of the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR on Youth Affairs (Haharinsky electoral district, Kyiv) (Verkhovna Rada Ukraïnsjkoji RSR. Meeting 17, 19.06.1991).

Not the last attempt by the government to influence the state of affairs in the economic sphere of the Ukrainian SSR was made on June 28, 1991, when the Prime Minister of the Ukrainian SSR V. Fokin submitted to the Parliament “Programme of Emergency Measures to Stabilize Economy of Ukraine and Get it out of Crisis” (term of its validity: 1.5 – 2 years) (Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR. Meeting 21, 25.06.1991). “You and I, dear deputies, made our choice in favour of the market,” said V. Fokin. – If this is so, then it is necessary to uproot the mossy postulate of the political economy of socialism that the plan is the law. In fact, this is the antithesis of market relations (and this must be recognized consciously), with the help of which we are going to get out of the crisis. That is why, our programme is not a constant. Depending on how the economic situation will change in the Republic and beyond, we will be obliged to make appropriate adjustments and changes to it...” (Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR. Meeting 21, 25.06.1991).

The Prime Minister of the Ukrainian SSR admitted that “the programme conflicts with certain laws of the Union of the SSR, resolutions of the Cabinet of Ministers of the USSR, and in some cases – with the provisions of our republican laws.” (Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR. Meeting 21, 25.06.1991). For these reasons, the speaker noted, the Government will insist on the suspension of some legislative acts for the period of implementation of the Programme. “Without this, it is doomed to become stillborn,” concluded V. Fokin (Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR. Meeting 21, 25.06.1991). Actually, the restoration of Ukrainian statehood on August 24, 1991 fundamentally transformed the principles and approaches of the government to solving socio-economic problems, although the population of Ukraine felt the consequences of the Soviet mismanagement even during the 1990s.

The Conclusion. At the end of the 1980s, the USSR was unprepared to overcome the consequences of a protracted economic crisis. The state-party leadership was limited to cosmetic reforms of the country's agro-industrial complex, without fundamental transformations of the entire sector of the economy. Being completely under the dictates of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Communist Party of Ukraine was limited in its ability to raise the standard of living of the population and revive the basic branches of the agro-industrial complex.

The 1990 elections to the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR and local authorities gave rise to certain hopes for positive changes in the economic segment of the Republic, given the appearance of opposition forces in Parliament of the Republic. The efforts of the national democrats already in May – July of 1990 (the first session of the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR of the 1st convocation) actualized the problem of exiting the economic crisis, and the Declaration on the State Sovereignty of Ukraine lays down of the sovereignty thesis of the economy and elimination of the need to harmonize the republican legislation with the laws of the USSR, the resolutions of the Cabinet of Ministers of the USSR.

During the second session of the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR of the 1st convocation, the intention to solve a complex of problematic issues in the economic sector of the Republic was declared by (a) deepening the economic sovereignty of the Ukrainian SSR in accordance with the Declaration on State Sovereignty of Ukraine and (b) due to the introduction of elements of the market economy. However, despite the adoption of numerous legislative acts, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine failed to stabilize the economic situation and achieve a real improvement in the standard of living of the population. The third session of the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR of the 1st convocation approved the government's "Programme of Emergency Measures to Stabilize Economy of Ukraine and Get it Out of Crisis State", which, however, was no longer of practical importance considering the collapse of the USSR.

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BALKAN'S INTEGRATION PROCESSES: HISTORY AND POSTMODERNITY

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to highlight the attempts of the Balkan regional integration in the twentieth century and at the beginning of the XXIst century. The research methodology is based on general scientific (analysis, synthesis), special and historical (historical and genetic, historical and typological, historical and comparative) methods. The scientific novelty consists in the fact that for the first time in Ukrainian historiography, the distinctive essence of the Balkan integration projects of the modern and postmodern era has been shown. The Balkan region occupies a special place in European history. Various civilization influences intersect in the Balkans, and trade routes from Europe to the Middle East have traditionally passed. The uneven historical development of the Balkan peoples led to the severity of the nation-states formation and the dominance of conflicting internal regional and external interests in the Balkans. The Conclusion. The conflict potential of Balkan history was due to the clash of ideas of "great" state formations in the form of "Greater Serbia", "Greater Albania", "Greater Serbia", "Greater Macedonia". An attempt to resolve these contradictions on an international basis was an attempt to implement the Yugoslav project. This project had two*

different implementation attempts. After World War I, Yugoslavism was embodied in the format of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. After World War II, a more successful attempt at international integration was made in the form of Yugoslav federalism. However, exogenous processes overturned the achievements of endogenous regional integration. The implementation of the European integration project of the Balkan countries depends on the readiness of the European Union to accept them and on the readiness of the Balkan countries to become part of the European Union. The European integration of the Balkan countries raises the question of the European Union borders. Turkey remains on the verge of civilization influences. Turkey's accession to the European Union is of strategic global importance. The qualitative characteristics of the European Union depend on the solution of this issue. The EU does not synchronize the accession process of the Balkan countries with the negotiation process with Turkey. It is impossible to do that, because Turkey is more than all the six Balkan countries that emerged after the breakup of Yugoslavia.

Key words: Balkans, integration projects, European integration, European Union, North Atlantic Alliance, Yugoslavia.

ІНТЕГРАЦІЙНІ ПРОЦЕСИ НА БАЛКАНАХ: ІСТОРІЯ ТА ПОСТМОДЕРНІСТЬ

Анотація. Метою статті є висвітлення спроб балканської регіональної інтеграції у XX та на початку XXI ст. Балканський регіон посідає особливе місце в історії Європи. **Методологія дослідження** орієнтується на загальнонаукові (аналіз, синтез) та спеціально-історичні (історико-генетичний, історико-типологічний, історико-компаративний) методи. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше в українській історіографії показано відмінну сутність балканських інтеграційних проєктів модерної і постмодерної доби. На Балканах перетинаються різні цивілізаційні впливи, традиційно проходили торгові шляхи з Європи на Близький Схід. Нерівномірність історичного розвитку балканських народів зумовила гостроту становлення національних держав і домінування суперечливих внутрішніх регіональних і зовнішніх інтересів на Балканах. **Висновки.** Конфліктний потенціал балканської історії був зумовлений зіткненням ідей “великих” державних утворень у вигляді “Великої Сербії”, “Великої Албанії”, “Великої Сербії”, “Великої Македонії”. Спроба врегулювати ці суперечності на міжнародній основі була спробою реалізації югославського проєкту, що мав дві різні спроби реалізації. Після Першої світової війни югославизм втілювався у форматі Королівства сербів, хорватів і словенців. Після Другої світової війни була зроблена більша успішна спроба міжнародної інтеграції у формі югославського федералізму. Проте екзогенні процеси перекреслили здобутки ендогенної регіональної інтеграції. Реалізація євроінтеграційного проєкту балканських країн залежить від готовності Європейського Союзу прийняти їх і від готовності балканських країн стати частиною Європейського Союзу. Євроінтеграція балканських країн актуалізує питання про кордони Європейського Союзу. Туреччина залишається на межі цивілізаційних впливів. Вступ Туреччини до Європейського Союзу має стратегічне глобальне значення. Від розв’язання цього питання залежать якісні характеристики Європейського Союзу. ЄС не синхронізує процес вступу балканських країн із переговорним процесом із Туреччиною. Зробити це неможливо, тому що Туреччина – це більше, ніж усі шість балканських країн, які виникли після розпаду Югославії. **Ключові слова:** Балкани, інтеграційні проєкти, євроінтеграція, Європейський Союз, Північноатлантичний альянс, Югославія.

The Problem Statement. The Balkan region occupies a special place in European history. The term Balkans was introduced in 1808 by Berlin geographer A. Zuine (Hartl, 1977, p. 10). Since then, the concept of the Balkans has become synonymous with obscure confusing processes. The medieval conquest of the Balkan peoples by the Ottoman Empire separated them from the general trends in the history of Western European peoples. Since then, the Balkans have been crossed by various civilization influences and traditionally passed trade routes from Europe to the Middle East. The Balkan region is inhabited by

different ethnic groups, which unequally reached the level of national identity at different times, sufficient to create their own nation-states. The uneven historical development of the Balkan peoples has led to the severity of the formation of nation-states and the dominance of conflicting internal regional and external interests in the Balkans. At the beginning of the 21st century, the Balkans remain an example of more than just disintegration. But also integration processes. Many different scientific developments are devoted to this issue. Instead, the topic of the search of integration regional projects, especially in the context of European integration processes. The idea of a united and independent Balkans dates back to the 19th century. But it was very difficult to implement it, because the region is a mosaic of eastern, western, Mediterranean influences, different nations and cultures. The slogan “Balkans for the Balkan peoples” has not been implemented, not least due to the principle of “one nation – one state”. The conflict potential of Balkan history was due to the clash of ideas of “great” state formations in the form of “Greater Serbia”, “Greater Albania”, etc. But the Balkan region is too mosaic and conflict-ridden for “mini-empires” to find their place here. An attempt to resolve these contradictions on an international basis was an attempt to implement the Yugoslav project. There were two different attempts to implement it. After World War I, Yugoslavism was embodied in the project of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Instead, after World War II, a more successful attempt at international integration was made in the form of Yugoslav federalism. However, exogenous processes overturned the achievements of endogenous regional integration. In view of this, it is important to understand what factors made the implementation of the Balkan integration projects impossible and what the consequences were for Europe.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Research. After World War I, the emergence of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes stimulated interest in research into regional integration processes. In German historiography of the interwar period, this interest was manifested in terms of the study of the Balkans place in European history. Against the background of the Great Depression, the German historian G. Gross optimistically substantiated the possibilities of regional Balkan integration in the format of reconciling the interests of the countries in this region. He considered the Balkan conferences to be a tool for such a consensus (Gross, 1932, p. 1). In Nazi Germany, the emphasis on the Balkan region changed. F. Tirlfelder justified the inclusion of the Balkans in the system of “new European order” (Thierfelder, 1941, p. 2). After World War II, he actualized the interest of American researchers in the Balkans. J. Roucek substantiated Tito’s dominance in Balkan politics (Roucek, 1948, p. 10). The United States hoped that Tito’s ambitions to establish the Balkan federation under his leadership would contribute to a radical weakening of the Soviet influence in Eastern Europe. This paradigm dominated the research of Eastern European researchers in Germany. Professor of the Munich Institute for Eastern European Studies J. Kuhl pointed out that the failure of Tito’s plan to federalize the Balkans against the background of the confrontation with Stalin was a kind of compromise with reality (Balkan Federation, 1964, p. 14).

From the point of view of the history and modernity of the development of Balkan integration projects, we can identify key stages in the development of regional integration processes. The first stage was associated with the existence of the “Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes” (1918 – 1941). Within the chronological framework of this stage in 1920, an ideologically different format of regional integration emerged in the form of the “Federation of Balkan Communists”, which had to make a difficult choice between national interests and socialist

solidarity. The second stage is identified with the development of the Yugoslav Federation in all its forms (1945 – 1991). The third stage after the Balkan wars (1991 – 1999) is due to attempts to join the region in the process of European integration. It continues to this day.

The practical attempts to develop regional integration were conditioned by the attempts of the ruling elites of the “Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes” to find a way out of the crisis of the Great Depression. That is, the idea of economic integration in the region at that time was more important than attempts at political integration. However, unfavorable global economic conditions of the crisis caused difficult problems with the creation of an effective regional integration project. In 1930 – 1934 there was the Balkan Entente. At the Balkan Conference in Athens (October 5–12, 1930) there was an attempt to establish cooperation on political, economic, transport, social issues (Kühl, 1958, p. 154). But conflicting regional problems also hampered integration economic processes. At the Balkan Conference in Istanbul (October 20–26, 1931) there was discussed the problem of exacerbation of the Macedonian problem in the global economic crisis (Dülffer, 2004, p. 162). The Balkan Conference in Bucharest (October 22–29, 1932), at which there were discussed the threats of National Socialism in Germany, was a peculiar reaction to the aggravation of economic problems in the crisis-ridden Weimar Republic, which was a key economic partner of the Balkan countries (Ponomareva, 2006, p. 214). Finally, at the Balkan Conference in Thessaloniki (November 4–11, 1933), an attempt was made to find positive results and obtain concrete solutions. As a result, the Balkan Entente Pact was signed on February 9, 1934 in Athens (Kudrjashova, 2006, p. 85). But this format of regional integration did not ensure the subjectivity of the region in the context of the pan-European crisis of the interwar period. In the early 1940s, the Balkan countries were occupied by Nazi Germany.

The second stage in the development of Balkan regional integration projects, linked to Yugoslav federalism, was synchronized with the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union. The two great powers turned the Balkans into a zone of struggle for the realization of their interests. Yugoslav leader Tito sought to consolidate the region on an equal footing with Moscow and Washington. On November 27, 1947, during a visit to Sofia, Tito expressed the idea of creating a Balkan federation under Yugoslav leadership.

On November 27, 1947, during a visit to Sofia, Tito expressed the idea of creating a Balkan federation under Yugoslav leadership. This provoked a direct conflict between Yugoslavia and the USSR. The direct conflict between different geopolitical interests took the form of ideological confrontation between Belgrade and Moscow. Tito sought opportunities for Yugoslavia to cooperate even with NATO countries. On February 28, 1953, an agreement on friendship and cooperation between Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia was signed in Ankara. However, the Greek-Turkish controversy minimized opportunities for the creation of an Eastern European Balkan federation. Normalization of Soviet-Yugoslav relations took place in June of 1955 as a result of Khrushchev's visit to Belgrade (*Erklärung der Mitgliedstaaten*, 2003, p. 255).

The Purpose of the research is to highlight the attempts of Balkan regional integration in the twentieth century and early XXIst century.

The Results of the Research. The crisis processes of the Yugoslav federalism model in the context of the end of the Cold War in Europe were a reflection of the European system of international relations transformation. The strengthening of the Albanian national movement in Kosovo took place in the context of the national identity revival of other peoples of the former Yugoslavia. The disintegration of Yugoslavia contributed to the destabilization of the situation in

the Balkans. Yugoslavia was an important ideological and political element of the international order during the Cold War. After its completion, the objective need to continue the existence of such a model of multinational statehood disappeared. But for many major powers, the Balkans remain an element of controversy over spheres of influence. In addition, the radical nationalism of the Balkan peoples is capable of repeatedly threatening European peace and interstate borders in the region during the wars for the Yugoslav heritage. The problem of determining the status of Kosovo was at the origins of Yugoslavia disintegration process, and in fact the declaration of independence of Kosovo not only formally completed the disintegration of the Balkan regional space, but also made the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia irreversible.

At the same time, the enlargement of the European Union, which took place on 1 January 1995 and was associated with the accession of neutral Austria and Sweden, as well as Finland, added a significant “neutralist” note to the European Union’s foreign policy. Some EU member states considered it appropriate to postpone enlargement to the East until the structural and institutional changes in the “old” EU were resolved. That is, first solve your own problems, and then deal with others. However, in this case, the enlargement process risked being suspended for a long time, which did not suit the candidate countries at all. Although they asserted that they were carrying out reforms for themselves and not for the European Union. Thus, the EU’s critical assessments of the near future of Bulgaria’s and Romania’s membership were revised after the 1999 Kosovo war against Yugoslavia. After all, without the accession of these countries, it was difficult to count on long-term stabilization of the situation in the Balkans. In fact, the accession of Central European countries to the European Union was predetermined by the moral commitments of Western Europe and pragmatic considerations for overcoming the division of Europe in the aftermath of the Cold War (Kok, 2008, p. 273).

The postmodern Balkan wars of 1991 – 1999 consisted of several interethnic wars. The shortest was the war of the Yugoslav army against Slovenia (summer of 1991). The Serbo-Croatian war of 1991 – 1995 was more bloody and protracted. It was synchronized with the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which took on the form of a confessional war between both Orthodox Serbs and Croatian Catholics, and both between them and Bosnian Muslims. On March 31, 1995, the mandate of the UN peacekeeping force, which divided the country’s Croats and Serbs, expired. In May of 1995, the Croatian troops recaptured Western Slavonia from the Serbs. In August of 1995, the Croats recaptured Knin. On October 3, 1995, Zagreb and Belgrade agreed on the gradual return of Eastern Slavonia to Baranja and Western Srem under Croatian control. In February of 2000, S. Mesic was elected President of Croatia. Racan’s government launched reforms aimed at creating the preconditions for Croatia’s accession to NATO and the EU. Croatia started cooperating with the International Tribunal in The Hague. In 1999, Croatia opened its airspace to the bombing of Yugoslavia. Finally, in 2013, Croatia joined the European Union.

On September 17, 1991, the Republic of Macedonia approved the Declaration of State Sovereignty. On November 17, 1991, the Constitution was adopted, which drew criticism in neighboring Greece. Albanian nationalists also claimed part of Macedonia. On February 21, 1992, Macedonia and Serbia signed an agreement to withdraw units of the Yugoslav People’s Army. On August 10, 2001, through the mediation of H. Solana, the Macedonian authorities reached a compromise with the Albanians. An amnesty was declared for Albanian militants and constitutional amendments were made, giving autonomy to Albanian districts. For this, Macedonia became an associate member of the EU.

On March 24, 1999, NATO launched a 76-day military operation against Yugoslavia, launching missile and bomb strikes on strategic and military targets. In total, 35,000 combat sorties were made and 20,000 bombs and missiles were dropped on the territory of the FRY. The losses of the Yugoslav People's Army amounted to more than 5,000 soldiers, and about 2,000 civilians died. On 9 June 1999, Yugoslavia surrendered and agreed to the deployment of NATO troops at the head of the KFOR international force. On June 24, 2000, the first direct presidential election took place in Yugoslavia, which was won by the leader of the Democratic Party of Serbia, V. Kostunica.

The path to Montenegro's independence was difficult. On April 27, 1992, the "third" Yugoslavia was established in the format of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which included Serbia and Montenegro. On June 15, 1992, D. Cosic was elected President of the FRY. He nominated Panic, an American businessman of Serbian descent, as Prime Minister. In December of 1992, S. Milosevic returned to power. Only after the signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement in December of 1996 was the regime of economic sanctions against the FRY lifted.

The democratic opposition in Serbia intensified. The 35-year-old Prime Minister M. Djukanovic won the October 5, 1997 presidential election in Montenegro. NATO's war for Kosovo hastened the collapse of the FRY. Through the mediation of the EU representative H. Solana, the Serbian-Montenegrin talks took place, as a result of which a document entitled "Baseline Framework for the Settlement of Relations between Serbia and Montenegro" was signed on March 14, 2002. A transitional confederate model of relations was approved. On May 21, 2006, the majority of the Montenegrin population voted for independence.

The bloody war in Bosnia and Herzegovina lasted for almost three years. In Dayton, on November 21, 1995, the leader of Serbia S. Milosevic, the leader of Croatia F. Tudjman, the leader of the Bosnian Muslims A. Izetbegovic signed an agreement on the division of territory between the Muslim-Croat Bosnian Federation and the Bosnian Serb Republic. An international protectorate was established over these three national and three religious state formations.

The final peace agreement was signed on December 14, 1995 in Paris. The first post-war elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina took place on 14 September 1996. The elections were won by three ruling nationalist parties, the Croatian Democratic Union of K. Zubak, the Party of Democratic Action of A. Izetbegovic, and the Serbian Democratic Party of M. Kraišnik.

Since then, until 2022, the ethnic communities of Bosnia and Herzegovina had not been consolidated. Only in 2000 – 2002, owing to the Austrian diplomat V. Petrich, who held the position of High Representative in Bosnia and Herzegovina, harmonized the republican legislation. But the path to a multinational democracy is still a long way from EU integration.

The war in Kosovo in 1999 highlighted the need to integrate the post-conflict Balkans into the European Union. The EU made a significant mistake in the Macedonian issue. In particular, the European Union's refusal to sign the Stabilization and Association Agreement prepared in March of 2000 failed to prevent the ethno-political conflict in Macedonia with the participation of the Albanian minority. The Framework Agreement between the Slavic Government of Macedonia and the Albanian Community on August 13, 2001 in Ohrid paved the way for the federalization of Macedonia (Müller-Brandeck-Bocquet, 2006, p. 116).

On February 24, 2003, despite Greek criticism, a European Union peacekeeping operation was launched in Macedonia. This was made possible by the lifting of the Turkish veto on the implementation of the agreement between NATO and the EU on the use of Alliance resources in the military and political operations of the European Union (Boshkow, 2006, p. 97). Against the background of these contradictions, on April 16, 2003, the member states of

the European Union adopted the Athens Declaration in support of the accession of ten new member states to the EU. This step was a testament to the effectiveness of the European Union's common foreign policy (Zippel, 2003, p. 85).

The impact of the enlargement, which took place on 1 May 2004, was more serious, with ten new countries joining the European Union: Estonia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, the Czech Republic and Hungary. For post-communist countries, returning to Europe was closely linked to identity. As the two parts of Europe reunited, the European Union's 2004 enlargement was described as "the most successful foreign policy act ever carried out by the European Union" (Rehn, 2006, p. 1).

Following the large-scale enlargement of the European Union on May 1, 2004, it was suggested that the growing heterogeneity of the EU member states would not radically complicate the implementation of the common foreign, security and defense policy (Solana, 2007, p. 61). The Balkan enlargement of the European Union following the accession of Bulgaria and Romania on January 1, 2007 put the issue of instability in South-Eastern Europe on the European Union's foreign policy agenda (Stoiber, 2007, p. 76). Interstate disputes appear to be acute in the region. Turkey hopes Islamization of the Balkans will help advance it to the European Union (Mennel, 1999, p. 44). European law sees such a prospect as a resurgence of the Turkish threat, pushed back from Vienna in 1683.

EU Commissioner for Enlargement Mr. Rennes says the European Union "defines itself by the common values of its members, not by geography" (Skreb, 2006, p. 3). Coordinator of the Common Foreign and Defense Policy of the European Union H. Solana officially called the accession of Bulgaria and Romania "a successful process" (Kramer, p. 114). Commenting on this wave of enlargement, European Commissioner G. Verheugen assured that the EU remains open to every European nation (Schmale, 2008, p. 216).

Analysing the consequences of the European Union enlargement, the Bavarian politician E. Stoiber noted that after the possible accession of Macedonia, Croatia and Turkey to the EU and bringing the number of member states to 30, it is necessary to establish the final borders of a united Europe (Bass-am-Tibi, 2005, p. 18). UN Security Council Resolution 1244 called for the establishment of a civilian administration for the UN Mission in Kosovo. The main task was to prepare the region for independence. In 2001, the "Constitutional Framework for Kosovo" was adopted. In particular, the creation of Albanian self-government was legalized. However, until March 17, 2008, when Kosovo was unilaterally declared independent, the United Nations exercised control over foreign relations, security, customs and financial policy. On June 15, 2008, the Constitution of Kosovo entered into force. At that time, the region was recognized by 43 countries. The Islamists believed that the emergence of another Muslim state in Europe was evidence of the growing influence of Islam in the world. Kosovo has applied to join NATO and the IMF.

On July 17, 2008, Russia expressed dissatisfaction with the report of UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon on the UN Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo. The Secretary General proposed transferring more functions in an independent European Union to Kosovo. On July 21, 2008, Serbian special services arrested former Bosnian Serb leader R. Karadzic. Belgrade has also decided to resume diplomatic relations with those countries that have recognized Kosovo's independence. This was to open Serbia's path to the European Union (Brzezinski, 2004, p. 139). But even after Karadzic's arrest, the Netherlands opposed considering Serbia's status as a candidate for EU membership.

Until 2021, the dispute between Greece and Macedonia over the name of the latter remained acute. Athens rejected the variants of the names: "Upper Macedonia", "Northern

Macedonia”, and “Vardar Macedonia”. The dispute had been going on since 1991, when the Republic of Macedonia became independent due to the break-up of Yugoslavia. In April of 2005, Macedonia rejected the name “Republic of Macedonia – Skopje”. As a result of this confrontation, Greece blocked Macedonia’s accession to NATO in April of 2008.

On July 21, 2008, the US President George W. Bush held talks with President of Kosovo F. Sejdiu and Prime Minister H. Thaci in Washington. The United States reaffirmed Kosovo’s independence and territorial integrity. On the same day, Kosovo began issuing passports to the Albanians. The Kosovo precedent was in sync with the constitutional crisis in Belgium. Wealthier Flanders wanted to separate from Wallonia. Catalan and Scottish nationalists questioned the European Union about the possibility of remaining part of the European Union if it defines itself as an independent state.

Croatia’s integration is also struggling. On October 29, 2001, Croatia signed an Association and Stabilization Agreement with the European Union. On 21 February 2003, Croatia applied to join the European Union. Finally, on March 17, 2005, after the transfer of General A. Gotovina to the Hague Tribunal, negotiations on Croatia’s accession to the European Union officially began (Bohle, 2002, p. 39). The Irish “no” to ratification of the Lisbon Treaty blocked negotiations on Croatia’s accession to the European Union. Instead, in the process of European integration, Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina are in the process of implementing the Association and Stabilization Agreements. Montenegro signed a similar agreement with the European Union. The EU’s relations with Serbia remain problematic. It is very difficult for Serbian society to change its mentality. Only in June of 2008 did the European Union sign Stabilization and Association Agreement with Bosnia and Herzegovina.

On October 3, 2005, formal negotiations on Turkey’s accession to the European Union began. Becoming part of the European Union is in Turkey’s economic interests. As a result, the Turkish labour force will be legalized. The Muslim world is also interested in Turkey’s accession to the European Union as a “Trojan horse”. Turkey’s accession is mostly lobbied by the United States, which sees it as a guarantee of strengthening the Euro-Atlantic Bridge. Historically, Turkey has seen Europe as an object of expansion. This fact still creates a lot of problems. Turkey, in particular, does not accept the ultimate precondition for recognizing the Armenian genocide in exchange for progress on the country’s accession to the European Union. Young Turks oppose a ban on Islamist parties in Turkey, allowing parties called “Christian” in Europe. However, there is nothing Christian in these parties except the name. The Turks will have a majority in the European Parliament. The issue of adapting Sharia law to European law remains open (Kneuer, 2007, p. 32). Instead, the United States is convinced that Turkey’s accession will change the global role of the European Union. But so far, it seems, the European Union itself is not ready for this. Turkey’s accession will have to be seriously considered in the event of the Balkan countries joining the European Union, including Muslim Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Kosovo. However, Turkey’s accession to the European Union will require additional financial costs, not on time in a crisis. The right-wing political forces of the majority EU countries believe that Turkey’s European modernization process cannot yet be considered complete. If, for example, secularization is considered a relevant criterion, then in Islamic Turkish society it is probably useless to count on the European volume of secularization (Kneuer, 2007, p. 14). However, this does not prevent American neoconservatives from believing that the modernization of Islamic countries on the basis of Western liberal-democratic values will be a day of final victory over

the threat of terrorism. The only question that remains open is how realistic this goal can be. Weakness of structures and insufficient consolidation of the European Union after several large-scale enlargements also hinder Turkey's accession. The European Union remains largely an "elite democracy." The hijabs on the heads of Turkish women became a symbol of misunderstanding (Kramer, 2000, p. 182). At the same time, one cannot ignore the argument that "if the doors of the EU are finally closed to Turkey," Brzezinski said, "the revival of Islamic religious and political traditions in this country and, as a result, radical (probably internal) shocks) changes in its international course" (Skreb, 2006, p. 89). So far, there are serious problems with the accession of not only Turkey, but also Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia and Serbia. They remain on the periphery of the EU enlargement process. Following the accession of Bulgaria and Romania on January 1, 2007, the European Union gained a population. Moreover, the Balkan enlargement of the European Union is seen as a crucial moment in creating a stable democratic system in the countries of Southern and Eastern Europe (Skreb, 2006, p. 12).

The Balkans remains a weak link in the EU's plans to build transport links with the Black Sea and the Caucasus. The fifth transport corridor Trieste – Ljubljana – Zagreb – Budapest – Chop – Kyiv passes through the Balkans. In addition, the Moravian – Vardar Pass is the tenth international transport corridor connecting Western Europe with Greece. Trying to stabilize the Balkans will take a lot of time and resources from the European Union for decades to come. Since Croatia's accession to the European Union in 2013, no additional impetus has been given to Bosnia and Herzegovina's integration into the EU, Serbia, northern Macedonia, Kosovo and Montenegro.

Adaptation to the norms of the European Union of the countries of the Western Balkans is difficult. Each country has its own set of problems. Montenegro found itself in the networks of religious and secular discourse (Dzerdanovic, 2022, p. 18). The situation is complicated by the permanent geopolitical struggle for influence in the Balkans. China is using the Balkans as a backdoor to enter European Union markets (Jacimovic, 2023, p. 24). The Balkans remains the weak link in Europe. In this region, it is difficult to finally move from military and political instruments to "soft" power in the process of ensuring security (Lasaridi, 2011, p. 480). An additional destabilizing factor is the growing scepticism about the immediate prospects for all countries in the region to join the European Union (Sydoruk, 2022, p. 160). Despite the difficult conditions in the majority of Balkan countries, the practice of the rule of law and European norms for resolving conflicts is gradually being established (Bashkim, 2021, p. 201). Participation in the process of European integration provided the Balkan countries with the conditions for an evolutionary transition to the European tradition of applying law. The strategy of the European Union regarding the Western Balkans began to change under the influence of the pandemic after 2020 (Martynov & Asarutov, 2021, p. 229).

The Conclusion. The first two attempts to implement Balkan integration projects (Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, Slovenes and the Yugoslav Federation) contributed to some extent to internal regional consolidation, but did not include the Balkans in European integration projects. Tito-era Yugoslavia has been trying to join the Western European integration project since the 1960s. It remained a neutral state and was the deep economic periphery of the European Economic Community. The break-up of the former Yugoslavia provoked almost a decade of Balkan wars. As these wars withdrew from the former Yugoslav republics, Slovenia was the first to join the European Union (2004). It took another nine years for Croatia to join the EU in 2013. This is not enough for the integration of the Balkan countries into the EU. Scientific and political

discussions on the limits of Balkan integration into the EU continue. Full regional integration is possible after Turkey's accession to the EU. This is the programme maximum. The EU does not synchronize the accession process of the Balkan countries with the negotiation process with Turkey. The conditions of these processes are too different.

The global crises of the 2020s are slowing down the process of completing the accession of the Balkan countries to the European Union. The coronavirus pandemic has negatively affected the pace of negotiations between Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Northern Macedonia, Kosovo and Montenegro on joining the European Union. In 2021, the European Union updated negotiations with the Balkan countries. Achieving a compromise between Greece and Macedonia on the latter's name and unblocking the process of Northern Macedonia's accession to NATO can be considered successful. In the case of European integration, it is difficult to consolidate the national statehood of the Balkan countries and their accession to a supranational European project.

The European integration of Albania, Serbia and Kosovo is impossible without resolving the issue of Serbia's recognition of Kosovo's independence. The European integration of Bosnia and Herzegovina is also impossible without resolving the status of the confederation of the Bosnian Serbs, the Bosnian Croats and the Bosniaks. Without resolving the "Serbian" and "Albanian" issues based on the accession of Serbia and Albania to the supranational stage of development, it is impossible to complete the enlargement of the European Union to the Balkans.

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INTELLECTUAL ELITE OF WESTERN UKRAINE IN THE 1920s – 1930s IN MODERN HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL RESEARCH

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to elucidate achievements of modern Ukrainian biographical research on life activities of people who dealt with creative work in the western region of Ukraine during the interwar period*. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, systematicity, objectivity, as well as methods of historiographical analysis and synthesis. The scientific novelty consists in the fact that, on the basis of a wide range of prosopographical sources, there has been analysed accumulation and dissemination process of historical knowledge about the activities of Western Ukraine intellectual elite during the interwar period; contribution of researchers to the issue study has been personified; the range of insufficiently studied issues and promising directions for further scientific research have been outlined. The Conclusion.* Modern rapid increase in biographical research, growth of general interest in biographical studies became possible owing to Ukraine's independence. Researchers focused on representatives of the creative minority of Western Ukrainians, who had a direct impact on the cultural and intellectual development of citizenship, participated in the formation or design of new ethical and behavioral models, scientific views, worldview formation of people. The peculiarity of the Western Ukrainian elite consisted in the fact that its spokesmen were closely connected with social and political movement, national life. Historical portraits of M. Vozniak, M. Halushchynskyyi, V. Hnatiuk, S. Dnistrianskyi, M. Korduba, I. Krevetskyi, I. Krypiakevych, K. Levytskyi, M. Lozynskyyi, V. Mudry, Yu. Romanchuk, K. Studynskyyi, S. Rudnytskyi, V. Starosolskyi, S. Tomashivskyyi are well presented relatively. At the same time, there is a need to continue research using the prosopographic method in order to replenish the information base on the individual activities of famous teachers, scholars, public figures – I. Bryk, I. Halushchynskyyi, F. Kolessa, D. Korenets, O. Terletskyi, V. Shchurat, Ya. Voytyuk, K. Soshynskyyi, and the others. Topical is the issue of taking into consideration the entire complex of facts of a personal, professional, situational and bibliographic nature, without which it is impossible to write scientific biographies of intellectual and cultural figures.

Key words: *biohistoriography, prosopographic source, biography, historical portrait, historical character.*

ИНТЕЛЕКТУАЛЬНА ЕЛІТА ЗАХІДНОЇ УКРАЇНИ 1920 – 1930-х рр. У СУЧАСНИХ ІСТОРИКО-БІОГРАФІЧНИХ ДОСЛІДЖЕННЯХ

Анотація. *Мета дослідження* – показати здобутки сучасної української біографістики у вивченні життєдіяльності людей творчої праці західного регіону України у міжвоєнний період^{*}. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на принципи історизму, системності, об'єктивності, а також на методи історіографічного аналізу та синтезу. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що на основі широкого кола просопографічних джерел простежено процес нагромадження і поширення історичних знань про діяльність інтелектуальної еліти Західної України міжвоєнної доби, персоніфіковано внесок дослідників у вивчення теми, окреслено коло недостатньо вивчених питань і перспективні напрями подальших наукових пошуків. **Висновки.** Сучасний стрімкий злет біографічних досліджень, зростання загального інтересу до біографічного знання стали можливими завдяки незалежності України. Дослідники велику увагу приділили представникам творчої меншості західноукраїнців, які мали безпосередній вплив на культурно-інтелектуальний розвиток громадянства, брали участь у створенні чи оформленні нових етико-поведінкових моделей, наукових поглядів, формуванні світоглядних позицій людей. Особливістю західноукраїнської еліти було те, що її речники були тісно пов'язані з суспільно-політичним рухом, національним життям. Відносно добре представлено історичні портрети М. Возняка, М. Галуцинського, В. Гнатюка, С. Дністрянського, М. Кордуби, І. Кревецького, І. Крип'якевича, К. Левицького, М. Лозинського, В. Мудрого, Ю. Романчука, К. Студинського, С. Рудницького, В. Старосольського, С. Томашивського. Водночас існує потреба продовжити пошукову роботу з допомогою просопографічного методу з метою поповнення інформаційної бази про індивідуальну діяльність відомих педагогів, вчених, громадських діячів – І. Брика, І. Галуцинського, Ф. Колесси, Д. Коренця, О. Терлецького, В. Щурата, Я. Войтюка, К. Сошинського та ін. Актуальною залишається проблема врахування дослідниками всього комплексу фактів особистого, професійного, ситуативного і бібліографічного характеру, без чого неможливим є створення наукових біографій інтелектуально-культурних діячів.

Ключові слова: біоісторіографія, просопографічне джерело, біографістика, історичний портрет, історичний персонаж.

The Problem Statement. Historical science has always paid tribute to the coverage of outstanding personalities' life path. In independent Ukraine historical and biographical research, compared to the previous (Soviet) historiographical period, rose to a qualitatively new level, acquired a new breath and new sounding. The researchers focused on the names of those people who influenced the development of Ukrainian socio-political, national and cultural life, played an important role in self-affirmation of the Ukrainian nation, and whose knowledge, life experience laid the foundation for the modern identity formation of the Ukrainians. Western Ukrainian intellectuals, who lived and worked during the interwar period in Poland, Soviet Ukraine or in exile, belonged to this kind of people.

The Analysis of Recent Research. In historiographical aspect the socio-political life of the Ukrainians in interwar Poland has already been analysed by S. Vidnianskyi, L. Zashkilniak, M. Kucherepa, and V. Futala. However, biohistoriography of national and cultural processes in the western lands of Ukraine in the 1920s and 1930s is at the initial stage of study. Only some of its fragments are covered in the scientific works of I. Zabolotna (Zabolotna, 2007), M. Zuliak (Zuliak, 2016), Yu. Drevnitskyi (Drevnitskyi, 2010) and the others. Therefore, a comprehensive biohistoriographical research has not been done until recently. However, the situation in the field of scientific research methodology is better. During the past few years, there appeared original publications on implementation of modern research approaches in

^{*} The author does not aim to consider the biohistoriography of the church elite, because this issue is the subject of a separate study.

biographical studies (Adadurov, 2020; Demuz, Zlenko & Isaikina, 2019; Kalakura, 2020). On the one hand, these publications prove that within the framework of anthropological turn in historical science, biography study has done a lot for the research of creative individuals' life, and on the other hand, the study of history through the prism of a person has great internal reserves.

The purpose of the publication is to elucidate the results of scientific analysis of Western Ukrainian intellectuals' activities during the interwar period by modern Ukrainian scholars, to find out the directions and tendencies of the research issue, to personify researchers' contribution to the study issue, in particular, to present their judgments, to predict the prospects of further research. The main historiographical facts are in the author's field of vision.

The Results of the Research. Yu. Romanchuk was a vivid representative of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in Galicia, who at the beginning of modern era came to the forefront of the Ukrainian national life. The biography of this highly educated and erudite person attracted attention of many researchers – O. Pylypyshyn, I. Chornovil, Yu. Plekan, I. Raikivskyi, I. Deichakivskyi, and the others. They depicted Yu. Romanchuk as a long-standing social and political, cultural and educational leader of the Galician Ukrainians. O. Melenchuk elucidated the role and significance of T. Shevchenko's ideas in Yu. Romanchuk's political, pedagogical, publishing and educational activities. V. Kachmar elucidated Yu. Romanchuk's struggle for the Ukrainian University in Lviv. Separate aspects of his state-building and educational work were highlighted by V. Kachkan. This individuality took an important place in historical and pedagogical studies of B. Stuparyk, P. Khmeliovskyi, R. Volianiuk, I. Havryshchak, and the others. However, this issue was analysed by V. Bulachek and O. Sovhar more fully (Bulachek, 2011; Sovhar, 2019).

Thus, V. Bulachek did research on the formation and evolution of Yu. Romanchuk's views on the main problems of the Ukrainian national movement, the influence of political factors on a personal life, relations with famous public and political figures of the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. The researcher highlighted Yu. Romanchuk's personality as one of the founders of many Ukrainian national, cultural and economic institutions. V. Bulachek proved that during the national liberation struggle of 1914 – 1923, Yu. Romanchuk supported the idea of independence of Western Ukraine, he was a member of the Ukrainian National Council, and administered the oath of office to the members of the State Secretariat of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic (ZUNR). In the 1920s, he held the unofficial position of an elder of the Ukrainian political community of Western Ukraine, promoted consolidation processes in his environment, supported the idea of creating a legal centrist political force of the region – the Ukrainian National Democratic Association (UNDO).

For the first time in the Ukrainian historical and pedagogical science, O. Sovhar did a systematic research on the creative heritage, pedagogical and multifaceted social, (primarily educational) activities of Yu. Romanchuk. At the same time, she proved that Yu. Romanchuk fought for the creation of the national system of school education, reorganization of primary and secondary schools, creation of special institutions for teacher training, and ensuring continuity among different types of educational institutions. Considering a published word as the main means of forming national consciousness, this highly intelligent person directed significant efforts to the creation and distribution of the Ukrainian books, founding numerous libraries and reading rooms, publishing books, magazines and calendars in the Ukrainian language.

K. Levytsky, a socio-political activist and statesman, lived to great fame in the Western Ukrainian society. During the interwar period, he was a member of the UNDO Central

Committee, but he no longer played a decisive role in politics; he worked as a director of the Central Bank in Lviv; he headed the Union of Ukrainian Lawyers; he had a remarkable talent as a researcher of the political history of Ukraine at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. His work “History of Political Thought of Galician Ukrainians in 1848 – 1914”, written in 1926, is considered to be the basic one in the process of studying the history of the Ukrainian national movement of the 19th century.

The first edition of K. Levytsky’s biography in the form of a small book was carried out by I. Andrukhiv (Andrukhiv, 1995). In his candidate’s thesis (2007) I. Vasylyk focused on the social and political activity of K. Levytsky by 1918 in a more thorough way (Vasylyk, 2007). In 2012 the researcher published her work in a book format (Vasylyk, 2012). The statesmanship and political activities of K. Levytsky were also in the field of view of other authors, such as: M. Hutsuliak, M. Kuhutiak, M. Lytvyn and K. Naumenko, I. Chornovil, S. Makarchuk. T. Andrusiak, O. Haidukevych, and N. Shumanska focused on the analysis of K. Levytsky’s legal views. The place and role of the actor in the development of the Ukrainian credit cooperative in Galicia was analysed by S. Heley. However, a general research on K. Levytsky has not been done yet.

The situation is better with the biographical portrait of M. Lozynsky, who is recorded in history as a jurist, politician, diplomat, scholar, publicist, and translator. M. Lozynsky wrote dozens of works on historical, state-legal, international and legal issues. The book “Halychyna in 1918 – 1920” published in 1922 is especially valuable for historians. In the book, the author, on the basis of published documentary materials and his own impressions, tried to understand and describe the political realities that took place in Galicia during the formation of the ZUNR.

In 1995, Lviv historian O. Sukhyi published a scientific study “Mykhailo Lozynsky: Scholar, Public Figure, Politician”, in which he elucidated his growth as a public and political figure, participation in the ZUNR formation and its foreign policy formation. M. Lozynsky’s creative heritage was also analysed. Kyiv historians O. Rubliov and Yu. Cherchenko were the first ones who did the research on the Soviet period of M. Lozynsky’s activity. N. Stetsiuk and S. Osadchuk were interested in the legal aspects of the scholar’s research works. Some aspects of M. Lozynsky’s activity as a historian and diplomat were also highlighted in the dissertations of O. Pavliuk, I. Lisna, O. Krasivskyi, V. Velykochii, and N. Oleshko. However, M. Oliinyk did a comprehensive research, taking into consideration the entire range of historical sources. In his PhD thesis (Oliinyk, 2011) such aspects as transformation of M. Lozynsky’s views at the initial stage of his public and journalistic work were reflected; there were analysed political and diplomatic activity of M. Lozynsky during the ZUNR period; scientific, public and political activities of M. Lozynsky during his emigration; M. Lozynsky’s activity in scientific institutions of Soviet Ukraine; the content and significance of the scholar’s scientific and journalistic works written during the Soviet period.

Dozens of works of various genres were written about M. Hrushevskyi’s most talented student, I. Krypiakevych. All-Ukrainian scientific readings “Ivan Krypiakevych in Family Tradition, Science, Society” are traditional, which take place under the initiative and support of I. Krypiakevych Institute of Ukrainian Studies. Two separate issues of the scientific collection “Ukraine: Cultural Heritage, National Consciousness, Statehood” were published under the same names (Issue 8, 2001; Issue 28, 2016). The first of them includes the scholar’s autobiography-memoirs, a bibliography of his scientific and literary works, a selection of the historian’s works written at different times, documents and letters, articles and memories

about him. The next issue of the thematic collection is formed according to the same model. Important words were written about the meter of historical science by L. Vynar, L. Voitovych, Ya. Dashkevych, O. Dombrovskiy, Ya. Isaievych, R. Krypiakevych, O. Rubliov, Yu. Slyvka, F. Steblii, O. Pritsak, Ya. Fedoruk, and etc.

Among the works written by the above mentioned authors, it is worth highlighting the work of Ya. Dashkevych, published both in the above mentioned and in other publications – for example, in the scholar's collection of works "Figures: Essays on Figures of History, Politics, Culture" (Dashkevych, 2007). In one of the essays there is traced the growth process of I. Krypiakevych as a historian and the main milestones of his scientific activity. As the researcher noted, the historical seminars of M. Hrushevskiy, the Historical and Philosophical Section of T. Shevchenko Scientific Society (National Academy of Sciences), Archaeological Commission of National Academy of Sciences – this was the main, but not the only, issue of I. Krypiakevych's activities before World War I. The young historian was not a cabinet scholar, he was interested in the issues that were often far from the main core of scientific studies – students' movement, educational activities, science popularization journalism, etc. (Dashkevych, 2007, p. 475). The most outstanding achievements of an already authoritative scholar in the 20s and 30s of the 20th century. Ya. Dashkevych analysed the work "Studies on the State of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi". At the same time, topics from historical geography and historical cartography arise. A separate page of I. Krypiakevych's scientific activity is cooperation with the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (UAS) in Kyiv and other scientific institutions of Soviet Ukraine. However, cooperation of scientific efforts, not having time to strengthen, was destroyed by the party-Soviet nomenclature soon rudely, the era of great terror in Greater Ukraine was coming (Dashkevych, 2007, p. 477). During the post-war years, harassment of the nationally conscious intelligentsia had cynical forms, I. Krypiakevych especially felt it. During the "thaw" period that followed after 1953, the release of the monograph "Bohdan Khmelnytskyi" (1954) was the biggest milestone in the scholar's scientific biography and work as director of the Institute of Social Sciences of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR in Lviv (1953 – 1962). According to Ya. Dashkevych's observation, the "half-and-half policy" used by the scholar-intellectual in his activities produced results. Almost ten years of directorship became, despite all the obstacles and difficulties on the path of academic science, still a bright day in the history of the institute (Dashkevych, 2007, p. 480).

In the candidate's thesis of N. Klymenko (Klymenko, 2009) cultural and educational activity of I. Krypiakevych is highlighted. Factors that influenced the formation of his worldview beliefs and civic position were analysed. Pedagogical activity of I. Krypiakevych both in secondary general educational institutions and in higher education, his participation in the process of textbook writing were studied. Basic history textbooks and manuals are characterized. His significant contribution to the methodology of teaching History, education of young people, and to the formation of Ukrainian schooling is substantiated. The educational activity of I. Krypiakevych as a member of the "Prosvita" Society (an organizer and head of the "Prosvita Circle") was studied, the purpose of which was to establish libraries and distribute books among the Ukrainian population, open Ukrainian schools, and work on the issues of the adult population education.

The subject of I. Zabolotna's research was the formation process of I. Krypiakevych as a person and a scholar, his life path and scientific activity, archeographic and source history heritage (Zabolotna, 2005). In the course of the research, it was proved that I. Krypiakevych

made a significant contribution to the development of practical and theoretical source studies. The scholar deserves a great credit for the study and systematization of documentary and narrative sources. The scholar's important contribution to practical source studies was his special research on chronicles, memoirs, epistolary and acts. The author found out that I. Krypiakevych had his approach to the definition of a historical source, classification of sources, source criticism, he made a significant contribution to the development of spragistics, bibliography, diplomacy, paleography, chronology, numismatics, historiography, archival studies. His theoretical and practical contribution to the methodology of historical research is important.

The publication of the collection "Ivan Krypiakevych. To the 120th Anniversary of his Birth" can be considered as an event in the scientific life of Ukraine, the author of which was V. Hrabovetskyi, a student of an outstanding historian (Hrabovetskyi, 2005). The collection contains scientific articles by V. Hrabovetskyi about the life and historical work of I. Krypiakevych, as well as materials from his home archive about the mentor's activities in the 1950s and 1960s. This edition also contains materials about V. Hrabovetskyi's contribution to the development of historical science, his creation of the Precarpathian School of History at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries, information on the laureates of the Academician I. Krypiakevych Prize. Thus, the collection proves the continuity in the Ukrainian national historiography, the continuation of I. Krypiakevych's issue.

The representative of M. Hrushevsky's school of history was an outstanding Ukrainian scholar, professor M. Korduba, who made a fundamental contribution to the development of historical, economic, geographical and onomastic sciences. At the beginning of the 2000s, Ternopil researcher I. Fedoriv began to study M. Korduba's scientific heritage thoroughly, as evidenced by the publication of the monograph "Myron Korduba in the History of Ukraine (the end of the 19th – first half of the 20th century)" in 2001. This work formed the basis of her PhD thesis (Fedoriv, 2004), in which the life and activities of M. Korduba were comprehensively researched, and his historical role as a scholar, public and political figure at the end of the 19th – in the first half of the 20th centuries was clarified. In the dissertation, the influence of M. Hrushevskyi on the formation of M. Korduba's scientific outlook is determined and their creative relations are analysed. The historian's national-state concept is theoretically substantiated. At the same time, the author drew attention to the ethnogenesis issue of the Ukrainian people in M. Korduba's interpretation and his study of the Ukrainian state formation traditions.

There was made the attempt to do a historical and bio-bibliographic research of M. Korduba's creative activity (Kulchytska, 2012). This is a special type of bibliography, which includes a personal index, the subject of which is the life and activities of M. Korduba, bio-bibliographic dictionaries and directories containing material about the scholar, catalogues of book exhibitions, bibliographical and methodological materials for the jubilee dates of the figure, etc. In the context of scientific research genre, the work of O. Pikh and O. Ruda should be mentioned – "Bibliography of History of Ukrainian-Polish Relations: Socio-Political and Economic Processes (Based on the Materials of Myron Korduba's Card Library)" (in Lviv, 2009). The first reprint of the scholar's works in independent Ukraine, prepared by N. Tkachova and O. Tkachova – "Korduba Myron. Selected articles" is worth mentioning (in Ternopil, 2011). The collection includes his separate historical works, some conceptual, polemical and literary explorations. Significant publications about this figure were also written by V. Batiuk, I. Hyrych, Ya. Dashkevych, V. Pedych, O. Rubliov, Ya. Serkiz, V. Telvak, N. Yusova, O. Yasia, and the others.

I. Krevetskyi also belonged to the Lviv historical school, formed within the framework of M. Hrushevskiy's scientific seminar. He, like M. Korduba, presented a new statist trend in the Ukrainian historical science, was a notable bibliographer, public figure. In the study of the authoritative historian's scientific heritage the priority belongs to F. Steblii, Lviv researcher. Several of his special articles formed the basis of a brochure entitled "Ivan Krevetskyi – Statesman-Historian" (Lviv, 2003), in which the latter is treated as the founder and the first interpreter of the Ukrainian historiography statesmanship direction.

N. Hirna did a comprehensive research on the scientific, public and political activities of I. Krevetskyi. In her dissertation (Hirna, 2015) the historical conditions for the formation of the scholar's worldview were clarified and his activities as a representative of the state school were highlighted; the range of scientific interests of the researcher was elucidated, such as: agrarian movements of 1848 – 1849, military history of the middle of the 19th century, history of cultural values and the press; the historiographic concept of the scholar was formulated. In the thesis there was analysed the historian's participation in the national and cultural life of Galicia and his work as a librarian. The author, as well as F. Steblii, asserted that I. Krevetskyi contributed to the birth and further scientific, theoretical establishment of the statist school in the Ukrainian historical science.

Another well-known representative of the statist school of historians was S. Tomashivskiy. In addition, he lived the glory of the intellectual of Ukrainian modern conservatism. Scientific creativity, social and political work of S. Tomashivskiy attracted attention of M. Shvahulyak, O. Sukhyi, K. Kondratiuk, N. Bortniak, V. Telvak, O. Yasia, however, these issues are the most fully reflected in N. Khalak's dissertation (Khalak, 1999). As the researcher found out, in S. Tomashivskiy's scientific works of the pre-war period, evolution is traced: from imitating the Ukrainian populist historiography to subordinating one's own scientific interests to urgent tasks solution of the Ukrainian politics in Galicia. In the works of S. Tomashivskiy during the period of World War I Ukraine is interpreted as a separate national organism, independent of Poland and Russia. He saw the future Ukrainian state as sovereign on all ethnic Ukrainian lands, but he associated the solution of the Ukrainian issue with Galicia, which, in his opinion, had better opportunities for national, political and cultural development as part of Austria-Hungary than Ukraine under Russian rule. The basis of his research was the Ukrainian national idea, the development of which followed from the 15th century to the beginning of the 20th century

A famous scholar K. Studynsky occupies an important place among prominent scholars, social and cultural figures, who contributed to Ukrainian cultural and scientific life by their work.

It should be noted that this figure remained in the shadow of researchers for a long time: during the Soviet era, the work of K. Studynsky was silenced due to his Ukrainian-centric views, and during the first years of Ukrainian independence, he was reminded of his ardent Sovietophile. However, the last circumstance did not really affect the scientific interests of the famous Ukrainian linguist U. Iedlinska. In 1992, she wrote a test article that paved the way for her to write a major work on the role of an academician in the socio-political and cultural life of Ukraine at the end of the 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries (Iedlinska, 2006). The author made public little-known facts of K. Studynsky's life, provided a bibliography of the scholar's works, and based on the epistolary heritage, characterized his cooperation with prominent representatives of Ukrainian science and culture. L. Senyk, O. Romaniv, O. Arkusha, L. Sholohon, O. Rubliov, and the others analysed this issue in part. However, the main array of documentary materials revealing K. Studynsky's place in the

national revival of Ukraine was not analysed. This became the motivation for A. Klish to write a candidate's thesis, which was successfully defended in 2008 (Klish, 2008). In it, the author thoroughly considered the process of formation and evolution of the worldview and scientific views of the figure, did research on his activities as the long-term chairman of the National Academy of Sciences, showed the place and role of an intellectual in the social and political life of Western Ukraine during the interwar period, highlighted his relations with famous contemporaries, public, enlightened and political organizations. In addition, A. Klish analysed the literary and editorial and publishing activities of K. Studynsky, showed the importance of his creative heritage to national science.

During the interwar period, A. Krushelnytskyi also very clearly demonstrated his pro-Soviet orientations and sympathies – a writer, a literary critic, a teacher, a publisher-editor of the literary magazines of the Sovietophile direction “New Ways” and “Krytyka”, the author of the biographical essay “Ivan Franko”, etc. In the candidate thesis of Ternopil researcher M. Zuliak (Zuliak, 2015) comprehensively, based on a wide range of historical sources, public and political, cultural and educational activity of A. Krushelnytskyi is presented, in particular, the process of his formation as a personality and an ascetic of Ukrainian culture is analysed, attention is drawn to the author's work, publishing and editorial work. The publication of I. Zuliak and A. Klish also contains elements of novelty on this issue (Zulyak & Klish, 2019).

M. Halushchynskyi, whose life and activities were reconstructed in detail by A. Prokip, became a prominent organizer of gymnasium education and other public affairs in Galicia. In the candidate's thesis (Prokip, 2003) and in numerous articles he depicted M. Halushchynskyi as a figure who made a significant contribution to the process of creating Ukrainian statehood and contributed to the development of the national self-awareness of Western Ukrainians. The author proved that M. Halushchynskyi was a theoretician and organizer of educational work in Galicia, who for the first time initiated and substantiated a new direction in Ukrainian culture – education for adults. He realized his leadership abilities to the fullest extent as the chairman of the “Prosvita” Society, for which he developed a programme, contributed to the restoration and creation of new branches and reading rooms, established and significantly expanded publishing activities. It was during the chairmanship of M. Halushchynskyi that the “Prosvita” Society reached a qualitatively new level in its activities and became the largest Ukrainian cultural and educational organization.

As a politician, M. Halushchynskyi belonged to the Ukrainian national and democratic environment, the leader of which was V. Mudryi for a long time. The integral image of the latter was created by Ya. Komarnytskyi (Komarnytskyi, 2008). The author showed that V. Mudryi's public work found a natural and consistent continuation in the “Prosvita” Society. He was the organizer of the society revival during the interwar period, supported the creation of new branches and reading rooms, the development of library issue, he became the founder of a number of publications. The most effective was the work in the Committee for the construction of the monument to Ivan Franko and Business Committee to help the starving in Soviet Ukraine. V. Mudryi had a great influence on the activities of the periodical “Dilo”, his intellectual and organizational abilities were highly appreciated in the UNDO environment (in 1927 – 1935 he served as the editor-in-chief of the magazine).

V. Starosolskyi was a well-known Western Ukrainian political figure of the left-centre direction during the interwar period. He is also known as a sociologist, lawyer, professor, an active member of the National Academy of Sciences since 1923. The life path and multifaceted scientific, public and political activity of V. Starosolskyi, his role in the

development and propagation of the Ukrainian national idea and the national and patriotic consciousness formation of people was highlighted by Yu. Drevnitskyi (Drevnitskyi, 2012). The sociological, historical and ethnological studies of V. Starosolskyi, his view on the state, organizational and pedagogical activities were in the epicentre of research focus. In particular, the author concluded that V. Starosolskyi's theory of the nation retained scientific significance in the context of modern political science research.

On famous ethnographers, folklorists, linguists, literary critics, public figures, academics V. Hnatiuk and M. Vozniak, our contemporaries did research – M. Mushynka, a famous folklorist, art critic, literary critic, head of the Association of the Ukrainians in Slovakia (Mushynka, 2012), as well as M. Nechytaliuk, long-time Professor of the Ukrainian Press Department, Faculty of Journalism, Ivan Franko National University of Lviv (Nechytaliuk, 2000). The monograph by I. Holovatskyi is dedicated to I. Rakovsky, the famous Ukrainian anthropologist and zoologist, teacher, a public figure, head of the National Academy of Sciences in 1935 – 1940 (Holovatskyi, 2004). Mainly, owing to the scientific research of O. Shablii, the glorious name and works of S. Rudnytskyi, the academician, geographer, cartographer and ethnographer, the founder of Ukrainian physical, political and military geography was brought back from oblivion (Shablii, 1993). By the way, his brother was Yu. Opilskyi, the Western Ukrainian writer and historical novelist, and his brother-in-law was S. Dnistrianskyi, the Ukrainian legal scholar and political figure, the author of the draft Constitution of the Ukrainian People's Republic of Ukraine, an active member of the National Academy of Sciences, academician of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (1927). P. Stetsiuk, Lviv researcher, wrote the candidate's thesis under the title "Projects of the ZUNR Constitution of Academician Stanislav Dnistrianskyi" (1997) and the monograph (Stetsiuk, 1999) about the latter. After P. Stetsiuk, three more candidate theses were written (specialty 12.00.01 – theory and history of the state and law; history of political and legal scholars) dedicated to this figure (V. Vozny, A. Koval, A. Savchak). The encyclopedic article of M. Ilnytskyi, a modern authoritative literary critic, about Yu. Opilskyi illustrates that the prosopographical portrait of this writer has not yet been created. There is also O. Shablii's monograph in the research work dedicated to the student of S. Dnistrianskyi – V. Kubiyovych, a famous geographer, demographer, a public and political figure, a member of the National Academy of Sciences since 1931, one of the organizers of Ukrainian science in the West in the 1950s – 1970s (Shablii, 1996).

The history of the Rudnytskyi family, in particular, the life path of the five talented children of Ivan (1855 – 1906) and Olha (1862 – 1950) Rudnytski, requires a thorough study: a leading literary critic and esthete Mykhailo, a lawyer and public figure Volodymyr, a head of the Ukrainian women's movement and politician Milena, long-time correspondent and later editor of the newspaper "Dilo", Ivan, a pioneer of Ukrainian journalism, Anton, a musician, conductor and composer. However, there are published articles about M. Rudnytska by M. Bohachevska-Khomiak, O. Krasivskyi, and M. Hachkovskyi, which deal with her social and political activities. In addition, M. Diadiuk, Lviv researcher organized a collection about M. Rudnytska, which contains correspondence, articles and public speeches of the figure (Diadiuk, 1998). Several publications (mainly in encyclopedic editions) of Ya. Hrytsak, S. Kulchytskyi, V. Markus, O. Pritsak, I. Khymka, and the others are dedicated to I. Kedryn-Rudnytskyi and I. Lysiak-Rudnytskyi (a son of P. Lysiak and M. Rudnytska). However, a comprehensive study of the life and activities history of the mentioned above highly educated and public people needs further research.

Among the Ukrainian elite of Western Volyn, A. Richynskiy stood out for his multifaceted activities. It is not by chance that various genres of work are devoted to this figure, among which scientific publications dominate. Thus, I. Skakalska presented the views of A. Richynskiy on the main issues of the Ukrainian national revival of the 20th century, and P. Kraliuk did research on his scientific heritage. The participation of a historical figure in the Ukrainization of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the 1920s and 1930s was elucidated by V. Borshchevych, N. Stokolos, and M. Kucherep. However, this segment of the issue was the most fully researched by O. Aloshyna (Aloshyna, 2011). As the author rightly believes, A. Rychynskiy's multifaceted activities – educational with young people in the “Prosvita” Society and “Plast”, journalistic and scientific – were aimed at training a new generation of like-minded people.

In her doctoral dissertation and monograph of 2013, I. Skakalska comprehensively did research on the political and social dimensions and ethno-cultural transformations of the Ukrainian elite of Western Volyn in 1921 – 1939 (Skakalska, 2013). In particular, she found out the sources of formation, social situation, peculiarities of the activity of the advanced layer of the Ukrainian people through the prism of public associations, parties and the work of Parliament. It is illustrated that the Ukrainian elite contributed to the development of education and culture, encouraged compatriots to participate in the cooperative movement. The leading ideas of scientific and journalistic works of intellectuals have been characterized and determined. It has been proven that the growth of national consciousness and political activity of the Ukrainian population, which marked the life of Western Volyn in the 20s and 30s of the 20th century, was caused by the activities of the elite.

The collective publication of V. Telvak, O. Salata, and A. Novacki contains a lot of biographical information on intellectual work figures (Telvak, Salata & Nowacki, 2022). However, when it comes to biographical plots in synthetic works, the work of O. Rublov should be singled out first of all. In the monograph of 1994, which was written in co-authorship (Rublov & Cherchenko, 1994), the cooperation and participation of Eastern and Western Ukrainian intellectuals in the processes of national revival in post-Soviet Ukraine, the repression of the totalitarian regime against natives of Western Ukraine, and the attitude of the foreign Ukrainian public to these repressions became the epicentre of research focus. attention.

These issues and a number of other important issues related to the fate of the Western Ukrainian intelligentsia were reflected in O. Rublov's doctoral dissertation and his monograph, published in 2004 (Rublov, 2004). The author elucidated the role of people, who dealt with creative work in the western region of Ukraine in the policy implementation of “Ukrainization” in Soviet Ukraine, more thoroughly, elucidated the scientific and cultural ties of the intelligentsia of Right Bank Ukraine and Left Bank Ukraine, did research on the use of such a powerful factor of influence by the Bolshevik administration in its policy towards Western Ukrainian intellectuals and artists, as a financial, outlined and analysed the “Galician segment” of the general anti-Ukrainian repressive policy of the Bolshevik regime in the 1930s. It was concluded that “in contrast to the “liberal” tsar, the Russian communist regime sought liquidation or at least imprisonment/exile of all family members of Western Ukrainian intellectuals who for one reason or another ended up in post-Soviet Ukraine, and ideally – to their complete destruction “Galicians” (natives of the western regions of the national territory) as a separate “repressive-liquidation” category” (Rublov, 2004, p. 568).

The Conclusion. Modern rapid rise of biographical research, the growth of general interest in biographical knowledge became possible owing to the independence of Ukraine.

The researchers paid much attention to the representatives of the creative minority of Western Ukrainians, who had a direct impact on the cultural and intellectual development of citizenship, participated in the creation or design of new ethical and behavioral models, scientific views, and formation of people's worldview. A peculiarity of the Western Ukrainian elite was that its spokesmen were closely connected with the social and political movement, national life. Historical portraits of M. Vozniak, M. Halushchynskyi, V. Hnatiuk, S. Dnistrianskyi, M. Korduba, I. Krevetskyi, I. Krypiakevych, K. Levytskyi, M. Lozynskyi, V. Mudry, Yu. Romanchuk, K. Studynskyi, S. Rudnytskyi, V. Starosolskyi, S. Tomashivskyi are relatively well presented. At the same time, there is a need to continue research using the prosopographic method in order to replenish the information base about the individual activities of well-known teachers, scholars, public figures – I. Bryk, I. Halushchynskyi, F. Kolessa, D. Korents, I. Kedryn-Rudnytskyi, M. Rudnytskyi, O. Terletskyi, V. Shchurat, Ya. Voitiuk, K. Soshynskyi, and the others. The problem of researchers taking into account the entire complex of facts of a personal, professional, situational and bibliographic nature remains topical, without which it is impossible to create scientific biographies of intellectual and cultural figures of Western Ukraine of the interwar period.

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MYTHOLOGEMES “HERO”, “ENEMY”, “VICTIM” IN THE CONTEXT OF UKRAINIAN-POLISH HISTORY OF THE FIRST HALF OF THE 20th CENTURY

Abstract. *The purpose of the study consists in understanding of the mythologemes “hero”, “enemy”, “victim” functioning in the context of the Ukrainian-Polish history of the first half of the 20th century. The principles of objectivity and historicism are the methodological basis. To achieve the goal and objectives there have been used general scientific (analysis, synthesis, analysis) and special historical (historiographical, terminological, textological analyses, comparative and historical) methods. The scientific novelty consists in outlining of formation, content mechanisms of the mythologemes “hero”, “enemy”, “victims” based on the experience of the Ukrainian-Polish history of the first half of the 20th century, determining historians’ influence of both countries on these processes. The Conclusion.* Based on the results of the research, we can state that the Ukrainian-Polish relations with their centuries-long common history are a vivid example of stereotyped ideas and mythologemes compilation that originated as early as the 10th – 13th centuries, continued to form and influence the Ukrainian and Polish peoples’ consciousness in the 19th century, consolidated and replenished in the 20th century. Since World War I, due to the national liberation struggle of both peoples, the experience of existence within the Second Republic, and ending with the events of World War II, the mythologemes “hero”, “enemy” or “victim” acquired a new content. At the same time, the evaluative judgment and classification of historical figures and events depends, first of all, on political views. Politicians, historians, artists of both states supported negative historical myths, which are deeply rooted in the national consciousness, played a significant role in the national historical consciousness formation of the Ukrainians and the Poles. Even today, overcoming the national stereotypes and mythologemes that function in both societies is a difficult task for historians and intellectuals.

Key words: Ukraine, Poland, mythologeme, “hero”, “enemy”, “victim”, World War I, World War II, Symon Petliura, Stepan Bandera.

МІФОЛОГЕМИ “ГЕРОЯ”, “ВОРОГА”, “ЖЕРТВИ” У КОНТЕКСТІ УКРАЇНСЬКО-ПОЛЬСЬКОЇ ІСТОРІЇ ПЕРШОЇ ПОЛОВИНИ ХХ ст.

Abstract. *The purpose of the study* полягає в осмисленні функціонування міфологем “героя”, “ворога”, “жертви” в контексті українсько-польської історії першої половини ХХ ст. **The methodological basis** є принципи об’єктивності й історизму. Для реалізації поставлених мети і завдань використані загальнонаукові (аналізу, синтезу, узагальнення) та спеціальні історичні (історіографічного, термінологічного, текстологічного аналізу, порівняльно-історичний) методи. **The scientific novelty** визначає окреслення механізмів формування та наповнення міфологем “героя”, “ворога”, “жертви” на досвіді українсько-польської історії першої половини ХХ ст., визначення впливу на ці процеси істориків обох країн. **The Conclusions.** За результатами дослідження можемо ствердити, що українсько-польські відносини з їхньою багатовіковою спільною історією є яскравим прикладом складання стереотипних уявлень та міфологем, які зароджувалися ще в Х – ХІІІ ст., продовжували формуватися та впливати на свідомість українського та польського народів у ХІХ ст. і закріпилися та поповнилися у ХХ ст. Від Першої світової війни, через національно-визвольні змагання обох народів, досвід існування в межах Другої Речіпосполитої та завершивши подіями Другої світової війни, міфологеми “героя”, “ворога” чи “жертви” отримали нове наповнення. Причому оцінне судження та віднесення історичних постатей та подій залежить насамперед від політичних поглядів. Політики, історики, митці обох держав підтримували негативні історичні міфи, які глибоко вкорінені в національну свідомість, відігравали суттєву роль у формуванні національної історичної свідомості українців та поляків. Навіть нині подолання національних стереотипів і міфологем, які функціонують у обох суспільствах, є складним завданням для істориків та інтелектуалів.

Key words: Україна, Польща, міфологема, “герой”, “ворог”, “жертва”, Перша світова війна, Друга світова війна, Симон Петлюра, Степан Бандера.

The Problem Statement. History, as a science that studies antiquity, is based on synthesis and analysis of facts. Credibility, objectivity, confirmed by sources, is a fundamental feature of professional historical studies. At the same time, the knowledge produced by scholars is a necessary, but not the only, condition for the creation of historical consciousness. It should be understood that the idea of the past, the “history” we know can be a balance of facts and myth (fiction). Historical myths are a component of national historiography, are included in the mythological system of the people, and are the basis of people’s worldview. According to experts, the main function of mythodesign is the value matrix formation of the past (Marutian). At the intersection, we can consider examples when representatives of historical science are involved in the production, formation and dissemination of historical national myths. After all, the conclusions made by scholars become the basis of political propaganda.

The Analysis of Sources and Research. In the 20th century the issues of mythologising and mythologeme content found themselves in the focus of interests of humanitarianism various directions representatives. These are philosophy of myth (A. Tykholaz), and the issues of the mutual influence of myth and science (V. Budenkova, A. Stavutskyi, V. Komarov, O. Udod), and the general theory of political mythology (M. Holovaty, N. Probiyholova), and mythologizing of political relations (Valentyn Bushanskyi, Yu. Shaihorodskyi). The studies on historical myth (Viktor Brehunencko, Leonid Zashkilniak, Oleksandra Karapuz, Edward Keenan, Jerzy Topolsky, Barbara Shatska) and historical myth design (Marutian, 2019) took their rightful place. Separately, we would like to point out the study on the mythologemes “war” and “hero” (Zubrytska, 2016). Mykola Lytvyn and Liubomyr Khakhula analysed the events of the Ukrainian-Polish history functioning of the first half of the 20th century (Lytvyn & Khakhula: 2019; Lytvyn & Khakhula, 2020), Lyudmila Strilchuk and Oleksandr

Dobrzhanskyi – in the academic and social space (Strilchuk & Dobrzhanskyi, 2021). In this context, the studies of the following scientists are important: I. Hyrych and Yu. Shapoval (Hyrych & Shapoval, 2010), I. Kostiuk (Kostiuk, 2011), O. Ruda (Ruda, 2012), L. Nahorna (Nahorna, 2014), Z. Koval (Koval, 2014), R. Demchuk (Demchuk, 2017), O. Sieverova and O. Bykov (Sieverova & Bykov, 2019), V. Savchuk (Savchuk, 2019), O. Salata and Yu. Kovbasenko (Salata & Kovbasenko, 2019), L. Pidkuimukha (Pidkuimukha, 2019), B. Piętko (Piętko, 2020), R. J. Czarnowski (Czarnowski, 2022).

The Purpose of the Research. The main goal of the research is to understand the functioning of the mythologemes “hero”, “enemy”, “victim” in the context of the Ukrainian-Polish history of the first half of the 20th century and clarifying the peculiarities of their reflection and actualization in national historiographies.

The Results of the Research. J. Frazer stood at the origin of the concept “mythologeme”. José Ortega y Gasset defined this term as follows: “Mythologeme – a concrete and figurative symbolic way of reflecting reality – becomes a kind of formula not only for a human reception of the environment in all its dimensions, but also the formula of a communicative symbolic means of establishing a connection with universal values encoded in myth-making acts, a means of harmonizing a human being and nature, a way of understanding myth as a key to interpretation of other cultural phenomena” (Ortega-i-Hasset, 1994, p. 83).

According to Olena Levchenko: “one of the forms of addressing ideology to society is mythologemes – stories, interpretations, given as life examples or social guidelines. Their connection with mythology is obvious, and this makes mythologemes vulnerable to critical thinking” (Niva, Popovych & Horskyi, 1998, p. 67). It is necessary to point out the remark of Ihor Hyrychy and Yuriy Shapoval about the need to consider a historical myth, mythologemes formation inseparable from the historical and spiritual existence of people. That is why, the researchers insist that the mythologeme is conditioned by national specificity, interpret them as “compressed linguistic ethnocodes, which, in the course of deciphering, go through the process of creative reproduction of embedded cultural information and reconstruct complementary paradigms that reflect and model universal and unique meanings” (Vyshnytska, 2016, p. 52).

In the view of researchers, a historical myth is a national community’s reception of its past, formed and implemented with the use of state mechanisms and/or the participation of political intellectuals. The legal norms adopted by the Republic of Poland are an attempt to legislate the mythologizing of the Ukrainian-Polish history: “whitening” the actions of the Polish side and “blackening” the actions of the Ukrainian side in the first half of the 20th century, attempted to influence the Ukrainian state, to delegitimize and devalue the citizenship of Ukraine and can be used as a legal basis for the further occupation of part of the Ukrainian territory.

In the context of historical myths construction, mythologemes functioning in societies, it is worth mentioning the set of heroes and anti-heroes, which is made according to a certain narrative and which are its important component of national consciousness. Mythological logic does not recognize the possibility of existence of an impersonal, objective cause of event or phenomenon, it requires the personification of ideas, the archetype of “hero”. They are either role models or examples of a negative behaviour that, according to those who share mythology, should be condemned and avoided. As a result, the community develops a certain pattern of ideas about the events of the past and historical characters – positive and negative.

The experience of the Ukrainians and the Poles vividly expresses the thesis that “hero” of one nation can often be an abuser or even an executioner for another. At the same time,

it is precisely from the side of intellectuals that there is an understanding of the mutually exclusive / mutually balanced heroization of the antipodes of the Ukrainian and Polish nations. In particular, Ivan Patryliak says: “Both Poles and Ukrainians have the full right to call those whom they see fit as heroes, regardless of emotions of the other side, political situation or geopolitical considerations” (Patryliak, 2016, p. 26).

We will not be mistaken if we say that the most vivid example of an (anti)hero for the Ukrainians and the Poles is Stepan Bandera in recent history. If in the Ukrainian national narrative he is a hero, a tireless fighter for state independence (although, for the sake of justice, it should be mentioned that, for example, in the textbook “Political History of Ukraine of the 20th Century” Stepan Bandera is mentioned in connection with the split of the OUN and the activation of anti-Polish armed actions (Kudriachenko, Kalinicheva & Kostyria, 2006), then in Polish academic and public discourse it is a symbol of anti-Polish actions, suffering (and in this context, Yaroslav Kaczynski’s resounding statements “Ukraine with Bandera will not enter Europe” are more than logical). Stepan Bandera is a vivid example of when the simplicity of mythologemes creates prerequisites for their transformation and ideologization, which occurs through the formation and functioning of this image in mass culture and mass media. As Bohdan Temirov pointed out, the stereotypical characterization of Stepan Bandera as a “fascist” and “traitor” is exploited, for example, by the Polish authors. The controversial German historian of Polish origin Grzegorz Rossolinski-Liebe called Edward Pruss “the main Polish nationalist propagandist of anti-Bandera historiography and the creator of a negative stereotype of Bandera” (Rossolinskyi-Libe, 2010). It was he who used such conceptual constructions as “the Bandera Holocaust” or “Banderomakhiia”, “Bandera people are a defect of history” in his books, which indicates their distance from academic standards. The title of the work of the German researcher “The Life of Stepan Bandera: Terrorism, Fascism, Genocide, Cult” (Rossolinskyi-Libe, 2021) – allows us to assert that he established certain schemes of presentation and dissemination in public discourse of evaluative stamps (“fascism”, “terrorism”, “genocidal nationalism”, etc.). This is the fundamental difference between scientific and popular science or journalistic presentation. The author’s scientific historical work is based on a wide variety of sources, which are the basis of conclusions; in the case of popular science presentations, which are primarily aimed at popularization of a certain idea, a historical thesis is taken, an opinion is formulated, and quotations from authoritative scientific publications or works of authoritative authors are already selected for them. At the same time, until recently, the Polish historians were not inclined to break the established myths and mythologemes about the Ukrainian liberation movement that were often imposed on them and constantly fueled by the Kremlin. The fact-proven cases of burning of the Ukrainian border villages by the Army soldiers and the mass destruction of their inhabitants are interpreted by both experts and society as retaliatory actions.

In the expert environment, there is an understanding of Stepan Bandera’s figure symbolism (Pankiv, 1999) and the distinction between reality and myth (Hordasevych, 2000). The importance of understanding Stepan Bandera in the context of the mythologeme “hero” in the Ukrainian academic space is revealed by the discussions which, for example, Yaroslav Hrytsak’s book “Passion for Bandera” caused. Their sharpness corresponds to the diverse emotions that his name evokes in the citizens of Ukraine. To this day, the agreement / combination / separation of the person / historical facts and myth regarding the leader of the OUN remains relevant.

It should be remembered that in the historical narrative regarding the Ukrainians over the centuries, there were three people who served for national identification (two of them

were active in the 20th century and are related to Poland). Regarding the Ukrainians who resisted colonization, Russian imperial propaganda (tsarist, Bolshevik/Soviet, post-Soviet) formed a kind of terminological triad: “mazepynsi”, “petliurivtsi”, “banderivtsi”. The term “mazepynsi” was applied to the participants and sympathizers of the uprising of Hetman Ivan Mazepa (1709) against the Russian Empire. Another attempt of the Ukrainians to gain independence in 1918 – 1921 gave rise to the stamp “petliurivtsi” – after the name of one of the leaders of the Ukrainian National People’s Republic, Symon Petliura. Banderivtsi appeared in the Soviet propaganda after well-known events of the 1940s. Therefore, in the Ukrainian tradition, there is persistence mythologeme of a fierce struggle for the future of Ukraine. At the same time, it is noticeable that all these three historical personalities performed the function of uniting the Ukrainian nation with difficulty. Thus, the figure of Symon Petliura, in addition to the fact that he needs rehabilitation, is not too integrative, at least in view of rejection by the people of Galicia. After all, according to the Warsaw Pact, the majority of Western Ukrainian lands, including Eastern Galicia, were part of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, while the territory of Naddnpianshchyna was recognized as the Ukrainian People’s Republic. And almost immediately there were opinions about “betrayal”. Andriy Kokotiukha remarked not by chance: “Historians will not let you lie: Mazepa, Petliura, Bandera were certainly not ideal. On the contrary, these are ambiguous personalities in whom all parties got along. However, it is from these surnames that derived definitions, let’s say, of the Ukrainian Ukrainians” (Kokotiukha, 2021).

It is obvious that the communist authorities contributed a lot to the formation of a negative image of national heroes, which in this way personified the mythologeme “enemy” (in the case of Symon Petliura, Józef Pilsudski, and Stepan Bandera). And as a result, the same personalities became “heroes” in the understanding of some people, and “(anti)heroes” – for the others. At the same time, we will only state that the works formally written by professional historians, dedicated to these historical figures, resembled propaganda rather than scientific research.

As Z. Koval points out, a myth (in particular, a historical one) contains a hyperbolized image of enemy, which is presented as the root/personification of all evil, and the researcher considers this narrative to be an informational and psychological project and an effective historical factor. In this demonization of the enemy, one can trace manipulation of the archetype “alien” and general functioning of the dichotomy “own” – “alien”, which in turn is connected with the myths of the border territories (Chmelnyk & Khakhula, 2022).

The Ukrainian-Polish war of 1918 – 1919 was associated with the destruction of the myth of “one people of the ancient Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth”, because it fully revealed the differences of national projects. More and more often, the Poles began to receipt the Ukrainians as enemies, and the activities of the UVO-OUN and the events of World War II only cemented this, spreading the image of the Ukrainian as a “thug”.

The Ukrainian-Polish history of the first half of the 20th century presented the experience of fighting against a common enemy – it is primarily the Petliura-Pilsudski Pact and the Warsaw Battle in 1920 (another name for which – the “Miracle over the Vistula” in the context of our conversation is more than symptomatic). Modern Polish researchers pay more attention to the positive aspects of the union of 1920, we see a desire to smooth out the contradictions in the relations at that time and somewhat idealize the concept of the Polish-Ukrainian union. At the same time, the conviction prevails in the Ukrainian society that the Warsaw Pact, by and large, only benefited the Poles. They gained an ally to help them defend

their independence; it seems that the Warsaw Pact did not give anything to the Ukrainians, except that for a while the UNR. The current Russian-Ukrainian war actualizes the events of 1920, connecting the events of the 20th and 21st centuries. There is an identification of the struggle of the Poles with the Bolsheviks in 1920 and the Ukrainians with the Russians in 2022; just as today, defending its independence, Ukraine defends Europe against barbarism, so in 1920, side by side, together with the Polish Army, the Ukrainians defended Europe against the Bolshevik threat (Nafecz, 2022, p. 8; Szumiło, 2022, pp. 60–62).

Victimization (related to the spread of mythologeme “victim”) is an important element of domestic national mobilization (unification by suffering) and international politics. Proclaiming oneself as the only victim gives a deceptive conviction in the justice of repentance demands from the “enemy”. It is the stable functioning of the mythologeme “victim” in both Ukrainian and Polish societies that is the basis of historical disagreements and contradictions. Living side by side on the same territory for centuries, striving to build their own statehood, including the same territories within its boundaries, committing violence against each other (let’s not get into useless disputes here about who started it first or who was more to blame), the peoples have more than enough reasons for understanding and unification, and vice versa – for accusations and discord.

The myth of the “defense of Lviv” was a vivid manifestation of mythologeme “victim”. The myth of the “defense of Lviv” (cultivated in the literature and art of interwar Poland and supported in one way or another to this day) is as meaningful as the Battle of Warsaw in 1920 (when the Bolshevik offensive was stopped, Poland’s independence was defended and Europe was saved from the communist regime), and in terms of importance it is not inferior to World War I (Doroshko & Matviienko, 2021, p. 135). The myth of “defense” glorified the battle for Lviv as a symbol of the unification of the Polish state, and the rank of “defenders”, called the Eaglets, raised it to the rank of models of patriotic behaviour for future generations. The emergence of studies about the participation in the defense of Lviv by residents of Wielkopolska (Jarosław Biernaczyk), Czestochowa (Rafał Piotrowski) and the others should be considered as a manifestation and element of this construct. At the same time, the Poles of Lviv, according to this myth, are victims of the Ukrainian aggression who had to defend themselves. “Victim” and “enemy” mythologemes peculiar combination in the context of Lviv events is the vision of the defense of Lviv as the city liberation from the Ukrainians, supported today and by means of publication of documents of that era (Teodorowicz, 2009). In contrast to this, one should consider the reception of the events of the autumn of 1918 as the war of two patriotisms (Klimecki, 2018).

The Ukrainian-Polish confrontation cemented the mythologeme “victim” in the Polish society. This is what the interpretation of the Volyn events serves as such, where the Poles suffered exclusively; it is to this interpretation that the “myth of 100 thousand” victims is subordinated (as the historian Yevhen Misylo formulated aptly); it is related to this that the actions of the Polish units against the Ukrainian population are interpreted exclusively as “retaliatory” actions (this is how they are interpreted by leading experts, such as Grzegorz Motyka). Symbolization with one or another settlement singles out the mythologeme “victim”. Moreover, what interesting is that there are such symbols from both the Polish and Ukrainian sides: in the first case – Pavlivka (Porytsk), Ostrivky and Volia Ostrovetska, Huta Peniatska, in the second case – Pavlokoma and Sahryn. The involvement of historians in the formation of such symbolic places in public consciousness is very vividly illustrated by the example of the work of Leon Popek, who made a lot of efforts to spread the memory of family villages of Ostrivky and Volia Ostrovetska in Liuboml region.

The rootedness and effectiveness of the functioning of mythologeme “victim” in the Polish society is demonstrated by the results of sociological research by IPSOS in February of 2019. As many as 74% of respondents believe that the Polish people suffered more than other peoples (only 4% are sure of the opposite). It is interesting that almost no one chose the item “difficult to answer”, although the matter of comparing of different peoples’ suffering is a kind of challenge (Sitnicka, 2019).

The Conclusion. Drawing conclusions, we will point out that the Ukrainian-Polish relations with their centuries-long shared history are a vivid example of the compilation of stereotyped ideas and mythologemes that originated in the 10th – 13th centuries and continued to form and influence consciousness of the Ukrainian and Polish peoples in the 19th century and consolidated and replenished in the 20th century. The mentioned myths and mythologemes influenced and influence the issues interpretation related to the historical past.

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“HISTORICAL TOWN” AS AN OBJECT OF CULTURAL HERITAGE OF UKRAINE (ON THE EXAMPLE OF BOHUSLAV)

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to elucidate the history of the town of Bohuslav, as a space of a “historical town” and an object of the national cultural heritage. The methodology of the research is based on the principles of historicism, systematicity, scientificity, verification, authorial objectivity, moderate narrative constructivism, as well as the use of general scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization) and special historical (historical genetic, historical typological, historical systemic) methods. The scientific novelty consists in the discovery of an urban-type settlement – Bohuslav as one of the objects of the cultural and historical heritage of Ukraine; presentation of the centuries-old history of the city in historical, cultural and architectural monuments as a unique cultural phenomenon that combines the valuable heritage of the Ukrainian people. The Conclusion. The historical and cultural potential of Bohuslav is contained, first of all, in the architectural monuments of the past centuries of the “historical town”. At the same time, the town is known in Ukraine and abroad for the unique creations of folk art masters – embroidery, weaving, carpet weaving, which absorbed centuries-old traditions, gone beyond the scope of economic use, reached a high level and gained world recognition. The life of famous Ukrainian figures was closely connected with the town of Bohuslav: writers, poets, artists, playwrights. However, today the level of preservation of the cultural monuments of the town causes serious concern, some of them, including those of state importance, are in an unsatisfactory state. There is a need for the restoration research works related to their artistic and aesthetic aspect. A special role is played by the cultural policy of local administration to optimize the ratio of traditions and innovations in solving construction, design and reconstruction issues.*

Keywords: Bohuslav, “historical town”, cultural heritage, historical monuments, cultural and historical potential.

“ІСТОРИЧНЕ МІСТО” ЯК ОБ’ЄКТ КУЛЬТУРНОЇ СПАДЩИНИ УКРАЇНИ (НА ПРИКЛАДІ БОГУСЛАВА)

Анотація. *Мета дослідження – розкрити історію містечка Богуслав як простір “історичного міста” та об’єкта вітчизняної культурної спадщини. Методологія дослідження спирається на принципи історизму, системності, науковості, верифікації, авторської об’єктивності, поміркованого нарративного конструктивізму, а також на використання загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, узагальнення) та спеціально-історичних (історико-генетичний, історико-типологічний, історико-системний) методів. Наукова новизна полягає у характеристичності населеного пункту міського типу – Богуслав як одного з об’єктів культурно-історичної спадщини України; представленні його багатовікової історії в пам’ятках історії, культури та архітектури як унікального культурологічного феномену, що поєднує в собі цінну спадщину українського народу. Висновки. Історико-культурний потенціал Богуслава міститься насамперед у пам’ятках архітектури минулих століть “історичного міста”. Водночас поліс знань в Україні і за кордоном унікальними витворами майстрів народного мистецтва – вишивкою, ткацтвом, килимарством, які увібрали у себе багатовікові традиції, вийшли за рамки господарчого вжитку, досягли високого рівня та отримали світове визнання. З містечком Богуслав було тісно пов’язане життя відомих українських діячів: письменників, поетів, художників, драматургів. Однак на сьогодні рівень збереження пам’яток культури міста викликає серйозне занепокоєння, частина з них, у тому числі і державного значення, перебуває у незадовільному стані. Існує необхідність відновлювальних робіт, пов’язаних з їхнім художньо-естетичним аспектом. У вирішенні питань забудови, проектування і реконструкції особливу роль відіграє культурна політика місцевої адміністрації щодо оптимізації співвідношення традицій та інновацій.*

Ключові слова: Богуслав, “історичне місто”, культурна спадщина, пам’ятки історії, культурно-історичний потенціал.

The Problem Statement. It is natural that each historical era is unique in its own way, and people have a special attitude towards cultural and historical monuments. It is they who

form the foundations of historical memory in society. At the same time, not only individual sights, but also towns in general, historical events that became valuable for their residents, become important cultural heritage.

In accordance with the resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine dated September 3, 2009 No. 928 in Ukraine, about 900 objects were included in the cultural heritage of national importance, which entered the State Register of Immovable Monuments of Ukraine for 2009¹. According to the materials of the parliamentary hearings on the topic “State, Problems and Prospects of Cultural Heritage Protection in Ukraine”, which took place on April 18, 2018, there were about 130,000 objects of cultural heritage (including dismantled monuments) on the state register, of which – 65,350 objects of archeology, 44,496 – history, 944 – monumental art, 13,518 – architecture and urban planning, 327 – garden and park art, 219 – landscape objects and 92 – objects of science and technology (Denysenko, 2018, p. 9).

Monuments of cultural heritage are a significant and unique layer of the national heritage, an annals of the people, which contain rich and versatile information about the development of society. Reproducing its stages, recording important events in history, monuments are a source of knowledge of experience for future generations, evidence of the ethnic identity. It is obvious that cultural and historical heritage of Ukrainian towns, like towns of any European country, plays an extremely important role in the environment formation. In solving the problem of historical towns preservation, the primary role belongs to the cultural policy, based on the optimal ratio of traditions and innovations. The state and local communities should take an active part in historical town development, constantly carry out measures to restore and develop cultural and historical environment.

The Analysis of Recent Research and Publications. The issue of cultural and historical heritage of cities and towns, experience of protecting architectural monuments became the sphere of scientific interests of foreign and domestic scholars. In particular, P. Bourdieu and M. Green, in the theory of cultural capital, define heritage primarily as an economic value, while it includes aesthetic, historical, social, spiritual and educational values. According to P. Bourdieu, uniqueness of “a cultural capital” lies in the combination of “inherited qualities with acquired merits” (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 245). According to M. Green, cultural and historical heritage of city contributes to tourism development not only at the local, but also at regional level. It also brings a significant profit to the region economy (Green, 2001, p. 173). The cultural and historical value of cities and towns was also studied by U. Ulbar, L. Cazacova, A. Eldelhun and M. Mihaila. In their works, they came to the conclusion that preservation and restoration of the centres of old cities and towns is the primary task of modern urban planning (Ulbar, Cazacova & Eldelhun, 2010, pp. 483–494; Mihaila, 2014, pp. 570–574). Researchers D. Gallardo, R. Sepulveda, F. Medina, E. Diaz-Gutierrez defined the role of cultural heritage objects as important in the context of preserving historical face of cities and towns (Gallardo, Sepulveda, Medina & Diaz-Gutierrez, 2018, pp. 229–231). According to A. Wierzbicka and M. Arno, an important factor is sacredness of individual objects of religious heritage, which for many centuries were a key element of urban morphology and wedge into urbanism of historical cities organically (Wierzbicka & Arno, 2022, pp. 63–77).

Cultural and historical heritage of the Ukrainian cities and towns was researched by Ya. Vermenych thoroughly. The scholar raised a wide range of theoretical and methodological

¹ Dodatok do postanovy Kabinetu Ministriv Ukrainy vid 3 veresnia 2009 r. № 928. Perelik ob'ektiv kulturnoi spadshchyny natsionalnoho znachennia, yaki zanosyatsia do Derzhavnoho reiestru nerukhomykh pam'iatok Ukrainy. URL: <https://www.kmu.gov.ua/npas/239966145>

problems of modern urban studies – from the definition of the concept of “city/town” and criteria for the typology of cities/towns to tracing of the evolution of urban tradition on the national territory (Vermenych, 2005; Vermenych, 2011). L. Prybieha elucidated the principles and basics of the international system of historical and cultural heritage of cities and towns protection, preservation of historical past, popularization of urban history (Prybieha, 2003). T. Katarhina described the problems of preserving historical and cultural heritage of Kyiv in detail. In her opinion, preservation of historical and cultural monuments contributes to discovery of a cultural potential of each city and town for an effective use of their historical and cultural resources (Katarhina, 2009). At the same time, the town of Bohuslav has not become the subject of research as an object of historical and cultural heritage yet.

The purpose of the research is to elucidate the history of the town of Bohuslav, as the space of a “historical town” and an object of the national cultural heritage.

The Results of the Research. The term “historical town” is associated with protection of historical and cultural heritage, to nominate towns that embody the values inherent in traditional urban civilizations – preservation over the ages of a unique face, a corresponding historical, cultural and architectural environment.

The protection issue of historical and cultural heritage at the legal level began to be debated after World War II actively, but there was no talk of a separate category of “historical town” at that time. In the so-called Venice Charter on the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Landmarks (1964), the concept of “historic monument” (a monument subject to protection and restoration) was extended to “an urban or rural environment that has characteristic features a certain type of civilization” (Mizhnarodna khartiia, 2004, pp. 4–5). In the resolution of the General Conference of UNESCO (1976) on the “historical ensembles”, this concept was used in relation to a set of buildings, structures and open space adjacent to them, which constitutes a certain integrity and is of an archaeological, architectural, historical, aesthetic and socio-cultural value (Tronko, 1996, p. 4; Vermenych, 2005, p. 573).

The concept of “historical town” first appeared in the International Charter for the Preservation of Historic Cities adopted by the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) (1987) (Konventsii i Rekomendatsii YuNESKO, 1990, pp. 42–43). The adoption of the Charter was related directly to the ever-increasing threat of “purification” of ancient towns from the signs of the past. Although the Charter did not define the criteria for the inclusion of cities in the number of historical cities, it spoke about the need to recognize protection of antiquity as an integral component of the policy of economic and social development of such towns, i.e. “historical towns”. The need to preserve planning structure of “historical towns”, including the connections between its built-up, free and green zones, as well as the purpose acquired by town in the process of historical development, was especially emphasized (Grazuleviciute-Vileniske & Vitkuviene, 2007, pp. 145–155).

In Ukrainian legislation, the term “historical town” appears in a somewhat modified form. The Law “On the Protection of the Cultural Heritage” (2000) refers, in particular, to a “historical inhabited place” and “historical area of inhabited place”, and the resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine dated July 26, 2001 provides a list of historical inhabited places of Ukraine (in it 401 settlements are indicated, information on the dates of their foundation is provided). “The rules for the protection and use of the historical area” are being developed for historical area of each “historical town” (Vermenych, 2005, p. 573).

In Ukraine, it is customary to include cities that are more than 300 years old, as well as all regional centres, regardless of their age (taking into account urban planning and cultural values

concentrated in them) among “historical” towns. However, clear criteria for the inclusion of towns and, especially, urban type settlements among historical places were not developed; adaptation issues of the Ukrainian legislation to global standards of scientific development, protection and use of urban heritage were not resolved fully (Vermenych, 2011, pp. 225–227).

It is crucial, in our opinion, that modern architecture does not destroy traditional environment of a town, but complements it, introducing new meanings and contents. For the time being, the town of Bohuslav, located in Kyiv region, as a “historical town”, reflects the regional architectural and urban planning traditions and historical events in the region. In the course of its development, it preserved not only the sights, but also the historical planning structure.

In terms of content, the architectural buildings and historical places of Bohuslav play an important informational function, which helps to form a special scientific and cognitive character. The value of the town’s architectural heritage is so important that it increases its role in shaping the space of a “historical town”. Examples of such objects are the Museum of the History of Bohuslav region, Ivan Soshenko Memorial Manor Museum, Marko Vovchko Memorial Manor Museum and other architectural monuments.

The historical context is a vivid evidence of a sustainable development of the town. The historical and architectural heritage was formed not only in the form of separate architectural monuments, but also as a coherent and organized historical part of the polis.

It should be mentioned that Bohuslav deserves scholars’ attention as one of the oldest towns in Kyiv region against the background of a large number of cities and towns in Ukraine, which are historical. Its history is extremely rich and is part of the glorious past of our state.

The first written mention of “Bohuslavl” is contained in the “Litopys Rus’kyi” according to the Ipatsky list, when the town, together with Torchesk, Korsun and Kaniv, entered the fortified defensive line around Kyiv and its suburbs in 1195 (“Litopys Ruskyi” za Ipatskym spyskom, 1989). Yaroslav the Wise founded Bohuslav as one of the fortresses of the future defense belt of the state. However, in 1240, the town, like many other rusky settlements, was destroyed by the Mongol-Tatar army.

In the second half of the 15th century Bohuslav, as part of the lands of Kyiv Voivodeship, came under the power of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and as a result of the Union of Lublin in 1569, it entered the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. According to the resolution of the General Sejm (Sejm Walny) of April 19, 1590, the colonization of the Dnieper region began with the strengthening of its southern borders. Bohuslav turned into a well-fortified fortress, became the centre of the old age, and its inhabitants were granted privileges: the population was exempted from all taxes for 29 years, and it was also allowed to hold trades once a week and fairs twice a year. In 1620, the town of Bohuslav, which had 115 yards, 15 taverns, 4 water mills, a market square and a castle, received Magdeburg rights and a coat of arms (Kozlovska & Kurylenko, 1971, p. 150). The above-mentioned indicates that the town developed along the same trajectory as European cities and towns, forming its own historical and cultural image.

There are numerous known events that took place in Bohuslavshchyna during the early modern period and became the part of the national history. The most striking were among Bohuslav and nearby villages residents’ participation in the rebellion of Semeria (Severyn) Nalyvaiko in 1594 – 1596 and the Liberation War led by Bohdan Khmelnytskyi in 1648 – 1657. Bohuslav was a powerful Cossack centre on Right Bank Ukraine at the end of the 17th century. On the initiative of Samuel Samus, the town became the centre of Bohuslav regiment (Chukhlib, 2004, p. 229). That is why, the majority residents of this region had surnames of the Cossack origin.

Bohuslav was the centre of Orthodoxy, like the majority of Ukrainian cities. Vivid evidence was that monastery for men was built in Bohuslav during the 16th century at the expense of the city residents and the Cossack elders. In the following centuries, the monastery was destroyed and rebuilt, passed from the Orthodox to the Catholics and vice versa. Over time, in 1740, in connection with the construction of the Mykolai Church on its territory, it was named St. Mykolai Church. Later, the Church of the Assumption was built there, but only its foundation survived to this day. Only the Church of the Resurrection of Christ remained out of the entire monastery complex. The museum of the history of Bohuslav region has only drawings of the reconstruction of buildings.

Despite the fact that the monastery was, first of all, a religious centre, a povit (county) school functioned, many of whose graduates became famous people. Among them there was Nechuy-Levytskyi, Krotevych, Koshyts, Klebanovskyi and the others.

In the 17th century the monastery was a refuge for the lonely, crippled Cossacks. Currently, the monastery carries on this tradition, conducting mental rehabilitation of the ATO soldiers (Sviato-Mykolaivskyi monastyr, 2022).

The Orthodox Church was important for the formation of the social consciousness of Bohuslav residents. Majestic sacred buildings with the wall paintings and images gathered parishioners in the Paraskevskyi, Voskresinskyi and Pokrovskyi churches, Mykolai monastery. Owing to the construction of religious buildings, significant progress was observed in the painting development. In particular, the outstanding Ukrainian painter Alypii Halyk took his first steps in mastering the basics of artistic skill, learning icon painting from the deacon of the Intercession Church in Bohuslav. It is confirmed by the descriptions of the Ukrainian local historian Lavrentiy Pokhylevych. According to his records, there were three churches in Bohuslav: Pokrovska, Troitska and Paraskevka. The Cathedral of St. Paraskeviya was built in 1747 and burned down on April 27, 1826. The Trinity Church was built back in 1739 and over time became old, and instead of it, the Holy Trinity Church was built on the site of the burned Cathedral of St. Paraskeviya (Pokhylevych, 1864, p. 550). For various reasons, the construction of the stone church was delayed for almost three decades. In 1852, Metropolitan Filaret of Kyiv and Halytskyi (Amphiteatrov) blessed the construction of the church, but it was completed only in 1861. The nobleman Viktor Deko, the Chief Administrator of Bohuslav estates, informed the newly appointed Metropolitan of Kyiv Arseniy (Moskvin) about this immediately, and in the same year the bishop consecrated the church in honour of the Holy Trinity (Pererva, 2010, p. 118).

The Church was built according to the project of an unknown master in the “Empire” style. The building is characterized by the surrounding of colonnades leading to the street and the square. The main part of the Church is the rotunda – a round structure surrounded by columns and crowned by a dome, which consists of two objects: the inner one, which is actually a rotunda, and the outer one, which consists of an apse in the east, colonnades in the north and south, and a square bell tower with spire in the west. The Church is located on the left bank of the Ros River. During the years of independence, the townspeople began its reconstruction: in 2004, the interior painting was completed, and in 2008, the exterior overhaul (Pererva, 2010, p. 119). The Trinity Church became a recognized architectural monument of the national significance, a cultural heritage of the state.

Another landmark, as part of the city’s cultural and historical heritage, is the Church of St. Wladyslaw. It was the first wooden Church of the Ascension of the Holy Spirit in Bohuslav, built near the market square in the centre of the town in 1789 at the expense of the Polish

nobleman Franciszek Rzewuski. The wooden building burned down as a result of a fire that engulfed the town centre in 1817. In 1825, a stone cathedral was built on the same site by Count Wladyslaw Branicki, who received the title of St. Wladyslaw (Pokhylevych, 1864, pp. 550–551).

Later, the cathedral became not only a religious centre, but also an educational one. A parish school functioned at the cathedral, where children of town residents studied. Unfortunately, it suffered the fate of the majority of religious institutions, which were destroyed or mutilated by the Bolshevik authorities in the 1920s. The cathedral was looted and closed, and the parishioners were repressed. The process of its restoration and return to the local religious community began in 2009 (Ivanchenko, 1999, pp. 100–103).

The historical face of the city shows the active development of trade and crafts in the second half of the 19th century. We found out occupations, crafts, trades, public positions and service in the city of Bohuslav from the census sheets of Bohuslav Volost, Kaniv Povit (County) in 1897. Among them, the activities of merchants, manufacturers, traders, tailors, telegraph operators, salesmen, workers of various specialties, cooks, laundresses and the others were disclosed. The presence of such a large number of occupations and government positions indicates that the city was developing actively and had its own factories and service industries. The town was the centre of trade, where people came from all villages of the parish and povit (county) (SAKR, f. 384, d. 7, c. 108, p. 14).

At the same time, the folk crafts developed in the town, satisfying not only practical, but also aesthetic needs of the population. Products of folk craftsmen, who absorbed centuries-old traditions, went beyond the economic necessity and over time reached a high artistic level (SAKR, f. 384, d. 7, c. 108, pp. 14–15).

Hence, after World War II, the descendants of ancient masters of hand patterned weaving began to revive the traditions of folk weaving, opening up new technologies and opportunities. It was evidenced by, for example, the statement of the art critic Adam Zhuk: “In the following years, hand-patterned weaving gained further development in Bohuslav region. In particular, it reached significant proportions during the post-war period. In a number of villages, as well as in Bohuslav itself, hereditary masters were involved in the work. In the difficult post-war year of 1945, the artistic and industrial group “Victory” was organized in Bohuslav, which united more than seventy local weavers” (Zhuk, 1985, pp. 76–77).

Bohuslav, like most European towns, quickly became a large craft centre. The masters were united in workshops, and later manufactories arose, in which from the beginning of the 19th century the use of freelance labour spread. Owing to the improvement of production techniques, there was interaction and integration with traditions of other regions. But at the same time, the town did not lose its special features, inherent only to it. In particular, the crafts related to textiles – embroidery, weaving, carpet making, as well as the production of jackets – developed there. At the same time, silk weaving manufactory was operating, and later factory of art products was opened.

For a long time, school of weaving, known throughout Ukraine, operated on the territory of Bohuslav, which distinguished its woven products by the use of a two-sided cross-striped arrangement of the pattern. Furthermore, some fabric samples were decorated with the folk geometric motifs with altered plant images borrowed from the Western European tradition. The researchers also note the influence of local weaving school on the stylistics of Krolevetski towels (Selivachov, 2009, p. 31).

During the 19th century famous Ukrainian figures were born and created in Bohuslav: writers, poets, artists, philosophers. In particular, the artist Ivan Soshenko was born and

studied in Bohuslav in 1807. A monument was erected in his honour in the town. In the town school, Ivan Maksymovych received the necessary artistic knowledge in order to continue his career as an artist. He is also known as one of the closest friends of Taras Shevchenko, who took the most active part in freeing the poet from serfdom (Cherkaska, 2014, p. 12).

The arrival and stay of Taras Shevchenko was a crucial historical event in the town. He first visited Bohuslav in August of 1822, at the age of eight, when his father took him with him, going to the town to sell plums. At the fair, the boy saw a crowd of people for the first time, listened to kobzar's singing and playing, and then, as an adult, he remembered the following: "That was my first meeting with a big city, churches and all kinds of people gathered at a huge market" (Svitlyi tarasiv anhel. 2014, pp. 1–2). In his writings, T. Shevchenko mentioned Bohuslav repeatedly, wrote about it as a beautiful town: spiritual school, rocky banks of the Ros River and residents of the town, with whom he met and communicated (Nikolenko, 1994, p. 23).

The history of the town is also closely connected with a prominent Ukrainian writer Ivan Nechuy-Levytskyi. After he moved to his relatives in Bohuslav, he studied at theological school (SAKR, f. 881, d. 1, c. 11, pp. 124–127). Later, he entered Kyiv Theological Seminary, after which he returned to Bohuslav, where he began working as a teacher. In many of his works, Nechuy-Levytskyi rethinks his time in Bohuslav. He wrote about the town's inhabitants, its nature, and famous Ukrainian figures, who lived and worked at different times there.

Ukrainian writer Mariya Vilinska (Marko Vovchok) lived in Bohuslav for a long time. The beauty of Bohuslav suburbs impressed a young writer, many years later, she will remember the picturesque stones of the Ros, its quiet bays, steep banks overgrown with thyme.

Bohuslav became the town where the writer and playwright Yevhen Krotevych gained his inspiration. In the autumn of 1892, his mother brought him to study at the Bohuslav Theological School. The boy was impressed by the Ros river and its stone banks, he really liked the town. More than once during his life Yevhen had to be in Bohuslav, but not always under favourable conditions. In his imagination, this town became a green oasis, where he drew inspiration for creativity (Nikolenko, 1994, pp. 38–43).

Intensive transformations of the town began during the post-reform period, new industrial enterprises emerged: cloth and wax factories. The growth of industry and trade made it possible to develop education in the town and district, to open elementary schools and colleges. In 1910, there were already 6 factory-type enterprises in Bohuslav, three cloth factories, machine-building, honey and brick factories, and three mills were operating. About twenty one- and two-story buildings of the end of the 19th and at the beginning of 20th centuries were preserved in the town centre, the majority of which have construction dates on their facades. For the most part, these are public buildings or structures that belonged to the Jewish entrepreneurs in the past. They are built in the style of classicism with separate elements of the baroque style.

During the Soviet era, the town became the centre of Bohuslav district (1923). Later on, there were organized 3 seven-year and primary schools, 3 orphanages, 3 clubs, a cinema and 2 libraries there. New enterprises appeared in the town with the emergence of industrialization. At the same time, as in the entire territory of the Ukrainian SSR, the authorities did not bother to preserve historical buildings in the town centre and turned them into working neighborhoods in order not to spend money on new construction. Unfortunately, such processes were also observed in Bohuslav (Salii, 2010, pp. 180–187).

The events of World War II became a vital and, at the same time, tragic page in the history of the town of Bohuslav. The town was occupied by the German invaders from July 26, 1941

to February 3, 1944. During the German-Soviet war, the town residents fought against the Nazi authorities and put up a determined armed resistance. There were the representatives of all walks of life of the population and different age groups among participants. Maryna Hryzun from the village of Mysaylivky was one among those in Bohuslav. From the first days of the occupation, a young patriot began a determined struggle, in which she died a heroic death. In memory of the events that took place in occupied Bohuslav, Kyiv T. H. Shevchenko Opera and Ballet Theatre staged a ballet called the “Poem about Maryna” (a composer B. Yarovynskyi, choreographer V. Vronskyi) (Salii, 2010, pp. 202–204).

The Museum of the History of Bohuslav region, opened in July of 1968 on the initiative of Borys Levchenko, became an inexhaustible treasury of the town’s cultural and historical heritage. In 1975, the Museum received the status of national, becoming a true centre of the town’s history. More than 6,000 original exhibits are collected there, which testify to the history of Bohuslav and its suburbs.

During the 1980s and 1990s, busts of Taras Shevchenko and Ivan Nechuy-Levytskyi were installed in the town. In May of 1981, the monument to legendary Marusia Bohuslavka was erected, the memory about her is preserved by the town residents. Panteleimon Kulish dedicated the poem “Marusia Bohuslavka” to the heroine. In the poem there are reflected high patriotic feelings, the people’s deep faith in their liberation from the Turkish yoke (Ivashkiv, 2000, pp. 347–349). In 2009 the erection of a monument to the founder of the town on the Ros, Kniiaz Yaroslav the Wise of Kyiv, was a crucial historical event in the town. The monument was erected in the park on Taras Shevchenko Street.

The period of Ukraine’s independence was marked by significant changes in the development of legislative framework designed to provide a foundation for the preservation of such historical towns as Bohuslav. But the funds allocated by the state and local communities do not always provide an opportunity to preserve and properly restore monuments of history and architecture. At the same time, residents of Bohuslav are concerned about preservation of the town’s historical heritage. Evidence of this is the restored Holy Trinity Church, which is a historical and architectural monument of the national importance, built at the expense of Oleksandra Branicka; Mykolai Monastery for men, which traces its history back to the second half of the 16th century; the Church of the Intercession of the Holy Mother of God. But the Church of St. Wladyslaw needs some repairing and funding. Owing to the efforts of the Roman Catholic community of the town, its operating began to be restored: in October of 2012, the statue of the Virgin Mary was solemnly brought to the church from the chapel at the former presbytery, and on May 19, 2013, the cross was consecrated. Finally, in June of 2014, the premises of the church were officially returned to the faithful, although the shrine is in need of major repairs.

The Conclusion. Therefore, the historical and cultural potential of Bohuslav is contained, first of all, in the architectural monuments of the past centuries of the “historical town” and plays an extremely important role in the formation of an urban environment. At the same time, the town is known in Ukraine and abroad for the unique creations of folk art masters – embroidery, weaving, carpet weaving, which absorbed centuries-old traditions, went beyond the scope of economic use, reached a high level and gained world recognition. The life of famous Ukrainian figures was closely connected with the town of Bohuslav: writers, poets, artists, playwrights. However, today the level of cultural monuments preservation of the town causes serious concern, some of them, including those of state importance, are in an unsatisfactory state. There is a need for restoration works related to their artistic and aesthetic aspect. A special role is

played by the cultural policy of the local administration to optimize the ratio of traditions and innovations in solving construction, design and reconstruction issues.

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RELIGIOUS FACTOR IN THE CURRENT RUSSIA-UKRAINE WAR

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to present the study results of the impact of the Russian military aggression in Ukraine on the religious and ecclesiastical sphere. The scientific novelty. The processes taking place in a religious and church life, and the peculiarities of the activity of churches and religious organizations in Ukraine during the war have been analysed. The reaction of the international religious community to the Russian military invasion of Ukraine has been highlighted. Forms of spiritual support and material assistance to Ukraine in its struggle against the Russian occupiers by various domestic and foreign religious communities have been shown. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, system-formation, scientific character, the author's objectivity, and the use of general scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization), special and historical (historical systemic, historical typological, etc.) methods. The Conclusion. Under the conditions of the Russian military invasion of the territory of Ukraine, the religious and ecclesiastical sphere has been significantly affected. Russia's aggression has caused dramatic changes in the religious environment and has provoked significant opposition from believers, clergy and religious organizations of various denominations. Currently, there are several trends in the religious and ecclesiastical sphere in Ukraine: condemnation of the Russian military invasion of Ukraine by religious organizations; providing various spiritual and material assistance to churches, religious communities, defenders of Ukraine, victims and refugees; support of*

Ukraine's struggle against the Russian invaders by foreign religious organizations; deterioration of relations between the Moscow Patriarchate and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church; intensification of the process of changing the jurisdiction of Orthodox communities and exacerbation of contradictions in the Orthodox environment. The problems in the religious and ecclesiastical sphere that emerged during the war will be finally resolved after Ukraine's victory over the Russian invaders.

Key words: Russian-Ukrainian war; church, state, Ukraine, state-church relations

РЕЛІГІЙНИЙ ФАКТОР У СУЧАСНІЙ РОСІЙСЬКО-УКРАЇНСЬКІЙ ВІЙНІ

Анотація. Мета статті – представити результати дослідження впливу російської військової агресії в Україну на релігійно-церковну сферу. **Наукова новизна.** Аналізуються процеси, що відбуваються у релігійно-церковному житті, особливості діяльності церков та релігійних організацій в Україні під час війни. Висвітлюється реакція міжнародного релігійного співтовариства на російське військове вторгнення в Україну. Показуються форми духовної підтримки та матеріальної допомоги Україні у її боротьбі проти російських окупантів різними вітчизняними і зарубіжними релігійними спільнотами. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на принципах історизму, системності, науковості, авторської об'єктивності, а також на використанні загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, узагальнення) та спеціально-історичних (історико-системний, історико-типологічний) методів. **Висновки.** В умовах російського військового вторгнення на територію України релігійно-церковна сфера зазнала відчутного впливу. Російська агресія спричинила у релігійному середовищі суттєві зміни та викликала значний спротив віруючих, духовенства та релігійних організацій різних конфесій. Нині у релігійно-церковній сфері України проглядається кілька тенденцій: засудження релігійними організаціями російського військового вторгнення в Україну; надання церквами, релігійними спільнотами різноманітної духовної та матеріальної допомоги захисникам України, потерпілим та біженцям; підтримка України зарубіжними релігійними організаціями у її боротьбі з російськими окупантами; ускладнення відносин між Московським патріархатом та Українською православною церквою; активізація процесу зміни юрисдикції православними громадами та загострення суперечностей у православному середовищі. Породжені під час війни проблеми у релігійно-церковній сфері остаточно будуть розв'язуватися після перемоги України над російськими загарбниками.

Ключові слова: російсько-українська війна, церква, держава, Україна, державно-церковні відносини.

The Problem Statement. The full-scale Russian military aggression against Ukraine, which began on February 24, 2022, has affected various aspects of public life: political, economic, military, spiritual, cultural and the others. It has also caused significant changes in a religious and church life.

From the first days of the war, churches and religious organizations of various denominations in Ukraine called on their followers to stand up for their homeland, its sovereignty and territorial integrity, and pray for victory. Many of their supporters found themselves directly in the ranks of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, serving as chaplains or becoming volunteers. Temples, monasteries, houses of worship, and other places of worship often became places of refuge from enemy shelling and bombing, and shelters for refugees and internally displaced people.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Research. The influence of the religious factor on the current Russian-Ukrainian war has not yet been researched in the historical and political sciences. Some aspects of the historical origins of the religious and church problems of Ukraine under the conditions of the current Russian-Ukrainian war were analysed in the articles of M. Haliv (Haliv, 2018), O. Buravskiy and M. Kozlovets (Buravskiy & Kozlovets, 2021), Yu. Danylets and V. Mischanyn (Danylets & Mischanyn, 2022), M. Palinchak and V. Bokoch

(Palinchak & Bokoch, 2021). The political, ideological, propaganda prerequisites of the current Russian-Ukrainian war are elucidated in the works of V. Lipkan and P. Artymyshyn (Lipkan & Artymyshyn, 2022), V. Ilnytskyi, V. Starka, M. Haliv (Ilnytskyi, Starka & Haliv, 2022).

The purpose of the article is to present the study results of the impact of Russian military aggression in Ukraine on the religious and ecclesiastical sphere.

The Results of the Research. The Ukrainian Council of Churches and Religious Organizations have adopted a number of statements and appeals to domestic and foreign authorities and international organizations. These statements raise issues of peace in Ukraine, the supply of new weapons to the Ukrainian army, the introduction of a no-fly zone over Ukraine, infrastructure, organization of humanitarian corridors for the evacuation of civilians, especially women and children, from the occupied territories and settlements affected by hostilities or under siege, exchange of prisoners of war, unity of the Ukrainians to repel the Russian aggressor, preventing the Belarusian army from participating in the war against Ukraine, etc. One of the statements of the Council is devoted to exposing and condemning the genocide of the Ukrainian people committed by the Russian troops in Kyiv region (Terminove zvernennia VRTsiRO, 2022; Rada Tserkov, 2022a; Rada Tserkov, 2022b; Rada Tserkov, 2022c; Zaiava z pryvodu obstriliv, 2022; Zvernennia z pryvodu obminu polonenymy, 2022; Zvernennia VRTsiRO, 2022; Zaiava VRTsiRO, 2022).

During hostilities, the Russian invaders caused significant damage to temples, monasteries and other religious buildings, among other structures. During the first month of the war, 59 church buildings of various denominations, including architectural monuments of the past centuries, were destroyed or damaged (Vid pochatku viyny, 2022). Among them are the Holy Assumption Sviatohorsk Lavra in Donetsk region, the Assumption Cathedral in Kharkiv, and other churches and religious buildings in various regions of Ukraine. The Russian troops often placed weapons and firing positions directly in places of worship in temporarily occupied cities and villages.

The Orthodox Church of Ukraine and its primate, Metropolitan Epiphanius, has taken an uncompromising position on the Russian military aggression against Ukraine. This church has been under threat in the occupied territories, as the Russian troops attacked it from the first days of the invasion of Ukraine. They destroyed its temples, searched, threatened, kidnapped and even killed the priests. Metropolitan Epiphanius became the target of the Russian saboteurs. Despite this, the hierarchs, clergy and believers of this church constantly prayed for the victory of Ukraine, and provided spiritual and material assistance to all who needed it.

The Orthodox Church of Ukraine sees signs of genocide in the mass killings of civilians by Russian troops. At the same time, the murder of the Russian occupiers in order to defend the homeland is not considered a sin according to the primate of the church, Metropolitan Epiphanius.

During the fierce battles for Kyiv, Metropolitan Epiphanius presented the city with an icon of Michael the Archangel, who is considered its patron and protector.

The Orthodox Church of Ukraine has demanded that sanctions be imposed by foreign countries on the leadership of the Russian Orthodox Church for inciting and supporting the war.

The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church has also taken a patriotic stance in the Russia-Ukraine war. Its leader, Archbishop Sviatoslav, is especially active. His daily war video appeals and prayers for peace in Ukraine, meetings with the military of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, trips to parishes in the settlements of the regions directly adjacent to the war zone

and visits of wounded defenders of Ukraine are important. He calls on the whole world to stand together with Ukraine in the fight against the Russian aggressor. Similar actions are being taken by the local Greek Catholic clergy. Chaplains of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church provide pastoral care for servicemen of the Armed Forces of Ukraine.

The defenders of Ukraine are also spiritually and materially supported by Protestant, Muslim, Jewish and other religious organizations. Ukrainian Baptist religious communities provide significant assistance to refugees and victims of the Russian aggression. Thus, Lviv coordination centre of the Evangelical Baptist Union of Ukraine sent more than fifty 20-ton trucks of humanitarian aid. The initiative to raise funds for the purchase of quadcopters and bulletproof vests for the Armed Forces of Ukraine was launched by the Church of Christians of the Evangelical Faith (Pentecostals). The Seventh-day Adventist Church also helps internally displaced people from war-torn regions. In particular, its charity ADRA, in close cooperation with foreign missions, distributes humanitarian aid, arranges shelters for refugees and provides them with food and basic necessities. (Ponad piatdesiat, 2022; The Church of Christians, 2022; Adventysty, 2022).

The Ukrainian Muslims are actively opposing the Russian aggression. Among those defending Ukraine are the Tatars, the Crimean Tatars, the Chechens and other Muslims. Sheikh Said Ismagilov, mufti of the Religious Administration of Muslims of Ukraine “Ummah”, became imam-chaplain of the Kyiv Territorial Defense Battalion. “I will support the defenders of Ukraine as much as possible. And I am absolutely sure that we will win,” he said. In Kyiv, Muslim believers established a volunteer centre “Wings of Victory”, which provides comprehensive assistance to the military and civilian population (Yak muftii Ukrayiny stav kapelanom, 2022). Despite the hostilities, President of Ukraine V. Zelensky congratulated the Ukrainian Muslims on the beginning of the holy month of Ramadan.

The Russian military aggression against Ukraine was condemned not only by the Ukrainian churches and religious organizations, but also by the world religious community. Thus, the World Council of Churches, Pope Francis, hierarchs of Alexandria, Georgia, Romania, Poland, Finland and other Orthodox churches, and some foreign parishes of the Russian Orthodox Church opposed the Russian military invasion of Ukraine. Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew met with refugees from Ukraine during his visit to Poland and provided them with spiritual support.

A joint statement on the Russian attack on Ukraine was issued by the Conference of European Churches, which unites Orthodox, Old Catholic and Protestant religious organizations in European countries, and the Council of Bishops’ Conferences of Europe, which brings together Catholic bishops. It condemns Russia’s aggression against Ukraine and expresses its gratitude to religious communities, state and local authorities, NGOs and residents of the countries that provide assistance to the Ukrainian refugees. In addition, the Council of Bishops’ Conferences of Europe invited each Catholic episcopate to serve a liturgy for peace in Ukraine.

In front of the Cathedral of the Russian Orthodox Church in Jerusalem, representatives of various denominations such as the Christians, the Muslims, and the Jews called on Patriarch Kirill to take effective measures to end the war in Ukraine.

Prayers were offered for the victims of the Russian military aggression in Ukraine in the Cathedral of St. Andrew Memorial Ukrainian Orthodox Church in South Bound Brook, the USA. Prayers for the people of Mariupol were made by Orthodox Greeks. Ecumenical prayer for the Ukrainian people was conducted by religious figures of the German city of Munich.

Many foreign religious organizations did not only pray and express their condolences to the Ukrainians, but also provided humanitarian aid to victims of the Russian military aggression. Thus, the Polish Catholic religious charity Caritas Poland raised over 85 million zlotykh for Ukraine and provided a significant amount of other material assistance (“Karitas Polshchi”, 2022).

The Vatican is distinguished by a variety of activities aimed at resolving the military conflict between Russia and Ukraine. Calling Russia’s war against Ukraine “barbaric”, Pope Francis made an urgent appeal to end the war. He initiated a series of events in addition to prayers, aiming to achieve peace. On the second day of the war, contrary to the existing diplomatic protocol, he visited the Russian embassy in the Vatican, where he expressed his concern about Russia’s military invasion of Ukraine. In addition, he launched a day of prayer for Ukraine, supported the creation of humanitarian corridors to help refugees, provided material support to victims of the Russian military aggression, and offered mediation in peace talks. Pope Francis stated his readiness to do everything possible to end the war in Ukraine. Despite the danger of travelling to a war-torn country, he announced his intention to visit Ukraine.

Unlike the Ukrainian and foreign religious communities that have supported and assisted Ukraine, the Russian Orthodox Church, which is in close alliance with the Kremlin and an integral part of the “Russian world”, has taken a diametrically opposed position in the Russia-Ukraine war. Its leader, Patriarch Kirill, actually blessed the military invasion of Ukraine. He also rejected the offer of the World Council of Churches to assume mediation in the settlement of the military conflict. Thus, according to the leader of the Orthodox Church of Ukraine, Metropolitan Epiphanius, “Kirill Gundyayev has made his choice in favour of the cause of the Antichrist” (Epifaniy zaiavyv, 2022).

Following Patriarch Kirill, Russian aggression against Ukraine was supported and justified by hierarchs and priests of the Russian Orthodox Church, as well as by representatives of other religious communities in Russia.

Since the beginning of the Russian invasion, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, which was under the jurisdiction of the Moscow Patriarchate, has found itself in a rather difficult situation. The fact that 98 % of the Ukrainians consider Russia a hostile country (Zhmerenetskyi, 2022) could not help but affect the attitude of believers to both the Moscow Patriarchate and its subordinate, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

Despite the fact that UOC is under the jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox Church, its leader Metropolitan Onufriy condemned Russia’s military aggression against Ukraine, expressed support for the Ukrainian state and its army, called on Vladimir Putin to end the war immediately and urged his supporters to intensify prayers for peace (Mytropolyt, 2022).

It is clear that under the conditions of nationwide resistance of the Ukrainians to the Russian invaders, Metropolitan Onufriy could not have done otherwise. However, he did not take the opportunity to state this at the Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church, of which he remains a permanent member. Instead, he declined the meeting.

It is quite natural that during the Russia-Ukraine war, the question of further relations with the Moscow Patriarchate has become quite acute for the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. Due to Patriarch Kirill’s support of the Russian military invasion of Ukraine, many clergymen of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church stopped mentioning his name during services (Nasha pastva, 2022). Moreover, they have expressed the idea of a complete severance of relations with the Moscow Patriarchate, which was supported by 63 percent of Ukrainians (Zahalnonatsionalne opytuvannia, 2022). At the same time, some believers and some eparchies of the Ukrainian

Orthodox Church were raising the issue not of only its withdrawal from the jurisdiction of the Moscow Patriarchate, but also of UOC's acquisition of autocephaly. According to Metropolitan Oleksandr (Drabinko) of the Orthodox Church of Ukraine, "the instinct of self-preservation of the UOC-MP leadership as an institution should prompt it to get out of this critical, historically predetermined situation by convening the Council (possibly online) and making the statement on withdrawal from the ROC (the Moscow Patriarchate). Then history and Ukrainian society will put everything in its place" (Yak kolys Kompartiyu, 2022).

Under the pressure of circumstances in the socio-political and religious-ecclesiastical life of Ukraine, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church held a church council. It publicly expressed its disagreement with Patriarch Kirill's assessment of the Russian military invasion of Ukraine, as well as declared the UOC independence and autonomy.

However, it is not easy for the Ukrainian Orthodox Church to gain full independence from the Moscow Patriarchate as the MP will never agree to weaken its influence on Orthodox Ukrainians and will constantly block this process. In the event of a unilateral severance of relations with the MP, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church will face significant difficulties in its further recognition by the world Orthodox community.

In addition, there is no common position on this issue within the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. According to opinion polls, 13 percent of UOC the believers are ardent supporters of the Moscow Patriarchate, who do not want to break off relations with the Russian church and seek unity with it (Zahalnonatsionalne opytuvannia, 2022). Therefore, some parishes, districts and eparchies of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, which do not intend to sever ties with the Moscow Patriarchate, might want to come under the Russian Orthodox Church direct jurisdiction. Some of them are raising the issue of coming under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

The Ukrainian Orthodox Church believers who do not wish to remain under the jurisdiction of the Moscow Patriarchate have no choice but to become canonically subordinate to the Orthodox Church of Ukraine which has the status of a local church confirmed by the tomos of autocephaly of the Local Church of Ukraine. The Synod of this church and its Primate, Metropolitan Epiphanius, has called on bishops, clergy, monasteries and religious communities to sever ties with the Moscow Patriarchate and stand on the path of unity with the Ukrainian Church. Currently, the process of changing the jurisdiction of Orthodox religious communities is underway. Since the beginning of the Russian military invasion of Ukraine, several hundred parishes of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in various regions of the country have already announced their intention to change their canonical subordination and join the Orthodox Church of Ukraine. This will lead to the weakening of the position of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and a strengthening of the position of the Orthodox Church of Ukraine.

During the war, a discussion broke out in the religious community as to the future of the Moscow Patriarchate in Ukraine. Bills for a complete ban on the MP and nationalization of its property were introduced in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine motivated by the fact that the MP's existence on Ukrainian territory poses a threat to Ukraine's national security. At the same time, religious communities, monasteries and theological educational institutions of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church have been given the opportunity to change their jurisdiction in accordance with the legislation of Ukraine (Proekt Zakonu, 2022a; Proekt Zakonu, 2022b).

The Ukrainian Orthodox Church has reacted sharply to these bills, seeing them as an attempt to "brazenly and cynically" ban its activities. According to its representatives, the adoption of these laws will lead to violations of international human rights instruments

and the provisions of the Constitution of Ukraine on freedom of conscience and religion. Instead of serving the “protection of national security, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine”, their adoption will lead to “split of Ukrainian society and weakening of the state”, division of the country on religious grounds and incitement to religious hatred. Initiation of these legislative acts is considered by them as “hostile sabotage against Ukraine” (Zayava Yurydychnoho viddilu UPTs, 2022).

In our opinion, the current socio-political situation is the most appropriate for the final decision on the future of the Moscow Patriarchate in Ukraine. According to the well-known Ukrainian theologian O. Sahan, “the time has come to radically resolve the issue of the Moscow Patriarchate in Ukraine”. (Likvidovuyetsia naynadiynisha ahentura voroha, 2022).

The subordination of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church to the Moscow Patriarchate is totally harmful to it and distracts the flock from it en masse. With its many years of pro-Russian position and activity, the Moscow Patriarchate has long compromised itself in the eyes of a large number of Ukrainians.

It is noteworthy that not only Ukrainian but also some foreign Orthodox communities are severing relations with the Moscow Patriarchate. Thus, the Orthodox parish in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, was one of the first to stop mentioning the name of Kirill during the liturgy, to sever ties with the Russian Orthodox Church and to come under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

Under the conditions of the Russia-Ukraine war, the institute of military chaplaincy has been working powerfully and fully. Military chaplains of various denominations provide pastoral care and spiritual service to the military, and instill faith in the victory of the Ukrainian army. Due to the peculiarities of the situation of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and its affiliation with the Moscow Patriarchate, some politicians, servicemen, and religious organizations raise the issue of not admitting MP priests to the chaplaincy service.

It should be noted that during the Russia-Ukraine war, there has been a tendency for increasing individuals’ religiosity among ordinary citizens of Ukraine due to psychological reasons, such as the deaths of relatives and friends, fear, grief, and suffering caused by the war.

The Conclusion. Under the conditions of the Russian military invasion of the territory of Ukraine, the religious and ecclesiastical sphere has been significantly affected. Russia’s aggression has caused dramatic changes in the religious environment and has provoked significant opposition of believers, clergy and religious organizations of various denominations.

Currently, there are several trends in the religious and ecclesiastical sphere in Ukraine:

- condemnation of the Russian military invasion of Ukraine by religious organizations;
- providing various spiritual and material assistance to churches, religious communities, defenders of Ukraine, victims and refugees;
- support of Ukraine’s struggle against the Russian invaders by foreign religious organizations;
- deterioration of relations between the Moscow Patriarchate and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church;
- intensification of the process of changing the jurisdiction of Orthodox communities and exacerbation of contradictions in the Orthodox environment.

The problems in the religious and ecclesiastical sphere that emerged during the war will be finally resolved after Ukraine’s victory over the Russian invaders.

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РЕЦЕНЗІЇ / REVIEWS

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“IS IT HISTORY OF DIDACTIC OR DIDACTIC OF HISTORY?”

(review of the monograph: Dmytro Hertsiuk, Teodor Leshchak.

Pedagogical Education and Science at Lviv University (1812 – 1939).

Lviv: Ivan Franko National University, 2022. 432 p.)

“ІСТОРІЯ ДИДАКТИКИ ЧИ ДИДАКТИКА ІСТОРІЇ?”

(рецензія на монографію: Дмитро Герцюк, Теодор Лещак.

Педагогічна освіта і наука у Львівському університеті (1812 – 1939).

Львів: ЛНУ імені Івана Франка, 2022. 432 с.)

History of Lviv University – the oldest higher educational institution of Ukraine – reflects not only the processes that took place in educational and scientific sphere of Lviv, but also in Galicia, becoming an important component of intellectual and cultural history of Ukraine. In

addition, the University was at the center of social and political events in the region, that is why, the study of its history is important for elucidating the formation of the Ukrainians as a nation.

Without reconstructing the history of Lviv University, it is impossible to do research on the formation and development of university education in Ukraine in general, to analyse the history of an educational institution that provided the widest possible opportunities for knowledge and improvement for Galician youth, to highlight the functioning of the University structural units (faculties and departments), to create prosopographic portraits of the University lecturers, students and graduates, who for many decades determined the intellectual level of scientific, pedagogical and cultural elite of the region, an integral part of the social space of entire Ukraine in the 17th – 20th centuries.

During different periods many researchers focused on the history of Lviv University. However, the substantive analysis of research works shows that certain aspects of this issue, as well as certain stages of the University development, are far from being fully elucidated and require further scientific research. From this point of view, the monograph by Dmytro Hertsiuk and Teodor Leshchak, dedicated to the formation and development of pedagogical education and science at Lviv University during the period of 1812 – 1939, is of a significant scientific and cognitive interest.

In a comprehensive monographic study by D. Hertsiuk and T. Leshchak there were selected certain events-markers as chronological limits that became decisive and had a direct impact on the development of pedagogical component at Lviv University. This is the first educational course of C. Voigt's pedagogy at the beginning of the 19th century and the change in general didactic principles of University education after the occupation of Lviv by Moscow regime in 1939. Lviv University (as well as modern pedagogy of the beginning of the 19th century in general) performed the main social task of the time: to educate and develop generational experience and the generation's ability to realize intellectual, moral and physical qualities of society in order to ensure civilizational progress. In addition to the French Revolution ideology, the ideas of the American constitutional democracy about general education after gaining independence of England and education independence of origin had a significant impact on the liberalism formation in university education in Europe. The road is difficult and long from finishing a general public elementary school to a general secondary school, and even more so to an elite gymnasium school, which gave a pass to university studies. But it is the development of the so-called classical gymnasiums in our "small" Motherland – Galicia, these typical secondary educational institutions of the 19th century, that ensured the spread of the neo-humanism ideology, in particular at Lviv University with its complicated but glorious history. In this context, it is worth noting a rather laconic, but capacious and meaningful innovative subsection "Development of Teacher Training System in the Context of Education Evolution in Galicia" (pp. 43–77), which performs the function of a kind of "second introduction", a propaedeutic introduction in the monograph. Subsection 1.3 is more concise "Lviv University as a Higher Pedagogical and Scientific Institution" (pp. 77–109), which, in our opinion, is caused by the fact that stereometrically delineated object of scientific research becomes the main subject in Chapter 2 "Establishment and Evolution of Teacher Training System at Lviv University in the 19th – the Beginning of the 20th Centuries".

We can state that in the 19th century a general trend of European universities was development and predominance of the so-called general sciences, primarily Philosophy and Philology, because the very studying at these departments or faculties gave the most opportunities to influence students' worldview, shape their personality, change or form

their mentality. As we know from the history of Lviv University, Philosophy Department also performed, according to the authors of the monograph, a more or less basic function – professional training and graduation of teachers to work at gymnasiums. Perhaps, this is the main problematic component of the monograph by D. Hertsiuk and T. Leshchak: in university education the ideas of neo-humanism of the 19th century contributed to the development of national characteristics of peoples, distinction and (re)formation of individual nations, had a positive effect on the emergence and formation of cultural nationalism. It was an inevitable historical process, the result of formation of an educated, harmonious, comprehensively developed personality, who seeks to identify and distinguish himself and his nation in accordance with cultural, religious and ethnic mental characteristics.

However, it must be admitted that the “problematic component” did not become an issue of the monograph: the authors quite consistently focus their presentation on the institutional forms of pedagogical education at Lviv University mainly, analyse the methodology and methods of the educational process, peculiarities of practical and theoretical training of students, the role of individual university didactics in improving scientific and educational process. Researchers focus their attention on purely technological tools, on pedagogical tools and organizational forms: teaching methods and techniques, the content of pedagogical courses, programmes, emergence and institutionalization of pedagogical education at the University. These tools organizational forms are supported and illustrated by the introduction of unknown or little-known archival materials from Ukrainian and Polish archives into scientific circulation, which constitutes an indisputable significance and scientific novelty of the monograph. However, D. Hertsiuk and T. Leshchak avoid the national identification of pedagogical personalities in the history of Lviv University, focusing on and comprehensively analyzing significant empirical material of the history of pedagogical thought of this educational institution. In the 19th century, Ukraine like Poland, did not independently determine the parameters of its educational system, because it did not have state independence; for some period of time, the Ukrainians and the Poles were united in their resistance to Germanization and Russification policies of the empires, and later – competed with each other in the effort to obtain political dividends by means of cultural success. It must be admitted that the Poles were better at it, and the struggle between our nationalisms was very tough (and sometimes brutal!), but it still took place within certain civilizational frameworks. First of all, under the rule of Vienna, more antagonistically – during the period between the world wars.

There should be noted a well-researched reformist role of the Polish scientist Yulian Okhorovych (pp. 241–245) for Lviv University, his merits in singling out and formation of Psychology as an independent empirical discipline of an experimental nature. After all, the influence of Yu. Okhorovych’s lectures on a student I. Franko is known, which was clearly reflected in the pedagogical conceptual sphere of the Ukrainian thinker. In particular, in his conviction that Pedagogy must be based on Psychology, on the positivist principles of upbringing and education: a social benefit, a scientific view of the world, preparation at school for a practical future life, the unity of education and upbringing, etc.

However, in our opinion, indication of nationality or origin (even contrary to further public self-identification) would be appropriate and scientific. By the way, the authors consistently indicate, for example, the Czech origin of scientists and lecturers of Lviv University (V. Voigt, V. Amtmann). The authors should have identified the Ukrainianness of Hryhoriy Yachymovych, Ivan Bartoshevskiy, Yevsebiy Cherkavskiy and other outstanding lecturers of Lviv University? Instead, the authors of the monograph identified Franz Kostek (pp. 176–177), Yosyf Delkevych

(pp. 200–201) as Ukrainian theologian-lecturers. Concerning the majority of Ukrainian lecturers, the "universal" formula is used in the monograph: he came from the family of a Greek-Catholic priest, graduated from a Greek-Catholic seminary. Probably, the best explanation of this problem is the coverage of E. Cherkavskiy's participation in the organizational and personnel issues of pedagogical training at the Faculty of Philosophy at the end of the 19th century.

E. Cherkavskiy's actual pedagogical achievements (courses, scientific interests, administrative and managerial activities) were professionally analysed, but political and national orientations in educational sphere were outlined rather chaotically and unconvincingly. In general, this figure is very complex and fluent in his beliefs, the core of which Oleksandr Barvynskiy (who owed his career to E. Cherkavskiy) determined the centralist orientation towards Vienna. Ivan Franko called E. Cherkavskiy's social and political activity a vivid example of apostasy and renegadeness, but modern historian Yaroslav Hrytsak considers Ivan Franko's consideration to be biased, referring to Antony Knot's article "Czerkawski Euzebiusz" (*Polski Słownik Biograficzny*. Kraków, 1938. Vol. 4. S. 333–334), because as a school inspector, E. Cherkavskiy resisted polonization of the Germanized Krakow and Lviv universities, for which he was physically humiliated by the Polish students (Hrytsak Ya. *A Prophet in His Country. Franko and the Community (1856 – 1886)*. Kyiv, 2006. S. 481). E. Cherkavskiy's position concerning opposition to the Russification of Galicia and the imperial ideas of Muscovite pan-Slavism remained unexplained in the monograph, as well as efforts to introduce the Latin alphabet into Ukrainian writing and the Gregorian calendar for Greek Catholics. Note also that the correct spelling of the scientist's name is Eusebius, not Eusebius. In terms of qualifications, E. Cherkavskiy should be labeled a *philologist* and *pedagogue*, not a *philosopher*, although, of course, he graduated from the Faculty of Philosophy (p. 227).

We consider the material coverage in Subsection 1.2.2 "Education in Galicia in the Second Half of the 19th – at the Beginning of the 20th Century" (pp. 48–62) to be the most controversial. Objectively outlining the efforts of the Poles (eventually realized) to dominate the Regional School Council, established after the acquisition of Galicia's autonomous status as part of the Austro-Hungarian state, the authors of the monograph, perhaps for the first (and the last) time, use outdated ideological cliché terminology ("a noble and church circle", p. 49). At the beginning of the subsection, having rightly pointed out the discriminatory system of educational institutions against the Ukrainians, the researchers analysed the Polish education reform in the Second Polish Commonwealth quite descriptively and uncritically. Apology for changes (overcoming the encyclopedism of school programmes, a new multivariate educational concept, creative schools, schools of joy), the statement that "now the school had to nurture not only intellectual, but also social and especially state-oriented student's development" (p. 62) is rather strongly dissonant with, in our opinion, a real state of "schools of joy" for the Ukrainians in interwar Poland, of course, it should be noted that there is meant the vector of "state orientation" of the Polish state itself, which the Poles won in the confrontation with the Ukrainians as well. At the end of the subsection there is also uncommented the thesis about "the Austrian school system" that remained in Galicia during the interwar period (and is that a bad thing?) and rapid changes in the process of education system reforming on the territory of the Russian Empire (p. 62). Is it about pedagogic conservatism or chauvinist narratives in territories under Moscow occupation?

It goes without saying that the practical significance of the monograph would be increased a lot if it were designed with a name and subject index, which must be taken into account during the hypothetical 2nd edition, as well as making its E-version available.

Summing up, it is necessary to emphasize an indisputable innovation and scientific significance of the historical analysis and synthesis of pedagogical multicultural heritage at Lviv University, carried out in the monograph by D. Hertsyuk and T. Leshchak. Circumstances and moments of didactic scientific progress and educational practice, development of pedagogical knowledge, understanding of socio-political circumstances and intercultural communications are an integral part of the pan-European cultural heritage, Ukrainian civilizational progress. Without understanding historical heritage, without historical cultural memory, it is impossible to predict and programme new educational and educational theories and narratives, which will be of a lasting and decisive significance to national development.

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FEATURES OF THE SOCIO-CULTURAL AND NATIONAL CREATIVE PROCESSES OF THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE DURING THE PERIOD OF THE 19th – THE BEGINNING OF THE 20th CENTURIES (review of the monograph: The Long 19th Century: Resistance to Assimilation. Kyiv: Tempora, 2022, 840 p.)

ОСОБЛИВОСТІ СОЦІО-КУЛЬТУРНИХ ТА НАЦІО-ТВОРЧИХ ПРОЦЕСІВ УКРАЇНСЬКОГО НАРОДУ В ПЕРІОД ХІХ – ПОЧАТКУ ХХ СТОЛІТЬ (рецензія на монографію: Довге ХІХ століття: спротив асиміляції. Київ: Темпора, 2022, 840 с.)

Throughout recent history, the Ukrainian people were subjected to a strong assimilation pressure. It was especially noticeable in the 19th century, when the Ukrainian lands were divided between the Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires. In spite, the period from the end of the 18th to the beginning of the 20th went down in history of Ukrainian historiography as “The Ukrainian 19th century”. Ivan Lysiak Rudnytskyi, a prominent scholar historian of the Western Ukrainian diaspora, introduced this concept to the scientific circulation of his time (1919 – 1984).

It should be mentioned that significant progress was observed in the study of this difficult period of the Ukrainian history during the years of the Ukrainian independence. The reasons for this are quite natural, since this historical period of time became quite productive in the

context of ideas development and processes of the Ukrainian nation-building, as well as the ideological and organizational preparation for its implementation. If you look at the events, which are happening in Ukraine now, the rethinking of the “The Ukrainian 19th century” is extremely crucial also for the reason that diverse parallels can be drawn in its processes, events and numerous lessons can be found for nowadays.

However, despite great collective scientific achievements of domestic historians modern generation, doing research on “the long 19th century” will continue to remain on the agenda of historiographical discourse.

The monograph “The Long 19th Century: Resistance to Assimilation”, written by Yuriy Tereshchenko is a study that allows a comprehensive look at the main aspects of the historical development of the Ukrainian people at the time. Socio-political system, economy, culture are key aspects of the research. The social and political movements process coverage in Greater Ukraine and Galicia plays an important role in the study. The monograph also substantiates the reasons why the national state tradition did not become dominant in society, but gave way to the populist concepts of national development.

In the “Long Century” Ukrainian historiography outlines three periods of the national revival: noble-gentleman (1780 – the 1840s); narodnytskyi (1840 – the 1880s); modernist (from the 1880s). In his scientific research, Yuriy Tereshchenko analysed these three periods in many aspects. The monograph “The Long 19th Century: Resistance to Assimilation” consists of 6 chapters, each chapter with separate subsections. All of them are logical, consistent and complement each other.

In Chapter “Entering the Empire”, the author analysed the socio-political transformations that took place in the historical Ukrainian lands at the beginning of the 19th century. The scholar considered the influence of the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires separately. The main characteristic is that it had both commonalities and discrepancies, in particular in the policy of assimilation.

The Ukrainians faced an extremely important question – will the Ukrainian people survive as a nation at that time. The threat from the Russian Empire was particularly acute. Having annexed the Ukrainian lands, Russia set itself such a task immediately, which was not inherent to any colonial empire in the world. If the French or the British in their colonies built schools, hospitals, communication routes, and developed the economy, the Russian Empire tried to absorb the Ukrainian people, Russify them, destroy the national and cultural identity and erase historical memory, defeat any sprouts of the Ukrainian state-building ideas. At the same time, all possible methods were used, starting from the Ukrainian books ban to mass genocide.

There were many pitfalls, Yuriy Tereshchenko argued that one of them was “deep-rooted contradictions between both peoples, caused by significant differences in their material and spiritual culture, worldview”. Despite the fact that the Russian Empire tried to represent itself as an European state constantly and demonstratively, in its deep sense it was wild Asia. Ukraine strengthened its connection with the Western world step by step. As an example, we cite the founding of the Kyiv-Mohyla Collegium, which for a long time connected the Ukrainian society with the Western world.

The Russian Empire saw the greatest threat in the implementation of its plans in the aristocratic class, which also included the Cossack elders, the clergy, and the intelligentsia. They were the key outpost of the Ukrainianism and state ideas from the beginning. We agree with the author that the Russian “reformers” sought, at any cost, to sever the ties between

the Ukrainian elite and people at that time. Because it was they, who laid the foundation for the cultural and political revival of the Ukrainian nation.

The Muscovites had fear of the Hetman system in Ukraine the most. Catherine II repeated to her officials the following: “When the Hetmans disappear in Malorossiya, everything must be done to erase them and their era from memory”. Yu. Tereshchenko argued that the liquidation of the Hetmanship was the most important step leading to absorption of the Ukrainian national organism. In the end, they managed to eliminate all manifestations of the Ukrainian self-government, but the Cossack-elderly class did not lose its national identity and continued public and political activity in various forms in the interests of Ukraine.

The Tsarist government resorted to all possible methods, starting from physical destruction of the Ukrainian elite, ending with giving them equal rights with the Russian nobility in order to overcome particularism in the Ukrainian society. They also managed to arrange marriages with the Russian nobility representatives. A vivid example was Hetman Ivan Briukhovetsky, who married the Russian Kniazhna (Princess) Daria Dolgorukova. Unfortunately, to a large extent, it was possible to do this. A significant part of the Ukrainian nobility turned into the Russian nobility, however, it should be noted, it was not massive or irreversible. We agree with Yu. Tereshchenko that the Russian-Ukrainian marriages did not always produce the assimilation effect that the Russian autocracy hoped for. Numerous Ukrainian aristocratic families continued to cherish the national and cultural tradition. It should also be noted that a significant part of the Cossacks did not receive noble status, having formed into a separate estate. They often acted as a detonator of opposition to the Russian imperial system.

The process of spreading ideas about the hostility of the Ukrainian elite to the people was also extremely negative. The division of the Ukrainian nation into pany (lords) and commoners was a well-thought-out step of the imperial propaganda, which was aimed at disuniting the Ukrainian nation and suppressing nation-building processes. Unfortunately, such an idea took root in the circle of many participants of “communities” and many other socio-cultural associations.

An important role in the assimilation process was assigned to the theft of history from the Ukrainians. It is known that starting from the 17th century the Muscovites renamed themselves as Russia. The purpose of such a step was to call themselves the heirs of Kyivan Rus. It became clear to the “reformer” Petro I that in order to “Europeanize” his empire, to represent it in the world as a “great power”, it is vital to have a powerful cultural and historical background connected with the Western world. The lack of their own important cultural and historical achievements led them to theft. Undoubtedly, it is better to call themselves the heirs of Kievan Rus than the heirs of the Golden Horde, who they really were.

In the subsection “The Echoes of European Social and Political Processes in Ukraine at the End of the 18th and the Beginning of the 19th Centuries” Yu. Tereshchenko analysed the impact of the Great French Revolution on social and political consciousness in Ukraine. It was due to the Revolution, the author argued, which gave impetus to the National Liberation Struggles of many peoples of Europe, who did not have their own statehood. Revolutionary France also showed great interest in opposition movements in Ukraine. The French were aware of the danger of “the policy of Russia annexation”. One of the options for overcoming this threat was considered the division of the Russian Empire with the creation of “an eastern barrier”, in which Ukraine would play an important role. Understanding the influence of Russia’s assimilative policy in the annexed Ukrainian lands, the French considered sending their agents there to explain to the population the true essence of the Russian rule. Moissonur

noted that France would deliver the last decisive blow, from which this predatory state would never be able to recover, because the only sore point of the Russian Empire was Ukraine. Unfortunately, Napoleon's plans for Ukraine were not communicated to the Ukrainian society and were not implemented in practice. The Russian government manipulated the mood of the Ukrainian elite skilfully, in particular by making a false promise to them about the possibility of restoring the socio-political status of the Hetmanship as a reward for the Ukrainians for their active participation in hostilities. The Ukrainian opposition was scattered and paralyzed by similar actions on the part of the Russian Empire. We assume that if the Ukrainian elite supported Napoleon militarily, the implementation of this idea would have a chance for success.

In Subsection "The Strengthening of Russian Imperial Pressure in Ukraine. The Beginnings of the National and Cultural Awakening and Shift in the Ukrainian Movement of the 1930s and 1950s" there is described the time that became a turning point in the change of the Ukrainians' worldview. The Ukrainian society, in particular, clearly realized its separateness from the Russian society, and illusions about the Russian Empire were dispelled. As a proof, the author cites the words of the German geographer and traveller Johann Georg Kohl, who wrote the following words after travelling across Ukraine: "the hostility of the people of Malorossiya to Great Russia is so strong that it can simply be called national hatred, and this feeling strengthened rather than weakened during the 17th century, when the country was seized by the Muscovite Empire".

The imperial pressure intensified even more and took on a more organized form during the reign of Tsar Mykola I. The main instrument became "His Imperial Majesty's own chancellery", which received more powers and responsibilities. Its key purpose was to monitor any manifestations of dissent. In spite of this, the sharp and critical reception of the Russian imperialism in Ukraine did not weaken. We agree with Yu. Tereshchenko that the imperial unification press only deepened the alienation between the Ukrainian and the Russian society.

Despite all assimilation efforts, the Ukrainian National Movement persisted and grew stronger. Many factors contributed to this, including the revival of the romantic style in literature. A number of Ukrainian writers embarked on the path of establishing the Ukrainian language, and also in their work turned to the subject of those artistic images, which in their content were close to the broad classes. As Yu. Tereshchenko proved, "The Ukrainian romantic poets prepared the ground on which the poetic creativity of the genius of Ukrainian spirituality, Taras Shevchenko, grew". T. Shevchenko's social and political activities and creativity played an exceptional role in the National Educational Movement of Ukraine. Despite the diverse remarks T. Shevchenko had about the Ukrainian aristocracy, the thinker was aware of its importance and role in the Liberation Struggle. According to Yu. Tereshchenko, later representatives of the populist movement did not understand this unfortunately.

The scholar proved that strong relationship, which existed between the Ukrainian peasantry and the nobility, was based on a distinct socio-cultural background and was historically conditioned. The closeness and kinship of both societies was in everything, language, customs, traditions, everyday life, land ownership.

In Chapter "Under the Habsburgs Scepter" Yu. Tereshchenko analysed the historical period of the western Ukrainian lands under the rule of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Special focus was on transformational processes in society, the so-called transition from "splebeized ethnicity to a modern nation".

The Ukrainian society in Galicia, and in the Russian Empire, waged a difficult struggle against the assimilationist influence. The process of polonization was especially noticeable. The Greek Catholic Church played a decisive role in this resistance. It was in its environment that the national elite was formed, which not only gave an impetus to the national and cultural revival of Galicia, but also became its guide. The tsar (imperial) government did not interfere with this process particularly. A crucial and positive factor was the Greek-Catholic Metropolis establishment in 1808, which helped to elevate the Greek-Catholic Church and spread its authority. It should be noted that in addition to the spiritual pastoral care, the clergy formed a moral obligation to spread among the people secular science, self-organization, the latest economic methods, etc. It strengthened closer ties with all strata of the Ukrainian population. It also contributed to the improvement of the educational and moral and spiritual level of the Ukrainian society, the introduction of European values. The church occupied a certain socio-political niche that was reserved for aristocratic circles previously.

Galician noble families no longer had the influence they had had before, but their role in the processes of preservation and national spiritual revival was significant. As a traditional bearer of conservative tendencies, the nobility preserved family traditions, historical memory, followed the Eastern rite, which prevented the assimilation.

Many representatives of the nobility took the priestly path and formed entire priestly families. These were the Sheptytskys, the Verbytskys, the Bachynskys, and other families. Their presence in the highest circles of society, as well as connection with common people as the clergymen, made it possible to defend and develop the Ukrainian idea at all levels. The Sheptytskys family deserves special attention. Their contribution to the revival and development of the Ukrainian society was colossal and has echoes to this day. Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky and his brother the Blessed Holy Martyr Klymentiy Casymyr Sheptytsky were the moral authorities of that time and remain an example for the present.

In Chapter “Break of Centuries. Bourgeois Ukraine” Yu. Tereshchenko returned us to great Ukraine, which was enslaved by the Russian Empire. The author analysed the social and political movements and processes that took place in the second half of the 19th century in Ukraine, in other words, the maturation of the Ukrainian nation.

The period of the 60s – 70s was marked by complex social transformation processes that covered the entire Russian Empire. Their root causes were the rapid industrial development of Europe and the internal Russian crisis. One of the ways out of the crisis, the tsarist government saw in the strengthening of foreign policy expansion. However, the government suffered a series of military defeats that pushed Russia back in its geopolitical ambitions. As a result, it further exacerbated the internal political problems. Tsar Oleksandr II understood the importance of reforms that were long overdue. Yu. Tereshchenko proved that their key goal became the strengthening of the Russian autocracy, the strengthening of bureaucratic centralism with the aim of keeping the enslaved peoples in subjection and depriving them of any nation-building prospects. However, despite all efforts, the national revival processes were already taking place in the Ukrainian society. Numerous factors contributed to this. The peasant uprising, which went down in history under the name “Kyiv Cossacks” in particular. The tsarist government had a fervent desire to create a military reserve, with the beginning of the Crimean War and issued a manifesto calling on all states to form a military militia, and it happened so. However, it acquired a completely different hue, which was hoped for. The memory of the Cossacks, the desire to break away from the tyranny, oppression, filled this movement with the content that was not expected in Moscow. The main idea was the

resistance to the empire, not its defense. The growth of the uprising was hindered only by the lack of weapons among the Ukrainians, so it was quickly suppressed. There were about three thousand such uprisings throughout Ukraine.

Despite the fact that the “bourgeois reforms” of tsarist Russia were not aimed at defending the rights and freedoms of ordinary people, they launched processes and social transformations that had very positive consequences of a socio-political, cultural, educational and economic nature. If at the beginning the Ukrainian socio-political movement covered relatively few people, mainly the intelligentsia, then later it acquired a mass character, gaining great potential. At the beginning of the 20th century, it resulted in liberation competitions, which unfortunately failed.

The Tsar government saw the Ukrainian movement as a threat to itself, and resorted to various forms of countermeasures, including repression and government bans. The Ukrainian society resisted the assimilation pressure, but for a long time there were many visions of the prospects of the Ukrainian statehood. However, the created national and cultural potential became a good basis for the National Liberation Struggle at the beginning of the 20th century.

We agree with Yu. Tereshenko that the Ukrainian historical aristocracy played an important role. During the 19th century, the aristocratic class went through a complex process of the national awakening on both sides of the Zbruch. It is complicated to imagine the process of national revival at that time without such surnames as Sapiha, Sheptytsky, Skoropadsky, Tarnovsky and many others. The Ukrainian nobility took an active part in the nation-building process and stimulated it. The social relations of “the lordship and the peasantry” were not unambiguous, but without a path to dialogue and reconciliation, without overcoming alienation from each other, there was no “long Ukrainian century”.

In Chapter “The Elements of the Austro-Hungarian Empire”, Yu. Tereshchenko analysed the events and socio-political processes that occurred at the end of the 19th century on the territory of Western Ukraine. This period was marked by the development of numerous Ukrainian socio-political currents that had different ideologies. At the same time, the National Movements of other peoples, particularly the Poles, who sought to restore their statehood, also intensified. Due to the strengthening of the Polish pressure, the movement for rapprochement with Russia also grew.

At the beginning of the 60s of the 19th century, two key currents emerged in the Ukrainian socio-political movement of western Ukraine. These were the Narodovtsi and the Starorusynyi (Old Ruthenians), an offshoot of which became the Muscophilism. The development of Ukrainian education was in the centre of the Narodovtsi attention. That is why, the “Prosvita” society was founded in 1868, which played an extremely important role in a social and political life. Yu. Tereshchenko proved that “Prosvita” made a great contribution to the process of relations normalization between the Ukrainian and the Polish social movements and occupied an important place in the state structures of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Also, “Prosvita” became an important factor in the rise of national consciousness among the Ukrainians, the strengthening of statist ideas and the foundations of the Ukrainian movement. It should be added that the funding of “Prosvita” was largely financed by the Ukrainian aristocracy, in particular V. Fedorovych.

At the end of the 19th century, the Galician intelligentsia was established as a leader in the social and political life of the Ukrainians. The clergy continued to play an important role in society, in particular in the formation and direction of the secular world.

The final chapter of the research is “Waiting for a New Age”, in which the author analysed the socio-political evolution of the Ukrainian movement at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries.

At that time, a new generation of participants entered the arena, which was clearly aware of the inadequacy of the previous methods of social activity in the context of the restoration of the Ukrainians’ public rights, as well as the right to choose their future independently. The departure from the priority of social problems to national ones was especially vital. National tasks began to dominate the social and political movement. M. Mikhnovskiy, D. Dontsov, V. Lypynskiy, etc., were a big credit. V. Lypynskiy, in particular, was one of the first to realize the important role of the national elite in the National Liberation Movement. At the same time, he defended the need to preserve their corporate interests.

Over the course of a long century, the Ukrainian nobility passed difficult tests. After all, it was against them, as the main bearers of national state traditions, that the greatest assimilation influence and pressure was applied. Yu. Tereshchenko stated that Lypynskiy’s opinions contributed to the ideological and organizational strengthening and strengthening of the Ukrainian conservatism positions in the National Liberation Movement.

The process of Ukrainian nation-building went a long and difficult way. It was in the Ukrainian 19th century that, in a certain sense, an intellectual turn to rethinking the national ideological foundation, self-identity and social consciousness took place. At that time, the national and cultural revival acquired a nationwide sound. The key problem of this historical period was overcoming difficulties on the way to the maturation of the Ukrainian issue, formulation of tasks and goals of the National Liberation Movement.

World War I involved millions of the Ukrainians in a brutal protracted conflict, with great sacrifices and suffering for the Ukrainian people. But it must be also recognized that it created certain opportunities for statesmanship competitions, which, unfortunately, did not materialize, but significantly served for a deep rethinking and consolidation of the Ukrainian nation and confirmed the need for the National Liberation of the Ukrainian people.

Finally, we should note that the monograph is a complete, relevant, innovative work in its concept. The author possesses the technique of scientific and analytical knowledge at a high level. The presentation style is clear and concise. Its reading opens the curtain and sheds light on many complex issues of the “long Ukrainian century”. We believe that the monograph “The Long 19th Century: Resistance to Assimilation” will be interesting and useful not only for scholars, teachers, students, but also for everyone who is interested in the historical past of Ukraine.

From the point of view of modern history of Ukraine, the considered past era is very crucial, because in the past events, processes and phenomena, human life experience, you can find a lot of lessons for the present. The historical lessons of that era are extremely interesting and should be studied in detail.

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PROSOPOGRAPHIC PORTRAIT OF UKRAINIAN WRITERS OF HALYCHYNA AND BUKOVYNA OF THE END OF THE 19th – BEGINNING OF THE 20th CENTURY (review of the monograph: M. Huivaniuk “On the Path of Progress, We are only Stonemasons...”. Ukrainian Literary Intelligentsia in the Social, Political, Cultural and Educational Life of Galicia and Bukovyna (the end of the 19th – beginning of the 20th century): monograph. Chernivtsi: Druk Art, 2021. 408 p.)

ПРОСОПОГРАФІЧНИЙ ПОРТРЕТ УКРАЇНСЬКИХ ПИСЬМЕННИКІВ ГАЛИЧИНИ І БУКОВИНИ КІНЦЯ ХІХ – ПОЧАТКУ ХХ ст. (рецензія на монографію: Гуйванюк М. “На шляху поступу ми лиш каменярі...”. Українська літературна інтелігенція в суспільно-політичному та культурно-освітньому житті Галичини й Буковини (кінець ХІХ – початок ХХ ст.): монографія. Чернівці: Друк Арт, 2021. 408 с.)

Nation-formation processes are fundamental condition for the development of any civil society. In other words, creation of a cultural and spiritual essence, and therefore ethno-mental picture of people. In this context, the Ukrainian state is no exception, which owes its

social status – from ancient times to the present day – to political leaders, public, cultural figures in the field of literature, science, etc. It was cultural figures (each in their own region) who actively formed intellectual face of people, were bearers of ideas that laid the foundation for the national revival. Intellectual progress brought new revolutionary tendencies, gave birth to new literary currents, spiritual changes.

The outlined issue was thoroughly and expertly researched by the historian Mykola Huyvaniuk in the monograph “On the Path of Progress, We are only Stonemasons...”. The author's scientific search is marked by relevance and novelty. In particular, a comprehensive approach to the study of the outlined phenomenon, involving historiographical and prosopographical analysis, deserves attention. The historian relies on the achievements of intellectual history, the theory of the nation and the theory of modernity, historical and biographical, historical and genetic, historical and typological, proof-historical methods, content analysis of sources, and the method of variational series.

The monograph consists of five chapters. In Chapter 1 there is highlighted the historiography, source base and theoretical and methodological foundations of the research. The author focuses not only on the works of the Soviet and modern Ukrainian historiography, but also draws attention to the historiography of the Austrian era, the interwar period, and foreign sources.

It is interesting that the issue presented by M. Huyvaniuk in the monograph has not yet been the subject of scientific research, especially in such a complex vision. Therefore, the author's innovation as a researcher of the Ukrainian national movement in Western Ukrainian lands is obvious.

It is worth noting that the author analyses significant achievements of the Ukrainian historiography not only from the point of view of socio-political, but also linguistic processes. In this context, among the others, the research works of Drohobych researchers Iryna Kapanaiko and Olesia Khymyn are mentioned. Unfortunately, the author ignored the research works of I. Franko Studies experts: Mykhailo Shalata, Volodymyr Halyk, and Oleh Bahan, and did not use the works of Lviv historian Natalia Kolb, who wrote about the Greek Catholic priests of the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries and their contribution to culture: education, literature, art.

Extensive studies of modern Ukrainian historiography enabled the author to cover a large number of personalities – from Ivan Franko to the figures of the National Academy of Sciences. Instead, the ideologized Soviet historiography is marked by significant gaps and does not provide reliable information. In total, Mykola Huyvaniuk analysed biographies of 83 representatives of the Ukrainian literary intelligentsia.

To study the outlined issue, the author involved a large number of sources, highlighting official documents, letters, speeches, autobiographies, memoirs, periodical materials, and scientific and journalistic works among them. All of them are the reflection of that era. In particular, a selection of Mykhailo Drahomanov's correspondence with Mykhailo Pavlyk, Ivan Franko's correspondence, a large corpus of Mykhailo Hrushevskyi's epistolary, literary speeches of Oleksandr Barvynskyi, Yulian Romanchuk, Kyrylo Trylovskyi, Vasyl Stefanyk, Natalia Kobrynska, and the others were analysed.

It is gratifying that, evaluating the scientific and journalistic works of the literary intelligentsia, Mykola Huyvaniuk focuses on the research works of a national orientation, in which the idea of state-building is outlined for the first time (the work of Yulian Bachynskyi “Ukraine Irredenta”). The author does not ignore works of socio-political, economic, cultural

direction. For authenticity, he involves a number of photo documents, which are an eloquent illustration of the social activities of the Ukrainian intelligentsia.

Since the Soviet reception of the intelligentsia's role in society was primitive and distorted, Mykola Huyvaniuk offers a reader, in addition to considering the main methodological principles, his own interpretation of certain terms and concepts: “national movement”, “national idea”, “national consciousness”, “emancipation”, “literary intelligentsia” (the term suggested by the author), etc.

In Chapter 2, “Formation and Structure of the Ukrainian Literary Intelligentsia in the Context of Socio-political and Socio-economic Processes in Galicia and Bukovyna at the end of the 19th century – the Beginning of the 20th Century” there are highlighted main modernization and emancipation processes of the 19th century, which determined the need to increase the number of the main nation's core, its “brain” – the intelligentsia. “Among the representatives of creative intelligentsia,” M. Huyvaniuk notes, “writers, journalists, and editors of the Ukrainian publications, for which we use the term *literary intelligentsia*, occupied a special place.” They were known to general public of the Ukrainians for their creativity, because with a gradual growth of an educational level of Galician and Bukovyna Ukrainians, the circle of admirers of the Ukrainian fiction word expanded” (p. 124).

It is worth mentioning that the beginning of the Ukrainian national revival in Galicia took place much earlier – in the first decades of the 19th century, while in Bukovyna – in the second half of the 19th century. According to the definition of Mykhailo Hrushevskyi, until the second half of the 19th century Bukovyna remained the most backward of the Austrian provinces. Because of the Orthodox faith, Bukovyna had no way to Europe, in particular to Vienna. For a long time, the language of education in Bukovyna was German or Romanian, and since 1817 – also Polish. The expansionism of German culture levelled the feeling of national unity among writers, destroyed creative personalities, and silenced the process of forming the Ukrainian identity. But in the second half of the 19th century national revival covered all areas of a cultural life: literature, education, science, art, politics.

The author of the monograph focuses on the important stages of literary intelligentsia formation, one of which was secondary educational institutions (in particular, classical gymnasiums), as well as higher educational institutions; chief focus is on the activities of student associations that contributed to the formation of national education – “Sich”, “Academic Conversation”, “Mutual Aid Society”, “Academic Circle”, “Soyuz”, “Vatra”, etc.

The researcher's view is also focused on the social origin of the intelligentsia, diversity of life circumstances. For the reliability of information, the author used the personal funds of writers of T. Shevchenko Institute of Literature of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Literary and Memorial Museum of V. Stefanyk in the village of Rusiv, the funds of the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv and other sources. The majority of Ukrainian writers, as it was found out, came from clergy families (26%) and peasant families (25%) and did not have an adequate financial support, but this lack did not prevent them from being active participants in nation-building processes, to establish and popularize the Ukrainian literary language. By the way, a separate section of the monograph is devoted to the issue of the language factor in the context of the Ukrainian nation-building at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries.

At the same time, the researcher shows all the complexity of the national and political visions of the Ukrainian writers, some of whom were the Russophiles and the Muscophiles. Mykola Huyvaniuk adheres to the views of the Austrian researcher Anna Veronika Wenland, who believes that the Russophiles, although they had their own specificity, were an important element of the Ukrainian nation-building in the western lands of Ukraine (p. 39). However, in

his work he singles out the Russophile literary intelligentsia into a separate group and gives it a separate prosopographical characteristic (pp. 156–159), thus drawing a demarcation line, and the marker is the writers' national identity.

In Chapter 3 a reader is introduced to the literary intelligentsia – the defender of the economic and social interests of the Ukrainian population. Ukrainian literature, according to the author's observation, had a great influence on the strike movement of agricultural workers, on the fight against usury and drunkenness, on the financial illiteracy of the peasantry, etc. (p. 220), was engaged in solving the problem of mass emigration of the Ukrainians overseas.

In Chapter 4 of the monograph there is highlighted the participation of the Ukrainian literary intelligentsia in the socio-political and religious life of Galicia and Bukovyna. The author analyses the experience of the political activity of Galician and Bukovyna writers, in particular the programme principles of the Ukrainian People's Party, reflects on the role of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in election processes, on its church and religious life, as well as its participation in the feminist movement.

Chapter 5 focuses on the educational and scientific activities of the literary intelligentsia. The author managed to trace the main trends of the educational movement, among which are “education of the need for reading and reading culture among the Ukrainian community of Galicia and Bukovyna” (p. 304), the need for quality literary production. In this context, Mykola Huyvaniuk draws attention to the activities of the “Prosvita”, “Ruska Besida” and NTSh associations, the development of Ukrainian schooling.

The peer-reviewed monograph is clearly and logically structured, rich in factual material, characterized by a logical sequence of described events and a complex approach to the study of the outlined issue.

However, we will make some comments regarding the content of Chapter 2. When it comes to the literary intelligentsia in the context of social and political processes, it would be worth mentioning such figures as: a cultural figure Kost Pankivskyi (1855 – 1915), the Galician folklorist and priest Ilia Kuziv (1874 – 1916), Ostap Terletskyi (1850 – 1902), a writer and church figure Kyrylo Seletskyi (1835 – 1918), an ethnographer and public figure Danylo Lepky (1858 – 1912), a linguist Onufriy Lepky (1838 – 1905), a writer Izydor Pasichynskyi (1853 – 1930). At the beginning of the 20th century Volodymyr Birchak (1881 – 1952) began his career in literature. We think that this galaxy of cultural figures would enrich the author's research and satisfy the reader's interest significantly.

In addition, it is not clear from the author's work whom he means under the name “O. Hrytsai”, which he mentions many times in the book. Perhaps, a poet, literary critic and translator Ostap Hrytsai (1881 – 1954) is meant, who published his first poetic works in 1910. Or perhaps, the author meant Olena Hrytsai (the years of birth and death unknown) – a poetess from Drohobych County, who actively published her works in the magazine “Zoria”, the newspaper “Bukovyna”, the magazine for children “Dzvinok” in the 1880s and 1890s. Mykola Huyvaniuk should have submitted full names with the surnames of writers, not just their initials.

But the stated considerations in no way diminish the significance of the monograph, which is an important contribution to the development of literary and historical thought. We note that the author managed to form a large-scale prosopographic portrait of the Ukrainian literary intelligentsia, having found out the social origin of its representatives, their educational level, age and gender characteristics, professional activity, political views and party affiliation, material support. Undoubtedly the monograph will be useful for scholars, local historians, and anyone interested in the historical past of Ukraine.

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**FORMATION OF MODERN UKRAINIAN STATE (review of the monograph:
Chronicle of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921. Part One: 1917 – 1918.
Scientific Reference Edition. Kyiv: Institute of the History of Ukraine
of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 2021. 532 p.)**

НА ЗОРІ ТВОРЕННЯ ДЕРЖАВНОСТІ (рецензія на монографію:

**Хроніка української революції 1917 – 1921 рр. Частина перша: 1917 – 1918 рр.
Науково-довідкове видання. Київ: Інститут історії України НАН України, 2021. 532 с.)**

Ignorance or even deliberate neglect of facts of the past can often lead to irreparable consequences, first of all, in terms of the national existence. Sometimes it takes decades and even centuries to correct historical mistakes that occurred during previous ages. According to a famous scholar Mykola Yevshan, “History is something bigger and deeper, because it is able to penetrate into the present, and at the same time determine the future. This field is not only for the profile of historians or archaeologists, as the use of artifacts, such as filling museums or rare collections. History penetrates into our modern life directly as one of the final elements, gives it the soil, all the colour, pathos... That’s why, we always have to look

back, listen to the voice of ancient centuries, ancient people. In them we look for justification of our present life, we look for a way out into the future” (Yevshan M. Critique. Literature Studies. Aesthetics. Kyiv: Osnovy Publishing House, 1998. P. 30.).

The history of the beginning of the 20th century is in many ways similar to the current era of the revival of Ukraine, the era of the 21st century, restoration of the status of its independence and unity, preservation of language and culture, and historiosophical heritage.

The monograph “Chronicle of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921. Part One: 1917 – 1918”, Scientific Reference Edition, K.: Institute of the History of Ukraine of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 2021. – 532 p., informs a reader of such issues. The publication was prepared by the authors’ team of scholars: Vladyslav Verstyuk (the head), Halyna Basara-Tylishchak, Olena Boyko, Oleksandra Kudlai, Oleksiy Lupandin, Tetiana Ostashko, Roman Tymchenko, Vitaly Skalskyi.

The monograph focuses on the research of little-known facts, documents, and sources that form a slender architecture of the events of Ukraine’s independence at the beginning of the previous century. The authors thoroughly interpret, and sometimes reinterpret, the concepts of that time, comparing this period with the era of the Cossack Revolution during the Hetmanship of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi.

The array of processed information is also impressive: periodicals, documents, chronicles, historiographical, archeographical materials, monographs. As a result of such scrupulous work of scholars, a reader is presented with a detailed sequential overview of events, starting from January 12 (December 30, 1916) and ending with December of 1918 – January of 1919. The authors write about the political, military, and cultural events that took place during the period under analysis (in 1917 – 1918).

The genre of the monograph catches the eye immediately – the form of a chronicle. Such a phenomenon is classic for historical science and has significant advantages. The chronicle allows you to cover a large number of people, events, and a large-scale scope of the reality under research. In this case, time coordinates are reduced to daily events. In addition, the chronicle genre covers not one or several subjects of research, but focuses on the widest possible aspects of the era, its clearly expressed historical, religious, social, political, and cultural shifts. The following format of the monograph allows not only to present the course of events objectively, but also stimulates a reader to analyse. Having in front of him a significant arsenal of facts, the recipient can draw historical parallels, draw his own conclusions, conduct his own research. The scholars expanded the space for scientific research significantly.

Unfortunately, the format of the chronicle is not aimed at a clear division by headings. However, despite the genre of the monograph, it is still possible to structure the publication according to separate thematic sections, which are clearly visible in the descriptions of the event paradigm.

First of all, these are accents on the internal features of the Ukrainian political life. The authors analyse the reasons for the Ukrainian People’s Republic defeat, including a low level of the national consciousness and a limited support of the army. The words of Yevhen Konovalts describing this period were quite telling in the preface: “We were very young and very inexperienced. All of it together: idealism, youth, inexperience and naivety – began to take revenge on us from our first steps on Kyiv soil. Mainly, we relied on our faith in the leaders of the then Ukrainian Revolutionary Movement. They used unattainable authority in our eyes. And no matter how painfully we felt their *undesirability of our idea*, a sovereign and independent Ukrainian State, we did not lose faith in it. But we were forced to take a

more critical attitude towards the activities of the Central Council of Ukraine (Tsentralna Rada) officials, because we saw clearly that their policy was introducing greater and greater anarchy into the regions instead of order, which not only precluded the organization of the army, but also led the state to inevitable ruin” (pp. 6–7).

The authors of the monograph supplement the chronicle of events with internal quarrels among the military leaders. It makes possible to depict the studied era more clearly, as well as to bring an understanding of one of the reasons for the Ukrainian idea’s defeat. For example, after the victory of the Ukrainian People’s Republic over the Hetmanate troops, many soldiers resigned from the army. Not all commanders agreed on the understanding of the Ukrainian statehood. Some of them negotiated with the Bolsheviks, which soon became fatal for the young state. In the monograph there are mentioned the surnames of the ottamans, N. Hryhoriv, O. Volokh, D. Terpyla (Zelenyi), who declared their support for the Soviet government. Putting together such facts demonstrates a complete objective picture of the period of the Ukrainian People’s Republic formation. The authors did not leave behind the rebellion under command of V. Oskilko, who started an armed struggle against S. Petliura, etc. From the above mentioned there follows a completely logical conclusion – due to difference of views regarding the Ukrainian statehood, uncertainty regarding the political issue, all these aspects led to weakness of the governments in confrontation with the biggest enemy. From the pages of the publication, this thesis sounds not only as a statement of fact, but at the same time as a warning for the Ukrainians. In fact, this is one of the most important reasons for the historical defeats of our people during the centuries-old struggle for independence.

The second aspect is foreign policy, which was also not balanced and consistent. From the given descriptions, the reader can see a rather wide panorama of international relations. Let’s say the researchers single out the policy vector focused on the German aid that didn’t give the expected results. In addition, dependence on Berlin made cooperation with the Entente impossible. On January 18, 1919, the Peace Conference in Paris, where the post-war Europe was discussed, could be an important event for Ukraine, which is rightly emphasized. There were 27 states among the participants, including young state of Poland and Czechoslovakia, but the Ukrainian People’s Republic representatives were not invited. Thus, in the past, orientation on the Germans, which was seen as cooperation with the enemy, brought disappointment and lack of support. Such countries as France, England, and the United States made bets on preserving the integrity of Russia. Unfortunately, Ukraine was absent in the European agenda. We believe that such annotated messages contain a complete picture of the Ukrainian government’s foreign policy.

The monograph demonstrates the kaleidoscope of events of the young state creation quite extensively, which, despite various obstacles, strove for independence and unity. In the monograph there is focus on the unification processes of Ukraine, the eternal dream – from the Sian to the Don. The authors do not ignore Galicia, which was also involved in state-building processes intensively. At first glance, it would seem that the political climate was favourable in the post-imperial Austro-Hungarian space. And Ukraine should have been among the new states. As a result, the November events and creation of the West Ukrainian People’s Republic (November of 1918), despite the fact that Poland claimed the West Ukrainian lands. Soon it became the reason for another war – Poland’s war with Ukraine. In the light of these events, the governments of Ukraine also made one important step – the unification of the UNR and the ZUNR on January 22, 1919. However, the unity of Ukraine remained largely declarative, and a real full unification did not take place.

In the monograph there is a thorough preface, which contains clear, concise explanations, as well as reasonable evaluative judgments, and it deserves special attention. According to the authors' conclusions: "The Ukrainian Revolution does not lend itself to unequivocal assessments, the defeat of the national, democratic state-building did not mean the defeat of the revolution as such, it was a powerful catalyst for social changes, growth of the national self-awareness, and formation of the nation. From the moment of the revolution, the definition of the Ukrainians as Malorossy finally became a thing of the past, their state territory and borders were established, bans on the Ukrainian printed word fell, and the national science and education received a new impetus. The Ukrainians as the nation became famous in the world" (p. 13).

The emphasis of the authors on the creation of legislative acts and documents of the new Ukrainian government (the Hetmanate is meant), their meaning, catches the eye. The fact is that the researchers quite rightly point out the presence of laws at the state level that somehow resembled the pre-revolutionary Russian Empire. Such restoration of memory, according to the author's team, is not at all unfavourable, but also hostile to Ukraine's past, and became a certain incentive for the "undisguised Russophilism". In the end, certain delays in the state-building processes of the leaders of the Ukrainian People's Republic allowed the enemies to buy time, misleading the leadership of the young republic, and later to continue the expansion of Ukraine. Hence, the actual phrase "get away from Russia" was not fully understood, which later had disastrous consequences for the Ukrainians.

The chronicle, as a genre used by the authors of the publication, is quite appropriate, as already noted, in relation to the understanding of the events of the last century and has a number of advantages: consistency of presentation, recording of a wide range of an everyday life, detailing, etc. However, according to a clear logic of the chronicle description, the very structure, separation of social, economic, and cultural life of people is lost for a reader.

Particular attention should be paid to the name and geographical indexes, which, in addition to the primary reference function, give the study an academic quality. However, in our opinion, the publication would only benefit if the authors provided the use of names for convenience in the name index of the page.

In addition, it would be appropriate to include a separate list of bibliographic sources that would serve as an informative base for the authors.

In conclusion, we should note that the monograph "The Chronicle of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921. Part One: 1917 – 1918" is a significant addition to the historiographical sources about events in Ukraine at the beginning of the 20th century. A significant array of facts testifies to important state-building processes, which once again affirmatively declare the irreversible desire for independence and unity of Ukraine.

Without any doubt, the monograph will interest researchers of our past, teachers, students, as well as a wider circle of readers, everyone who is interested in history.

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**NEW RESEARCH ON THE HISTORY OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE
IN WESTERN UKRAINE (review of the monograph: V. K. Baran,
Yu. M. Soroka, V. V. Tokarskyi. Stalin’s Repressions in the Western Lands of Ukraine
in 1939 – 1953. Lviv: I. Krypiakevych Institute of Ukrainian Studies
of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 2022. 296 p.)**

**НОВЕ ДОСЛІДЖЕННЯ ДО ІСТОРІЇ СУСПІЛЬНО-ПОЛІТИЧНОГО ЖИТТЯ
ЗАХІДНОЇ УКРАЇНИ (Рецензія на монографію: Баран В. К., Сорока Ю. М.,
Токарський В. В. Сталінські репресії на західних землях України в 1939 – 1953 рр.
Львів: Інститут українознавства ім. І. Крип’якевича НАН України, 2022. 296 с.)**

The Russian-Ukrainian war made the need to study our past even more urgent. Especially, to do research on those periods that were falsified and kept silent for a long time, and the documentary material was classified as “top secret”. At the same time, to do research on those events, which will help the majority to understand not only the origins, but also the scope and further consequences of the Russian expansionist policy. The peer-reviewed monograph is aimed at solving these issues.

The monograph focuses on the review of the Soviet regime repressive policy in the western Ukrainian lands in 1939 – 1953. In particular, its content, forms and methods are elucidated, the resistance of local population to the Soviet totalitarian system is highlighted.

The monograph is written on the basis of unknown and little-known archival materials, in particular from the funds of the Central State Archive of the Higher Authorities and Administration of Ukraine, the Central State Archive of Public Associations of Ukraine, the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine, Lviv, the Branch State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine, the State Archive of Volyn Region, the State Archive of Lviv Region, the State Archive of Ternopil Region, the State Archive of Rivne Region, the Russian State Archive of Social and Political History, the Archive of the SBU Office in Volyn region.

The monograph consists of two chapters and eight paragraphs. Chapter 1 “The Introduction of Stalinist Repressions in the Western Ukrainian Lands: 1939 – 1941” (pp. 6–131) written by Volodymyr Baran and Vasyl Tokarskyi focuses on the period of the first occupation of

Western Ukrainian lands (1. Establishment of the repressive system (pp. 6–43); 2. Struggle against the national underground (pp. 44–74); 3. Mass deportations of the population (pp. 75–100); 4. Ideological control over society (pp. 101–131)).

The authors emphasize that after the invasion of Western Ukraine, a complex sovietization process of the society's all spheres began (transfer of political, socio-economic, cultural and educational relations to the USSR model) with the establishment of a totalitarian model of socialism. At the same time, the local population had a far more ambiguous reaction to these events: some local residents sincerely welcomed the Red Army (mainly individual representatives of the working class and poor peasantry), the majority of the population treated the new administration cautiously, even with fear, another group took hostile or even an openly hostile position (p. 13).

At the same time, Volodymyr Baran and Vasyl Tokarsky highlight characteristic components of the processes that actively took place after the occupation – mass arrests, banning of political parties and public organizations, suspension of the activities of newspapers, magazines, publishing houses, introduction of a strict political and ideological censorship, collectivization, confiscation of landlord lands, nationalization of banks and big industry, i.e. a complete breakdown of the established way of life, which was mainly carried out by forceful methods (p. 14).

A separate item is dedicated to the Soviet administration's attempt to legitimize itself. In particular, it is about the organization and holding of the People's Assembly – a representative body for expressing the will of the population of Western Ukraine. However, they emphasize that in practice, the democratic nature of the elections was constantly violated, starting with the procedure of nominating candidates for deputies and ending with the order of voting and counting of votes (p. 19).

The authors focused on changes in the cultural and educational sphere. The changes were very ambiguous – a kind of Ukrainization of culture, science, and education began, but at the same time, the smallest manifestations of “the Ukrainian nationalism”, absence of freedom of speech, and introduction of the Bolshevik ideology were firmly eradicated.

Undoubtedly, a key role in these processes was played by the newly created power vertical – city, county and regional temporary administrations, which operated under a careful guidance of the Soviet military command, the party and state workers directed to the region by the Central Committee of the CP(b)U (p. 23).

We agree with the authors that the key role in all processes in the Soviet reality was played by the law enforcement agencies, which launched a large-scale political repression right from the first days. The authors' definition of this concept is marked by originality: “punitive measures were carried out by the state bodies in a judicial or administrative manner and were directed against various social, national, religious or other population groups and individuals who were interpreted as hostile to the ruling system of power.” At the same time, political repression took a variety of forms: from restricting the right to residence, expulsion from the place of a permanent residence (for exile, a special settlement, a forced psychiatric treatment, expulsion from the country, deprivation of citizenship, imprisonment) and up to execution (p. 26). Primarily, the Polish officials, military personnel, employees of law enforcement agencies, large landowners and manufacturers, members of legal, illegal political and public organizations (Polish, Ukrainian, and Jewish) came under repression (p. 34). At the same time, the authors note the formation problem of the NKVD law enforcement apparatus network, the deployment of newcomers personnel, especially in law enforcement

agencies, the expansion of the agency network, a network of penitentiary institutions formation (in the system of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs in six western regions of the Ukrainian SSR, there were 22 prisons, etc. (p. 41))

The chief focus is on elucidating the struggle aspect of the repressive and punitive system against the nationalist underground. Characteristic components of this process were large-scale repression and terror – liquidation of the Ukrainian and Polish nationalist organizations, interception and operative use of channels through which couriers and emissaries penetrated, etc. However, even such events showed that, despite a large-scale repression and mass terror, the authorities were unable to get rid of and completely suppress the Ukrainian national and Polish movements (pp. 50, 74).

The authors analyse the structure of the OUN and the Polish underground in 1939 – 1941 (administrative and territorial, and intra-organizational division), network deployment, branching and training of personnel, functioning of special intelligence schools, crossing points, crossing the border, creation of warehouses with weapons and equipment (pp. 48, 59, 65). The Ukrainian and Polish underground carried out quite extensive political and propaganda activities, defending the interests of their peoples (carried out sabotage, attacks on representatives of the authorities) (p. 75). Even more, the Ukrainian nationalists carried out the preparation of the anti-Soviet uprising and countermeasures targeted at the Soviet repressive and punitive system, court trials (p. 52).

We agree with the authors that mass deportations became the largest repressive action against real or potential opponents. Thus, in the study there is analysed the process of preparation, implementation, and eviction campaigns; there are identified four deportation waves; there are singled out eviction features; there is traced deportation scale and process. **The first mass deportation** (on February 10, 1940) of settlers and “foresters”. **The second deportation** (on April 13, 1940) – the political “cleansing” of the annexed lands, after the imprisonment of the Polish officials, policemen, gendarmes, large landowners and entrepreneurs, leaders of political parties, public organizations, cultural societies, members of the Ukrainian and Polish national movements and their families (in the opinion of the authorities, they posed a potential danger), were subjected to the second mass eviction operation (pp. 81, 82). **The third deportation** (on June 25 – 29, 1940) was the operation to evict refugees (p. 94). **The fourth deportation** (on May – June of 1941) was the eviction of families of illegal immigrants and families of those sentenced to the highest degree of punishment. During the period of 1940 – 1941, 190,100 people were deported from Volyn, Drohobych, Lviv, Rivne, Stanislav, and Ternopil regions (during the first mass action (February of 1940) – 89,100 people, the second one – 32,100, the third one – 57,800), the fourth one – 11,100).

These processes were characterized by a careless filing of personal files for deportation, lack of time for individuals to gather, separation of members of the same family, their resettlement in different areas, loss of luggage of evicted people, etc. (p. 81). The authors emphasize administrative, extra-judicial nature of deportation, the so-called ontogeneity, targeting not of a specific person, but of certain social and national groups, as well as destruction by the authorities of an established way of life of large masses of people and imposition of a “socially safe” one on them, from the point of view of the ruling system, a way of behaviour and being (p. 101).

Changes in secondary and higher education, in the organization of scientific and cultural life of the region are analysed as well. First of all, changes in the content of educational process, structural transformations in the network of educational institutions, liquidation of

Ukrainian, Polish and other national societies, the Ukrainian, Polish and Jewish magazines, organization of theaters, music groups, houses of folk art and theatre and music institutions, music schools, museums and libraries, regional, city and district newspapers (in Russian and Ukrainian), use of radio, cinema, etc. (pp. 102, 107, 108, 112, 114).

A separate direction was the attack on religion and the church (the clergy and believers of various denominations), cessation of teaching religion at schools, closure of special religious schools, seminaries, prohibition to conduct spiritual services in hospitals and prisons, to serve in several parishes, confiscation of church and monastery property, deprivation of the right to register all acts of civil status, imposition of taxes, permission to conduct church services in the Church Slavonic language, and clerical affairs in dioceses – in Russian, the initiation of administrative and criminal cases, constant monitoring of the clergy of the UGCC, etc. (pp. 115, 117, 118).

Chapter 2 “Struggle of the Soviet Regime against Indigenous Population of the Western Ukrainian Lands: 1944–1953.” (pp. 132–277) by Yuri Soroka also consists of four subsections (1. Military Mobilization Measures in 1944 – 1945 (pp. 132–151); 2. Punitive Policy as a Tool of Subjugation (pp. 152–186); 3. International Deportations and Resettlement Actions (pp. 187–242); 4. Attempts to Denationalize the Western Ukrainian Lands (pp. 243–277)).

The author of the chapter primarily emphasizes the catastrophic consequences of the German occupation (the German invaders killed 1,596,000 people in the western regions, deported – 524,775), which was accompanied by mass massacres of the civilian population, its robbery and exploitation, punishment, etc. (pp. 133–134). The plot logically continued about the extensive system restoration of the party and Soviet bodies and power structures during the liberation of the territory of Western Ukraine from the Nazis.

The repressive policy pursued by the Soviet security forces against the population encountered resistance of the underground of the OUN and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

Immediately the Soviet administration introduced the transfer of grain, vegetables, fruits, meat and other products by peasants from their own stocks to the Red Army fund (p. 137). A total mobilization into the ranks of the Red Army in the western Ukrainian region began, which pursued not only a military, but also political goal: to bleed the social base of the UPA, to undermine and finally eliminate the national and patriotic sentiments of the local population. Although the author emphasizes several times that the position of the OUN in this regard was not unambiguous, at least initially. Thus, before the arrival of the Red Army, the OUN leadership took into account the possibility of mobilizations and even encouraged its members and sympathizers to join the Red Army ranks, hoping that they would be able to receive appropriate military training and return to the UPA with weapons, the possibility of propaganda work in the ranks of the Red Army was foreseen as well. However, the mobilization scale and its course clearly showed that it will simply bleed the Ukrainian population, deprive it of the reserve of a human replenishment (the ban on mobilized Ukrainian-Westerners from filling the ranks of their national armed forces, political “filtration” and ideological “cleansing”, inclusion in the labour army to perform the most difficult work) (pp. 140, 143, 150–151). Accordingly, a large-scale anti-mobilization campaign (in propaganda and armed forms) was launched.

Chief focus is on the issue of the post-war confrontation of the Ukrainian nationalists with the Soviet administration, which chose a punitive policy as a means of establishing itself in the western Ukrainian region. The author admits that it was the command-administrative, force methods, punitive and repressive system that became the basic reason for the long-term

resistance of the OUN underground and the UPA rebels and their widespread support by local residents (p. 154).

It was for the fight against the Ukrainian nationalists that ordinary and leading participants were sent to work in district authorities, military units (ChA, NKVD troops, etc.), partisan units (V. Behma, N. Taratuta, I. Shytov), creation of fighter battalions, which were popularly called “jumps” (the government provided them with social benefits and guarantees, exemption from paying taxes, military service, etc.), organization of an agent network, distribution of appeals, creation of special units (agent-military groups that acted under the guise of nationalists committed robberies, set fire to homes, kidnapped and murdered people, etc.), eviction of families of underground participants and their sympathizers, mobilization, arming of the Soviet assets, calls to underground participants to resign from the service, intimidation and threats, ambushes, lures, passportization, collectivization. The Soviet totalitarian regime liquidated the UGCC, inspired the escalation of inter-confessional enmity (p. 176). The author describes the preparation and conduct of deportation campaigns (primarily the Ukrainians and the Poles). Sometimes entire settlements were affected. The author also provides digital information on deportation campaigns. The bodies of the MVS, MDB, and the first secretaries of the party’s regional committees of the western regions were responsible for its implementation (pp. 174–175). There are cited specific references to normative documents that guided the Soviet security forces in organizing the fight against the Ukrainian nationalists.

At the same time, there were significant violations of the so-called “socialist legality” due to the lack of a legal control, permissiveness, drunkenness and low moral qualities of employees of criminal authorities (p. 161).

At the same time, the Ukrainian nationalists also changed their tactics – they divided their forces into fighting groups of several people.

Although citing a large amount of data, the author admits that the final determination of the OUN and UPA losses remains an unresolved issue, as well as a holistic understanding of their place and role in the Ukrainian and European movement of resistance to totalitarian regimes (p. 172).

The international aspect of the Soviet deportation and resettlement policy also found its reflection. In particular, the course, scope, and exchanges between Poland and the Ukrainian SSR (the autumn of 1944 – autumn of 1946) are considered. Problems that arose are singled out: reluctance of the Polish and Ukrainian population to leave their homes, untimely delivery of carriages (people staying at railway stations for 7 – 8 days, spread of epidemic diseases), the lack of elementary conditions in the carriages for transportation of people, collection of taxes by the Polish authorities, sometimes in advance, deployment of a real terror on the territory of Poland against the Ukrainian population by the Polish armed forces due to inaction or even support of the official authorities (arson of the Ukrainian farms, murders of the Ukrainians, theft of horses, livestock, food, clothes, etc.), repressive pressure of the NKVD against the Polish population in the territory of the western regions of the Ukrainian SSR, complete unpreparedness of the local Soviet and economic bodies regarding reception, resettlement and accommodation of the Ukrainians from Poland (1945), inequality of transfer and receipt of territory in exchange by the Soviet side to the Polish side (pp. 198, 200–201).

The author also describes the large-scale military and political deportation action of the Ukrainians “The Vistula” (which involved more than 20,000 soldiers, not including local security forces). Emphasizing the significant problems in its implementation (organization of transport, accommodation of people).

“The Vistula” operation was aimed, first of all, at weakening, and thus, eliminating (assimilating) the Ukrainian national minority in Poland.

In fact, the “The Vistula” operation belongs to the acts of ethnocide committed against the autochthonous population in the centre of Europe in the middle of the 20th century (p. 215).

Another post-war territorial transformation with resettlement of the local western Ukrainian population took place in 1944 between the USSR and Romania (the exchange of the population of the Ukrainian and Russian nationalities from the territory of Romania and the Romanians and the Jews from the western Ukrainian lands), in 1946 between the USSR and Czechoslovakia (on the resettlement of citizens of Ukrainian, Russian and Belarusian nationalities from the territory of the Czech Republic who settled here before 1939, and the Czechs and the Slovaks from the Soviet Union), in 1951 between the Ukrainian SSR and the Polish People’s Republic (pp. 231, 238).

The summarizing plot is devoted to the outline the Soviet administration measures to denationalize the inhabitants of Western Ukraine, which were carried out in parallel with industrialization, collectivization and other ideological, cultural and educational, political, spiritual transformations and aimed at a complete incorporation of the region into the USSR (p. 245). The appropriate structures formation to ensure all these measures took place at the expense of personnel sent from the eastern regions (although there was a constant problem with the provision of administrative, party, law enforcement structures, educational, cultural, industrial enterprises, collective farms with qualified personnel) (p. 254). The majority of these newcomers did not have required management skills, did not know and did not want to understand the local specifics.

The author also writes about the organized resistance of the peasantry to collectivization, as a result of its slow pace, which, in his opinion, made it possible to avoid famine in the western region (1946 – 1947) (pp. 258–259).

At the same time, the ideological measures carried out in the region were aimed at establishing moral and psychological control over the Western Ukrainian population, carrying out the so-called cultural revolution, with the aim of levelling the national and religious consciousness of residents and imposing the communist ideology (p. 261).

At the same time, the deportation and migration processes artificially conceived by the totalitarian system led to profound changes in the ethnic composition of the region’s population. To the measures already mentioned, the resettlement of the workforce from the western region, there was added sending people to the eastern and southern regions of the Ukrainian SSR to support the industry (deported families faced a difficult material and moral and psychological situation, unusual climatic conditions, household and economic difficulties) (p. 275). Political motives were also pursued – to stratify the local population, to divert part of them from national and patriotic aspirations, to limit the ranks of the UPA by replenishment. In general, during the post-war years, more than 2 million people – the Ukrainians, the Poles, the Czechs, the Slovaks, the Jews, the Romanians, the Bulgarians, etc. – were involved in the process of forced resettlement and deportation on the territory of Western Ukrainian lands (p. 276). In this way, the goal was set to change the national composition radically. At the end of the 1950s, representatives of 40 different nationalities lived in the western regions of Ukraine (the Uzbeks, the Georgians, the Azerbaijanis, the Bashkirs, the Mordvins, the Ossetians, the Chuvash, etc. representatives of other peoples who did not live here before) (p. 277).

The originality of the authors’ opinion is also noted that despite all the local population managed to preserve its spiritual and socio-psychological peculiarity and act as a unifying

factor of the Ukrainian people as a public community at the end of the 20th – the beginning of the 21st centuries (p. 279).

Noting the obvious positive aspects of the monograph and an unequivocal recommendation to all interested parties, its analysis caused several considerations. The monograph lacks an introduction and summarizing conclusions. Taking into account a number of proper names in the monograph, we consider it expedient to provide name and geographical indexes, which would facilitate the research much. The study would benefit from its presentation in a separate block of appendix.

In conclusion, we emphasize that the peer-reviewed monograph by V. Baran, Yu. Soroka, and V. Tokarskyi “Stalin’s Repressions in the Western Lands of Ukraine in 1939 – 1953” is original, interesting and meaningful. We believe that the monograph will be important and significant not only for professional historians, but primarily for students, teachers, high school students, as well as everyone who is interested in the history of Ukraine and especially the period of 1939 – 1953 (the authors of the study hope for). Moreover, the authors present not only a mere array of historical facts, but also encourage the formation of one’s own holistic view of complex pages of the past.

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A NEW UNDERSTANDING OF MODERN HISTORY OF UKRAINE
(review of the monograph: V. Holovko, L. Yakubova. Ukraine
and the Challenges of Post-totalitarian Transit (1990 – 2019) / NAS of Ukraine,
Institute of History of Ukraine. Kyiv: Akadempriodika, 2021. 592 p., 48 p. ill.)

НОВЕ ОСМИСЛЕННЯ СУЧАСНОЇ ІСТОРІЇ УКРАЇНИ
(рецензія на монографію: Головко В., Якубова Л. Україна і виклики
посттоталітарного транзиту (1990–2019) / НАН України, Ін-т історії України.
Київ: Академперіодика, 2021. 592 с., 48 с. іл.)

On the eve of Russia’s full-scale attack on the independent Ukrainian State, in the “Akadempriodyka” publishing house there was published a monograph covering three decades of Ukraine’s modern history. Its authors are the famous historians Volodymyr Holovko and Larysa Yakubova, who set the task of understanding contradictions of the post-Soviet transition from 1990 to 2019, in particular the phenomena of three modern Ukrainian revolutions, development of the “oliharchic republics”, subjectivization of Ukraine in the world through self-awareness of the European choice, semantic aspects of the modern Russian-Ukrainian war,

which began in 2014. The analysed monograph is divided into two parts and 14 chapters, and also contains an extensive afterword. The first part of “Ukraine is not Russia: Self-awareness and Formation (1990 – 2019)” contains a detailed information of Ukraine’s rhodium history since 1990. However, the authors begin the first chapter with an original retrospective of the communist ideas development in Europe and the world since the appearance of “Manifesto of the Communist Party” in 1848. The authors describe the political embodiment of the communist ideas by the Russian Bolsheviks in the Soviet Union they founded, which was eloquently called the “Red Titanic”. The historians claim that the painful process of the post-totalitarian transit began after the dismantling of the Party-Chekist vertical, and they state that the most effectively overcame it by countries that managed to conduct a full-scale lustration following fresh traces, and those where the consequences of the Soviet rule were the least destructive (p. 10).

The authors of the monograph analysed the processes of Ukraine’s sovereignty in the context of the society’s democratization, talk about the “Declaration of the State Sovereignty” on July 16, 1990, and therefore about “The Revolution on Granite”, which was organized on the example of the protest actions in Bulgaria. It should be also noted that the authors formulate the concept of “revolution from above” in 1991, referring to the attempted coup d’état in the USSR (on August 19 – 22) and the declaration of Ukraine’s independence on August 24. The historians believe that this “revolution from above” was initiated by “Declaration on State Sovereignty” and, ultimately, became possible owing to the situational union of the reformist wing of the Communist Party of Ukraine (national communists) and national democratic forces (p. 27). Hence, the political events of the second half of 1991, in particular the referendum on the independence and the first presidential elections in Ukraine on December 1, 1991, are carefully described.

In the following chapters of the first part, written by V. Holovko, chief focus is on legal foundations of the Ukrainian state existence and society in general, foreign policy challenges for the new state are outlined (in particular, Russia’s claims to the Crimea at the beginning of the 1990s, the conflict in Transnistria, aggravation of relations with Romania, etc.). The monograph also deals with the controversial issue of the nuclear disarmament. There are presented nuclear potential calculations of Ukraine at the end of 1991 (pp. 33 – 34). “The Budapest Memorandum” of 1994 was characterized, which was of a political rather than legal nature and did not contain mechanisms for ensuring security guarantees for Ukraine. Despite this, in the 1990s, this document became an effective tool for strengthening Ukraine’s position on the international arena, because it prevented its isolation (p. 40).

V. Holovko describes the attempts of ex-communists to carry out market reforms in the 1990s, analyses the constitutional process, electoral vicissitudes of 1994, 1998 – 1999, he writes about President Leonid Kuchma’s prevention of “leftist revenge” and “the end of socialist Ukraine” (removal of left-wing political forces from the leadership of the Verkhovna Rada and formation of a liberal parliamentary majority) in 2000. It should be noted that V. Holovko is a specialist researcher of the oligarchic groups’ activities in Ukraine. He published the monograph the “*Ukrainian Financial and Industrial Groups in Modernization Processes in 1991 – 2009*” (Kyiv, 2012). That is why, he analyses thoroughly the emergence of financial and industrial groups and their influence on the economic and political development of Ukraine. The historian introduces the concept of the “oligarchic republic” into historiographical discourse, but does not formulate a scientific definition of this concept, however, writes about two such “republics”: the first one – in 2000 – 2013, the second one – from 2014 to the present day.

The historian also covers the political crisis during L. Kuchma's second term of office, which is connected with the so-called "cassette scandal" (the tapes of Major M. Melnychenko). He keeps to the opinion that the illegal wiretapping in the President's office was organized by Yevhen Marchuk, who headed the National Security and Defense Council. The analysis of Viktor Yushchenko's government activities is somewhat specific, successes of which seems to have been conditioned by previous economic policy (in particular, the activities of V. Pustovoitenko's government).

Analysing the events of the Orange Revolution, V. Holovko emphasizes: "It was a strategic mistake of the pro-government forces that, engrossed in the struggle with the opposition, they crossed a fine line when the struggle with society itself began. Instead, the opposition forces managed to lead the mass protest effectively and keep it on a non-violent course. As a result, they gained support inside the country (from citizens and business circles) and outside – from of the collective West" (p. 104). The historian describes the "political turbulence" of 2004 – 2005 (the activities of Yulia Tymoshenko's government, the split in the "Orange Team", negatives of the reprivatization policy), and, thus, writes about the "white-blue revenge", i. e. the return to power of the Party of Regions and Viktor Yanukovich in 2006. Writing about the consequences of the 2007 Parliamentary elections, the historian notes that the political party projects turned into a kind of joint-stock companies, controlling stake of which was in the hands of the party leaders. In fact, ideologically devalued parties became a sham political superstructure of a corrupt economy, using bright social and information actions, imitating a political life and a political system (p. 133).

In an extremely interesting way, V. Holovko characterizes political and economic processes in Ukraine in 2005 – 2013 (for example, activities of the RosUkrEnrho company, the gas crises of 2008 – 2009 against the background of the global economic crisis), he writes about the state of culture and sports (in particular, "football interests" of the Ukrainian oliharchs), as well as the constitutional changes of 2005, 2010 and 2014. According to the historian, the period of Viktor Yushchenko's presidency was characterized by extreme ambiguity. At that time, the pressure of the state on society was significantly weakened, elections were held as democratically as possible, freedom of speech became a reality, business felt like a social force. At the same time, the change of faces in power did not mean the change in its essence: high democratic slogans covered the cynical struggle for power, the mass media disdained the principles of journalistic ethics openly, business tried to increase its positions by increasing its influence on the authorities (p. 163). In this explanatory vein, the author formulates regularities of the "post-revolutionary rollback" in V. Yanukovich's coming to power of in 2010.

According to V. Holovko, V. Yanukovich's victory in the Presidential elections in February of 2010 occurred not the least as a result of society and political elite "fatigue" caused by constant socio-political conflicts of the previous five years. The election of V. Yanukovich became a kind of a social and elite compromise. Apparently, President V. Yanukovich himself felt the compromise of his own political figure, in particular, in the first two and a half years of his term, he tried to rely on various elite groups on the condition that they recognize the leading role of the President and his party (p. 164). However, the researcher also describes the growth of the Russian influence, starting with the infamous "Kharkiv Agreements". V. Holovko also writes talks about the activities of a new political and economic force – the Yanukovich "Family".

The author's reflections on the geopolitical steps of Ukraine in 2014 are interesting. In detail he describes complex foreign political debates of the second half of 2013, related

to the issue of signing the association between Ukraine and the EU, Moscow's victory in influencing V. Yanukovich (already at that time the Russian President threatened Yanukovich with a full-scale war and annexation of the Crimea, Donbass, Kharkiv region and southern Ukrainian regions).

Chapter "Revolution of Dignity and Russia's Armed Aggression in 2014 – 2015" is written in 70 pages of the monograph (pp. 180–249), in which the historian describes the tragic events of the Ukrainian history, in particular, the mass shootings of demonstrators by law enforcement officers. In his opinion, the revolution stopped the authoritarian course and foreign policy reversal from European to Eurasian direction. The escape of V. Yanukovich and his removal from power meant that Ukraine finally leaves the orbit of the Russian influence. Thus, the researcher describes the complex processes associated with Russia's hybrid war against Ukraine, the occupation of the Crimea, Donbass, the battles of the Ukrainian army and volunteer battalions for the Ukrainian land, the downing of the Malaysian Boeing airliner by the Russian army, talks about the battles near Ilovaisk and Debaltseve, the signing of The Minsk 1 Agreement and The Minsk 2 Agreement. The author's description of the occupation regime in the Crimea after 2014 is extremely interesting (pp. 208–219). In general, the author shows successfully a large-scale failure of the "Russian world" ideology in Ukraine, the failure of the "Novorosia project".

In the monograph there is presented the concept of the "second oligarchic republic" in Ukraine after the Revolution of Dignity. V. Holovko notes that big capital representatives mostly supported political changes and advocated the territorial integrity of the country. The appointment of oligarchs: I. Kolomoiskyi and S. Taruta to the positions of heads of state administrations, and P. Poroshenko's victory in the Presidential elections, the owner of a large business, which was partly a compromise among the political and business elites, were indicative (p. 250). The researcher notes two effective reforms carried out after the Revolution of Dignity: 1) decentralization; 2) reform of internal affairs bodies system (p. 261). The introduction of lustration and decommunization policy became a notable factor in a social life of Ukraine.

Professor Larysa Yakubova analyses the search by the Ukrainian intellectual and political elites for a for the national building platform during the years of Ukraine's independence. Describing various discussions on this matter, the historian notes that the preference was on the side of the multi-ethnic state nation concept. However, she criticizes the ethno-national policy of the Ukrainian authorities, which was manifested even in the uncertainty of the legal thesaurus of the Ukrainian legislation: for example, in the Constitution of 1996, the concepts of the "Ukrainian people" (an ethnic model) and the "people of Ukraine" (a political model) are used interchangeably and without any logical sequences. The researcher also notes the shortcomings and strategic miscalculations when using the concept of "two Ukraines", which were based on S. Huntington's civilizational theory popular at the time. The metaphor of "two Ukraines" was picked up gladly and instrumentalized by the Ukrainian political community. The dichotomy of Ukraine was used in every election skillfully (p. 305).

We consider L. Yakubova's observation about the ethno-national policy in Ukraine to be valid: being engrossed in the administrative regulation of the ethno-national relations, the authorities did not take care of the humanitarian component of internal policy, which could become a powerful integrative factor of the nation- and state-building. The neglect of this part of the state-building process was obvious as compared to Russia, which used humanitarian expansion as a powerful tool to destabilize Ukraine and mobilize its own society negatively (p. 344).

The second part of the monograph “Euromria vs “*Russian World*”: Ukraine in the Era of Geopolitical Challenges” contains four chapters written by L. Yakubova. It’s true that they somewhat repeat V. Holovko’s chapters on Russia’s hybrid war against Ukraine, on the situation in the occupied Crimea. The opinion that you rarely hear from a historian is important: knowledge of the historical background is not so important for understanding modern problems of Ukraine, because it is not the generator of modern troubles. Actually, they are generated by the archaic thinking inherent in Russia’s ruling circles, and it is this that must be taken into account (p. 410).

In the chapter “Peninsula of Unfreedom”, L. Yakubova describes aspects of life in the Crimea that are little known in Ukraine. The researcher writes about massive violations of human rights, national and political problems of the Crimean Tatars, imitation of a public life in the Crimea according to the Soviet models, friction between the Crimean “elites” and the central government in Moscow, economic decline in all sectors and the Crimea’s financial dependence on the Russian budget. The researcher refutes the economic rationale for the construction of the Kerch bridge, which, in her opinion, was primarily a political project. The researcher also writes about destructive ethno-cultural practices in the Crimea, which make the cultural progress of the Crimean Tatars and the Ukrainians impossible. The closure of the Ukrainian schools, the Ukrainian faculties and departments at universities, persecution of the Ukrainian and Crimean Tatar languages, raising children in a militaristic anti-Ukrainian spirit is the reality of the occupied Crimea. The occupying power takes care of the formation of “places of memory” actively that are supposed to perpetuate the Russian imperial narrative.

No less analytical is the chapter on the issue of the occupied territories of Donetsk and Luhansk regions. L. Yakubova notes that the territory of the “DNR” turned into an experimental site for implementation of a number of contradictory ideological projects (left and right-wing radical directions) or realization of the dreams of someone’s misguided imagination: the NKVD and the MGB were among the first to appear here (p. 457). The researcher noticed large-scale social segregation in ORDLO, where a ruling class (civil servants) appeared. The economy of ORDLO is not able to provide basic needs for the population, the cost of living is increasing, not corresponding to the level of salaries and pensions of ordinary citizens of the “republics”. The fact is a complete dependence on funding from Russia. The pace of a cultural integration in the Russian-speaking space is increasing. A cynical manipulation of fears, prejudices and stereotypes, and ultimately banal ignorance, turned into a universal tool for a mental enslavement of the local population.

The final chapter “Nation-building under the Conditions of Hybrid War: Challenges, Losses, Gains” is not so much historical as political in nature. L. Yakubova delves into intellectual discourse, emphasizing problems and formulating tasks. Thus, she notes imperfection of the regulatory legal framework in the field of ensuring the rights of the national minorities, contradiction or lack of official interpretation of the basic concepts of the ethno-national policy (the “Ukrainian nation”, “title ethnos”, “nationality”, “indigenous peoples”, “ethnic group”, “ethnic community”, etc.) (pp. 491–492).

The historian emphasizes the need to develop a consensus model of the national idea, because imitation of ideas born at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries will not be successful, and globalization poses fundamentally new challenges and tasks for which Ukraine must seek and provide modern answers (p. 494). The researcher writes about education reforms and the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. She also mentions the religious issue, in particular she believes that the multi-church system

historically characteristic of Ukraine is capable of exerting a powerful stabilizing influence. L. Yakubova analyses the activities of the Ukrainian Institute of National Remembrance critically, emphasizing that the policy of memory should be developed at a high professional level (pp. 513–514). The researcher also talks about the policy in the field of culture: in her opinion, both the government's attitude to culture, the instruments of influence on it, and the institutional system of this influence remain Soviet in essence and content (p. 529). We agree with L. Yakubova's statement that huge distance between the level of development of high culture and science and the level of an everyday culture of the broadest strata of the population and those samples of mass culture, which are guided by it, constitutes the main obstacle on the way of civilizational progress of Ukraine (p. 541).

In the afterword, L. Yakubova reflects on the issue of Ukraine's role under the conditions of "the long 20th century", analyses the influence of the Communo-Bolshevism on the Ukrainian state- and nation-building, shows the consequences of the genocidal policy of the Russian Communism not only in the demographic, but also in the mental dimension. The author notes the destructive influence of the Soviet social engineering, which still affects the Ukrainian society. According to L. Yakubova, the entire history of the Ukrainian nation is a history of finding adequate answers to challenges of a high geopolitical scale. This is a nation that survived, took place and is going into the future, being at the epicentre of a civilizational breakdown. The mission of the Ukrainian nation is to break free from the claws of the communist totalitarian past, to make a return to it impossible and to gain true freedom (p. 572). We will add that this mission consists in the final victory of Ukraine over the ideology and practice of "the Russian world".

In general, the reviewed monograph is a large-scale attempt by the Ukrainian intellectuals to understand the history of independent Ukraine in the context of global challenges. The monograph differs from previous monographs (for example, the work of H. Kasianov "Ukraine in 1991 – 2007. Outline of Modern History") in syntheses, a qualitatively higher level of the historical processes understanding, critical handling of mass sources, awareness of essential threats that Ukraine faces after thirty years of an independent state formation.

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COMPREHENSIVE STUDY OF NATIONAL MEMORY AND HISTORICAL POLICY IN THE INTERNATIONAL DIMENSION (review of the monograph: The problem of historical memory in the world-historical discourse (1945 – 2015): monograph/head of the Author’s team – corresponding member of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, doctor of science, prof. A. I. Kudryachenko, scientific editor: Doctor of Science, Assoc. Soloshenko V. V., technical editor: candidate of political science, associate professor of science. Rozumyuk V. M. Kyiv: State University “Institute of World History of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine”, 2021. 312 p.)

КОМПЛЕКСНЕ ДОСЛІДЖЕННЯ НАЦІОНАЛЬНОЇ ПАМ’ЯТІ ТА ІСТОРИЧНОЇ ПОЛІТИКИ У МІЖНАРОДНОМУ ВИМІРІ (рецензія на монографію: Проблема історичної пам’яті у всесвітньо-історичному дискурсі (1945 – 2015 рр.): монографія / керівник авторського колективу – член-кореспондент НАН України, д.і.н., проф. Кудряченко А. І., науковий редактор к.і.н., доц. Солошенко В. В., технічний редактор к.політ.н., с.н.с. Розумюк В. М. Київ: ДУ “Інститут всесвітньої історії Національної академії наук України”, 2021. 312 с.)

In a new work by scientists of the Institute of World History of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, the concept of historical memory is characterized as one of the

basic paradigms of social and humanitarian disciplines, the main directions of memory studies are defined, and a thorough analysis of memory policy in many European countries is carried out, Asia, North America. Since the main function of historical memory is the formation of identity, the memory of the people serves as its connecting link. The laconic conclusion of the 103 Authors of the work “Kingdom of Memory”: “France is memory” also applies to other nations. Accordingly, Taras Shevchenko addressed “my dead and living and unborn compatriots in Ukraine and not in Ukraine”, covering the entire temporal and spatial dimension of the nation’s mental identity. It is not for nothing that the main target of Russia’s existential hybrid war against Ukraine is the identity of the Ukrainian nation, with efforts to destroy its fundamental component – historical memory and replace it with “Russian World”. Therefore, the relevance of the reviewed research is determined by the importance of the policy of memory in the era of globalization, when each country faced the dilemma of preserving its ethnocultural heritage as a marker of the identity of the people and at the same time – bringing the national cultural product to the world market, which requires increased attention of scientists.

Chapter 1 “Theoretical and methodological foundations of the study of historical memory” deals with the theoretical basis and methodology of research on the topic. In particular, in subsection 1.1. “Main directions of theoretical reflection on the problems of historical memory (memory studies)” The authors analyzed the main directions of the scientific discourse on the problem of memory (memory studies), noting that memorial studies were initiated by M. Halbwaks, who distinguished individual and collective memory. The scientific heritage of A. Warburg, based on which the “Warburg school” went far beyond the boundaries of cultural studies, and the views of the luminaries of the “Annals” school, starting with M. Blok, who interpreted the concept of memory as the cornerstone of the existence of the entire Western civilization (p. 14). The “memorial boom” of the 1980s was characterized as well as the new humanitarian subdiscipline – memory studies, the subject is the concept of “memory”, and, in particular, the concept of “cultural memory” of the Assman couple. The authors interpreted the definitions of “politics of memory” and “historical politics”, identifying them as activities of political elites aimed at forming collective memory to foster patriotism and improve the image of the state. On the other hand, there is the “Call from Blois” (2008) of famous historians of Europe: history should not be a conjunctural handmaiden and no political power can arrogate to itself the right to establish historical truth and limit the freedom of the researcher (pp. 21–23). However, the authors avoided presenting their opinion on the limit of admissibility of state influence on the formation of historical memory.

At the beginning of subsection 1.2. “The methodology of world history in the study of the mechanism of formation and reproduction of historical memory”, The authors noted the complexity of researching the concept of memory as an interdisciplinary object, as a result of which the own position of many scientists regarding the methodological foundations of their studies is not visible. Usually, the definitions of the concept of “historical memory” are compared, and, according to the Western research tradition, the methodological approach is limited to reducing the problems of world history to local ones (p. 27). Instead, the Authors themselves insist that the concept of “mentality” proposed by L. Fevre and M. Blok is key to the analysis of historical memory. Such a traditionalist way of seeing historical reality is based on the methodological postulate: “nothing happens in history that does not have its origins”. At the same time, the Authors singled out the spiritual forms of reproduction in the collective consciousness of value motivations that have proven effective in the past. Among other

methodological pillars, the scientific heritage of A. Bergson, as the developer of the concept of modern national identity, as well as the works of M. Halbwachs, P. Nore, P. Ricoeur, S. Linde, Y. and A. Assman, and E. Renan, are singled out. B. Anderson, E. Hobsbawm, O. Vasiliev and others. In the end, the Authors established that it was the specialists of the “Annals” school who developed the most balanced approaches to the analysis of the mechanism of reproduction and retransmission of the spiritual heritage of humanity and the influence of the mental characteristics of ethnic groups on the world-historical process (pp. 35–36). So, in the first chapter of the work, scientists of the Institute carried out a historiosophical analysis of studies of historical memory and clearly defined the methodology of their own research, which is one of the important indicators of the high professional level of the Author’s team.

The most attention in chapter 2, entitled “Consolidating potential of memory policy: general patterns and national features” is given to memory policy in Germany (subsection 2.1. “Memory policy and the return of cultural values as components of overcoming the totalitarian legacy in Germany”).

The authors, following H. Koenig, singled out four historical periods of the policy of “overcoming the past” in Germany and carefully examined them according to the content of social reflection. It is substantiated that at the first stage (1945 – 1949) the measures of denazification did not change the attitude of Germans toward Nazism and the thesis of the Potsdam Conference about the “collective guilt” of the German people was not accepted. The property of the scientific method of the Authors of the chapter is a parallel study of the political course and scientific thought at each stage. Thus, it was observed that, in contrast to M. Heidegger, K. Jaspers singled out four types of guilt, in particular, the political responsibility of all citizens for the consequences of actions committed by their state, which opened the way to changes in the self-consciousness of the German nation (pp. 62–64). It was noted that with the creation of the Federal Republic of Germany and the GDR in 1949, the second stage of historical politics came, and the Amnesty Law of K. Adenauer initiated the integration of National Socialists into state structures. Instead, the leadership of the GDR built a “socialist” state and radically broke with Nazism (pp. 67–68). It has been confirmed that the third stage, known as the “long wave” (1960 – 1989), was marked by the formation of a new political culture. Its tonality was significantly determined by the trials against Nazi criminals, which led to a public discussion and youth protests in 1968. It is emphasized that since then the attitude of Germans to the Holocaust has served as a cornerstone of the memory of the Second World War, its criminals and victims. Chancellor V. Brandt’s apology for the Holocaust in Warsaw has been identified as a breakthrough in the politics of memory. The “dispute of historians” of the Federal Republic of Germany in 1986 – 1987 was analyzed, which confirmed the position of Y. Habermas regarding the responsibility for Nazi crimes of all generations of the German nation. It was revealed that this concept became a factor in the democratic profile of Germany as a state and dominated public consciousness (p. 69). It was revealed that at the fourth stage of the policy of “overcoming the past”, after the restoration of state unity in 1990, the process of understanding the past became more intense and visualized, which was also reflected by new discussions and scandals regarding the Nazi past of some famous figures. The authors proved that overcoming the past in Germany is a multidimensional process that includes renewal of the political system, memorialization of historical memory, compensation for victims of Nazism and forced laborers, restitution, and critical “processing” of the past (p. 82). Thus, it was established that at the stage of the “active culture of memory”, despite the recognition of the people’s political guilt for the crimes

of 1939 – 1945, their legal and moral condemnation was established, as a result of which Nazism is not associated with the concept of “German people” (pp. 94–95). The authors did not limit themselves to the analysis of the evolution of the politics of memory, but went to the level of conceptualizing the process of “overcoming the past” and observed a new trend in socio-political discourse – shifting the image of Germany from a “culprit country” to one that suffered at the end of the war (pp. 256–257). Accordingly, the popularity of the right-wing forces increased (the “Alternative for Germany” party has 89 seats in the Bundestag, while the left has only 39. – V.G., O.S.). It has been rightly noted that the experience of Germany is also valuable for Ukraine, which is rethinking its past (in particular, the tragedy and heroics of the war with the Russian aggressor).

Authors of subsection 2.2. “The experience of Italy in the application of the mechanisms of the politics of memory for the formation of national unity” carried out a rather extensive review of the historical path that led in the 19th century. to the unification of the Italian lands into a single state and revealed their different traditions, cultural influences and economic structure (pp. 97–102). It is confirmed that the division between the industrialized North and the more backward South has become a permanent feature of the economic landscape of Italy. It is noted that four regions of the North (Lombardy, Piedmont, Veneto and Emilia-Romagna) pay the lion’s share of taxes and produce a higher gross regional product per capita than other regions. However, the authors denied the widespread explanation of regional contradictions only by their socio-economic inequality and established an important factor that fuels centrifugal processes – the country’s motley ethnic and linguistic structure (14 linguistic minorities), where linguistic issues fall within the competence of the regions. A 1994 sociological survey is given: in the hierarchy of self-identification markers of Italians, “local-municipal commitment” is approved by 64% of respondents (p. 104). It is emphasized that due to the policy of regionalization of the country, established by the constitutional reform of 2001, the state system of Italy acquired federal features, and the politics of memory finally ended up in the sphere of competence of the regions, as well as large revenues from tourism. It was revealed that there is still a network of monuments to fascist figures in the regions of the country (pp. 107–108), while the preservation of national memorials is insufficiently financed. The system of holidays, of which only two are nationwide historical and political, is also noted as indicative. Thus, it was established that Italy’s course towards regionalization and multiculturalism led to the actual loss of the state’s influence on the formation of national identity and increased the disintegration of the country. Thus, in 2010, 58% of the population of Italy advocated a federal system, and 61% of residents of the northern regions spoke in favor of leaving the state in the event of a rejection of the federation. It has been proven that the expansion of the rights of the regions, although it is a principle of subsidiarity recommended by the EU, however, as evidenced by the experience of Italy, inhibits the formation of national identity and harms the unity of the country. Therefore, it was emphasized that the lessons of Italy’s state policy of memory are very relevant for modern Ukraine.

In subsection 2.3. “Politics of memory in France: historical experience and national discourse” The authors characterized the features of the confrontation between progressive and conservative schools of philosophy of history as a reflection on the cyclical nature of French history in the context of “revolution-restoration” (pp. 259–260). It is noted that the theories of the politics of memory have been developed since the end of the 18th century: J. Beaudin founded the monarchical-conservative concept of national sovereignty, and J. J. Rousseau became the founder of the theory of the civil nation, the ideologist of the Great

French Revolution. A conservative vision of national history was observed: the definition of the French mentality as a phenomenon that, thanks to historical memory, has been preserved in the mass subconscious for almost a millennium. Following A. Blok, an example of the durability of the national mentality is given – the image of the Gallic cock, as a symbol of the expansive French character (pp. 114–115). The views of A. Foulmer, who criticized the fixation on revolutionary changes and ignored the historical memory of the people, and E. Renan, who claimed that the French came out of a huge furnace in which the most diverse elements were “baked” under the king’s rule, were also considered. It was revealed that F. Braudel identified other “patrimonial traits” of French history: “permanent instability” and the drive to fragmentation, caused by regional sub-ethnicity. In turn, V. Giscard d’Estaing substantiated the concept of “state conducting”. Regarding the representatives of the progressive camp, the conclusions of Zh-A are given. Condorcet, about the fact that it is necessary to rely on developed cultural traditions, starting from the New and Modern times. It is emphasized that in the end, in the XX century. in France, the ultra-conservative tradition of historical memory won. It was revealed that the victory of reaction over modernization is connected with the figure of S. de Gaulle, who relied on the Constitution of the Fifth French Republic created “for himself” and became “the king of the constitutional monarchy” (R. Aron) (p. 120). The authors expressed their impression that the French could not overcome the confrontation between democratic and absolutist trends that gave rise to the modern crisis of representative democracy and the party system (p. 122). However, the Authors, having for some reason missed half a century of the politics of memory after S. de Gaulle, immediately moved to criticize the position of President E. Macron, abandoned the entire previous tradition. It is argued that such a course undermines national-cultural forms of consolidation and explains France’s instability, such as the “yellow vest” protests (p. 124). In fact, the protests of the “yellow vests” are caused, first of all, by miscalculations in the socio-economic policy.

Subsection 2.4. “Memory politics as a tool for identity formation: transformations in the conditions of globalization on the example of Turkey and India” is an attempt to cover two scientific objects, which are two distant and dissimilar former empires and former colonies.

It has been found that the Turkish government went from unification based on the secularism of the monoethnic Republic of the time of M. Kemal (“the doctrine of six arrows”) to ethnocultural pluralism with its appeal to the times of the Empire – neo-Ottomanism of R. Erdogan. It was noted that if at the state level the search for a pan-Indian version of the politics of memory by the Indian National Congress worked, then at the ethnocultural and religious levels the identification was split into Indian (Hindutva) and Muslim options (pp. 150, 153). Regional parties promoted “their stories” and speculated on the “phenomenon of hurt feelings” (p. 261). Since then, the influence of Hindutva, expressed in the platform of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), which won the 2014 elections, has been found to have increased. Accordingly, a shift towards the spread of state-wide nationalism and Hinduism to the regional level has been found. Commemoration in the form of the highest monument in the world (210 m) to the founder of the Maratha Empire, Chhatrapati Shivaji (pp. 154, 156) was marked. It was found that along with Islamization, reactualization of “imperial memories”, there was a liberalization of the politics of memory and a dialogue with minorities began, which was illustrated in R. Erdogan’s speech in 2010 at the Jafarit holiday: “On this earth, we are all one, we are together, we are brothers” (p. 140). It is noted that the ten-year program of the BJP “Goals 2023” declares the development of “political space based on cultural consensus”, the creation of a “nation state” and the provision of citizens with

their ethnocultural and religious rights (pp. 135–136). Therefore, the Authors established that the new memory policy of Turkey is characterized by flexibility and rejection of complete Turkification, however, the fact of the Armenian genocide is still denied and the political movement of the Kurds in Syria is fighting. It is substantiated that the involvement of the historical memory of non-Turkish communities in the “Ottoman project” increases the chances of the state’s accession to the EU, and at the same time, it is revealed that Turkey has set a course for a powerful regional or even supra-regional state. The authors observed that multi-ethnic India legally and politically adheres to ethnocultural pluralism (22 official languages in the Constitution), but strengthens the memorial component of the titular ethnicity. Thus, it is emphasized that India demonstrates an original combination of two mutually exclusive cultural policies for Europe, based on the Gandhian interpretation of the principle of “sarva dharma Sambhava”, exclusivity and inclusiveness (pp. 147–149).

At the same time, L. Koenig’s opinion is given that India “inevitably contributes to the culture of the majority”. In the end, the Authors established that the transformations of the politics of memory are characterized by a leading value direction: from the unification of ethnocultural diversity (Turkey) or – “boundless multiculturalism” (India) – to the legal balancing of the components of the state and titular ethnicity with ethnocultural and religious groups based on respect for the rights of the Other. It is proved that, in both cases, the ideology of general citizen nationalism, based on historical experience and folk traditions, demonstrated flexibility and the ability to adapt to the modern world (p. 262). Thus, the Authors have identified commonalities and differences in the politics of memory in Turkey and India and established their connection with globalization influences, which is a useful experience for Ukraine.

Section 2.5. is entitled From Isolation to Globalizing Unity: Possibilities for the Politics of Memory in China, Japan and South Korea. The authors carried out a comparative analysis of the memory policy of the leading countries of East Asia, noting that since 1978, China began a period of “reform and openness” and over the course of 20 years formed an extensive cultural market (pp. 159–160). The authors established that in the 21st century a new stage has come – the realization of internal “cultural productivity” with access to the world arena and the successful implementation of the “Cultural China” program: joint festivals, “cultural seasons” are organized, the “Great Wall of China” brands, “monks” are being promoted Shaolin”, “Colorful Yunnan”, etc. Confucius Institutes operate in 154 countries (p. 165). It was found that since 2011 the construction of a “powerful cultural state” is being implemented, and China has become the world’s largest exporter of cultural products. It has been proven that the state’s strategy is aimed at the development of the “socio-cultural space” and the value-cultural Chineseization of the world by means of “soft power”. It was noted that the country’s leader, Xi Jinping, continued the course of “putting antiquity at the service of modernity” and is implementing the “One Belt One Road” project – the unification of part of the world under the auspices of China (pp. 165–166). Regarding the politics of memory in South Korea, the authors stated that only since the mid-1990s, the state program of supporting culture using the production of a competitive cultural product has been implemented. The Bureau of Cultural Industry was established to promote Korean cultural brands, primarily film, in the world (p. 168). It is emphasized that in the 21st century the government took a course towards a “cultural superpower” and the model of an “open multicultural society”.

The program is implemented by the Presidential Council and the National Branding Committee (pp. 168–169). As for Japan, it is noted that in the 1980s Prime Minister Nakasone took the course of “kokusai koka” (“international state”) (p. 170). It is noted that in 2004, the

Council for the Promotion of Cultural Diplomacy was established, which operated in three areas: new technologies for presenting cultural products; orientation to all segments of the population and adaptation to local conditions. It was noted that Japan's cultural policy gained further development with the approval of the "Cool Japan" concept in 2012 and the creation of the Office for the Promotion of Creative Industries (pp. 170–171). It has been found that a feature of the branding strategy of Japanese culture is the combination of traditional content with consumer goods, the involvement of distributors and the potential of regions. Branding of fashion, anime, cuisine and tourism has been identified among the priorities, based on which Japan is making up for the loss of "soft power" pace in international politics. As a result, it was established that globalization processes actualized the value of national cultures, and their marketing contributed to social consolidation, improved the image of Asian states and provided economic benefits. However, despite the successful analysis of the "soft power" policy of three countries, primarily China, in our opinion, the Authors did not sufficiently investigate the reasons for their delay in "coming out into the world" and the impact of the traumatic memory of the mid-20th century. on their politics. We believe that it was worth reminding about the cultural role of the world-famous Asian brands "Suzuki", "Toshiba", "Huawei", "Samsung", etc.

Section 2.6. "The politics of memory as a component of the formation of national identity and consolidation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates in the conditions of modern transformations" contains an analysis of the politics of memory in two developed countries of West Asia. It was found out that the third Saudi state has religious, tribal and secular principles (tawheed ad-daulah) in its foundation (pp. 175, 178).

It was emphasized that the basis of the politics of memory in the Kingdom is the promotion of the country's exclusivity as the homeland of Islam, which serves both the consolidation of society and the support of the state system and the House of Saud dynasty. It is noted that although the politics of memory depends on the state religion – Wahhabism, the government constantly reminds the people that they are not only "Muslims" but also "citizens". It was noted that cultural and educational institutions operate successfully in the Kingdom, Islamic and Arab historical and cultural heritage, Bedouin traditions, and pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina are supported. Considerable attention is paid to the honoring of prominent personalities, such as the first king, Abdel ibn Saud. The popularity of regular events is noted: the Jenadriyya folklore festival in Riyadh, the camel festival, etc. It has been found that the KSA's memory policy is updated in the 15-year modernization program "Vision 2030", which envisages a rethinking of Islamic identity in the direction of greater tolerance and presentation in the world. Analyzing the formation of the memory policy in the United Arab Emirates (UAE), the authors established that it is based on the traditions of Arab society, religious dogmas, and the past of the Persian Gulf region (p. 183). It was noted that with the formation of the state (1971), the authorities organized a collection of artifacts that were supposed to consolidate cultural identity and national consciousness (p. 186). It is noted that in the 1990s, in connection with the influx of migrants, the UAE faced the task of creating an image of an autochthonous homogeneous people. The practice of setting up traditional villages, which recreated the way of life of autochthons before the oil boom, annual festivals of cultural and historical heritage, camel festivals (the largest display of Bedouin life), falconry spectacles, etc. was observed (pp. 191–193). Historical and cultural institutions are active, such as the UNESCO National Archives of Abu Dhabi. The first president of the country – Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahyan (pp. 188–190) is widely revered. The latest stage of the formation of the memory policy in the country since 2010 has been characterized, among the priorities

of which are the preservation of the identity and unity of the people based on Islam and the Arabic language, strengthening the sense of patriotism. It was noted that the government, taking into account that the absolute majority of the population is migrant workers, practices intercultural dialogue combined with strictness towards dissent and rules of conduct. As a result, it was found that the models of the historical memory policy of the two countries form Islamic values, combined with the narrative of the history of the creation of the state, and the apologia of the “founding fathers” of the country. Both states are moving towards the modernization and popularization of cultural heritage with an exit to the world, which is why similar development programs for the KSA and the UAE serve. Measures to promote self-identification of youth are outlined as a feature of the UAE’s memory policy.

The third section of the work – “Politics of memory in domestic political and international conflicts and “battles for the past” – begins with subsection 3.1 of the synthesis content: “National policies of memory as a component of modern international relations”. The authors observed that in the modern era of mediatization of memory, there has been a transition beyond the link between generations to the global dimension when each nation constructs an image of its past “in the eyes” of other nations. Former memory narratives based on images of victory and triumph are found to be giving way to narratives of historical trauma and sacrifice (“sacrificial nationalism”) and collective guilt and responsibility. The authors observed the rapid growth of memory studies and reminded that a global consensus was formed: an ethical system, the core of which was the Declaration of Human Rights, and the ethical criterion was the Holocaust. However, it was noted that there remains an ineradicable political factor that generates “wars of memory” (pp. 197–199). It is proven that, according to the logic of nation-building processes, the “nationalization of history” that the West underwent in the 19th century is taking place in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE), adjusted for the differences in the post-war development of countries in two political and ideological camps. It is noted that the countries of Western Europe recognized responsibility for the events of the Second World War, while in the CEE countries this past was viewed through the prism of their post-war destinies, therefore the “existential node of memory” became the commemoration of national victims as a result of the “post-war betrayal” of Old Europe and communist terror (pp. 206–207). It has been found that the bias towards the victimization of titular nations in the discourses of young democratic countries is a natural component of the process of “working through one’s past”, which, despite some destructiveness, can develop into an awareness of one’s responsibility for the totalitarian past. It was revealed that the path to moral responsibility and consolidation of nations lies through the objectification of historical traumas and their material and symbolic perpetuation.

“The politics of memory as a tool for the formation of national states in the Balkans” is the name of subsection 3.2, the authors of which logically began by defining the concept of “Balkan countries” as a region that includes the states that arose on the ruins of the Ottoman Empire in Europe. However, it was noted that since the world has developed a negative “Balkan stereotype”, the Croats, Slovenians, and Romanians position themselves as Central European nations. It was found that the politics of memory in the Balkans, in addition to those common to Europe, has specific features, such as an emphasis on historical heredity, and the millennial durability of the nation (examples of Croatia, Greece) (pp. 212–213). The dispute over the historical heritage between Greece and Macedonia was analyzed (partially completed in 2019 with the ratification of the name “Republic of North Macedonia”. – V. G., O. S.). The conflict between Macedonians and Bulgaria, which considers Macedonians to be a

Bulgarian ethnic group with a Western Bulgarian dialect, is also noted (pp. 213–216). The second characteristic feature of the historical politics of the Balkan countries is the combination of a call to fight for freedom with a victim complex. It is emphasized that the thesis of A. Liakos's point that the concept of memory as support preserved the integrity of Greek society even with the loss of sovereignty is true for other Balkan nations. It is noted that the history of wars in this region led to the appearance of the term "Balkanization" as "fragmentation of a large political unit into several small states between which hostile relations have developed" (p. 216). It was found that the own peoples in the Balkans are portrayed as defenseless victims of the machinations of great powers and predatory neighbors, hence the desire to "cleanse" the national life of foreign elements in their politics of memory. The third feature is characterized by megalomania and provincial Balkan imperialism. It is noted that the Balkans cannot accommodate the projects of all the "Great" states at the same time, which leads to permanent confrontation and cementing the reputation of the "powder keg of Europe" (pp. 218–219). Moreover, the authors found that the Balkan model of memory politics is effective for state building and national unity. However, because of modern realities and the Author's analysis, it is difficult to agree with the generalization that in all Balkan countries "radical changes in the official historical paradigm often occur" (p. 219). At the same time, the author's conclusion about the need for Ukraine to take into account the Balkan experience and balance its memory policy seems logical.

According to the name of the subsection 3.3. "The experience of the formation of the politics of memory in Hungary: achievements and miscalculations" The authors investigated the characteristic features of the politics of memory in Hungary, which provided an example of a decisive "closure" of communism for other countries of Central and Eastern Europe (p. 221). The commemoration of commemorative dates related to the totalitarian past, such as October 23 – Republic Day or (unofficially) "the day of two revolutions", is outlined as an important direction of the memorial policy. It is noted that the theory of "double occupation" has been established in the country and the memory of the victims of both totalitarian regimes is honored (p. 223). It is emphasized that the politics of memory in Hungary received a new impetus with the coming to power in 2010 of the right-wing conservative Fidesz party, which took a course to build "illiberal democracy" and foster patriotism based on the idea of national exclusivity of Hungarians as "islanders" in Europe. It was revealed that the memorialization of the image of Hungary as a victim of foreign occupations is aimed at cementing in the nation's consciousness the idea of the unique "surplus value" of its statehood, the dissolution of which in the "all-European identity" is unacceptable. It is noted that the sacred Crown of St. Stephen was moved to the parliament building, and the Austro-Hungarian monarchy (1867 – 1918) is considered the "golden age" of national history (pp. 224–225). It has been found that the Hungarian collective memory is characterized by a gap between pride in the "thousand-year-old state" (a symbol of victory) and the "trauma of Trianon" – the memory of the Trianon Treaty of 1920 (symbol of defeat), which recorded the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and led to the loss of 72% of the territory and 64% of the pre-war population of Hungary. It has been observed that during the premiership of Fidesz leader V. Orbán, a renaissance of the "Trianon cult" is taking place as a Day of National Unity. At the same time, with the knowledge of the World Council of Hungarians, a "symbolic expansion" is being carried out, in particular, the restoration of Hungarian memorial sites in Ukrainian Transcarpathia, etc. (pp. 226–227). It was noted that Hungary is asserting itself as a civilizational "center of gravity" for the Eurasian peoples. Thus, it was found that the country's historical policy combined two traditions of identity –

the European Christian-monarchical and nationalist “pre-Danube” history of the Magyars (pp. 228–229). In conclusion, the authors found that the specificity of the memory policy in Hungary was determined by the need to overcome the totalitarian legacy and some cultural and historical circumstances, which explain the emphasis on ensuring the spiritual and cultural unity of all Hungarians in the world. Among the successes of such a policy, the following are highlighted: the effectiveness of financing according to the “cost/result” ratio; maintaining strong ties with the diaspora; development of the transcultural community “Great Turan”, etc. As a shortcoming of the memory policy, its international conflict potential, which causes disputes with states where there are Hungarian communities (Romania, Slovakia, Ukraine) is identified.

Subsection 3.4. “The politics of memory of Great Britain and the problem of migrants” begins with the statement of the growth of the share of non-indigenous ethnic groups in British society (over 10% in 2011), primarily those from former British India (India, Pakistan, Bangladesh). It turned out that, thanks to the common history, the growth of their influence (primarily from India) is perceived by the British society quite loyally, as an element of stability. Examples of this are the memorial to the Nepalese soldiers of the British army, the monument to M. Gandhi, etc. (pp. 231–232). On the other hand, it was noted that migrants from South Asia often become “more British than the British themselves” by their way of life and way of life. The role of the Afro-Caribbean community in the memorial context was found to have gained significant resonance as a result of the Black Lives Matter (BLM)-inspired “Down with the Racists” campaign with a list of 60 monuments. As the Authors noted, the BLM initiative was a manifestation of a left-liberal approach that sometimes leads to “reverse racism” when the collective memory of white Europeans is discriminated against. In the summer of 2020, the monument to E. Colston was toppled, brutal inscriptions on the monuments to Queen Victoria and V. Churchill, and counter-attacks on memorial objects of Afro-Caribbeans. The “war of monuments” is characterized as a visual manifestation of the discrepancy between the majority of native and part of non-native British people in the perception of British history and its iconic figures (pp. 233–234). Another problem has also been observed, where difficulties with integration force migrants to cluster in locations, forming trans-ethnic identities such as “Scottish Bengalis” or “Jamaican Welsh”, sometimes with a bias towards separatism. It is established that although migrants are a potential factor of disintegration, the advantage of Great Britain is that most of them have experienced common historical trials with it.

Subsection 3.5. is entitled “Conflictogenic potential of modern politics of historical memory about the Civil War of 1861 – 1865 in the USA”. The peculiarities of the politics of memory in the USA are revealed, and it is emphasized that although its priority is to educate a patriotic citizen, the state system and the pluralistic nature of society have caused different understandings of patriotism in the states. The belated and specific nation-building of Americans and the creation of a unique nation-state in the USA, not a nation-state, have been confirmed. It has been found that the transition from slavery to freedom, carried out during the Civil War of 1861 – 1865, continues to create conflict in society. It was noted that the separatists of the South sought to restore their dignity by creating in the 1860s a myth about the “lost cause” of the Civil War – about the idyll of the noble patriarchal South, which was violated by immoral materialists – industrialists. It was found that this myth is still popular as an element of the “deep culture” of a part of poorly educated Americans, cultivated by a part of politicians, intelligentsia, and clergy (pp. 243–244). The authors reminded that in the late 2010s, due to police brutality, interracial relations sharply worsened in the country, and protests took place, which led to the “war of monuments” and the demolition of memorials to leading racist Confederates. After another

outbreak of violence in the summer of 2020, up to 26 million people participated in the riots, which made them the most massive in the history of the USA (pp. 248–249).

The authors discovered another aspect of the formation of the public memory of Americans – the “Call to Action” movement, for the truth of the Civil War. Since 2020, the historian S. Hancock and his associates have started a “good history demonstration”: they set up stands on the battlefields to compensate for the silencing of racial discrimination and slavery. The authors noted that President D. Trump called for a return to “patriotic education”, which was protested by members of the American Historical Association and other scholars who, recognizing the educational role of history, insisted on reporting the truth regardless of political expediency. In the end, the Authors claim that the process of nation-building in the USA is incomplete even in the 21st century, so there are no sufficient grounds to believe that a common American identity will eventually be formed. However, in our opinion, such a statement is doubtful, as well as the fact that the identity of European nations “in many cases declines, dissolves” (p. 238).

Summarizing the review of historical policy research in different countries of the world, it should be noted that the author team of the Institute of World History performed a large and complex job and, relying on a wide range of historiographical sources, sociological and statistical data, presented a panoramic section of the modern memory policy of many countries and regions of the world. The scientists of the Institute clarified the regional specificity of the factors of historical memory and forgetting, the historical and cultural structures and forms of collective memory, revealed the consolidating and destructive potential of the politics of memory, and characterized the peculiarities of discussions on these issues in some European countries. Institutional and financial support, forms, methods, and means of actualizing historical memory as an effective component of nation-building processes and the implementation of “soft power” policy in the international arena have been studied. Considered conclusions have been made that no matter how well-established the ideas about the past of a country are, it is transformed in one way or another under the influence of internal political needs, challenges of the information society, and processes of globalization and becomes a component of modern international relations. The authors found that in general there is a selective nature of restoring the past and incorporating it into the present, and the practice of mythologizing history is most characteristic of transit societies and is conditioned by the logic of de-communicization and the unfolding of nation-building processes. The authors established that the exit of discussions about memory beyond the boundaries of state-national spaces proves that a spatial, global dimension is increasingly added to their temporal dimension as a link between generations: now every nation constructs an image of its past in the context of world discourse. Evidence is provided that a global audience, united by the recognized moral consciousness and values of democracy, exerts a reverse influence on the interpretation of the past. Thus, on the examples of Germany, Austria, Great Britain, and other countries, it is proven that the established narratives of memory, based on images of historical victories, are increasingly being replaced by the narrative of historical trauma and sacrifice, and the discourse of collective guilt and responsibility. At the same time, it is emphasized that permanent surges in the politicization of historical memory, especially acute in European countries of young democracies, lead to contradictions and “memory wars” in the international arena (Balkan countries, Hungary, etc.). In our opinion, the most well-argued and logical in the monograph are the theoretical sections, as well as the studies of memory politics in Germany, Italy, the USA, Hungary, India and Turkey, Arab countries. We consider several well-founded proposals for Ukraine, taking into account world experience, a valuable achievement of the Author’s team.

However, we believe that, in general, the logical three-part construction of the monograph, in principle the theoretical section, the consolidating potential of the politics of memory and the politics of memory as a regulator of conflicts, does not fully correspond to the content of the material placed in them, since, for example, the politics of “muscular liberalism” Great Britain (Chapter 3) has greater consolidating potential than France or Italy (Chapter 2). At the same time, the complexity of the research subject was manifested in the fact that not all subdivisions of the monograph, as is the case in large author collectives, are equally equivalent in terms of the logical dimension of thesis-argument-conclusion. Thus, despite the weighted analysis of the scientific discourse on the collective memory of France, the authors of subsection 2.3. did not take into account almost half a century of memory policy experience between the reigns of S. de Gaulle and E. Macron, in particular, the position of President N. Sarkozy, who believed that to be a welcome guest, a visitor must become part of the French nation. Moreover, the consequences of ill-considered immigration measures, the absolutization of the ideology of multiculturalism, which leads to social tension, and the strengthening of right-wing forces led by Marine Le Pen, are not considered. We also believe that the three features of the memory policy of the Balkan countries and modern realities identified by the Authors of subsection 3.2 confirm not frequent radical changes, but rather the stable nature of their official historical paradigm. Although the Authors have singled out two sections with paradigms of memory policy in the dichotomies of “consolidation-disintegration” and multiple and national identities, we believe that these relationships in different countries are not sufficiently reflected in the final part of the work, called “Conclusion” in Russian. The concluding section looks, basically, like a compendium of the content of each subsection, while the need to compare the results of the memory policy in individual countries and regions to identify the degree of its success according to the degree of resonance or dissonance of “official” and “unofficial memory” is only partially realized” (criteria of L. Festinger’s theory of cognitive dissonance). The same applies to the lack of synthetic generalizations regarding the presence (or absence) of dominant trends in memory politics at the regional and international level (for example the “old” West and East of Europe, the Arab West and East of Asia, etc. However, these complex and ambiguous problems were probably not of primary importance to the authors of the country studies, therefore, they may be investigated in the future. After all, the culture of historical discussions provides for the creation of conditions for the search for historical truth, as it brings closer the possibility of identifying and condemning past injustices, which serves as a factor in the development of the individual and society in In our opinion, J. Assman’s opposition between communicative and cultural memory, in particular, due to the “polarity of the social elite that possesses knowledge, ... and the group”, is somewhat outdated, as for the information age.

Therefore, we believe that the “knowledgeable social elite” from the Institute of World History not only competently and reasonably researched the current state of communicative and cultural memory and historical policy in some countries but also presented it in an accessible and balanced way in their monograph to various social groups and political actors of Ukraine and the world. In general, the high professional level of the author’s team allowed historians of the Institute to conduct a thorough and balanced study, which, due to its relevance and fundamentality, is a significant contribution to the compendium of Ukrainian studies of world history, therefore it needs to be continued and expanded to include other countries and regions.

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