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COMMON AND SPECIFIC: HYBRID “LARGA / IVANIJA” TYPE AXES

Abstract: The Larga-Ivanija type axes stand out both by their very small number and by their beauty. Summing up specific elements, found individually and in the case of other axes (semi-calotte flat, curved blade, decoration on the sleeve and so on), the use of the term hybrid axes is justified. Their similarity with Drajna-type axes is obvious, supporting their symbolic value. Their dating is relative, with no specific context, but they can be dated in the Late Bronze. **The study aims** to present morphologically each component of these axes, grouped by blade, handles, necks, ornaments. This detailed analysis allows both highlight both the common and the particular elements. Our approach is an extension of the study published in 2023.

Scientific novelty. After the stage of outlining the main challenges offered by a hybrid type, we considered it essential to analyze some aspects in detail. Such ‘refinement’ allows us not only to observe the finest morphological details, but also how the latter are distributed geographically. **Conclusions.** Thus, taking into account the importance of the discoveries in Ukraine, in this study we suggested using the compound term “Larga-Ivanija-type axes” instead of the term “Larga-type” used by specialists in Romania and Hungary nowadays. There are two metallurgical areas that produced and used such very rare axes: western Ukraine, Transylvania and Maramureș. Their kinship with Drajna-type axes connects these regions to the widespread and dynamic trade of Bronze Age elites in the Balkan and Aegean area.

Keywords: Larga-Ivanija type axes, prestige goods, Late Bronze Age, Carpathian Bronze Age metallurgy.

ЗАГАЛЬНЕ ТА СПЕЦИФІЧНЕ: ГІБРИДНІ СОКИРИ ТИПУ “ЛАРГА / ІВАНІЯ”

Анотація. Сокири типу Ларга-Іванія вирізняються як дуже малою кількістю, так і красою. Підсумовуючи конкретні елементи, знайдені окремо, а також у випадку інших сокир (напівкалота плоска, вигнута лезо, оздоблення на втулці тощо), використання терміна “гібридні сокири” є виправданим. Їхня схожість із сокирами типу Драйна очевидна, що підтверджує їхнє символічне значення. Датування артефактів є відносним, без конкретного контексту, але їх можна датувати пізньою бронзою. **Дослідження має на меті** морфологічно представити

кожен компонент цих сокир, згрупований за лезом, рукоятками, шийками, орнаментами. Цей детальний аналіз уможливило виділення як спільних, так і особливих елементів. Наш підхід є продовженням дослідження, опублікованого у 2023 році.

Наукова новизна. Після етапу окреслення основних проблем, що виникають у зв'язку з гібридним типом, ми вважали за необхідне детально проаналізувати деякі аспекти. Таке “удосконалення” дозволяє нам не лише спостерігати найтонші морфологічні деталі, але й те, як останні розподілені географічно. **Висновки.** Отже, враховуючи важливість відкриттів в Україні, ми запропонували в цьому дослідженні використовувати складений термін “сокири типу Ларга-Іванія” замість терміна “тип Ларга”, який сьогодні використовують фахівці в Румунії та Угорщині. Існують дві металургійні області, які виробляли та використовували такі дуже рідкісні сокири: західна Україна, Трансільванія та Мармарош. Їхня спорідненість із сокирами типу Драїна пов'язує ці регіони з широкою та динамічною торгівлею еліт бронзової доби на Балканах та в Егейському регіоні.

Ключові слова: сокири типу Ларга-Іванія, престижні товари, пізня бронзова доба, металургія карпатської бронзової доби.

Problem Statement. One of the artifacts of the Bronze Age, common by its spread both in the present-day territory of Romania and Ukraine, is the Larga-Ivanija type axe. This quintessentially Carpathian product illustrates not only a similar bronze metallurgy, but also the existence of regional elites bearing prestigious goods with most probably common morphology, valences and symbolism. In a recent study we have addressed the diverse issues raised by these very rare axes (Popa 2023), so we will not dwell on the complexity of the whole topic. In this article we aim to revisit the typology issue of Larga-Ivanija axes and to emphasize which elements are common to Transylvanian and Ukrainian pieces, especially since they cannot be defined without considering them together.

Review of Research. In 1933, Ion Nestor discussed the Larga axe, the first known of its type, in the context of the axes from the Draja deposit and noted its identity with an axe from the western Volhynia area (Nestor, 1933, p. 128). Later, Márton Roska observed the similarities of the Larga axe with some stone axes and dated the artefact in the second age of the Bronze Age in the Carpathian Basin (Roska, 1959, pp. 63–66, fig. 12). Amália Mozsolics included the axe in Hajdúsámson deposits horizon (Mozsolics, 1967, pp. 38, 168), a categorisation criticized later (Kacsó, 1989, p. 85, note 11). Alexandru Vulpe republished the axe and included it in the Larga type; especially starting from the analogy offered by the artefact found in the tumulus at Ivanija, Vulpe dated the axe in the Late Bronze (Vulpe, 1970, pp. 22, 100–101, Taf. 41/570). A review of the discussions about the Larga axes was conducted by C. Kacsó (Kacsó, 1989, pp. 83–85), which questioned the chronological categorisation suggested by the axe found in the tumulus at Ivanija, dated only by suspected connections to Late Komarow materials found in the vicinity of the tomb (Kacsó, 1989, p. 85). Instead, A. László, contrary to Kacsó, considered as probable the association of the Ivanija axe with the Komarow type materials, as well as the dating of the Larga-type axes in the same range as those of the Draja-Lozova – Pobit Kamāk type, belonging to the Late Bronze (László, 2013, p. 257).

One of the axes with which it shows certain similarities is the one discovered at Larga (Maramureș county), heading the series of axes with the same name. It has a prominent, mushroom-shaped flat connected to the hafting tube by a massive bar with a round section. The hafting tube is poorly developed and has thickened edges. The blade is arched and ending in a very widened blade, crescent-curved, like a halberd. There is a circular, rounded protrusion on the sleeve, surrounded by ribs that continue along the blade parallel

to the sides, up to the cutting edge. On the middle, next to the protrusion, another rib starts medially, which bifurcates close to the edge joining with those on the sides. The first mentioning of the artefact, only as a drawing, without further information (*Archaeologiai Értésítő*, 1902, p. 414). In 1959, M. Roska dedicates it a special study (Roska, 1959; Roska, 1942, p. 280, no. 17, fig. 339; Mozsolics, 1967, pp. 38, 168, Abb. 10/2; Vulpe, 1970, pp. 22, 100–101, Taf. 41/570; Petrescu-Dîmbovița, 1977, p. 49, pl. 19/6; Kacsó, 2002, pp. 7–8, fig. 2/2) (fig. 1/4 = 2/3).

Research Results. A somewhat similar axe, but only in light of some of its components, also comes from Maramureș, from Orăștea. The artefact features the mushroom-shaped disc, connected to the hafting tube by a circular cross-section bar. The tube is well developed, with thickened edges, but with very thin walls. The blade is moderately curved and the bevel slightly concave. The tube and the blade are ornamented with the same elements (protrusions, ribs) in a layout similar to that found on the Larga axe (Kacsó, 1989, pp. 83–89, fig. 1; Kacsó, 2004, pl. 67/1; Kacsó, 2010, p. 94) (fig. 1/5 = 2/2).

The most recent Larga-Ivanija axe found in Romania comes from Mihail. The axe is made of bronze. The flat of the axe, finished in the shape of a half-calotte, is connected to the hafting tube by an octagonal faceted bar, which thins in the middle. The hafting tube, with its oval section, is weak and unevenly developed, practically uniting at the top with the blade. The lower part is more highlighted due to its thinning and elevation. The blade is very arched, gradually broadening, with the straight bevel, giving the axe perfect stability by resting it on the points of the lower part of the hafting tube and the bottom tip of the blade. The axe's tube is ornamented, on both sides, with a round, semi-calotte protrusion, surrounded by a rib in the form of an 'eye'-shaped loop. The rib continues medially on the blade, extending parallel to the edges of the axe, almost to the edge, its margins being well delimited by a groove of varying width and depth. The artefact does not show any casting flaws, but its finishing is not complete. Small fine notches are visible on the upper edge of the hafting tube (fig. 1/6 = 2/1).

Three other artefacts, with a similar typology, come from outside Romania, being located in the north-western area of Ukraine. An axe similar to the Larga one was discovered in "West Volhynia." It has an elongated shape, long blade, finished with a halberd-like crescent-shaped edge. Two parallel ribs start from the sleeve and run along the blade's sides and unfold on the edge; between them, another rib, medial, bifurcates on the blade. The ribs also frame a small circular protrusion. The tube is short, the calotte-shaped flat is connected to it by a strong rod (Svešnikov, 1968, p. 167, fig. 1/1; Klochko, 1993, pp. 9–10, fig. 1/2; Makarowicz, 2012, p. 184, fig. 5/2) (fig. 1/3 = 2/4).

An axe somewhat similar in shape and decoration comes from Ivanija, probably from a destroyed tumulus (tumulus no. 1). The artefact is smaller in size, the massive hafting tube, stands out lengthened from the area of some ribs, on both sides. The blade is short, curved, with a widened bevel, ending in a crescent shape. In the central area of the sleeve is a circular protrusion, approx. 1.5 cm in diameter, surrounded by a rib similar in shape, opening on the blade. The flat of the axe is calotte-shaped, being connected to the tube by a rod thinned in the middle area (Antoniewicz, 1928, pl. XIV/15; Svešnikov, 1968, p. 160, fig. 1/2; Klochko, 1993, pp. 9–10, fig. 1/1; Makarowicz, 2012, 184, fig. 5/1; Klochko, & Kozymenko, 2017, p. 308, fig. 17; p. 309) (fig. 1/1 = 2/5).

An axe very similar to the Ivanija axe was published from Troieshchyna (Kyiv) and still preserved in the handle wooden traces of the haft (dimensions: length = 12 cm; length of hafting tube = 7.2 cm; diameter of the tube = 2.3 cm) (fig. 1/2). We do not know the context of

the artefact; it is attributed to the Tschiniecko-Komarov culture (2100 – 1300 BC) (Klochko, & Kozymenko, 2017, p. 129, 3.9, fig. 1; p. 309).

Along with these axes that constitute themselves in the best analogues, one can also select some finds with less similarities, but with the elements specific to the discussed type. An axe discovered in Sălaj, at Gâlgău Almaşului (Lakó, 1983, 76, pl. V/3, a discovery highlighted by Kacsó, 2007, p. 38), would show some elements of hybrid axes (Soroceanu et al. 2019, p. 204), but only the drawing of the published piece is not enough. An axe that even if it does not have an arched blade has a semi-calotte bevel and an arched halberd flat (Gedl, 1980, p. 60, no. 116, pl. 34/G 1), is known to us from Brzeźno (Poland). An axe with certain similar characteristics, with a semi-calotte flat, also comes from Serbia, from the Vatina culture area (Garašanin, 1973, p. 327, pl. 13/3).

Classification of blades

The typological analysis of the blades of the axes of this type shows three variants. *Variant A* – short, curved, sturdy, crescent-edged, short, curved blades, of the halberd type, found in the Ukrainian specimens from Ivanija and Troieshchyna (Kiev) (fig. 3/A1-2). *Variant B* – long, arched blades with a similar morphology to variant A, but with a much more slender profile, found at Larga and western Volhynia (Fig. 3/B3-4). *Variant C* – long curved blades with a simple edge, found in Transylvania at Mihalţ and in Maramureş at Orăştia (fig. 3C/5-6).

In the case of the blades, the most frequently encountered ones are semilunar, halabard, defining two of the three variants: *Variant A* – simple, undecorated blades (fig. 4/A1-2); *Variant B* – semilunar blades, with thin profile, on decorated blades (fig. 4/B3-4); *Variant C* – straight, simple, approximately square blades (fig. 4/C5-6). As for the ornamentation on the blades, it excludes the Ukrainian specimens from Ivanija and Troieshchyna. Two specimens (western Volhynia and Larga) have identical ornamentation, with a midrib starting from the handle and branching off towards the blade in the shape of a letter ‘Y’ (fig. 5/A1-2). The same midrib, but simple, unbifurcated, can be found on the blade of the axe from Orăştia (fig. 5/B3). A similar decoration can be found on the axe from Mihalţ, in which the midrib developed parallel to the edges of the blade resulting in a significant width towards the cutting edge (fig. 5/C4).

Classification of sleeves

Fixing sleeves are also defining for the concept of hybrid axes. We distinguish two different variants suggesting different traditions. In Variant 1 we can include the axes from Ivanija and Troieshchyna (Kiev), together with the Maramureş from Orăştia, whose sleeve is elongated tubular (fig. 7/A1-3). The specimen from Troieshchyna is the only one with a metal stock at one end; a rivet bent at right angles was attached to the opposite end (Klochko et al. 2020, p. 110, fig. 79) (fig. 1/2). The sleeves of the axes from Larga and western Volhynia are in the form of a short tube, with both edges thickened and obliquely tapering obliquely outwards (fig. 7/B4-5). A particular variant is represented by the axe from Mihalţ, whose handle has slightly thickened and rounded edges, but with a straight base and oblique top, rising with the curved blade (fig. 7/C6). The decoration on the sleeves has a certain unity: a circular protuberance in the central area of the tube. The difference lies in the size of the protuberance, either small or larger in diameter, and in the fact that the protuberances are framed within ‘eye’ ribs (fig. 8/A1-3), from which the midribs branch off into open ‘loops’ (fig. 7/B1-2; C3). The Ivanija and Troieshchyna ornamentation suggests the existence of a short sleeve into which an elongated tube, smaller in diameter, was inserted for fixed reinforcement the fixing in the wooden shank (fig. 7/A1-2).

Classification of the necks

There are two well-defined variations on the necks of Larga-Ivaniija axes. *Variant 1* – with the bar progressively thickened towards the back of the neck, close to the shape of an hourglass. Three similar specimens are known: Ivaniija, Troieshchyna (Kiev) and Mihaltŭ (fig. 6/A1-3). If in one case the profile is circular (Ivaniija), in two axes (Troieshchyna and Mihaltŭ) the profile is polygonal, with eight facets, which is certain for the example from Mihaltŭ (fig. 2/1) and probably similar for the one from Ukraine (fig. 1/2). *Variant 2* – illustrated by the axes from Orŭtaŭa, Larga and western Volhynia – is defined by the bar with a circular profile at the end of which the semi-callotiform head develops (fig. 6/B4-6).

The battle axe from Siliŭteni (Argeŭ county), attributed to the Tei culture, with its slender appearance and cylindrical edge (Comŭa, 1967, pp. 671–674, fig. 1; Vulpe, 1970, pl. 18/278) has a similar shape to that of the Mihaltŭ axe. A bronze axe, with a semi-calotte flat and circular protrusion on the sleeve is published from the Buzău area, probably from Nehoiu and is dated in Middle Bronze. The surface of the artefact was smoothed after casting (Moisil, 1911, p. 86, fig. 2; p. 87; discussed again in Vulpe, 1970, Taf. 56/C2; Motzoi-Chicideanu, 1995, fig. 10/3; Soroceanu, 2005, p. 29 and note 116, pl. 3/33).

Sleeves decorated with circular protrusions, which probably mimic rivets for a stable fastening with the hafting tube (Buchholz, 1999, p. 76), are also seen in other types of axes, such as those with disc, discovered at Hajdúböszörmény (Hampel, 1886, pl. XXX/4), Winklarn, Zelené u Preŭtice, “Hungary” (David, 2002, pl. 10/1-3 = 53/1-3; 345/5; 348/3), “Bereg county” (Hampel, 1896, pl. CCLV/2) or Veľký Blh (Slovakia) (Mozsolics, 1973, pl. 7/1). Incidentally, during the Middle Bronze in Central Europe we meet circular protrusions (either only one or three) on the sleeve of some halberds (Kovács, 1996, pp. 89–93, fig. 6/1; 7/1-2), these most likely also imitating the fixing rivets of the blade. Ribs arranged on the blade similar to those of the Orŭtaŭa axe are seen in the case of bronze axes, different typologically, coming from “Hungary,” but also from Dračiny and Veľký Blh (Novotná, 1970, pl. 22/380 = 49/A 5; David, 2002, pl. 83/1b; 85/2-3). The looped ribs on the sleeve, even though they do not contain any protrusions, are found on bronze axes from Ópályi (Mozsolics, 1973, pl. 17/12), Levelek (Mozsolics, 1973, pl. 42 B/2), Hostice (Novotná, 1970, pl. II; Mozsolics, 1973, pl. 77/4a-5a) or Kriva (Kacsó, 2018, fig. 5/7).

We must mention here the axe discovered in Epirus, Dodona (Greece) (Sandars, 1983, pp. 53–55, fig. 12b; László, 2006a, p. 45, fig. 1/2; László, 2006b, fig. 1/5; Kacsó, 2007, p. 38; László, 2013, p. 256, pl. 2/8), very far away from the known area; it also had a semi-calotte flat, similar to the ones from Orŭtaŭa and Larga. Unfortunately, the fragmentary state of the piece does not allow a definite categorisation and association with the North Carpathian pieces, although C. Kacsó estimated that the specimen found at Dodona could have been manufactured in Transylvania itself, from the direct contact of the Greek area with the local intra-Carpathian metallurgy (Kacsó, 2007, p. 40).

After reviewing the characteristics of the axes belonging to the Larga-Ivaniija type, we can make some assessments regarding the Transylvanian axe (Mihaltŭ). Unlike the rest of the axes similar in terms of morphology and ornamentation, has certain peculiarities. For example, the flat, which connects to the bar directly from its sides, has no analogues in the known axes, although some similarities can be observed with the artefact from “West Volhynia.” The bar connecting the flat to the sleeve is also different from that of the Larga-Ivaniija type axes, the octagonal section of which is again devoid of analogues. The hafting tube also shows notable differences from the known ones, by the stronger development at the bottom end. The blade

of the axe is also shaped in a particular way, which is strongly arched and slightly cant to the sleeve, but also much thinner in section.

As noted by Carol Kacsó, the common element that most closely approximates the Larga axes is the embossed decoration, with a protrusion on the sleeve surrounded by a rib, but with differences in the way the ribs, and especially the central one, develop on the blade (Kacsó, 1989, p. 86). From this point of view, the decoration of the Mihălț axe fits into this type, but the motifs are different again, without analogues.

The flat axes of the Orțăța, Larga and “Western Volhynia” is very similar to that of the axe from the Târșolț deposit, included by T. Bader in the “Târșolț variant” of type B3 Drajna type (with bar under the oval flat of the axe) (Bader, 1996, pp. 269, 274–275 and note 47, fig. 11/3; Kacsó, 2003, p. 272, pl. VII/5; Kacsó, 2017, pp. 19, 27–28, fig. 19/3).

The mushroom-shaped nape of the metal artefacts is specific to type B axes, from the Middle Bronze, as they are known to us by the Borlești variant of the B₁-type axes (Vulpe, 1970, pp. 70, 73), documented today also by the Cajvana artefact (Ignat, 2000, p. 34, fig. 7; see also Soroceanu et al. 2019, p. 203). Tudor Soroceanu noted the difficulty of distinguishing between different variants (Soroceanu et al. 2019, p. 203), but noted their possible origin in the flat of some type B₁ axes, such as the one at Szeghalom and a discovery with an unknown place from Hungary (Hampel, 1886, pl. XXX/1; Mozsolics, 1967, pp. 38, 165, Taf. 12/3 = 14/3; 17/3; Soroceanu et al. 2019, p. 203). He noted four decades ago that the semi-calotte shaped flat, or similar to a sphere, appears in the case of several types of axes: Drajna, Larga, Křtěnov (Soroceanu, & Retegan, 1981, p. 210).

Regarding the Křtěnov-type, it must be said that its flat is not hemispherical but has the profile resembling an axe-blade. The presence of these axes, specific to the Middle Bronze, in the area of the Northern Carpathians (for these axes, widespread in Hungary, Slovakia and Romania, see Hájek, 1950; Neugebauer-Maresch/Neugebauer, 2000 – 2001; David, 2002, pl. 70–82, 209–212; Pernika et al. 2016, pp. 62–63, fig. 11), leaves open the possibility of influences on axes of the Larga or Drajna types. The earlier chronological position of Křtěnov-type axes (dated in the Early and Middle Bronze), supports a possible source of inspiration for the manufacturers of future Larga or Drajna-type axes. This is even more so as some artefacts (from the Szőreg variant), from Szőreg, Bánov or Donau bei Dunaújváros (David, 2002, pl. 70/1-2; 83/3A-c; 252/1), do not have a flat axe flat, but well thickened, rather close to the semi-calotte flats. Some axes develop their flat in their own semi-calottes, as are the specimens from Bržezno and Slaný (David, 2002, pl. 84/2a-b, 4a-b). In the evolutionary scheme to Larga-Ivanija type axes, it is probable that the artefact from Kamýk u Přílepu (David, 2002, pl. 84/1a-b) represents the connecting link to the axes of the Larga type.

The Larga-Ivanija type axes in Ukraine, from Ivanija and from “West Volhynia” do not benefit from precise dating. The Ivanija axe is dated in the Middle Bronze of West Volhynia. However, the calibrated ¹⁴C data from tumulus 2 in the Ivanija necropolis (adjacent to the one from which the bronze axe originated) indicate the interval 1560 – 1430 BCE (Markus, 2009, 150, fig. 2), but we do not know for sure whether the two tumuli were contemporaries (see the reservations expressed by C. Kacsó, who even though he accepts a cultural unity, does not exclude that the destroyed tumulus, implicitly the axe that would have belonged to it, was earlier, Kacsó, 1989, p. 85); however, it is accepted as probable their belonging to the Komarov (Klochko, 1993, pp. 9–10) / Trzcinec culture (Makarowicz, 2012). For the Ukrainian area, V. I. Klochko and A. V. Kozymenko uses the term *Ivanija-type* axes for specimens from Ivanija and Troieshchyna (Klochko, & Kozymenko, 2017, p. 129). It is

probably important to remember that in the area of the Desa river basin, in Ukraine, we find other axe-sceptres, of the Křtěnov-Type, with a halberd bevel (Shafenkova, & Chubur, 2019), possibly partially contemporary to those of the Larga-Ivanija type.

In **conclusion**, it would be wrong to continue to speak of a single typological line of axes with an arched blade and the opposite side finished in the shape of a mushroom. Since, in our opinion, it is not the decoration that should dictate the typological classification, but also the shape of the piece, we consider that ornaments similar to the specimens discussed should be regarded, as with other types, only as specific to axes with these characteristics. Therefore, given that each piece presents as common elements only the decoration, with obvious differences between them in terms of component elements (edge, sleeve, flat), we consider that we cannot speak of the existence of a unitary type nor of variants of the same type, but of a *hybrid type* (as we see in the case of axes from the types A₁, A₂, B₁, B₂, B₃ and B₄), generally called the “Larga” type by Romanian specialists and the “Ivanija” type by Ukrainian specialists.

The rarity of the Larga-Ivanija type axes was put not on the inventiveness of a local craftsman, but on the existence of a market demand at the time (Kacsó, 1989, p. 85). It is obvious, therefore, that we have in front of us rare specimens, the result of some innovations that their craftsmen have certainly made for special orders. These axes rather constitute isolated artefacts, which were not in use for long, so they failed to develop into a unitary typological series, or it was desired that they remain unique specimens, which would increase their value in the market. That is why, it is not possible to create a typology at the moment. The fact that the area of spread of Dražna type axes is the upper basin of the Tisa and Someş rivers (Kacsó, 1977, pp. 61–62; Bader, 1996, p. 275; see also Irimia, 2007, p. 30) indicates an overlap with the area of Larga-Ivanija axes, except for the Mihał axe and the extra Carpathian axe, from Nehoiu. Obviously, the morphology, dispersion (fig. 9) and the rarity of Larga-Ivanija type hydride axes show their symbolic value as prestige goods.

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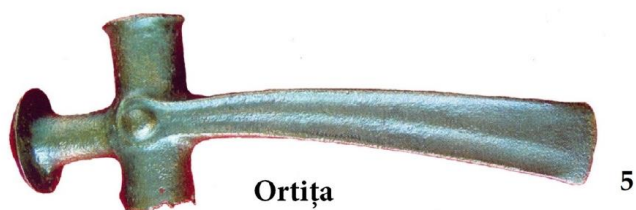
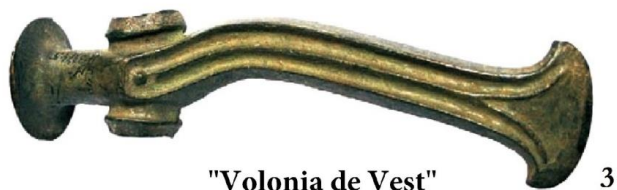
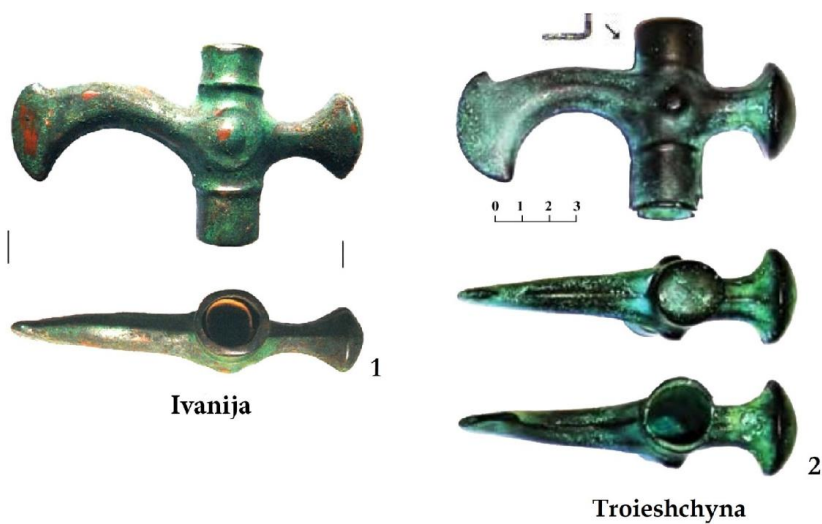


Fig. 1. Hybrid Larga-type axes (foto) (after Klochko & Kozymenko, 2017 – 1–2; Niculică, 2007 – 3–4; Kacsó, 2004 – 5; Popa, 2023 – 6)

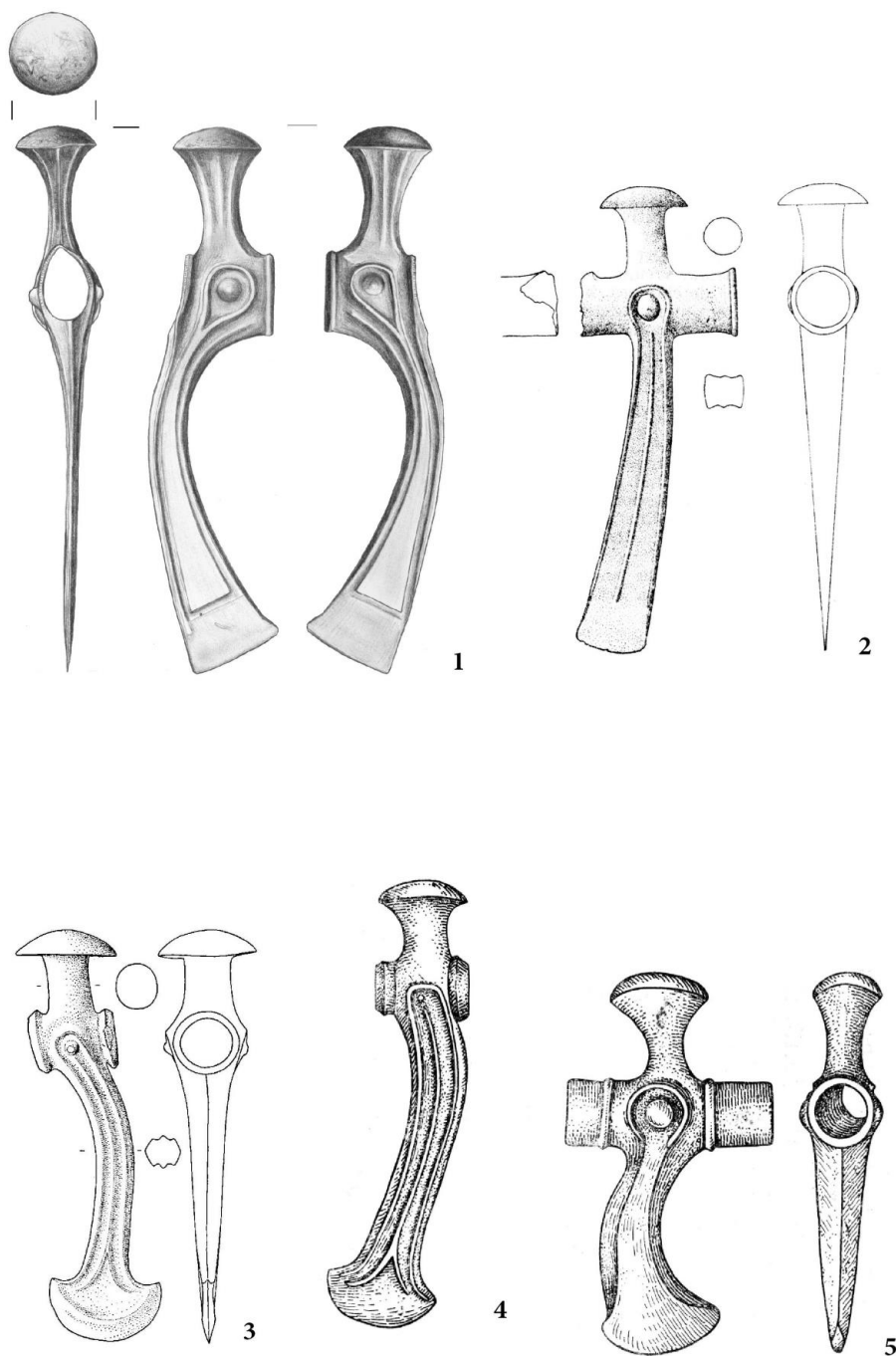


Fig. 2. Hybrid Larga-Ivanija type axes: Mihalț (1), Orțâța (2), Larga (3), western Volhynia (4) și Ivanija (5) (after Popa, 2023 – 1; Kacsó, 1989 – 2; Vulpe, 1970 – 3; Svešnikov, 1968 – 4–5)

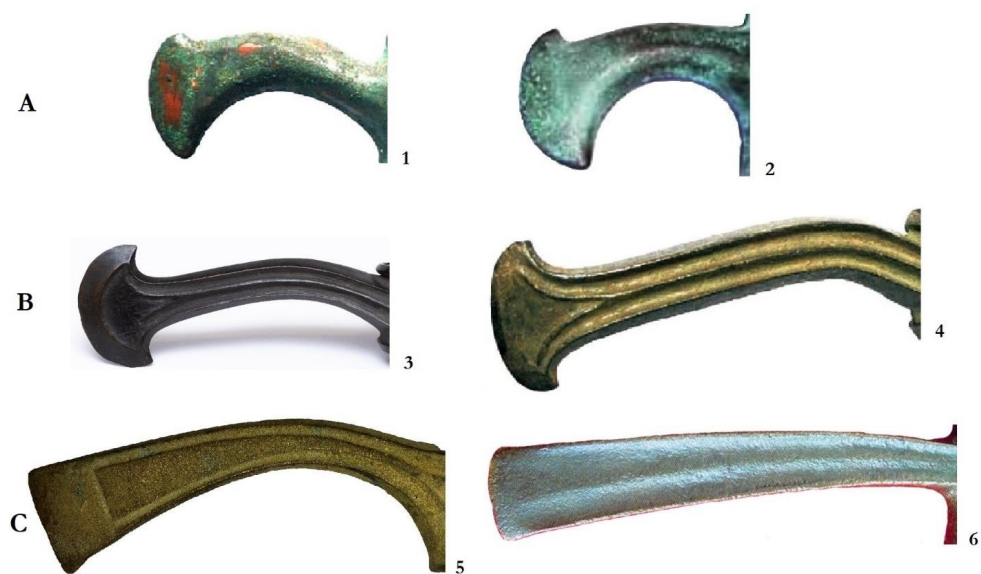


Fig. 3. Hybrid Larga-Ivanija type axes – blade variant: A – Ivanija (1), Troieshchyna (2); B – Larga (3), western Volhynia (4); C – Mihălț (5), Orțăța (6)



Fig. 4. Hybrid Larga-Ivanija type axes – cutting edge variants: A – Ivanija (1), Troieshchyna (2); B – Larga (3), western Volhynia (4); C – Orțăța (5), Mihălț (6)

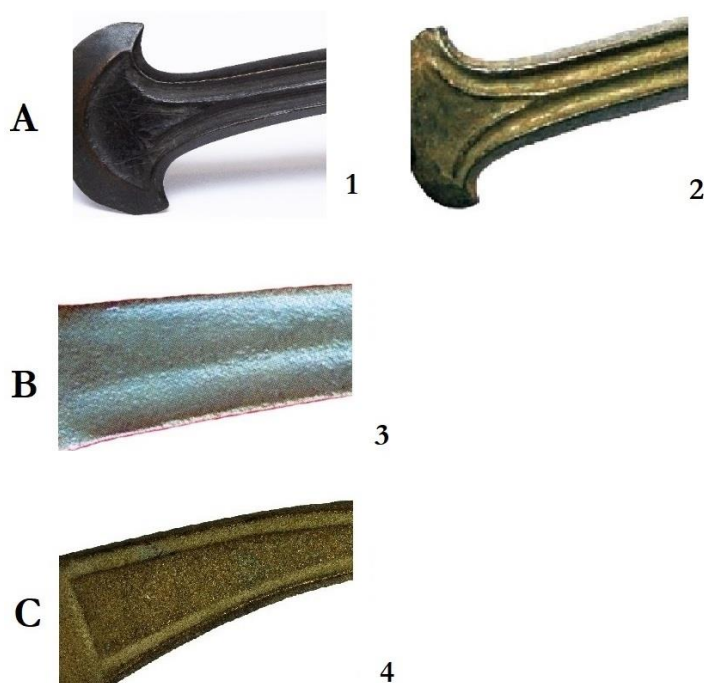


Fig. 5. Hybrid Larga-Ivanija type axes – blade ornaments variants: A – Larga (1), western Volhynia (2); B – Mihail (3); C – Orșata (4)



Fig. 6. Hybrid Larga-Ivanija type axes – neck disc variants: A – Ivanija (1), Troieshchyna (2), Mihail (3); B – Larga (4), Orșata (5), western Volhynia (6)

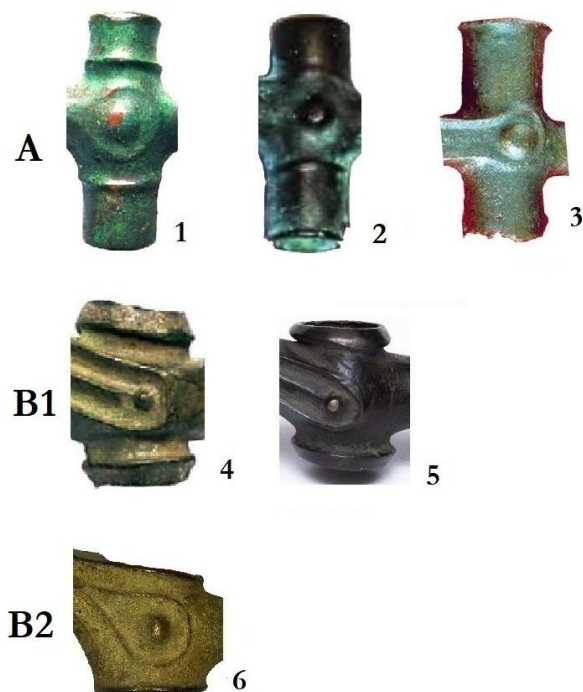


Fig. 7. Hybrid Larga-Ivanija type axes – sleeve variants: A – Ivanija (1), Troieshchyna (2), Orțăța (3); B – western Volhynia (4), Larga (5); C – Mihail (6)



Fig. 8. Hybrid Larga-Ivanija type axes – sleeve trim variants: A – Ivanija (1), Troieshchyna (2), Mihail (3); B – western Volhynia (4), Larga (5); C – Orțăța (6)

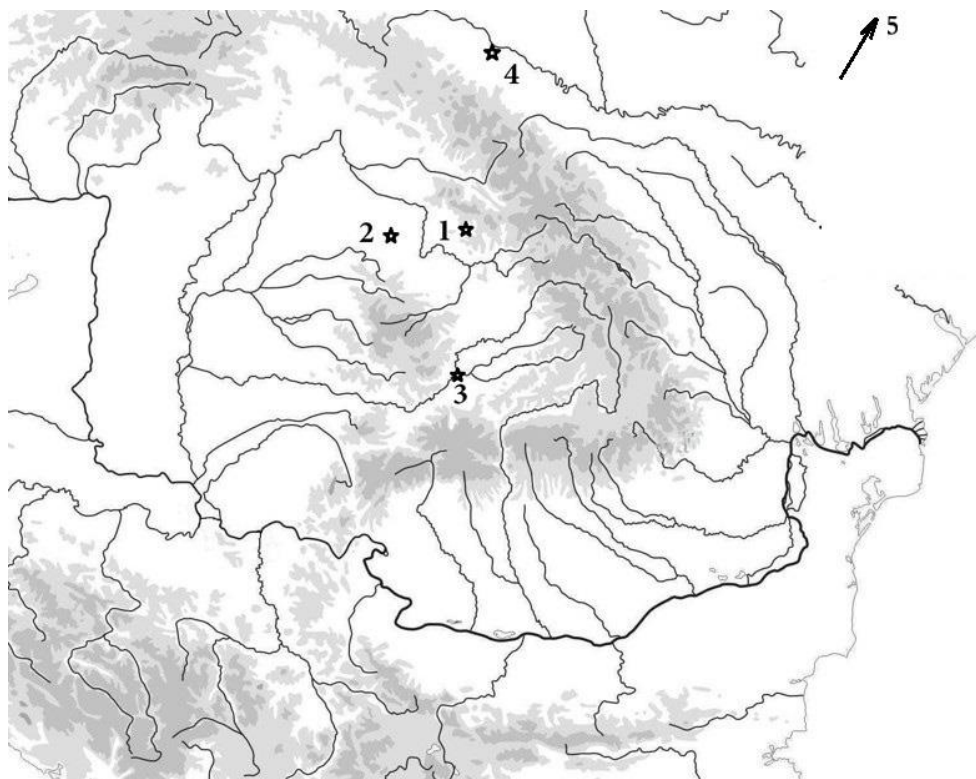


Fig. 9. Map of the spread area of hybrid Larga-Ivanija type axes mentioned in the text: 1 – Larga, 2 – Orțăța, 3 – Mihail, 4 – Ivanija, 5 – Troieshchyna (Kiev)

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**CONFESSION SACRAMENT IN THE ORTHODOX RITUALITY
AS A FACTOR IN THE UKRAINIAN MENTALITY FORMATION
IN THE 17th – 19th CENTURIES**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to elucidate the history of confession sacrament introduction into the socio-cultural space of the Orthodox Ukrainian population and its influence on the national mentality formation of the Ukrainians in the 17th – 19th centuries based on the materials of*

canonical and literary literature, directives, statutory acts, and information and publications. **Research Methodology.** The historical and analytical, discursive, and interdisciplinary focus of the research is determined by an extensive methodological toolkit, which is used in accordance with the research fields of individual religious and historical disciplines, using, first of all, the methods of deconstruction and critical analysis of sources. **Scientific Novelty.** The issue of a religious factor influence in general and in the context of the confession sacrament in particular on the formation of mass and individual forms of national self-identification of the Ukrainian population remains poorly studied. **Conclusions.** The installation of the procedure for introducing the holy sacraments of confession and communion into church rituals took place from the middle of the 2nd century to the 7th century, when Christian canons were established. There were three forms of the confessional rite: the confession of a Christian alone with God, a collective confession at a general prayer meeting of believers in the temple, the confession before a monk or other holy person. Over time, public confession was replaced by a private appeal of a believer to Christ through the mediation of a priest. Initially, the anonymity of a confessor was emphasized, but gradually the requirement of mandatory identification of a person and his social status was introduced. In the confessional preface, a priest listed warnings about avoiding sinful behaviour, and separately emphasized the fulfillment of God's instructions in various life situations. A believer could communicate with the Almighty independently through a prayer-appeal. A priest addressed God with the aim of forgiving a believer's sins reading a specific prayer from the "Trebynk" prayer book of 1646 by P. Mohyla. Violators of confession were prosecuted according to the norms of spiritual and civil law. A Christian who had not undergone the rite of confession could not testify under oath in court in either civil or criminal cases. The confessional rite acquired special significance in the lives of convicted and dying people. Through subtle psychic impulses, religious self-identification was affirmed, and distinctive features of individual and mass forms of the national mentality of the Ukrainians were formed.

Key words: Orthodox Church, repentance, holy sacrament, priest, confession, religious rite, national mentality.

СПОВІДАЛЬНЕ ТАІНСТВО ПРАВОСЛАВНОЇ ОБРЯДОВОСТІ ЯК ЧИННИК ФОРМУВАННЯ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ МЕНТАЛЬНОСТІ XVII – XIX ст.

Анотація. Мета. У статті за матеріалами канонічної, художньої літератури, директивно-розпорядчих, статутних актів та інформаційно-публікаторських видань розкривається історія впровадження священнодії сповіді в соціокультурний простір православного українського населення та її впливовість на формування національної ментальності українства XVII – XIX ст. **Методологія дослідження.** Історико-аналітична, дискусійна та міждисциплінарна спрямованість розвідки зумовлена розлогим методологічним інструментарієм, який задіяний відповідно до дослідницьких полів окремих релігієзнавчих та історичних дисциплін із залученням насамперед методик деконструкції та критичного аналізу джерел. **Наукова новизна дослідження.** Недостатньо вивченою залишається проблема впливу релігійного чинника загалом та в його контексті священнодійства сповіді зокрема на формування масової та індивідуальної форм національної самоідентифікації українського населення. **Результати дослідження.** Інсталяція процедури впровадження святих таїнств сповіді та причастя в церковну обрядовість відбувалася з середини II ст. до VII ст., коли утверджувалися християнські канони. Існувало три форми сповідального обряду: сповідання християнина наодинці з Богом, через колективну сповідь на загальних молитовних зборах вірних у храмі, перед ченцем або іншою святою людиною. Із часом публічна сповідь замінювалася особним зверненням вірника до Христа через посередництво священника. Спочатку наголошувалося на анонімності сповідальника, однак поступово було запроваджено вимогу обов'язкової ідентифікації особи та її

соціального статусу. У сповідальній передмові ієрей перелічував застереження щодо уникнення гріховної поведінки, окремо наголошував на виконанні божих настанов у різних життєвих ситуаціях. Сповідальник міг спілкуватися з Всевишнім самотійно через молитву-звернення. Священник звертався до Бога з метою прощення гріхів вірянину через визначену молитовну промову “Требника” П. Могили 1646 р. Порушників сповіді переслідували відповідно до норм духовного та цивільного законодавства. Християнин, який не проходив сповідальний обряд, не міг свідчити під присягою у суді як у цивільних, так і кримінальних справах. Особливе значення сповідальний обряд набував у житті осіб, що були засуджені чи помирали. Через малопомітні психічні імпульси відбувалося утвердження релігійної самоідентифікації, формування особистих рис індивідуальної та масової форм національної ментальності українства.

Ключові слова: православна церква, покаання, святе таїнство, священник, сповідь, релігійний обряд, національна ментальність.

Problem Statement. Orthodox rituality was formed over many centuries and was designed to discipline, educate, organize, and integrate believers into the socio-cultural space of Ukrainian society. Confession was considered a little-studied and to some extent mystical ritual by which a person revealed his or her most secret thoughts, experiences, and actions to the Almighty, communicating with God alone or through earthly intermediaries – priests. The sacrament of confession encouraged Christians to greater piety, morality, self-control of their behaviour, analysis of it in accordance with God’s righteous instructions, and self-repentance for the sins committed. In the Biblical verses we find calls for piety: “Draw near to God, and God will draw near to you. Cleanse your hands, you sinners, and purify your hearts, you double-minded!” (James 4, 8) (Bibliia; Onatskyi, 1965, pp. 1823–1824).

The purpose of the article is to elucidate the history of the confession sacrament introduction into the worldview practice of the Orthodox Ukrainian people of the 17th – 19th centuries and its influence on the national mentality formation of the Ukrainian people.

In the context of the interdisciplinary and discursive fields of the study, the focus is on a long-term process of establishing the sacred sacrament of confession of Orthodox religiosity as a separate significant component in the national identity formation of the Ukrainians.

Among the study objectives, the following ones should be singled out: to outline the concept “confession” and its quintessence in the spiritual life of a Christian; to identify the main historical milestones of the practical implementation of the confessional sacrament in the life of Orthodox Ukrainian communities; to analyse the canonical literature that affirmed confession and communion as holy sacraments of church ritual; to clarify the historical progression regarding the issue of anonymity and recognition of a sinner by a priest; to point out the behavioural warnings that were sounded in a priest’s confessional preface to believers; to emphasize God’s instructions regarding the behavioural strategies of a Christian; to give an example of a confessional speech to a sinner; to describe the norms of confessional duties of a priest and a believer, as defined by Christian doctrine and civil law; to demonstrate certain restrictions on the church rite of confession and the punishment of Christian-penitents; to reveal the special significance of the sacrament in the lives of convicted and dying people; to highlight distinctive character traits of the Ukrainians as a component of the national mentality, which were established as a result of religious self-identification.

Review of Recent Researches. The outlined research issue in the context of a religious factor influences on the formation of mass and individual forms of national self-identification

of the Ukrainian population over many centuries should be considered understudied. In their studies, the authors mostly focused on the confessional Orthodox rite. The monograph by Oleg Dushin is distinguished by its thoroughness (Dushin, 2005), which reveals the history of the sacred act's origin. The religious and conceptual apparatus is presented in detail by materials from the Religious Dictionary edited by Anatoliy Kolodny and B. Lobovyk (Kolodny, & Lobovyk, 1996).

On certain issues of medieval culture and the understanding of confession in the lives of ordinary people, the study by Aron Gurevich is noted (Gurevich, 2007); the motivating psychological aspects of people's conversion to confession were studied based on the research by Viktor Moskalets (Moskalets, 2004); a psychoanalytic research on the issues of confession is presented by Archimandrite of the University of Essex Chrysostomos Grigorii Timpas (Khryzostom Hryhorii Timpas); the formation of the confessional process in Polish society is outlined in the research by Cezary Kuklo (Kuklo, 2009); the leading role of the Cossacks in the advancement of ethnic consciousness and the formation of individual character traits of the Ukrainians in the second half of the 16th – mid-17th centuries is noted in the scientific research by Vitaliy Shcherbak (Shcherbak, 2020); certain aspects of the deathbed confession and funeral rite of the Ukrainians of the 18th century are explained in the research by Oksana Romanova (Romanova, 2007). The focus is on the research by Ya. Taras and V. Yaremchuk, which is dedicated to the study of the archaeologist-priest Yuriy Shumovsky (1908 – 2003), who, based on ethnographic and theological research, analysed the meaning of calendar rituals through the prism of a combination of rational experience and religious magical beliefs with the annual liturgical cycle of the Orthodox Church (Taras, & Yaremchuk, 2023).

The source base of the research is based on the canonical literature, primarily the Bible, the Nomocanon of 1620, and the “Trebnik” prayer book by Petro Mohyla of 1646, as well as the artistic literary monument of the early Baroque poetry of the monk Klimenty Zinoviyeu of the late 17th – the beginning of the 18th centuries. The governmental and administrative direction of written sources is represented by acts of directive and administrative content – synodal and senate decrees, Codes of Laws of 1832, 1857, 1900 and documents of a statutory nature – Instructions to the priestly elders of December 26, 1697, the Regulations or Statute of the Spiritual College of January 25, 1721 and the May 1722 Appendix to it, the Statute of Spiritual Consistories of March 27, 1841. The materials of the publications of the second half of the 19th century are used in the discussion of the outlined issue: the printed organ of the Poltava Orthodox Eparchy – “Poltava Eparchy News”.

Research Results. According to Christian tradition, the concept of confession was understood as a holy sacrament in which a priest or bishop, on behalf of Christ, forgave a believer of his sins, but on condition that he recognized himself as a sinner and sincerely repented for his actions. Repentance became an integral part of confession and a gift of reconciliation between a man and God, and confession was considered a spiritual journey, similar in spirit and content to a pilgrimage (Khryzostom Hryhorii Timpas).

The priesthood was based on Christ's words to the apostles: “Whatever you bind on earth will be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth will be loosed in heaven” (Matthew 18, 18), and also: “Accept the Holy Spirit! Whose sins you forgive, they will be forgiven; and whose sins you retain, they will be retained” (Ivan 20, 22–23). The Epistle of the Apostle James says: “Therefore, confess your sins to one another and pray for one another, that you may be healed. For a fervent prayer of a righteous man has much power!” (James 5, 16) (Bibliia; Onatskyi, 1965, pp. 1823–1824). Confession was considered the best means

of protection against the evil one and his servants. Through repentance, sin died, through confession it was driven out of the house, and penance buried it in the grave (Gurevich, 2007, pp. 390–391; Kolodny, & Lobovyk, 1996, p. 80).

The installation of the confession sacrament procedure has had a long history, which depended on the dynamics of internal church changes, the genesis of social institutions of medieval society. The formation of the sacrament fell on the period of the establishment of Christian canonical standards in the mid-2nd – 7th centuries. Initially, the monotheistic form was considered to be “confession before God”, but a common early church practice of confession and repentance was general prayer gatherings of parishioners in the church. Over time, public confessions were recognized as inconvenient. Instead, the custom of private confession became widespread. The confession sacrament was performed before communion, because it was believed that sincere confession cleansed from sins and made one worthy of receiving the body and blood of the Lord. In the 3rd century, a tradition of confession before a monk or holy person arose among Christians of the West and the East. Thus, three forms of the confessional process developed: directly by a Christian before God, before prayer gatherings of believers in a church, and before a monk or other holy person (Dushin, 2005, pp. 37–38; Onatskyi, 1965, pp. 1823–1824). At the same time, confession became a means of spiritual and healing therapy to people (Borodenko, & Fazan, 2023, pp. 16–32).

The universal obligation to introduce parish confessions in Polish lands was initiated by the Decree of Cardinal Bernard Maciejowski in 1607 (Kuklo, 2009, p. 72). A special mystical act, by which a believer opened his soul to God, was given much attention in the Ukrainian Nomocanons. In particular, the Kyiv Nomocanon of 1620 stated that a priest should not ask the name of a sinner: “for this is like the betrayal of Judas”. A priest, on the contrary, must influence a confessor so that he does not name the names of sinners, because “otherwise there would be slander and condemnation”. For disclosing the secret of confession by a confessor, a punishment was imposed – a ban on serving God for three years. Metropolitan Dmytro Tuptalo taught that a priest who revealed the secrets of confession betrayed “Christ himself, who is in the one who repents” (Onatskyi, 1965, pp. 1823–1824).

However, with the “Trebnik” prayer book of 1646, spiritual regulations, synodal and senate decrees of the 17th – 19th centuries, the interpretation of the personal unrecognizableness of a sinner changed. Priests began to be required to make denunciations. A priest was required to report to spiritual and civil administrative institutions about crimes which had already been committed or illegal acts that could have been committed by a confessor or other people, and were heard during confession. A chief focus was on conspirators who threatened the security of royal people, deserters, undocumented people, etc. Family relations and sexual passions of spouses were also under control, which were strictly regulated (Borodenko, & Sitarchuk, 2021, pp. 42–55). According to the requirements of the “Trebnik” prayer book, a priest had to ask a confessor his name and social affiliation (Onatskyi, 1965, pp. 1823–1824; Mohyla, 1996, p. 364). Thus, the anonymity of a sinner was eliminated.

General principles of the confessional procedure were defined in the above-mentioned church book, which for the first time unified the ritual system of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine (Dzyuba). The sacrament was performed alone with a sinner and represented a kind of judicial process. The sacrament was intended to awaken the sense of conscience, the recognition of one’s sins, and the repentance of a believing husband, his wife, and their children during the four holy fasts, especially during the Easter fast. Confession tested a human conscience through repentance, remembering one’s sins with great humility, heartfelt

emotion, recognition of one's faults, and faith in God's mercy. All this entailed control, monitoring one's actions, and reporting to the Almighty for one's deeds. Confession required a parishioner to analyse and evaluate his activities, turned his spiritual gaze into his own moral world, and through this entire procedure, educated a sinner's duty to observe Christian ethical norms of behaviour (Gurevich, 2007, p. 390; Dushin, 2005, pp. 16–17; Mohyla, 1996, pp. 361–367).

In the preface to the confession, the priest warned people: be faithful to God, do not believe in superstitions, whispering, pouring wax, with which creation, air, water, rain, bad weather, i.e. everything that was and is beneficial, was cursed; do not be false; do not sin by working on Sundays and other annual holidays; do not miss the divine church service and do not immerse yourself in worldly thoughts during it; do not waste your day in lordship, jokes and games, but on the contrary in pious and merciful deeds; let your relatives not sin, and do not act harshly with your blood relatives; help the needy; do not commit fornication, sodomy, homosexuality and all kinds of carnal impurity; do not steal, do not rob; do not break; pay taxes; return found things; do not insult your subjects or impose excessive taxes; do not bear false witness against your neighbour, especially your wives, children, and hired labourers; do not take away plots of land. Failure to observe these Christian moral rules could lead to disastrous consequences. In the example of the biblical explanation of the vice of greed, we encounter the warning: "Then lust, when it has conceived, gives birth to sin; and sin, when it is accomplished, gives birth to death" (James, 1, 15) (Bibliia; Onatskyi, 1965, pp. 1823–1824).

A parishioner had to follow other divine instructions: not to miss church liturgies, especially on holidays and Sundays; observe four fasts each year and separately on Wednesdays and Fridays; have his own priest for confession; to confess four times a year, and most of all during Lent; not to read heretical books and other blasphemous literature; not to have such mortal sins as pride, envy, gluttony, anger, laziness in the service of God; to respect another person; to possess such virtues as humility, generosity, purity, tenderness, moderation, patience and fervent piety; feed the hungry, give drink to the thirsty, clothe the naked, bathe the dirty in the bathhouse, welcome the guest into your home, bury the dead; correct the backslider, teach the ignorant, advise the talkative, forgive the wrongs of the guilty (Mohyla, 1996, p. 820–824). The Holy Scriptures warned: "Therefore, to him who knows how to do good and does not do it, it is a sin for him!" (James, 4, 17) (Bibliia; Onatskyi, 1965, pp. 1823–1824).

In the "Trebnyk" prayer book there was also presented the verbal form of the priest's prayer speech in forgiving a sinner: "Our Lord Jesus Christ, by the grace and generosity of His love for humanity, will forgive that child who has his sins. A worthy priest, by the authority given to him, forgives all the sins of (the name of the sinner) in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Amen".

However, in the verses of the monk Klimenty Zinoviev, a prayer of a sinner to God with a slightly different meaning is found: "God, for this I ask your forgiveness: give me special grace for this message. Is there anyone in this world equal to me in sins: am I the only sinner and evil-doer... For you can also guide me on the right path: and cleanse me of all spiritual filth. And do not let me go, Oh, Lord, until the end: for even then there is no end to my sins. And do not send me yet the death that is in sins: since I have yet to wipe the heads of my enemies. Oh, God, I trust in your mercy: I entrust my soul and sinful body to you... but I despise sins when I have them in me" (Klimenty Zinoviev, 1971, p. 35). Therefore, people did not always have the opportunity and desire to repent and ask for forgiveness of sins

through earthly spiritual mediators, and the common practice remained the individual appeal of a believer to God. It is obvious that a monk is patriotic, because even in a sinner's prayerful appeal to the Almighty, the poet drew attention to the righteous cause of the Ukrainians in the fight against external enemies. It is not for nothing that the European community of the second half of the 16th – mid-17th centuries called the Ukrainians the "Cossack nation" with a special political consciousness, mentality, system of values, and a characteristic psychotype (Shcherbak, 2020, pp. 9–23).

The basic provisions of the confession sacrament and the procedure for conducting it were presented in the "Trebnik" prayer book, subsequent synodal and senate acts, starting from 1716, the relevant articles of the Regulations or Statute of the Spiritual College of January 25, 1721 and the May 1722 Appendix to it, the Statute of Spiritual Consistories of March 27, 1841 (PSZRI, 1830b, p. 196; PSZRI, 1830c, p. 341; PSZRI, 1842, p. 221), Code of Laws of 1832, 1857, 1900 (Svod zakonov, 1832, pp. 412–413; Svod zakonov, 1857, p. 7; Svod zakonov, 1900, p. 23), as well as in additional instructions, practical advice, and explanations to priests from religious institutions regarding adjustments to the conduct of church ceremonies. For example, in the second half of the 19th century, practical guidelines were distributed on shortening the confessional procedure, primarily due to the increase in the number of parishioners within one Orthodox community. Such notes were declared in the information and publishing publications of the Orthodox Church (Prakticheskiye zametki, 1873a, pp. 69–72; Prakticheskiye zametki, 1873b, pp. 89–93).

According to the requirements of the "Charter" of 1721 and the Appendix of 1722, as well as the Resolution of the Synod of April 12, 1722, every Christian was required to partake of the Holy Eucharist once a year, as this signified gratitude to God for salvation. At the same time, during confession a priest should not be overly arrogant or harsh towards a confessor, but, on the contrary, should be able to calm him down with all kinds of gentleness. If a believer distanced from Holy Communion, he demonstrated that he was not in the body of Christ, apostasy from the church. Parishioners were to monitor and report those who had not received Communion for a year, some for two, and some never.

If a person did not confess for a year, he was punished with a fine. The second time – with a double fine, and the third time he was subject to civil punishment, depending on the severity of a person's guilt. Apostates were encouraged to confess under oath. During the confession, they were questioned about the following questions: were they sons of the church, did they curse schismatics? In the absence of sworn promises, the person was recognized as a heretic (PSZRI, 1830c, pp. 341, 652, 700).

The Code of Laws of 1857 included a section "On the Prevention and Cessation of Deviations from Confession and Holy Communion", which is aimed at ensuring that Christians comply with the rules of the Orthodox Church regarding the sacrament of confession. Canonical and civil procedural norms defined the confessional behaviour of the Orthodox population. According to the requirements, a parishioner had to confess and receive communion according to the Christian rite at least once a year, during Lent or at another time; children of both sexes were to be brought to confession annually, starting from the age of seven. In accordance with the requirements of civil laws, parents who did not bring their children of confessional age to church for confession were punished with a special admonition from the spiritual and local civil leadership of the community (Svod zakonov, 1857, p. 7).

A priest was tasked with emphasizing to the faithful the importance of fulfilling their duty to confess. Civil and military leadership was also involved in monitoring people's attendance

at the holy sacraments of confession and communion, supervising and controlling those accountable to them. The parish priests recorded the presence and absence of parishioners in specially prepared confessional records in a specific form within the time limits established by the Spiritual Statute. The parish priests indicated the reasons for the absence of parishioners at confession with various notes in the church registers (Borodenko, & Tuchynskyi, 2023a, pp. 31–38; Borodenko, & Tuchynskyi, 2023b, pp. 98–107).

A separate task of the priests was to notify the Spiritual Consistory and Spiritual Boards about absent people. The Eparchy bishop kept a watchful eye on those believers who, despite a priest's persuasion, had not performed the church rites of confession and communion for two or three years. His Eminence, through the parish priest, other trusted clergy, or independently, had to convince and motivate a sinner to return to fulfilling the Christian duty of confession and, in accordance with church rules, impose penance on a violator of Christian moral norms of behaviour.

By appropriate decision, the Christian offender could be punished with public penance in the parish church or monastery. Those who did not correct themselves, did not repent, and did not fulfill their Christian duty were reported to the civil authorities with the aim of further holding people accountable (Svod zakonov, 1857, p. 7). In particular, in accordance with the requirements of civil law, people of the Orthodox faith who avoided confession and communion out of negligence were punished by means of church punishments in accordance with the decisions and orders of the spiritual diocesan leadership. However, violators could not be suspended from their official duties for a long time, and peasants from their jobs and homes (Svod zakonov, 1900, p. 23).

The participation of believers in the confession sacrament also affected court proceedings. According to the requirements of civil law, people who had not been to confession and the Eucharist could not testify under oath in court in both civil and criminal cases. Those accused of crimes were necessarily asked about their attendance at the confessional ceremony.

Special treatment was given to convicts regarding the sacrament. According to the Instructions to the Priestly Elders of December 26, 1697, and the Senate Decree of January 17, 1765, for the purpose of repentance and cleansing the conscience of each well-drainer, a priest had to bring him to confession once a year, but if he wished, he could also confess during the other three fasts. This was especially true for sick prisoners. According to church rules, a clergyman must confess a sick person alone. A priest was required to perform the rites of confession and communion on the eve of the execution for people sentenced to death. After the execution, such thieves and murderers were buried separately from other laypeople "in a poor house" (Ukazatel alfavitnyy, 1834, p. 301; Svod zakonov, 1832, pp. 412–413; PSZRI, 1830a, p. 417; PSZRI, 1830c, p. 705; Polnoe sobraniye postanovleniy, 1910, p. 258).

A generally widespread Christian rite of confession and repentance of a believer before death was considered an indispensable guarantee of a person's salvation in the afterlife (Romanova, 2007, p. 230). The idea of heaven and hell as an afterlife of retribution for righteous deeds and sins, for good deeds and evil deeds, introduced a utilitarian, mercantile, selfish-consumer motive into repentance and confession. People were motivated to perform these sacred acts by the fear of hellish punishments and the desire for heavenly blessings, and the psychological discomfort caused by this fear (Moskalets, 2004, p. 79). Civil legislation of the 19th century prescribed a special punishment for those relatives or strangers who had the opportunity and did not call a priest to a dying person to conduct a pre-death confessional rite: arrest for a period of three weeks to three months (Svod zakonov, 1900, p. 23).

Society and the church had a special attitude towards people who died in accidents, thieves, murderers, and suicides. If a person was still alive but died under unexplained circumstances that happened suddenly, for example, falling from a tree, they had the right to confession. A priest conducted an investigation into the cause of a person's death. In the event of accidents, people were given a funeral and buried like other laypeople. In the event of an investigation into the fact of "committing a suicide", suicides were not given a funeral and were not buried among other deceased parishioners. People dying as a result of robbery or theft were confessed, but just like suicides, they were not given a funeral and were buried in fields, forests or in "poor houses" (PSZRI, 1830a, p. 417).

Thus, confessional liturgy and Orthodox rituality in general constructed a religious identity. At the same time, secularization processes took place, i.e. the separation or combination of religious and secular spheres of human activity, which to a certain extent suppressed, limited freethinking, encouraged betrayal, gave rise to the institution of denunciations, lowered self-esteem, rejected healthy ambitions, and inhibited a progressive development of individual personality traits and mass consciousness of the Ukrainian communities. Such influence contributed to the formation of the national character special traits of the Ukrainians, among which we should mention: discipline, responsibility, tolerance, peace-lovingness, tolerance, reconciliation, passivity, helplessness, paternalism, guilt, etc. Thus, separate tools were formed to intimidate and motivate believers to greater piety (Boyko, 2020; Borodenko, & Fazan, 2023, pp. 16–32).

At the same time, a certain system of Christian ethical and social rules and duties motivated the analysis of one's own and other people's actions, self-organized the individual, generated a developed sense of justice and an endless search for truth. Through confession and prayer, spiritual inquiries were formed – appeals to Christ in order to protect national interests in the fight against internal and external offenders of the Ukrainian community.

Such subtle mental impulses in the development of an individual and the entire Ukrainian people, which came from the depths of history and the subconscious, formed national mental traits, rooted them in the collective memory and behavior of many generations of the Ukrainians. Thus, a special national mentality was born, which was based on a system of views, ideals, interests, established traditions, assessments, social attitudes and norms. It is based on a synthesis of real social needs, experiences, and archetypes of the collective unconscious. In the process of socialization of a confessor at an individual domestic level, his national self-identification took place, which could take on certain religious magical forms and was determined by political economic, socio-cultural factors and circumstances (Boyko, 2020). The aforementioned Yu. Shumovsky considered holidays and rituals to be the most important component of the spiritual life of the Ukrainian people, as a reflection of ethnic identity, moral values, mentality and history (Taras, & Yaremchuk, 2023, pp. 208–220).

Conclusions. The sacrament of confession preceded the Eucharist. The installation of the confessional procedure occurred at the time of the establishment of Christian canons in the middle of the 2nd – 7th centuries. Three forms of the sacrament were formed: the confession of a sinner individually before God, through a collective confession of Christians in the church, which was gradually replaced by one-on-one communication with the priest. From the 3rd century, confession to a monk or other holy person became widespread. The custom of opening a human soul to the Almighty is presented in the Ukrainian Nomocanon of 1620, P. Mohyla's "Trebnik" prayer book of 1646, and subsequent directives and statutory acts of the 17th – 19th centuries.

In the process of spreading confession among the Ukrainian Orthodox population, the anonymity of a sinner was emphasized, but over time, on the contrary, the personification of a believer was demanded from the clergy. In the confessional preface, a priest addressed the parishioners with a list of cautions regarding the observance of the necessary rules of behaviour and the fulfillment of God's instructions. There was a canonically approved prayer speech by a priest regarding forgiveness of a sinner in the "Trebnik" prayer book. The faithful could independently construct the text of a personal confessional prayer-appeal in a direct "conversation with God".

Canonical Christian literature and civil procedural norms defined the confessional behaviour of an Orthodox Christian and a parish priest, as well as the punishments for violators of the sacrament. Civil legislation noted a special significance of church rites in the lives of convicted people. Violators of confession could not act as witnesses in court regarding civil and criminal proceedings. The feeling of fear prompted people to participate in the holy sacrament, determined its importance in the lives of Orthodox believers. The rite of confession before death was of a particular importance.

Let us assume that confession, in combination with other sacred acts, influenced the fundamental principles formation of the Ukrainian Orthodox ritual. Together with civil legislation, the sacred act contributed to discipline, education, the establishment of Christian-ethical norms of morality and the isolation of certain components of the national mentality of the Ukrainian people, such as their own character traits, self-awareness, and socio-cultural identity.

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CUSTOMS SERVICE DURING THE UKRAINIAN REVOLUTION (1917 – 1923) IN UKRAINIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

Abstract. *The purpose* of the article is a comprehensive analysis of the Ukrainian historiography regarding the customs service activities during the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1923. **The research methodology** is based on the principles of historicism, systematicity, scientificity, objectivity, the use of general historical, historical and genetic, historical and comparative, historical and typological, historical and systematic methods, as well as methods of historiography, in particular internal criticism of sources, specific historiographic analysis and historiographic synthesis. **Conclusions.** *If in the Soviet times the studied topic was a taboo in the Ukrainian historiography, with the revival of Ukraine's independence in 1991 it became a sphere of interest of a number of scholars – mainly historians, political scientists and lawyers. Typical of the majority of the analyzed studies is the belief that although the government of the Ukrainian People's Republic during the existence of the Central Rada (the Central Council of Ukraine) in the field of customs policy in practice managed to do much less than theoretically develop its own first regulatory and legal acts in this direction, it was the very acts that were largely used by the leadership of the Hetmanate headed by P. Skoropadsky. According to the authors' publications under analysis, he managed in a few months, including taking into account the*

positive aspects of the pre-revolutionary peaceful legislation of Russia, and the modern of Ukrainian People's Republic, to develop and implement the creation of a virtually full-fledged customs system, which to a large extent brought dividends after the seizure of power in Ukraine by both Directory of Ukrainian People's Republic and the Bolshevik and Denikin occupiers. Regarding the activities of the customs authorities of the ZUNR, the historiography is significantly narrower; however, in recent years, the studies have appeared that also focus on the customs policy of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic (ZUNR) government and state that the Western Ukrainian revolution of 1918 – 1919 had a chance to overcome the crisis socio-economic phenomena that arose against the backdrop of the end of World War I and the collapse of Austria-Hungary, and ultimately the reason for its subsequent defeat was not the poor governance of the ZUNR leadership, in particular in the customs sphere, but unfavourable foreign policy circumstances.

Key words: customs service, Ukrainian revolution, Ukrainian historiography, Ukrainian People's Republic, Ukrainian State, Western Ukrainian People's Republic

МИТНА СЛУЖБА В ПЕРІОД УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ РЕВОЛЮЦІЇ (1917 – 1923) В УКРАЇНСЬКІЙ ІСТОРІОГРАФІЇ

Анотація. Мета статті – комплексний аналіз української історіографії щодо діяльності митної служби в період Української революції 1917 – 1923 рр. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на принципах історизму, системності, науковості, об'єктивності, застосування загальноісторичних історико-генетичного, історико-порівняльного, історико-типологічного і історико-системного методів, а також методів історіографії, зокрема внутрішньої критики джерел, конкретного історіографічного аналізу й історіографічного синтезу. **Висновки.** Якщо у радянський час досліджувана тематика в українській історіографії була табуованою, із відродженням Україною незалежності 1991 р. вона стала сферою інтересів цілої низки науковців – головно істориків, політологів та правників. Характерним для більшості проаналізованих праць є переконання, що хоч уряд УНР часів існування Центральної Ради у сфері митної політики на практиці вдалося зробити значно менше, аніж теоретично розробити перші власні нормативно-правові акти у цьому напрямі, саме ними значною мірою послуговувалося керівництво Гетьманату на чолі із П. Скоропадським. Йому, на думку досліджених авторів, вдалося за декілька місяців, зокрема, врахувавши і позитивні аспекти дореволюційного мирного законодавства Росії, й сучаснішій УНР, виробити та реалізувати створення фактично повноцінної митної системи, яка значною мірою приносила дивіденди після захоплення влади в Україні й Директорії УНР, й більшовицьким та денікінським окупантам. Щодо діяльності митних органів ЗУНР історіографія є суттєво вужчою, однак протягом останніх років з'явилися роботи, які також надають спеціальну увагу власне митній політиці уряду ЗУНР та констатують, що у західноукраїнській революції 1918 – 1919 рр. були шанси подолати кризові соціально-економічні явища, які виникли на тлі завершення Першої світової війни і розпаду Австро-Угорщини, і врешті причиною її подальшої поразки були не погане урядування керівництва ЗУНР, зокрема у митній сфері, а несприятливі зовнішньополітичні обставини.

Ключові слова: митна служба, Українська революція, українська історіографія, Українська Народна Республіка, Українська Держава, Західноукраїнська Народна Республіка.

Problem Statement. The historiography of the Ukrainian Revolution period and the Ukrainian statehood development at that time, including the government bodies functioning, consists of a considerable body of studies by historians, political scientists, and lawyers. The first studies that dealt with individual figures of the Ukrainian Revolution era, their memoirs and descriptions of their activities appeared almost simultaneously with the events described. Among them, a researcher M. Chubata singles out the most relevant studies by O. Anderson, “Foreign Trade of Ukraine in 1918” and L. Nemanov, “Financial Policy of Ukraine (November 7, 1917 – February 4, 1919)”, published in 1919 (Chubata, 2024,

pp. 23–24). At the same time, given the ideological component, in the following decades the Soviet historians practically did not focus on the issue of the customs service formation, instead M. Hrushevsky and D. Doroshenko focused on it only partially (Stopchak, 2019, pp. 222–223). A full-fledged study of the issue became possible after 1991, when Ukraine gained independence. Thus, during the post-Soviet period, there were published the studies by D. Arkhireysky (Arkhireyskyi, 2014), D. Bonndarenko (Bonndarenko, 2020), P. Hai-Nyzhnyk (Hai-Nyzhnyk, 2004a; Hai-Nyzhnyk, 2004b, Hai-Nyzhnyk, 2006; Hai-Nyzhnyk, 2007), V. Kapeliushnyi (Kapeliushnyi, 2003), A. Kolbenko (Kolbenko, 1996), V. Lozovyi (Lozovyi, 2021), M. Lytvyn and K. Naumenko (Lytvyn, Naumenko, 1995), A. Pavlov (Pavlov, 2002), O. Reient and V. Velykochyi (Reient & Velykochyi, 2020), O. Tymoshchuk (Tymoshchuk, 1998; Tymoshchuk, 2000), R. Tymchenko (Tymchenko, 2012), V. Tyshchuk (Tyshchuk, 2004), Yu. Tlushchak (Tlushchak, 2001; Tlushchak, 2003), V. Yurchenko (Yurchenko, 2004) and the others, as well as generalizing textbooks on the history of customs, the formation of foreign policy vectors.

Important for our research were the historiographical works of Mykola Haliv, Vasyl Ilnytskyi (Haliv & Ilnytskyi, 2021; Ilnytskyi & Haliv, 2022; Haliv & Ilnytskyi, 2023), and Vasyl Futala (Futala, 2023), which proposed new approaches to the analysis of the historiography of Ukrainian scholars.

The purpose of the article is a comprehensive analysis of the Ukrainian historiography regarding the customs service activities during the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1923. In the article the review of studies is carried out on the basis of a problem-based and chronological approach for a more systematic presentation of the material.

Research Results. The financial, and in particular the customs, policy of the Ukrainian governments during the liberation struggle received its first historiographical analysis by contemporaries of these events. For example, in the study by L. Nemanov, which the author considered as the first attempt to reflect the financial policy of Ukraine after its emergence as an independent state objectively (Nemanov, 1919, p. 4), and it was stated that while until the last day of its stay as part of Russia in 1917, Ukraine could not even at the level of the Central Rada form its own financial policy, monetary, tax and banking systems (and the first months after the proclamation in November of 1917 by the Third Universal of this body of the Ukrainian People's Republic). It was the government of Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky that actually came to power with a ready-made economic and financial programme, which he tried to implement from the very first day after the change of power on April 29, 1918 (Nemanov, 1919, p. 20). In particular, L. Nemanov analysed the regulatory and legal framework for the formation of the monetary circulation of the Ukrainian State, the State Bank functioning, and finally, tax and customs policy. Comparing the relevant directions in the activities of the Ukrainian authorities during the period of the existence of the Central Rada, the Hetmanate and the Directory, L. Nemanov unequivocally positively evaluated the activities of P. Skoropadsky and his associates, who, despite the fact that after the Central Rada they found the “state economy in complete disarray”, because “there was no money, no budget, and not even proper reporting”, which forced P. Skoropadsky to increase the rates of direct taxes and fees after coming to power significantly and immediately (Nemanov, 1919, pp. 158–159), and nevertheless P. Skoropadsky and his associates carried out “more active work in building the Ukrainian State” (Nemanov, 1919, p. 46).

In his book O. Anderson also focused on the Hetmanate of P. Skoropadsky, as opposed to other periods of the then Ukrainian state formation. In particular, he studied the customs

aspects during imports to Ukraine from the Central Powers and exports to the latter from Ukraine. In addition, it is worth noting his professional combination of factology and analytics when considering “Regulations on the State Bureau for the Purchase of Paper Abroad and Distribution in Ukraine”, approved on July 5, 1918 by the Minister of Trade and Industry S. Hutnyk (Anderson, 1919, pp. 125–128).

Later, during several decades of the Soviet reality, the topic under study became a historiographic taboo, and its comprehensive analysis was done in Ukraine only during the post-Soviet period.

In particular, a comprehensive study of the topic was carried out by P. Hai-Nyzhnyk. For example, in the relevant section of the monograph “Tax Policy of the Central Rada, Governments of the Ukrainian People’s Republic, the Ukrainian State, the Ukrainian SSR (1917 – 1930)” and the study “The Origin of Customs in the Ukrainian People’s Republic (1917 – 1918): service organization, foundations of activity, legal principles” the scholar reconstructed the formation and attempts to implement customs policy at the initial stage of the Ukrainian statehood in the revolutionary era. He stated that during the first months of the Central Rada existence in 1917, on the territory of Ukraine customs institutions of Ukraine were still subordinated mainly to the Petrograd Ministry of Finance, and an attempt to subordinate local customs to the Central Rada was made in December of 1917, after the October Revolution took place in the Russian capital, the UNR was proclaimed in Kyiv and the first Soviet-Ukrainian war began. In this context, P. Hai-Nyzhnyk mentioned the Circular (No. 18) of the Ukrainian Finance Department dated December 22, 1917, which called on all customs institutions located in the territories of the UNR to sever ties with Petrograd and from then on to send all documentation, i.e. reports, information and paperwork not to the Russian government, but to the General Secretariat in Kyiv (Hai-Nyzhnyk, 2006, pp. 70–71). However, as the researcher noted, the course of hostilities at that time, which in particular led to the Bolshevik occupation of the Ukrainian capital, did not contribute to the implementation of these intentions; customs institutions were disorganized in the Ukrainian provinces during this period. Their implementation, including through the subordination of local customs services to the Customs Department of the People’s Ministry of Finance of the UNR, was possible only after the signing of the Treaty of Brest (Beresteisky myr), which allowed the Ukrainian side, with the help of Austro-German troops, to restore power in the majority of the pre-war territories during the period of March – April of 1918 (Hai-Nyzhnyk, 2006, p. 147).

However, as P. Hai-Nyzhnyk reasonably noted, the aforementioned Department was founded in Kyiv only at the end of April of 1918, shortly before the overthrow of the Central Rada. In detail the researcher analysed the number, structure, and functions of each of the announced departments of the newly established Department, and described the legislative framework on the basis of which it was planned to conduct the customs policy of the UNR against the background of trade and economic relations development with the then allies of the Ukrainian side: Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and the Ottoman Empire. P. Hai-Nyzhnyk analysed the process of organizing border security and equipping customs points along the state border with Austria-Hungary, Belarus, Romania, and Russia. P. Hai-Nyzhnyk noted that a total of 44 customs institutions were planned to be located on the territory of the UNR. However, in practice, as the researcher ironically stated, the work of the customs department is remembered only for a three-day meeting on April 14–16, 1918, at which its participants acknowledged the unsatisfactory state of the customs service organization for the

UNR government, in particular on the western borders of the country, in particular, due to the state's lack of a clear personnel policy and unestablished tariff salaries for customs officers (Hai-Nyzhnyk, 2007, p. 153).

At the same time, as P. Hai-Nyzhnyk claimed, certain developments of the Central Rada period were also used during the Hetmanate of P. Skoropadsky. For example, the scholar noted that the Commissariats-Agencies, established on March 26, 1918 by the government of the UNR, continued to function in the Ukrainian State, whose task was to control the export and import of cargo and goods, and register the number of the latter (Hai-Nyzhnyk, 2004a, pp. 234–238). The Customs Department also continued to operate, and under these conditions, it also began to restore the work of old and establish the functioning of new customs offices. The researcher claimed that by the end of September of 1918, the Hetmanate managed to establish customs at almost all checkpoints along the border of the Ukrainian State, in connection with which the government decided on September 28 to terminate the activities of the Commissariats-Agencies, and to transfer all goods detained by them with all relevant paperwork to the nearest departments for further processing (Hai-Nyzhnyk, 2004b, pp. 131–132).

At the same time, defining the regulatory and legal basis of the customs policy of the Ukrainian State, P. Hai-Nyzhnyk noted that it was still based on the all-Russian legal basis, adjusted by current laws, resolutions, decrees and orders of the Ukrainian governments (including not only the current one, but also those of the UPR), and also taking into account the political and economic agreements of the Ukrainian side (both the UNR and the Ukrainian State) with other countries, mainly Germany and Austria-Hungary, which were concluded in 1918, as well as taking into account the customs wars that the Ukrainian State waged against Romania due to the latter's annexation of Bessarabia, which the Ukrainian government officials accepted as territory belonging to Ukraine, as well as against the Crimean peninsula (Hai-Nyzhnyk, 2006, pp. 129–137).

P. Hai-Nyzhnyk also focused on the activities of the Separate Border Guard Corps established by the Hetmanate, which was tasked with controlling the security of the Ukrainian state border with other countries. The study, based on the involvement of new archival materials, substantiates that the issue of organizing and providing the Corps was in the constant field of view of the government institutions of the Ukrainian State. The scholar calculated that in total, more than 15 million rubles were allocated for the needs of the Corps. However, as the researcher noted, it was not possible to complete the formation of the border troops and the network of customs institutions of Ukraine under the Hetmanate due to the armed uprising of the Sich Riflemen Corps in 1918 and the subsequent victory of the UNR Directory in the struggle for power (Hai-Nyzhnyk, 2004b, pp. 137–139).

Analysing the customs policy of the UNR Directory government, P. Hai-Nyzhnyk noted that it was practically absent, because from the beginning of 1919 the UNR had to wage a protracted and unequal, albeit heroic, struggle at several fronts – against the Bolsheviks, Denikinists, and Polish troops – against the background of the actual absence of a stable rear. Like any armed conflict, this war caused deep devastation, paralysis of a commercial and industrial life, and economic stagnation. Frequent changes in the front line and territorial affiliation, the lack of an effective state and financial apparatus, and the general demoralization of the population led to the cessation of tax revenues to the state treasury. On February 5, 1919, the Council of Ministers of the UNR left Kyiv, and from that moment on the government focused mainly on attempts to secure financial support from abroad and

resorted to unlimited issuance of paper money. Under such conditions, issues of tax and customs policy, as well as budget formation, could not actually be among the priorities. The only exception was the attempt to reform the customs tariff, enshrined in the legislative acts of June 26 and July 31, 1919. However, this initiative was largely reduced to a mechanical revision of the rates of the pre-revolutionary Russian tariff, and its practical implementation never took place (Hai-Nyzhnyk, 2007, p. 156).

Yu. Tlushchak devoted part of his scientific research to the legislative regulation of the tax authorities activities of the Ukrainian State in 1918. In his study, he analysed more than a dozen legislative acts adopted during the Hetmanate of P. Skoropadsky, including, in particular, the laws “On Increasing the Rates of Payment for Property Insurance and on Establishing Penalties for Untimely or Incomplete Payment” of August 23, 1918, “On the War Tax” of August 30, 1918, “On the Procedure for Taxing Foreign Goods and Companies with State Industrial and Income Taxes” of November 19, 1918, on the basis of which he emphasized that it was the period of the Ukrainian State existence that was marked by the greatest achievements in the field of tax policy in 1917 – 1921 (Tlushchak, 2001, p. 198).

In another article, Yu. Tlushchak also emphasized that in just a few months, the Hetmanate of P. Skoropadsky managed to create its own effective tax and customs bodies of the Ukrainian State, which, although in the legal context were still based on the pre-revolutionary Russian model of the tax mechanism, but due to a number of regulatory and legal acts adopted in 1918, it was possible to modernize and adapt it to new conditions, laying the foundation for Ukrainian financial independence (Tlushchak, 2003, pp. 81–84).

V. Yurchenko’s point of view on the customs policy of the Ukrainian State coincided with the views of the above mentioned scholars. He argued that while the Central Rada had not yet developed a clear strategy for the functioning of its own tax and customs systems, and had no practical opportunities to develop and implement it, the Hetmanate of P. Skoropadsky managed to do it, owing to a number of legal decisions, to restore the fiscal and customs order characteristic of the period of the Russian Empire, which, according to the researcher, was significantly deformed during the period of 1917 – 1918 – during the rule of the Provisional Government, the Central Rada and the short-lived Bolshevik occupation (Yurchenko, 2004, p. 173). According to V. Yurchenko, the financial dividends brought by the tax and customs policy of the Hetmanate were partly used by the government of the UNR Directory, and even by the Soviet authorities or Denikinists, who mainly spent the funds collected during the Ukrainian State existence in the form of taxes and customs duties (Yurchenko, 2004, p. 175).

The customs policy in the Ukrainian State as an important component of state-building processes formed the basis of A. Pavlov’s research. The scholar noted the continuity of the customs system of the UNR in the coordinate system of the Ukrainian State, which, according to the scholar, was developed by the Customs Department established by the Central Rada, it included six departments, which during the Hetmanate controlled and coordinated the activities of a network of 22 customs houses, 26 customs units, and 2 customs posts. The researcher also studied the causes and course of the “customs” war between the Ukrainian State and Romania, as well as the Hetmanate and the separatist government established on the Crimean Peninsula, headed by General S. Sulkevych, although this research is more like a simple description than a detailed analysis (Pavlov, 2002, p. 69).

According to E. Miroshnychenko, despite the declaration on the creation of customs bodies, during the existence of the Central Rada, customs control on the borders of the UNR was not fully implemented (in particular, on the Ukrainian-Russian border), and only during

the rule of Hetman P. Skoropadsky, albeit briefly, but it was managed to be implemented and established so effectively that customs institutions continued to carefully perform their basic functions even after further changes of power in Ukraine until 1921 – during the period of the UNR Directory, the Bolshevik and Denikin, and again the Bolshevik occupations of the Ukrainian territories (Miroshnychenko, 1994, p. 4).

The legal aspects of the customs institutions activities of Ukraine during the Revolution were analysed by Yo. Rysich, who also emphasized the legal succession of legislation in this context. Thus, the researcher noted that, for example, the functioning of the customs service was carried out according to the “Customs Charter”, approved back in the days of the Russian Empire in 1910, while the organization of the border guard work, which was also endowed with customs functions, was regulated, along with the Russian-imperial “Rules on Separate Corps of Border Guards” of 1910, by the Border Guard Statute, which was approved back in April of 1918 by the UNR government (along with the Border and Customs Statutes, which, however, never entered into force) (Rysich, 2001, p. 18).

O. Hrebelyuk also emphasized the above mentioned issue, stating that owing to the efforts of P. Skoropadsky and his associates, in a few months it was possible to establish the Border Guard Corps functioning, which, in addition to directly protecting the border of the Ukrainian State, also received responsibility for customs duties on export and import goods and cargo (Hrebelyuk, 2003, p. 85).

A. Kolbenko, noting that it was the Central Rada that laid the regulatory and legal foundations for the functioning of the customs authorities of the Ukrainian statehood that emerged during the period of 1917 – 1918, however, the “practitioner” in this matter was Hetman P. Skoropadsky and his supporters, who, during the period from the end of April to December of 1918, managed the following: to establish the customs border between Ukraine and Russia (already Bolshevik at that time); to conclude bilateral agreements with Kuban and Don, which also provided for the implementation of trade and customs relations; to conduct the “customs” boycott of the Crimean peninsula successfully, which prompted the local government to agree to the adoption of a preliminary agreement on the integration of the Crimea into Ukraine in October of 1918 (and if it were not for the subsequent events of the confrontation between the Hetmanate and the UNR Directory, it could have been fully implemented); to establish financial chambers at the provincial level, and in the established customs districts – customs offices and institutes of customs inspectors, which were simultaneously accountable to both financial department and the Ministry of Trade and Industry (Kolbenko, 1996, pp. 26–29).

Finally, O. Tymoshchuk, pointing out the presence in the UNR (both during the Central Rada and the Directory) and in the Western Ukrainian People’s Republic (WUPR) of a number of by-laws (orders, instructions, decrees, etc.) that legally regulated customs issues (Tymoshchuk, 2000, p. 242), states that more holistic, systematic, and most importantly, largely implemented was the regulatory and legal framework developed during the existence of the Ukrainian State in 1918, among which he singled out the Law “On the Statute of State Guard”, the Statute “On Organization of the State Guard Department”, “Statute on Border Points of the State Guard” and the others. Nevertheless, O. Tymoshchuk admitted that in the activities to implement border and customs policies, the Hetmanate government largely continued in practice what had been theoretically developed by the UNR government headed by V. Holubovych, in particular, the Border Guard Statute, approved in the last days of the Central Rada, was temporarily applied. At the same time, according to the researcher’s

observation, the work of customs authorities also took into account the legislation that functioned in the Russian Empire – the “Rules on the Separate Border Guard Corps” and the customs statute (both documents were approved in 1910). At the same time, comparing the legislation in force during the Ukrainian State with the aforementioned relevant legislation of the Russian Empire, the Provisional Government, the UNR of the Central Rada period, the scholar reasonably proves that the legislative framework of the Hetmanate was not simply an appropriation of the older regulatory framework, but, on the one hand, the application of their best aspects and their adaptation to the real conditions of the 1918 model (Tymoshchuk, 1998, pp. 12–20).

Regarding the activities of the customs authorities of the ZUNR, the historiography is significantly narrower. It can be partly explained by the position expressed in one of the articles by V. Yurchenko. He noted that this phenomenon could be an interesting object of research, because, unlike the UNR or the Ukrainian State, it would uniquely have to rely on the approaches of the former Austria-Hungary, but given the unfavourable course of the war against the Poles for Galicia for the Ukrainian side, the government of the ZUNR did not have the opportunity to introduce its own customs system fully, especially on a significant territory that was constantly decreasing under pressure made by the Polish army (Yurchenko, 2004, p. 171).

The aspect of customs activity was not the subject of special consideration in the generally detailed review of the state formation of the ZUNR by M. Lytvyn and K. Naumenko, who, characterizing many initiatives made by the local government in the sphere of economy and finance (including customs issues), except that they stated that their full-fledged formation and “radical reforms were hindered by the bloody war, which significantly narrowed its scope”, since the main state expenditures were directed to the maintenance of the Galician Army (Lytvyn, Naumenko, 1995, p. 98).

At the same time, there are studies in which, to one degree or another, the aspect under study was considered in one way or another. Thus, B. Tyshchuk, describing the structure of the state authorities of the ZUNR, generally noted that within the State Financial Secretariat (Ministry of Finance), which was headed by the head of government S. Holubovych, in addition to the personnel department, there were also departments of direct taxes and state monopolies, customs service, tobacco monopoly, and the others, and at the county level they were represented (including in the context of customs functions) by the directorates of treasury districts and tax inspectors (Tyshchuk, 2004, p. 188).

The researcher R. Tymchenko emphasized that it was the socio-economic problem that became one of the most urgent which arose with the emergence of the ZUNR. He noted that in order to stabilize the financial situation, the ZUNR government officials transformed the National Treasury Directorate in the autumn, which included the Treasury Guard, the Treasury Customs, the State Cashier, and the State Controller. On December 3, 1918, according to the scholar, the State Secretariat of Finance introduced the Directorate of District Treasures under the authority of district commissioners. At the same time, after the reform of the Ministry of Finance (and its merger with the Trade Department), customs governments (Treasury Guard) were also subordinate to it. However, as R. Tymchenko summarized, if the partly relevant (although necessary) changes and reforms in the sphere of socio-economic policy were implemented, then only partially and with a delay, and in addition to the external Polish military intervention, they were also burdened by internal social tensions – especially among the workers and peasantry (Tymchenko, 2012, pp. 165–166, 175).

The authors of the publication “Western Ukrainian People’s Republic 1918 – 1923: Illustrated History” also noted that in Ternopil, which became the capital of the ZUNR after the Ukrainian army was forced to leave Lviv on November 22, 1918, the government reorganized the Regional Treasury Directorate, which included, among other departments, the Treasury Customs (Zakhidno-Ukrainska narodna respublika, 2008, p. 192), and also in December adopted a number of government documents important for the creation and functioning of the state’s financial system, including the customs service (Zakhidno-Ukrainska narodna respublika, 2008, p. 267). Speaking about the subordination of the Directorate of Treasury Districts to the county commissariats of the State Secretariat of Finance on December 3, 1918, in publication it was stated that such a decision partly only complicated the work of financial services, since the Directorates of Treasury Districts mainly covered several counties of the ZUNR (Zakhidno-Ukrainska narodna respublika, 2008, p. 203).

Finally, in his dissertation which focused on the historical and legal dimension of the financial and economic policy of the ZUNR, L. Kyshakevych, analyzing the structure of the State Secretariat of Finance of the ZUNR government, also noted that, despite the catastrophic political and economic circumstances in which the Republic found itself, the department included all the elements that could otherwise ensure the effective and efficient implementation of financial and economic policy, including in the customs sector (as evidenced by the established customs department) (Kyshakevych, 2014, p. 63). Among the important regulatory documents developed by the government of the ZUNR for the functioning of effective financial and economic (including customs) bodies and overcoming the crisis in this area, L. Kyshakevych also singled out the following documents: “Order of the State Secretariat of Finance on Organization of Customs Service and Treasury Departments” and “Order of the State Secretariat of Finance on Directorates of Treasury Districts” (Kyshakevych, 2014, p. 84). According to the researcher the Ukrainian government managed to establish the system of central and district financial bodies with a clear and justified structure and competence in the territory under its control in the first two months of the Republic’s existence (Kyshakevych, 2014, p. 110). This approach allowed the researcher to draw a completely reasonable conclusion that the Western Ukrainian Revolution of 1918 – 1919 had a chance to overcome the crisis socio-economic phenomena that arose against the backdrop of the end of World War I and the collapse of Austria-Hungary, and ultimately the reason for its subsequent defeat was not the poor governance of the ZUNR leadership, in particular in the customs sphere, but “very unfavourable foreign policy circumstances, when practically all close neighbours and major powers showed interest in the liquidation of the Western Ukrainian State and achieved this by means of military force” (Kyshakevych, 2014, p. 118).

Conclusion. Thus, if in the Soviet times the issue of customs service activities during the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1923 was a taboo in the Ukrainian historiography, and after the rebirth of Ukraine’s independence in 1991 it became a sphere of interest of a number of scholars – historians, political scientists and lawyers mainly – who have turned it into a full-fledged separate area of research to this day. Typical of the majority of the analysed studies there is the belief that although the government of the UNR during the existence of the Central Rada in the field of customs policy managed to do much less in practice than theoretically develop its own first regulatory legal acts in this direction, it was the legal acts that were largely used by the leadership of the Hetmanate headed by P. Skoropadsky. The latter, according to the researchers mentioned above, managed in a few months, including taking into account both positive aspects of pre-revolutionary peaceful legislation in Russia and the more modern

UNR, to develop and implement the creation of a virtually full-fledged customs system, which to a large extent brought dividends after the seizure of power in Ukraine by both the UNR Directory and the Bolshevik and Denikin occupiers. Regarding the activities of the customs authorities of the ZUNR, the historiography is significantly narrower, however, in recent years, the studies have appeared that also focus on the customs policy of the ZUNR government and in the studies it is stated that the Western Ukrainian Revolution of 1918 – 1919 had a chance to overcome the crisis socio-economic phenomena that arose against the backdrop of the end of World War I and the collapse of Austria-Hungary, and ultimately the reason for its subsequent defeat was not the poor governance of the ZUNR leadership, in particular in the customs sphere, but unfavourable foreign policy circumstances.

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**MINISTRY OF JUSTICE OF THE UKRAINIAN STATE
DURING THE PERIOD OF PAVLO SKOROPADSKY'S HETMANSHIP (1918)
IN UKRAINIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY**

Abstract. *The purpose* of the study is to elucidate the areas of research into the activities of the Ministry of Judicial Affairs (from April 29, 1918 – the Ministry of Justice) of the Ukrainian State during the period of Pavlo Skoropadsky's Hetmanship in Ukrainian historiography. **The research methodology** is based on the principles of historicism, scientific objectivity, systematicity, and comprehensiveness. In the article general scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization) and special historical methods (comparative historical and bibliometric) have been used. **Scientific Novelty.** Modern Ukrainian historiography has been analyzed, the main problems of studying the activities of the Ministry of Judicial Affairs (Justice) during the time of Pavlo Skoropadsky have been outlined. **Conclusions.** The study of state-building processes within the Ukrainian State during Pavlo Skoropadsky's Hetmanship begins with the completion of the national liberation struggles, in particular, during the interwar period in the emigrant circles, the first memoirs and journalistic essays of the former UNR figures, supporters of the Hetman's regime, were published. The long history of research on these issues in

emigration, in the Soviet historical and legal science became the foundation for further research in Ukrainian science. Many publications by O. Reient, V. Verstiuk, V. Soldatenko and the others focus on covering the change of power and Pavlo Skoropadsky's coming to power, qualifying the essence of the Hetmanate, and analyzing his state position. Biographical sketches and a comprehensive analysis of the Hetman's activities were carried out by H. Papakin and R. Pyrih. More narrow issues of the state apparatus development during the period of 1917 – 1920, and in particular the Ukrainian State during P. Skoropadsky's Hetmanship, various government branches formation, in particular the judicial system, were covered by the following historians and lawyers: B. Tyshchuk, O. Vivcharenko and N. Leshkovych, O. Myronenko, R. Pyrih, H. Papakin, O. Tymoshchuk, and I. Usenko.

Key words: Ministry of Justice, Pavlo Skoropadsky, Ukrainian National Democratic Revolution, Ukrainian state, historiography.

МІНІСТЕРСТВО ЮСТИЦІЇ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ДЕРЖАВИ ПАВЛА СКОРОПАДСЬКОГО (1918) В УКРАЇНСЬКІЙ ІСТОРІОГРАФІЇ

Анотація. *Мета роботи* висвітлити напрями дослідження діяльності Міністерства судових справ (від 29 квітня 1918 р. – Міністерство юстиції) Української Держави періоду гетьманування Павла Скоропадського в українській історіографії. **Методологія дослідження** базувалась на принципах історизму, наукової об'єктивності, систематичності і всебічності. У статті використовувалися загальнонаукові (аналіз, синтез, узагальнення) і спеціальні історичні методи (порівняльно-історичний і бібліометричний). **Наукова новизна.** Проаналізовано сучасну українську історіографію, окреслено головні проблеми вивчення діяльності Міністерства судових справ (юстиції) часів Павла Скоропадського. **Висновки.** Вивчення державотворчих процесів всередині Української Держави Павла Скоропадського бере початок із завершенням національно-визвольних змагань, зокрема в емігрантських середовищах у міжвоєнний період вийшли друком перші спогади та публіцистичні нариси колишніх діячів УНР, прихильників гетьманського режиму. Довготривала історія дослідження цих питань в еміграції, у радянській історичній та правничій науці стала фундаментом для подальших досліджень в українській науці. Багато публікацій останніх років авторства О. Реєнта, В. Верстюка, В. Солдатенка та інших присвячені висвітленню зміни влади та приходу Павла Скоропадського, кваліфікації сутності гетьманату, оцінці його державницької позиції. Життєві нариси та всебічний аналіз діяльності гетьмана здійснили Г. Папакін, Р. Пиріг. Більш вузькі питання розвитку державного апарату у період 1917 – 1920 рр. та зокрема Української Держави П. Скоропадського, становлення різних гілок влади, зокрема судової системи висвітлювали історики та правники Б. Тищик, О. Вівчаренко та Н. Лешкович, О. Мироненко, Р. Пиріг, Г. Папакін, О. Тимошук, І. Усенко.

Ключові слова: Міністерство юстиції, Павло Скоропадський, Українська національно-демократична революція, Українська держава, історіографія.

Problem Statement. The “Charter for the Entire Ukrainian People” and the “Law on the Temporary State System” of April 29, 1918 were the fundamental principles for the Ukrainian State under the leadership of Pavlo Skoropadsky. The justice system administration was delegated to the Ministry of Judicial Affairs, which was transformed into the Ministry of Justice on July 15, 1918. It was headed by Mykhailo Chubynsky. The main task of this Ministry was to organize the justice system in the territory of the Ukrainian state. At the same time, it had administrative powers and played an advisory role in the development of draft laws by other ministries (Podkovenko, 2007, p. 11).

Initially, during the first few weeks of the Hetmanate, the judicial institutions of the Russian Empire, courts that emerged according to the orders of the Provisional Government, and judicial institutions established by the Ukrainian State operated in parallel. The highest level of judicial power belonged to the General Court. As in previous years, it “was the

supreme guardian and defender of the law and the highest court in judicial matters. The amendment consisted in the fact that the Hetman took over the right to appoint judges of the General Court” (Rumiantsev, 2001, pp. 77–78).

The works of Mykola Haliv and Vasyl Ilnytskyi (Haliv, & Ilnytskyi, 2021; Ilnytskyi, & Haliv, 2022; Haliv, & Ilnytskyi, 2023) present modern methodological principles of historiography research, which we used in the study. The information potential of archival historical documents related to this topic is described in the article by Svitlana Orlyk, Vasyl Ilnytskyi, and Mykola Haliv (Orlyk, Ilnytskyi, & Haliv, 2024).

The purpose of the study is to elucidate the areas of research into the activities of the Ministry of Judicial Affairs (from April 29, 1918 – the Ministry of Justice) of the Ukrainian State during the period of Pavlo Skoropadsky’s Hetmanship in Ukrainian historiography.

Results of Research. The issues of the state apparatus development during the period of 1917 – 1920 and changes in legal regimes are the research focus of the following historians: Oleksandr Reient (Reient, 2003; Hurzhii, & Reient, 2013), Vladyslav Verstiuk (Verstiuk, 2008), Valeriy Soldatenko (Soldatenko, 2011), the political scholars and lawyers: Oleksandr Myronenko (Myronenko, 1997), Borys Tyshchuk (Tyshchuk, Vivcharenko, & Leshkovych, 2000), etc. The Ukrainian historian Yaroslav Kalakura emphasized that “the study of the Hetmanate phenomenon has been going on for more than nine decades, and during this time a colossal number of studies of various genres have been accumulated..., which enabled us to create an appropriate historiographical image of this unique phenomenon” (Kalakura, 2013, p. 56). The researcher identified three key interpretations of Pavlo Skoropadsky’s activities: “Unerivska”, i.e. the leaders of the Central Rada, the UNR Symon Petliura, Volodymyr Vynnychenko; P. Skoropadsky, his supporters and associates – Dmytro Doroshenko, Viacheslav Lypynsky, Oleksandr Skoropys-Yoltukhovsky; pro-Marxist historians, Russian and Soviet (including Ukrainian authors) – Matviy Yavorsky, Mykola Popov, Yukhym Horodetsky and the others (Kalakura, 2013, pp. 58–59; Semashko, & Bulygina, 2021, pp. 88–89). The researcher Olena Liubovets argued that the ideological confrontation between the two currents of the Unerivtsi and the Hetmanists had been ongoing in the Ukrainian studies abroad since the interwar period, although each of these approaches “was not distinguished by objectivity and was not productive in a scientific sense, nevertheless, the researchers analysed a significant source base and discovered a wide array of factual material”. O. Liubovets emphasized that owing to their work, the foundation was laid for further research under the conditions of independent Ukraine (Liubovets, 2013, p. 15).

In the 1990s and early 2000s, a number of collective publications were published that covered the history of the statehood and law formation on the Ukrainian lands (Ihnatusha, & Frolov, 2021, p. 99). Among them, we should highlight the studies by B. Tyshchuk, O. Vivcharenko, and N. Leshkovych, “The Formation of Statehood in Ukraine (1917 – 1922)”. The authors analysed the judicial reforms that began during the time of P. Skoropadsky, but also note that the judicial system had not completely changed since the time of the UNR. The General Court remained “the supreme guardian and defender of the laws”, which was at the same time “the supreme court of Ukraine for administrative cases”. Gradually, innovations took place, in particular, on June 2, the functions of the General Court were improved, which included three departments: “civil, criminal, administrative” (Tyshchuk, Vivcharenko, & Leshkovych, 2000, p. 72).

Significant are the studies of the history of the legislation and the state-building process formation authored by O. Myronenko. In the fundamental collective research “Ukrainian

State-Building: Unclaimed Potential: Dictionary-Reference”, the researcher O. Myronenko argued that P. Skoropadsky, in a special section of the “Law on the Temporary State Structure”, very succinctly outlined the competence of the General Court, as he obviously planned to reform it and transform it into the previously operating “Governing Senate”. Amendments and additions were also made to the law of the Central Rada on the General Court of December 2, 1917. In particular, on June 2, 1918, Article 1 was changed to the following item: “The General Court consists of three departments: civil, criminal and administrative and performs on the entire territory of Ukraine all the functions belonging, before its formation, to the Governing Senate, as well as the cassation functions of the Chief Military Court, unless they are changed by other laws of the Ukrainian State” (Myronenko, 1997, pp. 427–428). The author also noted that amendments were made to the law on the activities of local courts of May 4, 1917, in particular, certain articles ceased to be valid on the territory of Ukraine, and if elections were not held, or fewer judges were elected than required for the staffing list, or the General Court did not confirm the candidacy of one of the courts, then in this case the Minister had the right to appoint them himself for the term of judges (Myronenko, 1997, p. 428). The historian O. Myronenko noted that the overall management of the judicial system belonged to the Ministry of Judicial Affairs, which was renamed the Ministry of Justice. But he noted that soon after the appointment, the head of the Ministry, Mykhailo Chubynsky, resigned on August 3, and Oleksiy Romanov was appointed in his place, who remained in office only until October 21 and transferred powers to Yakov Zatvornytskyi, and “3 days later, the Hetman officially appointed the head of the Main Prison Administration, Andriy Viazlov, as the new Minister of Justice. But on November 14, this position ended up in the hands of V. Reinbot” (Myronenko, 1997, p. 428). The researcher does not ignore the principles of the Ministry of Justice activities, noting that it acted “within the limits of the competence defined during the Russian Empire with the changes introduced by the Provisional Government and state acts of the Central Rada, which were not cancelled by the Hetman regime. The government of the Ukrainian state also made its own additions to the powers of the Minister of Justice” (Myronenko, 1997, p. 429).

A historian Ruslan Pyrih, analyzing the structure and functioning of P. Skoropadsky's state apparatus, drew attention to the essence of government and administrative institutions. He noted that M. Chubynsky, appointed by P. Skoropadsky to the post of Minister of Justice, “advocated for the construction of the judicial power of the Ukrainian State according to the Russian model. Instead of the General Court of the UNR, the State Senate was established. It considered it impossible to Ukrainize the judicial system due to the underdevelopment of the Ukrainian legal terminology. He willingly appointed Russian specialists to judicial and prosecutorial positions” (Pyrih, 2011, p. 90).

The researcher R. Pyrih, in his next monograph “The Activities of the Governments of Pavlo Skoropadsky's Hetmanate: Personal Dimension”, highlighted the activity of the Council of Ministers through the prism of specific personalities and their initiatives. One of the chapters of the book is dedicated to the Ministers of Justice: M. Chubynsky, O. Romanov, A. Viazlov, V. Reinbot. The chapter presents their political portraits and outlines their areas of activity. It is worth noting that in this research, the author reveals the activities of the first Minister more fully, in particular, noting that one of M. Chubynsky's first steps was to submit for government discussion the question of “on whose behalf to conduct court proceedings and about the language in court proceedings”. The first part did not raise any questions – “in the name of the law of the Ukrainian State”. There were discussions regarding the language

of the proceedings, but 8 – in favour, 2 – against, the legislation in force in Ukraine was adopted – civil and criminal law is not translated into Ukrainian, therefore it does not have clear legal terminology, so if it is proposed to use the Ukrainian language, it will “only introduce misunderstandings in the interpretation and application of laws”. Therefore, immediately the Ministry of Judicial Affairs had to assemble a commission “to develop legal terminology in Ukrainian, and begin translating Russian legislation immediately”. According to the government resolution, until the laws are translated into Ukrainian, Russian can be used in judicial proceedings and official records (Pyrih, 2016, p. 146). The following comments by M. Chubynsky to the newspaper “The Latest News” are interesting: he emphasized that “he will try to carry out the Ukrainianization of the court with an appropriate gradualness”. That is, such a gradual implementation will enable to preserve valuable personnel who are not ready to switch to Ukrainian immediately (Pyrih, 2016, p. 147).

R. Pyrih refutes the opinion widespread in historical science that the adoption of the Law on citizenship of the Ukrainian State was advocated by State Secretary Ihor Kistiakivsky. Instead, R. Pyrih claims that on June 10, I. Kistiakivsky came up with such an initiative, and the published text of the Law was endorsed by I. Kistiakivsky and Fedir Lyzohub, but “in fact, the development of this draft law was carried out by a commission headed by M. Chubynsky, which included such well-known lawyers as B[ohdan] Kistiakivsky and Yevhen Spektorsky”. The Law was adopted after a long discussion by the Council of Ministers on July 2. This legislative act repealed the corresponding Law of the Central Council (adopted in March of 1918). According to the new Law, “all Russian subjects who were in Ukraine at the time of the new Law publication were recognized as citizens of the Ukrainian State. Those who did not wish to be recognized as citizens of the Ukrainian State had to submit a corresponding application to the local elder’s office within a month “for entry in a special alphabet of subjects and citizens of foreign states”. A dual citizenship was prohibited (Pyrih, 2016, pp. 148–149).

A historian Heorhiy Papakin, in his monograph “Pavlo Skoropadsky: Patriot, State Builder, Man”, positively evaluated the role of Hetman in state building, because he adopted and improved his predecessors’ “achievements in state building, foreign policy, solving financial problems, creating a military doctrine, national and cultural development, and resolving the church issue” (Papakin, 2003, p. 48). The researcher supported the position on the evolution of P. Skoropadsky’s state strategies towards more Ukraine-centric ones, noting that “it was precisely the latter’s attitude towards statehood that was the turning point that separated P. Skoropadsky from a certain group of his former colleagues (the ministers Vasyl Zenkivsky, I. Kistiakivsky, O. Romanov, M. Chubynsky, a senator Serhiy Zavadsky, Mykola Mohyliansky). They either joined the all-Russian camp, or, at best, remained in the “Malorosiysky positions” (Papakin, 2003, p. 53).

Instead, a historian who specializes in law issues, Oleksandr Tymoshchuk was inclined to believe that the main feature of P. Skoropadsky’s reforms in the field of justice was “the establishment of the traditional Russian model of the judicial system, an effective subordination vertical of which with the state self-determination of Ukraine was violated”. Therefore, the Hetman’s supporters tried to copy the models of the central apparatus from St. Petersburg to Kyiv. The judicial branch consisted of Judges, Congresses of Judges, District Judges, Court Chambers, and the Governing Senate, which acted as the Supreme Court of Cassation. Judges were elected by the authorities, and all other judicial bodies were determined by a collegial composition. Instead, all other judicial bodies were subordinate to the system of “state justice”. All courts, except the highest judicial institution, considered

cases, but the State Senate acted as the Russian court of cassation, i.e. “not deciding cases in the general procedure of judicial proceedings, and oversaw the protection of “the exact force of the law and its unanimous execution by all judicial institutions” (Tymoshchuk, 2000, pp. 24–25). O. Tymoshchuk also noted that even the Prosecutor's Office was part of the judicial department, but “with its own personal organization, as in the Russian Empire. The prosecutor's hierarchical pyramid was headed by the Minister of Justice” (Tymoshchuk, 2000, pp. 25).

Another monograph on the outlined issues was the collective study of the researchers from V. M. Koretsky Institute of State and Law, the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, and the International Association of Legal Historians, edited by Ihor Usenko, “Judicial Power in Ukraine: Historical Origins, Patterns, and Peculiarities of Development”. In the Ukrainian State of P. Skoropadsky, the judicial system was reformed. For this purpose, “the commission to revise the laws on general and appellate courts” was established. On July 8, 1918, P. Skoropadsky approved the laws “On Formation of the State Senate” and “On Judicial Chambers and Courts of Appeal”, which were a return to the idea of imperial Russia of “identifying the head of state as the main source and bearer of power, de jure limited by the Constitution and law” (Usenko, 2014, p. 330). Later, the Hetman returned the old names of the judicial bodies of the Russian Empire period, in particular, instead of the General Court, State Senate operated again, and “Kyiv, Kharkiv, and Odesa courts of appeal were renamed into judicial chambers”. The reform also changed the principle by which jurisdiction was established – Poltava and Lubny district courts started to belong to Kharkiv court chamber, and Kamianets-Podilskyi and Vinnytsia district courts – to Odesa court chamber (Usenko, 2014, p. 331).

In the judicial sphere another important step was personnel changes, in particular, by restoring the positions of the abolished judicial chambers. In general, the lower level of courts of first instance continued to operate in the form of district courts, but again, as in imperial times, the principle of collegiality was restored; the jurisdiction of judges over criminal and civil cases was expanded (Usenko, 2014, p. 331).

Despite the return of the Russian imperial models in the functioning of justice, an important achievement of P. Skoropadsky's team was a gradual Ukrainization of the system. In particular, owing to the effective work of the Commission for the Development of Ukrainian Legal Terminology under the Ministry of Judicial Affairs, the Statute on Punishments used by judges was translated; as well as materials for the legal dictionary, other translations of business papers used in their practice by general judicial institutions were prepared (Usenko, 2014, p. 333).

Conclusions. The Ukrainian statehood formation during the period of 1917 – 1920 and changes in legal regimes were studied by the diaspora and Ukrainian lawyers, political scholars, and historians. In historiography the chief focus, after the restoration of Ukraine's independence, was the study of the Ukrainian State under the leadership of Pavlo Skoropadsky, the legal qualification of his coming to power, and subsequent governance. In the 1990s and early 2000s, a number of collective publications were published that covered the history of the statehood and law formation in Ukrainian lands. Among a number of studies, it is worth highlighting the works by B. Tyshchuk, O. Vivcharenko and N. Leshkovych, O. Myrotenek, who analysed the judicial system formation, its changes compared to the period of the Central Rada; the above mentioned scholars analysed the main laws that introduced changes to this system, and outlined its structure comprehensively. The historians R. Pyrih and H. Papakin

analysed the structure and functioning of P. Skoropadsky's state apparatus, and provided a comprehensive description of the government institutions policy, in particular the heads of the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry in general. The fundamental study of researchers of V. M. Koretsky Institute of State and Law, the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, and the International Association of Legal Historians, edited by I. Usenko, updated and supplemented the work of previous years in the study of justice functioning, and outlined the models, in particular of the Russian imperial type, which were used by P. Skoropadsky in the development of the State Senate and the judicial system in general.

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**ORTHODOX EDUCATION AND RELIGIOUS PRACTICES AT SCHOOLS
OF VOLYN VOIVODSHIP (1921 – 1939)**

Abstract. *The purpose* of the research is to analyse religious education as an integral part of the Polish educational model comprehensively, to highlight the problem of maintaining religious tolerance regarding the confessional affiliation of schoolchildren, and to implement the didactic principles of religious education, spiritual and moral education in educational institutions. **The research methodology** consists of the comprehensive application of general scientific research methods – analysis and synthesis, objectivity, historicism, as well as special historical methods – historical and source studies, historical and comparative, historical and genetic, historical and typological, historical and systemic methods. **The scientific novelty** consists in the fact that for the first time, based on the analysis of a wide range of sources – two Constitutions of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, government decrees, school legislation, textbooks on the Law of God and the methodology of its teaching, Ukrainian Orthodox periodicals, memoirs, as well as the achievements of the Ukrainian and

foreign historiography, the peculiarities of teaching the basics of religious education at school and religious practices have been analysed. The principles of religious pedagogy and the requirements for the personnel of teachers of Law of God have been clarified. **Conclusions.** Thus, the study of the Orthodox religion at schools of Volyn Voivodeship contributed to the preservation of national identity, an important component of which was confessional memory. The Polish legislation in schools issues ensured the interests of all religious communities. In curricula religion was a mandatory school subject, and teaching the basics of Christian doctrine was entrusted to a person with theological education, mainly parish priests. The Volyn Eparchy and the Theological Seminary in Kremenets united the clergy and laity who worked on curricula, textbooks on Law of God, and teaching methods to ensure the educational process at schools properly. Religious practices played an important role, consolidating the acquired religious knowledge in students and contributing to the formation of moral and spiritual virtues and the observance of piety in everyday life. And yet, despite the declared religious tolerance, Polonization of education was clearly visible in Volyn due to the reduction of Orthodox institutions for training clergy, the increase in Polish and Utraquist schools, which was an integral part of the policy of assimilation of Catholic Poland.

Key words: Poland, Volyn Voivodeship, interwar period, school, religion teacher, Orthodox education, religious practices.

ПРАВОСЛАВНА ОСВІТА ТА РЕЛІГІЙНІ ПРАКТИКИ У ШКОЛАХ ВОЛИНСЬКОГО ВОЄВОДСТВА (1921 – 1939)

Анотація. Досліджено впровадження релігійних знань у шкільній освіті Другої Речі Посполитої. На прикладі Волинського воєводства проаналізовано зміст уроків релігії і методики її навчання дітей православного віросповідання, а також показано релігійні практики дотримання благочестя у шкільному та позашкільному середовищі. З'ясовано, які закони та нормативно-правові акти регламентували ставлення держави до релігії і забезпечували шкільне право навчатися основ християнства. **Мета роботи** полягає у комплексному аналізі релігійної освіти як складової частини польської освітньої моделі, висвітленні проблеми дотримання релігійної толерантності щодо конфесійної приналежності школярів, реалізації дидактичних принципів релігійного навчання й духовно-морального виховання у закладах освіти. **Методологія дослідження** полягає в комплексному застосуванні загальнонаукових методів дослідження – аналізу та синтезу, об'єктивності, історизму, а також спеціальних історичних – історико-джерелознавчого, історико-порівняльного, історико-генетичного, історико-типологічного та історико-системного методів. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше на підставі опрацювання широкого комплексу джерел – двох Конституцій Другої Речі Посполитої, урядових постанов, шкільного законодавства, підручників Закону Божого та методики його навчання, українських православних періодичних видань, мемуарів, а також здобутків української і зарубіжної історіографії проаналізовано особливості викладання основ релігійного вчення у шкільництві та релігійні практики. З'ясовано засади релігійної педагогіки і вимоги щодо кадрового педагогічного складу викладачів Закону Божого. **Висновки.** У Польській державі релігійна конфесійна освіта в шкільництві регламентувалася на законодавчому рівні, що вирізняло її серед європейських держав. Обов'язкові уроки релігії та релігійні практики формували знання і навички усвідомленого сприйняття віровчення й закладали в учнів духовні християнські цінності.

У Волинському воєводстві уроки православної релігії сприяли збереженню національної ідентичності в умовах асиміляційної політики польської католицької держави. Нагляд за викладанням релігії в школі здійснювали державні освітні та церковні інституції, до компетенції яких належало кадрове забезпечення викладання Закону Божого і нагляд за освітнім процесом. Автономія Православної церкви в Польщі сприяла національно-духовному піднесенню і вплинула на українізацію викладання релігії у волинському шкільництві. Водночас політика полонізації, реорганізація православних духовних закладів освіти, зменшення національних і запровадження утраквістичних шкіл викликали невдоволення національних меншин та спонукали до відстоювання своїх прав.

Ключові слова: Польща, Волинське воєводство, міжвоєнний період, школа, вчитель релігії, православна освіта, релігійні практики.

Problem Statement. Political leaders of the revived Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth declared the establishment of a democratic society, and the Constitutions of 1921 and 1935 guaranteed broad rights for national minorities, including freedom of religion. Unlike the USA and Western European countries with a secular nature of schooling – France, Great Britain, Italy, Switzerland, Portugal, Germany, where religion lessons were optional or absent, and atheism was introduced in Soviet Ukraine, and at that time in Poland the formation of religious education was an integral part of the educational model during the interwar period (Uchytel, 1937a, p. 157). The curricula for all types of schools included hours for studying the basics of religion, depending on the confessional affiliation of students. Often, among the lists of teachers in educational institutions of Volyn Voivodeship, the surnames of priests of different confessions are also mentioned. For example, in a private vocational (professional) tailoring and linen school in Sarny, which was run by the “Union of Women’s Public Labour”, in 1937/38, the institution’s management concluded an employment contract with teachers of religion – Roman Catholic, Orthodox, and Judaism (SAVR, f. 454, d. 2, c. 706, p. 3).

In Volyn Voivodeship, the Ukrainians, the Russians, the Czechs, the Belarusians, and some Poles professed Orthodoxy. The first census of 1921 showed that out of 1,437.9 thousand inhabitants of the region, 1,066.8 thousand were Orthodox Christians, of whom 975.5 thousand were the Ukrainians; 62.2 thousand – the Poles; 18.3 thousand – the Czechs; 9.2 thousand – the Russians; the Belarusians – 1.1 thousand and 0.2 thousand representatives of other nationalities. According to the second census of 1931, as a result of the population growth, the number of Orthodox believers increased, except for the Poles, whose number decreased threefold (Kęsik, 2004, pp. 62, 67).

The state policy of assimilation expanded the network of Utraquist institutions in Volyn, levelling national schooling. For example, in 1925 there were over 500 Ukrainian schools, while in 1938 there were only eight (Kęsik, 2001, p. 27). Given the integration processes and Polonization of national communities, contrary to the declarative statements of government officials, it was Orthodox religious school education that served as an important factor in preserving the national identity of students under the conditions of foreign statehood.

Review of Sources and Recent Research. The issues of education development in Western Ukrainian lands as part of the revived Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth have been covered by the Ukrainian and foreign researchers in scientific publications over the past decades. Nowadays, the focus should be on insufficiently studied issues of the educational process, one of which is the content of curricula and individual subjects, which retrospectively include competencies, knowledge, skills and abilities of students at that time and form the idea of worldview values. During the interwar period, in Western Ukraine religious education was a common phenomenon, that ensured the continuity of religious education traditions in Galicia and Volyn, which were part of different states until the beginning of the 20th century.

Religious education of the Ukrainians of the Greek Catholic faith of Eastern Galicia at the primary school of Austria-Hungary at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries is highlighted in the study of Lviv scholar N. Kolb (Kolb, 2018), and the activities of church-parish schools in Volyn during this period were substantiated by V. Pererva (Pererva, 2014). This issue was studied by V. Futala (Futala, 2017; Futala, 2023), O. Ruda and O. Pikh (Ruda, & Pikh, 2023), O. Demianiuk (Demianiuk, 2023). Volyn scholars O. Strilchuk and Ya. Yarosh (Strilchuk & Yarosh, 2021) analysed the national policy of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which resulted in the persecution of the cultural and educational

society “Prosvita” in Volyn Voivodeship. The society defended the national culture and spirituality of the Ukrainians.

There should be also mentioned the research of I. Skakalska (Skakalska, 2015), dedicated to the educational work of Orthodox priests during the interwar period in Krements region mainly. The organization, moral and educational aspects of religious education at Ukrainian private schools of Volyn Voivodeship were studied by V. Dobrochynska (Dobrochynska, 2016, 2023), and in another study by V. Dobrochynska and O. Lenartovych (Dobrochynska & Lenartovych, 2024). Among school publications on the Ukrainian educational content, the textbook of Law of God and teaching methods authored by Archpriest A. Abramovych is also mentioned. Religious activity of this church figure in the field of Orthodoxy is presented in the study by V. Borshchevych (Borshchevych, 2004), and religious pedagogy of A. Abramovych was analysed by Lviv historian V. Kmet (Kmet, 2016).

Therefore, taking into account the lack of comprehensive studies on the issue under analysis, we focused on highlighting the religious nature of Polish schooling and clarifying the specifics of teaching religion, moral and religious education of Orthodox students in Volyn Voivodeship.

Purpose of the Research. The strategy of achieving the purpose is to conduct the analysis of the Polish legislation on the introduction of religious education at schools in Volyn Voivodeship; to highlight the teaching of the subject Law of God and religious practices of students who professed Orthodoxy; to substantiate the professional requirements for teachers of religion and specifics of their work.

Research Results. The national model of education in the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was discussed from the first days of its statehood. In 1919, in Warsaw the first educational congress (“Teachers’ Sejm”) supported the democratic nature of education, focusing on the religious education of students, which had been limited to religion lessons (Zashkilniak, & Krykun, 2002, p. 499) (*The term “lesson” was introduced in the territory of Western Ukraine in the autumn of 1939. During the interwar period, classroom activity was defined by the term “lecture”. – V. D.*). We cannot ignore the fact that on the eve of 1921, a public movement spread in Poland against the introduction of religion lectures at schools, as well as state support for financing such schools. A certain role was also played by the book written by W. Chrupka “On the Reform of Moral Education at Our School”, published by the Union of Professional Teachers of Polish Secondary Schools, in which the author criticized the religious nature of education sharply, because in his opinion, it contradicted the formation of a scientific worldview of young people (Uchytel, 1937a, p. 158).

The Polish society did not support such ideas, and in the adopted basic law of the state – the Constitution of March 17, 1921 – in Articles 110 and 111, religious tolerance was declared: citizens were guaranteed freedom of religion, and national minorities were guaranteed the establishment at their own expense of religious societies and schools with their native language of instruction and the practice of their religion. Article 120 stipulated the mandatory study of religion for students under the age of 18, while supervision of compliance with this provision was the responsibility of a religious centre and state school administration (Konstytucja, 1921, pp. 60, 62).

The new Constitution, Article 115, regulated the position of national minority churches, according to which Orthodox citizens of Poland were guided by their own laws after receiving the synodal canonical tomos from the Patriarch of Constantinople and the proclamation of autocephaly of the Orthodox Church in Poland on September 17, 1925. The synodal canonical

tomos led to the separation of the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church from the Moscow Patriarchate and the severance of ties with it. The supreme authority of the Orthodox Church in Poland was the Synod of Bishops headed by the Metropolitan, and five Orthodox Eparchies were formed (one of them was Volyn Eparchy with its centre in Kremenets), divided into deaneries and parishes (Konstytucja, 1935, p. 163).

As it is known, since the 1920s, the process of de-Russification of the Orthodox Church began in Poland, and later the national-church movement spread to education at the suggestion of Bishop (from 1923 – Metropolitan) Dionysius (Valedynsky) in 1922 and 1924. The Holy Synod of the Orthodox Church in Poland supported the introduction of the Ukrainian language in the church and educational institutions. The Kremenets Theological Seminary united the spiritual elite of Volyn – V. Bidnov, M. Kobryn, F. Kulchynsky and other figures who contributed to the Ukrainization of the church – publication of liturgical texts and church periodicals in the Ukrainian language, and also educated a new generation of priests with the Ukrainian worldview (Skakalska, 2015, p. 96, 97).

It should be noted that it was owing to Metropolitan Dionysius that in 1925 the Department of Orthodox Theology was established at the University of Warsaw – the main educational, scientific and theological centre of the Orthodox Church. The Warsaw Synodal Publishing House, as well as Volyn Eparchy, published textbooks on the Law of God, the Orthodox Catechism, and the Sacred History of the Old and New Testaments, which were used in the educational process. The clergy and secular Orthodox Professors – I. Ohienko, O. Lototsky, I. Vlasovsky, and the others – elaborated curricula and textbooks (Kmet, 2016).

Teachers of Law of God were entrusted with a high social mission in teaching religion, religious and moral education of virtuous citizens: “We have a great responsibility before God, citizenship, and the State for our work in the field of religious education, because, having sown good seeds, we will have good, strong, and long-lasting fruits that will give the State and citizenship religious, honest, and firm-minded citizens who will build their personal, family, and public lives on Christian foundations, and not on godlessness, immorality, and bestial cruelty” (Uchytel, 1937b, pp. 197–202). The Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Education, in agreement with the religious authorities, determined professional qualifications for religion teachers at public and private schools (Ustawodawstwo, 1933, p. 172). Therefore, people with Master’s degree in Orthodox Theology from the University of Warsaw or foreign higher education institutions could teach Orthodox religion in secondary education institutions and teacher training seminaries after completing the diploma nostrification procedure and passing an exam in the Polish language. Due to the lack of a sufficient number of qualified theologians, attempts were made to fill this gap with religion teachers who met other requirements, for example, confirmed their professional qualifications by (in)completed studies at the Theological Seminary or Academy of the Russian Empire; who had at least two years of experience in catechetical practice in Poland; who passed a special exam on the basics of Orthodox doctrine and received permission from the state school department with the approval of the religious institution regarding suitability for teaching work (Rozporządzenie, 1929, pp. 687–688). Thus, the Volyn Eparchy and Volyn School Curatorium were the main institutions – spiritual and secular – responsible for organizing religious education at schools.

During the interwar period, in addition to the University of Warsaw, Orthodox theological education was obtained in secondary theological educational institutions – the Kremenets and Vilnius Orthodox Seminaries, which had been in a state of liquidation since the second half of

the 1930s. The local clergy, responding to the educational innovations of 1932, initiated the project to establish the Orthodox theological lyceum in Volyn at the Volyn Eparchy Synod on January 29–30, 1935. Since Volyn Orthodox Eparchy consisted of 689 parishes and was the largest in Poland, the issue of training priests was important. Using the “Main Principles of the Reform of Spiritual Secondary Education” of March 11, 1935, the state Orthodox Theological Lyceum was established instead of two seminaries (three years of study) in Warsaw, and the idea of establishing the Volyn Theological Lyceum was not implemented (V spravi pidhotovky, 1935, p. 310; Ukhvaly, 1935, p. 57). The Orthodox Lyceum in Warsaw began operating at the beginning of the 1938/39 academic year with Polish as the language of instruction, and only two hours of classes a week were conducted in Ukrainian there. As a researcher I. Skakalska notes, 12 students entered the lyceum after the exams, while the Kremenets Theological Seminary graduated its last seminarians from the mid-1930s to 1939 (Skakalska, 2015, p. 99).

Considering the above mentioned facts, we can conclude that there was some shortage in Law of God teachers at Volyn schools, especially at rural schools, because it was parish priests who taught religion there. By order of Volyn Voivodeship Government of January 21, 1930, commune officials were obliged to allocate funds to their budgets to pay for transportation of religion teachers who worked at several schools. Under such conditions, priests conducted 1–2 lectures per week, combining several classes into one group, without taking into account the age and psychological characteristics of the students’ development, which affected the quality of knowledge acquisition. There was shortage of Law of God teachers during the interwar period, as priests received the right to teach at schools by the bishop based on their qualifications and knowledge of Religious Pedagogy. At rural schools, the qualifications of teachers were often limited to psalmist courses. In addition, there were cases when the school management or school inspector, without the consent of the bishop (which was contrary to the law), dismissed a Religion teacher from work if the latter did not meet the pedagogical criteria (A.A., 1937a, pp. 236–237).

A number of issues of Religious Pedagogy were discussed in February of 1936 at a meeting of the Volyn Eparchy Synod with the participation of clergy, teachers, and public figures of the Petro Mohyla Society. The participants adopted a decision on improving religious education at schools: to teach Law of God in the Ukrainian language; to improve the educational values of the curriculum; to publish new textbooks adapted to the current curriculum; to prepare a methodological textbook on Law of God; to hold regular law-teaching conferences to discuss current problems. The issue of improving the material status of teachers was not ignored, in particular, increasing wages to PLN 1.50 per lecture hour, as well as publishing prayer books in the native language, approved by the translation commission at the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warsaw (Volynske yeparkhialne zibrannia, 1936, pp. 165–166).

Religion teachers sought to form a stable understanding of the basics of Orthodoxy among students, using various methods and means. The main problem of teaching the basics of the Orthodox religion in Volyn Voivodeship was the lack of textbooks for secondary school students and methodological manuals for Religion teachers, while Roman Catholics were provided with a new illustrated textbook by V. Kalynowski. Religion teachers also mentioned the lack of visual sources for studying Biblical History and Geography (the maps of Palestine), religious rites (baptism, marriage, funeral, communion, confession, processions), which significantly complicated a teacher’s work (A.A., 1937a, p. 236).

Volyn Eparchy, in organizing religious education, in every way supported the teaching of Law of God and provided material assistance to educational institutions. In 1938, the spiritual

institution allocated 3,500 zlotys for the needs of the Rivne Private Ukrainian Gymnasium, 300 zlotys – for the Rivne I. Mazepa Private Elementary School, and 4,500 zlotys – for the Volyn Theological Seminary. Guided by the “Instructions for Parish Clergy on Catechizing Orthodox Youth” (Warsaw, 1932), in 1937 Eparchy announced a competition to prepare the Ukrainian-language textbook for the clergy on catechizing children of confessional age. A prize fund was established for the winners of the competition, and all materials were recommended to be sent to the Kremenets Theological Seminary (Ukhvaly, 1937, p. 114).

The textbook “The Law of God” for seventh-grade elementary schools turned out to be interesting for the analysis of educational content. It is based on general information about the Christian faith and the content of the books sacred to Christians – the Old and New Testaments. The didactic material is grouped into three sections – “On Faith” (the symbol of Faith is substantiated, the meaning of the seven Holy Sacraments – baptism, chrism, Eucharist (communion), repentance (confession), marriage, anointing with oil, priesthood, “On Hope” (prayer), “On Love” (for God and neighbour). A thorough analysis of the Ten Commandments of the Law of God was focused on instilling religious and spiritual values, because, as it is stated at the end of the textbook, in order knowledge about faith was not in vain, it must be applied in practice, in everyday life (Dobrochynska, 2022, p. 67; Pidruchnyk, 1934, p. 82).

The key issue in improving the teaching of the basics of the Christian religion was not only the training of professional staff, but also providing them with the necessary modern methodological literature, because in practice they used 10 outdated pre-war textbooks (A.A., 1937b, p. 335). The first textbook, “Methodology of Law of God”, for elementary school was prepared by the Volyn Archpriest Anastasii Abramovych, and the editor of the publication was the prominent Ukrainian historian of the Church, at that time the director of the Lutsk Ukrainian Private Gymnasium, Ivan Vlasovsky. In 1937, Volyn Eparchy approved the manuscript, which was published in Kremenets the following year. “The Methodology of the Law of God” is distinguished by a high level of requirements for the pedagogical work of the contemporary Law of God teacher, and the author calls the teaching of religion an art that has “... certain principles and rules that everyone who wants to devote himself to this work must know it. Just as a musician cannot be a good virtuoso and a musician without having firmly mastered the technical principles of music, so a teacher of Law of God cannot teach it well without knowing pedagogical and methodological principles and methods of teaching” (Abramovych, 1938, p. 2). The textbook consisted of two content parts – theoretical and practical, which contributed to the development and implementation of methodological and didactic principles in the process of teaching a religious course. In the first part, the author substantiated the main concepts, tasks and methods, educational aspects of teaching Law of God, problems of organizing and structuring classes and material. The second part contained the basics of teaching children Law of God: a prayer, biblical history, catechism, and a liturgical practice. It is important that, in addition to general theoretical concepts and provisions, the author offered sample teaching curricula at two-, three-, and four-grade schools (Kmet, 2016).

The Ukrainization of the church in Poland inspired the Ukrainian intelligentsia – priests, teachers, public and political figures – in the fight for their national rights. They were firmly aware that an important factor in the national education of youth is moral and religious education, which should be carried out in the Ukrainian language, as well as reading prayers: “...for when a person prays – with all his heart, soul and mind – he will be religious, he will be charitable, he will learn the dogma of faith in prayers, he will be a living being for the Church

of God, a prayer will evoke high spiritual emotions in him, will evoke love for God and the holy Church” (Kishkovskiy, 1937, p. 683; Uchytel, 1937b, p. 200). According to priests, a prayer in one’s native language “has greater power, it reveals more sincerity, spiritual and religious feeling than prayers in a foreign, incomprehensible language” (Sviashch. P. Ar-k., 1938, p. 406). One of the pedagogical techniques for studying prayers at school was their joint reading at the beginning of the lecture to create an elevated religious mood, as well as reciting prayers in the native language in the family circle, where Church Slavonic texts were mainly used.

The consolidation and improvement of theoretical knowledge obtained at religion lesson took place through religious practices, which activated students in the process of learning Law of God. Religious practices include participation in church services, children’s church choirs, folk religious traditions, customs associated with various church holidays, children’s performances of a religious and moral nature, conversations, organizing children’s holidays, and pilgrimages to local shrines. As I. Vlasovskiy emphasized, all this was an additional inexhaustible resource for awakening students’ activity in learning and educating religiosity (Vlasovskiy, 1938, pp. 20–25).

Participation of students in Orthodox services was a mandatory religious practice. As for the availability of visual sources on the issue under study, our attention was drawn to the photograph of Grade 7 students of Kovel Primary School No. 3, published in the magazine “Church and People” of that time, the caption to which states: “Almost 95% of people go to church, only those who have nothing to wear don’t come” (Fotohrafiiia uchniv, 1937, p. 252). Teachers also attended services together with the students. By the order of the Ministry of Education and Religion of March 19, 1938, Orthodox teachers were exempted (at their own request) from school classes on the days of the greatest Christian holidays – Christmas, St. Basil’s Day, Epiphany, and the Holy Trinity (Rozporiadzhennia, 1938, p. 372).

School religious education and religious practices evoked special spiritual emotions, which are often described in memoir literature – the memories of students and teachers, thus expanding our imagination. In particular, in the Rivne Ukrainian private gymnasium, classes began with a common prayer “Our Father” and ended with “Hail, Virgin Mary”. A daily practice after morning prayer was for the priest to read the text of the Gospel and deliver a sermon to the students. On Sundays, high school students attended services in the basement of the local Holy Resurrection Cathedral, where the service was held in Ukrainian, while in the cathedral it was held in Church Slavonic. This situation prompted the nationally conscious believers of Rivne to establish a high school church. In 1936, they bought a spacious one-story house and converted it into St. George Church. And since there was no other Ukrainian Orthodox church in Rivne, not only high school students and students of the Hetman Ivan Mazepa elementary school came there, but other townspeople came there as well (Dobrochynska, 2016, pp. 96–98).

A graduate of the Derman Ukrainian Private Girls’ Gymnasium, H. Knysh, recalling her school life, did not ignore religious practices: attending festive services, reading daily prayers in the classroom and dining room, a three-day summer pilgrimage trip to the Volyn shrine – the Holy Dormition Pochaiiv Lavra, as well as the joint participation of the gymnasium and monastery choirs in religious services (Hutsuliak, 1976, pp. 248, 252, 265). Despite efforts to maintain religious tolerance in education, it is important to note the existence of certain regulations by the Polish school authorities that restricted religious practices, in particular, prohibiting schoolchildren from singing in a church choir unless it was led by the school

principal. In view of this, the clergy appealed to the Ukrainian deputies of the Senate and the Sejm to speak out in defense of the religious education of Orthodox students, the freedom of which was ensured by the articles of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth Constitution (A.A., 1937a, p. 240).

The religious situation in Volyn Voivodeship worsened in the second half of the 1930s, when, as part of the revindication campaign, the Orthodox were forcibly “converted” to Catholicism. The “Polish State Policy Programme for Volyn”, submitted for approval to the Ministry of Internal Affairs by the Volyn voivode A. Hauke-Nowak, appointed in 1938, testified to a change in the course of state policy towards Polonization, in particular, the cessation of the Ukrainization of the Orthodox Church in Poland and the closure of schools with Ukrainian as the language of instruction (Demianiuk, 2023, p. 15).

Conclusions. Thus, the study of the Orthodox religion at schools of Volyn Voivodeship contributed to the preservation of national identity, an important component of which was confessional memory. The Polish legislation in schools issues ensured the interests of all religious communities. In curricula religion was a mandatory school subject, and teaching the basics of Christian doctrine was entrusted to a person with theological education, mainly parish priests. The Volyn Eparchy and the Theological Seminary in Kremenets united the clergy and laity who worked on curricula, textbooks on Law of God, and teaching methods to ensure the educational process at schools properly. Religious practices played an important role, consolidating the acquired religious knowledge in students and contributing to the formation of moral and spiritual virtues and the observance of piety in everyday life. And yet, despite the declared religious tolerance, Polonization of education was clearly visible in Volyn due to the reduction of Orthodox institutions for training clergy, the increase in Polish and Utraquist schools, which was an integral part of the policy of assimilation of Catholic Poland.

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“THE HELL OF GALICIAN UKRAINE”: THALERHOF’S IMAGES ON THE PAGES OF THE “NASH LEMKO” NEWSPAPER

Abstract. *The purpose* of the study is to clarify the peculiarities of a diverse understanding related to the Thalerhof concentration camp issue by the representatives of the authors’ circle of the “Nash Lemko” newspaper. **The methodological basis** of the research is an interdisciplinary approach. In the article such methods and approaches as systematic, comparative and critical analysis of the source base, represented by large text arrays, have been used. The correct interpretation of various genres of the newspaper information has been made possible by the use of the content analysis method. **The scientific novelty** of the article consists in the attempt to comprehensively analyse the reception of a number of Thalerhof stories by the authors of the “Nash Lemko” newspaper. In **conclusion**, it has been noted that it was the Thalerhof events that significantly influenced the self-awareness of the Ruthenians as an ethnic group during the interwar period. Realizing this issue somewhat later than the representatives of the Muscovite camp, the Ruthenian intellectuals united around the “Nash Lemko” newspaper and began a difficult activity of deconstructing the stereotypes spread by their opponents, and thus a difficult activity of Ukrainizing the Thalerhof narrative. The activity carried out by Yulian Tarnovych, Petro Antonyshyn, Ostap Kostarevych and other employees of the newspaper was multifaceted, as it included the development of a new conceptual model, interviewing eyewitnesses of the tragedy, processing and publishing their memories, preparing polemical speeches, writing analytical studies, etc. As a result, a completely competitive historiographical image of the Thalerhof tragedy was created, which encouraged the Lemkos to remain with the Ukrainian national choice after their expulsion from their native lands and a subsequent resettlement by many diaspora centres during the post-war years. This conceptually balanced and factually based interpretative model proved to be in demand for the Ukrainian socio-humanitarian studies of the independence era, becoming an organic component of a modern academic restructure of the Thalerhof issue.

Keywords: *the “Nash Lemko” newspaper, Thalerhof concentration camp, Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Muscovite, reception.*

“ПЕКЛО ГАЛИЦЬКОЇ УКРАЇНИ”: ОБРАЗИ ТАЛЕРГОФА НА СТОРІНКАХ “НАШОГО ЛЕМКА”

Анотація. *Мета* дослідження полягає у з’ясуванні особливостей осмислення представниками авторського кола “Нашого лемка”, пов’язаних з темою табору Талергоф різнопланової проблематики. **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 реценції дописувачами часопису “Наш лемко” низки талергофських сюжетів. **Висновки.** У підсумку відзначено, що саме талергофські події значною мірою вплинули на самосвідомість русинів як етнічної групи у міжвоєнний час. Зрозумівши це дещо пізніше від представників московфільського табору, об’єднані довкола “Нашого лемка” русинські інтелектуали розпочали складну працю з деконструкції поширюваних опонентами стереотипів, а отже, й українізації талергофського наративу. Проведена Юліаном Тарновичем, Петром Антонішиним, Остапом Костаревичем й іншими співробітниками часопису робота була багатоаспектною, адже передбачала розробку нової концептуальної моделі, опитування очевидців трагедії, опрацювання й публікацію їхніх спогадів, підготовку полемічних виступів, написання аналітичних студій тощо. У підсумку було створено цілком конкурентний історіографічний образ талергофської трагедії, що спонукав лемків після вигнання з рідних земель і подальшого розселення у повоєнні роки багатьма діаспорними осередками залишатися при українському національному виборі. Ця концептуально виважена й фактологічно узасаднена інтерпретативна модель виявилася затребуваною і для української соціогуманітаристики доби незалежності, ставши органічною складовою сучасних академічних реконструкцій теми Талергофа.

Ключові слова: *“Наш лемко”, табір Талергоф, Друга Річ Посполита, московфіли, реценція.*

Problem Statement. Among the Lemko scholars, the prevailing belief is that the processes of national self-awareness among the Ruthenians are lagging behind those of other sub-ethnic groups of the Ukrainians. This fact is reasonably explained by the peculiarities of the Lemkos’ mentality formation under the conditions of an isolated high-mountain living and sporadic contacts with the outside world. This isolated high-mountain living contributed to a long-term preservation of pre-modern social and cultural practices among the indigenous population of the Eastern Beskyds, with all its uncertainties. However, World War I destroyed the archaic Lemkos’ world, tragically pushing its actors to an increased self-reflection regarding their own identity.

This process of understanding the national “I” took place under the difficult conditions of the repressive policy of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth governments towards the national minorities and a fierce competition between the Ukrainian and Muscovite intelligentsia for the Lemkos’ civilizational choice. In this struggle, the instrumentalization of historical events and facts of the recent past became increasingly widespread. By using different interpretations of the tragic pages of the Great War, the opposing sides tried to win the Ruthenians over to their side, presenting the opponent in the most unattractive light possible. At the same time, the study of the causes, perpetrators, and consequences of the mass extrajudicial imprisonment of the Galician Ukrainians in the Thalerhof concentration camp in 1914 – 1917 became particularly emotional. And if the Muscovite perspective of this tragedy was widely popularized by interwar and diaspora publicists (Vavryk, 1966), the origins of the tradition of its interpretation from the point of view of the Ukrainian historical interest have not been studied sufficiently. Drawing attention to this problem, we reconstruct the Thalerhof component of the historical policy by the editors of the “Nash Lemko” newspaper, which was the most authoritative media platform for the Ruthenians of the Ukrainian choice.

Review of Recent Research and Publications. Given the aforementioned information on the “Nash Lemko” newspaper as a particularly popular press among pro-Ukrainian Ruthenians in interwar Poland, a number of studies have been devoted to it. Thus, recently the Lemko studies scholars have clarified the publishing specifics (Telvak, Nakonechnyi & Telvak, 2022) and editorial policy (Nakonechnyi, 2019; Nakonechnyi, 2023) of this periodical, as well as the discursive practices of its contributors in covering many of the problems that plagued the Ruthenians during the second half of the 1930s. Among other things, the media campaigns of the Lemko intellectuals against the dominance of harmful habits were analysed (Telvak & Nakonechnyi, 2021) and illiteracy (Telvak, Nakonechnyi & Telvak, 2022; Telvak, Nakonechnyi & Telvak, 2023), avalanche-like emigration among the Ukrainian highlanders from their native lands (Telvak & Nakonechnyi, 2020), repression by the Polish officials (Nakonechnyi, 2017; Nakonechnyi, 2018) etc. At the same time, in the studies on the historical policy of the publishers of the “Nash Lemko” newspaper (Nakonechnyi & Dushniy, 2024) the Thalerhof issue is obviously underestimated. That is why, this issue determines the relevance of our research. Some methodological principles of researching the interwar Ukrainian press are presented in the works of Kostiantyn Kurylyshyn, Mykola Haliv, Anna Puriy (Kurylyshyn & Haliv, 2024; Haliv, & Puriy, 2023).

The purpose of the study is to clarify the peculiarities of diverse issues understanding related to the topic of the Thalerhof concentration camp by the representatives of the authors’ circle of the “Nash Lemko” newspaper.

Research Results. First of all, let us outline the historical and cultural context of the actualization of the issue related to the Thalerhof tragedy during the interwar period. Above,

we've mentioned the widespread practice of instrumentalizing historical issues in the struggle of Muscovite and Ukrainian intellectuals for the national choice of the Lemkos at that time. At the same time, while the latter, during the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries, successfully found unifying historical arguments (a common ethnic origin, similarity of linguistic practices, the same civilizational challenges over the centuries, etc.), for a long time Muscovite people appealed only to the archaic and incomprehensible idea of "a united Rus from the Carpathians to Kamchatka," which was not widely understood by the Lemko community. As a result of this greater appeal of the Ukrainian figures' slogans, more and more Ruthenians realized themselves to be an organic part of our people.

Having considered this situation as threatening to their long-term dominance, the Muscovites began to look for more effective divisive arguments. Thus, they successfully took advantage of a spy mania inflated by the Austrian authorities at the beginning of the Great War, which was based on rumors of the mass betrayal of the interests of their state by the then Russophiles in favour of the enemy – the Russian Empire. As we know, this gave rise to preventive arrests – first among Russophile activists, and later all those Ukrainians who traditionally called themselves "Ruthenian people" and had at least some Russian-language publications at home. Ultimately, the very name "Ruthenian people" was natural, because in the vocabulary of Austrian officials, all Ukrainians from the moment the Danubian Monarchy was established were labelled with the unifying concept of "Ruthenen". Since it was among the Lemkos that the old-world ethnonym "Rusyn" existed the longest, and Muscovite publications were distributed free of charge in the villages for many decades, and therefore were in almost every settlement, and the Lemkos dominated among the residents of the Eastern Galician region deported to concentration camps (Klym Beskydskyi, 1937).

Traditionally, taking advantage of the similarity of the ethnonyms "Rusyn" and "Russian", Muscovophiles skillfully constructed a myth about a deliberate persecution of the Lemkos by the Austrian authorities because of their alleged civilizational choice – their adherence to "united Russia". At the same time, the Muscovite regime shifted responsibility for extrajudicial executions and expulsions from the native lands, from the Austrian state to conscious Ukrainians, who allegedly took revenge on their opponents, leading them to certain death. The logical simplicity of this explanatory combination proved convincing to the extremely illiterate Lemkos. Thus, the Thalerhof tragedy was turned into a dividing marker for the Transnistrians by the Muscovite – those who suffered in the concentration camp (the Lemkos) and those who organized the "Golgotha of Galician Rus" (conscious Ukrainians). The success of this manipulation was evidenced by a large-scale *veche* organized to honour the victims of Thalerhof in Lviv and the provinces in the 1920s and the first half of the 1930s.

Such stigmatization by Muscovites of their ideological opponents as the embodiment of absolute evil threatened to turn many local residents of the Eastern Beskyds away from the Ukrainian choice. Fortunately, the Ruthenian intellectuals united around the "Nash Lemko" newspaper timely realized the seriousness of the threat that hung over the Ukrainian nation. Thus, an alternative discourse to the Muscovite discourse on the Thalerhof tragedy gradually began to be constructed on the pages of the periodical. This was evidenced by the diverse articles on the newspaper's pages. In them, along with the deconstruction of the most anti-Ukrainian components of the interpretation imposed by Muscovites, the newspaper's authors began to construct a unifying image of Thalerhof for our people.

First of all, the Lemkos newspaper offered its readers a series of publications that criticized from various aspects the theses spread by Muscovites about the guilt of the Ukrainians for the

destruction of their fellow villagers, who had a different national choice and different ritual practices. To this end, the authors of the "Nash Lemko" newspaper quite rightly reached the historical roots of this problem, namely, they depicted the emergence and spread of Russophilia in Galicia, and then its later degeneration into Muscovophilia. In a series of historical essays by Petro Antonyshyn it was explained that the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was an ethnically and culturally diverse state that lacked an effective bureaucratic apparatus. The evidence of the latter was the state's belated response to the Russian information sabotage. This meant the unhindered spread of the Pan-Slavic ideology by Russia in Western Europe in the mid-19th century, according to which the Romanovs declared themselves the guardians of all Slavic peoples, who would be able to realize the fullness of their national existence only under their scepter (Antonyshyn, 1934a, p. 5).

The effect of this campaign was a rapid spread of Russophilia in Galicia, which, owing to such Galician intellectuals encouraged by rubles as Ivan Naumovych and Bohdan Didytsky, acquired the dimensions of an intellectual fashion. Therefore, P. Antonyshyn notes that cultural institutions financially supported by Russia were established (primarily, the Stavropihiisky Institute, the People's House in Lviv, and the Galician-Rus Matytsia) and the periodicals ("Slovo", "Russkaya Rada", "Halychanyn" and the others), owing to which Russophiles became a noticeable political actor in the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria. Moreover, they could form ostentatious factions in the Viennese parliament and effectively defend Russian interests at the national level. Having finally realized their shortsightedness, Viennese officials opposed the Russian influences with support for the Galicians, who stood on the Ukrainian national positions. However, until the beginning of the 20th century, the Russophiles were the force with a strong public support. Their greatest influence was in the Lemkos region, where the Russophile ideology was promoted by Orthodox priests who were authoritative among the community (Antonyshyn, 1934b, p. 3).

During the last pre-war years, as P. Antonyshyn informs his readers, there was a rapid ideological evolution of the Russophiles towards Muscovophilism, associated with the promotion of not only cultural, but also political Russian narratives into the public space of Galicia. Moreover, the leaders of the movement began to flatter the Russian military command openly, an eloquent proof of which was their preparation of the brochure "Modern Galicia: its Ethnographic and Cultural Political State, in Connection with National Social Sentiments" on the eve of the Russian invasion of Galicia. It detailed, often with names, how many and in which powiat (county), town and village there were "Russians" and conscientious Ukrainians, so that the Russian troops would know where they could be welcomed favourably and where they needed to be cautious. At the beginning of the war, this brochure expectedly fell into the hands of the gendarmerie, which followed its instructions, carrying out mass arrests among the Ukrainians of all ideological orientations. Thus, the newspaper contributor under the pseudonym "Former Thalerhofets" emphasizes that it was the brochure compiled by Muscovites that gave impetus to extrajudicial arrests, executions, and deportations of the Ukrainians to Thalerhof and other camps, which, under the conditions of espionage mania characteristic of the war, gained a considerable momentum (Buvshyi talierhofets, 1939, p. 3). There was also the military's desire to find those responsible for their tactical miscalculations, as well as Magyarország-German prejudices against the Slavs as supposedly eternal sympathizers of Russia. The Polish and Jewish hatred for the Ukrainians, who took advantage of the situation to slander their national competitors, also played an important role. "A bankrupt handful of Muscovite swindlers are criminally spreading among our people the

rumor that the Ukrainians were to blame for Thalerhof”, concludes P. Antonyshyn. “That is an utter lie! Only the most illiterate man who never reads anything could believe it. [...]”. “Don’t believe it, because it is a vile lie to the detriment of thousands, and for the benefit of a few ‘Russian’ liars” (Antonyshyn, 1934c, p. 5).

At the same time, while maintaining objectivity in reconstructing the Thalerhof tragedy, the “Nash Lemko” newspaper did not hide the unsightly facts of the Lemkos using the war situation to settle personal scores with hostile fellow villagers. In the newspaper it was written about the shameful acts of those Ruthenians who betrayed neighbours with different ideological beliefs to the military authorities, and usually simply slandered people who were hostile to them. But these phenomena, the newspaper’s authors rightly emphasized, are inherent in every community. And the sign of a healthy community is not the shy concealment of such facts, but on the contrary – their prominence and sharp condemnation in order to prevent them in the future (Yizdiat sobi 1934, p. 7).

Having shifted partial blame for the ethnic cleansing carried out by the Austrian punitive apparatus onto Muscovite people in the minds of the reader, the editorial staff of the “Nash Lemko” newspaper took it upon themselves to undermine another stereotype spread about the identification of the concepts of “thalerhofets” and “a Ruthenian”. To this end, the newspaper published a series of articles that explained, in a language understandable to an average reader, the differences between the real Thalerhof camp and the politicized narrative about it by Muscovites. Regarding the first aspect, the authors of the newspaper emphasized that the entire Ukrainian population of Galicia, not just the Ruthenian or Orthodox, found themselves hostages of the war between two continental powers, the war of a fundamentally new type, with unprecedented military intensity and unimaginable humanitarian catastrophes. Therefore, for people who lived in their own self-sufficient world, far from modern industrial reality, especially the Lemkos, such a sharp confrontation with the reality was not just traumatic, but shocking. Thus, as it was emphasized in the “Nash Lemko” newspaper, “thousands of innocent people from all walks of life fell victim, including a large number of prominent Ukrainian figures who were driven behind barbed wire into the dirty and cold Thalerhof barracks” (Antonyshyn, 1934, p. 5).

In detail the authors of the Lemko press focused particularly on the practices of instrumentalization of the Thalerhof tragedy by Muscovites. Their cynical attitude towards this national calamity was noted by the “Nash Lemko” newspaper even during the years of the Great War. Thus, eyewitness reports leaked into the interwar press that in 1915 Tsarist Russia had already secretly transferred funds to Galician Muscovites to support the Thalerhofists, but these funds did not reach the recipients, as they were simply stolen by party members (Navit tam kraly!, 1934, p. 5).

However, the degree of cynicism, the publicists of the Ruthenian newspaper claimed, increased during the interwar period noticeably, when the Thalerhof issue became a source of stable financial enrichment for Muscovite supporters and a tool for persecuting ideological opponents. In the first case, the “Nash Lemko” newspaper did not tire of citing numerous facts of a total desecration of the memory of the Ukrainians tortured in Austrian concentration camps (Zhebys, 1936, p. 6). It is said that instead of a concentrated prayer and quiet mourning, Muscovite people turned their commemorative practices into real spectacles with music, dancing, and a heavy alcohol abuse. As the newspaper’s contributors wrote from eyewitness accounts, the Ruthenians from the provinces were attracted to such events with discounts on railway tickets, free treats, and spectacular events. One of the authors of the

"Nash Lemko" newspaper described the absurdity of these events as follows: "A lamenting academy – (streams of crocodile tears!) and festivities, a memorial service and dances, a cross and a pole with sausage – all this is called a holiday in Russian! "It should be the Thalerhof holiday, a remembrance of a tragic moment in our history, a remembrance of the painful sacrifice that the Ukrainian people had to make with the lives of their sons" (Moskvofilski hiieny, 1936, p. 7).

Labelling such events as "Thalerhof comedies", the Ruthenian newspaper explained to its readers the real goals of holding them. Using numerous examples, the "Nash Lemko" newspaper proved the anti-Ukrainian orientation of the Muscovite organizers of such essentially memorial events. It is said that their indispensable component was the speeches of Muscovite public intellectuals, who competed to portray the role of Ukrainian figures in the government's persecution of Galician peasants as brutally as possible. Observing this constant betrayal by Muscovites of their ideological opponents, the Ruthenian publicists pointed out: "The Thalerhof holiday is one of the occasions for the katsaps to tell vile and dirty lies about the Ukrainians. Lots of malice and, above all, cheap, fairground demagogy" (Moskvofilski hiieny, 1936, p. 7).

It should be noted that the aforementioned reckless anti-Ukrainianism of Muscovites was fully consistent with the policy of officials of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, for whom the conscious work of the descendants of the Galician people in the Lemko environment was the greatest obstacle to their Polonization. Therefore, the new masters of the situation in every way facilitated the organizational activities of Muscovites and promptly popularized their anti-Ukrainian rhetoric on the pages of state-controlled publications. In the "Nash Lemko" newspaper there were published the facts of the town administrations providing premises for the Thalerhof gatherings, the friendly police support of these actions, the dissemination of information about them in the local press at the state expense, etc. (– och., 1934, p. 4). Interestingly, the authorities avoided publicizing their sympathies for Muscovites in every possible way, as evidenced by the censorship removal of such newspaper reports. We learn about them from the only copy of the "Nash Lemko" newspaper, which belonged to the censorship committee and is currently stored in the Scientific Library of Ivan Franko National University of Lviv.

However, the Muscovites did not stop at demonizing their opponents during the Thalerhof gatherings. They chose attempts to interpret the tragedy of the Galician peasantry through a pan-Ukrainian prism, different from their own, as a tool for political persecution of dissenters. The "Nash Lemko" newspaper extensively covered the essentially slanderous campaign launched by Muscovites to inform state officials about the Ukrainian priests, teachers, and government officials who were shaping the image of Thalerhof in the minds of the Lemkos as the place of pan-Slavic tragedy. Thus, such figures became unreliable in the eyes of the Polish police, with all the consequences that were harmful to their careers. In their articles the Ruthenian publicists aptly noted the similarity of such treacherous behaviour of Muscovites with the actions of their predecessors at the beginning of the Great War, when they slandered their neighbours, sending them to Austrian concentration camps for torture. An anonymous contributor to the "Nash Lemko" newspaper addressed a reader emotionally: "Let's ask: Who has any doubts about where our teachers, our pastors would be if the "Lemko Union" and all Vantsi and Trokhanovskys had conducted "Russian ideological work" during the war blizzard, and not today? Who will give the answer: What is the difference in the "activity" of those people – the leaders of the "Russian Lemko region", the "Krynytsia trinity", the

guardians of “Orthodoxy” – and the “work” of the Austrian gendarme or the Hungarian dragoon? Tell me – what is the difference?!” (Moskvofilski hiieny, 1936, p. 7).

The editorial board of the “Nash Lemko” newspaper quite rightly began to lay down an appropriate source base for the new interpretative model of the Thalerhof tragedy. The impetus for this work, which is important for an objective understanding of the problem, was “The Thalerhof Almanacs” published by Muscovite activists. They tend to select testimonies of concentration camp prisoners with a condemnatory analysis of the Ukrainian figures and the national movement in general. Thus, the staff of the Ruthenian newspaper began an important task of recording, and then publishing in the columns of the press, the memoirs of former prisoners with a pro-Ukrainian orientation, who presented firsthand an alternative picture of events as compared to the picture of events spread by Muscovites. For example, Andriy Kohut told the “Nash Lemko” newspaper that he had always felt like a Ukrainian, but because the gendarmes found a Russophile newspaper at his home, he was arrested and sent to a concentration camp, where he met people of the Ukrainian national origin mostly. Then he concluded: “Hearing that the katsaps want to turn former Thalerhof prisoners into katsaps, I strongly oppose this, because it is not true” (Shche pro Talierhof, 1935, p. 3).

Finally, let us recall that the tragedy of the concentration camp prisoners was also covered in an artistic way by the “Nash Lemko” newspaper. These literary essays, written by prominent Ruthenian masters of the word, were primarily addressed to that part of the reading audience that was not accustomed to studying large analytical texts. The artistic sketches of Ostap Kostarevych, Ivan Shevchyk-Lukavychenko, Yulian Tarnovych, and the others usually highlighted the prisoners’ longing for their homeland, the tragic conditions of camp existence, and the resilience of a human spirit in the face of difficult trials of fate (Kostarevych, 1934, p. 3). It is noteworthy that the aforementioned stories were written in both Ukrainian literary language and the Ruthenian dialect, which was intended to form in a reader’s mind the image of Thalerhof as a tragedy of a national scale.

Conclusions. As the analysis showed, it was the Thalerhof events that significantly influenced the self-awareness of the Ruthenians as an ethnic group during the interwar period. Realizing this somewhat later than the representatives of the Muscovite camp, the Ruthenian intellectuals united around the “Nash Lemko” newspaper began the difficult work of deconstructing the stereotypes spread by their opponents, and thus of Ukrainizing the Thalerhof narrative. The work carried out by Yu. Tarnovych, P. Antonyshyn, O. Kostarevych and other employees of the journal was multifaceted, as it included the development of a new conceptual model, interviewing eyewitnesses of the tragedy, processing and publishing their memories, preparing polemical speeches, writing analytical studies, etc. As a result, a completely competitive historiographical image of the Thalerhof tragedy was created, which encouraged the Lemkos to remain with the Ukrainian national choice after their expulsion from their native lands and subsequent resettlement by many diaspora centres in the post-war years. This conceptually balanced and factually based interpretative model proved to be in demand for the Ukrainian socio-humanitarian studies of the independence era, becoming an organic component of modern academic reconstructions of the Thalerhof issue.

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**RELIGIOUS MENTALITY OF BORYSLAV DEANERY PARISH POPULATION
OF PEREMYŚL GREEK CATHOLIC DIOCESE (the 30s of the 20th century)**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research* is to reveal the main manifestations regarding the religious mentality of Boryslav Deanery parish population of the Greek Catholic Diocese of Przemyśl in the 1930s. **The research methodology** is based on the work with manuscript documentary materials, analytical and synthetic criticism of sources was used to verify the information from them. **The scientific novelty** can be traced to the involvement of a significant array of documentary material from the church funds of the Greek Catholic Consistory of Przemyśl with the presentation of the latest scientific interpretations and views. **Conclusions.** *The religious mentality of Boryslav Deanery parish population of the Greek Catholic Diocese of Przemyśl was built on the Christian principles of love, mercy, and mutual assistance. There have been established charitable societies at churches in order to provide*

material assistance to the poor; widows, orphans, and cripples. The church brotherhoods organized the parish communities to maintain the churches. The religious societies of the Apostolic Prayer involved the most active believers in popularizing the spiritual practices of the Christians: daily prayers, monthly confession, and communion. The spread of the Catholic press among the parish population was to help oust the anti-Catholic sectarian publications. Encouraging the reading of faithful Christian literature contributed to the believers' awareness in the basic teachings of the Catholic Church. The preaching work of the parish clergy was aimed at eradicating the influence of distorted teachings of the sectarian Christian communities. The socialist and communist ideas were spreading among the local labour migrants, aimed at undermining the authority of the church and promoting the atheistic ideology. Local priests directed their public and cultural and educational activities to combating these threatening anti-Christian movements, since the Deanery included the largest number of the parish centres (Boryslav, Tustanychi, Stebnyk), where industrial infrastructure was being built. There were organized regular spiritual retreats and long-term missions for the believers in the individual parishes among the workers with the Basilian monks' involvement, which converted the apostates and raised the piety of the Christians. However, there were isolated cases of conflict between the parishioners and the parish priest, which had a negative impact on the Christian virtues and national education development.

Key words: mentality; Christianity; Catholicism; society; brotherhood; recolatio; mission.

РЕЛІГІЙНА МЕНТАЛЬНІСТЬ ПАРАФІЯЛЬНОСТІ ЛЮДНОСТІ БОРИСЛАВСЬКОГО ДЕКАНАТУ ПЕРЕМИШЛЬСЬКОЇ ГРЕКО-КАТОЛИЦЬКОЇ ЄПАРХІЇ (30-ті рр. XX ст.)

Анотація. *Мета дослідження* – розкрити основні прояви релігійної ментальності парафіяльності людності Бориславського деканату Перемишльської греко-католицької єпархії впродовж 30-х рр. XX ст. **Методологія дослідження** побудована на роботі із рукописними документальними матеріалами, для верифікації відомостей із них використано аналітичну та синтетичну критику джерел. **Наукова новизна** простежується у залученні значного масиву документального матеріалу із церковних фондів Перемишльської греко-католицької Консисторії із поданням новітніх наукових тлумачень та поглядів. **Висновки.** Релігійна ментальність парафіяльної людності Бориславського деканату Перемишльської греко-католицької єпархії була побудована на християнських засадах любові, милосердя та взаємодопомоги. При храмах створювалися харитативні товариства із надання матеріальної допомоги убогим, вдовам, сиротам та калікам. Церковні братства організовували парафіяльні спільноти для утримання храмів. Релігійні товариства Апостольської Молитви залучали найактивніших вірян до популяризації духовних практик християн: щоденних молитов, щомісячної сповіді та причастя. Поширення католицької преси посеред парафіяльної людності мало сприяти витісненню антикатолицьких сектанських видань. Заохочення до читання правдивої християнської літератури сприяло обізнаності вірян в основних вченнях Католицької Церкви. Проповідницька праця парафіяльного духовенства була спрямована на викорінення впливу викривлених вчень сектанських християнських спільнот. Через прибулих трудових мігрантів серед місцевих найманих робітників набули поширення соціалістичні та комуністичні ідеї, які були спрямовані на підрив авторитету церкви і пропагування атеїстичної ідеології. На боротьбу із цими загрозливими антихристиянськими рухами спрямували свою громадську та культурно-просвітницьку діяльність місцеві парохі, оскільки до розглядуваного деканату належало найбільше парафіяльних осередків (Борислав, Тустановичі, Стебник), де розбудовувалася промислова інфраструктура. Серед робітників організовувалися регулярні духовні реколекції та тривалі місії для вірян по окремих парафіях із залученням василіянского чернецтва, що наворотило віровідступників та підносило набожність християн. Проте траплялися поодинокі випадки у виникненні конфліктних відносин між парафіянами і парохіями, що негативно впливало на розвиток християнських чеснот та національного виховання.

Ключові слова: ментальність; християнство; католицизм; товариство; братство; реколекція; місія.

Problem Statement. There is a drastic need to study the religious practices of the Greek Catholic believers of the interwar period, especially in the modern period of the Christian spirituality revival. Ultimately, the Greek Catholic Church in the Galician lands that were a part of the Polish Republic stepped up its efforts to preserve and develop the Ukrainian traditions and customs, which served as the foundation for the people's religious mindset, during the period under consideration when there was no national state. The local parish population gathered around the Greek Catholic churches, which became the centres of the Christian and national culture development. In particular, there were held divine services in the native Ukrainian language, there were celebrated the national holidays along with the religious ones, the church brotherhoods and religious societies operated, local parish priests participated in the formation of the Ukrainian cultural and educational, credit and cooperative institutions in the churches. All the above-mentioned activities were aimed at the religious and national education development. The basis of these processes was the religious mentality of the Greek Catholic believers, who received the national identity through the faith in God. Accordingly, the local parish priests focused on maintaining a proper level of the Christian spirituality among parishioners, which is reflected in their reports on a religious and moral state of the faithful.

The purpose of the research is to reveal the main manifestations regarding the religious mentality of Boryslav Deanery parish population of Przemyśl Greek Catholic Diocese during the 1930s.

Review of Recent Research and Publications. The issue on the religious mentality has been studied comprehensively up till this day. After all, most church historians and local historians study the Christian shrines through the prism of their institutional development, paying little attention to highlighting the principles of a religious life of the Christian parish communities and their spiritual leaders (pastors) (Bilykivskyi, 2021; Halyk, & Stetsyk, 2013; Haliv, & Ohar, 2018; Haliv, 2023; Haliv, & Puriy, 2023; Hrytsyshyn, & Hrytsyshyn, 2023; Ivantsiura, 2001; Pastukh, Soviak, & Shymko, 2012; Stetsyk, 2024; Tarnavskyi, 2019; Tymoshenko, 2013). If the history of individual dioceses of the Eastern Rite, including Przemyśl, was studied by the scholars in different historical periods, then the study on the Deaneries as church administrative units has not been covered, especially on the territory of the Diocese under consideration (Pylypiv, 2011; Horan, 2015; Perevezii, 2004; Stępień, 1996). The historiographical foundations of the study are outlined in the works of Mykola Haliv and Vasyl Ilnytskyi (Haliv, & Ilnytskyi, 2021; Ilnytskyi, & Haliv, 2022; Haliv, & Ilnytskyi, 2023). Although there is only a small amount of the archival documentation from the Deanery offices, which survived to this day, it was not still possible to find a collection of the documents compiled by Boryslav Deanery administration. We came across the reports and correspondence from Father Dean Peter Mekelita and complaints by the parishioners about the activities of the clergy instead, which were addressed to the episcopal office in the city of Przemyśl during the 1930s (APP ABGK, sygn. 4186). General information about the administrative territorial structure and statistical data is obtained from the eparchial schematics (Shematyzm, 1936; Shematyzm, 2014).

Research Results. Boryslav Deanery as a church administrative unit of Przemyśl Greek Catholic Diocese was established in 1920 as a result of Drohobych Deanery reorganization. There were 14 parishes, which included: Boryslav (with a branch in Mraznytsia); Hubychi (with branches in Derezhychi, Monastyr Derezhysky); Dobrohostiv; Dovzhan (with a branch in Zariche-Rovni); Novy Kropyvnyk; Modrytsia (with branches in Silka and Mlynky);

Oriv (Zymivka); Popeli (with branches in Popeli Horishni and Bania Kotivska); Rybnytsia (Maidan); Stebnyk (with branches in Kolpets and Stanylia); Skhidnytsia; Truskavets; Tustanovychi; Ulychne. It is noticeable that larger populated villages on the plains formed single parish centres, while less populated mountain villages were united into one parish by two settlements. The number of the parish population in Boryslav Deanery grew constantly: if in 1924 there were 35,687 people, then in 15 years the population increased by 7 thousand people, so that by 1939 the total number of the Greek Catholic rite believers was 42,600 people.

Father Petro Mekelita (the years of life 1868 – 1947; the years of administration 1921 – 1945) was a permanent Boryslav Deanery administrator. The Father was born into the family of a Deacon Teodor in Zhovkivshchyna (the village of Butyny). Petro Mekelita received his secondary education at Lviv Academic Gymnasium (1890). He studied Theology at Lviv Diocesan Seminary (1890 – 1893) and Przemyśl Diocesan Seminary (1893 – 1894). He was ordained by Bishop Yulian Pelesh of Przemyśl: first as a Deacon (December 3, 1894), and soon as a priest (December 9, 1894) after completing his studies. He began his pastoral duty in Sianok Deanery: first as an employee (1894 – 1898), later as a superintendent (1898 – 1899), and then as a parish priest (1899 – 1919) in the parish of Prusiek-Sianiczok. Petro Mekelita was appointed the Dean of the Sianok Deanery (1910 – 1919) along with his duties as a parish priest. He lived in Vienna during World War I. P. Mekelita was appointed to Stebnyk parish, when the war ended in 1919, where he was the parish priest until 1945, and in 1921 he was appointed as the official of Boryslav Deanery. He managed the Deanery from Stebnyk parish office (Prakh, 2015, pp. 297–298). Fr. Ivan Valiukh, a parish priest from Truskavets, who performed the duties of the Vice-Dean, was his assistant in the management of the Deanery. Fr. Ivan Valiukh was often delegated by the Dean to visit parishes, where the complaints from the parishioners about the unsatisfactory activities of the local parish priests were received. The future priest Ivan came from a rural family in Ranevychi. He received his secondary education at Drohobych gymnasium (1893), and his theological education at Lviv Diocesan Seminary (1893 – 1896) and Przemyśl Diocesan Seminary (1896 – 1897). He received ordination with the blessing of Bishop Kostiantyn Chekhovych of Przemyśl in the cathedral of the city of Przemyśl: on September 5, 1897 – as a Deacon, and on September 12, 1897 – as a priest. Ivan Valiukh began his spiritual ministry as a parish priest's assistant (1897 – 1898) in the village of Kunyn, Zhovkva Deanery; assistant at Oriv parish (1898 – 1899) and Rybnyk parish superintendant (1899 – 1900) of Drohobych Deanery; the superintendant of Svidnytsia (1900 – 1906) and Lastivka (1906 – 1919) parishes of Staryi Sambir Deanery; the parish priest of Truskavets parish (1919 – 1941). Fr. Ivan Valiukh was the Town-Dean of Boryslav Deanery from 1922 to 1941. He had Canon titles and was a zealous priest. Fr. Ivan Valiukh participated in the activities of the parish, Deanery and povit (county) institutions and societies: the “Prosvita”, “Silskyi Hospodar”, “Ridna Shkola” (Prakh, 2015, p. 387). In particular, he contributed to the construction of the premises of the “Silskyi Hospodar” society in Truskavets on his own land in 1921. A magnificent building with a theater hall was built within a year. Owing to his efforts, the reading room of the “Prosvita” society in Truskavets was restored after World War I, which had already had a hundred members by 1924. Father Ivan led personally a self-education group in order to eliminate illiteracy among the older generation of the parish community at the educational reading room, and also was the Control and Audit Commission Head of the local “Prosvita”. He worked diligently with young people and, in order to activate their Christian spiritual and

national patriotic education, contributed to the establishment of the local village of the Plast society (Nimylovych, 2012, pp. 18–19). These two active administrators of Boryslav Deanery (Father-Dean Petro Mekelita and Father City-Dean Ivan Valiukh) not only contributed to the organization of the Ukrainian public and church institutions in their parishes, but also encouraged other priests of the Deanery to follow their activities.

The administrators of Boryslav Deanery conducted on a regular basis the visitations of the parishes subordinate to them and collected reports from the local parish priests on the religious and moral state of the parish population and sent them to the Episcopal Consistory in Przemyśl, in accordance with the orders of the Greek Catholic bishops. In particular, we came across among the archival documentation a handwritten general report of Father Dean Petro Mekelita issued on February 2, 1938, addressed to the Episcopal Ordinariate on the visitation surveys conducted in 1937 of eight parishes entrusted to him for the management of Boryslav Deanery: Tustanovychi, Boryslav, Skhidnytsia, Novy Kropyvnyk, Rybnyk, Dobrohostiv, Ulychne, Modrychi. The visitor noted that in none of these parishes had any complaints been made to him by the parishioners against their parish priests, either for the reasons of abuse of their spiritual authority or unscrupulous performance of their spiritual functions in the church or at school. He noted that the parishioners maintained appropriate cleanliness in churches, that the financial calculations of the income and expenses of the church treasury were properly carried out, and that the parish offices were kept in a careful state. The Dean did not note any shortcomings in the activities of the parish priests or the Christian piety of the parishioners (APP ABGK, sygn. 4189, p. 123). It should be noted that it was impossible to find the protocols of the Deanery visitations of the parishes in Boryslav Governorate in the 1920s and 1930s, when we carried out our research. We came across typical protocols from the neighbouring Pidbuzh Deanery during the documentary search.

Taking into consideration the absence of visitation documentation, in addition to fragmentary summary reports in order to study the religious mentality of the parish population, we used the reports from the local parishioners on the religious and moral state of the parishes entrusted to them, which we added with individual complaints from the believers about the activities of their pastors.

In particular, there were noted both positive and negative aspects in the religious and moral life of the parishioners in 1936 in the reports of the parish priests of Boryslav Deanery. We can single out the following achievements among the positive manifestations of the religious mentality: an increase in the number of the believers at both festive and Sunday liturgies and sermons; an increase in donations from the parishioners both for the church collections and for the targeted needs of churches (repair, renewal of church inventory, liturgical clothing, restoration work); an increase in the number of the confessors and communicants; progress in the Christian science among the students and school graduates; respect for the Sacrament of Marriage due to a decrease in the number of unmarried families; limiting the influence of the Jewish youth groups that spread communist and atheistic ideas among the Ukrainians, by creating the pro-Ukrainian cooperative institutions and delivering the anti-communist instructive sermons in the churches by the parishioners. There were reflected significant shortcomings in the literature distribution on the religious sects among the population, which was reflected in the re-understanding of the church commandments by the faithful. In order to eliminate the distorted teachings of the sectarians, the parish priests decided to organize special instructive sermons during the services, which helped eliminate the negative influence of the dissenters. The Greek Catholic believers had to live in a multicultural environment.

In addition to the Greek Catholics, there also lived the Jews, the Protestants, and the Roman Catholics in the territory of each parish community. Young people of the Jewish faith often behaved immorally, criticized the teachings of the Christian Church, and were sympathetic to the communist ideas. Their behaviour had a pernicious effect on the spiritual formation of the Ukrainian Christian youth, who, due to poverty and destitution, were forced to serve in the Jewish families for the appropriate salary. A significant part of the Greek Catholics was hired workers in the Jewish mines in Urych, Boryslav, Skhidnytsia, where they were exposed to the influence of the socialist and atheistic ideas. In addition, they were forced to work on Sundays and holidays in order to earn money to support their poor families. Such exhausting work without regular church attendance led to a gradual loss of a stable spiritual connection with the local Christian community and the adoption of other religious teachings. It was quite difficult to create or revive both religious and public Ukrainian societies and to distribute a good Catholic religious press among the parish population in some parishes, where there was a low level of literacy. After all, in order for people to be able to read the Christian articles, they needed to know at least the basics of Grammar (APP ABGK, sygn. 4186, pp. 389–390). A church choir was formed at each parish church, which in most cases was recruited from the local youth, who gathered at the churches on holidays and Sundays. Due to the Christian sermons, the fights and robberies were eradicated among the population. The faithful resolved misunderstandings among themselves by seeking compromises based on the Christian commandment of love and mutual respect (APP ABGK, sygn. 4186, p. 393).

According to the reports from the parish priests, the “Selrob” party operated in certain church communities (for example, Silets, Modrychi), which, due to its socialist ideology, did not receive support among the local Christian communities (APP ABGK, sygn. 4186, p. 393).

In the parishes where the oil and cainite industries were developing, the migrant workers settled, who came from different lands of the Polish Republic and were mostly the Poles, but differed in their confessional affiliation: the Roman Catholics, the sectarians. They neglected the Christian practices: they confessed and received communion once every few years; did not attend services regularly; spread sectarian teachings among the workers; formed mixed (inter-confessional) marriages and used their authority to establish a ban on their children visiting the Greek Catholic churches and catechetical classes at school (APP ABGK, sygn. 4186, p. 402). The above-mentioned behaviour had a negative effect on the local parish population, which began to become interested in the religious teachings of the sectarians and reduced attendance at the Greek Catholic churches.

Although there were held three liturgies every holiday and every Sunday in Tustanovychi, the presence of the believers was small. The parishioners tried to justify themselves by bad weather conditions, the lack of festive clothing due to poverty and destitution, and the considerable distance from the church. The local parish priest, Father Omelian Martynovych, in his report for 1936 noted the peculiarities of the parishioner attendance at the church by gender: men were mostly present at the morning liturgies, and women at the vespers and prayers (APP ABGK, sygn. 4186, p. 403). Apparently, women were busy preparing festive meals and did not have time to attend the morning liturgies on time. In addition, they were entrusted with the maternal duty of caring for children. The pastor highlighted the following moral shortcomings of the parish population: robbery, discord in families, disrespect of children for their parents, curses, laziness. The young people did not pursue the premarital purity. After all, often the baptism of children took place a few months after the conclusion of a church marriage. There was a decline in the birth rate, due to the consequences of frequent

abortions. There were cases of the illegal intermarriage among the arriving workers, which disregarded the values of the Christian family. There were often recorded the premarital births cases. There were isolated cases of suicide, which contradicted the official teachings of the Christian church. In particular, in 1936, there were only two cases of voluntary termination of life recorded within the boundaries of one Tustanovychi parish: due to the lack of mutual love; due to poverty and disability. The parishioners, due to excessive preoccupation with everyday material affairs, did not show any desire to reread the religious press and literature of the Catholic orientation. They promised the parish priest to subscribe to the Catholic periodicals, but went back on their words (APP ABGK, sygn. 4186, p. 404).

A similar situation existed among the workers of the Stebnik potash salt mines, where the communist propaganda and sectarian religious teachings were widespread. The main signs of the decline of their Christian life were: non-attendance at church, hatred and envy of each other, entertaining card games with the loss of money, the desire to dress well and look stylish, and the acquisition of significant financial debts despite high earnings in the mines. Due to the persistent work of Father Dean Petro Mekelita in cooperation with the Abbot of Drohobych Basilian Monastery, Father Severian Baranyk, in particular, the holding of regular spiritual retreats, led to the conversion of some of the hired Ukrainian workers to the believers of the Greek Catholic Church (APP ABGK, sygn. 4186, pp. 397–398).

In some parishes, religious conversions (transition from the Greek Catholic to the Roman Catholic rite) occurred, mostly due to the formation of the Christian couples of different faiths. These conversions were especially widespread among the workers. After all, the official Polish authorities encouraged the transition to the Roman Catholic rite, creating certain privileges for workers of this denomination.

The guardians of their customs and traditions were the church brotherhoods and religious societies of the Greek Catholic rite, which operated in all parishes of the Deanery under consideration. Several Christian brotherhoods and societies operated in separate, large parish centers that covered densely populated villages, or several smaller settlements that were united into one parish community. It indicates that the laity, in the period under consideration, occupied a significant place in the implementation of the Christian life foundations in practice. After all, brothers and members of the societies built their relationships on the commandments of love and mercy.

In particular, the Tustanovychi brotherhood initiated the creation of a Committee in the parish to provide assistance to the poor, the crippled, and the sick. The brotherhood collected donations: both food and money in order to create a humanitarian fund for the poorest segments of the society. There was also maintained a kindergarten in Volianka at the brotherhood's expense, providing its premises for it, and sought educational subsidies from the local community budget. There were organized camps for children in summer, whose parents had lost their jobs or become disabled due to occupational injuries. The brotherhood provided food for this category of children. It replenished its material funds through donations during festive events and spontaneous collections on the streets. The brotherhood distributed used clothes for the orphans and the poor, worn by the local parishioners, who had already outgrown their personal use.

The religious society of the Apostolic Prayer, which operated in the Tustanovychi parish, was unfortunately small in number as of 1936. As in other parish communities of the Deanery, its members were predominantly women, with occasional male members. It was obviously due to the fact that men were forced to work hard physically constantly in the local mines and

had practically no time to participate in religious communities. The members of the society came to the services held in their intention, receiving the sacraments of confession and communion on regular basis, every first Friday of the new month. The society took care of the sick, especially in matters of the Holy Mysteries reception in time before joining the majority. In general, the parish priest of Tustanovychi community noted the need to increase measures to collect donations for the church and charitable intentions during the Christmas and Easter holidays, which would significantly expand the possibilities for providing material assistance and covering expenses for the needs of the temple (APP ABGK, sygn. 4186, p. 405).

In Hubychi parish, both the young and the older generation took part in large numbers in the May prayers (called Mayivky prayers among people) to the Blessed Virgin Mary. The popularity of these prayers contributed to the rise of the Christian piety among the parishioners. As a result, the people of Hubychi began to approach the sacraments of confession and communion more often. The local schoolchildren confessed and received communion three times during the school year. It should be noted that the formation of this spiritual practice from an early age had a positive effect on the further growth of the Christian virtues. Hubychi Christian community supported the traditional teachings of the church and rejected the sectarian teachings. None of the parishioners avoided Lenten confession, but on the contrary, everyone tried to cleanse their spiritual worries on the eve of the Resurrection of Christ (APP ABGK, sygn. 4186, p. 388).

Furthermore, Dobrohostiv parish community did not accept both sectarian and Bolshevik propaganda slogans. Most believers visited the church zealously and made generous donations for its decoration (the church painting was restored, two side altars were installed). The presence of single couples, who lived without a church marriage was due to the loss of metric documentation during World War I. In particular, it was impossible to find the church metric records about men, who went missing in the whirlpool of the military events. The religious publications "Missionary" and "Knighthood of the Most Holy Theotokos" were distributed among the members of the Apostolic Prayer. The parishioners read these Catholic publications actively and improved their knowledge of the principles of true Christian life (APP ABGK, sygn. 4186, p. 391).

The religious missions were carried out in the remote mountain villages of Boryslav Deanery with the Greek Catholic monks' participation, which were aimed at the Christian piety restoration and raise. After all, it was not strange that the highlanders believed in various superstitions, which they combined with faith in the Christian God at that time, the same as in our days. Due to some extent of distortion regarding the traditional teachings of the Christian church, and there were organized regular missions in order to correct their views. These missions could last from one to several weeks and consisted of fervent and thorough spiritual practices: liturgies, akathists, molebens, morning and evening prayers, frequent reception of the holy sacraments of confession and communion, preaching of instructive sermons, catechizing of the youth. All these measures were aimed at renewing the prayer practices of the Christian communities. These missions ended with the solemn installation of a commemorative cross. For example, two missions were held in the Novy Kropyvnyk parish in 1932 and 1933. The members of the local Apostolic Prayer Society were the vivid example a fervent Christian: they confessed and received communion every month and encouraged other parishioners to practice it (APP ABGK, sygn. 4186, p. 392). It is noticeable that in other parishes of the Deanery, there was encouraged the establishment of the above-mentioned society, the paramount task of which was to ensure that its members, with their zealous

Christian life, served as an example for other parishioners and, thus, raised religious piety and mentality.

Popeli parish priest, Father Mykhailo Paslavskyi, reproached the parish youth for not going to church enough, but instead leading a dissolute lifestyle: they held noisy vechornytsi with dancing until late on Saturday evenings, and on Sunday mornings they had rest instead of going to the liturgy. The youth were imbued with a national patriotic spirit, instead relegating faith in God to second place. Some of them made the excuse and stated that they believed in the communist ideas. Young students went to church for divine services diligently, under the guidance of their teachers. However, after finishing school, they forgot quickly about the Christian teachings, falling under the spontaneous influence of the street. Only a few sectarians lived in Popeli parish. In addition to the nationalist one, radical, socialist and communist socio-political movements were widespread instead (APP ABGK, sygn. 4186, p. 393).

In contrast, the socio-political situation in another part of Boryslav Deanery was diametrically opposite. For example, there were no supporters of either the communist or socialist in Ulychne parish, let alone the sectarian views. The faithful attended services regularly and confessed several times a year. Almost every year, the parish pilgrimages were organized to Hoshiv Basilian Monastery. After all, the parish community maintained religious relations with Hoshiv spiritual centre, since a monastic residence of the Sisters of the Holy Family from Hoshiv was founded on its territory, who ran a kindergarten in the parish, took care of the poor and crippled, orphans, and widows. The sisters organized a solemn celebration on the occasion of the First Communion for school-age children. After all, at the school, the nuns conducted catechetical preparation of the young people for first confession and communion (APP ABGK, sygn. 4186, pp. 400–401).

Certain aspects of the religious mentality of the parishioners were reflected in their relations with the parish clergy. It was possible to find in the church funds of Przemyśl Greek Catholic Consistory complaints of the faithful against the clergy, whose unsuccessful actions were losing spiritual authority among them and to some extent causing the decline of the Christian morality and national education in the parish. An example is the deterioration of relations between Popeli parishioners and their parish priest, Father Mykhailo Paslavskyi. The Father, having collected funds among the parishioners for the restoration of the mother church, used them for other purposes – for the construction of a church shop. The Father supplied goods to this shop and agitated the parishioners to buy products only there, and not from the local cooperative institutions. The parishioners testified that on holidays the cooperative shops were closed, while the church shop was open. The faithful complained that products in the above-mentioned store were not of a high quality, as they were expired due to the fact that they had been kept at the Jewish warehouses for a long time, and became stale. During the elections to the public Council, the parish priest supported not the Ukrainian, but the Polish list of candidates. Such actions of Fr. Mykhailo caused discontent among the parishioners, at whose request a visitation Commission was sent from the Dean's office, headed by the City-Dean Fr. Ivan Valiukh. The Visitor, reporting to the Dean, confirmed the complaints filed by the parishioners and recommended sending the local parish priest to another parish in order to resolve the conflict, since he had lost spiritual authority among the local faithful (APP ABGK, sygn. 4198, pp. 362–365, 368–371).

Conclusions. The religious mentality of the parish population of Boryslav Deanery of Przemyśl Greek Catholic Diocese was built on the Christian principles of love, mercy

and mutual assistance. There were created charitable societies at the churches in order to provide some material assistance to the poor, widows, orphans and cripples. The Church brotherhoods organized parish communities to maintain the churches. The religious societies of the Apostolic Prayer involved the most active believers in popularizing the spiritual practices of the Christians: daily prayers, monthly confession and communion. The distribution of the Catholic press among the parish population was supposed to help displace the anti-Catholic sectarian publications. Encouraging the reading of the Orthodox Christian literature contributed to the believers' awareness the basic teachings of the Catholic Church. The preaching work of the parish clergy was aimed at eradicating the influence of the distorted teachings of the sectarian Christian communities. Due to the arriving labour migrants, socialist and communist ideas spread among local hired workers, which were aimed at undermining the authority of the church and promoting atheistic ideology. The local parish priests directed their public and cultural and educational activities to combat these threatening anti-Christian movements, since the above-mentioned Deanery included the largest number of the parish centers (Boryslav, Tustanovychi, Stebnyk), where the industrial infrastructure was being developed. There were organized the regular spiritual retreats and long-term missions for the believers in individual parishes among the workers, the Basilian monks took part in it, who converted apostates and raised the piety of Christians. However, there were isolated cases of conflict between the parishioners and the pastors, which had a negative effect on the Christian virtues and national education development.

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**SEGREGATION OF THE JEWS IN THE GHETTO OF “VOLYN-PODILLIA”
GENERAL DISTRICT ACCORDING TO THE MATERIALS
OF YAHAD-IN UNUM ORGANIZATION (PARIS, FRANCE)**

Abstract. Purpose: based on the analysis of the Yahad-In Unum sources, to do the research on the segregation of the Jews in the ghetto of “Volyn-Podillia” General District. **The research methodology** is based on the principles of scientificity, historicism, problem-historical, search methods, as well as the methods of analysis and systematization. The method of oral history, orevidence is a leading one in the research. **Scientific Novelty.** For the first time in historiography, a separate research focuses on the analysis of the Holocaust oral history sources, orevidences of “Yahad-In Unum” scientific institution regarding the situation of the Jews in the ghetto of “Volyn-Podillia” General District. The life of the Jews in the ghetto has been analyzed from the perspective of non-Jewish testimonies. For the first time, a large number of unpublished oral sources have been introduced into scientific circulation. **Conclusions.** The analysis of the Yahad-In Unum oral sources, orevidences made it possible to reconstruct the history of the ghetto establishment and functioning in “Volyn-Podillia” General District during the Holocaust from the perspective of non-Jewish testimonies. These sources are valuable because they contain details of the Jewish life in the ghetto and information not found in other official documentary sources. In the study the features of the ghetto establishment, resettlement, everyday life, labour, robbery, physical and moral abuse of ghetto prisoners have been elucidated. The Jews used various methods to survive, interacting with representatives of the occupation administration and civilian residents. Despite the fact that the ghetto functioning has been researched on the example of “Volyn-Podillia” General District, certainly, the research results have a much broader significance for understanding the Nazis’ plans “to solve the Jewish issue”, in particular the segregation of the Jews in ghettos on the territories occupied by Germany.

Key words: Yahad-In Unum, the Holocaust, video testimony, oral history, orevidence, ghetto, Patrick Debois, “Volyn-Podillia” General District.

СЕГРЕГАЦІЯ ЄВРЕЇВ В ГЕТТО ГЕНЕРАЛЬНОЇ ОКРУГИ “ВОЛИНЬ-ПОДІЛЛЯ” ЗА МАТЕРІАЛАМИ ЯХАД-ІН УНУМ (м. ПАРИЖ, ФРАНЦІЯ)

Анотація. *Мета статті* – проаналізувати становище євреїв в гетто генеральної округи “Волинь-Поділля” під час Голокосту на основі джерел усно-історичної колекції “Яхад-Ін Унум” (м. Париж, Франція). **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на принципах науковості, історизму, проблемно-історичного, пошукового методів, а також методах аналізу і систематизації. Провідним у дослідженні став метод усної історії. **Наукова новизна.** Вперше в історіографії окрему розвідку присвячено аналізу джерел усної історії Голокосту наукової інституції “Яхад-Ін Унум” щодо становища євреїв в гетто генеральної округи “Волинь-Поділля”. Проаналізовано життя євреїв в гетто з перспективи неєврейських свідчень. Уперше до наукового обігу введено велику кількість неопублікованих усних джерел. **Висновки.** Аналіз усних джерел “Яхад-Ін Унум” дав можливість відтворити історію створення та функціонування гетто генеральної округи “Волинь-Поділля” під час Голокосту з перспективи неєврейських свідчень. Ці джерела цінні тим, що містять подробиці життя євреїв в гетто та інформацію, яка не зустрічається в інших офіційних документальних джерелах. У дослідженні розкрито особливості створення гетто, переселення, побутове життя, працю, грабіж, фізичну, моральну наругу над бранцями. Євреї використовували різні методи щоб вижити, взаємодіючи із представниками окупаційної адміністрації та цивільними жителями. Незважаючи на те, що функціонування гетто розглянуто на прикладі генерального округу “Волинь-Поділля”, результати дослідження, безумовно, мають набагато ширше значення для розуміння планів нацистів у “вирішенні єврейського питання”, зокрема сегрегації Німеччиною євреїв у гетто на всіх окупованих теренах.

Ключові слова: Яхад-Ін Унум, Голокост, відеосвідчення, усна історія, гетто, Патрік Дебуа, генеральна округа “Волинь-Поділля”.

Problem Statement. Oral history is an important area of research into the events of the 20th century, including World War II and the Holocaust. As Tetiana Boriak notes, the role of oral history, orevidence as a method and historical source is valuable when it comes to totalitarian regimes, as generally genocidaires do not leave behind documents about their intentions for future mass murders (Boriak, 2024, p. 9). Eyewitness testimonies enable us to supplement the traditional research base and “humanize history”.

The scientific institution Yahad-In Unum (Paris, France), founded in 2004 by Father Patrick Desbois, stands out among large-scale oral history, orevidence collections. This organization searches for mass grave sites using eyewitness accounts of the murders of the Jews during World War II. As of May 1, 2024, Yahad-In Unum’s video collection contained 7,982 testimonies in 12 countries. The organization carries out the largest scientific research work in Ukraine, where 3,065 witnesses were interviewed, 3,308 video testimonies were recorded, and 1,298 sites of mass executions were identified (Mykhalchuk, 2024, p. 104).

The memories of non-Jewish residents about the Holocaust are important because they contain details not recorded in other official documents. In particular, they contain valuable information about the segregation of the Jews in the ghetto. Owing to the extensive source base of Yahad-In Unum, this study made it possible to highlight the stay/mistreatment of the Jews in the ghetto (on the example of “Volyn-Podillia” General District, which during the Nazi occupation was part of Reichskommissariat Ukraine).

Review of Sources and Historiography. The historiography is based on the research of Yahad-In Unum founder Patrick Desbois and scholars who used the organization’s sources. In particular, P. Debois’s studies highlight a close relationship between the Holocaust

witnesses and the Jews, who were often neighbours of the Jews (Desbois, 2011; Desbois, 2013; Desbois, 2018). P. Debois mentions the involvement of local residents in the “solution of the Jewish issue” by the Nazis, by forcing them to do a “dirty” job (“small death jobs”) – digging/burying graves, searching corpses, sorting the clothes of the murdered, etc. (Desbois, 2011).

Over the past 5 years, the Ukrainian scholars have significantly intensified their research using the Yahad-In Unum source database. Roman Shliakhtych analysed over 100 oral testimonies stored in Yahad-In Unum archive about the Holocaust in rural areas of Dnipropetrovsk region (Shliakhtych, 2019) and using oral sources analysed the functioning of Jewish forced labour camps located on the Kryvyi Rih – Dnipro (Dnipropetrovsk) route (Shliakhtych, 2024). Volodymyr Zilinskyi, based on the Yahad-In Unum sources, managed to clarify the reaction of witnesses, murderers, and victims in Lviv region during the Holocaust (Zilinskyi, 2019). In his studies Andriy Khoptiar writes about 82 actions of murder of the Jewish population, in which about 115 thousand people died in the territory of Kamianets-Podilskyi region (Khoptiar, 2020). Yuriy Kaparulin not only did the research on the Holocaust in Kalinindorf district, but also highlighted the commemorative practices of the Jewish community at the sites of mass shootings (Kaparulin, 2020). Roman Mykhalchuk, based on the Yahad-In Unum sources, highlighted the role of civilians in the Nazi plans of the Holocaust in the territory of “Volyn-Podillia” General District (Mykhalchuk, 2020); analysed the role of the Jewish property in the dynamics of the Holocaust focusing on the local non-Jewish population of “Volyn-Podillia” General District (Mykhalchuk, 2021); described the situation of the Jews in Mizoch ghetto (Mykhalchuk, 2022a) and Rivne ghetto (Mykhalchuk, 2022b). The study by Roman Mykhalchuk and Volodymyr Zilinskyi focuses on oral history, orevidence in the Holocaust research using the Yahad-In Unum sources as an example (Mykhalchuk, & Zilinskyi, 2025).

Orevidences require a critical approach and comparison with other sources (cross-analysis). In this aspect, studies in the oral historical context of research are important (Bodnar, 2021; Hrinchenko, & Rebrova, & Romanova, 2012; Mykhalchuk, 2021, 2023; Boriak, 2024). We share Halyna Bodnar’s opinion, who notes that it is important for an oral historian to go beyond the text – to capture what the text does not convey (Bodnar, 2021, p. 38).

The research sources were video evidences from the Yahad-In Unum archive, which concern the territories of “Volyn-Podillia” General District. The choice for the analysis of this administrative entity is actualized by its importance in the plans of the occupiers. In particular, the main institutions of Reichskommissariat Ukraine were located there: the headquarters of the main quartermaster’s office and the economic administration of Army Group “South”, the Central Bank of Ukraine, the German Supreme Court, and the headquarters of the chief of the Wehrmacht’s rear units in Ukraine. The city of Rivne was the centre of Reichskommissariat Ukraine. In 1941, the two largest executions of the Jews (the first one – in Babyn Yar) were carried out in these areas, in Kamianets-Podilskyi and Rivne.

Purpose: based on the analysis of the Yahad-In Unum sources, to do the research on the segregation of the Jews in the ghetto of “Volyn-Podillia” General District.

Research Results. The segregation of the Jews in ghettos during the Holocaust was an important element in the “solution of the Jewish issue”. The number of ghettos in the German-occupied territories varied. In Ukraine, the number of at least 442 ghettos was confirmed (Altman, Y. et al, ed., 2011, p. 210). According to the data of the American

encyclopedia publication on ghettos and camps, there were 134 of them in the region under analysis – "Volyn-Podillia" General District (Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 2012, pp. 1322–1508). However, comparing this data with other sources, it can be argued that their number could have been about 150 (Mykhalchuk, 2017, p. 275).

The functioning of the majority of ghettos in "Volyn-Podillia" General District is associated with the establishment of a civil administration in the region on September 1, 1941. However, there were several ghettos established under military administration during the first 10 weeks of the occupation. For example, such ghettos were in Balyn, Domachevo, Kupel, etc. (Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 2012, p. 1316).

In settlements where there were fewer than 200 Jews, according to Erich Koch's instructions, ghettos were not established (Lauer, 2010, p. 114; Mykhalchuk, 2017, p. 275). Therefore, the Jews from other settlements, primarily villages, were resettled in large ghettos. There are many testimonies about ghettos where the Jews from other settlements were relocated, – in Mlyniv (YIU, Testimony 1377UK. Mlyniv), Stolyn (YIU, Testimony 195B. Stolyn), etc. The practice of relocating the Jews and concentrating them in one place was quite common before the murder. For example, it is known that shortly before the liquidation of the Mizoch ghetto, the Jews from the neighbouring village of Derman were resettled there (Memorial Book of Mizocz, p. 194; Mykhalchuk, 2023, p. 31).

According to witness testimony, the Jews from Ostropol, Iziaslav, and other towns were in Starokostiantyniv ghetto (YIU, Testimony 867UK. Starokostiantyniv). Another witness noted that the Jews from Polonny, Ostropol, Hrytsiv, Liabun were kept in this ghetto as well (YIU, Testimony 865UK. Starokostiantyniv). A researcher Oleksandr Kruhlov confirms the presence of the Jews from neighbouring districts in Starokostiantyniv ghetto, because during its liquidation in May of 1942, among those shot there were the Jews from neighbouring villages of Ostropol, Hrytsiv, and Starosyniavka districts. In particular, among 11,000 Jews killed in Starokostiantyniv, Oleksandr Kruhlov mentions about 581 Jews from Ostropol (Altman, Y. et al, ed., 2011, p. 945).

In rare cases, some Jews were allowed to live outside the ghetto. Exceptions were made for the Jewish specialists, members of the Judenrats and the Jewish police, who could live outside the ghetto or in special quarters within the ghetto. In Luninets, a witness noted that all Jews who were not doctors, welders, or specialists were sent to the ghetto (YIU, Testimony 190B. Luninets). In Stolyn, one doctor did not live in the ghetto (YIU, Testimony 195B. Stolyn). Similar cases were observed in Stepan, Kostopil (Mykhalchuk, 2017, p. 275). For a long time, about 20 Jews lived outside the ghetto in Rivne (Mykhalchuk, 2022b, p. 78). The Jews, qualified specialists, in the ghetto, as an exception, could have other identifying marks. For example, in Starokostiantyniv ghetto, according to a witness, the Jews had a patch on the left chest and right shoulder, while the Jews qualified specialists wore a black patch with a yellow stripe (YIU, Testimony 865UK. Starokostiantyniv).

The most neglected neighbourhoods were usually chosen for ghetto housing. The heads of the Jewish councils (Judenrats) were usually informed of orders on relocation. The relocation process was often supervised. For example, during the relocation of the Jews from the village of Leploka to Domachevo ghetto (Beresteisky Gebiet), the process of transporting belongings was monitored and accompanied by police officers (YIU, Testimony 136B. Leploka (Domachevo)).

The resettlement time depended on the local administration (in Rivne this process dragged on for several months) (Mykhalchuk, 2022b, p. 77). However, sometimes the resettlement

time was one day, or even several hours. Such a time limit deprived the Jew of getting ready for resettlement. Therefore, the Jews entered the ghetto practically robbed, because they could not take all their belongings with them. In Boremel, when moving to the ghetto, according to eyewitness testimony, they were only allowed to take food, and no furniture (YIU, Testimony 1343UK. Boremel). In Luninets, they were not allowed to take many things with them, only the most necessary things (for example, bedding) (YIU, Testimony 191B. Luninets). In Olyka, when the Jews tried to take some things with them, they were not allowed, but were kicked away (YIU, Testimony 1773UK. Olyka). The houses left behind during the resettlement became the object of looting by local non-Jewish residents. For example, during the resettlement to the ghetto of Velyki Mezhyrichi, as soon as the Jews left their homes, the houses were immediately looted. As a non-Jewish witness recalled: no one guarded the houses, so “then terrible things happened, pillows, feathers were everywhere, and everything was scattered” (YIU, Testimony 1422UK. Velyki Mezhyrichi).

The ghettos established were of a closed and open type. There were also mixed ones. In the open type ghetto there was no fence. Examples of such settlements were the ghettos in Dubrovysia, Korets, Horodnia, Kolkakh, Katerburg, Kivertsi, Ratne, Yarmolyntsi, etc. (Mykhalchuk, 2017, p. 275). Rivne ghetto was considered to be an open type (Altman, Y. et al, ed., 2011, p. 858), where the Jews had the opportunity to go out to work (Barats, 1993, p. 56). A witness recalled that there was no fence around the ghetto and the Jews could leave the ghetto: “they went out everywhere, wherever they wanted – they went there” (YIU, Testimony 1416UK. Rivne). Other evidence of the absence of fences refers to the ghetto in Radyvyliv (YIU, Testimony 1782UK. Radyvyliv), Olyka (YIU, Testimony 1774UK. Olyka), etc. Sometimes the type of ghetto (open/closed) changed over time depending on the plans of the occupiers. For example, in August of 1941 an open type ghetto was established in Kupel, and in April of 1942 it became a closed type (Mykhalchuk, 2017, p. 275).

The construction of the ghetto fence fell on the shoulders of local residents, as well as ghetto prisoners. Confirmation of the fence construction by the Jews is found in the testimonies about Tuchyn ghetto (YIU, Testimony 1389UK. Tuchyn), Varkovychi ghetto (YIU, Testimony 1396UK. Varkovychi), Lanivtsi ghetto (YIU, Testimony 818-819UK. Lanivtsi), Mlyniv ghetto (YIU, Testimony 1377UK. Mlyniv), Stolyn ghetto (YIU, Testimony 195B. Stolyn), Brest ghetto (YIU, Testimony 156B. Brest).

Other memoirs state that local residents were forced to do such work according to the order of local authorities or police. This fact was recorded in the ghetto in Kozhan-Horodok (YIU, Testimony 185B. Kozhan-Horodok), Lakhva (YIU, Testimony 181B. Lakhva) and the others. In Ozeriany the fence and the gate were built by 12 local residents according to the orders of the local mayor (YIU, Testimony 1463UK. Ozeriany).

Many testimonies detail the height of the ghetto fence. For example, in Varkovychi, a witness stated that the fence height was taller than a man (YIU, Testimony 1396UK. Varkovychi). But usually, the figures of 2 – 3 meters were mentioned. Thus, in Tuchyn (YIU, Testimony 1389UK. Tuchyn), Mlyniv (YIU, Testimony 1377UK. Mlyniv), Domachevo (YIU, Testimony 136B. Leploka (Domachevo)) the height of the fence was 2 m.; in Ozeriany (YIU, Testimony 1463UK. Ozeriany), Shepetivka (YIU, Testimony 1788UK. Shepetivka), Shumsk (YIU, Testimony 1790UK. Shumsk) – 3 m. The fence in Brest ghetto was 1,5 m. (YIU, Testimony 156B. Brest).

Various sources (both Jewish and non-Jewish accounts in particular) report numerous facts about the presence of wire on the ghetto fence. Some accounts describe the wire as

barbed, and sometimes as being connected to electricity. For example, a fence with wire is recorded in memories in Ozeriany (YIU, Testimony 1463UK. Ozeriany), Dubno (there were several rows of wire (YIU, Testimony 1379UK. Dubno)), Luninets (YIU, Testimony 193B. Luninets (Brest)), Domachevo (YIU, Testimony 136B. Leploka (Domachevo)). In Lanivtsi it is mentioned that the fence was connected to electricity (YIU, Testimony 818-819UK. Lanivtsi). According to the testimonies the barbed wire was in Varkovychi ghetto (YIU, Testimony 1396UK. Varkovychi), Boremel (YIU, Testimony 1343UK. Boremel), Mlyniv (YIU, Testimony 1377UK. Mlyniv), Shumsk (YIU, Testimony 1790UK. Shumsk). In Radyvyliv, there were 2 rows of barbed wire (YIU, Testimony 1783UK. Radyvyliv), in Stolyn – 5 – 6 rows (YIU, Testimony 196B. Stolyn).

The entry into the ghetto was guarded. If the ghetto was large, there could be several entrances (gates). For example, there was one entry into Domachevo ghetto (YIU, Testimony 136B. Leploka (Domachevo)). In Dubrovysia, it was noted that there was a gate to the ghetto that was open, so at first it was allowed to leave the ghetto, but then it was closed (YIU, Testimony 1807UK. Dubrovysia). In Ostroh, a witness reported that there were two gates (YIU, Testimony 86UK. Ostrog). In Stolyn, three gates were documented on three different streets (people were taken to work through Kliushchenkova Street (YIU, Testimony 195B. Stolyn)). There were also several gates in Brest ghetto (YIU, Testimony 156B. Brest). Information about Boremel ghetto differs in non-Jewish accounts. In one case, a witness mentioned one entry into the ghetto (YIU, Testimony 1337UK. Boremel), and another eyewitness indicated that there was more than one entry (YIU, Testimony 1343UK. Boremel). This example illustrates the importance of critically analyzing and verifying eyewitness testimonies. Determining the credibility of testimony is done by using cross-analysis (Hrinenko, & Rebrova, & Romanova, 2012, p. 180).

A characteristic feature of all ghettos without exception was overpopulation and an excessive crowding of their inhabitants in a limited space. Often the ghetto area covered several streets. In Shumsk, the ghetto was located on two or three streets (YIU, Testimony 1790UK. Shumsk). In Kozhan-Horodok, all the ghetto prisoners could not fit in the premises, that is why, there were double storey beds there (YIU, Testimony 189B. Kozhan-Horodok). There were 20–25 houses in Boremel ghetto (YIU, Testimony 1343UK. Boremel), which an eyewitness described as “small, as if they were dug in the ground” (YIU, Testimony 1337UK. Boremel). Sometimes, due to a lack of space, the Jews were forced to stay in cellars or spend the night out-of-doors. For example, in Kozhan-Horodok ghetto, the Jews slept out-of-doors (YIU, Testimony 185B. Kozhan-Horodok). Describing a large crowd in Hoshcha ghetto, the witness noted that the Jews slept on the floor “like piglets” (YIU, Testimony 1431UK. Hoshcha).

Labour became an integral part of an everyday life in the ghetto. The occupiers tried to exploit the political economy of genocide to their advantage. The Jews worked inside the ghetto and outside it on the “Aryan” side. Some Jews believed that their employment could save their lives, as they were useful for the occupiers. Varvara Barats recalled that labour was unpaid in Rivne ghetto (Barats, 1993, p. 39). The reward was the very fact of working for the Germans. Linen, hosiery, tailoring, and shoemaking workshops operated in the ghetto (Mykhalchuk, 2022b, p. 79). In Kozhan-Horodok ghetto the Jews sewed clothes (YIU, Testimony 188B. Kozhan-Horodok), in Dubno they made harnesses for horses (YIU, Testimony 1379UK. Dubno), and etc.

Labour outside the ghetto was often related to construction. In Luninets ghetto the Jews dug trenches for defense (YIU, Testimony 191B. Luninets). In Smordva ghetto the Jews were

taken out to work in the fields every day (mostly men) (YIU, Testimony 1371UK. Smordva). The Jewish men and women were taken out of Lanivtsi ghetto to work every morning. Young women (30–40 people) worked in the gendarmerie, where they cleaned and beat out carpets (YIU, Testimony 822UK. Lanivtsi). In Zinkiv ghetto the Jews cleared snow and worked on roads in winter (YIU, Testimony 690UK. Zinkiv). In Volochysk Jewish men carried stones and paved the road (YIU, Testimony 855UK. Volochysk). Often, humiliating anti-Semitic measures were taken to the Jewish workers. The Jews from Luninets ghetto worked all day until evening. When going to and from work, they were forbidden to walk on the sidewalks, but only along the road (YIU, Testimony 190B. Luninets).

When the Jews worked, supervisors/guards were almost always present. An exception was recorded in Stolyn ghetto. There, the Jews (women and men) after receiving orders from the Judenrat went to work wherever they were needed without any guards. In the evening, they also returned to the ghetto on their own (YIU, Testimony 195B. Stolyn).

It was also important that during the escort and work, the Jews did not only make the attempt to escape, but also did not come into contact with the local non-Jewish residents. The Jews could obtain food, hear the latest news, etc. However, attempts at contact were made by both Jews and non-Jews. Thus, in Stolyn the Jews worked outside the ghetto, where they could get food from non-Jewish residents (YIU, Testimony 195B. Stolyn). In Lanivtsi ghetto the Jews were taken out to work every morning: “Well, somewhere there, someone gave them beets, someone – potatoes, someone – bread. And they carried it all to the ghetto in the evening” (YIU, Testimony 822UK. Lanivtsi). When the Jews from Shumsk ghetto went to work (they built sidewalks), local residents would come up to them and bring them something (food). Also, during breaks at work, the Jews could exchange their own things (YIU, Testimony 1792UK. Shumsk). At the same time, the Schutzmanns, the policemen who escorted the Jews from Shumsk ghetto, made sure that they could not make such contacts (YIU, Testimony 1790UK. Shumsk).

In the ghetto, the Jews were a constant target for robbery. As soon as the Jews were herded into Luninets ghetto, they were told that if they wanted to save their lives, they had to give up gold. Two weeks later, this demand was repeated (YIU, Testimony 191B. Luninets). In Brest ghetto the Jews gave gold at the demand of the occupiers (YIU, Testimony 156B. Brest). During constant searches in the ghetto by the Ukrainian and Jewish police, food and other items were taken away from the Jews, and blackmail was used. In Lanivtsi the Ukrainian policemen took away carrots and potatoes during searches because the Jews did not give gold. On the day they demanded gold, the Jews were taken out on foot to do forced labour (50–100 people at a time), and were told to hand over the gold, “because if you don’t give it, we will take revenge on you” (YIU, Testimony 822UK. Lanivtsi).

An artificial shortage of food and belongings was created in the ghetto. During the resettlement, the Jews were limited in their ability to take a sufficient amount of belongings with them. It was not possible to take many products with them and they quickly ran out, which became one of the most acute problems.

In this way, an artificial famine was provoked in the ghetto. In Luninets ghetto a witness recalled hungry children who were not fed because there was not enough food. (YIU, Testimony 191B. Luninets). When there was a shortage of food, the Jews tried to use it economically. In Lanivtsi ghetto the Jews carefully sorted “barabolia” (potatoes – author), because there was nothing else to eat. According to the witness’s description: “The Jews ate half-rotten barabolia” (YIU, Testimony 820UK. Lanivtsi). In the same ghetto, the Jews

suffered not only from a lack of food, but also from a lack of water, because the well had “broken down” (YIU, Testimony 822UK. Lanivtsi). In such cases, the presence of water bodies could have improved the situation. Thus, in Olyka the Jews lived not far from a pond, where they could not only wash themselves, but also apparently satisfy their need for water (YIU, Testimony 1773UK. Olyka)

Attempts to find food outside the ghetto were illegal. A witness from Velyki Mezhyrichi noted that there was a warning (announcement) that if there was any contact between the Jews and the non-Jewish population, “we will burn the whole house and kill everyone” (YIU, Testimony 1421UK. Velyki Mezhyrichi). However, both sides engaged in smuggling, exchanging goods and services. A researcher Shmuel Spector noted in this regard that “hungry Jews were good trading partners” for peasants (Spector, 1990, p. 133).

Sometimes non-Jewish residents brought food to the ghetto free of charge on an altruistic basis, but often they did so for a material reward. Such facts are found in almost every ghetto. Non-Jewish witnesses who spoke about their experience of such cooperation with the Jews often only mentioned the facts of providing food without explaining the reasons (free of charge or for reward). For example, in Boremel, the witness noted that he threw bread, potatoes, carrots, and pears over the fence (YIU, Testimony 1337UK. Boremel). In Kozhan-Horodok, the witness’s mother gave potatoes, bread, and beans to the Jews in the ghetto (YIU, Testimony 189B. Kozhan-Horodok). In Brest, non-Jews were allowed to enter the ghetto for a time to draw water from a well located on the ghetto grounds. This allowed them to contact the Jews and provide them with food (YIU, Testimony 156B. Brest).

There are also facts indicating the circulation of goods between the Jews and non-Jews for exchange or material reward. For example, in Lanivtsi the Jews displayed goods behind the ghetto fence. If any of the local residents were interested in the goods, an exchange could take place (YIU, Testimony 822UK. Lanivtsi). A witness from Stolyn said that food was thrown over the fence into the ghetto for exchange “junk” (YIU, Testimony 194B. Stolyn; Mykhalchuk, 2021, p. 69).

In Brest some non-Jewish residents put on yellow circles, climbed over the fence and went into the ghetto to the Jews. According to the participant, he and his brother (boys 10-12 years old) often did this. The braver brother went into the ghetto 8 – 10 times, and the witness – 3 – 4 times. When the locals brought them milk, the Jews gave them fabric for sewing clothes. They also ordered shoes to be sewn by the Jews. Often these were acquaintances, such as the Jew Leiba, whom they knew well (YIU, Testimony 156B. Brest).

Given the desperate situation of the Jews, the exchange was often uneven and resembled robbery. For example, a witness from Tomashivka recounted exchanging a watch for 10 kg of flour in the ghetto, claiming that at that time the Jews “needed help” (YIU, Testimony 127B. Tomashivka). In Ozeriany, when the Jews asked for bread, the witness replied: “Give me the watch – I will give you bread” (YIU, Testimony 1463UK. Ozeriany). According to the witness, he paid for the watch with a slice of bread and gave a little lard. In addition, he asked the Jews for “cigarettes”, for which he gave them nothing, because “they did not ask for anything anymore” (YIU, Testimony 1463UK. Ozeriany; Mykhalchuk, 2021, p. 74). Thus, in the ghetto he exchanged food many times and each time asked for a watch, because he had clothes. He considered this practice normal, even being acquainted with prisoners. In his study Father Patrick Desbois mentions a similar case with a watch and bread in Rokytne (Desbois, 2018, p. 34).

In these cases, the police officers’ task was to monitor the situation to prevent such contacts. However, as witnesses note, corruption was observed, and it was possible to bribe

the right people. In Boremel, it was officially not possible to hand over food, but if the police officers were acquaintances, then it was possible to make a deal with them (YIU, Testimony 1343UK. Boremel). In Varkovychi, people would come to the ghetto gate and hand over food, sometimes by agreement with the police: "Give something to the policeman there and he will hand it over" (YIU, Testimony 1398UK. Varkovychi). According to the recollections of a witness in Shumsk, some policemen pretended not to see people handing over food to the local ghetto (YIU, Testimony 1792UK. Shumsk).

The Jews suffered not only from officials who demanded a "ransom", but also from the arbitrariness of the police, who used unjustified violence against them. The Jews could not protect themselves, because there was impunity for the police (Ukrainian and Jewish). According to eyewitness accounts, in Lanivtsi ghetto the Jews could be shot or killed just like that – if they did not like it, or did not go well, "who will be responsible there"? (YIU, Testimony 821UK. Lanivtsi). In Stara Syniava, a policeman (police chief) said about the Jews: "today I shot one parasite, I shot him whenever I wanted to" (YIU, Testimony 861UK. Stara Syniava). In Lanivtsi, in the ghetto it was forbidden to leave the houses, and anyone who did was shot. One Jewish woman, Dvoira, who was insane, went out and was shot (YIU, Testimony 822UK. Lanivtsi). The murder of the Jews also occurred during the ghetto liquidation, when they hid because they did not want to be shot. For example, in Starokostiantyniv ghetto, a Jew was found hiding in a house with double doors and was shot (YIU, Testimony 865UK. Starokostiantyniv). According to a non-Jewish witness about the situation of the Jews in Lokachi ghetto: "later on, things became so bad that it's even impossible to describe them" (YIU, Testimony 1481UK. Lokachi).

In addition to physical violence, which often ended in death, the Jews were subjected to moral and psychological abuse. In Smordva, as the Jews were being expelled from the ghetto, the Schutzmanns forced them to march and sing songs (YIU, Testimony 1371UK. Smordva). In Kostopil ghetto, the German commandant forced the Jews to dance. In one case, about 50 people were dancing (YIU, Testimony 1787UK. Kostopil). In Brest, the Germans entered the ghetto at night and did whatever they liked, including sexual violence. A witness recalled such facts: "there was rape, there was everything. They did whatever they wanted there" (YIU, Testimony 161B. Brest).

In addition to violence inflicted by the occupiers, the ghetto residents suffered from violence at the hands of the Jewish police. Many testimonies indicate that their behaviour was worse than that of the Ukrainian police. As a witness in Olyka noted: "The Jews beat their own people even more than the Ukrainians... the Jews beat their own people, without any hesitation" (YIU, Testimony 1773UK. Olyka). In total, there were about 30 members of the Jewish police in Olyka (YIU, Testimony 1774UK. Olyka). In Boremel, 12 Jews were in the police under the leadership of the Germans. They beat the Jews who did not want to go to work with sticks. However, they were also later shot separately from other Jews (YIU, Testimony 1337UK. Boremel).

Summarizing the testimonies of non-Jewish residents, it should be noted that almost all of their memories are full of empathy and feelings for the Jews (although there were some exceptions). The Jews were acquaintances, neighbours, friends with whom they made friends during the interwar period. In Hoshcha, recalling how the Jews exchanged clothes for food, taking off their clothes, the witness noted: "They were the Jews, they all knew each other, they went to school together, they played together, they went to the meadow there, they were such good guys... so how to take something away from him, if he came – he wanted

to eat” (YIU, Testimony 1431UK. Hoshcha). When the Jews were taken out of the ghetto in Lanivtsi to work, the witness observed them and recalled later: “But there, among the Jews, there were my students who studied with me – boys and girls. I recall that and cry because of that” (YIU, Testimony 822UK. Lanivtsi). In Kostopil, the witness said: “that is a terrible judgment,” and he repeated these words several times during the interview (YIU, Testimony 1787UK. Kostopil).

Conclusions. Thus, the oral history sources, orevidences of Yahad-In Unum provide an opportunity to analyse the history of the Holocaust from the perspective of non-Jewish testimonies. Together with the Jewish memories and other documentary sources, they provide an objective analysis of the stated issues. The analysed orevidences contain exclusive information that is not found in other official documents. The research shows that genocidal intentions regarding the Jews were implemented, in particular, through the segregation of the Jews in ghettos. The analysed orevidences reveal the history of the ghetto establishment and functioning in “Volyn-Podillia” General District of Reichskommissariat Ukraine. There are common and distinctive features of the stay/detention of the Jews in the ghetto, but the ultimate goal of this process was the same. To survive, the Jews used various methods, interacting with representatives of the occupation administration and civilian residents. In the ghetto labour was considered as a ghostly chance for salvation. Bullying in the ghetto (physical, material, moral, sexual, etc.) became widespread. It is also important that the sources provide an opportunity to trace the reaction of non-Jews to the Holocaust. Depending on different circumstances, it was not unambiguous, and their roles could change.

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**EVERDAY LIFE ISSUES OF THE DISABLED WAR VETERANS
IN THE POST-WAR UKRAINIAN SSR**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research* is to elucidate the content of the disabled war veterans' everyday life in the Soviet reality of the first post-war years, based on the archival documents of the official origin. *The methodology of the research* is based on the combination of study techniques from various scientific disciplines within the framework of an everyday life history. There have been used diverse concepts from the theory of the Soviet everyday life. *The scientific novelty* of the research consists in the problem under research formulation, the means and methods of its solution, the research conclusions, and the specificity of the references. **Conclusions.** The Soviet mentality, in particular its continued existence, is considered to be the problem of modern Ukrainian society. The “Sovietism” hinders the civilizational development of independent Ukraine and is a dangerous factor under the conditions of the Russo-Ukrainian War. Due to a thorough study on the Soviet society using modern techniques of historical research, in particular methods of an everyday life history, it is feasible to solve the above-mentioned problem. There emerged a large social group of veterans with disabilities in the Ukrainian SSR after the end of World War II. A full-fledged historical reconstruction of the

post-war everyday life of the Soviet society is impossible without studying the life of this contingent of the war veterans. During the Third Famine in Ukraine, the party and government leadership of the Republic initiated a campaign to reduce the number of veterans with disabilities by manipulating medical and labour check-ups and examinations in order to avoid the deficit in the social security budget. The front-line soldiers with the disabilities were forced to put in a great deal of effort to have their status recognized as “the Disabled of the Patriotic War”, since the status gave the right to the social protection. The administrative pressure was aimed at reducing the percentage of the disabled veterans of Group 2, which caused a typical Soviet everyday life phenomenon – “blat” (favourism and bribes). The survival strategies used by some disabled war veterans also included deception in order to obtain deficit benefits. Numerous disabled war veterans faced a lack of empathy by the society and neglect by the civil servants of their direct duties to provide assistance to veterans in everyday life.

Key words: everyday life, disabled war veterans, disability group, favourism, social protection.

ЕЛЕМЕНТИ ПОВСЯКДЕННЯ ВЕТЕРАНІВ ВІЙНИ З ІНВАЛІДНІСТЮ У ПОВОЄННІЙ УКРАЇНСЬКІЙ РСР

Анотація. Мета статті полягає у тому, щоб на основі архівних документів офіційного походження розкрити зміст окремих структур повсякденності ветеранів війни з інвалідністю у радянській дійсності перших повоєнних років. **Методологічну** базу роботи становить поєднання технік дослідження різних наукових дисциплін у рамках історії повсякденності. Використано низку понять з теорії радянської повсякденності. **Наукова новизна** матеріалу полягає в постановці проблеми, засобах і способах її розв’язання, дослідницьких висновках, специфіці використаних джерел. **Висновки.** Тяглість існування важливих рис радянської ментальності є проблемою нинішнього українського суспільства. “Радянськість” гальмує цивілізаційний розвиток незалежної України і є небезпечним чинником в умовах російсько-української війни. Розв’язання цієї проблеми можливе завдяки ґрунтовному вивченню радянського суспільства з допомогою сучасних технік історичного дослідження, зокрема, методів історії повсякденності. Після закінчення Другої світової війни в УРСР з’явилася численна соціальна група ветеранів з інвалідністю. Повноцінна історична реконструкція повоєнного повсякдення радянського суспільства неможлива без вивчення побуту цього контингенту ветеранів війни. Під час Третього голоду в Україні партійно-урядове керівництво республіки для уникнення дефіциту бюджету соціального забезпечення ініціювало кампанію скорочення числа ветеранів з інвалідністю шляхом маніпуляцій з лікарсько-трудовою експертизою. Фронтовики з інвалідністю вимушені були багато сил витратити задля визнання за ними статусу “Інвалід Вітчизняної війни”, оскільки він надавав право на соціальний захист. Адміністративний тиск, спрямований на скорочення відсотка фронтовиків з інвалідністю другої групи, зумовив видтворення в цій сфері типової радянської структури повсякдення – “блату”. Стратегії виживання, які застосовували деякі ветерани війни з інвалідністю, передбачали й використання обману задля отримання дефіцитних благ. У повсякденному житті багато інвалідів війни стикалися з відсутністю емпатії з боку суспільства і нехтуванням державними службовцями своїми прямими обов’язками щодо надання допомоги фронтовикам.

Ключові слова: повсякденність, ветерани війни з інвалідністю, група інвалідності, блат, соціальний захист.

Problem Statement. Among other problems the Ukrainian society is currently forced to solve the problem of the long-term existence of the Soviet person mentality components, which experts tend to nominate by the terms “Sovietism” or “Sovietness”. These mental structures could be seen not only in the older people’s behaviour, but also in the thinking and actions of a significant number of representatives of independent Ukraine generation. The “Sovietism” embeded in everyday practices slows down the civilizational progress of our society and is quite pernicious under the conditions of the full-scale war with the existential enemy – the Russian imperial regime. The continuity of the existence of the

“Soviet” worldview was due to, among other things, insufficient understanding of the Soviet history, superficial reflection of the past on the basis of the traditional historiography. The methodology and methods of the everyday life history give much more opportunities for the in-depth research of the post-war Ukrainian society, in particular for the historical science.

One of the severe consequences of World War II for the Ukrainian people was a large number of the veterans with disabilities of various degrees. The Soviet system of the social protection (social security) was unprepared for this. There was no complete, holistic scientific concept of the social support, social accompaniment of this category people during the post-war period. The state authorities that were called upon to take care of the demobilized servicemen with the disabilities only began the process of forming an appropriate policy, developing and implementing a system of elementary social support measures at the end of the World War II and in the first years after its end. The sluggish, bureaucratized social security system in the Ukrainian SSR (the Ministry for Social Security of the Ukrainian SSR was under the republican subordination) often did not help the veterans, but tried to abdicate responsibility for them, and even worsened their living and working conditions. The everyday life of the disabled veterans in these difficult times is a relevant topic for the research, since the current full-scale war with the Russian aggressor is accompanied by the significant irreversible losses. The coverage of the everyday life of World War II disabled veterans (the then official name of this contingent was “The Disabled Veterans of the Patriotic War”) enhances the scientific image of the Soviet reality during this difficult period of our past significantly. The life facts obtained by the historians about the everyday life of the disabled war veterans in Soviet Ukraine are necessary in order to prevent the reproduction of the “Sovietism” in the current system of the social protection and support for the disabled veterans of the Russo-Ukrainian War.

Review of Recent Research and Publications. The Post-war Soviet everyday life has been studied over the past decades quite actively. The American historian, S. Fitzpatrick made a significant contribution to the development of its issues (Fitzpatrick, 2005). The conclusions made by the scholar were of utmost importance for understanding the Soviet everyday life regarding the ways and means of adapting the population of the USSR to the totalitarian regime, as well as the formation of a special social type of “homo soveticus”, i.e. a person for whom the Soviet system became a natural environment for existence.

The domestic historians specializing in the post-war period of our history use the modern research technologies of new social history and history of everyday life increasingly. It is worth highlighting the following scholars among them as O. Udod (Udod, 2010), O. Koliastruk (Koliastruk, 2012), V. Krupyna (Krupyna, 2010), N. Khomenko (Khomenko, 2009), T. Vronska and T. Pastushenko (Vronska, Pastushenko, 2010), V. Hordienko and H. Hordienko (Hordiyenko, Hordiyenko, 2022). Our historians are involved in the process of improving the methodology and methods of studying the everyday life. The history of everyday life is being institutionalized in Ukraine; the Centre for History of Soviet Everyday Life has been established, and an All-Ukrainian Scientific and Theoretical Seminar on this topic has been implemented. The scholars research everyday life of various social groups of the Soviet society, in particular, the party nomenklatura, the intelligentsia, the students, the peasants, the workers, as well as the marginal communities. The issue on the Soviet regime’s attitude towards the disabled war veterans during the post-war period is being developed. At the same time, there should be carried out a more detailed study on the everyday life of the above-mentioned social group. The scholars also point out that we should abandon

the “Victory” myth and the heroic narrative nowadays and focus on “... the victims and tragedies of World War II, and other socio-humanitarian, political dimensions of this global confrontation” (Hrytsiuk, 2024, p. 18).

The purpose of the research is to elucidate the content of the disabled war veterans’ everyday life in the Soviet reality of the first post-war years, based on the archival documents of the official origin.

Research Results. There were officially registered about 650 000 war veterans with groups of disabilities in Ukraine in 1944 – 1946 (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 23, c. 5181, p. 104; CSASBPGU, f. 1, d. 23, c. 1841, p. 126). The above-mentioned contingent of the social security sphere was heterogeneous. There were more than 50 000 officers among front-line soldiers with disabilities, all the rest – belonged to the contingent of rank-and-file and sergeants. The demobilized military personnel with the disabilities were divided into those, who lived in cities and those, who returned to villages – there were more of them. Furthermore, the veterans were divided into disabled people of Groups 1, 2 and 3, according to the conclusions of the Medical and Labour Expert Commissions (LTEKs), depending on the degree of working ability loss. All of the above-mentioned groups of the disabled veterans had a single official status of “The Disabled of the Patriotic War”, but received different amounts of a social support from the state. After demobilization, the vast majority of them found themselves under difficult conditions of the post-war hardship and were forced to integrate into the everyday life of that time, showing willpower and ability to survive. This aspect should be the subject of a thorough scientific analysis. According to a historian O. Udod: “... the history of everyday life is, first of all, the process of humanizing everyday life, psychologizing everyday life, a person’s attitude to the everyday issues, to the authorities, the state and society as a whole through the prism of a personal reception of living conditions” (Udod, 2010, p. 20).

In spite of the official nature of the Soviet government institutions’ archival documents, there is still a certain amount of information regarding the daily life of the disabled war veterans in the first post-war years. Due to perusing of these materials, it was feasible to determine that a lot of energy was taken up by the bureaucratic red tape regarding confirmation of their status – the status of “The Disabled of the Patriotic War” in the daily life of the front-line soldiers. The scholars V. Hordienko and H. Hordienko proved that the budget deficit arose in the Ministry for Social Security of the Ukrainian SSR during the Third Famine in Ukraine; due to a sharp increase in the number of the registered disabled war veterans, there was a lack of funds for the pension payments to these front-line soldiers (Hordiyenko, 2022, p. 150). In this situation, the party and government leadership of the Republic, led by M. Khrushchev and D. Korotchenko, decided to reduce the number of pensioners instead of demanding additional subsidies from the union government (Hordiyenko, Hordiyenko, 2021, p. 150). There was used the so-called “deep medical and labour examination” in order to implement the above-mentioned, i.e. the expert manipulations during regular examinations of the front-line soldiers. The leadership of the Ukrainian SSR deprived more than 116 thousand veterans of the status of “The Disabled of the Patriotic War” owing to the help of the large-scale examinations in the local LTEKs in 1946 – 1948 (CSASBPGU, f. 42, d. 27, c. 3, p. 70). In addition, tens of thousands of veterans were transferred from the second disability group to the third, which meant the abolition of pensions for the front-line soldiers from the countryside, and a significant reduction in their size for the veterans from cities and towns. There were transferred 84,032 front-line soldiers to disability Group 3 as a result of a medical

checkup in 1947 (CSASBPGU, f. 348, d. 3, c. 234, p. 12). The most serious consequence of the transfer from the second to the third disability Group was the resumption of subordination to the severe Soviet labour legislation. The front-line soldiers with severe injuries, as well as the other citizens, lost 25% of their monthly pay the first time they were late for work by more than ten minutes, 50% – the second time, and for the third time – they could even go to prison for 3 years (Haliv, 2023, p. 9). There were not only any positive results by the command-and-administrative means, but also they worsened the veterans' condition as in other industries significantly (Molotkina, 2021, c. 263).

The campaign, which was initiated by the party and government leadership of the Ukrainian SSR and which, using the official style of the Soviet bureaucracy, can be called the "struggle to reduce the number of war invalids," began after September 16, 1946. There was held a meeting of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine (Bolsheviks) on the issues of the work of the Ministry of Social Security of the Ukrainian SSR and a corresponding resolution was adopted on that day (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 6, c. 945, p. 11–20). The front-line soldiers had to undergo a re-examination at the district or city LTEK four times a year (once a quarter) before the start of this campaign. It was a rather burdensome and somewhat humiliating procedure for the veterans, especially the rural ones – having to travel to the district centre four times a year to confirm the presence of wounds, injuries and damages. The social security workers and LTEK doctors realized this over time and achieved a reduction in the number of re-examinations at least for the war invalids of Group 1, i.e. for the veterans with the greatest physical injuries. They were allowed to undergo a re-examination only twice a year. The government "gave the go-ahead" for a lifelong disability of this category veterans over time.

There were several disabled veterans usually in each village in the first post-war years. The authorities required the rural community to provide them with the assistance (Maliarchuk, 2021, p. 89). When the time came for a re-examination, the Head of the collective farm would provide them with a horse-drawn vehicle to go to the district centre. The front-line soldiers often had to travel to the city on their own for a re-examination. It should be kept in mind that local doctors (a therapist, surgeon, neurologist) were involved in the work of the LTEKs. The Head of the District or City Social Security Department (social security) was the LTEK member. The final decision of the LTEK regarding the disability of a front-line soldier was to be approved not by a doctor, but by the Head of social security. Motivation for his approval or denial of the LTEK conclusion was determined not by medical indicators, but by financial calculations. Everything depended on him whether the disability of a front-line soldier would be confirmed, whether he would receive the second disability Group 2 instead of Group 1, Group 3 instead of Group 2, or whether he would lose it altogether and be declared as having fully "recovered". In particular, the transfer from disability Group 2 to Group 3 was accompanied by a sharp decrease in pension, on average, from 120 rubles to 90 rubles (Hordiyenko, 2019, p. 245). The rural veterans with Group 3 disabilities generally lost the right to a state pension.

As a rule, during a month, in Ukraine the local LTEK held 8/9 meetings, during which 250 – 300 war invalids were examined. The commission could work for a short time – two hours a day. During this period, 25-30 veterans had to be examined (CSASBPGU, f. 348, d. 3, c. 216, p. 27). Each specialist doctor – a member of the commission had to examine a front-line soldier separately. In order to do this, a veteran had to undress, and after the examination – dress. It should be noted that for many disabled veterans this

everyday activity was quite difficult. Hence, there were given no more than 5 minutes for the examination of a front-line soldier. According to the archival document, there were the following conditions for the veterans to undergo a quarterly examination. The instructor of the Military Department of Vinnytsia Regional Committee of the CP (b) U wrote in the "Reference" to his immediate superior – the Head of the Military Department of the Regional Committee Porotikov: "The established LTEKs work extremely poorly in the districts. There are often cases when, due to the doctors' fault, the work of the LTEKs breaks down and disabled people, who lived 20–25 km away for an examination, are forced to return without any results" (SAVR, f. P-136, d. 27, c. 23, p. 42). Due to the message, it was possible to recreate the unpleasant picture of an uncomfortable ride on a cart to the district centre and then a long wait for the front-line soldiers in a shabby hospital, where, as always, and especially in the difficult post-war years, there was little furniture and no devices to facilitate movement. If the meeting of the LTEK was cancelled, then the war invalids had to get to the district centre again in a few days. Therefore, if there were veterans, who did not arrive for a check-up at the LTEK without good reason, the local social security department (sotszabez) cancelled their pensions.

The veterans, who were dissatisfied with the decisions of local LTEKs to cancel disability or lower the disability Group had the opportunity to complain to the so-called "conflict" LTEKs and undergo an additional check-up in the regional centre. When the campaign "to fight for reducing the number of war invalids" or "to fight against inflated indicators of disability of Group 2" began, the indignation of veterans was extinguished with the help of "conflict" LTEKs at the regional level. The initiator of the creation of such institutions was the People's Commissariat of State Control of the Ukrainian SSR. The Head of this Commissariat signed Resolution No. 3778/19 "On the Creation of a "Conflict" LTEK in Kyiv Region" on July 21 of 1945. Based on this document, Kyiv Executive Committee of the Council of Workers' Deputies on September 24, 1945 adopted its own resolution "On the Creation of a Regional Conflict Medical and Labour Expert Commission to resolve conflict cases of the disabled people living in Kyiv region". There were numerous war veterans, who disagreed to the decisions of the local LTEKs back in 1945 regarding their disability was so significant that there was a need to create a special structure at the regional level to verify the correctness of the diagnosis and decision of the primary LTEK. The regional "conflict" LTEKs soon appeared in some other regions of Ukraine, where there were the largest number of the veterans with the disabilities. From September of 1946 and during the most active phase of the increase of the number of the veterans, whose disabilities were not recognized or were reduced from Group 2 to Group 3 by district and city LTEKs, "conflict" LTEKs were established in all regions of the Ukrainian SSR (CSASBPGU, f. 348, d. 3, c. 215, p. 6). There were made only the general remarks as for the results of the activities of the "conflict" LTEKs. They were designed to make it appear as though there were the signs of legality and justice. It was not easy for the veterans with disabilities to get to the district for the next examination, and one can only imagine the difficulties a veteran faced when it was necessary to go to the regional centre to confirm his disability. Due to the above-mentioned, most of those, who were declared completely "healthy" did not even write statements to protest the abolition of their disability status. According to the indirect data, which indicated that the "conflict" LTEKs could only take a veteran's side in some exceptional cases. It was also facilitated by the review procedure in the "conflicted" LTEK: a veteran was not immediately informed of the

doctors' final verdict, but the corresponding decision was sent to his home by mail. It was done so that an outraged veteran would not use crutches against the experts immediately after such a result was announced to him directly. It should be noted that all documentation of the activities of the "conflict" LTEKs is missing from the archives. It seems that all these materials (veterans' statements, minutes of meetings, resolutions on each statement, medical and expert justifications, correspondence, lists of members of "conflict" LTEKs, etc.) were carefully "cleaned up" by the authorities later in order to hide another "dark issue" of the Soviet regime.

During the period of "fighting against the excessive number of disabled people of Group 2 of the Patriotic War" (the Ministry for Social Security of the Ukrainian SSR was given a task to reduce the percentage of the disabled people of Group 2, as in the RSFSR, to 23%), the status of a war veteran with a disability of Group 2 acquired the meaning of a "deficit benefit". The status gave a veteran, in addition to a slightly increased pension, the right not to work, or rather, the right to choose the type of labour activity for himself independently. It was vital under the conditions of the "Soviet neo-serfdom" (Hulay, 2022, c. 50). A veteran, who was given the status of Group 2 disability, was exempted from the harsh labour legislation of that time. In addition, disability Group 2 provided some tax benefits to the disabled veterans, who lived in the countryside. Therefore, the granting of Group 2 "by blat" (favourism) became a common phenomenon. According to S. Fitzpatrick: "... Blat, an informal system of mutual appreciation, owing to which citizens received scarce goods and services, is another pre-war practice that continued to flourish after the war" (Fitzpatrick, 2005, p. 284). Those people, who continue to believe in the vaunted "Stalinist order" should pay attention to the following fact. There was made a decision to conduct a check-up of the disabled veterans of the Patriotic War, who held high positions, i.e. belonged to the party nomenklatura in Dnipropetrovsk region in 1949. There were 31 veterans out of 87 veterans of this category, who had disability Group 2, had to be transferred to Group 3, and of 167 former front-line soldiers and current nomenklatura members, 64 had their disability cancelled altogether. It turned out that many of them received a disability, not only without any injury, but also without even being wounded (CSASBPGU, f. 348, d. 3, c. 383, p. 47). Ternopil Regional Social Security Chief Solodov stated at a meeting at the ministry: "The analysis shows that Group 2 is obtained as a result of giving bribes, primarily to doctors, responsible employees, and district leaders" (CSASBPGU, f. 348, d. 3, c. 585, p. 151). The local party nomenklatura had many levers of influence over the Heads of Social Security institutions, who after 1946 belonged to it, in order to obtain (often illegal) disability and the status of "Disabled of the Patriotic War". It was necessary to abolish the status of the disabled from a veteran who had a real disability in order to grant a strictly limited disability of Group 2 to some significant party functionary.

Veterans, along with the red tape regarding the disability, were forced to adapt to the difficult living conditions in post-war Ukraine. O. Rabenchuk, the historian, in particular, noted the following "... faced with the problem of survival, with the need to decide their fate independently, especially in the years of 1946 – 1947, the hunger years, many resorted to illegal and immoral actions. This tendency was preserved in society in subsequent years. The level of the crime rate was a vivid example of social issues in the post-war society. Hence, the slogan "if you don't steal, you won't live" was used by tens of thousands of people: from the officials to ordinary citizens, with whom law enforcement agencies fought actively" (Rabenchuk, 2010, p. 5). One can agree with S. Fitzpatrick, who claimed

that one of the embodiments of the “real Soviet Man” was the literary hero Ostap Bender (Fitzpatrick, 2005, p. 300). After all, only a swindler, who absorbed the entire spirit of the Soviet reality with all the fibers of his soul, could adapt to the unbearable conditions of the totalitarian regime quite successfully. It should be noted that the disabled veterans often were not into fraudulent ingenuity in certain cases. Here is a striking example. There functioned a boarding school for the disabled war and labourers at the end of the war in the village of Stryzhavka in Vinnytsia region. The front-line soldiers got used to the living conditions quickly in this institution and even began to oppress the disabled labourers. The veterans found a way to get moonshine from the local peasants, when there were brought new blankets to the boarding school. Two front-line soldiers with new blankets went secretly to a neighbouring village to the renowned moonshine distillery in the district, and two more of their colleagues followed them. A hospitable peasant woman, owing to such deficit and valuable thing as blankets, poured the front-line soldiers several liters of vodka, with which they headed home as quickly as possible. The same invalids, who walked around would enter the house of the moonshine distillery and raise a fuss: “Where are the new blankets? This is state property! Hiding stolen property from the boarding school is a criminal case!” The frightened peasant woman would immediately give back the blankets she had just taken, and the “strict” guards of the state property would return to the boarding school, completely satisfied (CSASBPGU, f. 348, d. 3, c. 7, p. 28). Taking into consideration the above-mentioned, we can come to the conclusion that there were not people oppressed by their disability and the authorities, but men from the front who, with evil glee, asserted themselves in the civilian life. It should be mentioned that due to the contempt of former soldiers for the civil order and neglect of discipline, soon the authorities had to close all boarding schools for the war invalids.

The moral callousness, the phenomenon of getting used to the pictures of injustice and ruthlessness was another feature of the everyday life of society, the vast majority of which simply survived under extreme conditions. There were numerous disabled front-line soldiers in the Soviet reality that they were almost ignored. Vinnytsia Head of the Regional Social Security at a meeting in the Ministry told about one case that occurred in the town of Tulchyn in September of 1946. Moiseenko, an instructor of the Military Department of Vinnytsia Regional Party Committee, arrived there with the task to check the party and government resolutions implementation regarding the care of the disabled war veterans. He found a severely disabled front-line soldier (without the lower limbs) Pylypchuk, who had been sleeping there all night in the morning, near the building of the District Party Committee and the Executive Committee of the District Council in the very centre of the town. The indignant instructor immediately determined that the veteran had been brought to the town the previous day and dropped off at the District Committee by the school Principal from the neighboring village of Palanka Kaminskyi. The instructor also found out that the veteran had arrived in Tulchyn to ask the district administration to provide financial assistance to his family in order to purchase clothes and shoes for the school-age children. The veteran failed to reach the high offices.

The collision described by the Regional Party functionary clearly shows the dark side of the everyday life of the war invalids during those difficult years. First of all, we can conclude that the veteran with a severe disability did not have any of the simplest means of transportation (a wheelchair, a cart, etc.). Obviously, people were constantly near the District Party Committee – they entered and left the premises and could not help but

notice the front-line soldier, who, by the way, was an order bearer (the Order of the Battle Red Banner). Apparently, no one dared to carry the veteran in his arms inside the District Committee building. Kaminskyi (the school head) limited himself to only delivering the veteran to the town. All the party functionaries and employees of the District Committee and District Executive Committee went home in the evening, bypassing the disabled person. The guards of the District Committee building, knowing that the September night was quite cold, followed their authorities and did not stir a finger to help the front-line soldier in any way (SAVR, f. P-136, d. 27, c. 52, p. 36).

Another detail emerges from the story of the Head of Vinnytsia Social Security. When Moiseenko asked the party district leader Tkachuk how this could happen to the veteran in the centre of the town, the secretary began to be indignant, but not at the indifference of his numerous subordinates, but at the actions of the school principal Kaminskyi, who brought the veteran from the village. That is, if the veteran had sat quietly at home, this disgrace would not have happened. On the other hand, it can be stated that the sight of war veterans with serious injuries on the streets of cities was so commonplace that it no longer aroused in the population a sense of empathy and a desire to support, to provide at least some assistance. It is also necessary to take into account the time when the incident occurred. The tragedy of the Third Famine began in Ukraine; the local party nomenclature was accused by the Kremlin leaders of disrupting the implementation of the state grain procurement plan. The “survival strategy” of the party nomenclature these days ruled out doubts about the effectiveness of the party and government policies, including those regarding veterans (Popp, Medvid, 2024, p. 107). In the general atmosphere of fear, the feeling of approaching disaster, of course, there was no room for elementary attention to the disabled veterans among both the officials and the ordinary citizens.

Conclusions. For the vast majority of veterans with the disabilities, the post-war everyday life was filled with additional difficulties, overcoming which required significant efforts and the will to survive. It was not only burdensome, but also humiliating for many front-line soldiers from the countryside quarterly reviews in LTEKs. During the Third Famine, the party and government leadership of the Ukrainian SSR initiated a campaign to deprive more than 116 thousand front-line soldiers of the status of “The Disabled of the Patriotic War” and transfer tens of thousands from disability Group 2 to Group 3. The veterans spent a lot of energy on attempts to cancel the unfair decisions of local LTEKs. However, “conflict LTEKs”, as a rule, confirmed the conclusions of the local LTEK. The purely Soviet phenomenon of “blat” also manifested itself in the field of medical and labour expertise. Since disability Group 2 exempted a person from the harsh Soviet labour legislation, and the number of disabled veterans of Group 2 was not to exceed 23%, this Group of disabilities acquired the traditional form of “deficit” for the Soviet reality, i.e. a certain “benefit” that could be thanked, or even traded. It is no coincidence that disability Group 2 was often illegally received by representatives of the authorities – the party nomenclature. Because of this, in order to comply with the percentages strictly determined from above, the veterans with serious injuries were transferred to disability Group 3. The veterans with disabilities, like all Soviet people, were ready to break the law, and sometimes even use fraudulent methods, in order to survive and receive the necessary benefits. It was the only possible form of resistance to the pressure of the totalitarian regime. During the Third Famine in Ukraine, most disabled veterans had to experience the callousness of the Soviet bureaucracy and the levelling of the ability to empathize, typical of the Ukrainians.

Further study of the everyday life of war veterans with disabilities in the difficult first post-war years should focus on such issues as the government's differentiated approach to different groups of veterans, in particular officers and rank-and-file, the existence of informal groups of veterans and specifics of their communication, family relationships in veterans' families, and marginalization of some war invalids.

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**THE CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE AUTHORITIES AND THE PEASANTS
ON THE TERRITORY OF SOVIET UKRAINE IN THE SECOND HALF
OF THE 1940S (ACCORDING TO DOCUMENTS OF THE SECRETARIAT
OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT OF STATE SECURITY – MINISTRY OF STATE
SECURITY OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR)**

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to reveal the main directions of the confrontation between the authorities and the peasants on the territory of Soviet Ukraine in the second half of the 1940s (according to the documents of the Secretariat of the People's Commissariat of State Security – Ministry of State Security (NKVD-MDB) of the Ukrainian SSR). The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, objectivity, comprehensiveness, critical and systematic approaches. General scientific, historical and source-study methods have been used: analytical, logical, synthetic,*

typological, historical comparative and heuristic. **Scientific novelty.** The features and information potential of the reporting documents of the NKVD-MDB of the Ukrainian SSR, which are concentrated in the Sectoral State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine (SSA SSU) in the fund of the Secretariat of the State Police of the Ukrainian SSR-KGB of the Ukrainian SSR, were clarified to reveal the little-studied problem of the confrontation between the authorities and the peasantry on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR in the second half of the 1940s. **Conclusions.** Thus, through poor management of agriculture, merciless tax pressure, and deliberate disregard for the needs of the population in the most essential things, the authorities pushed the peasants into desperate conscious and spontaneous resistance. Anti-Soviet and anti-collective farm agitation spread throughout Ukraine as the main form of conscious peasant resistance. Peasants in the western regions of Ukraine also joined the organized armed struggle against national enslavement and the introduction of collective farm slavery.

Condemned to hunger and poverty, ordinary people were forced to steal, rob, sabotage, and even kill in order to survive or seek revenge. The mechanism for combating the resulting wave of crime was harsh and inevitable criminal prosecution. The meager and often unreliable in-kind payment for the hard labor in collective farms led to widespread, open sabotage of work. The state's use of administrative deportation for failing to fulfill the minimum number of workdays forced peasants to make a difficult but clear choice between ungrateful work on the collective farm and hardship in exile.

Keywords: peasantry, famine, Ukrainian SSR, NKVD-MDB, source, research methodology.

ПРОТИСТОЯННЯ ВЛАДИ І СЕЛЯН НА ТЕРИТОРІЇ РАДЯНСЬКОЇ УКРАЇНИ У ДРУГІЙ ПОЛОВИНІ 1940-Х РОКІВ (за документами секретаріату НКДБ-МДБ УРСР)

Анотація. Мета статті – розкрити основні напрями протистояння влади і селян на території радянської України у другій половині 1940-х років (за документами секретаріату НКДБ-МДБ УРСР). **Методологія дослідження** базується на засадах історизму, об'єктивності, всебічності, критичного та системного підходів. Використано загальнонаукові, історичні та джерелознавчі методи: аналітичний, логічний, синтетичний, типологічний, історико-компаративний та евристичний. **Наукова новизна.** З'ясовано особливості та інформаційний потенціал звітних документів НКДБ-МДБ УРСР, які зосереджені в ГДА СБУ у фонді Секретаріату ДПУ УСРР-КДБ УРСР для розкриття малодослідженої проблеми протистояння влади і селянства на території УРСР у другій половині 1940-х рр. **Висновки.** Отже, недолугим управлінням сільським господарством, нещадним податковим тиском та свідомим ігноруванням потреб населення в найнеобхіднішому, влада підштовхнула селян до відчайдушного свідомого і стихійного спротиву. Всією Україною ширилася антирадянська й антиколгоспна агітація як основна форма свідомого селянського опору. Селяни у західних областях України ще й долучилися до організованої збройної боротьби проти національного поневолення й запровадження колгоспного рабства. Приречені на голод і злидні, звичайні люди були змушені красти, грабувати, шкودити і вбивати, аби вижити чи помститися. Механізмом подолання спровокованої злочинності стала жорстока й невідворотна кримінальна відповідальність. Мізерна та ще й не гарантована натуральна оплата тяжкої колгоспної праці спричинила її масовий відвертий саботаж. Застосування державою адміністративного виселення за невідпрацювання мінімальної кількості трудовнів спонукали селян до важкого, але очевидного вибору між невдячною роботою в колгоспі і поневірянням на чужині.

Ключові слова: селянство, голод, УРСР, НКДБ-МДБ, джерело, методологія дослідження.

Problem Statement. The establishment of de facto state serfdom on the territory of Ukraine was considered by the Bolshevik occupation regime as a necessary condition for the further comfortable development of the “communist paradise”. However, Ukrainian peasants did not want to become the latest serfs. Thus, in response to the first attempts to create communes and predatory food distribution, a large-scale peasant insurrectionary movement for the restoration of the Ukrainian People's Republic began in the fall of 1920. It reached

its peak in the spring and summer of 1921, and its last outbreaks were recorded in the fall of 1925. The authorities achieved temporary reconciliation with the peasants not only by applying brutal repressions to them and organizing the first famine of 1921 – 1923, but also by further compromising the introduction of a more acceptable food tax in monetary form against the backdrop of the announcement of an amnesty for all who fought against the Soviet government in Ukraine and the declared “Ukrainization” of society.

The new Bolshevik offensive on the “bourgeois” Ukrainian village occurred in 1928 – 1932 and was accompanied by “dekulakization” and complete collectivization, as well as merciless repressions to overcome or forestall mass, mostly spontaneous, peasant resistance. Manifestations of disobedience included numerous terrorist attacks against representatives of local authorities, arson of administrative buildings, vandalism, women’s “bagpipes” and anti-Soviet uprisings, which in some places covered entire districts. This time, the peasants were subdued, first of all, by the criminal organization of the Holodomor-genocide in Ukraine of 1932 – 1933.

The end of the Soviet-German war of 1941 – 1945 led to the restoration of the collective farm system on the territory of Soviet Ukraine “liberated” by the Red Army and its establishment on the lands of the western and southern regions annexed to it. Repeated collectivization was implemented by the totalitarian regime as rudely and without alternative as the previous one, and even under conditions of complete devastation of agriculture, lack of material resources and labour. Once again, the need arose to comprehensively overcome the new mass peasant resistance. The drought and other post-war difficulties did not last, and the use by the criminal authorities of an effective tool proven over the years of subjugation of Ukrainian peasants became the main factor in the emergence of the third great famine in Soviet Ukraine, the peak of which fell on 1946 – 1947.

Review of Sources and Publications. The vast majority of articles, monographs, and collections of documents published during the period of Ukraine’s independence concerning the state of the domestic agricultural sector in the second half of the 1940s primarily focus on the topic of the postwar Holodomor. Contemporary researchers examine various aspects of the causes, course, and consequences of the 1946 – 1947 famine. Notable contributions in this field include the works of Ya. Antoniuk, (Antoniuk, 2016), I. Bilas (Bilas, 1992; Bilas, 1994), Ya. Vermenych, V., O. Androshchuk, V. (Vermenych, Androshchuk, 2014), I. Voronov, Yu. Pyliavets, (Voronov, Pyliavets, 1991), K. Horburov (Horburov, 2006a; Horburov, 2006b), S. Kulchytskyi, (Kulchytskyi, 1998; Kulchytskyi, 1991), I. Makoviichuk, Yu. Pyliavets (Makoviichuk, Pyliavets, 1990; Makoviichuk, Pyliavets, 1992), V. Marochko (Marochko, 1998), A. Perkovskiy and S. Pyrozhkov (Perkovskiy, Pyrozhkov, 1990), R. Pyrih (Pyrih, 1998), O. Rabenchuk (Rabenchuk, 1996; Rabenchuk, 2006), M. Senkiv (Senkiv, 2004), V. Serhiichuk (Serhiichuk, 1998; Serhiichuk, 2003), Yu. Shapoval (Shapoval, 1998; Shapoval, 1997), among others.

Certain aspects of the implementation of famine mechanisms by the Soviet state are reflected in the comprehensive works of V. Baran, V. Danylenko (Baran, & Danylenko, 1999), O. Veselova (Veselova, 1998a), Yu. Shapoval & F. Slaveski (Shapoval, & Slaveski, 2025), among others. Special mention should be made of the significant scholarly contributions of the renowned researcher of Holodomor issues, Oleksandra Veselova. She is the author and co-author of numerous thematic publications – among them: O. Veselova (Veselova, 1997; Veselova, 2007; Veselova, 2008; Veselova, 2003; Veselova, 1998b; Veselova, 2006a; Veselova, 2006b; Veselova, 2001; Veselova, 2006c) and P. Panchenko (Veselova,

Panchenko, 1995; Veselova, Panchenko, 1996a; Veselova, Panchenko, 1996b), O. Veselova and V. Marochko, O. Movchan (Veselova, Marochko, & Movchan, 2000; Veselova, Marochko, & Movchan, 2008). Noteworthy are also the studies devoted to the regional specifics of how the Holodomor unfolded. It is also appropriate to mention the dissertation research of V. Kalinichenko (Kalinichenko, 2001) and T. Dolynianska (Dolynianska, 2006), L. Konovalenko (Konovalenko, 2005), V. Kostash (Kostash, 1994), among others (Holod 1932 – 33, 1946 – 47. Vinnytska oblast ... 1998; Holod 1946 – 1947 pp. v Ukraini ..., 2019; Holod 1946 – 1947 rokiv na Poltavshchyni ..., 1996; Holod 1946 – 1947 rokiv na terytorii Mykolaivshchyni ..., 1997). Additionally, there are thematic publications specifically focused on the Holodomor of 1946 – 1947. The works of T. Boriak (Boriak, 2020), I. Yakubovskiy (Yakubovskiy, 2021), I. Soliar, V. Ilnytskyi (Soliar, & Ilnytskyi, 2024), O. Stasiuk (Stasiuk, 2021), O. Honcharenko, and A. Ivanenko (Honcharenko, Ivanenko, 2023) are of particular methodological importance.

Informative and still little-known are the documents of the secret and non-secret records of the state security bodies (hereinafter referred to as the state security) of the Ukrainian SSR, which are currently stored in separate funds of the Branch State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine (hereinafter referred to as the State Security Service of Ukraine). Special research focus is worthy of materials from Fund No. 16 entitled “Secretariat of the State Security Service of the Ukrainian SSR-KGB of the Ukrainian SSR”, which, in particular, contains special messages, memos, informational notes, monthly and quarterly reports on the perllusion of intra-Union and international correspondence, which in the post-war years, signed by the heads of the NKVD-MDB of the Ukrainian SSR, were sent to the NKVD-MDB of the USSR and to the party and state leadership of the republic. Along with information and reporting documentation, chronologically arranged archival files include individual state resolutions, as well as official instructions and orders of the NKVD-MDB of the Ukrainian SSR addressed to regional departments (Haluzevyi derzhavnyi arkhiv SBU... 2009).

In his article “Documents of Soviet Security Services on the Famines of 1921 – 1923, 1932 – 1933, and 1946 – 1947 in Ukraine”, Vasyl Danylenko noted that, through the joint efforts of staff from archival and research institutions in Ukraine, the most representative documents from the large volume of materials of the Ministry of State Security (MGB) of the Ukrainian SSR from 1946 – 1947 were selected and published (Try holodomory v Ukraini v XX st. ..., 2003).

As early as June 1994, in response to public demand, a separate volume titled “Materials on the Economic Difficulties in Ukraine During the Postwar Period (Famine of 1946 – 1947)” was added to the printed collections archive of the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU), aimed at a broad audience of researchers (SSA SSU, f. 68, d. 1, c. 4, p. 323). This compilation was formed from photocopies of thematic documents from the Secretariat Fund of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR-KGB of the Ukrainian SSR. Shortly thereafter, a portion of these materials (24 documents) was included in a joint collection of documents from state and departmental archives, compiled by the Institute of History of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, arranged in chronological order (Holod v Ukraini 1946 – 1947 ..., 1996). Currently, in commemoration of another anniversary of the third Holodomor, a new comprehensive documentary edition based on materials from the aforementioned and other collections of the Sectoral State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine (SSA SSU) is being prepared for publication.

Another thematic selection of information and reporting documents of the fund No. 16, prepared in January–March 1946 based on materials from the perllustration of correspondence,

is represented in the publication by Vitaliy Litvinenko and Valeriy Ogorodnik on the activities of the military censorship and political control departments of the NKVD-NKGB of the USSR (Lytvynenko, Ogorodnik, 2014). Numerous excerpts from the relevant documents of the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR for July 1947–December 1948 were used in a subsequent publication by Andriy Kohut in the context of his study of the reaction of the population of the western regions of Ukraine to the implementation of Operation “West” (Kohut, 2020). In the quoted correspondence of the peasants, in particular, the forced necessity of choosing between joining the hated collective farms and eviction to remote places of the USSR is mentioned (Kohut, 2020, pp. 164–165).

The study of the above-mentioned documents remains relevant. Their information potential, in addition to recording post-war poverty and famine, allows us to shed light on the forms of active and passive resistance of peasants to their re-enslavement and subjugation by famine, state mechanisms for overcoming such resistance, the population’s reaction to the repressive measures of the authorities or their inaction and incompetence in solving pressing problems on the ground, etc.

The purpose of the article is to reveal the main directions of the confrontation between the authorities and the peasants on the territory of Soviet Ukraine in the second half of the 1940s (according to the documents of the Secretariat of the People’s Commissariat of State Security – Ministry of State Security (NKVD-MDB) of the Ukrainian SSR).

Research Results. The Soviet totalitarian regime planned to quickly rebuild the war-damaged national economy by brutally exploiting its own people. The government mobilized the country’s able-bodied population for labor feats and self-sacrifice, without caring about providing at least minimal human conditions for existence. According to government orders and international agreements, tens of thousands of repatriates, as well as prisoners of war and specialists from Germany and immigrants from Poland, were forcibly involved in the revival of industry and agriculture of the Ukrainian SSR.

Numerous reports of intolerable living conditions and starvation in the post-war years among workers, teachers, students, families of military personnel, demobilized front-line soldiers, war invalids, large families, repatriates, and other vulnerable groups and categories of the population are the subject of separate studies.

The post-war reconstruction of the republic’s agriculture took place under extremely unfavorable conditions of severe political and economic pressure, poor-quality personnel, and the absence of proper state support. Documents of the NKVD-MDB bodies of the Ukrainian SSR of the second half of the 1940s are replete with such information.

In a special report dated January 12, 1946, prepared based on materials from the military censorship of the NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR and cautiously titled “On the shortcomings in the work of individual collective farms in a number of regions of the Ukrainian SSR,” Deputy People’s Commissar (hereinafter referred to as the People’s Commissar) of State Security of the Ukrainian SSR Danylo Yesypenko informed the Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU(b) Demyan Korotchenko about the catastrophic situation in agriculture described by the peasants. During a perusal of correspondence for December 1945. 539 letters to relatives of military personnel were discovered from peasants in the Kyiv, Poltava, Kharkiv, Sumy, and Dnipropetrovsk regions with reports of unharvested crops from the fields, inability to fulfill grain procurement plans, failure to issue grain for workdays, death of neglected livestock, and general reluctance to work on collective farms (Sectoral State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine (SSA SSU), fund 16, description 1, case 560, pp. 20–22).

Similar and other reports on the situation in the republic's agriculture and the lives of peasants have since been sent to the highest authorities in Moscow and Kyiv on a regular basis. In the full report of the military censorship offices of the NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR for December 1945, prepared on January 25, 1946, signed by D. Yesypenko for the leadership of the NKVD of the USSR, under the heading "reports on shortcomings in the work of collective farms," 4,009 letters were traced. Only complaints about food shortages (5,398) and material and living conditions (5,898), as well as reports of banditry and robbery (16,455) were more numerous (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 561, pp. 213–223). The numerical indicators of the above categories of the population's response to life's hardships dominated and steadily grew over the next few years.

The impoverished collective farms experienced an acute shortage of the most necessary: technical equipment, fuel and lubricants, draft power, sowing material and workers. Despite this, the collective farmers had to implement unrealistic grain procurement plans. Thus, in a report dated March 21, 1946, the Deputy People's Commissar of State Security of the Ukrainian SSR Pavlo Drozdetskyi provided the leadership of the NKVD of the USSR with detailed statistics on the progress of the grain procurement plan by region, indicated the reasons for its significant underperformance, and informed about the intelligence and operational measures taken to improve the situation (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 567, pp. 14–22).

At the same time, peasants were often deprived of the promised in-kind payment for the days of work worked on collective farms, while their subsidiary farms were subject to predatory taxation. This is evidenced by numerous peasant complaints, spread over time, revealed by perusal of correspondence in their correspondence, primarily with relatives who were military personnel. In one of such letters, quoted in a special message from the NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR to the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) dated March 19, 1946, a peasant woman from the Kherson region Brusilov complained to her son, a Red Army officer: "... The taxes are as follows: 40 kg of meat, 200 eggs, 170 liters of milk. Where can we get them? We buy our own bread. We worked on the collective farm, had over 200 days of work, but we were not given anything for them, and we were taxed. We don't have chickens, so where can we get eggs and meat from..." (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 566, pp. 272 rev.).

The documents under study also confirmed the negative "political sentiments" of the Polish immigrants who arrived in the Ukrainian SSR under the Lublin Agreement. According to a report by P. Drozdetskyi dated March 15, 1946 to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine (Bolsheviks) and the National Committee of the State Security Service of the USSR, the immigrants sent to the collective farms of the southeastern regions of the Ukrainian SSR found themselves in unbearable living conditions and were met with a hostile attitude from the collective farm management. For the days of work they had worked, they were provided with poor-quality food: unripe wheat, frozen potatoes and cabbage. As a result of this attitude, a significant part of the newcomers left voluntarily for the western regions of Ukraine with the subsequent intention of returning to Poland (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 566, pp. 160–172).

In support of domestic agriculture, the victorious state received significant contributions from Germany and its allies, but bureaucratic obstacles in making operational decisions and negligence of responsible persons on the ground often prevented them from being used for good. Thus, in a special message dated August 8, 1946, the Minister of State Security of the Ukrainian SSR, Serhiy Savchenko, signaled to D. Korotchenko about the threat of exhaustion and death in the Reniyskyi district of Izmail region of more than three thousand heads of cattle

brought from Romania for reparations due to the delay in their redistribution and the lack of feed (State Administration of the Security Service of Ukraine, f. 16, d. 1, c. 577, p. 112).

You can't envy the livestock confiscated from the defeated enemy, which was still "lucky" to find new homes. On February 11, 1946, the then People's Commissar of State Security of the Ukrainian SSR S. Savchenko, in a report to the NKVD of the USSR and the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) on the unsatisfactory state of livestock farming in Ukraine and the adoption of intelligence and operational measures to improve it, informed, in particular, about the operational development of the recent German accomplice, and at that time the head of the Bilopolska District Veterinary Hospital Mykola Aksenenko. He was exposed in improper care of livestock transferred to local collective farms as reparations from Germany, as a result of which they became massively ill (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 563, pp. 34–35).

In the special report of Deputy People's Commissar D. Yesypenko on the unpreparedness of draft power for spring sowing "in certain collective farms of a number of regions of the Ukrainian SSR", prepared on March 30 based on materials from military censorship, a letter was quoted from a resident of the village of Volokh, Orynyskyi district, Kamianets-Podilskyi region (now the village of Dolynivka, Gukiv rural community, Kamianets-Podilskyi district, Khmelnytskyi region), Saveliy Oliynyk, to his son, a military serviceman: "... The horses in our collective farm are in very poor condition, they die almost every day. Many horses were taken from those brought from Germany, and they all died from gnawing wood. And ours live on one straw cutting, they did not see the grain at all, but worked; now the end has come – they do not want to work..." (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 567, p. 205).

Against the backdrop of the spread of the terrible famine, the documented large-scale losses of grain taken from the peasants and other products in warehouses due to their improper storage and care are striking. Thus, according to S. Savchenko's report to the MGB of the USSR, as of April 10, 1946, 1,965 thousand tons of grain products were stored at the procurement points of the republican office "Zagotzerno". The inspection established that of these, 490 thousand tons of grain turned out to be wet, 290 thousand tons – raw and 1,200 thousand tons – infected with barn pests. Many heads of procurement points and elevators have been brought to criminal responsibility on charges of incompetence, negligence, or criminal inaction (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 569, pp. 196–203).

The deliberate or forced use of spoiled grain and meat and fish products by numerous public catering establishments for cooking caused mass food poisoning of the population, in particular of peasants. In one of such special reports, S. Savchenko informed the MGB of the USSR about the poisoning during June 18–25, 1946 of 96 state farm workers of the village of Berezyne, Tarutynskyi district, Izmail region (now the village of Soborne, Tarutynskyi settlement community, Bolgrad district, Odessa region). One of the victims died. All of them were fed products made from low-quality corn flour, which the state farm received from the warehouse "Zagotzerno" (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 575, p. 111).

The quality of personnel selection for leadership positions in post-war collective farms, state farms and village councils can also be the subject of a separate study. The important criteria here were not so much the professional education and practical skills of the applicants for the positions as their ideological commitment and certain front-line merits. Dozens of examples of incompetent appointments of collective farms and village councils heads', decorated with orders, who, in the most difficult times for the peasants, drank, obediently carried out all the instructions of the leadership and did not show any intelligent initiative, were documented.

There were also outright thieves-swindlers in power. The arrest of one of these was signaled by a special message from D. Yesypenko to the MGB of the USSR dated March 27, 1946. He turned out to be the director of the Frunze State Farm of the Kherson Region, Volodymyr Orlov, who achieved a leadership position in February 1944, presenting himself during a visit to the Zaporizhzhia Regional Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as an agricultural specialist demobilized from the Red Army and a holder of the stolen Orders of Lenin and Alexander Nevsky. It was determined that this clever thief and swindler was previously educated in a labour colony of the Dzerzhinsky State Farm, and during 1943 he managed to work in a similar way as the deputy director of the Dzhangeldy State Farm in the Tashkent Region and the head of the collective farm in the village of Karlivka, Poltava region.

On February 25, 1948, S. Savchenko informed the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) and the MGB of the USSR about the exposure and arrest of another thief-swindler, Alexei Dubas, who had headed the Dzerzhinsky State Farm in the Voroshilovgrad Region since July 1945. It was determined that in January 1944 he escaped from prison, moving from Omsk to Kyiv. By July 1945, “overcoming high thresholds,” the scoundrel managed to get a job as the head of the Volodarsky butter factory in Kyiv Region and the manager of the Tiraspol meat processing plant. The last management position was held by O. Dubas was appointed by the People’s Commissar of Grain and Livestock State Farms of the Ukrainian SSR, Hryhoriy Taran, because he trusted the applicant’s false application data about his higher agricultural education and previous service in the Red Army as an assistant to the regiment commander with the rank of major, as well as the Orders of Lenin and the Red Banner on his chest, bought at the market in Odessa (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 638, pp. 236–238).

The return or introduction (in the newly annexed regions) of collective farm slavery in the post-war conditions of famine, poverty and mismanagement prompted peasants to various forms of resistance. The simplest of these was escape to production. Thus, in a letter dated June 1, 1946, a peasant woman from the Poltava region, Vira Peday, complained to the addressee, a military man: “... There is a lot of land, but little to sow, because there was nothing to sow. The land is rotting, there is no rain, there is no one to work. Only women work. All the others who were demobilized from the army and those who returned from Germany – all go to production, and no one wants to work on the collective farm...” (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 675, p. 332).

Other common forms of spontaneous peasant resistance were sabotage, sabotage and vandalism, as well as terrorist acts and intentions against grain procurement officers, heads of collective farms and village councils, and other pro-government activists. There are more than enough information reports to confirm these facts. Vandalism and terrorist acts were usually acts of desperation and revenge. For example, on April 19, 1946, S. Savchenko reported to the MGB of the USSR that while on vacation, the Red Army soldier had taken the life of the head of the collective farm named after Kaganovich in Belozerskyi district of Kherson region, Rivenko, in revenge for his refusal to return the house of his father, who had been repressed as a German collaborator (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 569, pp. 114–115).

Documented are numerous other cases of cruel retaliation against offenders for confiscation or seizure of housing and household plots, deprivation of responsible positions, expulsion from collective farms for unworked workdays, oppression and repression against relatives, exposure of theft of grain and collective farm property, etc. For example, on July

22, 1948, M. Popereka informed the leadership of the MGB of the USSR and the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) about the exposure of criminals who, on the night of July 1, committed arson in the estate of Oleksiy Bezkrivnyi, secretary of the party organization of the collective farm “Kommunar” in the village of Pisky, Novobasanskyi district (now Bobrovytskyi urban community of Nizhyn district), Chernihiv region. As a result of the fire, a barn with a cow and poultry burned down. The criminals turned out to be a mother with two minor daughters, who thus took revenge on O. Bezkrivnyi as an agent of the authorized Ministry of Procurement for bringing her husband to trial, confiscating a cow, and imposing an exorbitant fine for failure to fulfill state deliveries in 1947 – 1948 (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 656, pp. 200–202).

The malicious sabotage of collective farm labor by peasants was primarily a consequence of their unwillingness to work for nothing, their disbelief in the possibility of receiving from collective farms even the promised meager payment in kind for previously worked days of work. However, in the reports and special reports of the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR, cases of mass non-appearance of collective farmers to work were usually explained by the provocative activities of “anti-Soviet elements”. Thus, in July 1947, local sectarians of the Order of St. John were accused of organizing a several-day sabotage of the harvest by 270 collective farmers of the village of Stalinka, Bratslavskyi district, Vinnytsia region (no modern information about the village has been established), with the use of repressive measures against them (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 614, pp. 274).

Against the backdrop of a terrible famine of unprecedented magnitude in the territory of the Ukrainian SSR, theft of bread and other products from collective farm fields and warehouses, from elevators and procurement points reached a peak. It got to the point that individual activists openly called for thefts as a necessity, and some moderate leaders agreed with this. The sincere speech of the collective farm worker and Komsomol member Valentina Ruban in July 1947 at the general meeting of the agricultural cooperative “Kolos” of the Vysokopolskyi district of the Kherson region is noteworthy: “... you can’t live on what they give you on the collective farm. You have to steal. Now everyone steals. I worked on a reaper, and now I’m moving to another job where you can steal” (she was brought to justice for stealing 14 kg of grain) (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 606, p. 206). The wise proposal of the head of the Voroshilov collective farm of Zhashkivskyi district of Kyiv region, Ivanenko, expressed by him in informal communication with his entourage, is also documented: “it is necessary to provide the collective farmers with the opportunity to steal bread, otherwise this year, as in the past, all the bread will have to be handed over to the state, and the collective farmers will starve” (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 606, p. 190).

The dramatic message of S. Savchenko to the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine (Bolsheviks) Lazar Kaganovich about the investigation of the murder of Pavlo Kondratyuk, the head of the village council of the village of Hubnyk (nowadays – Haisyn urban community) of Haisyn district, Vinnytsia region, is striking. It was determined that at dawn on June 24, 1947, on his way to his own garden outside the village, P. Kondratyuk encountered three fellow villagers with bags of ears of corn cut on the collective farm field, who mortally wounded him with a shot from a sawn-off shotgun. The son of the victim, who was guarding the garden, started shooting back and wounded one of the attackers, while the others fled, leaving the wounded man, weapons and bags. The wounded turned out to be Yosyp Kondratyuk, the brother of the head of the village council (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 618, p. 66).

Armed robberies of collective farms and criminal banditry became a mass phenomenon as extreme forms of resistance to the authorities and a way of survival. According to a special message from the Deputy Minister of State Security of the republic, Mykhailo Popereka, to the Minister of Internal Affairs, Tymofii Strokach, dated December 26, 1946, the military censorship of the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR revealed 6,155 reports from 11 regions about numerous murders and robberies. The excerpts from the letters given most often referred to the brazen robberies of collective farms, peasants, and townspeople with the aim of seizing bread, meat, and potatoes (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 581, pp. 194–197).

The information and reporting documents of the NKVD-MDB of the Ukrainian SSR most often attributed traitors, German accomplices, OUN members and other illegals to the category of criminal criminals. However, we have a lot of evidence when ordinary Soviet citizens also embarked on a criminal path en masse: workers, collective farmers, military personnel. The human psyche, crippled by war and poverty, more easily paved the way to crime. Indicative are S. Savchenko's special report to the Central Committee of the CP(b) U dated May 31 and to the MGB of the USSR dated June 7, 1947 on the results of the investigation into the murder of Hryhoriy Kyrmach, the head of the collective farm of the village of Orane, Ivankivskyi district (now Ivankivskyi settlement community, Vyshhorod district), Kyiv region. It was established that on the night of May 2, he was killed with a registered rifle by Mykola Marchenko, a recipient of seven government awards, elected chairman of the village council in August 1946. shortly after demobilization from the ranks of the Red Army. The murderer also turned out to be the leader of a gang of robbers. Some of the villagers supported and covered him (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 599, pp. 62–65, 201–205).

The main form of conscious peasant resistance, characteristic of all regions of Ukraine, was mass anti-Soviet and anti-collective farm agitation. The statements of the “enemy elements” recorded in the information and reporting documents of the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR testified to their quite adequate understanding of the realities of life. “As long as the Soviet government exists, we will not see a good life, because we work not for ourselves, but are enslaved in collective farms” – lamented the collective farmer Vasyl Prykhodko from the village of Veselivka, Mostiv district, Odessa region, during the sowing season in 1947 (this is true in the case; we are probably talking about the village of Vesel, now Mostiv village community, Voznesensky district, Mykolaiv region) (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 594, p. 10).

The anti-Soviet and anti-collective farm sentiments of the peasants were consciously or spontaneously expressed, first of all, in their everyday communication and family correspondence. They were easily detected by agent-operative means and by perusal of correspondence and were completely controlled. A more real threat and a certain challenge to the totalitarian state was the production and distribution of leaflets with appeals to the population. Their authors, despite the awareness of the danger of merciless punishment, called on the peasants to revolt, sabotage grain procurement, and steal the harvested harvest; they threatened collective farm managers and activists with reprisals.

Appeals were usually secretly posted or placed in mailboxes. There were also daring cases of their distribution, one of which was reported to T. Strokach by S. Savchenko in a special message dated July 12, 1947. On July 8, six bandits attacked the collective farm in the village of Gorchychna, Dunayevets district, Kamianets-Podilskyi region (now the village of Gorchychna, Dunayevets urban community, Kamianets-Podilskyi district, Khmelnytskyi region), killed the head of the farm and scattered leaflets with the following appeal: “... it's

enough to endure poverty, hunger and persecution. Rise up, take leadership into your own hands, sort out the bread that was stolen from you..." (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 606, p. 36).

As a type of post-war anti-Soviet agitation, a new category of correspondence tracking was identified – the spread of provocative rumors. Expectations of a new great war were spreading throughout Ukraine, as a result of which the Americans and the British would disperse the collective farms, free the peasants and distribute the land to them. "The state does not provide any assistance to the collective farmers and people are dying like flies. There must be a war and a change of power in the near future," predicted a teacher from the village of Lipetske, Kotovskyi district (now Podilskyi urban community, Podilskyi district), Odessa region, in the spring of 1947 (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 594, p. 11). For a long time, people's hopes for intervention against the USSR only grew. If during 1946 – 1947, the censorship singled out hundreds of letters of this content every month, then at the beginning of 1948 – already thousands: in particular, 1346 for March (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 645, p. 97) and 1359 for April (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 649, p. 95).

The most powerful conscious resistance to the implementation of forced collectivization was exerted by the population of the western regions of Ukraine, who massively joined the national liberation armed struggle of the OUN and the UPA. An extraordinary warning against the collective farm yoke for them were tens of thousands of "bag farmers" from the eastern regions of Ukraine and the border regions of Russia, who had to be saved from starvation. S. Savchenko, in a special message dated April 20, 1946, addressed to the leadership of the MGB of the USSR and the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) expressed concern that in the Ternopil region such newcomers demonstratively discredited the collective farm system, which made it possible for the OUN members to use such facts in conducting anti-Soviet and anti-collective farm agitation (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 569, pp. 172–174).

Open anti-collective farm sentiments also prevailed among the peasants of the Sovietized South of Ukraine, but were limited to quiet sabotage. In a special message dated March 30, 1946, D. Yesypenko signaled D. Korotchenko about the mass refusal of peasants of the Izmail region to join collective farms, citing characteristic excerpts from the traced correspondence: "... Uncle Pylyp, we are not going to the collective farm. So, the councils took away our bread so that we would go to the collective farm, but despite this we are not going! They gave us the bread, but we are not going to the collective farm..." (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 567, pp. 211–212).

The further subjugation of the Bessarabians by famine looked most terrible. Thus, S. Savchenko informed the MGB of the USSR and the party and state leadership of the Ukrainian SSR about 33 cases of corpse eating recorded on the territory of the republic as of March 25, 1947. 16 such cases occurred in the Izmail region (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 590, pp. 40–43). In his report of April 18, 1948 to the then Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR D. Korotchenko on the state of food security in Kherson, Mykolaiv and Izmail regions, it is noted that "food difficulties" caused an increase in the number of cases of dystrophy in peasants: in particular, 578 cases were registered in Mykolaiv, 727 in Kherson and 1380 in Izmail regions (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 646, pp. 39–41).

As we can see, all post-war government agricultural campaigns, such as the restoration and creation of collective farms and state farms, the organization of spring sowing and harvesting, taxation, etc., were carried out under the close supervision of the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR, and were provided with extensive intelligence and operational services. The Central Committee of the CPSU (b) and the MGB of the USSR received regular reports on

the identified shortcomings in the work of collective farms and the successful neutralization of “enemy elements”.

In order to promptly respond to the growth of peasant resistance with the beginning of the sowing campaign against the backdrop of the spread of a terrible famine, the Minister of State Security S. Savchenko, by order dated April 1, 1947, obliged all heads of regional departments of the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR to report immediately on all significant facts of “anti-Soviet manifestations” (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 626, pp. 104). By a subsequent order dated May 12, Deputy Minister D. Yesypenko demanded not only timely current reporting, but also the provision by June 1 of a list of all previously unreported active hostile manifestations and extraordinary events for July of 1946 – May 1947 with brief information on the results of the investigation into each such fact (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 626, pp. 149–151).

Since then, almost daily reports on the struggle of the state security organs against mass peasant resistance had become the norm, both on official and party lines. The most informative, however, are informational and statistical reports on the results of such a struggle over long periods of time. Let us illustrate this with the example of a report dated August 25, 1947, in which S. Savchenko informed L. Kaganovich about the neutralization of “anti-Soviet elements” among the peasants of the eastern regions of Ukraine during the second decade of August, who were hindering the harvest and grain procurement (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 613, pp. 11–37).

The above-mentioned report not only provided detailed information within the stipulated time frame, but also accumulated general statistical data from the beginning of the harvest. It, in particular, reported on the arrest of 884 enemies of the Soviet government. Of these, 51 people were accused of collaborating with foreign intelligence, 61 of committing or preparing terrorist attacks against party and Soviet activists, 22 of organizing sabotage during the harvest, 18 of committing sabotage, 164 of conducting anti-Soviet agitation and distributing relevant leaflets. Almost half of those arrested (400 people) were classified as former German accomplices, traitors, police officers and punishers, 66 were classified as OUN members, and the rest (102 people) were classified as various other “anti-Soviet elements.” The largest number of such “enemies” were exposed within the Kamianets-Podilskyi (112), Dnipropetrovsk (109), Zhytomyr (105) and Kyiv (76) regions. Some of them held responsible positions at the time of their arrest: heads of collective farms (11), foremen (19), members of collective farm boards (7), agronomists and other agricultural specialists (10) (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 613, pp. 12–14).

Even under the conditions of post-war poverty and devastation, the totalitarian state did not see and did not look for easier ways to raise agriculture from its knees, except by artificially resuscitating the unviable collective farm system. There was an urgent need, if not to motivate, then at least to force the peasants to work on the collective farms and not steal.

According to the state plan, the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of June 4, 1947 “On Criminal Liability for Theft of State and Public Property” was supposed to put an end to the mass theft of collective farm property, which, against the backdrop of the new famine, had become almost the norm of life. Even for minimal theft or embezzlement on a collective farm, a sentence of five to eight years in prison was provided; for repeated, group or significant theft, from eight to twenty years in prison with confiscation of property was proposed. One could be imprisoned or exiled for failing to report the preparation or commission of theft.

The first sentences under the new decree were met by the peasants with indignation and despair, which is reflected in the materials of the perustration of correspondence for July 1947. Here is how Vynohradov, a resident of the village of Pustopillia, Bobrynetskyi district (now part of the village of Polumiane, Ketrysanivka rural community, Kropyvnytskyi district), Kirovohrad region, described his feelings: "... on July 10, our visiting session under the new decree tried Kochutka, Balanda, Rohach and others for stealing collective farm ears. All the collective farmers were herded to court like cattle. The people shouted at the wrong actions of the local authorities. This is what the collective farmer has come to: he must work and be nourished by the Holy Spirit, and whoever wants to eat bread is imprisoned for this..." (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 611, p. 62). In August, 745 such reports were already identified (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 616, p. 3). Thus, in the first years of the decree's operation, tens of thousands of peasants were deprived of their liberty through show trials.

According to researchers, an effective repressive mechanism for overcoming mass sabotage and strengthening labor discipline in collective farms by intimidating peasants was the implementation, at the initiative of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) Nikita Khrushchev, of the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of February 21, 1948, "On the eviction from the Ukrainian SSR of persons who maliciously evade labor activity in agriculture and lead an antisocial, parasitic lifestyle" (Baran, & Danylenko, 1999; Marchenko, 2020; Misinkevych, 2012; Niemtsev, 2020; Podkur, 2011). The decree did not apply to peasants in the western regions of Ukraine, who were subjected to another, even more powerful repressive pressure.

The decision on administrative eviction was made by collective farm meetings organized on the initiative of local party centers and collective farm activists. Anyone who did not work the established minimum number of days of work risked being classified as "idlers" and "parasites." During 1948, more than 27,000 Ukrainian peasants from the East were deported to remote parts of Russia by public verdicts.

The reaction of the population to the implementation of the said decree was reported in numerous reports, memos and special messages of the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR. In April 1948 alone, 3039 letters on the relevant topic were traced through a perusal of correspondence (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 649, p. 99). The attitude of fellow villagers to the next repressive measures this time was divided, but despair and indignation prevailed. Despite achieving the main goal: to force the peasants to work on the collective farm, the decree deepened the already deep gap in relations between the collective farm active and the peasants, causing a new wave of terrorist attacks.

The maximum level of conflict between the authorities and the peasantry is highlighted by a special report on the investigation into the murder of Hnat Martynenko, head of the Chapayev collective farm in the village of Martynivka, Pokrovsko-Bahachanskyi district (now an uninhabited territory within the Khorolsk urban community of the Lubenskyi district), Poltava region. This crime, at the instigation of a front-line soldier-order bearer, the head of the village council, was committed by another front-line soldier and the recent head of the collective farm audit commission on the night of April 10, with the participation of another collective farmer. They took revenge on the head of the collective farm (also a front-line soldier) for initiating a whole bunch of repressive measures against them or their family members: convictions for stealing grain, confiscation of surplus household plots, imposition of fines for official negligence and, finally, the intention to apply the Decree of the Presidium of the Verkhovna Rada of February 21, 1948. (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 649, pp. 62–66).

Conclusions. Thus, through poor management of agriculture, merciless tax pressure, and deliberate disregard for the needs of the population in the most essential things, the authorities pushed the peasants into desperate conscious and spontaneous resistance. Anti-Soviet and anti-collective farm agitation spread throughout Ukraine as the main form of conscious peasant resistance. Peasants in the western regions of Ukraine also joined the organized armed struggle against national enslavement and the introduction of collective farm slavery.

Condemned to hunger and poverty, ordinary people were forced to steal, rob, sabotage, and even kill in order to survive or seek revenge. The mechanism for combating the resulting wave of crime was harsh and inevitable criminal prosecution. The meager and often unreliable in-kind payment for the hard labor in collective farms led to widespread, open sabotage of work. The state's use of administrative deportation for failing to fulfill the minimum number of workdays forced peasants to make a difficult but clear choice between ungrateful work on the collective farm and hardship in exile.

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**THE PROBLEM OF HIGHER EDUCATION MANAGEMENT
IN THE INTERDISCIPLINARY DISCOURSE OF UKRAINIAN SCIENTISTS
(the 90s of the XXth – first quarter of the XXIst centuries)**

Abstract. Purpose of the Research – to carry out a comprehensive synthesized analysis of the reflection of foreign experience in the management and reform of higher education in interdisciplinary research by Ukrainian scholars in the 1990s – the first quarter of the 21st century. **The research methodology** consists of methods of comparative studies and historiography (periodization, ideographic, historical structural, historical comparative, historical actualization, main array and monographic and selective analysis, analysis of the knowledge system), as well as elements of metaanalysis, content analysis, discourse analysis). **The scientific novelty** of the research lies in the fact that for the first time in historiography, a substantive analysis of the interdisciplinary Ukrainian discourse on the problem of higher education management in European countries has been carried out

and its comparative analysis has been carried out with priority areas of study of the specified problem in the USA, China, etc. **Conclusions.** The results of the study indicate that foreign experience in higher education management became the subject of active studies by Ukrainian scholars in the 1990s – the first quarter of the 21st century. Their important achievement was a comprehensive understanding of this problem from the standpoint of various fields of knowledge (public administration, history, economics, philosophy of education, comparative pedagogical studies); development of an interdisciplinary methodology for studying the problem; understanding of the complex processes of management of modernization of national higher education systems in historical retrospect and through the prism of Ukraine's integration into the European Higher Education Area and the challenges of globalization. The features of the dynamics of the studied historiographic process are determined, when in the first period of the 1990s, a number of works appeared that treated the raised problem within the framework of post-Soviet methodological constructs, in the second period, under the influence of the processes of European integration, its study reached a boom in 2006 – 2011/12, and in the third period, there was a gradual fading of scientific interest and the transfer of the accents of its understanding to the context of globalization. The narrow territorial vector of studies was manifested in the focus on studying the history of the development of administrative and reform processes in the countries of Western Europe and the USA, which led to a certain underestimation, with the exception of Poland, of this experience accumulated by the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. We see the prospects for further research in the implementation of a comprehensive comparative analysis of the achievements of Ukrainian and Polish scholars and scientists from other countries on the problems of higher education policy and its reform in the retrospective of the 20th – early 21st centuries.

Key words: historiography, higher education management, higher education reform, Western European countries, Central European countries, Eastern European countries.

ПРОБЛЕМА УПРАВЛІННЯ ВИЩОЮ ОСВІТОЮ В МІЖДИСЦИПЛІНАРНОМУ ДИСКУРСІ УКРАЇНСЬКИХ НАУКОВЦІВ (90-рр. XX – перша чверть XXI ст.)

Анотація. Мета дослідження: здійснити комплексний аналіз відображення зарубіжного досвіду управління вищою освітою в міждисциплінарних дослідженнях українських науковців 90-х рр. XX – першої чверті XXI ст. **Методологію дослідження** становлять методи компаративістики та історіографії (періодизації, ідеографічний, історико-структурний, історико-порівняльний, історичної актуалізації, головного масиву та монографічного і вибіркового аналізу, аналізу системи знань), а також елементи метааналізу, контент-аналізу, дискурс-аналізу). **Наукова новизна дослідження** полягає у тому, що вперше в історіографії здійснено предметний аналіз міждисциплінарного українського дискурсу з проблеми управління вищою освітою в країнах Європи та здійснено його порівняльний аналіз з пріоритетними напрямками вивчення означеної проблеми в США, Китаї та ін. **Висновки.** Зарубіжний досвід управління вищою освітою став предметом активних студій українських науковців у 90-х рр. XX – першій чверті XXI ст. Їх важливими здобутками стало осмислення цієї проблеми з позицій різних галузей знань (державне управління, історія, економіка, філософія освіти, педагогічна компаративістика); розробка міждисциплінарної методології вивчення означеної проблеми; осмислення досвіду управління і реформування національних систем вищої освіти в історичній ретроспективі та крізь призму актуальних для кожної країни викликів. Визначено динаміку та інші особливості історіографічного процесу: за першого періоду 90-х рр. XX ст. з'явилася низка перших праць, що трактували порушену проблему в рамках пострадянської методології; за другого – під впливом процесів євроінтеграції її вивчення досягло апогею в 2006 – 2011 рр.; за третього – відбулося згасання наукового інтересу та перенесення акцентів її осмислення в контекст глобалізації. Показано вузький територіальний вектор студій, що виявилось у зосередженні уваги на вивченні досвіду країн Західної Європи та певній недооцінці, за винятком Польщі, здобутків у цій сфері в країнах Центральної та Східної Європи.

Ключові слова: історіографія, управління вищою освітою, реформування вищої освіти, країни Західної Європи, країни Центральної Європи, країни Східної Європи.

Problem Statement. The development of higher education during the era of modern statehood of Ukraine was accompanied by complex processes of its structural restructuring, which had ambiguous, contradictory consequences. Under such circumstances, Ukrainian scientists representing such fields of knowledge as public administration, comparative pedagogical studies, economics and finance, etc., have accumulated a significant array of various studies on the study of foreign experience in managing national higher education systems of European countries as a key factor in their transformational changes. They require a comprehensive critical analysis to clarify the achievements and gaps in the study of the specified problem. This enriches the methodology, theory and practice of Ukrainian science with relevant Western experience and opens up new prospects for the development of higher education as an important intellectual and economic factor in the post-war reconstruction of Ukraine.

Review of Sources and Recent Researches. In modern historiography, there have been individual attempts to study the contributions of Ukrainian and foreign scholars to the problem of governance and reform of national education systems, particularly in the countries of the European Union and under globalization (N. Vilchynska, V. Halperina, O. Malynovska, S. Natroshvili, O. Totska), as well as in individual countries – Great Britain (T. Klochkova), Poland (A. Vasyliuiak, Ya. Hrechka, L. Hrynevych, I. Kovchyna), the USA (H. Kalinina, I. Kozubovska, O. Stoika), France (L. Shapovalova), the Czech Republic and Slovakia (H. Tovkanets), among others. However, this analysis was mainly conducted in an annotated manner in the introductory sections of dissertations and monographs and concerned certain countries or specific components of such foreign experience. Thus, the contributions of Ukrainian scholars to the stated problem have not been the subject of a dedicated, comprehensive study.

Purpose of the Research – to carry out a comprehensive synthesized analysis of the reflection of foreign experience in the management and reform of higher education in interdisciplinary research by Ukrainian scholars in the 1990s – the first quarter of the 21st century.

Research Results. The Ukrainian historiography of the problem raised is complex, multi-structured and is marked by a dynamic interdisciplinary discourse. In its development, we distinguish three periods: 1) post-Soviet, 1991 – 2000/2001, when, against the background of “battles for methodology” and sharp criticism of the “Soviet heritage”, interest in foreign experience grew, in particular in the direction of its actualization in the regulatory and legal documents of Ukraine; 2) pro-European, 2002 – 2009/2010, when, with Ukraine’s accession to the Bologna Process in 2006 and integration into the European Higher Education Area (EHEA), a substantive study of higher education management models of European countries for its practical use began; 3) globalist, from 2011 – 2012, when research was reoriented in the context of the challenges of the globalized world. Despite some conventionality of this periodization, it reflects the main trends, vectors, and content features of the studied discourse.

Structurally, the problem of higher education management is considered by Ukrainian scientists in the same context as issues of educational policy and reform of national education systems and as a separate phenomenon that reflects the features of their modernization and transformation. As an example of such a comprehensive approach, we note the monograph of I. Kozubovska and O. Stoika (Kozubovska, & Stoika, 2014). Having subject-matter tracked the dynamics and stages of the US state policy in the higher education system in the second half of the 20th – early 21st centuries, the authors determined the nature and priorities of

its management, which, in turn, determined the trends of reform in this area. It is shown that thanks to such institutional transformations and transformation processes, the quality of higher education as a whole has radically improved.

Let us note an important feature of the domestic historiography of the problem raised. The subject analysis revealed an approximate parity of studies written in the fields of history of public administration, philosophy, law, political science, history, economics, history of pedagogy. In this case, they are quite close both in methodology and content. Such “interdisciplinary unison”, in particular, is manifested in the formulation of the titles recorded as a result of scientific search of about 120 scientific articles prepared in the indicated fields of knowledge and over 30 qualification studies for obtaining scientific degrees, which a priori corresponded to the passport of the specialty. Among them, for example, let us note the dissertations of S. Kalashnikova “Management of the public sector of higher education in the USA” (1999; specialty 25.00.05 – Sectoral Management: Education Management); N. Vilchynska “Educational Policy of the European Union: Features of Formation and Implementation” (2012; specialty 23.00.02 – Political Institutions and Processes); V. Halperina “Educational Policy in a Transformative Society: Socio-Philosophical Analysis” (2003; specialty 09.00.03 – Social Philosophy and Philosophy of History); O. Malynovska “Educational Governance in the Conditions of Globalization and Informatization” (2012; specialty 09.00.10 – Philosophy of Education); Ya. Hrechka “Features of State and Public Management of Education in Poland” (2009; 25.00.02 – Mechanisms of Public Administration); O. Totska “Management of the Development of Higher Education in Ukraine” (2021; 08.00.03 – Economics and Management of the National Economy; Economic Sciences). For comparison, let us note the topics of dissertations in the specialty 13.00.01 – general pedagogy and history of pedagogy by L. Hrynevych “Trends of decentralization of basic education management in modern Poland” (2005), T. Klochkova “Trends of risk management development in universities in the United Kingdom” (2015), H. Kalinina “Education quality management system in higher education institutions in the United States” (2016), etc.

The second important feature of Ukrainian historiography on the problem of management of higher education systems abroad is that from the very beginning, in methodological terms, it developed in the wake of Western theories. In fact, without drawing a “Soviet train” (in the USSR, the concept of “managerialism” meant “bourgeois management theory”), the studies of Ukrainian scientists were almost not influenced by Russian science, which focused on the macro-level of education management, which was traditionally interpreted as a component of national policy (Medvedovska, 2009, pp. 348–349). Instead, Ukrainian scientists considered the problem of higher education management comprehensively, taking into account the experience of Western science, where it began to be developed in the second half of the 1970s.

A comprehensive understanding of Western theories and concepts of educational management is substantively reflected in analytical studies by Ukrainian authors (Babichev, 2017; Medvedovska, 2009; Petrenko, 2009; Natroshvili, 2015; Totska, 2020), the dictionary-reference book “Methodology of Public Administration” (Kyiv, 2002), prepared under the auspices of the National Academy under the President of Ukraine, etc. These works provide a holistic structured idea of the Western discourse on the application in the historical context of the definitions of “management”, “administration”, “leadership” and the peculiarities of their interpretation in Ukrainian science. In the mid-90s of the 20th century. It has introduced multidimensional concepts such as “management in education”, “history of educational management”, etc., which, from the perspective of our research, denote types of managerial

activity that integrate the scientific experience of philosophy, management theory, history, economics, political science, law, pedagogy on the nature and peculiarities of the history of development of regional and national systems of higher education.

The analysis of the domestic interdisciplinary scientific discourse allows us to identify a number of key provisions and approaches to studying the history of the development of management of foreign higher education systems. They consist in the characterization of these processes through the prism of multidimensionality and the transformation of classical models of higher education management into a multilevel one, which functions in a system of coordinates “vertically” (outlines the global; regional/European; state/national; local – individual higher education institutions (HEIs) levels) and “horizontally” (manifests itself in the expansion of the content-thematic vector of studies, covering issues of market-oriented educational services, improving their quality, state-public partnership, etc.).

During the first post-Soviet historiographic period, studies appeared that conceptualized the development of social management and pedagogical management in the organization of the educational process abroad and in Ukraine through the prism of Western management theories. One of the first such comprehensive country studies was Kalashnykova’s dissertation (Kalashnykova, 1999) on the history of the development of management systems in the public sector of higher education in the USA. The scientist carried out its holistic structural analysis: she identified the prerequisites and stages of formation; clarified the goals, functions, and structure of the management of higher education institutions; showed the models and features of management by federal bodies of higher education; clarified the mechanisms of accreditation as a central element of the system of quality management of higher education; revealed the role of the public in the development of American universities and colleges and the nature of training specialists in higher education management as a determining factor in the effective functioning of the entire administrative system. From these positions, the strategies and trends of public higher education management in the USA are shown.

The study of foreign experience in higher education management reached its highest level in the second historiographical period. In the third period, this activity fades away, as new trends in its understanding have emerged. At the same time, the country-specific vector of research remained quite narrow.

First of all, let us note the valuable methodological and historical-retrospective aspects of the study. In the monograph of S. Natroshvili (Natroshvili, 2015), based on the analysis of international experience in strategic management of HEIs in the EU countries under the conditions of economic instability of the 80s – 90s of the 20th century, its key areas were identified: monitoring the educational services market, identifying challenges, organizing countermeasures against risks, implementing integration strategies and developing corporate education programs, etc. Conceptualizing the historical dynamics, content, nature, and forms of rivalry in the educational services market, the scientist substantiated the model of strategic management of HEIs based on the creation and implementation of their competitive advantages in the form of cooperation with external institutions, a comprehensive assessment of the quality of HEI management, etc. The value of such historical-economic studies lies in clarifying the significance of financial, economic, and managerial prerequisites and factors for the development of the system of training future specialists as the core of the formation of the corporate university model.

In this context, it is worth noting the monograph by O. Totska (Totska, 2020), which explored the genesis of the theory and the development of conceptual and methodological

principles of management in the EHEA in the context of Ukraine's integration into it. The scientist's clarification of the role and place of higher education in the history of the formation of the national knowledge economy and the structural components of its indices (indicators of personnel training, skills for innovation, etc.) defined by the World Bank and EBRD is interesting and productive. Based on foreign experience, the scientist considers the phenomenon of higher education management as a historically determined socially significant multifaceted phenomenon, which includes the following groups of elements: historical prerequisites and factors; object, goal, method; mechanism, process, result, etc. In this context, the researcher revealed the priorities of the historical development of the EHEA as a multi-level system, consisting of the following main elements: degrees and terms of study; mechanisms for ensuring the quality of the educational process; mobility of its participants; procedure for employment of graduates; stimulating research and innovation.

The referenced works reflect one of the dominant historiographic trends regarding the subject-specific comprehensive study of the experience of managing the higher education system in the European space in the dynamics of its development and the projection of its implementation in Ukraine.

The second important trend was the study of the problem of higher education system management in the context of its reform processes. It was substantively manifested in a number of substantive studies on the development of these processes not only in Western, but also in Central and Eastern European countries.

As an illustrative example, we note the dissertation of I. Kovchyna (Kovchyna, 1997), prepared from the standpoint of post-Soviet methodology, which operated with the terminological system typical of the 1990s and a relatively narrow source base. Having clarified the trends in the development of education in Poland in the crisis-ridden 1980s, the scientist proves that the ideological content, values, and success of the reform of the system of management of secondary and pedagogical education determined the trade union movement, which included "Teachers' Solidarity", and its modeling on the basis of scientifically substantiated organizational, methodological, and personnel support. In this way, the reform radically changed the entire system of higher pedagogical education – from the creation of a new network of specialized HEIs to the content and methods of teacher training and postgraduate education.

In many studies, scientists in a common context reveal the processes of management and reform of secondary and higher education systems. Thus, implementing the methodological approaches developed at the turn of the 20th – 21st centuries by Western science, L. Hrynevych (Hrynevych, 2005) showed the socio-political background of the process of decentralization of management of the Polish education system and developed its original periodization: 1898 – 1995 – the stage of legislative changes; 1996 – 1998 – subordination of educational institutions to local government bodies; 1999 – 2003 – deep educational reforms. In this context, the scientist identified the main trends in its development (delegation of powers of higher-level bodies to lower-level ones; growth of centralized control over the quality of education; strengthening of public influence, etc.) and outlined the prospects for implementing this historical experience in Ukraine.

For Ukrainian historiography of the early 21st century, the dissertation by Ya. Hrechka (Hrechka, 2009), on the historical experience of the development of state-public management of education in Poland in the 1980s and early 21st centuries, was quite innovative in its subject matter. The scholar characterized its levels (Minister of Education; Education Curators;

Heads of Educational Institutions), revealed the mechanisms of interaction between state administration bodies and the public in the functioning of various links of the education system, showed the historical dynamics of the process of its decentralization, which unfolded on the basis of expanding the powers and cooperation of HEIs and local self-government bodies, etc.

An analysis of these and other scientific studies revealed that, despite the preservation of methodological approaches inherent in different fields of knowledge, the differences between them in terms of content were blurred, so scientists relayed quite similar characteristics and assessments of the historical experience of management and reform in national higher education systems.

The above also applies to the work of O. Borodiienko and A. Zlenko (Borodiienko & Zlenko, 2023) on the history of the development of public-private partnership in education. When studying its foreign experience, the authors implemented a regional approach to revealing the mechanisms of consolidation of educational institutions and the public and private sectors to improve the quality of training of qualified specialists and ensure their career growth in the countries of Southern Europe (Greece, Spain, Italy, Portugal, Serbia), Western Europe (Austria, Germany, France), Northern Europe (Belgium, Netherlands, Norway, Finland, Sweden), Eastern Europe (Poland, Czech Republic, Romania, Bulgaria). Based on a comparison of regional and national characteristics, a reconstruction of the mosaic experience of implementing this effective and insufficiently developed factor of management of higher education systems in Ukraine was presented.

The trend was increasing, according to which the sectoral methodological and substantive focus of research on the problem raised was “eroded” by interdisciplinary narratives. As an example, let us note the doctoral dissertation of H. Tovkanets (Tovkanets, 2014), prepared at the intersection of pedagogical, economic, and historical sciences, on the development of economic education in higher education in the Czech Republic and Slovakia in the 20th century. The author clarified the socio-political, socio-economic, and cultural prerequisites for the reform of this field and, through the prism of the developed periodization, tracked its dynamics and features. In this context, the role of economic education in overcoming the economic crisis in these countries, the development of their cross-border ties, providing the labor market with qualified personnel, etc. is shown.

A landmark phenomenon in Ukrainian historiography on the issue raised was the monograph “Educational Reforms: Mission, Reality, Reflection”, which appeared as the fifth edition of a joint project of the National Pedagogical Academy of Ukraine and the Higher Pedagogical School of the Polish Teachers’ Union (Warsaw, Poland). Its authors, leading comparative scholars of the two countries, presented a number of conceptual studies on the problems of methodology and analysis of historical experience and prospects for reforming and managing the higher education system in the context of educational paradigms and visions of the mission of modern education and science.

To study this problem, it is of great scientific and theoretical importance to clarify the potential of the synergistic approach (Kremen, 2013) and the concept of the spiritual and moral dimension, which involves its understanding on the basis of humanism and anthropocentrism (Khoruzha, 2013), etc.

From the perspective of the philosophy of education, V. Ohneviuk (Ohneviuk, 2007) showed that in the global dimension, the development of processes of management and reform of national higher education systems was clearly manifested in their diversity and

tendencies towards unification and homogenization. According to the scientist, permanent reformation became a defining feature of the evolution of national education systems in the 20th – 21st centuries. They are doomed to constant improvement, because this is what *homo educatus* – a new evolutionary type of person in the world of digital technologies – requires.

The methodology developed by S. Sysoeva (Sysoeva, 2013) for the historical and educational analysis of the management and reform of national education systems involves their study through the prism of state, social, and personal values; mechanisms for the functioning of relevant social spheres; a focus on studying the dynamics of changes in the field of education and its subsystems, etc. From such positions, global and national prerequisites and other parameters of the historical development of educational systems are determined.

Compared to Ukrainian scholars, Polish scholars approach the study of the problem of management and reform of higher education systems from the standpoint of the Western terminological system and pay more attention to their national historical context and socio-political determination. Thus, studying the reforms of the Polish education system initiated in 1989, Meshalskyi (Meshalskyi, 2013) showed the process of its democratization based on the “left idea” and the “idea of equal educational opportunities” as factors of social change. From such positions, the Polish discourse on left-wing values and social inequality and structural decentralization of higher education and the organization of the educational process is analyzed.

Hrabovska’s study (2013) shows that the reform of the management system of higher education systems in Poland and Ukraine contributed to the increase of their role as a sphere of socio-economic life, accelerated development under market economy conditions and due to the demand for qualified personnel and marketization. However, the rapid growth in the number of students had a negative impact on the quality of education in both countries. At the same time, the scientist highlighted the context of ensuring mobility and multiculturalism of higher education in Poland, which in the 2000s had not yet become relevant in Ukraine.

In the absence of a holistic objective understanding of the consequences of 30 years of transformations in higher education in Ukraine, there is growing interest in the study of T. Levovytskyi (Levovytskyi, 2013), which showed that educational reforms have always nurtured hopes for a quick and successful solution to the pressing problems of higher education, but their results in most countries in Europe and the world have been disappointing. The scientist confirmed this conceptual conclusion based on a systematic analysis of the historical experience of administrative educational reforms carried out in Poland after the change of regime in 1989.

Let us note two more features of the historiographic process under study. One of them concerns the “disproportion” of the time dimension, which is manifested in two perspectives. The first – historiographic – testifies to the wave of growth of scientific interest in it in 2006 – 2011/12, determined by Ukraine’s accession to the Bologna Process, which noticeably decreases in the following years. The second perspective concerns the focus of scientists’ attention on the current problems of the development of the foreign higher education system, although historical retrospective helps to better understand its nature and the reasons for positive and negative consequences. This is emphasized by the research of Vavreniuk (2019), which traced the history of reforming the higher education system in Europe from the early 80s – 90s. 20th century, when the creation and conceptual framework of the European Higher Education Area and subsequent intergovernmental measures to develop uniform criteria and standards for the development of national higher education systems were initiated and

defined. This transformational progress is associated with both their democratization and the strengthening of the role of the state in managing them.

A second important feature is revealed in the narrow country-specific scope of the studies, which predominantly focused on 4 to 6 European countries and the United States. This scope was scarcely expanded by the materials of scientific articles, which once again emphasized scholars' focus on the processes of governance and reform of higher education in Poland (S. Bocharov, Yu. Hryshchuk, V. Gzhezhchuk, S. Derkach, Yu. Yevtushenko, M. Karpulenko, N. Nychkalo, M. Palinchak, O. Pyslar, Yu. Fedoryk, R. Shyyan, F. Shlosek, etc.). Among other countries, scholars also focused on the United Kingdom, Germany, and the United States (I. Ivanyuk, O. Ihnatova, L. Dubko, I. Zasrozhnikova, B. Nikolaiev, Ohienko, N. Pavlova), and occasionally on Sweden (O. Feycher), as well as the Czech Republic and Slovakia (B. Melnychenko).

It was the articles that highlighted the trend characteristic of the third historiographical period regarding the study of the raised problem in the context of globalization processes. As an illustrative example, let us note the publication of Ohienko (2012), which revealed the strategic direction of reforming the higher education system in Germany in the 90s of the 20th – early 21st centuries to adapt to the challenges of globalization and increased competition in the world economy. As a response to them, an effective integrated three-level management system (federal center, individual states, higher education institutions) was created in the country, which ensured a harmonious combination of traditional and innovative methods of fundamental training of students with scientific and research activities of universities.

Similarly, in the context of globalization and internationalization processes, Holub (2017), in unison with the above-mentioned authors, characterized the Polish experience of reforming the higher education system with an emphasis on the development of a new regulatory framework, management principles, and adaptation to the requirements and criteria of the EHEA.

Let us note a kind of “historiographic dissonance”, when Ukrainian scholars, focusing on the study of models of higher education reform in Western European countries, underestimated (with the exception of Poland as the absolute favorite) the relevant experience of Central and Eastern European countries, which, compared to Ukraine, have achieved historically significant successes in eradicating the consequences of the common Soviet heritage. In this perspective, let us note the extensive survey investigation by the Czech-Canadian researcher Kulich (2002) on the genesis and development of residential folk high schools in Poland, Hungary, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. The author showed how these educational institutions based on the Scandinavian model can ensure the preservation of the best national traditions and finally eliminate Soviet atavisms, as well as increase their adaptability to modern globalist and technological challenges.

In the above-mentioned territorial perspective, we should also note the work of I. Tryhub (Tryhub, 2016), which, based on the criterion of similarity of training of experts in the field of higher education, presents a classification of Eastern European countries into four groups: Slavic EU member states; Baltic countries (Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia); Balkan countries (Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary); Russian Federation. The scholar showed common and specific aspects regarding the activities of specialized accreditation agencies in them, the development of tools and methods for assessing the quality of educational services, and other aspects that ensured the coordinated progress of national higher education systems. Such

publications demonstrate the feasibility and prospects of a substantive study of individual factors, mechanisms, and tools that enabled the effective functioning of national higher education systems as a whole.

It is interesting to compare the domestic and foreign discourse on the problem of higher education management. For this purpose, materials from 2021 – 2025 of three status journals on higher education indexed by Scopus were analyzed: *Higher Education*; *International Journal of Educational Technology in Higher Education*; *Journal of Higher Education*. It was found that compared to Ukrainian professional journals, in particular, the specialized journal “*Higher School*”, which focus on the management activities of state government structures, scientists from Europe and the USA, Canada, and China cover this issue from a different perspective. In particular, they focus on the impact of municipal bodies and local communities on the educational process, the COVID-19 pandemic, as well as AI, interethnic and social relations, etc. Their works are distinguished by their practical orientation, so the problems of higher education management are considered not as the main subject of research, but as an aspect in the perspective of the aforementioned and other social challenges.

As an example, let us note the work of C. K. Y. Chan (Chan, 2023), who, based on the results of a survey conducted in Hong Kong universities, developed a model of a framework policy in higher education based on AI-based text generation technologies. It has three dimensions: pedagogical, focused on the use of AI to improve teaching and learning outcomes; managerial, focused on privacy and security issues; operational, related to improving the infrastructure of university education. Such a framework policy, according to the scientist, contributes to understanding the consequences and responsibility for the integration of AI into its development.

Of interest for our historiographical study is the work of J. H. L. Koh and B. K. Daniel (Koh & Daniel, 2022). Based on a systematic review of 36 empirical articles based on data from the USA, Europe, Asia, and Australia, the authors identified eight management strategies that were used in higher education institutions during the COVID-19 pandemic. They concluded that while online learning strategies ensured the continuity of the educational process, their “asynchrony,” that is, the loss of direct communication between participants, showed students’ unpreparedness to independently manage the educational process, and teachers lacked experience in effectively managing it under new conditions.

To strengthen the practical orientation of Ukrainian studies on the problem raised, the work of A. Soliz and C. Flanagan (Soliz & Flanagan, 2025) is also interesting. The scholars showed that the US state policy of increasing financial assistance to adults for college education did not produce the expected results, since instead of increasing their competitiveness through the acquisition of new knowledge and skills, they preferred to continue their professional activities, in particular, due to fears of losing their jobs. Thus, even thoughtful management decisions do not always turn out to be effective if they do not take into account the direct connection between the learning process and the labor market.

For panoramic research on the history of educational management, the work of M. Brown, S. Sowl and K. Steigleder (Brown, Sowl, & Steigleder, 2023) is of interest. Based on such artifacts as institutional reports, speeches, testimonies and statements of officials and politicians, notes of public meetings, etc., the scientists carried out an original reconstruction of the process of reforming the US education management system in 2011 – 2017. Thus, the significant influence of not only institutional, but also personal interests and contradictions on this process became evident.

For the development of the Ukrainian discourse on ways to develop cooperation between universities with industrial, business, public and other interested external factors, which was updated in the 2010s, the experience of preparing analytical review studies like the article by A. Soliz, C. DeLoach and H. Mesa (Soliz, DeLoach, & Mesa, 2023) is innovative. The authors analyzed not only representative studies on this problem in the field of public administration, but also conducted “in-depth interviews” with 49 participants in this process. On this basis, the common and different visions of theoreticians and practitioners of ways to improve the professional training of future specialists within the framework of partnership relations are shown.

Conclusions. The results of the study indicate that foreign experience in higher education management became the subject of active studies by Ukrainian scholars in the 1990s – the first quarter of the 21st century. Their important achievement was a comprehensive understanding of this problem from the standpoint of various fields of knowledge (public administration, history, economics, philosophy of education, comparative pedagogical studies); development of an interdisciplinary methodology for studying the problem; understanding of the complex processes of management of modernization of national higher education systems in historical retrospect and through the prism of Ukraine’s integration into the European Higher Education Area and the challenges of globalization. The features of the dynamics of the studied historiographic process are determined, when in the first period of the 1990s, a number of works appeared that treated the raised problem within the framework of post-Soviet methodological constructs, in the second period, under the influence of the processes of European integration, its study reached a boom in 2006 – 2011/12, and in the third period, there was a gradual fading of scientific interest and the transfer of the accents of its understanding to the context of globalization. The narrow territorial vector of studies was manifested in the focus on studying the history of the development of administrative and reform processes in the countries of Western Europe and the USA, which led to a certain underestimation, with the exception of Poland, of this experience accumulated by the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. We see the prospects for further research in the implementation of a comprehensive comparative analysis of the achievements of Ukrainian and Polish scholars and scientists from other countries on the problems of higher education policy and its reform in the retrospective of the 20th – early 21st centuries.

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UNDERGROUND ORGANIZATIONS OF PATRIOTIC YOUTH AND THEIR LIQUIDATION BY THE STATE SECURITY AGENCIES OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR (the second half of the 1950s – first half of the 1970s)

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to characterize the activities, exposure, and liquidation of underground patriotic youth associations by the Republic's state security agencies during the period under analysis. The methodological basis of the research is the principles of scientific objectivity,*

systematicity, verification, and historicism. Both general scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization) and special historical (historical and comparative, historical and genetic, historical and systemic) methods have been used. **The scientific novelty** of the research results is determined by the fact that, based on the unpublished archival materials mostly, the activities and liquidation of opposition youth organizations and groups by the state security bodies of the Republic during the period under study have been analysed. **Conclusions.** The mid-1950s were marked by the emergence of a new stage in the national liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people – the transition to unarmed resistance to the Soviet regime. Having taken advantage of the political thaw, the opposition organizations of patriotic youth emerged: the United Party for the Liberation of Ukraine (1955); the Ukrainian National Front (1964); For Free Ukraine (1965); the Volia Committee (1969); the Organization of Ukrainian Youth of Galicia (1972); the Golden Four (1973), and other underground youth groups. Their participants spoke out against the administrative command pressure and arbitrariness of the communist regime, violations of the rule of law, the implementation of the policy of Russification in Ukraine, fought for civil liberties, the national rights of the Ukrainian people, conducted anti-Soviet agitation, discussed ways of fighting for independent Ukraine, etc. The Republic's state security organs, guided by the instructions of the party and Soviet bodies, made enormous efforts to expose and eliminate opposition youth organizations and groups, often using extremely harsh sanctions provided for by the Criminal Code.

Key words: underground youth organizations and groups, state security bodies of the Ukrainian SSR, Ukrainian nationalists, anti-Soviet activities, arrests.

ПІДПІЛЬНІ ОБ'ЄДНАННЯ ПАТРІОТИЧНОЇ МОЛОДІ ТА ЇХ ЛІКВІДАЦІЯ ОРГАНАМИ ДЕРЖАВНОЇ БЕЗПЕКИ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ РСР (друга половина 1950-х – перша половина 1970-х рр.)

Анотація. Мета статті – представити результати дослідження діяльності і ліквідації органами державної безпеки УРСР підпільних об'єднань патріотичної молоді у другій половині 1950-х – першій половині 1970-х рр. **Методологічною основою дослідження** стали принципи наукової об'єктивності, системності, верифікації та історизму. Використано і загальнонаукові (аналіз, синтез, узагальнення), і спеціально-історичні (історико-порівняльний, історико-генетичний, історико-системний) методи. **Наукова новизна** одержаних результатів визначається тим, що на основі переважно неопублікованих архівних матеріалів простежено діяльність і ліквідацію органами державної безпеки республіки опозиційних молодіжних організацій та груп зазначеного періоду. **Висновки.** Середина 50-х рр. XX ст. ознаменувалася новим етапом національно-визвольної боротьби українського народу – переходом до беззбройного опору радянському режимові. Скориставшись політичною відлигою, виникають опозиційні об'єднання патріотичної молоді: Об'єднана партія визволення України (1955); Український національний фронт (1964); За вільну Україну (1965); Комітет Воля (1969); Спілка української молоді Галичини (1972); Золота четвірка (1973), інші підпільні молодіжні групи. Їхні учасники виступали проти адміністративно-командного тиску та свавілля комуністичного режиму, порушення законності, здійснення політики русифікації в Україні, боролися за громадянські свободи, національні права українського народу, проводили антирадянську агітацію, обговорювали шляхи боротьби за самостійну Україну тощо. Органи державної безпеки республіки, керуючись вказівками партійних і радянських органів, докладали величезних зусиль для викриття та ліквідації опозиційних молодіжних організацій і груп, нерідко використовуючи при цьому передбачені Кримінальним кодексом надзвичайно жорстокі санкції.

Ключові слова: підпільні молодіжні організації та групи, органи державної безпеки УРСР, українські націоналісти, антирадянська діяльність, арешти.

Problem Statement. In the mid-1950s, a new stage of the Ukrainian national liberation struggle began. It became clear that the armed struggle against the Soviet regime had exhausted itself. Political changes in the Soviet Union, partial shaking of power structures, the brutal suppression of a public uprising in the Polish city of Poznan in 1956 and the anti-communist uprising in Hungary contributed to the opposition's transition to the implementation of the

national idea peacefully. Despite the understanding of the repression threat by the ruling regime, the underground organizations and groups emerged in the Ukrainian SSR. Among them, youth groups occupied a prominent place, and the repressive authorities focused their efforts on exposing and eliminating them.

Review of Recent Research and Publications. The activities of underground patriotic youth associations and their liquidation by the state security agencies of the Ukrainian SSR during the post-war period attracted the attention of domestic historians not as a direct subject of research, but as a component of broader scientific problems mainly. Oleh Bazhan (Bazhan, 1999), Yuriy Danyliuk (Bazhan, & Danyliuk, 2000), Yuriy Zaitsev (Zaitsev, 2007), Borys Zakharov (Zakharov, 2003), Hryhoriy Kasianov (Kasianov, 1995), Mykola Kostyrko (Kostyrko, 2024), Yuriy Kurnosov (Kurnosov, 1994), R. Kovaliuk (Kovaliuk, 2001), T. Marusyk (Marusyk, 1999), Radomyr Mokryk (Mokryk, 2023), A. Rusnachenko (Rusnachenko, 1998) and the others contributed to the coverage of a number of aspects of the specified issue during the period under analysis.

The purpose of the article is to characterize the activities, exposure, and liquidation of underground patriotic youth associations by the Republic's state security agencies during the period under analysis.

Research Results. The death of the Soviet dictator J. Stalin, the arrest and execution of the Minister of Internal Affairs L. Beriia, and the decisions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU accelerated the process of de-Stalinization, causing, in particular, certain positive changes in the activities of punitive and repressive bodies, the rehabilitation of victims of Bolshevik repressions, the return of participants in the underground insurgent movement from camps and special settlements, and some weakening of domestic political terror. However, its ambiguity, contradictions, a strict control, and restrictions on democratic changes in the Soviet Union, including the Ukrainian SSR, gave rise to a new stage of ruthless suppression of any instances of dissent (Bazhan, 1999, pp. 476–479; Trofymovych, 2021, pp. 25–26). This fact is confirmed, in particular, by the letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU “On Strengthening the Political Work of Party Organizations among the Masses and Suppressing the Raids of Anti-Soviet Hostile Elements” dated December 12, 1956, the discussion of which turned into a political campaign that overturned the positive results of the de-Stalinization policy (Bazhan, 1999, pp. 476–477). Evidence of the latter was, for example, that in 1954 – 1959 the Republic's state security organs discovered 183 “nationalist and other anti-Soviet organizations” and brought 1,789 people to criminal responsibility for belonging to them. In total, over 3,000 people were under their supervision at that time (Zaitsev, 2007, p. 323).

In 1955, the United Party for the Liberation of Ukraine was founded in Ivano-Frankivsk region, the first members of which were students and young workers. Although it was formed on the principles of the OUN and UPA, its direction of action was entirely propagandistic. This underground organization carried out agitation work among local residents, distributed printed leaflets. Vasyl Ploshchak, Ivan Strutynskyi, and Bohdan Tymkiv developed the charter. Its other members – the programme and the text of the oath. “We decided,” recalled Bohdan Hermaniuk, “to conduct agitation work and call on all of Ukraine, all of our Ukrainian people, to fight: religious people, intellectuals, and workers – we meant to involve everyone in this fight. In addition, we had intentions to contact other republics: Belarus, Estonia, Latvia, Georgia, because even then we understood that if we all fought together, the Soviet Union would not be able to resist, and that is why, we had the idea to unite all the republics and our entire Ukrainian people to fight for an independent Ukraine” (Zakharov, 2003, p. 65).

However, they were not destined to leave the Republic: on December 4, 1958, 28 people were arrested and interrogated, of whom 8 were convicted. In particular, Bohdan Hermaniuk, Ivan Strutynskyi, Yarema Tkachuk, Myroslav Ploshchak, and Bohdan Tymkiv were imprisoned for 10 years (Zakharov, 2003, p. 65).

In the spring of 1956, the KGB exposed the youth nationalist organization in the capital of the Republic, led by I. Dovhoruk, a first-year student at the Faculty of Philology of Taras Shevchenko Kyiv State University. It included a student of the Polytechnic Institute V. Naumenko and a student of the School of Applied Arts S. Usyk. During their arrest, calls to fight against the Soviet regime and three combat grenades with charges were found (SSA SSU), f. 16, c. 0911, pp. 110–111).

In February of 1958, the KGB exposed the Ukrainian nationalist group among the students of Kyiv Pedagogical Institute of Foreign Languages. A fifth-year student Sirenko, whose father had been arrested twice for nationalist activities, and a second-year students Hnatkevych, whose father died in the OUN underground, and the mother was convicted for participating in the latter, and Skurativsky were sentenced to various prison terms, the two others were expelled from the institute, and six were given “preventive conversations”. The investigation found out that the students had discussed the ways to fight for independent Ukraine. They also planned to recruit new people to their organization and organize the production and distribution of leaflets (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 0917, pp. 302–304).

As of April 16, 1959, the state security agencies recorded “the activities of youth groups of Ukrainian nationalists” in Lviv, Stanislaviv, Rivne, and Kyiv (SSA SSU, f. 1, c. 0919, p. 89).

On January 6, 1961, the KGB Department of Lviv region exposed the youth nationalist organization in the village of Kupychvolya, Nesterivskyi district, founded in 1958 by Volodymyr Vyniarsky, a 20-year-old handyman at the inter-collective farm construction office. It consisted of 12 residents of this village aged 16 to 20. They held several meetings in the forest and in their homes, where they discussed ways to carry out the anti-Soviet propaganda, oppose youth joining the Komsomol, acquire weapons, and destroy collective farm property. While carrying out the organization’s tasks, in November of 1960, Adam Levytsky set fire to stacks of collective farm straw, and other participants produced and distributed anti-Soviet leaflets in their village twice. During the arrests, the KGB officers seized two firearms. V. Vyniarsky and A. Levytsky were brought to criminal responsibility, and the others were “prevented” (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 0930, pp. 76–77).

At the beginning of the 1960s, such a form of national liberation struggle as dissent began to assert itself more clearly. The latter, according to the definition of Yu. Kurnosov, “is the struggle against the policy of the Soviet regime, which denied the identity of the Ukrainian people, the struggle for national liberation, a human dignity, respect for human rights regardless of race, nationality, religion, political beliefs, against any forms of dictatorship” (Kurnosov, 1994, p. 6).

It is also worth noting that at the beginning of the 1960s, special units of foreign centres of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, decided to abandon efforts to revive the Ukrainian liberation movement in the Republic finally, relying on former participants of the latter. This time they placed their main hope on a younger generation and creative intelligentsia, establishing contacts with them and supporting them (Antoniuk, & Trofymovych, 2021, p. 119).

In October of 1964, the first issue of the underground typewritten journal “Volia i Batkivshchyna” (Freedom and Homeland) was published. Its appearance marked the beginning of the activities of the Ukrainian National Front (UNF). The founder of the secret organization was Dmytro Kvetsko, a graduate of the History Department of Ivan Franko State University of Lviv (1963). The day before, he had developed drafts of its manifesto and charter, formulated the name, and prepared a number of articles for the planned magazine. At the same time, he was joined by a former illegal OUN member, a political prisoner Zinoviy Krasivsky, who graduated from the Philological Faculty of this University in 1962 and who took up editing and printing “Volia i Batkivshchyna”. Gradually, the organization was replenished with new members: in 1966, its membership included over 150 people. Among them there was a former UPA member and political prisoner, a participant in the Norilsk Uprising of 1953, a classmate of Zinoviy, Myroslav Melen, who soon became the organizer of one of the UNF groups operating outside Lviv. Another of its groups was headed by Ivan Hubka. Its members reprinted and distributed “Volia i Batkivshchyna”, the OUN and UPA publications, raised funds for editorial needs, and made contacts with representatives of the opposition movement in other cities and towns of the Republic (Zaitsev, 2007, p. 326).

Living in Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Chernivtsi, Kirovohrad, and Donetsk regions, the UNF members managed to build a fairly effective underground network. They created their own programme, “Tactics of the UNF,” which resembled the goals of the OUN. According to it, a “cash fund” was established, underground members wrote their own oath, received pseudonyms, and there were appointed territories for their activity. In addition to the aforementioned magazine “Volia i Batkivshchyna”, the OUN brochures of the 1948 edition were distributed. In total, the KGB officers recorded 29 cases of anti-Soviet activity of the UNF. Thus, on April 19, 1966, underground members posted nationalist leaflets in Kyiv, and on October 30 of the same year, in the town of Bolekhiv, Ivano-Frankivsk region, they damaged the monument to Lenin and left the OUN publications near it. They considered “true patriots of Ukraine” – I. Dziuba, I. Svitlychnyi and V. Chornovil – to be their authorities (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 0990, pp. 251–253; f. 16, c. 0957, pp. 354–362).

However, in March of 1967, the leaders of the UNF were arrested and convicted. Thus, D. Kvetsko was sentenced to 20 years (5 years in prison, 10 years in camps, 5 years in exile). At the beginning of the 1990s, all of them were rehabilitated, and in 1995, Lviv regional organization of the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists decided to revive the publication “Volia i Batkivshchyna” under the editorship of Ivan Hubko (Zaitsev, 2007, p. 326).

In the village of Koropets, Monastyrsky district, Ternopil region, the KGB officers discovered the youth nationalist organization “For Free Ukraine”. It consisted of 15 young men and women, members of the Komsomol, mostly the 10th-grade students of a local school. Its leaders were 18-year-old Volodymyr Rozhniv and 20-year-old Stepan Melnyk. They tried to develop the text of an anti-Soviet leaflet and reproduce it by printing using a self-made cliché. To this end, they intended to steal a font from the district publishing house and purchase firearms. They planned to spread this propaganda in Ternopil, Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, and other towns of Western Ukraine.

According to the investigation, they were prompted to take anti-Soviet actions by listening to the broadcasts of the radio station “Svoboda”. Therefore, in agreement with Ternopil regional committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine and the regional prosecutor’s office, it was decided to conduct “prevention” among the organization’s members at a public meeting

in the village of Koropets. The meeting took place on January 20, 1967, with the participation of about 900 people. After the speech of the head of the regional KGB, the suspects were heard. They all “admitted their guilt”, asked for forgiveness and promised “to justify the trust given to them with honest work and good behaviour”. Then, 12 representatives of the intelligentsia, collective farms, youth, as well as the secretary of the district party committee and the regional prosecutor spoke out in condemnation of their activities. At the end of the meeting, the decision was made not to bring the detainees to criminal responsibility, but to take them on bail by the public (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 0981, pp. 24–27).

On February 19, 1969, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Petro Shelest, was informed of the distribution of leaflets in the premises of Lutsk Pedagogical Institute. The content of the leaflets was as follows: “Students! The time has come for us, as the youth of Czechoslovakia, to rise up to fight against the wrong policy of the Soviet government, against the yoke imposed on the Ukrainian people! The Soviet government must die a violent death, because it is leading our people to destruction! We must take to the streets, not attend History classes and some other subjects classes, at which demagogic ideas of fanatical communism are imposed on us and people are turned into puppets. Everyone on strike! Underground organization of the LPI” (Kucherepa & Sushchuk, 2012, p. 139).

On the same day, local KGB officers opened a criminal case against the student of this University, Volodymyr Topchiiy, for distributing the aforementioned leaflets. According to the investigation materials, while listening to banned Western radio stations about current domestic and international events, he decided to use his vision of the latter in the form of a leaflet. In addition, the content of the latter was announced at a meeting of student activists. V. Topchiiy was arrested and sentenced to four years in a labour camp (Kucherepa, & Sushchuk, 2012, p. 139).

On November 6, 1969, in the village of Bilyatychi, Sarny district, Rivne region, a Physical Education teacher at a local school, a part-time student at Ternopil Pedagogical College, Serhiy Veres, and a master of industrial training for civil defense courses at Sarny district executive committee, Hryhoriy Kaliush, founded the youth nationalist organization “The Volia Committee” (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 0986, p. 310). It included local residents: an assistant projectionist of the village club Mykola Teremok, a student of Dubrovytsia Vocational School Mykola Stelmakh, a student of the 9th grade at Sarny secondary school Vasyl Mirko, a mechanizer of the collective farm in the village of Biliatychi Stepan Kravchuk. By order of S. Veres, all members of “The Volia Committee” took an oath of non-disclosure of organizational secrets, which was sealed with blood. They developed a method of behaviour in case of failure. During the period until April 14, 1970, they produced and distributed six anti-Soviet leaflets calling for the fight for Independent Ukraine (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 0987, pp. 165–167).

On April 28, 1970, S. Veres was arrested by the KGB officers. During his interrogations, it turned out that the ideologist and founder of “The Volia Committee” was H. Kaliush. In view of this, on August 7 of the same year, the latter was also detained (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 0983, p. 157).

During interrogations, H. Kaliush behaved strangely. He refused to testify. In connection with this, he was sent for a forensic psychiatric examination. According to the doctors’ conclusion, at the time of the creation of “The Volia Committee” he was sane. However, during the investigation he fell ill with a temporary mental disorder in the form of reactive

psychosis. By the decision of the Board of Rivne Regional Court of November 2, 1970, he was sent to a specialized hospital.

As for the fate of S. Veres, he was sentenced under Art. 62 Part 1 and Art. 64 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to two years in prison. As for the other members of "The Volia Committee", "taking into account their youth and sincere repentance", only "preventive" measures were taken by the KGB (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 0987, pp. 167–168).

In the winter of 1972, young workers and students in Ivano-Frankivsk region (mostly fellow villagers born in 1948 from the village of Pechenizhyn, Kolomyia district, who worked in Kolomyia or studied in other towns) founded an underground organization, "The Organization of Ukrainian Youth of Galicia". It included the founder of the latter, a locksmith, a secretary of the Komsomol organization of the mechanized column Dmytro Hryniv, as well as Dmytro Demydiv, Ivan Shovkovy, Mykola Mokriuk, Roman Chupriy and the others. There were 10 members. It is characteristic that in their minds nationalist ideas were combined with the communist ideology that was imposed on them at Soviet schools and universities. Therefore, although the "Organization" was founded on the principles of the OUN, its members dreamed of an independent Ukrainian socialist state modelled on the Polish People's Republic or the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic (Zakharov, 2003, p. 73; Rusnachenko, 1998, p. 206). The members of the Organization gathered information about the underground insurgent movement, searched for the OUN literature and weapons. Their plans included making contacts with similar organizations, including foreign ones, distributing samvydav, developing and approving the programme of the Organization. Everyone chose a pseudonym. For example, Roman Chupriy – "Khmel". They instructed the leader – D. Hryniv and his deputy – D. Demydiv to develop the organization's charter and programme. Each member of the "Organization" received an individual task. In particular, M. Motriuk had to collect evidence about the former UPA sotnyi "Orel" and the district leader of the OUN, as well as obtain several copies of the OUN literature, which described the facts of "national oppression," and record local rebel songs. I. Shovkovy prepared Vasyl Kuzenk for admission to the organization, and R. Chupriy – Ivan Chupriy. They completed the tasks set successfully.

In the summer of 1972, M. Motriuk and I. Shovkovy stole "Aida" tape recorder to record the speeches of the assembly participants. D. Hryniv found a cache of a German rifle and 40 live cartridges in a local resident's household. In addition, he kept a small-caliber rifle stolen in 1963 from Kolomyia school by M. Motriuk. In December, V. Kuzenko was appointed "a commandant of the fighting unit," responsible for conducting fire training among the organization's members in the forest outside the town. On March 14, 1973, all members of the "Union of Ukrainian Youth of Galicia" were arrested by the KGB officers (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1021, pp. 30–33). Although the detainees admitted their guilt and repented, they were sentenced. After 5 months, four of them were tried. In particular, D. Hryniv was sentenced to 7 years in strict regime camps and 3 years of exile (Zakharov, 2003, p. 73; Rusnachenko, 1998, p. 208).

It should be noted that during the period under analysis, the Ukrainian youth were significantly influenced by the socio-political, journalistic, and human rights activities of prominent figures in the dissident movement, in particular Viacheslav Chornovil (Mankovska, 2018, p. 231).

As follows from B. Paska's publications, in the spring of 1972, the students of Taras Shevchenko Kyiv State University, Ivan Haiduk, Vasyl Ovsienko, and Raisa Sydorenko,

were involved in the preparation of Issue 6 of “Ukrainian Herald”. It was she who printed ten copies of it, as well as six copies of Valentin Moroz’s essay “Instead of the Last Word”, which V. Ovsienko gave to reliable people and informed the students he trusted of the content (Paska, 2024, p. 229). By the way, after graduating from the University, V. Ovsienko got a job as a teacher in the village of Teshan, Kyiv region. There he wrote a number of works in which he criticized the Soviet government and educated school students in the national spirit. On March 5, 1973, V. Ovsienko was detained and later arrested. During the investigation, threatening to send him to a psychiatric hospital, the punitive authorities got information about the preparation of the aforementioned “Ukrainian Herald”. Although at the trial (November 21 – December 6, 1973) he was forced to plead guilty, gave evidence about his opposition activity, and also “condemned his anti-Soviet nationalist activities, and expressed assurances that he would atone for his guilt before the Soviet people with his honest work”, V. Ovsienko was sentenced to four years in prison (Paska, 2024, p. 236).

At the beginning of the 1970s, several unannounced disparate groups emerged among the students at Ivan Franko State University of Lviv. For example, one of them included second-year History students who organized a group that was an alternative to the official group studying History of Ukraine. Its first participants were Stepan Sluka, Ihor Kozhan, Roman Kozovyk, Ivan Svarnyk. Soon they were joined by freshmen Ihor Khudiy, Leonid Filonov, and a fourth-year honors student, a member of the faculty bureau of the LKSMU, and a deputy of the regional council, Mariana Dolynska. Since the autumn of 1972, this circle began to evolve towards an illegal organization. The members of the group read and distributed the papers of Ivan Dziuba, Valentyn Moroz, Viacheslav Chornovil, other samvydav materials, and prepared a draft programme of their activities, “The Main Tasks of Modern Revolutionary Movement in Ukraine”. It followed that the members of the circle were an underground youth organization striving for the independence of the Ukrainian SSR. The programme was to be implemented through scientific and educational activities, the publication of its own printed organ, and subversive actions in the Soviet and party structures.

During the March Shevchenko celebrations of 1973, the historians’ circle of students of History, together with a group of Philology students led by Zorian Popadiuk, distributed 300 leaflets prepared by the latter in Lviv, protesting against the authorities’ curtailment of the celebrations. On the night of March 28, the participants of the action were arrested. Z. Popadiuk was sentenced to 7 years of strict regime and 5 years of exile, the others were expelled from the Komsomol, expelled from the university, and drafted into the army (Zaitsev, 2007, p. 340).

It is characteristic that Z. Popadiuk was not stopped being watched even in prison. For this purpose, a political prisoner named “Travnevy” was recruited, who quickly gained Zorian’s trust and provided the KGB with valuable information about the latter’s activities, and soon after his release by the state security agencies, he was immersed in the dissident community. According to B. Paska, “Travnevy” is Liubomyr Starosolsky, who was then serving his sentence in the Mordovian camp. (Paska, 2022, p. 231).

An important method of the state security agencies’ struggle with “Ukrainian nationalists” was the implementation of “preventive measures”. Their task was to “re-educate” a person who had not yet had time to commit “criminal” actions. Thus, in 1967 – 1969 they “prevented” 6,764 people. “They stopped the foundation of 332 anti-Soviet organizations, which included 1,360 people. Of these, 116 were youth groups with 537 participants” (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 0981, pp. 17–18).

Thus, Volyn region KGB learned that the 26-year-old head of the village library, Oleksiy Pinchuk, tried to involve his former classmates – Yarmolchuk, Tomchuk and the others – in the creation of a youth nationalist group. His task was to renew the struggle for independent Ukraine. On May 13, 1967, the secretary of Lutsk district committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, representatives of the collective farm party organization and the village council held a “preventive conversation” with O. Pinchuk. Explaining the motives for his actions, the latter stated that he hated the Soviet government because of his difficult financial situation. He observed the unprofessionalism and abuses of the collective farm management. In addition, a teacher at Lutsk Pedagogical Institute, Ivashchenko, who was arrested in 1965 for anti-Soviet agitation, had a great influence on him. O. Pinchuk “fully admitted his guilt, asked for forgiveness and promised to change” (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 0981, p. 23).

In January of 1975, the state security agencies received information about the existence of the nationalist youth group “Golden Four” in the village of Surazh, Shumsky district, Ternopil region, which had firearms at its disposal. It was found out that in the summer of 1973 it was founded by an 18-year-old local resident, the Komsomol member Volodymyr Matsiuk. The group was joined by 15- and 16-year-old students of Surazh school – Vasyl Maniak, Mykhailo Yakymchuk, Mykhailo Diachykhyn, and Ihor Shvets. After V. Matsiuk moved to the town of Pershotravneve, Donetsk region, where he got a job as a senior economist at the district finance department, they were led by V. Maniak. They searched for abandoned OUN and UPA hideouts. They found a carbine, a rifle, a homemade pistol and cartridges with which they practiced shooting in the forest. The group did not plan to carry out any more active actions. Only once V. Maniak allegedly suggested the teenagers killing a local resident A. Yakymchuk, who participated in the liquidation of the OUN members, including his relatives. Given the minor nature of the guilt, the KGB decided not to prosecute the members of the youth group. On March 14, 1975, their weapons were confiscated and a “preventive conversation” was held. All the detainees assured that they would not do anything like that in the future. (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1043, pp. 29–30).

Conclusions. As we can see, the political thaw that began in the mid-1950s contributed to the emergence of a number of opposition youth organizations and groups in the Ukrainian SSR, among which the Ukrainian National Front, the Organization of Ukrainian Youth of Galicia, and underground student groups in universities in Kyiv, Lviv, and other cities of the Republic occupied a prominent place. Their protest activities focused on distributing leaflets with anti-Soviet content, underground publications of the OUN and UPA, *samvydav*, defending the national rights of the Ukrainian people, civil liberties, condemning the policy of the imperial centre aimed at the Russification of the Ukrainian people, denying its history, traditions, and culture, as well as considering ways to leave the USSR and gain Ukraine’s independence.

The reaction to their activities was political repression by the state security agencies, which took judicial and extrajudicial forms, and used the harsh sanctions provided for by the Criminal Code.

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**SPECIAL OPERATION OF THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE DIRECTORATE
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA “AERODYNAMICS”
AND THE SPLIT IN THE FOREIGN UNITS OF THE ORGANIZATION
OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS IN 1954**

Abstract. *The purpose* is to do the research on the impact of the US CIA special operation “Aerodynamics” on the split in the OUN Foreign Units in 1954. **The research methodology** is based on adherence to the principles of historicism, objectivity, and scientificity using specific historical, comparative historical, problem chronological, and structural systemic methods. **The scientific novelty** of the article consists in the fact that for the first time, based on the declassified CIA documents, the OUN archives, domestic archives, and foreign printed sources, there has been analysed the influence of the CIA on the activities of the Ukrainian emigration nationalist organizations of the OUN Foreign Units and Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council.

Conclusions. In the context of the Cold War aggravation, the CIA studied the activities of Eastern European émigré groups for the purpose of cooperation and among the Ukrainians identified the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) as such. The cooperation began in 1948 under the code name “Aerodynamics” and lasted until 1990. The first stage of the operation was the penetration of CIA agents into Ukraine, and after 1954 it was carried out in the form of cooperation with the Research and Publishing Association “Prolog”.

In 1948, at the Second Extraordinary Conference of the OUN Foreign Units, the first stage of internal discussion was completed, and the participants of the opposition, based on Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council, voluntarily resigned from their mandates as members of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council and the OUN Foreign Units. The offer of cooperation, financial and material support received from the CIA changed their behavior; they announced the withdrawal of their resignation and stated that they would continue their activities independently. After this, the internal conflict in the OUN Foreign Units got a new momentum.

In 1948 – 1954, cooperating with Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council, the CIA made efforts to discredit its opponents. The CIA demanded from the British intelligence

MI6 to abandon cooperation with S. Bandera and the OUN Foreign Units, and among the leadership of the Ukrainian underground, the document "Political Position of the United States Government" was distributed prepared by the CIA employees, which expressed support for the Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council and condemned the activities of S. Bandera and the OUN Foreign Units. Such actions also contributed to the aggravation of the internal conflict in the OUN Foreign Units, which ended in a split in 1954.

Key words: US CIA, special operation "Aerodynamics", the OUN Foreign Units, Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council, Research and Publishing Association "Prolog".

СПЕЦОПЕРАЦІЯ ЦЕНТРАЛЬНОГО РОЗВІДУВАЛЬНОГО УПРАВЛІННЯ СПОЛУЧЕНИХ ШТАТІВ АМЕРИКИ "АЕРОДИНАМІКА" І РОЗКОЛ ЗАКОРДОННИХ ЧАСТИН ОРГАНІЗАЦІЇ УКРАЇНСЬКИХ НАЦІОНАЛІСТІВ У 1954 р.

Анотація. Метою дослідження є аналіз впливу спецоперації "Аеродинаміка" ЦРУ США на розкол в Закордонних Частинах Організації Українських Націоналістів (ЗЧ ОУН) 1954 р. **Методологія дослідження** базувалася на дотриманні принципів історизму, об'єктивності та науковості із використанням конкретно-історичного, порівняльно-історичного, проблемно-хронологічного та структурно-системного методів. **Наукова новизна** статті полягає у тому, що вперше на основі розсекречених документів ЦРУ, архівів ОУН, вітчизняних архівів та іноземних друкованих джерел проаналізовано вплив ЦРУ на діяльність українських еміграційних націоналістичних структур ЗЧ ОУН та ЗП УГВР.

Висновки. В умовах загострення "холодної війни" ЦРУ вивчило з метою співпраці діяльність східноєвропейських емігрантських груп й серед українських визначило такою ЗП УГВР. Вона розпочалася в 1948 р. під кодовою назвою "Аеродинаміка" і тривала до 1990 р. Перший етап операції зводився до проникнення агентів ЦРУ в Україну, а після 1954 р. вона здійснювалася у формі співпраці з науково-видавничою асоціацією "Пролог".

У 1948 р. на Другій надзвичайній конференції ЗЧ ОУН завершився перший етап внутрішньої дискусії, і учасники опозиції, що базувалася в ЗП УГВР, добровільно склали мандати членів УГВР та Проводу ЗЧ. Отримана від ЦРУ пропозиція до співпраці та фінансово-матеріальна підтримка змінили їхню поведінку, вони оголосили про відкликання відставки та заявили, що будуть самостійно продовжувати діяльність. Після цього внутрішній конфлікт в ЗЧ ОУН набув нового імпульсу.

Співпрацюючи із ЗП УГВР протягом 1948–1954 рр., ЦРУ докладала зусиль до дискредитації його опонентів. Перед британською розвідкою MI6 воно вимагало відмовитися від співпраці з С. Бандерою і Проводом ЗЧ ОУН, а серед керівництва українського підпілля поширювався виготовлений його співробітниками документ "Політична позиція уряду Сполучених Штатів", в якому виявлялася прихильність до ЗП УГВР та засуджувалася діяльність С. Бандери і Проводу ЗЧ. Такі дії також сприяли загостренню внутрішнього конфлікту в ЗЧ ОУН, який в 1954 р. завершився розколом.

Ключові слова: ЦРУ США, спецоперація "Аеродинаміка", Закордонні Частини ОУН, Закордонне Представництво УГВР, науково-видавнича асоціація "Пролог".

Problem Statement. Under the conditions of the Ukrainian society's resistance to Moscow aggression, modern studies of Ukrainian emigration focus on a new dimension. The war forced millions of Ukrainian citizens to change their way of life radically. Many of them, under pressure of circumstances, ended up abroad. Having adapted to a new social environment, they begin to make social ties and unite in existing Ukrainian emigration institutions, or establish new ones. At the same time, like their predecessors, the Ukrainians encounter the influence factor of the special services of different states on their activities. In this case, the experience of their predecessors is a valuable tool for adequately responding to

such attempts. Carrying out the process of ideological decolonization (Ilnytskyi, & Starka, 2024, p. 188) and debunking the crimes of the Soviet totalitarian regime, one should avoid an uncritical attitude towards the policies of other states, pragmatically subordinated to their national interests. Therefore, this article focuses on revealing the influence of Western special services on the Foreign Units (FU) of the OUN, which held leadership positions among the Ukrainian emigration during the post-war period (Antoniuk, & Trofymovych, 2021, p. 115).

Review of Recent Research and Publications. In their activities the OUN Foreign Units were subject to two-way influence of the Soviet and Western intelligence services. Against the background of a rather fragmentary coverage of their history (Sych, 2024, pp. 112–113), the influence of the Soviet special services and the confrontation with them of the Security Service (SB) of the OUN Foreign Units are elucidated in the studies by Yaroslav Antoniuk and Volodymyr Trofymovych (Antoniuk, & Trofymovych, 2021, p. 2021), Dmytro Viedienieiev and Hennadiy Bystrukhin (Viedienieiev, & Bystrukhin, 2006; Viedienieiev, & Bystrukhin, 2007), Vasyl Ilnytskyi and Mykola Haliv (Ilnytskyi, & Haliv, 2019; Ilnytskyi, & Haliv, 2020), Vasyl Ilnytskyi and Vitalii Telvak (Ilnytskyi, & Telvak, 2018).

At the same time, the influence of the Western special services on the OUN Foreign Units is less studied. The article by D. Viedienieiev and Oleksandr Lysenko is of a framework conceptual nature (Viedienieiev, & Lysenko, 2009). A more detailed account of the cooperation of the OUN Foreign Units opposition with the American intelligence services is provided in the book by Anatol Kaminskyi (Kaminskyi, 2009). A deeper understanding of the cooperation is provided in the studies by American historians Richard Brightman, Norman Goda, Timothy Naftali and Robert Wolf (Breitman, Goda, Naftali, & Wolfe, 2005; Breitman, & Goda, 2012). The studies are based on the documents of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the CIC (Counter Intelligence Corps) declassified after the US Congress passed the Nazi War Crimes Disclosure Act in 1998.

The purpose of this study is to analyse the impact of the CIA of the United States of America (USA) Operation “Aerodynamics” on the split in the OUN Foreign Units in 1954. To achieve the goal, in addition to published domestic and foreign studies, declassified documents of the US CIA, little-studied documents of the OUN Archival Collection in New York (USA) (AZNYU OUN), and the Branch State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine (BSA SBU) have been used.

Research Results. In 1945, even at the final stage of World War II, owing to the efforts of two groups of leading figures of the OUN-Bandera (OUN-b), who had found their way abroad through various means, the OUN Foreign Center (FC) was established. In 1946, it was transformed into the OUN Foreign Units, which split in 1954. A group of activists opposed to the OUN Foreign Units broke away from them and united on the basis of the Foreign Representation of the the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council, and established the nationalist formation OUN-abroad. This split was the result of permanent discussions that arose between the two groups at the stage of the creation of the OUN Foreign Center and lasted until 1954. The first of them included leading figures of the OUN-b of the pre-war period, led by S. Bandera, who at the final stage of the war were released from German prisons and concentration camps. The second group consisted mainly of those members whom the underground leadership of the OUN-b had sent abroad from Ukraine to organize work and support the national liberation struggle (Sych, 2024a, p. 179).

Chronologically historians single out two periods concerning the split issue: 1946 – 1948 and 1949 – 1953 (Krychevskyi, 1962, p. 24). The end of the “first” opposition was the Second

Extraordinary Conference of the OUN Foreign Units in August of 1948, which condemned its actions. As a result, the opposition representatives Dariya Rebet, Ivan Hryniokh, Vasyl Okhrimovych, Myroslav Prokop, and Zenoviy Martsiuk surrendered their mandates as members of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council and members of the OUN Foreign Units. However, shortly after the conference, unexpectedly they announced that they were withdrawing their resignation and would continue their activities independently (Mudryk-Mechnyk, 1995, p. 18).

At the second stage of the internal conflict in the OUN Foreign Units, the Soviet special services managed to penetrate the “regional” communication system and capture courier groups of the OUN Foreign Units and the opposition, which were landed in Ukraine in May of 1951 with the help of the British and American intelligence, respectively, and radio stations, ciphers, etc. with them. In the course of skillfully staged radio plays under the code names “Zvieno”, “Trasa”, “Kometa”, the conflict in the OUN Foreign Units was brought to extreme tension (Viedienieiev, & Bystrukhin, 2007, p. 165). Therefore, the influence of the Soviet special services on the split in the OUN Foreign Units in 1954 is undeniable.

At the same time, the influence of Western special services on the development of the internal situation in the OUN Foreign Units during this period requires additional study.

The head of the Security Service (SB) of the OUN Foreign Units, Stepan Mudryk, explained the unexpected change in the behaviour of the opposition members after the Second Conference of the OUN Foreign Units by the fact that they had established contact with American intelligence and reached an agreement on cooperation with it (Mudryk-Mechnyk, 1995, p. 18). The fact that the opposition “had crawled up to its ears into the American pocket” was also stated by Stepan Bandera in his letter of September 5, 1952 to the OUN Leadership in Ukraine, arguing for his resignation from the post of Head of the OUN Leadership (OUN Archive Collection in New York City – OUN ACNY, A., p. 1).

It should be noted that the reaction of opposition members to such accusations was ambiguous. For example, Roman Krychevsky-Ilnytskyi called them a manifestation of “dirty propaganda” (Krychevskyi, 1962, p. 108). At the same time, the fact of the opposition’s cooperation with American intelligence is confirmed by another member of the opposition, Yevhen Stakhiv (Stakhiv, 1995, p. 260). Even more frank is A. Kaminskyi, who clearly indicates that the cooperation of the Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council with the CIA began in 1948 and confirms S. Mudryk’s words about a significant role played in its establishment by Yevhen Vretsona’s contacts with American intelligence services in Switzerland and M. Lebed’s contacts with American diplomatic circles and representatives of intelligence services in Rome (Kaminskyi, 2009, pp. 50, 55, 59).

Thus, the substantive interest of the US intelligence services in Ukrainian émigré nationalist circles dates back to 1948. In the context of the unfolding Cold War and the real threat of a new war in Europe, the CIA studied the activities of 30 émigré groups from Eastern Europe and their ability for substantive cooperation. In the Ukrainian segment, the so-called “Hryniokh-Lebed group” was recommended as “the best organization for underground activities” and as one that, compared to Bandera’s group, “represented a moderate, stable and operationally secure group with the most reliable connections with the Ukrainian underground in the USSR” (Breitman, & Goda, 2012, p. 86).

However, such a conclusion by the CIA does not seem entirely logical, because the information it had showed that S. Bandera enjoyed the support of 80% of his compatriots

who originated from Western Ukraine, he was recognized as their leader by the majority of the UPA fighters who fought their way into the American occupation zone of Germany, and that the organization he led “had a complex courier system that reached Ukraine”. Even under the conditions of the unfolding conflict with the opposition, led by M. Lebed and I. Hryniokh, S. Bandera controlled 80% of the membership of the OUN Foreign Units (Breitman, & Goda, 2012, pp. 78–79).

Apparently, the main reason for choosing not to favour the “Bandera group” was that the American intelligence services had already formed an unfavourable attitude towards the group. The US Army Intelligence SIS (SIS – Secret Intelligence Service) first became interested in S. Bandera in September of 1945. Knowing that he was actively engaged in anti-Soviet activities and fearing that this would have serious consequences for the Soviet-American relations, SIS took measures to search for S. Bandera and was even ready to “get rid of him”. It is characteristic that this was done at the time when S. Bandera had already been hunted by the special Soviet team sent to the American occupation zone in June of 1946. However, despite the “large-scale and aggressive search”, by mid-1947, SIS officers were still unable to find S. Bandera’s location. The CIA never considered the possibility of collaborating with S. Bandera, characterizing him as “a political radical with great personal ambitions” in its reports. By 1951, the CIA stated that he “had become openly anti-American, since the United States did not support the independence of Ukraine” and considered the best solution to the issue “to neutralize Bandera as an individual politically” (Breitman, & Goda, 2012, pp. 78–82).

It is obvious that the above characteristics of S. Bandera were of a secondary importance, because his opponents were also distinguished by similar features of radicalism. Thus, in its reports SIS uses sources that depicted M. Lebed as “a notorious sadist and collaborator with the Germans”, and regarding I. Hryniokh they had information about his contacts with “the Jewish expert in the SD” (Breitman, & Goda, 2012, pp. 77, 86).

By the way, having made the choice, the CIA had some respect for its Ukrainian partners, especially M. Lebed, and until the end of their lives protected them from accusations of the pro-Nazi activity and persecution (Breitman, & Goda, 2012, p. 91). In particular, when relying on staged decisions of the Soviet courts, the Kremlin diplomats appealed to the governments of Western countries with a demand to extradite the nationalist activists (Antoniuk, Trofymovych, & Trofymovych, 2023, p. 263).

Obviously, the fact that the first contacts with the SSU (Special Services Unit) were important in the CIA’s choice of partnership, it was also important back in 1945, it was M. Lebed who made the contacts (Breitman, & Goda, 2012, p. 85). At this stage, S. Bandera was informed of the contacts, although he had already preferred cooperation with the British. This was stated in particular by Vasyl Chyzhevsky, a courier of the OUN Foreign Units Central Command to the OUN Central Command in Ukraine, who was captured and recruited by the Soviet special agencies (Branch State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine – BSA SSU, f. 6, c. 33286, vol. 1, pp. 278–279).

In turn, the head of the courier group of the OUN Foreign Units Central, Myron Matviyko, who was detained by the Soviet special services, claimed that the contradictions between M. Lebed and S. Bandera began precisely on the basis of control over contacts with the Americans – S. Bandera tried to make the contacts, and M. Lebed treated the attempts extremely jealously (BSA SSU, f. 6, c. 56232, p. 88).

In 1948, the CIA began cooperation with the Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian

Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR), which initially received the codename Cartel, which was later changed to Aerodynamic. It went through several stages, in the 1980s it changed its name first to Qrdynamic, then to Pdddynamic and again to Qrplumb and the cooperation continued until the collapse of the USSR. The operation was terminated in 1990, the total cost of it was estimated at 1.75 million US dollars (Breitman, & Goda, 2012, pp. 86, 90).

This special operation was a very large-scale and long-term CIA project, but not the only one involving experienced Ukrainian émigrés. And these included not only members of the OUN and UPA, but also the “Galicia” division. In particular, it is known that those Ukrainian émigrés who moved from the camp in Rimini (Italy) to Spain and became students at local educational institutions were involved by the CIA in the anti-Soviet operations “Belladonna” and “Trident” (Pronkevych, & Shestopal, 2018, p. 125).

The first phase of Operation Aerodynamic lasted until 1954 and consisted of the CIA agents entering Ukraine and then withdrawing them. In the process of carrying out such tasks, the US intelligence services were unexpectedly struck by a “well-organized and secure underground movement” that was “more developed than the previous reports had suggested”. In light of this, Frank Wisner, head of the Office of Policy Coordination (OPC), called Operation Aerodynamic the “highest priority project” (Breitman, & Goda, 2012, p. 87). It should be noted that according to V. Ilnytskyi’s calculations, in 1948, only in Lviv and Carpathian regions, the OUN and UPA carried out 1,031 armed and sabotage actions (Ilnytskyi, 2017, p. 91). However, in 1949 – 1953, a number of courier groups were captured or liquidated, and M. Lebed lost proper contacts with the Ukrainian underground. Therefore, in 1954, the “aggressive” phase of the project was completed (Breitman, & Goda, 2012, pp. 87–88).

After that, Operation Aerodynamic entered the phase of cooperation with the Ukrainian research group organized in New York under the leadership of M. Lebed. Under the auspices of the CIA, it collected the Ukrainian literature and historical materials, and also published the Ukrainian nationalist newspapers, bulletins, radio programmes, and books for distribution in Ukraine. To this end, in 1956 the group was officially registered as a non-profit organization “Research and Publishing Association Prolog” and published the magazine under the same name. It also opened its office in Munich, where, headed by I. Hryniokh, it operated under the name “Ukrainian Society for Foreign Studies” and published the magazine “Modernity”. To carry out its tasks, the group recruited and paid for the work of Ukrainian émigré writers and scholars, who were usually unaware that they were working for the CIA-controlled operation. Only six members of the senior leadership of the Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) were privy to the group’s actual activities (Breitman, & Goda, 2012, pp. 88–89).

The scope of our study is limited to the first of the above described stages. It was difficult for all parties involved in the process under analysis. After receiving financial, material, moral, and political support from the US intelligence services, the opposition in the OUN Foreign Units intensified its activities significantly, and the internal conflict flared up with a renewed vigor. In the context of its aggravation, favourable circumstances arose for external provocative intervention. As V. Kuk noted in his explanations after the collapse of the USSR, “conflict passions at that time (1951 – 1953) flared up to such an extent that all critical, analytical thinking was blunted, pushed into the background” (OUN ACNY. B, pp. 1–2).

Under such conditions, the radio programmes conducted by the Soviet special services equally harmed the OUN Foreign Units, the Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian

Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR – Ukrainska Holovna Vyzvolna Rada), and their British and American partners. And although the UHVR representatives in their reports to the CIA (Central Intelligence Agency. Secondary Navigation Freedom of Information Act. Electronic Reading Room – CIA FOIA ERR, Aerodynamic, vol. 43) and in later publications fondly characterized the OUN Foreign Units as “infiltrated by the Soviet agents” (Kaminskyi, 2009, p. 51), however, it was through their communication system, as part of the radio programme “Trasa”, that documents prepared by the Soviet intelligence services, known in the relevant literature as “Volia Batkivshchyny,” were transmitted abroad (Viedienieiev, & Lysenko, 2009, p. 142). In the documents, the OUN Leadership in Ukraine allegedly accused S. Bandera of “deviating from the Resolutions of the III Extraordinary Great Meeting of the OUN”, that “he is neither formally nor actually the Leader of the OUN” and authorized “Lev Rebet, Zenon Matla and Byilykh [Stepan Bandera] to temporarily take over the leadership of the Foreign Units of the OUN and reorganize the Foreign Units in accordance with the positions of the OUN Leadership in Ukraine” (OUN ACNY, B, p. 9). This state of affairs escalated the conflict to an irreversible stage and eventually led to the split in the OUN Foreign Units. In the process of conducting radio programmes, in 1951 – 1959 the Soviet special services also “managed to neutralize 33 agents of the British intelligence SIS and CIA (18 of them were killed), and trophies were obtained – 10 radio stations, weapons, and valuable operational documents. Five emissaries and radio operators were used in operational games” (Viedienieiev, & Lysenko, 2009, p. 142).

Having chosen the Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) as a partner, the CIA made efforts to provide it with financial and material support. In addition to the testimonies of the opposition members, this is also confirmed by the declassified CIA documents (CIA FOIA ERR, Aerodynamic, vol. 43-1). It is obvious that such assistance was provided not only from the CIA funds, but through its mediation from other sources, in particular the United Ukrainian American Aid Committee (CIA FOIA ERR, Aerodynamic, vol. 11-1). Starting in 1947, the Committee was active in Bavaria, one of the main centres of concentration of relocated people in post-war Europe (Kokosh, 2024, pp. 299–300).

The CIA also took steps to monopolize its contact with the Ukrainian nationalist underground and simultaneously weaken the positions of the OUN Foreign Units. The CIA tried to convince its colleagues from the British intelligence agency MI6 to stop cooperating with S. Bandera and the OUN’s Foreign Units Leadership, which had been established back in 1948 (Breitman, & Goda, 2012, pp. 81–82). However, in April of 1951, at a joint meeting, which was organized specifically to resolve differences on this issue, MI6 representatives took the position that the CIA had underestimated the potential of S. Bandera and not only the Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR), but also other Ukrainian organizations had the authority to conduct business with Western governments on a pragmatic basis on behalf of the homeland. In the matter of contacts with the underground in Ukraine, MI6 intelligence insisted that “OUN-b is no less reliable than the Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR)”. However, even as they jointly developed alternative proposals for a possible end to the conflict in the OUN Foreign Units by including their leaders in the Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR), or by uniting the leaders of the two competing groups in one reorganized OUN Foreign Units, the CIA insisted that “Bandera is absolutely unacceptable” as are the people associated with him (CIA FOIA ERR, Aerodynamic, vol. 9).

Such CIA efforts to break off MI6 cooperation with S. Bandera and the OUN Foreign Units Leadership until 1954, and until the provocation of the Soviet special services with forged documents of “Volia Batkivshchyna” had the effect, influencing not only the course of the conflict in the OUN Foreign Units, but also the British intelligence, which nevertheless severed contacts with the OUN Foreign Units Leadership (Breitman, & Goda, 2012, p. 82; CIA FOIA ERR, Aerodynamic, vol. 43-2).

It should be noted that the cooperation of Ukrainian émigré nationalist circles with the special services of Western states should not be interpreted straightforwardly through the prism of the Soviet propaganda clichés about “betrayal of the fatherland”. It can be explained by the very fact that for the OUN Foreign Units, the USSR was not the “fatherland”, but a colonizer of the Ukrainian lands, and such cooperation was of a completely pragmatic nature for their liberation and the construction of the national state. D. Viedienieiev and O. Lysenko point out in this regard that “it is wrong to extract the facts of cooperation between the OUN and the UPA from the general context of the actions of other national liberation or anti-colonial movements of that time” (Viedienieiev, & Lysenko, 2009, p. 138).

The CIA also helped the Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) to strengthen its authority among the leadership of the Ukrainian underground and discredit its opponents. An example there is the document distributed in 1951 called “Policy Position of the United States Government”. Its content demonstrated support for the Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) and rejection of S. Bandera and the OUN Foreign Units led by him (CIA FOIA ERR, Aerodynamic, vol. 11).

After the split in the OUN Foreign Units, this document was published in the Parisian Bandera-oriented magazine “Ukrainets-Chas” and commented on as a “cunning maneuver and deception” on the part of the Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR). The publication caused concern within the CIA and led to an internal investigation. The CIA ultimately determined that the document was authentic and had been prepared and delivered to Munich by the CIA employee “who was affiliated with the project as a staff officer in 1951”. In the process of analyzing this fact, the CIA also came to the conclusion that, while controlling part of the foreign connection with the Ukrainian underground, the Soviet special services could have deliberately omitted the transmission of this document in order to “increase discord and split in the Ukrainian emigration” (CIA FOIA ERR, Aerodynamic, vol. 11).

Conclusions. Under the conditions of the Cold War aggravation, the US CIA studied the activities of Eastern European émigré groups with the aim of cooperation in the event of a military conflict in Europe, and in the Ukrainian segment, the US CIA made contacts with the Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR). The cooperation began in 1948, initially codenamed Cartel, later changed to Aerodynamic, and ended in 1990. Its first phase lasted until 1954 and consisted of the penetration of CIA agents into Ukraine and their subsequent withdrawal abroad. After that, the Aerodynamic Operation entered the phase of cooperation with M. Lebed’s Ukrainian research group in New York, which in 1956 was officially registered as the non-profit “Research and Publishing Association Prolog”.

The beginning of the CIA’s cooperation with the Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) coincided with the end of the so-called “first opposition” in the OUN Foreign Units, which was based on the Foreign Representation of the

Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR). In August of 1948 the second extraordinary conference of the OUN Foreign Units condemned the UHVR actions, and the opposition members voluntarily resigned from the UHVR and the OUN Foreign Units Leadership, and later they expressed their readiness for further organizational activity. The offer of cooperation, financial and material support received from the CIA changed the behaviour of the opposition members. They declared that they would withdraw their resignation and continue their activities independently. After that, the internal conflict in the OUN Foreign Units flared up with a renewed force.

Implementing Operation Aerodynamic in 1948 – 1954, the CIA sought to monopolize contacts with the nationalist underground in Ukraine, relying exclusively on the UHVR and making efforts to discredit S. Bandera and the OUN Foreign Units Leadership. The CIA demanded that the British intelligence agency MI6 refuse to cooperate with S. Bandera and the OUN Foreign Units Leadership, and when jointly modelling ways to end the conflict in the OUN Foreign Units, and in any case the CIA excluded such an association of leaders of the conflicting parties in which S. Bandera and those loyal to him would be present. At the same time, the document “Political Position of the Government of the United States” prepared by the CIA officers was distributed among the Ukrainian nationalist underground, which demonstrated support for the UHVR and condemned the activities of S. Bandera and the OUN Foreign Units Leadership.

The financial and material support of the opposition in the OUN Foreign Units by the CIA and systematic discrimination of their leadership contributed to the aggravation of the internal conflict, which ended in a split in 1954.

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THE KGB REPRISAL TOWARDS ZENOVIIA FRANKO IN THE CONTEXT OF THE CASE “BLOCK” (1971 – 1972)

Abstract. *The purpose* of the research is a comprehensive study of the reprisal towards the philologist Zenoviia Franko by the State Security Committee (KGB) in the context of the “general pogrom” of the Ukrainian dissident movement. **Methodology of the Research.** The methodological basis of the article is the principles of objectivity, comprehensiveness, continuity, and historicism. In the study the methods of analysis and synthesis, problem-chronological, retrospective, typology have been used, as well as and comparison of information from various sources. **The scientific novelty** consists in the introduction into scientific circulation of a set of little-known documents from the State Archives of the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU), which enable us to reveal the prerequisites, course and results of the Soviet regime’s reprisal towards Z. Franko. For the first time, in the article there has been carried out a comprehensive analysis of the KGB’s measures against the linguist in 1971 – 1972. **Conclusions.** Thus, at the turn of the 1960s and 1970s, a linguist Z. Franko was one of the socially active participants in Kyiv dissident community. She was engaged in the distribution of samvydav publications, collecting funds for the public treasury, and making contacts with the Ukrainian diaspora. In July of 1971, after the dissident was included in the group development case “Block”, the KGB officers significantly intensified operational work against her using an agent network and a wiretapping system. In January of 1972, during the wave of arrests, it was decided to use preventive measures to achieve Z. Franko’s cooperation with the KGB, to obtain the necessary evidence against like-minded people from her, and completely compromise the dissident. The KGB’s special operation to discredit Z. Franko and isolate her from the resistance movement was complete success. Z. Franko’s penitential statement and subsequent appearance on television and radio were among the serious achievements of the special services at the initial stage of the “Block” case. The philologist’s testimony was actively used against the arrested dissidents, and her “renunciation” was a painful blow to the morale of the dissident community. In the following years, the linguist, temporarily deprived of her authority, withdrew from dissident activity and was forced to maintain close contacts with the KGB. Z. Franko was able to return to active participation in the national movement only during Gorbachev’s perestroika in the late 1980s.

Key words: Zenoviia Franko, Ukrainian dissident movement, Committee for State Security (KGB), Soviet regime, repressions, “Block” case.

РОЗПРАВА КДБ НАД ЗЕНОВІЄЮ ФРАНКО В КОНТЕКСТІ РЕАЛІЗАЦІЇ СПРАВИ “БЛОК” (1971 – 1972)

Метою статті є об’єктивне і комплексне вивчення процесу розправи Комітету державної безпеки (КДБ) над філологинею Зеновією Франко в контексті “генерального погрому” українського дисидентського руху. **Методологія.** Методологічною основою статті є принципи об’єктивності, всебічності, наступності, історизму. У роботі використано методи аналізу та синтезу, проблемно-хронологічний, ретроспективний, метод типології, метод порівняння і зіставлення інформації з різних джерел. **Наукова новизна** зумовлена введенням до наукового обігу комплексу маловідомих документів Галузевого державного архіву Служби безпеки України (ГДА СБУ), які дозволяють розкрити передумови, хід та результати розправи радянського режиму над З. Франко. У статті вперше здійснено всебічний аналіз заходів КДБ проти мовознавиці у 1971 – 1972 рр.

Висновки. На рубежі 1960-х – 1970-х рр. З. Франко була однією з найбільш активних учасниць київського дисидентського середовища. Вона займалась поширенням самвидаву, збиранням коштів до громадської каси взаємодопомоги, а також налагодженням контактів з українською діаспорою. Після включення дисидентки до числа об’єктів справи групової розробки “Блок” у липні 1971 р. працівники КДБ значно посилили оперативну роботу проти неї з використанням агентурної мережі та системи прослуховування. Під час проведення хвилі арештів у січні 1972 р. було вирішено шляхом приватної профілактики домогтися співпраці З. Франко з органами КДБ, отримати від неї потрібні покази на односторонній і повністю скомпрометувати дисидентку. Спецоперація КДБ щодо дискредитації З. Франко, її відриву від середовища руху опору досягла цілкомитого успіху. Покаяльна заява та подальший виступ на телебаченні й радіо З. Франко стали одними з найбільш вагомих досягнень спецслужби на початковому етапі реалізації справи “Блок”. Покази філологині активно використовувалися проти заарештованих дисидентів, а її “зречення” стало болючим ударом по моральному духу дисидентського середовища. У наступні роки позбавлена будь-якого авторитету мовознавиця відійшла від дисидентської активності та змушена була підтримувати тісні відносини з КДБ. Повернутися до активної участі в руслі національного руху змогла тільки в часи горбачовської перебудови наприкінці 1980-х рр.

Ключові слова: Зеновія Франко, український дисидентський рух, Комітет державної безпеки (КДБ), радянський режим, репресії, справа “Блок”.

Problem Statement. At the beginning of the 1970s, the Soviet regime increased pressure on the representatives of the Ukrainian dissidents. At the instigation of the leadership of the republican Committee for State Security (KGB), the case of the group development “Block” was initiated, directed against participants in the Ukrainian national movement. As part of this case, a large-scale repressive special operation took place in early 1972, as a result of which the key leaders of the movement ended up behind bars. However, the KGB’s actions were not limited to arrests and trials; the special service officers simultaneously carried out a significant amount of operational and preventive work aimed at splitting the dissident environment and discrediting it. One of the first dissidents whom the KGB managed to persuade to cooperate and publicly repent through preventive measures was Zenoviia Franko, Kyiv linguist.

Review of Recent Research and Publications. Zenoviia Franko’s participation in the Ukrainian dissident movement is one of the little-studied pages of modern Ukrainian historiography. Obviously, some interest in this figure was significantly undermined by her “repentant statement” in 1972 and her rather complimentary behaviour towards the Soviet regime during the period after the wave of arrests in 1972. The information about the dissident’s public activity in the national movement in the 1960s and early 1970s can be found

in the studies of the historians Heorhiy Kasianov (Kasianov, 2019), Anatoliy Rusnachenko (Rusnachenko, 1998), Yuriy Danyliuk and Oleh Bazhan (Danyliuk, Bazhan, 2000), in the articles written by Yuriy Shapoval (Shapoval, 2023) and Vasyl Derevynskyi (Derevynskyi, 2023). An encyclopedic reference about Z. Franko is provided in the publication “Resistance Movement in Ukraine: in 1960 – 1990”, which was published under the editorship of Osyp Zinkevych (Zinkevych, 2012).

As for the methods actually used by the KGB against Z. Franko during the wave of arrests in 1972, among Ukrainian researchers of the dissident movement the opinion became predominant that in January of this year the linguist was arrested and spent behind bars several days or several weeks (Kasianov, 2019, p. 152; Rusnachenko, 1998, p. 190; Zaitsev, 2011, pp. 290–291). This thesis is not confirmed by any archival documents. According to the materials from the State Archives of the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU), the dissident was not arrested during the “general pogrom”, but instead a set of preventive measures was taken against her. Neither Z. Franko nor her husband Pavlo Yurachivskyi mention anything about the alleged arrest in their memoirs (Krushelnyska, 2003).

Z. Franko’s “penitential statement” published in the Soviet media and the public’s reaction to it were analysed by H. Kasianov on the basis of the party documents (Kasianov, 2019, pp. 158–159). In the context of studying the “general pogrom” of the Ukrainian dissidents, Anatoliy Rusnachenko (Rusnachenko, 1998, p. 192), Borys Zakharov (Zakharov, 2003, p. 107) and Oleh Bazhan (Bazhan, 2013, p. 34) mention the massacre of Z. Franko. The beginning of the wave of arrests of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in 1972 from the perspective of the confrontation between the special services of the foreign centres of the OUN and the KGB was characterized by Yaroslav Antoniuk and Volodymyr Trofymovych (Antoniuk, Trofymovych, 2021). The use of prevention methods, agent networks, operational and technical measures against the Ukrainian dissident environment in the 1970s are researched in Bohdan Paska’s studies (Paska, 2022a; Paska, 2022b; Paska, 2023). Nevertheless, the problem of the Soviet regime’s massacre of Z. Franko in the context of the implementation of the case of the KGB’s group operational development “Block” in 1971 – 1972 has not yet become the subject of a full-fledged study.

The basis of the source base of the article is previously classified materials of the KGB report notes from the State Archives of the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU), as well as the documentary publication dedicated to the philologist “Zenoviia Franko (1925 – 1991): Articles. Memories. Materials” (Krushelnyska, 2003).

The purpose of the research is a comprehensive study of the process of the KGB massacre of Zenoviia Franko in the context of the “general pogrom” of the Ukrainian dissident movement.

Research Results. Zenoviia Tarasivna Franko (1925 – 1991) – a granddaughter of the Great Kameniar, a famous linguist and literary critic, who in the 1950s and 1960s worked as a research fellow at the Institute of Linguistics of the Academy of Sciences (AS) of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) in Kyiv, researched the history of the Ukrainian language, the stylistics of the works of Ukrainian literature classics, the history of language relations, etc. (Zinkevych, 2012, p. 771). From the mid-1960s, Z. Franko became close to the Kyiv dissident community. On September 4, 1965, she witnessed the open speech of Ivan Dziuba, Viacheslav Chornovil, and Vasyl Stus against the wave of repressions of the Ukrainian intelligentsia at “The Ukraina” cinema at the premiere of the film “Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors”. At the end of 1965 – the beginning of 1966, she helped I. Dziuba with

the publishing and distribution of his newly written study “Internationalism or Russification?”, and translated it into Russian (Sectoral State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine, f. 16, c. 1042, p. 258; Shapoval, 2023, pp. 219–220). In January of 1966, according to the encyclopedic reference book “Resistance Movement in Ukraine: 1960 – 1990”, at the author’s request, it was Z. Franko who took the text “Internationalism or Russification?” to the Central Committee (CC) of the Communist Party of Ukraine (CPU) with the aim to make it known among the top party and state leadership of the Ukrainian SSR with it (Zinkevych, 2012, p. 771).

The linguist supported the writing of protest statements against repressions actively. In particular, in February of 1966, she was one of 78 people to sign a letter protesting the closed nature of the trials of victims of the wave of arrests of 1965 (Kasianov, 2019, p. 73). In April of 1968, Zenoviia Tarasivna signed an appeal written by 139 representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia to the leaders of the USSR Leonid Brezhnev, Olexiy Kosyhin and Mykola Pidhirnyi, which was full of concern about the non-compliance with the decisions of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), the curtailment of liberalization and partial democratization of the ruling regime (Kasianov, 2019, p. 95–96). Finally, in 1966, during the KGB’s preventive measures against dissident intelligentsia, the regime began to exert political pressure on Z. Franko, and her public activism was sharply criticized (Kasianov, 2019, p. 78). In early 1969, the scholar was fired at the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR and expelled from the party (Krushelnitska, 2003, p. 198).

Nevertheless, such steps of the regime pushed Z. Franko to more intensive contacts with the dissident environment. It was in 1969 – 1971 that the peak of the linguist’s opposition activity occurred. During this period, she joined the distribution of samvydav literature, participated in the transfer of the magazine “The Ukrainian Herald” to Kyiv and its distribution. In 1970, the scholar joined a large-scale campaign to defend the arrested dissident Valentyn Moroz, signing one of the protest statements (Sectoral State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine in Ivano-Frankivsk region, c. 10956-p, p. 370; Kasianov, 2019, p. 109; Moroz, 1975, p. 190). Z. Franko’s role in establishing contacts with the Ukrainian diaspora was quite important: she regularly met with tourists-Ukrainians from Western countries, provided them with information about the situation of the dissident movement, as well as literature (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1028, pp. 356–357). At the turn of the 1960s and 1970s, it was Z. Franko, together with I. Svitlychny, who headed the public mutual aid fund, where funds were collected to support the Ukrainian political prisoners and their families (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1042, p. 114). Given her special status among the Ukrainian intelligentsia as the granddaughter of Ivan Franko, Z. Franko could act more or less freely until a certain period, without fear of possible repression by the regime.

Ultimately, the rise and activation of the Ukrainian dissident movement in the early 1970s and, especially, the emergence and spread of the illegal magazine “Ukrainian Herald” led to an increased reaction from the Soviet regime. In July of 1971, at the initiative of the head of the KGB under the Council of Ministers (RM) of the Ukrainian SSR, Vitaliy Fedorchuk, a group development case was created under the code name “Block” against 24 active representatives of the dissident community. The KGB members included the names of Kyiv dissidents Ivan Svitlychny, Yevhen Sverstiuk, Ivan Dziuba, Vasyl Stus, Mykola Plakhotniuk, Zinovi Antoniuk, etc., and Lviv dissidents Viacheslav Chornovil, Iryna Kalynets, Stefania Shabatura, Ivan Hel, etc. in the list of objects of this case (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1020, pp. 116–127). In the last, 24th place, the name Z. Franko was placed with the following description: “She

is anti-Soviet, actively distributes hostile and ideologically harmful documents, including the illegal magazine "The Ukrainian Herald", and is involved in transmitting defamatory information about the situation in Ukraine abroad. To this end, she systematically meets with foreigners-Ukrainians coming to Kyiv, some of whom are suspected of having ties to nationalist centres" (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1020, pp. 126–127). Obviously, in the context of Z. Franko's public activities, the KGB officers saw a considerable threat to the regime in her distribution of samvydav literature, as well as contacts with couriers of the Ukrainian diaspora organizations.

In the following months, within the framework of the "Block" case, the KGB intensified its operational work against the Ukrainian dissidents, aimed at obtaining as much detailed information as possible about their public activity. To monitor Z. Franko, an agent network was used, in particular, the agents "Leonid", "Karpenko", the agent "Boiko", as well as eavesdropping equipment (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1028, pp. 354, 367). In 1971 the agency's control over the dissident was quite effective compared to other dissidents. It was determined that the linguist was the closest and most active assistant to the leader of the Kyiv dissident community, I. Svitlychny, who provided moral and material support to political prisoners, participated in organizing celebrations on the occasion of the release of repressed dissidents, etc. (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1028, pp. 356–357).

Through the work of agents in the KGB, it became known about Z. Franko's participation in the distribution of Issue 5 of "The Ukrainian Herald" magazine. In September of 1971, V. Chornovil brought this issue of the magazine from Lviv to Kyiv and handed it over to Z. Franko at a previously agreed place; later, the dissident introduced these materials to three close acquaintances at once, who turned out to be the KGB agents. In a confidential conversation with the agent "Boiko", the linguist reported that by November of 1971 she would be able to receive Issue 6 of the magazine. Z. Franko also participated in the distribution of other documents – V. Stus's work "Phenomenon of the Age", the letters written by V. Chornovil, I. Dziuba and Borys Antonenko-Davydovych in defense of the political prisoner V. Moroz, etc. (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1028, pp. 367–379).

The KGB kept a watchful eye on Z. Franko's very active ties with the Ukrainian diaspora. A report dated November 30, 1971 noted that over the past 4 months, about 20 foreigners of the Ukrainian origin had visited the scholar's apartment. The KGB officers determined that during a conversation with a Canadian citizen A. Horokhovych, Z. Franko spoke about the Russification of the Ukrainian people in the USSR, the distribution of "The Ukrainian Herald" magazine, the situation among the scientific and literary intelligentsia. The linguist asked the Koltuniuk couple from Canada to organize an active campaign in the West in defense of the political prisoner V. Moroz. The scholar showed the citizens of Czechoslovakia A. Kurymsky and Shyshkova Issue 5 of "The Ukrainian Herald" magazine (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1028, pp. 369–372). In November of 1971, Taras Franko, Zenoviia's father, fell seriously ill (and soon died), and his sister, Hanna Kliuchko-Franko, arrived from Canada to visit him. Through Z. Franko's mediation, she met with I. Svitlychny, and tried to obtain information about Yuri Shukhevych's situation and V. Moroz's health. On Zenoviia's recommendation, H. Kliuchko-Franko gave I. Svitlychny a fairly large sum of money to support the Ukrainian national movement (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1028, p. 375).

During her dissident activities, Z. Franko often tried to use methods of conspiracy. She sought to reveal that she was being monitored; in order to confuse the KGB agents' tracks, she sometimes deliberately got off the tram at a wrong stop. During a conversation with

A. Horokhovych, which took place in the apartment of one of the KGB agents, the dissident tried to detect listening devices, for this she dismantled the cornices and an electric fan (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1028, p. 378). Nevertheless, a significant amount of detailed information received by the KGB officers about the linguist's opposition activities indicates that the special service managed to establish reliable intelligence and operational surveillance over her.

Given the information obtained, in the KGB's view, Z. Franko's role and status among the Ukrainian dissidents had significantly increased by November of 1971. In the aforementioned report, her name was in the 6th place in the list of Kyiv objects of the "Block" case, after I. Svitlychny, I. Dziuba, Ye. Sverstiuk, V. Stus and Hryhoriy Kochur (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1028, p. 347). In this document, there is an interesting assumption by the KGB that I. Svitlychny and other dissidents could allegedly use Z. Franko because of her famous surname and assumed that she would not be subjected to repressions "for political reasons" as the granddaughter of a famous Ukrainian writer (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1028, p. 357). It is likely that similar arguments were used by the KGB later during the interrogations of the philologist with the aim of separating her from the dissident environment.

The reason for the start of the KGB's open repressive action against the Ukrainian dissident community was the visit to the Ukrainian SSR by the Belgian citizen of the Ukrainian origin, Yaroslav Dobosh, who was a courier for the Foreign Units of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (ZCh OUN). According to the researcher Ya. Antoniuk, the secret mission of Ya. Dobosh was organized by Omelian Koval, the head of the regional branch of the Foreign Units of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in Belgium and the "Central Educational Council" of the Ukrainian Youth Association; it was personally blessed by the Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church (UGCC) Yosyp Slipyi (Antoniuk, 2019, p. 22). Yaroslav Dobosh arrived in Kyiv by the Prague-Moscow train on December 29, 1971. According to the KGB, the main task he received from O. Koval was to obtain the text of Issue 6 of "The Ukrainian Herald" magazine and take it abroad (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1032, p. 122). Given Z. Franko's active international contacts, it is not surprising that Ya. Dobosh knew her phone number and met with the dissident on the first day of his visit. She informed the courier that the next issue of "The Ukrainian Herald" magazine had not been ready yet, but gave him I. Svitlychny's contact details and recommended that he should also meet with him (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1032, pp. 52–53). During the conversation with a foreign guest, Z. Franko mentioned her recent meeting with another representative of the emigration, Khrystyna Holod; she suggested meeting with her in Lviv and for this purpose gave the phone number of Stefania Hulyk, a local dissident (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1034, p. 82). In the following days, Ya. Dobosh had several more meetings with Kyiv and Lviv dissidents, but while leaving the Ukrainian SSR he was detained by the KGB officers at Chop railway station on January 4, 1972 (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1032, pp. 52–56).

The KGB reports indicate that Ya. Dobosh came into the special services focus while trying to contact I. Svitlychny, whose phone number was given to the courier by Z. Franko. Given the tight agent control and constant surveillance of the philologist, it can be assumed that the KGB officers found out about Ya. Dobosh at the stage of meeting with her on December 29, 1971. During the first interrogations, the diaspora member agreed to cooperate with the investigation and gave evidence about his contacts with the Ukrainian dissidents. Preparing a wave of arrests, the KGB officers assigned a special place in their plans to Z. Franko. The report dated January 11, 1972 stated the following: "Considering the fact that Z. Franko... mentioned by Dobosh during the interrogations, was aware of the specific facts of the hostile

activities of Chornovil, Svitlychny and a number of other objects of the “Block” case, and was involved in the distribution of “The Ukrainian Herald” magazine, it is planned to organize work with her to obtain her testimony against her like-minded people”. “If this case develops positively, the materials obtained will be used to compromise Z. Franko in the nationalist environment and neutralize her hostile activities” (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1032, p. 115).

The above quote indicates that Z. Franko had no “business ties” with the Soviet secret services at least until January of 1972. The KGB officers were not confident in the positive outcome of the measures planned against the linguist. The KGB had no intention of arresting the dissident and carrying out a judicial crackdown on her. Instead, it was decided to act preventively. The plan was to “break” her through intimidation, threats, and psychological pressure, “extract” as many incriminating evidence as possible against her like-minded people, and then compromise and destroy her authority in the dissident community. Owing to skillfully conducted preliminary operational work and constant surveillance, the KGB officers apparently had a fairly accurate idea of Z. Franko’s psychological portrait, her “weak points” that could be pressed at the appropriate moment. In the following weeks and months, the massacre of the dissident unfolded in accordance with the scenario outlined in early January. The question of what was the key factor that influenced the fact that the linguist was not arrested along with other dissidents: her famous origin or character traits favourable for “re-education” – remains open.

The next day, January 12, 1972, the “general pogrom” of the Ukrainian dissident movement began: within several days, the leaders of the Kyiv cell I. Svitlychny, V. Stus, Oleksandr Serhiyenko, Z. Antoniuk, Leonid Pliushch, Ye. Sverstiuk, and Lviv residents V. Chornovil, I. Hel, M. Osadchy, S. Shabatura, Iryna Kalynets, and the others were detained. Instead, Z. Franko was secretly invited to the KGB for questioning that day, and during the first interrogations, the dissident began to give the investigators the evidence they needed about her own public activity and the activities of her like-minded people, and showed her willingness to give the KGB the samvydav materials she had (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1032, pp. 138–142). As Z. Franko recalled later, in order to persuade her to cooperate with the investigation, the KGB agents used five volumes of previously collected intelligence reports and materials from wiretapping the dissident’s private conversations (Krushelnyska, 2003, p. 83). Her husband Pavlo Yurachkivskyi, in his memoirs, noted the dominance of a moral and psychological pressure on Z. Franko by the KGB investigators (Krushelnyska, 2003, p. 232). According to M. Kotsiubynska’s recollections, the key role in breaking the linguist’s character was played by the investigator Mykola Kolchyk, who in 1965–1966 was distinguished by his “successful” work according to the KGB standards in “re-education” of a dissident Dmytro Ivashchenko, and in the following year, 1973, he obtained a confession statement by I. Dziuba (Ovsienko, 2021).

During the first interrogations, the KGB investigators were primarily interested in Z. Franko’s participation in the distribution of samvydav literature, sources of funding for the dissident community, and contacts with foreigners. During the first week of the investigation, by January 19, the linguist had given evidence about her meetings with the arrested V. Chornovil, M. Plakhotniuk, and Z. Antoniuk to exchange samvydav literature. She also mentioned the surnames of representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia who provided her with funds for the dissident public mutual aid fund (the historians Mykhailo Braichevsky, Olena Apanovych, the linguists Oleksandr Ponomariv, V. Tsybmal, the writers Andriy Malyshko, Oles Honchar, Mykhailo Stelmakh, Volodymyr P’ianov, a teacher Valentyna

Drabata, an artist Tetiana Tsymbal) (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1032, pp. 258–259). She provided investigators with fairly detailed information about her meetings with the representatives of the diaspora in 1969 – 1971, and named more than 30 people who, during the conversations, asked about the internal political situation in the Ukrainian SSR, repressions against the intelligentsia, and the fate of political prisoners. Z. Franko also mentioned that dissidents I. Svitlychny, Ye. Sverstiuk, Leonid Seleznenko, Mykhailyna Kotsiubynska, and the others had regular meetings with foreigners (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1032, p. 298). On January 24, the head of the KGB of the Ukrainian SSR, V. Fedorchuk, reported to the party leadership that the evidence received from Z. Franko on like-minded people “will be used to expose the arrested” (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1032, p. 348).

At the end of January and during February of 1972, the KGB’s measures to further use Z. Franko against other members of the dissident community were intensified. During the interrogations, the linguist told investigators about her conversations with diaspora representatives Yuriy Kosach and Roman Serbyn. The dissident, in particular, informed Yuriy Kosach about the existence of the national opposition in the Ukrainian SSR, which, although not organized, was aimed at achieving specific democratic transformations. According to Z. Franko, the opposition’s goals were to ensure in the Ukrainian SSR all the attributes of state sovereignty – an autonomous budget, a separate economy, and the presence of diplomatic missions abroad (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1034, pp. 90–91). The dissident also told the KGB investigators about the provision of material assistance by representatives of the Ukrainian emigration to convicted participants in the resistance movement in Ukraine (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1034, p. 112). The linguist’s testimony was very beneficial to the investigation into the “Block” case, as it gave the KGB reason to consider the dissident environment a full-fledged opposition movement that had a significant support from abroad. And this, in turn, made it easier to prove the “guilt” of the arrested dissidents under specific articles of the Criminal Code.

In early February of 1972, the KGB officers arranged for Z. Franko face-to-face meetings with the arrested dissidents Z. Antoniuk (on February 2) and M. Plakhotniuk (on February 3), against whom she had previously given testimony. As a result, Z. Antoniuk, under pressure, was forced to admit that he had received several copies of the magazine “The Ukrainian Herald” and other self-published materials from Z. Franko. Within a week after the face-to-face meeting, Z. Antoniuk actually “split” and began to give the KGB the necessary evidence. During the face-to-face meeting with M. Plakhotniuk, Z. Franko confirmed that the dissident had given her four issues of “The Ukrainian Herald” magazine in 1970 – 1971. In response, M. Plakhotniuk contradicted his interlocutor sharply and refused to sign the minutes of the face-to-face meeting. The prisoner rightly condemned the linguist’s behaviour, and later told one of his cellmates that “this woman betrayed him, she may betray dozens of other people” (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1034, pp. 145, 198–199).

After appropriate processing by the KGB officers, Z. Franko became an informant for the special service at least since February of 1972, providing operatives with information about the content of her conversations with like-minded people and relatives. In particular, as evidenced by the report dated February 25 of this year, the linguist informed the KGB about her conversation with I. Dziuba, which concerned the possible organization of protests against the wave of arrests (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1036, pp. 97–98).

In the end, the influence of the KGB officers on Z. Franko turned out to be so strong that, in fact, under their dictation, she wrote a “penitential statement” – the “Open Letter” to the

editorial office of the newspaper “Soviet Ukraine”, which was published in the pages of this newspaper on March 2, 1972 (Franko, 1972). The linguist explained her agreement to such a step to herself by the fact that in 1968, after being expelled from the party, she had already written the statement of a similar content to the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine for Ideology, F. Ovcharenko. Nevertheless, the philologist was able to ensure that the text of the “Open Letter” did not include the name of any other Ukrainian dissident. (Krushelnytska, 2003, p. 83). Zenoviia Franko admitted her “guilt before her Motherland”, which consisted in “distributing slanderous and anti-Soviet materials” and “transferring information to disguised representatives of foreign hostile nationalist centres,” and asked the society for forgiveness. The author of the “Open Letter” was also grateful to the employees of the Soviet authorities for “stopping her in time” and appealed to other dissidents not to be “in the shameful position of an internal emigrant” (Franko, 1972).

This publication was significant success to the KGB in compromising the Ukrainian dissident environment among the Ukrainian public. The KGB leadership and the top party leadership of the Republic focused on collecting information about the reaction of the population of the Republic to the publication of Z. Franko’s “Open Letter”. On March 3–16, 1972, V. Fedorchuk sent nine special messages on this subject to the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Petro Shelest, which were full of information about the condemnation and categorical rejection of Z. Franko’s dissident activities by various Soviet citizens. In particular, Yurchenko, an employee of the Ukrknyha Association, stated in the presence of his colleagues: “Zinaida Franko’s place is in prison, not on the pages of the Soviet press... She slandered the Soviet reality until she was caught red-handed, and now she asks for forgiveness for what she did in the interests of our enemies...” (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1036, p. 198). The station operator of Koziatyn station in Vinnytsia region, Pylypenko, said the following among other railway workers: “People like Z. Franko should not only be imprisoned, but shot, because this repentance was written not out of good will, but after exposure” (SSA SSU, f. 6, c. 1036, p. 199). An employee of the Kyiv State Bank, Korsun, stated: “It is clear that Franko wrote an open letter not out of good will, but only when she was caught red-handed. She cannot be forgiven, she must be punished with imprisonment” (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1036, p. 221). Uzhhorod worker Rosul, a former member of the OUN, commenting on Z. Franko’s letter, said: “They should have all been imprisoned a long time ago so as not to muddy the waters and mislead honest people. At one time, many innocent people were put behind bars because of people like Dobosh and Z. Franko” (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1036, p. 258). In total, more than 50 similar statements were recorded in the KGB documentation.

Half as many (about 25) KGB informants noted more or less complimentary responses to Z. Franko’s “Open Letter”. Some citizens noted the obvious benefit of this statement in the context of the Soviet authorities’ further struggle against the Ukrainian national movement and émigré organizations. In particular, an employee of the Odesa Regional Department of Culture, Cherkasky, stated the following: “Z. Franko’s letter cannot but cause indignation at the actions of foreign nationalists – traitors, and some of our homegrown renegades... Z. Franko did a great thing by making such a necessary statement” (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1036, p. 199). Shanovsky, the head of the Philosophy department of the Vinnytsia branch of Kyiv Polytechnic University, saw political expediency in publishing the linguist’s penitential statement, as it would “stop attempts abroad to speculate on the name of the great writer and compare his struggle with the alleged “struggle” of his granddaughter” (SSA SSU,

f. 16, c. 1036, p. 256). Vlasyk, the manager of the construction department No. 13 in Lviv, expressed hope that Z. Franko's letter "will open the eyes of a number of people who fell under the influence of people like Chornovil and helped them in their hostile activities" (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1036, p. 221).

The special KGB reports recorded only isolated interpretations of Z. Franko's "Open Letter" as having been written under the KGB pressure. In particular, the dissident I. Dziuba stated at a meeting of the Presidium of the Writers' Association of Ukraine (SPU) on March 2, 1972, that the linguist's words looked "uncertain and ridiculous", because she could not have changed her views so suddenly, "it was written under dictation, under pressure, and such writings have never been of any use" (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1036, p. 199). A student at Ivano-Frankivsk Pedagogical Institute, Kandiuk, said in his circle: "When they put a prison shirt on you, you will write anything like that. Z. Franko was forced to write an open letter" (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1038, p. 37). Rozhko, a research fellow at the Lutsk Regional Museum of Local Lore, did not believe that the dissident wrote the letter of repentance herself, unless under very great pressure (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1038, p. 38). For some sympathizers of the Ukrainian national movement, the publication of Z. Franko's letter was evidence of the continuation of the struggle against the Soviet regime, at least abroad. A former OUN member named Syniuk, an accountant for one of the rural consumer societies in Rivne region, said: "Abroad, our guys are awake, doing their job, not like we are in the Soviet Union... But it doesn't depend on us. We've created such an atmosphere, we've squeezed them so much that it's impossible to say even a word" (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1038, p. 38).

The KGB officers quickly spread information about Z. Franko's letter of repentance among prisoners during the January wave of arrests of dissidents. The majority of political prisoners – I. Svitlychnyi, Ye. Sverstiuk, M. Plakhotniuk, V. Stus, O. Serhiienko, I. Hel, S. Shabatura, and the others – generally took this news quite negatively, condemning the linguist's act sharply (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1036, pp. 290–296). Arrested in February of 1972, Yu. Shukhevych interpreted the publication of Z. Franko's statement as a tactical move by the dissident in order to remain free and avoid repression (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1036, p. 292). Arrested at the end of 1971, Odesa dissident Nina Strokata treated the linguist's statement with distrust, expressing the opinion that the "Open Letter" was the result of the use of medical measures against Z. Franko for the purpose of a psychotropic influence (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1036, p. 293). Viacheslav Chornovil reacted to Z. Franko's statement with understanding, refusing to condemn it (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1036, p. 294). A positive feedback was made by Z. Antoniuk, who, on the second day after reading the "Open Letter," told the investigator that he was also ready to publish a similar article in the press (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1036, p. 291). In general, Z. Franko's publication caused considerable confusion and misunderstanding among political prisoners, and brought confusion into their environment.

The reaction of those representatives of the dissident community who were at large was similar. By mid-March of 1972, the KGB operatives had already determined that Z. Franko's publication was widely discussed among dissidents, most of whom expressed dissatisfaction and hostility towards the linguist, calling her a traitor. The philologist was called a "dangerous person" by Atena Volytska and Oksana Osadcha. Liubomyra Popadiuk sharply condemned Z. Franko's capitulation to the regime sharply. A poet Ihor Kalynets reacted to the publication in "Soviet Ukraine" quite ironically: "I will be "pleasant" to be imprisoned under the testimony of Z. Franko. I will know that the granddaughter of great Ivan Franko testified against me" (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1036, pp. 294–295). On March 13, during a personal meeting with the

linguist, a writer Oles Berdnyk, who was close to the dissident community, directly told her the following: “Everyone regards your letter as your defeat... Boys, your friends are in prison now, but you are not. If you had a choice – either prison or freedom, you should have chosen prison” (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1038, pp. 198–199). The KGB’s efforts to destroy Z. Franko’s authority among like-minded dissidents were crowned with complete success; she became an undesirable person for the majority of participants in the resistance movement.

The moral and psychological state of Z. Franko after her public abdication was very difficult – in fact, she was in severe depression and on the verge of suicide (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1038, p. 199). Therefore, on March 24, 1972, V. Fedorchuk proposed to the top party leadership to isolate the linguist from contacts with the dissident environment, as well as “to consolidate her in positions favourable to us”. For this purpose, it was planned to re-employ Z. Franko at the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, as well as to speed up the process of providing her with a separate apartment in Kyiv. Petro Shelest ordered to resolve the issue of Z. Franko’s employment as soon as possible, and as a result, she did indeed receive the position of a laboratory assistant at the Institute of Linguistics of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1038, pp. 243–244).

The Ukrainian diaspora did not immediately believe in the authenticity of Z. Franko’s “Open Letter”. Therefore, in early April of 1972, the KGB leadership expressed the idea of making a speech by the dissident on television and radio, broadcast both in Ukraine and abroad. The script for the TV show was developed by the KGB, including the lines of the announcer and Z. Franko, who agreed to take part in it almost immediately (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1040, pp. 11–14). Finally, on April 25, an interview with Z. Franko was broadcast on Ukrainian television, during which she read the main theses of her “Open Letter” and repeated the necessary ritual phrases “live” (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1042, p. 185).

Many viewers noticed a certain artificiality and insincerity in Z. Franko’s speech (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1042, pp. 185–187, 239–243), which, on the one hand, was caused by the consequences of increased psychological pressure by the KGB officers, and on the other hand, by the possible internal resistance of a broken dissident. An arrested artist S. Shabatura even saw certain advantages in the linguist’s television appearance, as the latter did not name any of her like-minded people, using general phrases instead (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1042, p. 242). However, the absolute majority of dissidents who were at large, in particular, Ivan Rusyn, Mykhailyna Kotsiubynska, Ihor Kalynets, Mykhailo Kosiv, and Afanas Zalyvakha, subjected Z. Franko to collective condemnation and ostracism after the speech (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1042, pp. 366–368). During a personal meeting with the linguist, Oksana Meshko expressed the general position of the dissident community: “I came not on my own behalf, but on behalf of all my friends, to condemn your act. This act deserves only a curse, neither the people nor history will ever forgive your speech in the newspaper and on television. The name Franko has become shameful for me. Everyone held on tightly, only you betrayed. Your place is in prison...” (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1042, pp. 187–188).

In the following months and years, in order to consolidate Z. Franko’s position as an exile in the circle of dissidents, the KGB’s compromising measures were continued. According to the recollections of P. Yurachivsky and a philologist Lidiia Kots-Hryhorchuk, she was specially taken to face-to-face meetings with unfamiliar people and to trials as a witness to create a negative image among the Ukrainian public (Krushelnyska, 2003, p. 199, 232). Zenoviia Franko was regularly forced to write articles against “Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism” and the Ukrainian diaspora; she was constantly under the surveillance of the KGB. The linguist’s

testimony was used in the preparation of indictments in the criminal cases of many dissidents arrested in 1972, in particular, I. Svitlychny (SSA SSU, f. 6, c. 68805-fp, pp. 159, 175, 186), Ye. Sverstiuk (SSA SSU, f. 6, c. 67643-fp, p. 153), V. Chornovil (SSA SSU, f. 6, c. 72644-fp, pp. 292, 297).

Conclusions. Thus, at the turn of the 1960s and 1970s, a linguist Z. Franko was one of the socially active participants in Kyiv dissident community. She was engaged in the distribution of samvydav publications, collecting funds for the public treasury, and making contacts with the Ukrainian diaspora. In July of 1971, after the dissident was included in the group development case “Block”, the KGB officers significantly intensified operational work against her using an agent network and a wiretapping system. In January of 1972, during the wave of arrests, it was decided to use preventive measures to achieve Z. Franko’s cooperation with the KGB, to obtain the necessary evidence against like-minded people from her, and completely compromise the dissident.

The KGB’s special operation to discredit Z. Franko and isolate her from the resistance movement was complete success. Z. Franko’s penitential statement and subsequent appearance on television and radio were among the serious achievements of the special services at the initial stage of the “Block” case. The philologist’s testimony was actively used against the arrested dissidents, and her “renunciation” was a painful blow to the morale of the dissident community. In the following years, the linguist, temporarily deprived of her authority, withdrew from dissident activity and was forced to maintain close contacts with the KGB. Z. Franko was able to return to active participation in the national movement only during Gorbachev’s perestroika in the late 1980s.

Promising directions for further research include the analysis of subsequent KGB discrediting measures against Z. Franko in the 1970s, as well as the study of other special operations by the special service to prevent and compromise representatives of the dissident community during the “general pogrom” (in particular, the poets Mykola Kholodny, Hryhoriy Chubai, a literary critic Ivan Dziuba, etc.).

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**"PEACEFUL" EXPANSION OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION IN UKRAINE
(1991 – 2014)**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research* is to study and elucidate the process of Russia's territorial expansion in Ukraine in 1991 – 2014 and the role of the pro-Russian political and public agents of influence in it. *The research methodology* is based on the general scientific principles of historicism, objectivity and systematicity. There have been used general scientific methods: analysis, synthesis, periodization and the others, as well as special methods of historical research: historical genetic, historical systemic, historical comparative. *The scientific novelty* of the obtained results consists in the comprehensive analysis of the process of the so-called "peaceful" expansion of the Russian Federation in Ukraine in 1991 – 2014, without use of the armed force. Taking into consideration some separate examples, it has been proved that the war of the Russian Federation against Ukraine has historical roots from the beginning of its declaration of independence in 1991. The relations between Russia and Ukraine, as two sovereign states, during this period were not good-neighbourly, but were accompanied by constant territorial claims on the part of the Russian Federation, as open, and veiled, through the

pro-Russian political parties, separatist movements, religious organizations, and other political and public agents of influence. **Conclusions.** The Russian aggression against Ukraine began in 1991 after its independence. The main goal of the Russian “peaceful” expansion was the destruction of sovereign and independent Ukraine or, in the event of its unreachability, keeping it under its control within a single “union” space. In order to achieve this goal, Russia imposed political, economic, religious, cultural, informational, military and other pressure with the wide use of technologies of subversion, blackmail, lies, intimidation, provocations, etc. Russia masked its own participation in destructive processes in Ukraine and carried out expansion through various pro-Russian political parties and organizations, representatives of criminal oligarchic groups, separatist movements, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Moscow Patriarchate) and some of its ministers, pro-Russian media and other agents of influence, who operated under Russian special services management. In 1991 – 2014, during the Russian expansion in Ukraine, there were distinguished two conditional stages. The first stage, from August 26, 1991 to September 29, 2003, from the right of the Russian raising the issue on revising the state borders of the postsoviet republics, if they do not coexist within the unified space of the Union. It was considered to be the biggest crisis in the Russo-Ukrainian relations at the time, when Russia resorted to the use of force against Ukraine before the conflict had broken out regarding Kosa Tuzla Island. The second stage took place from September 29, 2003 to February 20, 2014, which began with the conflict around Kosa Tuzla Island, ended with the termination of the so-called “peaceful” expansion after the Revolution of Dignity in 2014, and then the beginning of the Ukrainian Crimea and Sevastopol occupation. There are several cites on the separate provisions of regulatory legal acts of Russia and Ukraine in the article, which strengthens the author’s argumentation and outcomes on a chosen topic.

Key words: Russian Federation, Ukraine, hybrid warfare, Russo-Ukrainian war, expansion, territorial expansion, agents of influence, separatism, occupation of Crimea, self-proclaimed organizations “DPR” and “LPR”.

“МИРНА” ЕКСПАНСІЯ РОСІЙСЬКОЇ ФЕДЕРАЦІЇ В УКРАЇНІ (1991 – 2014)

Анотація. *Мета дослідження* – дослідити та розкрити процес територіальної експансії Росії в Україні у 1991 – 2014 рр. і роль у ньому проросійських політичних і громадських агентів впливу. *Методологія дослідження* ґрунтується на загальнонаукових принципах історизму, об’єктивності та системності. У роботі використані загальнонаукові методи: аналізу, синтезу, періодизації, реконструкції та інші, а також спеціальні методи історичного дослідження: історико-генетичний, історико-системний, історико-порівняльний. **Наукова новизна** одержаних результатів полягає у комплексному аналізі процесу так званої “мирної”, без використання збройної сили, експансії Росії в Україні у 1991 – 2014 рр. Окреслено основні її етапи у визначених хронологічних межах. На окремих прикладах доведено, що війна Росії проти України має історичні корені від початку проголошення нею незалежності у 1991 р. Відносини між двома суверенними державами не були добросусідськими, а супроводжувалися постійними територіальними претензіями з боку Росії як відкритими, так і завуальованими, через проросійські політичні партії, сепаратистські рухи, релігійні організації та інших політичних і громадських агентів впливу. **Висновки.** Агресія Росії проти України розпочалася у 1991 р. відразу з відродженням нею незалежності. Основною метою “мирної” експансії Росії було знищення суверенної і незалежної України або, у разі її недосяжності, утримання її під своїм контролем у межах єдиного “союзного” простору. Для досягнення цієї мети Росія здійснювала політичний, економічний, релігійний, культурний, інформаційний, військовий тощо тиск із широким використанням технологій підривної діяльності, шантажу, брехні, залякування, провокацій тощо. Росія маскувала власну участь у деструктивних процесах в Україні та здійснювала експансію через різноманітні проросійські політичні партії і громадські організації, регіональні еліти, представників кримінально-олігархічного капіталу, сепаратистські рухи, Українську православну церкву (Московського патріархату) та окремих її служителів, проросійські мас-медіа та інших агентів впливу, які діяли під керівництвом російських спецслужб. У процесі експансії Росії в Україні у 1991 – 2014 рр. виокремлено два умовні етапи. Перший, 26 серпня 1991 р. – 29 вересня 2003 р., від першого оголошення російською владою права Росії порушувати питання перегляду державних кордонів колишніх республік СРСР, якщо вони не будуть

співіснувати у межах єдиного союзного простору та до початку конфлікту навколо о. Коса Тузла – найбільшої на той час кризи в українсько-російських відносинах, коли Росія вперше вдалася до застосування силових засобів проти України. Другий, 29 вересня 2003 р. – 20 лютого 2014 р., починається із конфлікту навколо о. Коса Тузла, та закінчується припиненням так званої "мирної" експансії після Революції гідності 2014 р., початком окупації українського Криму та м. Севастополь. У роботі процитовано окремі положення нормативно-правових актів Росії та України, що посилює авторську аргументацію та висновки із обраної теми.

Ключові слова: Російська Федерація, Україна, гібридна війна, російсько-українська війна, експансія, територіальна експансія, агенти впливу, сепаратизм, окупація Криму, квазіутворення "ДНР" та "ЛНР".

Problem Statement. Taking into consideration the experience of state formation in Ukraine after the collapse of the USSR, the independence gained by our state in 1991 was considered by the Russian Federation (hereinafter referred to as Russia) as a geopolitical or economic crisis. The restoration of control over the territories of the republics of the former USSR, primarily over Ukraine, at any cost, was supposed to increase Russia's economic potential, as well as political, demographic, military and other resources. Accordingly, the Russian-Ukrainian relations between the two sovereign states were not good-neighbourly, but were determined by constant territorial claims on the part of Russia. The aggressor country occupied the Crimea and part of Donetsk and Luhansk regions in 2014 applying "hybrid" forms of action, and on February 24, 2022, Russia started the war against Ukraine (Akt proголoshennya nezalezhnosti, 1991; Gorbulin, 2016; Furman, & Duz-Kryatchenko, 2019, pp. 46–67; Kreml', 2014; Popov, 2009; Haldej, 2018; Analitik, 2013). According to O. Onyshchuk, Russia promoted its expansionist imperial policy and masked its own participation in destructive processes in Ukraine owing to various pro-Russian political parties, movements, and other political and public agents of influence, who operated under the leadership of the Russian special services (Sauer, & Pjotr, 2022). Analysts of the Marek Karp Center for Oriental Studies also wrote partly about the causes of the modern Russian-Ukrainian war. The corresponding analysis was carried out (Ilnytskyi, & Telvak, 2023; Ilnytskyi, & Telvak, 2024). Taking into consideration the fact that ensuring national security and countering an aggressor country require generalization of this experience, the issues under analysis are relevant and promising for the scientific research.

Review of Research and Publications. Due to Russia's armed aggression against Ukraine in 2014 there was a drastic need regarding a critical rethinking of the Russian-Ukrainian relations, which began to form since the revival of Ukraine's independence in 1991, as well as, as V. Tkachenko noted, a scientific understanding of one's own identity (Tkachenko, 2017, p. 135). According to the reviewed literature on Russia's expansion in Ukraine, it was revealed that this issue was studied mainly in numerous works by the Ukrainian scholars, who covered its individual aspects from different points of view. There were made attempts by I. Furman and O. Duz-Kryatchenko to elucidate the process of the Russian expansion in Ukraine in various spheres during the period of 1991 – 2014 (Furman, & Duz-Kryatchenko, 2019), V. Hrytsiuk and O. Lysenko (Hrytsiuk, & Lysenko, 2023), M. Haliv and R. Burdyak (Haliv, & Burdyak, 2025). O. Nashyvochnikov and O. Pashkova studied the expansion in the cultural sphere fragmentarily (Nashyvochnikov, & Pashkova, 2020). There were the following scholars, who covered the expansion in the territorial sphere S. Plokhly (Plokhly, 2023), S. Alejnikova (Alejnikova, 2017), O. Lyubovec (Lyubovec, 2023), A. Haldej (Haldej,

2018), I. Golod (Golod, 2011), O. Jankovskij (Jankovskij, 2016), in the economic sphere – B. Sikora (Sikora, 2002), in the humanitarian sphere – M. Zhulynskiy (Zhulynskiy, 2019), in the information sphere – M. Pashkov (Pashkov, 2017), A. Pecherskyi (Pecherskyi, 2022) and the others. The works written by S. Adamovych (Adamovych, 2007), D. Kazanskyi and M. Vorotyntseva (Kazanskyi, & Vorotyntseva, 2020), O. Nykonorov (Nykonorov, 2015), V. Soldatenko (Soldatenko, 2011) and the others were devoted to the issue on separatism. In general, the issue on the Russian expansion in Ukraine in 1991 – 2014 has not been covered sufficiently, which made it relevant for the further scientific research. In order to cover it objectively, the author analyzed a number of regulatory legal acts of Russia and Ukraine regarding the Russian-Ukrainian relations and provides individual quotes from them.

The purpose of the research is to elucidate the process of Russia's territorial expansion in Ukraine in 1991 – 2014 and the role of the pro-Russian political and public agents of influence in it. By the term “agent of influence”, the author understood individuals and organizations (the political parties, movements, public organizations, etc.) that act on behalf of or in the interests (political, economic, cultural, informational, and other) of foreign states or foreign political organizations on the territory of another state, influence its policy, and were guided in their activities by the foreign special services (Moshenecz, 2020; Myhalchysyn, 2022; Shveda, 2023).

Research Results. Ukraine faced numerous issues after regaining its independence in 1991 and establishing good-neighbourly relations with Russia, but there was one particular issue, which was fueling the separatist movements, primarily in eastern Ukraine and the Crimea. According to the Ukrainian scholars I. Furman and O. Duz-Kryatchenko and I. Melnychuk the goal of these destructive action (Furman, & Duz-Kryatchenko, 2019, pp. 48) was Russia's attempt to restore control over the territories of the republics of the former USSR, in particular over Ukraine, and to keep them within the scope of its foreign policy interests in order to increase its weight and role on the world political arena radically, increase its economic, political, demographic, military and other resources, as well as stop the process of forming new sovereign states on the territory of Russia itself. It was also discussed in the decree of the President of Russia issued on September 14, 1995 No. 940 “On Approval of Strategic Course of the Russian Federation with the States – the Participants of the Commonwealth of Independent States”, in which it was noted that the priority of Russia's relations with the CIS countries should be determined primarily by the fact that the main vital Russian interests in the sphere of economy, defense, security, protection of the rights of the Russians are concentrated on the territory of the CIS, “the provision of which constitutes the basis of the country's national security... is a factor that counteracts centrifugal tendencies in Russia itself” (Ob utverzhenii, 1995).

According to the analysis of sources, on August 26 of 1991, just a couple of days after Ukraine declared independence, the press secretary of the Russian President, Pavel Voshchanov, on behalf of Boris Yeltsin, spoke about Russia's right to raise the issue of revising the borders of the former union republics, primarily Ukraine and Kazakhstan, in the event that they terminate their allied relations, literally, “if these republics become part of the union with Russia, then there is no problem. But if they leave, we must worry about the population living there, and not forget that these lands were developed by the Russians. Russia is unlikely to agree to give them up so easily” (Vladimirov, 2021; Gorbulin, 2016; Golod, 2011). Hence, this can be considered Russia's first step towards revising the borders of “brotherly” sovereign and independent states and the beginning of expansion into their

territories. This statement showed that Russia did not want to close the issue regarding borders with neighbouring states.

In the first half of 1992, Russia's territorial claims to Ukraine were expressed in a number of official regulatory and legal state documents, in particular in the resolution of the Supreme Soviet of Russia issued on May 21 of 1992 No. 2809-1 "On the legal assessment of the decisions of the highest state authorities of the RSFSR on changing the status of the Crimea, adopted in 1954", in which the resolution of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR issued on February 5 of 1954 "On the transfer of the Crimean region from the RSFSR to the Ukrainian SSR" was recognized as having no legal force from the moment of its adoption (O pravovoj ocenke, 1992; O prodolzhenii raboty, 1992). It was noted regarding this issue the statement of the Supreme Soviet of Russia issued on May 22 of 1992 that on the territory of the Ukrainian Crimea: "the rights of representatives of the Russian people..., other nations and nationalities historically connected with Russia are being infringed upon". At the same time, Russia was "to ensure strict observance of the rights of the entire population of Crimea" and called on Ukraine "to refrain from any actions aimed at suppressing the free expression of the will of the population of Crimea, which has, in accordance with international norms, the full right to determine its fate independently". In expressing territorial claims to Ukraine in the context of the Crimea, the Russian authorities, as can be seen from the text of the document, cynically and unreasonably took refuge in "public opinion" "which is expanding and strengthening" in Russia, as well as international law, according to which it remained "an adherent of the principle of the inviolability of borders..., and intended "to adhere strictly to the fundamental principles of the UN Charter" and other international agreements (Zajavlenie, 1992; Baskakova, 2023, p. 152). On July 9, 1993 The Supreme Council of Russia, by its resolution "On the Status of the City of Sevastopol," according to which Ukraine has no legal force and does not generate any legal consequences, declared the Russian federal status of this Ukrainian city. The document clearly stated that this "will contribute to the protection and strengthening of the Russian statehood" (Akt progoloshennya nezalezhnosti, 1991; Pro zayavu, 1993; Konstytuciya, 1978, art. 77; Pro pravonastupnyctvo, 1991, art. 5; O statute, 1993; Baskakova, 2023, p. 152). Taking into consideration certain historical parallels, we can trace that there was the similar rhetoric from Russia regarding Ukraine during the conflict on Kosa Tuzla island in 2003, on the eve of the occupation of the Ukrainian Crimea and part of Donetsk and Luhansk regions in 2014, and on the eve of the full-scale armed aggression against Ukraine in 2022. Russia's main goal was to keep Ukraine under its control within a single "union" space by exerting the political pressure on sovereign and independent Ukraine. Moscow Mayor Yu. Luzhkov signed the agreement between the Russian capital and Ukrainian Sevastopol at the beginning of 1995, defining it as the "eleventh prefecture of Moscow" (Politychnyi proces, 2016, p. 17), and in 1995 the Russian State Duma adopted a resolution "In connection with the decision of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on the Crimea", which stated that during negotiations with Ukraine, one should proceed from the recognition of the city of Sevastopol within the administrative territorial borders of the city district as of December of 1991 as the main base of the Russian Black Sea Fleet (V svjazi, 1995; Lyubovec, 2023, p. 144). Hence, Russia interfered in the internal affairs of sovereign Ukraine de facto by adopting the above-mentioned documents.

In the first half of the 1990s, the course of Russian expansion, primarily in eastern Ukraine and the Crimea, was also significantly influenced by the growth of the separatist sentiments issue among the Ukrainian political elite and the spread of the idea of a federal territorial

structure of the country, which were fueled by Russia (Kazanskyi, & Vorotynceva, 2020, pp. 5, 11; Kopylenko, 2004, p. 19). By the term “separatism”, the author understands the desire of individual population groups or political organizations to territorially separate part of a state, grant it the status of autonomy, or complete its separation and create a new state (Klyuchnyk, 2011, pp. 20–21). Thus, the local referendums were held simultaneously with the elections to the Ukrainian parliament, called by the Heads of local Regional Councils “advisory polls”, on the federalization of Ukraine and granting the Russian language official status on March 27, 1994, in Donetsk and Luhansk regions of Ukraine, at the initiative of the pro-Russian public organization “International Movement of Donbas” (Russian: “Интернациональное Движение Донбасса”, founded in 1990). According to the so-called Head of the “People’s Council” of the self-proclaimed “DPR” Andriy Purhin (2014 – 2015), in 2005 a co-founder of the pro-Russian separatist terrorist organization “Donetsk Republic” (SBU, 2014), “the year 1994 can be called the year of the birth of Donetsk separatism” (Tretiakova, 2014; Soobshhenie, 1994).

According to some Ukrainian scholars, in particular D. Kazanskyi, M. Vorotyntseva, S. Abramovych, there were used the following aspects: the difficult economic and criminogenic situation in the region, the Russian-speaking population, and the loss of the communication line that provided the possibility of dialogue between the central government and the regions (Tkachenko, 2017, p. 152) by the pro-Russian and communist political forces and public organizations, as well as business groups to spread Ukrainophobia and separatist ideas in Donbas in order to curb disintegration processes in the USSR. Their real goal, as subsequent events showed, was to weaken Ukraine, to tear away from it an important economically powerful industrial region [according to A. Purhin, “it was our support for statehood” (Tretiakova, 2014)]. It is no coincidence that various “internationalists” raised the issue of restoring Donetsk-Kryvyi Rih Republic, proclaimed on February 9, 1918 by the Bolsheviks at the IV Regional Congress of Soviets of Workers’ and Soldiers’ Deputies of Donetsk-Kryvyi Rih Basin (Kazanskyi, & Vorotynceva, 2020, pp. 22–28; Adamovych, 2007; Soldatenko, 2011; Bojko, 2004, p. 79). Hence, at that time the results of the so-called referendums were foreseen: 79,69% of Donetsk residents voted “yes” on the issue of federalization; 87,16% of Donetsk residents and 90,38% of Luhansk residents supported granting the Russian language the status of a state language alongside the Ukrainian language; 88,98% of Donetsk residents and 90,91% of Luhansk residents voted for a special regional status for the Russian language; 88,72% of Donetsk residents and 90,74% of Luhansk residents voted “yes” for signing the CIS Charter, Ukraine’s full participation in the economic union and in the Interparliamentary Assembly of the CIS states (Tretiakova, 2014; Soobshhenie, 1994). Although the Ukrainian authorities did not recognize the results of the so-called referendums on changing the territorial structure of Ukraine and were able to ease the tension in the region, the seeds of federalization were sown. For example, in 1995, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, considering information on the political and legal situation in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and some legislative acts adopted there, noted that the violator of the Ukrainian legislation is primarily the Verkhovna Rada of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea (98 deputies do not recognize the legislation of Ukraine), and some Crimean politicians are trying to destabilize the situation in the Crimea by enlisting the support of influential Russian politicians, in particular Yeltsin, Chornomyrdin, Kozyrev... Zhirinovskiy, drawing people into intrigues and confrontations, especially before the resort season, fanning passions around the Black Sea Fleet to intimidate vacationers, trying to

undermine the economy of Crimea and Ukraine. Trying to pit Ukraine against Russia on national grounds, they made unacceptable statements, in particular, we should quote, "To ask the State Duma of the Russian Federation, the President of the Russian Federation to take measures to protect the rights of compatriots living in the territory of the Republic of Crimea and who are a minority in the state of Ukraine" (Stenograma № 63, 1995, pp. 70–72, 74, 77, 89). According to S. Plokyh, at that time the crisis did not escalate into a war because Russia refused to be on the side of the Crimean separatists openly. The separation of the Crimea and Sevastopol from Ukraine could have provided a basis for the separation of autonomous entities within Russia, in particular Tatarstan, and could also have negatively affected the Russian president's attempts to improve relations with the United States in the process of Ukraine's renunciation of nuclear weapons (Plokyh, 2003, p. 77). In this context, it should be noted that on December 5 of 1994, Russia, together with the USA and Great Britain, signed the Memorandum on Security Guarantees through Ukraine's Accession to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (the so-called Budapest Memorandum), according to which, it undertook "to respect the independence and sovereignty and existing borders of Ukraine (Article 1); to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of Ukraine, and that there will never be used weapons against Ukraine except for the purposes of self-defense or in any other way in accordance with the UN Charter (Article 2); to refrain from economic pressure aimed at subordinating to its own interests the exercise by Ukraine of the rights inherent in its sovereignty, and thus, to obtain any advantages (Article 3)", etc. (Memorandum, 1994). However, Sergei Lavrov, the Russian Foreign Minister during a three-hour press conference following the results of 2015 regarding Russia's international obligations, stated quite cynically and falsely the following on January 26 of 2016: "If you mean the Budapest Memorandum, then we did not violate it. The Budapest Memorandum has one single obligation – not to use the nuclear weapons against Ukraine. No one did this and there were no threats of using the nuclear weapons against Ukraine (Jankovskii, 2016; Lavrov, 1994). It should be noted that the text of the above-mentioned document, which contains completely different provisions than those mentioned by S. Lavrov, could be easily read. According to Oleksiy Poltorakov, an advisor to the directorate of the National Institute for Strategic Studies under the President of Ukraine: "Russia has admitted indirectly that it does not comply with the fundamental principle of the international relations *pacta sunt servanda*: 'treaties must be fulfilled'. It has once again shown itself to be an unreliable partner, whose word cannot be trusted" (Jankovskii, 2016).

In 1998 Russia's open attempts to change the status of the Crimea and Sevastopol stopped. The parties signed the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Partnership between Ukraine and the Russian Federation, according to which the parties undertook: "to respect each other's territorial integrity and the inviolability of the borders between them... to build relations with each other on the basis of the principles of mutual respect, sovereign equality, territorial integrity, inviolability of borders, peaceful settlement of disputes, non-use of force or threat of force, including economic and other means of pressure, the right of peoples to freely determine their own destiny, non-interference in internal affairs..., cooperation between states, conscientious fulfillment of the international obligations undertaken, as well as other generally recognized norms of the international law" (Dohovir pro druzhbu, 1998). There was concluded the Treaty on the Ukrainian-Russian State Border by both countries in 2003, according to which the state border line was outlined on the maps (Dohovir, 2003). In general, the bilateral Russian-Ukrainian treaties defined legally the territorial integrity of

both states and the inviolability of the current borders and settled the controversial issues at the interstate level formally.

But, taking into consideration the experience of the subsequent Russian-Ukrainian relations, Russia's desire to extend its influence on the territory of the Crimea and eastern Ukraine did not stop until their occupation in 2014 (Politychnyi proces, 2016; Lyubovec, 2023, p. 146; Kravchenko, 2019). Hence, starting from 2003, Russia's territorial expansion in Ukraine became more decisive and aggressive (Zhirohov, 2020). A vivid example was the conflict over the Ukrainian island of Kosa Tuzla (Tuzla Split) in October of 2003. Despite its small size, the island was strategically important for Ukraine and Russia. According to the former Minister of Defense of Ukraine, Army General Oleksandr Kuzmuk: "Whoever owns Tuzla Island owns the Kerch Strait, owns the water area and all the minerals that are in this water area" (V sluchae, 2018). For example, in 2003, Russia estimated its losses from paying for the transit of its ships through this route at \$16 million annually (Yurchenko, 2020).

Russia began the unauthorized construction of an embankment dam to Kosa Tuzla Island on September 29 of 2003, annexing it to its mainland, hence, disregarding the bilateral treaties and the international law. At the same time, Russia intensified its military activity in the region, exerted pressure on Ukraine on border delimitation issues in the Kerch Strait and the Sea of Azov on terms favourable to Russia, and as subsequent events showed, tested the reaction of the Ukrainian society and the international community to the violation of Ukraine's territorial integrity and tried to divert Ukraine from its course towards the Euro-Atlantic integration (Malko, 2022; Do vojny, 2020; Pecherskyi, 2022). For example, the Head of the Russian Presidential Administration, Alexander Voloshyn, stated that "Russia will never leave the Kerch Strait to Ukraine. It is enough that the Crimea belongs to Ukraine nowadays, and we have barely reassured people about this. It is enough to make fun of us. We will do everything possible and impossible to defend our position. If it is necessary, we will drop a bomb there" (Glava administraciy, 2003). A similar point of view was expressed Dmitry Rogozin, Chairman of the Committee on International Affairs of the State Duma of Russia, expressed a similar point of view: "each of us, if we feel like a citizen of Russia, should have one understanding in our heads: as they say, not an inch of land for either friend or foe... squandering our own land... the Crimea, which was once given away, and now also to Tuzla, does not belong to statesmen... of course, I am going to conflict with Ukraine in order to defend Russian national interests in this region" (Tuzla, 2003).

Due to Russia's actions, which led to the greatest crisis in the Ukrainian-Russian relations at that time and the militarization of the conflict, were regarded as a direct threat to its territorial integrity by Ukraine. According to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, Serhiy Kunitsyn, Ukraine withstood a serious test on maturity, defended the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country and did not cede a piece of Ukrainian land to the aggressor at that time (Parlamentski sluhannya, 2003). It should be noted that Russia was eventually forced to stop the provocation without revealing the details of the above-mentioned conflict. It should be highlighted that at the same time, Russian President Vladimir Putin, as Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma recalled, pretended that he knew nothing, that this was some kind of amateur activity of Krasnodar governor [a strange position of the President of a "great" state – the author] (Do vojny, 2020).

Russia began its expansion in Ukraine more openly after the Orange Revolution of 2004, which changed radically the ruling elite and reoriented the country's foreign policy towards the Euro-Atlantic one. The Russian authorities were afraid of the "colour revolutions" that

also took place in Serbia, Georgia, Kyrgyzstan (Petrenko, & Novak, 2023, p. 21), and the revolutionary experience spread to the territory of Russia, hence, certain countermeasures were taken by the Russian authorities, in particular, the scenario on "eastern Ukrainian" separatism was worked out (Furman, & Duz-Kryatchenko, 2019, p. 48). Thus, at the end of November 2004, the pro-Russian regional elites of the eastern and southern regions representatives, who consolidated around Viktor Yanukovych, the Prime Minister of Ukraine and the Head of the pro-Russian Party of Regions at that time (Feoktistov, 2005), along with the support of Russia, made an unsuccessful attempt to federalize Ukraine by separating it into a separate South-Eastern Ukrainian Autonomous Republic with the capital in Kharkiv [PSUAR, mockingly "PiSUAR" (Grabovskyi, 2014; Kramar, 2012)] and nine regions – Dnipropetrovsk, Donetsk, Zaporizhzhia, Luhansk, Mykolayiv, Odesa, Kharkiv, Kherson regions, the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol. On November 26, Luhansk Regional Council heralded this initiative the first one at a regular session. There was considered the scenario on the republic's secession from Ukraine in the event of Viktor Yushchenko's victory in the presidential elections (Furman, & Duz-Kryatchenko, 2019, pp. 52–53; Lugansk, 2004). At that time, there were held protests in Donetsk, Kharkiv, Odesa, Sevastopol and other regional centres of the Ukrainian south, east and Crimea, at which decisions were made to initiate the issue on autonomy (Vybory-2004, 2004; V Odesi, 2004; Kushnariov, 2005).

There was held the All-Ukrainian Congress of Deputies of the Verkhovna Rada of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and local councils of all levels in Severodonetsk (Luhansk region) on November 28 of 2004, which was attended by delegates from 17 regions of Ukraine, members of the Party of Regions and supporters of V. Yanukovych, as well as a delegation from Russia headed by the Mayor of Moscow, Yuri Luzhkov. At the Congress, on the initiative of the Head of Donetsk regional branch of the Party of Regions, Borys Kolesnikov, the idea of, let us quote, "the creation of a new Ukrainian southeastern state in the form of a federal republic" with the capital in Kharkiv was first proclaimed (Stenogramma, 2004; Furman, & Duz-Kryatchenko, 2019, p. 53; Kazanskyi, & Vorotynceva, 2020, pp. 94–100; Budet li, 2004). According to O. Nikonorov, the situation was close to turning Ukraine into a field of civil war (Nykonorov, 2015). The main evidence that the conflict between the Ukrainian political elites, which was fueled by Russia, could have escalated into an open armed aggression against Ukraine was the so-called "Appeal of V. F. Yanukovych, the leader of the Party of Regions to the residents of Malorosiysky and Novorossiysky regions", which was accompanied by the Russian state symbols and anti-Ukrainian slogans: "Our goal is to save Fatherland" and "For a united and indivisible Rus'!" It openly spoke of the introduction of the so-called Russian peacekeeping troops into the territory of Ukraine, who were supposed to "cleanse... your city from the terrorists" and control certain clearly defined territories and objects, in particular routelines [a map of control of the territory of Ukraine by the Russian troops was provided – the author]. Nina Karpachova, the Commissioner for Human Rights of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, a member of the Party of Regions, guaranteed "that no one would be shot just like that" in her speech (Informacijno-analitychni materialy, 2023, p. 22; Obrashchenie, 2005).

At the end of 2005 and at the beginning of 2006, the origins of the so-called Donetsk and Luhansk "people's republics" began to form. Hence, on December 6, 2005, a city organization with the name "Donetsk Republic" was officially registered in Donetsk, and on December 9, a regional organization with the same name and symbols, which became the basis of the current "DPR". At the same time, similar organizations were registered in

other regions of south-eastern Ukraine. On February 9, 2006, the Interregional Federation of Public Organizations “Donetsk Federative Republic” was established in Donetsk. It included regional public organizations: “Donetsk Republic”, “Dnepropetrovsk Republic”, “Luhansk Republic”, “Zaporozhzhie Republic”, “Kharkiv Republic”, “Kherson Republic” (Informacijno-analitychni materialy, 2023, p. 22). At that time Ukraine showed firmness in refusing to discuss the issue of federalization of the country, which was imposed by Russia through pro-Russian political organizations and separatist movements, and was able to stop attempts to divide the country according to the federal principle.

But Russia’s attempts to split Ukraine into federal territories and “protect ethnic Russians” living in them did not stop. The April 2008 NATO Bucharest Summit was indicative in this regard, during which V. Putin, referring to an unknown “official population census”, falsely stated that in Ukraine, out of forty-five million, only 17 million Russians were discriminated [it should be noted that according to the last All-Ukrainian Population Census of 2001, the Ukrainians predominate in the national composition of the population of Ukraine (37,541,7 thousand, or 77,8%), while the number of Russians was 8,334,1 thousand, or only 17,3% (Pro kilkist, 2001)]. He emphasized that “Ukraine is a very complex state in general,” which “was created during the Soviet era... received territories from Poland..., from Czechoslovakia, from Romania. And now not all border problems on the Black Sea with Romania have been resolved. So, it received huge territories from Russia in the east and south of the country... And if we also add NATO issues and other problems, it can put the very existence of statehood on the brink... But I want all of us... to understand that we also have our own interests there” (Vystuplenie, 2008). According to the newspaper “Kommersant”, at a closed meeting of the Russia-NATO Council, V. Putin, in a conversation with the US President George W. Bush, got very angry when the issue of Ukraine came up. He clearly stated that, to quote, “Ukraine is not even a state! What is Ukraine? Part of its territories is Eastern Europe, and part, and a significant part, was given to us!... And here he very transparently hinted that if Ukraine were accepted into NATO, this state would simply cease to exist. That is, in fact, he threatened that Russia may begin to reject the Crimea and Eastern Ukraine” (Allenova, & Geda, & Novikov, 2008, p. 9; Furman, & Duz-Kryatchenko, 2019, pp. 54–55). Thus, the above clearly shows that the strategic goal of Russia, primarily its President V. Putin, has become the collection of “originally Russian territories”, including those internationally recognized as Ukrainian.

According to I. Furman and O. Duz-Kryatchenko, in order to achieve this goal, Russia began a “peaceful” coercion of Ukraine to “unity” in political, diplomatic, informational, propaganda, economic (“gas” and “cheese” wars), military (the issue of the Russian Black Sea Fleet, etc.), cultural, linguistic, religious, educational and other expansionist directions with the widespread use of subversive technologies. There were spread myths about the eternal unity of the Russian, Ukrainian and Belarusian peoples, about the so-called “triune, artificially divided the Russian people” and the Russian people-winner “in the Great Patriotic War” in the public sphere (Furman, & Duz-Kryatchenko, 2019, p. 55; Hrytsiuk, & Lysenko, 2023; Nashyvoshnikov, & Pashkova, 2020; Zhulynskyi, 2019; Pashkov, 2017; Sikora, 2002). In 2000, with V. Putin’s coming to power, the Russian authorities, according to R. Hula and I. Perederii, became radical, openly fascist (Hula, & Perederii, 2017, pp. 166–167, 176, 180), and according to L. Yakubova – somewhat transformed taking into account the evolution of fascism/Nazism (Yakubova, 2022, p. 82) ideological direction, began to unite all the so-called “compatriots” or the Russian-speaking minorities, who remained living outside Russia after the collapse of the USSR into a “united Rusky world”. The essence

of this phenomenon is indicative in understanding, as well as Russia's territorial expansion and "gathering of lands" into a global transnational entity is the federal law "On the State Policy of the Russian Federation Regarding Compatriots Abroad" dated May 24, 1999 No. 99-FZ. It declares that Russia is the legal successor of the Russian state, the Russian Republic, the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR) and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), and the institution of the Russian citizenship correlates with the principle of continuity of the Russian statehood [as can be seen, Russia outlined the boundaries of its expansion along the borders of the former Russian Empire and the USSR, not caring that independent and sovereign republics already exist in these territories – *the author*]. The law stated that relations with compatriots abroad are an important direction of Russia's foreign and domestic policy, and compatriots living abroad have the right to count on Russia's support in exercising their civil, political, social, economic and cultural rights and preserving their identity. As subsequent events showed, under the pretext of "protecting compatriots abroad," Russia unleashed a series of wars in the post-Soviet space, in particular in Georgia, in 2008 and in Ukraine, in 2014 (O gosudarstvennoj politike, 1999; Polozhenie, 2009; Alejnikova, 2017, p. 41). As Ihor Zevelev (Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, USA) stated, "the policy towards compatriots and the concept of the "Russky World" were conceived as tools that would allow Moscow to respect post-Soviet borders simultaneously and address the concerns of those who did not perceive them as entirely legitimate... In 2014, this rhetoric and policy were aimed at other goals, in particular, justifying the annexation of sovereign territory and supporting separatists in a neighbouring country" (Zevelev, 2016).

The victory of Viktor Yanukovych in the 2010 presidential elections, the coming of the Party of Regions and the criminal oligarchic capital to virtually monopoly power in the state created favourable conditions for rapid Russian expansion in Ukraine. In the shortest possible time, Kharkiv Agreements were signed on the presence of the Russian Black Sea Fleet on the territory of Ukraine until 2042 (Pro ratyfikaciyu, 2010; Ugoda, 2010), the integration of the energy, financial, defense industrial, aviation and space sectors of Ukraine and Russia began, preparations for Ukraine's accession to the Customs Union took place, V. Yanukovych abandoned Ukraine's course towards NATO (Aleksiievets, & Aleksiievets, 2020, p. 129) and the European Union, etc. It meant for Ukraine a departure from the Euro-Atlantic course, its complete subordination to the Russian interests, and, in the long term, the loss of state sovereignty and independence, which Russia had been striving for since Ukraine gained independence (Informacijno-analitychni materialy, 2023, p. 25; Furman, & Duz-Kryatchenko, 2019, p. 55).

However, the protest movements in Ukraine, which went down in history as the Revolution of Dignity in 2014, prevented the implementation of Russia's plans to conquer and dismember Ukraine, forced the Russian leadership to stop its "peaceful" expansion and, contrary to all the basic principles of the international law, to begin open armed aggression, and in fact war, under the pretext of protecting "compatriots" in the Crimea and Donbas (Hrytsiuk, & Lysenko, 2023, pp. 10–12), suppressing the speeches of Kyiv "nationalists", "fascists" and the "junta" (Furman, & Duz-Kryatchenko, 2019, p. 56). Hence, these events can be considered the completion of a certain stage of Russia's expansion in Ukraine in 1991 – 2014, which resulted in the occupation/annexation of the Crimea and parts of Donetsk and Luhansk regions of Ukraine.

Conclusions. Russia's aggression against Ukraine began in 1991, immediately after the

restoration of the latter's independence. During the 23-year "peaceful" expansion, Russia's main goal was to destroy sovereign and independent Ukraine or, if it was unattainable, to keep it under its control within a single "union" space. Russia was interfering in the internal affairs of Ukraine, contrary to the basic principles of the international law and violating interstate treaties, exerted political, economic, religious, cultural, informational, military and other pressure with the widespread use of subversive technologies, blackmail, lies, intimidation, provocations, etc., causing significant damage to the national security of Ukraine.

In 1991 – 2014, Russia disguised its own participation in destructive processes in Ukraine and expanded through various pro-Russian political parties and public organizations, regional elites, representatives of criminal and oligarchic capital, separatist movements, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Moscow Patriarchate) and its individual ministers, written, radio, television media, and other pro-Russian agents of influence operating under the direction of the Russian special services.

In the process of Russia's "peaceful" expansion in Ukraine in 1991 – 2014, two conditional stages were distinguished. The first stage, August 26, 1991 – September 29, 2003, from the first announcement by the Russian authorities of Russia's right to raise the issue of revising the state borders of the former republics of the USSR if they do not coexist within a single "union" space and until the beginning of the conflict around Kosa Tuzla Island – the biggest crisis in the Ukrainian-Russian relations at that time, when Russia first resorted to the use of force against Ukraine. The second stage, September 29, 2003 – February 20, 2014, began with the conflict around Kosa Tuzla Island, and ended with the cessation of the so-called "peaceful" expansion after the Revolution of Dignity in 2014, the beginning of the occupation of the Ukrainian Crimea and the city of Sevastopol.

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THE FIGHT AGAINST HUMAN TRAFFICKING BY UKRAINIAN LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES (1991 – 2014)

Abstract. *The purpose* is to do the research on the organizational and legal foundations of combating human trafficking, the activities of the Ukrainian law enforcement agencies in this area from independence of Ukraine (1991) to the beginning of the Russo-Ukrainian war (2014). **The methodology of the research** is based on general and special methods of scientific knowledge. In the process of the research, general scientific methods of deduction and induction, analysis and synthesis have been used. The comparative legal method has been applied during the analysis of regulatory legal acts related to the problem of human trafficking. The historical comparative method has been used to study the patterns and prerequisites of human trafficking. The qualitative and quantitative analysis of the issue under study has been done due to the use of the statistical method. **The scientific novelty** of the study consists in a retrospective analysis of the legal counteraction means to human trafficking in the national legislation of Ukraine and its practical implementation in the activities of law enforcement agencies.

Conclusions. Human trafficking is a manifestation of a transnational crime and at the same time one of the most shameful violations of human rights and freedoms. Given the international scale of this problem, democratic states focus on combating this phenomenon, adopting a number of international

legal acts aimed at prohibiting human trafficking in all its possible manifestations and interstate cooperation. Ukraine has implemented conventions and protocols aimed at preventing and combating trafficking in human beings of the UN and the Council of Europe. Ukraine is also one of the first countries in Europe to criminalize trafficking in people in 1998. Gradually, Ukraine updated national legislation, in particular the Criminal Code, to comply with international standards on the specified issue. The internal affairs bodies of Ukraine play an important role in combating human trafficking. Since 2000, specialized units for combating crimes related to human trafficking had operated within the structure of the Criminal Investigation Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and regional departments. Later, it was transformed into the Department for Combating Crimes Related to Human Trafficking. The Main Department for Combating Organized Crime (HUBOZ) is also within the structure of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The Ukrainian law enforcement officers cooperate with international law enforcement agencies and national law enforcement agencies. Joint operational developments are implemented regarding transnational criminal organizations involved in human trafficking, exchange of operational information; planning and implementation of joint operations, which are carried out under the leadership of Europol, the Regional Centre of the South-East Europe Cooperation Initiative (SECI) in the fight against international crime, with HUAM, etc. A new challenge for the state was the beginning of the Russian Federation's war against Ukraine in 2014, as the number of people "vulnerable to human trafficking" increased, especially among internally relocated people. Data from international organizations show a quantitative increase of several percent at the beginning of the conflict, while qualitative studies have shown the emergence of new types of exploitation: recruitment into the military formations of the LPR-DPR, work under military conditions.

Key words: law enforcement agencies, Ministry of Internal Affairs, regulatory documents, combating human trafficking, combating crimes related to human trafficking, Main Department for Combating Organized Crime, military aggression of the Russian Federation in Ukraine in 2014.

БОРОТЬБА ОРГАНІВ ПРАВОПОРЯДКУ УКРАЇНИ З ТОРГІВЛЕЮ ЛЮДЬМИ (1991 – 2014)

Анотація. *Мета роботи* висвітлити організаційно-правові засади протидії торгівлі людьми, діяльність органів правопорядку у цій сфері. **Методологія роботи** складають загальні та спеціальні методи наукового пізнання. У процесі роботи використано загальнонаукові методи дедукції та індукції, аналізу та синтезу. Застосовано порівняльно-правовий метод під час аналізу нормативно-правових актів, які стосуються проблеми торгівлі людьми. Використано історико-порівняльний метод для вивчення закономірностей і передумов торгівлі людьми, якісний та кількісний вимір вивченої проблеми уможливило застосування статистичного методу. **Наукова новизна роботи.** Здійснений ретроспективний аналіз засобів правової протидії торгівлі людьми в національному законодавстві України, його практичне втілення у діяльності органів правопорядку.

Висновки. Торгівля людьми є проявом транснаціонального злочину та водночас одним із найбільш ганебних порушень прав та свобод людини. Зважаючи міжнародний масштаб цієї проблеми, демократичні держави надають значну увагу протидії цьому явищу, приймаючи низку міжнародно-правових актів, спрямованих на заборону торгівлі людьми у всіх можливих її проявах, міждержавному співробітництві. Україна імплементувала конвенції та протоколи, спрямовані попередженню та протидію торгівлі людьми ООН, Ради Європи. Також була однією із перших країн Європи, яка ще у 1998 р. встановила кримінальну відповідальність за торгівлю людьми. Поступово оновлювала національне законодавство, зокрема Кримінальний Кодекс, аби він відповідав міжнародним стандартам з окресленої тематики. Важливе місце у протидії торгівлі людьми відіграють органи внутрішніх справ України. Від 2000 р. в структурі Департаменту карного розшуку МВС та обласних управліннях діяли спеціалізовані підрозділи боротьби зі злочинами, пов'язаними з торгівлею людьми, що згодом був трансформований у Департамент боротьби зі злочинами, пов'язаними з торгівлею людьми. Також у структурі МВС діє Головне управління боротьби з організованою злочинністю (ГУБОЗ). Українські правоохоронці співпрацюють із міжнародними правоохоронними організаціями, національними органами правопорядку. Відбуваються спільні оперативні розробки щодо транснаціональних

злочинних об'єднань, які ведуть торгівлю людьми, обмін оперативною інформацією; планування та здійснення спільних операцій, які відбуваються під керівництвом Європол, Регіонального центру Ініціативи співробітництва в Південно-Східній Європі (SECI) у боротьбі з міжнародною злочинністю, із ГУАМ тощо. Новим викликом для держави став початок війни Російської Федерації проти України у 2014 р. адже збільшилась кількість людей “уразливих до торгівлі людьми”, особливо серед внутрішньо переміщених осіб. Дані міжнародних організацій демонструють кількісне зростання у межах кількох відсотків на початку конфлікту, натомість якісні дослідження засвідчили появу нових видів експлуатації: залучення до військових формувань ЛНР-ДНР, працю у військових умовах.

Ключові слова: правоохоронні органи, МВС, нормативно-правові документи, протидія торгівлі людьми, боротьба зі злочинами, пов'язаними з торгівлею людьми, Головне управління боротьби з організованою злочинністю, військова агресія Російської Федерації в Україні 2014 р.

Problem Statement. Human trafficking is one of the most dangerous forms of human rights and freedoms violations, a modern form of slavery, and one of the manifestations of transnational organized crime (Maliyk, & Skorych, 2024, p.117). The concept of human trafficking includes “various types and forms of human exploitation, according to international regulatory and legal documents and the legislation of Ukraine” (Luhina, & Vasylynchuk, 2020, p. 463). According to the Protocol “To Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in People, especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime” of November 15, 2000 (entered into force in Ukraine in 2004), “trafficking in people – the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring of people, by means of threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, abduction, fraud, deception, abuse of power or a position of vulnerability, or giving or receiving payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation” (Protokol do Konventsii OON, 2000).

The collapse of the Soviet Union led to the opening of borders and the revival of migration processes in Eastern Europe. Along with this, a human trafficking took on a larger dimension (Pozniak, 2013, p. 2). In the 1990s and 2000s, the research was actively conducted in Ukraine by the International Organization for Migration, according to its 2011 report, “Ukraine has been classified as a source, transit country for human trafficking of men, women, and children” (Dean, 2025, p.56). A thorough quantitative study with three surveys conducted by the researchers Ronald Hampton and Duane Ball from the University of Nebraska, the USA, demonstrated that in the mid-2000s, at least 22,000 Ukrainian citizens went abroad to work and were enslaved to one degree or another. “The total number of victims of human trafficking was at least 110,000 people during three – five years before the study had been conducted” (Ball, Hampton, 2009, p. 6).

Review of Recent Research and Publications. We analyzed the historiography of the scientific problem taking into account the work of M. Haliv and V. Ilnytsky (Haliv & Ilnytskyi, 2021; Ilnytskyi & Haliv, 2022; Haliv & Ilnytskyi, 2023). The problem of a human trafficking and multi-vector counteraction has gained increasing coverage in the media and academic studies recently (Weitzer, 2014, p. 6). However, there is still no consensus on the interpretation of the concept, as some analysts advocate a somewhat broader interpretation of the concept: “in fact, any illegal migration for the purpose of obtaining work, and especially migration that leads to prostitution, is trafficking in people, regardless of whether a person consented to or was aware of the type and conditions of work in the destination” (Weitzer, 2014, p. 6; Kara, 2009, pp. 4–5). Among a number of studies by the English-speaking academic community, one can highlight the comprehensive studies by L. Shelley, who analyses the problem of

a human trafficking through the prism of studying transnational organized crime (Shelley, 2012), M. S. Burke, who also studies this issue from an interdisciplinary perspective (Burke, 2022; Pozniak, 2013).

A significant part of the studies is devoted to the Ukrainian dimension of this issue after the full-scale invasion of the Russian Federation into Ukraine, while significantly fewer publications concern the period of the 1990s and 2000s (with the exception of final reports of international organizations on the situation in the region, or more specifically in Ukraine) (Volmer, Bilan, Lapshyna, & Vdovtsova, 2010), the first stages of the Russo-Ukrainian war (Dean, 2025). In the Ukrainian historiography, V. Ivashchenko (Ivashchenko, 1999a; Ivashchenko, 1999b), T. Vozna (Vozna, 2001; Vozna, 2003; Vozna, 2004), Ya. Lyzohub (Lyzohub, 2003; Lyzohub, 2011). A. Andrushko (Andrushko, 2021), Ye. Zozulia (Zozulia, 2008; Zozulia, 2011) studied this issue.

Research Results. Human trafficking is an acute problem of our time. A growing role of modern technologies, social networks in communication, and ever-increasing international migration collectively create new challenges in the fight against human trafficking (Hordieiev, Ishchenko, & Kyselov, 2004, pp. 157–158). Counteracting this crime is also one of the priorities of the Ukrainian state. It is a convincing fact that Ukraine was one of the first countries in Europe to establish criminal liability for human trafficking in 1998 (Pyshchulina, 2003, p. 403). In accordance with the Law of Ukraine of March 24, 1998 No. 210/98 of the Verkhovna Rada, the Criminal Code was supplemented with Article 124-1 “trafficking in people”, which provided for liability for open or hidden secret appropriation of a person “related to a legal or illegal movement, with or without consent of a person across the state border of Ukraine or without such consent for further sale or other paid transfer for the purpose of a sexual exploitation, use in the porn business, involvement in criminal activity, involvement in debt bondage, adoption for commercial purposes, use in armed conflicts, exploitation of his/her labour”. The punishment for such a crime was imprisonment for a term of three to seven years with or without confiscation of property (Akhtyrskaya, 2006, p. 18). In the updated Criminal Code of Ukraine of 2001, Article 149 “Trafficking in People or Other Illegal Transaction Concerning a Person” was introduced. Articles 149 and 303 according to the Law of Ukraine “On Amendments to the Criminal Code of Ukraine to Improve Responsibility for Human Trafficking and Involvement in Prostitution” was redrafted and ratified in 2006. These articles met international standards for “respecting the rights of victims of a human trafficking” (Akhtyrskaya, 2006, p. 19; Balobanova, 2021, p. 11).

Under the Commissioner for Human Rights of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, Coordination Council for Combating Trafficking in Women and Children was established in 1999 (Voitsikhovskiy, 2013, p. 150). The following year, special units to combat crimes related to human trafficking were organized under the Criminal Investigation Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine in regional departments of internal affairs. Also, in accordance with the Decree of the President of Ukraine “On Measures to Further Strengthen Law and Order, Protect the Rights and Freedoms of Citizens” dated February 18, 2002 No. 143, it is stated that the fight against human trafficking is “one of the priority areas of activity of law enforcement agencies of Ukraine” (Luhina, & Vasylynchuk, 2020, p. 464; Ukaz Prezydenta Ukrainy, 2003). At the legislative level an important step that consolidated the fight against trafficking in people was the ratification of the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime on February 4, 2004, and additionally the adoption of the Protocol “To Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in People, Especially Women

and Children”, supplementing the Convention (Vysvitlennia, 2007, pp. 51–52). On May 16, 2005, in Warsaw, the member states of the Council of Europe signed the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings. Ukraine ratified the Convention on 21 September 2010. This document provides a comprehensive interpretation of the concept of trafficking in people, which echoes the UN Protocol on this issue (Lutskyi, & Hazdaika-Vasylyshyn, 2023, p. 46).

In 2002 – 2005, in accordance with the Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine No. 766 of June 5, 2002, Comprehensive Programme to Combat Human Trafficking was in effect. The next similar programme was approved for the period of 2007 – 2010. The main objectives of the programme are “to improve the mechanism of a regulatory and legal regulation of issues of combating human trafficking, as well as the fight against it, including them in educational syllabus for children and youth; to conduct explanatory work through the media; to ensure effective interaction between law enforcement agencies of Ukraine and other states in combating human trafficking” (Vysvitlennia, 2007, pp. 55–56).

The main role in the implementation of comprehensive practical measures to combat human trafficking is played by the internal affairs bodies of Ukraine. Since 2000, specialized units for combating crimes related to human trafficking had operated within the structure of the Criminal Investigation Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and regional departments. Its successor was the Department for Combating Crimes Related to Human Trafficking, established on March 30, 2005 on the basis of the Department for Combating Crimes Related to Human Trafficking; departments (divisions) of the Main Departments and Departments of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, in the regions and cities of Kyiv and Sevastopol (Zozulia, 2011, p. 86; Dubyna, 2015, p. 35; Vysvitlennia, 2007, p. 58).

The priorities in the work of the Department for Combating Crimes Related to Human Trafficking of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine and its regional structures “are the identification and termination of the activities of criminal groups, including those of a transnational nature, operating in the field of human trafficking, and the prevention of crimes of this nature” (Dubyna, 2015, p. 35).

In July of 2009, a separate department for combating cybercrime was formed within the Department for Combating Crimes Related to Trafficking. In order to improve the effectiveness of combating crimes committed using modern technologies and human trafficking, illegal migration, and “clearly delineate competence and eliminate duplication of functions between operational units of the internal affairs bodies of Ukraine”, in accordance with the Order of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine No. 581 of November 24, 2010, the Department for Combating Cybercrime and Human Trafficking of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine was established (Nakaz MVS, 2010). At the same time, this Department is directly subordinate to the units for combating cybercrime and human trafficking of the internal affairs bodies of Ukraine (Polozhennia MVS, 2010).

According to statistics from the Ministry of Internal Affairs, from March of 1998, when criminal liability for human trafficking was introduced, until the 2000s, 3.5 thousand such crimes were detected, and in the first decade of 2000, only 2.6 thousand such criminal offenses were detected. Such dynamics indicates the systematic work of the special units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine (Dubyna, 2015, p. 36). In 2005 – 2014, “2833 people (2065 women, 768 men, including 306 minors) were recognized as victims of human trafficking in criminal proceedings. At the same time, as Vladyslav Dubyna (Deputy Director

of the Department for Combating Crimes Related to Human Trafficking, Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine) emphasized in 2015, since 2005 there had been a trend towards a decrease in “facts of human trafficking, and since 2009 – the number of victims of human trafficking among teenagers minors” (Dubyna, 2015, p. 37).

The Main Department for Combating Organized Crime also plays an important role in the structure of law enforcement agencies of Ukraine, which are also responsible for combating human trafficking (HUBOZ) (Vysvitlennia, 2007, p. 59). In order to combat human trafficking on an international scale effectively, there is interaction with international law enforcement organizations, national law enforcement agencies in the countries of export and transit, the destination of human trafficking, in particular with the “Republic of Turkey, the Russian Federation (until 2014), the Republic of Poland, the Czech Republic, Germany and the State of Israel”. Operational developments are carried out jointly with these states regarding transnational criminal organizations that traffic in people, and the exchange of operational information. It is also important to plan and implement joint operations and measures to prevent international trafficking (Zozulia, 2011, p. 86).

Under the auspices of Europol, representatives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine took part in the international operation “Sunflower” to “block the channels for the export of women from Ukraine to Italy for their further sexual exploitation”. Important was the participation of the Ukrainian law enforcement officers in international operations “Mirage” and “Mirage2003” under the auspices of the Regional Centre of the South-East Europe Cooperation Initiative (SECI) in the fight against international crime; as well as joint activities with HUAM – participation in operations “Chimera”, “Intercept”), in order to combat human trafficking in the territory of South-East Europe countries, and to prevent human trafficking (Zozulia, 2011, p. 86).

On September 20, 2011 the adoption by the Verkhovna Rada of the comprehensive Law of Ukraine “On Combating Trafficking in People” and many other related by-laws played a significant role in improving the Ukrainian legislation in the field of combating human trafficking. According to this new legislation, the state was better able to identify and assist “victims of human trafficking”, including in cases of lack of cooperation with law enforcement agencies, and to obtain the status of a “victim” in criminal proceedings. The defined powers of “the subjects of the National Interaction Mechanism that implement measures to combat human trafficking” are also significant. At the same time, a separate section of the Law “Combating Child Trafficking” is an innovation, which provides for articles “on special principles of combating child trafficking, preventing child trafficking, informing about children who have been victims of human trafficking, providing assistance and returning children who have been victims of human trafficking” (Sozanskyi, Hadaika-Vasylyshyn, Zakharova, 2019, p. 14). On March 21, 2012, the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine adopted a new State Targeted Social Programme to Combat Human Trafficking for the period until 2015 (Pozniak, 2013, p. 3).

In 2005, since its establishment the Department for Combating Crimes Related to Human Trafficking has begun cooperation with the International Organization for Migration (IOM) in Ukraine (Volmer, Bilan, Lapshyna, Vdovtsova, 2010, p. 31) and also with the newly created All-Ukrainian Coalition of Public Organizations to Combat Human Trafficking. Interaction has been established with the Office of the OSCE Project Coordinator (Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe) in Ukraine, the International Women’s Human Rights Center “La Strada – Ukraine” (Dubyna, 2014, p. 235).

Owing to cooperation with IOM, a number of information campaigns, trainings for the media and teachers have been held, and consultation centres have been opened. These are centres for the rehabilitation of victims of human trafficking in Kyiv, Lviv, Odesa, Ternopil, and Kharkiv. Another important initiative was the introduction of a free short number “527”, which “directs all calls to the Organization’s free national information service. Professional hotline operators provide advice and warnings on finding work abroad, as well as help people who have been exploited abroad” (Dubyna, 2014, p. 236).

The turning point that negatively affected the situation with human trafficking was the military aggression of the Russian Federation in Ukraine in 2014, and the economic crisis, the number of people “vulnerable to human trafficking” increased (Dean, 2025, p. 57). The percentage of this category of people increased from 14 to 21 (according to IOM research in 2015). As of 2014 – 2015, according to the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, there were “1.7 million internally displaced people in Ukraine, and 1.4 million people had fled to neighbouring countries” (Ukraine: Overview of population displacement (as of 21 August 2015)). However, as a researcher Laura Dean rightly pointed out, these figures, while indicating “a significant increase in the displaced population, which increases vulnerability, do not necessarily lead to human trafficking” (Dean, 2025, p. 57). Similar conclusions were also made by the Ukrainian researchers Oleksiy Humin, Oleh Shmilyk, and Violetta Koliakina, who refuted media reports that noted a sharp increase in human trafficking cases due to the war in Eastern Ukraine. Noting that the military process increased hypothetical opportunities, but according to analytical data for several years there has been no significant increase in the scale of this problem. In particular, since the beginning of 2014, the increase in the number of victims of human trafficking has not exceeded a few percent. However, it is worth noting that there is a significant problem in calculating actual data in the uncontrolled territories of Eastern Ukraine. Also, according to experts, the occupation of Donbas has led to the emergence of a new method of human trafficking, including “work under military conditions, forced coercion to participate in a military conflict, the role of a human shield or informant, the use of children to participate in illegal military formations of the DPR and LPR” (Humin, Shmilyk, & Koliakina, 2021, pp. 122–123).

Conclusions. The fight against human trafficking requires systematic and coordinated work of law enforcement agencies, combining the efforts of the public sector and state authorities. The Ukrainian law enforcement agencies make great efforts to combat this complex manifestation of organized crime. Under the Commissioner for Human Rights of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, a Coordination Council for Combating Trafficking in Women and Children was established in 1999. In 2000, special units to combat crimes related to human trafficking were established in the Criminal Investigation Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine in regional departments of internal affairs. In 2005, on the basis of the department for combating crimes related to human trafficking there were established departments (divisions) of the Main Departments and Departments of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, in the regions and cities of Kyiv and Sevastopol.

The war and its consequences in various areas increase the risk factors that encourage people to leave Ukraine, and at the same time, the dynamics of human trafficking is growing. New forms of exploitation have appeared, in particular, along with human trafficking for a forced labour, there are facts of a forced recruitment to participate in the military conflict on the side of illegal terrorist pro-Russian military groups.

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YOUTH “MILITARY AND PATRIOTIC” CLUBS IN THE TEMPORARY OCCUPIED TERRITORIES OF DONETSK AND LUHANSK REGIONS: CREATION AND FUNCTIONING FEATURES

Abstract. *The purpose of the research* is to reveal the specifics of the activity of youth “military and patriotic” clubs in the temporarily occupied territories of Donetsk and Luhansk regions. **The methodology of the research.** Due to the historical genetic method of research, it became possible, based on a complex of open sources, to reproduce events in their chronological sequence and analyze the main aspects of the military and patriotic clubs functioning, historical systemic – to consider their activities as part of the system of the military and patriotic education formed by the occupational administrations. **Scientific Novelty.** In the article there have been made an attempt to analyze the organizational and substantive aspects of the functioning of such clubs, which have been established since 2014 in the temporarily occupied territories of Donbas. Direct military training of minors (with the use of weapons and ammunition) was entrusted to the individuals, who took part in the illegal armed formations with the appropriate content: practical focus (conducting basic military training on a permanent basis, organizing mass events, competitions, military camps, etc.) and ideological work (in particular, forming the image of the enemy, exploiting historical narratives of World War II in a pro-Russian interpretation with reference to the present, etc.). **Conclusions.** The training of youth in similar organizations, including the holding of events on the territory of the Russian Federation, gives reason to believe that the Russian military political leadership tried, on the one hand, to form a new identity for the population of certain regions of Donbas, and on the other hand, to provide minors with specific knowledge, skills and abilities related to military. The combination of these goals was aimed at the future use local youth as a potential mobilization resource in case of a full-scale invasion on the territory of Ukraine.

Key words: military-patriotic education, militarization, military training, ideological work, youth, club, temporarily occupied territory, Ukraine, Donbas, Russian Federation.

МОЛОДІЖНІ “ВІЙСЬКОВО-ПАТРІОТИЧНІ” КЛУБИ НА ТИМЧАСОВО ОКУПОВАНИХ ТЕРИТОРІЯХ ДОНЕЦЬКОЇ І ЛУГАНСЬКОЇ ОБЛАСТЕЙ: ОСОБЛИВОСТІ СТВОРЕННЯ ТА ФУНКЦІОНУВАННЯ

Анотація. *Мета дослідження* – розкрити специфіку діяльності молодіжних “військово-патріотичних” клубів на тимчасово окупованих територіях Донецької та Луганської областей. **Методологія дослідження.** Історико-генетичний метод дослідження дав змогу на основі комплексу відкритих джерел відтворити події у хронологічній послідовності та проаналізувати основні аспекти роботи військово-патріотичних клубів; історико-системний – розглянути їхню діяльність у складі системи військово-патріотичного виховання, сформованої окупаційними адміністраціями. **Наукова новизна.** У статті зроблено спробу проаналізувати організаційні та змістові аспекти роботи таких клубів, створених з 2014 р. на тимчасово окупованих територіях Донбасу. Безпосередня військова підготовка неповнолітніх (із застосуванням зброї та боєприпасів) покладалася на осіб, які брали участь у складі незаконних збройних формувань із відповідним змістом: практичним спрямуванням (проведення початкової військової підготовки на постійній основі, організація масових заходів, змагань, військових зборів тощо) та ідеологічною роботою (зокрема, формування образу ворога, експлуатація історичних наративів Другої світової війни в проросійській інтерпретації з прив’язкою до сьогодення тощо). **Висновки.** Навчання молоді в подібних організаціях, з-поміж іншого, проведення заходів на території Російської Федерації, дає підстави вважати, що російське військово-політичне керівництво намагалося, з одного боку, сформувати нову ідентичність для населення окупованих районів Донбасу, з іншого – надати неповнолітнім спеціальні знання, уміння та навички, пов’язані з військовою діяльністю. Сукупність цих цілей була спрямована на те, щоб у майбутньому використовувати місцеву молодь як потенційний мобілізаційний ресурс у разі широкомасштабного вторгнення на територію України.

Ключові слова: військово-патріотичне виховання, мілітаризація, військова підготовка, ідеологічна робота, молодь, клуб, тимчасово окупована територія, Україна, Донбас, Російська Федерація.

Problem Statement. Since 2014, the Russian Federation has been carrying out armed aggression against Ukraine using its armed forces, as well as self-proclaimed bodies controlled by it, which usurped the performance of power functions in the temporarily occupied territories of Ukraine. In order to oppose the state authorities of Ukraine, the illegal armed formations were formed in certain areas of Donetsk and Luhansk regions, which recruited local residents, including youth under the age of 18. Minors were entrusted with a number of tasks, including direct participation in combat operations against the forces of the anti-terrorist operation. Some of them were trained in the so-called military and patriotic clubs, which were established spontaneously in the temporarily occupied territories of Donbas in 2014 – 2015. Later, the occupation administrations of the so-called republics began to establish the similar organizations deliberately in certain areas of Donetsk and Luhansk regions for systematic work on militarization of local youth – the basic military training implementation, as well as carrying out the ideological work with minors.

Review of Recent Research and Publications. The issue on the Ukrainian youth militarization in the temporarily occupied territories has become the subject focus of domestic researches in sociology, political science, jurisprudence. The impact issue on the child population of the occupied territories can be studied through the lens of a number of humanitarian sciences. According to psychological and educational science, this issue has an impact on specific education, which aims to foster hatred by forming the image of the enemy, among other things, and the development of a new quasi-identity. Sociological science studies this issue in the context of the consequences for society in the long term, in particular

the issue of the potential reintegration of the generation that was under occupation for about 10 years. At the same time, legal science studies militarization from the point of view of the international humanitarian law, which prohibits the minors' involvement of in illegal activities. Olena Klymenko considers separate strategies for recruiting children into illegal armed groups, in particular through the so-called military and patriotic clubs. According to the researcher, this method of recruitment is related to the satisfaction of the public expectations of the community about protection against a possible enemy. In fact, minors were provoked to join the illegal armed formations by preparing them to “defend the Motherland” in specialized organizations – clubs (Klymenko, 2019). Serhii Zubchenko also considers the involvement of children in the activities of military and patriotic clubs, paramilitary camps as an element of recruiting minors into illegal armed groups and predisposing them to terrorist activities in the future (Zubchenko, 2016). In general, the Russian policy was aimed at creating a broad infrastructure (various movements, organizations and associations) of a “patriotic” focus for the local child population in the occupied part of Donbas (Oliinyk, & Bækken, 2023; Bækken, 2025).

The issue on the minors' participation in the armed conflict in Donbas was studied in scientific works of a legal nature (Chekhovska & Nychytailo, 2016; Lesko, 2017; Romantsova, 2020). According to the norms of the international criminal and humanitarian law (Article 8 of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, Article 4 of the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the Participation of Children in Armed Conflicts), recruiting and using children to participate in hostilities is considered a war crime. At the same time, people under the age of 15 and 18 are considered children in the mentioned documents. The Ukrainian legislation corresponds to the specified norms. According to the Criminal Code of Ukraine (Article 304), minors' involvement in the criminal activity is punishable by imprisonment for a term of 3 to 7 years. At the same time, in accordance with the Law of Ukraine “On Protection of Childhood” (Article 30), in addition to the direct minors' participation in hostilities, it is prohibited to promote war, as well as training of children in order to use them in armed conflicts or violent actions aimed at overthrowing state power or violating territorial integrity. The military training of minors in the temporarily occupied territories of Donetsk and Luhansk regions in “military and patriotic” clubs or other similar organizations can be considered as training for criminal purposes, war propaganda and intention of the military and political leadership of Russia and the occupation administrations controlled by it to recruit and use local youth in the armed conflict against Ukraine.

In the context of historical science, the youth policy of the aggressor country to the population of the occupied territories consisted in an attempt to subjugate, form loyalty to the aggressor state, as well as secular and religious education of the younger generation within the framework of its national interests, in particular, use as a mobilization resource, labour exploitation, etc. Thus, the author considers the militarization of the child population of certain districts of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions as a systemic phenomenon through the education system (Pashkova, 2022a; Pashkova, 2023b; Koval (Ed.), 2023, pp. 244–250), non-educational activities, in particular the functioning of paramilitary camps (Pashkova, 2023a), as well as its consequences for the state security of Ukraine in the context of the full-scale invasion of the Russian Federation (Pashkova, 2022a; Pashkova, 2024).

The research methodology is based on the historical genetic, historical systemic methods. The historical genetic method was used during the disclosure of the military and patriotic clubs formation sequence in the temporarily occupied territories of Ukraine, the

peculiarities of the upbringing process of their members. The historical systemic method made it possible to consider the military and patriotic clubs as a component of the system of the military-patriotic education as a whole, established in the self-proclaimed republics. The conducted research is based on a complex of sources: the Official notifications of the state authorities of Ukraine – the Office of the Prosecutor General of Ukraine, the Ombudsman for Human Rights; Data, collected by human rights organizations; Photo and video materials; Messages in social networks; Publications of mass media, including those controlled by self-proclaimed bodies in the temporarily occupied territories of Donetsk and Luhansk regions; Messages from the “official websites” of self-proclaimed bodies in the temporarily occupied territories of Donetsk and Luhansk regions.

The purpose of the article is to reveal the specifics of the youth “military and patriotic” clubs activity in the temporarily occupied territories of Donetsk and Luhansk regions*.

Research Results. After the occupation of certain areas of Donetsk and Luhansk regions of Ukraine in 2014, the efforts of the military and political leadership of the Russian Federation, through the occupation administrations under their control, began to be directed at massive influence on the consciousness of local youth through the creation of a dense information space without access to alternative sources and the ability to avoid influence. The formation of new citizens of the republics was accompanied by the creation of the corresponding attributes of “statehood” – legislation, symbols (coat of arms, anthem, and flag), state infrastructure (“authorities”), etc. The self-proclaimed bodies of the pseudo-republics (“ministries of education”, “ministries of youth”) began to work on the implementation of the so-called patriotic upbringing of the local children both through the sphere of education (Pashkova, 2023b) and extracurricular activities.

Organization and support of the activities of military and patriotic clubs: subordination and performers. The system of the extracurricular education (“military and patriotic” clubs, circles, sections) began to be considered by the local “legislation” as one of the ways of forming “patriotism” of the youth of the pseudo-republics (“The Resolution of the Council of Ministers of Luhansk People’s Republic...”). Involvement of minors (aged 8–17 years) in such associations intended to establish control over their leisure time and indoctrinating of new ideologues: allegedly historically determined necessity of the “struggle for independence” from Ukraine, historical and cultural space shared with Russia, etc. During the period of active hostilities in Donbas (2014 – early 2015 year) local military and patriotic clubs were created unsystematically (or repurposed from clubs, that operated before the occupation), their activities mostly depended on the personnel potential, available material and technical base, the level of financial support, etc. With the localization of the armed conflict in certain areas of Donetsk and Luhansk regions, this work acquired a more orderly character, in particular, due to the creation of appropriate legislation. Thus, in 2015 – 2021, the occupying administrations of the pseudo-republics developed a number of “normative and legal acts” (laws, concepts, programs, orders, recommendations) that determined their visions of the patriotic education of local youth (Koval, 2023, pp. 244, 245). In order to bring the work of such organizations to unified standards in the so-called Donetsk People’s Republic, only in 2018 “Temporary order of activity of patriotic, military and patriotic, sports-patriotic youth and children’s associations of the DPR” was developed, as well as the “Typical program of training of pupils of the military and patriotic clubs, circles and

* This refers to the temporarily occupied territories of Donetsk and Luhansk regions as of February 24, 2022.

associations of the DPR", which was tested in 11 such clubs ("The Resolution of Donetsk People's Republic...").

The work with personnel included the involvement as instructors and mentors of people, who participated in the activities of illegal armed formations, and the retraining of leaders of "military and patriotic" clubs. For example, one of the Chiefs of the so-called the Cossack "military and patriotic" sports club "Stepnie volki" ("Steppe Wolves") (Snizhne, Donetsk region) was a representative of the IAF "Kalmius". The program of work with children included military, physical and medical training, which was carried out by former or active members of other illegal armed formations.

Regarding retraining, it is worth noting that some individuals headed local children and youth organizations even before the start of the armed conflict in Donbas, subsequently changing their views and beliefs, in accordance with new "ideological" postulates. For example, since 2003, the head of the "military and patriotic" sports club "Vitiaz'" ("Knight"), which operated on the basis of a secondary education institution (Donetsk), also taught history and "Defence of Motherland". In the future, the members of his club were involved in hostilities as part of the illegal armed formations of the "DPR" and underwent "military service" in the so-called ministry of defence. At the end of 2014, the "Voin" club ("Warrior") (Rozkishne village, Luhansk region) carried out a new set of pupils, although it was founded long before the armed conflict, and its leader (a physical education teacher at a secondary school) was engaged in "patriotic education" of local youth during 20 years. Since 2014, the law enforcement agencies of Ukraine have been conducting systematic work to identify and bring to justice people involved in the involvement of minors in criminal activities. In 2021 one of the organizers of the "military and patriotic" club "Amazonki" ("Amazons") (Horlivka, Donetsk region), which emerged on the basis of a secondary education institution, was declared suspicious. The organizer of the "Molodaya Gvardiya Donbassa" movement ("The Young Guard of Donbass") and "Spartantsi" club ("The Spartans") were also found and convicted in absentia (Office of the Prosecutor General, 2021).

Teachers of local educational institutions were also forced to get involved in the activities of such associations. Thus, in December 2016, the so-called ministry of education and science of the DPR recommended (read between the lines – ordered) the secondary vocational education institutions to create the "military and patriotic" clubs from among students and teaching staff and to develop relevant documentation (regulations, work plans, etc.). At the same time, already during the period from March to November 2017, the "Ministry" planned to hold a "republican" festival of student clubs "We are for a free republic!", which indicates that the recommendation to create "military and patriotic" organizations carried out a mandatory nature. For example, the "Russkii medved" club ("The Russian Bear") was created at Donetsk Metallurgical Lyceum (Donetsk) under the leadership of its teacher (the military training of club members was carried out at the training base in Vuhlehirsk) (Klymenko, 2019, p. 16), the "Podvig" club ("The Feat") – Shakhtar Pedagogical College (Shakhtarsk, Donetsk region) and others.

Such people as the "Ministry of education" were involved in special events. Thus, the "patriotic education program" for 2020 – 2022 in the so-called DPR provided for the allocation of 300,000 rubles for the organization and holding of the "republican" seminars and conferences for the leaders of "military and patriotic" clubs and circles. The situation was similar with other teaching staff of educational institutions of all levels. In particular,

the so-called DPR annually organized “educational seminars for training (improvement of qualifications) in the field of patriotic education”: in 2017 – 3, in 2018 – 1, in 2019 – 4. It was planned to allocate funds of 134 thousand rubles for such events in the period of 2020 – 2022 years in the pseudo-republic (“The Resolution of Donetsk People’s Republic...”).

Financial support for the activities of such associations was carried out at the expense of local or “republican” budgets, voluntary contributions and donations (both direct members of the club and outsiders) and sponsorship from commercial structures, and the material and technical base (property, equipment) was supplied by certain organizations. For example, in the so-called LPR, the “people’s militia” provided uniforms for teenagers – who were members of the “Molodaya Gvardiya – Yunarmiya” (“The Young Guard – Yunarmiya”) movement. Other self-proclaimed authorities also took care of “military and patriotic clubs”. For example, on the initiative of the so-called Ministry of Internal Affairs of the LPR, there were established the following clubs “Zvezda” (“The Star”) in Luhansk, “Yunost Novorossii” (“The Youth of Novorossiya”) in Otamanivka (Molodohvardiisk), etc. In particular, the latter was created in the fall of 2014, and most of its participants were orphans and children, who found themselves in difficult life circumstances (Klymkovetskyi, 2022). In addition, in 2018, employees of the “ministry” – participants in hostilities against forces of the Anti-terrorist operation, created the public organization “Patriotic Association of Donbass”, which, in particular, organized “patriotic” events for local youth, including on the territory of the Russian Federation. The supervisory board of the association included well-known representatives of illegal armed formations and occupation administration of the “LPR”.

Reaching a wide range of minors with the militarized leisure time through the expansion of the network of the military and patriotic clubs. In the occupied territory of Donetsk region alone, by the Office of the Prosecutor General of Ukraine discovered more than 10 so-called military and patriotic clubs, including the “Molodaya Gvardiya Donbassa”, the “Amazonki”, the “Patriot”, the “Bastion”, the “Stepnie volki”. For example, the “Stepnie volki” club was created in 2018 for the children of the so-called Cossacks, who came from the village of Vasilievskaya and in 2019 26 local minors were involved in its activities. Its structure based on a military model, including wearing military uniform, awarding “military ranks” for reaching success in training, etc. During the three-day festival “The future of Russia – is us” (Stavropol, Russian Federation) they “... *marched in formation, did everything like soldiers*”. Also, this club became one of the first to pass the approval of the “Typical training program for pupils of military and patriotic clubs, circles and associations of the DPR”.

There are other similar organizations from Donetsk region the “Kaskad” (“The Cascade”), the “Suvorovets”, the “Severnii veter” (“The Northern Wind”), the “Berkut” (“The Golden Eagle”), the “Yermak”, the “Peresvet”, the “Zastava-58” (“The Outpost-58”), the “Mech” (“The Sword”), etc. According to data published by the DPR, the number of “military and patriotic” clubs, circles and associations in this part of occupied Donbas as of the end of 2019 was 62 organizations in total, and the number of their pupils was 2,014 (“The Resolution of Donetsk People’s Republic...”). Similar clubs also operated in the occupied territory of Luhansk region (the “Amazonki”, the “Dobrovolets” (“The Volunteer”), the “Redut” (“The Redoubt”), the “Voin”, the “Vympel” (“The Pennant”), the “Vityaz”, etc.). As of 2020, there were 32 “military-patriotic” clubs in the “LPR” and 987 people were involved in their activities (Pashkova, 2022a, p. 56). Moreover, a number of the “military and patriotic” clubs based on the Cossack identity was more visible in so-called LPR (Bækken, 2025, p. 41). According to the Eastern Human Rights Group, in 2014 – 2021, 8,437 children underwent

military training in similar clubs in the temporarily occupied territories of Donetsk and Luhansk regions (Lysianskyi, 2021).

Although the local clubs activities were aimed at "educating republican patriotism" and forming children's readiness for their "defence", the military and political leadership of the Russian Federation continued to "feed" the ideology of "Russian world" in relation to the youth of the territories occupied by it. In 2019, in the "LPR" (February) and the "DPR" (April), the so-called public organizations military-patriotic movement "Molodaya Gvardiya – Yunarmiya" based on the Russian model were founded: regulatory framework (statute), symbols (uniform, badges, and card), rituals (oath), military training. Structurally, the "Yunarmiya" movement in the so-called DPR consisted of four territorial headquarters – Donetsk, Horlivka, Kalmiuske (aka Komsomolske), Novoazovsk. In the so-called LPR, in turn, three cities (Luhansk, Alchevsk, Khrustalnyi (aka Krasnyi Luch) and five regional (Luhansk, Alchevsk, Kadiivka (aka Stakhanov), Brianka, Khrustalnyi (aka Krasnyi Luch) headquarters were opened.

The training program of "young soldiers" as a whole was similar to other "military-patriotic" organizations. Classes with minors were conducted mainly during the vacation period, 3–4 times a week, during the school period – mostly on weekends. The representatives of the occupation administrations spoke frankly about the purpose of creating the movement, as well as plans for its further integration into the all-Russian movement: *"... it is from such young ... people, who love their homeland that the future of all ... Russia depends"* ("Vladimir Antonov visited field gatherings of the young army men", 2021).

At the same time, unlike the Russian "Yunarmiya", the ranks of Donetsk movement were allowed to accept people under the age of 35 years, which indicates the drastic need of local youth organizations for human resources, which cannot be satisfied only at the expense of minors. This is due to significant demographic changes that took place in Donbas after the start of the armed conflict. Thus, the migration processes (movement of young people and families with children to the territory controlled by the state authorities of Ukraine), a drop in the birth rate caused a 10% reduction in the number of young people under 20 years of age. The share of residents aged from 20 to 39 years (down to 27%) also decreased, with a simultaneous increase in the share of residents aged from 40 to 59 years (up to 35%), and those aged from 60 years and over up to 28% (Vyshnevskiy). At the same time, in 2019 the "Molodaya Gvardiya – Yunarmiya" of the so-called LPR had about 400 minor participants, at the end of 2020 the number of local "Yunarmiya" was about 1,500 people, and as of the end of 2021 – more than 5 thousand participants and 12 detachments from various cities of the temporarily occupied territory of Luhansk region.

Owing to the systematic work on expanding the network of the "military-patriotic" clubs and associations, as well as including as many young people as possible in their activities, it became clear that the priority of this direction for the occupation administrations of the pseudo-republics. In particular, in the so-called DPR, this was defined as one of the tasks of the "patriotic education program" for 2020 – 2022 years. So, in 2014, there were 19 such clubs in the "republic", in 2015 – 30, in 2016 – 41, in 2017 – 51, in 2018 – 60, in 2019 – 62. The predicted number in 2020 was 72 organizations, in 2021 – 80, in 2022 – 90. At the same time, the number of their "protégés" in 2014 was 573, in 2015 – 912, in 2016 – 1,368, in 2017 – 1,549, in 2018 – 1,980, in 2019 – 2,014. According to the forecast of the occupation administration, the number of their participants was to increase in 2020 to 2,400 people, in 2021 – 2,600, in 2022 – 3,000. At the same time, it is worth

noting that a significant amount of funds (more than 28 million rubles) was planned by the program specifically for the expansion of the network of “military-patriotic”, military sports clubs and associations in the pseudo-republic in three years (“The Resolution of Donetsk People’s Republic...”).

The intentions of the occupation administrations to increase the number of “military and patriotic” organizations and the number of minors involved in their activities were mainly aimed at forming a positive attitude to “military service” among local youth, motivation to perform it in the future, and readiness to defend the so-called republics. In other words, to further participation in the armed aggression against Ukraine. Thus, representatives of the occupation administrations and “military-patriotic” clubs stated openly the prospect of further recruitment of “protégés” of such organizations into the ranks of illegal armed formations: “...you link your future with the protection of the republic and its citizens...” (“The head of the DPR and the leadership...” 2020), “... all of our boys want to join service in the security forces in the future”, “Many of our young soldiers want to connect their lives with military service, forceful or rescue structures in the future. Now there is a war ... and it is necessary ... to prepare a worthy replacement!” (“Path of the scout – 2019”, 2019). For example, as of 2019, about 15 people – former members of the “military-patriotic” clubs of the temporarily occupied territory of Donetsk region were doing “military service” in the so-called internal troops of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, 19 – in the “people’s militia”, 15 – in the “Ministry of Emergency situations”, etc. Håvard Bækken and Hanna Oliinyk assume that in the occupied territory of Donbas expectations to join armed formations after reaching adulthood were higher than in the remaining post-Soviet space (Oliinyk, & Bækken, 2023). It is worth noting that the work in the “law enforcement system” of the pseudo-republics for many residents of the temporarily occupied territories was associated with the prospects of high financial support.

Admission of children to the “military and patriotic” clubs was determined, as a rule, by the decision of parents or other relatives (Klymenko, 2019, p. 17) (mostly former or active members of illegal armed formations and the representatives of occupation administrations – children of “security forces” members were primarily considered as a potential resource for staffing such structures in the future), on one’s own initiative (“Young people from Luhansk spoke about patriotism and love for the Motherland”, 2022) or by the example of the peers (attractiveness of military uniforms, leisure activities, including participation in events in Russia, etc.). At the same time, parents’ permission for their children to participate in the “military and patriotic” organizations, clubs, and movements was not always determined only by their personal beliefs, but sometimes by the desire to avoid children’s standing out among their peers (Bukhtiarov, 2021). There were also cases of forced minors’ involvement in the youth organizations due to agitation by pedagogical workers in educational institutions with the demand to provide a written explanation to the parents in case of the refusal (Burov, Lazarenko, Ianova, Nekrasova, & Shcherbachenko, 2016, p. 11). It can be assumed that such episodes did not happen often, because the refusal could attract unwanted attention from the “security forces” and cause suspicions of disloyalty to the occupation administrations.

The content of the activities of the military and patriotic clubs: the practical orientation and ideological work. The work program of the “military-patriotic” clubs provided for basic military training (tactical, formation, fire, physical, medical), as well as appropriate ideological processing of an anti-Ukrainian character. Minors were able to demonstrate their achievements in the military camps (Pashkova, 2023a), during various meetings of the

“military-patriotic” clubs, in particular on the topic “Survival in the forest zone”, “Survival in winter conditions”, “Survival during combat operations” (“The Resolution of Donetsk People’s Republic...”), etc. For example, the large-scale event “Tropa razvedchika – 2019” (“The Scout Trail – 2019”) with involving of 100 young “soldiers” (aged 11–16 years) from 12 clubs from the occupied cities of Donetsk region (Donetsk, Makiivka, Mospine, Ilovaik) was organized in the summer of 2019. The gathering with minors were conducted by 20 instructors – heads of these clubs and active representatives of the illegal armed formations. The winner of the event was the “military-patriotic” club the “Kaskad” (Mospine) under the leadership of former member of the illegal armed formation “Vostok”. The teams went through a series of stages involving military, medical, and physical training tasks: moving along a suspended log, crossing a “mine” field, carrying out “demining”, passing in a plastun style under a string, maintaining a circular defence using small arms mockups, ascent and descent from a tericon about 40 m high, providing medical aid to the “wounded”, transporting him for 100 m, etc. According to one of the club’s instructor: *“Such gatherings help us develop physically, train us, because ... even if we are girls, there is a war going on, and we may need these skills in life!”* (“Path of the scout – 2019”, 2019).

Similar mass events involving a number of the “military-patriotic” organizations were also held on the territory of the so-called LPR. For example, on November 1–2, 2019, in the city of Brianka, a “St. George’s gathering” was organized with the participation of members of clubs from Luhansk, Perevalsk, Sorokyne (aka Krasnodon), Otamanivka (aka Molodohvardiisk) of the temporarily occupied territory of Luhansk region. The event was held with the support of the occupation administration of the city of Brianka, the so-called Ministry of Internal Affairs of the LPR, the Patriotic Association of Donbas, as well as a number of the “Cossack” organizations from the Russian Federation. During the 2-days gathering, the participants competed in throwing a grenade, shooting from a prone position, shooting with obstacles, assembling and disassembling automatic weapons, and also took part in a competition using laser models of weapons – laser tag. In addition, the program included “historical and ideological” events, in particular the reconstruction of battles of the “Great Patriotic War”, as well as contests, where children demonstrated their knowledge of the “history of the Motherland”.

It is worth noting that in the work of the clubs special attention was paid to carrying out ideological work with minors, which was a combination of the Russian chauvinism (“Russian world”), Ukrainophobia, historical myths of an expansionist content (about “the Russian heroes-collectors of land”, “natural borders of the motherland from the Carpathians to the Pacific Ocean”), as well as falsifications of modern events of the armed conflict in Donbas, glorification of representatives of illegal armed formations. For example, members of the military-patriotic club of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the LPR “Yunost Novorossii” organized an honour guard at the tank monument dedicated to “defenders of the republic” (Khriashchuvate village, Luhansk region) to *“...draw attention to the need for military and patriotic education and in memory of the victims and heroes of the fight against Ukrainian aggression”* (“Activists of the Patriotic Club...”, 2017).

Similar events were held by the members of the club in five settlements of the “LPR” and on the occasion of the 72nd anniversary of the “victory in the Great Patriotic War”. At the same time, the appeal to the events of the German-Soviet War of 1941 – 1945 years was, as a rule, accompanied by a reference to the events of today. For example, in 2017, as part of events dedicated to the 74th anniversary of the liberation of Donbas from German

troops, the occupation administration of the so-called DPR opened a chapel in the Savur-Mohyla Memorial Complex in honour of representatives of illegal armed groups, who died in battles for this area in 2014. Later, the annual “patriotic” action “Walk of Fame” was started on the basis of the Memorial Complex. In the words of a young army woman from the so-called LPR after visiting it: “... we were told about Savur-Mohyla, that during the Great Patriotic War there were battles there. And then, in 2014, history repeated itself. The fighters of Ukraine tried to conquer this place...” (“Young people from Luhansk spoke about patriotism and love for the Motherland”, 2022). Thus, in the minds of the local youth, a belief was formed about the modern armed conflict in Donbas as a “continuation of the war with fascism”, in particular through drawing historical parallels. By the way, in 2021, 70 “young soldiers” from Horlivka (Donetsk region) were involved in the event.

It is worth noting that the ideological processing of minors in the “LPR” was carried out by the so-called head of the above-mentioned “Patriotic Association of Donbass” Oleksii Selivanov. At the same time, until 2014, O. Selivanov, as a representative of the public organization “Loyal Cossacks” (now liquidated and banned in Ukraine), carried out subversive activities against Ukrainian statehood, propaganda of “Russian world” through veiled anti-Ukrainian rhetoric (Pashkova, 2021). After the beginning of the armed conflict, he switched to the side of the enemy, in particular, he was appointed to the position of senior operational officer for particularly important cases of the department for work with minors of the “Ministry of Internal Affairs of the LPR”.

The creation and comprehensive support of “military-patriotic” clubs, organizations, associations for children and youth of the temporarily occupied territories of Donetsk and Luhansk regions had the purpose of military training of minors (with the corresponding ideological processing of an anti-Ukrainian nature) for further recruitment into illegal armed formations. After the full-scale invasion of the armed forces of the Russian Federation on the territory of Ukraine on February 24, 2022, former and current members of the so-called the military-patriotic clubs were involved in hostilities against the Defence Forces of Ukraine (Pashkova, 2022b, pp. 516, 517). For example, a graduate of the “Yunost Novorossii” club, as well as a minor (16-year-old) member of the “Nasledniki Pobedi” club (“Descendants of Victory”) (Kalmiuske aka Komsomolske, Donetsk region) died during hostilities in the spring of 2022 (Denisova, 2022a; Denisova, 2022b).

Conclusions. After the proclamation of the so-called republics in 2014, the activities of the occupation administrations formed and managed by the Russian Federation in certain areas of Donetsk and Luhansk regions began to focus on intensive “state building”. An important place in this process was occupied by the “republicanization” of the local population, particularly the youth. The formation of relevant views and beliefs among minors was carried out, including through the so-called military-patriotic clubs, which aimed to conduct basic military training (combat, fire, tactical, physical, medical), as well as ideological work. The activities of such associations were carried out according to the military model: military organization, uniforms, ranks, insignia, symbols, etc. Leaders and instructors were, as a rule, representatives of illegal armed formations that directly participated in illegal actions against Ukrainian statehood in the spring of 2014, and later in combat actions against the forces of the Anti-terrorist operation/Joint Forces operation. The “military and patriotic” organizations (clubs, groups, movements) accepted children of all social statuses, without gender restrictions. By the way, the “Amazonki” club was staffed mainly by female members. The admission of minors, whose age ranged from 8 to 17 years, was determined both by the

decision of parents or other relatives, by personal desire or by the example of friends, and by coercion, in particular by pedagogical workers of educational institutions.

From 2014 to 2019, the number of similar organizations in the temporarily occupied territories of Donbas increased significantly. In particular, in the so-called DPR, their number increased in 3 times, and the number of their protégés – almost in 4 times. At the same time, the number of club members was heterogeneous and depended on the size of the settlement – from several dozen to several hundred people. In addition, in the temporarily occupied territories of Donbas, a youth movement “Yunarmiya” based on the Russian analogue was launched. If the number of participants in the youth army movement in the so-called LPR increased in 12(!) times over the full three years of its existence, it can be assumed that such an increase is connected with the mandatory enrolment, in particular for the children of employees of “law enforcement system”.

The creation and expansion of the network of the “military and patriotic” clubs was aimed at involvement of the maximum number of young people in their activities. Taking into account the limited human resources of the temporarily occupied territories of Donetsk and Luhansk regions, the practical orientation of the clubs was primarily aimed at preparing resources for the state (occupational administrations) and the military (illegal armed formations) service in the pseudo-republics, which required appropriate worldview attitudes and practical skills. Thus, the activities of the “military and patriotic” clubs in the temporarily occupied territories of Donetsk and Luhansk regions can be considered as military training for further use in the armed conflict of the Russian Federation against Ukraine, and also as propaganda of the war among minors, which is considered a crime, in accordance with the current legislation of Ukraine. After the full-scale invasion of the Russian Federation in 2022, the facts of the participation of former and active (underage) members of such clubs in hostilities against the Defence Forces of Ukraine were revealed.

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HISTORICAL POLICY OF THE CZECH REPUBLIC AND SLOVAKIA: EXPERIENCE AND PRACTICES

Abstract. *The purpose of the research* – using the example of the Czech Republic and Slovakia to reveal the features of the policy of historical memory, developed in the process of “overcoming the past” in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. **Methodology:** General scientific methods (analysis, synthesis, comparison, generalization) were used to collect information and analyze it. **The scientific novelty** consists in the fact that, based on the collected materials, the peculiarities of the historical policy of the Czech Republic and Slovakia have been analyzed; common and distinctive features of such policies have been traced; the creation aspects of special organizations engaged in memory policy have been noted, in particular, the Institute of National Memory (Ústav pamäti národa) in Slovakia as a participant in the revision of the history of World War II and the role of the Institute for the Study of Authoritarian Regimes (Ústav pro studium totalitních režimů) in the Czech Republic; the conclusions

have been drawn about the strategies for the development and functioning of models of historical policy of Slovakia and the Czech Republic in a comparative perspective. **Conclusions.** Over the past three decades, the communist theme has remained a priority for the Czech and Slovak historical policy, despite the diversity of other aspects. The analysis of the activities of the Memory of the People project and special organizations shows that the focus is mainly on the memory of the crimes of the communist regime. The researchers note the success of the historical policy of the Czech Republic and Slovakia, which is indirectly confirmed by the achievements of both countries after joining the European Union. The main topics in the Czech and Slovak political and social discourse are the topics related to World War II, the Nazi occupation, the Soviet period, the period of the collapse of Czechoslovakia and the modern life of countries within the European Union. In the Czech Republic and Slovakia the historical memory policy on these topics is not limited only to the participation of the aforementioned institutions and the concepts put forward by them. The study of the past is manifested in the decommunization of history, the dismantling of Soviet monuments, as well as active discussions in the media. The role of these discussions in the historical policy formation is significant and requires further study.

Keywords: historical politics, politics of memory, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, international relations.

ІСТОРИЧНА ПОЛІТИКА ЧЕХІЇ ТА СЛОВАЧЧИНИ: ДОСВІД І ПРАКТИКИ

Анотація. Метою статті є аналіз особливостей сучасної історичної політики східноєвропейських держав на прикладі Чехії та Словаччини, її взаємозв'язку з історією ХХ ст. **Методологія:** загальнонаукові методи (аналізу, синтезу, порівняння, узагальнення) застосовувались для збору інформації та її аналізу. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що на основі зібраних матеріалів було проаналізовано особливості історичної політики Чехії та Словаччини; простежено спільні й відмінні риси такої політики; відзначено аспекти створення спеціальних організацій, що займаються політикою пам'яті, зокрема Інституту пам'яті нації (Ústav paměti národa) у Словаччині як учасника ревізії історії Другої світової війни; роль Інституту дослідження авторитарних режимів (Ústav pro studium totalitních režimů) у Чехії; зроблено висновки про стратегії розвитку та функціонування моделей історичної політики Словаччини та Чехії у порівняльній перспективі. **Висновки.** Протягом останніх трьох десятиліть комуністична тематика залишалася пріоритетною для чеської та словацької історичної політики, незважаючи на різноманітність інших аспектів. На прикладі аналізу діяльності проєкту "Пам'ять народу" та спеціальних організацій можна побачити, що увага зосереджується переважно на пам'яті про злочини комуністичного режиму. Дослідники відзначають успіхи історичної політики Чехії та Словаччини, що опосередковано підтверджується досягненнями обох країн після вступу до Європейського союзу. Головними темами у чеському й словацькому політичному та соціальному дискурсі є теми, пов'язані з Другою світовою війною, нацистською окупацією, радянським періодом, періодом розпаду Чехословаччини і сучасним життям країн у рамках Європейського Союзу. Історична політика пам'яті щодо зазначених тем у Чехії та Словаччині не обмежується лише участю зазначених інститутів і висунутими ними концепціями. Вивчення минулого проявляється у декомунізації історії, демонтажі радянських пам'яток, а також в активних дискусіях у ЗМІ. Роль цих дискусій у формуванні історичної політики є значною і потребує подальшого вивчення.

Ключові слова: історична політика, політика пам'яті, Чехія, Словаччина.

Problem Statement. Currently, the problem of forming a policy of historical memory is one of the most urgent social problems in many countries in which an active phase of nation-building is underway, this is especially evident in the post-Soviet space. History appears as a kind of society memory, which is implemented in specific discursive practices. Holding memorial events aims not only to actualize knowledge about individual events of the past in the mass consciousness, but also to consolidate them in the form of symbols that can evoke strong emotions and memories, and become an integral feature of the community. Historical memory also performs specific legitimizing functions in terms of establishing statehood, nationhood,

the status of groups and communities. Historical memory is both a component of the culture of a particular ethnic group, imprinted in the form of traditions and values, and an instrument of national self-identification of a person. This is accompanied by the formation of a sense of belonging to the nation (regardless of its ethnic origin), as well as value orientations, which are expressed in a selective attitude towards a set of material and spiritual goods. In the context of the emergence of interethnic conflicts, historical memory appears as a socio-cultural phenomenon, which in concentrated terms contains a complex of “fuses” that prevent the conflict from turning into acute forms of the course. Historical memory is the emotional colouring of information about the tragic pages of the nation’s history as a reminder of unacceptable alternatives to conflict processes for development, a project of a future that should not happen. At the same time, as shown by the events preceding World War II, the events of many local wars of the Cold War period, military conflicts in the post-Soviet space, including the Russo-Ukrainian war, historical memory can act as an instrument of aggressive policy.

Review of Recent Research and Publications. The issue of historical policy in its various aspects was analyzed in the subject field of international relations, political and philosophical sciences. A systematic analysis of historical memory was carried out by the domestic researcher Larysa Nahorna, who reveals the peculiarities of the evolution of theories and the memory space formation based on the analysis of scientific approaches to the interpretation and understanding of a collective memory, a description of the world experience of implementing memory policy, and the disclosure of the role and place of historical memory in the process of self-identification (Nahorna, 2012). The categorical and conceptual characteristics of “historical memory” were determined by Oksana Stasevska, who considers this phenomenon as a source of self-awareness of a person and a tool for their identification in the cultural space (Stasevska, 2018). Scientific research is significant, in which the practice of overcoming the consequences of “traumatic events / historical periods” by different countries is compared. For the countries of Eastern Europe, this primarily concerns decommunization. A thorough analysis of anti-communist legislation and relevant political practices was carried out by Valentyna Voronova (Voronova, 2020). The features of the formation of historical memory and memory policy in the transformation context of Central and Eastern Europe are considered in the studies by Alla Kyrydon (Kyrydon, 2016), Olha Makliuk (Makliuk, 2011), etc. A number of researchers from European countries highlight changes in the memory policy of the states of the former “socialist camp”, determined by their accession (or aspiration to join) the EU. In particular, given the subject of our study, the collective monograph jointly edited by Alena Marková and Mariia Kuznetcova deserves attention, in which memory conflicts are analyzed, the source of which are individual markers of the traumatic past of individual European countries in the context of modern political events (Marková, & Kuznetcova, 2023). The impact of Europeanization on the collective memory of both EU member states and EU candidate countries is covered in the monograph “Europeanisation and Memory Politics in the Western Balkans” (Milošević, Trošt, 2021). The authors of the study try to answer the questions: Can we observe the emergence of a consensus narrative about the past as a result of Europeanization? What internal / external factors contribute to or hinder these changes and through what mechanisms etc.? The research subject is also the influence of individual historical events on the formation of the historical memory of the Czechs and/or Slovaks. It is worth noting the study by Svitlana Vlasenko, in which the author analyzed the national memory policy of the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic in the context of overcoming the communist past (Vlasenko, 2023).

And Muriel Blaive described the role of the Czech student leaders in the Velvet Revolution and their influence on the historical memory of post-colonial Czechia (Blaive, 2024). The study by David Klimes is relevant, who, using the example of the Czech media production, showed the role of the media in preserving national memory (Klimes, 2024). In our previous studies, we also revealed the problems of preserving historical memory through the activities of religious organizations (Slyusar, Sokolovskyi, & Slyusar, 2024) and the role of historical memory as a mediation factor for resolving irredentist conflicts in the world (Sliusar, Mosiienko, & Sliusar, 2024). The Ukrainian scholars Ihor Tsependa and Petro Kostyuchok consider the historical aspects of the Slovak-Ukrainian interethnic interaction (Tsependa, & Kostyuchok, 2024). The analysis of the research topic historiography showed the presence of scientific interest in the historical memory issues of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe through the prism of their accession to the EU.

The purpose of the research – using the example of the Czech Republic and Slovakia to reveal the features of the policy of historical memory, developed in the process of “overcoming the past” in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. The methodological tools are determined by the specifics of the research object and are implemented using the analysis of documentary and legal acts in the field of implementing anti-totalitarian practices, in particular, the Law of the Slovak Republic No. 553/2002 “On the disclosure of documents on the activities of state security bodies in the period from 1939 to 1989 and on the establishment of the Institute of National Remembrance, as well as on amendments to certain legislative acts” (Zákon o sprístupnení dokumentov..., 2002), the Agreement on Cooperation between the Security Service of Ukraine and the Institute of National Remembrance of the Slovak Republic (Dohovor pro spivrobotnytstvo, 2020).

Research Results. Domestic experts interpret the essence of memory policy as one of the types of state activity in the public sphere, aimed at forming a meaningful view of society on the relationship between the past, present and future, a balanced ratio of traditions and innovations, as well as an understanding of the importance of preserving cultural heritage (Nahorna, 2012, p. 117). Therefore, historical memory, within the framework of the state memory policy, is a function of the government that determines how the past should be received by society. Memory policy is always aimed at creating the desired synthesis between the present and the past. From this point of view, it is appropriate to speak of the state memory policy as a system of goals and measures implemented by the subject of this policy to create conditions under which citizens could see their identity in connection with the nation-state and/or the corresponding supranational entity (in the case of the Czech Republic and Slovakia, the European Union). The above confirms that the state plays an active role in the formation of national identity, demonstrating the continuation of national state traditions and socio-cultural identity, which in turn ultimately legitimizes the existence of the nation-state (Yablonskyi, Lozovyi, & Valevskyi, 2019, pp. 20–21).

The memory policy is an important tool of soft power for any state, especially relevant in the era of the information society. By shaping citizens' ideas about the past, actively involving them in social processes, political forces acquire additional opportunities for mobilizing voters. Under modern conditions, a similar strategy is used by almost all states of Eastern Europe, including the Czech and Slovak Republics. The experience of these countries is unique due to the peculiarities of their historical development after the crisis of the socialist system, as well as successful integration into the European Union and NATO, which is confirmed by high economic and social indicators for the region. Historical policy

acts as a factor in consolidating society and shaping its response to internal and external political challenges and is interpreted by Ukrainian scholars as “a set of practices through which political forces or states seek to establish certain interpretations of historical events as dominant. Historical policy performs three functions:

- 1) symbolic (giving significance to certain events);
- 2) interpretative (interpreting events within the framework of current policy);
- 3) identification (forming national identity).

Therefore, historical policy is the choice and dissemination by the state of a system of socio-political values” (Yablonskyi, Lozovyi, & Valevskyi, 2019, p. 26).

Different approaches to interpreting the historical past can lead to “wars of memory”, both within a society/nation and at the interstate level. For example, “an increase in the level of conflict on the basis of the political use of the past in interstate relations was observed in 2019–2020. The “minefield” in the struggle for the interpretation of history was the celebration of a number of anniversaries related to World War II” (Bohinska, 2021, p. 104). After the wave of “velvet revolutions” in the countries of the former, so-called, “socialist camp”, the reinterpretation of the history of the 20th century is used by them as a tool of political legitimization, the right to one’s own historical heritage in the pan-European narrative. The key markers of memory policy in the vast majority of Central and Eastern European countries are the theme of decommunization of a public space and the reassessment of traditionally established views on the events of World War II. In this context, the Czech and Slovak society is no exception.

On the eve and at the beginning of World War II, Czechoslovakia and Poland, as independent states, were liquidated, which caused significant damage to national identity, seriously traumatizing national memory. The same applies to the problem of cultural trauma, which occurs “when members of a collectivity feel they have been subjected to a horrendous event that leaves indelible marks upon their group consciousness, marking their memories forever and changing their future identity in fundamental and irrevocable ways” (Alexander, 2004, p. 1). While Slovakia, on the contrary, entered World War II as a formally independent state on the side of Germany. After the war, both states of the region developed within the framework of the socialist model and participated in alliances such as the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the Warsaw Pact. During the Soviet period from the 1940s to the end of the 1980s, controversial issues of historical heritage were marginalized and silenced. The collapse of the socialist system, the disintegration of the Czechoslovak Federal Republic and the processes of democratization became the beginning of a reassessment of previously dominant versions of history. If in the 1990s these problems were solved by scientific historiography mainly, then in the 21st century new participants joined the process, represented by specially created institutions, memory institutes, which coordinate the implementation of historical policy and the formation of a new memorial canon, including the history of World War II. To investigate and prosecute criminals who belonged to the communist government, special organizations were established in Eastern European countries: the Department of Documentation and Investigation of Crimes of Communism (the Czech Republic); the National Institute of Memory (Slovakia). In Ukraine, since 2006 these functions have been performed by the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory (Voronova, 2020, p. 9).

The Czech Republic

In his work “The Czech Republic: From the Politics of History to Memory as a Political Language”, Michal Kopeček, referring to international experts, notes that without the lustration process and civic activism in the early 1990s, the Czech Republic would not have been able to

become a truly democratic state and integrate into the European Union. He draws particular attention to the role of the Czech judiciary, which took a very balanced position. On the one hand, the activities of the legal system did not allow the past to be forgotten, and on the other hand, it avoided violent measures, as happened, for example, in the Baltic States. This balanced position ensured high legitimacy, as it allowed the involvement of various social groups (Kopeček, 2013).

Contemporary Czech memorial policy, which concerns the memory of World War II, reflects the contradictions that arise in the formation of “collective memory” in a given political context. The majority of projects of the Institute of History of the Czech Republic are based on a similar logic. For example, the project entitled “Three Fatal March Days: March 14-16, 1939” aims at rethinking in contemporary historical memory how and why the Czechoslovak state became a victim of the German aggression. In the context of contemporary politics of processing the past, responsibility for the disappearance of Czechoslovakia from the Czech historical memory is mainly placed on external actors, primarily Germany, which is responsible for the beginning of the period known in the Czech memorial culture as the “time of non-freedom” (*doba nesvobody*). The second country to be held responsible was the Soviet Union, which is credited with collaborating with Nazi Germany in the division of Europe, as well as participating in the defeat of Poland and the liquidation of its statehood in 1939 together with Nazi Germany. The degree of responsibility of Slovakia in this context is also taken into account (the Three Fatal March Days project), which indicates significant differences and demarcations of historical narratives and, as a result, versions of historical memory in the Czech Republic and Slovakia. In the modern Czech memorial canon, Slovakia, like Germany and Hungary, is considered a country that participated in the destruction of Czechoslovakia as a state in 1939 (*Tři osudové březnové dny...*).

Despite the efforts of the state, contemporary representatives of culture and science note the insufficient knowledge of history in modern Czech society, especially among young people (Pavec, 2006). To some extent, this is explained by the fact that the authorities withdrew from the sphere of culture after 1989 (including from the sphere of institutions dealing with history and memory), as a decision was made to liberalize and decentralize educational systems, refusing to interfere in the content of cultural activities (Ruczaj, 2020, p. 190). That is why, in 2003 “Recommendations of the Ministry for Education on Teaching the History of the 20th Century” were adopted. It emphasized the need to focus the attention of history teachers at all levels of school education on teaching the history of the 20th century with an emphasis on the modern interpretation of events. It is worth noting that during this period, processes related to Europeanization and the formation of a European identity took place in Western Europe, which updated discussions about the problematic past of the European continent in the 20th century. This applies to the Czech-German relations, which are regulated by the declaration adopted in 1997, designed to find common approaches to the interpretation of specific historical processes (Vomlela, 2020, p. 44). In the recommendations, the 20th century is understood as the period from 1914/18 to 1989/91, defined as the “short 20th century” or “era of extremes” (Stradling, 2003). In this context, a project called “Memory of the People” is of particular interest, aimed at disseminating information about the past. Created in 2008, this project is, according to its organizers, the largest collection of historical memories on such topics as “Churches and Religious Communities”, “Holocaust”, “Communism”, “Nazism”, “National Minorities”, “Political Prisoners”, “Special Services” and “Veterans”. In fact, these eight topics are currently the main ones for the Czech memory policy and form the basis of the national historical policy. The materials stored on this portal are available to anyone,

regardless of registration, as an educational resource and another source for understanding the past (Paměť národa, 2008).

In addition to preserving and disseminating historical documents and memories, the Czech government also takes care of restoring places of memory associated with different eras. One such place at the current stage is the abandoned prison in Uherské Hradiště, where, along with the administrative buildings, it is planned to create a museum dedicated to the repressions of the Nazis and Communists by 2028 (Věznici v Uherském Hradiště začítli vyklízet dělníci, 2020).

Slovakia

Slovakia is a European state whose history is closely connected with the formation and search for its own identity. Having gained independence only in 1993, this state focuses on the preservation and development of its historical heritage, which the country shares with the Czech Republic and other countries in the region. Slovakia, which belongs to the countries that have not previously claimed independent statehood, finds it more difficult to justify its aspirations for sovereignty, since the construction of appropriate historical narratives to support claims to statehood may involve selective interpretation and evaluation of certain historical figures and events (Hartikainen, Syrovátka, & Szebeni, 2024, p. 538). In national historical policy chief focus is on the twentieth century, when the foundations of the autonomous development of the Slovak people were laid, but at the same time it had to face the challenges of the totalitarian regimes of Nazism and communism. At the state level, the Slovak memory policy includes the rehabilitation of victims of totalitarianism. However, despite the clarity of state policy, in the 21st century the Slovak society has faced certain problems and challenges. That is why, the interaction of state policy and public interests makes the study of historical politics in Slovakia relevant.

The memory of the people is never a single and monolithic entity, but it is typical of almost all post-communist regimes in Eastern Europe to institutionalize it, thus creating a certain historical boundary between the “wrong” regimes of the past, which include Nazism and communism, and the “correct” modern liberal regime with European values. The same model was formed in Slovakia. However, at the state level, this took on clear outlines only in 2002 in the form of the Institute of National Memory (Ústav pamäti národa), whose task was to preserve the police archives and state security archives of the fascist Slovak state and the communist regimes of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, as well as to popularize historical information that contributes to historical justice. The institute’s mouthpiece is the journal “Pamäť národa”.

The Institute of National Remembrance of Slovakia was established in accordance with Act No. 553/2002 “On the Disclosure of Documents on the Activities of State Security Bodies during the Period from 1939 to 1989 and on the Establishment of the Institute of National Remembrance, as well as on Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts (Act on National Remembrance)” (Zákon o sprístupnení dokumentov, 2002). The Act on National Remembrance became a factor in the institutionalization of the entire memory policy in Slovakia. This was made possible by the clear articulation of who is considered a victim of a totalitarian regime, who is a criminal, and what rehabilitation procedures apply to victims (Zákon o sprístupnení dokumentov, 2002). The Institute of National Remembrance, in addition to rehabilitation and archival work, also promotes the ideas of freedom and the protection of democracy from regimes similar to Nazism and communism. The institution also makes decisions on granting the status of a participant in the anti-communist resistance and assigning the corresponding status of a veteran of such a movement. However, an analysis of the activities of the Institute of National Remembrance of Slovakia indicates that the institute

associates its activities primarily with opposition to the communist regime in a historical perspective with the aim of integrating Slovakia into regional European politics alongside Poland and Hungary. The issue of Nazism in this regard recedes into the background and is mainly associated with the memory of the Holocaust.

The model of historical memory of World War II in Slovakia is developing in a different context, which is significantly different from the strategies and tactics used in the modern Czech Republic within the framework of “processing the past”. Slovak researchers note that the revision of the past came after the collapse of communism, and accordingly, the authoritarian legacy was accepted as a threat to historical memory. Some “inconvenient” moments of history are marginalized and repressed. This specificity of historical politics is associated with the status of Slovakia during the war, when the Slovaks formally acquired independent statehood, partly due to the ignoring of the Slovak issue by the Czech political elites in the 1920s–1930s, who pursued the policy of assimilation and persecuted the national clergy and intelligentsia. In modern Slovak memory politics, a complex image of the Slovak state during World War II is being developed, which is the result of compromise (Lacko, 2010). In this context, the Institute of National Remembrance actively disseminates documents about Slovakia during the war in open access, presenting not only the historical formation of Slovak statehood during World War II, but also the features of its undemocratic and authoritarian nature and the external factors that caused its emergence (Kubík, 2010).

The policy of memory for Slovakia plays an important socio-political role. This role is determined by two factors. The first type can be conditionally designated as “moral”, i.e. it is associated with the memory of the crimes of Nazism, the Holocaust, and the crimes of the communist government. The second factor is associated with Slovakia’s acquisition of statehood, its separation from the Czech Republic, and its independent integration into the European Union. It can be said that these factors are pragmatic in nature and determine the current vector of state development. Moreover, dialogue with countries on overcoming the communist legacy is important, which includes not only neighbours from Eastern Europe, such as Poland and the Czech Republic, but also Ukraine. For example, on February 20, 2020, an agreement on cooperation between the Institute of National Remembrance and the Security Service of Ukraine in the field of archival research, scientific intelligence, and publication of documents on political repressions in the 20th century was signed in Kyiv. This agreement was signed by the Chairman of the Board of the Institute of National Remembrance Jan Palffy, the Director of the Archives of the Security Service of Ukraine Andriy Kohut, and the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Slovak Republic to Ukraine Marek Šafin (Dohovor pro spivrobotnytstvo, 2020).

The attitude of the Slovaks towards the past, including the events of the Velvet Revolution of 1989, is largely connected with the current political life of society. In this case we should mention the government of Robert Fico, which influenced the reception of the past by the country’s population, including through the fight against right-wing populism and rapprochement with Russia.

In general, the problem of historical memory and its politicization is relevant for Slovakia, just as it is relevant for all countries of Eastern Europe. Memories of totalitarian regimes contribute to the unification of society around modern tasks related to European integration and general economic development. However, it should be noted that at the beginning of the 21st century Slovakia is facing numerous social and economic difficulties that cause concern among the population and stimulate the reverse effect, leading to a split in society in the

reception of the past. Thus, almost 40 % of the country's population in 2019 stated that before the "Velvet Revolution" life was relatively good, there was stability, order, there were no migration crises and the growth of nationalism. Under the conditions of such a social split in the evaluation of the past, the state faces a difficult task of managing public opinion, especially in relation to the younger generation. However, formally, at the level of legislation and political institutions, Slovakia maintains its commitment to the ideas common to the Visegrad Group countries, post-communist liberal development, which is reflected in the work of the Institute of National Remembrance and other interested organizations (Bútorová, 2019).

For a more complete understanding of the historical policy of the Czech Republic and Slovakia, it should be considered in the context of the Visegrad Four. On October 14, 2011, in Prague, with the participation of the prime ministers of the Visegrad Group – the Czech Republic, Poland and Hungary, the Platform of European Memory and Conscience (Platforma evropské paměti a svědomí) was created. This international project aimed at studying the activities and crimes of totalitarian regimes in Europe of the 20th century, with the aim of preventing the revival of totalitarianism on the continent.

In Poland, where the term "historical policy" first appeared, its most obvious manifestation is the work of the Institute of National Remembrance and the Commission for the Investigation of Crimes against the Polish People (Instytut Pamięci Narodowej – Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiem (IPN)). The mentioned above institutions are engaged in researching the activities of the Polish state security agencies during the period from 1944 to 1990, as well as the security agencies of the Third Reich and the USSR, with the aim of investigating crimes against Polish citizens during this period and conducting lustration procedures. These agencies are powerful instruments of domestic policy. We also agree with Kateryna Tryma, Olha Stadnichenko and Natalia Salnikova that "the historical policy of the Polish authorities, consistently based on historical experience, in the minds of the Polish society strengthens the idea of an exceptional Polish nation that has made a significant contribution to the development of European civilization, which gives it the right to a more significant role in modern Europe" (Tryma, Stadnichenko, & Salnikova, 2023).

Hungary, within the framework of European standards, carries out events in its memorial policy condemning the crimes of the communist regime, wars, genocides and deportations. In 2002, such institutions as the House of Terror in Budapest, founded by the Foundation for Research on the History and Society of Eastern and Central Europe, were established. Its activities were complemented by the independent research committee of National Remembrance (2013), the Institute for the Study of the History of Regime Change (2013), the Historical Research Institute VERITAS (2014), the Institute and Archive of the History of Regime Change and the others, including the Governmental Structure "Trianon-100", established in 2016 as a research group with a grant from the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. These institutions condemn the repressions, the policies of the Hungarian Soviet Republic of 1919, the communist regime of 1949–1989, and the suppression of the Hungarian uprising of 1956 (Koch, 2023, p. 69). As part of the condemnation of past political regimes, Hungary equated the Nazi and Soviet occupations, as well as collaboration with these regimes. Hungary's historical and memorial policy is carried out by the state, in particular by the Fidesz party (Hungarian Civic Alliance) and Prime Minister Orbán (Dzheripa, 2019, p. 26).

Thus, Eastern European countries, having lost the Soviet influence, showed solidarity in the process of liquidating the communist legacy. This affinity of processes arose from the desire for sovereignty after the "guardianship" of the Soviet Union. Anti-communist laws

received broad support from the population, protecting the countries from possible external intervention by the Kremlin. Domestic researchers emphasize that in the Czech Republic, Poland, and the Baltic countries, the liquidation of the communist legacy affected almost all spheres of public life. This process led to the condemnation of the communist regime, the ban on the use of its symbols, the lustration of former officials, the opening of access to the archives of repressive bodies, and the granting of special statuses to people who resisted the communist regime (Voronova, 2020, pp. 8–9).

The periodization of the policy of the Czech and Slovakia memory can be divided into several stages that reflect the evolution of national identities, attitude to the communist past, World War II and other historical events.

1. 1991 – 1993. Restoration of national identity after the communist period. This period was characterized by political lustration and growth of nationalist sentiment, which led to discussions about federalism and national autonomy.

2. 1993 – 2004. The beginning of the formation of memory policy at the state level. New institutions have been created dedicated to comprehension of important historical topics. After the collapse of Czechoslovakia in 1993, the memory policy in each of the countries developed with certain differences, although there were common features.

3. 2004 – ... Slovakia and the Czech Republic continue to modernize their approaches to memory policies. The role of historical policy to educate younger generations is emphasized. Disputes are continuing to evaluate the cooperation of some Czech and Slovak politicians with Nazis and Communists.

In the Czech Republic and Slovakia approaches to the policy of memory regarding World War II differ significantly, although they have some common features.

The Czech model of historical policy is distinguished by the development of a narrative about the Czech Republic as a victim of two dictatorships – the National Socialist and the Soviet. The occupation of the Czech Republic by Germany and its liberation by the Red Army are considered in accordance with this narrative. The liberation of the Czech Republic by the Red Army is recognized as liberation from one dictatorship and the beginning of a new one. Therefore, the definition of the “period of unfreedom” is used in relation to the occupation regime of Germany and the regime established after 1945. The absence of active Czech collaborationism in occupied Czech Republic frees modern intellectuals from the ethical problems associated with including the topic of military and political collaboration with the occupiers in the canon of historical memory.

A more compromising image of the war is being formed in the Slovak historical memory. The Slovak intellectuals recognize that the Slovak State emerged as the first modern form of Slovak statehood under war conditions. At the same time, the participation of this state in the organization of the Holocaust is not denied. The Slovak model of memory is also based on the silencing of some moments of the war history, related to the role of President J. Tiso, and on attempts to localize the Slovak Republic in historical memory, in order to normalize its image within the framework of the modern historical narrative.

Thus, in contemporary Czech Republic and Slovakia, the Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes and the Institute for National Remembrance apply different models of memory development regarding the history of World War II. They are based both on a consistent portrayal of the Czechs as victims of German occupation and on attempts to form a compromise memorial canon that takes into account both national and European narratives of reception of one’s own experience in the case of the Slovaks.

Regarding the acquisition of sovereignty in 1989 – 1991, there was some difference between the approach of Slovakia and the Czech Republic to the dismantling of the Soviet occupation. In Slovakia, there was moderate dissatisfaction with the socialist system, and ideas of reconstruction were widespread, while in the Czech Republic there was talk of the complete collapse of the Soviet system and the need for a deep political and economic reform (Bútorová, 2019). In this case, the Slovak sociologists speak of the divergent approach of Eastern Europe and the Visegrad Group. The Czech Republic and Poland advocated radical transformations, while Slovakia and Hungary spoke in favour of a softer transition from a socialist to capitalist system.

The differences in the interpretation of the Soviet past in the Czech Republic and Slovakia, according to the researchers, are related not only to the composition of the population and the level of education of citizens, but also to the social impact that socialism left in both countries within the framework of a single state. In the early 1950s, Slovakia, which had a smaller area, benefited more from industrial development and urbanization, which led to an increase in the standard of living and education. As noted by the Slovak sociologist Z. Bútorová, in Slovakia political normalization was softer and less radical than in the Czech Republic. Compared to the Czech public opinion, Slovak public opinion remains less pronounced and less protest-oriented (Bútorová, 2019).

Conclusions. Over the past three decades, the communist theme has remained a priority for the Czech and Slovak historical policy, despite the diversity of other aspects. The analysis of the activities of the Memory of the People project and special organizations shows that the focus is mainly on the memory of the crimes of the communist regime. The researchers note the success of the historical policy of the Czech Republic and Slovakia, which is indirectly confirmed by the achievements of both countries after joining the European Union. The main topics in the Czech and Slovak political and social discourse are the topics related to World War II, the Nazi occupation, the Soviet period, the period of the collapse of Czechoslovakia and the modern life of countries within the European Union. In the Czech Republic and Slovakia the historical memory policy on these topics is not limited only to the participation of the aforementioned institutions and the concepts put forward by them. The study of the past is manifested in the decommunization of history, the dismantling of Soviet monuments, as well as active discussions in the media. The role of these discussions in the historical policy formation is significant and requires further study.

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**DNIPRO UKRAINE REGIONAL SCIENTIFIC AND EDUCATIONAL CENTRES
IN THE EUROPEAN INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUE**

(peer-review of the monograph: Ivanenko, O. A. Integration of the Dnipro Ukraine Regional Scientific and Educational Centres into the European Intellectual Space (Second Half of the 19th – Early 20th Centuries). Kyiv: Institute of History of Ukraine of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 2024. 555 p.)

**РЕГІОНАЛЬНІ НАУКОВО-ОСВІТНІ ОСЕРЕДКИ НАДДНІПРЯНЩИНИ
У ЄВРОПЕЙСЬКОМУ МІЖКУЛЬТУРНОМУ ДІАЛОЗІ**

(рецензія на монографію: Іваненко О. А. Інтеграція регіональних науково-освітніх осередків Наддніпрянської України до європейського інтелектуального простору (друга половина XIX – початок XX ст.). Київ : Інститут історії України НАН України, 2024. 555 с.)

During the 19th – early 20th centuries, Europe was the setting for a wide range of active intercultural contacts, which, in conjunction with socio-economic, material and technical factors, had a direct impact on the socio-political processes taking place in the

Russian Empire. It stands to reason that it was the universities, in particular those of Dnipro Ukraine, or Naddniproianshchyna, that served as the basis for contacts and cooperation in the European intellectual space. The study of the above issues is of great scientific and practical importance.

In late 2024, a solid academic paper by the well-known researcher Oksana Ivanenko – *“Integration of Regional Scientific and Educational Centres of Dnipro Ukraine into the European Intellectual Space (Second Half of the 19th – Early 20th Centuries)”* – was published in Kyiv. The monograph under review is undoubtedly a significant study of the contribution of Dnipro Ukraine to European intercultural communications as viewed through the prism of scientific and educational practices used in the Kyiv Educational District (second half of the 19th – early 20th centuries). The researcher also pays special attention to St. Volodymyr University as the centre of Kyiv Educational District. The author makes an attempt to show the role of Dnipro Ukraine in the European intellectual space from the Spring of Nations of 1848–1849 to the early 20th century.

The peer-reviewed monograph consists of Introduction, seven chapters (subdivided into 27 sections), Conclusions, and List of Literary Sources Used. Chapter 1 *“Historiography, Sources, Theoretical and Methodological Foundations of the Study”* (pp. 11–76) analyses the overall state of research on the issue, the source base of the study, and the methods used in it. The author has given an ample characteristic of the works by scholars who did relevant research in this field earlier. We believe, however, that it would have been worthwhile if the entire historiographical array had been classified.

The source base of O. Ivanenko’s research is quite extensive. She has studied documents from the Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Kyiv (CSHAK), the State Archives of Kyiv (SAK), the State Archives of Odesa Region (SAOR), the State Archives of Kharkiv Region (SAKhR), and the Institute of Manuscripts at the V.I. Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine (IM VNLU). Trying to classify the research findings, O. Ivanenko provides a broad description of the main archival funds and the types of sources stored in them. The scholar also occasionally mentions the periodical press and its impact on the shaping of public opinion, the publication of memoirs, epistolary writings, and autobiographical materials. In total, the author of the paper has studied documents from 55 archival fonds. These included official correspondence, office records, memorandums, forensic records, and statistical data from the array of departmental and clerical documentation of government and public institutions, as well as sources of private origin from the personal fonds of public and cultural figures (p.p. 459–460). Out of a total of 1,156 items, the list of references contains 591 archival sources. The author emphasizes that the source base is representative and, accordingly, sufficient for achieving the set goal and objectives.

The research methodology chosen by O. Ivanenko is characterized by an original attempt to apply the philosophical developments of the German thinker K. Jaspers (who developed the category of “communication”), American scholars G. Trager and E. Hall (the concept of “intercultural communication”), H. Lasswell (structural and functional analysis of social communication), R. Collins (“theory of intellectual networks”), Canadian cultural scientist G. M. McLuhan (“communicative space”), Ukrainian scientists V. Vernadsky, Ya. Dashkevych, F. Shevchenko, P. Sokhan, and S. Vidniansky. In her work, the researcher used the problem-chronological, historical genetic, historical systemic, historical typological, and comparative historical methods. Simultaneously, she used the principles of historicism and systemic analysis, which, combined, enabled a high-quality research.

In Chapter 2 “*International Relations in Europe and Their Impact on Socio-Political Life in the Territories of Dnipro Ukraine in the Late 1940s – Early 20th Century*” (pp. 77–157), O. Ivanenko focuses on modernization processes in Europe in the 19th century, and describes in detail the events of 1848 – 1849 (Spring of Nations) and their impact on Dnipro Ukraine, as well as repressive and protective measures aimed at counteracting the spread of revolutionary ideas in the territories of the Russian Empire, the influence of the Eastern (Crimean) War of 1853 – 1856 on the intensification of anti-government sentiments in the Ukrainian lands (liberalization of socio-political and cultural-educational life, reforms in the public sector, economic modernization, and abolition of serfdom) (p. 96). Further, the researcher describes the main reforms (economic, judicial, military, etc.) that were implemented in the period under study. The author of the paper quite convincingly shows that during the Spring of Nations of 1848 – 1849, the tsarist government tried to prevent the spread of the influences of the pan-European revolutionary process in the Russian Empire, as a result of which the autonomy of the universities was limited and they found themselves at risk of being closed. However, from the second half of the 1850s to the early 1860s, on the contrary, the rights of universities were expanded. Notwithstanding this positive trend, there was no radical modernization of socio-political life in the Russian Empire, and the authoritarian principles of state administration persisted (p. 104). The author also emphasizes the rise of patriotic sentiments and the resistance to the Russian autocracy by the local Polish population against the backdrop of the intensification of national liberation movements in Europe throughout the 19th century (pp. 114). Specifically, the researcher shows the specific features of the Polish national liberation movement, in particular, public resistance to the repressive policies of the Russian Empire (p. 125), the activity of the Poles in the South-Western Territory on the eve of World War I, the influence on Ukrainian public and cultural life of national liberation movements in the Balkans in the 1870s, and etc. It should be pointed out that Chapter 2 contains a considerable amount of factual information.

Chapter 3 “*Universities of Dnipro Ukraine in International Scientific Relations during the Second Half of the 19th Century*” (pp. 158–251) is subdivided into five sections. In these sections, O. Ivanenko provides a thorough description of cooperation with foreign European scientific centres in the field of the Humanities in the 1960s (pp. 158–168), reveals interrelations in the field of history, philology and philosophy in the last third of the 19th century (pp. 169–191), law and economic disciplines in the 1970s – 1990s (pp. 192–202), nature study in the 1960s (pp. 203–215), and also focuses on cooperation in the field of natural sciences during the last third of the 19th century (pp. 216–240).

Chapter 4 “*The Place and Role of Universities of Dnipro Ukraine in the European Scientific and Educational Space in the Early 20th Century*” (pp. 252–316) appears perfectly relevant to the research topic. In particular, using the problem-chronological method, O. Ivanenko comprehensively describes the interrelationships between scholars and scientists working in different fields of science, such as history, philology (pp. 252–268), law, economics (pp. 269–279), physics, mathematics, chemistry, biology (pp. 280–294), and medicine (pp. 295–308), as well as their contribution to the development of international mutual interactions.

The researcher devoted the next three chapters to the participation of the Poles in the cultural and educational development of the Kyiv Educational District in the late 19th and the early 20th centuries (Chapter 5; pp. 317–344), the role of schooling in the life of the Jewish community in the 1860s – the early 20th century (Chapter 6; pp. 345–408), and the

cultural and educational activities of the Greeks, the Czechs and the Germans (Chapter 7; pp. 409–458).

The author argues that, despite the repressive and punitive policy of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Department of Orthodox Confession, and the Ministry of Public Education, the spread of covert Polish schools and cultural and educational organizations continued throughout the second half of the 19th century and into the 20th century, including not only Catholics, but also Orthodox Christians in the orbit of their influence (p. 342). The researcher dwells, quite extensively, on the Russification policy in the field of education, which was aimed at the assimilation of youth, the implementation of a strategy of destroying the traditional life and cultural self-identification of the Jewish community (p. 376).

O. Ivanenko emphasizes the increase in the importance of charitable Jewish national and cultural organizations as centres for the fulfilment of the spiritual needs of Jews against the background of the discriminatory legislative policy of the Russian Empire towards people of this nationality (p. 405). Close attention is paid to the repressive national and educational policy of the state towards national minorities, which was coupled with discrimination on religious grounds (p. 472).

The author refutes the thesis about the ethno-confessional isolation of the cultural and educational activities of the German community in the Ukrainian lands, stressing the national and religious tolerance of the Germans primarily due to the diverse national composition in the educational institutions they had founded, where Protestants studied alongside with Orthodox Christians, Catholics, Jews, and Karaites (p. 475).

The general conclusions (pp. 459–476) in the monograph are original and summarise the main points of the information presented in its chapters. In our opinion, O. Ivanenko's research is an example of a thorough scholarly analysis of complex historical issues, rigorous collection and meticulous analysis of facts, interpretation of the role of Dnipro Ukraine in European intercultural communications through the prism of scientific and educational practices of the Kyiv Educational District of the second half of the 19th – early 20th centuries.

The author made an attempt to theoretically interpret the issues under study by building a properly structured text within the specified chronological framework. Naturally, there are some minor inaccuracies and technical flaws in the monograph, but these shortcomings do not overshadow the positive impression of O. Ivanenko's monograph. We wish the author further achievements in her scholarly research.

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**UNION FOR THE LIBERATION OF UKRAINE AS A MODEL
OF THE UKRAINIAN-CENTRIC ORGANIZATION**

(peer-review on the monograph: Pater Ivan. Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (1914-1918). Personalities / NAS of Ukraine, I. Krypiakevych Institute of Ukrainian Studies. Lviv, 2024. 404 p.)

СВУ ЯК МОДЕЛЬ УКРАЇНОЦЕНТРИЧНОЇ ОРГАНІЗАЦІЇ

**(рецензія на монографію: Патер Іван. Союз визволення України (1914–1918).
Постаті / НАН України, Інститут українознавства ім. І. Крип'якевича.
Львів, 2024. 404 с.)**

The monograph by the famous historian Ivan Pater, as the editor-in-chief and author of the foreword, Professor Ihor Stoliar, rightly notes, focuses on the scientific popularization of an important national organization of World War I period, the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine, which operated during the period of 1914 – 1918. The monograph consists of a series of conceptual essays-biographies and offers a reader information about twenty-six figures of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine, “prominent politicians, scholars,

cultural and educational figures – representatives of the best Ukrainian national political and intellectual circles, the elite of the nation, which considered a duty to its people to bring the national idea to life” (p. 5). These are V. Lypynsky, D. Dontsov, M. Zalizniak, V. Doroshenko, A. Zhuk, M. Melenevsky, O. Skoropys-Yoltukhovsky, O.-I. Bochkovsky, M. Vozniak, I. Krypiakevych, Z. Kuzelia, Stepan and Roman Smal-Stotsky, Ye. Levytsky, B.-N. Lepky, V. Pachovsky, I. Puliuy, L. Tsehelsky and the others. That is, in the monograph there are collected essays about the most prominent and active of the two hundred and fifty members of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine, approximately forty of whom came from Galicia and Bukovyna, and the majority – from the Dnieper region.

In the monograph, despite the academic style, there is thoroughly traced the process of formation, change of leadership and functioning of the organization: the formation of struggle idea for the liberation of the Dnieper region and the creation of an independent Ukrainian state, popularization of the Ukrainian issue at the international stage, cultural and educational work in the northwestern territories liberated from the Muscovites, educational and training work among the Ukrainian prisoners of war in the camps of Austria-Hungary and Germany, which had a specific national ideological and military result (the change of Malorosiyska, Muscovite consciousness to Ukrainian and the creation of two divisions – synio- and siro-zhupannyky). However, the peer-reviewed monograph has another important feature. In the monograph the issue is illustrated, on the examples of real intellectuals, how involvement in an important national cause while working in the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine often forced intellectuals to adjust their beliefs, subordinating their own scientific, religious, ethical, political, party, class, and other ideas, which could be often of a non-national, imperial or cosmopolitan, or partially national nature, to the core national idea – the idea of freedom of people and statehood of the Ukrainian nation. Although before his stay in the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine and after the dismissal of this organization, a person’s activities could not be always determined by such a basic nationalistic worldview. Unfortunately, to a greater or lesser detrimental effect to the national cause.

This extremely relevant and important idea for our time, the continuation of the Muscovite-Ukrainian war, is flexibly, unobtrusively, but very consistently, in our opinion, conveyed by the author throughout all the essays within three sections: “The First Leaders of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine” (V. Lypynsky, D. Dontsov, M. Zalizniak), “Presidium of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine” (V. Doroshenko, A. Zhuk, M. Melenevsky, O. Skoropys-Yoltukhovsky), “Prominent Members of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine” (O.-I. Bochkovsky, M. Vozniak, M. Havrylko, K. Danylenko, P. Dubrivny, R. Dombachevsky, V. Kozlovsky, I. Krypiakevych, Z. Kuzelia, Ye. Levytsky, B.-N. Lepky, Ya. Ostapchuk, V. Pachovsky, V. Prokhoda, I. Puliuy, V. Simovych, S. and R. Smal-Stotsky, L. Tsehelsky). Moreover, the historian does this by focusing on various political and ideological trends of the Ukrainian independence.

An example is the position of the forerunner of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine, a famous Ukrainian historian, ideologist and political figure, representative of the national conservative (conservative nationalist), monarchical hetman trend in the Ukrainian politics, Viacheslav Lypynsky (1882 – 1931). Ethnically belonging to the Polish Volyn gentry, early V. Lypynsky realized himself as a Ukrainian (“Ukrainianism attracted me with its greatness even in my early youth”) and did everything to convert his Polish peers to work in the Ukrainian field. The author clearly emphasizes this: “Having realized himself to be a Ukrainian patriot, he not only did not break ties with the Polish gentry of the Right Bank, but

also tried to attract them to Ukrainianism. (...) The idea of returning his class to Ukrainian state life became a life guideline for Lypynsky" (p. 14).

In March of 1911, at a secret meeting in Lviv with the participation of political emigrants from the Dnieper and Galician figures, V. Lypynsky formulated the idea of the state independence of Ukraine clearly, which was welcomed by Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky and very cautiously by Mykhailo Hrushevsky (pp. 15–16). V. Lypynsky was convinced that the separation of Ukraine from the Muscovite Empire and its accession to Austria-Hungary could only be "a stage towards the state independence of Ukraine" and could not replace the main goal – the statehood of the nation. Because – "without a state there is no nation" (p. 17). Another important ideological conviction of V. Lypynsky, as indicated by I. Pater, was the orientation towards one's own forces and the rejection of socialist democracy, which "could only work for the Russian Empire", becoming a form of the left-wing Muscovitism (p. 17). In some period, time proved this political thinker was right.

Another important material that significantly influenced the emergence of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine was the "Memorial to the Ukrainian Committee", sent by V. Lypynsky to Lviv in December of 1912, in which there were formulated the main principles of the struggle for the Ukrainian state under the conditions of a possible world war. These principles were also completely nationalistic. In the "Memorial to the Ukrainian Committee" it was stated that the Ukrainian nation had the full right to a free national political life on its own ethnic land, that the lack of its own strong elite prompted political democratization and social reforms, that the Muscovites and the Poles were clearly hostile to the Ukrainian cause, and Austria was not a reliable ally, the goal of the Ukrainian national liberation movement was to create an independent state with a constitutional monarchical form of government (p. 20). To implement the idea of state independence, the historian suggested creating the Union of Ukrainian Statesmen, which was later to some extent realized in the creation of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine in 1914, although without a direct participation of V. Lypynsky.

Another expression of the position of Ukrainian independence was the social worldview of Ukrainian nationalism, the strong-willed (or "active") version of which was developed in the political and philosophical system by the thinker, publicist, political figure, literary critic, publisher and editor Dmytro Dontsov (1883 – 1917), a native of Melitopol and a representative of a Russified Cossack family. This Ukrainian intellectual and revolutionary evolved from socialism (a member of the USDRP since 1905, but with an independent position) to thoughtful nationalism rapidly. I. Pater gives the example of D. Dontsov's anti-clerical speech "School and Religion" before the Galician students in 1909, which demonstrates a social democratic worldview mainly. But later (as various experts believe, from 1911) national ideas began to clearly dominate in D. Dontsov's worldview.

As evidence of this, the author cites the brochure "Modern Muscovite" (1913), in which the publicist formulates warnings about the widespread mental illness of the Ukrainians – spiritual and political Muscovite, dependence on Moscow worldview, culture, and politics: "...the author warned the Ukrainian society against the harmful influences of Russian culture and Russian political ideas, pointing at "the boundless respect for Russian culture widespread in certain circles of our intelligentsia and some strange spiritual dependence on the views prevailing in progressive Russian circles". And he cites the following quote of the thinker, which has not lost its relevance today: "...many so-called conscious Ukrainians have still not solved the old question for themselves: what kind of soul do they have – "Khakhliatskaya or Russian?" (p. 30). D. Dontsov considered salvation not only the return of the Ukrainians

to their natural spiritual roots, to the cultural tradition of the West, not only the rejection of the “theory of apolitical-cultural-sentimental Ukrainianness”, but also the development of own “clear programme of Ukrainian politics”, “free from such influences of foreign concepts that are undesirable to us and do not meet our needs” (p. 30). Thus, Westernization of the Ukrainians and the need to rely primarily on their own strengths are affirmed.

Another significant pre-war brochure by D. Dontsov, which is placed alongside Mykola Mikhnovsky’s “Independent Ukraine”, was the publication of the essay “Modern Political Situation of the Nation and Our Tasks” (1913). In this publication, D. Dontsov suggested a specific programme of political activity that would lead to a complete separation of Ukraine from Muscovy. And this political separation would have to take place in two stages: 1) separation of Ukraine (or part of it) from Muscovy and creation on its basis within the borders of Austria-Hungary of the “Ukrainian Crown Land”, in order on this basis 2) subsequently to prepare the ground for the complete political liberation of all Ukrainian lands (p. 31). At the same time, in the brochure, the Ukrainian thinker clearly warned the Ukrainians about the approaching new political situation, which must be used to their advantage, and that the Ukrainian politics should decisively break with Moscow’s democratic and liberal circles, because they are “guided and will be guided by the interests of Russian imperialism” (p. 31). The above mentioned issue shows how much D. Dontsov was able to distinguish between political ideology and basic worldview that determines it.

D. Dontsov’s ideas, as I. Pater emphasizes, caused sharp rejection both by Moscow imperialists of various political orientations (P. Miliukov, V. Lenin), and the majority of Ukrainian democrats and socialists of the Little Russian type, especially the Social Democrats, who were outraged by his so-called “chauvinism”. The publicist finally breaks with the Ukrainian Social Democratic Labour Party (USDLP) (pp. 32–33). All this led to initiating a meeting of political émigrés by D. Dontsov, at which on August 4, 1914, the Ukrainian Social Democratic Labour Party was formed, and the thinker was elected its chairman. Although in September, due to an internal conflict, D. Dontsov left the party, it continued to be inspired by the ideas of the organizer, especially his main nationalist postulate – the independence and unity of Ukraine (p. 34).

These ideals proved acceptable to a number of political émigrés from the Dnieper region, who belonged to the most numerous current of political Ukrainianism at the time, which also became the most numerous in the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine. These are the Socialist Democrats (USDLP), who split from the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party, but generally gravitated towards internationalist and Little Russian ideals within the framework of Moscow Marxism. An example is Volodymyr Doroshenko’s activity (1879 – 1963), a public and political figure, literary critic, bibliographer, and historian, who belonged to a Russified Cossack-starshyn family and, as secretary, became a co-founder of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine. Later Volodymyr Doroshenko was a member of the collective Presidium, which led the organization after M. Zalizniak, and was responsible for publishing activities.

I. Pater cites a characteristic article by V. Doroshenko, “A Brief Overview of the Development of Political Thought and Organization in Ukraine” (1914), where he conceptualizes the problem not from class or internationalist positions (which is typical of socialists), but from the position of the Ukrainian-centric worldview. I. Pater traces how the Ukrainian national idea developed after the abolition of the Hetmanate in patriotic Masonic lodges, Decembrist societies, literary romanticism, and later in the Cyril and Methodius

Brotherhood, the Ukrainian communities, the first national parties, etc. (p. 60). In other publications, the author constantly emphasized the need for the collapse of the Muscovite empire as a “prison of peoples”, for the demythologizing of Muscovite imperial policy towards conquered peoples, and for the affirmation of the Ukrainians as a modern nation: “In our time, Ukrainianism in Russia has already regained its feet. The Ukrainian people are transforming, overcoming all obstacles, into a modern nation” (Ukrainianism in Russia (1916)) (p. 65). However, the historian does not notice the obvious lack of consideration by V. Doroshenko of the Galician nationalistic experience, which makes his scheme not entirely complete.

For a short time after D. Dontsov, Mykola Zalizniak (1888 – 1950) was elected the head of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine, the representative of the Socialist Revolutionaries (SRs), who was born in Feodosia, a representative of a Moscowization Cossack family. The national idea also played a significant role in his worldview. I. Pater recalls M. Zalizniak’s participation as a student in the struggle for Ukrainian departments at Kyiv University, a rapid evolution of his national consciousness in emigration to Galicia, combination of a certain Austrophilism with a belief in the “national independence” of the Ukrainians (p. 49). Even after leaving the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine, while serving in Vienna as head of the foreign committee of the Ukrainian Socialist Revolutionary Party, he was engaged in active nationalistic publishing activities and wrote a number of politically important publications. For example, as the historian notes, in the brochure “Is Independent Ukraine a Non-Socialist Slogan?” (1915), M. Zalizniak emphasizes the need to separate Ukraine and Poland from the Muscovite Empire during World War, and destruction of Muscovy as a prerequisite for the existence of free democratic Europe: “With iron and blood, life teaches the peoples of Europe reason. The current war is another lesson. And the meaning of the lesson is that as long as the Russian Empire exists, one cannot think there... about the safe development of democracy... Without the defeat and destruction of Russia, there is no point in thinking about European progress... And the destruction of Russia is impossible without the liberation of Ukraine from its domination” (p. 53).

Naturally, a strong nationalistic thinking was present among Galician national democrats, who also worked in the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine quite actively. In this context, I. Pater quite carefully analyzes the activities and dramatic fate of the famous Ukrainian philologist, a proponent of Francophilology, Academician Mykhailo Vozniak (1881 – 1954), a native of Lviv region, who, while not being a member of any party, clearly gravitated towards a national democratic worldview. M. Vozniak was the editor of the “Vistnyk of Union for the Liberation of Ukraine”, which was an influential wartime publication, and the author of a number of important Ukrainian-centric publications, including “Our Native Language” (1916) and “Ukrainian Statehood” (1918). The intellectual resolutely emphasized the lack of alternative to the national idea for the liberation of Ukrainians and resolutely polemicized with those Ukrainian parties that stood for federalism with Muscovy, because “to think about such a federation means to drive the national organism of the Ukrainian people into the grave consciously”. M. Vozniak emphasized that chauvinistic, Ukrainophobic beliefs were inherent not only to Moscow elite, but also to the majority of imperial society: “...to prevent the Ukrainian people from rising, getting out of such a grave, today it is no longer the tsar, not Moscow liberals, but the entire Moscow people who were guiding it” (p. 138). The Ukrainians will be convinced of this profound observation correctness during the 20th and early 21st centuries.

Despite its obvious advantages, the peer-reviewed monograph also contains some minor shortcomings, which may need to be corrected in further development of this important issue. For example, when covering the figure of D. Dontsov, obviously it would be worth taking into account the thorough research by Ya. Dashkevych, O. Bahan, S. Kvit, and H. Svarnyk. It would also be useful to avoid not always correct use of the term “nationalism”, which in the monograph is sometimes politicized, mythologized, and then acts as a synonym for opposite phenomena, as we have in the phrases “Black Hundreds nationalists” (instead of “Black Hundreds chauvinists”) (p. 32) or “Russian nationalists” (instead of “Russian imperialists”) (p. 33). In some places, there are obvious factual errors (for example, in 1915, the 101st anniversary of the death of T. Shevchenko could hardly have been celebrated (p. 66)) or there is a lack of a linguistic editing (obviously, it is more appropriate to use the term “outstanding” rather than “evident figures”).

However, overall, Ivan Pater’s monograph convincingly shows that a powerful national idea can become the basis for effective unification of people of different character and political orientation. That is, it can become a conceptual, worldview core of thinking and activity in the interests of national freedom, for the benefit of the common cause – achievement of an independent Ukrainian state. No matter what the members of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine did before joining the organization or after its self-dissolution, no matter what political ideologies they professed (conservatism, social democracy, national democracy, socialist revolutionism, etc.), during their stay in its structures they demonstrated the best human qualities, competing for the main refuge of the people – their own national state. Therefore, the author seems to conclude that the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine, unlike many parties and public associations of that time, became an effective Ukrainian-centric organization, whose experience in one way or another influenced subsequent Ukrainian organizations.

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