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**A NEW INSCRIPTION FROM ULPIANA:
TESTIMONY OF A DEDICATION OR A CIVIC ASSOCIATION**

Abstract. *This paper presents the interpretation of a previously unpublished epigraphic inscription discovered within the urban context of the ancient city of Ulpiana (Moesia Superior). The study aims to highlight the role of inscriptions not only in addressing archaeological questions but also in enhancing*

historical reconstructions related to Roman urbanism in Dardania. **The methodology of research** employs an interdisciplinary methodology that integrates archaeological evidence – namely material culture – with written sources. Comparative analysis has been essential, both in evaluating the stylistic and technical features of the inscription and in contextualizing its content within broader epigraphic traditions. Analytical methods have further supported the effort to reach plausible interpretations. **The novelty of the study** consists in the publication and interpretation of this inscription for the first time. The text offers new data on the onomastics and socio-cultural dynamics of Roman Ulpiana, contributing to a better understanding of the local population and their integration into Roman administrative and cultural frameworks. **Conclusions.** The inscription, a dedication to Valeria, provides new information regarding ethnic, political, and cultural elements in the province. The onomastic features suggest a strong Roman influence in naming practices, illustrating the spread of Roman identity in this region and its relation to the process of Romanization. The nature of the inscription, as suggested by its form and content, indicates a funerary function – most likely a family dedication on a grave stele. However, the possibility of a religious or honorific context, while less probable, cannot be definitively excluded. Although the available evidence does not permit precise dating, the style of the engraved letters, the formulation of the text, and the broader epigraphic trends in Ulpiana suggest a chronological placement between the 2nd and 4th centuries CE. Importantly, the reuse of the inscription as spolia in the pavement of the city's main street (*cardo maximus*) sheds light on cycles of destruction and rebuilding in Ulpiana, particularly after the major earthquake of 518 CE. This event, followed by the reconstruction initiatives under Emperor Justinian I, reflects broader patterns of urban transformation in the Late Antique Balkans.

Keywords: Ulpiana, epigraphic inscription, Roman Empire, city, local population, Late Antique

НОВИЙ НАПИС З УЛЬПАНИ: СВДЧЕННЯ ПРИСВЯТИ АБО ГРОМАДСЬКОГО ОБ'ЄДНАННЯ

Анотація. У статті представлено інтерпретацію раніше неопублікованого епіграфічного напису, виявленого в міському середовищі стародавнього міста Ульпіана (Верхня Мезія). **Мета дослідження** – висвітлити роль написів не лише у розв'язанні археологічних питань, але й у поліпшенні історичних реконструкцій, пов'язаних з римським урбанізмом у Дарданії. **Методологія дослідження** використовує міждисциплінарний підхід, який інтегрує археологічні дані, а саме матеріальну культуру, з письмовими джерелами. Порівняльний аналіз був важливим як для оцінки стилістичних і технічних особливостей напису, так і для контекстуалізації його змісту в ширших епіграфічних традиціях. Аналітичні методи додатково підтримали зусилля щодо досягнення правдоподібних інтерпретацій. **Новизна дослідження** полягає у публікації та інтерпретації цього напису вперше. Текст пропонує нові дані про ономастику і соціально-культурну динаміку римської Ульпіани, сприяючи кращому розумінню місцевого населення та його інтеграції в римські адміністративні й культурні рамки. **Висновки.** Напис, присвячений Валерії, надає нову інформацію щодо етнічних, політичних і культурних елементів у провінції. Ономастичні особливості свідчать про сильний римський вплив у практиці іменування, ілюструючи поширення римської ідентичності в цьому регіоні та її зв'язок з процесом романізації. Характер напису, як впливає з його форми та змісту, вказує на похоронну функцію – найімовірніше, сімейну посвяту на надгробній стелі. Однак можливість релігійного чи почесного контексту, хоча й менш ймовірна, не може бути остаточно відкинута. Хоча наявні дані не дають змоги точно датувати, стиль гравірованих літер, формулювання тексту та ширші епіграфічні тенденції в Ульпіані вказують на хронологічне розміщення між II та IV століттями н. е. Важливо, що повторне використання напису як сполі на тротуарі головної вулиці міста (*cardo maximus*) проливає світло на цикли руйнувань та відбудови в Ульпіані, особливо після сильного землетрусу 518 року. Ця подія, за якою зародилися ініціативи з реконструкції за імператора Юстиніана I, відображає ширші закономірності міської трансформації на пізньоантичних Балканах.

Ключові слова: Ульпіана, епіграфічний напис, посвята, Римська імперія, місто, міське населення, пізня античність.

Problem Statement: Ulpiana was one of the most significant urban centres in ancient Dardania. Located approximately 10 kilometers southeast of present-day Pristina (Fig. 1), the site is now protected as an archaeological park and is regarded as the most important archaeological site in Kosovo and the surrounding regions. Strategically positioned near mines rich in precious metals and surrounded by fertile lands, Ulpiana also held a central place in the network of ancient roads. Its geographical location made it a crucial hub of communication between Constantinople and Rome. Several key routes intersected near Ulpiana, connecting the Adriatic Sea with the Aegean and the Black Seas (Berisha, 2014, p. 298). Among these, the Lissus-Naissus route was the most important road crossing Dardania and directly served the city (Shukriu, 2013, p. 144). Another significant road passed close to Ulpiana, linking the Danube region with Skopje and other settlements in the southern Balkans (Mala, 2007, p. 45).

These geographic and economic advantages played a fundamental role in the establishment, growth, and long-standing prosperity of Ulpiana. During the reign of Emperor Trajan (98–117 CE), the city was elevated to the rank of municipium, marking its formal integration into the Roman administrative system (Mirdita, 1976, p. 328–330; Robinson, 1994, p. 49).

Ulpiana reached its peak in the 3rd and 4th centuries CE, becoming a prominent political, economic, and cultural center in the region. The 5th century continued to be a relatively prosperous period, although the city began to experience the adverse effects of increasing barbarian incursions. However, the beginning of the 6th century marked a turning point. In 518 CE, a powerful earthquake devastated the city, effectively ending its period of flourishing. This catastrophic event marked the close of an era and the beginning of a new phase in the city's history. It was Emperor Justinian I (527–565 CE) who took the initiative to rebuild the city. He renamed it Justiniana Secunda, although archaeological evidence suggests that the newly reconstructed urban area was significantly smaller in scale than the original municipium (Hajdari et al., 2010, p. 449).

Review of Recent Research and Publications. Numerous studies have already addressed the inscriptions discovered within the territory of Dardania, and more specifically, those found in the ancient territory corresponding to present-day Kosovo. Within the scope of these studies are also included the inscriptions unearthed in the administrative area of Ulpiana (Evans, 1885; Vulić, 1931; 1933; 1934; 1941; 1948; Čerškov, 1973; Mirdita, 1976; 1981; 2001; Peja, 1998; Shukriu, 2003; Ferri, 2001; 2012a; 2012b; Dobruna-Salihi, 2003; 2005; Kalaja-Hajdari, 2017). Epigraphic sources attest to the existence of certain important Roman officials, individuals who played a significant role in the economic and cultural development of the city within this region. The forms of Roman presence in Ulpiana are also reflected in the military sphere; however, it should not be overlooked that the city's vast territory was also home to large landowners – Roman patrician families such as the *Furii* and the *Pontii*. This extensive Roman presence in Ulpiana greatly contributed to the process of Romanization of the city, a phenomenon that manifested in various forms (Čerškov, 1973, p. 56; Hajdari, 2013, pp. 222–243; Kalaja-Hajdari, 2016). The presence of the Dardanians is also attested in multiple ways, notably through onomastic evidence found in the city's inscriptions. These data have been studied by E. Kalaja-Hajdari, who identifies several names drawn from epigraphic sources (Kalaja-Hajdari, 2016, pp. 34–36).

The Results of the Research. Archaeological excavations at the site of Ulpiana, conducted by the Archaeological Institute of Kosovo in 2016, were focused on a segment of the *cardo maximus* near the Northern Gate. The primary objective was to reach the original level of the

street in order to clarify its function in relation to the surrounding public buildings and to trace the different phases of its development and transformation. Opposite this section of the road, where the inscription was discovered, stands the temple complex with a portico, over which, following urban planning changes that had affected this area, a palaeo-Christian basilica was later constructed (Brisha et al., 2018, pp. 7–17). In the final phase of its transformation, this building was fortified with a surrounding wall and four circular towers positioned along the main axes. The inscription was discovered during excavations led by Milot Berisha, Director of the Ulpiana Archaeological Park (Berisha, 2016).

At the moment of its discovery, the inscription was found positioned horizontally, integrated into the western surrounding wall of the basilica. Near the inscription, aligned with the same defensive wall and close to the watchtower, three other stone blocks of similar dimensions were also discovered lying horizontally. This suggests that the inscription, along with the additional blocks, was in a secondary context and had been reused as *spolia* within the basilica's fortification structure.

It is clear that the archaeological context does not contribute to the interpretation or dating of the inscription. Since the inscription was found in this secondary use, it cannot directly inform us about its original purpose or chronological attribution. However, its presence provides significant evidence for understanding the various phases of construction and urban transformation that Ulpiana experienced over the centuries, as well as the role of reused building materials in these processes.

The inscription remains preserved *in situ* on the *cardo maximus*, near the point of discovery, and is now placed in a vertical position to enhance visibility for visitors. In this way, it serves not only as a valuable epigraphic testimony but also as a meaningful example of the practice of *spolia* in Late Antique architecture.

Description

The inscription is carved on local white marble with grayish tones and is only partially preserved, as part of the epigraphic field and the base are missing. The surviving fragment measures 70×40 cm. On the front face, a portion of the decorative crown is preserved, featuring geometric motifs. This crown is separated from the epigraphic field by several horizontal decorative lines. The lateral sides are undecorated and show visible traces of damage.

The epigraphic field is clearly delimited at the top by horizontal lines and on the left side vertically, while on the right side, although damaged, a thin line allows the boundary to be determined. The epigraphic field has a preserved width of 26.5 cm; however, the total height remains unknown, as the inscription has been truncated from the fourth line onward. Its condition is relatively well-preserved. Within the epigraphic field, the use of inter-puncts (punctuation marks) and ligatures is evident, particularly in the second line. These elements represent important indicators for the palaeographic analysis of the inscription.

Inscription Text

The inscription is preserved in three lines, with well-formed letters of nearly uniform height (5 cm). The profiling of the letters is clear, deeply carved, with sharp angles, indicating careful execution and a skilled hand in its production. From the preserved lines, the following can be clearly read:

1. *Valeriae*
2. *L(ucii) fil(iae) Lucilâe*
3. *Ulpia Gai[a]*
4. -----

Translation: For Valeria Lucilla, daughter of Lucius. From Ulpia Gaia (?)

Commentary

Lines 1–2 – In the first and second lines, in the dative case, we find the name of the individual honored in this inscription: *Valeriae Lucilae*. While *Valeriae* is written in full, *Lucilae* is rendered using ligatures, specifically the combination of the letters CI and AE. This was most likely done due to the limited space available to the stonemason (*lapicida*). Between the personal name (*praenomen*) and the family name (*gentilicium*), the filiation appears, indicating that Valeria was the daughter of Lucius: *L(ucii) fil(iae)*. As for the onomastics, Valeria is a widely attested name in the Roman world, commonly used as a family name (*gentilicium*) (Pflaum & Duval, 1977, p. 510). Lassere precises that: «Le *gentilice* Valeria est extrêmement fréquente» (Lassere, 2011, p. 931). For this reason, it is possible that in this case as well, Valeria functioned as the *gentilicium*, while *Lucilae* served as the *cognomen*. An inscription featuring somewhat similar onomastic elements comes from the province of Narbonensis in Gaul, where an epitaph reads – (CIL, 12, 901): *D(is) M(anibus) / Valeria Luci f(ilia) / Lucilla / Cn(aeo) Cornel(io) Luciliano f(ilio) / et Protoceto cont(ubernali) / pientissimis / et Eutythiae* (See also: Nuorluoto, 2021, p. 78).

However, given that her father was named *Lucius*, it is more reasonable to assume that *Lucila* reflects her *gentilicium*, while *Valeria* functions as her *praenomen*. The name Valeria is well documented in the province of Upper Moesia, (Consult the name index in: Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure, Vol. IV (p. 143), vol. VI (p. 189). See also: CIL, 03, 8253; CIL, 03, 8212; AE, 1977, 729; AE, 1993, 1352; AE, 1995, 1313). Whereas *Lucila* is attested more rarely and with a more limited geographical distribution (Solin, 1977, p. 123). In this province, it is primarily attested in the Skopje region, where it typically appears as a cognomen for women and girls (IMS, vol. VI, n°. 95, 103, 129). Used as a cognomen for women and girls (IMS, vol. VI, n°. 78, 103, 107). In Dardania, the variant *Lucilla* has also been recorded on two occasions (Mirdita, 1981, p. 178).

Line 3 – In the third line appears the name *Ulpia Gai[a]*, who most likely represents the dedicator of this inscription. *Ulpia/Ulpia* is an imperial *gentilicium*, widely spread throughout the Empire, primarily attested as a *nomen*, but in some cases also as a *cognomen*, and frequently documented in the province of Upper Moesia (OPEL, IV, p. 179; Bruun & Edmondson, 2014, pp. 15–16). For its distribution in this province, consult the volumes of the epigraphic corpus of Upper Moesia (IMS, vol. I-IV, VI).

As such, it is also widely attested in Dardania (Mirdita, 1981, pp. 51–53), indicating the broad distribution of this *nomen* in the region. This *nomen* is closely linked to the expansion of Roman citizenship under the reign of Emperor Trajan, who, through granting citizenship rights, influenced its more frequent appearance in epigraphic sources. Therefore, its presence serves as an indicator that *Ulpia*, or her ancestors, likely acquired Roman citizenship during the rule of Emperor Trajan. On the other hand, *Gaia* is a noticeably rarer name, not attested with the same frequency. It mainly appears as a cognomen, but in rare cases also as a *nomen* (OPEL, II, p. 159). Lawrence Keppie precises that: “The reversed C served as an abbreviation for *Gaia*, a female form of *Gaius*. *Gaia* was not in use as a *praenomen*, but was a standard legal notation for ‘a woman’” (Keppie, 1991, p. 20). Further, Tuomo Nuorluoto explains: “Clear examples of *Caia/Gaia* are not numerous. In some cases, it may represent an imperial name or a combination derived from a prominent name, i.e., *Iulia Caia/Gaia* (following *C. Iulius*: CIL, VIII, 16078; CIL, VIII, 21876). There are also a number of other cases in which the name appears as an identifier, but without a clear connection to a *praenomen*: (IAM, II, 2534 (*Antonia Caia*); AE, 1981, 742 (*Valeri(a)e Gai(a)e*); AE, 2015, 1234 (*Ulpia Gaia*); CIL, III, 1665 (*Ulpia Caia*); AE, 1981, 730 (*Aur(e)l(ia) Caia*); IMS, III, 263 (*Aelia Gaia*)” (Nuorluoto, 2021, p. 63). In the epigraphic corpus of Dardania, this name is documented only sporadically (Mirdita, 1981, p. 105–106).

Line 4 – In the fourth line, only traces of letters are visible, but these are insufficient to allow a definite identification of which letters they are. Accordingly, the interrupted lines indicate that several lines are entirely lost, the exact number of which remains undetermined. However, the horizontal dimensions of the epigraphic field suggest that the inscription below the lacuna could not have been very extensive. Thus, if the inscription belongs to a funerary monument, one would expect the lower part to first indicate the relationship of the dedicator to Valerian (perhaps the mother or another close relative). Following this, it is common to find the funerary formula *vixit annos/annis*, although this often appears immediately after the name of the deceased, before that of the dedicator. Furthermore, it is reasonable to assume the presence of typical formulas such as *hic situs est* or *sit tibi terra levis* (Mirdita, 1981, pp. 240–241), and finally closing formulas of the type *fecit*, *bene merenti posuit*, or *faciendum curavit* (Lassere, 2011, pp. 236–238).

Conclusion. In fact, apart from the dedication to Valeria in the Dative case and its logical connection with the rest of the inscription, there are no other indicators that conclusively prove we are dealing with a funerary monument. Therefore, although this remains the most likely hypothesis, the possibility that the inscription served an honorific function cannot be excluded *a priori* – for example, as a form of recognition for one or several members of a community or civic collegium.

The presence of such collegia is attested in Ulpiana through epigraphic sources. A marble plaque discovered in 2011, not far from the find-spot of the monument under study, contains the names of twelve women, accompanied by the cognomina of their husbands. The fact that the first name is associated with the epithet *mater* has led scholars to interpret this as evidence of the presence of an organized collegium or association, possibly with a religious character (Feraudi-Gruénais & Teichner, 2014, pp. 275–283; Dana, 2019, pp. 159–179).

Another collegium is documented through an inscription published in 1980 (Mirdita, 1981, pp. 190–191), in which this institution had undertaken the erection of a commemorative monument for a couple, based on the will of Alexandria. Although the name and function of the collegium remain unknown, as well as whether Alexandria was a member, this epigraphic source clearly demonstrates the role of such associations in the public life and social organization of Ulpiana. In this context, although the inscription under examination is fragmentary and lacks essential elements for a definitive determination of its function, the possibility that it was connected to a collegium or a similar association cannot be excluded.

Nevertheless, based on the arguments presented above, the primary function of this inscription should be understood as commemorative; in other words, it is more appropriately interpreted as an epitaph rather than an honorific dedication. The presence of Valeria's filiation in the dative case, the horizontal dimensions of the epigraphic field, and several paleographic and typological features support this interpretation. The absence of the formula *Dis Manibus/Dis Manibus Sacrum*, which became widespread in Rome from the mid-1st century AD and in the provinces from the second half of that century, does not preclude this reading, as the formula was not obligatory and a considerable number of epitaphs lacking it are known. Furthermore, with the spread of Christianity, the use of this formula gradually declined, although it remained in use until late antiquity. Additionally, the fact that women generally did not hold political offices, and that their religious or administrative roles were limited, further reinforces the hypothesis of the funerary nature of this inscription.

The issue of dating this inscription remains complex. Its reuse as *spolia*, the absence of the *Dis Manibus* formula, and the loss of several lines do not allow for a precise chronological determination. Based on the overall analysis and the elements discussed above, the inscription can be placed within a broad chronological framework spanning from the 2nd to the 4th century AD.



Fig. 1. The location of Ulpiana on the map (© MAFKO-Hajdari, Goddard, Berisha)



Fig. 2 Inscription (CAD: B. Abazi)

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**COMPROMISE AGREEMENTS AS A TOOL FOR JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS
IN OLD POLISH-LITHUANIAN COMMONWEALTH (BASED ON JUDICIAL
MATERIALS OF THE RUTHENIAN VOIVODESHIP IN THE 17th – 18th CENTURIES)**

Abstract. *The purpose of the study is to clarify the role and place of compromise agreements in the judicial system of Old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The research methodology is based on the principles of scientific historicism, the use of general scientific and highly specialized historical methods. Scientific novelty consists in a comprehensive analysis of the activities of compromise courts in the territory of the Ruthenian Voivodeship of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 17th – 18th centuries, as an integral part of judicial proceedings. The procedural aspect of the court’s activities has been reconstructed: composition, prerequisites for formation, topics of cases considered, etc. Conclusions. Compromise agreements were widely used in an everyday legal practice of the Old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth society as a tool for resolving conflicts. The acts of the hrodsky (magistrates’) and zemstvo courts contain hundreds of references and the agreements texts, and it testifies to their importance. The participants of compromise agreements were two parties who were*

on equal terms. Each of them was represented by the so-called “friend”, it could be one or several people. In the 18th century the board of friends was headed by a super-arbitrator. Also in the 18th century the compromise court could use the services of *vozny* and other officials of local judicial and administrative institutions. Compromise agreements could be concluded between the parties who were conducting legal proceedings in the existing permanent courts. They could equally be concluded at different stages: at the beginning of legal proceedings, at the end, etc. Compromise courts covered a wide range of civil and criminal cases. Thus, they could make decisions that provided not only for material aspects, but also for imprisonment, deprivation of honour, etc.

Key words: compromise courts, Ruthenian voivodeship, judicial proceedings of the Old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, compromise agreements, mediation.

МИРОВІ УГОДИ ЯК ІНСТРУМЕНТ СУДОЧИНСТВА ДАВНЬОЇ РЕЧІ ПОСПОЛИТОЇ (ЗА СУДОВИМИ МАТЕРІАЛАМИ РУСЬКОГО ВОЄВОДСТВА XVII – XVIII ст.)

Анотація. Мета дослідження. З'ясувати роль і місце мирових угод у системі судочинства Давньої Речі Посполитої. **Методологія дослідження** оперта на засади наукового історизму, використання загальних наукових та вузькоспеціальних історичних методів. **Наукова новизна:** здійснений комплексний аналіз діяльності полюбовних (мирових) судів на теренах Руського воєводства Речі Посполитої у XVII – XVIII ст. як складової частини судочинства. Реконструйований процедурний аспект діяльності суду: склад, передумови формування, тематика справ, що розглядалися тощо. **Висновки.** Мирові угоди широко використовувалися у повсякденній правовій практиці суспільства Давньої Речі Посполитої як інструмент врегулювання конфліктів. Акти гродських і земських судів містять сотні згадок та самих текстів угод, що засвідчує їхню важливість. Учасниками полюбовних судів були дві сторони, котрі перебували в рівних умовах. Кожну з них представляв так званий “приятель”, це могла бути одна або кілька осіб. У XVIII ст. колегію приятелів очолював суперарбітр. Так само у XVIII ст. полюбовний суд міг вдаватися до послуг возного та інших урядовців місцевих судово-адміністративних установ. Мирові угоди могли укладатися між сторонами, що провадили судовий процес у чинних постійних судах. Однаковою мірою вони могли укладатися на різних етапах: на початку судового процесу, наприкінці тощо. Полюбовні суди охоплювали широкий спектр цивільних та кримінальних справ. Вони могли приймати рішення, що передбачали не тільки матеріальні аспекти, але й ув'язнення, позбавлення честі тощо.

Ключочі слова: мирові (полюбовні) суди, руське воєводство, судочинство Давньої Речі Посполитої, мирові угоди, медіація.

Problem Statement. The judicial system of the Old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth combined the norms of customary and written law, which had been formed over centuries and had certain regional characteristics. Compromise courts were part of this system. The study of the activities of these courts enables us to find out how the principles of justice, compromise and voluntary settlement of disputes were implemented on a daily basis in a class society with its ethnic and confessional diversity. The study of the mechanisms for reaching compromise agreements creates an opportunity to reconstruct the level of legal culture, interaction among private individuals, judicial and administrative institutions, and the specifics of legal mentality of the then society. In the context of a growing role of compromise court institution as an alternative method of resolving disputes, it is advisable to study the historical experience of this legal practice.

Review of Historiography. Compromise courts as an integral part of the legal practice of the Old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth have been studied by the Polish lawyers since the 19th century. This can be found in the works of O. Balzer (Balzer, 1935, p. 35), P. Dąbkowski (Dąbkowski, 1910–1911, p. 456), S. Kutszeba (Kutszeba, 1927, p. 112), Ja. Rafacz (Rafacz,

1936, pp. 6–7), and Ju. Bardach (Bardach, 2009, p. 345) S. Płaza (Płaza, 1997, p. 237). However, the studies are limited to extremely concise considerations about the compromise agreements, indicating the general principles of their conclusion. In fact, their review does not go beyond the textbook scope and is not based on a specific factual material. The studies do not take into account regional specifics and time changes. In the Ukrainian historical and legal science, I. Boiko studied this issue but superficially (Boiko, 2009, p. 244). Yu. Hoshko (Hoshko, 1999), V. Inkin (Inkin, 1990), I. Smutok, V. Ilnytskyi and M. Haliv (Smutok, Ilnytskyi, & Haliv, 2024) did research on the legal traditions in the Carpathian region during the early modern period in more detail. Their publications contain interesting observations on the activities of compromise courts. The activities of compromise courts were studied by Yu. Zazulak (Zazulak, 2004; Zazulak, 2007) and V. Domino (Domino, 1938) in detail. However, the analysis is limited to the 15th – 16th centuries. Similarly, N. Starchenko studied the activities of these institutions, but in Volyn Voivodeship (Starchenko, 2004).

The purpose of the study is to determine the role and place of compromise agreements in the judicial system of the Old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Research Results. The judicial system of the Old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was based on certain foundations and principles that determined the forms and methods of resolving disputes and the nature of the legal process. In particular, the principle of appeal. The initiator of the beginning of the case consideration was one of the parties to the process (apparently the plaintiff). Therefore, the process began with a statement (complaint, protest, lawsuit, etc.). If the aggrieved party did not declare its rights, the court could not arbitrarily remedy the violation of law and order. The so-called principle of dispositivity meant that both parties to the conflict regulated the procedural aspects independently. They could freely determine the terms of the case consideration; they chose the court at their own discretion; they collected the evidence themselves; they could make mutual concessions and abandon part of the claims or put forward new ones. Ultimately, the parties could completely refuse the services of the state court and resolve the case peacefully. This process was also facilitated by the circumstance, or rather another principle – the lack of clear criteria for judges and people entitled to administer justice. The judicial bodies of the Old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth were staffed by people from the gentry (magistrates' courts – burghers), who did not receive legal education or pass qualifying exams. It was enough to know the general principles of legal proceedings. In the society of that time, a nobleman/burgher acquired this knowledge in practice, constantly conducting legal proceedings with neighbours, relatives, etc. It was possible to deepen the general principles of legal proceedings by working in the magistrates' and zemstvo courts. There were separate boards of young noblemen who were widely involved in the organization of legal proceedings at various stages (serving lawsuits, court hearings, executing sentences, etc.).

The combination of all these factors led to the widespread use of extrajudicial instruments for resolving legal disputes. These included, in particular, compromise agreements – decrees of friendly or compromise courts.

In documents of the 16th – 18th centuries, compromise agreements are called differently: “*decretum commpromissum*”, “*kompromis*” (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 30, p. 1328; c. 34, pp. 275, 434; c. 298, pp. 923–936; c. 154, p. 936; c. 214, p. 11; c. 216, p. 289; c. 221, p. 611; c. 222, pp. 53, 58; c. 225, c. 383), “*complanatio / komplanacja*”, “*complanatio amicabile*” (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 144, p. 249; c. 215, p. 190; c. 222, p. 144; c. 223, p. 563; c. 225, p. 280; c. 226, p. 70; c. 234, p. 111, 328; c. 404, p. 319), “*postanowienie*” (CSHAUL, f. 13,

d. 1, c. 435, p. 1207; c. 444, p. 2120; c. 457, p. 693); “pomiarowanie” (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 457, p. 694).

Compromise agreements were widely practiced in the society of the Old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The Przemyśl town acts for the years 1710–1740 contain mentions of 3–4 agreements per year. However, it is worth noting that not all cases could be considered through reaching a compromise. In particular, insult to royal honour and high treason. Since 1726, cases concerning the state treasury and royal estates were not subject to compromise courts; it was forbidden to consider cases of minors without any participation of official courts.

In compromise agreements, there are two parties to the process. In this aspect they do not differ from other courts. In the Old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the trial involved two parties – a plaintiff and a defendant. There could be no third party. The obligations and rights of the parties were not the same. For example, if there were the same witnesses on both plaintiff and defendant’s side, the evidence obtained from them was interpreted in favour of a defendant. In compromise agreements, such a division was not observed and the parties were actually on equal terms. Obviously, when operating with the concepts of a plaintiff or defendant, it was not necessarily about one person. As evidenced by compromise agreements, it could be several people (Anastasia Hulianytska on the one party and Mykolai, Oleksandr, Heorhii Yavorsky Petrashovtchi on the other party (1688) (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 144, p. 249), or Andriy Strilbytsky, John Monastyrsky, Euphrosyne of Sozanska – on the one party and Andriy and his father also Andriy Sozansky Vorony – on the other party (1730) (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 236, p. 65). The parties to a compromise agreement could be certain institutions, such as monasteries (Dobromylsky Monastery on the one party and John and Mykolay Ilynytsky Yaninovychi on the other party (1736) (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 240, p. 225) (the Vysochansky family, represented by more than a dozen people on one party, and the Lavra monastery represented by the monastery procurator on the other party (1747) (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 248, p. 351). Often one of the parties is a town or village community (Bandrivsky and Kulchytsky – on one party and Sambir burghers led by the town magistrate – on the other party (1692) (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 457, pp. 1860–1864).

An indispensable condition for a compromise agreement was the presence of a representative from each part. In the documents they are called “friends” (*in Polish* – “przyjacieł”, “przyjacieli do kompromissu”, “proszony przyjacieli”). In the vast majority of cases, there was one person from each of a plaintiff/plaintiffs and defendant/defendants. However, this rule was not mandatory, as evidenced by individual documents. For example, in the agreement between the Klodnytski, two representatives were present from each party (1691) (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 454, p. 968), and the dispute between the Komarnytski and the Druzhbychi was considered by five friends on each part (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 455, p. 2484). In some cases, a kind of board of friends was established, which elected a presiding judge (superarbiter) from among themselves and conducted the case as a court. In particular, this is how the dispute between Theodore and Alexander Yavorsky Pyrkovychi on the one part and Basil and Alexander Chernetski on the other (1694) was considered. The decision was made by the board consisting of 7 noblemen, headed by Oleksandr Humnytsky (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 460, p. 1383). We also encounter a super-arbitrator in the case between the Ilynytski Telepianovychi and the Matkivski (1715). Interestingly, in the latter case, the board of friends is called a court of compromise (*in Polish* – sąd niniejszy kompromissarski) and uses the services of a porter, and from that point on it is no different from a government judicial institution (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 500, p. 2994). In the 18th century, such boards

were established with the involvement of both “friends” and outsiders. This is indicated by the compromise agreement between the Kobyletski, which provides detailed details of its formation. Franciszk Nahuyowski, “z oboch stron superarbiter”, Samuel Vynnytsky Radewych and Pavlo Kryvetsky on the side of Stanislav and Theodore Kobyletsky, Stanislav Nahuyowski and Jan Pawlowski on the side of Maciej and Basil Kruszelnyski, and also “przy obecności panów Bazylego Manastyrskiego, Mikołaja Horodyskiego, Jana Winnickiego i innych do tego aktu zgromadzonych” (1710) (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 503, p. 1553). A court of compromise was formed in a similar way, which in 1737 considered disputes between Anton Kalynowski and Samuel Jaworski Dubyk. It was headed by the “superarbitr” Mykolai Soltyk, with whom two representatives from each side sat, and the work of this board was carried out in the presence of ten nobles, most of whom were government officials and clerks of the Przemyśl magistrates’ court (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 563, pp. 205–206).

As evidenced by the agreements of the 18th century, courts of compromise could involve officials of local judicial and administrative institutions in their work. These were a steward, chancellors, and officials of the local town (“vozny”, “subdelegatus”, “vicegerent”). In some cases, depending on the subject of the legal dispute, other institutions and people with appropriate authorities could be involved. For example, in the case between Hryhoriy Horodysky Bratko and Marianna Mattuszewska, regarding the alleged rape of the latter, the relevant investigative actions (inquisitia) were carried out by representatives of the clergy (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 450, pp. 548–549). Courts of compromise and agreements between peasants and underprivileged social classes of the population were concluded with the participation of landowners or their representatives. If these were state lands, such agreements were under the local administration control. For example, in the Sambir starostvo, village officials and administration were involved in this case, and the relevant decrees were sanctioned by the sub-starosta (MD SL LNU, f.: Sambir starostvo, c. 520/III, pp. 182–183, 204–205, 220–221, 236–237).

Compromise agreements were concluded at different stages of the legal process. Initially, there was a clear division: having chosen one of the two ways to resolve the conflict (through a judicial institution or a compromise agreement), none of the parties could choose the other way. This is characteristic primarily of the Middle Ages. In the 17th and 18th centuries, these restrictions were no longer in effect. The parties could refuse the services of the state judiciary at any time and conclude a compromise agreement (Rafacz, 1936, pp. 6–7).

A cursory review of the preserved agreements shows that they were concluded at the beginning of the legal proceedings and the parties did not go to court. The evidence of this fact is the absence of any mention of legal proceedings. As a rule, these are property agreements, division of inheritance, settlement of debt obligations, etc. (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c.404, p. 318–320; c. 450, pp. 2012–2014).

However, in many cases, the parties had previously resorted to courts of various instances. It is often difficult to determine at what stage the case was in the courts before the parties decided to reconcile through a compromise agreement. The latter contains a mention of the process, but without a clear detailed outline. For example, in the dispute between Zhukhowska on the one party and her daughter and son-in-law, the Vynnytski, there is only a general mention of it (o czym processa prawne między niemi in actis pozachodzili) (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 435, p. 1331)

As appears from other agreements, the process could begin when one of the parties filed a complaint with the local court and a defendant accordingly received a claim. It was at

this stage that renegotiations continued, leading to the conclusion of an agreement between Marianna Matuszewska and Hryhoriy Horodyski Bratko on the other party (1680) (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 450, p. 549). As evidenced by the agreement between Tomas Zubrycki and Ilija Komarnicki Lezhan, the agreement conclusion could have been preceded by a trial in the Przemysl magistrates' court with a decision, and only after that the parties decided to settle the case on their own with the help of friends ("Panowie Komarniccy prawują się przez lat ośmnaście") (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 457, pp. 71–73).

In some cases, the case lasted more than one year, as is evident from the agreement between the Komarnytski and the Druzhbychi. The parties were at war with each other over land, and it lasted for 18 years (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 457, p. 695). There are agreements that were preceded by years of litigation that reached the Lublin Tribunal, as the highest appellate instance, and only then did the parties resort to arbitration. This was the case between the Kryvetski on the one party and the Vynnytski on the other party. As follows from the agreement, their dispute was considered at the Lublin Tribunal. Its decision in this case is unknown. However, immediately after the court session, without leaving Lublin, the parties concluded the agreement (1685) (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 442, pp. 1719–1720).

When considering a case, the compromise courts usually annulled the decision and disregarded all previous legal proceedings ("processa, manifestacje in antecessum między tronami zaszle i wszelkie pretensje, tak o wojtóstwo, jako i o same osoby zachodzące cassantur et anihilantur") (1702) (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 500, p. 1593). Moreover, some of them contain a reservation that the parties accept the decision of the compromise court as final and will not appeal ("strony obydwie sine quavis apellatione juris kontonowac mają") (1723) (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 520, p. 1463)

Compromise courts covered a wide range of civil and criminal cases. In particular, the subject of consideration of compromise courts were property disputes and other disputes, debt obligations, and violations of property rights to movable and immovable property. Thus, in 1691, the Komarnytski Fedchaky and the Komarnytski Pavlykovychi settled a land conflict related to the division of the joint inheritance of Hrytsko Komarnytsky Pavlykovych (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 455, pp. 2483–2484). The following year, Hryhoriy, Jan and Oleksandr Komarnytski Druzhbychi attempted to make a compromise agreement. The disagreement between them arose over the land allotment of Oleksandr Kopystynski, who had sold it to the Druzhbychi, but when concluding the purchase and sale agreement, Hryhoriy's name was not included. This fact led to disagreement and mutual resentment among the relatives (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 457, pp. 694–696).

Inheritance, distribution of movable and immovable property, custody of minors and similar family matters were usually also resolved by compromise courts. In 1683, in particular, in this way, Oleksandr and Kostantyn on the one party and their brother Petro on the other party from the Blazhyvski family made the decision who would take care of the minor son and daughter of their late brother Heorhiy (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 444, p. 1731); In 1695, Yevrosinia Leszczyńska tried to settle a misunderstanding with her stepfather, Jan Białoskurski, regarding her paternal and maternal inheritance by a compromise agreement (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 463, pp. 767–769). In 1696, Mykola Rohozinski and Jan Dwernytski sought to resolve property disputes through arbitrators that arose after the marriage between Jan, the son of Mykola Rohozinski, and Olena, Dwernytski's stepdaughter (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 463, pp. 3295–3298)

Conflicts and clashes that resulted in material damage and bodily harm were also regularly considered at compromise courts. For example, in 1692, Dmytro Bandriwski, and Mykola,

Oleksandr Kulchytski Shtokaily, settled a conflict with Sambir burghers. The latter, under unclear circumstances, attacked these noblemen, inflicted wounds, and during the fight took away certain things and torn apart their clothes (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 457, pp. 1860–1864).

The subject of a compromise agreement could be insults to honour and dignity, accusations of illegitimate origin, etc. Typically, these agreements were concluded among the gentry. In particular, in 1691, Toma Zubrytsky settled the case with Ilia Komarnytski Lezhan, who accused him of a plebeian origin (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 457, pp. 71–73). Similarly, in 1702, Stefan Turetski and Oleksandr Chernetski agreed to end the legal proceedings that had lasted between them for many years and undertook to apologize to each other for the insult to their honour and dignity (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 491, pp. 1589–1591)

Compromise court also considered cases of murder, both intentional and unintentional. Moreover, under the conditions of that time, when blood feuds were considered a completely acceptable phenomenon, and the judicial authorities and the executive power could not prevent it, compromise agreements were the most effective tool for preventing blood feuds and preventing their further spread (Inkin, 1990).

Considering a wide range of civil and criminal cases, compromise courts were quite naturally given the right to make decisions, ranging from the regulation of imprisonment to deprivation of honour. Therefore, compromise courts often used the personnel and facilities of local judicial and administrative institutions to implement their decrees. For example, the agreement between the Krywetski and the Vynnytski in the case of robberies involving Pavlo Krywetski provided not only for material compensation to the injured party, but also contained a separate clause ordering the Krywetski to be imprisoned for one year in Przemyśl castle in one of its towers. In case of non-fulfillment of the provisions of the agreement, the Krywetski was the subject to execution (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 442, p. 1718). Similarly, in the case between Ilia Komarnytski Lezhanyk and Toma Zubrytski, regarding defamation, the punishment for the Komarnytski included imprisonment in the tower of Przemyśl castle for two weeks.

Conclusions. Compromise agreements were widely used in the everyday legal practice of the Old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth society as a tool for resolving conflicts. Acts of the magistrates' and zemstvo courts contain hundreds of references and the agreements texts, and it testifies to their importance. Participants of compromise courts were two parties who were on equal terms. Each of them was represented by the so-called "friend", it could be one or several people. In the 18th century the board of "friends" was headed by a super-arbitrator. Also in the 18th century the compromise court could use the services of vozny and other officials of local judicial and administrative institutions. Compromise agreements could be concluded between the parties who conducted legal proceedings at operating permanent courts. They could equally be concluded at different stages: at the beginning of legal proceedings, and at the end, etc. Compromise courts covered a wide range of civil and criminal cases. Thus, they could make decisions that provided not only for material aspects, but also for imprisonment, deprivation of honour, etc.

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**THE OTTOMAN-TURKISH VECTOR OF HETMAN IVAN VYHOVSKYI'S
DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY AND THE VICTORY
IN THE MUSCOVITE–UKRAINIAN WAR OF 1657 – 1659**

Abstract. *The purpose of this study is to analyze the historical development of the foreign policy of the Ukrainian Cossack state, particularly during the rule of Hetman Ivan Vyhovskiy, which took place under conditions of internal political strife and Moscow's aggression against Ukraine, especially in the context of fomenting civil war. Under these circumstances, the hetman not only established diplomatic relations with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, but also initiated the Black Sea vector of foreign relations to strengthen international support in resisting the aforementioned aggression. The study of Ukrainian and Turkish written sources and historiography, along with the objective interpretation of the information obtained regarding the stated issues, enables a thorough reconstruction of the course of Hetman Vyhovskiy's foreign policy activities and the joint military campaign. In this context, particular attention is paid to the Ukrainian embassy to Bakhchysarai and the presence of a large diplomatic mission from the hetman to Ottoman Türkiye, which held strategic significance for the development of relations between these countries and reflected their mutual interest in deepening such ties. The circumstances resulting from Muscovite aggression brought to the fore the issue of implementing the terms of the agreements, especially the organization of a military campaign against the enemy. The research methodology is based on adherence to the principles of historicism and historical source studies, ensuring scholarly objectivity and concrete-historical systematization, as well as the principles of interdisciplinarity and the establishment of the reliability and informational value of the identified facts and data. The scientific novelty of the research consists in the civilizational interpretation of the historiosophy of relations between Cossack-Hetman Ukraine, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Crimean Khanate, and the Sublime Porte, aimed at the defense of Ukrainian lands in the context of state-building. It also lies in the application of the author's methodology for interpreting relevant historical events based on the available information, including Ottoman-Turkish written sources and historiography. Conclusions.* In conclusion, the establishment of diplomatic relations between Hetmanate Ukraine and the Sublime Porte during the rule of Hetman Ivan Vyhovskiy was a prolonged but ultimately successful process. It is worth noting that Hetman Vyhovskiy, an alumnus of the Kyiv-

Mohyla Collegium (now the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy), was a seasoned statesman who understood the necessity and strategic value of the “Turkish alternative” for the Cossack state, caught between the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Muscovite Tsardom, and the Crimean Khanate. He participated in negotiations on Ukraine’s behalf as part of a large diplomatic mission of approximately one hundred individuals, led by the Cossack Yarema Petranovskyy—evidence of the Hetmanate’s active foreign policy toward the Ottoman Empire.

As a result of the Hetman government’s successful diplomatic efforts, treaties were concluded between the Ukrainian Cossack state, the Crimean Khanate, and the Ottoman Empire. Based on mutual agreement, a joint military campaign was launched to defend against Muscovite aggression, which proved extremely successful for the allies: the Muscovite army suffered a crushing defeat in the Konotop War; the fortress of Konotop was liberated, and another frontier fortress was retaken from Muscovite control. The strengthening of the Black Sea vector of Cossack diplomacy had strategic significance for the economic development of the Hetmanate. The preservation and continuation of this Black Sea orientation were evident in the foreign policy of Vyhovskyy’s successors and, in my view, remain a relevant historical factor today. It should also be emphasized that the preservation and development of a democratic system of governance, the status of the Ukrainian language as the official state language, and the principle that the administration of the state should be conducted by ethnic Ukrainians, were among the central priorities of Hetman Vyhovskyy’s domestic policy. In contrast, the foreign policy of the Muscovite Tsardom toward Ukraine was based on fomenting civil war within the Hetmanate and attempting to seize Ukrainian territory. It is evident to me that the Russian state continues to demonstrate the same approach toward Ukraine today, as evidenced by the ongoing Russo-Ukrainian war, which began in 2014.

Key words: historical source, diplomacy, Hetman, Vyhovskyy, Bakhchysarai, Istanbul, treaty, Muscovite aggression, Konotop, Ukraine, victory, political language.

ОСМАНСЬКО-ТУРЕЦЬКИЙ ВЕКТОР ДИПЛОМАТИЧНОЇ ДІЯЛЬНОСТІ ГЕТЬМАНА ІВАНА ВИГОВСЬКОГО ТА ПЕРЕМОГА В МОСКОВСЬКО-УКРАЇНСЬКІЙ ВІЙНІ 1657 – 1659 рр.

Анотація. Мета дослідження – проаналізувати історичний розвиток зовнішньої політики Української козацької держави, зокрібно під час управління гетьмана Івана Виговського, яке тривало в умовах внутрішньополітичних суперечок і московської агресії проти України, зокрема у розпалюванні громадянської війни. В цих умовах гетьман з налагодженням дипломатичних відносин з Річчю Посполитою, також організував Чорноморський вектор розвитку таких відносин з метою посилення міжнародної підтримки з метою протистояти зазначеній агресії. Вивчення українських і турецьких писемних джерел, та історіографії, а також об’єктивна інтерпретація отриманих відомостей стосовно порушених проблем уможливує ретельно простежити перебіг зовнішньополітичної діяльності гетьмана І. Виговського та спільної воєнної кампанії. У цьому контекст іперодовсім привертає увагу українське посольство до Бахчисараю, перебування великої дипломатичної місії гетьмана в Османській Туреччині, яка мала стратегічне значення щодо розвитку відносин між цими країнами і демонструвала обопільне бажання поглиблювати такі взаємини. Обставина, що склалася у зв’язку з агресією з боку московитів актуалізувала проблему стосовно виконання умов домовленостей – організації воєнної кампанії проти ворога. **Методологія дослідження** базується на дотриманні принципів історизму та історичного джерелознавства, забезпечення наукової об’єктивності та конкретно-історичної системності, а також на принципах міждисциплінарності і принципі встановлення достовірності й інформаційної цінності виявлених відомостей і фактів. **Наукова новизна** дослідження полягає у цивілізаційному осмисленні історіософії розвитку взаємин між козацько-гетьманською Україною, Річчю Посполитою, Кримським ханством, Високою Портою з метою оборони українських земель в контексті розвитку державності та у застосуванні авторської методології інтерпретування відповідних історичних подій з врахуванням наявних відомостей, зокрема з османсько-турецьких писемних джерел та історіографії. **Висновки.** Налагодження дипломатичних відносин між гетьманською Україною та Високою Портою в часи правління гетьмана Івана Виговського було тривалим, але успішним процесом. Наголошу,

що гетьман Іван Виговський здобув освіту у Києво-Могилянській колегії, був досвідченим політиком, який розумів необхідність і корисність “турської альтернативи” для козацької держави, затиснутої між Річчю Посполитою, Московським царством і Кримським ханством. Він брав участь у перемовинах з українського боку в складі численної делегації із майже 100 осіб, яку очолював козак Єремій Петрановський, що свідчить про активність зовнішньої політики гетьманського уряду у стосунках із Високою Портою. Унаслідок вдалої дипломатичної діяльності уряду гетьмана Івана Виговського були укладені договори між Українською козацькою державою, Кримським ханством, Османською державою. На основі взаємної домовленості було організовано воєнну кампанію з метою захисту від агресії Московського царства, яка виявилася дуже успішною для союзників: московське військо зазнало повної поразки у Конотопській війні, було звільнено фортецю Конотоп і відвоєвано ще одну фортецю, розташовану була на порубіжжі з Московським царством. Посилення чорноморського вектора діяльності козацької дипломатії мало стратегічне значення для розвитку економіки гетьманської України. Збереження активності чорноморського вектора в зовнішній політиці гетьманської України помітно відчувалося у дипломатичній діяльності наступних українських гетьманів та, на мою думку, є важливим історичним фактором у теперішній час. Варто наголосити, що збереження та розвиток демократичного державного устрою, української мови як офіційної державної мови, а також, зокрема, встановлення вимоги, щоб управління державою здійснювалося власне українцями, стали пріоритетними чинниками у політиці гетьманського уряду Івана Виговського. Натомість зовнішня політика московського царату щодо України ґрунтувалась на розпалюванні громадянської війни у гетьманській державі та намаганні загарбати українські землі. Для мене очевидним є те, що такі підходи російська держава щодо України демонструє й сьогодні, про що свідчить російсько-українська війна, яка почалася у 2014 р.

Ключові слова: історичне джерело, дипломатія, гетьман, Виговський, Бахчисарай, Стамбул, домовленість, московська агресія, Конотоп, Україна, перемога, політична мова.

Problem Statement. The significance of studying this topic lies in the fact that the exploration of the historical development of the foreign policy of the Ukrainian Cossack state during the Muscovite aggression under Hetman Ivan Vyhovskiy's leadership – particularly his multi-vector diplomatic relations with an emphasis on the Black Sea direction (with the Crimean Khanate and especially the Ottoman Empire) aimed at countering this aggression – requires deep scholarly analysis. This analysis must take into account information from the aforementioned written sources and historiographical materials.

Review of Sources and Recent Studies. The problem of the historical development of the diplomatic activity of the Hetman governments of the Ukrainian Cossack state – particularly as reflected in Ottoman-Turkish sources and historiographical materials – has been studied by both Ukrainian and foreign scholars, including Yurii Mytsyk (Mytsyk, 2004; Mytsyk, 2010), Yücel Öztürk (Öztürk, 2015), Ferhad Turanly (Turanly, 2017; Turanly, 2018; Turanli, 2018; Turanly, 2020; Turanly, 2023), Hande Gündüz (Gündüz, 2024), and others.

Purpose of the Research. The aim of this publication is to present the results of the analysis of the information available from Ottoman-Turkish written sources and historiography regarding the historical development of international relations of Cossack-Hetmanate Ukraine during the rule of Hetman Ivan Vyhovskiy. Particular focus is on the establishment of diplomatic relations with the governments of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Crimean Khanate, and the Ottoman Empire in the context of resisting the territorial encroachments of the Tsardom of Moscow on Ukrainian lands.

Research Results. In addressing this issue, it is important to note that during our study of Ottoman-Turkish written monuments from the second half of the 17th century, chief focus was on the manuscript by the renowned Ukrainian historian Mykola Petrovskiy, entitled *From the Data on the History of the Ukrainian-Turkish Relations in the Second Half of*

the 17th Century, dated 2 December 1931 (Petrovskiy, 1934; Turanly, 2023, p. 145)¹. This research is based on Old Turkish written documents concerning the diplomatic activities of Ukrainian hetmans, including Ivan Vyhovskiy (r. 1657–1659).

This Ukrainian hetman, a talented diplomat of the period of the national revolution of 1648 – 1676, studied at the Kyiv-Mohyla Collegium. In the Battle of Zhovti Vody in 1648, he was captured by the Tatars but was ransomed by Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi (Mytsyk, 2004, p. 83; Tayrova-Yakovleva, 2011, pp. 128–183) and later became his close associate. At the meeting of the Council of Officers held in Chyhyryn on August 23–26, 1657, Ivan Vyhovskiy agreed to assume the office of hetman. On October 25, 1657, a General Council was held in Korsun with the participation of officers, rank-and-file Cossacks, and clergy.

This council, which was attended by diplomatic representatives from Sweden, Poland, Austria, Turkey, Crimea, Transylvania, Moldova, and Wallachia, confirmed the election of Ivan Vyhovskiy as hetman. This event was significant for strengthening Ukraine's international position, particularly in terms of renewing alliances with the Ottoman Empire and the Crimean Khanate. At the same council, an alliance agreement with Sweden was formalized (Butych, Rynsevych, Teslenko, 2004, p. 24).

Amidst the threat of an attack from Muscovy, Ivan Vyhovskiy concluded the *Hadiach Agreement* with the Polish – Lithuanian Commonwealth on 6 September 1658. The agreement, titled *The Hadiach Treaty between the Zaporizhian Host and the Envoys of the Polish – Lithuanian Commonwealth Concerning the Rights of Ukraine, which was to Join Poland under the Name of the Grand Duchy of Ruthenia*, sought to formalize a new political configuration (Butych, Rynsevych, Teslenko, 2004, pp. 46–51). In his study *Rus-Ukraine and Moscovia-Russia*, L. Tsegelskyi notes: “Having considered all of this, Vyhovskiy and Nemyrich² realized the direction of Muscovite policy and decided to break away from Moscow. Poland, in turn, sought to regain the Cossacks' loyalty, and Polish envoy Benyovsky arrived to negotiate with the Cossacks. As a result, at a great council in Hadiach (1658), the Cossacks resolved to withdraw from Moscow and made the following agreement with Poland:

1. Ukraine joins the union with Lithuania and Poland as a separate third member – the Grand Duchy of Ruthenia (Ukrainian) – with Kyiv as its capital;
2. Ukraine (Grand Duchy of Ruthenia) shall enjoy full autonomy and be a distinct state;
3. Ukrainians shall elect their own hetman;
4. Supreme authority in Ukraine shall belong to a parliament elected by the people;
5. The official language shall be Ruthenian (Ukrainian), and only Ruthenians-Ukrainians shall hold office in Ukraine” (Tsegelskyi, 1916, pp. 55–56). In particular, Article 7 of the treaty guaranteed Ukrainians the right to establish their own academy, registers, chanceries, and printing houses with Ukrainian teachers. It also permitted the founding of a second academy modeled after the one in Kyiv (Butych, Rynsevych, & Teslenko, 2004, pp. 46–47).

Nonetheless, the Hadiach Agreement also included provisions that significantly limited the sovereignty of the Ukrainian Cossack state, particularly in the realm of international relations. However, there were exceptions concerning the Cossacks' participation in military conflicts between Moscow and Poland. For example, Article 14 stated: “If the Muscovite Tsar

¹ This document is preserved at the Institute of Manuscripts of the V. I. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine (F. Kh. No. 14634. *Ukraine and the East (Collection of Articles)*. Vol. I. Stamp bearing the inscription and date: “Publishing House of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, 15 January 1934”).

² Yurii Nemyrych – an advisor to Hetman Ivan Vyhovskiy – was among those who “wished to make Rus'-Ukraine free, strong, wealthy, and enlightened” (Tsegelskyi, 1916, p. 54).

were to engage in war with Poland, the Cossacks may remain neutral; but if the Muscovites were to attack Ukraine, the Poles must defend it” (Butych, Rynsevych, & Teslenko, 2004, p. 47). Article 16 of the Hadiach Treaty was particularly important for the foreign policy of Hetmanate Ukraine, as it prohibited the Ukrainian hetman from recognizing the authority of the Muscovite tsar, while permitting him to establish relations with the Crimean Khanate (Butych, Rynsevych, & Teslenko, 2004, p. 47). Since the Crimean Khanate was under Ottoman suzerainty, these relations effectively drew Ukraine into the sphere of the Ottoman Empire’s foreign policy. It is noteworthy that even before the signing of the Hadiach Treaty, a Cossack delegation of three representatives was sent to the Crimean Khanate in April 1658. Three more representatives from the Tatar side joined the mission, and together they travelled to Istanbul for negotiations. As a result, an Ottoman diplomatic mission was dispatched to the Ukrainian hetman Ivan Vyhovskiy. These events confirm the existence of military and political relations between the Hetmanate and the Crimean governments during Vyhovskiy’s rule. Consequently, from May to July 1658, joint military campaigns were launched against the Tsardom of Moscow, culminating in the victory of the Ukrainian-Cossack – Crimean-Tatar army.

Ukrainian historian Ivan Butych emphasized in his book *Universals of Ukrainian Hetmans...*: “Even before the negotiations in Hadiach had concluded, military actions with Moscow had begun, culminating in the Battle of Konotop on 28 June 1659, where the Cossack army, reinforced by the [Crimean] Tatar horde [army] and a small Polish [military] detachment, defeated the numerically superior military forces of the [Muscovite] enemy” (Butych, Rynsevych, & Teslenko, 2004, p. 12; Stepankov, 2003, pp. 502–503).

Analyzing the foreign policy of the Ukrainian Cossack State, historian Mykola Petrovskiy noted that “in the second half of the 17th century, namely during the 1648 revolution and afterwards, when studying the [pages of] Ukrainian history, we frequently encounter information that attests not only to Ukraine’s economic relations with Turkey, but also to political and diplomatic ties between the governments of these countries. Moreover, we are even aware of certain facts from Ukrainian history of the latter half of the 17th century indicating that relations between the governments of Ukraine and Turkey became closer” (Petrovskiy, 1934; Kirzhaev, & Ulyanovskiy, 1993, pp. 76–89).

Regarding this issue, Ukrainian historian and Orientalist Yaroslav Dashkevych, in his study of Ukrainian-Turkish relations, stated that the Cossack policy’s direction was set by Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky. This direction implied reliance of Ukraine on the Black Sea and on the state that controlled it – Türkiye. Later Cossack hetmans who concluded vassal treaties with the Ottoman Empire were simply following in the footsteps of the great hetman (Dashkevych, 2004, p. 64; Dashkevych, 2006, p. 207).

Further developing this idea, the scholar identified four factors that justified the benefit for Ukrainian hetmans in accepting Turkish protection:

- autonomous status (examples included Moldavia, Wallachia, Transylvania, and, finally, the Crimean Khanate);
- relative religious tolerance within the Ottoman Empire, especially beyond the core Turkish territories;
- a simple, comprehensible, and relatively light tax system (the annual *haraj*);
- a strong guarantee against Crimean Tatar raids into Ukraine (Dashkevych, 2004, p. 64).

Concerning this matter, historian Volodymyr Maslak stated: “A key element in the hetmans’ political calculations was the idea of Turkish protection as an alternative to the

overlordship of the Muscovite Tsar and the Polish King – an idea aimed at counterbalancing their evident desire to dissolve the Hetmanate within their respective political bodies” (Maslak, 2014, pp. 130–136).

Speaking of the reasons for the activation of the Black Sea vector in the diplomatic efforts of Hetman Ivan Vyhovskyi, historian Yaroslav Dashkevych noted: “At different stages of their political careers, several Ukrainian hetmans recognized or attempted to obtain Turkish protection. Ivan Vyhovskyi was one of those who broke ties with Moscow and defeated its army near Konotop (1659); in that battle, [Crimean] Tatar units took part on the Ukrainian side by order of the Turkish sultan, and after the failure of the Hadiach Agreement with Poland, Vyhovskyi began considering transition under the rule of the [Ottoman] Sultan [Mehmed IV]” (Dashkevych, 2004, p. 64).

Thus, the aforementioned political, religious, and economic factors facilitated the strengthening of the Black Sea vector in the foreign policy of Ukrainian hetmans, aiming to secure support from the Sublime Porte to reinforce the position of the Ukrainian Cossack State in its struggle against enemies.

To confirm the existence of relations between the Ukrainian Cossack State and the Ottoman Empire, historian Mykola Petrovskyi referred to the following documents:

- a copy of a letter from the Turkish Grand Vizier [Köprülü Mehmed Pasha (1578–1661, Grand Vizier since 1656)] to Ivan Vyhovskyi;
- a record of the interrogation in Moscow, at the Ambassadorial Prikaz, of the Turkish *chaush*³ Hasan, who had been sent by Yurii Khmelnytsky as a prisoner;
- a record of the testimony of Yeremiia Petranovskyi in the Ambassadorial Prikaz in Moscow, who had participated in negotiations between Ivan Vyhovskyi’s government and the Ottoman government and later returned to Moscow (Petrovskyi, 1934, pp. 1–2).

The letter from the Turkish vizier to Hetman Ivan Vyhovskyi, translated from Ottoman Turkish into Old Ukrainian, was dated “...in the current 168th year, on the 29th day of April”⁴ and was delivered to Hetman Ivan Vyhovskyi by the Cossack Yeremiia Petranovskyi. The original text reads:

“To the elected nobleman in the law of Jesus, ruler⁵ of great cities, the lawful partial lord of the *bazaryans*⁶, who holds power in his region – the Cossack Hetman Ivan Vyhovskyi – this is a friendly word.

Let your humble letter, addressed to our friend, reach the most pious, most exalted, most honorable, mighty Muslim ruler [Sultan Mehmed IV], His Majesty, and his high threshold. We ordered the letter to be translated and informed our Great Lord [Sultan Mehmed IV]; thus, our Great Lord learned that your enemy, Moscow, came to you and caused harm there⁷; and that you [Ivan Vyhovskyi], clinging to the honorable robe of our pious and noble Lord [Sultan Mehmed IV], His Majesty, should remain steadfastly and firmly in humility⁸. And so: to be a friend to your friend, and an enemy to your enemy. We shall learn all of your [Ivan

³ This refers to the title of an official in the government of the Ottoman Empire who served as a referent on matters of international policy and diplomatic missions.

⁴ The indicated date follows the calendar system that calculated time from the year 5508 BCE as the date of the “Creation of the World.” This system was used until the year 7208, which corresponds to 1700 CE (7208 – 5508 = 1700). Therefore, in the cited text, the date “in the 168th year, on the 29th day of April” should be understood as 29 April 1660 in the Christian calendar (1492 + 168 = 1660) (Turanyl, 2020, p. 291, note 855).

⁵ This refers to Hetman Ivan Vyhovskyi.

⁶ This refers to the Nazarenes, the inhabitants of the city of Nazareth.

⁷ This refers to the incursions by the Muscovite army into Ukrainian territories.

⁸ This refers to Hetman Ivan Vyhovskyi’s recognition of the suzerainty of the Sublime Porte.

Vyhovskiy's] wishes, and they shall be fulfilled. The pious and blessed Crimean Tsar [Khan Mehmed Giray IV (reign: 1654 – 1666, second reign)] will be notified to provide assistance to you [Ivan Vyhovskiy]. You must be encouraged to act bravely and remain steadfast in humility. And this friend of yours [Sultan Mehmed IV] shall be concerned with all your [Ivan Vyhovskiy's] affairs, and your wishes shall be fulfilled; and if God wills, your enemies shall suffer revenge, and thereafter there shall be greetings” (Petrovskiy, 1934, p. 5).

From the content of the document, it is evident that it was a response to Hetman Ivan Vyhovskiy's appeal to Sultan Mehmed IV requesting Ottoman protection. The letter was written by the Grand Vizier on behalf of the sultan. In other words, the ruler of the Ottoman Empire himself decided to accept Hetman Vyhovskiy under his protection. Accordingly, an order was issued to Crimean Khan Mehmed Giray IV to provide the necessary assistance to the hetman in his struggle against the enemies of Ukraine. The sultan also issued a caution regarding the necessity of remaining faithful to the agreement implied by the contents of the letter. Furthermore, the letter expresses the sultan's confidence that the mutual enemies of both countries would ultimately be punished.

Another piece of evidence confirming the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Ukrainian and Ottoman governments during Hetman Ivan Vyhovskiy's rule is the manuscript document “Interrogation Record in Moscow's Ambassadorial Prikaz of the Turkish *chaush* Asan, sent by [Yurii] Khmelnytsky as a prisoner” (Petrovskiy, 1934, p. 5). The record, in particular, states:

“On the 29th day⁹ of the month of April, in the Ambassadorial Prikaz, the Turk sent by Hetman Yurii Khmelnytsky, during interrogation, reported the following: he is called Asankom, and he is a *chaush*... and he was appointed *chaush* in Tsarhorod [Istanbul] about five years ago. Allegedly, [Hetman Ivan] Vyhovskiy sent envoys to the Turkish sultan [Mehmed IV]¹⁰, and there were about 100 men with them. The envoys supposedly visited the sultan in Tsarhorod. And the sultan reportedly sent his own envoy to Vyhovskiy along with Vyhovskiy's envoys; and allegedly Vyhovskiy, in turn, sent his own envoy to Adrianople¹¹ – [Yeremia] Petranovskiy – to the Turkish sultan six weeks before the feast of St. Demetrius¹². Petranovskiy resided in Adrianople for about three months; he reportedly did not meet with the sultan but was received by the vizier” (Turanlı, 2020, pp. 293–294).

In my view, this document is of particular importance, as the interrogation record of the *çavuş* reveals the circumstances of the Hetmanate government's diplomatic mission, led by Hetman Ivan Vyhovskiy, to the key Ottoman cities of Istanbul and Edirne (Türkiye). Specifically, it clarifies the dates and duration of the large delegation's stay under the leadership of Yeremia Petranovskiy. The information contained in this document confirms the successful nature of the Ukrainian diplomatic mission, which resulted in the establishment of diplomatic

⁹ For this date, see: note 5.

¹⁰ It is evidently a reference to the Cossack Yeremia Petranovskiy, who headed a delegation of 100 men – a clear indication of the importance of this diplomatic mission

¹¹ Concerning this city (Turk. *Edirne*), located in the western part of modern-day Turkey, it is worth noting that it was one of the most strategically significant cities in the Ottoman Empire. In 1365, during the reign of Sultan Murad I Hudavendigar (1360 – 1389), the sultanic palace (Eski Saray / Old Palace, Yeni Saray / New Palace) was constructed in Edirne, fortified with strong defensive structures. After the fall of Constantinople – the capital of the Byzantine Empire – in 1453, the city was renamed Istanbul. Although the newly designated capital housed the Topkapi Palace, the Ottoman sultans (notably Mehmed IV) continued to rule – among other places – from the palace in Edirne (Sertoğlu, 1986, p. 94).

¹² Approximately September 28–29, 1660. The autumn tradition of commemorating the deceased is associated with the feast day of the Great Martyr Demetrius of Thessaloniki (who died on 8 November 306 for his Christian faith). This day typically falls on the Saturday preceding the seasonal change of autumn.

relations between the Hetmanate and the Ottoman government, with corresponding political and legal consequences for both sides.

Continuing the discussion of this issue, it is important to highlight that valuable information concerning the establishment and development of Ukrainian-Turkish interstate relations during the rule of Hetman Ivan Vyhovskiy is found in the recorded testimonies of Yeremia Petranovskiy, who was personally involved in the Hetmanate government's negotiations with the Ottoman-Turkish authorities. According to the text, "...[Hetman Ivan] Vyhovskiy instructed [Yeremia Petranovskiy] on how to maintain relations with the Crimean Khan [Mehmed Giray IV], and they allied themselves with each other, agreeing to remain united in friendship and not to betray one another during wartime¹³. It is said that [Hetman Ivan] Vyhovskiy, having allied with the Crimean Tatars, came to Konotop¹⁴, although [Yeremia Petranovskiy] was not with him at that time. And allegedly, following that, [Hetman Ivan] Vyhovskiy sent his envoys Herman and Stomatenko [Ostamotenko Ostafii] to the Turkish sultan [Mehmed IV], declaring that he had established an alliance with the Crimean Khan and was now engaged in close consultations with him¹⁵. And the sultan was informed of all this, which is why he accepted Vyhovskiy under his protection along with his army and ordered his forces to defend him should any side attack during wartime. Vyhovskiy, in turn, pledged to act likewise, offering military assistance. And allegedly, the sultan, as a sign of his acceptance, sent his envoys to [Ivan Vyhovskiy], and in the presence of these envoys¹⁶, Vyhovskiy pledged allegiance to the sultan¹⁷. Reportedly, [hetman Ivan] Vyhovskiy did indeed take an oath of allegiance in the presence of the envoys and received from them, on behalf of the sultan, a *kaftan* and a *turban* as symbols of recognition¹⁸..." (Turanly, 2023, pp. 56–57; Petrovskiy, 1934, pp. 7–11).

Thus, this information confirms Hetman Ivan Vyhovskiy's final acceptance of Ottoman protection, along with the corresponding conditions, which included the defense of Ukraine against Muscovite aggression. It is also worth emphasizing that the significance of the Ukrainian diplomatic mission to the central cities of Ottoman Turkey is beyond doubt. From the reviewed document, we learn the number of individuals involved in the delegation and the role of the Cossack Yeremia Petranovskiy as the head of the mission to the Sublime Porte. The most crucial information is the report on the successful outcome of the negotiations and the sultan's decision to place the Ukrainian hetman under his protection. This conclusion is further supported by the reciprocal diplomatic mission from the Ottoman ruler to the Ukrainian hetman, during which symbolic items confirming the establishment of the protectorate were presented.

It should be emphasized that even before dispatching his envoy Yeremia Petranovskiy to Sultan Mehmed IV, Hetman Ivan Vyhovskiy had reached an agreement with Crimean

¹³ This refers to the establishment of diplomatic and allied relations between Hetman Ivan Vyhovskiy and Crimean Khan Mehmed Giray IV, which preceded the agreement with the Ottoman Empire.

¹⁴ That is, the reference is to the Battle of Konotop, which took place in the summer of 1659 and was a joint military operation of Vyhovskiy and Mehmed Giray IV against Muscovite forces.

¹⁵ This indicates the strategic partnership between Vyhovskiy and the Crimean khan, which was crucial for forming an anti-Muscovite coalition.

¹⁶ The text describes the dispatch of Ottoman-Turkish envoys to Hetman Ivan Vyhovskiy as confirmation of the agreements achieved during negotiations led by Yeremia Petranovskiy.

¹⁷ This refers to the formal acceptance of Hetman Ivan Vyhovskiy under the protectorate of Ottoman-Turkish Sultan Mehmed IV, accompanied by mutual military obligations.

¹⁸ Vyhovskiy's recognition of Ottoman-Turkish suzerainty should be understood as entering into vassal dependence, which, according to Ottoman tradition, involved the Sultan's military support in exchange for loyalty from the vassal.

Khan Mehmed Giray IV on the intention to establish direct diplomatic relations with the Sublime Porte, in accordance with legal norms of international diplomacy. This method of conducting foreign affairs by the Hetmanate government demonstrates Vyhovskyi's abilities as an experienced diplomat. The text continues: "...together with the same envoys from the Turkish sultan, [Hetman Ivan] Vyhovskyi sent [Yeremia] Petranovskyi as a courier to inform the sultan that he himself, Vyhovskyi, would soon come in person as a strong reinforcement and would also send his envoys to discuss the terms of allegiance to the sultan [Mehmed IV]. And reportedly, [Yeremia] Petranovskyi arrived to the sultan in Adrianople in the month of September [1660]. The letter from [Hetman Ivan] Vyhovskyi was accepted by the vizier..."¹⁹ (Turanyl, 2023, pp. 56–57; Petrovskyi, 1934, pp. 7–11).

This text demonstrates the prolonged process of negotiations over the formalization of diplomatic relations between the respective governments. Hetman Ivan Vyhovskyi once again sent Yeremia Petranovskyi to the city of Adrianople with a letter addressed to Sultan Mehmed IV, stating that the Ukrainian hetman intended to personally take part in further negotiations to define the conditions for concluding an agreement between the Cossack-Hetmanate Ukraine and the Ottoman-Turkish Empire.

It is worth noting that, at that time, a certain conflict arose due to information received from the envoys of the Crimean Khan who had arrived at the sultan's court. Historian Mykola Petrovskyi wrote that the Crimean envoys, in the presence of Yeremia Petranovskyi, reported that the Zaporozhian Cossacks were under the authority of the Muscovite Tsar and, on his instructions, had elected Yurii Khmelnytskyi as hetman (Petrovskyi, 1934, pp. 7–11). Ivan Krypiakevych, assessing the political activity of Yurii Khmelnytskyi (Krypiakevich, 1990, pp. 346, 351; Joukovsky, 1994, pp. 44–45)²⁰, wrote that "as soon as the Muscovite authorities got their hands on the hetman [Yurii Khmelnytskyi]... they implemented their plans without hesitation" and imprisoned the hetman. The treaty signed in Pereiaslav on 27 October 1659 marked a return to Muscovite suzerainty and had catastrophic consequences for Ukraine (Krypiakevich, 1990, pp. 194–195; Borysenko, 1999, pp. 3–18).

According to the testimony of the Cossack Yeremii Petranovskyi, Sultan Mehmed IV of the Ottoman Empire informed Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich of Muscovy of his demand to return the cities previously seized from the Ottoman domain. The sultan warned that failure to comply would compel him to declare war. The Muscovite tsar refused to concede to this ultimatum. Furthermore, it was reported that the sultan intended to send a letter to Hetman Ivan Vyhovskyi, promising military assistance. A similar message was also sent to the Crimean Khan, Mehmed Giray IV (Turanyl, 2023, pp. 57–58; Petrovskyi, 1934, pp. 8–11; Serhiychuk, 2001, pp. 214–226).

At the time, Hetman Vyhovskyi, operating in Right-Bank Ukraine, mobilized the Ukrainian army, which, together with hired foreign mercenaries, numbered approximately 60,000 troops. He was reinforced by the Crimean Tatar force of 40,000 under the command of the khan. Regarding the onset of hostilities, a historian Oleksii Sokyрко notes that in late March 1659, Muscovite forces under Prince Trubetskoy crossed the Ukrainian border near Putyvl and launched an offensive toward the southwest (Sokyрко, 2008, pp. 14–17).

As the war escalated, Muscovy initiated full-scale military operations against Ukraine.

¹⁹ In Ottoman-Turkish diplomatic practice, the granting of a **kaftan** (a luxurious silk or velvet robe) and a **türban** symbolized formal recognition and legitimization of the new vassal's authority.

²⁰ Yurii Khmelnytskyi (1641 – 1685) was the younger son of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi. He was elected hetman with Muscovite support and later became a puppet of both the Muscovite and Ottoman-Turkish governments at different stages of his rule.

In accordance with the terms of the military political alliance, Hetman Vyhovskiyi appealed to Sultan Mehmed IV for support. Subsequently, on June 28–29 (July 8–9, New Style), 1659, fierce battles occurred near the town of Konotop, on the Sosnivka River. During these clashes, an estimated 30,000 Muscovite soldiers were killed, and approximately 5,000 were taken prisoner (Battle of Konotop 2024, pp. 3–4).

In evaluating the consequences of the war, a historian Viktor Horobets corroborates the scale of Muscovite casualties, reporting the capture of some 15,000 soldiers and 50 voivodes. The Ukrainian and Crimean Tatar forces sustained losses of around 10,000 troops (Horobets, 2009, pp. 34–36). Thus, the Konotop campaign culminated in a decisive victory for the allied forces and a devastating defeat for the Muscovite army (Turanly, 2017, pp. 46–47; Turanly, 2020, pp. 287–299).

Despite this remarkable triumph, Hetman Vyhovskiyi was unable to consolidate the military success due to internal opposition. Strong resistance from segments of the Ukrainian Cossack elite, who were dissatisfied with the terms of the Treaty of Hadiach, ultimately forced him to resign. In September 1659, Vyhovskiyi stepped down in favour of Yurii Khmelnytskyi, who subsequently served as hetman in two non-consecutive terms (1659 – 1663, 1677 – 1681).

In our view, it is necessary to take into account the research of Turkish scholars, particularly that of the prominent historiographer and source critic İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı (Turanly, 2020, pp. 66–67). He wrote that the Muscovite tsar²¹, in preparing for a campaign against the Crimean Khanate, reached agreements with the Zaporozhzhian Cossacks under his control, as well as with the Cossacks of “Ozyu”²², who were subordinated to Poland and the Crimean Khanate, and the so-called “Özi Kazakları”²³. The tsar then sent an envoy with a letter to the Hetman of the Zaporozhian Host, proposing an alliance. According to the Turkish historian, the Cossack hetman rejected this proposal and informed the Crimean khan accordingly. In response, Khan Mehmed Giray IV, preempting the Muscovite campaign, launched a military operation against Muscovy in the month of Ramadan in the year 1069 Hijri²⁴ (Uzunçarşılı 1995, vol. III, part 2, 5th ed., pp. 159–160).

Because the Zaporozhzhian Cossacks refused to ally themselves with Muscovy, the tsar, commanding a force of 17,000, laid siege to the Cossack fortress of Konotop. Simultaneously, he sent Cossack units loyal to him to the fortress of Azov in order to divide and weaken the Crimean Tatar forces. At that moment, Hetman Ivan Vyhovskiyi sent a letter to the Crimean khan stating that, should the fortress of Konotop fall to the Muscovites, all Cossacks would be forced to submit to the tsar. In response, the khan dispatched his troops toward Konotop. As a result of the ensuing campaign, the fortress was successfully liberated. Captured Muscovite soldiers testified that the tsar had been preparing this invasion for three years.

Following the relief of Konotop, another 60,000 Cossack troops joined the Crimean Tatar army. Under the command of Mehmed Giray IV, a united force of 100,000 troops launched an offensive to punish the Muscovite army of 50,000, which was ultimately destroyed in a fierce battle. Thousands of Muscovite soldiers, including one commander-in-chief and four senior generals, were captured. After this victory, the allied forces pursued a continued

²¹ The aforementioned author refers to the “Russian tsar,” which is inaccurate in terms of the historical designation of the state; the correct term should be “Muscovite tsar”.

²² The passage refers to the Zaporozhian Cossacks (Turk. *Özü, Özi Kazakları*). For a detailed discussion of the semantic meaning of this term in Ottoman-Turkish written sources, see the *Terminological Dictionary* (Turanly 2020, 529).

²³ The Dnieper Cossacks of Ukraine.

²⁴ According to the Turkish author, the events described took place in 1659; however, the actual date is May 1658.

offensive with the objective of delivering a decisive blow and compelling the Muscovite army to surrender. Eventually, all enemy forces stationed at a frontier fortress were annihilated and drowned in the river. After capturing the fortress, the joint Ukrainian-Cossack–Crimean Tatar army returned home.

According to Ottoman-Turkish historical sources, approximately 100,000 Muscovite soldiers perished in this war – including Cossacks loyal to the tsar – and 50,000 were taken prisoner (Uzunçarşılı 1995, vol. III, part 2, 5th ed., 159). Following its defeat in the Battle of Konotop, the Muscovite state refrained from undertaking any military operations for a long period, particularly with regard to gaining access to the Sea of Azov. At the same time, in accordance with prior agreements, Muscovy maintained peaceful relations with the Sublime Porte and periodically dispatched envoys bearing gifts to Istanbul (Uzunçarşılı, 1995, vol. III, part 2, 5th ed., p. 160). These accounts by the Turkish historian, derived from various sources and historiography, confirm the severity of the Muscovite defeat in the Konotop War.

Conclusions. In conclusion, the establishment of diplomatic relations between Hetmanate Ukraine and the Sublime Porte during the rule of Hetman Ivan Vyhovskyi was a prolonged but ultimately successful process. It is worth noting that Hetman Vyhovskyi, an alumnus of the Kyiv-Mohyla Collegium (now the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy), was a seasoned statesman who understood the necessity and strategic value of the “Turkish alternative” for the Cossack state, caught between the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Muscovite Tsardom, and the Crimean Khanate. He participated in negotiations on Ukraine’s behalf as part of a large diplomatic mission of approximately one hundred individuals, led by the Cossack Yarema Petranovskyi – nevidence of the Hetmanate’s active foreign policy toward the Ottoman Empire.

As a result of the Hetman government’s successful diplomatic efforts, treaties were concluded between the Ukrainian Cossack state, the Crimean Khanate, and the Ottoman Empire. Based on mutual agreement, a joint military campaign was launched to defend against Muscovite aggression, which proved extremely successful for the allies: the Muscovite army suffered a crushing defeat in the Konotop War, the fortress of Konotop was liberated, and another frontier fortress was retaken from Muscovite control.

The strengthening of the Black Sea vector of Cossack diplomacy had strategic significance for the economic development of the Hetmanate. The preservation and continuation of this Black Sea orientation were evident in the foreign policy of Vyhovskyi’s successors and, in my view, remain a relevant historical factor today.

It should also be emphasized that the preservation and development of a democratic system of governance, the status of the Ukrainian language as the official state language, and the principle that the administration of the state should be conducted by ethnic Ukrainians, were among the central priorities of Hetman Vyhovskyi’s domestic policy.

In contrast, the foreign policy of the Muscovite Tsardom toward Ukraine was based on fomenting civil war within the Hetmanate and attempting to seize Ukrainian territory. It is evident to me that the Russian state continues to demonstrate the same approach toward Ukraine today, as evidenced by the ongoing Russo-Ukrainian war, which began in 2014.

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UKRAINIAN-ROMANIAN RELATIONS IN BUKOVYNA (THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19th – THE BEGINNING OF THE 20th CENTURY): STAGES, KEY PROBLEMS, SEARCHES OF A COMPROMISE

Abstract. *The purpose is to study the dynamics of the Ukrainian-Romanian relations in Bukovyna during the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, to identify the most important issues around which competitive struggle took place, and to summarize the state of relations between the two peoples on the eve of World War I. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, objectivity, and the use of historical and genetic, historical and problematic methods. The authors were guided by methodological approaches related to the study of interethnic relations in Central Europe in the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, and the processes of modern nations formation in this region. In particular, the Ukrainian-Romanian relations have been*

studied through the prism of theoretical constructs related to the history of multinational regions of Austria-Hungary, the peculiarities of the ethnopolitical situation in Bukovyna during the period under analysis. **Scientific Novelty.** For the first time in Ukrainian historiography, a number of relations aspects between the Ukrainians and the Romanians in Bukovyna during the period under analysis have been analyzed comprehensively. **Conclusions.** The Ukrainian-Romanian relations in Bukovyna went through several stages in the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries. At the beginning, there was a significant advantage of the Romanians due to the presence of such an influential force as large landowners. The first period from the middle of the century to the end of the 80s was marked by the absence of Ukrainian deputies in the Bukovyna Sejm and the Austrian parliament, and isolated attempts by the Ukrainians to defend their interests. The second period covers the period from the 90s of the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century. At that time, the Ukrainians were able to elect nationally conscious deputies to the Bukovyna Sejm. The main struggle was transferred to the walls of the highest representative body of the region. However, at this time a split occurred among the Ukrainian deputies, which significantly weakened the ability to defend national interests. The third period covers the time from 1902 – 1903 to the beginning of World War I. At this stage, the Ukrainian-Romanian relations mostly concerned the issues of reforming social relations in the region, changing the electoral law for the Sejm and rural communities, establishing parity in the Orthodox Church, etc. The activity and organization of the Ukrainians increased significantly, which contributed to the strengthening of their positions in the Ukrainian-Romanian rivalry. On the eve of World War I, parity was achieved in influence over most decisions concerning public issues. Although in some cases the disputes became quite acute, both peoples had a desire to resolve interethnic problems by using constitutional methods, discussions in the Bukovyna Sejm, in the columns of newspapers, or by appealing to various levels of government or judicial institutions. This distinguished Bukovyna from some other crown lands of Austria-Hungary, where interethnic relations went beyond legal actions. Not all problems in the Ukrainian-Romanian relations were resolved properly, but progress was obvious, valuable experience was accumulated in approaches to resolving interethnic problems within the framework of existing legislation, which has not lost its significance even today.

Key words: Bukovyna, Austrian Empire, Austria-Hungary, Ukrainian-Romanian relations, interethnic struggle, A. Onciul, M. Vasylo.

УКРАЇНСЬКО-РУМУНСЬКІ ВІДНОСИНИ НА БУКОВИНІ (ДРУГА ПОЛОВИНА ХІХ – ПОЧАТОК ХХ ст.): ЕТАПИ, КЛЮЧОВІ ПРОБЛЕМИ, ПОШУКИ КОМПРОМІСУ

Анотація. *Мета дослідження* – розкрити динаміку українсько-румунських взаємин на Буковині впродовж другої половини ХІХ – початку ХХ ст., визначити найважливіші питання, навколо яких відбувалася конкурентна боротьба та підсумувати стан відносин між обома народами напередодні Першої світової війни. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на принципах історизму, об'єктивності, застосування історико-генетичного та історико-проблемного методів. Автори керувалися методологічними підходами, пов'язаними з вивченням міжнаціональних відносин у Центральній Європі другої половини ХІХ – початку ХХ ст., процесами формування модерних націй у цьому регіоні. Зокрема, українсько-румунські відносини досліджуються крізь призму теоретичних конструкцій пов'язаних з історією багатонаціональних регіонів Австро-Угорщини, особливостями етнополітичної ситуації на Буковині в зазначений період. **Наукова новизна.** Вперше в українській історіографії всебічно проаналізовано цілу низку аспектів взаємин між українцями та румунами на Буковині зазначеного періоду. **Висновки.** Українсько-румунські відносини на Буковині в другій половині ХІХ – на початку ХХ ст. пройшли декілька етапів. На початках спостерігалася значна перевага румунів завдяки наявності в них такої впливової сили як великі землевласники. Перший період з середини століття і до кінця 80-х рр. позначився відсутністю українських депутатів у Буковинському сеймі та австрійському парламенті, поодинокими спробами українців відстоювати свої інтереси. Другий період охоплює період з 90-х рр. ХІХ ст. до початку ХХ ст. У цей час українці змогли обрати національно свідомих депутатів Буковинського сейму. Основна боротьба була перенесена в стіни вищого представницького органу краю. Однак у цей час відбувся розкол серед українських депутатів, що значно ослабило можливості відстоювати національні інтереси.

Третій період охоплює час від 1902 – 1903 рр. до початку Першої світової війни. На цьому етапі українсько-румунські відносини найбільше торкалися питань реформування суспільних відносин в краї, зміни виборчого закону до сейму і сільських громад, встановлення паритету в православній церкві тощо. Активність та організованість українців значно зросла, що сприяло посиленню їхніх позицій в українсько-румунському суперництві. Напередодні Першої світової війни було досягнуто паритету за впливом на ухвалення більшості рішень, які стосувалися суспільних проблем. Хоча у ряді випадків суперечки набували досить гострого характеру, обом народам було притаманне бажання розв'язувати міжнаціональні проблеми шляхом використання конституційних методів, дискусій у Буковинському сеймі, на шпальтах газет, або за рахунок звернень до органів влади різного рівня чи судових установ. Цим Буковина відрізнялася від деяких інших коронних країв Австро-Угорщини, де міжнаціональні відносини виходили за рамки правових дій. Не всі проблеми в українсько-румунських відносинах були розв'язані належним чином, але прогрес був очевидним, було нагромаджено цінний досвід підходів до подолання міжнаціональних проблем у рамках чинного законодавства, що не втратило свого значення і для наших днів.

Ключові слова: Буковина, Австрійська імперія, Австро-Угорщина, українсько-румунські взаємини, міжнаціональна боротьба, А. Ончул, М. Василько.

Problem Statement. Since 1849, Bukovyna had become a separate administrative unit of the Austrian Empire with the status of a duchy. The region was multinational. But among other ethnic groups, the Ukrainians and the Romanians, who were considered autochthonous peoples, predominated. According to the 1880 census, more than 239 thousand (42.16%) Ukrainians and 190 thousand (33.43%) Romanians lived in the region (Special Orts-Repertorium der Bukowina, 1885, p. 26). The Ukrainians lived in the northern and northwestern parts of the region mainly, the Romanians in the southern and southeastern parts. There were many settlements with mixed populations along the ethnic divide line. For many centuries, both peoples lived side by side and developed many norms of tolerant coexistence. The Ukrainians and the Romanians were Orthodox, and religious identity was of decisive importance in the region until the middle of the 19th century. A feature of Bukovyna was that the Romanians had long been called Vlachs there, and the Orthodox Church was called Vlach (also Wallachian). Therefore, quite often Orthodox Ruthenians (the Ukrainians) were also called Vlachs, guided by religious identification. A common misconception was about Orthodox Wallachian people in Bukovyna who spoke two different languages.

However, although somewhat belatedly, after the revolution of 1848 – 1849, modernization processes began in Bukovyna, covering various spheres of life. National consolidation of ethnic groups became natural, and national movements developed rapidly. This development led to increased competition between both peoples for influence on social processes in the region. The Ukrainian-Romanian relations of this time are an eloquent example of interethnic relations under the conditions of modern nations formation and development and deserve in-depth study to understand the complex processes of nation-building and the development of national movements in individual regions of Austria (Austro-Hungary) and in Central and Eastern Europe in general.

Review of Recent Research and Publications. First of all, there should be singled out the studies by Harry B. Cohen (Cohen, 2007, pp. 241–278), Ammy-Diana Colin (Colin, 2020, pp. 17–44), Jan Surman (Surman, 2019, pp. 217–242), which are theoretical in nature and touch on general problems and patterns of interethnic relations in Austria (Austro-Hungary) in the second half of the 19th – the beginning of the 20th centuries.

Certain aspects of the problem were researched by the Ukrainian historians Ihor Piddubny (Piddubny, 2010, pp. 9–40; Piddubny, 2023, p. 114–132; Piddubny, 2024, pp. 195–211), Ihor

Zhaloba (Zhaloba, & Piddubny, 2024, pp. 220–230), Oleksandr Dobrzhanskyi (Dobrzhanskyi 2024, pp. 404–419; Dobrzhanskyi, & Khrystan, 2022, pp. 196–205; Dobrdzhanskyi, 2019, pp. 181–202). Among foreign researchers who did research on these issues, it is worth mentioning the Romanian historian Stepan Purici (Purici, 2006, pp. 115–1216; Purici, 2011, pp. 15–24) and the Moldovan researcher Constantin Ungureanu (Ungureanu, 2024).

However, this topic is not elucidated sufficiently and requires further comprehensive analysis and study.

The purpose of the article is to analyze the dynamics of the Ukrainian-Romanian relations in Bukovyna during the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, to identify the most important issues around which competitive struggle took place, and to summarize the state of relations between the two peoples on the eve of World War I.

Research Results. The Ukrainian and Romanian populations of the region had approximately the same social structure. Peasants dominated, making up over 90 % of the population. The intelligentsia was formed by priests, teachers, and partly civil servants. However, among the Romanians there was a small but influential social group of large landowners who tried to combine their class interests with those of the Romanian national movement. They had considerable influence on local self-government bodies, in particular the Bukovyna Sejm.

The first stage of the Ukrainian-Romanian relations in the Duchy of Bukovyna covers the period from the middle of the 19th century to the end of 1880. At that time, the Romanians had considerable advantages in solving social issues. They had already created their first cultural and educational society in 1862 and even tried to involve the Ukrainians into it. It was significant that until 1890 the Ukrainians did not have a single nationally conscious deputy in the Bukovyna Sejm or the Austrian Parliament. In Ukrainian electoral districts, ordinary peasants who were poorly oriented in the vicissitudes of political struggle, did not have proper education and were completely passive became deputies. Quite often, either German officials or Romanian landowners were elected in these districts.

This situation led to the fact that anti-Ukrainian decisions were periodically adopted in the Bukovyna Sejm, at the initiative of chauvinistically inclined Romanian deputies, representatives of boyar families. For example, in 1869, a vote was held on the initiative of the Romanian landowner Baron Oleksandr Vasylyko, who demanded that only Romanian and German be members of the Bukovyna Sejm. It should be mentioned that according to the law, the regional languages were German, Ukrainian, and Romanian in Bukovyna. Baron Oleksandr Vasylyko motivated his initiative by the fact that the Ukrainians supposedly use the Russian language, maintain close relations with the Russian consulate in Chernivtsi, and noted that many educated Ukrainians had enlisted in the service of Russia. Baron Vasylyko's initiative received the majority of voices (Stenographische Protokole, 1869, pp. 51–69, 131, 480). It is noteworthy that two Ukrainian peasant deputies, who were simply bribed, also voted for this initiative (Slovo, 1869, October 25). Bukovyna President F. Mirbach, on behalf of the regional administration, protested against this decision, and after some time it was cancelled.

It is worth noting that the Ukrainian-Romanian rivalry unfolded under conditions when none of the political forces had an absolute majority to resolve social issues. In addition to the Ukrainians and the Romanians, the Germans, the Jews, and the Poles had considerable influence on decision-making. Therefore, the ability to find allies, conclude agreements on joint actions, and make compromises was quite important. This fact made the situation in Bukovyna radically different from neighbouring Galicia, where the Ukrainian-Polish

confrontation took on acute forms and it was very difficult for both national groups to come to an agreement.

The lack of nationally conscious deputies in the representative bodies of power did not satisfy the leaders of the Ukrainian movement. In 1869, the first Ukrainian cultural and educational society “*Ruska Besida*” was founded, and the following year the Ukrainian political society “*Ruska Rada*” was founded as well. The latter was established precisely to strengthen the influence of the Ukrainians in the political arena and from the very beginning of its existence aimed at improving the situation in representative bodies of power (Statut, 1894, pp. 1–2). However, in the beginning all attempts failed. The reason for this was insufficient organization and a low level of national consciousness. At that time the Ukrainian movement was weakened by the lack of unity, the struggle between the Russophile and the Narodovska currents, which saw the future of the Ruthenians of the region differently, although they held approximately the same position regarding relations with the Romanians.

At the same time, the weak point of the Romanian movement consisted in the fact that it was completely ruled by large landowners who had little regard for the needs of ordinary Romanian peasants.

In the second half of the 1880s, the Narodovtsi became the dominant trend in the Ukrainian movement, taking control of the majority of the Ukrainian societies. In 1890, they first managed to elect their representatives to the Bukovyna Sejm. From this time on, a new stage in the Ukrainian-Romanian relations began. The main struggle was transferred to the Sejm.

In 1891, for the first time the political society “*Ruska Rada*” formulated a specific programme of demands in political, national, cultural, church, educational and economic issues. It is characteristic that I. Tyminsky, who made the main report at the meeting of the “*Ruska Rada*” society on the programme of actions, constantly referred to the inequality between the Ukrainians and the Romanians in certain issues. In particular, he pointed out: “In the Russian part of Bukovyna the Ruthenians do not have the appropriate number of full four-class public schools, but there are such schools in the Vlach (Romanian – *authors*) part of the region in every town and in every large area. ...considering that the Vlach minority has the Vlach gymnasium in Suceava, it is necessary for the Ruthenians to consider the establishment of the *Ruska* gymnasium in Chernivtsi... etc.” (Bykovyna, 1891, 28 liutoho, p. 5).

A special place in the programme was given to granting equal rights to the Ukrainians and the Romanians in the Bukovyna Orthodox Metropolis. The fact is that at that time the metropolitan was Sylvester Morar-Andrievych (1880 – 1895), a Romanianized Ruthenian who believed that the only autochthonous people of Bukovyna were the Romanians, and the Ruthenians were the same Romanians, only Slavicized. That is why, as in ancient times, it was concluded that the entire Orthodox population of the region was Romanian. The period of his stay at the head of the metropolitanate became a vivid manifestation of injustice for the Ukrainians in the Orthodox Church of Bukovyna. The Romanian priests who did not know the Ukrainian language began to be appointed to the Ukrainian parishes. The Metropolitan forbade priests to use the Ukrainian Orthodox calendars, to subscribe to the Ukrainophile newspaper “*Bukovyna*”, and to participate in the activities of the Ukrainian cultural and educational societies (SACHR, f. 320, d. 2, c. 3032, pp. 15–19).

To resolve the church issue, the “*Ruska Rada*” suggested dividing the archdiocese into the Ukrainian and Romanian parts with separate bishops and consistories in the future. The participants of the meeting understood well that this requirement could not be fulfilled quickly, because this required a lot of preparatory work. Therefore, they emphasized that until such a division occurred,

they would demand that the positions of consistory councilors, positions in the Orthodox seminary and the cathedral church, as well as in the parish in Chernivtsi, be half replaced by representatives of the Ukrainians, that exclusively the Ukrainian priests be appointed to the Ukrainian villages, that all subjects for the training of the Ukrainian priests at the Theological Faculty of Chernivtsi University be taught in Ukrainian as well. The same applied to the sexton school. In addition, there were requirements regarding the use of the Ukrainian language in six Ukrainian deaneries, in the Orthodox consistory, seminary, and cathedral church, as well as the publication of the eparchial Bulletin in Ukrainian (Bykovyna, 1891, 28 liutoho, p. 5).

Thus, a well-founded programme of demands was adopted, the implementation of which would have made it possible to improve the situation of the Ukrainians significantly and equalize their rights with the Romanians in many areas. But the events after that took a completely different course, not as they could have been predicted based on the decisions of the “*Ruska Rada*”. In 1892, a split occurred among the Ukrainian deputies, as a result of which two approaches to relations with the Romanians were formed. The deputies E. Pihuliak and S. Smal-Stotskyi stood on the positions of confrontation and elimination of injustices against the Ukrainians, i.e. they adhered to the programme of the “*Ruska Rada*” of 1891. Other deputies V. Volian, I. Bezhan and, paradoxically, I. Tyminsky, abandoned previous decisions, entered into an alliance with the Romanian deputies representing large landowners, forming the so-called “party of conservative Ruthenians” in the Bukovyna Sejm. I. Tyminsky outlined the main ideas of this association in the brochure “*The Russian Issue in Bukovyna by a Bukovynian Orthodox Ruthenian*” (Tyminsky, 1892). He proclaimed the idea of Orthodox solidarity between the Ruthenians and the Romanians, and also put forward the old slogan “*Bukovyna for Bukovynians*” and the struggle of the autochthonous people of Bukovyna against all kinds of “invaders” – the Germans, the Jews, the Poles, the Armenians, and including the Galician Ruthenians.

Such ideas were completely satisfactory to the Romanian politicians and one of their leaders, Baron Nicolae Musteş, and therefore they formed a joint bloc with the conservative Ruthenians in the Bukovyna Sejm.

In turn, the Narodovtsi, continuing their confrontational actions against the Romanian boyars, entered into the alliance with the German and Jewish deputies.

The fierce struggle between the Ukrainian deputies of the Bukovyna Sejm affected the situation negatively, as very often I. Tyminsky and his team voted “against” only because S. Smal-Stotsky and E. Pihuliak voted “for”. The opposite also happened. The Romanian conservative (boyar) party benefited the most from the disputes among the Ukrainian deputies, because for the sake of fighting the populists, the Ukrainian conservative club made unprecedented concessions to it in political matters, which are difficult to assess as anything other than betrayal. For example, in 1894, at the beginning of the sessions of the Bukovyna Sejm, the traditional procedure of approving the mandates of newly elected deputies was carried out, and among others, the Romanian large landowner Leon Vasyenko’s mandate. He was elected from the purely Ukrainian Vyzhnytsky district, contrary to objective circumstances. Deputy Ye. Pihuliak declared 10 points that proved that the elections were held illegally, using various forms of pressure on the Ukrainian peasants and bribery, and demanded that the elections of L. Vasyenko be cancelled. He was supported by the German, Polish, and Jewish deputies. But during the vote, the Ruthenian conservative club supported the Romanians and with their votes ensured the approval of the representative of the Romanian boyars as the deputy from this Ukrainian constituency (Bukowiner Rundschau, 1894, pp. 1–3).

I. Tyminsky and V. Volian took a similar anti-Ukrainian position during the discussion of the initiative made by the German, Jewish, and Ukrainian deputies to introduce the fifth general curia in the elections to the Bukovyna Sejm, similar to the one introduced in the parliamentary elections, as well as a direct and secret voting. This initiative would have made it possible to increase the number of deputies from the Ukrainian peasants. But the Sejm rejected this initiative by 16 votes to 7. I. Tyminsky and V. Volian, together with the Romanians, voted against it (Stenographische Protokolle, 1897, pp. 37–38; Bukovyna, 1897, 25 liutoho).

Thus, in the 1890s, the Ukrainian-Romanian relations were contradictory. The Conservative Ruthenians led by I. Tyminsky went for a full alliance with the Romanian political forces, while the Narodovtsi continued to take a confrontational position. However, this situation was unnatural and could not last for a long time. In the second half of the 1990s, the party of conservative Ruthenians lost its positions. They were never able to reach the broad masses of the population with their ideas. Having no followers, at the end of the 19th century the conservative Ruthenians left the arena of political struggle.

The dominant force in the Ukrainian movement remained the Narodovtsi, who strengthened their influence on the masses significantly. This dominance gave them the opportunity to take a consistent confrontational position regarding the policies of the Romanian boyar landowners.

At the beginning of the 20th century, a number of important changes also occurred in the Romanian politics. A new force emerged on the political scene, calling itself the Democratic Romanians. It was led by Avrel Onciul, a native of Bukovyna who had spent a long time in Vienna and Brno, but decided to return to his native land to begin a political career there. His appearance significantly changed the alignment of political forces in the Ukrainian-Romanian relations and initiated a new, third stage, which actually lasted from 1902 – 1903 until the beginning of World War I. A characteristic feature of this period was that the struggle unfolded around the development and implementation of reforms that were aimed at modernizing socio-economic and socio-political relations in the region, and ultimately equalized the political influence of the Ukrainian and Romanian movements significantly.

In 1902, A. Onciul founded the Peasant Democratic Party and sharply criticized the policies of the large Romanian landowners as not meeting the interests of the broad masses of the people. In a number of newspaper articles, he justified the need to carry out a wide range of socio-economic and political reforms in Bukovyna, which would significantly improve the situation of ordinary peasants, both Romanian and Ukrainian.

The logic of political struggle pushed the supporters of A. Onciul to search for allies. It is clear that quite quickly there was a rapprochement with those forces that were against the policy of the Romanian boyars, i.e. with the Ukrainians and the Jews, partly the Germans. As a result, in 1903 an interethnic deputy association called the “Free-thinking Association” was established. Its leaders were a Romanian Avrel Onciul, a Ukrainian Mykola Vasylo, and the Jewish representative Benno Straucher. The main goal of the association was to fight for reforms, including changes to the electoral law for the Bukovyna Sejm, reform of local community self-government bodies and elections to them, the establishment of a peasant bank that would provide relatively cheap loans to small producers, the elimination of outdated tax and customs institutions, an increase in teachers’ salaries, and the development of education in national languages.

In 1904, supporters of the “Free-thinking Association” won the elections to the Bukovyna Sejm and received a solid majority in it. This victory gave them the opportunity to make

decisions on the implementation of the planned reforms without obstacles. But their final implementation required the Emperor's sanction, and this was a long process.

Meanwhile, despite the apparent unity, the members of the "Free-thinking Association" had many of their own ambitions, which they could not hide for long. In 1905, due to internal disputes, this Association disintegrated. Disputes broke out between its leaders in the press, in which they accused each other of illegal actions. The most striking example of this was the trial between A. Onciul and M. Vasylo. The former made unfounded accusations of corruption by his recent colleague in the "Free-thinking Association". M. Vasylo sued A. Onciul on charges of falsifying facts and insulting honour and dignity. As a result, A. Onciul lost the trial and was sentenced to a month in prison or a fine of three thousand kronas (Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 1908; Bukovyna, 1909, 21 kvitnia).

However, despite the sharp disputes between former members of the "Free-thinking Association", the most important thing in the Ukrainian-Romanian relations was the struggle for the implementation of draft laws proposed in 1903 – 1905. Each side sought to ensure that these laws were the most favourable to it.

For the Ukrainian movement, the development and approval of regional reforms was of a particular importance. First of all, the reform bills, no matter how they were finalized or reworked, were aimed at democratizing socio-political and economic relations in the region, which provided the Ukrainians with expanded opportunities in the struggle for national rights as the largest ethnic group in the region.

In 1908–1909, a new, revised statute for rural communities and an electoral law for public self-government bodies were approved. Direct, secret elections to public councils were introduced, in which all adult men over the age of 24 who had lived in the community for at least 2 years had the right to participate in the elections. Although the Ukrainians sought universal suffrage, at the request of the Romanian conservative party, the division of voters into three curiae was maintained, depending on the amount of tax paid (Gemeindeordnung, 1908, pp. 141–150). However, this electoral law was much more beneficial for the Ukrainians than the previous one. This was clearly confirmed by the elections to public councils held in 1910, in which the Ukrainians won a majority in public self-government bodies in almost all Ukrainian communities.

The most heated discussions between the Ukrainian, Romanian, German, and Jewish deputies were caused by the draft of a new electoral law for the Bukovyna Sejm, originally proposed by A. Onciul. After several years of disputes and revisions, it was adopted in October 1909 by the Bukovyna Sejm with the support of both Romanian and Ukrainian deputies and put into effect on May 10, 1910. The new law introduced the national division of voters, but also preserved the social curiae.

This law did not completely eliminate the imbalance of national representation in the Sejm. The Romanians received 24 seats, and the Ukrainians – only 17, because in the curia of large landowners and the clergy, the Romanians retained a significant advantage. However, it was still more favourable for the Ukrainian community. For comparison, in the previous Sejm, the Ukrainians had a maximum of five seats out of 31 (16%), and this time – 17 seats out of 63 (27%).

In the pre-war decade, a sharp struggle between the Ukrainians and the Romanians continued in the Orthodox Church. Several times, the Ukrainians petitioned higher authorities to resolve this issue, and in 1906, the Ukrainian delegation led by Mykola Vasylo had a royal reception by the Emperor, who promised to give orders to the government to study the validity of the Ukrainians' demands.

Gradually, the Ukrainians increased their influence in the Orthodox Church. After a trip to the capital and a powerful propaganda campaign, the Ukrainians were able to win several more important positions for themselves. The consistory included the third Ukrainian councilor, Father M. Halip. In 1907/1908, the number of Ukrainian and Romanian seminarians in the Theological Seminary became equal (Nova Bukovyna, 1913, 5 zhovtnia). Articles in phonetic spelling began to be published in the Ukrainian section of the church-literary magazine "Candela". The number of Ukrainian catechists in educational institutions increased, among them F. Hryhoriy, I. Horodysky, P. Kateryniuk, N. Kopachuk, D. Tashchuk and the others. The mentioned changes testified to the growing influence of the Ukrainians in the Orthodox Church, but still they were of a secondary nature. Therefore, the demands of the Narodovtsi continued to grow. They sought cardinal changes to solve the problem once and for all.

The decision of the Bukovyna Sejm at its session in late 1912 – early 1913 to create a separate Ukrainian-Romanian commission to resolve the church issue was of fundamental importance. It was to consist of six Ukrainians and six Romanians, who were to resolve all disputed issues at joint meetings (Nova Bukovyna, 1913, 20 kvitnia).

Such a commission did indeed begin to work, but due to sharp disputes and the position of certain Romanian politicians who were unwilling to make any concessions, it ceased its work after some time without making any decisions.

But it was at this time that the Ukrainians achieved the appointment of their protege Artemon Monastyrsky as vicar general, who in the future could claim the position of metropolitan. This was great success, which opened up prospects for the division of Bukovyna archdiocese into Ukrainian and Romanian. The completion of this process was prevented by the beginning of World War I.

Another issue that became quite acute in the Ukrainian-Romanian relations at that time concerned the problems of demographic accounting. Ever since the annexation of Bukovyna to Austria, the Romanian boyars claimed that the vast majority of the population of the region were the Romanians, and the Ukrainians constituted a small minority and were from Galicia mainly. Therefore, the results of the 1880 census, which for the first time counted ethnic groups by spoken language, came as a real shock to the Romanian leaders. This census convincingly proved that the Ukrainians were the largest ethnic group, and the Romanians occupied the second place. In order to somehow explain this ratio, a theory was put forward about the Ruthenization (Ukrainization) or Slavicization of the Romanian population in Bukovyna. Allegedly, unconscious Romanian peasants were influenced by the Ukrainians and mistakenly recorded the Ukrainian language as spoken during the census. Several pseudoscientific opuses were published on this subject (Hormuzaki, 1900; Voronca, 1903). In one of them, written by Konstantin Hormuzaki, it was noted: "The Ruthenians see in the Romanians an element less capable of resistance, which is extremely easy to assimilate; on the other hand, the Bukovynian Romanians often cannot understand that any weakening of the fighting spirit only exalts the enemy, gives rise not to reconciliation, but only to their complete suppression" (Hormuzaki, 1900, p. 33).

Interestingly, some Romanian politicians were well aware of the unscientific nature of the claims about "Ukrainization". In particular, in 1902 the very A. Onciul in the newspaper "Privitorul" ("Observer") noted that the Wallachian element showed extraordinary vitality at different times in Romania, Transylvania, and Hungary, preserving its nationality. He further wrote: "Under such circumstances, it is impossible from the very beginning that the

Bukovynian Vlachs (the Romanians – *authors*) were so weak and lost their nationality within a few decades” (Onciul, 1902).

This problem began to flare up especially actively before the 1910 census. In the press, at meetings and assemblies, various agents from among the Romanians called on the population to show, by their definition, “consciousness” and write down the spoken Romanian language. By the way, the number of ethnic groups was important in the formation of national curiae for elections to the Bukovyna Sejm. In some cases, intimidation and bribery of ordinary people were used. This issue was especially acute in communities with a mixed population.

As a result of the 1910 census, 305,101 Ukrainians were recorded in Bukovyna, which constituted 38.38% of the total population. There were 273,254 Romanians (34.38%) (Mitteilungen des statistischen Landesamtes, 1913, pp. 56–95). For comparison, in 1900, 297,793 (41.16%) Ukrainians and 229,018 (31.65%) Romanians lived in the region (Gemeindelexikon, 1907, pp. 1–116). That is, if in 1900 there were 9.51 % more Ukrainians, then in 1910 there were only 4 %. It is clear that such radical changes in the population ratio could not have occurred in ten years. It was about election fraud. The Ukrainian politicians, taking into account the massive falsification of data, demanded that the results of the 1910 census be cancelled. However, the regional authorities did not agree to this.

The struggle over the census became a vivid example of the Ukrainian-Romanian competition for influence over broad segments of the population and demonstrated that many issues in interethnic relations on the eve of World War I remained unresolved.

Conclusions. The Ukrainian-Romanian relations in Bukovyna went through several stages in the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries. At the beginning, there was a significant advantage of the Romanians due to the presence of such an influential force as large landowners. The first period from the middle of the century to the end of the 80s was marked by the absence of Ukrainian deputies in the Bukovyna Sejm and the Austrian parliament, and isolated attempts by the Ukrainians to defend their interests. The second period covers the period from the 90s of the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century. At that time, the Ukrainians were able to elect nationally conscious deputies to the Bukovyna Sejm. The main struggle was transferred to the walls of the highest representative body of the region. However, at this time a split occurred among the Ukrainian deputies, which significantly weakened the ability to defend national interests. The third period covers the time from 1902–1903 to the beginning of World War I. At this stage, the Ukrainian-Romanian relations mostly concerned the issues of reforming social relations in the region, changing the electoral law for the Sejm and rural communities, establishing parity in the Orthodox Church, etc. The activity and organization of the Ukrainians increased significantly, which contributed to the strengthening of their positions in the Ukrainian-Romanian rivalry. On the eve of World War I, parity was achieved in influence over most decisions concerning public issues.

Although in some cases the disputes became quite acute, both peoples had a desire to resolve interethnic problems by using constitutional methods, discussions in the Bukovyna Sejm, in the columns of newspapers, or by appealing to various levels of government or judicial institutions. This distinguished Bukovyna from some other crown lands of Austria-Hungary, where interethnic relations went beyond legal actions.

Not all problems in the Ukrainian-Romanian relations were resolved properly, but progress was obvious, valuable experience was accumulated in approaches to resolving interethnic problems within the framework of existing legislation, which has not lost its significance even today.

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SANITARY AND EPIDEMIOLOGICAL CONDITION OF FRONTLINE CITIES OF VOLHYN PROVINCE IN 1914 – 1918

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to research the problem of the sanitary and epidemiological state of frontline cities and towns under wartime conditions. The research methodology is based on the principles of objectivity, historicism, problematic and systematic approach and includes historical and comparative, statistical methods, as well as the method of critical analysis. Scientific Novelty.* A systematic analysis of the sanitary and epidemiological situation of the county towns of Volhyn province on the eve and during World War I has been carried out; the influence of military factors on the general sanitary and epidemiological situation of the western districts of Volhyn province has been elucidated; the functioning of the sanitary and epidemiological control system at the level of state authorities, local self-government, and temporary military administrations has been highlighted; new archival materials have been introduced into scientific circulation. **Conclusions.** The rapid development of socio-economic processes in the late 19th and early 20th centuries led to significant changes in the

ensuring the vitality of towns. In the context of rapid population growth, modernization of the urban economy, and changes in urban lifestyles, there was an urgent need to establish an effective system of sanitary and epidemiological support and control. The effectiveness and dynamics of changes in this area were determined by both European trends and the peculiarities of traditions and technological and financial capabilities. The pace of adaptation of the system of sanitary and epidemiological control and provision of district towns in Volhyn significantly lagged behind not only the best European but also the all-Russian practice. The consequences of this lag were acutely evident during the war years, when Volhyn frontline towns began to receive a large number of refugees and military personnel, and the level of financing for the sphere of urban life support decreased.

The significant quality deterioration of social and everyday sphere of the frontline towns was also caused by the destruction of infrastructure facilities and residential buildings, excessive concentration of residents in surviving buildings, etc. The lack of water supply and sewage system, the use of river water by the townspeople for personal everyday use, the concentration of excessive amounts of household waste in the cities and towns became a catalyst for the spread of unsanitary conditions and epidemics. A significant deterioration of the sanitary and epidemiological situation had been observed since 1915 and reached its peak in the winter of 1917/1918, which led to the spread of epidemics, in particular, typhus in 1918.

Key words: sanitary and epidemiological situation, sanitation, epidemic diseases, medical infrastructure, frontline cities, World War I, Volhyn province.

САНІТАРНО-ЕПІДЕМІОЛОГІЧНИЙ СТАН ПРИФРОНТОВИХ МІСТ ВОЛИНСЬКОЇ ГУБЕРНІЇ У 1914 – 1918 рр.

Анотація. Метою статті є дослідження санітарно-епідеміологічного стану волинських прифронтових міст в умовах війни. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на принципах об'єктивності, історизму, проблемності та системності і включає історико-порівняльний та статистичний методи, а також метод критичного аналізу. **Наукова новизна.** Здійснено системний аналіз санітарно-епідеміологічного становища повітових міст Волинської губернії напередодні та в роки Першої світової війни; відстежено вплив воєнних факторів на загальну санітарно-епідеміологічну ситуацію західних повітів Волинської губернії; висвітлено функціонування системи санітарно-епідеміологічного контролю на рівні органів державної влади, місцевого самоврядування, тимчасових військових адміністрацій; введено до наукового обігу нові архівні матеріали.

Висновки. Стрімкий розвиток соціально-економічних процесів кінця XIX – початку XX ст. зумовив значні зміни у забезпеченні життєдіяльності міст. В умовах стрімкого зростання чисельності населення, модернізації міської економіки, зміни міського укладу життя, постала нагальна потреба становлення ефективної системи санітарного-епідеміологічного забезпечення та контролю. Ефективність та динаміка зрушень у цій сфері визначалася як загальноєвропейськими тенденціями, так і особливостями традицій та технологічними і фінансовими можливостями. Темпи адаптації системи санітарно-епідеміологічного контролю та забезпечення повітових міст Волині суттєво відставали не лише від кращих європейських, але і від загальноросійського практик. Наслідки такого відставання гостро проявилися в роки війни, коли волинські прифронтові міста почали приймати велику кількість біженців та військових, а рівень фінансування сфери їхнього життєзабезпечення скоротився.

Значне погіршення якості соціально-побутової сфери прифронтових міст зумовили також руйнування інфраструктурних об'єктів і житлових будинків, надмірна концентрація мешканців в уцілених будівлях тощо. Відсутність системи водопостачання та каналізації, використання містянами річкової води для особистого повсякденного вжитку, концентрація надмірної кількості побутових відходів у містах стали каталізатором поширення антисанітарії та епідемії. Значне погіршення санітарно-епідеміологічного становища прослідковується з 1915 р. і сягає піку взимку 1917/1918 рр., що призвело до поширення епідемії, зокрема, тифу у 1918 р.

Ключові слова: санітарно-епідеміологічне становище, санітарія, епідемічні захворювання, медична інфраструктура, прифронтові міста, Перша світова війна, Волинська губернія.

Problem Statement. The end of the 19th – the beginning of the 20th century in the history of European countries is marked by the introduction of a number of technical and technological inventions into everyday life, which significantly influenced the formation of the sanitary and epidemiological culture of the modern world. First of all, this was due to the need to overcome mass epidemic diseases that spread in the rapidly growing towns engulfed by the Industrial Revolution of the second half of the 19th century (Abellán, 2017, pp. 5–6). This was also facilitated by significant scientific achievements in the fields of medicine and biology, which led to the “Bacteriological Revolution” in the establishment and development of sanitary services (Melosi, 2008, p. 5). It was at the time that the idea of a “sanitary town” appeared, for the implementation of which it was necessary to form new services capable of implementing it in practice. To a large extent, this depended on the level of economic development of countries and regions, their scientific and technological potential, the availability of qualified personnel and general culture of society. At the same time, it was discovered how much quarantine, vaccination and other sanitary measures could contribute to the fight against epidemics, and the military movement – to their spread (Wulff, 2020, pp. 138–140).

The study of the sanitary and epidemiological situation of front-line towns of Volhyn province in 1914 – 1918 allows us to determine, using the example of Volhyn province, the place of the Russian Empire in the process of formation and development of sanitary services; to trace the standard of living and social and everyday culture of the inhabitants of Volhyn front-line counties; to determine the impact of the war on the sanitary and epidemiological situation of front-line towns.

Review of Recent research and Publications. The topic of sanitary and medical care for the population as a separate subject of study came to the scholars’ focus several decades ago. Among the topics that are actively studied are the provision of drinking water, waste disposal and the impact of these factors on the quality of life (Abellán (Abellán, 2017), Zh. Floris, K. Staub (Floris, & Staub, 2019), D. Pieshkov (Pieshkov, 2023), V. Denysiuk (Denysiuk, 2024)). Conceptually important for the study of the idea of the “sanitary town” of the 19th–20th centuries is the study by V. Melosi (Melosi, 2008) and E. Wulff (Wulff, 2020).

Among Ukrainian historians, T. Herasymov comprehensively studied the functioning of the cities of Right-Bank Ukraine during World War I, including their sanitary situation (Herasymov, 2017; Gerasymov, & Romaniuk, 2024). L. Hryzhenko did research on certain aspects of medical care (Hryzhenko, 2012).

The purpose of the article is to study the sanitary and epidemiological situation of front-line towns of Volhyn province during the war of 1914 – 1918. The main focus is on the analysis of sanitary and epidemiological development on the eve and during the war; the formation and evolution of the system of sanitary supervision and prevention of epidemics and unsanitary conditions; the impact of war on the sanitary and epidemiological situation; tracing the features of military, civilian sanitary and medical infrastructure operating; highlighting the contemporary challenges of ensuring the vital activity of cities in the field of sanitary, epidemiological and medical support.

Research Results. On the eve of World War I, the sanitary and medical condition of Volhyn towns depended on the speed of implementation of such municipal projects as improving the water supply system, garbage removal, development of sewage systems, systematic disinfection, and constant sanitary supervision significantly. Despite the fact that technological and technical capabilities for the implementation of such projects existed

(Abellán, 2017, pp. 5–10), towns were often unable to financially provide for them. This task was also complicated by a rapid demographic growth of the urban population. At the beginning of the 20th century the population of the cities of the Right Bank increased by 70% (Herasymov, 2017, p. 46).

Despite a significant lag of the sanitary and epidemiological system of the Russian Empire from European countries, and Volhyn province from other Russian provinces, the situation worsened during World War I significantly. With its beginning, revenues to town budgets decreased sharply, and because of this, expenditures on medical, veterinary, and sanitary spheres. In the budget of Rivne, one of the largest county cities of the province, in 1914, out of 360.6 thousand rubles of income, only 3.9 thousand rubles were allocated for the needs of medical, veterinary and sanitary services, and separately 4.1 thousand rubles for the maintenance of the city hospital (SARR, f. 165, d. 1, c. 29, pp. 5, 39–39b, 41). In the following year, 1915, the level of income of the city budget of Rivne decreased by 24.6% to 265.6 thousand rubles, and expenditures on the medical, veterinary and sanitary parts of the budget – to 7.2 thousand, of which 6.3 thousand rubles were allocated for the maintenance of the local hospital, and 156 rubles for the maintenance of city sewage dumps (SARR, f. 616, d. 1, c. 2, pp. 5–7).

Similar trends can be observed in other front-line cities and towns. In Dubno, out of the 1914 budget, which amounted to 63.4 thousand rubles in income and expenses, only 60 rubles were allocated for medical, veterinary and sanitary needs (SARR, f. 359, d. 1, c. 12, pp. 129, 162–163, 169–170). In 1915, the budget of income and expenses of this city decreased by 21.1% to 50.4 thousand rubles, of which 60 rubles were allocated for medical, veterinary and sanitary services (SARR, f. 359, d. 1, c. 13, pp. 105, 127).

The health, sanitary and epidemiological situation of city residents was influenced by a number of factors: humidity of the area, access to clean water, waste disposal, nature of habits, etc. According to official information, at the beginning of the 20th century cities and towns of Volhyn province, with the exception of Zhytomyr, were provided with drinking water from rivers (Goroda, 1906, III, p. 100). The general sanitary culture of city dwellers was generally low. River water was mostly used for everyday use without prior boiling. The fact that garbage and waste in cities and towns were systematically thrown out into the street also had a significant impact on water quality (Herasymov, 2017, p. 324). The unsanitary conditions were further exacerbated by the fact that public toilets in cities were only just beginning to appear at the time. Even in the few cases where such places were equipped, their use was carried out without observing sanitary standards (SARR, f. 165, d. 1, c. 28, pp. 96–97).

Despite a slow pace of the formation of a “sanitary city” conditions in the provincial cities of the Russian Empire, the dynamics of these changes slowed down with the beginning of the Great War. The state reduced spending on structural urban sanitary and epidemiological projects significantly, instead focusing on the prevention of epidemic diseases and medical support for the military. In addition to the Ministry of War and local governments, in the Russian Empire, the All-Russian Zemstvo Union for Aid to the Wounded and Sick, the Committee for Provision of Temporary Assistance to Victims of War Disasters (the so-called “Tetianin Committee”), and other organizations were responsible for resolving issues of medical and sanitary epidemiological services for the military and civilian population. The directions, and accordingly the structure, of their work were changing dynamically. For example, only the committee of the South-Western Front of the All-Russian Zemstvo Union, as of April 1, 1916, had under its care 1486 structural units, including 209 medical and

sanitary departments (including 44 epidemic detachments, 3 medical stations, 28 paramedic stations, 6 hospitals, 15 bacteriological laboratories, 24 vaccination detachments, 11 disinfection detachments, 6 sanitary trains, etc.) (Spisok uchrezhdeniy, 1916, pp. 1–2). These organizations tried to coordinate their actions, but military operations and a chronic shortage of human and material resources negatively affected the achievement of the set goals (Ocherk deyatelnosti, 1916, p. 6).

The problems of supplying drinking water, maintaining cleanliness, removing and disinfecting waste and garbage, which the authorities had been actively working on since the beginning of the 20th century, became more acute with the outbreak of war (Freyberg, 1913, pp. 411–452). The Russian military command tried to increase requirements for compliance with sanitary rules, in particular regarding the timely cleaning of cesspools and maintaining cleanliness in public spaces. The main burden of cleaning was placed on the residents of the nearest houses. Over time, the city authorities' resources became less and less. There was a shortage of disinfectants, in particular bleach (SARR, f. 359, d. 1, c. 12, pp. 318, 321, 346–348).

Maintaining sanitary standards in frontline cities and towns remained a priority task for both the Austrian and German military administrations (Austro-Hungarian and German troops occupied Western Volhyn in 1915 and controlled Lutsk and Dubno until 1916, and Kovel and Volodymyr until 1918). The German and Austrian military administrations resorted to unpopular, but quite effective measures: timely cleaning of cesspools, punishment for non-compliance with sanitary standards and dumping of garbage in unauthorized places, etc. (Herasymov, 2015, pp. 104–106).

Volhyn cities suffered most from unsanitary conditions during the period of the approach of the front, when the previous government no longer had the opportunity to ensure compliance with the necessary sanitary conditions, and the new one needed time to assess the situation and find ways to improve it. This could last from several weeks to several months. It should be noted that cities and towns such as Lutsk and Dubno changed their subordination twice in 1915–1916, Kovel and Volodymyr – once.

The approach of the front was accompanied by mass exodus. A particularly large number of refugees appeared in the second half of 1915 (Kovalenko, 2021, p. 102). Volhyn cities were temporary shelters for refugees on their way to the East. Places of concentration of internally displaced people (houses and wagons) were transformed into centres of unsanitary conditions (Smolii, 2015, pp. 421–422, 440–442). Supervision of compliance with sanitary standards in places of concentration of refugees was entrusted to the heads of committees and doctors of sanitary and epidemiological detachments. Their duties included control over refugees' visits to baths and disinfection of their clothes (CSHAUK, f. 930, d. 1, c. 2, p. 93).

In the autumn of 1917, financial support for refugees, which included food, clothing, and medical care, ceased due to the Bolshevik coup (CSHAUK, f. 930, d. 1, c. 15, pp. 98, 107b). However, the number of forcibly displaced people continued to grow. In December 1917, more than five thousand refugees lived in Lutsk, compared to 20 thousand permanent residents (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 1629, pp. 109–109b). In October 1918, the population of Lutsk increased to 32 thousand people (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 1648, pp. 73–74). This trend was common to all Volhyn cities.

Military operations had a significant impact on the sanitary and epidemiological situation in cities. Almost all infrastructure important for the functioning of cities was destroyed or taken away during the army's retreat (Smolii, 2015, pp. 88, 94, 97). A number of villages and

towns, especially those that had been in the frontline zone for a long time, were destroyed. However, according to the testimony of one of the Russian soldiers who passed through Volhyn in July 1916, Lutsk did not suffer such a fate. The city was not much affected by the military operations (Pakhalyuk, 2014, p. 149). Minor destruction of front-line towns was an exception, which was explained by the rapid advance of the Russian army in May-June 1916. Many settlements that returned to Russian rule, in particular Dubno, were largely destroyed. As a result, there was a reduction in the number of suitable housing and an excessive concentration of residents in the surviving buildings (SARR, f. 359, d. 1, c. 14, p. 9; Smolii, 2015, p. 449).

In a number of front-line cities and towns, social and living conditions deteriorated due to the presence of a large number of soldiers there. For example, the headquarters of the Special Army was transferred to Lutsk in the summer of 1916. The relocation was accompanied by the arrival of a large number of soldiers, which required the allocation of additional funds for cleaning wells, river banks, and cesspools (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 1584, pp. 12–12b).

A significant deterioration in social and living conditions in front-line cities was observed after the overthrow of the Provisional Government and the short-term spread of Bolshevik power to the territory of Ukraine. In the autumn of 1917, many soldiers of the Russian army, encouraged by the Bolsheviks, voluntarily left the front line and moved to the cities for the winter. The concentration of a large number of soldiers and their horses in cities that were not adapted for this led to uncontrolled consequences. In December 1917, in Lutsk, about 4,000 horses died due to a lack of fodder. In January 1918 the head of the district police wrote that the corpses of horses were lying in the middle of the streets, and there was no money to remove them. Under the conditions of the thaw, this created exceptional threats of unsanitary conditions and the spread of infectious diseases. Throughout the rest of 1918, the sanitary and epidemiological situation was extremely difficult in Lutsk (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 1648, pp. 3, 49–49b).

Since the pre-war years, in larger cities, responsibility for compliance with sanitary and epidemiological standards had been vested in sanitary commissions and doctors of county and provincial cities. Their authority extended to grocery stores, markets, bakeries, working premises, restaurants and canteens (Robak & Demochko, 2024, p. 55). In small towns that did not have the opportunity to maintain special commissions, sanitary standards were controlled by a mayor. With the outbreak of the war, the sanitary and epidemiological situation in the towns only worsened. Within a few months, veterinarians in Rivne and Lutsk noted that livestock suppliers did not conduct livestock inspections in order to avoid paying fees. This increased the risk of slaughtering unhealthy livestock (SARR, f. 165, d. 1, c. 28, p. 7; SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 1584, p. 9).

The deterioration of the sanitary and epidemiological situation was contributed by the low activities efficiency of sanitary commissions and doctors. A mandatory condition for opening any catering, trade, production, etc. establishment was the permission of a sanitary doctor and the commission after inspecting the compliance of the proposed facility with the standards. Such inspections were often formal in nature, sometimes local authorities, despite the warnings of sanitary commissions, granted permits for activity anyway. For example, in 1915 in Rivne, no refusals to institutions due to non-compliance with sanitary standards were recorded (17 permits were granted), even in cases where the doctor reported that the premises were in an unsuitable condition (SARR, f. 165, d. 1, c. 28, pp. 10–14b, 16–16b, 36–38b, 53–54b, 76–76b, 130–130b, 137–141b, 160–160b). The formality of the procedure for granting permits for activity is also evidenced by the case of “Angliya” Hotel opening in

Rivne in April 1915. Despite the remarks of the sanitary commission that the previous owner had kept a “drinking den” in this building, the city council granted permission to open the hotel without additional sanitary obligations (SARR, f. 165, d. 1, c. 28, pp. 77–77b).

The water supply system of the urban population played an exceptional role in maintaining sanitary standards, as it was the main source of the spread of epidemic diseases such as dysentery, typhoid fever, and cholera.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the practice of using river water for everyday use by the population was commonplace, which often led to outbreaks of infections. Drinking water was taken from rivers in specially designated places, for household needs – in others. Barrels for transporting drinking and household water also differed, but the rules did not provide for their disinfection and cleaning. Certain changes in water supply in the western county towns of Volyn province can be traced back to the beginning of the 20th century. The practice of providing townspeople with artesian water was introduced. In the 1910s, artesian wells operated in Rivne, Dubno, and other cities. Due to the concentration of a large number of soldiers, three such wells appeared in Lutsk in September 1914. The appearance of new artesian wells in the city, apparently due to their insufficient number and habits of the townspeople, did not solve the problem of providing the city population with high-quality water. A certain part of the city residents continued to use river water, despite the fact that the test results recognized it as unfit for drinking (Denysiuk, 2024, p. 28). The situation often worsened in the summer, when the water level in the wells fell and consumption increased due to river water (Herasymov, 2017, pp. 293–294).

Public and private baths served to improve the general culture of everyday life and the rules of personal hygiene of residents of front-line cities. Three such institutions operated in Lutsk (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 1648, pp. 3, 11, 14, 49–49b, 62, 73–74). However, if sanitary standards were not observed, they also served as a hotbed for the spread of infections. One way of spreading this was by draining water from the baths into open water bodies (Freyberg, 1913, p. 404).

At the beginning of the 20th century a serious challenge to overcome unsanitary conditions was the removal of waste and garbage in Volhyn cities. Many large cities in Europe began to use sewage systems at the time (Floris & Staub, 2019, pp. 257–262). In smaller cities, sewage carts were used for this purpose – horse-drawn carts on which large barrels were placed for transporting garbage and waste. At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, many cities in the Russian Empire dealt with waste in this way. Maintaining sewage wagons required significant funds for disinfection, maintenance of horses and equipment (Robak & Demochko, 2024, p. 54). Disinfection of wastewater with lime was quite expensive – 2–4 kopecks per 0.1 square fathom (0.455 sq m). In order to save money, waste disposal service providers usually simply dumped the sewage outside the city (Freyberg, 1913, p. 405). At the beginning of the 20th century, the county towns of Volhyn province did not yet have an established system of sewage carts. Waste, at best, was taken out by carts without any disinfection, or remained on site in the so-called absorption pits, which were an extremely ineffective means of purification. It should be noted that at this time in the neighbouring Kyiv and Podilsk provinces, disinfection carts were already actively introduced in cities (Goroda, 1906, III, p. 100; Freyberg, 1913, p. 413).

During the war, garbage and waste disposal in most Volyn cities was carried out extremely unsatisfactory. The need to solve this problem during his stay in Rivne at the end of 1914 was also emphasized by one of the members of the imperial family. The deputies of the

city council explained the reasons for such unsanitary conditions and dirt by the cramped conditions of the houses and the proximity of military operations. The most neglected were some of the central parts of the cities, where the poor population lived. In Rivne, this prompted the city council to seek a loan of 19.8 thousand rubles for the arrangement of a sewage truck (Denysiuk, 2024, p. 29).

The practice of setting up sewage wagons in Volyn front-line cities became widespread in the first years of the war. Loans were often used for this. In particular, in Dubno and Lutsk, the necessary equipment (a pneumatic pump and several iron barrels) and horses were purchased in 1915 – 1916. However, due to the heavy load, the sewage wagons could not cope with the removal of waste (Denysiuk, 2024, p. 30).

An important component of ensuring the proper sanitary and epidemiological situation in front-line cities was the medical service system. On the eve of the war in the Russian Empire, medical institutions were subordinate to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, but a number of powers in the field of health preservation and improvement of the sanitary situation were held by city authorities (Hryzhenko, 2012, p. 37). The central government implemented the principle of co-financing, partially covering the costs of maintaining doctors, paramedics and pharmacists, establishing and maintaining medical institutions, etc. The rest was financed from local budgets. The distribution of central funding had clear disparities. One resident of Moscow or St. Petersburg received 6.76 and 6.45 rubles per year, and a resident of Volyn province received 0.39 rubles, which is 16.5–17.3 times less and even lower than the average for the empire (Otchet o sostoyanii, 1915, p. 69).

At the beginning of the 20th century, from one to three hospitals operated in the county towns of Volyn province. The towns that became front-line during the war had hospital beds of 30 to 65, and in Kremenets – 232 (Goroda, 1906, III, pp. 106–107). This was not enough for the daily needs of city dwellers long before the war (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 441, pp. 2–2b; SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 528, pp. 5–5b). As of 1904, in Volodymyr-Volynsky, there were 349 residents per hospital bed, in Lutsk – 506, Dubno – 523, Rivne – 528, Kovel – 589. The corresponding average figure for the province was 483.3 people.

The efficiency and quality of medical care depended on the availability of qualified doctors. According to the average Russian indicators of the ratio of the population to one doctor, Volyn province also lagged behind noticeably. According to data from 1904, there were 2,844 residents of Volhyn district cities per doctor. In 1913, this ratio decreased to 2,200 residents per doctor (the average indicator for the provinces of the European part of the empire was 1 to 1,300).

The number of doctors in the front-line Volhyn county towns, except for Rivne, was significantly lower than the general provincial indicator (9.2 doctors per town). In 1904, there were four doctors working in Dubno, five in Volodymyr-Volynsky, six – in Kovel and Lutsk, and 18 – in Rivne. Each county town also had at least one veterinarian (Goroda, 1906, III, pp. 106–107; Otchet o sostoyanii, 1915, p. 57).

With the beginning of the war, despite the fact that field military hospitals were deployed in front-line counties, the load on civilian hospitals increased significantly.

The structure of the Russian Army 3, which operated in the Volhyn and Podilsk provinces, included 18 field mobile and 23 reserve hospitals (Smolii, 2015, pp. 67–70). New medical institutions were also opened in front-line cities, often under the auspices of the All-Russian Zemstvo Union. As of mid-1915, 51 medical institutions with the ability to accommodate bedridden patients (a total of 3,567 beds) operated in Volhyn province. The bulk of the

military medical facilities, with 2,280 beds, were located away from the front line in Zhytomyr County. In the front-line Volodymyr-Volhyn County, military hospitals could accommodate 340 people, and in Kovel county, only 230. For comparison, in the neighbouring, also front-line, Podilsk province, there were 82 such institutions with twice the number of beds for patients – 4,685 (Spisok gosptaley, 1915, pp. 194–195, 1–9).

Since the beginning of the war, the city authorities had intensified their activities in establishing new medical institutions. In October 1914, Dubno town council urgently organized a new hospital (100 beds) in the town (SARR, f. 359, d. 1, c. 12, pp. 434–436, 525), and in November 1914, an active search was underway for a building for a hospital in Lutsk (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 1291a, pp. 86–86b). Over time, the protracted positional war prompted thrift. In September 1917, Volyn Provincial Committee of the All-Russian Zemstvo Union decided to reduce the number of beds in medical institutions, where no more than 50% of the beds were occupied (CSHAUK, f. 930, d. 1, c. 15, pp. 79–80).

The consequences of the significant increase in the load on the existing system of sanitary and medical support of the front-line cities of Volhyn became apparent in the spring of 1915 with a significant seasonal increase in the number of patients with respiratory and infectious diseases. In Rivne, the issue of building an isolation facility for «contagious patients» became acute. In order to contain the spread of infections into groundwater for the new institution, the sanitary commission recommended cementing cesspools, burning and covering patients' excrement with limestone, etc. (SARR, f. 165, d. 1, c. 28, pp. 58–58b, 62–63, 83–84). A significant role in the deterioration of the situation was played by the significant complication of the problem of providing the population with food in the region, which was associated with the priority of providing the army (Shvab, & Denysiuk, 2020, pp. 79–80).

An additional burden on the sanitary and epidemiological situation in front-line areas was the fact that from 1915, first on the Western and then on the Eastern Fronts, the practice of treating wounded soldiers near the front line began to be implemented. In this regard, a large number of hospitals were deployed (Ward, 2013, p. 18–19, 57). The civilian system of medical and sanitary institutions also took on a significant burden.

Over the years of the war, the system of medical and sanitary institutions in front-line cities expanded and, as far as possible, adapted to the challenges of wartime. In particular, in Lutsk, as of November 1918, there were a general zemstvo and venereal hospitals (each 30 beds), an epidemiological department (30 beds), a city disinfection chamber, two outpatient clinics, including one for food testing, and a private hospital. A sanitary doctor, 5 paramedics and 12 private doctors provided their services separately. Probably, the chemical and bacteriological office of the All-Russian Zemstvo Union also operated. The majority of these institutions lacked funding, so there was a threat of their closure (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 1648, pp. 73–74).

A difficult challenge for the sanitary and medical services of Volhyn province during the war years were infectious diseases and epidemics. On the eve of the war, the most common infectious diseases in the Russian Empire, which often developed into epidemics, were measles, scarlet fever, typhus, whooping cough, diphtheria, and smallpox. Respiratory diseases and typhus were the most common in winter and early spring, and dysentery in summer. The incidence of smallpox in Volyn in 1913 was one of the lowest in the empire, and of typhus and relapsing typhus – average. However, the rates of typhus fever – 18.4 cases per 10 thousand people and syphilis – 14.2 per 10 thousand people, respectively, were among the highest (Otchet o sostoyanii, 1915, pp. 5–6, 15–17, 26–29, 32–35, 45, 49, 54).

In 1915, with the intensification of hostilities in the region, the situation with infectious diseases deteriorated significantly, which forced the authorities to step up. If until the summer of 1915, only a few epidemic detachments operated on the South-western Front, then in August 1915 there were 15, in January 1916 – 35 (Ocherk deyatelnosti, 1916, p. 17).

Due to poor sanitation and numerous problems with the sanitary and medical system, the population of Volhyn province increasingly suffered from typhus. The situation was especially aggravated during the thaw, especially from the beginning of 1917 (Herasymov, 2017, p. 326). In the second half of July 1918, 7 new cases of typhus and 10 of typhus, 6 of dysentery, 1 of diphtheria, and 3 of measles were recorded in Lutsk. Higher disease rates were only in the provincial centre. To prevent the spread of the epidemic, additional funds were urgently allocated to maintain an additional doctor and five paramedics, and doctors were on duty around the clock. The Ministry of Public Health allocated about 100 thousand rubles to combat typhus in February 1919 (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 1648, pp. 36–36b, 49–49b, 88; SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 1718, pp. 13–24). A separate problem in the last few months of the war and immediately after its end was the so-called “Spanish” flu, whose victims were estimated at tens of millions of people around the world. Due to the difficult military and political and socio-economic circumstances and the lack of sufficient knowledge about viruses, accurate statistics on this disease were not kept, and ways to overcome it were not developed (Rosu, 2021, pp. 90–92).

Conclusions and Prospects. A rapid development of socio-economic processes of the late 19th – early 20th centuries led to significant changes in the provision of life in cities and towns. Under the conditions of a rapid population growth, modernization of the urban economy, changes in the urban lifestyle, there was an urgent need to establish an effective system of sanitary and epidemiological support and control. The effectiveness and dynamics of changes in this area were determined by both European trends and the peculiarities of traditions, as well as technological and financial capabilities. The pace of adaptation of the system of sanitary and epidemiological control and provision of county cities and towns of Volhyn significantly lagged not only from the best European, but also from all-Russian practices. The consequences of this lag were acutely evident during the war years, when Volhyn frontline cities began to receive a large number of refugees and soldiers, and the level of funding for the life support sector in cities decreased.

A significant deterioration in the quality of the social and everyday life of frontline cities led to the destruction of infrastructure facilities and residential buildings, excessive concentration of residents in surviving buildings, etc.

The lack of a water supply and sewage system, the use of river water by citizens for everyday use, and the concentration of excessive amounts of household waste in cities became catalysts for the spread of unsanitary conditions and epidemics. The military and civilian authorities tried to tighten control over compliance with sanitary rules, develop sanitary and medical institutions, use sewage trucks in cities, etc. However, the measures taken and the resources provided were insufficient.

The causes of unsanitary conditions remained and were exacerbated by the conditions of martial law. Frontline cities were important centres of army logistics, which did not allow for the widespread use of quarantine as an important means of combating epidemics. The general sanitary and epidemiological situation was exacerbated by the large concentration of military personnel. Despite the development of military medical infrastructure in frontline cities, the burden on civilian hospitals also increased. The level of unsanitary conditions

began to increase significantly from 1915, especially in the winter of 1917/1918, which led to the spread of epidemics. The typhus epidemic was the most widespread in 1918.

The topic of this study is extensive and poorly studied. Further study is required: everyday household practices of citizens in providing their houses and farms with water; utilization and removal of everyday waste from urban life; development of the water supply and sewage system; care and cleaning of urban space; development of a network of public toilets, baths, city wells, etc.; formation and functioning of the sanitary and epidemiological system; the then practices of epidemic prevention, etc.

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**RUSSIAN OCCUPATION OF EASTERN GALICIA: REPRESENTATION
OF THE EVENTS OF 1914 – 1915 IN THE VIENNESE
GERMAN-LANGUAGE PRESS**

Abstract. *The purpose of the study is to elucidate the coverage of the Russian occupation of Eastern Galicia in the German-language press of Vienna in 1914 – 1915, in particular the Ukrainian publications focused on the German-speaking reader; to analyze the topics of the publications, the main narratives and means of influencing European public opinion, and to identify historical parallels with Russia's modern war against Ukraine. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, objectivity and systematicity and an interdisciplinary approach that combines press analysis, systematic and critical analysis of the source database, as well as content and comparative analysis of the press information mass. The scientific novelty of the study consists in the introduction of little-known materials of the Viennese German-language press in 1914 – 1915 into circulation, including the Ukrainian German-language press “Ukrainisches Korrespondenzblatt” (UK) and “Ukrainische*

Nachrichten” (UN), which covered events in Eastern Galicia occupied by Russia. For the first time in Ukrainian science, the issue has been analyzed how the Austrian and Ukrainian publicists (in the German-speaking world) interpreted the actions of the Russian occupation authorities not only as a military intervention, but also as a form of humanitarian aggression against the Ukrainian population. **The relevance** of the topic is due to historical parallels with the modern Russo-Ukrainian war; in particular the repetition of imperial practices, propaganda approaches, and the struggle to preserve the Ukrainian identity, as well as the lack of research on this issue based on the Ukrainian German-language press of Vienna during World War I. **Conclusions.** The content study of the Austrian and Ukrainian German-language press in Vienna at the beginning of World War I, namely the influential Austrian newspapers “Reichspost”, “Neue Freie Presse”, “Arbeiter-Zeitung” and the Ukrainian press “Ukrainische Nachrichten” and “Ukrainisches Korrespondenzblatt”, has shown that they covered the events of the Russian occupation of Eastern Galicia thoroughly carefully. The headlines of the publications have been analyzed, and the main journalistic narratives have been identified. Chief focus was on the attempts of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, through the Ukrainian German-language press, to convey the truth about repressions, the policy of Russification, and humanitarian aggression against the Ukrainians to the Western reader. Certain differences in tone, emphasis, and political approach to the humanitarian component of the conflict have been identified. The Austrian press mostly remained within the general war narrative, without focusing purposefully on the persecution of the Ukrainians as an ethnic group or a separate political group. The analysis of the German-language press in Vienna during the Russian occupation of Eastern Galicia in 1914 – 1915 enables us to draw clear historical parallels with Russia’s modern war against Ukraine.

Key words: Viennese German-language press, Ukrainian German-language press, “Ukrainische Nachrichten”, “Ukrainisches Korrespondenzblatt”, Russian occupation, Eastern Galicia.

РОСІЙСЬКА ОКУПАЦІЯ СХІДНОЇ ГАЛИЧИНИ: РЕПРЕЗЕНТАЦІЯ ПОДІЙ 1914 – 1915 рр. У ВІДЕНСЬКІЙ НІМЕЦЬКОМОВНІЙ ПРЕСІ

Анотація. **Мета дослідження** – розкрити висвітлення російської окупації Східної Галичини 1914 – 1915 рр. у німецькомовній пресі Відня, зокрема українських виданнях, орієнтованих на німецькомовного читача, проаналізувати тематику публікацій, основні нарративи та засоби впливу на європейську громадську думку, провести історичні паралелі з сучасною війною Росії проти України. **Методологія дослідження** базується на принципах історизму, об’єктивності і системності та міждисциплінарному підході, що поєднує пресознавчий аналіз, системний і критичний аналіз джерельної бази, а також контент- та порівняльний аналіз масиву пресової інформації. **Наукова новизна** дослідження полягає у введенні до обігу маловідомих матеріалів німецькомовної преси Відня 1914 – 1915 рр., включно з українськими виданнями “Ukrainisches Korrespondenzblatt” та “Ukrainische Nachrichten”, які висвітлювали події в окупованій Росією Східній Галичині. Вперше в українській науці проаналізовано, як австрійські й українські публіцисти (в німецькомовному просторі) трактували дії російської окупаційної влади не лише як військову інтервенцію, але і як форму гуманітарної агресії щодо українського населення. **Актуальність** теми зумовлена історичними паралелями із сучасною російсько-українською війною, зокрема повторюваністю імперських практик, пропагандистських підходів та боротьби за збереження української ідентичності, а також відсутністю дослідження цієї тематики на основі української німецькомовної преси Відня періоду Першої світової війни. **Висновки.** Дослідження контенту австрійської та української німецькомовної преси Відня початку Першої світової війни, а саме впливових австрійських газет “Reichspost”, “Neue Freie Presse”, “Arbeiter-Zeitung” і українських видань “Ukrainische Nachrichten” та “Ukrainisches Korrespondenzblatt” засвідчило ретельне висвітлення у ній подій російської окупації Східної Галичини. Проаналізовано тематику публікацій, встановлено основні публіцистичні нарративи. Особлива увага приділена спробам української інтелігенції через українську німецькомовну пресу донести до західного читача правду про репресії, політику русифікації та гуманітарну агресію проти українства. Аналіз німецькомовної преси Відня у період російської окупації Східної Галичини 1914 – 1915 рр. уможливує окреслити виразні історичні паралелі із сучасною війною Росії проти України.

Ключові слова: віденська німецькомовна преса, українська німецькомовна преса, “Ukrainische Nachrichten”, “Ukrainisches Korrespondenzblatt”, російська окупація, Східна Галичина.

Problem Statement. The issue of the Russian occupation of Eastern Galicia during the Great War remains poorly researched in the context of its reception and coverage in the contemporary information space. This concerns the Ukrainian German-language press that operated in Vienna, the political and intellectual centre of the Danubian Empire. The Ukrainian German-language press and publications by the Ukrainian authors served as an important media tool to counter the Russian propaganda. They appealed to European values of freedom of speech, national self-determination, human rights, and popularized the Ukrainian issue at the international stage. In the context of modern information warfare, historical revisionism, and the struggle for European support for the Ukrainian national aspirations, turning to the experience of a century ago takes on additional importance. The experience of the Russian occupation of Eastern Galicia in 1914 – 1915 reveals the characteristic features of Russia’s imperial policy towards the Ukrainian territories, in particular – forced russification, repressions against the Ukrainians, and systematic propaganda. These same practices in modernized forms are also observed during the modern Russo-Ukrainian war. The analysis of how the German-language press in Vienna, in particular the Ukrainian press, covered the Russian occupation helps not only reconstruct historical receptions, but also understand the origins of modern narratives rooted in a long tradition of information warfare.

Review of Recent Research and Publications. The issue of the Russian occupation policy in Galicia during World War I has been covered by the Ukrainian and foreign researchers in scientific publications over the past decade. In particular, the informational impact on the population of Eastern Galicia was analyzed and the characteristic features and peculiarities of the Russian propaganda during the Great War were identified in the article by Vitaliy Vyzdryk (Vyzdryk, 2019); the team of authors highlighted the socio-economic situation of the population of Eastern Galicia under the Russian occupation in 1914 – 1917 (Kuchera, Hainal, & Danyliak, 2021); Roman Lechniuk did the research on the ways in which World War I, and later the Polish-Ukrainian and Soviet-Polish wars (1914 – 1921), affected the situation of the Greek Catholic parish clergy in Galicia (Lekhniuk, 2024); Iryna Kuchera analyzed the national, cultural and educational policy of the Russian occupation administration in Eastern Galicia in 1914 – 1917, highlighted the situation of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church under occupation and the tasks of the Russian government institutions in the region throughout the war (Kuchera, 2013). In Elizabeth Heid’s monograph (Heid, 2019) there is analyzed the coverage of Galicia in the press of the capitals of two warring empires in 1914 – 1917; the author analyzes the ideological basis of this press and traditional stereotypes, the conditions of war, and the demands of propaganda. Some methodological issues of researching the described issues are revealed in the work of Vasyl Ilnytsky and Mykola Haliv (Haliv, & Ilnytskyi, 2021; Ilnytskyi, & Haliv, 2022), Svitlana Orlyk (Orlyk, Ilnytskyi, & Haliv, 2024), Kostiantyn Kurylyshyn (Kurylyshyn, & Haliv, 2025).

The purpose of the study is to elucidate the coverage of the Russian occupation of Eastern Galicia in the German-language press of Vienna in 1914 – 1915, in particular the Ukrainian publications focused on the German-speaking reader, to analyze the topics of the publications, the main narratives and means of influencing European public opinion, and to identify historical parallels with Russia’s modern war against Ukraine.

Research Results.

The Austrian Press. The most influential Viennese newspapers – the Catholic daily “Reichspost”, the liberal bourgeois daily “Neue Freie Presse”, the central organ of German Social Democracy and Austria’s “Arbeiter-Zeitung” – from the beginning of the Great

War became an active source of information about events on the Eastern Front and the course of the occupation of Galicia, because its territory was not only a theatre of military operations, but also the object of possession of both empires. Austrian war correspondents, limited by the coordinating activities of the Imperial and Royal War Press Office (K.u.K. Kriegspressequartier), during the first weeks of the war often drew information from the Galician press, which published the news that went beyond the official reports of the Army High Command: “There were specialists who could read a little Polish and diligently collected reports from local newspapers in Galician towns about the Russian atrocities in the occupied territory, etc.” (Bermann, 1998, 185).

During the first months of the war the reports of Austrian journalists mainly concerned the Eastern Front, in which there was emphasized the violation of generally accepted norms of war by the Russian side; the Cossacks became the constant “heroes” of reports from the areas captured by the Muscovites, as the embodiment of rage, brutality, and unjustified cruelty (Nahe dem Feinde, 1914; Mordbrennerieen, 1914; Greuelthaten der Kozaken, 1914). The Viennese press focused on the border regions of Austria: the occupied areas of Galicia and Bukovyna were identified as places of the most brutal vandalism, atrocities, cynical looting, and savage behaviour of the Russian troops against the local population, incompatible with international humanitarian law (Wie die Russen in Galizien hausten, 1914; Barbarische Kriegsführung, 1914; Die russische Verwüstungswut, 1914; Die Russen in Galizien, 1914; Die Schandtaten, 1914). Let us quote a somewhat more extensive message from the “Reichspost” dated November 29, 1914 (reprinted from “Kuryer Polski”), in which there was discussed the “management” of Russian soldiers in the villages of Zarszyn, Jachmir, Wzdud, Jasionów near Przemyśl: “We have been robbed, all our oats, hay and wheat have been taken away... All the farms around us have been plundered. Zarszyn has been completely destroyed. The magnificent park has been cut down...” (Das Wüten der Russen, 1914).

The Austrian newspapers constantly published reports from the military rear command (*in German* – militärisches Etappen Kommandos) and the Galician Governorate about the immeasurable damage that the Russians had inflicted on the population of Eastern Galicia. The “dry” official reports were supplemented by contributions from their own informants. Along with materials about acts of terror against the civilian population of the region in general, there were sometimes reports about the persecution of the Ukrainians. Thus, referring to the report of its correspondent, the Reichspost covered the suffering of the Ukrainian population during the almost year-long reign of Moscow’s terrifying terror in Eastern Galicia and Bukovyna: “The Russians were by no means satisfied with the task of inflicting significant economic damage. The Pan-Slavic “saviors” focused their main argument on the national and cultural achievements of the Ukrainians. With blind fury, everything that even remotely resembled Ukrainian was ruthlessly suppressed”. The authentic letters attached to this report (written by women who remained under occupation to their husbands, and mothers to their sons) contained descriptions of merciless torture and numerous murders of the Ukrainians simply for belonging to their nation (Als die Russen in Ostgalizien, 1915). There were reports of mass arrests and imprisonment of the Ukrainians (Die Ukrainerverfolgung, 1914), and of the looting of the Ukrainian villages of Krekhovychi, Rozhniativ, Luhy, and Spas (Die russischen Räubereien, 1914). Focusing on Russian occupation policy, the Viennese press reported on large-scale repressions against the civilian population on ethnic grounds: “For Ukrainians, their newspapers are suppressed, all their libraries and National Museum are closed, as are their societies and educational institutions. The Ruthenian books, together

with prayer books, published in Galicia, must be handed over to the police for destruction. Failure to comply with the order will result in three months in prison or a fine of 3,000 rubles. Correspondence in the Ukrainian language is also prohibited” (Lemberg, 1915). In addition to the total persecution of the Ukrainian population, the Viennese press focused on covering anti-Semitic manifestations in the Russian army and arbitrariness against the Jews (Verschleppung, 1915; Die Juden, 1915 and many other). By the way, in the discourse of the Austrian press, the Jewish community of Eastern Galicia was recognized as the most oppressed during the war as compared to other peoples of the Danubian Empire.

In particular, the Viennese press presented Russian actions against the Greek Catholic Church, which contributed to the self-preservation of the Habsburg monarchy as a Catholic guarantor, against this background. Therefore, the Greek Catholic Church and its clergy, which were closely linked to the Ukrainian national identity, occupied a central role in reports about the Galician Ruthenians (Ukrainians). An authoritative figure, the personification of honour and dignity was Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, whom the Austrian press considered the most prominent Austrian Ukrainian. The activities of the Metropolitan were particularly carefully covered by the Christian “Reichspost”, starting with the publication of his appeal to the Galician Ukrainians “to the last drop of blood to remain loyal to the Kaiser and remain faithful sons of our people” (Eine Kundgebung, 1914) dated July 21, 1914. The decision of the Metropolitan to remain in Lviv with his flock, despite the danger of the Russian occupation, was recognized by the Viennese press as a demonstration of courage and awareness of high responsibility. His arrest by the occupation authorities (Metropolit, 1914a), as one of the most prominent Austrian Ukrainians and religious figures, was covered by the Viennese press as evidence of the persecution of the Greek Catholic Church and its Ukrainian believers. The Metropolitan’s deportation to Russia, the conditions of his detention (Das Schicksal, 1915), the course of his trial in 1916 and his state of health were in the constant focus of the “Reichspost” newspaper, as evidenced by the large number of publications in 1914 – 1917. The persecution of Galician Greek Catholics took place against the backdrop of the invasion by Orthodox priests with the aim of introducing Orthodoxy among the Ukrainian population, including by deporting the Ukrainian children to Russia to raise them in the Orthodox faith (Lemberg, 1915).

In addition to documenting and condemning the war crimes of the Russian army, the Austrian press covered the establishment of non-partisan national organizations, including the Ukrainian ones, and publicized their national appeals. Thus, it reported on the establishment of the Main Ukrainian Council in Lviv (Die Vorbereitungen, 1914), its appeal to the Ukrainian people (Aufruf des Ukrainischen Nationalrates, 1914) and the foundation of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (Die Erhebung der Ukrainer, 1914) and its call to Europe (Die Ukrainer Gegen den Zarismus, 1914). The “Appeal of Russian Ukrainians to the Public of Europe” was also published, and it was signed by D. Dontsov, V. Doroshenko, V. Melenevsky, O. Skoropys-Yoltukhovsky, M. Zaluzniak and A. Zhuk (Ein Anruf der russischen Ukrainer, 1914). A significant place in the Austrian press was occupied by reports on the foundation and combat success of national military formations, including the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen (Die “Ukrainischen Sitschower Schützen”, 1914)

Among the materials published in the capital’s press by representatives of both Ukrainian organizations, we recall the article by Reichsrat Ambassador M. Wassilko, in which the author, using historical facts, presented the age-old conflict between the Ukrainians and the Russians in a transparent and understandable form for any uninitiated person, emphasizing the strategic

importance of “Austrian Ukraine” as a defensive wall against Russia, and the guarantee of this – special courage and bravery of the Ukrainian soldiers in the ranks of the Austrian army and the unprecedented heroism of the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen (Wassilko, 1915).

In conclusion, it should be noted that the Austrian press in Vienna scrupulously reported on the activities of the Russian authorities in the occupied territory of Eastern Galicia, recorded the realities of humanitarian aggression, systematically reported on repressions against the population of the region, and highlighted the facts of war crimes against various national groups, including the Ukrainians. The main topics of the publications were war crimes, violence, destruction of culture, the strategic threat of Russia, and the linguistic and discursive means – the rhetoric of “barbarism”, “vandalism”, “terror”, “Russian robbery”, “arbitrary rule”, etc. The information base of the Austrian press was regulated by official sources, military reports, and telegraph agencies, ensuring state security in wartime through the prism of imperial rhetoric. Reprints from other press sources, mainly Polish, were used. The Austrian press played primarily a propaganda role in the information war with Russia, shaping the image of the Russian authorities as a threat to pan-European humanitarian values.

The Ukrainian Press. In connection with the Russian offensive, the following Ukrainian political organizations moved from Lviv to Vienna: a) the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine, which was created on August 4 by political emigrants from the Ukrainian provinces of the Russian Empire; b) the Main Ukrainian Council, which was founded on August 1 by Galician Ukrainians - representatives of several political parties. They almost simultaneously (September 16 and 17) began issuing their printed organs in German – “Ukrainische Nachrichten” (“UN”) and “Ukrainisches Korrespondenzblatt” (“UK”), respectively. Both Ukrainian newspapers set themselves the goal of promoting the Ukrainian issue among the German-speaking audience and reporting truthful information about the activities of the Russian occupation authorities, thus contributing to the formation of an international reception of the situation in Galicia. The choice of the German language for informational influence was entirely strategic: during World War I, German was the state language in the German and Danubian empires and one of the leading languages of international communication in Central and Eastern Europe.

From the very beginning, these newspapers published numerous appeals, appeals from the Main Ukrainian Council and the Union of the Liberation of Ukraine to protect the interests of the Ukrainian people in the European arena, protests against the anti-Ukrainian policy of the Russian authorities in occupied Galicia and Russian violence against the religion of Ukrainian Galicians (Protest, 1914; Protest der Ukrainer, 1914). The Ukrainian Viennese press repeatedly reported on the Ukrainian Volunteer Legion – the Ukrainian national military formation of the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen, founded in the first days of the war, and on the special courage and bravery of the Riflemen in battles (Neue Anerkennungen, 1914). Special focus was on the Ukrainian military, who fought for the Ukrainian statehood in the ranks of the Austrian army (Der ukrainische Soldat, 1914).

Numerous publications by the “UN” and “UK” documented the facts of Russian chauvinistic aggression, the brutal liquidation of all manifestations of the Ukrainian life in the occupied territories: the ban on the Ukrainian language, Ukrainian institutions, the destruction of historical memory, and confessional persecution. The propaganda statements of the Russian press about the “liberation” mission of the tsarist army in Galicia were refuted: “In Galicia and Bukovyna, Russia is destroying with fire and sword the cultural conquests of a handful of our people, which were gained by the labour and tears of the still living generation. Wild “soldiers” with their dirty boots are smashing the portraits of the best

sons of the nation, sacred to every Ukrainian, who gave the people true pearls of poetry, in Ukrainian national houses and educational associations. Long-haired missionaries rush like a herd of wild animals at the poor, completely destroyed people of Galicia by their "Slavic brothers." And at the same time, it is said that "Russia's mission is to liberate the peoples..." (Die deutsche "Barbaren", 1914).

The exceptionally hostile attitude towards everything Ukrainian contrasted particularly clearly with the loyal attitude towards everything Polish. As the Kraków newspaper "Nowa Reforma" reported, by order of the commandant of Lviv, General Sheremetiev, "all Polish newspapers (except "Gazety Lwowskiej") "continue being published... only the Publishing House "Dilo" is closed. In general, the Russian authorities do not recognize Ukrainians. Only Russian or Polish is allowed to be spoken in the streets... The Russian authorities recognize only Catholicism, Orthodoxy and Judaism" (Wiadomości, 1914).

Like the official Austrian press, the "UN" and the "UK" documented war crimes committed by the occupying authorities against the civilian Ukrainian population. Among the numerous macabre reports, eyewitness accounts documented, in particular, the atrocities committed by Muscovites in the Ukrainian villages of Bereziv, Yabluniv, and Liucha (Die Greuetaten der Kosaken, 1914), mass arrests and looting of the Ukrainian intelligentsia of Bukovyna (Aus Czernowitz, 1914), large-scale arrests and deportation of Galician Ukrainians to Russia (Politische Nachrichten und Glossen, 1915), in particular, due to "harmful activities," public and political figures M. Shukhevych, M. Zayachkivsky, K. Pankivsky, S. Fedak, K. Malyska, and the others were arrested and exiled to the northern regions of Russia (Die russische Willkür, 1915). Numerous reports informed of the destruction of Ukrainian-language books and magazines, artifacts of the Ukrainian culture, and the looting of Ukrainian institutions and national shrines, including the National Museum in Lviv (Das ukrainische Nationalmuseum, 1915).

Of a particular concern were the Russian authorities' plans for the total russification of the region. According to the project of the Administration of the School System in Galicia, it was planned to introduce 10 years of education in Russian, to establish 25 gymnasiums for boys and 25 gymnasiums for girls, 70 state schools, 9,000 folk schools, 10 teacher training institutions, and 2 pedagogical institutes (Das Schulwesen, 1915). For large-scale colonization, the Russian imperial commission prepared the resettlement of 300,000 Siberian peasants to Galicia on land taken from Ukrainian peasants (Die Ruthenen, 1915).

The "conversion" of Galician Ukrainians to the "Russian world" was carried out through the brutal ban on the Greek Catholic rite and the introduction of Orthodox Christianity (Russische Popen, 1914a). For this purpose, Bishop Dionysius of Volhynia and Bishop Tryphon of Mozhaisk arrived in Lviv accompanied by a "flock" of priests (Die russische Willkürherrschaft, 1914). "Imported" to Russify the population, Orthodox priests preached in Russian, which no one understood, so they were forced to resort to the services of interpreters (Russische Popen, 1914b). "Freeing" the Galician faithful from the influence of the Greek Catholic clergy, the Russian administration deported into the depths of Russia those Greek Catholic priests who disagreed with the policy of introducing Orthodoxy (Verschickungen, 1915), it was planned to establish an Orthodox seminary in Galicia (Aus Galizien, 1915).

The "UK" and "UN" focused on highlighting the special role of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in creating the national spirit of Galician Ukrainians, nurturing folk traditions and the Christian faith, which caused the exceptional zeal of the occupation regime in oppressing and harassing the Uniate clergy, led by Metropolitan Sheptytsky. The press

closely followed the events surrounding his arrest and exile to Russia, constantly providing as comprehensive information as possible (Eine Heldentat, 1914; Metropolit, 1914b).

The Ukrainian press attached particular importance to countering the Russian propaganda machine, which, after the occupation of Eastern Galicia by the Russian troops, began to operate with extraordinary power. The Ukrainian publicists opposed this by publishing incriminating materials and polemicizing with imperial statements of hostile propaganda, convincingly refuting fabrications and slanders about the national liberation movement, the belonging of Ukrainians to the “Great Russian” nation, and fabrications about the origin of the Ukrainian language, exposing the imperial essence of the policy of Tsarist Russia, and depicting the danger of Russian imperialism to the peoples of Europe. In particular, the Ukrainian journalistic counter-propaganda highlighted the situation of national minorities in the Russian Empire – “the prison of peoples” (Das russische Völkergefängnis, 1914), exposed the deceit of Russian propaganda regarding the “liberation mission” of the Ukrainian people of Galicia, enslaved by Austria – the policy of lies (Die Luegenpolitik, 1914), which actually consisted in the extermination of a “wasp nest” of 2 million of Russia’s worst enemies – the Mazepinites – in “the contaminated Polish-Jewish-Mazepa centre” (Das russische Blatt, 1914).

The field of constant focus of publicists of the Ukrainian German-language press was the Russian imperial press (“Kolokol”, “Rech”, “Russkiya Vedomosti”, “Russkoe Slovo”, “Utro Rossii”, etc.), in which venerable imperial publicists of different political affiliations, but with unanimous views on the policy of russification of Galicia, published their chauvinistic doctrines (Herr Milukoff, 1915; Der russische Panslawismus, 1915).

Along with conveying information to the readership about the true nature of the Russian occupation of Eastern Galicia, the Ukrainian German-language press fulfilled its main task – the promotion of the Ukrainian issue, however, this issue goes beyond the scope of our article and will be the topic of the next study.

Thus, the Ukrainian German-language magazines of Vienna fulfilled their historical communication mission: they ensured the proper popularization of the Ukrainian cause in the German-speaking world, speaking out in defense of the interests of the Ukrainian people and their national-state struggles. An important result of the activities of this press was the debunking of the myth of the “liberation” missionary work of the Russian Empire, the coverage of numerous war and humanitarian crimes of the Russian occupation authorities, incompatible with the norms of the civilized world. Drawing attention to the Ukrainian issue, recognizing it as one of the most relevant for European politics, was crowned with significant success: the Ukrainian German-language newspapers were sent to influential periodicals in Austria-Hungary, Germany, Italy, the Balkans, Holland, Denmark, Switzerland, Sweden, the American continent, as well as to scholars, politicians, and other prominent figures in these countries. Journalistic activity and propaganda activities achieved their goal, as evidenced by reprints of correspondence from the Ukrainian newspapers in numerous European publications (Hornykiewicz, 1966), as well as cooperation with the editorial offices of “UK” and “UN” of a number of respected scientific, political and public figures of Central and Western Europe, who discussed the Ukrainian issue on the pages of the Ukrainian press, emphasizing the originality of the Ukrainian people and its culture, the importance of the existence of the Ukrainian state and its prospects in rebuilding post-war life on the European continent.

The Ukrainian German-language press in Vienna created an alternative view of the events of the occupation of Eastern Galicia to the Austrian official discourse, highlighting the facts of war crimes by the tsarist army and Russian humanitarian aggression against the Ukrainian

population of the region, actively using appeals and calls from Ukrainian organizations, journalism by famous political figures and scholars, relying on eyewitness accounts and reports from the scene of the events. The main topics of the publications were war crimes, persecution of the Ukrainians, repressions against the intelligentsia and the Greek Catholic Church, the destruction of manifestations of national life, deportations, russification, and the linguistic and discursive means were the rhetoric of “barbarism”, “atrocities”, “Russian vandalism”, “Russian arbitrariness”, “Russian tyranny”, “Russian robbery”, “Russification”, etc. The Ukrainian publicists tried to influence the formation of a pro-Ukrainian position among German-speaking government officials, intellectuals, and the international press. The main result of the functioning of this press was the actualization of the Ukrainian issue on the European arena, the formation of a positive image of the Ukrainians as a separate political entity, and the discrediting of Russian propaganda.

Conclusions. The content study of the Austrian and Ukrainian German-language press in Vienna at the beginning of World War I, namely the influential Austrian newspapers “Reichspost”, “Neue Freie Presse”, “Arbeiter-Zeitung” and the Ukrainian press “Ukrainische Nachrichten” and “Ukrainisches Korrespondenzblatt”, has shown that they covered the events of the Russian occupation of Eastern Galicia thoroughly carefully. The headlines of the publications have been analyzed, and the main journalistic narratives have been identified. Chief focus was on the attempts of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, through the Ukrainian German-language press, to convey the truth about repressions, the policy of Russification, and humanitarian aggression against the Ukrainians to the Western reader. Certain differences in tone, emphasis, and political approach to the humanitarian component of the conflict have been identified. The Austrian press mostly remained within the general war narrative, without focusing purposefully on the persecution of the Ukrainians as an ethnic group or a separate political group. Instead, the Ukrainian German-language press consistently articulated Russia’s occupation policy as a humanitarian aggression aimed at destroying the national identity of the Ukrainians.

The analysis of the German-language press in Vienna during the Russian occupation of Eastern Galicia in 1914 – 1915 enables us to draw clear historical parallels with Russia’s modern war against Ukraine. In both cases, aggression is accompanied not only by military actions, but also by a systemic humanitarian policy aimed at destroying the Ukrainian identity: persecution of the clergy and intelligentsia, repression against the Ukrainian population, destruction of cultural heritage, mass deportations, and forced assimilation. Like a hundred years ago, the Ukrainian media should play the role of an active factor in international communication, appealing to the world community, recording the facts of crimes, and trying to influence the political decisions of world powers. This historical continuity not only deepens the understanding of the nature of Russian expansion, but also actualizes the importance of the humanitarian component in the international response to armed conflicts. The experience of the German-language press in Vienna during the Great War shows that the crimes of the aggressor recorded in the press may become an important factor in the formation of international opinion.

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**REGIONALISM AS A COMPONENT OF THE POLISH NATIONAL POLICY
IN INTER-WAR VOLHYNIA**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to highlight the essence and forms of regionalism as a defining component of the Polish national policy towards the Ukrainian population of Western Volhynia. The focus has been on the made attempts in order to implement the “Volhynia program” in 1928 – 1938, there has been analyzed its content and the reaction of the Ukrainian and Polish societies to it. It has been proven that the policy of regionalism aimed at weakening the unity of the Ukrainian national movement and accelerate the integration of Western Ukrainian lands into the Polish state. The methodology of the research is based on analytical, chronological methods, structured and critical approaches, which allowed us to consider the content and consequences of regionalism as a defining feature of the Polish national policy towards the Western Ukrainian community. The scientific novelty of the article consists in the fact that documents and interwar periodicals have been found and studied, which enabled us to show theoretical differences in attitudes towards the policy of regionalism*

in Volhynia, in particular regarding the idea of the “Sokal border”, as well as to prove that attempts to divide the Ukrainian society became dominant in the implementation of the national policy of the Polish governments during the interwar period. **Conclusions.** An essential factor in the Polish national policy of the interwar period was the attempt to split the Ukrainian community into separate parts and pit them against each other. There were laid foundations of the regionalism policy in 1923 aimed at accelerating the integration of the non-Polish national groups into the state structure of Poland. In spite of the numerous tactical approaches to resolving the national issue, the strategic goal of all Polish governments of the interwar period was focused on the close incorporation of the territories into Poland, where the national groups lived. The idea of regionalism played a decisive role in it. There was “Volyn experiment” carried out by Voivode Henryk Józewski, was the apogee of the regionalism policy in Volyn, which envisaged changes in all spheres of life in the voivodeship with an emphasis on ensuring the Ukrainian-Polish coexistence and cooperation. The essential thesis of the “Volhynia policy” was the idea of the “Sokal border”. It was created with the aim of separating Western Ukrainian lands and isolating Volhynia from the influence of Galicia, which was entirely in line with the policy of regionalism. This program was supported by a group of former UNR figures, who settled in Volhynia as political emigrants. At the same time, the Ukrainian political and public figures in Galicia opposed it. Despite criticism from some Polish intellectuals and the offers to abolish the “Sokal border” and fight for psychological rapprochement between Eastern Galicia and Volhynia, the idea of regionalism was not subject to revision. In general, the national policy of governments aimed at stabilizing relations with the Ukrainian population could be implemented only on condition that Poland’s state interests, among which was regionalism, were preserved.

Key words: national policy, Poland, Volhynia, regionalism, “Volyn experiment”, “Sokal border”.

РЕГІОНАЛІЗМ ЯК СКЛАДНИК ПОЛЬСЬКОЇ НАЦІОНАЛЬНОЇ ПОЛІТИКИ У МІЖВОЄННІЙ ВОЛИНІ

Анотація. Мета дослідження. У статті висвітлено суть і форми втілення регіоналізму як визначального складника польської національної політики щодо українського населення Західної Волині. Акцентовано увагу на спробах втілити “волинську програму” у 1928 – 1938 рр., проаналізовано її зміст і реакцію на неї українського та польських суспільства. Доведено, що політика регіоналізму мала на меті послаблення єдності українського національного руху та пришвидшення інтеграції західноукраїнських земель до складу Польської держави. **Методологія** дослідження базується на аналітичному, хронологічному методах, структурованості та критичності підходів, що дало можливість розглянути зміст і наслідки регіоналізму як визначальної риси польської національної політики щодо західноукраїнської громади. **Наукова новизна** статті полягає у тому, що віднайдено та досліджено документи, міжвоєнну періодику, які дозволили показати теоретичні відмінності у ставленні до політики регіоналізму на Волині, зокрема щодо ідеї “сокальського кордону”, а також довести, що спроби розділити українське суспільство стали домінують у втіленні національної політики польських урядів міжвоєнного часу. **Висновки.** Істотним чинником польської національної політики міжвоєнного періоду було намагання розколоти українську спільноту на окремі частини та протиставити їх між собою. Основи політики регіоналізму були закладені у 1923 р. з метою пришвидшення інтеграції непольських національних груп до державної структури Польщі. Попри різні тактичні підходи до розв’язання національного питання, стратегічна мета усіх польських урядів міжвоєнної доби полягала у тісній інкорпорації територій, де проживали національні групи, до складу Польщі. Визначальна роль у цьому відводилася ідеї регіоналізму. Апогеєм політики регіоналізму на Волині став “волинський експеримент” воєводи Генрика Юзевського, який передбачав зміни у всіх сферах життя воєводства з акцентом на забезпеченні українсько-польського співжиття і співпраці. Суттєвою тезою “волинської політики” була ідея “сокальського кордону”. Він був утворений з метою розмежувати західноукраїнські землі, відгородити Волинь від впливів Галичини, що цілком вписувалося у політику регіоналізму. Цю програму підтримувала група колишніх діячів УНР, які осіли на Волині як політичні емігранти. Водночас проти неї виступали українські політичні та громадські діячі Галичини. Попри критику окремих польських інтелектуалів і пропозицію скасувати “сокальський кордон” та боротися за психологічне

зближення між Східною Галичиною і Волиню, ідея регіоналізму не піддавалась ревізії. Загалом національна політика урядів, спрямована на стабілізацію відносин із українським населенням могла реалізовуватись лише за умови збереження державних інтересів Польщі, серед яких був регіоналізм.

Ключові слова: національна політика, Польща, Волинь, регіоналізм, “волинський експеримент”, “сокальський кордон”.

Problem Statement. The study on the specifics of the Polish national policy of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth towards the Ukrainian community in various regions of the state becomes relevant in terms of its scientific, practical and socio-political significance, especially under the current conditions of the development of the Ukrainian-Polish relations. Since an unbiased understanding of the Polish-Ukrainian relations history is essential to establishing equal and cooperative relations in the present, studying the above-mentioned issues will provide a chance to reflect critically on the experience of the challenging relations between these peoples during the interwar period, analyse achievements and mistakes, and draw appropriate conclusions.

The purpose of the study is to clarify the essence of regionalism as a defining component of the Polish national policy towards the Ukrainian population. The author has focused on the goals and instruments of the implementation of the “Volhynia experiment”, analyzed the attitude of the Ukrainian and the Polish societies towards it. It has been proven that regionalism policy was aimed to weaken the unity of the Ukrainian national movement and accelerate the integration of Western Ukrainian lands into the Polish state.

Review of Recent Research. There were diverse scholars from many countries, who studied regionalism issue and covered different historical periods. For instance, the study carried by Martin Ferry and Irena McMaster traced the paths of interaction between the national systems of regional policy of individual states and the consolidation policy of the European Union (Ferry, McMaster, 2013). The Polish and Ukrainian scholars studied the Polish national policy during the period between the two world wars primarily. The following studies conducted by Bohdan Hud (Hud, 2011), Mykola Kucherepa (Kucherepa, 2017), Volodymyr Komar (Komar, 2001), Oksana Ruda (Ruda, 2017), Yuriy Kramar (Kramar, 2015) should be highlighted as well the classic works carried out by Andrzej Chojnowski (Chojnowski, 1979), Eugeniusz Mironowicz (Mironowicz, 2005), Jan Kęsik (Kęsik, 1995) and the others.

The studies, done by the Belarusian scholar, who was persecuted in 2022, Viktor Misiyuk (Misiyuk, 2007) on the Polish national policy implementation in Polesie Voivodeship were useful; the studies by Svitlana Shulha (Shulha, 2018) on the attitude of the Polish authorities towards the Czech community; as well as the views of the Polish national democrats on the national issue analyzed by Taras Hrynevych (Hrynevych, 2017) were relevant; the historiographical issues of the Ukrainian-Polish relations of the interwar period in Volhynia, were covered by Oleh Razyhrayev (Razyhrayev, 2025). Another scholars: Ruslana Davydiuk and Inna Martynchuk (Davydiuk, & Martynchuk, 2024) studied the consequences of regionalism policy implementation by the governments of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth on the Western Ukrainian women’s movement; Andrii Zhyviuk and Ruslana Davydiuk (Davydiuk, & Zhyvyuk, 2020) covered the theatrical life; Lyudmila Strilchuk and Yaroslav Yarosh (Strilchuk, & Yarosh, 2021) dealt with the development of “Prosvita” Society, etc. The topic on regionalism in the national policy of interwar Poland sparks up interest due to the involvement of new documentary sources in the scientific circulation in spite of the above-mentioned studies on the issue by numerous scholars.

The source base of the scientific research was the archival documents stored in the archives of Ukraine (Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Lviv (CSHAUL); State Archive of Rivne Region (SARR); State Archive of Volyn Region (SAVR)); Belarus (State Archives of Brest Region (SABR)), Poland (Archiwum Akt Nowych w Warszawie (AAN); Lublinie Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie (APL)), as well as the published documents, materials from the interwar periodical press and memoirs.

Regionalism, an attempt to split the Ukrainian community into separate parts and pit them against each other was a significant factor in the Polish national policy during the interwar period. There were laid foundations of the above-mentioned policy in 1923, which was aimed at integrating non-Polish national groups into the state structure of Poland. The national democrats implemented an incorporation policy at that time, in every possible way restricting the rights of the national communities, expanding the dominance of the Poles in the local government bodies in the Western Ukrainian lands. The administrative apparatus became almost entirely Polish despite of the fact that the vast majority of Volhynia Voivodeship inhabitants were not the Poles. The Poles held positions in the post office and railways mostly. According to Oleksandr Karpynsky, the Head of Rivne "Prosvita", the first actions taken by the Polish authorities in Volhynia were to dismiss all railway workers of the Orthodox faith from their positions, without even paying them the necessary funds (State Archive of Rivne Region (SARR), f. 33, d. 4, c. 20, p. 284). Due to oppression, obstacles, and restrictions on the rights of the Ukrainians, the leftist views spread among them, which were fueled by the Soviet side actively. Symon Petliura wrote the following: "The peasants' mood in Volhynia and Kholmshchyna is becoming more and more anti-Polish and rather sympathetic to the Bolsheviks. The main reason for this is the "oppression", which the Polish administration is carrying out recklessly, and forced Polonization, because the Ukrainian school is being persecuted" (Symon Petliura, 1979, p. 545). The national assimilation policy led to the aggravation of the already difficult Ukrainian-Polish relations in the territory of Western Volhynia. After visiting the voivodeship, Vincenti Vitos claimed that hatred for Poland permeated everything (Hud, 2011, p. 334).

There was adopted a secret resolution during the government of Władysław Sikorski, which was entitled "General Directive of Government Policy in the Eastern Borderlands" in March of 1923. In particular, in the document it was emphasized that "Volhynia and Eastern Lesser Poland (Malopolska)" could not be treated as a single territory, and that the "religious, cultural, and social differences between them give us the opportunity involuntarily to deepen this difference in order to prevent the formation of a common idea of the Ukrainian nationalism in the southeastern lands" (Archiwum Akt Nowych w Warszawie (AAN), z. 8. Rkt. 25, t. 32, k. 8–9, 13).

It was believed that the national policy of the government should be aimed at stabilizing relations with the population of the "eastern borderlands", but only on condition that there were preserved the state interests of Poland. The regionalism policy, which was implemented by the Polish administration, was in line with the old slogan "divide and rule", hence, it was beneficial to the authorities, which, despite the changes of governments, kept to it consistently. According to Ambassador Serhiy Khrutskyi in January 1930: "The social and economic utraquism of moral sanitation, which is only a literal repetition of the Endeks call for utraquism, carried out in the so-called regional councils, is a trap for the Ukrainian souls. [...] The authorities do not even lift a finger against regionalism, because they realized immediately that this is an even more cunning and insidious way of their own Endeks policy of publicizing" (Kuhutiak, eds., 2014, p. 61).

The scholars distinguish the following main tactical approaches to solving the national issue in the national policy of Poland: the incorporation of the national assimilation policy and the creation of a mono-national Polish state; the federalist policy of the state assimilation and the doctrine of the “Polish Prometheanism”; the state national assimilation through “strengthening the Polishness in the eastern borderlands” (Chojnowski, 1979, pp. 5–6, 27). The incorporation policy was attempted by the *Endeks* (the People’s Democrats), the federalist policy by the supporters of J. Piłsudski, and after the Marshal’s death the military tried to combine the policy of the state assimilation and the national consolidation. At the same time, all Polish governments of the interwar period shared the principles of regionalism, the strategic goal of which was a close integration of the territories inhabited by the national groups into Poland.

The basis of regionalism policy was the use of diverse forms and methods of the national policy implementation in some specific territories, taking into account the level of the national development of their population, religious, linguistic, economic characteristics, as well as their attitude to the Polish state. Hence, the authorities tried to break the unity of the Ukrainians and prevent the spread of the Ukrainian national consciousness. According to the falsified census of 1921, in order to “blur” the national identity, the Ukrainians were called “Little Russians” (“*Malorosy*”), “the Ruthenians”, “the Rusyns”, “the Ukrainians”, although all these groups should be defined as “the Ukrainians” (Bilorus i Volyn, 1924, 11 *chervnia*, p. 2).

The Polish authorities promoted the theory of a separate “Polish”, “local” nationality, supposedly “intermediate between the Ukrainians and the Belarusians”, and the local officials were supposed to treat this category of people loyally. In 1923, the Polissia voivode Stanisław Downarowicz spoke of a loyal to the state group of the population with an unspecified nationality (“*Polissiesatsion*”). The representatives of this group received the name “*tuteishi*” in state statistics, and their number, due to manipulations in the Polish statistics, was constantly growing (Misiyuk, 2007, p. 240).

Taking into account the information, which was mentioned in the press: there live “people without a homeland” in Polissia and “the Polishchuks belong neither to the Belarusian nor to the Ukrainian people, but form a separate ethnic group, differing from their neighbours in linguistic, anthropological and other aspects” (*Z polskoi presy*, 1939, 25 *sichnia*, p. 4). The thesis was put forward that “the population of Polissia has nothing in common with the tribes that gave rise to the Belarusian, the Ukrainian or the Russian peoples” (State Archives of Brest Region (SABR), f. 1, d. 8, c. 1661, p. 60–61). It was suggested that the “Polishchuks”, who did not identify themselves with either the Ukrainians or the Belarusians, despite the specifics of their language and religion, should be considered the Poles and be fully integrated into the Polish culture (SABR, f. 1, d. 8, c. 1089, p. 1).

The authorities had an intention to pursue a different policy in Chełm Land than in other territories inhabited by the Ukrainians. Due to the ethnic changes, which were caused by World War I, the Ukrainian community of Chełm Land and Pidliashshia turned into the national minority, so it was planned to form the Polish national consciousness among the local population. It was stated by the officials: “Taking into consideration the difference in customs, concepts, etc., the Ruthenians of Chełm Land do not constitute a unity with the Orthodox population of Galicia and Volhynia. As they are close to the Polish type, they are prone to Polonization. They all speak Polish” (Lublinie Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie (APL), z. 403, sygn. 419, k. 10). In the 1930s, the policy of the national assimilation in the territories of the Chełm Land and Pidliashshia took the form of a “religious revindication” campaign.

Owing to the May coup of 1926 and the return to power of Józef Pilsudski, who considered the existence of Western Ukrainian and Western Belarusian territories as part of Poland an important component of its security in the east from the beginning of his political activity, the implementation of the regionalism policy in Volhynia was brought about. The Marshal stated the following while being fully aware of the importance of a balanced policy in the borderlands: “The border is a meeting of one people with another, one culture with another, one upbringing with another. Hence, the most difficult thing for every politician on the border is to gain strong, firm respect for the authorities” (Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Lviv (CSHAUL), f. 580 т., d. 1, c. 6, p. 105). The representatives of the post-May government of Kazimierz Bartel in their official statements proclaimed the protection of the rights of non-Polish nationality citizens, emphasized the need to settle the national and religious disputes, and set the task of “rejecting the policy of the national assimilation, creating conditions for the state assimilation” (Kedryn, 1976, p. 663). There were taken some steps in order to implement the new policy, a special department of nationalities was established under the Ministry for Internal Affairs; the National Committee and the Bureau of National Policy began to operate under the Presidium of the Council of Ministers of Poland in March 1934 (Madajczyk, 1972, p. 140).

The Pilsudchyky judges believed that preserving the self-identity of the national minorities would help to form a sense of belonging to the Polish state. The Minister of the Interior, Kazimierz Młodzianowski, who developed the main principles of the policy towards the national minorities in 1926, stated that the national issue depended on the local governance efficiency, and not on changing the political system of the state (Komar, 2001, pp. 121–122). J. Pilsudski’s supporters always emphasized the importance of the Ukrainian issue in Volhynia Voivodeship, “because some moves in relation to that population in that area could render services in the area of our policy against Russia” (Kedryn, 1976, p. 667). At the same time, in the context of the specifics of the national policy implementation in the region, they noted that “in this case it is necessary to distinguish between stripes: the northern forest stripe, which is easy to cover with state rule, and the southern fertile stripe, which creates difficulties for rule” (Kedryn, 1976, p. 667). The importance of Volhynia in Poland’s domestic politics should also be explained by its border status, the national structure of the voivodeship, where “the number of Ruthenian people in that area exceeds 80% of the total population”, as well as the situation surrounding the Orthodox Church (Kedryn, 1976, p. 669).

The objective was to separate the Ukrainians from the influence of nationalist forces and surround them with moral and material support groups that favoured the Polish state in order to disrupt their unity in the government policy. Since Hryhoriy Khomyshyn, the Bishop of the Greek Catholic Church (GCC), was more likely than Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky to make amends with the Poles, the government was particularly disposed to help him and his allies (Ruda, 2017, p. 126). The Polish government collaborated with the Ukrainian government and interned the UNR Army soldiers, who later became the political immigrants in order to carry out the schemes of state assimilation of the Ukrainian population. It should be mentioned that diverse former UNR Army officers were enrolled in the Polish army and signed a contract.

Due to the political changes in the state in May of 1926, there was the impetus for the launch of the “Volhynia experiment”. J. Pilsudski’s guidance emphasized that “the government should be strong and strict, but fair” in Volhynia (Madajczyk, 1972, p. 144). It should be highlighted that the Marshal was a staunch supporter of the integration of all lands

of the Polish state, and he recognized concessions in the interests of the national minorities as a potential source of growth of the separatist sentiments (Mironowicz, 2005, pp. 141–142).

The first “rehabilitation” voivode of Volhynia, Władysław Mych, failed to improve the Ukrainian-Polish relations, and the escalation of the conflict with the military leadership of the Corps II District in Lublin, which controlled Volhynia Voivodeship, only accelerated his resignation. The next Head of Volhynia was Henryk Józewski, a supporter of the ideas of the Warsaw Pact, Deputy in 1920 – 1921 of the Minister of Internal Affairs of the UNR government, a member of the expanded composition of the UCC in Warsaw, who was considered the best expert on the Ukrainian issues. He managed to form a multi-vector “Volhynia program”, which provided for changes in all spheres of life in the voivodeship with an emphasis on ensuring the Ukrainian-Polish coexistence and cooperation. The governor wrote about Volhynia: “Many of my friends believed that my appointment to Volhynia from my previous position – Chief of the Cabinet of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers – was a demotion. No one thought that the greatest adventure of my life would come and happen to me in Lutsk ... I was starting the battle for Volyn, Poland, Ukraine, the battle for myself” (Józewski, 1982, p. 134).

The theoretical basis of the “Volhynia experiment” was the concept of Prometheanism and the idea of the Polish-Ukrainian understanding. The goal of this policy was to guarantee peace on the borders of the Second Polish-Ukrainian Commonwealth, as well as to create a counterweight to the national policy in the Ukrainian SSR. A kind of enclave of the Polish-Ukrainian coexistence, built on Jagiellonian traditions and the “ideology of 1920” (Warsaw Pact of Petliura – Pilsudski) was to be formed on the territory of the voivodeship (Kęsik, 1995, p. 121). It would be appropriate to recall the words of Symon Petliura, written by him on July 20 of 1923: “The 1920 understanding was forced and resulted from our political and military situation, as well as from the isolation in which we were then... The agreement was not fulfilled by the other side, not by us... Today there is no agreement. Our presence here is a matter of technical fact, not of principle and policy” (Symon Petliura, 1979, p. 533).

The quintessence of the program of Voivode H. Józewski, announced by him on August 20 of 1928 at the congress of ambassadors and senators of the BBWR in Lutsk, was the initiation of Ukrainian-Polish coexistence and cooperation, so that “the Ukrainians would not have the desire to leave Poland even after the creation of independent Ukraine above the Dnieper” (Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego. Dział Rękopisów (BUW, DR), Materiały H. Józewskiego, № akc. 3189, k. 16). It was planned to extend the declared policy to other eastern voivodeships in the future, in particular Polissia, Nowogródsk, Vilno, and part of Białystok, which was discussed at the Congress of Voivodes of these territories in Lutsk on December 2 of 1929 (AAN, z. 1181, sygn. 979/42, k. 12–13). As a result, the above-mentioned perspective was conditioned by H. Józewski’s conviction that the named voivodeships were a coherent region, different from Eastern Galicia, with a lower degree of the national self-awareness, specific historical past, etc. The voivode wrote the following: “Volhynia life was different, had different opportunities and conditions, was closer to Polissia, Nowogródsk, Vilno. It was like one region. They had the same “kresovist”, different from the Galician “kresovist” (Józewski, 1982, p. 74).

H. Józewski, while implementing the above-mentioned secret “General Directive of Government Policy in the Eastern Borderlands” of 1923, emphasized what had to be done: “Systematically proceed to the formation of Uhodovykh Ukrainian groups. When there is no Uhodova party in the full sense of the word, then it is necessary to look for it or create it.

There is scarcity of the Ukrainian periodicals in Volhynia, they must be created, financially supported, but act exclusively within the framework of the state interest” (AAN, z. 8. Rkt. – 25, t. 32, k. 8–9, 13). He also stressed out the drastic need to develop the Ukrainian cultural, social, and political life loyal to the state, Henryk ignored the idea of autonomy for the region, focusing only on the latter’s integration into Poland. Mykola Syvitskyi emphasized the following: “One could shout out loud about an independent state on the Dnieper in Volhynia, but it was not allowed to spread separatism, talk about secession from Poland and unification with Naddnipryanshchyna (the Dnieper region)” (Syvitskyi, 2000, p. 67). The statements about the formation of Ukrainian Uhodovski groups remained relevant in the future. For example, we may come across in the Theses of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, concluded in January of 1936 the following: “The National policy towards the Ukrainians was to contribute to the creation of a strong Polonophile ideological Ukrainian movement” (Kuhutiak, eds., 2014, p. 294).

Some figures of the political emigration of the UNR shared the view that the only way out in the struggle for the independence of Ukraine was “understanding with neighbouring peoples, even at the cost of some compromises” (Visti UTsK v Polshchi, 1927, sichen-liutyi, p. 3). As a result, there emerged a “group of Petro Pevnyi” within the framework of the “Volhynia experiment” around the editorial office of the periodical the “Ukrayinska Nyva” and strengthened, which later on transformed into a pro-government party – the Volhynia Ukrainian Union (VUO) with the support of the voivode.

The experiment of Volhynia voivode was received in Volhynia critically: “The Polish side wants to create in Volhynia a separate regional type of the Volynian, who is allowed to speak Ukrainian at home, but who must be a one hundred percent Polish statesman in his soul and outwardly” (Nova retsept, 1937, 25 serpnia, p. 1).

The Representatives of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) were uncompromising towards the pro-government Ukrainian camp in Volhynia. We come across the following on the pages of “Rozbudova natsii”: “In general, the “Ukrayinska Nyva” is intended to deepen the Sokalskyi ditch, which has been falling asleep since the annexation of the northwestern lands to Poland...All the forces of the grain-eaters are aimed at undermining the authority of local Ukrainian institutions that have embarked on the path of cooperation with Lviv. On the other hand, the regionalists are building their own educational and economic institutions. The very fact of the existence of these institutions already has a disorganizing effect on the masses of the population. Hence, the rival of Lutsk district the “Prosvita” became “Ridna Khata”. Large funds are being wasted at this organization. Even the Polish magazines emphasize that the premises of this “club” are decorated too ostentatiously for the present time. The “Regionalists” are also establishing a credit bank, despite the fact that the needs of the Ukrainian population could be served successfully in the future by “The Ukrainian Cooperative Bank”. Unhealthy competition may lead to very sad consequences” (“Tykha storona”, 1929, cherven-lypen, p. 228).

An important thesis of the “Volhynia experiment” was the idea of the “Sokal border”, the goal of which was to fence off Volhynia from the influences of the national institutions of Galicia and the Greek Catholic Church, which fully fit into the policy of regionalism. The program of isolation of Volhynia life was carried out primarily by the administrative methods, by prohibiting the activities numerous Ukrainian organizations that were rooted there firmly (Davydiuk, 2006, p. 285).

Some Polish intellectuals had a different vision of the solution of the Ukrainian-Polish relations at that time. Adolf Bocheński gave a piece of advice to the Polish politicians

in his work “Between Germany and Russia”: to abandon “the Sokal border” and, on the contrary, to fight for the greatest psychological rapprochement between Eastern Galicia and Volhynia. The author believed that it was in Poland’s interests to distance psychologically its “eastern territories from the Soviet Ukraine”, hence, bringing them closer to Western Europe: “Volhynia, which is now closer to the Soviet Ukraine than Galicia, must be brought closer to Galicia psychologically. Consequently, it is necessary to eliminate, not support, “the Sokal border”. The Ukrainians unification on the outskirts of Poland will occur by doing the above-mentioned and at the same time the deepening of the difference between the Transnistrian and Transnistrian Ukrainians. That difference lies in Poland’s interests” (Novyny polskoi politychnoi literatury, 1937, 24 lystopada, p. 7). However, the majority of the Poles did not share such views. Ivan Kedryn stated the following quite sadly: “The intelligent articles of some Polish publicists – K. Srokowski, Adolf and Aleksander Bocheński, W. Bączkowski, L. Wasilewski, P. Dunin-Borkowski, Mieczyslaw and Ksaver Pruszyński and some others – did not reach the consciousness of the Polish citizenry and its political elite. And so, until the end of its existence, Poland did not know what its largest “minority” of several million people was actually called» (Kedryn, 1976, p. 248).

The Polish population of the province, which did not recognize the existence of the Ukrainian people, was in opposition to “the Volhynia experiment”. H. Józewski never managed to consolidate the Polish community around his ideas. Taking the above-mentioned into consideration, it became impossible to stabilize the Ukrainian-Polish relations and ensure a constructive, effective dialogue.

The government policy was characterized by the strengthening of nationalism after J. Pilsudski’s death in 1935. The pages of the periodical “Volynske Slovo” noted the following: “Everyone knows that after the death of Marshal Pilsudski, who directed the state policy of the Polish Commonwealth undividedly, many things changed for the worse – at least in the Ukrainian section. Here (in Volhynia – *authors*), where during Józef Pilsudski’s life there existed the idea regarding the national equality, a storm of chauvinism swept through suddenly. Its characteristic consequences were manifested in a whole series of anti-Ukrainian speeches of the people’s democracy” (Dekilka uvah, 1937, 7 lystopada, p. 1).

The programmatic declaration of the new force, the Camp of National Unity (Obóz Zjednoczenia Narodowego – OZN), led by Colonel Adam Koc, was published on February 27 of 1937, which emphasized the consolidation of all forces around the slogan of “the defense of Poland” (Kramar, 2015, p. 83). The document stipulated that the state should do everything possible to combat separatist sentiments of the national minorities in order to “prevent the crystallization of national minorities into a people” (Kęsik, 1995, p. 136).

Voivode Józewski stated on November 19 of 1937, at a meeting of the OZN: “The formation of Poland’s greatness and power here in Volhynia will always be realized in different circumstances than in the West... Here, the Polish citizenship is only a part of the entire population of the voivodeship – the citizens of a non-Polish origin. This state of affairs required and will require special methods of administration and organization of the Polish labor” (Volynskiy Voievoda, 1937, 12 hrudnia, p. 2). However, the voivode’s thoughts lost their relevance: in April 1938, Henryk Józewski was transferred to the position of voivode in the city of Łódź (State Archive of Volyn Region (SAVR), f. 60, d. 1, c. 8, p. 39).

The end of the 1930s was marked by another intensification of the regionalism issue. In 1938, the “Committee for the Affairs of the Zagrod Gentry in Eastern Poland” was formed. There emerged 141 organizations of the “zagrod gentry” in Volhynia, uniting up to 20

thousand people, who were used in every way to strengthen the power of the Polish state (Hud, 2011, p. 361). On the other hand, the positions of the illegal OUN were strengthening and the influence of pro-government forces weakened in the Ukrainian political camp. "In 1938 – 1939 Poland was a typical police state. In the countryside, the policeman was an all-powerful lord. All manifestations of the Ukrainian national life depended not so much on laws as on the arbitrariness of the police. And this lawlessness made life unbearable," wrote I. Kedryn (Kedryn, 1976, p. 278).

In February 1939, at the initiative of the last Volhynian voivode, Aleksander Hauke-Nowak, a new "Political Program of State Policy in Volhynia" was approved. It was stated in the document to polonize the Ukrainian youth, to strengthen Polish propaganda in the local government bodies, to unify the Orthodox calendar with the Catholic one, and use the "Rusyn", the "Volyniak", the "Polishchuk", and the "tuteishi" instead of the term "the Ukrainian". It also mentioned strengthening the influence of the Polish settlement and introducing the Polish language in the Orthodox Church (SAVR, f. 46, d. 9, c. 4671, pp. 1–18). Only verified people were allowed to familiarize with the program. The new program was approved by the Polish parliamentarians from Volhynia in Lutsk on February 19 of 1939, and a month later, on March 18, it was legally approved as the government's program on the Ukrainian issue. Such a frankly anti-Ukrainian national policy crossed out the idea of the Ukrainian-Polish understanding, actualized within the framework of the "Volhynia experiment".

Conclusions. There were distinguished two directions of solving the Ukrainian issue in the Polish political camp. The policy of the national assimilation offered by the Endeks envisaged the creation of a mono-national Polish state as a result of the forced assimilation of the non-Poles (1923 – 1926). The federalist idea of J. Pilsudski's supporters was characterized by the policy of state assimilation and linked the solution of the national issue with the principles of tolerant coexistence of peoples provided that they recognize and support the state (1926 – 1935). The most striking manifestation of this policy was the "Volhynia experiment" of the voivode H. Jozewski, who enjoyed the support of some political emigrants of the UNR (1928 – 1938). This experiment remained unfinished, hence, the policy of the state-national assimilation was implemented in 1938 – 1939, there was activated both the Polish and the Ukrainian nationalism. During the interwar period, the dominant Polish national policy was regionalism, which consisted in attempts to split the Ukrainian community into separate parts and pit them against each other. This policy echoed the old slogan "divide and rule" and was beneficial to the Polish authorities, which, despite changes of government, consistently adhered to it. The policy of regionalism was implemented with the aim of faster integration of Western Ukrainian lands into Poland.

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**FEATURES AND CONDITIONS OF CROSSING THE CUSTOMS BORDER
BETWEEN THE REPUBLIC OF POLAND AND THE FREE CITY OF GDAŃSK
IN THE INTERWAR PERIOD**

Abstract. *In the interwar period, the customs border between the Republic of Poland and the Free City of Gdańsk was an important element of trade, economic and political relations between the two sides. The features of its crossing were determined by international treaties, economic interests and tensions in relations between Poland and Gdańsk, which had the status of a free city under the auspices of the League of Nations. The purpose is to study the features and conditions of crossing the customs border between the Republic of Poland and the Free City of Gdańsk in the interwar period. The study is aimed at identifying legal, economic and political factors that influenced the customs regime, as*

well as evaluating its role in relations between the two sides. **The research methodology** is based on a comprehensive approach, which includes the analysis of regulatory legal acts, international agreements and archival documents that regulated the customs regime between the Republic of Poland and the Free City of Gdańsk in the interwar period. The main research methods are historical and legal, comparative and systemic ones. **The scientific novelty** of the study consists in the comprehensive analysis of the features and conditions of crossing the customs border between the Republic of Poland and the Free City of Gdańsk in the interwar period, which still remains an understudied topic in historical science. The authors analyzed the specific customs procedures that operated between Poland and Gdańsk in the context of the international legal status of the free city. The influence of political and economic relations between the parties on the change in the customs regime has been studied. The role of the customs border as a factor of international tension and conflicts between Poland and the Free City of Gdańsk has been analyzed. **Conclusions.** It has been determined that the customs border between the Republic of Poland and Gdańsk in the interwar period played a key role in the trade, economic and political relations of the two sides, and was regulated by international treaties that determined the special status of the free city. Poland received certain customs privileges, in particular the right to control the port infrastructure, which caused difficult relations with local authorities. Despite the contradictions, the customs border contributed to the development of trade between Poland, Gdańsk and other countries. The regulation of border crossings had a significant impact on the residents of both sides. The Polish citizens and residents of Gdańsk had to comply with special customs regulations. The study of the customs border between Poland and Gdańsk allows us to better understand not only the peculiarities of trade and economic policy between the two sides, but also the general trends in the field of customs in the interwar period.

Key words: Republic of Poland, Free City of Gdańsk, interwar period, customs border, customs control, duties, excise duty.

ОСОБЛИВОСТІ ТА УМОВИ ПЕРЕТИНУ МИТНОГО КОРДОНУ МІЖ РЕСПУБЛІКОЮ ПОЛЬЩА ТА ВІЛЬНИМ МІСТОМ ГДАНСЬК У МІЖВОЄННИЙ ПЕРІОД

Анотація. У міжвоєнний період митний кордон між Республікою Польща та вільним містом Гданськ був важливим елементом торговельно-економічних і політичних відносин між двома сторонами. Особливості його перетину визначалися міжнародними договорами, економічними інтересами та напруженістю у взаєминах між Польщею і Гданськом, який мав статус вільного міста під егідою Ліги Націй. Мета дослідження – охарактеризувати особливості та умови перетину митного кордону між Республікою Польща та вільним містом Гданськ у міжвоєнний період. Дослідження скероване на виявлення правових, економічних та політичних чинників, що впливали на митний режим, а також на оцінку його ролі у взаєминах між двома сторонами. **Методологія дослідження** базується на комплексному підході, що включає аналіз нормативно-правових актів, міжнародних угод і документів, які регулювали митний режим між Республікою Польща та вільним містом Гданськ у міжвоєнний період. Основними методами дослідження є історико-правовий, порівняльний та системний. **Наукова новизна** дослідження полягає у комплексному аналізі особливостей та умов перетину митного кордону між Республікою Польща та вільним містом Гданськ у міжвоєнний період, що досі залишається малодослідженою темою в історичній науці. Авторами проаналізовано специфічні митні процедури, що діяли між Польщею та Гданськом у контексті міжнародно-правового статусу вільного міста. Досліджено вплив політичних і економічних відносин між сторонами на зміну митного режиму. Оцінено роль митного кордону як чинника міжнародної напруги і конфліктів між Польщею та вільним містом Гданськ. **Висновки.** Встановлено, що митний кордон між Республікою Польща та Гданськом у міжвоєнний період відігравав ключову роль у торговельно-економічних і політичних відносинах двох сторін, регулювався міжнародними договорами, які визначали особливий статус вільного міста. Польща отримала певні митні привілеї, зокрема право контролювати портову інфраструктуру, що спричиняло складні стосунки з місцевою владою. Попри суперечності, митний кордон сприяв розвитку торгівлі між Польщею, Гданськом та іншими країнами. Регулювання перетину кордону мало значний

вплив на мешканців обох сторін. Польські громадяни та жителі Гданська мали дотримуватися спеціальних митних норм. Дослідження митного кордону між Польщею та Гданськом дозволяє краще зрозуміти не лише особливості торговельно-економічної політики між двома сторонами, а й загальні тенденції у сфері митної справи міжвоєнного часу.

Ключові слова: *Республіка Польща, вільне місто Гданськ, міжвоєнний період, митний кордон, митний контроль, мита, акцизний збір.*

Problem Statement. In the interwar period, the political and economic situation in Central and Eastern Europe was extremely difficult. One of the important issues of international relations at that time was the regulation of customs procedures between the Republic of Poland and the Free City of Gdańsk, which was under the supervision of the League of Nations. The specifics of crossing the customs border between these two administrative units were determined not only by economic interests, which had a significant impact on the Polish-Gdańsk relations. The main issue that required research was the conditions and specifics of crossing the customs border between Poland and Gdańsk, as well as their impact on economic and political ties between these territories. Poland sought to secure control over the port of Gdańsk, which was strategically important for its foreign trade. At the same time, the status of a free city implied a certain autonomy in customs policy.

Review of Recent Research and Publications. The issue under study is presented by the studies of the Polish authors mainly. In particular, J. Czechowski conducted a comparative description of Gdynia and the Free City of Gdańsk in the political, economic and cultural perspective of the Second Polish Republic (Czechowski, 2018.). M. Eckert wrote about the Polish-German “timber war” of 1925 – 1934 (Eckert, 2004). B. Kasprowicz covered the economic losses of Gdańsk due to its isolation from Poland in the interwar period (Kasprowicz, 1956). Z. Klimiuk studied the role of Poland in the German economic expansion of the interwar period, the development of Polish-German economic relations in 1918 – 1928 (Klimiuk, 2020; Klimiuk, 2022). R. Ruchnau described the Free City of Gdańsk in 1919 – 1939 (Ruchnau, 1979). M. Widercnik did the research on the role of the ports of Gdańsk and Gdynia in the economic life of the Second Polish Republic. (Widercnik, 1991). B. Zipper characterized the tariff policy of the Polish ports (Zipper, 1935).

The purpose is to study the features and conditions of crossing the customs border between the Republic of Poland and the Free City of Gdańsk in the interwar period. The research is aimed at identifying legal, economic and political factors that influenced the customs regime, as well as assessing its role in relations between the two sides.

Research Results. The formation of the borders of the Republic of Poland was a complex and lengthy process, accompanied by armed conflicts and diplomatic negotiations. The situation was particularly tense in Pomerania, where the Polish-German territorial disputes lasted for several years. However, tensions between Poland and Germany did not disappear, and the final test of the Polish borders stability occurred in 1939, when the Wehrmacht launched the aggression against Poland. In the first days of World War II, the German troops invaded Poznań and Pomeranian Voivodeships, which marked the beginning of a large-scale occupation (Kowalski, 2011, p. 93).

After the end of World War I and the formation of a sovereign Polish state, economic ties between Poland and Germany gained particular importance, particularly in the commercial sphere. Economic relations between these countries were characterized by significant interdependence. However, from the very beginning, tensions were evident on both sides: aggressive actions on the part of Germany and defensive ones on the part of Poland.

Achieving mutually beneficial terms of trade was also complicated by a significant imbalance in demographic and economic potential, which gave Germany an advantage. The German side tried to use this factor at the initial stages of economic negotiations, as well as in the process of implementing the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles (Article 268 b), according to which Poland received the right to import certain goods duty-free into German territory. The short-term economic agreement signed in October 1919 was not respected by Germany, which forced the Polish side to denounce it in January 1920 (Eckert, 2004, p. 185).

Germany also delayed concluding a trade agreement to normalize bilateral trade, imposing a ban on exports of goods of strategic importance to Poland, including coal and investment goods, which were urgently needed by the Polish economy. In addition, an economic boycott was applied, aimed at forcing Poland to make political and territorial concessions. The German side counted on Poland's defeat in the war with Soviet Russia, which was confirmed by their actions aimed at economic isolation. The boycott and blockade, as well as the difficulties in the transit of goods from Western countries through German territory, including the supply of weapons, were aimed at weakening the Polish economy and its political stability. The German government viewed Poland as a temporary, unstable state ("seasonal country"), which, in their opinion, would not be able to maintain its independence for long. Despite the Polish initiative for trade negotiations in 1920, Germany did not show any willingness to cooperate. Only in 1922, after the victorious powers of World War I relinquished control over the Polish-German relations, did Germany agree to end the economic boycott and begin negotiations with Poland. However, the German side, relying on economic advantage, tried to link the terms of the future trade agreement with political concessions from Poland, in particular regarding the granting of the most favoured nation treatment to Germany and the resolution of the issue of the German minority rights in Poland. The negotiations lasted for 28 months with interruptions and were accompanied by significant difficulties due to fundamental differences in the interests of both sides (Eckert, 2004, p. 185).

One of the key objectives of economic policy was not only to expand the country's export potential, but also to develop the port areas, which played a strategic role in the international trade of the adjacent territories of Pomerania. The goal was to strengthen the Polish political and economic influence on Gdańsk. This influence included expanding Polish trade operations in the port, supporting national entrepreneurship, stimulating investments, and active diplomatic activities aimed at protecting the country's economic interests in this region. The economic strategy envisaged creating conditions for a sustainable development of the Polish coastal areas, increasing their role in world trade, and strengthening Poland's position as an important transit and trade centre in the Baltic region (Program zarządu, 1934, p. 14).

Given the strategic importance of Gdańsk as an important trade and industrial centre, it was necessary to develop the shipbuilding industry, which became a key element of the city's economic growth and expansion of its production potential. Strengthening the Polish economic influence in Gdańsk involved expanding the national merchant fleet, increasing cargo traffic through the port, and developing transport infrastructure that connected the city with the country's main industrial regions. The development of shipbuilding and other industries in Gdańsk became not only a factor in the economic rise of the region, but also an important step in strengthening the Polish presence in this strategic Baltic port (Program zarządu, 1934, p. 14).

There was a significant advantage of export tonnage over import: the share of imports on average did not exceed 17.5% of the total turnover of the port of Gdańsk, and in 1931 this

figure was only 9%. While the total cargo turnover of the port of Hamburg approached the pre-war level, other German ports experienced a significant decline. In contrast, the cargo turnover of the Port of Gdańsk increased fourfold. This dynamics was a consequence of the restoration of the economic union of Gdańsk with Poland, which, as in the past, remained one of the world's leading grain exporters and ranked fourth among the largest exporters of wheat (Olszewicz, 1932, p. 8).

Poland occupied one of the leading places among the countries that had their own reserves of hard coal. According to scholars, the leading positions in the world belonged to Canada and China, which occupied the second and third places respectively. If we consider the current volumes of production, China was in tenth place, and Canada – in sixteenth. Analyzing countries by coal export level, China was not included in the list of significant exporters at all, and Canada was in tenth place. If the main criterion for evaluating exports is the balance between exports and imports, then Canada ceased to be an exporter, since it imported 23 times more coal than it exported. Poland had high indicators according to the indicated parameters, ranked the ninth in the world in terms of hard coal reserves, the sixth in terms of its production, and the fourth among the largest exporters both in terms of supply volumes and the balance between exports and imports (Olszewicz, 1932, p. 9).

Coal reserves in Poland amounted to 68 billion tons. This value covered only those seams that could be developed using advanced technologies, because the deposits were located at a depth of up to 1,200 m. If we take into account the deposits lying at depths of up to 2000 m, the total reserves exceeded 155 billion tons. This volume was 12% of the total reserves of hard coal in Europe. Only the United Kingdom (32%) and Germany (28%) had larger deposits. If the rate of extraction was maintained, the Polish reserves would last for about 1800 years. In 1930, coal production in Poland reached 37.5 million tons, which was 104% of the pre-war average (36 million tons, taken as 100%). In 1929, this figure reached a record 128%, in previous years it fluctuated between 80–112%, and the average level over the past six years was 103%. In terms of production, Poland was second only to countries such as the USA, Great Britain, Germany, France, and since 1929, the USSR. In world coal trade, Poland ranked fourth among exporters, behind the USA, Great Britain, and Germany, but ahead of Belgium, the Netherlands, Japan, and other countries (Olszewicz, 1932, p. 10).

Analysis of pre-war calculations of sea transportation showed a significant economic advantage of sea transport compared to rail. In particular, the distance from Upper Silesia to Berlin was 500 km, and the cost of transporting one ton of coal by rail was 10.51 marks (hereinafter referred to as m.). At the same time, transporting the same amount of coal from British mines by sea to Hamburg, and from there by river transport to Berlin, cost only 2.96 m. per ton. The structure of the tariff policy contributed to the penetration of the British coal into the European market, allowing it to dominate the Baltic Sea region. The differences in the cost of transporting one ton of coal were significant: for Szczecin this difference was 2.53 m., for Gdańsk – 3.68 m., and for Krulewice – 4.14 m. This fact explained the high competitiveness of the British coal in the ports of the Baltic coast (Olszewicz, 1932, p. 13).

The Polish authorities facilitated the assimilation processes in Gdańsk. In particular, according to the letter of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers of November 9, 1923 (Circular Letter No. 169), Government bodies and offices in official correspondence addressed to institutions in the territory of the Free City of Gdańsk were to use Polish toponyms and corresponding local names. The above rule did not apply to the name of the free city of Gdańsk, since, in accordance with generally accepted linguistic practice, the names of large

cities, especially capitals, were adapted in accordance with the phonetic norms of each language. In addition, the official Polish name of the city was enshrined in the Polish-Gdańsk agreement of October 24, 1921. On the basis of reciprocity, the Gdańsk administration was also obliged to use the Polish toponyms in correspondence with the Polish institutions (Zbiór, 1926, p. 286).

In the convention "General Information about Convention between Poland and the Grand Duchy of Gdańsk and Germany, and about the Freedom of Transit between East Prussia and the Rest of Germany" (*in Polish* "Ogólne wiadomości o konwencji między Polską i W. M. Gdańskiem a Niemcami i w sprawie wolności tranzytu pomiędzy Prusami i Wschodnią a resztą Niemiec") (JLRP, nr. 61/22, poz. 549) it was noted that, in accordance with Article 89 of the Treaty of Versailles, the Republic of Poland was obliged to ensure free transit for people, goods, ships, trains, wagons and postal transports transiting from East Prussia to other parts of Germany and in the reverse direction through the Polish territory. The Council of Ambassadors further extended the right of free transit to the Free City of Gdańsk. It is for these reasons that a corresponding provision was included in the preamble of the above mentioned Convention. Transit covered all types of land and water transport through the territory ceded to the Republic of Poland by Germany, as well as the Free City of Gdańsk. This right extended, in particular, to postal, telegraphic and telephone communications. Transit payments could be made in the form of preferential or regular transit. Passenger transportation within the scope of preferential transit was carried out in specially designated trains. Passengers on such trains were exempt from customs and passport formalities and were not required to carry passports or identity cards (Zbiór, 1926, p. 77).

Transit goods were completely exempt from customs duties. Transportation of goods under preferential transit regime was carried out by specially designated railway depots. Passenger trains or their individual parts, which followed transit under preferential regime, were under the supervision of customs officers. In this regard, the issue of transport documents was not provided for the transportation of luggage in such trains. Luggage was subject to mandatory sealing with customs seals. The transportation of military equipment and property was also allowed under a preferential regime. The convoy of goods through the territory of the Republic of Poland was carried out by its customs authorities, and within the territory of the Free City of Gdańsk by the relevant customs officials. In return, Germany, in turn, undertook to guarantee the Republic of Poland free transit along the Deutsche-Eylau-Marienburg-Gdańsk railway line in both directions. However, at that time Poland did not use this opportunity due to the low traffic intensity on the above mentioned route (Zbiór, 1926, p. 78).

Based on an extract from the Polish-German agreement on the preferential transit (JLRP, nr. 72/24, poz. 704) it was emphasized that within the framework of a privileged transit traffic, certain requirements regarding documents and identification of people crossing the border had to be met. In particular, such people had to have a passport of a citizen of Poland, Gdańsk or Germany. The document had to include the owner's full name, place of residence, and citizenship. In addition to the information listed in the passport, the owner's handwritten signature was required. If a person was illiterate, a fingerprint or other acceptable form of identification was used instead of the signature. An official seal or stamp of the relevant authority that issued the document to confirm its authenticity. The photograph of a holder had to meet the determined requirements for document identification. The certificate had to be valid for a specified period of time and presented for inspection when crossing the customs border or during transit trips (Zbiór, 1926, p. 83).

Convention between Poland and Germany on the facilitation of small border traffic, border was signed in Gdansk on December 30, 1924 (JLRP, nr. 65, poz. 383). It provided that the crossing of the Polish-German customs border would be carried out on the basis of border passes. In particular, people who permanently resided in border counties, but no further than 10 km from the Polish-German border and who had been there for at least three months, had the right to cross the border with special border passes. Border counties included administrative units that directly bordered the Polish-German border. If necessary and by mutual agreement between the governments of Poland and Germany, the status of border counties could be extended to parts of other neighbouring territories located near the border. Specific conditions and mechanisms for their implementation, including the procedure for obtaining permits, their validity period, as well as the list of permitted routes for crossing the border, were regulated by relevant administrative orders (Zbiór, 1926, p. 100).

The holder of a border pass received the right to cross the border at designated border crossing points: on foot, on horseback, by bicycle, by cart, by sleigh, and by train. The use of other modes of transport was regulated by separate regulations of the relevant authorities. The permit granted the right to remain within the area located on the opposite side of the border adjacent to the area where the permit was issued. The permitted distance of stay was no more than 10 km from the border. If the specified territory covered more than one administrative district, the residence permit extended to the other districts. In exceptional cases, by decision of the authority issuing the permits, the zone of permitted stay could be expanded, provided that the adjacent districts on the other side of the border agreed on this issue. All provisions regarding the use of permits were subject to verification by the relevant border and customs authorities of both countries (Zbiór, 1926, p. 101). Passes were divided into three main types: one-time – marked in red, permanent – in green, economic – intended for economic activity – in brown. Passes were issued on bilingual forms (in Polish and German) based on the model of April 29, 1922 (Zbiór, 1926, p. 101).

In an excerpt from the order of the Ministry of Finance dated October 17, 1924 (JLRP, nr. 83/24, poz. 797) it was stated that people crossing the state border of the Republic of Poland had the right to export certain gold and silver items for personal use. In particular, one pocket watch with a chain or pendant or a wristwatch with a bracelet; up to four rings, including wedding rings; one bracelet (excluding the watch bracelet); two pairs of earrings; one brooch; one women's handbag; two crosses or medallions with a neck chain; one medallion with a neck chain; one cigarette case; two pairs of pince-nez or spectacles; one binoculars; three pairs of men's clothespins; two tie pins; one cup; one set of cutlery (a knife, a fork, a spoon and a teaspoon); monograms, jewellery and decorative accessories on personal items, including walking sticks, briefcases, wallets, toiletries, etc. People travelling abroad were also allowed to export additional gold and silver items, provided that their total weight did not exceed 250 grams for gold items, 2,000 grams for silver items (Zbiór, 1926, p. 34). We believe that the aforementioned provisions determined restrictions on the export of precious metals in order to control financial flows and protect the economic interests of the state.

Gold and silver in all forms, including coins, imported by tourists from abroad to the Republic of Poland could be exported outside the country provided that there was an appropriate certificate issued by the customs authorities. The certificate had to be issued within two months from the date of issue and valid at any customs point. At the customs border of the Republic of Poland with the Free City of Gdańsk, they were issued by financial authorities. In addition, in exceptional cases, permits for the export of gold and silver were

granted by tax chambers in Warsaw, Lutsk, Vilnius, Łódź, Poznań, Grudziędz, Lviv, Kraków and Katowice. In urgent situations, customs authorities, as well as responsible railway officials, could allow the export of gold and silver exceeding the maximum weight, provided that their use for personal needs did not raise doubts. It is worth noting that at the Polish-Gdańsk customs border, such a right was granted by the head of the fiscal control inspectorate and the heads of the relevant authorities (Zbiór, 1926, p. 35).

Based on the extract of the Minister of Finance dated May 27, 1925 "On Monetary Transactions with Foreign Countries" (JLRP, nr. 57/25, poz. 408) it was emphasized that the transfer of foreign currency abroad was permitted exclusively through Bank Polski, its branches or authorized banks that carried out foreign currency transactions. Instead, the export of foreign currency and assets in the Polish currency abroad was allowed without a special permit, provided that the amount did not exceed 1,000 PLN per person with a separate foreign passport or per passport. In the case of multiple border crossings, the total amount of currency exported was not to exceed 1,000 PLN per month. People who regularly travelled to the Free City of Gdańsk and had an appropriate identity card were entitled to export an amount equivalent to 250 PLN without additional permission. For people crossing the customs border with border passes, the maximum one-time export amount was 100 PLN, but the total amount per month could not exceed 500 PLN. Exporting shares and securities abroad, as well as coupons for them, required the appropriate permit from the fiscal authority (JLRP, nr. 120/25, poz. 867).

According to the government statement published on June 25, 1926 (JLRP, nr. 39, poz. 384), the exchange of instruments of ratification between the Republic of Poland and the German Reich concerning the Convention on the Facilitation of Local Border Traffic took place. This agreement was signed in Gdańsk on December 30, 1924 (JLRP, nr. 78, poz. 544) and is intended to facilitate the movement of people in border areas. The exchange of instruments of ratification took place in Warsaw on 22 June 1926. In accordance with Article 31 of the Convention, it entered into force on 7 July 1926. Starting from that time, the procedure for residents of border regions when crossing the border was simplified, new rules for issuing and using border passes were introduced, agreed between the Polish and German authorities to facilitate control and reduce bureaucratic obstacles. The ratification of the Convention and its entry into force contributed to the further development of small border traffic and mutual cooperation between Poland and the German Reich (Zbiór, 1926, p. 111).

Resolution of the Council of Ministers of August 4, 1926 (JLRP, nr. 95, poz. 555) about "State Medical Assistance" (Zbiór, 1926, p. 187) was applied to people who lived or served in the free city of Gdańsk. Citizens could count on free or subsidized treatment even outside the territory of the Republic of Poland. From the time of entry into force, the Council of Ministers' resolution of July 2, 1924, which regulated the medical care of civil servants, judges, prosecutors, their families and pensioners, became invalid (JLRP, nr. 73, poz. 725).

In the regulations to the criminal and tax norms of January 1, 1927 and on the basis of the order on liability for criminal proceedings related to fiscal actions of August 2, 1926 (JLRP, nr. 105, poz. 609) the violations subject to penalties were highlighted: evasion of customs payments, smuggling of goods, violation of trade agreements; illegal production, sale or import of tobacco products; non-payment of excise duty, illegal production or trade in alcohol-containing substances; illegal mining, sale or use of salt, without appropriate permits; production and sale of matches or lighters, without payment of state duty; organization of gambling or lotteries without state permit; evasion of excise duty on the production and sale of beer; failure to pay

taxes on alcoholic beverages, wine and honey; evasion of tax on the production and trade of sugar and sugar products; illegal circulation of petroleum products or their processing without proper taxation; tax evasion on mining, sale and export of coal; illegal production or sale of playing cards without appropriate registration and tax payment; production or sale of artificial sugar substitutes without appropriate control; violation of the rules governing the issuance of excise licenses. The ban on trade in the above-mentioned goods, without paying excise duty, also applied to the Free City of Gdańsk (Zbiór, 1926, p. 307).

Fines for violating the tobacco monopoly rules from June 1, 1922 (JLRP, nr. 47, poz. 409) related to the import-export or transportation of raw materials or tobacco products provided for the following conditions. For example, a person from whom tobacco raw materials or tobacco products of foreign origin were seized was fined four times the value of the products, and customs confiscated the goods. A seller, a buyer, and a person in whose possession the goods were subject to fines (Zbiór, 1926, pp. 313, 316).

Violation of the rules of trade in goods with foreign countries or the Free City of Gdańsk in connection with the import-export or transportation of alcoholic beverages provided for confiscation of the product, imposition of a fine in addition to customs and stamp duty (Zbiór, 1926, p. 319). People responsible for transportation of salt or brine from the place of production or from a monopoly warehouse in a manner associated with losses to the state treasury were subject to a fine of four times the monopoly fee for the amount of salt extracted and punishment in the form of confiscation of the salt. In addition to confiscating the goods, in case of violation of the rules of customs trade in salt with the Free City of Gdańsk, the guilty people paid an additional monopoly price for the goods in the amount of PLN 10 to PLN 300. For illegal trade in beer, the fine was PLN 10 – PLN 500 (Zbiór, 1926, pp. 322, 326).

The rules of trade with the Free City of Gdańsk regarding subjects under the jurisdiction of the Republic of Poland provided for a Polish monopoly or excise duty on imported goods on the basis of the Polish-Gdańsk agreement of December 17, 1921 (JLRP, nr. 16/22, poz. 139), on items manufactured in Gdańsk or when they were imported into the free city. For violation of the rules of trade in excisable goods or products, they were confiscated, and a fine of five times the value was imposed – from PLN 10 to PLN 400 (Zbiór, 1926, pp. 327–328).

In the second half of the 1930s, Germany increased economic pressure on Poland. Berlin demanded trade concessions, lower tariffs, and increased exports to the Reich on favourable terms. Poland, for its part, limited the German influence by imposing tariffs and developing alternative markets. These economic disputes gradually developed into a political conflict. Germany made territorial claims to Gdańsk, which further aggravated relations between the two countries. By the end of 1938, the Polish-German relations had significantly deepened, and by the spring of 1939 the situation had escalated into open confrontation. Despite significant economic interdependence, the contradictions between Poland and Germany only deepened. The German policy of economic pressure, Poland's attempts to maintain independence in foreign trade, and the Reich's territorial ambitions became the prerequisites for the final severance of diplomatic relations and the beginning of World War II in September 1939 (Ratyńska, 1930, pp. 42–56).

Conclusions. Customs relations between the Republic of Poland and the Free City of Gdańsk were complex and dynamic, driven by political, economic and international factors. Existing customs agreements and regulations made border crossing both easier and more difficult for citizens and trade. On the one hand, they facilitated the development of trade, and on the other hand, they created numerous customs barriers. Customs restrictions largely

determined the economic relations between the parties. Customs control was used not only as an economic instrument, but also as a means of political pressure, which further complicated bilateral relations. Studying the features and conditions of crossing the customs border between the Republic of Poland and Gdańsk in the interwar period allows not only to analyze the economic and political processes of that time, but also contributes to understanding the mechanisms of customs regulation in international relations.

Prospects for further research into this issue cover several aspects. Firstly, further analysis of sources will reveal the mechanisms of customs border regulation and its impact on the economic development of the region. Secondly, it is worth studying the experience of other European countries in the interwar period and comparing customs practices with Polish-Gdańsk relations. Thirdly, it is relevant to study the impact of customs policy of the interwar period on the development of the Polish-Gdańsk relations and the legal principles regulating customs procedures in modern Europe.

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MYRON KORDUBA'S COOPERATION WITH POLISH PERIODICALS DURING THE INTER-WAR PERIOD: SOCIO-POLITICAL DISCOURSE

Abstract. The purpose of the study is to attempt a holistic understanding of the socio-political issues brought to light by M. Korduba in the columns of Polish magazines during the interwar period. **The research methodology** is based on the traditional for historiography combination of principles and general scientific (comparison, generalization, analysis and synthesis), special and historical (historical and genetic, historical and comparative, historical and typological, historical and psychological) methods of research. **The scientific novelty** of the article is based on a wide range of sources to elucidate the features of M. Korduba's cooperation with the Polish press in the Second Polish Republic. **Conclusions.** In conclusion, it should be noted that M. Korduba's cooperation with Polish magazines in the interwar twenties was due to the need to convey to the new owners of the Galician lands the Ukrainian vision of many problems of interethnic coexistence, which, as a result of ill-considered state

policy, took on threatening forms. With a considerable tact and proper historical reasoning, the scholar deconstructed the myths prevalent in the Polish journalism of the people's democratic camp about the Ukrainians as an ethnic community that never became a nation, and therefore must come to terms with its stateless status. Rejecting such a vision, M. Korduba emotionally insisted on the unconditional right of representatives of the largest national minority of the Second Polish Republic to have state-funded native-language schooling at all levels, public institutions free from police surveillance, and the press free from censorship. The historian also pointed out the danger of Polish officials fostering a "war psychosis" among their community, which forced them to see a fellow citizen of a different nationality as an enemy. The scholar emphasized that overcoming these relics of the Polish-Ukrainian war should create the basis for establishing an inter-neighbourly dialogue, and thus the emergence of a civil society united by common values. Insightfully M. Korduba predicted that only under such conditions the Polish statehood would have a chance to exist between the German and Soviet totalitarian regimes. As we know, the calls of the scholar and his like-minded people were not heard, and it caused tragic consequences for our peoples during the years of world confrontation.

Key words: M. Korduba, socio-political journalism, Polish-Ukrainian relations, interethnic understanding, polemic.

СПІВПРАЦЯ МИРОНА КОРДУБИ З ПОЛЬСЬКИМИ ЧАСОПИСАМИ МІЖВОЄННОГО ЧАСУ: СУСПІЛЬНО-ПОЛІТИЧНИЙ ДИСКУРС

Анотація. *Мета* дослідження полягає у спробі цілісного осмислення актуалізованої Мироном Кордубою суспільно-політичної проблематики на шпальтах польських часописів міжвоєнного часу. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на традиційне для історіографії поєднання принципів та загальнонаукових (порівняння, узагальнення, аналізу і синтезу) і спеціально-історичних (історико-генетичний, історико-порівняльний, історико-типологічний та історико-психологічний) методів наукової праці. **Наукова новизна статті:** на підставі широкого кола джерел відтворити особливості співпраці М. Кордуби із польською пресою Другої Речі Посполитої. **Висновки.** У підсумку відзначено, що співпраця М. Кордуби з польськими часописами у міжвоєнне двадцятиліття була зумовлена потребою донести новим господарям галицьких теренів українське бачення багатьох проблем міжнаціонального співжиття, що внаслідок непродуманої державної політики набували загрозливих форм. З чималим тактом і належною історичною аргументованістю, вчений деконструював поширені в польській публіцистиці народно-демократичного табору міфи про українців як етнічну спільноту, що так і не стала нацією, а отже, повинна змиритися зі своїм бездержавним статусом. Відкидаючи таке бачення, М. Кордуба емоційно наполягав на безумовному праві представників найбільшої національної меншини Другої Речі Посполитої мати фінансоване державою рідномовне шкільництво всіх рівнів, вільні від поліційного нагляду громадські інституції та позбавлену цензурних переслідувань пресу. Також історик вказував на небезпеку плекання польськими чиновниками серед своєї громади "воєнного психозу", що змушував бачити у співгромадянину іншої національності ворога. Подолання цих реліктів доби польсько-української війни, наголошував учений, має створити основу для налагодження міжсусідського діалогу, а відтак і появи об'єднаного спільними цінностями громадянського суспільства. М. Кордуба проникливо передбачав, що лише за таких умов польська державність матиме шанс на існування між німецьким та радянським тоталітарними режимами. Як знаємо, заклики вченого і його однодумців не були почуті, що мало трагічні наслідки для наших народів у роки світового протистояння.

Ключові слова: М. Кордуба, суспільно-політична публіцистика, польсько-українські взаємини, міжнаціональне порозуміння, полеміка.

Problein Statement. In Myron Korduba's intellectual biography, a dominant plot is the scholar's collaboration with academic and socio-political periodicals. Such importance is due to the cultural situation peculiarities in Central and Eastern Europe at the end of the 19th – the first third of the 20th century, when printed publications were popular platforms for operational communication of intellectuals with colleagues and a wide readership. In

view of this, over the past decades the scholars, who focused on Korduba studies, have made considerable efforts to clarify the specifics of a prominent historian's cooperation with many newspapers and magazines. It is expected that their focus was on M. Korduba's diverse contributions to the Ukrainian periodicals on both sides of the Zbruch River (Batiuk, 2014; Batiuk, 2016). Such a substantive emphasis, despite its justification, led to the marginalization of other important subjects in the scholar's creative heritage. This refers to the historian's active cooperation with many European periodicals, in whose columns he not only defended the Ukrainian vision of key events of the past region "from the San to the Don", but also popularized the current demands of modern Ukrainianhood. Drawing attention of historians to this little-known aspect of M. Korduba's intellectual biography, we will analyze his contributions to the Polish periodicals of the interwar period, when socio-political subjects dominated at the time.

Review of Recent Research and Publications. As it has been already mentioned, the issue of M. Korduba's cooperation with periodicals has a rather extensive literature today. At the same time, the publications of the Ukrainian scholar in the pages of Polish periodicals of the Second Polish Republic are mostly mentioned incidentally when clarifying his contemporary scientific activity (Polishchuk, 2019) or public (Pikh, 2012; Telvak, 2024). This particular aspect of the historian's work was first addressed by Oleh Pikh and Oksana Ruda, who comprehensively analyzed his long collaboration with the Polish men's historical magazine "Historical Quarterly" (in Polish "Kwartalnik Historyczny") (Ruda, & Pikh, 2012). However, as Lviv researchers found out, this cooperation mostly lasted until the beginning of World War I. In turn, in the context of the entire intellectual biography of M. Korduba, Tetiana Kulchytska tried to focus on the issue under study (Kulchytska, 2007). But she also focused on the historiographical component of the scholar's contributions to the Polish press mostly. The aforementioned circumstances determined the relevance of the topic of our research.

The purpose of the study is to attempt a holistic understanding of the socio-political issues brought to light by M. Korduba in the columns of Polish magazines during the interwar period.

Research Results. The issue of establishing cooperation between M. Korduba and the Polish press publications should be considered in the general context of the historian's formation as an intellectual. The powerful influence on this process of his teacher and founder of the Lviv school of Ukrainian studies, Mykhailo Hrushevsky, is meant (Telvak, Pedych, & Telvak, 2021). As it is known, the author of "History of Ukraine-Rus" had quite difficult relations with the Polish elites, as he defended the maxim of equality of an interethnic dialogue consistently, which was denied to him by the leaders of Galician politics, who were carried away by the slogans of national democracy (Telvak, Yanyshyn, & Telvak, 2023). Therefore, Lviv Professor avoided any systematic cooperation with his Polish colleagues, considering it more expedient to concentrate on the modernization of Ukrainian science and culture. In this spirit of a certain national exclusivity, he also educated his Galician students.

However, representatives of his Lviv school, who grew up in the realities of multicultural Galicia different from their teacher, not only did not see anything harmful in cooperation with eternal national competitors, but on the contrary, considered it necessary given the need to popularize Ukrainian cultural and political aspirations. Therefore, they were actively published in the Polish press, despite the condemnation of the authoritative teacher. Thus, when M. Hrushevsky saw M. Korduba's articles on the pages of "Kwartalnika Historycznego", then I asked him directly – "Why do you publish your articles there?" (Kupchynskyi, 2016, p. 113). In response, the aspiring historian justified his cooperation by the desire to have an

authoritative Polish journal in his own library, which cost a lot but was given to employees free of charge. However, the young man pointed out only the pragmatic component of his cooperation, without revealing information and popularization motivation.

Our assumption is based on M. Korduba's consistent making contacts with many influential Polish magazines of the Second Polish Republic. In their columns, the historian, despite the threat of persecution and even loss of job, with his characteristic courage, explained to the creators of the revived Poland an existential need for the two peoples to normalize relations between neighbours, because the new masters of the situation often behaved like real occupiers and assimilators. At the same time, the scholar was given specific subjects for scientific or public journalism by the life of that time, which for the local population of Western Ukrainian territories was full of difficult struggle for their own national, cultural, and political subjectivity.

Thus, when speculative theses about the ethnic "immaturity" of the Ukrainians, who as the people were formed much later than their neighbours, were spread in the Polish journalism in the 1920s and 1930s, M. Korduba considered it necessary to outline a professional position on this issue. As it is known, during the interwar period, the Ukrainian intellectuals in the "free world" intensively developed the origin issue of our people, and a Galician scholar also took a prominent part in this discussion. Based on the theses of his teacher M. Hrushevsky about the early medieval genesis of the Ukrainians, he put forward a bold theory about the commonality of the Ukrainian and Belarusian peoples until the 17th century (Yusova, 2004). This thesis was questioned by the Belarusian linguist, historian and political figure Jan Stankiewicz in the pages of the journal "National Affairs" ("Sprawy Narodowościowe"), an organ of the Warsaw Institute for the Study of National Affairs (Stankiewicz, 1931). Responding to his Belarusian colleague, M. Korduba developed his ethnological concept in the columns of the same magazine about the simultaneous appearance of the Poles and the Ukrainians on the ethnic map of Europe (Korduba, 1932).

Since then, the Ukrainian scholar had established closer contacts with the aforementioned Institute for the Study of National Affairs and its printed tribune. This was evidenced by the invitation of M. Korduba to deliver a report on the formation of the Polish-Ukrainian relations in the Middle Ages (the 10th-13th centuries). As a great expert on the Ukrainian chronicles and Polish chronicles, the scholar comprehensively analyzed the intensive dynastic relations between representatives of the Piast and Rurykovichy dynasties, reconstructed the increasingly wide trade contacts, and emphasized the mutual enrichment from cultural interactions (Korduba, 1933b). Therefore, the speaker concluded, during the princely times, relations between the two peoples were rather harmonious, as respectful and equal treatment of the neighbour dominated.

However, as mentioned above, the situation was completely different during the interwar period. To explain to the Polish reader the Ukrainian vision of the current state of interethnic relations, M. Korduba chose the monthly "Biuletyn Polsko-Ukraiński", which was the printed organ of the Polish-Ukrainian Society headed by Stanisław Stempowski, the Polish writer and public and political figure. This institution and its media platform were part of the state policy of the so-called Promethean movement, which Polish officials opposed to the Soviet national policy.

The largest number of M. Korduba's posts focused on discussing the problem of national higher education, which was important for the Western Ukrainian community. Unlike many Polish and Ukrainian participants in the discussion regarding the model for founding the

Ukrainian University, the scholar had considerable pedagogical experience in secondary (gymnasiums in Chernivtsi and Lviv) and higher (Ukrainian Secret University and University of Warsaw) educational institutions, so his vision of the situation was distinguished by consistency and pragmatism. Thus, unlike many Ukrainian colleagues, he opposed the idea of a private higher education institution strongly, rightly pointing out the difficulty of recognizing its diplomas not only by the Polish state, but also by Western countries. Thus, he emphasized the lack of alternatives to competing for a state-funded higher education institution (Batiuk, 2017).

In the article “On the Issue of the Ukrainian University in Lviv”, M. Korduba primarily reminded the Polish readers that the issue of Ukrainian higher education was not something unexpected, as some publicists had portrayed it, but had been discussed for decades, ever since in the second half of the 19th century the Ukrainians had declared their ambitions for higher education. From that moment on, the chauvinistic part of the Polish figures of the Galician region expressed the view that the creation of the Ukrainian University as a source of education for the local population and the associated growth of irredentist sentiments in its environment were quite dangerous. Since then, as M. Korduba pointed out with regret, this vision had taken hold of increasingly wider circles of the Polish community, who saw their neighbours as nothing more than the second-class people.

The historian argues that the sentiments of the Polish community became even more radical after the occupation of Western Ukrainian territories. From the first years of the existence of the revived Polish state, the national democrats, as the dominant political force, fueled chauvinistic sentiments among their compatriots, consistently denying the right of Ukrainians to a complete national education system. And only the international obligations to the Entente when transferring Galicia to the Polish protectorate forced the authorities to begin discussing the Ukrainian University issue. However, as the scholar convincingly illustrated many examples, such a discussion turned out to be profanation. It is said that any planned Ukrainian University centres were immediately rejected as impossible. And it was not only about Lviv, which was desired by our people, but even about ordinary provincial towns: as soon as the name of a settlement was mentioned in the press, the Polish administration organized a corresponding refusal note from representatives of the indignant Polish community. Frankly mocking this situation, M. Korduba noted: “It would seem that if the government decided to locate the unfortunate university in the forests on Hoverla, a deputation of bears and wolves would appear with their protest” (Korduba, 1933c, p. 5).

Instead, the Galician scholar explained to the Polish reader that the desire of the Ukrainians to have their own higher education was completely natural and did not violate state interests at all. On the contrary, the Polish state should be concerned that the Ukrainian youth did not go abroad to study, where there was a significant risk of radicalization of their sentiments. Also, the requirement to establish a higher education institution in Lviv was not a whim, explained M. Korduba, but only a simple logistical necessity, since the city was home to the largest number of Ukrainian scholars and the richest cultural institutions (libraries, archives, and museums). The Ukrainian scholar reinforced this vision of the situation with the authoritative voices of such democratically minded Polish intellectuals as former Minister of Education Leon Wasilewski and Kraków Professor Volodymyr Semkowycz. Therefore, M. Korduba concluded, an important task of the journal “*Biuletyn Polsko-Ukraiński*” should be “to popularize among the Polish public those Ukrainian desiderata that do not contradict Polish state interests and that sober minds, free from all kinds of prejudices and unhealthy

chauvinism, recognize as correct and necessary [...]. Among such cases that require an immediate positive solution, I include, first of all, the issue of the Ukrainian University in Poland” (Korduba, 1933c, p. 8). Interestingly, the editor-in-chief of the Polish press, Volodymyr Bonczkowski, acknowledged that his Ukrainian colleague was completely right and, in a note to his article, suggested launching a broad discussion of the problem raised by M. Korduba.

The initiator of the discussion took part in it. The article by the Galician scholar “A Few Dates from the History of Efforts of Ukrainian Society to Establish its Own University” (in Polish “Kilka dat z dziejów dążeń społeczeństwa ukraińskiego do uzyskania własnego uniwersytetu”) is meant. The motive for writing it, M. Korduba calls the need to demonstrate the continuity of the idea of the Ukrainian higher institutions to the Polish society. Thus, the publicist reached back to the period of the Fraternal School of Stavropegia, then turned to the past of the Ostroh Academy and the Mohyla Academic Centre (Korduba, 1934a, p. 1). In detail M. Korduba described the Ukrainian competitions for higher education during the Austrian rule (Korduba, 1934a, pp. 2–4). Thus, the reader learned about the circumstances of the Studium Ruthenum establishment at Lviv University, and later the emergence of the first Ukrainian departments in 1849, 1862, and 1872. Since then, the scholar claimed, the unequal struggle of the Poles and the Ukrainians for the expansion of the rights of their people in this main higher educational institution of Eastern Galicia had begun. Its Polish leaders, using their economic and political dominance in the region and powerful influence in Vienna, through bylaws actually eliminated the legally Utraquist nature of the University and gradually gave it an increasingly Polish national nature. The Ukrainians, in turn, the historian claimed, responded to such consistent restrictions on their cultural rights with obstructions in the state parliament and the Galician Sejm, as well as a fierce struggle of youth within University walls, which took the form of mass secessions. Despite the efforts of the Polish politicians at the time to completely deprive their national opponents of influence at Lviv University, state law guaranteed associate professors and professors the right to conduct lectures in their native language, so by the beginning of World War I, the Ukrainians had 12 departments. Therefore, the author of the article emphasized, the current situation at Lviv University was completely unnatural, when after the Polish victory in the internecine war all Ukrainian departments were forcibly abolished. In view of this, M. Korduba concluded, if Polish calls for interethnic reconciliation were sincere, it was time to give the Ukrainians a higher education in the historical centre of their cultural life – Lviv.

Another challenge that the Ukrainian scholar considered necessary to respond to concerned the attempts of the Polish publicists to desecrate the November Act and, in general, the struggle of the local population of Eastern Galicia for their statehood. The direct impetus for M. Korduba was the article “Uwagi programowe” by the Polish historian, a writer and diplomat Stanisław Łoś, in which he accused the Galician Ukrainians of “the desire to shoot not further than Lviv, rather than defend Kyiv from the Bolshevik invasion” (Łoś, 1935a). In response, M. Korduba pointed out his opponent’s manipulation of dates and events, because the Sich Riflemen actively defended the capital of Ukraine from the Russian aggression (Korduba, 1935a). Also, from the position of the Ukrainian conciliator, the historian pointed out the equal significance to his people of both Kyiv and Lviv. These arguments did not convince the Polish publicist, who in his reply to the article of the Galician scholar emotionally accused the Ukrainian leaders of political shortsightedness, which consisted in drawing their people into the struggle on two fronts (Łoś, 1935b).

M. Korduba could not ignore the numerous facts of the Polish administration of the western Ukrainian lands consistently alienating the largest national minority of the state. It is said that after the occupation of the Galician territories, the new owners began a violent reformatting of public places of memory, purposefully replacing symbols of the Ukrainian presence with the Polish ones. The latter were often xenophobic, anti-Ukrainian in nature and contained hate speech, which made it impossible to establish a dialogue between neighbours. As an example, the scholar cited a memorial sign in Zbarazh, which honoured the Polish victims of the events of 1918 – 1919 (Korduba, 1933a). On the memorial sign, the local authorities placed a frankly provocative inscription: “To the Poles of Zbarazh land who died a martyr’s death in defense of Poland’s eternal rights on the eastern borders at the hands of savage and confused Ruthenians during the coup of 1918 – 1919”. Commenting on the act of Polish officials, M. Korduba, with undisguised wit, asked the Polish reader: what should be more surprising – the “outstanding political intelligence” of the authors of the inscription, the “eastern stoicism of the Ukrainian residents of Zbarazh, who did not try to eliminate this insult” or the “Olympic calmness of the headman”, who sees this essentially anti-state act every day. The scholar called on the Polish authorities to resolutely eliminate such manifestations of “war psychosis” and anti-Ukrainian provocations from public places as a necessary prerequisite for establishing an interethnic dialogue. It should be noted that M. Korduba’s arguments were so convincing that the editor-in-chief of the journal “The Polish-Ukrainian Bulletin” (in Polish “Biuletyn Polsko-Ukraiński”) V. Bonczkowski fully agreed with his Ukrainian correspondent and called for noting such manifestations of national intolerance for their further removal from the public space.

M. Korduba considered the obsessive initiative of some Polish public intellectuals and officials to change our national name from a modern one (Ukrainians) to an archaic one (Ruthenians), which was one of the brightest manifestations of the state assimilative policy in the Second Polish Republic, to be no less cynical provocation. The immediate impetus for the Ukrainian scholar’s speech was the article by Kazimir Kierski “Why Ruthenians and not Ukrainians” (in Polish “Dla czego Rusini a nie Ukraińcy?”), which appeared in the columns of the popular Kraków magazine “Illustrated Daily Courier” (in Polish “Ilustrowany Kurjer Codzienny”). In it, a well-known Polish lawyer, imitating the rhetoric of the Endeks, called on state officials and society to resolutely abandon the toponym “Ukraine” and ethnic names derived from it. In his opinion, these terms “were invented by Hrushevsky” and spread by “Ruthenian separatists” with the aim of destroying the unity of the Second Polish Republic community (Kierski, 1936).

Despite K. Kierski’s openly provocative speech, his ideas were quite popular among the Polish public and political figures. Many of them advocated a return to the early modern Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth traditions of treating neighbouring people as “kin” people, thereby denying them cultural identity and political subjectivity. Understanding the harmfulness of such rhetoric for the normalization of internecine dialogue, M. Korduba, from the height of his own considerable experience as an onomastic researcher, consistently refuted the speculations of K. Kierski (Korduba, 1937). Ridiculing his argumentation as completely amateurish, the Ukrainian scholar called on his opponent and his like-minded people “not to close their horizons with political and party zeal”, but to look at the problem they raised in the broad context of formation of ethnonyms in European territories. It is said that most of the well-known ethnonyms (for example, Italians, French, Germans) originally came from narrowly local toponyms. Then M. Korduba extremely judiciously explained

to the Polish reader the historical and socio-cultural circumstances of the emergence in the Middle Ages and the establishment in the following centuries of the self-name of the Ukrainians. In conclusion, the historian emphasized: "In the 20th century, one should operate with modern concepts that correspond to this century, and not feverishly cling to the mental categories of long-gone times" (Korduba, 1937, s. 15).

Along with his purely polemical journalism, many of M. Korduba's contributions to the Polish magazines were of a popularizing nature. Sometimes the reasons for the appearance of such texts were tragic events in the history of our people. For example, let us recall a number of thorough memorial essays by the Galician scholar, in which he honoured the memory of his teacher M. Hrushevsky, who prematurely passed away at the end of November of 1934 in Kyslovodsk (Telvak, & Telvak, 2018). It was M. Korduba who, on the pages of such authoritative publications as "Biuletyn Polsko-Ukraiński" (Korduba, 1934b), "Pion" (Korduba, 1934c) and "Przegląd Historyczny" (Korduba, 1935b), conveyed the irreparable national loss of the Ukrainians to the Polish reader. In the obituaries he wrote, the scholar focused on explaining to the Polish audience the phenomenal cultural service of the Great Ukrainian. At the same time, he emphasized that it was owing to his "History of Ukraine-Rus" that our people gained their historical subjectivity.

Given the long-standing struggle of the Polish nationalist journalism against the scientific and public authority of M. Hrushevsky, M. Korduba separately addressed the problem of the teacher's understanding of the conditions for establishing an interethnic dialogue. Using many examples, the Galician historian proved that the teacher was never an enemy of the Polish people, as the NDP press traditionally presented. Instead, the obituaries emphasized, the prominent historian consistently opposed the ideology of reviving "historical Poland" at the expense of infringing on the cultural and political rights of the Ukrainians. Following the rhetoric of M. Hrushevsky's journalism, his student pointed out to the Polish reader the need to establish equal and respectful relations as a prerequisite for the effectiveness of an inter-neighbourly dialogue. It should be noted that it was M. Korduba's memorial articles in the Polish and Ukrainian periodicals that significantly influenced the Hrushevsky-related discourse of the Czech (Telvak, & Telvak, 2019), French (Telvak, & Telvak, 2022), and German (Telvak, Yanyshyn, & Telvak 2021) historiography of the second half of the 1930s.

Conclusions. In conclusion, it should be noted that M. Korduba's cooperation with Polish magazines in the interwar twenties was due to the need to convey to the new owners of the Galician lands the Ukrainian vision of many problems of interethnic coexistence, which, as a result of ill-considered state policy, took on threatening forms. With a considerable tact and proper historical reasoning, the scholar deconstructed the myths prevalent in the Polish journalism of the people's democratic camp about the Ukrainians as an ethnic community that never became a nation, and therefore must come to terms with its stateless status. Rejecting such a vision, M. Korduba emotionally insisted on the unconditional right of representatives of the largest national minority of the Second Polish Republic to have state-funded native-language schooling at all levels, public institutions free from police surveillance, and the press free from censorship. The historian also pointed out the danger of Polish officials fostering a "war psychosis" among their community, which forced them to see a fellow citizen of a different nationality as an enemy. The scholar emphasized that overcoming these relics of the Polish-Ukrainian war should create the basis for establishing an inter-neighbourly dialogue, and thus the emergence of a civil society united by common values. Insightfully M. Korduba predicted that only under such conditions the Polish statehood would have a chance to exist

between the German and Soviet totalitarian regimes. As we know, the calls of the scholar and his like-minded people were not heard, and it caused tragic consequences for our peoples during the years of world confrontation.

Finally, we would like to point out the considerable relevance of the analyzed journalism of M. Korduba for understanding the current state of the Polish-Ukrainian dialogue. We should state that in both cases a hundred years ago and now, some politicians, in an attempt to increase their own electoral appeal, construct a divisive discourse. This leads to the growth of hate speech in the mass media, which once again alienates neighbouring peoples. Based on the interwar experience, a consistent fight against these manifestations of xenophobia will give a chance to avoid repeating the tragic pages of our past.

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**LEGAL STATUS OF TEACHERS AND THEIR ROLE
IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF POLISH EDUCATIONAL POLICY
IN VOLYN VOIVODESHIP DURING THE INTERWAR PERIOD**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to analyse the main responsibilities of teachers in the field of education and upbringing of local schoolchildren, to outline the legal status of educators in accordance with the legislation of interwar Poland, to characterise their place and role in the state policy of that time, to present the activities of the Union of Polish Teachers in Volyn Voivodeship and its impact on the educational development and pedagogical thought in the region. The methodology of the research is based on analytical, comparative, historical, statistical, problematic, chronological methods. The Scientific Novelty of the article consists in the fact that it was possible to reveal the peculiarities of the legal status of teachers in Volyn Voivodeship during the interwar period for the first time, based on previously unknown archival documents, government decrees, school legislation, as well as the works of Ukrainian and foreign historiography. The role of teachers in the implementation of state policy has been clarified, and discrimination against teachers of Ukrainian nationality in the*

provision of social guarantees and material support has been demonstrated. **Conclusions.** The restored Second Polish Republic tried to spread a unified system of education throughout all the annexed voivodeships, including Volyn. Due to teachers' work, it was possible to implement the above-mentioned task. The functioning of the educational mechanism at all levels of schooling depended primarily on them. Consequently, the teachers were appointed primarily as representatives of the Polish nationality. Teachers were closely monitored by the educational administration and had to perform burdensome reporting work. The shortage of teachers was perhaps the biggest issue in the educational activities of interwar Poland, especially in the eastern Voivodeships. The Polish Teachers' Union played an important role in raising the profile of teachers and improving their financial situation. The organisation tried to make the teaching profession democratic, independent of excessive interference from school inspectors and supervisors.

Key words: teachers, interwar period, Second Polish Republic, Volyn Voivodeship, education system, Polish teachers' union.

ПРАВОВИЙ СТАТУС УЧИТЕЛІВ ТА ЇХНЯ РОЛЬ У РЕАЛІЗАЦІЇ ОСВІТНЬОЇ ПОЛІТИКИ ПОЛЬЩІ НА ТЕРЕНАХ ВОЛИНСЬКОГО ВОЄВОДСТВА В МІЖВОЄННИЙ ПЕРІОД

Анотація. Мета статті – розкрити основні обов'язки, що покладалися на педагогів у сфері навчання та виховання місцевої шкільної молоді, окреслити правовий статус освітян відповідно до законодавства міжвоєнної Польщі, охарактеризувати їх місце і роль у тогочасній державній політиці, представити діяльність Спільноти польських учителів у Волинському воєводстві та її вплив на освітній розвиток і педагогічну думку в регіоні. **Методологічною основою дослідження** є аналітичний, порівняльно-історичний, статистичний та проблемно-хронологічний методи. **Наукова новизна** статті полягає у тому, що вперше на основі невідомих раніше архівних документів, урядових постанов, шкільного законодавства, а також доробків української та закордонної історіографії, вдалося розкрити особливості правового статусу вчителів на території Волинського воєводства у міжвоєнний період. З'ясовано роль учителів у реалізації державної політики, показано дискримінацію педагогів української національності у наданні їм соціальних гарантій та матеріального забезпечення.

Висновки. Відновлена Друга Річ Посполита намагалася поширити єдину систему освіти на теренах усіх приєднаних воєводств з-поміж іншого, й Волинського. Реалізація цього завдання була можливою насамперед завдяки діяльності вчителів. Саме від них передусім залежало функціонування освітнього механізму у всіх ланках шкільництва. Тому вчителями першочергово призначали представників польської національності. Педагогічні працівники перебували під пильним контролем освітньої адміністрації і змушені були виконувати обтяжливу звітну роботу. Нестача вчительських кадрів була чи не найбільшою проблемою в освітній діяльності міжвоєнної Польщі, особливо на теренах східних воєводств. Велику роль у піднесенні авторитету освітян та у поліпшенні їхнього фінансового становища відіграла Спільнота вчителів Польщі. Організація намагалася зробити професію педагога демократичною, незалежною від надмірного втручання шкільних інспекторів та кураторів.

Ключові слова: вчителі, міжвоєнний період, Друга Річ Посполита, Волинське воєводство, система освіти, Спільнота вчителів Польщі.

Problem Statement. One of the consequences of World War was the incorporation of the Volyn Voivodeship into the revived Polish state under the terms of the Riga Peace Treaty of 1921. The political forces of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth considered their right to possess Western Volyn legitimate, so they began to implement administrative, socio-economic, and cultural and educational changes, which were accompanied by discrimination against the local population. The development of schooling was to be subordinated to the national legislation, since the issue of education, according to researcher Yuriy Kramar, "was an important component of the assimilation policy of the Second Polish-Lithuanian

Commonwealth in the eastern voivodeships of the state” (Kramar, 2011, p. 2). The Board of Trustees of Volyn School District was established in May 1922, whose task was to manage the educational processes in the region. The main administrative functions were performed by the trustees and school inspectors, but the teachers were responsible for the effective and coordinated work of the school as an educational institution. Since the level of education in Volyn Voivodeship was one of the lowest in all of Poland, the tasks assigned to the teachers were almost overwhelming. In this study we have tried to cover the problems Volyn teachers faced, what social guarantees they claimed and how they tried to implement the Polish state policy in the educational sphere.

Review of Recent Research. It is worth noting that the education issues during the interwar period were studied by both Polish and Ukrainian historians. For example, there should be mentioned among the Polish scholars the following ones: Włodzimierz Mędrzecki (Mędrzecki, 1988), Karol Sanojca (Sanojca, 2014, 2020), Iwona Michalska (Michalska, 2014, 2019), Andrzej Smolarczyk (Smolarczyk, 2020) and Piotr Gołdyn (Gołdyn, 2021). Due to the above-mentioned works, it is possible to understand the main aspects of the Polish school management and their consequences, to reveal the specifics of teachers’ duties. Taking into consideration the studies carried out by the following Ukrainian scholars as Lesia Aleksiiievets (Aleksiiievets, 2011), Albert Venher (Venher, 2011), Olena Volontyr (Volontyr, 2013), Tetiana Zavorodnia (Zavorodnia, 2007), Yuriy Kramar (Kramar, 2015), Andriy Nahirniak (Nahirniak, 2018), Oksana Ruda (Ruda, 2019), Roksolana Mazurok, Andriy Smyrnov (Mazurok, & Smyrnov, 2024), we come to the conclusion that the educational policy of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth led to the elimination of education for the national minorities in Volyn Voivodeship, discrimination against the Ukrainian teachers, etc. Valentyna Dobrochynska (Dobrochynska, 2004) studied certain areas related to Volyn intelligentsia activities, and also analyzed the features of teaching staff of the Law of God teachers (Dobrochynska, & Lenartovych, 2025). The studies by Daniel Fedorowycz (Fedorowycz, 2021), Stefan Corrsin (Corrsin, 1998) were of utmost importance in order to understand the Polish state policy towards the ethnic minorities during the interwar period. However, the issue on the legal status of teachers, their place and role in Volyn education system was covered fragmentarily and requires more detailed research.

The research purpose is to clarify the main responsibilities of teachers in the field of education and upbringing of local schoolchildren, outline the legal status of educators in accordance with legislation of the interwar Poland, characterize their place and role in the state policy of that time, present the activities of the Union of Polish Teachers in Volyn Voivodeship and its influence on the education and pedagogical thought development in the region.

Research Results. Having annexed Volyn Voivodeship, the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth began the construction of the public schools to improve the level of education of the local population, since the previous government of the Russian Empire did not contribute to the expansion of educational institutions and educational process intensification (Czeczynska, 2016, p. 34). Due to the scarcity of teachers, the implementation of this task was often hampered, and it was manifested not only in quantitative terms, but also in qualitative terms (Smolarczyk, 2020, p. 234). The search of additional personnel was carried out by the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Public Education (MViNO) and the Employment Centres jointly, but the increase in teachers at the beginning of 1920s in Volyn school district was weak. According to statistics, in the 1920/21 school year the number of teachers was 986, in 1921/22 – 2077, in 1922/1923 – 2086, in 1923/1924 – 2192, in 1924/1925 – 2098, in

1925/1926 – 2311 (Falski, 1938, p. 126). Volyn Voivodeship was ranked as the second to last in terms of the number of teachers, compared to other voivodeships of the interwar Poland (Polissia Voivodeship was in last place).

Due to the lack of qualified teachers, especially in the south-eastern voivodeships of the interwar Poland, there was an issue regarding the educational tasks implementation (Michalska, 2019, p. 34). Equating teachers in status with civil servants influenced the growth of their role in society, but did not change the existing state of affairs. I. Michalska, Polish scholar noted that it was required to spend reasonable time in order to implement teachers' professional training and the situation improved only at the end of the 1920s (2019, p. 34). There were created the professional development courses and teacher seminaries rapidly at the beginning of the first decade of the revived Polish state (Sanojca, 2014, p. 278). If a teacher graduated from the teacher seminaries with a non-Polish language of instruction, it was required to pass an additional exam in the Polish language proficiency, as well as the methodological and pedagogical subjects. The above-mentioned innovations were introduced by a resolution of the Sejm of the Second Polish Republic of May 27 of 1919 and, according to O. Ruda, contributed to stabilization of teachers staff supply (Ruda, 2019, p. 167).

The results became noticeable gradually: there were only 60% of teachers, who had professional training as of 1923, and in the early 1930s – 80%, which is evidence of a trend regarding an increase in the number of qualified workers (Galaj, 2011, p. 282).

According to the study, the social security: free medical care, discounts on public transport, and primary school principals was guaranteed for teachers, as civil servants, and they were given two tithes of land for use (Mazurok, & Smyrnov, 2024, p. 125). The largest land plots were received primarily by the principals of state comprehensive schools. For example, there were mentioned figures ranging from 200 square meters (in the village of Matsyeiv) to 6 hectares of land (in the village of Holoby), when there was the announcement regarding a competition for a school principal's vacancy in Kovel povit of Volyn school district (SARR, f. 248, d. 1, c. 2, p. 138). It should be stated that almost all the heads of rural schools were provided with their own housing with a kitchen and two or three rooms in the same povit. The Polish researcher K. Sanojca mentioned in his study that the forestry authorities were obliged to sell the wood for the construction and repair of schools at a discount of 25–50%, and in order to heat school premises and teachers' apartments – at a discount of 50% (Sanojca, 2014, p. 285).

In addition to the above-mentioned privileges, teachers had the right to protection, since they were equated with civil servants. There were entailed sanctions provided for by the Criminal Code (fine, arrest or imprisonment from 6 months to 5 years) in case of insulting a teacher during the performance of his or her official duties, indecent behaviour towards him or her, using threats or violence against him/her, attempts at bribery, etc. One can agree to the opinion of the Polish researcher Jerzy Mizgalski that “the legal acts of the early 1920s clearly raised the social prestige of a teacher compared to the legislation of the Austrian and Russian times” (Mizgalski, 1994, p. 86).

It should be noted that social guarantees and privileges concerned teachers and principals of the Polish nationality, not the Ukrainian nationality mainly. There was the discrimination in salaries of the Ukrainian teachers, which was especially noticeable. According to the small statistical yearbook of 1939, the initial and lowest salary of a teacher was 130 zlotyh, but the figure of 210 zlotyh could be also seen (Mały Rocznik Statystyczny, 1939, p. 129). However, we came across an excerpt from an article, which was called “The Teachers and Cigarettes” on the pages of the periodical “Selianska Dolia” issued in 1931, which mentioned the following:

“Just think: the Ukrainian teachers’ salary, all with higher education, in today’s times for 20-30 hours of work per week costs as much as a heavy smoker needs for the cigarettes. At the same time, the Board of Trustees throws its Polish teacher into the gymnasium and orders him to pay ten times more” (“Selianska doli”, 1931, p. 2). The above-mentioned examples of discrimination against the Ukrainian teachers in Volyn Voivodeship in 1921 – 1939 were part of the general policy of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth aimed at the national assimilation of the Ukrainian population.

The scholars, who studied the education systems in the authoritarian European nations in the 1920s and 1930s, where the national minorities rights were disregarded, found a solution in giving the minorities autonomy, so they could run their own schools, funded by the state budget (Ansell, & Lindvall, 2013, p. 510).

The ideas brought by D. Fedorowycz should be highlighted, who considered the interwar Poland to be a state that often violated obligations to protect the rights of the national minorities. Even though “the Polish statesmen could not completely ignore the national minorities aspirations of, they made sure that the centre of gravity in the interwar Poland was its ethnically the Polish core” (Fedorowycz, 2021, p. 78).

Due to the fact that the curricula provided for the mandatory study of religion, an important role was assigned to teachers of the Law of God. They were entrusted with a high social mission, which consisted in the moral education of virtuous citizens. Taking into consideration the instructions of the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Public Education, the professional qualifications were determined for teachers of Religion, including the Orthodox, at state and private schools. They could have a Master’s Degree in Theology with mandatory knowledge of the Polish language. According to V. Dobrochynska, there was a shortage of the religion teachers at schools in Volyn Voivodeship, since the lessons of the Law of God were conducted by the parish priests (Dobrochynska, & Lenartovych, 2025, p. 61). Due to the fact that there was the scarcity of teachers, which was especially noticeable in the rural areas, the classes were combined into common groups. Consequently, the quality of information acquisition was adversely impacted by the disregard for the students’ age and psychological traits.

The focus should be on the didactic and educational duties performance by teachers. There had been the following pedagogical workload since 1934: 30 hours per week – for employees of the state comprehensive schools, and 20–28 hours – for the heads of such institutions. In addition to the lessons, teachers were burdened with other activities, for example, attending church services with students on Sundays and holidays and holding parent-teacher meetings. On the other hand, there could be some professional benefits, which included (in addition to the usual annual leave) the annual paid leave for health reasons, the paid leave (duration: two months) for resolving important personal, family or property issues, leave for advanced training in the specialty (five months for 20 years of work), as well as the paid leave in connection with the studies or scientific activities (Sanojca, 2014, p. 281).

The Law issued on July 1 of 1926 “On Professional Relations of Teachers” (amended in 1932, 1933, and 1938), known as “Teachers’ Pragmatics” was the basic document regulating the legal status of teachers. It defined the rules for admission to teaching service, the rights and obligations of teachers, including issues on salary levels, educational and administrative tasks, and professional advancement.

The chief focus was on the role of teachers regarding the Polish educational policy implementation, which was aimed at strengthening the state unity and assimilating the

Ukrainian population. The governments of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth considered education to be a vital tool for the political and national integration of the annexed territories, hence, teachers were supposed to become the main driving force in the above-mentioned policy implementation on the ground. It is common knowledge that the Ukrainian teachers defended the right of Ukrainian students to study and master their native language and culture. The national education was intended to revive the centuries-old hopes of the Ukrainian people to restore and build their own, independent and united state (Czepil, & Karpenko, 2020, p. 113). It's clear that Volyn curatorship did everything they could in order to stop this and made the teachers of the Polish nationality work as agents for the state education system.

There prevailed the educators without proper professional training at the Polish schools in the early 1920s, who focused on earning a living and daily material existence. It should be mentioned that the focus was on the peculiarities of the teaching profession, the educational and educational activities of teachers on the pages of the Polish press of the interwar period. The revived Poland tried to make teachers the paramount builders of the new state through work with children and youth. The educational component in the educational process was one of the key directions (Ruda, 2021, p. 35). There was no doubt that the above-mentioned work was not easy and required talent and sincere dedication in order to achieve successful results. Every teacher, who tried to take their duty as an educator seriously understood this.

The combination of educational activities in the work of teachers was aimed at instilling in students, as future citizens of Poland, a sense of national belonging. Therefore, there were organized the educational hours of a patriotic nature at school after the core subjects. For example, in Rivne povit, the curatorship obliged teachers to involve students in listening to the radio talks on the topic "School and Defense of State". In the curator's address to the educators of Rivne district, it was emphasized that young people should realize the drastic need to defend their homeland in the event of the armed conflicts (SARR, f. 248, d. 1, c. 2, p. 26). As the patriotic education was an integral part of educational process, there was introduced the military training in accordance with the order of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine issued on February 4 of 1931 along with the study of the subjects in the humanitarian, natural science and mathematics, and art and technology cycles (Zavhorodnia, 2007, p. 108).

The Boards of Trustees/curatorships and school inspectorates supervised work at schools and the educators' activities (Gołdyn, 2021, p. 234). The most serious cases of misconduct by the teachers were referred to the disciplinary bodies. However, in accordance with the offers brought in by the Ministry of Education, efforts were made in advance to exhaust all other possibilities of administrative influence. Disciplinary Committees were established as early as 1919, and the rules of their functioning were laid down in teacher pragmatism. In addition to the Committees, there were also appeal bodies under the Ministry of Education (Nahiriak, 2018, p. 94).

It could be stated that teachers' fate was in the hands of a school inspector after analyzing the publications of the government journal of Volyn school district curatorship for the period 1925 – 1930. He presented to the curator his position on the applications for appointment, transfer or dismissal of teachers of general education schools, and with the curator's consent he could appoint, dismiss or transfer teachers at his own will within a povit (Gołdyn, 2021, p. 229). A teacher, who worked on a permanent basis could not be dismissed from the service without his consent (this required a decision of the Disciplinary Committee or two unsatisfactory professional evaluations). On the other hand, it was much easier to dismiss a

teacher, who worked on a temporary basis (Sanojca, 2014, p. 285). Since Poland's personnel policy in the educational field was aimed at increasing the number of the Polish teachers, it was logical that one of the first circulars of the curator of Volyn school district should have been issued, according to which all teachers, without exception, had to obtain the Polish citizenship within two months. Otherwise, they were threatened with the dismissal from their positions from July 1 of 1922 (Kramar, 2015, p. 84). As a result, many Ukrainian teachers lost their jobs due to the inability to obtain the Polish citizenship. In addition, teachers of the national schools were sent to work in Poland. Instead there were appointed the Polish teachers, who not only did not know the local language, but also did not have the appropriate professional training (Venher, 2011, p. 2013). The population met them unfriendly. There were many cases when parents refused to send their children to such a teacher. The Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation of Volyn (the representation of the Volhynian Ukrainian ambassadors in the Sejm) received hundreds of complaints from villagers about new teachers (Mędrzecki, 1988, p. 141). There were involved in schooling 1,300 Poles and almost half as many Ukrainians in Volyn by the end of 1922. It was indicated that personnel policy became a means of the indirect Polonization of the Ukrainian schooling in Volyn (Volontyr, 2013, p. 11). Despite the shortage of qualified teachers, the authorities closed the Ukrainian Teacher Training Seminaries in the early 1920s: two for men (in Dederkaly and Derman) and one for women (in Zymne). They trained mainly teachers for schools where instruction was conducted in Ukrainian (Kramar, 2015, p. 92).

There were many cases when teachers voluntarily resigned. In particular, there were 91 teachers, who abandoned their profession in Volyn in 1921 – 1922. In total, there were hired 792 teachers, the vast majority of whom were of the Polish nationality by Volyn School District Board of Trustees at the beginning of its creation (Kraeutler, 1923, p. 528). In his study V. Panasiuk mentioned that there were 3,446 teachers in 1932, of whom 81,1% were the Poles, and only 13% were of the Ukrainian nationality (Panasiuk, 2003, p. 129). The statistics provided emphasized the subordinate status of the Ukrainian teachers.

It is worth considering the fact that the state administration tried to have influence on the results of the population census in the direction of artificially increasing the Polish majority, when analyzing the nationality of teachers (Corrsin, 1998, p. 144). The above-mentioned led to significant distortions of data on the national identity of the teaching staff.

The teaching profession was dependent on burdensome administration and school reporting. The district inspectors required school principals to submit reports on the activities of all teachers in the form of observation sheets from time to time. These were to contain information on the professional qualities of teachers, which included: conscientiousness in performance of official duties, methods and results of educational and didactic work, teacher-student and teacher-parent relationships, teachers' attendance at the professional development courses, knowledge of school curriculum and administrative rules and regulations (SARR, f. 248, d. 1, c. 2, p. 238).

An important role in the educational system functioning in the 1920s and 1930s was played by the Polish Teachers' Union, which contributed to the creation of a new Polish statehood, spread progressive pedagogical thought, organized courses for teachers, and published many pedagogical periodicals (Michalska, 2014, p. 60). Jakub Hoffman, a teacher, and local historian was the head of the district branch of the Union in Volyn Voivodeship.

The Union of Polish Teachers in Volhynia resolved various issues, including financial issues of schooling. During the Union's Congress in May 1932 in Rivne, a plan for a fund

for the construction of new schools was adopted, according to which voluntary parental contributions amounted to from 2 to 10 zlotyh annually. In this way, the total amount of funds in Volyn Voivodeship could amount to 200,000 – 300,000 zlotyh per year (SARR, f. 184, d. 1, c. 6, p. 153). At the same time, J. Hoffman emphasized that in the matter of the voluntary contributions, teachers only had to convey information to parents, and one of the members of the Union had to collect the funds. The purpose of this decision was to preserve the teachers' authority, avoiding accusations of misappropriation of funds by them.

In Volyn the Union representatives also identified a number of issues in the functioning of schools and position of teachers. Firstly, the results of the Congress indicated the negative consequences of the education system dependence on school authorities. Excessive interference by supervisors and inspectors in the educational process, according to the participants of the Union, will lead to a decrease in the educational level of the school, minimize a teacher's enthusiasm and make it impossible for a school to develop normally. Second of all, attention was paid to respecting the rights of the teachers of the Orthodox faith (on the days of Orthodox holidays, Orthodox teachers should have a day off). Third of all, children from rural areas should be able to go to lyceums and gymnasiums (SARR, f. 184, d. 1, c. 6, p. 156). It should be noted that the Union of Teachers of Poland tried to take an apolitical position throughout its existence (Szczechura, 1957, p. 213). Such kind of feature contributed to a growing popularity of this organization in all regions of Poland. Volyn Voivodeship was no exception: as of 1933, in the Union there were 2,034 members. During the study, it was found that among the members of Volyn District Board of the Teachers' Union of Poland, the Poles predominated, but there were also the Ukrainians, in particular, ambassadors Stepan Skrypyk and Yevhen Bohuslavsky (SARR, f. 181, d. 1, c. 6, p. 141).

Conclusion. During the interwar period, the legal status of teachers in Volyn Voivodeship was regulated by the regulatory legal acts adopted by the Polish government. Teachers had certain rights and obligations, were subordinate to the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, curators and school inspectors, who represented state authorities. Teachers were tasked with implementing the educational policy of the Polish authorities in Volyn. They implemented curricula, educated students in the spirit of the Polish national identity and contributed to the Polonization of the local population.

Despite the problems with the insufficient number of schools and national contradictions, teachers of Volyn Voivodeship sought to provide quality education for children and youth and to shape their comprehensive development. The Professional activity of teachers was important for the socio-cultural transformation of the region in interwar Poland.

An important organization that supported the educational tasks implementation in Volyn Voivodeship was the Union of Teachers of Poland. Its members tried to monitor compliance with the legal status of teachers in the region and promote their professional development. The research on the legal status and role of teachers in Volyn Voivodeship in the 1920s – 1930s provides an opportunity to better understand the features of the Polish educational policy in the Ukrainian lands, as well as to see the contribution of the teachers to the socio-political processes of this period.

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**THE UKRAINIAN COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT REVIVAL IN EASTERN GALICIA
IN THE 1920s (BASED ON THE MATERIALS OF THE NEWSPAPER “DILO”)**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to analyse the revival of the Ukrainian cooperative movement at the beginning of the 20s in the 20th century based on the publications of the daily Ukrainian periodical “Dilo”. The methodology of the research is based on the generally recognised principles of historicism, scientificity, authorial objectivity, and the use of source research methods, in particular, the method of internal criticism of sources. The scientific novelty consists in the analysis of publications in the daily periodical “Dilo” by participants in the cooperative movement regarding the formation and development of the Ukrainian cooperation after the final annexation of Eastern Galicia to Poland, the prospects and ways of its progress in the 20–30s of the 20th century. Conclusions. On the pages of the daily Ukrainian periodical “Dilo” there were published articles on the activities of cooperative associations in Eastern Galicia in the early 1920s. The Ukrainian cooperator A. Havrylko*

was a regular contributor. In his publications, he analyzed the reasons for the failures of the cooperative movement, pointed out the shortcomings of the leadership, criticized the economic policy of the Polish government, and identified ways to solve these issues. One of his main tasks was to conduct educational work among the population: to publish popular cooperative literature, specialized magazines, conduct courses, lectures, and conferences. The publication covered the activities of the Povit Association of Cooperatives, the People's Trade, and the Rural Landlord, which were intended to contribute to the growth of the Ukrainian peasantry welfare and its cultural level by improving agricultural culture of its members, uniting them in agricultural cooperatives, and preserving their economic interests. All authors emphasized that it was the cooperative movement that protected the Ukrainian peasants from exploitation by the Polish government and brought our nation closer to economic self-sufficiency. It is economic self-sufficiency that is a prerequisite for political independence.

Key words: cooperative movement, "Dilo", Eastern Galicia, Rural Farmer, Povit Association of Cooperatives, People's Trade.

ВІДРОДЖЕННЯ УКРАЇНСЬКОГО КООПЕРАТИВНОГО РУХУ У СХІДНІЙ ГАЛИЧИНІ В 20-х рр. ХХ ст. (ЗА МАТЕРІАЛАМИ ГАЗЕТИ "ДІЛО")

Анотація: *Мета статті* – проаналізувати відродження українського кооперативного руху на початку 20-х рр. ХХ ст. на основі публікацій щоденної української газети "Діло". **Методологія дослідження** базується на загально визначених принципах історизму, науковості, авторської об'єктивності, застосування джерелознавчих методів, зокрема, методу внутрішньої критики джерел. **Наукова новизна** полягає в аналізі публікацій в щоденній газеті "Діло" безпосередніх учасників кооперативного руху щодо становлення та розвитку української кооперації після остаточного приєднання Східної Галичини до Польщі, перспективи та шляхи її поступу в 20 – 30-х рр. ХХ ст. **Висновки.** На сторінках щоденної української газети "Діло" періодично друкувалися статті щодо діяльності кооперативних установ у Східній Галичині на початку 20-х рр. ХХ ст. Постійним дописувачем був український кооператор А. Гаврилко. У своїх публікаціях він аналізував причини невдач кооперативного руху, вказував на недоліки керівництва, критикував економічну політику польського уряду, пропонував шляхи подолання цих проблем. Одним із основних завдань він вважав проведення освітньої роботи серед населення: видавати популярну кооперативну літературу, спеціалізовані часописи, проводити курси, лекції та конференції. У публікації висвітлювалася діяльність Повітового Союзу Кооперативів, Народної Торгівлі, Сільського Господаря, які мали на меті сприяти зростанню добробуту українського селянства і його культурного рівня шляхом вдосконалення сільськогосподарської культури членів, об'єднання в сільськогосподарські кооперативи та збереження їхніх господарських інтересів. Усі автори наголошували на тому, що саме кооперативний рух захищає українських селян від визисків з боку польського уряду та наближає до економічної самодостатності нашої нації. Саме економічна самодостатність є передумовою політичної незалежності.

Ключові слова: кооперативний рух, "Діло", Східна Галичина, Сільський Господар, Повітовий Союз Кооперативів, Народна Торгівля.

Problem Statement. The Western Ukrainian territory was included into the Polish Republic after the end of World War I. Social and national oppression was prevalent among the Ukrainian population. This area became an agricultural and raw material addition as a result of the Polish occupation policies, which restricted the growth of industry on purpose and caused agriculture to collapse. The cooperative movement, the origins of which date back to the end of the 19th century, was crucial in protecting the national and socioeconomic interests of the Ukrainians during times of political statelessness. The Ukrainian cooperative movement development in Eastern Galicia played primarily the role of a political and state initiative in the 1920s of the 20th century. The paramount goal was to improve the standard of living of the population radically, preserve the national traditions and raise the national consciousness. Cooperation became an effective tool of self-organization, contributed to the

consolidation of the Ukrainian population, and counteracted denationalization processes. There was formed the national production within the cooperative system, which provided a means of livelihood for a significant part of peasantry, restrained emigration flows and contributed to the formation of a domestic market for the Ukrainian goods.

The nowadays realities show that the economic independence and self-sufficiency of the nation are the condition for the state political independence. Hence, the study on the economic processes in the western Ukrainian lands, in particular the activities of diverse cooperative associations in the first third of the 20th century, contributes to the acquisition of experience in the economic progress of the state.

Review of Recent Research and Publications. The Ukrainian historians' interest has grown regarding the study on the economic processes in the western Ukrainian lands in the first half of the 20th century recently. There has been formed a qualitatively new approach to the analysis of the cooperative movement as a component of the national socio-economic and cultural life in modern Ukrainian historiography. There are numerous studies published by the Ukrainian scholars on the history of the Ukrainian cooperative movement. The scholars S. Heley (Heley, 2016), Z. Struk (Struk, 2000), R. Mateyko (Mateyko, 2001), and the others provided a comprehensive description of the Ukrainian cooperative movement progress at the end of the 19th and the beginning 20th centuries. This issue was also covered in the collective monographs "History of the Cooperative Movement", "History of Consumer Cooperatives of Ukraine", "Ukrainian Cooperators".

The theses written by Z. Struk (Struk, 2001), L. Rodionova (Rodionova, 2001), O. Shmilo (Shmilo, 2006), O. Pasitsávka (Pasitsávka, 2019), and the others are the focus of the study on various aspects of the cooperative movement in Eastern Galicia in the first third of the 20th century.

The prerequisites and process of creating credit institutions were highlighted by Z. Komarynska in the article "Banks and Banking in Western Ukraine" (Komarynska, 2000). The financial and credit system characteristics in the western Ukrainian lands were presented by O. Burunova (Burunova, 2012). The articles written by O. Medvid' (Medvid', 2021) focus on the study of the cooperative movement in Drohobych region.

We should mention the historian V. Futala among modern Ukrainian scholars, who in his article "The Economic and Cooperative Movement of Western Ukraine during the Interwar Period of the 20th Century: Modern Research and Interpretations" summed up the main scientific approaches to studying this issue, outlined the spectrum of research and the degree of their systematicity (Futala, 2011).

V. Tereshchenko's study on the historiographic discourse "The Western Ukrainian Cooperative Movement of the 20s–30s of the 20th Century in Modern Domestic Historiography" was a significant contribution. The scholar analyzed the trends in the Ukrainian historical science development on the issue, identified leading areas of research and pointed out the drawbacks (Tereshchenko, 2012). He focused on the institutional analysis of such associations activities as "Tsentrosoyuz", "Maslosoyuz", "Silskyi Hospodar", etc. K. Ostafin covered the agricultural activity and the Ukrainian cooperatives establishment in Eastern Galicia during the interwar period (Ostafin, Jasionek, Kaim, Miklar, 2021). R. Masyk analyzed the economic sectors of the region during the interwar period, in particular, characterized the development of agricultural and consumer Ukrainian cooperatives briefly (Masyk, 2023). The source potential of the newspaper "Dilo" as a source for the history of various aspects of the life of Ukrainian society in Eastern Galicia was analyzed by K. Kurylyshyn and M. Haliv (Kurylyshyn, 2022; Kurylyshyn, & Haliv, 2024; Kurylyshyn, & Haliv, 2025).

Modern Ukrainian historiography reinterprets the cooperative movement as a significant factor in the social, economic, and national life of the Ukrainians in the first third of the 20th century. However, there is no comprehensive study on the publications regarding cooperative topics on the pages of the daily Ukrainian periodical "Dilo" till nowadays.

The purpose of the research is to analyse the revival of the Ukrainian cooperative movement at the beginning of the 1920s based on the publications of the daily Ukrainian periodical "Dilo". The chronological boundaries of the study cover the year 1923, since it was then that the accession of Eastern Galicia to the Polish state was officially recognised. As a result, the government's economic policy changed and the Ukrainian cooperative movement in the region began operating under new conditions.

Problem Statement. In Western Ukrainian lands the cooperative movement was revived under new conditions after the Entente countries' final recognition of Poland's annexation of Eastern Galicia. There were diverse publications by direct participants in this process regarding the issues and prospects of the Ukrainian cooperation that appeared in the daily periodical "Dilo". In A. Havrylko's article "Congress of the Ukrainian Cooperators" (Havrylko, 1923a) it was mentioned that there was held the Regional Congress of Cooperators in Lviv on March 30 of 1923. The Congress of the Regional Revision Association was held on March 31. The plan and methods of further activity were adopted under the new realities at these congresses. The author noted that both experienced cooperators and young people, who presented new ideas regarding cooperative work, were present at the meetings. A. Havrylko emphasized indicated that it was the young workers, who spread the cooperative idea in the remote villages of the region. The Regional Congress of Cooperators adopted the resolution, which emphasized that "our cooperation, by its nature, is one of the means of the national emancipation, as for example, cooperation in Poznań region, among the Slovenes and the Finns. But our cooperation is neither party nor class" (Havrylko, 1923a).

There was published information on the further organisational work of the "Sil'skyi Hospodar" cooperative on the pages of the periodical "Dilo" on May 20. In particular, it was mentioned that the change in political circumstances required "the activities of the "Sil'skyi Hospodar" to be based on the self-help of the agricultural community of our population, on cooperatives, as the most appropriate form of uniting the peasant masses" (Sil's'kyi Hospodar, 1923). It was also emphasised that all members of the organisation had to support cultural and educational activity of the cooperative. Each cooperative had to allocate a certain quota for subscriptions to economic magazines and distribute them in the villages based on the income from the goods sale.

Regarding practical activities, it was determined that the rural cooperatives should carry out their tasks owing to the population self-help. It was noted that the activity of the Povit Association of Cooperatives "does not have to be based on material sacrifices, but may be based on self-financing" (Sil's'kyi Hospodar, 1923). Taking into consideration the leadership opinion, such a financial policy would contribute to the growth of importance of cooperatives and their transformation into effective centres of peasantry's economic life in Galician counties. It was stated that the paramount goal of the Povit Association of Cooperatives was to increase the well-being of the Ukrainian peasantry and its cultural level by improving the agricultural culture of its members, uniting them into agricultural cooperatives, and preserving their economic interests.

A. Havrylko, a regular writer on cooperative issues in the periodical "Dilo", published a piece of advice on May 27 "How to Organize Cooperatives in Povit" in order to activate the cooperative movement. According to the author, in areas where a cooperative was not

established, it was necessary to convene a meeting of peasants and invite local intelligentsia. There should be delivered speech on the programme of the cooperative's activity at the meeting. But also a lot depends on the representative of the cooperative: "The referent must be the face of the entire scope of cooperative affairs, be able to speak in an accessible manner, not bore with foreign phrases, and awaken mass energy with the liveliness of presentation. Inexperienced referents discourage discussion and work" (Havrylko, 1923b).

According to the author of the article, it was vital to establish primary cooperative organizations in those villages, where people were conscious and united. There were required only ten signatures in order to establish a cooperative, but in practice those cooperatives were effective when several dozens of people joined them. As a rule, it could be initiated by a lawyer, a teacher, a priest. Subsequently, District Committee of the organization should be established, which should include the representatives of all societies. In practice the cooperative life was active when Povit Association Cooperative was established. There should be included more than 10 cooperatives in order for such an association to operate productively. The Association's Charter is registered with the Commercial Court and, among other things, has the following provision: "The Association will spread cooperative ideas by means of literature, lectures, presentations, cooperative courses, schools for the education of cooperative members and their families..." (Havrylko, 1923b). A. Havrylko noted that only due to the selfless and daily work of the people the cooperative movement will improve and come closer to complete economic self-sufficiency.

The cooperative "Narodna Torhivlia" was a productive economic Ukrainian organization in Eastern Galicia at the beginning of the 20th century. Due to the change in the political and economic situation in the early 20s, reorganization of the cooperative took place. The above-mentioned news was published in the periodical "Dilo" on June 15 of 1923. The periodical's editorial office reported that the inaugural meeting of the Supervisory Board of "Narodna Torhivlia" took place on June 11. It should be noted that the Supervisory Board consisted of the representatives of cooperatives and individuals. Dr. Stepan Fedak was elected President of the Council, Roman Zubyk and Manuel Pavliuk as deputies, Hilary Chapelsky – a secretary, and Volodymyr Elektorovych became his Deputy. There were the following representatives in "Narodna Torhivlia" Board: Chief Director Mykola Zayachkivsky, his Deputy Yulian Pavlikovsky, Yevstakh Nahirnyi, Volodymyr Matskevych, Oleksandr Baryliak, Mykola Skrypka (Silsky Hospodar, 1923).

The editorial office of the daily Ukrainian periodical "Dilo" published the article "With our Own Hands or under the Enemy's Foot?" on September 21. It covered the issue on the organized sales of the agricultural products. The author of the publication emphasized that the organization of sales of rural products depended, first of all, on peasantry, and later on – political circumstances. Peasants would like to sell products to the Ukrainian institutions and receive money immediately. But cooperative institutions did not have such significant funds and could only take them as a loan from a bank at high interest, like trade intermediaries. Hence, in order to repay the loan, the goods would have to be sold only at high prices. At the same time, the Polish government introduced a higher tax for the Ukrainian cooperators than the Polish and Jewish intermediaries paid. It also affected the economic situation of the Galician cooperatives negatively (Havrylko, 1923c). It was also stated that intermediaries did not keep records of the goods, so the government could not control their profits. The Ukrainian cooperative institutions had to keep accurate records and pay 2% of each trade transaction (Havrylko, 1923c).

The author analyzed the difficulties of selling rural goods and pointed out that the Polish and Jewish cooperatives operated without intermediaries and used cheap bank credit. The Ukrainian cooperatives did not have such credit and would not have it due to the economic policy of the Polish government. Trade in agricultural products was a political matter. The government prohibited exports and lowered prices, but at the same time gave illegal permits to the Polish entrepreneurs and, thus, raised prices at the market. According to A. Havrylko, permission to export certain products, such as eggs, was a “bonus for trustworthiness or belonging to the Polish nation” (Havrylko, 1923c). The government provided state loans to some organizations for the purchase of grain, thus, putting them out of competition. The only way out of this situation was peasant cooperation “to be a force to be reckoned with by our neighbours, managing the fruits of our labour against our interests” (Havrylko, 1923d).

In the article “With our Own Hands”, September 23, V. Sadovsky discussed with the author of the previous article the problem of self-organization of peasantry and the activities of cooperative institutions in the field of grain procurement. In particular, he pointed out that according to the law of May 14 of 1923, all cooperative institutions paid the tax of not 2%, but only 0,5% (Sadovsky, 1923).

One way to solve the above-mentioned problem was cooperation, the viability of which consisted in the fact that it had to find ways and methods that corresponded to the current situation, cooperation had to unite peasantry. The author emphasized that for the corresponding work peasants had neither the means, nor the experience, nor the corresponding organization. Hence, “the viability of cooperation must actually be manifested in the fact that it must find ways and methods that correspond to the current situation, that it must find credit in the current situation, that it must unite the broad masses” (Sadovsky, 1923).

V. Sadovsky summarized that for more active cooperation between peasantry and cooperatives, organizations management should inform citizens and the press about relevant decisions, since this issue was of national importance (Sadovsky, 1923).

A. Havrylko published the article about the shortcomings of the organizational work of the Ukrainian cooperators. It was published on October 6 under the following title: “Shortcomings in Leadership’s and Members’ Activity of Cooperative Organization”. According to the author, one of the shortcomings of the cooperative movement was that leaders of institutions were not “conscious cooperators”, but the former state officials or teachers, who did not have the appropriate economic education and experience: “Such leaders of cooperatives often do not know what cooperation is, what the best system should be, what cooperation should strive for, they are afraid of the collective, they do not want its ownership at all” (Havrylko, 1923d). The author also criticized the leaders’ lack of understanding of the cooperative principles. Furthermore, the author emphasized that there were required small entry fees in order to establish a cooperative, and later on, as the organization strengthens, the annual fee could be increased. According to the author’s opinion, such kind of tactics would contribute to attracting new members to the cooperative organizations.

In the publication it was also stated that cooperatives management required selflessness among its members: additional monetary contributions, purchase of goods only in the cooperative, sale of products only through the organization. But in return, peasantry must also know about all the economic operations of the cooperative and have a full report. The limited trade had a pernicious effect on the situation of the cooperative. There had to be all the goods, which were necessary for a farm in the consumer stores, so that there was no need for peasants to go to the Polish or Jewish stores. The establishment of cooperative

associations and their joint activity was considered to be the cooperative movement strength by A. Havrylko.

A. Havrylko mentioned that not all peasants were cognizant of the purpose of cooperation, and courses, lectures, cooperative meetings were not held, and young people were not educated for cooperation. The author emphasized that “the lack of conscious activity kills the cooperative organization. Educational work for cooperation is the quest for its existence” (Havrylko, 1923d).

The next publication was called “Povit Associations of Cooperatives” and it was published on October 18. These were the abstracts from Ivan Fylypovych’s speech at a cooperative meeting held in Lviv on September 29, 1923. It provided some statistical data on the number of active cooperatives in Eastern Galicia. In particular, it was indicated that as of June 30, 1923, there were united 776 cooperatives by the Regional Association of Revision. But there were only 648 active organizations (Fylypovych, 1923). There was also some information about the activities of the Povit Associations. The longest-running Povit Association was in Zabolotiv, Sniatyn Povit, which included 18 cooperatives. There were 58 rural cooperatives and 4 cooperatives in the town, which were the part of the Povit Association in Stanislaviv. The association developed activities and spread its influence to Tovmach, Nadvirna, Bucha, and Kalush povits. Three organizers worked in the organizational department actively (Fylypovych, 1923). The Povit Association was registered in Drohobych, but was not actually established and did not carry out any work. In Stryi the Association consisted of 53 rural cooperatives and 5 town cooperatives. Trade and organizational departments were established there. The povit associations in Rudky, Zhovkva, Sokal, Yavoriv, Chortkiv were only formed organizationally, therefore, they did not conduct any active cooperative activities (Fylypovych, 1923).

The article, which was called “Cooperation and Devaluation” and was published in the periodical on October 20, covered the inflation issue and its impact on the cooperative movement. A. Havrylko pointed out that inflation and constant rise in prices forced the population to seek the economic protection in cooperative institutions. There were created favourable psychological conditions for the cooperation development at that time: “wherever there is devaluation, cooperatives are founded, and the public flocks to them” (Havrylko, 1923e). Under such conditions it is not difficult to establish a cooperative, even to enroll a significant number of members. But the overwhelming task of the organizers is to find capital, to develop the enterprise and retain depositors. The author pointed out that the above-mentioned may be partially avoided if the cooperators are offered daily interest on the loan. But most often, under such conditions, cooperatives “in which trading activity is not sufficiently lively, not comprehensive” lose profit (Havrylko, 1923e). The situation of cooperatives during periods of inflation was also negatively affected by the decrease in the quantity of goods, since “they often cannot buy the same quantity again with the cash received from the sale of a certain quantity of goods” (Havrylko, 1923e). Taking into account the above-mentioned situation, it is impossible for a consumer cooperative to survive, because it sold goods at low prices.

According to A. Havrylko, it was necessary to establish an appropriate “body that would monitor the growth of prices and that would inform all cooperatives of the region about the market situation every day by telegraph, telephone, or in some other way” in Lviv (Havrylko, 1923e). But not only the sale of goods, but also the joint sale of products was extremely complicated during the period of inflation. Peasants wanted money for their goods

immediately. The author pointed out that “for that you need capital, but where could you get it under the conditions above-mentioned situation” (Havrylko, 1923e). A. Havrylko emphasized that the cooperation was the best way to cope with the economic difficulties. We need to learn “from clever private entrepreneurs, let us adapt the methods of sales practised by them, let us learn from each other, let us inform the public in a timely manner about relations on the exchange, about all the ways of protecting ourselves against devaluation” (Havrylko, 1923e). The author believed that Lviv intelligentsia as well as intelligentsia in towns and villages should help peasants in this aspect.

The next publication was called: “Private Enterprise and Management of Cooperative” written by the same author and published on October 27. A. Havrylko carried out a comparative analysis on the activities of a private entrepreneur and a cooperative association. The author pointed out that an entrepreneur had all the income from his business for his own needs. Hence, he invested more money in the development of production: “A private owner invests his knowledge, all his creative energy, of course, in the enterprise” (Havrylko, 1923f). Therefore, enterprise modernization occurred faster and more efficiently. A member of a cooperative institution, as the author of the publication wrote, worked “not so much for himself, but rather to a greater extent for the public”, and, consequently, had no incentive for profitable work (Havrylko, 1923f).

In the article A. Havrylko pointed out bureaucracy that affected the situation of the Ukrainian cooperative organizations negatively. If a private owner decided to modernize an enterprise and purchase new equipment, then in cooperatives such issues were resolved by the Supervisory Board, general meeting, separate commission, regional association, Povit Association, Revision Association, etc. The author mentioned the following: “By the time the matter goes through all those formalities, it is necessary to convene a meeting and a new general meeting to introduce an even newer, even more expensive arrangement, because the one that has been discussed is outdated” (Havrylko, 1923f). As it was stated in the publication, bureaucracy is one of the main reasons for the inability of the Ukrainian cooperatives to compete with private business and the Polish economic institutions.

According to A. Havrylko, it was also necessary to have “a certain level of cooperative consciousness and at least some knowledge of the basics of organization, conditions of merchanthood or production” in order to work more efficiently (Havrylko, 1923f). Consequently, the author once again emphasized the need to conduct educational work among the population. Each cooperative should publish popular cooperative literature, specialized magazines, and hold courses, lectures, and conferences.

A. Havrylko pointed out the drastic need to unite the artisans into the cooperative associations in another article, which was published on October 31 under the title “Cooperation and Artisans”. The cooperation could provide assistance to the artisans in purchasing equipment and raw materials, profitable sales of products, and improving production in accordance with the market needs. The cooperatives could provide the artisans with the premises and even establish craft workshops if it was vital. He claimed that each cooperative worked to ensure that the Ukrainian artisans have work, since the cooperative movement worked under the slogan “One buys his his native goods sold by native producers”. It was assumed that cooperatives would take orders for artisans from their members, remote regions, and even foreign firms. The author of the article emphasized that goods were supplied to artisans by intermediaries at inflated prices: “A tailor pays twice as much for cloth, a shoemaker for leather, a blacksmith for iron and coal, etc.” (Havrylko, 1923g). It

was offered to buy this product directly from the factories with the same discounts as the intermediary. Also, artisans lost money on the sale of their products, since they did not sell it themselves at the market, but resold it to the intermediaries: “The cities and towns are full of foreign vaults with the products of our artisans, at the auctions and fairs there are countless resellers of these products” (Havrylko, 1923g). A. Havrylko noted that by not organizing the sale of artisanal goods, cooperatives do harm to the Ukrainian craftsmanship, because each intermediary makes good money on the product, and the artisan loses: “Our people perish for the benefit of foreign, hostile groups, and even now, in a time of unprecedented development of the cooperation, we are unable to defend our artisans from the destructive intermediary” (Havrylko, 1923g).

The author pointed out that cooperative institutions could be contributed to the improvement of handicrafts. The cooperatives could send their craftsmen to study in towns and abroad jointly, as well as supply the artisans with the samples of products that were popular on the market.

It was also offered to establish a cooperative association for all artisans in povit. The primary task should be to raise the necessary funds and establish cooperation with the raw materials producers. Subsequently, work was planned to establish joint sales of goods and campaign for the Ukrainians to order products only from their artisans, in accordance with the renowned cooperative slogan.

In the Economic News section there was published an appeal from the leadership of the “Silskyi Hospodar” (“Rural Farmer”) to the peasants of Kolomyia region on November 13. It stated that the Polish Economic Society had organized a herd of pedigree cattle in the region. The cooperators appealed to the population with an offer to establish their own cooperatives more actively and not to give their products to the Polish organizations. It was stated that there was no need to wait for help from the government, but to start organizational work themselves: “Our people spend an extraordinary amount of money over the past few years of the continued inactivity of the Ukrainian agricultural organizations, because, already lagging behind in terms of agricultural culture, they are falling even further behind, allowing themselves to be destroyed by anyone who wants to” (Pid uvahu nashym khliborobam, 1923). It was offered to develop plans for the revival of cooperative organization in Kolomyia and to involve specialists in it.

The management of the “Silskyi Hospodar” responded immediately to the comments about the sale of grain, which had been written about in previous issues of the periodical and in other cooperative publications. Volodymyr Choliy from Perehinsk gave a piece of advice on how to establish a temporary centre of the “Silskyi Hospodar” in Lviv, which would elect temporary district committees of 3 people. They were to compile lists of those peasants, who offered products for sale and a list of goods. This information was transferred to the governing body, and it, accordingly, was engaged in sales: “The entire paperwork is based on accurate statistics by districts, villages and regional centre” (Pid uvahu nashym khliborobam, 1923). All people in district committees should be elected, not appointed.

Regularly there were published notices about meetings of various cooperative institutions members, advertisements of the Ukrainian cooperatives, etc. in the issues of the daily periodical “Dilo”.

Conclusions. On the pages of the daily Ukrainian periodical “Dilo” there were published articles on the activities of cooperative associations in Eastern Galicia in the early 1920s. The Ukrainian cooperator A. Havrylko was a regular contributor. In his publications,

he analyzed the reasons for the failures of the cooperative movement, pointed out the shortcomings of the leadership, criticized the economic policy of the Polish government, and identified ways to solve these issues. One of his main tasks was to conduct educational work among the population: to publish popular cooperative literature, specialized magazines, conduct courses, lectures, and conferences. The publication covered the activities of the Povit Association of Cooperatives, the People's Trade, and the Rural Landlord, which were intended to contribute to the growth of the Ukrainian peasantry welfare and its cultural level by improving agricultural culture of its members, uniting them in agricultural cooperatives, and preserving their economic interests. All authors emphasized that it was the cooperative movement that protected the Ukrainian peasants from exploitation by the Polish government and brought our nation closer to economic self-sufficiency. It is economic self-sufficiency that is a prerequisite for political independence.

The prospects of the future research is to carry out the analysis on the publications concerning the situation of the Ukrainian cooperation in Eastern Galicia based on materials from the "Economic and Cooperative Periodical".

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“ITALIAN SCANDALS” IN ODESA (ON THE HISTORY OF THE ITALIAN CONSULATE GENERAL ACTIVITIES IN ODESA IN 1924 – 1929)

Abstract. *The purpose of this article is to analyse the Italian Consulate General activities in Odesa in 1924 – 1929, as well as to examine the methods of work of the United State Political Administration, the Main Intelligence Administration, the Comintern, MODR in forming the Soviet agent network of the ‘Italian direction’ in Odesa. The research methodology is based on a comprehensive approach, which is founded on the principles of historicism, scientific rigour, analysis, synthesis, generalisation, and prosopographic methods. Firstly, the scientific novelty of the article consists in reconstructing the overall picture of the consular office establishment, its staff, functions and daily activities; secondly, in highlighting the dramatic events and political scandals associated with the Italian Consulate General in Odesa in*

1924 – 1929. **Conclusions.** In the 1920s the Soviet-Italian relations were shaped by a contradictory combination of economic pragmatism and ideological confrontation. Italy was one of the first major European powers to recognise the USSR, which opened up opportunities for active trade and cooperation in the field of transport and maritime shipping. For the Soviet leadership, these ties had a dual purpose: to meet the country's economic needs and, at the same time, to use diplomatic channels as a cover for the activities of an agent network aimed at supporting the 'world revolution', especially in Italy, where revolutionary sentiments after World War I were still quite strong. In response, Italian diplomatic missions in the USSR, in particular the Consulate General of Italy in Odesa, were actively involved not only in routine consular affairs, but also in counterintelligence. Their efforts were aimed at countering the spread of Soviet propaganda among Italian sailors and political emigrants, monitoring visits to the Interclub, and protecting Italy's national interests in the Soviet environment. The so-called 'Italian scandals' are indicative in this context: tragic events such as the murder of Italian Vice-Consul S. Cozzio, or numerous conflicts surrounding Odesa Interclub, which show that behind official diplomatic cooperation there was a tense struggle between two totalitarian regimes – Bolshevik and Fascist. This struggle had not only a local but also an international dimension, as it reflected the clash of two ideological projects – communist and fascist – for influence in Europe in the interwar period.

Keywords: Italy, USSR, Ukrainian SSR, Odesa, Consulate General, Interclub, agents.

“ІТАЛІЙСЬКІ СКАНДАЛИ” В ОДЕСІ (ДО ІСТОРІЇ ДІЯЛЬНОСТІ ІТАЛІЙСЬКОГО ГЕНЕРАЛЬНОГО КОНСУЛЬСТВА В ОДЕСІ УПРОДОВЖ 1924 – 1929 рр.)

Анотація. Метою статті є аналіз діяльності італійського генерального консульства в Одесі упродовж 1924 – 1929 рр., а також розгляд методів роботи ОДПУ, ГРУ, Комінтерну, МОДР із формування радянської агентурної мережі “італійського напрямку” в Одесі. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на комплексному підході, в основі якого принцип історизму, науковості, аналіз, синтез, узагальнення та просопозграфічний методи. **Наукова новизна** статті полягає, по-перше, у реконструюванні загальної картини щодо відкриття консульської установи, її штату, функцій та повсякденної діяльності; по-друге, у висвітленні драматичних подій і політичних скандалів, що були пов'язані із італійським генеральним консульством в Одесі упродовж 1924 – 1929 рр. **Висновки.** Радянсько-італійські відносини у 1920-х рр. формувалися в атмосфері суперечливого поєднання економічного прагматизму та ідеологічної конфронтації. Італія була однією з перших великих європейських держав, які визнали СРСР, що відкривало можливість для активної торгівлі, співпраці у сфері транспорту й морських перевезень. Для радянського керівництва ці зв'язки мали подвійну мету: забезпечити господарські потреби країни та водночас використати дипломатичні канали як прикриття для діяльності агентурної мережі, спрямованої на підтримку “світової революції”, особливо на території самої Італії, де революційні настрої після Першої світової ще були досить сильними. У відповідь італійські дипломатичні представництва в СРСР, зокрема генеральне консульство Італії в Одесі, вели активну роботу не лише у звичайних консульських справах, але й у сфері контррозвідки. Їхні зусилля були спрямовані на протидію поширенню радянської пропаганди серед італійських моряків і політичних емігрантів, контроль за відвідуванням “Інтерклубу” та захист національних інтересів Італії в умовах радянського середовища. Показовими у цьому контексті є так звані “італійські скандали”: трагічні події, як-от убивство італійського віц-консула С. Коцціо, або численні конфлікти навколо одеського “Інтерклубу”, які свідчать, що за офіційною дипломатичною співпрацею приховувалася напружена боротьба між двома тоталітарними режимами – більшовицьким і фашистським. Ця боротьба мала не лише локальний, але й міжнародний вимір, оскільки відображала зіткнення двох ідеологічних проєктів – комуністичного та фашистського – за вплив у Європі в міжвоєнний період.

Ключові слова: Італія, СРСР, УСРР, Одеса, генеральне консульство, Інтерклуб, агентура.

Problem Statement. The negotiation process on the normalization of the Soviet-Italian relations, which began in 1923, ended with the de jure recognition of the USSR by Italy on February 7, 1924. On the same day, the countries signed the agreement “On

Trade and Navigation” (Dogovor o trgovle i moreplavanii, 1928), which consolidated the intensification of trade and economic relations between them. Fascist Italy became one of the main and reliable trading partners for the Soviet dictatorship. The majority of merchant ships that called at the Soviet ports were Italian in the second half of the 1920s. Thus, in 1926, 82 out of 131 foreign ships called at Odesa port (State Archives of Odesa Region – SAOR, f. P-7, d. 1, c. 2206).

However, the USSR leadership dreamed not only of establishing mutually beneficial trade relations with Western countries, but also of the “world revolution” and the capture of these countries. Therefore, Italy, which in 1919 – 1920 experienced a shocking revolutionary upheaval – “the red biennium”, was best suited for the realization of this goal. In order to prepare for a new Italian revolution, the ODPU, the Comintern, the International Organization for Aid to Revolutionary Fighters (MODR), and other Soviet hybrid warfare units created “Italian sections” within their secret structures, which conducted “active development” of Italian diplomatic institutions in the USSR. The Soviet citizens of Italian origin and Italian citizens who found themselves on the Soviet territory were monitored. The “International Organization for Aid to Revolutionary Fighters” used Italian political émigrés in the USSR as potential agents of “The Red Revolution in Italy”. Given this, the Italian Consulate General clerks in Odesa tried to recruit the Soviet agents, thereby minimizing the actions of the USSR’s special services.

Review of Recent Research Papers and Publications. The topic of the activities of Italian consulates and the Italian “presence” in the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR in the 1920s has not been developed by the Ukrainian historians for a long time. The revived interest in studying the general presence of foreign consular institutions in the territory of Soviet Ukraine contributed to the emergence of certain developments regarding the Italian consulates in Odesa and Kharkiv. Among these, it is worth highlighting the monographic study by I. Matiash (Matiash, 2020), scientific articles by L. Vovchuk (Vovchuk, 2023), V. Savchenko and O. Tryhub (Savchenko, & Tryhub, 2019), which highlight the process of establishing the Italian Consulate in Odesa, the consular institution composition, the functions and powers of the consular institution staff.

No less important are the works of foreign researchers: A. Makolkin (Makolkin, 2004; Makolkin, 2007), which examined the life of the Italian vice-consul in Odesa, Silvio Cozzio; A. Graziosi (Graziosi, 1990), O. Dundovich, F. Gori and E. Guercetti (Dundovich, & Gori, 2009; Dundovich, Gori, & Guercetti, 2004). We should highlight the article by K. Solano, which debunks “the Soviet myths” regarding Italian political immigrants (Solano, 2020).

Despite this, the issue still has a number of unfilled gaps that require further research, especially regarding the intelligence activities of representatives of the Italian Consulate General in Odesa and the counterintelligence of the Soviet special services. Therefore, the **purpose** of this article is to study the activities of the Italian Consulate General in Odesa in 1924 – 1929, as well as to highlight the methods of work of the ODPU, GRU, Comintern, MODR in forming the Soviet agent network of the “Italian direction” in Odesa.

Research Results.

Establishment of the Consulate General and its Staff.

On April 13, 1924, according to Royal Decree No. 729, the Consulate General of the Kingdom of Italy in Odesa was established, which belonged to Class 2. Since there was no suitable building before the arrival of the head of the Consulate General, the Italian Consulate General was initially located in the London Hotel (11 Feldman Boulevard, nowadays –

Prymorsky Boulevard). Only a few months later, the consulate was located in the Lerche House (5 Feldman Boulevard).

The consular district of the Consulate General of Italy in Odesa included the territory not only of Odesa region, but the entire Ukrainian SSR, Don (Rostov-on-Don) and Kuban-Black Sea (Krasnodar) regions, the Republic of Crimea and the Adygea (Circassian) Autonomous Region (Vovchuk, 2023, pp. 167–168).

The first head of the Italian Consulate General in Odesa was a 45-year-old bachelor Vincenzo Galanti, who was officially appointed to this position on March 31, 1924. He came from an aristocratic family and at the time of his arrival in Odesa was the consul in Persia. The Vice-Consul was appointed to a 67-year-old Silvio Cozzio, who had held the same position since 1904, but his activities were brought to naught during the diplomatic uncertainty. A native of Tiflis, he had relatives in both Zinoviysk and Odesa – a married niece with whom he lived. In the Consulate General there was also had a secretary-archivist, whose position was held by a native Odesa citizen, Giovanni Boschi, and Georgy Donati, an employee for assignments, who was mainly engaged in issuing various kinds of certificates for visiting Italians (The Sectoral State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine, Kyiv, Ukraine – SSA SSU, f. 13, d. 1, c. 419, vol. 1, part 1, p. 8, 8rev.).

Since July 1924, a new Italian Consul General in Odesa had been Provana del Sabbione, who was issued an exequatur on September 24, 1924. However, he and his family arrived at their new destination no earlier than July 1925, as confirmed by V. Galanti's telegram to him in early November 1924, in which he inquired about the date of Provany's arrival in Odesa, to which the latter replied that he had not yet had an official appointment. According to documents from the State Administration of the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU), V. Galanti continued to perform the functions of the Italian Consul General in Odesa in January 1925: "In mid-January [1925], Tubino, the vice-consul in Kharkiv, arrived and brought officially received data on coal exports. V. Galanti officially received data on the throughput capacity of Odesa port and on the installation of a radio station. Cozzio was supposed to verify the indicated data unofficially". "[In early March 1925]...the correspondent of the Italian consulate in Novorossiysk, Gino-Bia, sent Consul Galanti data on the import and export of Novorossiysk port...". Only on June 15, 1925, Galanti officially left Odesa, having received an appointment to head the Italian Consulate General in Tiflis (SSA SSU, f. 13, d. 1, c. 419, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 17, 21, 28, 33, 34, 36).

The USSR Supreme Soviet, in announcing the appointment of Provan del Sabbione, clearly spelled out the rights and privileges enjoyed by the newly appointed head of the consular institution. For example, it was stated that he had the right to cooperate with all local Soviet institutions located within the consular district. But this cooperation could be organized exclusively through the mediation of the Agent of the People's Commissariat in Odesa. Provana del Sabbione could be detained only by court decision. Preliminary arrest was provided for on condition of initiation of legal proceedings for actions that were within the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of the Union and the Republics. He was exempt from personal, in-kind, national and local taxes. And the last thing concerned the inviolability of the consular office and archives, which were not subject to search, inspection, etc. without the consent of the head of the consular institution (SSA SSU, f. 13, d. 1, c. 419, vol. 1, part 1, p. 18).

In September 1925, G. Boschi was dismissed from the post of secretary of the Italian Consulate General. The official reason for this was, firstly, the latter's insufficient knowledge of the Italian language, and secondly, the lack of 50 poods of firewood that had been brought to him for the needs of the consulate, and forgery of postal receipts. But the real reason was Galanti's

convictions in his collaboration with the GPU, which were entirely justified. Giovanni Boschi had indeed been recruited by the GPU and acted as an informant. The resentment over his dismissal was the key to his recruitment. An intercepted letter from G. Boschi to his girlfriend, who was temporarily living in Simferopol, clearly demonstrated his anger about the dismissal and his desire to inform the Italian Foreign Ministry about the abuses of the Consul General in Odesa. The GPU took advantage of this. G. Boschi worked under the pseudonym “Garibaldi” (SSA SSU, f. 13, d. 1, c. 419, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 33, 34, 48, 89, 90).

In the autumn of the same year, a typist named Popandopulo began working at the consulate. Due to the low salary (40 rubles), she quickly resigned from her position and went to work for the State Bank.

In addition, a new vice-consul, Alfredo Salvici, appeared, who also did not stay in this position for long. In early October 1925, it became known that, according to the order of the Italian Embassy in the USSR, he and Consul General Provan were to immediately hand over all their affairs and completely resign from the Italian Foreign Ministry. What preceded this, unfortunately, is unknown. In early November 1925, they returned to Italy with their families. Renato Scoppa Bova arrived to temporarily perform the duties of Consul General, but in October 1926, due to strained relations with the Italian ambassador in Moscow, he was recalled to Italy (SSA SSU, f. 13, d. 1, c. 419, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 43, 45, 58, 88).

The affairs of the Italian consulate were taken over by Vice-Consul S. Cozzio, who performed them until January 1927, until the arrival of the new acting Italian Consul General L. Tonker, whose appointment was announced by the NKZS at the end of December 1926 (екзекватура № 54/26) (SSA SSU, f. 13, d. 1, c. 419, vol. 1, part 1, p. 88). In March 1928 he became a consul. Since May 1927, S. Cozzio, already at a fairly advanced age, became an honorary vice-consul (Matiash, 2020, pp. 227, 229). In June 1928, Lamberto Tonker was replaced by Francesco Mariano, who performed the functions assigned to him until April 1929. Alfredo Baistrocco was to take over, but he never arrived at his destination (Vovchuk, 2023, p. 177).

Functions and daily activities of the employees of the Italian Consulate General.

The key direction of the consulate’s work was to deepen economic cooperation based on the collected political and economic information, its processing and evaluation. The Italians actively imported Soviet coal, manganese, oil and other raw materials, and the Soviet Union, in turn, imported equipment for large and small factories, tractors, steamships, etc.

An important component was the care of Italian subjects and Soviet citizens of Italian origin. The consulate not only performed its direct functions – granting visas, issuing passports, restoring Italian citizenship, protecting the interests of Italian sailors and businessmen, etc., but also provided material assistance in the form of parcels and money, took care of the problems of Catholic parishes and clergy, etc.

In addition, in 1924 – 1925, the consulate initiated the collection of applications from Italian citizens for compensation for losses incurred by the revolutionary events of 1917 – 1921. The questionnaires were received by the consulate from the Italian Foreign Ministry by diplomatic mail, since “much attention was paid to this work”. The application-questionnaire had to indicate the total amount of losses in rubles in gold, provide the testimony of three witnesses and, if possible, supporting documents. In general, for every ruble of losses, the Italian government promised to issue 15 kopecks compensation (Vovchuk, 2023, pp. 169–170). Thus, only Cozzio suffered losses in the amount of 104 thousand rubles in gold, as a result of which he was to be compensated with 15,600 rubles; Italian Maria Semeria – 869,739 rubles (SSA SSU, f. 13, d. 1, c. 419, vol. 1, part 1, p. 31).

Italian consuls were also concerned about buried Italians. Thus, in 1929, F. Mariano travelled to the Crimea to inspect and restore Italian cemeteries (SSA SSU, f. 13, d. 1, c. 419, vol. 1, part 2, p. 414).

An integral function of the Italian Consulate General in Odesa was information, which was sometimes carried out by methods that were not always permitted. Thus, the Consulate General actively worked on the newspapers “Moriak”, “Komunist”, “Krasnaya Zvezda”, and “Izvestiia”. Considerable focus was on collecting information about political life in the Ukrainian SSR, the USSR, political emigrants, Italian communists, the number of Italians in the Soviet Union, later about Italian sailors, and the repressions of the Soviet authorities against people who maintained contact with foreign missions. The collection of military information was not ignored. Thus, in July 1926, it became known from a report by the Soviet intelligence services that the Italian consul in Odesa had notified the Italian Embassy in Moscow about the concentration of military units in Odesa area (SSA SSU, f. 13, d. 1, c. 419, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 21, 30, 53, 74).

Daily activities included establishing friendly relations with representatives of local authorities and the elite: professors, artists, cooperation with the consuls of Japan, Germany, and Turkey operating in Odesa, and foreign diplomats visiting the city. In July 1925, V. Galanti invited the British Chargé d’Affaires in the USSR, Mr. Hodgson, to dinner during his stay in Odesa (SSA SSU, f. 13, d. 1, c. 419, vol. 1, part 1, p. 33). A chief focus was on the organization of various cultural events that contributed to the strengthening of communication with important and influential people of Odesa. Considerable efforts were also devoted to the management of the Italian language school for the Italian colony, which was established in Bova Skopa at the consulate on October 26, (Solano, 2020), which the Chekists considered the place of spreading fascism and tried to close it by the NKVD many times.

The heads of the consular institution did not forget about congratulating the Italian king and his family on the occasion of his birthday, a national holiday. Thus, on the eve of the 20th anniversary of the accession to the throne of Victor Emmanuel III (July 7), on the initiative of Galanti on behalf of the Consulate General and representatives of the Italian colony, congratulations were conveyed through a former member of the charitable society in Odesa, P. G. Sperandeo, who was in Rome at the time. On September 11, 1924, the Italian consul hosted a reception on the occasion of the king’s birthday (SSA SSU, f. 13, d. 1, c. 419, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 20, 34–35).

“Italian Scandals”: Soviet Secret Services and Their Methods of Operation

In the mid-1920s, Italian diplomatic representatives in the USSR noted the growing military hysteria and world ambitions among the Soviet leaders, which were clearly reflected in the Soviet propaganda. The establishment of the Soviet-Italian diplomatic relations did not mean that the USSR trusted Italy, where the fascist regime led by B. Mussolini had been established. These relations were rather pragmatic: on the one hand, Italy was a profitable economic partner for Moscow, and on the other hand, a hostile force in an ideological sense. Therefore, both the Italian embassy in Moscow and the consular institutions in the USSR, directly in Odesa, Kharkiv, and Kyiv, were under constant surveillance by the Soviet secret services as those who were among the spreaders of fascism in the USSR, through the involvement of the Italians living there. Therefore, to the best of their ability, the Italian diplomats tried to expose the secret operations of the Soviet secret services and minimize the “red threat” for Italy.

According to the Soviet intelligence services, sailors who found themselves in the Soviet ports were best suited to implement their propaganda policy. For this purpose, special cover

groups were created that made it possible to recruit these sailors, including the Soviet Bureau of the International Union of Seafarers and Dock Workers and Interclubs. In 1923, the “International Sailors’ Club” (“Foreign Sailors’ Club”, “Odesa Central International Karl Marx Club”, “Interclub”, “Mizhprop” Club) were established in Odesa, which was used for “communist propaganda” and to recruit “agents of the revolution”. The crews of Italian ships arriving in Odesa were the subject of “special attention” by the agitators of the “Interclub”. Even the Italian consul in Odesa regularly appealed to the NKZS to protest against the “anti-Italian propaganda” in the “Interclub” (banners with the slogans “Down with fascism”, caricatures of B. Mussolini, etc.) (Savchenko, & Tryhub, 2019, p. 121).

An active campaign against the influence of the International Sailors’ Club on Italian sailors was launched by Consul Lamberto Tonker. He visited every Italian ship that called on Odesa port and warned the crew that they were prohibited from going ashore. Violators were threatened with serious reprisals upon their return to Italy. However, despite these warnings, sailors still visited the Interclub. Then, with the consent of captains, Tonker began to confiscate their seaman’s books, without which staying on land became impossible. Such measures were applied to the crews of the ships “Nimbo” and “Carlo Pisacane”, but they did not give the desired result either. At the same time, Vice-Consul S. Cozzio from Odesa sent a consular dispatch to Rome, in which he reported “on the subversive activities of the Interclub” (holding rallies “against fascism”, “against Mussolini”, with the involvement of Italian sailors) (SAOR, f. P 8065, d. 2, c. 1190, pp. 16, 37).

In an attempt to tighten control, the consul hired Miro Avlic (Volodymyr Aulich), promising him assistance in resolving issues with Italian citizenship. Aulich’s task was to monitor sailors who illegally visited the Interclub, take their photographs, and report them to Tonker (Vovchuk, 2023, pp. 170–171).

However, the Soviet GPU exposed his activities quickly. He was accused of espionage in favour of Italy on April 15, 1927. According to the OGPU investigators, he was recruited by the Italian diplomats (his “agent” activities were recorded in the Italian sources). In September of the same year, M. Aulich (Volodymyr Aulich) was sentenced to 10 years in the camps (according to other sources, he was exiled outside the USSR) for transmitting the “secret information” about the Italian sailors of the “Interclub”, who were under the Soviet influence and the arrival of the Soviet spy Ksenia Gerngross in Italy (Solano, 2020).

It should be noted that before becoming “a fascist spy”, M. Aulich worked on the ships of the State Black Sea-Azov Shipping Company and “part-time” as a liaison officer for the Soviet Main Intelligence and Intelligence Directorate of the Comintern (SAOR, f. P 7, d. 1a, c. 88a, pp. 2–5).

Owing to the help of “MODR”, “Mizhprop”, “Interclub”, the Soviet secret services also included the Italian political immigrants to the numerous agents of the secret employees of the Comintern, GPU and GRU. There was created “The Group of the Italian Political Immigrants” in Odesa in 1924, which united the representatives of the Italian anarchist federations, the Communist Party of Italy, the left wing of the Italian Socialist Party. The political immigrants became the agent base of the Soviet secret services. The Soviet secret services used them for agitation and propaganda of the Soviet way of life among the foreign sailors, in agent, intelligence and counterintelligence work.

S. Cozzio began to hinder similar Soviet structures in Odesa in 1926 actively, resorting to recruiting the Italian sailors and some Italian political emigrants, with the help of whom he managed to carry out successful counter-operations. K. Solano wrote the following: “Fascism

in power armed itself with a significant spy network in Italy and abroad, which contributed to the detection and suppression of the anti-fascist organizations... The Soviet Union was the main center of the fascist spy network operations, which was constantly searching for new informants”. The same author indicated that the centres of the ICP sent the Italian revolutionary “militants” to the USSR, including those for whom “suspicions arose mainly due to their release from prison or too easy escapes, which contributed to the formation of serious doubts about the attitude of the arrested militant or leader during interrogations by the fascist police” (Solano, 2020).

There was carried out a search on the Italian sailors of the ship “Tirreni” in February 1927 at the request of Vice-Consul S. Cozzio, who was in Italy, but the demand came from Odesa. There was found the “revolutionary literature” during the search, which led to the arrest of several sailors. There was the sailors’ strike, who demanded a wage increase on the Italian steamer “Fium”, which was ship loading in Odesa in May 1927. The Vice-Consul saw in this strike the hand of the “Interclub”, whose agents incited the Italian sailors constantly (SAOR, f. P 7, d. 1, c. 1925, p. 33). In addition, S. Cozzio collected information about the stay and personal plans of the Italian political emigrants in the USSR constantly, there were “dangerous terrorists” – anarchists L. Evangelisti, R. Covanni, O. Scarcelli (who visited Italy and tried to assassinate B. Mussolini) among them. Information was also collected on the Italian communist figures, who settled in the USSR and visited Odesa: Livio Amodeo and Palmira Tagliatti (Bucci, Carolini, Lenzerini & Piermaria, N.d.), which made it possible to be prepared to counter their influence in Italy.

The Italian Consulate General in Odesa was often forced to turn a blind eye to the violations of the rights and interests of the Italian citizens by the Soviet authorities in order to maintain amicable relations with the USSR. Such was the murder of S. Cozzio, whose body was found on the street in the summer cottage area “Otrada”, “not far from the house where he lived”. The Counselor of the German consulate K. Hahn and other diplomats also lived in this estate (Matiash, 2020, p. 228). The murder had a great political resonance. The representatives of all foreign consulates in Odesa, who were present at the funeral (December 31, 1927), expressed serious concern about the murder of their colleague. The Italian ambassador was convinced that it was a political murder, the same opinion was expressed by the Japanese Consul in Odesa, Shimada Shigeru, who was sure that it was the deceased’s contemptuous behaviour towards the communists that caused his death (Pavlenko, 2022, pp. 38–39). In fact, L. Tonker considered this murder to be politically motivated, while excluding the involvement of the Italian political immigrants in the tragedy.

Of course, the real murderer was not exposed, and the investigation process resembled “a theatre play”. On January 5, 1928, the so-called “murderer” was arrested, who turned out to be V. Dobrovolsky, an unknown thief from Rostov, who was “touring” in Odesa at that time. The thief confessed quickly to everything, claiming that he did not want to kill the honorary Vice-Consul, but only intended to rob his mansion. But the unexpected appearance of the owner led to his death (Matiash, 2020, p. 232). The trial of the “murderer” was held openly in the hall of Odesa District Court (it began on February 10, 1928) and was actively covered in the press. The murderer was sentenced to the execution, which was a maximum penalty. According to the investigation, several people could have been involved in the murder (*‘Izvestiia’*, 1928, February), but of course no one found them.

There had happened another international scandal with an “Italian flavour”, in particular, the assassination attempt on the captain of the Italian steamer “Kobbe” a few years before the

murder of the Italian Vice-Consul in Odesa. There was also involved the “Interclub story” and suspicious agitators operating among the Italian sailors in the above-mentioned scandal. Italian political émigrés Yevhen Herbovets (Eugenio, Riccardo Gerbovaz) and Dante Serpo committed an armed assassination attempt on the captain of the Italian ship “Kobbe” Haidanych in Odesa port on June 10, 1924.

It became known that Ye. Herbovets was involved in the MODR and the “Interclub” to carry out propaganda among the Italian sailors in favour of the “world revolution”. Ye. Herbovets along with D. Serpo were participants in the terrorist activities against the Italian anarchists right before it. D. Serpo was arrested for throwing a bomb and participating in a shootout “with the fascists”, during which he shot the Commander of the punitive detachment/unit back in 1921. He was involved in the murder of the Minister of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes M. Drašković. In 1923, D. Serpo was trained in Moscow to work as “a political agitator for the processing of the Italian sailors arriving in the port”. He received a reprimand “for connections with suspicious elements” after working in Odesa for six months, in May 1924 and was not only deprived of membership in the “Interclub”, but also suspended from “working on steamships” (Savchenko, & Tryhub, 2019, pp. 121–123).

On the contrary, Ye. Herbovets, won the trust of the Italian sailors of the steamer “Kobbe”, which gave him the opportunity to visit the steamer three times and have dinner with them in the sailor’s dining room. When he was noticed by the captain, he resorted to force at his request to leave the ship immediately. The captain beat Herbovets without giving a second thought to it, trying to throw the “uninvited guest” overboard. After this incident, Ye. Herbovets ran to the Bureau of the “International Union of Seafarers and Dock Workers” and complained about the captain’s behaviour to the secretary of the Bureau. The next day, his accomplice D. Serpo and he came to Odesa port, visited the “Kobbe” and tried to shoot the captain. Fortunately, D. Serpo was only wounded, and the attackers were arrested (SAOR, f. P 7, d. 1a, c. 88a, p. 7).

The representatives of the GPU and Odesa branch of the Office of the Commissioner of the National Defense Forces under the Government of the Ukrainian SSR persuaded them not to talk about their affiliation with the GPU during the investigation after the arrest of the attackers, promising that the case would not be politicized. The secretary of Mezhprom (the ODPU worker) offered to release them altogether “by sending them to work in the internal provinces”. Due to the international resonance of the case, there was required a trial, according to which Ye. Herbovets received 4 years in prison, D. Serpo – 3 years. They served their sentences in Moscow prison for about a month, but in January 1925 they were secretly released and sent to Poltava (“to the internal hubernia (provinces)”) – “at the disposal of the MODR”. D. Serpo was sent to Dnipropetrovsk (SAOR, f. P 7, d. 1a, c. 67, p. 54), where, according to the reports from the GPU, he “contacted a group of the local anarchists and carried out some kind of the conspiratorial work among them” (SAOR, f. P 8065, d. 2, c. 1398, p. 18). Ye. Herbovets returned to Odesa “Interclub” in 1925, but in 1926 he was arrested again for the “anti-Soviet propaganda”, spreading the “anarchist ideas”, the “threats to kill an Italian communist” (SAOR, f. P 7, d. 1a, c. 67, pp. 4–7, 78). It is interesting that after that he was treated in Moscow psychiatric hospital by force for more than a year and he was diagnosed with schizophrenia and persecution mania.

Ye. Herbovets and D. Serpo were seen in the “Interclub” in Odesa, with an interval of 5 months, in 1927. The sudden return of the “unsafe terrorists” was most likely sanctioned by the “Centre”, because naive Odesa Chekists suggested that the Central Committee of

the Ukrainian Socialist Revolutionary Party of Ukraine should draw attention to D. Serpo's inadequate behaviour and "counter-revolutionary sentiments", and then arrested him for threatening to kill the Italian consul. Nevertheless, D. Serpo was expelled from the "Interclub" in the autumn of 1927 and released from the port. During his interrogation in 1928, he stated that Odesa Ukrainian Socialist Revolutionary Party knew: "...that we intend to kill the Italian consul in Odesa" (SSA SSU, f. 13, d. 1, c. 419, vol. 1, part 2, pp. 3–19, 30–40).

It should be mentioned that neither D. Serpo, who had been publicly threatening to kill him for several months, nor Ye. Herbovets were questioned about the murder of the Italian vice-consul S. Cozzio. According to the logic of the investigation, it was they who could potentially be involved in the murder, given their "terrorist" experience and unexpected return to Odesa. The structures that were in charge of the secret activities of Mezhprom, "Interclub" were interested in the murder of the vice-consul, who fiercely opposed the spread of the anti-Italian propaganda both in Odesa and Italy.

The above-mentioned eminent men visited the Italian consulate in Odesa and met the newly appointed acting consul L. Tonker at the beginning of the 1928, during the investigation of the murder of S. Cozzio. The acting consul ordered D. Serpo to translate into Italian a number of articles from the Soviet magazines regarding the construction of Volga-Don Canal and the development of the port of Kerch. After that, the Chekists began to believe that D. Serpo became a double agent, because the recruitment of the Italian sailors began to fail. And it could have happened. According to the denunciations of the Soviet special agents, it became known that D. Serpo dreamed of returning to Italy and was trying to get secret help from Odesa consulate in this regard.

D. Serpo and Ye. Herbovets began to select any compromising materials about the party and the Comintern carefully, which they then wanted to transfer to Italy in order to damage the authority and popularity of the communist movement. Later on, these materials were seized from Ye. Herbovets by Odesa regional department through a search and sent to the disposal of the ODPU (SSA SSU, f. 13, d. 1, c. 419, vol. 1, part 2, p. 15). In August 1928, D. Serpo was arrested and accused of "connections with the Italian consul for the purpose of espionage". In October of the same year, Ye. Herbovets was also arrested. The new Italian consul general sought permission to meet with the arrested, and proposed to send D. Serpo to Italy. The ODPU Board decided to "hide" the Italians away on charges of the "counter-revolutionary activity" (Article 54-6) in October 1928. By the resolution of the ODPU Board, D. Serpo received five years in concentration camps, and Ye. Herbovets – three years. The Italian sources indicate that these two were "recruited" by the Italian diplomats (Solano, 2020).

In 1929, another high-profile event related to the Italians occurred. The Italian sailor Aprozio was killed in Mykolayiv. Among the consular staff there was a clear understanding that this was a political murder, but F. Mariano recognized this murder as accidental (Vovchuk, 2023, p. 169).

The Italians, who came to the "country of the Soviets" expected to see the realization of the dream of the working people, a country of "freedom and equality", where they would not live in poverty and would have a decent position. Instead, they were faced with the reality of the "NEP" city: hunger, unemployment, corruption. In this regard, D. Solano wrote about them: "...many considered the Soviet Union a golden exile, where they could take advantage of their refugee status" (Solano, 2020). Some Italians, having lived in the USSR for 3-6 years, lost faith in the Soviet model and succumbed to nostalgia for Italy. As it actually happened to D. Serpo.

However, the work of the Soviet secret services was not limited to influencing the sailors of Italian ships calling at Odesa port through “intermediary organizations” or external surveillance of the Italian Consulate General. The most effective method of collecting information and understanding the attitude towards the Soviet Union, Italy’s relations with Germany, etc., was the presence of the internal surveillance in the consular institution, which was implemented by recruiting the consulate employees, its visitors, and partners. Thus, in 1926, recruited the representatives operated at the consulate under the pseudonyms: “Garibaldi”, “Architect”, “Teacher” (Teacher Pezzollo, a friend of Galanti), “Soborny”, “Mironova”, “Fascist”, “Antonov”, “Margo”, who were supposed to provide a full report on the activities of the consular staff, their correspondence, communication, etc. And with the start of the operation of the Consulate General of Italy in Odesa, casts of all the consulate’s seals and stamps were even made for visas and passport renewals.

Did the heads of the Italian consulate in Odesa know that they were under constant surveillance? Yes, they did. Hence, a number of important information was sent encrypted. One of these was a telegram from V. Galanti to the Italian ambassador in Moscow: “8921 18986 17715 42165 17296...”. However, the Soviet special services never managed to decipher it due to the lack of a decryptor. When Galanti left Odesa, he took with him 2 books on encryption and decryption, intending to transfer them to the Italian embassy, which would then provide them to the new head of the Italian consulate in Odesa (SSA SSU, f. 13, d. 1, c. 419, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 20, 22, 33, 91–92).

The Soviet intelligence services repeatedly used their sex workers to obtain information. There was the Italian political emigrant among them, a member of the “Interclub” and the Ministry of the Navy, Antonio Buticchi, who was engaged in the propaganda among the sailors of the Italian steamships. In August 1927, he resumed his activities in Odesa “Interclub”, having access to the Italian steamships as a “commercial agent”. He worked for the Odesa State Police under the pseudonym “Senor”. In order to gain the trust of the Italian consul, he applied for an Italian passport. But this did not give the expected result (SSA SSU, f. 13, d. 1, c. 419, vol. 1, part 1, p. 66; part 2, p. 15). Instead, his brother Amadeo Buticchi (whom the Soviet intelligence services called “Fascist”) was able to return to Italy in 1926. According to one version, he managed to do this “with Moscow’s permission” and by order of the ODP. According to another, he was expelled from the USSR as “unfit”. Information spread in the USSR that in Italy Amadeo “was betraying the communists to the fascists”. However, it was more like a well-planned “game” by the Soviet intelligence services, the main goal of which was to disinform the Italian intelligence services and mislead them (SAOR, f. P 8065, d. 2, c. 864, pp. 16, 36, 116). Amadeo Buticchi, under the guise of “his” for the Italians, clearly carried out the tasks assigned to him by the Soviet special services.

The duality of the USSR’s policy towards Italy was also written about by the Italian aviation minister, general, and Mussolini’s closest ally, Italo Balbo, who flew from Rome to Odesa in early June 1929 as part of the Italian “Storm” squadron: “...the Soviet authorities attach great importance to the international consequences of our visit, but they do not want it to worry the population too much...”. The reception organized in honour of the arriving guests (the representatives of Italian fascism, hated by the USSR) was to remain as unreported in the press as possible so as not to provoke a scandal in communist circles inside the country and abroad (Balbo, 1929, p. 217).

Reporting to B. Mussolini on the stages of the “Odesa expedition”, I. Balbo reported that the warm reception at the “Londonsky” Hotel, organized by the chairman of the City Council H.

Alekseyenko in honour of the Italians and the military, fell out of the understanding that caricatures of B. Mussolini and “anti-fascist posters” were hung on the territory of Odesa port and customs. In response, the leadership of the Italian Consulate General in Odesa protested to the representative of the National Army of Ukraine for carrying out “anti-Italian propaganda”, “subversive” activities of the Italian political emigrants in Odesa and tore down the anti-fascist posters “because they threaten the development of good-neighborly relations” (Matiash, 2020, p. 237).

It is clear that during the stay of the Italian military expedition in Odesa, the ODPU carefully monitored all conversations and rumors related to the “Italian visit”. In June 1929, the ODPU prepared several special reports under the heading “The Reaction of the population of Odesa to the arrival of the Italians”. The Chekists indicated that the Odesans were dissatisfied with the ceremonial reception of the “Italian fascists” in Odesa “at the highest level”. Some Odesans noted that this visit was “the beginning of the intervention”, others were dissatisfied with the fact that the Italians were treated as “great friends”, they were served “magnificent tables”, invited to theaters, but were not shown the “beds of the unemployed”, hiding the needy and miserable life of ordinary Odesans: “the fascists have banquets, all the transport, and we are starving” (SAOR, f. P-7, d. 1, c. 2206, pp. 1–10, 44).

Conclusion. The Soviet-Italian relations in the 1920s were shaped by a contradictory combination of economic pragmatism and ideological confrontation. Italy was one of the first major European powers to recognize the USSR, which opened up opportunities for active trade, cooperation in the field of transport and maritime transportation. For the Soviet leadership, these ties had a dual purpose: to ensure the economic needs of the country and at the same time to use diplomatic channels as a cover for the activities of an agent network aimed at supporting the “world revolution”, especially in Italy itself, where revolutionary sentiments after World War I were still quite strong.

In response, the Italian diplomatic missions in the USSR, in particular the Italian Consulate General in Odesa, were active not only in the usual consular affairs, but also in the field of counterintelligence. Their efforts were aimed at counteracting the spread of the Soviet propaganda among Italian sailors and political émigrés, controlling visits to the “Interclub” and protecting Italy’s national interests in the Soviet environment. This activity often took on a conflictive character, which manifested itself in scandalous incidents – from the seizure of shipping documents to the involvement of agents for surveillance, who, however, were often exposed by the Soviet intelligence services.

Indicative in this context are the so-called “Italian scandals”: tragic events, such as the murder of the Italian vice-consul S. Cozzio, or numerous conflicts around the Odesa “Interclub”, which indicate that behind the official diplomatic cooperation there was a tense struggle between two totalitarian regimes – the Bolshevik and fascist. This struggle had not only a local, but also an international dimension, as it reflected the clash of two ideological projects – communist and fascist – for influence in Europe during the interwar period.

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**WEHRMACHT BROTHELS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES OF UKRAINE
AS A COMPONENT OF NAZI SEXUAL VIOLENCE**

Abstract. *The purpose is to study, through the prism of the functioning of the Wehrmacht brothel system in Ukraine, one of the methods of violence regulated by the Nazi state – sexual; to determine the number of brothels established by the Nazis in the occupied Ukrainian lands; to analyze the reasons and problems during their organization and a forced recruitment of the Ukrainian women. The research methodology is based on theoretical developments of scientific schools of social history and psychology, military anthropology, and gender studies. In the article general scientific methods of fundamental studies, as well as methods of historicism, source studies, and interdisciplinary approaches have been applied. The scientific novelty consists in the formulation of the above mentioned problem, an attempt to find its specific historical solution based on the information discovered by the author about more than three dozen brothels established by the Wehrmacht in the occupied territories of Ukraine in 1941 – 1944, and at least 2.3 thousand Ukrainian women forcibly recruited for work. Conclusions. It has been found out that the rapid growth of uncontrolled intimate relationships among the German soldiers and local women, prohibited by the racial dogmas of Nazi Germany, as well as the spread of venereal diseases forced the occupiers to establish a number of stationary brothels for Wehrmacht soldiers and the German civil administration in early 1942. These institutions, according to the command's plan, were to help the Third Reich prevent chaotic sexual contacts with local women, prevent the spread of venereal diseases, sexual violence, deterioration of discipline in the army, and homosexual relations among servicemen. Local women and girls were usually forcibly recruited to work in rear brothels.*

Key words: *Ukraine, Germany, occupation, sexual violence, Wehrmacht, German soldiers, brothels, women.*

**БОРДЕЛІ ВЕРМАХТУ НА ОКУПОВАНИХ ТЕРИТОРІЯХ УКРАЇНИ
ЯК СКЛАДОВА НАЦИСТСЬКОГО СЕКСУАЛЬНОГО НАСИЛЬСТВА**

Анотація. *Мета статті – дослідити крізь призму функціонування системи борделів Вермахту в Україні один із регламентованих нацистською державою методів насильства –*

сексуальний. Визначити чисельність створених нацистами борделів на окупованих українських землях, проаналізувати причини і проблеми під час їхньої організації та примусового наповнення українським персоналом. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на теоретичних напрацюваннях наукових шкіл соціальної історії та психології, воєнної антропології, гендерних досліджень. У статті використовувалися загальнонаукові прийоми фундаментальних студій, а також методи історизму, джерелознавства та міждисциплінарні підходи. **Наукова новизна** полягає у постановці вказаної проблеми, спробі її конкретно-історичного розв'язання на підставі виявленої автором інформації про понад три десятки створених Вермахтом борделів на окупованих територіях України (1941 – 1944), та щонайменше 2,3 тис. насильно залучених на відповідну роботу українських жінок. **Висновки.** З'ясовано, що стрімке зростання неконтрольованих інтимних стосунків німецьких солдатів із місцевими жінками, заборонених расовими догмами нацистської Німеччини, а також поширення венеричних захворювань змусили окупантів на початку 1942 р. відкрити низку стаціонарних борделів для солдатів Вермахту та німецької цивільної адміністрації. Ці заклади, за задумом командування, мали допомогти Третьому Райху унеможливити хаотичні сексуальні контакти з місцевими жінками, запобігти поширенню венеричних хворіб, сексуальному насильству, погіршенню дисципліни у війську та гомосексуальним стосункам між військовослужбовцями. До роботи в тилових борделях зазвичай насильно залучали місцевих жінок і дівчат.

Ключові слова: Україна, Німеччина, окупація, сексуальне насильство, Вермахт, німецькі військовослужбовці, борделі, жінки.

Problem Statement. In the policy of Nazi Germany, violence became the state tool that made it possible to keep hundreds of millions of people in occupied countries in fear. The scale, forms and methods of its perpetration still terrify the imagination and consciousness of a normal person. Nowadays there is a growing body of research on the sexual violence of the German soldiers in the occupied eastern territories. The object of this article is the Nazi rear brothels operating in the Ukrainian lands invaded by the Wehrmacht as one of the components of the Nazi sexual violence. This issue has not been considered by domestic historians yet. In Ukraine, despite the fact that archival documents from the time of the German occupation are replete with facts of sexual crimes, this issue remains insufficiently studied due to its social irritation, the difficulty of reception by certain social groups, as well as the unpreparedness of the scientific community to bring the “risky” issue to the level of scientific discourse. Under the Soviet rule, these scenes of everyday occupation were “erased” by the state from official historiography, and therefore did not become part of the collective memory of the war, which left them outside researchers’ sphere of interest for decades. Despite the above circumstances, the scientific understanding of this segment of the occupation reality remains relevant for the Ukrainian society both in the context of rethinking the consequences of the Nazi occupation and the modern Russo-Ukrainian war.

Currently, in many countries, this issue is being debated at the public, state, and interstate levels. For example, in South Korea and Japan, the issue of “comfort women” fate during World War II gained international importance at the end of the last century, and women who worked at “comfort stations” were recognized as victims of sexual violence by the Japanese army. In 2015, the Japanese government officially apologized to them and transferred more than \$ 8 million to the South Korean fund for assistance to prisoners of war (Balykova, 2015). In turn, the South Korean government introduced the national day of remembrance for women at “comfort stations” in 2017, which is commemorated annually on August 14. The facts provided by the researchers about the forced prostitution of Korean women brought the international public discourse on gender discrimination and the responsibility of the aggressor for this to a new level of understanding.

Review of Recent Research and Publications. In western historiography there are studies on the Wehrmacht brothels operating in the context of sexual violence committed by the German soldiers during the war. In 1977, the German historian Franz Seidler published the monograph “Prostitution, Homosexuality, Mutilation, Problems of German Sanitation in 1939 – 1945” (Seidler, 1977), for the first time drawing attention to the functioning of brothels in the Wehrmacht during World War II. The monograph concerned the Western Front mainly. The research of the German Regina Mühlhäuser, who specializes in the study of sexual crimes by Wehrmacht soldiers in the Soviet Union, is valuable (Mühlhäuser, 2011, pp. 197–220; Mühlhäuser, 2010; Mühlhäuser, 2015, pp. 269–277). It focuses on the characteristics of intimate life regulation by the German authorities, in particular by establishing brothels for the needs of the German military personnel in occupied territories. But perhaps the most noteworthy historiographical work is the dissertation of the American Wendy Gertjeanssen, which focuses on brothels and prostitution on the Eastern Front (Gertjeanssen, 2004). In 2018, the monograph by a researcher Joanna Ostrowska was published in Poland, “Untold: Forced Sex Labour during World War II”, which revealed the sexual exploitation of Polish women during the war years in the Nazi brothels for officers, soldiers, police, and concentration camp prisoners. In her research, J. Ostrowska focused on studying this issue in the territory of the General Governorate. The researcher also focused on the post-war stigmatization of former sex workers and the tabooization of professional prostitution after the end of World War II (Ostrowska, 2018).

Special institutions operating in the Wehrmacht is discussed in detail in Paul Christa’s monograph “Forced Prostitution: Brothels in the Nazi State” (Christa, 1994) and Jeffrey Burds’s article “Sexual Violence in Europe during World War II (1953 – 1945)” (Burds, 2015, pp. 278–309). The outlined issue is raised in the studies of Russian and German historians Andriy Vasylychenko (Vasil’chenko, 2005; Vasil’chenko, 2008), Yevhen Krinko and Ksenia Sak (Krinko, & Sak, 2023, pp. 95–115) and Senke Najtcel’ and Harald Vel’cer Welzer (Najtcel’, Vel’cer, 2013).

Fragmentarily domestic and foreign historians also consider the issue in the context of studying the everyday life of the Ukrainians under the Nazi occupation. Without setting the goal of researching the relevant phenomenon, they present it as one of the negative aspects of contemporary life, avoiding detailed analysis, as well as interpretation of the consequences and conclusions.

The source base of the article was documents of the German military and medical departments, reports of the German Security Service (hereinafter referred to as the SD), which are stored in the Central State Archive of the Higher Authorities and Administration of Ukraine. Fund 3770 “Military Medical Institutions of the German Army” (Case 12) contains information about the efforts of the Chief Physician of the Wehrmacht to prevent the spread of venereal diseases in the occupied Ukrainian lands by establishing brothels (Central State Archives of Supreme Bodies of Power and Government of Ukraine f. 3770, d. 1, c. 12, 21 p.). Some information is taken from Fund 3676 “Headquarters of the Imperial Leader (Reichsleiter) Rosenberg for the Occupied Eastern Regions, Berlin, Kyiv” (CSASBPG of Ukraine, f. 3676, d. 4, c. 476, 1013 p.). Case 476 of the fourth description presents reports of the heads of the secret police and general commissars of the occupied regions of Ukraine, which mention the issues of brothels organization and operating. The post-war interrogation protocols by the Commission for the Investigation of the Nazi Crimes of Mykola Nikishyn, the former owner of Donetsk brothel, turned out to be informative (State Archives of Donetsk

Region, f. 1838, d. 1, c. 13, 127 p.). The author is grateful to the researcher Olena Stiazkina for the opportunity to use the relevant material, who discovered it in the Donetsk Regional Archive and kindly provided it for use in this research. Unfortunately, Donetsk is currently temporarily occupied by the Russian troops and the location of the relevant archival file is unknown to us, that is why, in the research the original data for the file up to 2014 are used.

A layer of relevant information is contained in the records of Soviet intelligence, underground participants and partisans, which are stored in File 22 of the fund of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine of the Central State Archive of Public Associations and Ukrainian Studies. Materials from archeographic publications of the Soviet special services during the Nazi occupation period, published during the independence of Ukraine, and ego-sources are also used.

The purpose is to do the research on the official Wehrmacht brothels operating in Ukraine, established in the occupied territories at the beginning of 1942. To reveal the reasons for brothels establishments and to show a number of problems that the occupiers encountered in the process of establishing them and staffing them with Ukrainian personnel.

The geographical boundaries cover the Ukrainian territories occupied by the Nazis. The research does not address the identification of brothels by their affiliation with a specific occupation territorial and administrative unit in Ukraine, since their activities were of the same type in the absolute majority of cases.

Research Results. Having occupied significant territories of the USSR and failed in their “blitzkrieg” plan, the Nazis were faced with the problem of coexistence between their own soldiers and civilian residents. Various departments of the Reich began to receive reports from the East about romantic and intimate relationships between soldiers and local women, which violated the postulates of the Nazi racial policy regarding the threat to the life and health of the nation through having sex with Slavic women. The German leadership before the outbreak of World War II considered the sexual needs of Wehrmacht soldiers from a racial and ideological point of view, therefore it sought to control the situation at the state level. The Nuremberg Law (Article 2) of 1935 prohibited sexual contact between the Germans and the Jews, who were considered the lowest racial type in the Nazi hierarchy. The Slavic “Untermensch” were slightly higher in this hierarchy, but intimate relations with them were also prohibited (Burds, 2015, p. 280).

The German documents concerning instructions to Wehrmacht soldiers on how to treat the local population of territories captured on the Eastern Front emphasized the prohibition of sexual contact with representatives of “lower” races (CSASBPG of Ukraine, f. 3770, d. 1, c. 12, p. 10). Fuhrer A. Hitler also warned soldiers against intimate relationships with Slavic women, in whose opinion they should protect their valuable “Aryan” blood from mixing (Piker, 1998, p. 220). In August 1942, the head of the Reich Commissariat “Ukraine” E. Koch, at a meeting of general commissars in Rivne, noted that soldiers “would face severe punishment for sexual relations with Ukrainian women” (CSASBPG of Ukraine, f. KMF-8, d.1, c. 182, p. 3). There are some cases when on the Eastern Front, girls were brought from Germany “for entertainment” so that Wehrmacht soldiers would not come into contact with local women (Lippix, 2009, p. 103). Subsequently, a complex of occupation policies and practices emerged in the Reich, related to the control of intimate relationships, prostitution, and romantic relationships between soldiers and local women (Mühlhäuser, 2011, p. 197).

But it is one thing to declare, even at the state level, regulations designed to regulate intimate relationships among soldiers, and another to put them into practice. And this is

precisely what the Nazis had significant problems with in occupied Ukraine. Firstly, the remoteness of the captured territories from the Reich and the lack of understanding by the German military political leadership of the situation on the ground led to the fact that the occupation administration and military commandants were in no hurry to carry out instructions from Berlin, but were guided mainly by their own views and interests on the issue. Secondly, the majority of soldiers were not particularly concerned with the Nazi leadership's racial criteria regarding sexual culture, which threatened the implementation of the Nazi doctrine of the impossibility of "interbreeding" with the "non-Aryan population". Thirdly, the Germans could not physically control the actions of 3.4 million soldiers who participated in the "march to the East". The majority of soldiers and officials in the rear of the occupied lands were quartered in the houses of local residents, worked in occupation institutions, where they had to contact the local population. This objectively created the prerequisites for the emergence of affection and intimacy between local women and military personnel.

The Nazi morals of aggression, contempt for the enslaved peoples, their disenfranchisement, and the lack of proper control over the lives of German soldiers to some extent provoked sexual violence against the civilian population. All this worsened discipline in the army and damaged the army's reputation. This was noted even by the Soviet intelligence agencies. "The fascist bandits are committing particularly terrible, savage abuses and violence against Soviet women in the occupied regions of Ukraine. Wild debauchery, drunken orgies, abuse and rape of women, or as the fascists call this debauchery – "fun", are observed everywhere and have reached significant proportions", it was stated in the intelligence report of the NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR for March 20, 1942. The drunken orgies reached such proportions that in some regions the German army command began to worry not about the consequences for women, but for their own military units, demonstrating concern about the deterioration of discipline in the regions and the loss of combat effectiveness" (Vasyl'iev, Koshevarova, 2018, pp. 283–284).

In turn, the difficult occupation routine and the demand for sexual contact by financially and socially well-off German soldiers led to prostitution, and a chaotic sexual contact provoked the spread of venereal diseases. Thus, in Vinnytsia, the SD reported that in July 1941 the number of cases of venereal diseases increased to 1,400 (Lauer, 2010, p. 290). The head of Kyiv branch of the SD complained about the same problem (CSASBPG of Ukraine, f. 3676, d. 4, c. 476, pp. 942, 944). The Chief Physician of the Wehrmacht Ground Forces focused on underground prostitution as the main source of venereal diseases spread in Ukraine in the order for military units and garrison commandants dated March 20, 1942 (CSASBPG of Ukraine, f. 3770, d. 1, c. 12, p. 10). The only possibility of successfully supervising prostitutes, in his opinion, was their controlled work in brothels (CSASBPG of Ukraine, f. 3770, d. 1, c. 12, pp. 8–10).

In addition, the military leadership feared that romantic relationships with women would contribute to the spread of enemy espionage, which would threaten the security of the army. This concern was not unfounded, since many women actively helped partisans and underground fighters during the occupation (Hinda, 2021, pp. 116–133). They also feared the spread of homosexual relations in the Wehrmacht, and that soldiers who had romantic relationships with local women would cease to consider the Ukrainian population as the enemy and would deviate from the main goal in the Eastern campaign, and that these relationships could lead to the breakup of soldiers' families in Germany (Mühlhäuser, 2011, pp. 216–217).

The realities of everyday life for German soldiers in the occupied territories of Ukraine forced the military leadership to intervene in the situation and try to put the sexual life of soldiers under state control. The instrument of control was to be stationary rear brothels (in the soldiers' jargon of the invaders – "houses of joy"). (Gertjeanssen, 2004, p. 159), which the Nazis established from the beginning of 1942 (on the Western Front this practice had been used since 1940). It should be noted that at the beginning of the occupation of Ukrainian lands, these institutions did not operate, since no one predicted that the war would drag on. And when the issue arose, the German military and administrative leadership of Ukraine was faced with a lack of clear, consistent, and coordinated actions. Usually everything was decided at the level of local command, which was not always unanimous. Therefore, some were engaged in opening brothels, while others, considering it immoral, avoided or made it difficult for their subordinates to visit them (Xart, Xart, X'yuz, 2006, pp. 18–19).

Permission to organize these institutions, according to the order of E. Koch dated December 22, 1942, was granted by the military and civil administration of the cities (State Archives of Zhytomyr Region, f. p. 1151, d. 1, c. 4, p. 7), and the service staff and funds were provided by the labour exchange and the financial department of the city government of the city in which the institution was planned to operate (SADR, f. p. 1838, d. 1, r. 13, p. 37). Medical care was provided by local doctors, and in their absence by military personnel. The managers were to be women from Western Europe who knew the business. German civilian employees from the occupation administration or trade, construction, and industrial firms could visit the brothel twice a week (SAZR, f. p. 1151, d. 1, c. 4, p. 7). The requirements for visiting suggest that most likely the brothels established in Ukraine were not divided into the categories defined by the Wehrmacht: soldiers, non-commissioned officers, sergeants and officers, as on the Western Front, or this division was not observed everywhere. For example, if Zhytomyr brothel was open to civilians according to the agreement (Lauer, 2010, p. 139), then in Donetsk only the military were allowed to do this (SADR, f. p. 1838, d. 1, c. 13, p. 40). Western European women also did not always manage brothels: in Donetsk, everything was managed by a Ukrainian who had applied for a patent from the city government (SADR, f. p. 1838, d. 1, c. 13, p. 37). Locals were not allowed to visit brothels, as it was announced by signs in German and Russian (CSASBPG of Ukraine, f. 3770, d. 1, c. 12, p. 10).

When it came to recruiting women for brothels at the beginning of the German-Soviet war, the Germans tried to be guided by racial dogmas. According to them, only the Germans or representatives of races related to the "Aryans" could work there. The staff was recruited for six months, after which it was replaced by another. According to the Nazi calculations, during this time the woman's body lost its attractiveness due to constant sexual contact (Vasil'chenko, 2005, pp. 331, 334). But in fact, as the German and Soviet documents run, local women, despite their "racial unsuitability", worked in the Wehrmacht's stationary brothels in Ukraine from the first days of their establishment (SADR, f. p. 1838, d. 1, c. 13, p. 38). They all had to meet certain criteria: be healthy, young (from 16 to 40 years old), and beautiful. The canons of beauty were different in many institutions. In one, women with Nordic features could work, as required by the Nazi racial doctrine, and in the other, they were selected according to preferences of owners, or a brothel was staffed from those who were available (Krinko, Sak, 2023, p. 110). However, there is fragmentary information about isolated cases of the Germans importing female from Europe. For example, in Zhytomyr brothel established in 1942, prostitutes from the Netherlands worked (Berkhof, 2011, p. 139), in Mykolayiv – from Germany (Gavrilov, 2017), in Kyiv – from France and Poland (Sorokin, Dacishina, 2022)

In Ukraine the German occupation administration was more concerned about the health of soldiers and, accordingly, the full staffing of brothels than about complying with official Nazi prohibitions on the impossibility of intimate contact with local women. The longer the war continued, the greater the contradiction between official Nazi rules and the reality that developed in the occupied territories. To some extent, Berlin understood it, so they did not monitor the implementation of orders very closely. For example, G. Himmler, who at the beginning of the war opposed the recruitment of non-Aryan women into brothels, later changed his view, suggesting that sexual contact with them did not harm the purity of the Aryan race due to the use of condoms (Gertjeanssen, 2004, p. 177).

Despite unlimited power over the population of the occupied territories, the Nazi military leadership in Ukraine faced the problem of filling brothels with Ukrainian women. The head of the medical and sanitary service of Mountain Division 4 (deployed in Donetsk region) drew attention to this state of affairs and noted that it took at least two weeks to find several “workers” for Makiyivka brothel, and months to staff the establishment (CSASBPG of Ukraine, f. 3770, d. 1, c. 12, p. 13). The fact is that in the USSR prostitution was prohibited, accordingly it did not become part of social culture and was negatively received by society. For local women, working in a brothel was considered shameful and immoral, and the fear of public condemnation and possible punishment by the Soviet authorities in the future was also a deterrent. “Here women cannot go beyond the established norms. The traditional attachment to the household, family, relatives and church remains unbroken”, Captain G. Koch noted in a report on the mood of the Ukrainian population at the end of 1941 (CSASBPG of Ukraine, f. KMF-8, d. 1, c. 38, p. 51). Among the German officials, there was a common opinion on this subject, “that local women would rather commit suicide than go to work in a brothel” (Gertjeanssen, 2004, p. 171).

Over time, the Germans were helped by the harsh everyday life of the occupation, which, as a historian O. Budnytskyi notes, put women before a choice: either a hungry life in the occupation, forcible deportation to Germany, or work in a brothel. Some chose the latter (Tolstoj, 2009). For many, suitable work became one of the options for using one’s own body as a survival resource for themselves and their families (Stiazhkina, 2015, p. 64). A significant role was played by the occupation and military administration, which, in no way taking into account the rights and wishes of Ukrainian women, resorted to pressure on them through dirty and vile psychological means. Some were blackmailed with the arrest of their relatives, because of their party past, some were intimidated with sending them to work in the Reich or imprisonment in a concentration camp, and some – to be were shot. Beautiful women could be forcibly taken to a brothel, provided there was one in the city, at any moment: they were picked up from train stations when Ostarbeiters were sent to Germany (Balyts’kyj, 1969, p. 364), from queues to the labour exchange, this method of recruitment was practiced by the occupation authorities of Mariupol (Central State Archives of Public Associations of Ukraine, f. 1, d. 22, c. 185, p. 33), and there was a a common practice in Kyiv when women were selected from lists of attractive girls and women, on the orders of the Germans, submitted reports to the police (CSASBPG of Ukraine, f. 3770, d. 1, c. 12, p. 10), and by force or under the pretext of hard work (the military administration of Kharkiv is meant) (Nikolaev, 2010). The Kyiv Labour Exchange, according to intelligence from the Central Headquarters of the Partisan Movement about life in occupied Kyiv for August 1942, offered beautiful girls work in the city’s dining halls, and from there they were forcibly taken to brothels (Vrons’ka, 2003, p. 259). One can only imagine the emotional, spiritual, and physical trauma that married

women and girls forced into such work against their will must have endured. The Germans also tried to recruit “staff” for brothels among officially employed prostitutes (Gertjeanssen, 2004, p. 178), or girls who worked in open “Casinos” or “Cabarets”. The secretary of the Voroshilovhrad underground city CP (b)U M. Tretiakevych wrote in his report that “Cabaret theatre” was established in Luhansk, where the Germans recruited girls who, in addition to their main work, could provide intimate services to the German officers in exchange for products. “This theater recruited only girls, and only beautiful ones. Singers, half-naked dancers performed on stage. The theatre’s duties included serving soldiers and officers of the German army” (CSAPA of Ukraine, f. 1, d. 22, c. 185, p. 33).

The violent methods of filling brothels in Ukraine indicate that women and girls were in fact sexual slavery to the Wehrmacht, where they were constantly abused. They had no rights and were practically the property of the Reich. They could be beaten, injured, or killed by drunken visitors, and no one cared about the fate of these women outside the institutions. In addition, if a woman entered a brothel, whether by force or by her own will, she was immediately stigmatized by society, which made her future life in her own social group much more difficult. The Soviet military treated them most contemptuously and cruelly. The Red Army soldier M. Nikulin recalled how intelligence from his unit discovered the German brothel with Russian women and intelligence officers resorted to rape them (Nikulin, 2008, p. 323).

The social status and position of those working in brothels were different. Among them were married, divorced, and women – whose husbands fought in the ranks of the Red Army, many of them had minor children and old parents (they tried to support them in this way). L. Nikolayev noted that married women were often forcibly brought into Kharkiv brothels (Nikolaev, 2010). The contingent of women was diverse: from cleaners to intellectuals. In particular, in Donetsk there were former teachers, accountants, wives of engineers and the others (Krinko, & Sak, 2023, p.110).

The post-war fate of brothel women remains largely unknown. The limited and contradictory information available to historians does not provide clear answers to many important questions. Post-war records of interrogations of the Donetsk brothel “prostitutes” by the officers of the Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes indicate that they remained to live in their hometown, while some left with the Germans (Stiazhkina, 2015, p. 64). In the memoirs of the Jew J. Kaper, who worked in the Syretsk camp in a brigade that burned the bodies of people killed by the Germans in Babyn Yar, there is an episode where he talks about young girls who were brought and killed, probably prostitutes from Kyiv brothels, on the eve of the arrival of the Red Army. “It was a terrible picture, and the Germans were laughing and saying various obscene words” (Budnik, & Kaper, 1993, p. 166). The Nazi administration probably acted at its own discretion in this matter: in some cases, women were left behind after the retreat, in others, they were taken with them, and in others, they were shot.

After the end of the war, many women had to face humiliation, contempt from their compatriots, and hide their past in every possible way, because post-war society and the authorities did not delve into the motives of certain actions of people who survived the occupation. The Soviet officials viewed the population that had survived the occupation as entirely guilty of collaborating with the Germans. Women who had sexual relations with the enemy were considered “whores” and “traitors”. In the circular of the NKVD of the USSR dated January 18, 1942, “On the Organization of Operational Chekist Work in the Liberated Territory,” the department’s employees were ordered to begin their work in the liberated

territories by identifying and arresting such women and girls, as well as the owners of brothels and dens (Vrons'ka, 2003, p. 305). But, as a historian T. Vronska notes, the Soviet authorities, despite their declared policy of persecuting such women, did not launch systematic and mass repressions against them (Vrons'ka, 2013, p. 302).

To some extent, we can learn about the specifics of brothels operation, their layout and the staff working in Ukraine from the interrogation protocols of Mykola Nikishyn, the owner of Donetsk brothel. For working women, there were established norms for receiving clients (9–11 soldiers) and a working day schedule, which officially lasted for 7–8 hours, although they often had to work much longer. Sometimes girls had sexual intercourse with up to 30 soldiers in a 7-hour working day, and on average 100–220 soldiers visited the brothel daily (SADR, f. p. 1838, d. 1, c. 13, p. 40). Once a day, a doctor checked women for sexually transmitted diseases, and the German gendarme kept watch (SADR, f. p. 1838, d. 1, c. 13, pp. 38–39). There were situations when women were prohibited from working. These were mainly days of menstrual cycles, infection with venereal, skin, fungal diseases, and in case of pregnancy (SADR, f. p. 1838, d. 1, c. 13, p. 39).

In occupied Ukraine, the payment of women working in brothels was not clearly regulated, as in Western Europe. For their work, they could receive money, food rations, or just eat in brothels. Most of all, “prostitutes” appreciated food supplies, which were much more useful under the conditions of the terrible occupation everyday life than money, which was quickly devalued by inflation. At the beginning of the operation of brothels in Ukraine, the daily ration of a worker was: 300 g of bread (in the case of a doctor’s recommendation, an additional 300 g was provided), 10 g of butter, 70 g of meat, 30 g of cereals, 30 g of honey. Later, they began to issue military rations, which were much larger in content than the existing ones (SADR, f. p. 1838, d. 1, c. 13, p. 39). Visitors could also bring food and various delicacies. There is evidence that women received salaries of approximately 500 rubles per week (Novikov, 2011), while the salary of a specialist during the occupation was set at 450 to 1,200 rubles per month.

In Ukraine the official fee for visiting brothels ranged from 3 to 5 marks (30–50 rubles). Part of the money was taken by the owner of a brothel. For example, a brothel in Donetsk brought in 5–6 thousand rubles of profit daily and 140–150 thousand rubles per month (SADR, f. p. 1838, d. 1, r. 13, p. 40), and part was sent to the financial department of the city council (SADR, f. p. 1838, d. 1, c. 13, p. 39). In many ways, provision of women was determined by the attitude of owners or managers of brothels towards them. For example, M. Nikishin allowed girls, by agreement with the client, to increase the fee for “services” to 5 marks (a visit to a brothel cost 3 marks), and 2 marks – for them (SADR, f. p. 1838, d. 1, c. 13, p. 39). Owing to this, if we assume a minimum client intake rate of 9 people per day and 63 military personnel per week, women employed in a brothel’s services could earn 126 marks (1,260 rubles) per week and 5,040 rubles per month. This does not include the official food ration. A decent income made it possible to support oneself and one’s family, even considering the prices at the “black market”. But such generous treatment was usually the exception to the rule.

The question of the number of brothels established by the Nazis during World War II remains open. Historians’ data differ. For example, F. Seidler suggests that by 1942 the Nazis had organized 500 brothels, which were equally divided between the Eastern and Western fronts (Seidler, 1977, p. 186). In turn, P. Christa is convinced that there were established 569 brothels (Christa, 1994, p. 135), and W. Gertjeanssen suggests that 569 is the minimum controlled by the Wehrmacht (Gertjeanssen, 2004, p. 170).

This uncertainty is explained by the lack of generalizing documents that researchers could operate with, and the diverse source base that needs to be processed. For example, we managed to determine the operation of 74 stationary Wehrmacht brothels in the occupied territory of the USSR. Of these, there are 39 institutions in Ukraine: two – in Lviv, Drohobych, Donetsk, Kyiv, Mariupol, Maloarkhangelsk, one – in Ternopil, Brody, Stanislaviv, Yasnozirya, Zhytomyr, Zviahel, Dnipro, Snizhne, Makiyivka, Kropyvnytsky, Poltava, Novomoskovsk, Feodosia, Kerch, Kuteinikovo, three – in Kyiv, Mykolayiv, and Odesa, and four – in Kharkiv.

While working with statistical materials, the author analyzed the Soviet war and post-war periodicals, where materials about the crimes of the Nazi regime also mention brothels operating in the occupied regions of the USSR. There is also included information from medical reports of German departments, military units, or SD and documentation of Soviet partisans, underground fighters, and NKVD agents, which are stored in central and regional archival repositories of Ukraine. Certain data were found in ego-documents and local history literature. Most likely, there were much more brothels in Ukrainian territories – this is only the minimum that was determined. Perhaps, the documents of city and regional administrations established by the Germans in the occupied Ukrainian regional centres, which are stored in regional archives, can shed light on this issue.

Equally problematic is the determination of the number of women who were forced to work in brothels during World War II. Thus, P. Christa indicates that at least 34,140 women faced this (Christa, 1994, p. 135). He obtained these data by assuming that on average 60 women passed through each brothel in 1942 – 1945 (i.e. 10 per brothel, replaced by others after six months), and multiplied by the total number of brothels. V. Gertjeanssen is convinced that at least 50,000 of them worked during the entire war period (Gertjeanssen, 2004, p. 220). If we take into account P. Christa's calculation method, we can assume that at least 4,380 women passed through these institutions in the USSR, of which 2,280 were in Ukraine.

Conclusions. Summing up the research results, we should state that by stationing military and civilian administrators in Ukraine, the German command faced the problems of the German army romantic and intimate relationships with civilian women, sexual violence, and the spread of venereal diseases on this basis, which could harm the combat capability of the troops. In an attempt to remedy this, the Nazis attempted to control the sexual lives of soldiers through a system of establishing stationary rear brothels in early 1942. In Ukrainian territories, occupation officials and owners of institutions bypassed the rules of their work regulated by the Wehrmacht, and strictly adhered only to the requirements of medical control.

The Nazis failed to solve the outlined problems with the help of brothels, as neither excessive control over visitors nor the small number of open brothels and females employed in them contributed to this. In fact, for three years of occupation, Germany needed more than 120,000 women and 1,192 brothels for 3.4 million soldiers, each of which would have employed at least 25 women for six months (based on the calculations of the Wehrmacht leadership – one woman per 100 soldiers) (Hruhman, 2024, p. 143).

The idea that brothels would help stop unauthorized intimate relationships with local women and the spread of venereal diseases also failed. The soldiers' contacts with women did not stop, and in many cases escalated into cohabitation. The scale of this phenomenon is reflected in the report of the armored division commander, Colonel General R. Schmidt, which he presented at the meeting with A. Hitler in September 1942. R. Schmidt suggested that on the Eastern Front 3 million German soldiers had sexual relations with local women (often forcibly), which meant that the Reich should expect the birth of 1.5 million children

(Mühlhäuser, 2009, pp. 46–47). The colonel general shared his thoughts based on what he saw, and even if he exaggerated, it was not a hundred times. In May 1943, at the meeting of the Reich military lawyers, it was said that in the East almost every commander of SS units had intimate relationships with local women (Hruhman, 2024, p. 176). Venereal diseases continued to spread rapidly, which indicated late steps in solving the problem and intimate contacts of servicemen outside of sexual service brothels. For example, in Kharkiv in the autumn of 1942, 10% of all hospital beds were occupied by venereal patients, and at the end of 1942 in Zhytomyr General District their number increased by 50%, compared to the beginning of the year (CSASBPG of Ukraine, f. 4328. d. 1, c. 5, p. 38). In May 1942, the Nazis were even forced to close brothels in Mykolayiv and Kirovohrad because of venereal diseases (CSASBPG of Ukraine, f. KMF-8, d. 1, c. 6, p. 77). But the dynamics of diseases did not improve, as reported by E. Operman, the Commissioner General of Mykolayiv District, the diseases continued to spread. In addition, medical control over the “prostitutes” was lost (CSASBPG of Ukraine, f. KMF-8, d.1, r. 6, p. 94).

As we can see, the operation of brothels in occupied Ukraine, aimed at creating opportunities for their sexual and psychological relaxation, was no less important for the Nazi leadership than physical ability of soldiers to fight. Such measures were aimed at supporting the fighting spirit of the Wehrmacht. At the same time, the Nazis did not take into account the psychological, moral and physical state of local women who were forcibly involved in this shameful work. That is why, the functioning of rear brothels should be considered in the context of the Wehrmacht’s involvement of Ukrainian women in sexual slavery and Berlin-sanctioned violence in the interests of combatants.

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**REPRESSIONS OF THE GERMAN OCCUPATION REGIME AGAINST
THE ORGANIZATION OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS IN DONETSK REGION
(1941 – 1944)**

Abstract. *The article is devoted to the repressive activities of the German punitive bodies against members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) in Donetsk region (Staline region), which continued during the period of the German occupation of Donbas region in 1941 – 1943, as well as in 1944, after the departure of part of the Donetsk OUN members to the western regions. The purpose of the study is to characterize the repressive activities of the German authorities in relation to the OUN in Staline (Donetsk) region in 1941 – 1944. In the research the methodological techniques have been applied, the list of which includes: analysis, deduction, induction, synthesis, analogy, generalization, as well as comparative historical, statistical, chronological and periodization methods, which enabled us to process the available source base and historiography and based on the data obtained, to describe in detail the stages and content of the German repressions against the OUN in Donetsk region, to analyze the course of events in a chronological order, to identify a list of names of repressed underground members, and to conduct final statistical calculations. The scientific novelty of the publication consists in a thorough analysis and systematization of archival document data and*

a critical assessment of previous research. **Conclusion.** The results obtained enable us to distinguish three stages of the German political police repressive activities, characterized by the corresponding indicators of the number of arrested members of the nationalist underground in Staline region. The article provides updated statistical information on the number of arrested underground members in 1941 – 1944, which corrects previously published figures, as well as a list of names of currently known repressed OUN members in the region. There have been analyzed the consequences of the repressive measures of the German occupation regime against Ukrainian nationalists in Donetsk region. The prospect of further research on this issue is rather doubtful, given the physical inaccessibility of archival sources in the occupied territories, which confirms the importance of this study and its practical significance in supplementing the all-Ukrainian picture of the activities of the OUN and the reactionary actions of the German authorities towards it.

Keywords: Eastern Ukraine, Donbas region, Staline (Donetsk) region, World War II, OUN, German occupation, repressions.

РЕПРЕСІЇ НІМЕЦЬКОГО ОКУПАЦІЙНОГО РЕЖИМУ ПРОТИ ОСЕРЕДКУ ОУН ДОНЕЧЧИНИ (1941 – 1944 рр.)

Анотація. Статтю присвячено репресивній діяльності німецьких карних органів проти членів ОУН Донеччини (Сталінської області), що тривала впродовж періоду німецької окупації Донбасу 1941 – 1943 рр., а також протягом 1944 р., після відходу частини донецьких оунівців до західних областей. **Метою статті** визначено характеристику репресивної діяльності німецької влади по відношенню до ОУН в Сталінській (суч. Донецькій) області протягом зазначеного періоду. Дослідження проводилось з використанням **методологічних методів**, перелік яких включає: аналіз, дедукцію, індукцію, синтез, аналогію, а також порівняльно-історичний, статистичний, хронологічний та періодизаційний методи, які дали змогу опрацювати доступну джерельну базу та історіографію і на основі отриманих даних детально охарактеризувати етапність та зміст німецьких репресій проти ОУН, а також дослідити перебіг подій в хронологічній послідовності, виокремити поіменний список репресованих учасників підпілля та провести кінцеві статистичні підрахунки. **Наукова новизна** публікації полягає в ретельному аналізі й систематизації даних архівних документів та критичній оцінці попередніх наукових досліджень. **Висновки.** Отримані результати дозволяють виділити три етапи репресивної діяльності німецької політичної поліції, що характеризуються відповідними показниками кількості арештованих членів націоналістичного підпілля в Сталінській області. Наводиться уточнена статистична інформація щодо кількості арештованих учасників підпілля протягом 1941 – 1944 рр., яка корегує опубліковані раніше цифри, а також поіменний перелік відомих на сьогодні репресованих членів ОУН в регіоні. Аналізуються наслідки репресивних заходів німецького окупаційного режиму проти українських націоналістів на Донеччині. Перспектива подальших досліджень даного питання окреслена доволі сумнівно, враховуючи фізичну недоступність архівних джерел на окупованих територіях, що підтверджує вагомість даного дослідження та його практичне значення у доповненні засадуукраїнської картини діяльності ОУН.

Ключові слова: Східна Україна, Донбас, Сталінська (Донецька) область, Друга світова війна, ОУН, німецька окупація, репресії.

Problem Statement. The activities of the OUN (b) in eastern Ukraine, in particular, in Donetsk (at that time Stalin) region, appear in a relevant light, taking into consideration the ongoing military situation in Ukraine, part of whose territories, including Donetsk region, was under occupation. It prompts a comprehensive study on various aspects of the above-mentioned issue, in particular, the policy of the German authorities towards the OUN from the initial stage of the war to the return of the Soviet regime to Donbas.

Review of Recent Research and Publications. Taking into consideration the considerable interest of the scientific community in the liberation struggles of the war period, historiography of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists activities and its relations with the German

occupation authorities is represented by a fairly wide range of studies conducted by the Ukrainian historians, both emigrants and modern scholars. The above-mentioned issue was studied by Volodymyr Kosyk (Kosyk, 1993, 2009), Petro Mirchuk (Mirchuk, 1953, 1968), Vasyl Veryha (Veryha, 1991), Anatolii Kentii (Kentii, 1998, 1999), I. Patryliak (Patryliak, 2004, 2010), Stanislav Kulchytskyi (Kulchytskyi, 1999), Yaroslav Hrytsak (Hrytsak, 1996), Vasyl Ilnytskyi, Mykola Haliv (Ilnytskyi, Haliv, 2020), Oleksandr Ishchuk (Ishchuk, 2011) and many others. From the very beginning, the actualization of the above-mentioned issue belongs to émigré historians, who were in direct temporal and ideological proximity to the OUN and the tragic war events in general. Domestic historians continued to cover the above-mentioned topic right at the beginning of the Ukrainian independence, along with the development of the process of democratization of socio-political life, including the scientific sphere, which was accompanied by the discovery of the previously inaccessible archival documents, and at the same time a rethinking of historical processes and events. However, it was a tough issue to implement these positive trends were implemented quite slowly among the historians of Donbas, a significant part of whom continued to profess the Soviet traditions and narratives, which very quickly transformed into the pro-Russian ones. Due to the above-mentioned objective circumstances, which had deep historical roots, also determined the priorities in the topics of research by many historical departments and specialized councils, in particular at Donetsk University, and this, in turn, had influence on the topics of publications, diploma and thesis research, in which the issues on the Ukrainian national liberation movements, and even more so the activities of nationalist organizations, were at least unpopular, and in reality were under a real taboo. If a few works on this issue appeared, they retained a clear or camouflaged Soviet-Russian tone. The issues on the repression by the German occupation authorities focused exclusively on the persecution of the Soviet partisans, underground workers, civilians, ethnic or gender groups (Dobrov, 2010; Suslykov, 2010). Horlivka historian Vyacheslav Suslykov cited some sources that highlighted certain aspects of the OUN's activities in Horlivka in his collection of wartime documents "Horlivka during the Great Patriotic War and the First Postwar Years (1941–1950)" (Suslykov, 2010). It should be mentioned that the above-mentioned sources were clearly selected in a biased manner, since they all concern only the cooperation of the German administration with the nationalists, as if the former never persecuted the latter.

However, it should be stated that among the historians of Donetsk region there were also those, who quite objectively studied the activities of the OUN in eastern Ukraine and Donetsk region in particular. First of all, we should note among them Oleksandr Dobrovolsky, who devoted his life to the study of the pro-Ukrainian patriotic movements in Donetsk region. His two-volume work "The OUN in Donetsk Region. Volume I" and "From The UNR to The OUN: the Ukrainian Movement in Donetsk Region. 1917 – 1959. Volume II" (Dobrovolskyi, 2013; 2020) is the largest published collection of the documents, which was collected by the author in the Archive of Security Service of Ukraine for Donetsk region and the State Archive of Donetsk region, as well as in neighbouring regional and branch archives. The value of the publication "The OUN in Donetsk Region" is difficult to overestimate, because the archival documents published in it, which were collected personally, partly copied, and partly saved at the beginning of the war (2014 – 2015), nowadays serve as the only available sources on the subject under the study. It should be mentioned that V. Nikolskyi's monograph "The Underground of the OUN (b) in Donbas" (Nikolskyi, 2001), which was perhaps the first work of a generalizing nature. A separate chapter of the book was devoted to

the repressions of the German punitive bodies against the Ukrainian nationalists. However, according to the author, there is considerable research prospects regarding the above-mentioned topic (Nikolskyi 2001, pp. 133–134). The following works should be mentioned within the framework of the topic under consideration: Ivan Kovalchuk (Kovalchuk, 2011), Volodymyr Serhiichuk (Serhiichuk, 2005), Yuriy Shchur (Shchur, 2006), Ihor Shakhraichuk (Shakhraichuk, 2015) and other authors.

The issues of the repressive activities of the German administration against the OUN in eastern Ukraine during the occupation period of 1941 – 1943 remain unstudied, even taking into account the sources available in Ukraine. The coverage of these little-known pages, on the one hand, will complement the picture of real historical events, and on the other hand, it will enable us to refute, unfortunately, the persistent Soviet-Russian myth about the exceptional partnership and cooperation between the Ukrainian nationalists and Nazi Germany. This article is aimed at solving the outlined objectives, which, based on the processing of archival documents, highlights the facts of persecution and repression by the German punitive bodies in Staline (modern Donetsk) region against members of the OUN, and at the same time provides a clarifying assessment of the scale of nationalist activity in this region.

The purpose of the study is to characterize the repressive activities of the German authorities in relation to the OUN in Staline (Donetsk) region in 1941 – 1944.

Research Results. After the retreat of the Red Army, with the beginning of the occupation of Donetsk region by the German and Italian troops in October 1941 (on October 23, the town of Staline was invaded, which was soon renamed Yuzivka), a new German military administration was established in all towns and districts. At the same time, given the temporary favour of the new government, the Ukrainians were recruited to administrative positions, as a result of which certain managerial positions were transferred to them. The first wave of Ukrainization took place in the autumn of 1941, with the arrival of the Ukrainian translators together with representatives of the German authorities to the eastern Ukrainian region, the overwhelming majority of whom were from the western regions and at the same time OUN members. From the end of 1941 to the spring of 1942, the second wave of Ukrainization took place, which consisted in the arrival of the OUN central leadership members to the east in marching groups and the beginning of work with the local population. The third wave, which began in the spring of 1942, is characterized by the occupation of new administrative positions by local representatives of pro-Ukrainian movements and at the same time the OUN members. At that time, the nationalist underground network was quite extensive, which enabled representatives of the Ukrainian side to occupy managerial or auxiliary administrative positions, and thus to form legislative and executive acts at the local level, as well as work in the fields of economy, education, culture, media, police, and administration.

However, from the beginning of 1942 onwards, the OUN leadership was aware that in the near future the German command would radically change its attitude towards the participation of the Ukrainians in self-government, including in Donetsk region: “*The Germans do not trust the “Ukrainian police” and the Schutzmen, especially on Left Bank*” (Litopys UPA, 2011, p. 384). The activity of the OUN members in raising the national consciousness of the population, which led to mass Ukrainization, as well as the transition of the Ukrainian underground from cooperation with the German administration to confrontation with it, led to the deployment of mass repressions against nationalists. At the same time, the situation at the front caused the spread of panic among the German command, which also affected the attitude towards the

local population, giving rise to fears among the Nazi administration about the beginning of an internal struggle between the local population and the German authorities in the occupied territories: *“It has been definitively determined that the Bandera movement is preparing an uprising in the Reichskommissariat, the ultimate goal of which is the creation of independent Ukraine. All activists must be immediately arrested and, after a thorough investigation, secretly eliminated as criminals”* (Hunchak, 2007, p. 76). From the Report of the Security Police and the Security Service (SD) of Germany on the repressions against communists, partisans and the OUN (Bandera) and OUN (Melnyk) in Ukraine dated February 28, 1942, it becomes clear that the main enemies of the German authorities in the occupied territories were identified as the Soviet partisans and OUN members, who were extremely active: *“In Zhytomyr, Kremenchuk and Stalino, we managed to arrest a certain number of Bandera supporters who tried to unite the population concerning the idea of political independence of Ukraine”* (OUN in 1942. Documents, 2006, p. 55). The reactionary repressive actions of the occupying German authorities against the activities of Ukrainian nationalists unfolded in three waves of terror. The forerunner of the beginning of the repressions was the forced evacuation from the Stalin region of members of the first group led by V. Bolharsky-Bulavsky in February 1942. When they were replaced by the group of I. Klym and Ye. Stakhiv, the local organization began to move to underground struggle, but the repressive policy against the nationalists had already been launched. This position was provoked not only by the activities on the ground, but also by the reaction of the central German authorities to the events in Lviv and the Act of Proclamation of Independence of Ukraine by Ya. Stetsko long before the events at the front (Stetsko, 1976, p. 462). Thus, the first wave of repressions against nationalists in Stalin region took place in January 1942, the second – in August–November 1942, and the third wave fell on June–September 1943. Interestingly, in the western and central regions, the first waves of repressions began much earlier, in particular from the winter of 1941 and lasted until January 1942 (Armstrong, 1990, p. 138).

In Donetsk region, the first mass arrests began approximately in January 1942. In early 1942, V. Bolharsky-Bulavsky and members of the OUN group in Yuzivka (Staline) were summoned to the Gestapo and isolated under house arrest until their forced departure from Stalin region at the request of the German administration. Some members, mostly representatives of the OUN Central Leadership from the western regions, left the region. At the same time, in January 1942, in Horlivka, the head of the education and upbringing department, I. Holub, was arrested for nationalist articles published in the newspaper “Ukrainian Donbas”: *“So fundamentally the article focused on the goals of Ukrainian nationalists that it was not in the interests of the Germans, and Holub was arrested”* (Dobrovolskyi, 2020, pp. 269–270).

Another wave of repression, which came in August – November 1942, spread among regional cells. Thus, On September 22, 1942 F. Cheliuk and A. Yastremsky, the members of Olhynsky underground sub-division of the OUN, were arrested (both were imprisoned in Yuzivka). At the same time, S. Derzhko (Kashchenko), the first district leader of Mariupol region, was arrested. Ye. Stakhiv wrote that S. Derzhko was the first one to be arrested, although the very date of the arrest is not indicated (Stakhiv, 1995, p. 140). It is clear that the arrest was made in the spring of 1942, and it was the first one, as we talk about the chronology of the activities of another group under the leadership of Ye. Stakhiv and I. Klym. During face-to-face meeting betting, S. Derzhko stuck to his views and declared: *“Ukrainian independent patriots are fighting for Ukrainian sovereignty against the Germans and Bolsheviks, because there is no difference between them”* (AUSSDR, fund for discontinued cases, c. 36824, pp. 47–78).

While under arrest, he refused to have food delivered to him in prison, fearing the arrest of other members of the underground and his family. As a result of such sacrifice, S. Derzhko (Kashchenko) died in prison, in December 1942 (Shankovskiy, 1958, p. 171). The arrests of Mariupol cell resumed in December 1942 and continued until the first quarter of 1943.

In the spring of 1943, the third wave of repressions took place, which hit Sloviansk, Kramatorsk, Horlivka, Krasnoarmiisk (Pokrovsk), Yuzivka, Olhynka and Horlivka. During this period, approximately 50–60 people were arrested. Some of the prisoners were shot, some were taken to the camps, and some members of the OUN were released before the approach of the Soviet army. Considering the small total number of underground members in organizations, these are quite significant numbers (Dobrovolskyi, 2013, p. 13). In March 1943, as a result of the Gestapo interception of documents of the OUN in Kyiv, a member of the OUN from Yuzivka was arrested (last name unknown) (Kosyk, 1993, p. 225), and from April 1943, according to the report of the OUN, it is known about mass arrests in Kramatorsk (CSAHAAU, f. 3833, d. 1, c. 113, pp. 1–25), provoked by reports to the Gestapo on members of the Ukrainian underground by a burgomaster Chopin (Dobrovolskyi, 2020, pp. 346–347).

In 1943, among the members of Sloviansk cell, arrests gained a significant scope. The first person arrested on May 3 and imprisoned in the town of Horlivka was Petro Mykhailovych Shynkar, the head of Sloviansk underground, a deputy of the town council, a member of “Prosvita” and schools inspector. Among the others arrested are the following: Fedir Starodub, during the German occupation, worked for a teachers' cooperative as a supply agent (arrested by the Germans and taken to a concentration camp in Germany); Serhii Kittel – a teacher (imprisoned for a month in the SD prison); F. Vynohradov – a burgomaster of Sloviansk (arrested and deported to Germany). In May – June 1943, Zinaida Kaun was arrested, A. Miakushko – on June 17, S. Posunko, M. Botvin, P. Marapulets, F. Chernyk, and M. Cherkaschenko (“Mazepa”) were arrested on June 18. Only owing to the timely warning of “Mazepa”, Ye. Stakhiv, who was in Sloviansk at the time, managed to avoid detention. S. Posunko and A. Miakushko were sent to the Dachau concentration camp, and M. Botvin and P. Marapulets were probably shot (Dobrovolskyi, 2020, pp. 33–40).

In Pokrovsk, repressions also took place during that period. In particular, in July 1943, Vsevolod Yakubovych, the mayor and head of the OUN town branch of Pokrovsk, was arrested. He was detained while purchasing weapons for the UPA and sent to the prison in Yuzivka for nationalist activities: “*On September 4, 1943, he was seen among the second arrestees who went under convoy to the camp located at plant #114*” (AUSDDR, f. 379, c. 58, pp. 99–108), and later transported to a concentration camp. The following arrested in Pokrovsk district were: Vasyl Ivanovych Petrenko, Yuriy Holyk, Ivan Haleta, Ivan Chubuch, Hryhoriy Pyvovarov, Viktor Alekhyn (died from an air bomb in Augsburg in the spring of 1944), Vasyl Ishchenko, Samoilov, Mykhailo Kuznetsov. All of them were forcibly deported to Germany in 1943. Anton Yastremsky, the head of Olhynka cell and starosta of Olhynka, was re-arrested by the Gestapo for active political activity mid-in 1943. In the summer of 1943, in Kramatorsk, the arrests were provoked by SD agent Hansiy (AUSDDR, fund for discontinued cases, c. 36641, pp. 14–17), on whose report there were imprisoned S. Kutiev (AUSDDR, fund for discontinued cases, c. 36641, pp. 59–60), O. Zinchenko, I. Serdiuk and P. Shynkar. In Horlivka it is known about the arrest in 1943 of Hryhoriy Miroshnychenko, whose further fate is unknown.

Mass arrests also took place in Mariupol in the summer of 1943. One of the first, on June 22, 1943, was Yakiv Zhyzhura, and his wife and two children were shot as the Jews by the

Germans. The list of repressed people continued with the following underground members: Ivan Halushko, arrested and sent to the prison in Yuzivka for 4 months in 1943; Feropont Synitsyn, his wife Klavdiya Synitsyna and their daughter, arrested by the Gestapo on June 22, 1943; on the same day, Fedir Lichman was arrested and sent to the Dachau concentration camp. He was released in April 1944 by American troops and probably forcibly interned in the USSR, where he was immediately detained by the NKVD (AUSSLR, c. 22907-r, pp. 95–103). During this period of time, the Gestapo killed Stepan Kashchenko-Derzhko (according to O. Dobrovolsky, he was shot), Ivan Halushko, Yakiv Zhezhura, Moroz (R. Morozenko), I. Lysy and Roman Yukhymets. Also the detained were Velychko, Kashkald, M. Stasiuk, A. Iry-Avramenko, T. Hrytsiv, Donets, Sichynsky, Semeniuta, N. Bolharska-Butkova, Haidar, Stepanenko, Vollhryk, Maria Poet and Tiak (theater artists) and 10 people more. Sichynsky and T. Hrytsiv were shot. In February 1943, during the re-arrest of A. Iry-Avramenko and M. Stasiuk (AUSSLR, c. 22907-r, pp. 95–105), the interrogation revealed what exactly caused the mass arrests of OUN members. They were provoked by a report to the Gestapo by Mr. Valko (a former member of the OUN, a recruited NKVD agent during the “trial of the 59” in Lviv in 1940) (Stakhiv, 1995, p. 145), and at the same time an SD agent under the leadership of P. Bordychevsky). It was P. Bordychevsky who organized an agent network to monitor OUN members in various institutions, collected information about the underground and prepared reports to the Gestapo. An unsuccessful attempt, organized by members of the OUN, provoked the intensification of the work of P. Bordychevsky, who almost completely destroyed the Mariupol cell, achieving the arrest of about 50 people (Shankovskyy, 1958, p. 167). Ye. Stakhiv notes that almost 20 members of the OUN in Mariupol were shot because of Mr. Valchyk's report in May 1943 (Stakhiv, 1995, p. 146). In addition, with the approach of Soviet troops, P. Bordychevsky fled with the German administration, leaving access to the archives of the DKS, which contained information about all members of the OUN, thus helping the Soviet special services to complete the destruction of the underground. However, his escape was short-lived, as he was later arrested by the NKVD (AUSDDR, c. 36824, pp. 338–339).

The director of the theatre and one of the leaders of the Mariupol underground, A. Iry-Avramenko, was arrested by the Gestapo three times: twice in Mariupol in 1942 with the demand to report on members of the OUN, and the third time in 1943 in the village of Shyroke, Dnipropetrovsk region, where he evacuated and opened a pottery business, while at the same time hiding young people from being taken to forced labour in Germany. In total, during his life, A. Iry-Avramenko was arrested 8 times by different regimes – 1916, 1918, 1923, 1929 (AFSBLR, c. P-74277, p. 459), 1932, 1943, 1943, 1944. The last, eighth arrest by SMERSH took place in 1944, immediately after the occupation of the territory by the Red Army, which ended with an execution on April 25, 1944. The central apparatus of the OUN suffered much less from the repressive actions of the Gestapo. The head of Yuzivka town organization, I. Svichynsky, was first able to evacuate to Dnipropetrovsk region in the summer of 1943 and avoided arrest: *“The German gendarmerie had information that I was engaged in the distribution of illegal nationalist literature, the content of which was directed against the Bolsheviks and against the Germans under the slogan of the struggle for the so-called “Independent Ukraine”, which should have served as the basis for my arrest. This assumption turned out to be quite reasonable, because immediately on the second day after my departure, German gendarmes came to the laboratory to arrest me”* (AUSDDR, fund for discontinued cases, c. 21287, pp. 11–12). However, shortly after the Soviet troops advanced, he was also detained by the NKVD. One of the leaders of the group, Ivan Klym,

also managed to leave for Lviv by order of the central leadership, but his fate was also not happy – on March 9, 1944, he was executed by the Germans being hanged in Drohobych (Stakhiv, 1995, p. 121).

In this regard, it is important to note that the OUN members and representatives of the central or regional leadership could not afford to be arrested, so they tried to commit armed resistance or suicide. In particular, during an attempt to be detained by the Gestapo, the leader of the Yuzivka town department of Stalin district, Oleksandr Salo (Voron), was killed in Mykolayiv, and members of the regional leadership, Tymish (Verkhovy) and Roman (Yukhym), were executed in 1944, already during the hasty retreat of the Germans. Roman Antoniak, an agitator in Stalin and Dnipropetrovsk regions, and Taras Shkavritko, a member of the first group, were shot under similar circumstances.

To assess the number of supporters of the Ukrainian idea in eastern Ukraine, one should not forget about the German administration's campaign to forcibly recruit workers, the so-called Ostarbeiters, to Germany. We can assume that some of the active Ukrainian youth who collaborated with the OUN were deported to Germany in 1942, because the scale of repatriation from Left-Bank Ukraine is simply impressive: 971,832 people were deported to Germany from eastern Ukraine, while the total number of those deported from Galicia, Slovakia, Holland, France, and Italy, together with Soviet prisoners of war, was 462,743 people, i.e. more than half less (Kosyk, 1993, p. 267).

It is likely that the reaction of the German occupation administration to the diverse activities of the OUN in Donetsk region was identical to the situation in the western and central regions of Ukraine. After the Ukrainian underground became more active and its members occupied certain administrative positions, as well as with the beginning of active propaganda work and the expansion of influence in the cultural and public spheres, the German command decided to get rid of all nationalist elements through repression, so that these movements would not gain excessive authority among the population. German Report No. 21 from the occupied areas of the East confirms this thesis: *“The Bandera group should always be considered the most radical Ukrainian independence movement. While in the early months this group had an impact with its propaganda, initially in Western and Central Ukraine, this work gradually spread to the rest of Ukraine. It is the Bandera movement that shows the most hostility towards the Germans. It repeatedly insisted that the Germans must be thrown out”* (Kosyk, 1993, pp. 578). In addition, a rapid approach of the front gave rise to panic among the Germans, a desire for revenge, and a search of traitors, which only intensified repressive measures.

Today, for various reasons, it is impossible to determine the exact numbers of members of the nationalist underground repressed by the Gestapo. On the one hand, the Soviet authorities tried to disseminate information about the crimes of the German administration against the population in the occupied territories, and therefore the lists of those shot or imprisoned were constantly and systematically published, being in the public domain. On the other hand, it is practically impossible to determine from the list of the Ukrainians killed or imprisoned by the Gestapo exactly those who suffered for nationalist activities. Firstly, the Soviet authorities not only concealed the real scale of the Ukrainian nationalist underground in Donetsk region and Ukraine in general, but also tried to avoid the question of its existence. Secondly, most likely, the names of Ukrainian nationalists killed by the Germans were not publicly mentioned by the Soviet authorities, especially not in the same context as the Soviet partisans and underground fighters. Thirdly, this information was classified, especially until the mid-1950s, as the hunt

for underground groups and the arrests of OUN members continued until that time. The last reason may be the fact that even after Ukraine gained independence and the declassification of part of the archives, the issue of the rehabilitation of the OUN and UPA, both at the state and public levels, was accepted not only ambiguously, but even undesirable. This controversy had a pronounced regionalism, with eastern Ukraine and Donetsk region, in particular, being in a position of extreme “irritation”.

In view of the above mentioned, the need to clarify real data on the number of members of the nationalist underground in Donetsk region repressed by the Gestapo became more urgent. In an interview with a historian A. Porypaliak, information is provided that in the town of Yuzivka the Gestapo killed about 100 members of the OUN in 1943 (Porypaliak, 2018), while Ye. Stakhiv in his memoirs notes that in Mariupol during the spring of 1943, out of 50 arrested, 20 OUN members were killed (Stakhiv, 1995, p. 146), and according to O. Dobrovolsky, the total number of people arrested in Stalin region was 50–60 people in 1943 (Dobrovolskyi, 2020, p. 270). Given such significant statistical discrepancies, there is a need for a thorough recount of the number of repressed members of the Ukrainian underground in Donetsk region by the German authorities in 1941–1944. The archival documents processed by the author allowed us to determine the following statistics with a list of names of members of the Ukrainian underground in Stalin region repressed by the Germans: (AUSDDR, fund for discontinued cases, c. 36641, pp. 246–247; c. 36824, pp. 251–252b) (Table 1):

Table 1

**The Number of OUN members arrested by the German administration
in Stalin region in 1941–1944.**

Cell	Surname, name	Quantity
First group	V. Bolharsky-Bulavsky	10–12
Horlivka	H. Miroshnychenko	1
Mariupol	A. Iryi-Avramenko, Ya. Zhyzhura (+two children and wife were shot), S. Kashchenko-Derzhko, T. Hrytsiv, F. Lichman, Yukhymets, H. Lytvynenko, I. Lysyy, I. Halushko, Zhorzh, Velychko, Kashkald, M. Stasyuk, N. Bolgarska-Butkova, K. Sinytsyna, F. Sinytsyn, R. Moroz (Morozenko), Donets, Sichynsky, Semenyuta, Gaidar, Stepanenko, Volhryk, M. Poet, Tiak, I. Holub, F. Cheliuk, Ivanytsky, Ostrianyn	32
Olhynka	A. Yastremsky	1
Yuzivka	T. Shkavritko, Tymish (Verkhovy), O. Salo (Voron), Roman (Yukhym), M. Kryvoshapko, D. Fomichev (shot), I. Klym (shot), R. Antoniak	8
Pokrovsk district	V. Petrenko, Yu. Holyk, I. Haleta, I. Chubuch, H. Pyvovarov, V. Aliekhin, V. Ishchenko, Samoilov, M. Kuznetsov, P. Yakubovych	10
Sloviansk	P. Shynkar, F. Starodub, S. Kittel, F. Vynohradov, Z. Kaun, A. Miakushko, S. Posunko, M. Botvin, P. Marapulets, F. Chernyk, M. Cherkashchenko (Mazepa)	11
Kramatorsk	S. Kutieva, O. Zinchenko (died in the camps in 1949), I. Serdiuk	3

The total count gives a figure of 76–78 OUN members who were repressed by the German authorities, of whom 64 individuals were identified. Thus, the figures obtained from the analysis of criminal cases are in the middle between the data of A. Porypaliak and O. Dobrovolsky. One can only assume that O. Dobrovolsky did not include the members of

the first group in the statistics, because in the end they were released from arrest and sent outside Stalin region. However, given the objective problematicity in the availability of the entire set of sources, it is simply impossible to speak about the final results.

When analyzing the consequences of the repressions by the German occupation regime, it is worth noting that they severely affected the organizational structure and personnel of the Stalin Regional Centre, depriving the underground of many activists. As a result, this affected the further activities of the OUN in the region, significantly weakening its position before the arrival of a more dangerous and cruel enemy – the Soviet government. This assessment is based, among other things, on archival data on the twice as large-scale repressions against the OUN members by the Soviet penal organs, which began after the capture of Donetsk by the Red Army in 1943 and continued until the end of the war and the post-war period.

Conclusions. Summarizing the above mentioned, we should state that the topic of the nationalist underground of the OUN (b) activities in the Donetsk region and in eastern Ukraine in general today appears in an extremely relevant light, given its lack of research and a certain contradiction in the results achieved by different authors. In particular, this concerns the analysis of the repressive policy of the German administration against the OUN in Stalin region during the occupation period of 1941 – 1943. A careful study of available archival sources made it possible to clarify the chronology of events and distinguish three waves of repression. In addition, it was possible to clarify the data previously provided by historians regarding the general statistics of the Gestapo-repressed underground nationalists of Donetsk region, and to identify the vast majority of them by name, finding out their affiliation with the relevant city or district OUN cells. The analysis of the consequences of the repressions was also provided against the OUN underground and their influence on the further course of events.

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YUGOSLAV STATE INFLUENCE IN MEDIA: THE 1968 KOSOVO STUDENT UPRISING IN THE NEWSPAPER “RILINDJA”

Abstract. The purpose is to do the research on how the students demonstrations were portrayed in the contemporary press in Kosovo, focusing specifically on the daily newspaper “Rilindja”, which was

the most widely read Albanian-language newspaper in Kosovo at that time. A one-year period, from November 1968 to November 1969, has been selected as the research sample to study how "Rilindja", reported on these significant developments that happened in Kosovo during that time. **The research methodology** is based on the principles of historicism, scientificity, authorial objectivity, systematicity, as well as general scientific and special historical methods. **The novelty of this research paper** is that it is evident from these writings that the state exerted significant influence over the published articles, this can be seen in the labelling given to the organizers of these demonstrations. Even before the trial was held, the organizers were prejudiced as nationalists and accused of being influenced by external factors to orchestrate these demonstrations. Their actions were portrayed as attempts to undermine the unity and brotherhood within Yugoslavia. **Conclusion.** The analysis demonstrates how "Rilindja" served both as an informational outlet and as a tool of political influence, particularly in shaping public perception and maintaining communist control over youth and public discourse. Firstly, it is clear that "Rilindja's" initial coverage of the November 27, 1968 demonstrations relied heavily on official sources, specifically the Communiqué of the Provincial Executive Council of Kosovo. This reliance indicates a lack of independent journalistic investigation, and instead suggests that the newspaper functioned as an amplifier of state narratives. More importantly, our research highlights that "Rilindja", being the only Albanian-language daily newspaper in Kosovo at the time, adopted a distinctly biased stance. From November 1968 to May 1969, the newspaper acted as a mouthpiece for the communist leadership, publishing content aimed at discrediting the organizers and portraying the demonstrations as harmful, chauvinist, and even nationalist. The most telling aspect of "Rilindja's" coverage lies in its strategy to isolate the organizers while seeking to "save" the participants. The idea was to portray the students as misled by a small group of agitators, thus justifying both the punishment of the leaders and the ideological re-education of the majority. In this sense, "Rilindja" served as a medium of indirect communication between the communist establishment and the protesting students.

Key words: 1968 Demonstrations, Students, Rilindja, Kosovo, Yugoslavia.

ВПЛИВ ЮГОСЛАВСЬКОЇ ДЕРЖАВИ НА МЕДІА: СТУДЕНТСЬКЕ ПОВСТАННЯ В КОСОВІ 1968 РОКУ НА СТОРІНКАХ ГАЗЕТИ "РІЛІНДЬЯ"

Анотація. Метою цього наукового дослідження є вивчення того, як студентські демонстрації були висвітлені у тодішній пресі Косова, з особливим акцентом на щоденну албанськомовну газету "Ріліндья", яка на той час була найпопулярнішою в Косові. Для дослідження було обрано період в один рік – від листопада 1968 до листопада 1969 року – щоб проаналізувати, як "Ріліндья" висвітлювала важливі події, що тоді відбувалися в Косові. **Методологія дослідження** базується на принципах історизму, науковості, авторської об'єктивності, системності, а також загальнонаукових та спеціально-історичних методах. **Новизна дослідження** полягає у доведенні значного впливу держави на зміст статей у цій газеті. Це видно з того, як на її шпальтах характеризували організаторів демонстрацій. Ще до судового процесу їх упереджено називали націоналістами та звинувачували у впливі зовнішніх чинників з метою організації цих протестів. Їхні дії зображувалися як загроза єдності та братерству в межах Югославії. **Висновок.** Аналіз газетних матеріалів демонструє, що "Ріліндья" слугувала як інформаційним каналом, так і інструментом політичного впливу, зокрема у формуванні громадської думки та підтримці комуністичного контролю над молоддю і публічним дискурсом. По-перше, очевидно, що початкове висвітлення "Ріліндья" демонстрацій 27 листопада 1968 року значною мірою спиралося на офіційні джерела, зокрема на Комуніке Виконавчої ради Косова. Ця залежність свідчить про відсутність незалежного журналістського розслідування, а натомість припускає, що газета функціонувала як підсилювач державних нарративів. Що ще важливіше, наше дослідження підкреслює, що "Ріліндья", будучи у той період єдиною албанською щоденною газетою в Косово, займала чітко упереджену позицію. Від листопада 1968 року до травня 1969 року газета діяла як рупор комуністичного керівництва, публікуючи контент, спрямований на дискредитацію організаторів та трактування демонстрацій як шкідливих, шовіністичних і навіть націоналістичних. Найбільш показовим аспектом публікації "Ріліндья" є її стратегія ізоляції організаторів, і водночас демонстрація прагнення "врятувати" учасників. Ідея полягала в тому, щоб зобразити студентів як введених в оману невеликою групою агітаторів, виправдовуючи у такий спосіб як покарання лідерів, так і ідеологічне перевиховання більшої частини. У цьому сенсі "Ріліндья" слугувала засобом непрямой комунікації між комуністичним естаблішментом та студентами-протестувальниками.

Ключові слова: демонстрації 1968 року, студенти, "Ріліндья", Косово, Югославія.

Problem Statement. During the 1968 students demonstrations in Kosovo, the newspaper Rilindja was the only daily publication published in the Albanian language and served as a crucial source of information for the public. The articles published in this newspaper reflect not only the progression of events but also the direct influence of state structures – particularly the Kosovo Provincial Committee – on the content and direction of media discourse. Our research in archival documents has confirmed ideological intervention in shaping these narratives, with the aim of aligning them with the official positions of the political leadership in Kosovo. However, the coverage of the press during this period remains insufficiently studied in the Albanian-language scholarship. Therefore, the objective of this research is to analyze how the 1968 demonstrations were portrayed in Rilindja and to analyze the role of state politics in guiding the media reporting.

Review of Recent Research and Publications. The 1968 demonstrations in Kosovo were not a significant surprise for the time. The 1968 year, was a year when protests occurred in various European countries, including major cities in Yugoslavia such as Zagreb, Belgrade, and Sarajevo. Researchers, both local and international, have extensively studied the 1968 demonstrations in Kosovo. The main theory regarding the reasons behind these protests primarily revolves around national and political factors.

The British historian, Professor Noel Malcolm in his book ‘Kosova: A Short History’ argues that the outbreak of these demonstrations was a result of several political concessions. These concessions occurred after the Brioni Plenum*, which, according to him, created momentum for the pursuit of a republic. After Brioni Plenum 1966, Kosovo had already gained various political rights, but not yet the status of a republic. *“Now Kosovo had become a legitimate federative entity, with the potential to exercise most or all of the competencies of a republic, going forward, the political ambition of the Albanians in Kosovo would focus on the next natural step: Kosovo as a Republic”* (Malcolm, 2011, pp. 409–410).

Another scholar, Atdhe Hetemi, emphasizes that the students took to the streets with the demand for a republic. According to him, this request was designed by the Albanian political elites of the time. However, when they failed to achieve this demand, the focus shifted to the students. *“The Albanian elites in Kosovo channeled this idea for the Republic of Kosovo... when it was rejected... the vision for the Republic of Kosovo passed to the students”* (Hetemi, 2020, pp. 182–183). This theory is also found in the book by a historian Skënder Rizaj, who highlights, among other things, that the organizers of these demonstrations were the Albanian political elites of that era in Kosovo. (Rizaj, 2005, p. 57).

We find the same opinion in the book “Narratives about Kosovo”*. Daut Demaku, a student at the time, when talking about these demonstrations, emphasizes: *“I am still annoyed today that the real organizers of those demonstrations, except for one (Authors: We can allude to Professor Mark Krasniqi, who has come out publicly and asked students to write their requests on paper and deliver them to local politicians in Kosovo), whom I know has been involved, have not appeared in public. And I’m glad they were wise enough not to appear in public because they have accomplished the task they set out to do. Their goal was to get the job done, not to beat their chests and say that I did it”* (Lama, 2022, pp. 180–181).

These statements support the theory that students were “used” as “puppets” by Albanian politicians in Kosovo to advance the plan for a republic. The students were the ones through whom the idea was to express the political demands of the Albanian people in Kosovo for the creation of the Republic of Kosovo.

The opinion that these demonstrations erupted due to political reasons is also supported by Shkodran Imeraj, a professor at the Institute of History “Ali Hadri” in Pristina. In his book

Kosova 1968 – 1990: Aspects of Political Life in Kosovo during the Years 1968 – 1990, he emphasizes that these demonstrations began because of the Albanian youth's demand for "*freedom, equality, and national emancipation*" (Imeraj, 2021, p. 55). To conclude this section, as an argument that the demonstrations began for political and national reasons, we also have the speech of one of the organizers of the 1968 demonstrations, Osman Dumoshi. In his speech in Pristina on November 27, 1968, when the demands of the students were listed, the first two points were requests for: *1. Full realization of national rights and 2. Our people should enjoy all the rights that other nations enjoy* (Novosella, 2008, pp. 162–163).

And if we analyze them at their core, we understand that these demands were of a national and political nature. The concessions made at the 1966 Brioni Plenum undoubtedly paved the way for Kosovar Albanians to seek more political rights, with the main goal being the creation of the Republic of Kosovo.

However, regarding the theory that the elite of Kosovo Albanian politicians were behind the student demonstrations of 1968 in Kosovo, we consider this theory to be unfounded. The communist Albanian politicians of Kosovo publicly condemned the organization of these demonstrations.

Ali Shukriu, one of the most prominent communists on the political scene in Kosovo, held a rally in the village of Bare in Shala e Bajgores, located in the Northeast part of Kosovo. Among other things he emphasized that: "*The organizers of these disturbing actions are provocateurs... they are enemies of socialism and a tool of hostile foreign propaganda against Yugoslavia.*" (H., M. & J., F., 1968, p. 5). The organizers of the demonstrations were also called enemies and provocateurs by Xhavit Nimani and Mahmut Bakalli (O., I., 1968, p. 6). On the other hand, the Chairman of the Provincial Committee of the Communist League of Kosovo and Metohija, Veli Deva, in his statement dated November 29, 1968, published in the newspaper "*Rilindja*", on November 30, 1968, added that the demonstrations were organized by hostile and chauvinistic forces and that an open and uncompromising war must be waged against them (Redaksia e gazetës Rilindja, 1968, p. 7). Among other things, Deva asked all Yugoslav peoples living in Kosovo to condemn these hostile demonstrations: "*All citizens of Kosovo and Metohija must condemn in the strictest terms such hostile actions. The Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, and Turks in labor organizations and in the Socialist League must uniquely paralyze their activity*" (Redaksia e gazetës Rilindja, 1968, p. 7). Fadil Hoxha, the speaker of the Provincial Assembly of Kosovo, also made a statement against the organizers of the demonstrations. Hoxha described the demonstrations as hostile and chauvinistic acts that brought damage to the people of Kosovo. He stated: "*Enemies... went hand in hand with organizing demonstrations in Pristina, Ferizaj, Gilan, and Podujevo... they are hostile and chauvinistic acts and, as such, brought harm to the people of the province*" (A., D., 1968, p. 6).

Therefore, based on these statements and the attitudes of the most important communist politicians of the Communist League of Kosovo, as well as the lack of any document evidencing their involvement in these demonstrations, we can conclude that the Albanian political elite of Kosovo was not behind these demonstrations, as was mentioned in some theories above.

Research Results. About the demonstrations of 1968 in the newspaper "*Rilindja*", which was published in Prishtina, there were various articles, which in one form or another would provide information on what was happening with those demonstrations and the organizers of these demonstrations. The first demonstrations of students and pupils of Kosovo broke

out in October 1968, but without having any great impact, while the great demonstration of Albanian students would break out in November 1968, specifically on November 27, 1968, in cities such as Prishtina, Peja, Ferizaj, Gjilan, Podujeva, (Rilindja, “Kumtesa e Këshillit Ekzekutiv Krahinor”, 1968, p. 3), where many young men and women would flock to the streets of these cities to demand political, economic, social and educational rights for the province of Kosovo.

The first article that would be published in the daily newspaper published in Kosovo in the Albanian language “*Rilindja*”, would be an article dated in November 28, 1968, when this newspaper would publish the statement of the Provincial Executive Council of Kosovo on the demonstrations that had happened in the cities of Kosovo during November 27, 1968 (Rilindja, “Kumtesa e Këshillit Ekzekutiv Krahinor”, 1968, p. 3). This would be the only material published in this newspaper in the festive issue of “*Rilindja*” in that period. The document published on November 28, 1968, was short and mainly provided information about the demonstrations that took place in the aforementioned cities of Kosovo. The newspaper “*Rilindja*” had previously announced that, on November 28, in connection with the “November celebrations”, it would publish a special festive edition. This date, among other things, also corresponded to Albania’s Independence Day, November 28, 1912. This announcement was strongly disapproved of by Xhevdet Hamza, a member of the Provincial Committee in Kosovo. At the meeting held on November 28, 1968, Hamza criticized the newspaper *Rilindja* “...for having announced that, during the November celebrations, it would be issued as a festive edition” (Çeku, 2009, pp. 36–37). Based on archival documents, this represents the first instance following these demonstrations in which politicians from Kosovo sought to intervene directly in the writings published in “*Rilindja*”.

According to the statement, the demonstrations began in the afternoon around 16:00 near the Faculty of Philosophy in Prishtina. It was observed that the number of demonstrators was higher in this city, whereas in other cities of Kosovo, as mentioned in the statement, the number of participants was smaller. If we analyze the information obtained from this source, we notice that the largest number of participants was in Prishtina, we consider this to be due to two main reasons: 1. Prishtina was the “centre” of Albanian students who mainly attended the Faculty of Philosophy; 2. Prishtina was the coordinating centre of these demonstrations, so the number of participants is not surprisingly greater, since the “hand” of the organizers and the impact of their activity within the city where they lived and acted can be seen.

In this statement, it is also notable how these demonstrations are characterized, although there is no detailed analysis provided regarding their underlying causes. Through this statement, we consider that the elite of Kosovo Albanian politicians wanted to “clear” themselves of the possible accusations of other politicians in Yugoslavia, on the organization of these demonstrations, therefore the reaction was immediate and these demonstrations were considered hostile. “...after the demonstrations, the working people and citizens of Kosovo and Metohija are judging and condemning this unfriendly activity...they demand that the strictest measures be taken against the organizers” (Rilindja, “Kumtesa e Këshillit Ekzekutiv Krahinor”, 1968, p. 3), let alone that they reacted quickly concerning these demonstrations, but indirectly speaking on behalf of all the citizens of Kosovo, the politicians from Kosovo demanded that the organizers receive the strictest possible punishments.

The publication of articles in the newspaper “*Rilindja*” during November, did not cease with the release of this statement alone. Throughout the November month, “*Rilindja*” published 12 articles addressing the topic of the 1968 demonstrations in Kosovo. In addition

to the 12 articles that would be published in November, this newspaper would also publish 4 other statements that would condemn the activities of the demonstrators in the various cities of Kosovo. What is observed in these articles and statements published in the "*Rilindja*" newspaper, throughout November 1968, are mainly the attitudes of the: Provincial Executive Council, the collective of the Faculty of Philosophy, the councils and collectives of enterprises in Kosovo such as "Kosova", "Put", "Emin Duraku", etc., the Municipal Committee of the League of Communists of Pristina, the Provincial Committee of the Youth League, the Presidency of the League of Students of Kosovo and Metohija, the Provincial Council of the League of Trade Unions, etc.

All parties condemned the demonstrations. Regarding the position taken on these events, a chief focus should be on the statement made by the president of the Provincial Council of the Students League, Mr. Qenan Shaipi. In his stance on the demonstrations, he emphasized, among other things, that the organization he leads is prepared "...to settle accounts with all reactionary forces" (*Rilindja*, "Lidhja e Studentëve është e gatshme t'i qëroj hesapet me të gjitha forcat reaksionare", 1968, p. 8). This statement proves that the organizers of these demonstrations had nothing to do with the Provincial Council of the Students League, and at the same time this statement is an important fact that in Kosovo there were students who were dissatisfied with the activities and attitudes of the Provincial Council of the Students League. So, based on this statement, and the demonstrative activities in the cities of Kosovo, we can conclude that in Kosovo in 1968 there were two groups of students, whose attitudes differed radically from each other.

The scholar Atdhe Hetemi in his book "Student Movements for the Republic of Kosovo 1968, 1981, 1997", states that some Albanian students since 1964 had formed their informal political group otherwise known as the "Student Committee"*, part of this group were also Osman Dumoshi, Selatin Novosella, Adil Pireva, etc. (Hetemi, 2020, pp. 157–158). They were the organizers of the 1968 demonstrations in Kosovo. The existence of these student groups serves as the strongest evidence that during the 1960s in Kosovo, we had divergent political ideologies and actions among Albanian students, regarding the political future of Kosovo. The defining feature of the November 1968 publications on the demonstrations in Kosovo is primarily the support extended by various committees, including those of unions, enterprises, and municipal assemblies, to the statement issued by the Executive Council of the Province of Kosovo regarding the organization and development of these demonstrations. Unfortunately, no article can be found that highlights the murder of the student Murat Mehmeti (Arkivi i Shoqatës së të Burgosurve Politik të Kosovës, 1968, Dokumenti nr. 7), who was killed during the gunfire that erupted at these demonstrations. In addition to Murat Mehmeti, 27 other demonstrators were also injured (Archive of the Association of Political Prisoners of Kosovo, 1968, Document no. 8). The only article that provides brief statistics on those injured in these demonstrations but does not give much detail on how the execution of Murat Mehmeti came about is the article of 30 November entitled 'What Happened in Prishtina' (*Rilindja*, 'Çka ndodhi në Prishtinë', 1968, p. 7).

While December would be completely different. The newspaper "*Rilindja*" would continue to publish articles about these demonstrations. What distinguished December from November 1968 and the first 4 months of 1969 is the fact that in December 1968 in the newspaper "*Rilindja*" we can find 57 articles (or 71.3% of the articles in total) that were published, which would deal with the realization of these demonstrations in several directions.

Unlike November, December 1968 saw a shift in focus towards statements and calls for punishing the organizers of the demonstrations. For instance, on December 3, the Municipal

Committee of the League of Communists of Gjakova demanded the harshest possible measures for the organizers (M., K., 1968, p. 5). Similarly, on December 4, the Communists of the Chair of Albanian Studies in Pristina convened a meeting regarding the demonstrations, and their stance, published on December 5, 1968, called for the punishment of the organizers. (Pireva, 1968, p. 6) The Executive Council of the Municipal Conference of Ferizaj also joined in, demanding “...effective measures against the main organizers” (Rifati, 1968, p. 7). Thus, there were consistent demands from unions and various committees for appropriate action against the organizers. We consider that such statements came for the reason that no one wanted to be implicated as a co-organizer or supporter of these demonstrations, otherwise, his position in the then communist Kosovo would not have been more favourable, which is why we have so much support for the Executive Committee of the Province and the positions that this committee took about the demonstrations.

The articles of December 1968 are notably characterized by the statements of Albanian and Kosovo Serb politicians and their respective positions about the demonstrations. Throughout this month, the “*Rilindja*” newspaper published 18 statements or speeches from politicians in Kosovo. For instance, in the issues of December 4, 1968, were published thoughts of Iljaz Kurtesh, Salih Nushi, Hajredin Hoxha, Hashim Mustafa, Mustafa Plakiqi, Jovo Shotra, and Sherafedin Sylejmani, (*Rilindja*, “Diskutime në mbledhjen e Kryesisë së konferencës krahinore të LSPP”, 1968, p. 6), all members of the Presidency of the LSSP Provincial Conference about these protests. They unanimously condemned the activities of the organizers of the 1968 demonstrations in Kosovo.

Also, on December 5, 1968, the Central Committee of the Communist League in Kosovo would meet once again to «condemn» the organization of these demonstrations. From this meeting, in the issue of December 7, 1968, in the “*Rilindja*” newspaper, were published the speeches and thoughts of Veli Deva, Orhan Nevzat, Zoran Matkovic, Llatnika Perovic, Ali Shukriu, Mirko Ganadanovic, Simeon Zatezajlo, Slavko Veselinov, Pedrog Ajtiq, Marko Nikezqit, and Mirko Popovic about these demonstrations (*Rilindja*, “Lidhja Komuniste ka gëzue e gëzon përkrahjen e plotë të mbarë popullit”, 1968, pp. 5–10).

Both Albanian and Serbian politicians aimed to downplay the significance of the demonstrations and portray the organizers as people without any support from the population in Kosovo. Additionally, there was a tendency to emphasize as much as possible that the demonstrations had not succeeded in disrupting the political system in Kosovo. This sentiment is exemplified in Ali Shukri’s speech, where he emphasized that while the demonstrations in Kosovo were indeed a setback, but they were never a defeat for them (*Rilindja*, “Nga mbledhja e dytë e KQ të LKS”, 1968, p. 7).

In these speeches, we see a tendency to overcome the situation without making much noise, and without paying much attention to the demonstrations and demonstrators, we consider that the idea was that these demonstrations should not remain as actualities, because we think that such a thing would have a negative impact for the political system in Yugoslavia as it could encourage popular measures against the government.

Also, based on the fact that there were student demonstrations all over the Balkans during 1968, local politicians were interested in overcoming this situation without publicly giving them the importance that these demonstrations had, all this so that the measure is easier to manage.

The communists of the “*Rilindja*” newspaper also opposed the demonstrators and demonstrations. At their meeting held on December 11, 1968, they condemned the Albanian chauvinism and nationalism shown in the demonstrations of 1968. The communists of the

newspaper "*Rilindja*", described these demonstrations as being in direct opposition to the interests of the Albanians in Yugoslavia (*Rilindja*, "Nacionalizmi dhe shovinizmi damtojnë ma së shumti kombin ku paraqitën", 1968, pp. 1–5). The publication of this article in the newspaper "*Rilindja*" came in the wake of criticism by Fadil Hoxha, one of the most influential politicians in Kosovo after World War II, directed toward the communists of "*Rilindja*". At the meeting of the Provincial Committee of Kosovo and Metohija held on December 9, 1968, Hoxha, in his speech, sharply criticized the journalists of "*Rilindja*", stressing that they had done nothing to counter the propaganda of the Albanian newspapers published in Albania. In his address, Hoxha proposed that all individuals who had failed to meet the demands of their positions should be replaced (Ceku, 2009, pp. 151–154). This speech appears to have had its intended effect, as only three days later "*Rilindja*" published an article entitled "Nationalism and Chauvinism Harm Most the Nation in Which They Appear," which attacked the demonstrations and their organizers as Albanian nationalists and chauvinists whose actions had, above all, harmed the Albanian population of Kosovo.

A notable aspect of the articles published in this newspaper is the tendency of the communists from Kosovo to present the students who participated in the 1968 protests as individuals deceived by various illegal Albanian political groups. As such, they believed these students should be treated and guided back to the right path, which is Yugoslav communism.

For this reason, in December 1968, "*Rilindja*", published two important articles addressing this issue. The first article, published on December 13, 1968, titled "*Even the Demonstrators are Returning to the Positions of the LR*", discusses about the high school students of Prishtina that were part of these protests. It reveals that these students after the participating in the protests realized that they were deceived and now they are supporting Provincial Committees Communique against these demonstrations. "...the young people who participated in the demonstrations regretted their act, because they were deceived..." (J., B., 1968, p. 6). The second article on this matter was published on December 22, 1968, revealing the positions of the Communists of the Faculty of Philosophy in Pristina. They believed that necessary measures should be taken against the organizers, while the participants who were "probably deceived" should be educated to improve their ideological and political understanding. (I., N., 1968)

Here we see a tendency among the communists from Kosovo, specifically within two groups: The League of Communist Youth and the Communists of the Faculty of Philosophy, which we think came out with these two statements not by chance. Why do we say these statements did not appear by chance? It is because we consider the following: 1. The League of Communist Youth did not have the luxury of demanding strict measures to against the participants in the demonstrations. Their idea was to bring these participants closer to the Party, ultimately amnestying their participation and presenting it as "deception" by the organizers. In this way, the young people, afraid of the strictest possible punishments, would give up their «hostile» activity, and at the same time they would add to the ranks of the communist youth in Kosovo, of course always being closely watched; 2. The Faculty of Philosophy, which had the most Albanian students, likely viewed any harsh measures against the majority of students as dangerous. They agreed to target the organizers, but not the participants, understanding that the large number of involved students could lead to even greater riots if struck directly. Thus, we believe that their interest was in "buying" peace with the students who participated in the demonstrations. By portraying them as deceived before the public opinion, they aimed to amnesty their protest actions during November 27, 1968.

Thus, it was natural for these two groups to issue these statements, because directly or indirectly, the Communists of the Faculty of Philosophy and the League of Communist Youth were responsible for the ideological and political emancipation of students and pupils in Kosovo. The faculty communists were mainly responsible for staff and students, while the LCY*, was responsible for youth.

Among other things, we consider that there is another reason for the call to punish the organizers and “amnesty” the participants. We think this lies in a wise strategic action: the punishment of the organizers would be useful for the communists, but more useful for them was to leave the organizers without support and to eliminate the potential legacy left by the organizers of the demonstrations. Therefore, the attempt to “protect” the participants can be seen as a “visionary” strategy for the goals of the communist groups in Kosovo. The “disappearance of the hostile legacy” (as they saw it) would leave the way open for the ideological emancipation of the Albanian youth of Kosovo. However, this strategy ultimately failed, as evidenced by subsequent demonstrations against Yugoslavia in Kosovo during 1981, 1982, 1989, and 1997, which constitute special topics for further discussion.

The situation regarding the coverage of these demonstrations in the “Rilindja” newspaper begins to change in 1969. We believe that the importance of covering these demonstrations in the newspaper begins to decline. This is evidenced by the fact that in 1969, there are only 11 recorded articles that directly address the 1968 demonstrations in Kosovo. The first article about these demonstrations in 1969 was published on January 4. This article informed public that the trial of the organizers of demonstrations would begin very soon. The article titled: “*Demonstrators soon before the Court*”, announced that until January 4, the court had fully convicted 55 demonstrators who had participated in the November 27, 1968 demonstrations. (Rilindja, “*Demonstruesit së shpejti para Gjyqjit*”, 1969, p. 4). On January 5, 1969, in “*Rilindja*”, published another article exposing the positions of the Communists of the Military Zone of Skopje, they also considered these demonstrations as chauvinistic demonstrations (Rilindja, “*Dënuen demonstratat në Kosovë e Tetovë*”, 1969, p. 5). January 1969 would end only with these two articles which provided information directly about the fate of the organizers of these demonstrations in Prishtina.

In the months of February and March 1969, a total of four articles were published, containing positions and condemnations by Yugoslav politicians regarding the organization of these demonstrations. One important article stands out: The March 1, 1969 article titled “*A Lawsuit was Filed against the Organizers of the Demonstrations in Pristina*”. Although not very long, this article provides information on the indictments brought against the students who were the organizers of the demonstrations on November 27, 1968 in Pristina. According to this article, the lawsuit was filed against: Osman Dumoshi, Hasan Dermak, Selatin Novosella, Afrim Loxha, Skender Mucollit, Xheladin Rekaliu, Skender Kastrati, Adil Pireva and Iljaz Pireva, who were accused of organizing hostile demonstrations in Prishtina on November 27, 1968 (Rilindja, “*U ngrreh padia kundër organizatorëve të demonstratave në Prishtinë*”, 1969, p. 5). It should be emphasized that the students mentioned in this article were the organizational heads of these demonstrations. Their severe punishment would be a guarantee for the Yugoslav state that there would be no more leaders to lead the students. Therefore, it was important for the state to punish the leaders as harshly as possible (and for this the lawsuit should be prepared as soon as possible), so that the mass of students would remain leaderless. Meanwhile, the participants should be amnestied to buy peace with the Albanian students, and these two actions would help to normalize the political situation in Kosovo.

The information about the trial of the organizers continued throughout April 1969. A total of five articles discuss about the trial of the organizers of these demonstrations. The first article was published on April 3, 1969, titled: *"The Trial of the Organizers of the Demonstrations Began"* (Rilindja R. e., 1969, p. 6). This article can be seen as a continuation of the March 1, 1969, article, as it provides information on the trial of the aforementioned students.

If we carefully analyze the article, we notice that the average age of the organizational heads of these demonstrations was 23 years. The youngest was Skënder Muçolli 20 years old, while the oldest was Iljaz Pireva at 25 years old. The article provides information that the prosecutor of the case was Sahit Meraku, while the chairman of the jury was Nazmi Juniku, while the accused students were defended by Filo Filota and Jovan Vuçkevic from Belgrade, and Bllazha Stankovic and Mehmet Dushku, from Pristina (Rilindja R. e., 1969, p. 6).

The trial of the accused students was covered by "Rilindja", through another article dated April 4, 1969. This article provided information on how the organizers admitted their guilt and disclosed details about how they organized these demonstrations (N., L., 1969, p. 6). It should be noted that "Rilindja", in the article *"The Verdict is Announced on Monday"*, provided information that the verdict for the accused students will be announced on April 7, 1969 (Rilindja R. e., "Të hënen shpallet aktgjykimi", 1969, p. 4).

We consider that the most important article regarding these demonstrations, was published on April 8, 1969, titled: *"The Organizers of the Demonstrations were Sentenced"*. This article provides crucial information on the punishments received by the organizers of the protests. According to this article, the organizers of the demonstrations were sentenced as follows: 5 years of imprisonment were given to: Osman Dumoshi, Hasan Dërmaku, Selatin Novosella and Adil Pireva, 4 years of imprisonment were given to Skënder Kastrati and Xheladin Rekalju, 3 years of imprisonment were given to Iljaz Pireva, Skënder Muçolli and Afrim Loxha. (Rilindja R. e., "U dënuan organizatorët e demonstratave", 1969, p. 6).

The organizers of these demonstrations were tried under the charge of conducting hostile propaganda, as defined by Article 118 of the Criminal Code and Article 509, Paragraphs 1 and 2 of the Code of Criminal Procedure (Arkivi i Shoqatës së të Burgosurve Politik të Kosovës, 1968, Dokumenti nr. 13). While it should be noted that the trial for the organizers was held on 7 April 1969, on the same day when the decision was taken for their punishment (Arkivi i Shoqatës së të Burgosurve Politik të Kosovës, 1969, Dokumenti nr. 18).

The newspaper "Rilindja" did not publish only the punishments for the organizers of the demonstrations in the city of Prishtina but also followed the trials of the organizers in other cities of Kosovo. One such instance is the trial against the organizers of the demonstrations in the city of Podujevo. An article dated April 11, 1969, discusses the punishments received by the organizers of the demonstrations in Podujevo. The article titled: *"Organizers of demonstrations in Podujevo 42 months in prison"*, provides information that the organizers of these demonstrations: Hamit Abdullahu, Sabit Sylja, Hakif Sheholli, were sentenced to a total of 42 months in prison. According to this article: Hamit Abdullahu, a security guard, was sentenced to 16 months in prison; Sabit Sylja, a student, was sentenced to 14 months in prison; Hakif Sheholli, a teacher, was sentenced to 12 months or 1 year in prison (Islami, 1969, p. 5).

The saga of the treatment of the of November 1968 in Kosovo, as covered in the newspaper "Rilindja", concludes with the article of April 11, 1969. We believe that there are two reasons that contributed to this early conclusion: 1. The end of the trials marked the end of the process, diminishing reader interest in further analysis once the organizers had been

punished; 2. We think that the newspaper's focus shifted to Macedonia, particularly to the city of Tetovo, where students demonstrations began on December 24, 1968. "*Rilindja*", closely monitored these developments in Tetovo, publishing about twenty-five articles that provides continuous updates on events unfolding in another region of Yugoslavia.

Conclusion. Based on our comprehensive and systematic research, we have reached several critical conclusions regarding the role of the *Rilindja* newspaper during the 1968 student demonstrations in Kosovo. Our findings not only reflect the historical context of the events, but also reveal the political motives and media strategy employed during that time. The analysis demonstrates how "*Rilindja*" served both as an informational outlet and as a tool of political influence, particularly in shaping public reception and maintaining communist control over youth and public discourse.

Firstly, it is clear that "*Rilindja*'s" initial coverage of the November 27, 1968 demonstrations relied heavily on official sources, specifically the Communique of the Provincial Executive Council of Kosovo. This reliance indicates a lack of independent journalistic investigation, and instead suggests that the newspaper functioned as an amplifier of state narratives. The emphasis on Pristina as the main center of the protests reflects both the demographic reality – being the hub of Albanian students – and the organizational leadership located there.

More importantly, our research highlights that "*Rilindja*", being the only Albanian-language daily newspaper in Kosovo at the time, adopted a distinctly biased stance. From November 1968 to May 1969, the newspaper acted as a mouthpiece for the communist leadership, publishing content aimed at discrediting the organizers and portraying the demonstrations as harmful, chauvinist, and even nationalist. It is evident that the goal was to generate a negative public opinion and to suppress any narrative that could challenge the political status quo.

A deeper examination of the content reveals political polarization among students, divided between the state-influenced Provincial Council of the Students' League and the more radical Student Committee that led the protests. This division is crucial to understanding the broader political climate and the pressures facing youth activism at the time.

The most telling aspect of "*Rilindja*'s" coverage lies in its strategy to isolate the organizers while seeking to "save" the participants. The idea was to portray the students as misled by a small group of agitators, thus justifying both the punishment of the leaders and the ideological re-education of the majority. In this sense, "*Rilindja*" served as a medium of indirect communication between the communist establishment and the protesting students. The articles published in December 1968 exemplify this: the attempt to bring demonstrators "back to the positions of the League of Communists" was a calculated move to neutralize dissent while maintaining the appearance of ideological authority.

Moreover, the statements issued by the League of Communist Youth and the Communist Cell of the Faculty of Philosophy were not coincidental. In our view, these were part of a deliberate and strategic maneuver. These two groups, responsible for the ideological oversight of students, recognized the risk of alienating the youth. Instead of mass punishment, their strategy was to "buy peace" by offering amnesty to the participants, while isolating and discrediting the organizers. This approach allowed the regime to suppress the legacy of the demonstrations without provoking further unrest.

Finally, the closure of "*Rilindja*'s" coverage in April 1969, shortly after the trials concluded, suggests a conscious effort to shift focus and minimize the long-term political relevance of the demonstrations. The newspaper then redirected its focus to similar events

in Macedonia, particularly Tetovo, indicating a regional pattern of unrest that the authorities sought to manage discreetly.

In conclusion, "Rilindja" played a crucial role in shaping the political narrative of the 1968 demonstrations. Articles published in "Rilindja" were, not infrequently, "crafted" during meetings of the Provincial Committee of Kosovo and Metohija. As evidenced in the case of the criticisms voiced by Xhevdet Hamza, followed by the "threats" from Fadil Hoxha – who stressed that those failing to perform their duties properly should be replaced – such interventions played a crucial role in shaping the narrative on the demonstrations within the newspaper's own articles. This constitutes significant evidence of the extent to which the state influenced the writing of articles opposing the demonstrations and their participants. Through careful messaging and strategic alignment with state interests, it contributed to the suppression of student activism while preserving the image of ideological control. This case illustrates how media under authoritarian influence can serve to neutralize dissent not only through direct condemnation but also through calculated psychological and ideological manipulation.

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**VIDEO TESTIMONIES OF THE HOLOCAUST EYEWITNESSES
IN THE REICHSKOMMISSARIAT “UKRAINE”: STRUCTURE,
METHODOLOGY, POTENTIAL (ON THE EXAMPLE OF YAHAD-IN UNUM
ARCHIVAL COLLECTION)**

Abstract. *The purpose is to analyze the video testimonies of the Holocaust eyewitnesses in the Reichskommissariat “Ukraine” of the oral history collection of Yahad-In Unum (Paris, France). The methodology of the research is based on the principles of scientificity, historicism, problem historical methods, as well as methods of analysis and systematization. There have been two methods of utmost importance to our study, in particular, the historical typological method and the method of classification of sources. Due to the above-mentioned methods, it was possible to identify the main thematic blocks of interviews and determine their potential for the scholars, who dealt with the history of the Holocaust. The oral history method has become the leading one. Scientific Novelty. There has been devoted a separate study on the analysis of the Holocaust oral history sources by the scientific institution “Yahhad-In Unum” regarding the situation of the Jews in the Reichskommissariat “Ukraine” for the first time in historiography. There has been analyzed the Jews situation during the Holocaust from the non-Jewish*

testimonies perspective. There have been introduced a large number of unpublished oral sources into the scientific circulation. **Conclusions.** In the article there has been analyzed the methodology, structure of the oral history collection of Yahad-In Unum interviews, and the potential of these sources on the Holocaust study in the Reichskommissariat "Ukraine". The sources from the non-Jewish perspective testimonies shed light on the details of the Jews situation, their death, and survival during the Holocaust, which were not found in other official sources. In addition, there is the information about other victims of the Nazis – mentally ill people, disabled children, and the Gypsies (the Roma) in the French institution sources. The above-mentioned sources reflect the non-Jewish population involvement (by force and/or voluntarily) in the Nazi crimes regarding "the Jewish issue solution", the trauma of the Holocaust, and commemoration/memorialization during the post-war period.

Key words: Yahad-In Unum, video testimony, oral history, Patrick Debois, Holocaust, Reichskommissariat "Ukraine", archival sources.

ВІДЕОСВІДЧЕННЯ ОЧЕВИДЦІВ ГОЛОКОСТУ В РАЙХСКОМІСАРИАТІ "УКРАЇНА": СТРУКТУРА, МЕТОДОЛОГІЯ, ПОТЕНЦІАЛ (НА ПРИКЛАДІ АРХІВНОЇ КОЛЕКЦІЇ ЯХАД-ІН УНУМ)

Анотація. *Мета дослідження* – охарактеризувати відеосвідчення очевидців Голокосту в Райхскомісаріаті "Україна" усноїсторичної колекції Яхад-Ін Унум (м. Париж, Франція). **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на принципах науковості, історизму, проблемно-історичного методів, а також методах аналізу і систематизації. Важливими для нашого дослідження були історико-типологічний метод та метод класифікації джерел. Їхнє застосування уможливило виділити основні тематичні блоки інтерв'ю та визначити їхній потенціал для дослідників історії Голокосту. Провідним 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 райхскомісаріаті "Україна". З перспективи неєврейських свідчень проаналізовано становище євреїв під час Голокосту. До наукового обігу введено велику кількість неопублікованих усних джерел. **Висновки.** В статті проаналізовано методологію, структуру проведення інтерв'ю усноїсторичної колекції Яхад-Ін Унум та потенціал цих джерел у дослідженні Голокосту в райхскомісаріаті "Україна". З перспективи неєврейських свідчень ці джерела висвітлюють подробиці становища євреїв, їхньої загибелі та виживання під час Голокосту, які не зустрічаються в інших офіційних джерелах. Крім того, в джерелах французької інституції наявна інформація й про інших жертв нацистів – психічнохворих людей, дітей-інвалідів, циган (ромів). Означені джерела відображають залучення неєврейського населення (примусово та/чи добровільно) до злочинів нацистів у "вирішенні єврейського питання", травму Голокосту, комеморацію / меморіалізацію в післявоєнний період.

Ключові слова: Яхад-Ін Унум, відеосвідчення, усна історія, Патрік Дебуа, Голокост, райхскомісаріат "Україна", архівні джерела.

Problem Statement. According to the prominent philosopher Karl Yaspers, history is memories that are given not only as knowledge, but also as a kind of soil "with which we maintain a connection in order not to disappear and to which, therefore, we owe our human existence (Yaspers, 1996, p. 184). Hence, the philosophers and historians understood the importance of the memories for an objective coverage of events and phenomena in the first half of the 20th century. Oral history is becoming an increasingly vital tool for its knowledge owing to the methodological approaches development, which are applied in order to understand the past. It is feasible to create those aspects of historical events and phenomena with the help of memories that cannot be studied using only official sources. At the same time, oral memories should not be idealized. They should be verified with the help of other sources. To our mind, there is no need to conduct such an analysis in this article, instead, we

offer to look at the oral memories from the perspective of their formation methodology, to analyze their internal structure. Furthermore, our aim is to show the potential of the video evidence from the collection of the French centre Yahad-In Unum for studying the Holocaust policy implementation in the Reichskommissariat "Ukraine" (hereinafter – RKU – *author*).

There were 7,982 video testimonies filmed in 12 countries in Yahad-In Unum's collection in May 2024. The paramount task of the above-mentioned organization is to find witnesses and record memories in Ukraine, where there have been interviewed 3,065 witnesses, 3,308 video testimonies have been filmed, and 1,298 sites of mass executions carried out by the occupiers in Ukraine have been identified (Mykhalchuk, 2024a, p. 104).

Almost 70% of these interviews describe the history of the Holocaust at the regional level in the settlements of the RKU. We analyzed the video testimonies of the Holocaust eyewitnesses and territories that were part of this occupation zone (about 500 interviews). Based on this information, we identified numerous stories that may be revealed based on the analysis of these testimonies. In general, they helped us learn about interethnic relations, about the exploitation and forms of violence against the Jewish community during the years of the Nazi occupation, as well as to reconstruct the shooting and identify the scene of this crime. The Jewish theme was not the main one for most of the interviewed witnesses, but for almost all of them, what they saw or heard was a traumatic experience that remained for a lifetime. Hence, witnesses, especially those, who saw crimes against the Jews with their own eyes, talk about these events in quite detail and indicate the places where they took place. We identified four main blocks of information based on this specificity of the sources: the pre-war life of the Jewish community; detection, discrimination and individual murders of the Jews during the autumn of 1941 – spring of 1943; the reconstruction of mass murders and identification of crime scenes; commemorative practices during the post-war period.

Review of Recent Research. It should be mentioned that the studies written by the founder of Yahad-In Unum, Patrick Desbois are considered to be important historiographical works. In particular, Desbois emphasized the relationship between the Holocaust witnesses and the Jews, who were usually their neighbours (Desbois, 2011; Desbois, 2013; Desbois, 2018). He mentioned local residents involvement in "the Jewish issue solution" by the Nazis, by forcing them to perform "dirty" work ("small death jobs"), such as digging up/burying corpses, searching and sorting through the clothes of murdered victims, etc. (Desbois, 2011).

Another French researcher, Daniela Rosenberg, analyzed the implementation of the Holocaust policies in Dnipropetrovsk general district based on video evidence collected by Yahad-In Unum team (Rozenberg, 2016). Daniela Rosenberg's study is an example of writing the history of the Holocaust from below, when the genocidal practices were analyzed through the memories of eyewitnesses and victims. Due to the approach, it was possible to see details of the mass shootings of the Jews and the reaction of the local residents to this crime that are not found in other sources. On the other hand, the book is an important component for popularizing the work of the French Yahad-In Unum team

The Ukrainian scholars intensified their Holocaust research significantly using the Yahad-In Unum source database. Roman Shliakhtych analyzed the Holocaust in the rural areas of Dnipropetrovsk region based on over 100 Yahad-In Unum oral testimonies (Shliakhtych, 2019), the murder of the Jews in the quarry of a brick factory in Hdantsivtsi (Shliakhtych, 2023), and the Jewish forced labour camps along the Kryvyi Rih–Dnipro highway (Shliakhtych, 2024). It was feasible for Volodymyr Zilinskyi to clarify the reaction of murderers, victims and witnesses during the Holocaust in Lviv region, based on these

sources (Zilinskyi, 2019) and analyze the sources of Yahad-In Unum in the study on the forced labour camps in Galicia district (Zilinskyi, 2024). Andriy Khoptiar singled out 82 actions of the Jews murder, in which about 115 thousand people died in Kamianets-Podilskyi region (Khoptiar, 2020). Yuriy Kaparulin not only described the Holocaust in Kalinindorf region, but also highlighted commemorative practices at the sites of the mass executions (Kaparulin, 2020). Yuriy Radchenko used Yahad-In Unum sources (83 video sources) extensively in his monograph on the auxiliary police, local administration, SD and the Shoah in the Ukrainian-Russian-Belarusian border region (Radchenko, 2024). Roman Mykhalchuk highlighted the role of civilians in the Nazi plans for the Holocaust in the general region of Volyn-Podillia (Mykhalchuk, 2020); he analyzed the role of the Jewish property in the dynamics of the Holocaust with the focus on the local non-Jewish population (Mykhalchuk, 2021), he highlighted the oral history sources of the Holocaust in the Yahad-In Unum archival collection on materials from Volyn and Podillia (Mykhalchuk, 2023), the potential of the Yahad-In Unum oral history collection in the Holocaust research (Mykhalchuk, 2024a), rape as a form of sexual violence during the Holocaust (Mykhalchuk, 2024b).

The purpose of the research is based on the analysis of about 500 interviews from the Yahad-In Unum collection, to reveal the structure of these interviews, describe the methodology for their creation, and determine the potential of these testimonies for researching the implementation of the Holocaust policy in the Reichskommissariat Ukraine.

Research Results.

Interview Structure and Methodology

One of the paramount tasks of the Yahad-In Unum research expeditions was, on the one hand, to find eyewitnesses to the mass murders of the Jews, and on the other hand, to find the material remains of the Jewish settlements and discuss with the witnesses' interethnic relations in the region where they lived (Rozenberg, 2016, p. 34). The structure of each interview was formed in accordance with these tasks. The video evidence recorded by the French researchers had diverse information content, timing, etc.

For example, there were 15 interviews, which lasted from 8 to 20 minutes and were recorded from the territory of Zaporizhzhia region, which was part of the general district "Dnipropetrovsk" (Archive of Yahad-In Unum (YIUA), Testimony 403U; 404U; 405U; 414U; 417U; 420U; 421U; 422U). In total, the team recorded 39 interviews in the region. It could be explained by the fact that the largest concentration of the Jewish population in Ukraine was in its western regions. And the local non-Jews were very rarely not the witnesses or even the participants in the Holocaust. The Jewish population could be found in the southeastern regions of Ukraine, either in large cities such as Zaporizhzhia, Dnipropetrovsk, Kryvyi Rih, etc. or in the Jewish national districts: Stalindorf, Novozlatopilskyi, Kalinindorfskyi, etc. It should be mentioned that not all residents of the above-mentioned cities or villages saw with their own eyes what was happening to the Jews.

A researcher Yuriy Radchenko while comparing the Yahad-In Unum interviews with the Shoah Foundation interviews noted that they were not biographical. The interviewers asked questions that were specifically related to the history of the murder of the Jews in a given area. They were not interested in the witnesses' biographies, so it is difficult to make a clear judgment about the identity and views of the respondent (Radchenko, 2024, p. 34). However, almost all interviews have their own structure. Initially, the witnesses mentioned their year of birth, place of residence, parents' occupation, and family life during the 1920s and 1930s.

According to the French researcher Daniela Rosenberg, all witnesses interviewed by the

Yahad-In Unum team in Ukraine can be conditionally divided into three groups (Rozenberg, 2016, p. 35). The first group is the people, who directly saw the mass shootings of the Jewish population. There is about a third of them. The second group is made up of the witnesses to individual episodes of the Jews genocide and their discrimination (arrests and imprisonments, the creation and functioning of ghettos, robbery and rape, transportation of victims to places of execution, etc.). This is the largest group of witnesses – approximately 60% of all those interviewed. The third group is the witnesses, who lived near the Jewish colonies and towns and told what they heard from other people. There are about 10-15% of such respondents, depending on the region.

In order for all interviews to have a scientific context, and not just stories about the past, the Yahad-In Unum team developed a methodology and technique for conducting interviews. They were conducted at different times of the year and in any weather. The interview location could be the witness's house or a yard near the house. The respondents were also asked to show the place of the mass shooting and/or conduct an interview at this place. If the witness agreed to be interviewed at the crime scene, then in this case he was asked about the position of the executioners, the location of the victims and other participants in this crime. Depending on what the witness saw, the interview focused on certain specific points, for example, on the place of observation, imprisonment and transportation of the victims, the stages of the extermination process, the role of the perpetrators and their assistants, etc. (Rozenberg, 2016, p. 41).

No less important was the determination of the facts reliability that the witnesses spoke about. There was used the principle of using three agreed testimonies in order to establish the objectivity of the stated facts. Hence, the witnesses from Kryvyi Rih Mykola P. (YIUA, Testimony 942U) Nadiya S. (YIUA, Testimony 943U), Ivan I. (YIUA, Testimony 944U) told information about the shootings in the settlement of Hdantsivka (nowadays the part of the city of Kryvyi Rih – author). In particular, they testified about the number and location of pits in the quarry, about groups of the Jewish population, who were brought to this place for being murdered in 1941–1942. It should be mentioned that there coincide even the approximate dates of the shootings in their stories. All three also spoke about “Operation 1005,” which was carried out in this area in the autumn of 1943. There is information about the shooting of the Jews and their relocation to the ghetto in Ostrozhka in Volyn. Most witnesses indicate that the Germans forced the non-Jewish residents to bury the graves of the murdered Jews. Such details were consistent in the interviews with witnesses Liubov (YIUA, Testimony 77U), Leonid, and Mykola (YIUA, Testimony 78-79U). The stories of Tamara (YIUA, Testimony 80U), Heorhiy (YIUA, Testimony 81U), and Anatoliy (YIUA, Testimony 82U) described the ghetto for the Jews in the town of Ostroh.

In cases where there was no consistent testimony, the story could be verified by the ballistics examination at the site of the alleged shooting. It happened in the village of Putylivka in the Stalindorf Jewish National District, when the witness's words were confirmed by shell casings and personal belongings of people killed at the site (Rozenberg, 2016, p. 43). It should be kept in mind that oral testimonies are the subjective sources, they should be compared with other sources by cross-examination (Hrinchenko, Rebrova, Romanova, 2012, p. 180).

Hence, the interview structure developed by the French researchers and their methodology helped scholars to analyze the “Bullet Holocaust” from the perspective of the witnesses to the crimes, and the Yahad-In Unum sources supplement the traditional source base with important/exclusive information.

*The potential of the video evidence collected by the Yahad-In Unum team
for the Holocaust researchers*

It is impossible to carry out the study on the genocides of the 20th century without the oral testimonies' involvement of the victims, witnesses and even perpetrators. Such sources are used nowadays in order to study the policy of implementing the Holocaust in the Reichskommissariat "Ukraine". The collection of video testimonies of Yahad-In Unum is valuable and, in some cases, even unique precisely because it is based on the testimonies of the Holocaust eyewitnesses. The Holocaust was not the main topic of their interviews for obvious reasons, for some of the witnesses, but only a kind of background against which their personal lives and the lives of their loved ones took place. However, only witnesses, especially those, who saw the crimes against the Jews with their own eyes, told unique details that cannot be found in any other source. Hence, without a doubt, the above-mentioned interviews have significant potential for studying the genocide of the Jewish population during the Nazi occupation of Ukraine.

One of the first stories we encounter in the interview is related to the pre-war experience of the respondents. For example, a witness from the village of Novoyuliivka in the present-day Kryvyi Rih district recalled that there was the Jewish settlement called Rotfield near her village. Children from this settlement went to school in the village of Novoyuliivka, and the witness's class also included the Jews (YIUA, Testimony 1083U). Another witness from the village of Kamianka in Cherkasy region recalled that there were many Jews in the village before the German occupation. They lived separately in the village near the Tiasmin River, and the Jewish children went to a separate school (YIUA, Testimony 2026U). Another witness, Mykhailo A. from the Ukrainian village of Vysoke, in Dnipropetrovsk region, recalled that the Jews from the Krasindorf colony had stone houses with iron roofs and "a black loudspeaker that often broadcast music" (Rozenberg, 2016, p. 61). During the Holodomor, the Jewish settlements did not suffer as much as the Ukrainian ones, although they were located nearby (YIUA, Testimony 982U). The residents of the Jewish settlements had the opportunity to hire non-Jews (mostly the Ukrainians – *authors*) to do housework or to look after children (YIUA, Testimony 1074U). These testimonies reflected different aspects of the Ukrainian-Jewish life before the beginning of the Nazi occupation. On the one hand, the Ukrainian and the Jewish peasants lived nearby, their children went to the same schools, were friends, they worked together on the collective farms and at various enterprises. But on the other hand, some of the local peasants were openly jealous of the Jews, especially of their supposed wealth, better living conditions, etc. At the same time, all witnesses, who lived in the Ukrainian SSR say that this jealousy did not lead to pogroms or other interethnic conflicts during the pre-war period. After all, even the Germans were forced to state that during the occupation of post-Soviet Ukraine, "attempts to provoke the Jewish actions failed. The reason for this is that in the eyes of the average Soviet person, the Jews lead a proletarian lifestyle, and, hence, are not an object for attack" (Pohl, 2009, p. 245). One more reason could be added, in particular, the joint overcoming of difficult situations created by the Stalinist totalitarian regime. One of them was the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933. For example, a witness from Oleksandria, Valentina Ya., said that during the Holodomor, her family was helped to survive by her mother's Jewish friend Ustiniia Nikitichna. She sold food at the local market and was able to feed the witness's family (YIUA, Testimony 2027U). Nataliia M. from the village of Torhovytzia, Kirovohrad region, also survived during the Holodomor. At that time, she was caring for a child in a Jewish family, ate with them, which is why, she was able to survive (YIUA, Testimony 2029U).

It should be mentioned that the witnesses from the territories of modern Rivne and Volyn regions had a different experience. After all, they lived in the interwar period as part of the Polish state, which pursued a policy different from the USSR. There were diverse interethnic relations in Volyn during the interwar period. They were not cloudless, but not catastrophic either. Most of the analyzed sources of Yahad-In Unum testified to positive reflections of good-neighborly relations. Many of such stories were based on a trade and economic basis. According to Maksym Hon based on the example of the city of Rivne: "The "interethnic borderland" was supplemented by the contacts of those representatives, who run businesses and created jobs for the freelance workers, despite their socio-cultural identity. The Poles, the Ukrainians, and the Russians usually bought certain goods in stores owned by the Jews. The Artisans or merchants (of the above-mentioned nationalities) produced their products as they hoped that the Christians would be interested in it" (Hon, 2018, p. 16). The Jewish and non-Jewish children went to school together, spent time together after school, and played together. According to a non-Jewish witness from Olyka: "There were no conflicts with the Jews, the children played together" (YIUA, Testimony 1773U). The witness recalled the Jewish classmates – Eisenberg, Eisenstein, Hait in Dubno and noted: "We lived among the Jews, we communicated... We knew many Jewish words, especially stupid ones" (YIUA, Testimony 1379U). The Jews in Boremel said goodbye to their classmates and waved as they were taken to be shot when there was the "solution of the Jewish issue", which confirmed the friendly relations of the interwar period (YIUA, Testimony 1337U).

In our opinion, the interwar experience of the respondents allowed us to show the Holocaust not as an event confined in space and time, but as a dynamic situation that developed even before World War II broke out and became possible during the years of the German occupation of Ukraine.

The evacuation process was one of the first stories related to the occupation and spoken about by the witnesses. Taking into consideration the eyewitness accounts, we can identify several factors that prevented the majority of the Jewish population from evacuating. In particular, there was the lack of time to leave. It could be applied to the western regions of the Ukrainian SSR, which were occupied first and where the evacuation process was not established by the Soviet authorities. In addition, this is the idea that the Germans would not do anything bad to the Jews. Hence, in the settlement of Naybot, which was located in the Crimea, there was a local Jew named Zvanetsky. He was engaged in water supply in the village and was sure that the Germans needed various workers, including the Jews. Therefore, nothing bad could happen to them (YIUA, Testimony 393U). The Jews did not leave the Inhulets colony and other Jewish settlements near Kryvyi Rih, because the elderly had already seen the German occupation of the 1918 model. They also thought that the Germans, who approached them in the summer of 1941 would behave in the same way as they did twenty-three years ago. Another factor that complicated evacuation for some Jews was the socio-economic conditions in which they lived. For example, numerous respondents stated that the heads of the institutions and enterprises with their families, heads of collective farms, party functionaries, etc were the first to evacuate from the Jewish settlements and large cities. There were the Jews among them. Hence, the "rich" Jews with their families left the village of Oleksandrivka in Kirovohrad region even before the arrival of the first German units. Instead, the ordinary collective farmers were forced to remain in the occupation, which almost none of them survived (YIUA, Testimony 2035U). Therefore, it was almost impossible for the ordinary people, workers and peasants, to evacuate. And those, who remained in the occupation experienced all the charms of the "new order".

The eyewitness accounts clearly show the discrimination policy against the Jewish population, which began in the first days of the German occupation. Typical of most interviews is the information that in the first days and weeks of the occupation, the Jews lived freely in their homes, but later everything changed (YIUA, Testimony 909U; 411U; 1996U). The Jewish communities in the cities and villages of the RKU began to be concentrated in ghettos, they were forced to wear armbands, and they were also imposed with large taxes and fines and forced to work, very often, in jobs that were not typical for them.

There was confirmed the existence of at least 442 ghettos in Ukraine. (Altman, Y. et al, ed., 2011, p. 210). The first of them were formed at the beginning of the occupation. These were the ghettos in Balyn, Domachevo, Kupel, etc. (Dean, M. et al, ed., 2012, p. 1316). According to the data in the “Encyclopedia of Ghettos and Camps, 1933 – 1945” in the territory of the general district “Volyn-Podillia” there were 134 of them (Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 2012, pp. 1322–1508). However, other data suggest that there could have been as many as 150. All ghettos were overcrowded. In the Boremel ghetto there were 20–25 houses (YIUA, Testimony 1343U), which an eyewitness described as “small, like little houses” (YIUA, Testimony 1337U). The Jews slept in the open air in the overcrowded Kozhan-Horodka ghetto (YIUA, Testimony 185B). A witness from Hoshcha noted that the Jews slept on the floor “like little pigs” in the local ghetto (YIUA, Testimony 1431U). The Jews could not feel safe, being subjected to the physical, sexual, and moral abuse while staying in the ghetto. The German commandant forced the Jews to dance in Kostopil ghetto (YIUA, Testimony 1787U). The Germans entered the ghetto at night and committed sexual violence in Brest (YIUA, Testimony 161B).

There were established six ghettos in Dnipropetrovsk region, four of which were established in the countryside around Kryvyi Rih: the villages of Novo-Vitebsk, Kamianka, Inhulets and Freydorf (Dean, M. et al, ed., 2012, pp. 1621–1622). In such ghettos, the Jewish families lived in a certain part of the village, but it was usually not fenced off, as in cities and towns. According to the testimonies by the residents of the Jewish colonies, it becomes clear that in almost all villages, in 1941 – 1942, the Jews were concentrated in separate houses and forced to work, mainly in agriculture. At this time, the local police, authorities, and sometimes the Germans and local residents robbed the Jews and abused them. For example, in the village of Novo-Vitebsk local Jews were forced to live in an open ghetto established on one of the village streets (Dean, M. et al, ed., 2012, p. 1631). This ghetto began to operate in September 1941. The Jews lived in groups of 5–6 families in one house. They were not guarded, but at the same time they were forced to wear an identifying sign – the “the Star of David”. Witness Klavdiia M. recalled that there were 6 local policemen in the village and it was they who abused the Jews living in the ghetto and later shot them. There were sent to work all physically strong Jews from the ghetto to a forced labor camp on the DG IV route, and those who remained in the village were shot. The witness recalled that the women, who were forced to work on the route had children left in the village and were soon killed. Klavdiia M. recalled two women, whose children were killed, they survived the camp, and after the war they were witnesses at the trial of the local policemen (YIUA, Testimony 926U).

The Jews were forced to wear “the Star of David” from the first days and weeks of the German occupation and generally go through a process of “dehumanization of the victim”. They were forced to perform humiliating practices and were publicly mocked. For example, in the village of Kamianka, Cherkasy region, the local police officers forced the Jews to dive into a winter river under the ice. If a person swam out, they survived, but many Jews drowned

in the icy water (YIUA, Testimony 2026U). Humiliating anti-semitic measures were applied to the Jewish workers. When the Jews were leaving the Luninets ghetto for work, they were forbidden to walk on the sidewalks, but only along the road (YIUA, Testimony 190B). The practice of involving the Jews in the hardest work was quite widespread (cleaning toilets, various waste, using people to transport goods, etc.).

Many witnesses saw or heard personally how and who gathered and escorted the Jews to the place of murder (the policemen and the Germans). At the same time, there were the testimonies in which, when asked by the interviewer: "Who are these people?", the witnesses preferred not to give specific names, because among them could have been their acquaintances, relatives, neighbours.

There could be found information in the testimonies regarding the mass executions of the Jews were carried out by the Germans. Usually, witnesses could not identify the units to which the murderers belonged, but they remembered their uniforms, the number of the criminals and the weapons they fired from. For example, a witness from the city of Oleksandria recalled that the Jews were escorted to the place of execution by the Germans and the policemen. The Germans were dressed in green uniforms, and the policemen were in civilian clothes, only on their heads were military caps. The Germans were armed with the machine guns (YIUA, Testimony 2028U). There were six Germans who shot the Jews near the village of Pershotravneve in Dnipropetrovsk region. They were also assisted by six local policemen, who escorted the Jews to the place of execution (YIUA, Testimony 948U). There were four individuals, who shot the Jews and the Roma in the area of the city of Molochansk in the summer of 1942 (YIUA, Testimony 420U). Numerous witnesses identified the German soldiers in green military uniforms. Hence, this could be evidence of the involvement of the Wehrmacht soldiers in the Holocaust.

Sometimes there were carried out mass shootings only by the police officers without the Germans participation. For example, a witness from the village of Novo-Vitebske recalled that the shooting of the local Jews was carried out by the police officers by themselves. During the shooting, they drank alcohol and shot until they ran out of ammunition. After that, they killed the wounded with iron bars, and small children were beaten against the wheels of carriages and thrown into a pit. In total, there were six police officers in the village of Novo-Vitebske, almost all of whom were convicted after the war. A police officer, who was called Nedilko, was asked at the trial whether he felt sorry for shooting women and children, replied that he did not feel sorry, but only felt sorry for two twin girls, who hugged each other before the shooting (YIUA, Testimony 926U). When analyzing the criminal cases filed against the local criminals, it is sometimes difficult to establish the personal involvement of the police officers directly in mass murders. Therefore, the eyewitness accounts are a very important source for establishing the truth.

We can also find more or less exact dates of the executions and the time of their execution in some interviews. The witnesses, as a rule, mentioned the season and year of the execution, but it is rare to find an exact date. Hence, according to a witness from the village of Bobrynets, Kirovohrad region, the execution of the Jewish population took place in the summer, apparently in 1942 (YIUA, Testimony 1995U). According to a witness, the shooting took place in December 1941 in another village, Pidvysoke, in the same region (YIUA, Testimony 2039U). Other witnesses from this village stated that the frequency of the shootings of the Jews occurred twice a week, every Tuesday and Friday (YIUA, Testimony 2038U). Therefore, such details should be carefully checked, because human memory cannot

always accurately reflect time and climatic conditions, especially when it comes to events 80 years ago.

In the eyewitness accounts there was mentioned the rescue of the Jews during the shooting. As a rule, the Jews were saved after the murder itself, when they were able to climb out of the pit and hide with the local non-Jews. Only one boy managed to climb out of the pit and escape after the shooting of the Jewish population near the village of Oleksandropil, Dnipropetrovsk region (YIUA, Testimony 1057U). During the shooting near the village of Turkenivka, one girl was wounded. She was pulled out of the pit by the local residents and later sent to her relatives in Mariupol. That is how she survived (YIUA, Testimony 1595U).

Sometimes, the respondents also told about cases when the Jews were released from the shooting site by the executioners themselves. A witness Mykola M. from the village of Kostiantynivka, Zaporizhzhia region, was among a group of people, who were to be shot. But a local policeman recognized him and released him (YIUA, Testimony 407U). In addition, there were recorded unsuccessful rescue attempts. For example, after the shooting of the Jews from settlement No. 20, which was located in Dnipropetrovsk region, a boy named Vania survived. He came back to the village, but he was soon discovered by the police and shot (YIUA, Testimony 462U).

The areas, where the Jewish population was shot, other groups of local residents were also killed. For example, mentally ill people and disabled children (YIUA, Testimony 419U). There was also frequent information about the executions of the Roma. According to German ideology, the Roma as well as the Jews were the representatives of a “lower race”, who had no right to exist. There were recorded numerous examples of the murders of Gypsies (Roma) in the territory of the general district “Volyn-Podillia”. In particular, in those territories that are currently part of modern Ukraine (YIUA, Testimony 448U; 453U; 471U; 861U; 1481U; 1794U), as well as in those that are part of southern Belarus (YIUA, Testimony 156B; 185B). According to a witness, about a hundred Roma of all ages and genders were shot in an anti-tank ditch in Nikopol in southern Ukraine. Later on, the Jews were also shot at the same place (YIU, Testimony 947U).

No less important was the economic factor, which also made the Holocaust possible on a large scale. The witnesses interviewed by the Yahad-In Unum team often mentioned the looting of the Jewish property (Mykhalchuk, 2021). As a rule, these lootings took place after mass shootings, when the Jewish houses remained empty (YIUA, Testimony 415U; 1473U), or directly at the shooting site (YIUA, Testimony 407U). A characteristic feature of the Jewish property looting left behind after the liquidation of the ghetto was the participation of the peasants from neighboring villages in this process. There could be such examples in Volyn, which include the interviews about the looting of the ghettos in Ozeryany (YIUA, Testimony 1461U), Sernyky (YIUA, Testimony 544U), Horynhrad (YIUA, Testimony 1402U) etc. According to the eyewitness accounts, who described the looting of the ghetto the following: “They took things and dismantled houses” (YIUA, Testimony 1398U), “those who wanted furniture, and those who tore up the floor, took the boards. In short, they took whatever they wanted” (YIUA, Testimony 840U) та ін.

The witnesses from various localities said that in their settlements there were involved in the looting of the Jews, the German and Romanian soldiers (YIUA, Testimony 392U) and very often, local police officers (YIUA, Testimony 2037U) and the representatives of the local authorities (YIUA, Testimony 2015U). There were also cases when the Germans punished the looters, including police officers, for such activities. For example, in the village

of Turkenivka, police officer Skyba took off a gold wedding ring from a murdered man at the scene of the shooting. The German saw this and killed him for it (YIUA, Testimony 1595U). Such acts of punishment were committed not because the Germans sought justice for the Jews, but rather because of their desire to loot the Jews themselves.

Thus, the stories about the different stages of the Holocaust were the main ones in the interviews recorded by the French researchers. The commemorative practices at the sites of mass shootings in the post-war period is another important story that stands out in many video testimonies. Some witnesses mentioned the exhumation and identification of the victims of the shootings. For example, a witness from the village of Krasnoselivka in the Crimea saw the reburial of the victims of the mass shootings, which took place in 1957. After that, a memorial sign was erected at the site of the reburial (YIUA, Testimony 396U). It was mentioned in diverse interviews that after the end of the occupation, monuments were built at the sites of these crimes, even spontaneous ones (YIUA, Testimony 2023U; 419U; 2030U). However, there were also areas where there was never a single monument. For example, more than two thousand people were killed in a brick factory quarry in Kryvyi Rih, but this place wasn't marked in the city's memorial space (Shliakhtych, 2023, pp. 34–40). The situation is similar in Western Ukraine. For example, the witnesses from the territories of Volyn-Podillia general district mentioned the absence of the memorial signs after the shooting of both local Jews (YIUA, Testimony 1791U), and Gypsies (Roma) (YIUA, Testimony 185B). On the contrary, the monuments were erected under the Soviet rule in other settlements. For example, in 1945, a memorial sign was erected in Vyshnivtsy (YIUA, Testimony 841U), a separate monument to executed children in Domachevo (YIUA, Testimony 136B) etc. The narrator Maria Yosypivna gave an interview near a monument erected under the Soviet rule in Kremenets (YIUA, Testimony 1361U). In addition, there could be found information about post-war trials of collaborators in the witness testimonies – the police officers, who committed crimes against the Jewish population (YIUA, Testimony 840U).

Conclusions. Hence, the eyewitness accounts recorded by the Yahad-In Unum team are of great importance for an objective study on the history of the Holocaust. The witnesses of this crime saw and told many details due to which it was feasible to recreate various aspects of the Holocaust more deeply in individual localities. The vast majority of witnesses interviewed by French scholars were the Ukrainian peasants. The continuity of their memories made it possible to show the Holocaust as a social and dynamic phenomenon. After all, this crime was committed by people (some witnesses specify these people), and other people died as a result of this crime. During this time, against the background of mass murders, the local Jews became victims of dehumanization, were mocked, robbed, raped, etc. It was done by the Germans and their allies, local authorities and police, as well as some local residents.

Mass murders had their own characteristics in different localities, but were carried out according to a similar procedure. The Jewish population was shot immediately and completely in some villages and towns, while in others they were allowed to live for a longer period of time. The witnesses shared their horrifying experiences during interviews, especially those who saw this crime with their own eyes. They talked about the preparatory stage for the shooting (how the shooting site was prepared, how the victims were collected and escorted to this place, who escorted them, etc.) and about the crime itself (who shot, how many criminals there were, when this crime took place, approximately how many people died, what happened to the property of the murdered Jews, etc.). Another plot that we can record in interviews is stories about commemorative practices at the crime scene in the post-war period. The

witnesses shared their memories of monuments, commemoration of the dead, and the current state of these places. Many of the storytellers suffered from psychological trauma, because terrible memories accompanied them throughout their lives.

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**IN SEARCH OF A MODEL: INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDIES
OF UKRAINIAN SCHOLARS ON THE POLICY OF EUROPEAN COUNTRIES
AND THE USA IN THE SPHERE OF HIGHER EDUCATION
(THE END OF THE 20th – THE BEGINNING OF THE 21st CENTURIES)**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to carry out a synthesized analysis of studies by the Ukrainian scholars that appeared at the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st centuries on the policies of European countries and the USA in the field of higher education. The research methodology consists of interdisciplinary methods of analyzing scientific sources – historiographic, comparative, historical and structural, periodization, historical actualization, monographic and selective analysis, knowledge system analysis, discourse analysis, elements of phenomenological and synergistic approaches. The scientific novelty of the study consists in the implementation of a comprehensive, substantive analysis*

of interdisciplinary studies by the Ukrainian scholars on the issue of policy development in the field of higher education abroad. **Conclusions.** The analysis of the modern Ukrainian interdisciplinary discourse on the development of foreign policy in the field of higher education, carried out on the basis of the developed two-vector model, revealed the accumulation of a significant array of diverse studies, which collectively reflect the achievements and bottlenecks, gaps in the scientific understanding of the specified issue. The analysis of the dynamics of research through the prism of three specific periods of the historiographical process showed that after the appearance of the first studies in the second half of the 1990s, scientific interest in it in the quantitative dimension of studies reached its highest level in 2001/2 – 2007/8. In 2009 – 2015/16, the increase in the qualitative level of such research was reflected in the emergence of meaningful monographs, dissertations, and analytical articles. The multifaceted architectonics of the historiography of the issue under study found expression in the imposition of the complex dynamics of its development on the synergetic of interdisciplinary discourse, where the theories developed in the fields of philosophy and philosophy of education, public administration, political science, history, law, comparative pedagogy and the methodological approaches intersected and synthesized in the study of foreign policy in the field of higher education in the Ukrainian-centric, Euro-integration, European, country studies, globalist, and comparative directions.

Key words: historiography, interdisciplinary discourse, foreign higher education, Central European countries, Eastern European countries.

У ПОШУКАХ ВЗІРЦЯ: МІЖДИСЦИПЛІНАРНІ СТУДІЇ УКРАЇНСЬКИХ УЧЕНИХ ПРО ПОЛІТИКУ КРАЇН ЄВРОПИ ТА США У СФЕРІ ВИЩОЇ ОСВІТИ (КІНЕЦЬ ХХ – ПОЧАТОК ХХІ ст.)

Анотація. Мета дослідження: здійснити предметний комплексний аналіз українського міждисциплінарного наукового дискурсу 1990 – 2025 рр. з проблеми розвитку зарубіжної політики у галузі вищої освіти **Методологію дослідження** становлять міждисциплінарні методи аналізу наукових джерел – історіографічний, компаративістський, історико-структурний, періодизації, історичної актуалізації, монографічного і вибіркового аналізу, аналізу системи знань, дискурс-аналізу, елементи феноменологічного і синергетичного підходів. **Наукова новизна** дослідження полягає у здійсненні предметного комплексного аналізу міждисциплінарних праць українських науковців з проблеми розвитку політики в галузі вищої освіти в зарубіжжі. **Висновки.** Здійснений на основі розробленої двовекторної моделі аналіз сучасного українського міждисциплінарного дискурсу про розвиток зарубіжної політики у сфері вищої освіти виявив нагромадження значного масиву різнопрофільних праць, які сукупно відображають здобутки та “вузькі” місця і прогалини в науковому осмисленні означеної проблеми. Розгляд динаміки її дослідження крізь призму трьох визначених періодів історіографічного процесу показав, що після появи перших студій у другій половині 1990-х рр. науковий інтерес до неї кількісному вимірі наукових праць досяг найвищого рівня в 2001/2 – 2007/8 рр. У 2009 – 2015/16 рр. зростання якісного рівня таких досліджень виявилось у появі змістовних монографій, дисертацій, аналітичних статей. Багатоаспектна архітектоніка історіографії досліджуваної проблеми знайшла вияв у накладанні складної динаміки її розвитку на синергетику міждисциплінарного дискурсу, де напрацьовані у галузях філософії та філософії освіти, державного управління, політології, історії, правознавства, порівняльної педагогіки методологічні підходи перетиналися і синтезувалися у вивченні зарубіжної політики в галузі вищої освіти в україноцентричному, євроінтеграційному, європейському, країнознавчому, глобалістському, компаративістському напрямках.

Ключові слова: історіографія, міждисциплінарний дискурс, зарубіжна вища освіта, країни Центральної Європи, країни Східної Європи.

Problem Statement. During the era of modern statehood, the development of the national higher education system of Ukraine was accompanied by its permanent reform and a purposeful, but complex, contradictory process of integration into the European Higher Education Area (EHEA). Under such conditions, scientific and practical interest in studying higher education policy as a key factor in its transformation and development at the global,

regional, national, and university levels has naturally grown. As a result, a significant body of researches done by scholars in various fields of knowledge has accumulated. A holistic structured analysis of this interdisciplinary discourse allows us to systematize the experience accumulated by the Ukrainian science in understanding the issue, to identify achievements and gaps in its scientific understanding, and to provide guidelines for the development of higher education as an intellectual and socio-economic factor in the post-war reconstruction of Ukraine.

Review of Recent Research and Publications. A comprehensive subject-based analysis of modern Ukrainian historiography on the policy of European countries and the United States in the field of higher education has not been conducted yet. We should mention individual attempts to carry it out in the studies that developed scientific and theoretical foundations of educational policy (Bazyliak, Ivaniuk, 2006; Krasniakov, 2001; Tertychka, 2002; Zhuravskyy, 2003 and the others), highlighted educational policy processes in the context of global transformations (Halpieriina, 2003) and a regional context of the European Union (Vilchynska, 2012; Klepko, 2006; Palinchak, & Gzheshchuk, 2022; Khoruzhyi, 2016), the development of educational policy in certain countries was studied – Poland (Alpern, 2013; A. Vasyliuk; L. Hrynevych; Kopanska, 2008 and the others), the USA (Bazyliak, 2023; Stoika, 2012 and the others), the Czech Republic (Bondarchuk, 2008). There were compared the features of higher education policy in certain countries and regions (Nyzhnyk, 2016; Studilko, 2024; Sychenko, 2024), etc. A number of modern scholars have analyzed the works of Ukrainian educators and historians who studied the history of higher education in European countries in the 19th and early 20th centuries (Haliv, & Ilnytskyi, 2021; Ilnytskyi, & Haliv, 2022; Haliv, & Ilnytskyi, 2023). These reviews of scientific sources were of an aspectual nature, so the issue under analysis has not become the subject of a special historiographical study.

The purpose of the research is to carry out a synthesized analysis of studies by the Ukrainian scholars that appeared at the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st centuries on the policies of European countries and the USA in the field of higher education.

Research Results. When trying to elucidate the issue under analysis, we find ourselves in a tangle of definitions, scientific approaches and authorial views. The study of the historiography issue is complicated by its interdisciplinary nature, complex dynamics of development, and other objective socio-political, subjective and reflexive factors. In such a situation, we offer a two-vector model for its logical, structured, holistic understanding.

A “horizontal” model, which involves dividing the historiographic process into three somewhat conventional periods: 1) the “post-Soviet” period of 1991 – 2000/2001, when, against the backdrop of “battles for methodology” and the search of ways to reform the national higher education system, the understanding and use of topical foreign experience became relevant; 2) the pro-European period of 2002 – 2009/2010, when in the process of Ukraine’s integration into the Bologna Process and the European Higher Education Area, its systematic in-depth study began; 3) globalist – since 2011/2012, the scientific discourse on the implementation of educational policy in the face of increasing globalization challenges and the need to preserve the national identity of educational systems has been intensified.

A “vertical” model, which assumes consideration of the interdisciplinary nature and methodological principles of studies on the specified issue and their gradation according to subject-thematic vectors – Ukrainian-centric, European-integration, European, country studies, globalist, comparative, which are somewhat consistent with the specified historiographic periods.

Let us note the important features and peculiarities of the historiographical problem raised. Firstly, it is of an interdisciplinary nature, which is reflected in the research done in the fields of philosophy and philosophy of education, public administration, history, political science, law, pedagogy, etc. Secondly, this is syncretism, which manifests itself in the study of issues of public policy, management and reform of foreign higher education systems in a certain substantive context, in particular, as prerequisites, factors of their development, etc. Thirdly, this is a multi-vector nature of research, when higher education policy is studied as a separate (main) subject of research and in the perspective of various directions of development of higher education abroad, etc.

The issues of educational policy, in particular in the field of higher education abroad, have been sufficiently developed in methodological and terminological terms by the scholars from various fields of knowledge (Alpern, 2013; Bazyliak, 2023; Bondarchuk, 2008; Halpierina, 2003; Ivaniuk, 2006; Khoruzhyi, 2016; Klepko, 2006; Krasniakov, 2001; Tertychka, 2002; Vilchynska, 2012; Zhuravskiy, 2003 and the others). The concept of “state policy/state policies in the field/sphere of higher education” is mostly interpreted in line with the definitions of “state policy in the field of education”, “state educational policy”. We observe a consolidated scientific position, according to which these definitions began to be used in professional literature in the 60s – 70s of the 20th century, when in the USA, European countries, Japan, and the USSR, education began to be considered an important socio-economic factor and an area that requires special focus by the state. This process stimulated the so-called “information explosion” in the development of the humanities, natural sciences, and physical and mathematical sciences.

Scholars are unanimous in the opinion that in the 60s and 70s of the 20th century, a trend towards priority funding of education, especially higher education, was established in developed countries. At the same time, a controversial argument is expressed that one of the main reasons for the change in the paradigm of educational policy in developed countries was the success of the USSR in the field of space research (Krasniakov, 2001, p. 22). We believe that these objective processes were determined by social progress and the prospects for the development of education and science in the projection of market relations as a lever of economic development.

The first publications on the issue, which began to appear fragmentarily in the mid-1990s (T. Boholib, A. Boiko, A. Vasyliuk, K. Korsak, O. Lokshyna, A. Sbruieva, S. Sysoieva, V. Tertychka and the others) were of a Ukrainian-centric orientation. Foreign experience of state policy in the field of higher education interested scholars not as a separate phenomenon, but as a useful source, a tool that could contribute to its reform in Ukraine. The characteristic features of these studies (similar to the Soviet clichéd style) were descriptiveness and appeal to official legislative and regulatory acts, which gave undeniable “reasoning” and significance to the narratives made.

The above approaches were synthesized in the first, admittedly fundamental work by V. Tertychka (Tertychka, 2002), which influenced further research into the issue raised. Having clarified the content and structural, functional features of state policy (its determination by the socio-economic conditions of society’s development; strategies, goals, models, etc.), the scholar objectively characterized the conditions, dynamics, and ways of its implementation through the prism of democratic prospects for Ukraine. In this context, the author fragmentarily appeals to foreign experience, which he interprets not as intrinsic value, but as an argument, a model for determining the procedures and parameters of developing an official educational

and political course, the technology of making state and political decisions in the field of higher education in Ukraine.

The materials of the fundamental bibliographic index “Higher Education of Ukraine in the Context of Social Transformation: State, Problems, Development Trends” (2008, 2015) testify to the outbreak of scientific interest in the problems of higher education policy in 2001 – 2008, when the European integration subject-thematic vector of studies intensified. It was caused by the processes of Ukraine’s integration into the Bologna Process and the EHEA, actualization of this issue in a number of government resolutions. Our analysis is consistent with the statement of Tertychka, 2002, according to which at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries, Ukraine published “perhaps the majority” of research papers on educational policy compared to the CIS and Central and Eastern European countries (Tertychka, 2002, p. 8).

Among the dozens of studies that were published at the time, we should single out the following substantive articles written by O. Kopanska (Kopanska, 2008), Ye. Krasniakov (Krasniakov, 2001), V. Sychenko (Sychenko, 2009) V. Zhuravskiy (Zhuravskiy, 2003), M. Haliv and V. Ilnytskyi (Haliv, 2024; Haliv, & Ilnytskyi, 2025), textbooks (Ivaniuk, 2006), dissertations (Bondarchuk, 2008; Halpierina, 2003, and the others). The analysis of these studies revealed, on the one hand, that the Ukrainian authors were influenced by the narrative of the Russian researchers, who linked the formation of educational policy with the transition of humanity from industrial to post-industrial society, the rationalization of professional activity, the strengthening of the relationship between upbringing, education, culture, mentality as a way of preserving and developing the civilization of individual states, etc. Owing to the “continuity” and “heredity” of the scientific research process, these narratives are still traced in the Ukrainian historiography today.

On the other hand, during the second historiographical period, the pro-Western vector of educational policy research intensified. In methodological terms, this trend is traced in the comprehensive analytical research done in the format of a textbook by I. Ivaniuk (Ivaniuk, 2006). Based on the ideas of leading Western scholars in the field of educational policy (E. Zelvis, B. Lingrad, F. Rizvi, S. Taylor and the others), I. Ivaniuk elucidated its essence, main aspects, and approaches to implementation in the development of universities. Innovative for domestic science was clarification of educational policy ideological foundations of Western democracies in the form of dominant ideologies: liberal (based on the principles of property, human nature and reason, individualism, progress, institutionality), conservative (traditionalism, social hierarchy, family, church, school as the basis of sociologization), leftist (Marxist, social democratic, etc.). The analysis of Western models of educational policy deserves a positive evaluation (M. Herchynskiy, L. Kuina, E. Young), which determined approaches to the formation of a regulatory framework for the higher education development in EU countries.

In the coordinate system of Western discourse, the scientific and theoretical foundations of educational policy were conceptualized in studies in the field of philosophy of education. Its general reception was outlined by S. Klepko (Klepko, 2006). The scholar presents a comprehensive definition of educational policy as a course of action approved by the government or other organization that outlines and promotes goals, methods, programmes and is used in education, ensuring the acquisition of knowledge, skills, and development of thinking. According to the criterion of subjectivity, educational policy is divided into state, public, regional, institutional, European, and global.

On the one hand, S. Klepko synthesized the post-Soviet scientific discourse on educational policy as a system of socio-economic, organizational, and other measures with direct and

feedback relationships between its elements and as a complex set of theoretical goals, ideas, and practical measures for the development of education. On the other hand, based on the studies of leading foreign scholars (P. Bourdieu, B. Levin, T. Mochinsky, M. Foucault and the others), the scholar summarized Western constructs of educational policy (liberalism, social democracy, neoliberalism, post-structuralism, etc.) and illustrated that they generate all diversity of its manifestations – the labour market and trust, professionalism, the values of freedom and democracy, the challenges of globalization, etc. The author argued that despite the diversity and contradictions of educational policy, it should provide answers to the core universal questions facing higher education: “What is education?”; “What is taught?”; “How is it taught?” (Klepko, 2006, pp. 42–46).

The tendency towards “Europeanization” of Ukrainian scientific discourse on the issue of higher education policy abroad has been clearly reflected in the studies on a comparative pedagogical issue studies (A. Vasyliuk, K. Korsak, O. Lokshyna, A. Sbruieva, S. Sysoieva and the others). Symptomatic and indicative in terms of the search of new methodological guidelines was the research by K. Korsak and A. Yanovskyi (Korsak, & Yanovskyi, 2000), which demonstrated the desire to abandon the simplified “sociologizing” interpretation of this phenomenon imposed by the Soviet science and the need to rethink it based on the institutional approaches of Western science. To this end, based on “activity practices”, it was suggested distinguishing between the concepts of “educational policy”, which denotes the educational policy of the state and its institutions, and “politics of education”, which outlines the politics in the field of education, which is carried out at the global, regional, national and local levels by its subjects – from UNESCO, the World Bank, European Union bodies to the governments of countries and individual higher education institutions, their employees and students, public institutions, etc.

A gradual transition of the second historiographic period into the third one was reflected in the expansion of the research spectrum on higher education policy in three substantive and thematic areas: European integration (its study in the context of Ukraine’s integration into the European Higher Education Area); country studies (the studies on national higher education systems of foreign countries); and globalist studies. Along with preserving the sectoral nature of studies on this issue, the tendency towards their multi-profile synthesis increased. It was manifested in the integration of scientific and methodological approaches developed in the fields of public administration, political science, history, law, economics, sociology, pedagogy, etc. Such interdisciplinary narratives provide a holistic and structured view of foreign educational policy as a tool for ensuring fundamental rights and freedoms of the individual and humanization, the growth of culture, and the socio-economic development of society.

In the majority developed European integration and country studies vectors, higher education policy was considered through the prism of five – six basic documents of the European Union (educational proposals of the European Commission and EU member states, “Report on Specific Future Objectives of Educational Systems” (2001), etc.). The scholars’ focus on them determined unanimous accents and interpretations. This was clearly manifested in the definition of state policy priorities in the European Higher Education Area (modernization of education and teaching; improvement of the quality of education and social and pedagogical conditions of professional training; harmonization of the functioning of national education systems, etc.) and highlighting its main directions during the transition period of the 2000s in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe (decentralization and

liberalization; harmonization of educational standards; strengthening the connection with the labour market; efficient use of financial resources; ensuring equality in education, etc.).

Along with such a consolidated narrative, the phenomenological approach allows us to clarify the role and significance of individual studies in the process of building scientific knowledge on the issue under study. In particular, in N. Vilchynska's dissertation (Vilchynska, 2012), there is provided a systematic view of the institutional component of the European Union's educational policy. By synthesizing the European and post-Soviet discourse, the scholar illustrated the unique nature of its formation based on the principle of subsidiarity, which involves an organic combination of pan-European, regional, national, and local interests. Comparing the approaches of foreign and Ukrainian scholars to the periodization of the development of EU educational policy, the author suggested her own scheme of this process, covering seven stages from 1957 to the early 2010s. Having clarified the power functions and powers of supranational institutions (European Commission, European Parliament, European Council) in the formation of EU education policy, the author carried out a comprehensive description of its main components (goals, directions, strategies, etc.) with an emphasis on the paradigm shift regarding the implementation of the core principle of "teaching to learn".

Various substantive emphases and productive analytics reflect the studies of scholars in the fields of public administration, law, political science, philosophy of education, and pedagogy. In particular, I. Musiienko (Musiienko, 2011), against the background of a historical retrospective of the second half of the 20th – early 21st centuries, identified the peculiarities of higher education policy in the United States and leading countries of Western Europe and the Pacific region and showed how they influenced the development of global institutions such as the OECD; national economies, and aggravation of social problems, as well as quantitative and qualitative indicators of university activities, etc. Thus, the scholar proves the interdependence between the development of higher education system and the socio-economic and cultural situation at the global, regional, and national levels.

Despite their different content, the studies by O. Nyzhnyk (Nyzhnyk, 2016), V. Sychenko (Sychenko, 2024) provide an example of a combination of the Ukrainian-centric, European integration, and country studies directions of policy research in the field of higher education. It follows from the studies that multi-faceted implementation (covers the regulatory framework, human capital development, political and economic activity, etc.) at the levels of the EU and individual countries promotes/inhibits internal integration processes, on the one hand, and provides guidelines for Ukraine's full entry into the EHEA.

In a synthesized form, the domestic historical and political reception of European higher education policy is presented in the monograph by H. Khoruzhyi (Khoruzhyi, 2016). As the genesis and background of its formation, the scholar presented a retrospective of the formation of higher educational institutions in Europe from the emergence of the first universities to the priority areas of their development in the late 20th – early 21st centuries and the development trends of the European Higher Education Area. As a basis for a comprehensive structural analysis of the issue, H. Khoruzhyi outlined the concept popular in Western discourse, according to which the content of higher education is determined by the knowledge society for the optimal use of humanitarian resources in organizing lifelong learning as the core of professional training and the main principle determining the supply and demand for educational services. The priorities of the European Union's policy in the field of higher education, the scholar reduced to the implementation of its transnational dimension;

development of mobility of education seekers and teachers; cooperation between higher education institutions and scientific institutions; expansion of the exchange of experience and information on common problems of the activities of EU member states; introduction of distance learning.

In the country-specific vector of historiography, state policy is considered as the main “subject” rather than the “object” of the development of national higher education systems. It began to be developed in detail in the second and especially actively in the third historiographic periods. A somewhat unexpected country-specific focus of such studies has been revealed: when studying various aspects of the functioning of foreign higher education systems, the Ukrainian scholars traditionally focus on the USA and Western European countries, then studies on this issue are characterized by a focus on the countries of Central and especially Eastern Europe. This is due to the search of useful experience for Ukraine in educational and political transformations aimed at eradicating the remnants of the “Soviet legacy”.

Therefore, it is natural that Poland has become the research focus of Ukrainian scholars. In the bibliographic index “Education and Pedagogical Science of Ukraine and Poland. 1991 – 2015” we find about three dozen studies on the issue under analysis (Osvita, 2015). Their analysis highlights two trends characteristic of domestic historiography. The first one is retrospectivity, which is manifested in the study of higher education policy in certain historical periods and as a prerequisite for the formation of national higher education systems. The second trend is universalization, which is manifested in the coverage of educational policy as a set of processes, phenomena, and facts that marked the transformation and modernization of foreign higher education systems.

The first trend was reflected in the dissertation of Alpern, 2013 on the development of regional educational policy in Poland in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. Through the prism of certain stages of its formation, the author traced the modernization dynamics of higher education ideological foundations, in accordance with European and national priorities and the network of higher education institutions optimization, which was due to changes in the socio-economic situation, fixation of European funds, labour market influences, etc. We see the theoretical significance of this study in expressing the essence of regional educational policy as a strategic and tactical activity for the development of intrastate “cluster” systems of higher education, designed to meet the needs of local communities and social groups, develop local partnership cooperation, etc.

In contrast to the historical and pedagogical research (Alpern, 2013; Kopanska, 2008; Palinchak, & Gzheshchuk, 2022) presented a historical and political analysis of the Polish educational policy. In particular, considering it as a component of the state policy M. Palinchak and V. Gzheshchuk (Palinchak, & Gzheshchuk, 2022) showed how after World War II the country’s higher education system evolved under the influence of the current state and political regimes. The processes of its reform in 1944 – 1989 were marked by copying the Soviet ideological and economic models, and under the conditions of a single-party system and the cult of personality, they acquired a specific nature, since they were determined not by legislative acts, but by bureaucratic instructions and procedures. Radical changes in the Polish higher education system began at the turn of the 1980s and 1990s and were further determined by the nature of the state power transformation, which refused total control over educational policy and contributed to the creation of legal, structural and organizational foundations for its democratization.

Interesting for comparison with the aforementioned studies is the reception of the development of higher education policy from the perspective of public administration

methodology, which was presented by Bondarchuk, 2008 and Krasniakov, 2015 on the example of the Czech Republic. The retrospective and trends of its modernization in the 1990s and early 2000s are considered through the prism of successive decisions of the legislative and executive authorities. The authors largely abstract from the influences of various social factors and focus on the mechanisms for developing regulatory legal acts that were adopted on the basis of strategic planning at various levels: central, regional, and individual higher educational institutions. In this context, the process of adaptation and integration of the Czech higher education system into the EHEA is illustrated, which, owing to a well-thought-out state policy, turned out to be perhaps the shortest and most effective, compared to other EU countries.

A subject review of the array of diverse research on the issue under analysis reveals that representatives of historical science have not realized their potential in understanding it. How interesting and innovative in content such studies may be (especially against the background of stereotypical narratives and clichéd positions produced by scholars in other fields of knowledge) is evidenced by B. Sypko's (Sypko, 2012) analysis of the Fifth Republic's educational policy towards the Muslim community during the presidency of J. Chirac. This formulation of the issue brings the subject of research into the plane of ethno-national relations, which became the background and factor in the adoption and implementation by the French government of complex decisions that determined the success and failures of the integration of this ethnic group into the country's national education system, in particular, the admission of its members to certain types of higher education institutions in the country, etc.

A historiographical trend towards universalizing coverage of higher education policy has emerged in various content formats. In some studies, it intersects with a retrospective approach to its study. As an example, there should be noted the research by O. Zyhalo (Zyhalo, 2001), which shows how the phased implementation of the French state policy on the integration of the national higher education system into the European Higher Education Area led to its successive comprehensive modernization in the form of the structural network formation of higher educational institutions and the quantitative and qualitative modification of its components (regulatory legal and initial methodological support, introduction of new specialties and methods and forms of professional training, etc.). This format of studying the issue under analysis is quite effective and acceptable, since it allows for a substantive, comprehensive, and consistent monitoring of the development dynamics of higher education policy and provides an idea of its component and a holistic renewal.

Another format for universalizing the study of educational policy is outlined in the studies that elucidate a modern global conceptual and theoretical discourse on the development of higher education systems as an interdisciplinary field of research that compares and integrates Western and Ukrainian experiences in the humanities. From such methodological positions, in the fundamental polemical study by V. Andrushchenko and V. Saveliev (Andrushchenko, & Saveliev, 2010) there is analyzed the substantive, structural and functional features of modern educational policy and, through the prism of globalization, internationalization, and Europeanization, there are identified the trends and tendencies of this process – the search of adequate forms of governance in the field of higher education, its marketization, massification, etc.

The above mentioned methodological approaches are associated with a globalist vector of higher education policy research, which manifests itself in various thematic perspectives. The most coherent group of studies on the activities of international organizations (UNESCO, International Monetary Fund, World Bank, etc.) seems to be the most coherent,

which, in accordance with their powers and competencies, developed consensus ideological and organizational principles for the functioning of the world's higher education systems (S. Chervona, O. Horna, Ya. Ishchuk, S. Londar, O. Moroz, and the others).

The interdisciplinary reception of educational policy in a globalized transformational society was presented by V. Halpierina (Halpierina, 2003). Based on socio-historical and socio-cultural approaches, the scholar considered it as a field of interaction between different social groups and individuals regarding the use of power institutions to realize their interests and needs in the educational sphere. Based on the methodology of a new discipline for the post-Soviet space – Policy Analysis, she substantiated typologies and models of policy in the field of higher education according to the instructional criterion (state, international, regional, national, financial corporate, institutional, etc.). They are objectively characterized from the perspective of developing theoretical foundations for reforming the current system of political governance and management of the higher education system in Ukraine.

Finally, we will clarify the comparative vector of research, which, on the one hand, is a component present in the majority of studies on the issue under analysis, since the authors resort to comparing different aspects of higher education policy. On the other hand, in a significant group of studies, this issue is the main research subject.

As an example, there should be mentioned the comparative analysis of higher education models in the EU and the USA, which were developed as a result of state policy, carried out by M. Studilko (Studilko, 2024). Having identified their common, special, and distinctive features in terms of the established traditions of higher education institutions, their financial independence from the state, accessibility to various social groups, the degree of diversification by field of knowledge, the level of implementation of the research component, as well as world rankings, the advantages and disadvantages of individual national higher education systems are synthesized. The author draws interesting conclusions, according to which, having borrowed the concept of the European model, US universities carried out rational modernization: they diversified educational offerings, carried out financial diversification, limited the role of the government, etc. Owing to this policy, American universities have found themselves at the top of international rankings, and the most effective American model of higher education in the world has become a source for imitation by Europe.

Also noteworthy is the comparative analysis of the management systems of national higher education systems in the United States and Western Europe by N. Bazyliak (Bazyliak, 2023). It is interesting to compare them not only at the state level, but also, above all, at the level of individual higher educational institutions, where, under the conditions of the greatest shortage of experienced managers, the state's educational policy is implemented in a concentrated manner and its effective and erroneous decisions are revealed. It is proved that although the most innovative technologies and scientific and technical discoveries have emerged as a result of fundamental and applied research in universities, they do not have proper experience in innovation management, which in its turn significantly reduces the effectiveness of their activities.

It is interesting to compare the approaches of the Ukrainian and foreign scholars to the study of higher education policy. In solving this problem, we focus on two trends. The first one, characteristic of foreign studies of the 2000s – 2010s in the fields of political and economic sciences, sociology, etc., is manifested in the emphasis on the trends in the development of global and national higher education systems and criticism of their current state. In particular, many scholars note the trend towards liberalization of services in the field of higher education,

which is viewed from the point of view of generating revenue and as a strategy for improving its quality, stimulating innovation and entrepreneurship (Agarwal, 2006),

It has also become common for researchers to focus on growing public apathy toward higher education, which has been associated with cuts in government spending in this area. The lack of a coordinated policy for its development, according to scholars, has led to the unregulated growth of private higher education, which does not always provide high-quality training of specialists in accordance with the requirements of the labour market (Sandhyala, & Tilak, 2004). Researchers see the reasons for this situation in the policy of reforms that increase commercialization and privatization of higher education within the neoliberal framework. Under such conditions, leading universities put corporate interests above national educational needs, and the insufficient use of existing higher education institutions potential led to the unjustified establishment of new ones (Tilak, 2010).

Searching for the roots of such crisis phenomena, scholars singled out the 1980s and 1990s, when higher education policy, particularly in EU countries, underwent significant, but not entirely successful, reform. This reform was manifested in the fact that some countries introduced tuition fees in universities, the others, on the contrary, increased state funding for higher education, and some – remained in a state of stagnation, preserving elitist model of the post-war period. From such positions, based on the experience of higher education reforms in Great Britain, Sweden, and Germany, scholars suggested various visions of improving the policy of higher education reforms. In particular, the model that balances the “three dilemmas” of its development looks original: mass enrollment in higher education institutions; their full state subsidization; a total state spending on higher education (Ansell, 2008).

The authors of such studies are unanimous in the opinion that it was political miscalculations in the field of higher education that exacerbated social injustice in terms of its accessibility for different segments of the population. It makes sense for scholars to point at deep historical roots and interdependence with social and economic policies (Gale, & Tranter, 2012).

The second trend, more typical of Western studies of the late 2010s – early 2020s, is to study the impact of politics on various aspects of the development of higher education and the formation of student youth. Due to the originality of the problem statement, they are also of interest to the Ukrainian science. As an illustrative example, let us note an empirical regional study on the impact of the policy of the state of Columbia (USA) on the development of student activism. The authors found that it was implemented mainly through the prism of global problems (climate change, etc.), therefore, “local activism” and the specific needs of communities were not taken into account. This demonstrates the one-sidedness of state policy in the field of higher education, because students must understand the challenges not only of the world, but also of their “close environment” and be ready to confront them (Sperduti, et al, 2025).

Of great interest are source studies in which, based on the analysis of “verbal artifacts” (public meetings, speeches, testimonies, statements by politicians and statesmen, etc.), debates and disputes regarding the development and adoption of political decisions related to the content of bachelor’s degree programmes and other aspects of their training are traced. Thus, the authors showed how ideological differences and political orientations influence not only the management of higher education, but also the definition of its content, which a priori should be apolitical (Brown, Sowl, & Steigleder, 2023).

In terms of the nature of sources, the study by A. Soliz, C. DeLoach and H. Mesa (Soliz, DeLoach, & Mesa, 2023), which, based on 49 interviews with administrators, managers, and

heads of educational institutions, showed how the US federal and state policies affect the cooperation of community and technical colleges with “external stakeholders” – industrialists, businesses, communities, etc. Its importance is proven as a significant factor that contributes to the improvement of vocational and technical education curricula and motivates students to study for further career growth.

Such studies are interesting for domestic historiography, because, firstly, they provide an example of the use of sources that have almost never been analyzed by the Ukrainian scholars, and secondly, they raise issues that are significant for the Ukrainian higher education system regarding the development of cooperation between universities and stakeholders, the development of student social activism, etc. The same aspect applies to the studies on the development of adult education. In particular, A. Soliz and C. Flanagan (Soliz, & Flanagan, 2025) study shows that while colleges traditionally focus their efforts on employment of high school graduates, public policymakers begin to realize that to strengthen the competitiveness of the workforce, it is also necessary to develop postsecondary education among adults. After analyzing activities in this direction in 10 US states, the authors pointed out the positive and negative consequences of the policy of providing grants and other forms of financial assistance to adults who chose different educational programmes at certain types of colleges.

Finally, let us compare approaches to studying EU policy in the field of higher education. Domestic scholars have devoted a significant number of studies to this issue, focusing on the stages, trends, innovations, other aspects of the development of the Bologna Process and the challenges and difficulties that Ukraine faces in the process of integration into the EHEA. On the other hand, Western researchers, as evidenced, in particular, by the analytical study of A. Felder-Stindt, which accumulates their views on this issue, are quite critical of the implementation of the EHEA project. Firstly, the scholar considers it as a manifestation of “regionalization” on a global scale, and not as an “integration strategy”, which is the core narrative of the Ukrainian studies. Secondly, the author shows that the idea of the EHEA is based on and traditionally implemented on the basis of EU financial assistance in the form of projects. Such an “EU project policy” directs the relations of member states in the field of higher education towards “rescaling”, which involves the redistribution of resources to border regions and the elimination of its bottlenecks in individual locations. Thus, through cooperation in the implementation of projects at the level of governments, universities and communities, the phenomenon of a “supranational space of higher education” is being created (Felder-Stindt, 2025). The above example shows that the view from the “outside” (Ukrainian) is significantly different from the view from the “inside” (European) on the nature of the formation and development of the European Higher Education Area.

Conclusions. The analysis of the modern Ukrainian interdisciplinary discourse on the development of foreign policy in the field of higher education, carried out on the basis of the developed two-vector model, revealed the accumulation of a significant array of diverse studies, which collectively reflect the achievements and bottlenecks, gaps in the scientific understanding of the specified issue. The analysis of the dynamics of research through the prism of three specific periods of the historiographical process showed that after the appearance of the first studies in the second half of the 1990s, scientific interest in it in the quantitative dimension of studies reached its highest level in 2001/2 – 2007/8. In 2009 – 2015/16, the increase in the qualitative level of such research was reflected in the emergence of meaningful monographs, dissertations, and analytical articles. The multifaceted architectonics of the historiography of the issue under study found expression in the imposition

of the complex dynamics of its development on the synergetic of interdisciplinary discourse, where the theories developed in the fields of philosophy and philosophy of education, public administration, political science, history, law, comparative pedagogy and the methodological approaches intersected and synthesized in the study of foreign policy in the field of higher education in the Ukrainian-centric, Euro-integration, European, country studies, globalist, and comparative directions.

We see **prospects** for further research in analyzing modern Ukrainian historiography on foreign experience in managing and reforming the higher education system at the global, regional, and national levels.

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SOURCE AND INFORMATION POTENTIAL OF SOCIAL NETWORKS ABOUT THE RUSSIAN WAR AGAINST UKRAINE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND CLASSIFICATION OF SOURCES

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to determine the specifics of the information potential of social networks as a source complex in the history of the Russo-Ukrainian war and to outline the methodological principles of its analysis and classification. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, comprehensiveness, objectivity, and systemic and critical approaches. General scientific, historical, and source research methods have been used: analytical, synthetic, logical, typological, heuristic, historical and comparative. Content analysis, scientific sampling, retrospective and analytical monitoring of e-sources have been used to trace the content of various types of social networks about the Russian war against Ukraine. Scientific Novelty.* The features and significance of the information potential of social networks as a system of specific digital sources for documenting and

studying the history of the Russo-Ukrainian war have been clarified, and the methodology for their research and classification, source criticism, and determination of the information reliability have been substantiated. At the same time, the author points out the saturation of social networks with hostile and harmful disinformation, fakes, the Russian narratives, and Ukrainophobic posts. **Conclusions.** In the context of Russia's war against Ukraine, along with the media, the role of social media in the media and information space has grown significantly, and their importance in documenting and interpreting events and facts has increased. They occupy a leading position in the electronic sector of the source base for both military and civilian history, which, in turn, presents new challenges for both traditional and digital source and archival studies. The analysis and ranking of social networks by their representativeness and place in the digital environment of Ukraine, the reliability of information, and their contribution to the formation of historical sources, as well as their classification, have shown the need for a critical attitude to the selection of information, examination of its authorship, motives for creation, completeness, reliability, objectivity, and scholarly value. Source studies of electronic evidence are intended to contribute to the understanding of the genocidal nature, cruelty, and destructive consequences of the Russian aggression and to expose and refute any attempts to justify it.

Key words: electronic source, social networks, Russo-Ukrainian war, information, research methodology, classification of e-sources.

ДЖЕРЕЛЬНО-ІНФОРМАЦІЙНИЙ ПОТЕНЦІАЛ СОЦІАЛЬНИХ МЕРЕЖ ПРО ВІЙНУ РФ ПРОТИ УКРАЇНИ: МЕТОДОЛОГІЯ ДОСЛІДЖЕННЯ І КЛАСИФІКАЦІЯ ДЖЕРЕЛ

Анотація. Мета статті. З'ясувати специфіку інформаційного потенціалу соціальних мереж як джерельного комплексу з історії російсько-української війни, викласти методологічні засади його аналізу і класифікації. **Методологія дослідження** базується на засадах історизму, всебічності, об'єктивності, системного та критичного підходів. Залучено загальнонаукові, історичні та джерелознавчі методи: аналітичний, синтетичний, логічний, типологічний, евристичний та історико-компаративний. Використовувалися методи контент-аналізу, наукової вибірки, ретроспективний та аналітичний моніторинг е-джерел для простеження контенту різновидів соціальних мереж про війну РФ проти України. **Наукова новизна.** З'ясовано особливості та значення інформаційного потенціалу соціальних мереж як системи специфічних джерел цифрового формату для документування і вивчення історії російсько-української війни, обґрунтована методологія їх дослідження і класифікації, джерелознавчої критики та встановлення достовірності відомостей. Водночас вказано на засмічення соціальних мереж ворожою і шкідливою дезінформацією, фейками, російськими наративами та українофобськими дописами. **Висновки.** В умовах війни РФ проти України поряд із ЗМІ набагато зросла роль соціальних мереж у медійно-інформаційному просторі, підвищилося їхнє значення у документуванні й інтерпретації подій і фактів. Вони посідають домінуюче місце в електронному секторі джерельної бази з воєнної та цивільної історії, що, зі свого боку, актуалізує нові виклики перед традиційним і електронним джерелознавством та архівознавством. Аналіз і ранжування соціальних мереж за репрезентативністю і місцем у цифровому середовищі України, вірогідністю відомостей, внеском у формування історичних джерел, їхня класифікація засвідчили необхідність критичного ставлення до відбору інформації, проведення експертизи на предмет її авторства, мотивів створення, повноти, достовірності, об'єктивності та наукової цінності. Джерелознавчі студії електронних свідчень покликані сприяти осмисленню геноцидного характеру, жорстокості і руйнівних наслідків російської агресії, викриттю і спростуванню будь-яких спроб її виправдання.

Ключові слова: електронне джерело, соціальні мережі, російсько-українська війна, інформація, методологія дослідження, класифікація е-джерел.

Problem Statement. In the context of the occupation and genocidal war of the Russian Federation against Ukraine, its full-scale phase, social networks have become a powerful tool for national unity and mobilisation of the Ukrainian people to defend the country, support the

army, and help each other. Compared to the armed conflicts of the past, this war has shown a different colouring, as, along with trained people and high-precision weapons, the latest digital technologies and social media play an active role in the hostilities, as well as in their information support and documentation. Social networks produce new types of historical sources in digital format, which require updating the scientific tools for their study, especially an interdisciplinary approach: for a source specialist – attribution, verification, classification of sources, and obtaining reliable information; for a historian – reconstruction of events and facts in the historical context based on them; for an archivist – archiving and preservation of materials. As the dominant carrier of information about the course of the war in real time, electronic sources generated in social media dictate the need for high professionalism and critical thinking of researchers due to the risks of disinformation, manipulation, and bias.

The scientific study of information about the Russo-Ukrainian war recorded in the digital environment of social networks, including Facebook, Instagram, X (formerly Twitter), YouTube, etc., is an urgent task for historical, source, and archival studies. The sources they accumulate create new opportunities for researchers but, at the same time, give rise to objective difficulties related to the peculiarities of the methodology of their attribution, verification, classification, selection of information, and its scientific and critical understanding.

Review of Recent Research and Publications. The source complex of the article is formed from the information resources of Facebook, Instagram, X (Twitter), YouTube, etc., 2022 – 2025, as well as taking into account the source, archival and historiographical results of previous studies. The sources and literature were selected and analysed using both general and specific, primarily interdisciplinary approaches and appropriate methodological tools, considering their predominantly electronic format and such features as wide availability, efficiency, mass, and openness.

Among the first Ukrainian researchers to focus on the digital turn in historical science and the source value of social media as a new type of source were Valentyna Bezdrabko, Volodymyr Kulikov, Maryna Palienko, Heorhii Papakin, Oksana Yurkova, as well as the authors of this article, who in their studies considered and analysed the experience of Ukrainian and foreign scholars in the study of digital history (Kulikov, 2013, p. 29); the communication status of Facebook as a medium (Yurkova, 2015, p. 32); the issues of methodology and techniques of digital historiography, historical source studies and archival studies, the essence of such concepts as electronic source, electronic archive, electronic resources of libraries and archives (Kalakura, Palienko, 2017, 2021, p. 55; Palienko, 2022); the social network Twitter in the United States and its impact on the functioning of digital archive systems (Bezdrabko, 2018, p. 87); the differences between digital sources and traditional ones and their categorisation depending on the ways of creation (Papakin, 2021, p. 161).

The experience of using digital technologies in the studies of the Ukrainian historians is highlighted in the articles by Oleksandr Bondarenko, Svitlana Orlyk, and Mark Pyzyk (Bondarenko, Orlyk, & Pyzyk, 2024), as well as by Vitalii Telvak and Viktor Werner in the context of researching historical figures on the World Wide Web (Telvak, & Werner, 2023, p. 236).

The study of technologies for searching for historical information in the Internet sources with the highlighting of the information potential of historical events and the development of algorithms for their detection is presented in the studies (Peleshchyshyn, Bilushchak, 2016, 2017; Shu, Bhattacharjee, Alatawi, Nazer, Ding, Karami, & Liu, 2020). Such research is important in determining the spread of a manipulative content, fake information, and disinformation and verification of electronic sources, as well as methodologies for establishing

their reliability, especially in the study of information sources generated by the Russian war against Ukraine, which are mainly concentrated in the media and social networks.

From the perspective of the context of the Russo-Ukrainian war and the content of our study, we have taken into account some related studies (Makarova, 2023, p. 28; Kot, Mozolevska, Polishchuk, & Stodolinska, 2024; Faichuk, Myroshnichenko, Vakulych, Fihol, & Stohnii, 2023; Mozolevska, 2024) that highlight the specifics of sources of operational information, visual narratives, illustrations, memes, and linguistic constructions.

It is worth noting the important contribution to the supplementation and development of conceptual and theoretical approaches to the subject of research, a number of studies, in particular, research on the influence of social networks and social motives of individuals used collectively to exert social influence in the community is presented in the study (Contractor, & DeChurch, 2014) in the form of a structured system of influence as a synthesis of research on networks of social influence structures and research on social influence processes in psychology. In parallel with this research, it is important to analyse the influence of social networks on everyday life, as well as the way people interact with each other and their reception of information, as discussed in the article (Hochwald, 2013), which describes in great detail the transition from “one-to-many” communication to “many-to-many” communication, which can sometimes lead to unpredictable events, in particular the presentation of conflicts that need to be assessed from both sides. Regarding the importance of researching the potential of source criticism for platform logic, scientific research has been conducted in the study (Koch, & Kinder-Kurlanda, 2020), which focuses on the analysis of big data obtained from the Internet, and, based on this research, approaches to processing large data sets can be seen. The article (Hansen, 2009) focuses on the study of social network theory and analysis for combating social injustice, analysing their applicability through three strategies: mapping social structures; creating, developing, and managing social networks; and developing social capital. The reasons and motives behind people creating social networks, as well as a description of social media platforms, their tools, usefulness, and main characteristics, are presented in the study (Szymański, 2017) using examples of the military use of social media.

Despite a considerable amount of research on the information potential of social media, the methodological issues of its research and involvement in the study of the Russo-Ukrainian war remain insufficiently understood and relevant, especially with regard to the methodology of criticism of e-sources, their attribution, type-specific classification, and authentication.

The purpose of the research is to explore the peculiarities of the information potential of social media as a system of specific digital sources for documenting and studying the history of the Russo-Ukrainian war, to substantiate the methodology of their classification, the methodology of source criticism and authentication, and to propose ways to prevent the information pollution of social media with hostile and harmful disinformation, fakes, the Russian narratives, and Ukrainophobic posts.

Research Results. Since the beginning of Russia’s full-scale invasion of Ukraine, social media has become not only a means of communication for the Ukrainians but also a multifaceted source of information about the course of hostilities and their perception both at home and abroad. According to the civil society organisation OPORA, in 2023, social media were the leading source of news for almost 88% of the Ukrainians. Therefore, they are also becoming an important communication channel for the media: for example, the Ukrainian Public Broadcasting Company has 524,000 followers on Facebook and 313,000 on Telegram. By organically combining in the information and digital dimension the enemy’s

armed aggression, genocide, and occupation of part of Ukraine’s territory on the one hand and the heroism of the Ukrainians in defending their homeland on the other, the media and social networks promptly and extensively document military events in real time and space, creating important digital source and archive tools for researchers (Bilushchak, 2021, p. 37).

Modern source studies consider an “electronic source” as a specific version or type of a traditional source presented in an electronic (digital) format (Kalakura, 2017, p. 68). Given the digital nature and functional specificity of online platforms, social media information can be interpreted as an electronic source containing textual, audiovisual, and multimedia materials available for analysis and storage in information systems. The presence of a large number, volume, and variety of types and types of sources generated in social media encourages researchers to group and classify them in order to choose the best methods for studying the characteristics of each group. Historical source studies have several classification schemes that can be used to group e-sources. In our opinion, the most productive schemes can be a typological scheme based on the concept of “phenomenon”, i.e., the form, external properties, and characteristic features of the source type, as well as classification by species. The external (“material”) form of the source allows us to determine the way it reflects reality and the nature of the information received (Kalakura, 2015, p. 190).

In view of this, within the digital information resources about the causes, nature, and course of the Russo-Ukrainian war formed in social networks, in particular Facebook, X (Twitter), Instagram, and YouTube, electronic sources can be divided into the following types: verbal (written), audio, visual, material, behavioural, and conventional (symbolic). (Fig. 1, left).

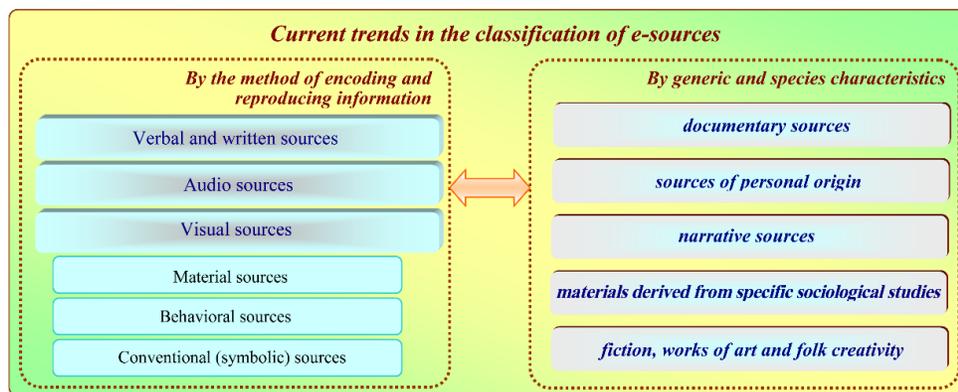


Fig. 1. Current Trends in the Classification of E-sources

Source: developed by the authors

Despite some common features, each of these groups occupies a certain share of the information potential of a particular platform and has its own peculiarities of information coding, which should be taken into account when choosing research methods.

Verbal and written sources – occupy a priority place in the information space of social networks, from 55 to 65%. Formed through word formation, this type of electronic source is characterised by the broadest range of digital information: documentary and textual evidence, messages from official institutions and individuals, scientific and journalistic

materials, comments from eyewitnesses, the military, journalists, and ordinary social media users. Verbal information is often supplemented with illustrations, clarified by other digital sources – sound, visual, etc. At the same time, it is often politically biased and used for manipulative purposes, and the so-called information “dumps” are particularly harmful.

Among the verbal sources, diary entries on social media are of great value, as they are a specific form of digital documentation (most of these materials are concentrated on Facebook). Here, Facebook diaries of eyewitnesses to the occupation and direct participants in the hostilities are a crucial source of recording war experience, and a typical example is the diary of a military medic, which created a thematic archive using the hashtag #zapiskydoktorazholoba (Zholob, 2022 – 2024).

The share of audio sources in different networks is not equal. The largest share is on Facebook and Instagram, accounting for 10 – 15% of sources. This type of e-sources is presented in the form of digital files of audio recordings of official events, radio intercepts, podcasts of the military, experts, journalists, historians, and interviews with refugees and prisoners of war. They vary in genre, purpose, motivation, format, volume and completeness, and reliability of information. An example is the video of the attack on the city of Sumy on 26 January 2025, which was captured on Closed-Circuit Television and published by the media resource Suspilne. Sumy’s Instagram account, where the sound of the explosion is clearly distinguishable, enhances the emotional impact of the event, informs us that the explosion took place, and takes us to the military reality (Public Sumy, 2025).

Visual sources are among the dominant electronic sources in the structure of social media, which are digital files of various formats and sizes and are perceived by the visual senses: photographs, paintings, infographics, maps, and diagrams that visually record the course of military events. In some networks, this array reaches 15 – 25%. It also includes combined sources on electronic media: sound films (documentaries and fiction), video materials, etc. Photographs documenting the work of the State Emergency Service of Ukraine during the aftermath of the Russian attacks on civilian infrastructure and civilians are of a unique informational value. Such pictures visually document the tragedies caused by the shelling and, at the same time, testify to the heroism of the rescuers. An example is an Instagram post about the devastating consequences of a missile attack on Kyiv on 24 April 2024 (Kyiv Main Dept. of SESU, SES of Ukraine, 2025).

In the context of the Russo-Ukrainian war, there has been an increase in visual forms representing historical events, which are manifested in numerous illustrations and memes that are transformed into a diverse range of image sources that actualise collective memory and emotional understanding of the war experience. Illustrations tend to draw attention to specific events and form a symbolism of resistance through images of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, volunteers, and medics, as well as perpetuate the memory of war victims. At the same time, memes respond quickly to current information events in the form of ironic, satirical, exaggerated, or parodic representation, and at the same time serve as a psychological relief.

Material sources overlap with or merge into visual sources, making up 10 – 15% of social media content. They are presented mostly in the format of digitised images of war artefacts, including photographs or videos of weapons, their fragments, military equipment, dugouts, destroyed buildings, as well as monuments and graves of heroes, etc. An example of this type of e-source is the information resource “War Up Close” (War Up Close, 2022 – 2024), presented in two sections, “War in 360°” and “War 3D”, which provide an idea of the affected buildings, cities, infrastructure, historical and cultural monuments. At the same time,

it should be noted that the digitised exhibits of these projects are not fully available on social media for obvious reasons.

Behavioural sources are a special type of electronic evidence that usually functions as a segment of other types, recording that part of the general information that reflects the behaviour, actions, and deeds of people. They record the psychology and behaviour of war participants at the front and in the rear, in captivity and evacuation. It also includes the reaction of the authorities and the public to the Russian aggression, acts of resistance, rallies, demonstrations, diplomatic negotiations, etc. The behaviour of the residents of Kherson on 5 March 2022, when they met the occupiers with the Ukrainian flags and slogans confirming their resistance to the occupiers and that their city is and will remain Ukrainian can serve as an example of indomitable spirit, including the following: “A criminal investigation officer with the Ukrainian flag jumps onto an enemy armored personnel carrier on the move” (Police of Kherson region, 2022).

Conventional (symbolic) sources reflect facts, phenomena, and events in electronic parameters, mostly in a conditional or graphic form. In the context of military operations, these include symbols on military clothing, equipment, unit emblems, flags, coloured markings for friend-or-foe recognition, military chevrons, slogans, graphic symbols that convey encrypted or open information about enemy losses and weapons, as well as design and technical documentation, cardiograms, and musical notes. Charts, graphs, and infographics created during the full-scale war provide valuable information. For example, the European Pravda’s X (Twitter) account published a chart created by the British intelligence, which states that in 2024, the Russian Federation suffered record losses in killed and wounded in the war against Ukraine, with December being the month of the highest losses (European Pravda, 2025).

Our proposed classification of electronic sources by type and method of recording information, like any other scheme, is conditional. Take drones, for example. On the one hand, this is a tangible source, but in the digital dimension, it is perceived as a visual one with a verbal description, and when a sound video or TikTok is viewed, the sound it contains can be heard, resembling the operation of a chainsaw.

For research work with social media sources, it is important to classify them by authorship. In this case, priority is given to those testimonies that belong to direct participants in the war – politicians and military leaders, commanders, soldiers, military doctors, chaplains, volunteers, journalists, and, of course, professional historians. This classification applies to all types of sources – written, visual, sound, etc. – as it is important for establishing the reliability and completeness of information. In addition, depending on the topic and purpose of the study, each type of source can be classified by its type and purpose at the stage of creation.

In our opinion, in studies directly related to the Russo-Ukrainian war, it is advisable to use a classification scheme based on the genus-species principle (Fig. 1, right). Within this scheme, the following types of written, audio, and visual evidence generated in social media can be distinguished:

- **documentary sources** (legislative acts, official documents of state and military authorities, civil society institutions: political parties, professional, women’s, youth, and volunteer organisations);
- **narrative sources** – scientific, educational, publicistic, journalistic works, information materials;
- **personal sources** (autobiographies, diaries, memoirs, letters);
- **materials derived from specific sociological studies** (online surveys conducted by sociological services; monitoring of the level of trust in the government, the Armed Forces of

Ukraine, the media, opinion leaders, volunteers, attitudes towards mobilisation, evacuation, etc. All networks present the results of surveys conducted by such services as the Razumkov Centre, Rate1, Sosis, the Rating sociological group, and others in one form or another.

– *fiction, works of art, and folk creativity*. The originality of the sources in this group lies in the fact that they reflect the course of the war in a very subtle and imaginative way through artistic and emotional comprehension of its existential nature. The war gave rise to a special style and content of poetry and songwriting. Among them, artistic documentaries based on real facts and specific personalities are particularly valuable.

In research, it is important to take into account that with the beginning of Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine and the introduction of martial law, a number of bans also affected social media, including content on military equipment, positions of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, and checkpoints, which limited the documentation and display of information about events, phenomena, and figures in full.

As it has been already noted, the study of e-sources about the nature, scale, and course of the war created and disseminated by social media requires updating the methodology of their attribution, critical analysis, structuring, and determining the reliability of information based on scientific principles and various methods of electronic source research. The process of researching social media source information is quite lengthy and can be divided into five conditional step-by-step stages, each of which involves a set of specific methods and ways to solve the relevant objectives to achieve the ultimate goal (Fig. 2).

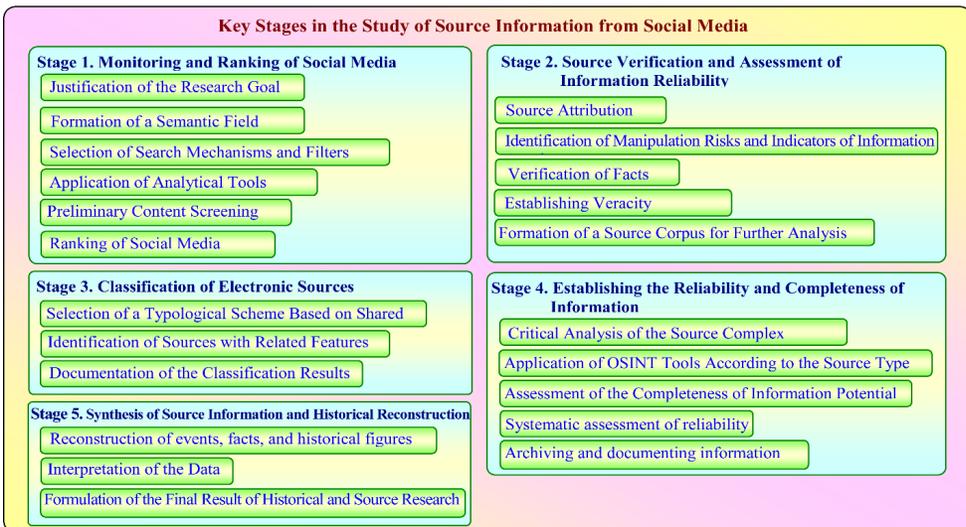


Fig. 2. Key Stages in the Study of Source Information from Social Media

Source: developed by the authors

The first of these stages is aimed at preliminary monitoring of social networks and their ranking by the volume and level of coverage of the issue under study (as an example, ranking by content or topic: see Figure 3).

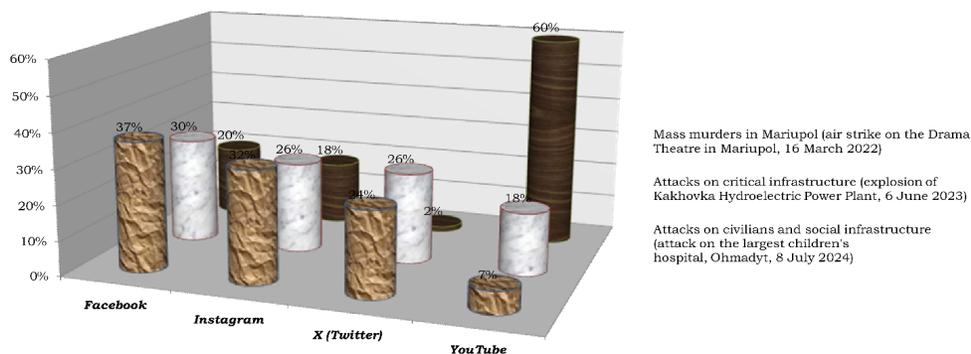


Fig. 3. Ranking of media platforms by content

Source: authors' own calculations

Having decided on the choice of social media, we proceed to the strategic modelling of the parameters of the selection of historical e-sources, taking into account the value of their source and information potential in the context of the research topic. The *next step* is to verify and determine the reliability of the source information. In this case, it is important to attribute each source, establish its authorship, and the risks of manipulative or biased influence on the content of the information provided.

The *third stage* involves classification, i.e., determining the type and type of electronic sources determining their belonging to the appropriate group: verbal (written), audio, visual, material, behavioural, and conventional (symbolic). In case of difficulties in grouping, it is necessary to focus on the priority feature of the source. The key objective of the *fourth stage* is to select, on the basis of the attribution and typology of sources, effective methods and techniques for their historical and source criticism and analysis (Open-Source Intelligence (OSINT) methodology) to determine the reliability and completeness of the information potential. In the *fifth stage*, on the basis of the information recorded in the formed source complex, we reconstruct events, facts, and personalities. As a result, we get the final result of historical and source research.

It is worth noting that in the process of searching for information and accumulating empirical data, it is important to make optimal use of search operators, keywords, and hashtags adapted to each of the selected social networks. In our study, for the content analysis of war crimes committed by the Russian army, we identified the following thematic categories: mass killings and devastation of settlements, attacks on critical infrastructure, and ballistic missiles on civilian and socio-cultural objects. Each of these categories is based on key events reflected on Facebook, X (Twitter), Instagram, and YouTube. These include: an air strike on the Drama Theatre in Mariupol (March 16, 2022); the explosion of the Kakhovka hydroelectric power station (June 6, 2023); an attack on the largest children's hospital, Okhmatdyt in Kyiv (July 8, 2024); the bombing of the historic centre of Odesa (July 20, 2024), etc. An idea of the amount of information about these crimes in the above-mentioned networks is shown in Figure 3. Their analysis showed that, for example, the attack on the Okhmatdyt Children's Hospital was most fully covered on YouTube – 60%, while only 2% was covered on X (Twitter). The explosion of the Kakhovka hydroelectric power station received the most coverage on Facebook (30%) and the least on YouTube (18%). These quantitative indicators

show not only the attention of different social media platforms to the events but also indicate gaps, the elimination of which will help to further determine the completeness and reliability of e-sources.

Taking into account the above methodological approaches to the study of information flows in social media is important for avoiding the facts of hostile disinformation, as well as for preventing and refuting them. One of the possible ways to prevent disinformation based on the theory of “inoculation” (McGuire, 1970, p. 37) is to warn social media users about the possibility of such inoculations by referring to alternative sources and interpretations (Lewandowsky, & van der Linden, 2021, p. 8) and developing a strong immunity to hostile disinformation. An effective means of countering disinformation is to increase media literacy (Novoselskyi, 2020, p. 91) and to develop critical thinking among different age groups. Fact-checking platforms, in particular, help to verify dubious information, identify false or biased messages, and develop critical skills in analysing media content: StopFake, VoxUkraine, MythDetector, EUvsDisinfo, expert refutations of false information, as well as prompt response from government, military and academic institutions. A multifaceted strategy to combat disinformation in the context of a full-scale war in Ukraine is being implemented by the Centre for Countering Disinformation at the National Security and Defence Council of Ukraine and the Centre for Strategic Communications and Information Security at the Ministry of Culture and Information Policy, which coordinate measures to identify information threats, including propaganda and public manipulation. The Ministry of Digital Transformation is actively using new, more advanced technologies to counter disinformation.

According to a study by the international analytical platform Statcounter (April 2024 – April 2025), the share of views by the Ukrainian audience on social platforms is as follows: Facebook – 33,38%, YouTube – 24,18%, Instagram – 18,96%, X (Twitter) – 7,31%. Given these statistics, we can conclude that Facebook, as the most popular social network, is quite vulnerable to disinformation campaigns, in particular from pro-Russian bot farms that spread fakes and so-called “information bubbles”.

Conclusions. In the context of Russia’s war against Ukraine, along with the media, the role of social media in the information space has grown significantly, and their importance in documenting and interpreting events and facts has increased. They account for the lion’s share of the electronic sector of the source base for military and civilian history, which in turn poses new challenges to traditional and electronic source studies and archival studies.

The analysis and ranking of social networks by their representativeness, popularity, and place in the information space of Ukraine, reliability of the information, and contribution to the formation of historical sources allowed us to propose the following ranking: Facebook, Instagram, X (Twitter), and YouTube.

An important research method of cognitive work with sources created in the social and media space is their classification, i.e., grouping by dominant features for deeper research and obtaining more reliable information. The most productive scheme for grouping electronic sources is to divide them by the way they encode and reproduce information. Based on the common and related features of the sources generated in social networks, the following types are identified: verbal (written), audio, visual, material, behavioural, and conventional (symbolic) sources. Given the specifics of the functioning of social media under martial law, the genus-species classification is also fruitful, especially in relation to written, visual, and sound sources.

The analysis of the main groups of sources showed the need for a critical attitude to the selection and attribution of sources, determining their authorship, motives for creation,

conducting an examination of the completeness, reliability, objectivity, and scientific value of the information recorded in them, taking into account the risks of disinformation, manipulation, and bias.

The methodology for classifying social media sources devoted to the Russian-Ukrainian war opens up *prospects for further research* into their informational potential. In particular, it is relevant to analyse the impact of various types of e-sources on the formation of public opinion, track the dynamics of the dissemination of operational information, prevent hostile disinformation on digital platforms, and apply generic classification schemes to systematise sources and assess their impact on the perception of historical events.

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EDUCATION UNDER WAR CONDITIONS: A NEW STUDY OF UKRAINIAN SCHOLARS

Review of the monograph: Ukrainian Education in the Flames of War / N. Nychkalo,

O. Ovcharuk, V. Hordiyenko, I. Ivaniuk; ed. N. Nychkalo. Kyiv :

LLC “Yurka Liubchenka”, 2024. 208 p.

ОСВІТА В УМОВАХ ВІЙНИ: НОВА СТУДІЯ УКРАЇНСЬКИХ УЧЕНИХ

Рецензія на монографію: Українська освіта у полум'ї війни / Н. Ничкало,

О. Овчарук, В. Гордієнко, І. Іванюк; за ред. Н. Ничкало. Київ :

ТОВ “Юрка Любченка”, 2024. 208 с.

The humanitarian sphere of Ukraine, including education, suffered massive losses during the years of the modern Russo-Ukrainian war, which began in February 2014 (Ilnytskyi, Starka, & Haliv, 2022; Haliv, & Sviontyk, 2023; Haliv, & Ilnytskyi, 2023). The education

system suffered both direct and indirect losses. The former include the destruction of educational institutions, the death of teachers and pupils, lecturers and students, and the use of Ukrainian schools in the occupied territories by the Russians to implement their own educational programmes. Indirect losses usually include difficulties that interfere with the organization of a traditional educational process: air strikes, internal relocation of the educational process participants within Ukraine and their departure abroad, deterioration of educational institutions material support, etc. It is precisely these aspects of the education system functioning in Ukraine that are the subject of the monograph written by the Ukrainian scholars Nelia Nychkalo, Oksana Ovcharuk, Valentyna Hordiyenko, and Iryna Ivaniuk, which was published in 2024.

The monograph consists of nine chapters. In Chapter I, the authors outlined the tragedy of the Ukrainian people, pointing at the deaths and injuries of children. They used publicly available statistics posted on the “Children of War” platform. According to it, as of March 2024, according to official information from the Prosecutor General’s Office of Ukraine, 531 children died and more than 1,231 were wounded and injured of varying severity. The most affected children lived in the following regions: Donetsk – 520, Kharkiv – 332, Kherson – 148, Kyiv – 130, Dnipropetrovsk – 111, Mykolayiv – 101, Zaporizhzhia – 100, Chernihiv – 72, Luhansk – 67 (p. 15). The UNICEF data were cited, according to which at least half of children aged 13–15 experienced psychological consequences of the war in Ukraine, had problems with sleeping, and every fifth one suffered from intrusive thoughts and memories, which are typical symptoms of a post-traumatic stress disorder. 40% of children across Ukraine experience difficulties accessing education due to lack of appropriate conditions, and in frontline areas, half of school-age children have no access to education at all. Children lost two years of Reading lessons and a year of Mathematics (p. 16).

Chapter 2, “Large-scale Destruction of Ukraine – Undeniable Signs of Genocide,” focuses on characterizing the scale of educational institutions destruction. The authors conclude that education is also one of the most affected areas. The education sector, as of early September 2023, suffered losses of 10.1 billion US dollars. The total number of damaged and destroyed educational facilities exceeds 3.5 thousand, including 1.7 thousand secondary education institutions, more than 1 thousand preschool institutions, and 586 higher education institutions. The greatest losses from destruction and damage to educational institutions are in Kharkiv, Donetsk, Chernihiv, Zaporizhzhia and Kyiv regions (p. 22). It should be noted that the title of this chapter is incorrect, because material and financial losses in the war are not evidence or sign of genocide. Genocide is indicated by Russia’s goals in this war, as well as the murders of the Ukrainian population by the Russian troops, the abduction of Ukrainian children, and forced assimilation of the Ukrainians.

Chapter 3 of the monograph deals with the abduction of Ukrainian children, actually organized by the Russian occupation authorities. The authors, relying on reports from the media, the Ukrainian authorities, and analytical data from public organizations, provided known information about the deportation of Ukrainian children and the existence of filtration units where parents are separated from their children. Therefore, in the chapter there are provided several examples of the tragic fate of Ukrainian children who were abducted by the Russians, and some children who were adopted by the Russian families without their will (or the consent of their parents/guardians). It should be noted that the issue of abduction of Ukrainian children was investigated on the basis of open sources by M. Haliv, V. Ilnytskyi, O. Karpenko (Haliv, Ilnytskyi, & Karpenko, 2024; Haliv, & Karpenko, 2024).

In Chapter 4, the authors analyze the threats to the education system under martial law. First of all, the scholars point out three options for the educational process in Ukraine: online, offline, and blended. Forms of education in educational institutions are determined by regional military administrations, taking into account the current state of emergency. According to the information of the regional military administrations (except for Donetsk, Luhansk and Kherson regions), as of August 15, 2023, 19,170 objects (buildings) of educational institutions were ready for the educational process in the full-time form of training according to the indicators of providing participants in the educational process with protective structures of civil defense, which amounted to 67.97% of the total number of such objects and made it possible to provide shelter for 4,687,413 participants in the educational process (56.7%) (p. 34). Therefore, the authors emphasize the need to solve the problem of lack of shelter in educational institutions, while pointing at the Concept of Security of Educational Institutions, approved by the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on April 7, 2023, as well as several orders of the Ministry of Education of Ukraine. They cite the examples of appearance of the first underground schools, in particular in Kharkiv subway.

The authors of the monograph called air alerts a significant problem for full-fledged education. They relied on surveys of pupils, their parents, teachers, and heads of educational institutions conducted in 2023. This is not only about air alerts, but also about internal anxiety – among the dominant emotions among pupils. At the same time, parents and teachers assessed the emotional state of children better than pupils. At least three times more children have an anxious state than their parents and teachers believe. The study showed that a quarter of schoolchildren had pessimistic views about the future of Ukraine, another 25% were neither optimistic nor pessimistic. And every fourth pupil wanted to go abroad after finishing school (p. 35).

In the monograph it is stated that as a result of the full-scale Russian war against Ukraine, about 800,000 schoolchildren changed their form of education from face-to-face to distance learning (from 17,669 students in 2021 to 772,909 in 2022) and family (home) (from 4,695 to 64,409 students, respectively). These changes affected the east and south of Ukraine the most, from where about 30–40% of pupils were forced to leave for abroad or other regions of the country (p. 42, 45). When characterizing educational losses, the authors mainly cited the results of research by the State Service for the Quality of Education or a number of public organizations, according to which educational losses consisted of worsening learning outcomes for students in primary, basic, and secondary schools, especially in Mathematics, Physics, Ukrainian Literature, and History of Ukraine. At the same time, the authors mention a number of projects aimed at overcoming educational losses. However, the main emphasis in these projects is on preparing teachers for such challenges.

Another challenge for the Ukrainian children is going studying to two schools simultaneously – Ukrainian and foreign. The largest number of Ukrainian schoolchildren is registered in Poland – about half a million, in Germany – over 300 thousand, in the Czech Republic – over 70 thousand, Romania, Spain, Italy and Slovakia accepted 30–40 thousand pupils. In other European countries, the number of Ukrainian children ranges from several hundred to 10,000 (p. 50). The authors named certain steps and measures taken by the governments of European countries to provide Ukrainian children with the opportunity to study in their schools.

Other challenges and problems (exhaustion of pupils and teachers; assessment of academic achievements; the ability of Ukrainian teachers abroad to work online in Ukrainian schools;

the “New Ukrainian School” reform, which is not fully implemented under war conditions; the complexity of organizing external independent evaluation) that faced Ukrainian education under war conditions were only named by the authors, but were not analyzed in detail. Chief focus was on the development of professional (vocational and technical) education in Ukraine, to the adoption of a number of important documents on improving the practical training of specialists in accordance with the requirements of the labour market.

The authors describe the work of several training centres operating both near the front line and in the western regions of Ukraine. In the monograph there is also outlined the damage to Ukrainian higher education institutions from the war. It is noted that 34 higher education institutions (institutes, universities and academies), 42 colleges (professional pre-higher education institutions) and 65 structural units have already been relocated or are in the process of being relocated in Ukraine. Chief focus is on the complex history of Taras Shevchenko National University of Luhansk, which was forced to evacuate in 2014 (pp. 65–68), as well as Kherson State University, which moved to Ivano-Frankivsk in 2022 (pp. 68–69).

The authors spoke about the work of those educational institutions located near the Russian and Belarusian borders, in particular in Sumy region. There were highlighted volunteer and charitable activities of pupils and teachers of schools in the western regions of Ukraine, who provided and continue to provide assistance to displaced children, their parents, and teachers. The difficult conditions in which the evacuation of schools from the eastern regions took place with the help of volunteers are elucidated.

In Chapter 5 there is highlighted the problem of education in the temporarily occupied territories of Ukraine. The authors elucidate the measures taken by the occupation administrations aimed at introducing the Russian educational programs, curricula, and educational content into schools, vocational colleges, and universities in the occupied territories. The purposeful policy of denationalization and Russification of Ukrainian youth, its transformation into a part of the Russian militarized society, is described. The practice of involving the Ukrainian children and youth in the Russian “Youth Army” is indicated, which is compared with the “Hitler Youth” organization in Nazi Germany. In our opinion, in this section the authors should have used the studies by O. Pashkova (Pashkova, 2021; Pashkova, 2023; Pashkova, 2025), S. Zubchenko (Zubchenko, 2016), B. Demianenko and A. Demianenko (Demianenko, & Demianenko, 2021), H. Oliinyk and H. Bækken, (Oliinyk, & Bækken, 2023).

The authors highlighted some principles of organizing the education of internally displaced children and adults in Chapter 6. In our opinion, it needs to be supplemented with statistical data. In Chapter 7, the authors returned to the issue of education of Ukrainian children abroad, primarily in the countries of the European Union. Chapter 8 is devoted to the activities of the National Academy of Pedagogical Sciences during the war. It should be noted that the authors are employees of this scientific institution, so the appearance of this chapter in their narrative is explained more by institutional patriotism than by the objectives of the monograph. However, it is important that the authors outline the results of a series of surveys of Ukrainian teachers conducted by scholars of the National Academy of Sciences on the impact of the war on the quality and effectiveness of the educational process. The last section is devoted to changes in the Ukrainian educational legislation in the context of a full-scale war.

In general, we positively evaluate the monograph “Ukrainian Education in the Flames of War”. However, we consider it necessary to express a number of comments. Firstly, the monograph contains repetitions, the authors’ references to a number of subjects in different sections. Secondly, the authors relied mainly on the Internet sources, but did not take into

account the rather solid historiography of the Russo-Ukrainian war in general and the historiography of educational processes in Ukraine under Russian aggression in particular. Thirdly, the authors repeatedly went beyond the stated chronological limits. Describing the state of education in Ukraine in the context of a full-scale war (since February 24, 2022), they have been often forced to resort to retrospective coverage of various aspects of the education system functioning since 2014. In our opinion, it was appropriate to begin the analysis of the impact of the war on the education sector of Ukraine precisely in 2014, systematically presenting not only the losses, threats and challenges for education, but also its transformation under war conditions. Fourthly, the authors did not pay enough attention to the characteristics of education as a component of Ukraine's national security, its new tasks under the conditions of a full-scale war. It would be appropriate to show attempts to reform the system of initial military training in institutions of general secondary education, professional pre-higher and vocational education. The authors did not mention the attempts of the authorities and public organizations to improve the military and patriotic education of the Ukrainian children and youth. However, we still consider this monograph to be a sufficiently successful attempt to cover and identify the main problems of the Ukrainian education system in wartime.

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