

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

ISSN 2519-058X (Print)

# **СХІДНОЄВРОПЕЙСЬКИЙ ІСТОРИЧНИЙ ВІСНИК**

## **EAST EUROPEAN HISTORICAL BULLETIN**

**ВИПУСК 10  
ISSUE 10**

**Дрогобич, 2019  
Drohobych, 2019**

**Рекомендовано до друку Вченою радою  
Дрогобицького державного педагогічного університету імені Івана Франка  
(протокол від 21 березня 2019 року № 4)**

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

**Східноєвропейський історичний вісник** / [Головний редактор В. Ільницький]. – Дрогобич:  
Видавничий дім «Гельветика», 2019. – Вип. 10. – 200 с.

Збірник розрахований на науковців, викладачів історії, аспірантів, докторантів, студентів  
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**Збірник індексується в міжнародних базах даних:  
Web of Science (Emerging Sources Citation Index), «Index Copernicus» (ICV 2016-50.70; 2017-71.75),  
Cite Factor, Research Bible, Scientific Indexing Services, Journal Factor (JF)**

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

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

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

Засновник і видавець – Дрогобицький державний педагогічний університет імені Івана Франка.  
Адреса редакції: Дрогобицький державний педагогічний університет  
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**Recommended for publication**  
**by Drohobych Ivan Franko State Pedagogical University Academic Council**  
**(protocol dd. 21.03.2019 No. 4)**

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

**East European Historical Bulletin** / [chief editor Vasyl Ilnytskyi]. – Drohobych: Publishing House «Helvetica», 2019. – Issue 10. – 200 p.

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

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**Web of Science (Emerging Sources Citation Index), «Index Copernicus» (ICV 2016-50.70; 2017-71.75),**  
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*The articles are equaled to publications in Ukrainian journals entered in international scientometric databases  
in accordance with the MES of Ukraine order dd. 17 november 2012 p. No. 1112  
(amended by the MES of Ukraine order dd. 03.12.2012 No. 1380).*

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

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

Founder and Publisher: Drohobych Ivan Franko State Pedagogical University.  
Office address: Drohobych Ivan Franko State Pedagogical University, Ivan Franko Str., 24, Drohobych, Lviv Region,  
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UDC 930(477):929Петров(043.3)  
DOI: 10.24919/2519-058x.10.159167

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**Бібліографічний опис статті:** Andryeyev, V., & Kariaka, A. (2019). Problems of the Baltic-Slavic linguistic unity and ancient Prussian language in the scientific heritage of Victor Petrov. *Skhidnoievropeiskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 10, 8–17. doi: 10.24919/2519-058x.10.159167

**PROBLEMS OF THE BALTIC-SLAVIC LINGUISTIC UNITY  
AND ANCIENT PRUSSIAN LANGUAGE  
IN THE SCIENTIFIC HERITAGE OF VICTOR PETROV**

**Summary.** *The purpose of the research is to analyze the methodological aspects of the use of V. Petrov's Baltic languages and their archaic structures for the reconstruction of the pre-written stages of the Slavic (Ukrainian first of all) ethnogenesis. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, systemicity, science, interdisciplinary. The following general-historical methods have been used: historiographical analysis, historical-genetic, terminological analysis, comparative, typological. The authors adhere to the civilizational approach and principles of cultural and intellectual history. The scientific novelty of the basis of a wide range of published and unpublished researches of V. Petrov on historiography, ethnogenesis, linguistics, archaeology, onomastics, the contribution of the scientist to the study of the Balto-Slavic community and the ancient Prussian language has been described.*



**Conclusions.** Many years of polydisciplinary research of V. Petrov from the Balto-Slavic language and historical connections became an important component of the proposed reconstruction of the ethnogenetic processes by the scientists in the ancient history of Ukraine («The ethnogenesis of the Slavs» (1972)).

V. Petrov's «Theory of the epochs» went beyond the tenets of the formation approach. It allowed us to consider the process of ethnogenesis as discrete, which has its own features within a self-sufficient era. The isolation of the Baltic element in the language of the Scythians and the advancement of the scientific theory of the existence of the Balto-Slavic linguistic community allowed the researcher to trace the connection between the Scythian age and the historical Slavs. Instead, in the theory of Slavic ethnogenesis of V. Petrov there was no place for the concept of «the united ancient Russian nationality», which was actively imposed by the official Soviet science.

Many of V. Petrov's conclusions of different degrees of generalization have been refuted now. However, the methodological approaches retain some research potential. The results of V. Petrov's study of the Prussian language require a further analysis of linguists.

**Key words:** V. Petrov, ethnogenesis, Balto-Slavic community, the Prussian language.

## ПРОБЛЕМИ БАЛТО-СЛОВ'ЯНСЬКОЇ МОВНОЇ СПІЛЬНОСТІ ТА ДАВНЬОПРУССЬКОЇ МОВИ У НАУКОВОМУ ДОРОБКУ ВІКТОРА ПЕТРОВА

**Анотація. Мета дослідження** – проаналізувати методологічні аспекти використання В. Петровим балтійських мов та їх архаїчних структур для реконструкції дописемних етапів слов'янського (передовсім українського) етногенезу. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на принципи історизму, системності, науковості, міждисциплінарності. Використано такі загальноісторичні методи: історіографічний аналіз, історико-генетичний, термінологічний аналіз, компаративний, типологічний. Автори дотримуються цивілізаційного підходу та засад культурно-інтелектуальної історії. **Наукова новизна:** на основі широкого кола опублікованих і неопублікованих досліджень В. Петрова з історіософії, етногенезу, мовознавства, археології, ономастики охарактеризовано внесок вченого у вивчення балто-слов'янської спільності та давньопруської мови.

**Висновки.** Багаторічні полідисциплінарні дослідження В. Петрова з балто-слов'янських мовних та історичних зв'язків стали важливою складовою запропонованої вченим реконструкції етногенетичних процесів у давній історії України («Етногенез слов'ян» (1972)).

«Теорія епох» В. Петрова виходила за рамки догматів формаційного підходу. Вона давала можливість розглянути процес етногенезу як дискретний, який має у межах самодостатньої епохи свої особливості. Виділення балтійського елементу в мові скіфів та відстоювання наукової теорії про існування балто-слов'янської мовної спільності допомогло дослідникові простежити зв'язок скіфської доби з історичним слов'янством. Натомість у теорії слов'янського етногенезу вченого не знайшлося місця для концепту «єдиної давньоруської народності», що активно нав'язувався офіційною радянською наукою.

Багато з висновків В. Петрова різного ступеня узагальнення на сьогодні спростовано. Однак методологічні підходи зберігають певний дослідницький потенціал. Доробок вченого з вивчення пруської мови потребує подальшого аналізу фахівців-лінгвістів.

**Ключові слова:** В. Петров, етногенез, балто-слов'янська спільність, пруська мова.

Viktor Platonovych Petrov (pseudonyms – V. Ber, V. Domontovych, V. Plyat and the others) (1894 – 1969) – a scientist of the encyclopedic erudition (a historian, an ethnographer, an archaeologist, a literary critic, a linguist, a folklorist, a philosopher), an organizer of science, a public figure and a writer from the circle of the neo-classics. In the Ukrainian literary and scientific circles V. Petrov was considered to be an outstanding and distinctive representative of the «golden age» of the Ukrainian humanities of the 1920-ies and the «emigrant Renaissance» of the second half of the 1940-ies. But due to various life situations and circumstances, he was «seized» for a long time from the intellectual space of the USSR and the Ukrainian diaspora, and his creative heritage was unappreciated.

Beginning with 1919 V. Petrov devoted almost an entire life to the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. He was one of the first scientists of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. During the prewar period he worked actively at various institutions of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (Academy of Sciences of the USSR).

In the years of the Soviet-German war, Victor Platonovych served in the ranks of the Red Army – he was a scout. In 1945 – 1949 he worked in the circles of Ukrainian emigration in Bavaria, became one of the founders of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences. In 1950 – 1956 he worked as a researcher at the Institute of History of Material Culture at the Academy of Sciences of the USSR in Moscow, and since the December 1956 and until his death in Kyiv, at the Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR (IA Academy of Sciences of the USSR).

**Problem statement.** V. Petrov's scientific preferences were extremely wide and various (both chronologically and substantially). The basic ideas, the internal logic of presentation, the argumentation and conclusions of the scientist are based on his original historical concept («theory of the epochs»). Understanding the historical process as a discrete and cyclic one allowed V. Petrov to develop a scheme of an ancient history of Ukraine and the ethnogenesis of the Ukrainian people as a component of European history.

At the same time, the historiographical work of V. Petrov is used insufficiently by the contemporary domestic researchers of the ethnic history of the Eastern Slavs (Ivangorodsky, 2018). The theory of the existence of the Balto-Slavic linguistic community, some of the narrow specialised works of V. Petrov and his methodological developments speak in the interest of the above mentioned linguistic community, remains relevant and controversial.

A further study and introduction into a scientific circulation require the study of V. Petrov's works from the Baltic and Balto-Slavic problems, which are stored in the Scientific Archive of the Institute of Archaeology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (Kyiv) (SAIA NASU) and the Central State Archives of the Museum of Literature and Arts of Ukraine (Kyiv) (CSAMLAU).

A further research on the personality and scientific work of V. Petrov is guided to such perspective directions of a national historiography as intellectual history, the history of archaeology and biography (Sayenko, Shestakova, 2018).

**The analysis of sources and recent researches.** Nowadays, we have several attempts to generalize the scientific work of V. Petrov from various fields of the humanities (Andreyev, 2012; Briukhovetskyi, 2013).

The works of V. Petrov's followers (Abashyna, 1986, 1997; Korpusova, 2002; Kravchenko, 2002) are devoted to the analysis of the author's methodology of the ethnogenetic researches.

The works of Petrauskas on the Balto-Slavic historical and linguistic connections (Petrauskas 1997) and onomastics (Zheliezniak, 1999; Stryzhak, 1999) deal with the problematic issues of the Balto-Slavic community in the creative work of V. Petrov.

At the present stage, the study of V. Petrov's contribution to domestic historical science is facilitated by the reprint of his little-known works and previously unpublished works (Petrov, 1992; 2013).

**The publication's purpose** – to analyze the methodological aspects of the use of V. Petrov's Baltic languages and their archaic structures for the reconstruction of the pre-written stages of Slavic (Ukrainian first of all) ethnogenesis.

**Statement of the basic material.** The first works of V. Petrov, based on the methods of comparative linguistics, were in the general direction of his interests in the 1930-ies in

archeology, history of the tribal society, the material and spiritual culture of primitive peoples, the slash form of grain cultivation in Eastern Europe, and the others. Under conditions of the ideological and organizational development of Soviet historical science, V. Petrov tried to approach to the introduction of Marxism in his studies creatively.

For a long time, V. Petrov was influenced by the teachings of N. Marr. The latter proposed an original comprehensive linguistic theory based on interdisciplinary researches, combining the efforts of linguists, archaeologists, ethnographers and other humanists. The main assertion was that as all cultures of the East and the West, and all languages are the result of one and the same creative process. In fact, this was the proper way to solve the equation «culture = language = ethnos = socium».

V. Petrov's investigations of the archaic semantic structure of the word and the methods of reconstruction of the archaic complexes in the Eastern Slavic languages consisted in the plane of change in the semantic load of the word in connection with the changes in the system of agriculture and land use, the transition from primitive to feudalism. The author enlisted a wide range of analogies and correspondences among the European languages, including Lithuanian and Latvian.

For the first time, his methodological approach to the problems of ethnonymic definitions of hydronyms in Ukraine, far from traditional Indo-European studies, was described by V. Petrov in his report to the III Conference of the Linguistic Group of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences in Füssen (Bayern) in 1946 (Shevelov, 2001, p. 150). The onomastic research was continued by him already in Soviet Ukraine and became an important component of his generalized research on the ethnic development of the Ukrainian population in the pre-written period.

The main issues of his original conception of the historical development as a change of epoch («theory of the epochs») were formulated by V. Petrov in a series of historiosophical essays from 1945 – 1949. For the first time, it was based on the historical specifics of the ancient history and ethnogenesis of the Ukrainian people in the lecture on «The Origin of the Ukrainian People» (1947) (Petrov, 1992). In a relatively complete form, transformed and expanded, taking into account the latest scientific advances, the concept of V. Petrov was presented in the «Ethnogenesis of the Slavs» (Petrov, 1972).

Understanding the discreteness of the historical time and the refusal to absolutize the idea of progress, in our opinion, somewhat approximate the concept of «era» of V. Petrov «cultural-historical type» in the theory of local civilizations A. J. Toynbee – supranational socio-cultural communities, peculiar «blocks» of the world history, the interaction of which determines the course of the historical process (Andreyev, 2015).

V. Petrov has identified in the ancient history of Ukraine four periods – «Trypillya», «post-Trippilian», «Scythian», «classical», which are «prehistory» of the Ukrainian people (from the Eneolithic to the times of historical Slavs (IV millennium BC – VI c. AD). The analysis of ethnogenetic processes in the territory of Ukraine was carried out within the limits of separate epochs and in the historical sequence of changes of epochs.

Thus, the obvious is the incompatibility of V. Petrov's theoretical views with the stage-linear deterministic progressive vision of the historical process dominant in Soviet science. The theory of the epochs of V. Petrov is an independent phenomenon of national historiography, and not an example of a «soft revision of Marxism».

One cannot avoid the question of the ratio of the concept of «epoch» introduced by V. Petrov with widely-used terms «ethnos» and «archeological culture». The scientist abandoned the

identity of archeological culture and ethnos and proposed the idea of ethnic, polyethnic and superethnic archaeological cultures. According to N. Abashina, under the archaeological culture the scientist understood the social organism, which is «at a certain degree of economic development», with the corresponding forms and levels of ethnic connections (Abashyna, 1986, p. 10–11). Notice that V. Petrov did not share the point of view of the need to correlate the concept of «ethnos» and «archeological culture» and unify archeological cultures on the basis of this definition. According to V. Petrov, the problem of ethnos is a problem of a language definition (Petrov, 1972, p. 116).

Between the notions of «archeological culture» and «era» there is no definite correlation – archaeological cultures are very roughly correlated with «epochs» and «inter-epoch breaks». «Theory of the epochs» was described by using the established terminology and on the basis of the archeological cultures that were dedicated at the time, but regardless of these conditional concepts.

The source base, methods and scientific instruments of V. Petrov in ethnogenetic research are polydisciplinary, but the main texts were historical texts. The archaeological and linguistic sources are auxiliary: archeological cultures lack ethnic characteristics, linguistic materials – temporal and geographical.

As V. Petrov pointed out, two linguistic problems stand on the obstacle to the solution of Slavic ethnogenesis: the thesis of the Slavic linguistic community, put forward without direct indications on its spatial and temporal coordinates, and the recognition of the Sanskrit language of the Scythians (Petrov, 1972, p. 213). To overcome these problems and to create a holistic concept of Slavic ethnogenesis, it took the author almost two decades of hard work, clarifying and developing the general theoretical positions of ethnogenesis, improving the methodology of linguistic research.

In connection with this, V. Petrov's scientific interests in the 1950-ies – 60-ies included the Skythology and problems of the Balto-Slavic linguistic community. The scientist identified three stages of the linguistic analysis: the first one, the language is studied «as such» – the method of developing single common complex series within a certain source base; at the second stage a comparative characteristic is drawn with the involvement of synchronous languages of the nearest neighboring territories, and only then all the languages of this community (Stryzhak, 1999, p. 15).

In a number of works, V. Petrov argued that the Scythian language is not Iranian (or not only Iranian). The Proclamation of the Scythians by the Iranians was based on a false methodology: by adopting the a priori Iranian hypothesis, the researchers sought for a comparative material for the interpretation of the Scythian gloss and onomastic correspondences only in the languages of the Iranian group (first of all Ossetian). According to V. Petrov, the Scythian was an independent language, one of the eastern group of Indo-European languages, which had a close affinity with the languages of neighboring territories: in the east they were observed in Iran, in the north – in the Baltic and in the south – in Thracian influence.

In the 1940-ies – 1960-ies, as today, most scholars acknowledged the Scythians' Iranian language. In domestic scythology V. Petrov became the first in the studies of the linguistic archaic of the Northern Black Sea coast, casting doubt on the postulate of the Iranian-speaking unity of the Scythians.

The next step that would allow linking the Scythian age with the stages of Slavic ethnogenesis in the concept of a scientist, could be the transitional logic between the Scythians and the Slavs, in particular the Ukrainians, could be the genetic affinity of the Slavic and Baltic languages.

According to V. Petrov, as well as other linguists, the Baltic languages have a special value in the study of prehistoric (pre-writing) stages of the Slavic ethnogenesis. Thus, some linguists consider that Slavic languages originate from the Balto-Slavic community, whose language was close to the West-Baltic languages (Prussian and Yatvyaz). Other researchers adhere to the theory of parallel development of the Slavic and Baltic languages with certain periods of convergence and isolation. V. Petrov himself avoided participating in a general discussion about the existence of a common Baltic-Slavic language, which became particularly active in the 1950-ies – 1960-ies. However, in reality his works on onomastics (mainly from the etymology of hydronyms of Ukraine), he substantiated the idea of the existence of such a language, the oldest common Baltic-Slavic dialects in Ukraine (the Dniester, the Right Bank and the Left Bank of the Dnieper), the existence of the Baltic language element is much south of the Pripyat River.

Although the researcher never pointed out directly, however, much of his argument in favor of the Balto-Slavic linguistic community contradicted the idea of the existence of the ancient Slavic community, from which the Eastern Slavic community, «the cradle of the three fraternal peoples», was singled out. The last thesis, as we know, was one of the main postulates of the Soviet ideology.

The last period of V. Petrov's life was directly connected with the IA of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. His scientific work was also mainly focused on archeology, he participated in excavations, led the detachments of archaeological expeditions. At the same time, during this period, Victor Platonovich actively collaborated with the Institute of Linguistics of O. O. Potebnya, Academy of Sciences of the USSR. V. Petrov also took an active part in the work of the Commission on Toponymy and Onomastics of the USSR (established in 1960) (Nepokupnyi, 2008, p. 428; CSAMLAU, f. 243, c. 191, p. 6–9).

The Canadian Institute for Onomastic Studies in 1967 invited a scientist to attend the IX International Congress of Onomastic Studies (signed by Professor Yar Slavutych, Slavic Linguistic University of Alberta) (CSAMLAU, f. 243, c. 191, p. 26).

In 1965 the Department of Social Sciences of the Academy of Sciences of the Latvian SSR (Academy of Sciences of the LSSR), Institute of Language and Literature of the Academy of Sciences of the LSSR, Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the LSSR, historical-philological and geographical faculties of the Latvian State University of P. Stucka, Toponymic Commission of the Moscow Branch of the Geographical Society of the USSR Academy of Sciences were invited to a conference on the toponymy of the northwest zone of the USSR (scheduled for May 1966) (CSAMLAU, f. 243, c. 191, p. 32).

V. Petrov participated in the First Republican Summit on Toponymics and Onomastics in 1962; Scientific session of the section of social sciences of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR in 1963 devoted to the 1 100 anniversary of Slavic writing; VI Ukrainian Slavic Conference in Chernivtsi (Chernivtsi State University) 1964; in September 1965, in the work of the 3rd Republican Onomastic Conference devoted to the questions of hydronymy and hydronymic mapping; conference of 1967 devoted to the problems of Chernyakhiv culture (Lviv).

V. Petrov was acknowledged as an authority on the historical onomastics of Ukraine and the Balto-Slavic linguistic connections. He helped and advised beginner scientists, repeatedly acted as a reviewer of the scientific works on the identified issues for scientific institutions and publishing houses (Nepokupnyi, 2008, p. 428). V. Petrov highly appreciated the potential and achievements of Ukrainian scholars. Thus, in the review of the manuscript of the

monograph of A. P. Nepokupnyi «Baltic Elements in the Geographical Names of Ukraine» (1967), its higher scientific level was noted in comparison with the recognized work of V. N. Toporov and O. N. Trubachov «Linguistic analysis of hydronyms of the Upper Dnieper» (1962). The last lacked a generalizing collection of Lithuanian hydronyms. Instead, the work of A. P. Nepokupnyi provided a greater reliability of the results, offered the methodology for studying the Baltic word-formation types and the exclusion of homonymous coincidences. According to V. Petrov, the work of A. P. Nepokupnyi should have been widely recognized among specialists of the USSR and foreign Slavists (CSAMLAU, f. 1297, c. 648).

As already noted, the close connection with the linguistic studies of the Balto-Slavic connections in the scientific work of V. Petrov was given by archeology.

The publication of archaeological sources and research on the monuments of Zarubintsy and Chernyakhiv cultures was very important for solving in the future the scientific problems related to the study of historical processes in the territory of Ukraine at the end of the 1st millennium BC. e. – the first half of the 1st millennium BC. e. – ethnic belongings of the carriers of these cultures, their role in the ethnogenesis of the Slavs, problems of early history of the Slavs, chronological issues and changes in archeological cultures, etc. Also, V. Petrov, one of the first, drew attention to the time gap between the monuments of Chernyakhiv culture and Kyiv Rus, and therefore believed that the search for monuments of the intermediate type is an actual task of the archeology.

Separately, we can highlight the historiographical character work of V. Petrov: published, devoted to the work of A. A. Shakhmatov and A. I. Sobolevsky (Petrov, 1968a); archival «Ethnogenetics and Onomastics for the 1950's (1917 – 1957)» (SAIA NASU, f. 16, c. 149). They demonstrate a high level of scholar's reflection on the evolution of the conceptual foundations of ethnogenetic research.

The views of V. Petrov, expressed in a wide range of publications on the study of the Balto-Slavic language, historical, cultural connections, were generalized in his monographs (Petrov, 1968b; 1968c; 1972) and the abstract of the dissertation (Petrov, 1966).

The materials on the personal archive of the scientist «The Origin of the Slavs and the Problem of the Balto-Slavic Unity» by the scholar's personal archive (typewritten, 98 pp.) (SAIA NASU, f. 16, c. 260) testify to the thorough preparatory work on this problem.

It was important for V. Petrov that in the Baltic languages there were features (lexical fund, morphological structure), which were already lost in the Slavic languages. This opened up the opportunities to get closer to reproducing the early stages of Slavic ethnogenesis.

However, for the completeness of the reconstruction of ethnogenetic processes, there was not enough important link – a complete dictionary of the Prussian (Old Prussian) language. This is one of the dead Baltic languages of the Western group. The Prussian language was spoken in the south-eastern Baltic, east of the Vistula River. At the beginning of the XVIIth century the Prussian language disappeared, and the descendants of the Prussians switched to German. The monuments of the Prussian language include: the Elbing German-Prussian Dictionary (1400) (about 800 words); The Prussian-German Dictionary of the Dominican Monk Simon Grunau (1470 – 1530/1537) (about 100 words); three catechisms translated from German (1545 – 1561); two lines of the poem of the middle of the XIVth century. The information is also obtained using toponymy and anthroponymy, from some of the Prussian words that have been preserved in the dialects of the German, Polish and Lithuanian languages. All sights reflect the German, but earlier Polish influences, so the actual Prussian language functions to a certain extent in a distorted form.

V. Petrov spent a great deal of work on the study, reconstruction of primary lexical and grammatical forms, the creation of the dictionary of the Prussian language. It can be assumed that the first substantive attempts, namely the establishment of the Prussian and German tongues, took place during the years of the scientist's stay in occupied Ukraine and post-war Germany.

As V. Petrov himself argued in his personal correspondence, the constant scientific interest in the Prussian language began in 1956, after the mastery of the Scythian language (CSAMLAU, f. 243, c. 153, p. 100, 145–146). The services of the researcher were the best library funds of Moscow, later Kiev. Work on the dictionary of the Prussian language continued until the last years of the life of the scientist and was the basis of his works on linguistics, onomastics, ethnogenesis.

However, the project to create a dictionary of the Prussian language was incomplete in connection with the death of V. Petrov. The proof of the fact that the Ukrainian scientist was on the brink of that time historical linguistics is the five-volume dictionary of Prussia – «Prussian language. Dictionary», which was published by the famous Moscow linguist V. Toporov in 1975 – 1990.

At the same time, in our opinion, the work of V. Petrov in the study of the ancient Prussian language has a certain scientific interest, since his methodological approaches and individual conclusions differed from the point of view of V. Toporov and other scholars, and the problems of the Balto-Slavic linguistic community remain actual.

Preparatory materials for the creation of the Prussian language dictionary are stored in V. Petrov's personal fund at the Scientific Archive of the Institute of Archaeology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, which has more than 300 cases and more than 3 000 photographs and negatives. Today, the fund is a highly sought by scholars, and some documents have been introduced into a scientific circulation. But a significant part of the fund remains unprocessed and not even described, including the research of V. Petrov from the ancient period (SAIA NASU, f. 16, c. 272). These are twelve wooden numbered boxes filled with various records, notes and cards (about 37 400 sheets, manuscript and typewritten).

The exception to them is only one (No. 8, entitled «Resonance»), which contains documents relating to the life path of the researcher, the other eleven contain materials on linguistics. The significant array of documents for the dictionary of the Prussian language is collected in six boxes (Nos. 1, 2, 3, 7, 11, 12). Partly these materials are scattered in other cases.

This source complex consists of a large number of folders with notebooks and individual sheets. Almost all materials are stored without general numbering. The main part of folders are arranged alphabetically. Practically no document has a date of creation.

The cards and notes contain the words of the Prussian language in Latin print, sometimes with a translation into Russian and German. A few words are translated into several foreign languages. In most cases, the transcription of words in square brackets is given. The author from time to time refers to European dictionaries of the second half of the XIXth – the first half of the XXth century. Lots of where links are missing and it is not clear where one or another word is taken.

The notes are often made in German, which V. Petrov knew well. In «historiographic» comments, V. Petrov mostly refers to the editions of J. Endzelin and B. Trautmann.

The comments about language analogies were found. Most often the researcher pays his attention to the coincidence of the Baltic and Slavic forms. At the same time, he records the cases of lack of coincidence and contradictions between the ancient Prussian and other

Baltic forms. Sometimes the author examples analogies and examples from ancient Indian and quotations from ancient classical authors.

The individual materials of the fund (boxes, folders and bundles of folders) are completed by the thematic principle and are probably named by V. Petrov himself: «Spirants» («narrowed consonants, also named as fricative, their articulation contains a very limited opening of the speech channel: f, s»); «Ancient Prussian. Consonants»; «Ancient Prussian. Phonetics. Long vowels»; «Ancient Prussian. Phonetics. Diphthongs», «Ancient Prussian language. Literature»; «Extracts and Notes on Comparative Linguistics».

**Conclusions.** Polydisciplinary studies of V. Petrov from comparative linguistics, onomastics, archaic structures of the Baltic languages, and Balto-Slavic language and historical connections have become an important part of V. Petrov's methodology of ethnogenetic research and schemes of prehistoric stages of the Slavic, first of all, Ukrainian ethnogenesis.

«Theory of the epochs» of V. Petrov went beyond the rigid dogmas of the formation approach, allowed to consider the process of ethnogenesis as discrete, which has its own features within the self-sufficient era. The isolation of the Baltic element in the language of the Scythians and the advancement of the scientific theory of the existence of the Balto-Slavic linguistic community allowed the researcher to trace the connection between the Scythian age and the historical Slavs. Instead, in the theory of Slavic ethnogenesis of V. Petrov there was no place for the concept of «united ancient Russian nationality», which was actively imposed by the official Soviet science.

Many conclusions of V. Petrov of different degrees of generalization and actual interpretations of certain proper names of the rivers of Ukraine as Baltistic ones were refuted already in the late 1960-ies – in the 1970-ies (in the works of O. Trubachev, I. Zheleznyak). But the perspectives of a further study of the scientific heritage of V. Petrov in the field of linguistics and toponymics consist in his methodological approaches, which today have not only a historiographical significance, but a certain research potential also.

It is also necessary to speak about the nonordinary and unappreciated phenomenon of the contribution of V. Petrov to the Scythology in the circle of experts. Waiting for its researchers and works of V. Petrov in the study of the Prussian language. This task goes far beyond purely historical and archaeological science and requires a comprehensive approach involving linguists.

**Acknowledgments.** Sincerely thanks to the employees of the Central State Archives of the Museum of Literature and Arts of Ukraine (Kyiv); Andryeyeva Svitlana – PhD (History), Associate Professor.

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

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*The article was received on January 12, 2019.  
Article was recommended for publishing 24.02.2019.*

UDC 930(477):[94(477.87):63]“17/18”  
DOI: 10.24919/2519-058X.10.159190

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**Бібліографічний опис статті:** Sharavara, T., & Makarets, S. (2019). Problems of agrarian history of the Carpathian region at the end of the XVIII – the middle of the XIX century in contemporary Ukrainian historiography. *Skhidnoievropeiskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 10, 18–26. doi: 10.24919/2519-058x.10.159190

**PROBLEMS OF AGRARIAN HISTORY OF THE CARPATHIAN REGION  
AT THE END OF THE XVIII – THE MIDDLE OF THE XIX CENTURY  
IN CONTEMPORARY UKRAINIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY**

**Summary.** *The purpose of the research* is to analyze and generalize the views of modern Ukrainian scientists on the problems of agrarian relationsdevelopment of the Carpathian regionpopulation at the end of the XVIII – the first half of the XIX century. **The methodology of the research** is based on the principles of consistency, reliability, historicism, logic. General scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization) and specifically historical (historically genetic, historically typological, historically system) methods are used in the article. **Scientific novelty.** For the first time it was made an analysis of the latest scientific research devoted to the problems of agrarian history of the Carpathian region of the late XVIII – the first half of the XIX century, presented not only by historians, but also by specialists from other branches of science: economists, geographers, and lawyers. **Conclusions.** Having analyzed the

works of contemporary Ukrainian historiography representatives, which cover issues of the evolution and transformation of agrarian relations in the Carpathian region at the end of the XVIII – the first half of the XIX century, it can be argued that the issues of the Rusyn agrarian history of the reforms period of Maria Theresa and Joseph II and themes of the serfdom abolition in 1848 remain extremely relevant among the researchers. Modern Ukrainian historians, while outlining the region of research, mostly use the term «Transcarpathia», and only some of them go beyond the terminology developed by Soviet historiography. At the same time, Ukrainian scientists operate statistical data extremely full, publishing figures highlighting land ownership issues, categories of lands and peasants in a defined period. In the vast majority of works, the colonial status of the region is emphasized, and the brake factor for the development of the Carpathian region is called feudal land tenure, which prevented the wealth growth of the bulk of the Rusyns. This approach reflects the contribution of Soviet historiography to this topic in some way, but growing interest in the history of wealthy Rusyn peasants suggests finding new foundations for research and re-evaluating scientific knowledge.

**Key words:** Carpathian Ukraine, Rusyns, agrarian relations, historiography.

## ПРОБЛЕМИ АГРАРНОЇ ІСТОРІЇ КАРПАТСЬКОГО РЕГІОНУ КІНЦЯ XVIII – СЕРЕДИНИ XIX ст. У СУЧАСНІЙ УКРАЇНСЬКІЙ ІСТОРІОГРАФІЇ

**Анотація.** *Мета дослідження* – проаналізувати й узагальнити погляди сучасних українських науковців на проблеми розвитку аграрних відносин населення Карпатського регіону кінця XVIII – першої половини XIX ст. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на принципах системності, достовірності, історизму, логічності. Використано загальнонаукові (аналізу, синтезу, узагальнення) та спеціально-історичні (історико-генетичний, історико-типологічний, історико-системний) методи. **Наукова новизна.** Вперше здійснено аналіз найновіших наукових досліджень, присвячених проблемам аграрної історії Карпатського регіону кінця XVIII – першої половини XIX ст., представлених не лише ученими-істориками, а й фахівцями інших галузей наук: економістів, географів, правників. **Висновки.** На основі аналізу праць представників сучасної української історіографії, в яких висвітлюються питання еволюції і трансформації аграрних відносин у Карпатському регіоні кінця XVIII – першої половини XIX ст., можна стверджувати, що наразі серед дослідників надзвичайно актуальними залишаються питання аграрної історії русинів періоду реформ Марії Терезії і Йосифа II та тематика скасування у 1848 р. кріпосного права. Сучасні українські історики, окреслюючи регіон дослідження, здебільшого послуговуються терміном «Закарпаття» і лише окремі виходять за рамки напрацьованої ще радянською історіографією термінології. Водночас надзвичайно повно українські науковці оперують статистичними даними, оприлюднивши цифри, що висвітлюють питання земельної власності, категорій земель і селян в окреслений період. У переважній більшості робіт підкреслюється колоніальний статус краю, а гальмівним чинником для розвитку Карпатського регіону назване феодальне землеволодіння, яке перешкоджало зростанню статків основної маси русинів. Такий підхід децю відбиває посыл радянської історіографії на цю тематику, проте все більший інтерес до історії заможних селян-русинів свідчить про пошук нових підвалів у дослідженнях і переоцінку наукових знань.

**Ключові слова:** Карпатська Україна, русини, аграрні відносини, історіографія.

**Statement of the problem.** The agrarian sector is an important component of the economic system of a large number of countries, and Ukraine is not an exception. Agriculture has been determining the level of development of Ukrainian territories for centuries. The problems associated with the land were always the most urgent, painful and demanding their solution, because the land, at any stage of society's development, remained the main means of production and the source of social wealth. Therefore, the subject of evolution and transformation of agrarian relations at both national and regional levels is constantly in the field of researchers.

Recently, the interest of scientists has been increased in the agrarian sector of those Ukrainian lands that were part of the Russian Empire. This is especially true for the period

of the second half of the XIX and the beginning of the XX centuries, marked by a series of reforms that gave a significant impetus to modification processes in all spheres of life of the contemporary society, including the agricultural segment. The results of historical studies of such a plan, according to their authors, can be used at the present stage of reforming the agrarian sector of the Ukrainian economy.

However, the history of land relations would be incomplete, if it is limited only by Russian territories. The Carpathian region, whose main directions of economic development were determined by the policy of those states in which these territories were presented in different historical periods, also became the subject of researchers' study.

**Analysis of recent research and publications.** Domestic and foreign scientists devoted a considerable amount of basic researches to the problems of agrarian relations in Western Ukraine as a whole and, in particular, in the Carpathian region. Among the scientists whose works are the most important in the study of agrarian history of the region, we can name V. Botushanskyi, O. Hotsuliak, I. Kolomiets, O. Mytsiuk, I. Shulha, and others. The generalization and assessment of their scientific heritage were reflected in the publications of a new generation of researchers in the agrarian history of the Carpathian Ukraine Rusyns (Ilko, & Olashyn, 1995; Olashyn, 2000; Tovstropiat, 2004; Nesukh, 2005; Zhigalov, & Fominykh, 2014; Postolnyk, 2014; etc.).

In 1995 it was published the first issue of the Scientific Herald (History Series) of Uzhhorod University, which contained the article *The Problem of Agrarian Relations in Transcarpathia during the Era of Feudalism in Soviet Historiography* by well-known researchers of the agrarian history of the mentioned region V. Ilko and M. Olashyn. Summarizing their historiographical review, the authors noted that «... not everything in the above-mentioned studies of Soviet historians corresponds to the modern level of historical science development and the requirements of the present ... there are still a lot of «white spots» and poorly studied places in the history of the feudal development of Transcarpathia. For historians, a wide range of unsolved questions concerning the agrarian relations in the Transcarpathian era of feudalism continues to exist» (Ilko, & Olashyn, 1995, p. 26).

Today, the issue study of agrarian relations in Carpathian Ukraine has become a subject of interest not only of historians, but also other branches of science specialists: economists, geographers, and lawyers. Taking into account the above stated, **the purpose of the article** will be to analyze and generalize the views of modern Ukrainian scientists on the problems of the agrarian relations of the population of the Carpathian region in the end of the XVIII – the first half of the XIX century.

**Statement of the basic material.** One of the central problems that modern researchers are paying attention to is the evolution of land tenure. Issue of land ownership and its conditions of use is not new among scientists, but the changes that are taking place in Ukraine now require a new evaluation of it, since reform of the agrarian sector cannot be carried out without rethinking past experience. In this regard, the theme of the reforms that took place in the Austrian Empire, which included the mentioned region, at the end of the XVIII century and in the middle of the XIX century is becoming relevant.

«The system of land use in different regions of our country was formed under the influence of natural, historical, ethno-cultural, and socio economic factors. The system of land use is not static, conservative, but with the change of factors it evolves and develops» (Pankiv, 2012, p. 3), – precisely from this angle of view Z. Pankiv highlights the peculiarities of the use of Ukrainian land resources in different historical periods and the essence of the basic land-use reforms in his monograph *The Evolution of Land Use in Ukraine*.

Among the factors that significantly influenced the development of land relations in Carpathian Ukraine, the author names the reforms of Maria Theresa and her son Joseph II, as well as the abolition of serfdom in 1848.

According to the researcher, the reforms of Maria Theresa and Joseph II, which restrained and standardized the peasants' duties, were primarily aimed at increasing the power of the state, and factors that could contribute to it at this historic stage were increasing the productivity of agriculture and population growth (Pankiv, 2012, p. 73). In general, according to the historian, the bills of Joseph II were progressive, but their subsequent abolition by the Hungarian Sejm was also a consequence of the redistribution of land ownership: the reduction of the area of peasant holdings (80–90% of the farms were low-landed) and the increase in the area of landed estates (Pankiv, 2012, p. 75). As Z. Pankiv points out, the law of 1836, which confirmed the right of the nobility to own land, did not settle the original question of land use and its effectiveness (Pankiv, 2012, p. 76).

The next attempt to solve the problem of land relations, which drew the attention of the researcher, was the abolition of serfdom. He considers it a large-scale land reform, «since the abolition of the land use principle formed for centuries and the creation of preconditions for the intensification of land use, the transition to a new level of development» (Pankiv, 2012a, p. 15). Analyzing in detail the main provisions of the patent of the emperor Ferdinand I on the liberation of the peasants from serfdom and other duties, Z. Pankiv emphasizes that the document was aimed primarily at protecting the landowners' land tenure, since it was done the separation of peasant forests and pastures (segregation) and connection into one massif of peasant farms' arable lands (land consolidation) (Pankiv, 2012, p. 83). And although the elimination of the legal dependence of the peasants from the courtyard court was definitely positive, however, in the question of peasant land ownership, a lot of problems remained there, because the size of the peasant lands was determined by the landowners and their rulers at their discretion, which eventually led to the remaining of land lack, and sometimes peasants' landlessness; and the quality of land received by the peasants left much to be desired. As a result, after the agrarian reform within Transcarpathia, 53% of the land belonged to large landowners. For 120 large landed estates with an area of more than 1,000 holds (*land measure, 0.57 hectares – authors' clarification*) of land, half a million holds was land, which is five times more than the total land area of all parcel areas (Pankiv, 2012, p. 83).

In terms of land tenure analysis, the monograph *Transformation of land relations in the Ukrainian village (IX – early XXI century). Comparative analysis* by P. Korinenko is significant. However, the historical part of the time, which is of interest to us, is represented mainly by the territory of Russian Ukraine and in the western Ukrainian region by Galicia. Regarding Carpathian Ukraine, concerning the reform of 1848, the author confirms the fact of preservation (and, in some situations, an increase due to easements) of the landowner's land tenure, which in his opinion was 70,9% (Korinenko, 2015, p. 150), but in the post-reform period became gradually decreasing. The peasant land ownership, by contrast, had a tendency to increase, although most of the peasants remained lack of land and the process of their further landlessness continued.

V. Yakubiv stresses the necessity of studying the system of agrarian relations. «The essence of this decisive goal is revealed through the economic history study of the agrarian relations system development in order to identify important essential tendencies, features, positive and negative characteristics in the process of formation of the agricultural mechanism and to take them into account in planning and development of a strategy for balanced development

of agrarian enterprises and qualitative growth of rural areas» (Yakubiv, 2015, p. 10). Analyzing the history of the agrarian sphere of the Carpathian region comprehensively, the researcher notes that the main factor determining the system of land relations was the presence of various territories of different states. Therefore, under the influence of the great political interests of individual states in the areas of modern western regions, different agrarian reforms were carried out in essence and depth (Yakubiv, 2015, p. 10).

V. Yakubiv considers the urbarial reform of the Austrian archduchess Maria Theresa and the agrarian reform of 1848 traditionally important milestones in the agrarian history of Carpathian Ukraine. According to the researcher, these reforms can be described as positive, in particular the reform of Maria Theresa, the main evidence of which was the intentions of the authorities to improve the state of the peasants. However, given the deteriorating situation of the peasants in post-reform years, ultimately, all the changes made in the region did not yield the expected results; they were not completed and did not create the prerequisites for further successful development of the agricultural sector of the region.

The fact of the permanent dismemberment of Western Ukrainian lands as a factor influencing the development of agrarian relations in the region was reflected in the views of P. Sukhyi and K. Darchuk: «...this or that state, which owned this territory or its separate parts, determined not only the structure of the economy, but also its organization, which developed directly on legally fortified land relations and land management» (Sukhyi, & Darchuk, 2011, p. 78).

Through the retrospective analysis of the land relations development in Western Ukraine, the researchers focused their attention on land management activities of the governments in Galicia of that time. As far as the Carpathian region is concerned, the information about it is limited to the reform of 1848. The main reason for this reform is the decline of the serfdom system of economy, which significantly impeded its economic development. The initiative to solve the peasant question came from the Austrian and Hungarian governments. As a result, the landowners lost their supreme power over the peasants, but retained land ownership. So, at the beginning of the XX century, in Carpathian Ukraine, 70.9% of the land was concentrated in the hands of large landowners, monasteries and state (Sukhyi, & Darchuk, 2011, p. 80). The abolition of serfdom gave impetus to the process of mobilizing land ownership. In Carpathian Ukraine, 756 landowners (0.8% of the total number of landowners) owned 45% of the land (Sukhyi, & Darchuk, 2011, p. 80).

Consequently, changes in the system of land relations were primarily aimed at providing a comfortable life to the dominant sections of the population. However, this situation, in the opinion of the researchers, contributed to the «interest of landowners in the rational and most efficient use of land resources» (Sukhyi, & Darchuk, 2011, p. 81). Moreover, they defend the position that the concentration of large areas of land in the hands of a small number of landowners is «precisely this division, which to some extent is justified by rational land use» (Sukhyi, & Darchuk, 2011, p. 81).

This view of the situation is really new in historiography, because in most works the preservation of feudal land tenure is necessarily characterized as a lack of reforms. Although this is an echo of Soviet historians' views. It must be admitted that the property right is intact and its availability in a separate stratum cannot be a disadvantage of the reform of society. Therefore, the emergence of works with redefined criteria for the effectiveness of agrarian reforms is a real breakthrough in Ukrainian historiography.

Numerous works devoted to the problems of agrarian development of the developed region were written by N. Zhulkanych. Describing socio economic relations on the eve of the

revolution of 1848 – 1849, the author adheres to the view that the status of Western Ukrainian lands among other provinces of the empire was approaching colonial, because these territories in the middle of the century «turned into an agrarian and raw material appendage of the Austrian provinces, supplier of food products and raw materials for industrially developed regions and market of goods» (Zhulkanych, 2011, p. 72).

The researcher also highlights the subject of the serfdom abolition. Recognizing the peculiarities of the reform implementation, as well as the situation prevailing in the agrarian sector of the region in the post-reform period, N. Zhulkanych concludes about the halfness of the reform which, on the one hand, eliminated the socage, on the other hand – did not touch the foundations of the landlord's land ownership, slaughtered an agrarian question (Zhulkanych, 2011, p. 73). Evaluating the situation in the post-reform village, the scientist drew attention to the changes that took place in the situation of the peasants of the Rusyns and landlords. The historian noted that there was a gradual increase in peasant land tenure (although the size of the land plots of a significant number of peasants tended to decrease), a process of concentration of land in the hands of wealthy hosts, which deepened the stratification of the peasantry. Regarding landowner land ownership, which prevailed in the Carpathian region, its size gradually decreased, and mortgage debt grew (Zhulkanych, 2011, p. 74). In general, like most scientists of this historical period, N. Zhulkanych is in the position that all attempts to reform undertaken by the Austrian authorities have not resolved the agrarian question.

The confirmation of this thesis is also found in works of one of the leading agrarian history domestic researchers V. Ilko, the chronicler of the Carpathian village, as his contemporaries named him. He notes that the tasks that were solved during the revolution of 1848 were still not resolved, since large landlord land tenure was preserved, the situation of the bulk of the Carpathian peasants had not changed for the better, and some of them, which did not belong to the urbarial categories, even deteriorated (Ilko, 2010, p. 23). Therefore, the solution of the agrarian question remained open.

It is naturally that, in assessing the agrarian sphere of production, first of all we analyze land resources. However, the picture will not be complete without paying attention to those who owned this land and worked on it. From this point of view, there is a quite informative publication *Influence of social relations on the law norms formation on Ukrainian lands in the composition of Austria-Hungary in the XVII – XVIII centuries* by L. Tovstopyat and L. Kuznetsova, which contains a detailed description of the various social strata of society of that time, the position of which defined «...the same laws of social development, as in other Ukrainian lands and in the countries of feudal Europe of that time» (Tovstopyat, & Kuznetsova, 2015, p. 47). Among the Ukrainian peasantry, which constituted the bulk of the population of the Carpathian region, the categories of private ownership, state, monastic, and free ones were distinguished. Using the data suggested before by I. Shulha, the authors conclude that such a small percentage of free peasants, as in Carpathian Ukraine (1.38% of the total population), was not in any part of the Ukrainian lands (Tovstopyat, & Kuznetsova, 2015, p. 48).

Taking into account the peculiarities of the organization and activity of the tax apparatus of the Habsburg monarchy in Carpathian Ukraine, Yu. Tluschchak analyzed some aspects of the agrarian sphere of the region, in particular, describing the categories of peasants, types of taxes, the urbarial reform of Maria Theresa, etc. Emphasizing the urbarial reform, he notes that the Empress primarily aimed at resolving peasant duties in order to restrict landowners' oppression and thus secure the collection of taxes from the category of population that constituted an absolute majority. Consequently, regular replenishment of the state budget is one

of the main tasks that should have been solved in the process of reformation (Tlushchak, 2006, p. 83).

The same vision of the tasks and consequences of the urbarial reform is found in the views of L. Nesukh. In the opinion of the researcher, one of the main tasks to be solved was the legal consolidation of land for the peasants and, in general, the improvement of their legal status (Nesukh, 2010, p. 206), since the well-being of landlords and the filling of the state treasury depended directly on the effective development of peasant farms. Therefore, the reformist activity of the Austrian government was conditioned not so much by the care of the peasants as the need to turn them into more solvent taxpayers. The state took under its protection not a specific serf farmer, but only the used land (Nesukh, 2010, p. 206).

The author analyzes in detail the various categories of land in terms of peculiarities of their use by peasants and landlords. Thus, L. Nesukh refers the main constituents of the land fund to allotment land, virgin land (wasteland), residual land, communal land (pastures, forests, reeds) (Nesukh, 2010, p. 204). In his vision of the consequences of agrarian reform, the researcher is in solidarity with other domestic scientists regarding the growth of peasant land tenure and a partial weakening of the feudal system (Nesukh, 2010, p. 209).

In the context of forming the national idea among the Rusyn community of Carpathian Ukraine, the problems of socio economic development of the region of the first half of the XIX century were reflected in the study of M. Kashka. Analyzing the development of commodity relations in the northeastern counties of the Kingdom of Hungary, the author notes that the owners of large demesnes became the first on the way of the commoditization of their farms. And this was natural, because «they had their own raw materials and free labor, their serfs» (Kashka, 2007, p. 8). The reverse side of the process of accumulation of the necessary capital in the hands of the landlords was a sharp decline in the living standard of the bulk of the peasants, which, from the perspective of the researcher, was predetermined primarily by the extensive character of management in the estates of the landlords (the expansion of the cultivated area of land through its alienation from the peasants, the foundation of folwarks and an increase in social duties) (Kashka, 2007, p. 8). The researcher also draws attention to the fact of property stratification in the peasant environment and the involvement of rich peasants in commodity-money relations. But «their management,» M. Kashka writes, «which was already commodity one formally, still had all the signs of feudal exuberance» (Kashka, 2007, p. 9), because they continued to pay state taxes, natural duties, etc.

**Conclusions.** The analyzed works of historians make it possible to state that in recent years Ukrainian scientists have created a series of works devoted to the problems of the agrarian history of the Rusyns of the Carpathian region in the late XVIII – the middle of the XIX century. In the center of attention of modern researchers, there are two important events for the village's life of that time: the reforms of Maria Theresa and Joseph II and the abolition of serfdom in 1848. These are the factors that had a decisive influence on the development of land relations in the region of a defined period. Continuing the traditions begun by the Soviet historical science (though it is important to acknowledge that during this exact period, in our opinion, significant works were written, devoted to the agrarian development of Carpathian Ukraine), modern scientists talk about the significance and importance of these reformist steps, but at the same time they evaluate them as halfness, incomplete, because they could not completely eliminate feudal remnants. Modern Ukrainian scientists are convinced that the main brake factor in the agrarian sector remained large feudal land tenure, which prevented the wealth growth of the bulk of the Carpathian Rusyns. However, we emphasize that this



approach shows that modern Ukrainian historical science has not completely liberated itself from the Soviet ideology, because, in our opinion, the preservation of feudal land tenure cannot be considered a disadvantage of reform, since property right is a sacred key right in every civilized state. Therefore, the availability of land owned by different social strata is only a historical fact, and not a disadvantage of reforms of the specified period. In general, modern scientific intelligence has a unifying idea: Carpathian Ukraine during the crisis of feudal serfdom relations is a backward agrarian land whose status was approaching colonial one. The given statistical material confirms their position. At the same time, heightened attention to the activities of the wealthy peasantry, drawn into capitalist relations, already testifies to the gradual departure of historians from an established unambiguous point of view. A positive aspect of contemporary Ukrainian historiography is the emergence of works in which the authors already use the latest terminology, distinguishing the stratum of wealthy Rusyn peasants.

However, a number of important issue components need more attention from scientists. In particular, there is a lack of works in which the role of landed estates would be redefined in ensuring economic stability of the region. There is also a need for historiographic works where the authors compared the level of agrarian relations development of the Carpathian region with other regions of Ukraine.

**Acknowledgements.** We express our sincere gratitude to the editors for the opportunity to publish an article on coverage of the actual problems of agrarian history of the Carpathian region at the end of the XVIII and the middle of the XIX centuries in contemporary Ukrainian historiography.

**Fundings.** The authors received no financial support for the publication of this article.

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*The article was received on January 16, 2019.  
Article was recommended for publishing 25.02.2019.*

UDC 261.7:316.343.(477)«19–20»  
DOI: 10.24919/2519-058x.10.159176

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**Бібліографічний опис статті:** Korotkova, O. (2019). Antagonist tendencies in the relationship between the Clergy and the Ukrainian peasants in the XIX – beginning of the XX century. *Skhidnoievropeiskyi istorychnyi visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 10, 27–33. doi: 10.24919/2519-058x.10.159176

**ANTAGONIST TENDENCIES IN THE RELATIONSHIP  
BETWEEN THE CLERGY AND THE UKRAINIAN PEASANTS  
IN THE XIX – BEGINNING OF THE XX CENTURY**

**Summary.** *The purpose of the research is to analyze the causes and consequences of antagonistic sentiment of the Ukrainian peasantry towards the clergy in the XIXth – early XXth century. The research methodology covers the main principles of systemic, scientific, historicism, as well as the use of general scientific methods of analysis, synthesis, generalization, comparison. The scientific novelty of the work is that the author, using previously unused archival, periodical and personal sources, identified the main causes of the growth of tension and conflict in the relations of the Ukrainian peasantry and the clergy on the territory of Ukraine in the XIXth – early XXth century. Conclusions.* Russian imperial power made the church an instrument of russification, the destruction of the national identity of the Ukrainians. Alienation of peasants from the church was facilitated by the factors of their economic oppression by the priests, a full control of the rural clergy for the interests of the landlords, anti-social behavior of the priests. In addition, the fall of the authority of the church was facilitated by the agrarian reform, the capitalization of social relations, the emergence of religious desidents. The peasantry perceived the representatives of the church hierarchy rather critical and even more hostile. But the peasant folk religion kept its identity against the pressure of state-religious institutions.

**Key words:** peasantry, religion, church, antagonism, community, national identity, sectarianism.

**АНТАГОНІСТИЧНІ ТЕНДЕНЦІЇ У ВІДНОСИНАХ ДУХОВЕНСТВА  
І УКРАЇНСЬКОГО СЕЛЯНСТВА У XIX – НА ПОЧАТКУ XX ст.**

**Анотація.** *Мета дослідження – проаналізувати причини і наслідки зростання антагоністичних настроїв українського селянства щодо духовенства у XIX – поч. XX ст. Методологія дослідження охоплює головні принципи системності, науковості, історизму, а також використання загальнонаукових методів аналізу, синтезу, узагальнення, порівняння. Наукова новизна роботи полягає у тому, що автор, використовуючи раніше невживані архівні, періодичні та*

особові джерела, визначив головні причини зростання напруги і конфліктності у відносинах українського селянства та духовенства на теренах України у XIX – поч. XX ст. **Висновки.** Російська імперська влада зробила церкву знаряддям русифікації, знищення національної ідентичності українців. Відчуженню селян від церкви сприяли фактори їх економічного гноблення з боку священиків, повна підконтрольність сільського духовенства інтересам поміщиків, антисоціальна поведінка кліру. Окрім того, падіння авторитету церкви спричинила аграрна реформа, капіталізація соціальних відносин, виникнення релігійного дисидентства. Селянство сприймало представників церковної ієрархії досить критично, а почасти навіть вороже. Але селянська народна релігія попри тиск державно-релігійних установ зберегла свою ідентичність.

**Ключові слова:** селянство, релігія, церква, антагонізм, громада, національна ідентичність, сектанство.

**Problem statement.** The relationship between the clergy and the peasantry is of an utmost importance in modern history, especially during the revival of the Ukrainian national church. The religiousness of the Ukrainian people has the ancient roots of the Slavic past. But the relations of the people are precisely with religious institutions, especially in the XIXth – beginning. XXth century have many contradictions. Under conditions of a revolutionary mood, the agrarian reform, the capitalization of the economy and the society, the antagonistic mood of the peasantry for the activities of the clergy is significantly facilitated.

**The analysis of sources and recent researches.** A significant contribution to the study of relations between the Orthodox Church and peasantry in Ukraine was made by Mesh Boykov O. Yu. and Dodonova G. V., they investigated the role of the Russian Orthodox Church in the life of the bourgeoisie and peasantry of southern Ukraine at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. O. Kryzhanovskaya (Kryzhanovska, 2008) has analyzed the situation of the peasants and the Church of the Right-Bank Ukraine. Dm. Stepovyk has analyzed the relations between the church and Ukrainian society during a certain period (Stepovyk, 2016). Currently, there is no research on historiography aimed at revealing its own antagonisms in the relations between Ukrainian peasants and the clergy in a defined period.

**The publication's purpose** – to analyze the causes and consequences of the growth of the antagonistic moods of the Ukrainian peasantry concerning the clergy and the church in general on the territory of Ukraine in the XIXth – early XXth century groundly.

**The statement of the basic material.** The church existed on the state monarchical platform and acted as an instrument of influence on the population. The distrust of the clergy was growing under conditions of a forcible russification on the Russian lands of Ukraine, the destruction of the national identity of folk culture. Soon, the supreme ecclesiastical elite surrendered to the colonialists in order to preserve their materialistic and status positions. At the end of the eighteenth century, the Ukrainian church elite didn't resist the offensive of the «Moscow region», moreover, they headed that process. Under those conditions only the poor peasantry, the ordinary lay people were the ones who tried to preserve the folk church tradition. The people formed the peculiar immunity against the alien Moscow Orthodoxy. The mental connection was lost gradually in the relationship between the people and the clergy. During the XIXth century, the antagonistic peasant mood spread massively. A dual attitude towards religion was formed: the distrust and the rejection of new «anti-people» religious traditions and the respect for the original Christian rituals.

Having made the new church policy a compulsory source of russification of non-Russian peoples, the tsarist with his Orthodox Confessions Office and the Holy Synod did not trust the Catholic Metropolitan of Kiev to the ethnic Ukrainians (Stepovyk, 2016, p. 29). And this caused a huge impact on the existence of the Ukrainian language in general in the church service.

A great amount of attention of the church elite was paid to the elimination of the legitimacy of the use of the Ukrainian language in the church services. All sorts of printed assemblies of the church services, the church periodicals emphasized that «there was no need to spread a colorful dialect only because of the fact that two or three million Russian people, under the influence of neighborhoods or historical events, somewhat separated the Old Slavonic language and formed the regional dialect, which to some extent distorts the language of the majority of the sons of Russia. The speaker who speaks a local dialect during the church service, is comprehended by the listeners as a comedian, not a teacher» (O pryomenii narodnoho yazyka, 1865, p. 126).

«The new artificial church language became a mixture of Russian and Ukrainian (surzhyk, informal language). However, if the highest eparchial elite in Ukraine was formed from the Russians, at the level of a rural priesthood, the tendency remained for the preservation of the Ukrainian spiritual elite, and it firmly adhered to its Ukrainian traditions, ecclesiastical and national, contrary to all policies of the Moscow Synodal Church in Ukraine» (Ohloblin, 1951, p. 51). That's why, it is the peasantry who becomes the main opponent of the denationalization of the Ukrainian national religion. Even in spite of the order of the church elite, the peasants often chose priests by themselves, and those who were sent «from the top» by the church elite were expelled. It was also a widely spread practice of a church dignity inheritance and the parish by priests' children. This contributed to the preservation of liturgical the Ukrainian-language traditions.

«The alienation and the opposition of an ordinary laity to the church clergy was due to the Caesaropapist tendencies in the Russian Orthodox Church and a frankly chauvinistic stuff policy regarding the candidates for priests and especially bishops. The suspicion to all «foreigners» among the clergy of the Russian Orthodox Church in the XIXth century, acquired the painful and combative forms. The Orthodoxy is interpreted as «Russian faith», or in the best case, as «Slavic» (Stepovyk, 2016, p. 59). In the middle of the XIXth century, particularly sharp antagonistic mood between the peasantry and the clergy was acquired under the conditions of an agrarian reform. The rebellious movement among the peasantry, caused by the struggle against serfdom and arbitrariness of the landlords, was also directed against the clergy. Having the status of a peculiar «power tool», the rural priests were the first who felt the peasant dissatisfaction. For instance, on March 23, 1855, P. Lebedintsev the Dean of Bila Tserkva sent the report to Kyiv Metropolitan Filaret on the mass rejection of the peasants in 17 villages to have base service, to pay state taxes and to force priests to become Cossacks. The peasantry of Shkarivka village refused to work for Branicki landlord and tried to force the priest to include them into the list of free Cossacks and to make the oath. The priest was blocked in the church building, the church service was interrupted, his estate was surrounded. According to the peasantry, the distrust for the priests comes from the fact that the priests do not accept their complaints, do not protect their rights and serve the landlords (Baran, 1988, pp. 90–91). And on March 22, 1855 the bailiffs found out that the peasants from Cherkasy, Popravky and Bykova Hreblya villages kept the priest Mykhail Vyshynsky in hostages for a week, demanding to release and to record them as the Cossacks. According to the priest's words, the peasants broke into his bedroom, threw him out of the bed, tore the shirt, pulled him out into the yard, humiliated him, shouting out that they wouldn't serve Count Branicki (Baran, 1988, p. 92). The clergy saw the danger in the process of capitalization of the village. Mostly, the priests were concerned of the land redistribution and the growth of anti-state acts of the peasantry. Trying to preserve its credibility among the peasants, the church par-

ishes sought for the ways to calm down the antagonistic tendencies, directing the efforts to help the peasants in the co-operation development, the creation of large kurkul farms (Mesha, 2008, p. 174).

In addition to it, the efforts of the clergy to solve their materialistic needs at the expense of the peasantry, facilitated the relations between the clergy and the peasants. Supporting the landlord's omnipotence, the rural priests did not retreat by cutting the peasant holdings in their one favour, or even ousting the serfs to the worst fertile land. The land conflicts between the clergy and the peasantry took place in all sub-provinces of the Right Bank Ukraine (Kryzhanovska, 2008, p. 140).

A vivid example of the land conflict between the peasants and the priests are the events in Mykov village, Liskyi Povit. In June 1860, the peasants, headed by D. Kuryk, drove away 30 heads of the cattle that belong to the priest thrice and three shepherds of his from the meadows. The community demanded that the priest should graze his cattle on his meadows, but not on the peasants ones. The Liskyi Povit Court preserved the right of the pope to graze his cattle on the lands of the peasants and made them pay the court fees. The peasants refused to pay and mowed down the priest's meadow, considering the meadow to be their property. According to M. M. Kravets from 1850 till 1900 years in Eastern Halychyna and Northern Bukovyna there were 871 peasant riots to protect their forests and pastures, including the riots against the clergy (Kravets, 1964, p. 94).

In the north of Bukovyna and Eastern Halychyna the Greek-Catholic peasantry paid 1254.4 thousand golden ryns in cash for the benefits of the priests and the clerks annually, without taking into account the expences on small current services (Kravets, 1964, p. 94–95). According to the newspaper Chervona Rus, such peasant tributes as skopshchina, proskurne were recorded as the priest's belongings. The priests had the right to punish the peasants who refused to pay such taxes («Chervona Rus», 1888). From the time immemorial, Halychyna peasants gave the deac 10 sheaves of bread from each farm. The priest received 15 sheaves from each yard as a skopshchyna. The Community of Sholomyia village, Bibra Povit, had to bring the timber as the fuel for the priest. And in the village Bratyshev, Tovmatskyi Povit, the fee for getting married was 20 golden ryn., 10 hens and 8 days of base service. The situation in Northern Bukovyna was the same. Each peasant had to work for two days as a base service for the priest. And very often the priests threatened the peasants (Kravets, 1964, p. 95).

The clergy, having taken the pro-government position regarding the peasantry, finally lost the trust of the laity and turned into a powerful trigger and the object of a national anger. The peasant – begger was made to provide for the priest at his own expense, paying the unreasonable taxes of the church tithing, the payment for the needs and etc. In the minds of the peasants, the «pope» was associated with the «extortionist», «fleecer», «moneylender». The humiliating term «pope» bewildered the parish clergy. Even in the periodicals on the theological themes: the «Guide of the Rural Shepherds», much attention was paid to this issue. Only a disloyal parishioner calls a priest a «pope» when he wants to tell something offensive to him ... the one who does not have any respect for the church and its servants. A decent person does not dare to call the priest this word straightforwardly, only in absentia or in anger» (Nazvanyia: pastyr, sviashchenyk, pop, 1860, pp. 170–171).

In the public life of the Ukrainian village in the XIXth – beg. XXth centuries, despite the development of capitalism, many elements of patriarchal relations were preserved. The original means of self-organization of the village was the community called the «hromada». It appeared to be the main legal, cultural, religious, household, economic means of existence of

the peasant community. Illustrative becomes the separation of the priest from the community as a stranger, and sometimes a hostile element of the society. The agrarian reform of 1906 had a significant impact on the development of the self-organization of the peasants, instigating the peasants to make independent, well-considered decisions. «During the implementation of the new agricultural course the increase the authority of the institutions of peasant self-government was an important segment of the innovation activity of the authorities in the management of the village. The course for the free regulation of the small communities inhabitants status was outlined for each community that used the arable land separately (including traditional land-based communities), the right to become an independent subject-object of a peasant self-government – a separate rural community (Verkhovtseva, 2018, p. 20). Therefore, the more a peasant becomes independent in the economic and political life, the more a peasant alienates from the priest's custody and the church in general.

The Ukrainian peasantry in the XIXth – beg. XXth century in the absolute majority was ill-educated and therefore little interested in the professional training of the rural priests. The question of the content of sermons, canonical liturgies interested them in the last turn. The church in a peasant's everyday life served as a mandatory institution of «atoning by prayer sins». Traditionally, it was visited for the sake of the unconscientiousness of their reputation. On average, there were about 50 churches in the povit in the Russian territory. For instance, there were more than 60 of them in Zolotonoskyi povit (Holysh, Lysytsia, 2018, p. 30). But the laity were worried about the social behavior of the priests. The peasants were outraged that the clergy, urging them to live according to the Law of God, were the first who broke those rules, while flattering and making advances to the landlords for their own enrichment. The moral and ethical state of the rural priests behaviour deserved the particular peasants' attention. Drinking alcohol, playing cards, participating in fights, non-compliance with Lents, and even sodomy did not contribute to the priests authority strengthening and the church as a whole. Such kind of the clergyman behavior was typical of all denominations of the priests. For instance, a social portrait of Bishop Julian from Przemysl was vividly depicted in the Miron Podolinsky priest's memoirs about the events of 1891 in the Przemysl Convent of the Greek Catholic Church. «For several days, he does not let anyone come in, says he has the flu (cold), and his servants say he is drunk. On December 2, they were sent three times for lunch at the restaurant. And they say in the city that he makes sodomy with men ... what a disgrace. Unfortunate we are with such a bishop» (Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine, Lviv – CSHAUL, f. 408, d. 1, c. 941, p. 4). Myron Podolinsky, the Priest understands the danger of such a bishop's behavior, especially under conditions of progressive Latinization and the spread of the Russian Orthodoxy. He complains: «We are blamed for the fact that we do not care about people's goodness. Many Russians (ie, in Ukrainian – Authors) from the Russian borderlands went abroad and changed the Catholic faith to the Orthodox (30,000), saying «God is One!» (CSHAUL, f. 408, d. 1, c. 941, p. 10).

But in contrast to the Russian territories of Ukraine, in the western lands under the Austrian government control, the situation with the relationship between the church and the peasantry was somewhat different. The Ukrainian nation in the middle of the XIXth century. was based on two platforms of its identity – the Ukrainian language and the Eastern rite. The government tried to support officially these categories in order to distinguish the Poles from the Ukrainians. Especially under the threat of Romanization of the Greek Catholic Church. The Ukrainian church was institutionalized, had its own archdiocese and Metropolitan. But the language issue was also quite painful: its official use was limited to primary schools

and seminaries. The peasantry had all the opportunities to receive education in their native language (Zaiarniuk, 2007, pp. 80–81). The Austrian government aimed at creating all the conditions for the introduction of the peoples' ideas of the citizenship to the Austrian crown, but at a lower level, the relations between the church and the peasantry remained rather confidential, due to the fact that the main link in this interaction were local deacons from the most educated peasants. The middle and lower sections of the priests stood firm in protecting the national religious identity. The Ukrainian Greek Catholic elite was the main factor in the national liberation movement in the XIXth – early XXth century.

Comparing the status positions of the Greek Catholic and Orthodox churches in the territory of Ukraine, we will define a more unifying and pro-nationalist role of the Greek Catholics in the western lands and chauvinistic, regressive Moscow Orthodoxy. On the Left Bank as well as on the Right Bank in the first half of the XIXth century, there was a noticeable withdrawal from the official Orthodox Church. According to Ivan Ortinsky, if, on the one hand, the Ukrainian people lost their feelings for the Ukrainian identity («I») because of the Moscow church and the eternal grandfather's separation, on the other hand, he moved away from the church and religion. The peasants began to seek for the solutions to their religious needs in the sects. It is rather illustrative that by the middle of the XVIIIth century there were practically no sects in Ukraine (Khytrovska, 2013, p. 26). The sectarianism in the XIXth – beg. XXth century gained a quite threatening scale as a manifestation of disobedience to the state-religious policy of the empire. Partially the occurrence of sects was associated with the schism of the Old Believers. But the main reason may be considered a merger of the state and the church functionality. The rejection of the people from the church was manifested in two forms: the withdrawal of the official church in the asceticism or the emergence of non-church movements. Most religious sects in Ukraine arose in the middle of the XIXth century. The religious skepticism manifested itself in the emergence and spread of movements of whips, skopts, Molokans, dukobortsiv and other iconoclastic currents.

For instance, according to a researcher V. P. Pototsky (Pototskyi, 2004, p. 8), a slobozhansk-religious dissident in the middle of the XIXth century can be considered a fairly widespread phenomenon. The important factors of this phenomenon were as purely religious, as well as political, socio-economic issues. The reforms of 1861 provided the peasants with hope for the social liberties. This is what prompted them to reform their religious consciousness. The leaders of the religious anti-church movements became the group of the Old Believers, khlystov and skopts.

**Conclusions.** Consequently, the chauvinistic policy of the state, the Russification of the Orthodox Church, the merging of the state and the church social guidelines led to the mass alienation of peasants from the official religion, the growth of antagonistic feelings and movements of the Ukrainian peasantry. But this did not determine the peasant's irreligiosity or the withdrawal from the traditional positions of a religious world perception. On the contrary, the vast majority of the Ukrainian peasantry tried to preserve the original national religious values and confront the new «artificial» church.

The perspective direction for the scientist is the source-study aspect of studying the influence of religion and church on the social life of the Ukrainian peasantry in the XIXth – early XXth century.

**Acknowledgments.** The author expresses gratitude to the staff of the Central State Historical Archives (Lviv city) for the materials provided by the funds used in the study.

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



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The article was received on January 15, 2019.

Article was recommended for publishing 24.03.2019.

UDC 94(470+571)«1880/1890»  
DOI: 10.24919/2519-058x.10.159179

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**Бібліографічний опис статті:** Svyaschenko, Z., Kornovenko, S. (2019). State protectionism in the agricultural politics of the Russian Empire of 1880-s – 1890-s. *Shkhidnoievropeiskiy Istorychnyi Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 10, 34–42. doi: 10.24919/2519-058x.10.159179

**STATE PROTECTIONISM IN THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE'S  
AGRICULTURAL POLICY OF THE 1880s – 1890s**

**Summary.** *The purpose of the article is to reveal the policy essence of state protectionism in the Russian Empire's agricultural policy of the 1880s – 1890s, to ascertain its conformity with the peasant mood and the requirements of time. The research methodology is based on such principles of historical knowledge as scientificity, historicism, objectivity, system analysis, etc., as well as on the application of general scientific, special historical and special source study methods. The research novelty is based on the fact that for the first time in Ukrainian historiography, on the basis of the analysis of archival documents and legislative acts, the policy essence of state protectionism in the Russian Empire's agricultural policy of the 1880s – 1890s, the degree of its responsibility to peasant attitudes and the time requirements are revealed.*

*In our opinion, the Great Reform of 1861 did not solve the agrarian question once and for all. The notion that the state task is to ensure the existence of peasants; the care of them clearly took shape in*

the reign of Alexander III. The essence of agricultural policy of the government was state protectionist concerning peasants. This led to the exclusion of the principle reflected in the peasant legislation of 1861 from the intellectual field of the Russian establishment. That is, the idea of giving peasants the civil liberties and transforming their land into a real private property gave way to the views, according to which the duty of the autocrat was the care of peasants. The land received by the peasants after the abolition of serfdom was considered by the government as a special fund. Its function was to ensure the existence of peasants as farmers. **Conclusions.** The strategic direction in agricultural policy of the tsarist government of the 1880s – 1890s was the idea of state protectionism concerning peasants. If, at the end of the 1870s and early 1880s, under the conditions of increasing peasant unrest, the government, to alleviate the acuity of land shortage, was forced to apply to the policy of resettlement of landless peasants on state land and provide them with loans for land purchase, then during the years of the temporary «calm» measures of a different nature were on the foreground. They are the restriction of sales and secrecy of land, the protection of public land tenure, the cessation of any attempt to mass resettlement of peasants, the restriction of crushing peasant farms. The measures that did not expand the trust fund, but fixed the existing holdings for their owners were taken. Conservative landlords saw a solution to the peasant issue in preserving patriarchal «foundations» in the village, in strengthening the power of nobles over peasants.

**Key words:** peasantry, agrarian question, the Russian Empire, state protectionism, agricultural policy.

### ДЕРЖАВНИЙ ПРОТЕКЦІОНІЗМ В АГРАРНІЙ ПОЛІТИЦІ РОСІЙСЬКОЇ ІМПЕРІЇ 1880 – 1890-х рр.

**Анотація.** *Мета статті* – розкрити сутність політики державного протекціонізму в аграрній політиці Російської імперії 1880 – 1890-х рр., з'ясувати її відповідність селянським настроям та вимогам часу. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на таких принципах історичного пізнання, як науковість, історизм, об'єктивність, системний аналіз тощо, а також на застосуванні загальнонаукових, спеціально-історичних та спеціальних джерелознавчих методів. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше в українській історіографії на основі аналізу архівних документів і законодавчих актів розкрито суть політики державного протекціонізму в аграрній політиці Російської імперії 1880 – 1890-х рр., ступінь її відповідності селянським настроям і вимогам часу.

На нашу думку, Велика реформа 1861 р. не розв'язала аграрне питання раз і назавжди. Уявлення про те, що завданням держави є забезпечення існування селян, опіка над ними чітко оформилися за царювання Олександра III. Сутністю аграрної політики уряду став протекціонізм держави стосовно селян. Це зумовило витіснення з інтелектуального поля тогочасного російського істеблішменту принципу, відображеного у селянському законодавстві 1861 р. Тобто, ідея надання селянам громадянських свобод і трансформація отриманої ними землі у справжню приватну власність поступилася поглядам, відповідно до яких обов'язок самодержця – опіка над селянами. Земля, отримана селянами після ліквідації кріпацтва, урядовими колами розглядалася як спеціальний фонд. Його функція зводилася до того, щоб забезпечити існування селян як землеробів. **Висновки.** Стратегічним напрямом аграрної політики царського уряду 1880 – 1890-х рр. стала ідея державного протекціонізму щодо селян. Якщо в кінці 1870 – початку 1880-х рр. в умовах посилення селянських заворушень уряд змушений був для пом'якшення гостроти земельного голоду звертатися до політики переселення малоземельних селян на казенні землі й надавати їм кредит для купівлі землі, то в роки тимчасового «затишшя» на перший план поставали заходи іншого характеру – обмеження продажу і застави надільної землі, охорона громадського землеволодіння, припинення будь-якої спроби масового переселення селян, обмеження дроблення селянських господарств, тобто, заходи, що не розширювали надільний фонд, а закріплювали наявні наділи за їх власниками. Консервативно налаштовані поміщики бачили розв'язання селянського питання у збереженні патріархальних «підвалин» на селі, в посиленні влади дворян над селянами.

**Ключові слова:** селянство, аграрне питання, Російська імперія, державний протекціонізм, аграрна політика.

**Statement of the problem.** The abolition of serfdom in the Russian Empire in 1861 became an important milestone in the socio economic and socio political life of the country, in the fate of millions of peasants, who amounted to 8/10 of the population in the second half of the XIX and early XX centuries. There is no controversy in the fact that in 1861 the idea of becoming a distinctive watershed, «Rubicon» in the history of the Romanov Empire and its population was established in domestic and foreign historiography. At the same time, it would be wrong to suppose that the Great Reform of 1861 once and for all solved the agrarian question. According to our conviction, the correctness of which is confirmed by the development of political events of 1902 – 1907 and 1917 – 1921, the reform of 1861 only aggravated the agrarian question. It was transformed from purely economic into political, and in some cases, psychological. It became the alpha and omega of the internal politics of the post-reform autocracy, the cornerstone of the socio economic measures of the military and political regimes that competed for power in a revolutionary age.

**Analysis of recent research.** The issue outlined by us was indirectly raised in the works of domestic and foreign researchers devoted to the agricultural policy of the Russian Empire in the second half of the XIX century: Ye. Brusnikin (Brusnikin, 1964; Brusnikin, 1970), V. Leontovich (Leontovich, 1995), S. Sidelnikov (Sidelnikov, 1980), M. Simonova (Simonova, 1987), V. Tyan (Tyan, 2002), I. Verkhovtseva (Verkhovtseva, 2018), I. Kasian (Kasian, 2018) and others. At the same time, the essence of state protectionism in the agricultural policy of the Russian Empire of the 1880s – 1890s, its compliance with peasant attitudes and the requirements of time requires special study.

**The purpose of the article.** The authors of the article aim to reveal the policy essence of state protectionism<sup>1</sup> in the Russian Empire's agricultural policy of the 1880s and 1890s, its conformity to peasant attitudes and the time requirements.

**Statement of the basic material.** The fact that the agrarian question required further reflection, new approaches to its solution became already clear in the 1880s. As V. Leontovich rightly observes, the idea that the state task is to ensure the existence of peasants, the care of them clearly took shape in the reign of Alexander III (Leontovich, 1995, p. 218). In our opinion, taking into account the peculiarities of the imperial social and political life of that time, the emperor himself had a leading role in shaping this understanding of the essence of the agrarian question. At the same time, this does not indicate that the policy of state protectionism was objectively justified, was in line with the peasant attitudes and leading European ideas of socio economic development of that time. Instead of continuing the course of subjectivization of the peasantry in the socio cultural space of the Russian Empire of the second half of the XIX century, the «preservation» of the peasantry and its maintenance in the «Procrustean bed» of the post-affluent reality were chosen.

Such an approach, the essence of which was state protectionism concerning peasants, led to the displacement of the Russian establishment principle reflected in the peasant legislation of 1861 from the intellectual field. That is, the idea of providing peasants with civil liberties and the transformation of their land into a real private property gave way to the views according to which «the king is a father, peasants are children», and therefore the duty of the autocrat was to take care of his children. However, nobody thought what to do when «children» became adults, how to regulate «caretaking», how to respond to those challenges that would take place in the adult life of «children». Probably the classic of the European

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<sup>1</sup> In the classic definition, the word protectionism is derived from the Latin word *protectio*, which means patronage, protection.

worldview – ancient Greek myths – did not help to wonder why Zeus took precedence over Chronos, despite such vigilant care of the latter over his children. Patriarchal Russian imperial conservatism of the second half of the XIX century was stronger than the educated Russian imperial liberalism of the first half of the XIX century.

The idea of state protectionism concerning peasants became a strategic direction in the agricultural policy of the tsarist government of the 1880s – 1890s. In particular, land received by peasants after the abolition of serfdom was considered by government as a special fund. Its function was to ensure the existence of peasants as farmers. This approach to the agenda raised another issue – the legal guarantee of the special fund existence, as well as an even distribution of it among the peasants. In this way, the special nature of the peasant property relations deepened, which resulted in the strengthening of the peasantry separation from other social strata of the Russian Empire.

The above-mentioned tendency has been reflected at the legislative level. First of all, its consolidation was governed by the laws of 1886, 1889, 1893. Thus, the law of 18 March 1886 *On the Procedure for the Resolution of Family Reparations ...* (Polnoe Sobranie Zakonov Rossiyskoy Imperii, 1886–1888, pp. 116–117, No. 5578) placed barriers for the division of the home property among the members of the courtyard. The fact is that after the abolition of serfdom, the disintegration of the peasant family was intensified, due to both socio economic and subjective factors. Family divisions in the early 1880s became a mass phenomenon. During this period, their number reached 150 thousand per year. As a condition of family division, the law of 1886 established the permission of parents or an elder family member, as well as the decision of the village meeting adopted by two-thirds of the vote. The purpose of this law was the enslavement of the «working-class family» and the subordination of all members to the «rule of the senior member». In practice, this led to the reverse effect. Divisions began to take place illegally. For example, in Buzulutskiy district they accounted for 98% of the total number of divisions (Tyan, 2002, p. 136).

Facts show that peasant family divisions continued to occur massively also after the publication of the law of 1886. In four governorates (provinces): Arkhangelsk, Vitebsk, Penza and Yaroslavl, – the total number of family divisions not only did not decrease, but increased from 2,235 in 1886 to 2,965 in 1894 (Brusnikin, 1970, p. 38). Among the governorate meetings established in 1894 to prepare a revision of the peasant legislation, only seven of them reported that in recent years, the number of family divisions had «slightly diminished» (Svod zaklyucheny gubernskikh soveshchaniy, 1897, p. 198, 202, 211, 212, 227, 259, 260). 22 meetings came to a conclusion that the law of 18 March did not significantly affect the life of the village («it did not get accustomed in practice», «it appeared as a dead letter», and «it did not have noticeable influence») (Svod zaklyucheny gubernskikh soveshchaniy, 1897, p. 198–261). This is evidenced by the Committees on the Needs of the Agricultural Industry (Strakhovskiy, 1904, p. 120).

N. Brzheskiy, a well-known Russian economist, reported that the law operated in different ways in governorates. For example, in Kazan Governorate, the number of family divisions constantly increased, in the Simbirsk Governorate during 1893 – 1894, according to the law, 1,172 divisions were carried out, and unauthorized ones – 1,778 (Brzheskiy, 1902, p. 143). In the area of chernozem steppe governorates, as the author noted, the law of 18 March 1886 did not have a noticeable effect on the number reduction of family divisions (Brzheskiy, 1902, p. 143).

The press also noted the ineffectiveness of measures taken by the government. «Citizen» wrote that the law «...passed completely without a trace for a county life. They are dividing

in the same way as before the promulgation of the law» (Grazhdanin, 1889). Governorate meetings pointed to the inactivity of village meetings, which were supposed to become a restraining factor in family divisions. The discussion of these issues by village communities turned into a purely formal act: they only authorized the divisions that actually took place. One of the zemstvo (an institution of local government) chiefs who knew the «mechanics» of this whole affair, reported, «When a father with his son or two brothers come to the starshyna or the zemstvo chief for division permission, you should know that they have already been divided, that is, they prayed to God and eat bread individually. Neither excuses, nor administrative penalties will no longer connect them into one family» (O nekotorykh merakh, 1894, p. 48).

This situation in the countryside forced Alexander III to agree reviewing the legislation regarding peasants. Under the law of 12 June 1886 (Polnoe Sobranie Zakonov Rossiyskoy Imperii, 1886–1888, pp. 303–304, No. 3807), the landlords were entitled to demand the return of workers who left them, to carry out deductions from their wages without a court. It concerned not only the shortcomings in the work or the material damage, but also actions of a personal nature: for «brutality», «disobedience», etc. In case of disobedience or «voluntary» leaving, the worker could be arrested, although the arrest was not usually used in civil cases. A striking example of the conservative nature of autocracy policy was the resettlement law of 13 July 1889 (Polnoe Sobranie Zakonov Rossiyskoy Imperii, 1889–1891, pp. 535–538, No. 6198). The question of the right and terms of resettlement should, in each case, be considered by the ministers of internal affairs and state property. «Voluntary» settlers were to be detained and returned to their old place of residence (Brusnikin, 1970, p. 37).

In this cycle of autocratic legislation concerning peasants, the law of 1889 on the introduction of zemstvo chiefs (Polnoe Sobranie Zakonov Rossiyskoy Imperii, 1889–1891, No. 6196) was distinguished. Its content was aimed at weakening the basic importance of the reform of the 1860s – the abolition of serfdom – and returning to the time when peasant relations were fully regulated by the votchyna (land estate that could be inherited) police authorities of the landlords. Having restored feudal ordinances, the new law completely subordinated to the zemstvo chief of peasant self-government. In accordance with the *Regulations of 1889*, only a hereditary nobleman could be the zemstvo chief; the post of the zemstvo chief combined administrative and judicial power. The zemstvo chief could bring any question to the meeting for consideration and suspend any decision of this meeting, passing it to the «powiat (county) congress», most part of which included the same zemstvo chiefs. All officials of the village and the volost (a traditional administrative subdivision) were subordinated to the zemstvo chief. He asserted them on their posts, they could be fined by him, and he could arrest and dismiss them from performing official duties. The posts of the peace judges in the county were canceled, the cases were considered by the peasant district court. A volost judge was appointed by the zemstvo chief from the candidates proposed to him by the village meetings; In addition, the zemstvo chief could suspend any verdict of the volost court.

The right of the zemstvo chief to impose a fine on peasants of up to 6 rubles, and arrest them for up to 3 days (officials of peasant self-government – up to 5 rubles and 7 days) was economically, legally, and morally unacceptable for peasants. Under this law, the zemstvo chiefs under the threat of fines committed any self-government: forced the peasants to lie about themselves, arrested the meeting participants who did not vote for favorable proposals, and so on. The personality of peasants was entirely given into the disposal of the zemstvo chief (Tyan, 2002, p. 138).

In the early 1890s, worried about the disadvantages of providing food for the population, which negatively affected bread trade, the government made a number of decisions to remedy the situation. Among the agrarian laws of this period, we should pay attention to the law of 8 June 1893 *Rules on Land Reparations in the Community* (Complete Set of Works, 1897, No. 9754) and the law of 14 December 1893 *On Certain Measures to Prevent Alienation of Peasant Allotment* (O nekotorykh merakh, 1898), which complicated the procedure of redistribution of public land, made it impossible to sell.

In the book *Non-Harvest and People's Distress* written by the director of the Department of Fiscal Assembly A. Yermolov, in the opinion of Ye. Brusnikin (Brusnikin, 1964, p. 345–374) and M. Symonova (Simonova, 1987, p. 16), the main reason for the difficult socio economic situation of the peasants was called the systematic redistribution of public land (Yermolov, 1892, p. 103). A number of high-ranking state officials considered the same. As an example could be the state secretary A. Polovtsov who wrote in his diary, «If everyone was sure that he was the full owner of the possessed land he would otherwise have worked on it and get other results» (Dnevnik gosudarstvennogo sekretarya, 1966, p. 402). A. Polovtsov noted that the chairman of the Committee of Ministers N. Bunge, who until an appointment to the civil service, was working for a while as a Professor of Political Economy at the University of Kyiv, held the same position (Dnevnik gosudarstvennogo sekretarya, 1966, p. 385). Representatives of the local administration also often called the spontaneous redistribution of the public land as the causes of peasant poverty (Russian State Historical Archive – RSHA, f. 1284, d. 70, c. 362, p. 14).

The Ministry of Internal Affairs in 1892 prepared rules that allowed land redistribution in communities. According to them, the redistribution of land in the communities could only be carried out subject to the decision of the 2/3 of the village meeting. The peasants had to know the time for land redistribution in advance, but not more than once every 12 years. The decision of the village meeting was approved only after it was considered by the powiat congress of the zemstvo chiefs. S. Witte, who held the post of Minister of Finance at that time, introduced a proposal to the bill, according to which the landlord who added fertilizers to the land had the right to retain his share or receive compensation for the loss of future profits.

Initially, the bill was approved by the State Council, and the project became the law after being signed on 8 June 1893 by the king (Polnoe Sobranie Zakonov Rossiyskoy Imperii, 1893 – 1897, No. 9754). In real life, this document only complicated the relations between members of the community; therefore no significant improvements for peasants occurred. The authorities were interested in community preserving. At the same time, according to the law, community involvement in the economic activity of individual peasants was limited, which led to the establishment of household land tenure.

In the same context, we should draw our attention to the law of 14 December 1893, known as *On Some Measures to Prevent the Alienation of Peasant Lands* (O nekotorykh merakh, 1898, p. 240). During its preparation, in the accompanying note of the elaborated draft of the bill, Minister of Internal Affairs I. Durnovo stressed the importance of a new law for preventing the peasants land dispossession (RSHA, f. 1405, d. 11, c. 77, p. 42). In our opinion, it is difficult to agree with such judgments. In accordance with the law, it was impossible to secure a pledge of land in banks, and the sale of land allotments was allowed only by fellow villagers. The content of Article 94 is clearly evidenced by these innovations, «Plots of allotments bought by individual peasants or those which are in hereditary use, may be alienated ... only to persons assigned to village communities». In this way, the home and family areas were equated with their legal status to those purchased by the peasants in their property.

By 1893, at the request of a landlord who had made a ransom beforehand, the community was obliged to allocate the relevant plot or to pay the money. Such a peasant remained a member of the community, but could also leave it by selling the plot. The law of 14 December 1893 greatly limited the right of the community to dispose of land. It was possible to redeem the land allotments only if there was consent to this of the 2/3 of the village meeting, and its decision was necessarily to be approved by the powiat congress of the zemstvo chiefs (O nekotorykh merakh, 1898, p. 241). According to this document, the peasants were deprived of the land allotments ownership «promised to them»; they could not freely dispose of the plots. The peasants were taken out of the sphere of civil law, according to which nobody could take part in the general possession of common property against the will (Svod zakonov grazhdanskikh, 1912, p. 550). However, from the standpoint of civil law, the legal status of allotments was very uncertain. In connection with the redemption debt (until 1907), the land was in a pledge from the state, the subject of rights to land was a village community; the lands of peasants, intermingled in the household and community village, had no fixed and documented borders (Khristoforov, 2011, p. 37).

I. Verkhovtseva believes that by these laws, the government essentially institutionalized the land ownership of village communities as a collective one and provided organizational and legal support to these communities, in the first instance to ensure the implementation of fiscal tasks and redemption payments in the village by its residents. The strengthening of self-organization in the village on the basis of self-government and subjectivization of village communities became the consequences of that (Verkhovtseva, 2018, p. 18).

Thus, in this way, the state tried to keep the multimillion masses of the rural population free of power even in terms of their property; tsarism and the nobility, implementing the state protectionism policy against the peasants, did their utmost to curb the development of commodity-money relations in the village.

However, the peasants found a variety of ways to bypass their imposed laws that did not meet the economic needs of the time. For example, there are known cases of concluding so-called «assignment» agreements. According to them, the «assignment» of land for monetary remuneration was carried out according to household records, compiled on ordinary or stamp paper in the presence of witnesses; sometimes the stamp of village elderly was affixed, sometimes the agreement was certified contrary to the law of the village government (Selikhov, 2002, p. 93). Such agreements were concluded by settlers in Siberia very often, although in many cases the land liberated by the settlers was bought by wealthy peasants. At the same time, landless people did not have anything to evict from their fellow villagers (RSHA, f. 1273, d. 1, c. 437, p.11).

Current official statistics indicate that the number of land sold after the adoption of the law of 14 December 1893 and a number of measures by the government to restrict the sale of landed estates increased. Thus, if during 1883 – 1892 in Ukraine land market received 82,930 dessiatyns of land, then in the next decade (1893 – 1902) by 45.8% more – 120,961 dessiatyns. Most of the land was sold in the Right-Bank Ukraine, where land trade increased by 77.6% over the relevant period. Accordingly, in Southern Ukraine – by 71.6%, on the Left Bank – by 39.5% (Materialy po statistike dvizheniya zemlevladieniya v Rossii, 1902, table 1, 2, 4). Consequently, despite the anti-market laws adopted by the conservatives, land trade was increasing.

**Conclusions.** Thus, the idea of state protectionism concerning peasants was the strategic direction in the agricultural policy of the tsarist government of the 1880s – 1890s. If, at the end



of the 1870s and early 1880s, under the conditions of increasing peasant unrest, the government, to alleviate the acuity of land shortage, was forced to apply to the policy of resettlement of landless peasants on state land and provide them with loans for land purchase, then during the years of the temporary «calm» measures of a different nature were on the foreground. They are the restriction of sales and secrecy of land, the protection of public land tenure, the cessation of any attempt to mass resettlement of peasants, the restriction of crushing peasant farms. The measures that did not expand the trust fund, but fixed the existing holdings for their owners were taken. Conservative landlords saw a solution to the peasant issue in preserving patriarchal «foundations» in the village, in strengthening the power of nobles over peasants. In fact, the policy of state protectionism contradicted the general economic, modernization processes that took place in the country, led to the transformation of the agrarian question from a purely socio economic to a socio political problem. In future it became the cause of the peasant revolution of 1902 and eventually led to the fall of the Romanov Empire.

The peasant-related subject is quite promising, as it is noted by Ukrainian researchers (Prsyazhniuk, 2018). The problem proposed in the article, considering that the regulation of agrarian legislation is relevant to modern Ukraine, needs further development at macro and micro levels through the use of new documentary sources and narratives.

**Acknowledgments.** Sincere thanks to the rector of the Uman State Pedagogical University Paul Tychiny Alexander Bezludniy.

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

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*The article was received on January 11, 2019.  
Article was recommended for publishing 02.03.2019*

UDC 94 (477.83) (092):930.25  
DOI: 10.24919/2519-058x.10.159171

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**Бібліографічний опис статті:** Vladyga, O. (2019). Archeographical component of volumes IX–X of the «History of Ukraine-Rus» by Mykhailo Hrushevsky. *Skhidnoievropeiskyi istorychnyi visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 10, 43–48. doi: 10.24919/2519-058x.10.159171

**ARCHEOGRAPHICAL COMPONENT OF VOLUMES IX–X  
OF THE «HISTORY OF UKRAINE-RUS» BY MYKHAILO HRUSHEVSKY**

**Summary.** *The purpose of the research is to reconstruct M. Hrushevsky's archaeographic plan during the preparation and writing of the ninth and tenth volume of «History of Ukraine-Rus». The specificity of the chosen theoretical and methodological model of the study is to involve a complex of diverse tools (principles, methods, and methodical techniques) for the reconstruction of the archaeological activity of an outstanding scientist in the last Soviet period of his activity. The heuristic possibilities of comparative, hermeneutic, heuristic, statistical, as well as inductive and deductive methods are used in the research process. The scientific novelty lies in the fact that for the first time in Ukrainian historiography the archeographic component of the last volumes of «History of Ukraine-Rus» was discovered. Conclusions.* Summarizing the archaeographic component of the recent volumes of «History of Ukraine-Rus» by M. Hrushevsky, it was noted that since then the amount of primary source material, introduced for the first time by the researcher to scientific use, increased significantly, which motivated him to publicize the found texts as a whole or in some most important fragments. Such an approach, fulfilling illustrative-proving tasks, also correlated with the methodological preferences of the scientist, in particular, the absolutizing of the role of a historical source as a kind of a mirror of the past. As a result, Ukrainian historiography received the fundamental history of Khmelnytsky, which had the character of the anthology. On this occasion, there are different opinions in the literature – from the persistent criticism of the architectonics of the latest volumes of «History of Ukraine-Rus» to a more balanced analysis. In our opinion, there are considerable reasons to agree with the thesis that due to this source-focus accent of late works of M. Hrushevsky, a layer of the unique source material is available to us, given the fact that a lot of it suffered irreversible losses during the turbulent historical events of the last century.

**Key words:** M. Hrushevsky, «The History of Ukraine-Rus», archaeography, Ukrainian historiography, Cossacks.

**АРХЕОГРАФІЧНА СКЛАДОВА IX – X ТОМІВ  
«ІСТОРІЇ УКРАЇНИ-РУСИ» МИХАЙЛА ГРУШЕВСЬКОГО**

***Анотація.** Мета дослідження полягає у відтворенні археографічного задуму М. Грушевського при підготовці та написанні ним дев'ятого та десятого томів «Історії України-Руси». Специфіка обраної теоретико-методологічної моделі дослідження полягає у залученні комплексу різнопланового інструментарію (принципів, методів та методичних прийомів) для реконструкції археографічної діяльності видатного вченого в останній радянський період його діяльності. У процесі дослідження використані евристичні можливості компаративістського, герменевтичного, евристичного, статистичного, а також індуктивного та дедуктивного методів. **Наукова новизна** полягає в тому, що вперше в українській історіографії з'ясовано археографічну складову останніх томів «Історії України-Руси». **Висновки.** Підсумовуючи археографічну складову останніх томів «Історії України-Руси» М. Грушевського, відзначено, що, оскільки від тому до тому кількість періоджерельного матеріалу, уперше введеного дослідником до наукового вжитку, помітно зростала, це підштовхувало його оприлюднювати віднайдені тексти цілком чи у найбільш важливих фрагментах. Такий підхід, виконуючи ілюстративно-доказові завдання, корелювався також з методологічними уподобаннями вченого, зокрема, абсолютизацією ним ролі історичного джерела як своєрідного дзеркала минулих часів. У підсумку, українська історіографія отримала фундаментальну історію Хмельниччини, що мала характер антології. З цього приводу в літературі існують різні думки – від завзятої критики архітектоніки останніх томів «Історії України-Руси» до більш виваженого аналізу. На нашу думку, є всі підстави погодитися з тезою про те, що завдяки саме такому джерелознавчому акценту пізніх праць М. Грушевського до нас дійшов пласт унікального джерельного матеріалу, котрий зазнав незворотних втрат протягом бурхливих історичних подій минулого століття.*

***Ключові слова:** М. Грушевський, «Історія України-Руси», археографія, українська історіографія, козаччина.*

**The statement of the problem.** A popular belief is that M. Hrushevsky was the initiator of the modern stage of Ukrainian archaeography, whose representatives were oriented towards the purposeful search and publication of documents covering the national past. Most of the sources collected by the scientist and his students should have served as original building blocks for a large-scale national grand narrative, presented in ten volumes of «History of Ukraine-Rus». At the same time, the archaeological component of this work rarely attracts attention of the researchers. Let us demonstrate the importance of such research optics on the example of the ninth and tenth volumes of M. Hrushevsky's multi-volume.

**The analysis of researches.** The archaeographic component of the multifaceted work of M. Hrushevsky and his pupils in his monograph on the scientific school of the scientist was analyzed by V. Telvak and V. Pedych (Telvak, Pedych, 2016, pp. 54–83). The reception of archaeological activity of the prominent historian was reconstructed by Vitalii and Victoria Telvak (Telvak, 2008, p. 48, 52–53, 323–327; Telvak & Telvak, 2018). The historiographic analysis of the recent volumes of M. Hrushevsky's History of Ukraine-Rus was carried out in the writings of O. Vladyga (Vladyga, 2018), O. Pritsak (Pritsak, 1992) and Ya. Fedoruk (Fedoruk, 2013). At the same time, the names of the pear-belligerents only afflicted the problem of archaeological content of labor.

**The article's purpose** – to recreate the archaeologic conception of M. Hrushevsky during the preparation and writing of his latest volumes of «History of Ukraine-Rus».

**The statement of the basic material.** The source base for the last volumes of «History of Ukraine-Rus» was formed mainly by students and staff of M. Hrushevsky, concentrated in the Archeographical Commission of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. The prominent scientist himself did not conceal that the archaeological expeditions organized by him to

Moscow and Leningrad, among other things, had to help him «to restore materials destroyed by war, cowards and finally the fire that burnt down my house» (Hrushevsky, 1996, p. 5).

M. Hrushevsky also devoted a lot of attention to the problem of copying work in the Galician and Polish archives. He raised this question in letters to Western Ukrainian colleagues already during the first months of his stay in Kyiv. Thus, in one of the letters to K. Studinsky, we may read: «Among the other plans of great history [«History of Ukraine-Rus»], I would need to restore my notes from some of the manuscripts of the Ossolinium from the Czartorysky library and new ones. Do you have at hand some men who are very clever or at least keen on the history of the XVIIIth century? Who would have done the notes and copies of the manuscript in Lviv and Krakow [libraries]?» (Lysty, 1998, p. 161). The importance and urgency of setting up copying work in the Polish archives for M. Hrushevsky are evidenced by the fact that he addressed the chairman of SSS with similar requests several times. Later, the problem of copying the necessary materials in the Galician and Polish archives was resolved by the scientist through the help of his Lviv students who became the members of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine.

The collected material of the archaeological expedition and the Galician students M. Hrushevsky's source material was so significant in the quantitative and informative terms that, as pointed out in the preface to the ninth volume of the author, «he filled some of the current gaps and gave new interpretation of the events» (Hrushevsky, 1996, p. 5). Due to this, as M. Hrushevsky convinces, the actual content of Khmelnytskyi era enriched significantly, making the established in a historiographical literature image of that era considerably complicated. According to his objectivistic beliefs, the researcher pointed out that he was trying to convey to the reader the authentic content of the available documentary material in order to «not schematize, not to simplify it artificially, so as not to adjust to his subjective beliefs» (Hrushevsky, 1996, p. 6).

The embodiment of these theses has become peculiar architectonics of the last volumes of «History of Ukraine-Rus», where, in comparison with the previous volumes, a lot of space was allocated to the publication of sources. However, if this trend was already noticeable in the seventh and eighth volumes of the multi-volume, then starting from the ninth part of the work, M. Hrushevsky not only directly in the text, but also in the annexes published full-text versions of sources. As a result, the volume of the source material, printed in the book, significantly exceeded the author's statement. Published materials were obtained from many collections in Eastern Europe: the Ossolinsky and Czartorysky libraries, the Moscow and Leningrad archives, the archives of the Krakow Academy of Sciences and numerous Ukrainian repositories. They, in the opinion of the author, should have enabled his contemporaries to hear the voice of that violent revolutionary epoch.

Along with the sources published directly in the ninth volume of the text, a block of materials that was more important in the author's opinion was given in the appendices to the book. There M. Hrushevsky printed documents from the «Embassy Affairs» of the Moscow Embassy Office, which were stored in the former archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs – a part of the newly formed Moscow «Drevlehranilishche» (archive). These materials, as evidenced by the author's explanation, were copied by V. Yurkevich, V. Evfimovsky and O. Kravtsov (Hrushevsky, 1997, p. 1508–1550). In general, in the appendices, M. Hrushevsky gave twenty-six units of documents.

It should be noted that such uniqueness of the architectonics of the ninth volume was immediately met by the criticism, which responded with many substantive reviews of

M. Hrushevsky's continuation of his main work (Telvak, 2008, p. 305–355). Thus, Lviv edition «Novi riadky» reacted with the review to the new book of the scientist. The author of the critical article, signing it with the cryptonym MZ, transposed the leading ideas of the academician in his analysis of the period under study. The book itself, the columnist writes, is actually a carefully collected and systematized source material (M. Z., 1929, p. 412). Such a research approach, which is analyzed in the review, has both advantages and disadvantages. The first is to critically examine the vast amount of source material. The necessity of such systematization, according to the reviewer, was in radical revision of the romantic conceptions of Khmelnytsky, M. Kostomarov, and P. Kulish. The main disadvantage of the study appears as a continuation of its advantages, being the complication of the perception of the text by an unprepared reader, who will find more analytical information than synthetic conclusions.

Simon Narizhnyi gave the most comprehensive review on the ninth volume on the pages of the «Literary and Scientific Herald», noting that two of its parts «among publications of the post-war period [...] are the most outstanding phenomenon in the field of Ukrainian historiography, with impressive effort invested in them» (Narizhnyi, 1931, p. 1030). Like the previous reviewer, S. Narizhni also noted the originality of the architectonics of M. Hrushevsky's new book. The observer pointed out that the unsatisfactory state of Khmelnytskyi era research, the lack of monographic studies on certain important problems urged Kyiv academician to take on the difficult task of collecting a large quantity of heterogeneous source material and its simultaneous systematization and interpretation. This negatively affected the structure of the study, making it abundant in a large volume of quotations and sources, providing very few authors' assessments of the events of that time.

V. Herasymchuk, a well-known researcher of the Cossacks, also responded to the ninth volume of «History of Ukraine-Rus». In his unpublished review, he noted the «universal significance» of his teacher's book on the era of Khmelnytskyi. Unlike other reviewers, V. Herasymchuk clearly pointed out that the providing a significant amount of source material in a book was a right decision as it allows the reader to develop his own opinion and experience the peculiarities of the era (Herasymchuk, 1999, p. 536). Another representative of the Lviv historical school of M. Hrushevsky M. Korduba also agreed with this opinion (Korduba, 1932).

The peculiarity of the author's style in the ninth volume of «History of Ukraine-Rus» was noted by foreign researchers. Thus, on the pages of the Prague «Časopis národního musea», both parts of the ninth volume were analysed by a well-known scholar of the Ukrainian heritage, J. Bidlo. The ninth volume, as the reviewer emphasized, contains an enormous amount of a new source material, which thus became accessible to a wide range of researchers. In many respects, this allowed the Ukrainian scholar to reconsider some established opinions in science (Bidlo, 1931, p. 131).

M. Hrushevskyi made a noticeable Source study emphasis in the next tenth volume of «History of Ukraine-Rus», which, as we know, he did not finish, and his work was prepared for printing by his daughter in a manuscript variant. The text of the last part that was printed in 1936, we can also find a large number of sources, which the author cites, either entirely, or providing quotes of their most important parts. The vast majority of these materials come from the main Moscow archive («Drevlekhranilishche»). The reviewers of the last volume, therefore, just as it was with the ninth volume, understood the author's logic of the organization of the text and, in general, appreciated M. Hrushevsky's unitary work. Such posi-

tive evaluations marked critical reviews of Galician and emigration periodicals. On pages of the Lviv journal «Dilo», Mykhailo Mochulsky pointed out that the book «is written on the basis of fresh material, and it mainly resolves some puzzling questions; the book is composed in such a way that everyone can make his/her own opinion about this question» (M. M-sky, 1937).

The tenth volume of the «History of Ukraine-Rus» was also noted on the pages of Western Slavic periodicals. For example, on the pages of the Prague «Časopis národního musea» J. Bidlo, highlighting the original structure of the book, appreciated the emergence of an «invaluable» work on the Ukrainian past, which resembles previous volumes in the method, structure and newly-derived source material applied (J. B., 1937).

**The conclusions.** Summing up the archaeological component of the latest volumes of «History of Ukraine-Rus» by M. Hrushevsky, we would like to note that since the publication of the first volume the amount of primary source material that was first introduced by the researcher to scientific use increased significantly. This urged him to publicize the found texts as a whole or in the most important fragments. Such an approach, fulfilling illustrative-proof tasks, also correlated with the methodological preferences of the scientist, in particular, the absolutizing of the role of a historical source as a kind of mirror of the past. As a result, Ukrainian historiography received the fundamental history of Khmelnytskyi era, which had the character of the anthology. There are different opinions in the literature about this issue – from the persistent criticism of the architectonics of the latest volumes of «History of Ukraine-Rus» to a more balanced analysis. In our opinion, there is every reason to agree with the thesis that due to this very source-focused accent of late works of M. Hrushevsky, a layer of unique source material became available to us, given the fact, that considerable amount of it has suffered irreversible losses during the turbulent historical events of the last century.

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

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

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*The article was received on December 23, 2019.  
Article was recommended for publishing 10.02.2019*



UDC 94 (477.83) (092):930.25  
DOI: 10.24919/2519-058x.10.159191

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**Бібліографічний опис статті:** Yanyshyn, B., & Telvak, V. (2019). Provincial images of Polish science: Drohobych Historical Circle. *Skhidnoievropeyskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 10, 49–57. doi: 10.24919/2519-058x.10.159191

**PROVINCIAL IMAGES OF POLISH SCIENCE:  
DROHOBYCH HISTORICAL CIRCLE**

**Summary.** *The purpose of the reseach is to reconstruct the features of the emergence and functioning of the Drohobych Historical Circle in Lviv. The methodological basis of the work is an interdisciplinary approach. At the same time, methods of philosophical, general-scientific and specific-historical character are applied as well. Particular emphasis is placed on the structural and functional system analysis of historiographical facts, the comparative-historical method and the method of critical analysis of documentary material, based on the principles of objectivity and historicism. The scientific novelty consists in an attempt to comprehensively reconstruct the activity of the Drohobych circle of the Historical Society in Lviv. Conclusions.* *The experience of the regional policy of the Society, obtained during the formation of scientific circles, despite its generally modest results, yet had a great significance. Firstly, this experience was taken into account already at the beginning of the twentieth century in 1913, when the Krakow scientific center of the Historical Society was founded, which contributed to its emergence from a deep financial and organizational crisis and significantly increased the number of*

members of the organization, opening new prospects for its functioning. Secondly, this experience was the basis for the expansion of the Society's activities in the provinces in the interwar and post-war stages of its development. Learning from previous achievements and miscalculations also largely predetermined the flourishing of the scientific circles, departments and local branches of the Polish Historical Society. Unlike the academic circles, these structures were affiliates of the PHS. In the second half of the twentieth century PHS became by All-Polish Historical Institution, owing to this unique experience.

**Key words:** Polish historiography, Historical Society in Lviv, Droghobych Scientific Circle, Ksawery Liske, regional studies.

### ПРОВІНЦІЙНІ ОБРАЗИ ПОЛЬСЬКОЇ НАУКИ: ГУРТOK ІСТОРИЧНОГО ТОВАРИСТВА У ДРОГОБИЧІ

**Анотація.** *Мета дослідження* полягає у реконструкції особливостей виникнення та функціонування Дрогобицького гуртка Історичного товариства у Львові. **Методологічне підґрунтя** роботи становить міждисциплінарний підхід. При цьому важливу роль відіграли методи філософського, загальнонаукового та конкретно-історичного характеру. Особливий акцент зроблено на структурно-функціональному системному аналізі історіографічних фактів, порівняльно-історичному методі та методі критичного аналізу документального матеріалу, виходячи з принципів об'єктивності й історизму. **Наукова новизна** полягає у спробі цілісної реконструкції діяльності Дрогобицького гуртка Історичного товариства у Львові. **Висновки.** Здобутки Історичного Товариства у справі організації наукового життя на провінції на початку ХХ ст. виявилися доволі скромними. Попри це, вони мали вагомий вплив на майбутні регіональні ініціативи польської інституції. Так, цей досвід знадобився вже у 1913 р., коли було засноване краківське коло Історичного товариства. Це допомогло оперативно подолати Товариству глибоку фінансово-організаційну кризу, помітно збільшити кількість членів, тим самим відкривши інституції нові обрії діяльності. Також набутий на початку ХХ ст. досвід виявився корисним у міжвоєнні та повоєнні роки, коли Товариство інтенсивно поширювало діяльність на провінції. Саме врахування здобутків тогочасної регіональної політики дало змогу оперативно закладати наукові станції, відділи та місцеві осередки Польського історичного товариства. На відміну від наукових гуртків, ці структури були філіями ПІТ. У другій половині ХХ ст. це допомогло ПІТ стати загальнопольською історичною інституцією.

**Ключові слова:** польська історіографія, Історичне товариство у Львові, Дрогобицький науковий гурток, Ксаверій Ліске, краєзнавство.

**The statement of the problem.** The past of the Polish Historical Society has an abundant and rich literature as the Society was the first Polish scientific institution of the historical direction, which had a profound influence on the consolidation of national scientific means and the general increase in the level of scientific research in the twentieth century. However, despite this fact, not all periods of the Society and its activity aspects underwent proper and thorough study, worthy of the level of such institution. The initial period of the Society's activity, which lasted until the beginning of the First World War, remains the most weakly developed. This situation negatively affects the studies of later periods as it does not allow to fully trace the formation of various circles of the Society, as well as to assess tradition and innovation in their implementation. Thus, regional policy of Historical Society in Lviv is almost unknown and still requires thorough investigation. The «blind spots» prevented adequate assessment of its performance in this area during other periods of activity. After all, according to our belief, the gained experience and learning on the mistakes of the first wave of the Society's expansion into the regions enabled successful founding of the so-called Scientific Stations of the Polish Historical Society during the interwar period and in the second half of the 20th century. The absence of any publications on this subject makes us consider the emergence and activity of one of the scientific circles of the Society in Drohobych in the

broad context of its functioning and in a little more detail on the very idea of the emergence and ways of implementing the regional policy of the Society. According to our conviction, the purpose of the foundation and the logic of the Drohobych circle will become clear only in the broad context of the regional initiatives of the organization.

**The analysis of researches.** The available literature provides only obscure facts about the existence of various types of scientific circles, the emergence of which was initiated by the Society. V. Telvak (Telvak, 2012) and B. Yanyshyn (Telvak & Yanyshyn, 2015) provide the most comprehensive approach to the problem today.

**The article's purpose** – to reconstruct the emergence and functioning of Drohobych Historical Society circle in Lviv.

**The statement of the basic material.** Since its establishment in 1886, the Society regarded regional history as one of the most important areas of its activities. Thus, in the second paragraph of the Charter, the most important goal was determined as «the awakening and assistance of the development of historical sciences with special attention to the past of the Red Rus» (Statut, 1886, p. 1). Such attention to local history was due to several reasons. First of all, social needs: the need to satisfy the growing interest of the public in the past of their land. Besides, such a regional orientation of the Society was inspired by the neighboring experience of the Germans in the creation of such kind of historical organizations, as German scientists were considered to be «trendsetters» in historical science. German historical societies inspired the idea of organization's structure, as well as its publications, which tended to focus on local history (Samsonowicz, 1990, p. 10). The cited paragraph of the charter also reflected the real state of affairs – out of 260 members of the first year of the Society's existence the majority were from Galicia.

However, it quickly became clear that the precise realization of these tasks is almost impossible because of the lack of a clear historical initiative among the local intelligentsia. Provincial scientific potential remained virtually outside the initiatives of the Society, where the intelligentsia of Lviv and Krakow dominated. A certain indifference of the provincial intellectuals to the affairs of the Society is to a certain extent evidenced by the list of subscribers of the «Kwartalnik Historyczny» (the Society's periodical) – among them we can observe a very small proportion of the inhabitants of towns and villages.

Such an unfavourable state of affairs was the matter of concern in the leadership of the Society and, first of all agitated its first chairman – Ksawery Liske, who was the initiator of this regional strategy. For a qualitative change in the situation, K. Liske decided to present this issue, which he believed to be extremely important, to the representative forum of the Second Congress of Polish historians, that took place under the aegis of the Society in Lviv in July 1890, since the chairman of the Society was seriously ill and his report titled «In what way it would be able to awaken and develop the scientific movement in the province» was announced at a meeting of the congress on July 19, 1890, by Secretary Oswald Ballzer. In the report, K. Liske asked the fundamental question to the participants of the congress: «We will know the integrity of the history of Poland, but we do not know its histories of the provincial and local areas, and can we comprehend the integrity in detail without knowing its parts?» The author described the weakness of the scientific life in the province, showed weak links between the Company and the small towns of Galicia and proposed the creation of scientific circles for the organization of regional studies in the cities and towns in question. This, according to K. Liske, would allow not only to awaken the historical and ethnographic movement, but also to spread interest in the history of the province and increase the number

of members of the Society. He was convinced that «without the awakening of scientific life in the province, we will never achieve positive results in any field of humanities» and that «even natural sciences will not get such assistance in the province».

In order to implement this initiative, the chairman of the organization proposed to the congress to take the relevant decision and accordingly recommended the Society to make changes to the charter. The abstract ended with the following words: «My proposal is as follows: Assembly calls the Historical Society to immediately start the founding of scientific circles with the above-stated purpose in the respective cities and towns of our region, in accordance with the proposals made in this report» (Pamiętnik, 1891a, p. 4). The report of K. Liske triggered a lively discussion at the congress, attended by such prominent Polish historians as O. Balcer, V. Zakszevsky, M. Sokolovsky, S. Kubistal, Y. Pzevitsky, B. Dembitsky, K. Raver and many others (Pamiętnik, 1891b, p. 133–140). Interestingly, the most active participants of the discussion were the future initiators of the founding of the scientific circle in Drohobych Stanislaw Tarnovsky and Franciszek Zych. The intensity of discussing the perspectives of the regional policy of the Society testified the relevance of the proposed initiatives, their urgency and importance for the further ways of the Polish historical science development. According to the proposals made in the report of K. Liske, the congress adopted a resolution according to which the Society was recommended to make a corresponding paragraph in the charter of the organization, which would allow the legal formation and functioning of scientific circles in the province.

Long before the official adoption of the changes to the charter of the Society, immediately after the congress, Chairman K. Liske and a secretary professor O. Balcer set up a separate committee to implement new regional principles in the organization's activities. Prof. V. Abraham, professor O. Balcer, doctor L. Finkel, professor V. Lozinsky, professor T. Voytsekhovsky (Kółka, 1892a, p. 463) were also engaged in it. The Committee began to consider the organizational issues of the establishment and functioning of scientific circles. However, without waiting for the results of the work of the committee, K. Liske and O. Balcer on their own initiative, studied the situation in the province and sent up to 20 letters to well-known figures in various cities of Galicia (Ksawery Liske, p. 537). These letters called for the establishment of scientific centers, as well as included draft charters of future circles, which the authors of the letters asked to discuss carefully. The provincial intellectuals readily responded to these letters. Thus, the first three groups appeared in Drohobych, Ternopil and Buchach. The newly established centers asked for organizational and advisory assistance from the leadership of the Society. For this purpose the development of changes to the charter of the organization was intensified. However, K. Liske did not have time to continue the work on the project, as he died on February 27, 1891. The case of organizing scientific centers moved to a new department, but due to organizational problems within the Society the project's implementation was postponed. K. Liske's report and recommendation for the historic congress have been discussed at numerous meetings of the Society for almost six months and were presented for consideration on the extraordinary general meeting of the Society, which took place on Saturday, June 27, 1891. Secretary of the Society, Dr. Ludwick Finkel proposed the contribution to the of the third paragraph of charter in such a way that the Society could establish and maintain scientific circles in the province. As he emphasized, the need for this change arose from the mandate that Ksawery Liske received from the historical congress of Polish historians. The speaker noted that «it was the idea of the deceased head of the society that the whole country should awaken the scientific movement, concentrate in every county, engage anyone who could in any way give their services to science». After

the speech, the section of the assembly unanimously decided to make the proposed changes to the third paragraph of the charter (Sprawozdania, 1891, p. 946). In accordance with this decision, Secretary of the Society L. Finkel sent to the Galician governorship a letter dated July 1, 1891, in which he reported on changes in the charter of the Society (State Archives of Lviv Region – SALR, f. 1, d. 54, c. 1414, p. 10). Quite quickly, on the July 2 of the same year, this change was approved by the Galician governorate (SALR, f. 1, d. 54, c. 1414, p. 12). As a result of these changes, a new paragraph appeared in the third paragraph of charter, which, in addition to many goals of the Society, included «the founding of scientific circles and assistance to them, motivating their members for independent scientific work on the past and present state of their county, and at the same time, to give them the access to the latest achievements of science» (Statut, 1893, p. 1). The new change also defined the legal status of newly formed circles – in the opinion of the meeting participants, they should have been completely independent from the Society, and not its affiliates, as it was envisaged by one of the projects. Each academic circle had the right to conclude its own charter according to its needs and submit it to the state administration for approval. Society also left an initiative in laying new scientific circles for itself. However, since all the newly formed circles sought a certain connection with the Society, it was obliged to maintain them organizationally and morally. These responsibilities were attributed to the board of the Society. On November 9, 1891, an appropriate commission was created to implement this task, and professors T. Voytsekhovskiy, Prof. L. Tsvirlinsky, Dr. A. Cholovsky, Dr. L. Finkel, Dr. F. Pape, Dr. A. Prokhozka became its members. This committee, besides conducting further correspondence in the case of new circles foundation, also issued the questionnaire for existing units. In order to intensify the activities of scientific circles, the committee decided to invite representatives of other scientific branches, primarily naturalists, to collaborate with them, which was approved at the meeting of February 11, 1892 (Kółka, 1892a, p. 463).

In order to inform the audience about the activity of scientific circles and to disseminate their experience in other regional centers, each yearly edition of «Kwartalnik Historyczny» included an informative section entitled «Scientific circles». The official information, placed on the pages of the magazine, is the only source for us to reconstruct the activity of Drohobych scientific circle, as the regional press did not provide any information about its work.

We might get to know about the first steps of the Drohobych scientific circle from the information in the second edition of «Kwartalnik Historyczny» for 1892. It is noted that the scientific group in Drohobych became one of the first, founded after the Society's encouragement. The Count Stanislaw Tarnovsky from Sniatynka and Professor of the Drohobych Gymnasium Franciszek Zych initiated the foundation of the circle. The board of the scientific circle included: Count Stanislaw Tarnovsky – a president; Roman Gancakovsky – parochial Drohobych priest, vice-president; professor – Stanislaw Bednarsky – treasurer; Professor Franciszek Zych – a secretary; Senior commissar of the mines Josef Solomon Friedberg, engineer Kazimir Gonsirovsky, priests Ambrosi Polyansky – teacher of the Law of God subject in Drohobych Gymnasium. The total number of members of the circle was forty-eight people – they were representatives of local Polish intelligentsia. After analyzing the composition of the circle leadership, we can deduce that its intellectual center was the Drohobych gymnasium, as F. Zych, S. Bednarsky, A. Polyansky. The first meeting of the circle took place on October 7, 1891, where F. Zych read a lecture «From the past of the city of Drohobych». The main subject of the abstract was a well-known in the first half of the 18th century Zelman Wolfowicz case.

The second meeting took place three months later, on January 3, 1892. There, F. Zych made an continuation to the report of the first chairman of the Society, Ksawery Liske, «On the awakening of the scientific movement in the province,» and talked about the discussion of this essay at the second congress of historians in Lviv; S. Vasilyevsky outlined the «Circle's Program of Action» (Kółka, 1892a, p. 463). We could not find the program itself, it is not known whether it was submitted to the city authorities for approval, since the circle itself lasted very shortly. However, it is plausible that the program of activity of the circle was oriented on those items, which were mentioned in the speech of K. Liske and which were reflected in the draft of Society's Commission, outlining, namely, historical and linguistic research. Such a conclusion ajacentlyproide evidence of the events organized by the circle, for example, an overview of the archaeological sites in the Watzowicz estate.

The next meeting of the Drohobych Scientific Circle took place on April 23, 1892. The first half of the meeting was devoted to the discussion of the lecture by Professor F. Zych entitled «Khmelnitsky in the light of the latest historical research». The referent, reffering to the works of P. Kulish, M. Karpov and T. Korzon, depicted the figure of Bogdan Khmelnytsky and described him as a historical figure (Kółka, 1892b, p. 691). The head of the circle count S. Tarnovsky, proceded and reported on the results of the circle's leadership in of excavating the ancient graves around Drohobych. He said that the leadership decided to examine and describe in detail the graves of «Kogutyk», and, in the case of their excavation, to seek qualified assistance and recommendations to the Krakow Academy of Learning. The circle reports that under the leadership of S. Tarnovsky, the local government made an excursion to «Kogutyk», where it inspected three graves and a long limestone that dipped into an old defensive fortress, and also examined two graves in the estate of Vatsovychi. The description of these graves and trenches, together with the drawings of their location on the ground, was sent to the Krakow Academy of Arts for examination. At the end of the meeting, it was decided to deal with the description of other graves, quite numerous in the vicinity of Drohobych, as well as other similar archaeological sites. This meeting was the last one fixed in the official documentation and reports of the Society.

Among the members of the circle, several figures attract particular attention. First of all, his chairman Stanislav Tarnovsky was the count of the Leliv coat of arms (1836 – 1909), who settled in Sniatynka, having received an estate according to a will from his father Valerian in the second half of the nineteenth century. In a few years Sniatynka, near Medyka and Voroblevychi, became another, as R. Aftanazy noted, «artistic» center of the eastern part of the land of Pzemysl (Aftanazy, 1996, pp. 249–250). S. Tarnovsky had very expressive and formed artistic interest, his own artistic attempts were also well-known. And although he never went beyond the boundaries of amateurism, painting and collecting were of special interest to him until the end of his life. Due to a close acquaintance with well-known representatives of the Polish artistic world, in particular friendship with Arthur Grottger, he managed to gather a valuable artistic collection. Sniatynka became the birthplace of many paintings by Arthur Grottger, in particular his «Lituania». Among the most valuable paintings in the collection of S. Tarnovsky were the works of Luke Giordano, Wilhelm Leopoldsky, Andrzej Grabowski, Alexander Kotsis, Jozef Pitschman, Franciszek Ksawery, Maximilian Semyanowski, Felix Hanusz, Alexander Gridlevsky, Juliusz Kossak, Tadeusz Rybkowski and others. The gathering of Grottger's paintings, including more than thirty works, was one of the most valuable pieces of Tarnovsky's collection. Apart from the paintings, S. Tarnovsky also had a large numismatic collection and a collection of Venetian mirrors. Unfortunately, the First and Second

World Wars led to the plunder of the collections of the count, and only some of the paintings of his estate are now in Polish museums. In addition to artistic hobbies, S. Tarnovsky was also a passionate admirer of historical and ethnographic works. For example, he initiated the reviews and descriptions of archaeological monuments around Drohobych. His name is found among the permanent members of the Historical Society and the long-term subscribers of its periodical – «Kwartalnik Historyczny».

The only professional historian in the circle was its secretary Drohobych Gymnasium professor Franciszek Zych. We do not possess a significant amount of information about him, since he spent most of his life outside Drohobych. He was born in 1853 in a small Galician town; in 1874 F. Zych graduated from the classical gymnasium in Rzeszów. In 1874 – 1879 he studied at Lviv University, specializing in the history of Poland under the leadership of K. Liske and I. Szaranevycz. He began his career as a deputy teacher in the Przemyśl classical gymnasium, and shortly thereafter in Lviv (Puszka, 1999, p. 345). In 1889 – 1897, F. Zych worked at various positions in the Drohobych gymnasium – from the ordinary teacher to the professor, teaching history (Kultys, 1908, p. 207). In the short time of several months in 1895, during the change of the leadership of the gymnasium he performed the duties of its director (Kultys, 1908, p. 77). F. Zych was also known as the author of historical studies on Zelman Wolfovich and the relationship of the Crusaders with the Poles. These works were highly appreciated by scientific critics (Perłbach, 1888, pp. 492–498). Although F. Zych was a professional historian, we do not find his surname among the members of the Historical Society in Lviv, although he was an active participant in the congresses of Polish historians in Lviv in 1890 and in Kraków in 1900. After making a brief career in Drohobych F. Zych moved to a more prestigious position of the director of the Buchach Gymnasium, as we learn from the lists of participants of the Kraków Congress of Polish historians (Pamiętnik, 1901, p. 154)].

Among the scientific circle that arose on the initiative of the Society, Drohobych was one of the first to stop its activity. One of the main reasons is that the «soul» of the circle – the gymnasium professor F. Zych left Drohobych soon after the foundation of the circle. Although, of course, the reasons lay deeper in the instability of interests of the local intelligentsia. Among the scientific circles of the first wave only two – Przemyśl and, especially, Ternopil groups continued their activity further, due to a significant layer of local intelligentsia and the presence in its circle of many professional historians. The most considerable activity was implemented by Ternopil scientific circle, which not only worked for many years, but also managed to issue several publications of the periodical «Rocznik kółka naukowego tarnopolskiego» (Kółka, 1893, p. 774; Kółka, 1894, p. 576).

Unfortunately, the regional initiatives of the Society did not last for a long time. The first reason was the immaturity of historical and regional interest in the provincial intelligentsia. Secondly, the extreme weakness of the organizational connection between the circles and the Society, which determined their independent status and, thus, stepped aside from solving the problems of the establishment and activities of the circles. However, in our opinion, the most important thing was the lack of a conscious and deeply thought-out program of spreading its activities to the regions by the board of the Historical Society. All this did not allow proper implementation of the initiatives proposed by the first chairman of the organization. Whatever it was, however, during the next Third Kraków Congress of Polish historians in 1900, none of the speakers mentioned either the initiative of the first chairman of the Society or attempts to organize the first scientific centers. One of the observers of the congress, noted that «the question that Professor Ksawery Liske raised in his report «In what way it would be

able to awaken and develop the scientific movement in the province «at the Lviv Congress is unfortunately forgotten now» (Gubrynowicz, 1900, pp. 97–110).

**The conclusions.** The experience of the regional policy of the Society, obtained during the formation of scientific circles, despite its generally modest result, was of great significance. Firstly, it was taken into account already at the beginning of the twentieth century, when the Krakow scientific center of the Historical Society was founded in 1913, which contributed to its emergence from a deep financial and organizational crisis and significantly increased the number of members of the organization, opening new prospects for its functioning. Unlike the scientific circles, the Krakow one was directly connected with the Society, as it was its original branch. Members of the circle automatically became members of the central organization. These factors, along with significant subjective factors, led to the prosperity of the Krakow branch of the Historical Society. Secondly, this experience was the basis for the expansion of the Society's activities in the provinces during the interwar and post-war stages of its development. Considering previous mistakes, in our opinion, largely predetermined the spreading and prosperity of the scientific «stations», departments and local branches of the Society, which, in contrast to the scientific circles, were its affiliates and followed the clear regional strategy of the organization, and subsequently led its activities to a new, higher level of its development (Wyrobisz, 1990).

**Acknowledgments.** The authors of the publication express the sincere gratitude to the director and the employees of the State Archive of Lviv Region for the support and assistance in search of the archival material.

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

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*The article was received on January 03, 2019.  
Article was recommended for publishing 14.02.2019.*

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UDC 94(100)«19»:323.27(045)  
DOI: 10.24919/2519-058x.10.159186

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**Бібліографічний опис статті:** Fareniy, I. (2019). The peasant revolution in theoretical views and political practice of Ulyanov-Lenin. *Schidnoievropeiskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 10, 58–65. doi: 10.24919/2519-058x.10.159186

**THE PEASANT REVOLUTION IN THEORETICAL VIEWS  
AND POLITICAL PRACTICE OF ULYANOV-LENIN**

**Summary.** *The purpose of the research is to analyze the theoretical views of V. I. Ulyanov-Lenin on the social peasantry ability to an independent revolutionary struggle and their implementation during the practical revolutionary and state-political activities of Bolshevik leader. The research methodology is the principle of historicism, which consistently allowed to reveal the origins of Lenin's vision of the peasantry ability to the revolutionary struggle, forecast its results and then show its development of the concept of peasant revolution as a type of bourgeois transformation, the statement of this revolution as a reality in the period 1905 – 1907 and 1917 – 1918, and the recognition of the revolutionary achievements of the peasantry and the introduction in its social interests of the NEP policy. The scientific novelty consists in elucidating the type of bourgeois transformations that the leader of the Bolshevik Party was expecting and considered them feasible in the practice of political struggle in the Russian Empire and the stages of the peasant revolution identified by Lenin as a kind of bourgeois revolution, which, from his point of view, took place in reality in 1917 and subsequent years. Conclusions.* Among modern approaches to the scientific comprehension of the revolutionary events of the early twentieth century the concept of peasant revolution takes an outstanding place. The presented article tackles the problem of perceiving of the peasantry's ability for an independent revolutionary struggle. The article analyses the views of of the Bolshevik Party leader, V. I. Ulyanov (Lenin), and their influence on political practice in the process of the Soviet state creation. In particular: 1. The article clarifies that for V. I. Lenin, the ability of the peasantry for an independent revolutionary struggle was quite obvious. As a consequence of the political behavior of the peasantry during the period of the revolution during 1905 – 1907, he concluded that there was a special type of bourgeois revolution – the peasant agrarian revolution. According to his views, the peasant revolution opens the way for a farmer type of agrarian capitalism. 2. Firstly, Lenin believed that by mid-1918 a bourgeois peasant revolution had taken place in the village, which was replaced by socialist transformations. However, over time, he declined to state the socialist revolution in the countryside, a testimony to why the policy of the NEP became. 3. All the components of Lenin's revolutionary transformation program envisaged taking into account the fact of the peasant revolution. Thus, the possibility of the bourgeois-democratic revolution

was assumed only in the form of a peasant revolution, the Bolsheviks' seizure of power was planned through the use of the peasant revolution, the restoration of the acquired power – through the resolute satisfaction of the interests of the peasant revolution, the construction of socialism – through the adaptation of the results of the peasant revolution to socialist progress. Given Lenin's correct definition of the peasant revolution nature, the claim about the bourgeois component of socio-economic transformations carried out by the Bolsheviks in October 1917 finds its confirmation.

**Key words:** peasantry, peasant revolution, agrarian revolution, V. P. Danilov, V. I. Ulyanov-Lenin.

## СЕЛЯНСЬКА РЕВОЛЮЦІЯ В ТЕОРЕТИЧНИХ ПОГЛЯДАХ ТА ПОЛІТИЧНІЙ ПРАКТИЦІ УЛЬЯНОВА-ЛЕНІНА

**Анотація.** Мета дослідження – проаналізувати теоретичні погляди В. І. Ульянова-Леніна на соціальну спроможність селянства до самостійної революційної боротьби та їх реалізацію у ході практичної революційної і державно-політичної діяльності більшовицького вождя. **Методологія дослідження** – принцип історизму, який допоміг послідовно розкрити витоки бачення Леніним здатності селянства до революційної боротьби, прогнозування її результатів, а далі показати розробку ним концепції селянської революції як виду буржуазних перетворень, констатації цієї революції як реальності в період 1905 – 1907 рр. та 1917 – 1918 р., та визнання революційних здобутків селянства і запровадження в його соціальних інтересах політики непу. **Наукова новизна** полягає у з'ясуванні типу буржуазних перетворень, на які очікував лідер більшовицької партії і вважав їх здійсненими в практиці політичної боротьби в Російській імперії, та визначених Леніним етапів селянської революції як різновиду буржуазної революції, яка, з його точки зору, відбулася в реальності 1917-го і наступних років. **Висновки.** Серед сучасних підходів до наукового осягнення революційних подій початку ХХ ст. – концепція селянської революції. У пропонованій статті порушена проблема сприйняття сучасниками здатності селянства до самостійної революційної боротьби. Розкрито погляди на це питання лідера більшовицької партії В. І. Ульянова (Леніна) та їхній вплив на політичну практику творення радянської держави. Зокрема: 1. У статті з'ясовано, що для В. І. Леніна спроможність селянства до самостійної революційної боротьби була цілком очевидною. За наслідками політичної поведінки селянства у період революції 1905 – 1907 рр. він зробив висновок про існування особливого виду буржуазної революції – селянської аграрної революції. За його поглядами, селянська революція відкриває шлях фермерському типу аграрного капіталізму. 2. Спочатку Ленін уважав, що до середини 1918 р. на селі відбулася буржуазна селянська революція, яку змінили соціалістичні перетворення. Однак з часом він відмовився від цих поглядів, свідченням чого стала політика непу. 3. Усі складові програми революційних перетворень Леніна передбачали врахування факту селянської революції. Так, можливість буржуазно-демократичної революції припускалася тільки у формі селянської революції, прихід до влади більшовиків – шляхом використання селянської революції, утримання здобутої влади – шляхом рішучого задоволення інтересів селянської революції, побудова соціалізму – пристосування результатів селянської революції до соціалістичного поступу. За умов правильного визначення Леніним характеру селянської революції, знаходить підтвердження теза про буржуазну складову соціально-економічних перетворень, здійснених більшовиками у жовтні 1917 р.

**Ключові слова:** селянство, селянська революція, аграрна революція, В. П. Данилов, В. І. Ульянов-Ленін.

**Problem statement and analysis of researches and publications.** In recent decades, in Ukraine and the Russian Federation, one of the methodological approaches to the revolutionary events of 1917 was the concept of the Peasant Revolution of 1902 – 1922, proposed by V. P. Danilov and his followers (Danilov, Kondrashin, 2008; Vakhitov, Babashkin, 2010, Marchenya, 2015; Abrazumova, Kornovenko, 2017; Kalinkina, Kornovenko et al., 2017; Kornovenko, Gerasimenko, 2017; Kornovenko, 2018; Kornovenko, Telvak, Ilnytskyi, 2018). In modern historiography, this concept is presented as the latest theoretical toolkit, «new knowledge» about the revolution of the early twentieth century on the territories of the

Russian Empire. The essence of this «new knowledge» is to state the independence of the socio-political behavior of the peasantry in the process of revolutionary struggle (Danilov). The emergence of the concept of peasant revolution with significant methodological claims questions the reasons for the victory in the Soviet revolution, led by V. I. Ulyanov-Lenin. If the concept of Danilov is reliable, then the victory of the Bolsheviks could not depend on the phenomenon of the peasant revolution. The problem was considered in the works of V. P. Danilov himself (Danilov) and his followers: V. V. Kondrashin (Kondrashin, 2008), V. V. Babashkin (Babashkin, 2010), Vakhitov (Vakhitov), O. M. Abrazumova and S. V. Kornovenko (Abrazumova, Kornovenko, 2017). The scientists consider the relations of Soviet power and peasant revolution as a military-political alliance, which, on the part of the Bolsheviks, was combined with actions aimed at achieving ideological and organizational control over the masses. In connection with this formulation of the problem there is a question of a personal role in building relations between the Bolshevik Party and the peasantry of V. I. Ulyanov (Lenin) – the head of the Soviet state. After all, Lenin's perception of the phenomenon of the peasant revolution could objectively have a decisive significance for the formation of relations between the Soviet government and the peasantry, and with that – the solution of the agrarian question and the nature of the political system of Bolshevism. **The purpose** of the proposed article is to analyze the theoretical views of V. I. Ulyanov-Lenin on the social peasantry ability to an independent revolutionary struggle and their implementation during the practical revolutionary and state-political activities of Bolshevik leader.

**Presentation of the main content.** Lenin's views on the peasantry's ability to revolutionize and its importance for the establishment of a new social system, apparently, had roots in the analysis of the social reality of the Russian Empire, carried out by K. Marx and F. Engels. The latter took place in the process of considering the issue of the historic fate of the village community institution. Frederick Engels noted that «the position of the Russian peasants since the liberation from serfdom became unbearable ... this can not continue in such a way for a long time ... For this reason, the revolution in Russia is approaching – that is clear». Then he prophesied that the future «revolution would begin from the higher classes of the capital, maybe even from the government itself, but the peasants would deploy it further and revolution would quickly withdraw beyond the limits of the first constitutional phase» (Engels, 1986a, p. 422, 429). Frederick Engels was optimistic about the results of the upcoming revolution in Russia. In the mid-1890s, he wrote: «The Russian Revolution ... will bring the peasants to the broad arena where they will see the external world, but at the same time they will understand their own position and means of deliverance from the present need ...» (Engels 1986b, p. 443).

The revolutionary struggle of the peasantry was interesting because of its influence on the realization of the interests of the working class. Marx clearly understood that the proletariat could not achieve its goals without the support of the peasantry, in certain circumstances, and warned that without the peasantry «the proletarian revolution would not receive that resonance without which its solo in all peasant countries would turn into a swan song» (Marx, 1986, p. 513).

The revolution of the Russian peasantry, according to their version, solved the fundamental questions of the historical destiny of Western Europe. It should have, on the one hand, protected the revolutionary process in Western European countries from interference in its affairs from the part of the Russian Empire. Frederick Engels wrote that the revolution in Russia «would have the greatest significance for the whole Europe ... because it would de-

stroy in one blow ... the untouched reserve of the whole European reaction» (Engels, 1986a, p. 429–430). On the other hand, «... the Russian revolution will give ... a new impetus to the proletarian movement of the West, create new, better conditions of struggle for it and thereby accelerate the victory of the modern industrial proletariat», which, in turn, will help Russia to enter the path of socialist development (Engels, 1986b, p. 443).

Consequently, the founders of the Marxist doctrine provided Ulyanov with a notable theoretical resource for understanding peasant revolutionist aspirations. At the same time, the Lenin's publication legacy testifies that the phenomenon of the peasant revolution one hundred years ago was quite well-known. Unlike today, at those days, it did not claim the status of a «new knowledge». The peasant revolution was quite visible and conceptually developed, in the theoretical relation, social and political phenomenon for Lenin. An analysis of world tendencies in the transformation of agrarian relations and political activity of the peasantry during the period of the 1905 – 1907 revolution in the Russian Empire led Lenin to the conclusion that there might be a special type of bourgeois revolution – the peasant revolution.

Lenin linked the social origins of this revolution with his ideas about the types of agrarian capitalism: Prussian and American. He argued that capitalist transformation can occur when «landlord economy ... grows into bourgeois one». However, the landlord economy could also be «vanished by the revolution», which, in its turn, leads to «the development of a patriarchal peasant into a bourgeois farmer» (Lenin, 1971, p. 200–201, 203, 309, 311). The Bolshevik leader linked the consequences of peasant revolution not only with the future type of agricultural capitalism, but with capitalism as such. Lenin pointed out that «the national question of the final establishment of bourgeois development in Russia is precisely the agrarian issue (Lenin, 1974b, p. 221)» (even narrower: a peasant one).

Lenin's comrade, M. I. Bukharin, noted that all theoretical conclusions of the Bolshevik leader, in one way or another, were implemented in practical political tasks. «... theoretical issues were never torn apart from the practice» (Bukharin, 1989, p. 177). The concept of the peasant revolution was not the exception. Lenin implemented his political plans from the fact that the future bourgeois revolution in Russia «can win only as a peasant revolution» (Lenin, 1971, p. 200–201, 203, 309, 311). At the same time, the victory of such a revolution, in terms of Lenin, could ensure its strong support by the working class. «... The worker ... must help the peasantry with all its energy to bring this bourgeois revolution to an end», moreover – he must achieve «a leading role in the peasant revolution» (Lenin, 1971, p. 304, 355).

Lenin and Bolsheviks were often reproached for borrowing the agrarian program from the Socialist-Revolutionary Party. It should be mentioned that Lenin did not particularly conceal anything about this fact. Along with the acute criticism of the Narodniks, who were the source of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party ideas, Lenin spoke of «the historically real and progressive historical content of Narodniks, as the theory of mass little bourgeois struggle of democratic capitalism against the liberal-landlordist capitalism» (Lenin, 1974b, p. 220). Discussing at the Second Congress of Workers 'and Soldiers' Deputies the «Decree on the Land», the content of which was not composed by Bolsheviks, Lenin claimed: «Is it important who actually composed ...», «... a decree and an order made up by Socialist-Revolutionaries». «Let us leave it as it is» agreed Ulyanov (Lenin, 1973a, p. 24–25).

However, the real reason for the implementation of the SR program was neither their program as such, nor the crisis of their own Bolshevik projects, but the phenomenon of the peasant revolution. After all, Lenin agreed on the whole peasants' scenario of revolutionary transformations. At the II-th Congress of Workers 'and Soldiers' Deputies, he stated: «... the

peasantry will be best at resolving the issue. Whether according to our program or following the SR plan», but «Peasants ... themselves want to solve all the questions about the land « and « ... we must give full creative freedom to masses» (Lenin, 1973a, p. 24–25).

With such recognition of the peasant revolution, Lenin's actions, aimed at alliance with the left-wing Socialist-Revolutionaries, were logical, as they seemed to be the best at expressing its interests. Agreements were not easily achieved though. According to the eyewitnesses, Ulyanov stood at the rostrum of the All-Russian Peasant Congress, held in November 1917, for more than ten minutes, with the crowd crying «Down with him!» (Rid, 1957, p. 238). The coalition with the left SRs in the middle of 1918, as we know, collapsed. However, its emergence becomes quite understandable in view of the peasant revolution factor.

Regarding Bolsheviks' recognition of the peasant revolution, a question about their vision of the general nature of revolutionary events arises. In general, Lenin, following Marx, appreciated the social system that the revolution of the peasantry brought. «The basis of capitalism can become a free mass of farmers without any landlord's economy», he claimed. In this situation, capitalism in agriculture «must go immeasurably wider, freer, faster, as a result of the huge growth of the domestic market, the rise of the standard of living, energy, initiative and culture of the entire population» (Lenin, 1971, p. 377–378). However, having embodied the populist program in 1917 at the end of 1918, Lenin pointed out that «June 26, 1917» was the first day of the «proletarian, socialist, revolution» (Lenin, 1973b, p. 311). At the same time, in his words, «The victorious Bolshevik revolution ... meant the complete destruction of the monarchy and landlord land tenure ...». And then he explained: «The bourgeois revolution was brought to an end by us», «only the proletariat really proved the end of the bourgeois-democratic revolution» (Lenin, 1973b, p. 299, 301). Consequently, from Lenin's point of view, October 1917 was also a time for bourgeois revolution, which he called «the peasant revolution», emphasizing that «socialist revolution cannot be implemented in a backward country», because it is «still a bourgeois revolution» (Lenin, 1973b, p. 302).

The relations of this «peasant revolution» with the socialist revolution were based on a «temporary bloc (union) with the peasantry in general». Lenin gave it a beneficial role in implementing bourgeois transformations, as: «... the Bolsheviks ... only through the victory of the proletarian revolution, helped the peasantry to bring the bourgeois-democratic revolution to the end» (Lenin, 1973b, p. 301, 311).

Both revolutions – proletarian and bourgeois (that is, «all-peasant»), according to the version of the Bolshevik leader, were at a high level of integration with each other. «Trying to put an artificial, Chinese, wall between the two to separate them from each other ...» – he said – is a huge distortion of Marxism, its deception, the replacement of liberalism « – that is: absolutely unacceptable. Meanwhile, the «peasant revolution» had its chronological limits. It continued, according to Lenin, almost until the end of 1918. «... our countryside experienced the October revolution only in the summer and autumn of 1918». And then he continued: «A year after the proletarian revolution deployed in the capitals, the proletarian revolution in rural corners emerged, under its influence and with its help...» when the proletariat «managed to split the village, to join its proletarians and semi-proletarians, to unite them against the kulaks and the bourgeoisie, including the peasant bourgeoisie». The general dynamics of the revolution, according to Lenin, is as follows: «The peasantry should end the bourgeois-democratic revolution; the poorer, proletarian and semi-proletarian part of the peasantry should lead the socialist revolution!» At the same time, such a trajectory of the development of revolutionary events, as Lenin recognized, would not occur if «the peasantry would have

remained «as a whole», that is, it would remain under the economic, political and spiritual leadership of the kulaks, the rich, the bourgeoisie, then – as it was frankly pointed out by Lenin – the revolution would not go beyond the bourgeois-democratic limits» (Lenin, 1973b, p. 297, 300–301, 307).

However, later on, the proletarian leader had to admit that after 1918, «the peasantry remained ... «the whole», and the revolution did not go «beyond the bourgeois-democratic boundaries». In October 1921, speaking on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the October Revolution, Lenin, as before, expressed his views about «the bourgeois-democratic content of our revolution». Noting that in 1917 Russia still had the remnants of feudalism, Lenin emphasized the remarkable importance of the October 1917 events in carrying out the very bourgeois transformations. Among them: «we have thrown away all monarchical evil», «gave all the non-Russian nationalities their own republics», overcame «exclusion and inferiority of women», «left no stone ... in the perpetual structure of the state», while eliminating «Deep roots of the statehood, namely: the remnants of feudalism and serfdom in land tenure», «the landlords and all their traditions were vanished into the thin air». Lenin emphasized: «That is the meaning of the bourgeois-democratic revolution». At the same time, he noted the Bolsheviks' consistency in the implementation of bourgeois-democratic transformations. «We have brought the bourgeois-democratic revolution to an end, as no one did» (Lenin, 1974a, p. 136–138).

Lenin did not renounce the socialist revolution, noting that «the issue of the bourgeois-democratic revolution ...» is a by-product of our ... socialist work». But the tonality and the content of the results of the socialist revolution at the end of 1921 in its interpretations have already undergone fundamental changes. Lenin claimed that the «economic construction» of the Soviet regime – revolutionary socio-economic transformations – led to «the greatest failures, the greatest mistakes». He no longer spoke of the victory of the socialist revolution in the countryside, but encouraged «firstly to build strong bridges that lead in a peasant country through state capitalism to socialism». In the end, Ulyanov pointed out that «We correct ... now ...by «a new economic policy» a number of our mistakes ...» (Lenin, 1974a, p. 142–143). It clearly follows that, according to Lenin's trajectory of revolutionary restructuring, which was concentrated in his thesis, «from a small peasant economy through state capitalism to socialism» (Lenin, 1974a, p. 144) – the Bolsheviks did not cope with the results of the «all-nation revolution», which was «still a bourgeois revolution» (Lenin, 1973b, p. 302). The Bolshevik authorities did not succeed in destroying the concept of the «whole» village, and they returned to the system, which was called state capitalism. Lenin explained: «That is what life taught us. That is how the objective progress of the revolution led us» (Lenin, 1974a, p. 143).

**Conclusions.** The whole construction of the Leninist revolutionary struggle concept is, in a nutshell, the theoretical and practical discussion of the «peasant revolution». According to Lenin, a bourgeois-democratic revolution could have happened only in the form of a peasant revolution, the seizure of power – through the use of the peasant revolution, the maintenance of the acquired power – by means of resolute satisfaction of the interests of the peasant revolution, the construction of socialism – through the adaptation of the results of the peasant revolution to socialist progress.

During the Soviet period, Lenin's concept of the bourgeois revolution transformation into a socialist outlook was widely studied. But at the same time researchers did not specify exactly what concept of the bourgeois revolution was meant by Lenin. In fact, he meant one of its types –

the peasant agrarian revolution. The bourgeois nature of the October 1917 events was not concealed, but was widely discussed, mainly in academic circles. As for a wide audience, the educational domain, this question, as a rule, was not tackled. This fact created the impression of a united, consistent socialist revolution in October 1917. However, in fact, both in political theory and practice, Lenin and his party saw in the kaleidoscope of social life the reality of the peasant revolution phenomenon. The factor of the uncontrolled revolutionary creativity of the peasantry was the reason for the victory of the Bolsheviks in the extremely tense process of the political-revolutionary struggle during the first decades of the twentieth century.

**Prospects for further research.** The provision and conclusions of this article are formulated on the basis of the analysis of Lenin's published works. Some of them are well-known and during the Soviet times were obligatory for study at higher educational institutions. Despite this the Lenin concept of the peasant revolution was unnoticed by the researchers. Therefore, further study of the theoretical heritage of Ulyanov-Lenin may lead to a further study of the Bolshevik leader views to the revolutionary transformations of the first decades of the twentieth century.

**Acknowledgments.** The author thanks the Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor Victor Gotsulyak and other colleagues of the Scientific Society of Historians-Agrarians for their advice and recommendations during the preparation of the article.

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

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*The article was received on December 23, 2019.  
Article was recommended for publishing 15.02.2019*

УДК 37(09)(477)  
DOI: 10.24919/2519-058x.10.159532

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**Бібліографічний опис статті:** Fedchyshyn, N. & Magsumov, T. (2019). The educational activity in Halychyna at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century: historical-pedagogical analysis. *Skhidnoievropeiskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 10, 66–73. doi: 10.24919/2519-058x.10.159532

**THE EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITY IN HALYCHYNA AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY: HISTORICAL-PEDAGOGICAL ANALYSIS**

*Summary. The purpose of the research is to highlight the important historical aspects of the educational policy in Halychyna at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century on the basis of an interdisciplinary*

approach. **The research methodology.** A complex of general and special scientific methods is used: the comparative analysis, the systematization of scientific, educational and methodical literature, documents, periodicals; historical-genetic, historical-comparative; expert method (analysis of problems with evaluation of results). **The scientific novelty.** The historical peculiarities of the educational activity in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century have been highlighted in the article. The main attention has been drawn to economic factors, particularly, to providing funding allocation per student, to the level of illiteracy in different countries, to the impact of these factors on the level of national income. The attention also has been paid to the educational policy of foreign countries with regard to the Ukrainians. For history, it is not only important to study macroeconomic indicators at the level of evaluation of the consistency of pedagogical systems development, pedeutology, management of educational institutions, educational policy of the state, but also the peculiar microanalysis at the level of the development of an individual personality. The achievements of prominent thinkers of the past have been reconsidered on the basis of the principle of innovation. Andrei Sheptytsky's pedagogical system has been used for illustrative purposes. J.-P. Herbart followers' direct and indirect impact on the justification of the educational process fundamentals have been singled out in the context of interactions of different nations' cultures. **Conclusions.** The use of in-depth panoramic investigations together with the history of individual families, a personal approach will contribute immensely to the past events reconstruction, the possibility of even more effective use of the past experience for state-building processes of the present and future.

**Key words:** Halychyna, educational activity, regularity, history, pedagogy, economics.

## ОСВІТНЯ ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ В ГАЛИЧИНІ ПОЧАТКУ ХХ СТ.: ІСТОРИКО-ПЕДАГОГІЧНИЙ АНАЛІЗ

**Анотація.** Метою пропонованої розвідки є виокремлення важливих історичних аспектів освітньої політики в Галичині на початку ХХ ст.. на засадах міждисциплінарного підходу. **Методологія дослідження:** використано комплекс загальнонаукових і спеціальних методів: порівняльний аналіз, систематизація наукової, навчально-методичної літератури, документів, періодичних видань; історико-генетичний; історико-порівняльний; експертний метод (аналіз проблем з оцінкою результатів). **Наукова новизна:** висвітлено історичні особливості освітньої діяльності початку ХХ ст. Закцентовано увагу на економічних чинниках, зокрема, на фінансуванні з розрахунку на одного учня, рівні неписьменності в різних країнах, вплив цих чинників на рівень національного доходу. Звертається увага на освітню політику іноземних країн у ставленні до українців. Для історії важливими є не лише дослідження макропоказників на рівні оцінки закономірностей розвитку педагогічних систем, педeutології, управління закладами освіти, освітньої політики держави, але й своєрідний мікрорівень на рівні розвитку окремої особистості. На засадах принципу новаторства переосмислено досягнення видатних мислителів минулих років. Як приклад використана педагогічна система Андрея Шептицького. В умовах взаємодії культур різних народів виокремлено безпосередній та опосередкований вплив послідовників Й.-Ф. Гербарта на обґрунтування основ освітнього процесу. **Висновки.** Використання глибинних панорамних досліджень в єдності з історією окремих родин, особистісний підхід сприятиме реконструкції минулих подій, можливості ще більш ефективного використання досвіду минулого для державотворчих процесів сьогодення і майбутнього.

**Ключові слова:** Галичина, освітня діяльність, закономірність, історія, педагогіка, економіка.

**Problem statement and analysis of researches and publications.** The beginning of the twentieth century is characterized by the quantitative and qualitative changes in the socio-economic development of most countries. At first glance, this process is characterized with a jump-like character. In fact, during the second half of the nineteenth century, a peculiar preparatory period took place. Those countries that timely decided on their priorities chose the right direction of education policy, funded the system of a general education and a professional education, and received significant dividends in the future. The specific tendencies in the development of those countries and regions are of particular interest, which

are characterized by multiculturalism, the mutual influence of different cultures, the struggle to establish national interests, taking into account the historical traditions of their people and the achievements of other countries. That is why Halychyna has evoked and will evoke interest of historians, economists, educators, who will analyze the main problems, gradually approaching to understanding the regularities of the process.

The historical regularities of an educational activity in Halychyna have a number of specific features. The first one is the dynamics of changes in the political, socio-economic life. Secondly, a significant number of studies conducted require the search for new aspects, generalizations, taking into account the possibilities of a systemic, interdisciplinary approach. Thirdly, the review of the literature allows us to make a controversial conclusion regarding the increased attention of Polish researchers, at least in quantitative terms, to various issues of public life in Halychyna.

As an example, we would like to consider two literary sources. Let us pay attention to the multivolume edition of «Galicja i jej dziedzictwo» (Meissner, 1995; Meissner, 1996). The first volume (History and Politics) was published in 1994, and in 2016, the 24<sup>th</sup> volume was already published. In the context of our study, the content of the third and sixth volumes is of a particular interest. The two volumes of Franciszek Bujak's Halychyna, which were published in 1908 (Bujak, 2014a) and 1910 (Bujak, 2014b), deserve a special attention. The fact that the reprint was issued in 2014 shows the relevance of this work by «the father of Polish history of farming». Another scientific paper worth mentioning is «Twórcy nauk o wychowaniu w środowisku akademickim Lwowa (1860 – 1939)» by K. Szmyd (Szmyd, 2003).

An important place in the historiography of the problem is taken by the monographs and the doctoral dissertations. In recent years, the attention to the events in Halychyna has been steadily increasing. This is evidenced by the emergence of a series of the original studies devoted to an analytical assessment of socioeconomic processes, the role of Halychyna n students, the significance of the intelligentsia of the region, its clergy, journalists in raising the level of culture and a national identity (Degtyarev, Zavorodnia, Polyakova, 2018).

At the same time, there is a significant number of issues left unresolved. First of all, we mean the regularities of the education of the national elite, the combination of general laws with the history of individual families, the assessment of the mutual influence of different cultures, structural, functional, theoretical modelling of an educational activity, a predictive assessment built on the basis of a historical experience.

Therefore, **the purpose of the given research** is to highlight the important historical aspects of the educational policy in Halychyna at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century on the basis of an interdisciplinary approach.

**Presentation of the main content.** To understand the specifics of the educational activity in Halychyna, it is important to take into account the general historical tendencies characteristic of the beginning of the 20th century. In the monograph, which became the basis of the doctoral dissertation by A. Vykhreshch (1993), the author emphasized the role of the economic expediency of investments into education. According to the well-known economist A. Marshall, the economic value of one genius in industry is greater than the expenses necessary to educate thousands of people. Moreover, in order to improve the material well-being of the people, in the first place the development of schools must be facilitated. Most countries have solved the problem of a compulsory primary education in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The results are obvious. In 1900 – 1905, the illiteracy rate per 1000 people was the following: Switzerland – 0, German – 20, Sweden – 21, Great Britain – 80, the USA – 107, France – 150,

Austria – 356, Hungary – 478, Russia (1897) – 747. The national income by M. Mulhall was the following: the USA – 309, Great Britain – 299,3, France – 268,5, Belgium – 239,1, Sweden – 199,2, Germany – 190,9, Norway – 183, Switzerland – 160, Austro-Hungary – 135,7, Italy – 109,3, Russia – 66,4.

The interest to this problem in different countries is proved by their expenses for education per student. The average expenses per student were the following (according to Russian literary sources, expressed in Russian ruble): the USA – 50,8, Switzerland – 28,4, Great Britain – 22,7, Norway – 18,4, Sweden – 17,7, Japan – 6,2, France – 2,7, Russia – 1,2 (Vykhreshch, 1993, p. 34–35). These factors have had a significant impact on the training of the professional elite in every country.

Following the principle of innovation it is necessary to reconsider the outstanding thinkers' achievements of the past. For illustrative purposes, the pedagogical system of Andrei Sheptytskyi can be mentioned. The analysis of Metropolitan Andrei's didactic views allowed the researchers to distinguish the following ideas that do not lose their urgency: «the collaborative activity of priests and intellectuals in order to raise the level of people's culture; the motivation that is based on the principles of service to God and people; the intellectual upbringing as a means of human development; the intellectual upbringing in the context of overcoming economic hardships; the intelligentsia's responsibility for educational activities; the health preserving health, the fatigue preventing; the development of the memory by means of summarizing and repetition of the main thoughts; the spiritual exercises (recollections); the shared reading; the novelty and relevance; the clarity, the apprehensibility, the simplicity, the figurativeness and comparison; listening to good sermons; the humour; learning for life; the development of students' independence, the identity, the initiative; the development of intellect and willpower; the cause and effect connections between phenomena; the development of the gift of preaching; the avoidance of excessive criticism; the unity and coordination of the tutors' work; the understanding of the learned material; the meaningfulness of the questions; the combination of theoretical generalizations with the specific facts; silence; the rational use of time; concentration; the creation of scientific centres; the School of Prayer» (Vykhreshch, 2018b).

The naturally-determined interest arises of how the above-mentioned ideas were developed, which of them preserved their urgent character in subsequent years and what new aspects that were inherent in the author's didactic system were substantiated later.

The transnational integrity of the past in the field of history, culture, education is of great interest. We cannot overlook the historical and pedagogical processes in the Austro-Hungarian Empire as they were directly reflected in the educational theory and practice of Western Ukrainian lands. In particular, the influence of Herbartianism in the countries of the Habsburg monarchy has been observed since 1848, that is, since the reform of the system of a public education, which was carried out in order to improve the organization and the content of teaching in accordance with the requirements of pedagogy. Since the second half of the nineteenth century, universities and gymnasia of Austria, and later, Austro-Hungary, are modernized in accordance with the German system. The key ideas in the Austro-Hungarian education system are distributed among the supporters of the Herbartian doctrine (Brezinka, 2003, p. 190; Engelbrecht, 1984, p. 35). Thus, we observe the active nature of the educational processes in Halychyna and Bukovyna, which were part of the Austrian (1804-1867), and subsequently the Austro-Hungarian Empire (1867 – 1918), under the Herbartian model of cultural-historical, socio-economic and educational development in these lands for different historical periods.

In his monograph «Classical education in the Western Ukrainian lands (19<sup>th</sup> – first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century). The Historical and Pedagogical Aspect», I. Kurliak highlights the content of education in the educational institutions of Halychyna and Bukovyna and offers a comparative analysis of the content of educational policy and system in Russia and Austria-Hungary. The author notes that the Austro-Hungarian educational policy, which focuses on the Germanization of schooling in Halychyna and the implementation of a number of reforms, in addition to the deficiencies, has contributed to the rise of a cultural life and provided a certain educational level (Kurliak, 2000, p. 6). In the paper “The Education of Austria in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries”, M. Miaskovskyi discloses the content and the main directions of the state’s regulation of teachers’ training and the professional development in the Habsburg Monarchy and in Western Ukraine, in particular, emphasizing the fact that teachers had the status of the state employees (Miaskovskyi, 2008, p. 112).

The foreign influence was manifested in determining the content of education, in particular, in the development of curricula for various types of educational institutions (gymnasias, public schools, lyceums), which clearly proves the study of two fields of disciplines suggested by J.-F. Herbart: historical and philological (religion, reading, writing, languages (German and a second foreign one: Hungarian, Polish, partly Ukrainian) and mathematical sciences (Arithmetic, Geometry, Geography, Nature, Chemistry, Physics) (Fedchyshyn, 2015, p. 64).

The Teaching Seminaries functioned according to the model of the educational institutions of the Herbartians K.-V. Stoy, T. Ziller, G. W. Rein. The Herbartian theory of step-by-step development, the concentration of training, formal degrees were introduced into the educational process of teaching institutes, and the teaching material was recommended to be presented in accordance with the pedagogical concept of J.-F. Herbart, set forth in “General Pedagogy” (Fedchyshyn, 2015, p. 90).

A similar picture can be observed in the preparation of the scientific elite. In the higher educational institutions, a new generation of scholars was trained. We note the fact that several habilitative papers have been presented in the German-speaking Charles University of Prague – Wendelin Toischer (1896), P. Durdik (1887) and F. Drtina (1898), two in Krakow – L. Kulchinskii (1880), Antoni Karbowski (1905) and two others at the University of Lviv – A. Danish (1895), B. Mankovsky (1903). It should be emphasized that three out of four doctoral studies were prepared by students of J.-F. Herbart at the University of Vienna (Téodor Vogt (1865), Alois Höfler (1895), Wilhelm Jerusalem (1903)). The doctrine of the J.-F. Herbart and a number of his students and supporters (M. W. Drobisch, L. von Strümpell, T. Weitz, G. Hartenstein, F. W. Dorpfeld, K. Kerbach, K. W. Mager, G. A. Lindner, K.-V. Stoy, T. Vogt, T. Ziller, G. W. Rein, O. Vilman) became especially popular in Germany, Austro-Hungary, and later in all European countries as an interesting scientific model of educational theory and practical training for solving a number of topical issues of education, didactics, pedeutology.

It is fundamentally important that in the context of the planned reforms in Ukraine, the idea of acceptability of humanistic traditions of world and national education was preserved. That is why there is an urgent need to find a foreign pedagogical experience, in particular the German-speaking countries (Germany, Austria, Switzerland), who embodied the advanced ideas of European pedagogical science and had a significant impact on the formation of pedagogical science and practice.

For history, it is not only important to study macroeconomic indicators at the level of evaluation of pedagogical systems’ development consistency, pedeutology, management of educational institutions, educational policy of the state, but also the peculiar microanalysis at the level

of the development of an individual family, personality. The written works of the students of the past years are of special interest. Actually speaking, thanks to such written documents, we can approach to a certain extent to understanding of the regularities of the educational process organization. Along with the memorial literature and scientific researches of the studied period we obtain a certain kind of the tool of a historical and pedagogical research.

For example, A. Vykhruhshch has conducted an analysis of the content of the student's notebook with Ukrainian exercises for 1936 – 1937 academic years. The owner of the notebook was a pupil of the eighth grade of the gymnasium: The first page of the notebook remained blank. The text began on the second page, so that the third and all subsequent odd ones were intended for the «correction». If a student made a mistake then on those particular pages they wrote a sentence with the corrected error. It was a specific kind of the reference scheme that was aimed at improving the standard of writing culture. The schoolgirl made the following mistakes in a school exercise. On the second page of her notebook there were two of them: «Vchera zachavsia shkilnyi rik» (in English – «Yesterday the school year began»)) and «Nyni ya khochu, bodai v chasty, perelyty na papir svoii dumky i vrazhinnia\_vyklykani pershym dnem» (in English – «Today I want, at least partially, to write down on the paper my thoughts and impressions induced by my first day»). On the third page, after the mistakes had been underlined with the red coloured ink by a teacher, only two sentences were written: «Vchera zachavsia shkilnyi rik» and «... svoii dumky i vrazhennia\_vyklykani». As we can see, the letters that were written incorrectly and the skipped comma in the sentence stipulated the schoolgirl to rewrite the corrected fragments along with the main text on the separate page. Such attention to erroneous actions deserves approval and is worth to be implemented in present-day conditions. This is important both at the level of the methodology and in the development of modern didactic systems. Each school exercise provided the choice of one of the three topics. The following list was suggested in the analyzed school notebook: «My thoughts and feelings at the beginning of the VIII class», «Who of the Ukrainian writers and women writers makes the deepest impression on me and why?», «Horoba (ramova tema)» (in English ramova tema – the main topic); «What kind of impressions did the collection of I. Franko's poetry «Zivviale lystia» (in English – «Faded leaves») made on me?», «Theatre (ramova tema)», «What social work do I consider to be the best and why?», «What title do I want to choose and why?», «What the people's leader should be like?» (Based on I. Franko's poem «Moses»), «What kind of impressions did the film «In a moment of happiness?» make on me?»; «The Strength of the Word», «A Woman in Ukrainian Literature», «Zymova Zaviriuha» (in English – «Winter Snowstorm»). The list of themes allows us to draw a conclusion about the peculiar vector orientation on the development of the autonomy of thinking, creativity, upbringing of a civic position and the combination with the practice of daily life (Vykhruhshch, 2018a).

The emphasis has been made on the optimistic completion of the written assignment: «... let failures strengthen my character. In order to make a good thing of iron, we throw it into the fire, so that a man could call himself mature, he must go through a solid school of life. I do not want to get away from it. I want my certificate of maturity to be true, proved by actually obtained knowledge, objectively well-developed mind and the noble soul. If I am not able to comprehend it throughout the running year, then I will not give up, but I will continue to work. Such thoughts ran on me in my first day at the eighth grade. Life will show me which of them are good and which are not. Today it felt extremely well. The initial fear passed, and it was replaced by some kind of joy: this year I will be able to become a mature man».

An important place in a modern historical research is taken by the search for regularities of the process of a regional development, as well as the systems of a higher order. At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a complex process of correlating the level of population literacy, expenses per student, a national income began. Those countries that realized these ratios earlier obtained better starting conditions for the next decades. The absence of own independent statehood delayed the development of national culture. The phenomenality of Halychyna was manifested in the fact that even under such unfavourable conditions the educators of the level of Andrei Sheptytsky, the clergy, teachers, journalists, and writers formed the basis for future liberation struggles.

**Conclusions.** We consider that the level of modern science makes it possible to actualize the possibility of a gradual transition from the accumulation of a large mass of little-known materials to the search for the historical development regularities. The interdisciplinary, systematic approach, the combination of the advantages of structural, functional, theoretical modelling, as well as the comprehensive assessment of mutual influences, especially in a multicultural environment are acquiring special actuality. The use of in-depth panoramic investigations together with the history of individual families, a personal approach will contribute immensely to the past events reconstruction, the possibility of even more effective use of the past experience for state-building processes of the present and future.

**Acknowledgments.** We express our sincere gratitude to Doctor of Pedagogy, Professor Anatolii Volodymyrovych Vykhrushch for his kind and helpful recommendations during our research.

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

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*The article was received on January 18, 2019.  
Article was recommended for publishing 2.03.2019*

UDC 94(477.83/.86):061.2 «XIX» Крушельницький  
DOI: 10.24919/2519-058x.10.159173

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**Бібліографічний опис статті:** Zulyak, I. & Klish, A. (2019). Anton Krushelnytskyi's participation in the activity of Ukrainian civil institutions in Eastern Halychyna (the first third of the XXth century). *Skhidnoievropeyskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 10, 74–84. doi: 10.24919/2519-058x.10.159173

**ANTON KRUSHELNYTSKYI'S PARTICIPATION IN THE ACTIVITY  
OF UKRAINIAN CIVIL INSTITUTIONS IN EASTERN HALYCHYNA  
(THE FIRST THIRD OF THE XXth CENTURY)**

**Summary. The purpose of the research:** to reveal the participation of Anton Krushelnytskyi in the activities of Ukrainian public institutions in Eastern Halychyna during the analyzed period. **The research methodology** is based on the principles of historicism, a systematic approach, a scientific approach, a verifying approach, the author's objectivity, a moderate narrative constructivism, as well as the use of general scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization) and special-historical (historical-genetic, historical-typological, historical-system) methods. One of the leading methods used by the authors was a biographical method that allowed to assess and determine the participation of A. Krush-

elnytskyi in the activities of the Ukrainian public institutions in Eastern Halychyna, during the first third of the XXth century. **The scientific novelty** is the following: for the first time in Ukrainian historiography, on the basis of the analysis of the previously unknown archival documents and materials, it has been determined that A. Krushelnytskyi was directly involved in both Ukrainian economic and cultural-educational societies, in particular as an active member of the «Prosvita» in the towns of Horodenka and Kolomyia, as the head of the society's affiliate in the town of Rohatyn in the establishment of the readers-halls and libraries in the rural areas. **Conclusions.** The participation of A. Krushelnytskyi in the activities of Ukrainian public institutions in Eastern Halychyna during the analyzed period was a peculiar reflection of not only his outlook, but also an active living and civil position. A. Krushelnytskyi was an active member of «Prosvita» branch in Kolomyia, Horodenka, the head of the branch office of the company in Rohatyn, facilitated the establishment of reading rooms and libraries in the rural areas, and popularized Ukrainian academic works, published by the Main Department of the Institution. He gained authority among the literary and educational circles of Eastern Halychyna, societies and institutions.

**Key words:** Eastern Halychyna, Anton Krushelnytskyi, Prosvita, branch, Ukrainian public institutions.

### УЧАСТЬ АНТОНА КРУШЕЛЬНИЦЬКОГО У ДІЯЛЬНОСТІ УКРАЇНСЬКИХ ГРОМАДСЬКИХ ІНСТИТУЦІЙ В СХІДНІЙ ГАЛИЧИНІ (ПЕРША ТРЕТИНА ХХ ст.)

**Анотація. Мета дослідження** – розкрити участь Антона Крушельницького у діяльності українських громадських інституцій в Східній Галичині окресленого періоду. **Методологія дослідження** базується на принципах історизму, системності, науковості, верифікації, авторської об'єктивності, поміркованого нарративного конструктивізму, а також на використанні загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, узагальнення) та спеціально-історичних (історико-генетичний, історико-типологічний, історико-системний) методів. Одним із провідних методів, яким послуговувалися автори, став біографічний, що дав змогу оцінити й визначити участь А. Крушельницького у діяльності українських громадських інституцій в Східній Галичині першої третини ХХ ст. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше в українській історіографії, на основі аналізу невідомих раніше архівних документів і матеріалів, з'ясовано безпосередню участь А. Крушельницького як в українських господарсько-економічних, так і культурно-просвітницьких товариствах, зокрема, як активного члена «Просвіти» у Городенці й Коломиї, голови філії товариства у Рогатині у заснуванні читалень і бібліотек у сільських місцевостях. **Висновки.** Участь А. Крушельницького у діяльності українських громадських інституцій в Східній Галичині окресленого періоду була своєрідним відображенням не лише його світогляду, але й активної життєвої і громадянської позиції. А. Крушельницький був активним діячем філії «Просвіти» у Коломиї, Городенці, головою філії товариства у Рогатині, сприяв заснуванню читалень і бібліотек у сільських місцевостях, популяризував твори, видані Головним віділом інституції. Користувався авторитетом серед українських наукових, літературних й освітніх кіл Східної Галичини, товариств та інституцій.

**Ключові слова:** Східна Галичина, Антін Крушельницький, «Просвіта», філія, українські громадські інституції.

**Problem statement.** Among the prominent figures of the national-cultural movement in Eastern Halychyna, during the first third of the XXth century. A. Krushelnytskyi is a leader in politics, a writer, a publicist, a literary critic, a journalist, a translator, an educator, an editor and a publisher. Due to certain circumstances, his participation in the activities of Ukrainian institutions in Eastern Halychyna of the analyzed period has not been studied for today, which is a scientific novelty of this scientific publication. Therefore, the investigated problem is extremely relevant and necessary for the contemporary understanding of participation of A. Krushelnytskyi's participation in the activities of Ukrainian institutions in the Eastern Halychyna of the analyzed period.

**The analysis of sources and recent researches.** In spite of certain achievements of the scientists in the study of the above mentioned issues, there are many important unresolved

problems beyond the limits of the research. The main attention is paid to the study of the pedagogical views of A. Krushelnytskyi (Chahrak, 2001). Some references to the cultural and educational activities of A. Krushelnytskyi are mentioned in the monographic works devoted to «Prosvita» (Zuliak, 2005).

Among the scientific researches a certain place is occupied by the issues of A. Krushelnytskyi's relationship with «Prosvita» (Zuliak, 2012; Topilskyi, 2016). Consequently, for a considerable period of the study of the above mentioned research theme there has been accumulated a certain amount of popular science literature, which in one way or another is tangent to the various aspects of the problem under investigation.

The main amount of the archival materials and documents, without which it is impossible to investigate the problem scientifically, to conduct a reasonable discussion and to make grounded conclusions, is concentrated in the Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Lviv (hereinafter referred to as the Central Intelligence Agency of Ukraine). In addition, the materials related to the participation of A. Krushelnytskyi in the activities of Ukrainian institutions in Eastern Halychyna of the analyzed period are used (Krushelnytskyi, 1909), «Letters from Prosvita» (Z zhyttia, 1913), «National Prosvita» (Zahalnyi Zbir, 1926; Zvit z diialnosti, 1926).

**The publication's purpose.** To reveal the participation of Anton Krushelnytskyi in the activities of Ukrainian public institutions in Eastern Halychyna during the analyzed period.

**Statement of the basic material.** A. Krushelnytskyi took an active part both in Ukrainian economic and cultural-educational societies. In particular, since September 2, 1909, he was a member of the «Pokutskiy union of crediting farm in Kolomyia» (the membership card number 664 – the note of the authors) and received 5% of an annual profit from his activities (Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine, Lviv, f. 361, d. 1, c. 144, p. 2a). On February 11, 1911, A. Krushelnytskyi, as a teacher of the gymnasium in Berezhany, was a member of the «Publishing Union of the Ukrainian Teachers in Kolomyia», having made two contributions of 40 kronas (hereinafter – kr.) (CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 144, p. 10).

During 1909 – 1921 he earned a profit of 40 kr. (CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 144, p. 11). From May 8, 1911, belonged to the «Mutual Credit Association» Hope in Berezhany», having received 20 kr. for the year 1911 profit (CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 144, p. 14). In addition, since April 8, 1913, A. Krushelnytskyi was a member of the county credit union in Horodenka, a membership card number 764 (CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 144, p. 19a). During 1913 he received the profit of 220 kr. (CSHAUL, c. 361, d. 1, c. 144, p. 21). On September 4, 1917, he resumes the membership in this company. From July 26, 1913 he is a member of the People's House in Horodenka with a share of 20 kr. and an introductory contribution – 2 kr. (CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 144, pp. 27, 32a). Although it is mentioned in the statute that the sum must not be less than 50 kr. (CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 144, p. 28a).

Since October 1916 A. Krushelnytskyi was also a member of the «Trade Union» in Horodenka. However, due to the military actions, the union ceased its activities temporarily (CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 145, pp. 41–44a). Since December 25, 1920, A. Krushelnytskyi was a member of the Union of Ukrainian Writers and Journalists (hereinafter – the UUWJ) (CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 144, p. 48). Since December 27, 1927, he was a member of the Union of Ukrainian private clerks of Halychyna (hereinafter referred to as the UUPCH) (CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 144, p. 49).

Despite the fact that he was a member of many economic institutions, as the mayor, he organized an election to a temporal public council in Horodenka on May 26–27, 1916

(CSHAUL, f 361, d. 1, c. 145, p. 61), he supported the decision of the urban agrarian commission to appeal to the elders about the return of the horses used for the military purposes (CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 146, pp. 57–57a). Nevertheless, his participation in the «Prosvita» activity was even more significant, although he actively collaborated with other Ukrainian institutions.

However, back in 1905 – 1906, A. Krushelnytskyi and other Ukrainian intellectuals, being in Stanislav, conducted free public lectures at the department of the pedagogical society (CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 31, p. 1). Twenty-two lectures were conducted on various subjects (CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 31, p. 1–3), of which A. Krushelnytskyi, as a member of the section of general scientific knowledge, conducted lectures on the following topics «Literary Sylvetka of the Novelist M. Kotsiubynskyi», «Khmelnyschyna», «Geography of Ukraine», «History of Ukraine from the Ancient times of the IXth century to the Formation of Kyiv principality», «On beauty», «From our New Lyrics» and the others (CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 31, p. 1–3).

According to the plan for conducting public lectures, it was planned to read twenty five lectures, but three did not take place. The reasons for it are unknown. The programme included the coverage of the following subjects, such as: History of Ukraine, Literature, Art, Law, Medicine and Nature Studies. The specialists who conducted the lectures were mostly the teachers of the gymnasium – 18 lecturers, by the teachers of the industrial schools – 2 lecturers, by the doctors – 1 person, by the lawyers – 1 person (CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 31, p. 3a).

In 1906 – 1907, the Committee of the «Russian Dialogue» was charged with the public lectures with the payment of 10 sotykyv from the listener. A. Krushelnytskyi conducted lectures on the following topics: «Significance of Popular Statements», and M. Posatskyi – «Philology as a Feeling and Science». The attendance at the lectures was 85 people, including 28 men, 33 women, and 24 students. The profit was 8.3 kr. The total profits from all lectures amounted to 27.96 kr. (CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 31, p. 4, p. 6). A. Krushelnytskyi, in a certain way, cooperated with the Ukrainian reciter «Entertainment», who in 1907 asked him to provide the works for printing (CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 153, p. 2).

Actually A. Krushelnytskyi started his career in «Prosvita» in 1908, being an active member of the affiliate of the society in Kolomyia, from 1913 – in Horodenka, and from 1925 – as the head of the branch in Rohatyn. He was quite often elected as a delegate from the mentioned branches to the general meeting of the institute held in the city of Lviv (Zahalnyi Zbir, 1926, pp. 4–39; Zvit z diialnosti, 1926, pp. 233–247; Z zhyttia, 1913, p. 10–11). Being an active educator, he tried to implement the educational idea at the level of the individual affiliates. The awareness of the goals and objectives of the educational activities of the intelligentsia was suggested by the author in the «Educational Lecture (from the jubilee bypass of affiliates branches «Prosvita» in Kolomyia on December 21, 1908)» (Krushelnytskyi, 1909).

A. Krushelnytskyi wrote about the cultural and educational work in «Prosvita» that «... when our activity is the one for Ukraine, for the Ukrainian people, for pushing ... in the educational, economic, political field, in a word the field of culture, then even our activity deserves recognition, even then it is good and ethical, then we still pay our duty for our people, and through our people for humanity» (Krushelnytskyi, 1909, p. 11).

In December 1913, at the general meeting of Prosvita branch in Horodenka, A. Krushelnytskyi took the floor with a speech dedicated to the future anniversaries of T. Shevchenko's birth in 1914, in which he emphasized the importance and significance of his ideas in the cathedral unification of Ukrainian lands. In particular, he emphasized: «... we spread and

deepen the ideas of Shevchenko in advance, become a cultural people ...» (Krushelnytskyi, 1909, p. 10–11).

By the way, A. Krushelnytskyi offered to name after T. Shevchenko all Ukrainian societies and structures created in the jubilee year 1914. This fact indicated the following: he realized the importance of T. Shevchenko works in Ukrainian culture. However, due to the circumstances connected with the beginning of World War I, the suggestion of A. Krushelnytskyi was never implemented.

Heading «Prosvita» branch in Rohatyn, A. Krushelnytskyi promoted its activities quickly and brought in «Prosvita» branch to the leading centers of the institutions in Eastern Halychyna. In a relatively short time, the branch consisted of 49 active reading rooms. The higher education courses were organized by the branch activities together with the «Teachers' Community». The main purpose of the courses was the following idea «... higher education courses should not accumulate much knowledge in the heads of their students, but they should teach them the planned organization of the educational process and the methods of educational work so that they could guide the educational community with the help of self-education in order to obtain knowledge and better life conditions» (Zuliak, 2005, p. 758).

Being the Head of Prosvita branch in Rohatynshchyna, A. Krushelnytskyi worked closely with the «Silskoho Hospodarya» branch (CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 152, p. 53). He renovated the reading rooms of Prosvita branch in Rohatynshchyna actively. The meeting of the reading center section proved this renovation activity, dating back to December 30, 1922. According to the meeting, the area for the institution premises was bought. As it turned out, the bought area was small in size, but was determined by high price, 600\$. In addition to the search for Prosvita branch premises area, A. Krushelnytskyi began building Narodnyi Dim (People's House) in Rohatyn. On this occasion, he suggested to gather the meeting of Rohatyn inhabitants and the outskirt inhabitants in order to organize a committee concerning the building of Narodnyi Dim (People's House). At the meeting of Prosvita branch in June 16, 1926, the branch members composition and the branch functions were defined and approved (CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 151, p. 1–1a). An important place in the work of the head of the branch was raising the money for the construction of T. Shevchenko monument in Rohatyn, a concert in Berezhany in honor of Kobzar (CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 152, p. 52; CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 159, p. 19).

The manual, issued by the main branches of «Prosvita» and «Native School», contained a practical organization of the youth work, the research of Ukrainian studies, physical education, cultural and artistic work: feasts, memorials, holidays, cooperation between the villages. An important place in the activity of the Main Department of Prosvita branch was assigned to the establishment of the so-called reading libraries, which in the long run should be the basis for the organization of national universities of orphanage type in order to develop professional education (Halushchynskyi, 1926, pp. 5–6, Halushchynskyi, 1927, p. 18).

A. Krushelnytskyi, while analyzing the activity of Prosvita branch in 1924, wrote the following: «It is important to connect our whole educational activity into one whole, large, harmonious activity, to involve all our organizations into one joint affiliated effort, to give the firm material and moral foundation...» (CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 152, p. 1a).

A. Krushelnytskyi pursued the activity of establishing the reading rooms and libraries in villages actively. The vivid example of such activity was his delivered speech at the meeting on August 16, 1925 in Burshtyn. He emphasized that Prosvita branch situation was rather complicated, therefore, he suggested to organize an office at the presence of each branch

department that would control the development of cultural and educational life and support reading rooms financially and morally. A. Krushelnytskyi founded Ivan Franko district library, which had 415 volumes of literary works, and the so-called «travelling» library for readers consisted of 121 books. Three sections were organized at the branch: organizational, teaching and humanistic (*Zvit z diialnosti*, 1926, p. 244). There were 12 A. Krushelnytskyi's own works in «Prosvita» branch in Rohatyn with the total sum – 58.9 zloty (zl). The sum of the other authors works was 466,9 zl. (CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 152, pp. 24–28).

Taking into account the complicated situation with the organization of the library business, the Main Branch decided to create the sets of the so-called «travelling» libraries since autumn, 1924 (*Halushchynskiyi*, 1924, p. 103). A. Krushelnytskyi mentioned that the creation of the «travelling» libraries required significant efforts, «... hardly managed to make 30 sets, each set included 50 books; and in these 30 sets I had to duplicate some books» (CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 152, p. 12). Although, he estimated «Prosvita» publishing work positively.

There was the list of the cheapest editions of various content available to every Ukrainian provided by the «Folk Illustrated Calendar of Prosvita Society for 1925 year» (*Vydannia*, 1924, pp. 101–104). At the general meeting of Prosvita branch in 1925, A. Krushelnytskyi, as a delegate from Rohatyn, noticed that the publication of the society should be available to every Ukrainian. Emphasizing the importance of Prosvita publishing activity, he noted that because of the weakness of connection (the main department – the branch – the reading room), the society does not contribute to making its publications more available/ accessible to each community. In his opinion, it was necessary to implement changes to the branch regulations, so that the readers became not only the members of Prosvita, but also paid a low membership fee (*Zahalnyi Zbir*, 1926, p. 13).

M. Halushchinsky in the article «Prosvita Publishing Activity» pointed out that if the affiliates would pay monthly for the received literature from 200 to 500 thousand zl. in cash, in this case the Main Department would conduct the publishing activities for the educational work benefit (*Halushchynskiyi*, 1923, p. 2). The important place in publishing activities of the company was given to the publication of the popular literature, so the Main Department encouraged the affiliates and the reading rooms to buy and subscribe to their libraries. On June 16, 1929 in Lviv, on the celebration of «Prosvita», dedicated to the memory of Ivan Franko, A. Krushelnytskyi took the floor with the speech «Revolutsionerovy and Kamenyarevy» (*Krushelnytskyi*, 1929, pp. 85–96). On September 22, 1926, he ordered the society editions for the sum of 1643.1 kр (calculated by the authors) in the Office of the Main Department of Prosvita (CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 151, pp. 29–31). Incidentally, NTS in a letter sent to A. Krushelnytskyi in April 21, 1908 reported on the material assistance to Ivan Franko, who «... provided for the family exclusively by literary earnings. For now and for the future there is no point to talk about them. His relatives and he himself are left without any means of life, without the need for a medical aid and appropriate care» (CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 153, p. 3).

Prosvita branch in Berezhany on October 30, 1927, held a week exhibition of books, a course for librarians, and therefore asked A. Krushelnytskyi not only to be a participant, but also planned to arrange an exhibition of his works. As an active educator, the head of the company's affiliate in Rohatyn, A. Krushelnytskyi was invited to an educational congress, dedicated to the 60th anniversary of Prosvita foundation. He was a delegate of the general institution meetings for numerous times (CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 151, pp. 34, 35, 41).

However, the literary activity of A. Krushelnytskyi played an important role not only in «Prosvita» activity, but also in the cultural and educational life. Prosvita popularized and

distributed his creative work, even after the death of the latter. In particular, in the «Catalogue of the Bookstore of Prosvita Society», he presented his works «Cutting out Forest Trees» and «Ivan Franko» (Katalog, 1939, pp. 4–35). Incidentally, the works of «Ivan Franko», «By Strong Wing Move» and «Reader Fifth for the Fifth Grade in a Unified School» were prohibited by Polish authorities (Magalias, 1937).

A certain part of «Prosvita» branches, although prohibited by the charter, tried to pursue political activities, so the Main Department of the company required to send the report of the general meeting of the branch in Rohatyn, informing A. Krushelnytskyi that «... blame is ridiculous, so comrades can be calm» (CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 152, p. 20 p.). Nevertheless, on March 8, 1927, a meeting of the Main Department of «Prosvita» was held at which the issue of holding the general meeting of the branch in the Rohatyn was discussed. They stressed that the head of the branch A. Krushelnytskyi was not entitled to hold the general meeting, because from their several readers their representatives did not have the powers of the head of the society, respectively, did not take part in the voting because the hall for the meeting was too small, that's why, not all delegates and guests were able to get to their venue. The head office of Prosvita considered the branch of the Society in Rohatyn to be the Secretariat of the Socialist Party (CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 152, p. 36).

An important place in A. Krushelnytskyi's educational life was his direct participation in the functioning of the SUPIZh, which took place in Vienna on October 15, 1920. Actually, he was invited to a joint meeting of the Board on the organization of lectures and the conduct of literary evenings (CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 153, p. 22).

A. Krushelnytskyi was a member of SUPIZH in Vienna, as evidenced by the appeal of the institution's board regarding the payment of a monthly membership fee of 10 kr., Entrance fee – 10 kr., the production of a certificate – 20 kr. He has repeatedly attended the meeting of the SUPIZH Executive Council (CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 153, pp. 23, 26).

In June 23, 1925, A. Krushelnytskyi was invited by the Ukrainian Pedagogical Society to the Congress of Directors of Gymnasium and Seminary in Lviv, which was planned to be held in July 2 of this year, and he had to make a presentation on the educational issues (CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 153, pp. 29, 32). The Board of Teachers of Ukrainian Private Secondary Schools at the «Teachers' Community» invited him to a general meeting (CSHAUL, f. 311, d. 1, c. 9, p. 67). A. Krushelnytskyi participated in the work of the educational and teaching commission at «Prosvita» branch named after T. Shevchenko in Lviv (CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 151, pp. 37, 38).

In addition, he tried to create scholarships funds for the gifted Ukrainian youth in order to give them a material support. The scholarship project fund was suggested by A. Krushelnytskyi under the Ministry of National Education of the Ukrainian People's Republic. In his opinion, it was necessary to announce a competition for 25 scholarships for Philosophy and Law students, Medicine and Technology students for 2 thousand kr. monthly for one year from March 1, 1920 – until February 28, 1921, in the amount of 600 thousand kr. The terms of the competition were the following: the preliminary work or service in the Ukrainian army; the absence of any material support; the results of study in six months from subjects that have not less than 20 hours; a statement that after graduation the student will work in the civil service in the Ukrainian People's Republic for six years (CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 146, p. 91).

The editorial office of the magazine «Novyi Chas» on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of I. Franko death planned to publish the information about him and those persons who



were personally familiar with him monthly, in order «... to magnify the memory of our great Teacher, but to prolong the details about his life» (CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 153, p. 35) hence, asked A. Krushelnytskyi to submit such information. As a matter of fact, the editorial staff appealed to him on this occasion, as it can be explained by the fact that he had personal and friendly relations with I. Franko, who acted not only as a critic of his works, but also as a mentor to a certain extent.

This information was stated in the articles written by S. Trofymuk «Antin Krushelnytskyi – Ivan Franko's correspondent» (Trofymuk, 1968, pp. 146–147), B. Romanenchuk «Literary Kolomyia» (Romanenchuk, 1988, pp. 197–226) and M. Zuliak «Antin Krushelnytskyi – popularizer of Ivan Franko's work» (Zuliak, 2013, pp. 117–120). By the way, in A. Krushelnytskyi's articles dedicated to Ivan Franko, the author tries to submit not only Kamenyar's childhood, but also to convey his feelings related to his childhood, his native village, elementary school, gymnasium, and the outlook formation. An important place is devoted to the social environment, which had influence on the formation of Ivan Yakovlevich as a person.

A. Krushelnytskyi cooperated with the Scientific society named after T. Shevchenko (hereinafter – NTSh) actively, has attended the general meeting of the institution for many times (CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 158a, p. 1). In April 10, 1926, the NTSh, in person of the head K. Studynskyi, addressed to A. Krushelnytskyi in order to celebrate with dignity the same I. Franko's anniversary by publishing memoirs of his life, the manuscripts, and the others. For the above mentioned materials, a separate archive room of I. Franko at the institution's premises was foreseen by the NTSh (CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 153, p. 36). A. Krushelnytskyi cooperated with higher educational institutions. Thus, Kamyanets-Podilskyi State University, founded in 1918, appealed to him about the transfer of all his works for the library needs (CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, p. 158a, p. 5). By the way, A. Krushelnytskyi has repeatedly worked in the funds of this library. The main evidence of the above mentioned fact was the permission of the rector of the university, given to A. Krushelnytskyi in September 15, 1919, that he was allowed to work in the university library (CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 144, p. 44).

A. Krushelnytskyi had an undeniable international authority, therefore the Ukrainian Academic Committee in Prague invited him to attend the Scientific Congress, which was to take place in October 3–6, 1926 (CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 153, p. 38). He was a renowned litterateur, a writer, a publicist, and a literary critic, therefore, the «Society of Ukrainian Writers and Journalists named after I. Franko» in Lviv invited A. Krushelnytskyi to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the literary work of O. Kobylyanska and A. Tchaikovskyi, the anniversary of the Academician V. Shchurat, K. Studynskyi (CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 153, pp. 41–42, 52; CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 158a, pp. 20, 21, 42). In connection with the festive concert, organized by «Prosvita» branch named after T. Shevchenko in Lviv, dedicated to the anniversary of I. Franko, A. Krushelnytskyi was invited to deliver a speech on the occasion of the consecration of the third stamp unit flag of the Ukrainian elder Plastuns (CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 151, p. 33; CSHAUL, 361, d. 1, c. 158a, p. 24).

Having a powerful authority of a public figure and a teacher, the Ukrainian Academic Gymnasium in Lviv invited A. Krushelnytskyi to the concert devoted to the 68th anniversary of T. Shevchenko's death, and the State Gymnasium students of the city – to the concert, dedicated to Shevchenko, the opening of the Bursa named after St. John the Baptist in Drohobych, etc. (CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 159, pp. 29, 30, 33).

He belonged to SURPRUHY, being invited to the meeting of the above mentioned institution in Lviv in May 7, 1928 (CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 153, p. 43). According to the

archival materials, in 1929 A. Krushelnytskyi belonged to the organizational committee of this society (CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 153, p. 45). The National Museum in Lviv invited him in 1913 for the transfer of collections for public use (CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 158a, p. 3). In 1932 he was invited to the opening of the exhibition dedicated to I. Mazepa (CSHAUL, f. 311, d. 1, c. 9, p. 9).

While in Vienna, A. Krushelnitskyi spent an active cultural life. He was often invited to such events as «Andriyivski Vechornytsi», organized by the societies «Sich» and «Supporters of Education», for watching the performance «Autumn Violins», «The Fourth Performance», a gala evening in the honor of M. Pavlyk. A group of «Sichovykh Striltsiv» he was invited to worship with a memorial service for the fallen in battles for Ukraine's independence, the 10th anniversary of USSR foundation, the opera great masquerade «Koza-Dereza» etc. (CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 158a, pp. 8–10, 11, 12, 15a, 17, 40).

The end of the 20-ies of the XXth century in Eastern Halychyna was characterized by a rather difficult situation in which Ukrainian schools were found, which was directly connected not only with their forcible polonization, but also with the total elimination of the Polish authorities. However, A. Krushelnytskyi, as a well-known teacher, the director of the gymnasium, invited the «Teacher Community» to meet on the creation of a committee to protect Ukrainian school structures and discuss other current issues (CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 153, p. 44, 48, 48).

A. Krushelnytskyi had the authority among the Ukrainian literary and educational circles of Eastern Halychyna, the societies and institutions. The main Prosvita branch, its branch in Berezhany, as well as local centers of the «Union of the Ukrainians», the «Teacher's Community», the circle of the «Ukrainian Pedagogical Society», the «Ukrainian Bursa», the «Protection of Children and Youth Care Society», The Blessed Virgin Mary sister-nuns, the «Berezhanskyi Boyan», the bourgeois reading room, the «Mutual Teaching Aid», the People's House (Narodnyi Dim), the «Nadiya» cooperative, the Union Cooperative, the «Silskyi Hospodar» and the others, welcomed him on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of literary work and the 50th birthday anniversary and significant achievements with the following words: «in the field of the national literature, enriched the nationwide cultural treasury, made You very dear and close to our Society, which has been guarding the Ukrainian culture for a dozen years» (CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 159, p. 4–4a, 7–7a, 8).

The Ukrainian Academic Community in Prague, «Teacher's Community» branch in Przemysl, Prosvita branch in Rohatyn, Prosvita reading rooms in Psara, Knyahynychakh, Danylychi, Potok, the Ukrainian private seven grade school named after O. Storozhenka in Brest, the group of Ukrainian national youth high schools in the Czechoslovak Republic, the Ukrainian National-Democratic Association, the «Union of the Ukrainian Theater Teachers», the publishing house «Zhuravli», «Teachers' Community», Andriy and Anna Zhuki other persons and Institutions also welcomed the jubilee (CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 159, pp. 12, 16, 18, 19–19a, 20, 28, 31, 35, 37–42, 75).

He had a significant impact on the working environment. This is evidenced by the letter of the Cultural and Educational Section of the «Workers' Theater» in Lviv, dated back to March 31, 1934, when the leadership of the section referred to him about the transfer of his books for the library's needs of the theater (CSHAUL, f. 361, d. 1, c. 153, p. 59).

**Conclusions.** The participation of A. Krushelnytskyi in the activities of Ukrainian public institutions in Eastern Halychyna during the analyzed period was a peculiar reflection of not only his outlook, but also an active living and civil position. A. Krushelnytskyi was an active member of «Prosvita» branch in Kolomyia, Horodenka, the head of the branch office of the

company in Rohatyn, facilitated the establishment of reading rooms and libraries in the rural areas, and popularized Ukrainian academic works, published by the Main Department of the Institution. He gained authority among the literary and educational circles of Eastern Halychyna, societies and institutions.

The perspective of a further scientific research related to Anton Krushelnytskyi's personality is the analysis of his journalistic and epistolary heritage, which will deepen and broaden our knowledge of this remarkable personality greatly, his contribution to socio-political, economic, and educational life of Eastern Halychyna at the end of the XIXth – the first third of the XXth century.

**Acknowledgments.** The authors of the publication express the sincere gratitude to the director and the employees of the Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Lviv for the support and assistance in search of the archival material.

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

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*The article was received on January 16, 2019.  
Article was recommended for publishing 4.03.2019.*

UDC 94(470+477.8) «1914/1917»:336.02  
DOI: 10.24919/2519-058x.10.159178

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**Бібліографічний опис статті:** Orlyk, S., & Orlyk, V. (2019). Control of the Russian occupation authority over the activities of salt factories in Halychyna and Bukovyna in the period of the First World War. *Shkhidnoievropeiskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 10, 85–93. doi: 10.24919/2519-058x.10.159178

**CONTROL OF THE RUSSIAN OCCUPATION AUTHORITY  
OVER THE ACTIVITIES OF SALT FACTORIES IN HALYCHYNA  
AND BUKOVYNA IN THE PERIOD OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR**

**Summary.** *The purpose of the research is the study of the process of organizing financial and economic control and management of activities of salt factories in the captured territories of Halychyna and Bukovyna by the Russian occupation authorities during the First World War. The research methodology is a complex of general scientific and special methods. Special historical methods peculiar to the field of social and economic history were widely used: diachronic (periodization) method, historical, comparative and retrospective methods, historical and typological, historical and systematic, historical and genetic methods, historical and economic analysis and economic methods. The scientific novelty of the study is the disclosure of the theoretical foundations and practical aspects of the analysis of the financial and economic policy of the Russian occupation regime in Halychyna and*

*Bukovyna during the First World War. The study has been carried out due to the absence of special works on this topic in the historiography. **Conclusions.** The economic policy of the Russian authority in the occupied territories of Halychyna and Bukovyna was aimed at maximizing the use of natural resources, manpower and industrial capacities. The arrangement of work of industrial enterprises in the captured region, in particular salt factories, was aimed at providing the Russian army with a vitally necessary product of first necessity which was salt. It was established that the state-owned salt factories transfer their profits to the Russian state treasury. It has been proved that the financial and economic activity of the Russian Empire (Russia) in the occupied Halychyna and Bukovyna showed the striking difference between the declared «liberation» slogans and the real policy that was clearly aggressive.*

**Key words:** Halychyna, Bukovyna, the World War I, the Russian Empire, Military General Governorate of Halychyna, Russian occupation, salt factories.

### КОНТРОЛЬ РОСІЙСЬКОЇ ОКУПАЦІЙНОЇ ВЛАДИ ЗА ДІЯЛЬНІСТЮ СОЛЯНИХ ПІДПРИЄМСТВ У ГАЛИЧИНІ ТА БУКОВИНІ В ПЕРІОД ПЕРШОЇ СВІТОВОЇ ВІЙНИ

**Анотація.** *Метою статті є дослідження процесу організації фінансово-господарського контролю та управління російською окупаційною владою діяльністю соляних підприємств на захоплених територіях Галичини й Буковини в період Першої світової війни. **Методологічну основу** наукового пошуку становить сукупність загальнонаукових та спеціальних методів. Широко використано спеціальні історичні методи, характерні для галузі соціально-економічної історії: діахронний (періодизації), історико-порівняльний та ретроспективний, історико-типологічний, історико-системний, історико-генетичний, історико-економічного аналізу, а також економічні методи. **Наукова новизна** дослідження полягає у розкритті теоретичних засад і практичних аспектів проведення аналізу фінансово-економічної політики російського окупаційного режиму в Галичині та Буковині в період Першої світової війни, що зумовлено відсутністю в історіографії спеціальних праць з означеної тематики. **Висновки.** Економічна політика російської влади на окупованих територіях Галичини та Буковини була спрямована на максимальне використання на власну користь захоплених природних і трудових ресурсів та промислових потужностей. Налагодження роботи промислових підприємств захопленого регіону, зокрема соляних, мало на меті забезпечити російську армію життєво необхідним продуктом – сіллю. Встановлено, що казенні соляні підприємства перераховували отримані прибутки до російської державної казни. Доведено, що фінансово-господарча діяльність Російської імперії (Росії) в окупованих Галичині та Буковині стала свідченням різкої різниці між декларованими «визвольними» гаслами і реальною політикою, яка мала виразно загарбницький характер.*

**Ключові слова:** Галичина, Буковина, Перша світова війна, Російська імперія, Військове генерал-губернаторство Галичини, російська окупація, соляні підприємства.

**Problem statement.** In the second decade of the XX century Ukraine appeared in a difficult situation due to the hybrid war started by the Russian Federation (in 2014 the Crimea was annexed and part of Luhansk and Donetsk regions of Ukraine were occupied). Moscow authorities once again demonstrated their militaristic neo-imperial politics to the democratic world. The historical experience of the occupation of Halychyna and Bukovyna territories during the First World War shows that in the economic sphere, the then Russian authorities were guided by the invincible aggressive principles that are used today in the course of the hybrid war with Ukraine. After capturing Halychyna and Bukovyna together with the industrial potential and natural resources, the occupation authorities considered them as «the original property of Russia», and immediately proceeded to establish the mechanism for using the captured resources for their own benefit and to prepare the economic basis for the incorporation of the captured territories into the Romanovs' empire.

**The analysis of sources and recent researches.** The problems of the social and economic situation of the population in Halychyna and Bukovyna during the First World War are

quite relevant in contemporary Ukrainian historiography. However, the issue of organizing the control of the Russian occupation in Halychyna and Bukovyna over the activities of certain industries remains out of view among researchers or has not been considered in details. There are only few studies of the economic situation in the occupied region. In particular, I. Ilnytskyi (Ilnytskyi, 2014, pp. 297–304) and S. Orlyk (Orlyk, 2017a, pp. 44–55; Orlyk, 2018a, pp. 380–402) paid attention to the activities of the Russian occupation administration in Halychyna and senior government officials of the Russian Empire on the establishment of the oil and gas industry in the captured territories. The state of the distillery and tobacco branches of the processing industry and their taxation during the Russian occupation in Halychyna and Bukovyna during the First World War was considered in the articles of S. Orlyk (Orlyk, 2017b, pp. 171–182; Orlyk, 2018b, pp. 204–212). The situation which appeared in the monetary circulation and the banking system of this region during the Russian occupation was considered in the articles of S. Orlyk and A. Boyko-Gagarin (Orlyk, Boyko-Gagarin, 2017, pp. 143–164; Orlyk, 2018c, pp. 223–230). Valuable documentary materials of the expedition of the Russian engineer G. Markovskiy on the study of the state and technologies of the salt industry of Halychyna were published in the article by B. Lazorak (Lazorak, 2017, pp. 129–149). Based on the analysis of the documentary sources, the author convincingly proved that the restoration of salt factories of the captured region had a very important strategic significance for the Russian occupation authorities.

A small number of works on the problems of economic history of Ukraine is conditioned by the methodological complexity of conducting such studies. After all, scientific knowledge of the problems of economic history is not limited to describing the facts and events of the historical past, it «involves conceptual and theoretical understanding of them, which requires the use of many scientific methods of cognition» (Orlyk, 2011, p. 59).

**The purpose of the article** is to study the process of organization of financial and economic control and management of the Russian occupation authorities over the activity of salt factories in the captured territories of Halychyna and Bukovyna during the period of the First World War.

**Statement of the basic material.** During the occupation of Halychyna and Bukovyna by the Russian troops during World War I, the issue of managing the captured state property previously owned by the Austro-Hungarian government, as well as other property that was transferred to the hands of the Russian occupation authorities was a rather urgent matter. In the international legislative field, the problem of the transition of the state property of a defeated country to the ownership or use of the occupying country was regulated by the IV Hague Convention «On the laws and customs of the war on land», adopted on October 18, 1907 (the effect of the Convention is still valid – author). Article 55 of this Convention reads as follows: «The occupying State shall be regarded only as administrator and usufructuary<sup>1</sup> of public buildings, real estate, forests, and agricultural estates belonging to the hostile State, and situated in the occupied country. It must safeguard the capital of these properties, and administer them in accordance with the rules of usufruct» (Convention (IV), 1907). With regard to private property, it was protected by Article 46 of the Convention, which stated that «Private property cannot be confiscated» (Convention (IV), 1907). Although in practice, in the difficult conditions of occupation, the property of individuals and legal entities abandoned by the owners or little difficulties in documenting the ownership of the property by the Russian

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<sup>1</sup> Usufructuary (from *jus utendi* (Latin) is the right to use property, *i jus fruendi* (Latin) is the right to receive income from the property) – the right to use the property of another with the right to detain the income but on the condition of caretaking of its consistency, value and economic purpose.

authorities, as well as the enterprises that had strategic interest for the occupation authorities were subject to confiscation and/or the sequestration was used as a complete prohibition or partial restriction for the owner to use or dispose any property. That was carried out according to the special orders of the Military General Governorate.

Therefore, the property of the state-owned enterprises which belonged to the Austrian authority was transferred to the economic management of the Russian occupation authorities as booty of war (Orlyk, 2017c, p. 195). The new authority implemented the inventory of movable and immovable assets without wasting time (September – November 1914). Commissions were formed by the orders of governors, heads of districts and heads of military stations. The commissions included military officers and police officers. By the end of 1914 governors received relevant descriptions of such assets. The assets were transferred to the treasury as revenues (SACHR, f. 283, d. 1, c. 56, p. 2–22).

The Russian occupation authorities paid particular attention to the discoveries of available minerals in Halychyna and Bukovyna for the purpose of their use for their own benefit. According to the geological documentation and maps that indicated the location of oil, salt, coal, copper and other deposits, exploration works were carried out (CSHAUK, f. 377, d. 1, c. 64, p. 7, 10–13, 131). The Administration of Financial Affairs involved specialists, engineers, geologists, chemists for those works. Department of Hydro-technical Works and building organizations responsible for the reinforcement of the Army in the south-western front, reported about the deposits they had found (CSHAUK, f. 377, d. 1, c. 64, p. 6, 10). Chemical investigations of salt and oil fields were carried out and technical description of the possibilities of extraction of those minerals was studied (CSHAUK, f. 361, f. 1, c. 530, p. 10–130). Specialists from ministries and departments who were competent in mining were sent from the Russian Empire to the Halychynan Military General Governorate. They had to carry out a comprehensive study of the state of the mining industry in the captured region and to provide specific recommendations on the expediency of rebuilding the destroyed industrial sites.

In order to get total financial control over the activities of the state and sequestered enterprises, the property of enterprises and factories of tobacco and salt monopolies were transferred to the «economic regulation of the Administration of Financial Affairs» at the Military General Governorate of Halychyna (SACHR, f. 923, d. 1, c. 185, p. 46–49). The following sequestered enterprises were economically and financially controlled by the Administration of Financial Affairs: oil refining factory in Pechenizhyn, Bytkiv oilfields and state monopolies: Dzhuriv lignite mines, Kosiv and Kachyk salt factories. At other industrial enterprises, where strategic products were produced (oil, yeast, sugar, etc.), the Administration of Financial Affairs appointed authorized controllers who monitored the production process, the completeness of charging and paying excise duties and other payments to the budget.

During the Austrian rule salt extraction in Halychyna and Bukovyna was carried out at state-owned salt factories. During the pre-war year of 1912, 10 303 thousand puds of salt were mined in the sum of 6 337 thousand rubles. In this industry, more than 3,500 employees were employed (CSHAUK, f. 361, d. 1, c. 530, pp. 8). The salt state monopoly, which included not only mining, but also sale of salt, provided the Austrian treasury with about 18 million kronas of annual income (CSHAUK, f. 361, d. 1, c. 344, p. 14).

At the time of the first occupation of Halychyna and Bukovyna by the Russian authorities, there were territories where eight promising salt-mined factories were located in the towns of Drohobych, Stebnyk, Dolyna, Bolekhiv, Delyatyn, Lanchyn, Kalush and Kosiv (CSHAUK, f. 694, d. 1, c. 12, p. 1v, 11v–12). On September 21, 1914, the controller of Dnistrovskiyi



detachment of the Russian army reported to the military command that «he held physical inspection of the seized salt factory in Dolyna» where he revealed 153.8 thousand kilos of salt in the sum of 7 692 rubles and 45 kopecks. The salt was requisitioned and a large part of it was sold to the military units and local traders, another part was sold to the Magistrate to meet the needs of the residents in the town of Dolyna (SAIFR, f. 595, d. 1, c. 4, p. 2–5v, 33–41, 49, 52).

The stocks of salt mined by the Austrian monopoly before the Russian occupation quickly expired and, therefore, there were signs of «salt famine». Local salt factories stopped or shortened their work, and it was very costly to supply salt from the Russian Empire. The Russian occupation authorities explored in detail the organization of the salt industry under the Austrian authorities to take over the experience and to resume the work of this branch in order to establish supplies for the needs of the Russian army. By mid-October 1914, the mining engineer G. Markovskiy had presented «The Statement on the Salt Industry in Halychyna» (CSHAUL, f. 694, d. 1, c. 12, p. 1–25; Lazorak, 2017, p. 129–149) to the Military General Governorate of Halychyna. In the statement he provided a detailed description of the industry in the captured region and made proposals for its restoration. As a result, the Russian occupation authorities decided to continue the practice of monopoly on salt production. In fact, they recommenced the work of three salt factories in Bolekhiv, Drohobych and Stebnyk. The general management of Drohobych salt factory was initially carried out by the Russian military authorities, and eventually the directors were appointed. Later the enterprise came under control of the temporary Administration of Financial Affairs of Halychyna and Bukovyna and the civilian administration of the district head. All other salt factories were assigned to government controllers from the Russian authorities. Total revenues to the Russian state budget from the salt monopoly of Halychyna during the first occupation of 1914–1915 amounted to 167.8 thousand rubles and 31 kopecks (CSHAUK, f. 377, d. 1, c. 96a, p. 14–16).

During the second occupation of Halychyna and Bukovyna four state-owned salt-making factories were found in Delyatyn, Lanchyn of Ternopil province, Kosiv and Kachyk (now in Romania) of Chernivtsi province on the seized territory.

The All-Russian Zemskiy Union got interested in the salt sources in the village of Kn-yazhdvir of Kolomyia district in Chernivtsi province. The management of the factory had intention of starting the evaporation of salt. After studying the sources, it turned out that the percentage of salt was not sufficient to ensure the necessary profitability of production, so this issue had no further development (CSHAUK, f. 377, d. 1, c. 52, p. 4v–5).

The factories in Lanchyn and Delyatyn were too close to the front line and had significant damages, so there was no recommence of mass production. Despite the lack of salt in the region, the occupation authorities did not consider it necessary to invest in fairly destroyed production, therefore, some of them let out for lease. In June 1917 salt-based industries in Lanchyn were leased to the British national, a mining engineer L. I. Hamilton on his application (CSHAUK, f. 377, d. 1, c. 63, p. 1–3v, 8–10v, 14). He began the restoration of the salt factory at his own expense.

The factories in Kosiv and Kachyk were in a relatively working condition; therefore, a corresponding decision was made on their restoration and production of salt. Those factories were transferred to the full economic control of the Administration of Financial Affairs: the factory in Kosiv on October 20, 1916, and the factory in Kachyk on February 2, 1917. The factories were staffed with local workers, only managers, mechanical engineers and accountants came from the Russian Empire, from the Department of the State Wine Monopoly. The

administration took all necessary measures to adjust the equipment and supply of fuel (firewood). Thus, in December, salt factory in Kosiv began its production activity, evaporating 21–22 thousand puds of salt per month. By June 1917, the production increased and salt volumes increased to 39 thousand puds per month. From the second half of 1917 it was planned to increase the capacity of salt production by another 40–45%, but due to the evacuation, those plans were not realized (CSHAUK, f. 377, d. 1, c. 96a, p. 18–12, 14).

The total amount of salt for the period from October 20, 1916 to the day of evacuation (July 12, 1917), the salt factory in Kosiv produced 197,500 puds of salt. During this period, the gross income of this factory amounted to 223.6 thousand rubles 46 kopecks, and the net profit amounted to 131.0 thousand rubles and 90 kopecks (CSHAUK, f. 377, d. 1, c. 96a, p. 8–12).

Kachyk salt factory produced 141,300 puds of salt in the period from February 2, 1917 till the day of evacuation (July 16, 1917). If in February 1917 only 24.6 thousand puds of salt were evaporated at this factory, then in April 1917 – 32.4 thousand puds, in May 1917 – 43.5 thousand puds, in June – 40.8 thousand puds (CSHAUK, f. 377, d. 1, c. 41, p. 40v, 43, 54v, 67, 81, 82v, 139, 140v, 156, 157v). The fluctuations in monthly parameters of salt evaporation occurred due to the repair of fryers (CSHAUK, f. 377, d. 1, c. 96a, p. 49). Plans to increase production in the second half of the year were not reached due to the evacuation of the Russian occupation authorities. Thus, in July 1917 only about 2.0 thousand puds of salt were evaporated (CSHAUK, f. 377, d. 1, c. 41, p. 183v). The gross income of Kachyk salt factory amounted to 222.9 thousand rubles 85 kopecks, and the net profit was 159,3 thousand rubles and 34 kopecks (CSHAUK, f. 377, d. 1, c. 96a, p. 14).

Therefore, according to the results of the work of the two salt factories, the Russian state budget had to receive 290.4 thousand rubles 24 kopecks of net profit. In fact, the Russian budget received 246.6 thousand rubles and 60 kopecks (Table 1). The unpaid balance in the amount of 43.8 thousand rubles 64 kopecks appeared for the reason that the sale of salt to the troops was carried out on a loan that was not paid due to the lack of funding of the Russian army (CSHAUK, f. 377, d. 1, c. 96a, p. 14).

Table 1

**Financial results of state-owned salt factories for the period from June 1916 till July 1917**

| №  | Factory name                       | Overall production, puds | Gross profit, rubles and kopecks | Net profit / net loss, rubles and kopecks | Paid to the budget, rubles and kopecks | Unpaid balance, rubles and kopecks |
|----|------------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------------|---|--|------------------------------------|
| 1. | Salt factory in Kosiv              | 197 490                  | 223 580,46                       | 131 004,90                                | 246 569,60                             | 43 863,64                          |
| 2. | Salt factory in Kachyk             | 141 327                  | 222 926,85                       | 159 428,34                                |  |                                    |
|    | <b>Total, (rubles and kopecks)</b> | <b>X</b>                 | <b>X</b>                         | <b>290 433,24</b>                         | 246 569,60                             | 43 863,64                          |

Source: formed by the author (CSHAUK, f. 377, d. 1, c. 96a, p. 12–14, 18, 28–29, 31, 63–63v).

The controllers from the Administration of Financial Affairs constantly observed the economic and financial affairs of the sequestered salt factories. They strictly checked the production and technical processes, the level of wages of all employees and their quantity, so that the cost of the produced salt provided the necessary return on the finished products (SAIFR, f. 615, d. 1, c. 1, p. 9–10v, 98–99). The situation with the salary at Kosiv salt factory reached the point that even the Russian commissar of Kosiv District could not stand and wrote the

letter to the manager of Kosiv factory concerning the extremely low wages at the factory: the workers of the factory «receive so small fee that, at the present cost of all items of the first need, they are not only able to support their households, left to women, but the salaries are not enough for food and shoes. As a result, I ask you to increase wages as it is possible, taking into account that in Russia, for the same work, .... there are incomparably higher rates» (SAIFR, f. 615, d. 1, c. 5, p. 137). However, the controller from the Administration of Financial Affairs reminded the manager of the salt factory in Kosiv that «the workers' salary should be calculated either on volume (not more than 8 kopecks for a pud of salt), or daily, at the prices set on workers' hands in a given area» (SAIFR, f. 615, d. 1, c. 1, p. 10–10). He informed that the monthly salaries at Kosiv salt factory are: manager – 250 rubles; senior supervisor – from 65 to 70 rubles; engineer, junior supervisor – up to 70 rubles; mechanic, office clerk – 150 rubles; locksmith – from 65 to 70 rubles; a blacksmith, a carpenter, a book keeper – from 50 to 60 rubles; assistant blacksmith – up to 25 rubles; stoker, court supervisor – up to 50 rubles; guard – up to 40 rubles; a worker – not more than 8 kopecks for a pud of salt that had been extracted or at least for the prices set at the workers' hands in the area (SAIFR, f. 615, d. 1, c. 1, p. 10–10v).

After the Russian occupation of Halychyna and Bukovyna, pensioners of the salt factories were left without money for survival. For a long time, neither the factory administration nor the occupation authorities paid attention to them, and only at the end of the occupation the Administration of Financial Affairs decided to start paying pensions to former employees of Kosiv salt factory who had previously received pensions at the expense of the Austrian Government from May 1, 1917 (SAIFR, f. 615, d. 1, c. 1, p. 110–110v).

All personnel affairs of those factories were also coordinated by the Administration of Financial Affairs. The appointed inspectors supervised all areas of financial and economic activity of the state-owned salt factories: keeping records of production and selling of salt, correctness and reliability of accounting and statistical reporting, control over settlement operations for the sold salt, timeliness of payments for materials and firewood, availability and timely delivery of materials (especially wood) to ensure a continuous production process (salt evaporation), compliance with the economy, control over timeliness and completeness of giving revenues to the Chernivtsi field treasury, inventories of materials and finished products (SAIFR, f. 615, d. 1, c. 1, p. 98–99, 130–130v, 131–131v, 155–156v). All violations revealed during the inspections of salt factories were drawn up by controllers in the form of audit acts and delivered to the Administration of Financial Affairs, for consideration by the management (SAIFR, f. 615, d. 1, c. 1, p. 134–134v, 135–135v).

The distribution of the salt extracted was carried out under the guidance and control of the Administration of Financial Affairs and its appointed controllers at the factories. Thus, a third of the total monthly production of salt was supplied to the quarterly units for the needs of the troops, the residual amount of salt was distributed among the city and municipal administrations for sale to the local population. The distribution of salt produced for the population on a residual principle meant the lack of salt production, which caused the acute shortage of this product. So, the Administration of Financial Affairs set the limits for the sale of salt to the population in the context of each province. In order to prevent speculation, private traders did not sell salt at all (CSHAUK, f. 377, d. 1, c. 96a, p. 14). Thus, in November 1916, for Ternopil province, the limit amount of salt was 1,000 puds per month, which was distributed by Ternopil governor among 16 districts at 50–70 puds and 35 additional puds were allocated to Ternopil police chief (SAIFR, f. 615, d. 1, c. 1, p. 16–16v). In order to evenly distribute the

necessities of goods among locals, magistrates and state administrations opened city stores for the sale of salt, kerosene, soap, bakery products, etc., at discounted prices. Product cards were also introduced. In some regions, the deficit of this product reached a critical level. Thus, on June 13, 1917, the commissioner of Kosiv district informed the director of Kosiv salt factory that Borshchiv district of Ternopil province, Kitsman and Snyatyn districts of Chernivtsi province «had a complete absence of salt» and the urgent need of the local population in it, and asked to help in solving those problems (SAIFR, f. 615, d. 1, c. 5, p. 138–138v).

Fixed prices for salt were set by the order of the Military Governor-General in the following amounts: 1 ruble 20 kopecks for a pud of evaporated salt; 1 ruble for a pud of rock salt of the highest quality and 80 kopecks for a pud of rock and evaporated salt of the 1<sup>st</sup> grade; 40 kopecks for a pud of rock and evaporated salt of the 2<sup>nd</sup> grade (CSHAUK, f. 377, d. 1, c. 41, p. 40v, 43, 54v, 139, 140v, 156, 157v). Salt was sold to military units on credit, if there was a need.

During the evacuation of the Russian troops from Halychyna and Bukovyna, the salt factories were destroyed: main parts of equipment and aggregates, as well as copper fittings were dismantled and delivered to Russia (CSHAUK, f. 377, d. 1, c. 96a, p. 15).

**Conclusions.** Therefore, the economic policy of the Russian authorities in the occupied territories of Halychyna and Bukovyna was aimed at maximizing the use of natural and manpower resources and industrial capacities in its own right. Setting up the industrial enterprises of the captured region, in particular salt factories, was aimed at meeting the needs of the Russian army with a vitally necessary product of first necessity, which was salt. Restoration of state and seized enterprises was carried out on terms of self-financing and self-sufficiency on the condition of austerity. At the same time, no funds were provided for the restoration or maintenance of production from the imperial treasury, even at the initial stages.

The austerity of material resources and the exploitation of the local population and prisoners of the war at these enterprises made it possible to reduce costs for the production of finished goods. As a result, the state-owned salt factories profits were transferred to the Russian state treasury.

So, the captured industrial enterprises of Halychyna and Bukovyna became one of the significant sources of income for the Russian treasury. In general, the financial and economic activities of the Russian Empire (Russia) in the occupied Halychyna and Bukovyna showed a striking difference between the declared «liberation» slogans and a real policy that was clearly aggressive.

**Acknowledgments.** The authors wishes to express his gratitude to the employees of Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Kyiv, Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Lviv, State Archives of Ivano-Frankivsk region, State Archives of Chernivtsi region.

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

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*The article was received on January 10, 2019.  
Article was recommended for publishing 28.02.2019.*

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UDC 94(477.73-25):629.5.081|«1914/1916»(045)  
DOI: 10.24919/2519-058x.10.159180

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**Бібліографічний опис статті:** Sinyavska, L. (2019). Activity of Mykolayiv shipbuilding enterprises in 1914 – 1916. *Skhidnoievropeiskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 10, 94–110. doi: 10.24919/2519-058x.10.159180

**ACTIVITY OF MYKOLAYIV SHIPBUILDING ENTERPRISES IN 1914 – 1916**

**Summary. The purpose of the research** – to analyze activity of Mykolayiv shipbuilding enterprises «Rossud» and «Naval» in 1914 – 1916 with the definition of circumstances that influenced on the volumes of manufactured products and the commissioning of ships. **The research methodology** is an organic set of basic principles of historical research: historicism, objectivity, comprehensiveness, continuity and appropriate methods of scientific research. Various methods of cognition are used in the article: historiographical analysis and synthesis, historical, problem-chronological, statistical, comparative, behavioral, content analysis, critical discourse analysis. **The scientific novelty** is that for the first time the activity of Mykolayiv shipbuilding factories as separate business objects was analyzed, the leadership of which tried to preserve the branch of its power and, at the same time, highlighted the problems and challenges faced by industry in the conditions of the First World War. **Conclusions.** The volumes of financing of Mykolayiv shipbuilding enterprises testifies to the scale of investments in the development of the shipbuilding industry. However, problems in the area of financing created a rise in the cost of labor, increased payment for certain materials and their transportation by rail. At the same time, the rate of development of funds by shipyards at least until the end of 1916 remained fairly high. It turned out that the shipbuilding industry, which acted as an accelerator for related industries, was extremely vulnerable to the disruption of production links, as equipment for ships was manufactured in different regions of the Russian Empire. A positive role in the organization of the work of Mykolayiv's shipbuilding enterprises was played by the introduction of a chord system of remuneration and premiums for early qualitative execution of works, which allowed to provide a high level of motivation to work, first of all, by highly skilled workers. The concentration of production, and first and foremost, the interaction and specialization of Mykolayiv shipbuilding factories «Naval» and «Rossud», allowed to implement large-scale projects in the field of shipbuilding. These include serial production of battleships, dreadnoughts, cruisers, turbine destroyers and submarines.

**Key words:** The First World War, shipbuilding industry, «Naval», «Rossud», hired workers, state regulation of economy, military industry, finances, credit.

## ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ МИКОЛАЇВСЬКИХ СУДНОБУДІВНИХ ПІДПРИЄМСТВ У 1914 – 1916 рр.

**Анотація. Мета дослідження** – проаналізувати діяльність миколаївських суднобудівних підприємств «Россуд» і «Наваль» у 1914 – 1916 рр. з визначенням обставин, що впливали на обсяги виготовленої продукції і введення в експлуатацію кораблів. **Методологія дослідження** становить органічну сукупність базових принципів здійснення історичного дослідження: історизму, об'єктивності, всебічності, наступності й відповідних методів наукового пошуку. У статті застосовано різноманітні методи пізнання: історіографічного аналізу та синтезу, історичний, проблемно-хронологічний, статистичний, компаративний, біхевіористичний, контент-аналізу, критичного дискурс-аналізу. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше аналізується діяльність миколаївських суднобудівних заводів як окремих підприємницьких об'єктів, керівництво яких намагалося зберегти галузь її потужності, та водночас висвітлюються проблеми і виклики, з якими зіткнулася промисловість в умовах Першої світової війни. **Висновки.** Обсяги фінансування миколаївських суднобудівних підприємств свідчать про масштабність вкладання коштів у розвиток суднобудівної галузі. Однак проблеми у сфері фінансування спричинили подорожчання вартості робочої сили, збільшення оплати за окремі матеріали та їх перевезення залізничним транспортом. Водночас темпи освоєння коштів суднобудівними заводами принаймні до кінця 1916 р. залишалися досить високими. З'ясувалося, що суднобудівна промисловість, яка виступала акселератором для суміжних галузей виробництва, надзвичайно вразлива до порушення виробничих зв'язків, оскільки обладнання для суден виготовлялося у різних регіонах Російської імперії. Позитивну роль в організації роботи суднобудівних заводів Миколаєва відіграло запровадження акордної системи оплати праці та преміювання за дострокове якісне виконання робіт, що дозволило забезпечити високий рівень мотивації до виконання праці, насамперед, працівниками вищої кваліфікації. Концентрація виробництва, і у першу чергу взаємодія і спеціалізація миколаївських суднобудівних заводів «Наваль» і «Россуд», дозволили втілити у життя масштабні проекти у сфері суднобудування. До них можна віднести серійне виробництво лінкорів-дредноутів, крейсерів, турбінних міноносців та підводних човнів.

**Ключові слова:** Перша світова війна, суднобудівна промисловість, «Наваль», «Россуд», наймані працівники, державне регулювання економіки, військова промисловість, фінанси, кредит.

**Problem statement.** During the First World War, the shipyards of Mykolayiv «Rossud» and «Naval» continued to be renovated at an accelerated pace, launched even before the beginning of hostilities, including for the construction of ships of increased displacement like «Empress Maria». Much of the production capacity was involved in the accelerated production of mechanisms and parts of ships. In addition, during the war sharply increased the production of destroyers, transport ships and port tugs.

In modern conditions, when Ukraine is in a military conflict with the Russian Federation, it is important to study the previous experience in preserving the shipbuilding industry with its capacities, challenges and problems faced by the industry in a wartime situation.

**The analysis of sources and recent researches.** This problem in the all-russian context was studied in the works of O. Shershov (Shershov, 1940; Shershov, 1952), K. Shatsillo (Shatsillo, 1968), in a collective work edited by I. Spasskiy (Spasskiy, 1995), A. Taras (Taras, 2002), V. Babich (Babich, 2003). Partly the development of the shipbuilding industry during the war years was considered by N. Ryzheva (Ryzheva, 2008), L. Sinyavska (Sinyavska, 2014), V. Kulikov (Kulikov, 2014a), (Kulikov, 2014b).

**The publication's purpose.** To analyze the activity of Mykolayiv shipbuilding enterprises «Rossud» and «Naval» in 1914 – 1916 with the definition of circumstances that influenced on the volume of manufactured products and the commissioning of ships.

**Statement of the basic material.** During 1914 preparations were made for the intensive work of the Mykolayiv shipyards and accelerated pace continued to be carried out on refurbishment and their modernization. According to the controller of the plant «Rossud» K. Vaschalov, the finances of the company were used to launch a new crane for sorting steel at the main warehouse. According to the plan for the expansion of the plant, the necessary machines were purchased, protected by the coastal areas of the coast, barracks for firefighters were built at the depot, and the branch of the railway continued to the marine hospital. In addition, since the autumn of 1914, the main attention was paid to the construction of the battleship «Empress Maria», as the government demanded the acceleration of the delivery of this ship. The number of workers reached 3 thousand people and in the year they were paid wages in amount of 1 million 757 thousand 622 rubles. The costs of 1914 for the construction of the battleships «Empress Maria», «Emperor Alexander III», the floating dock, the cruisers «Admiral Nakhimov», «Admiral Lazarev», «Admiral Istomin», «Admiral Kornilov» amounted to 5 million 944 thousand 186 rubles (State Archive of Mykolayiv Region – SAMR, f. 300, d. 1, c. 124, p. 29–31).

The process of building new battleships has revealed some difficulties and features of financing such projects. The rate was made on the widespread attraction of bank capital and private entrepreneurship. According to the contract from March 31, 1912 with «Rossud», for each of the battleships «Empress Maria» and «Emperor Alexander III» the plant should have received 19 million 719 thousand 654 rubles. At the same time, the general estimate for the purchase of mechanisms abroad should not exceed 1 million rubles, with the agreement of the list of ordered equipment with the Council of Shipbuilding. Ordering of mechanisms abroad was carried out exclusively through the central establishments (SAMR, f. 300, d. 1, c. 526, p. 1). In the case when certain equipment should have been created by Russian enterprises, that did not belong to the «Rossud», it was manufactured exclusively under the control of representatives of the Marine Ministry Commission with appropriate reimbursement of the plant's costs (SAMR, f. 300, d. 1, c. 11, p. 24–31). For example, «Rossud» gave to the plant «G. A. Lessner» an order to manufacture submarine mines and other mechanisms of battleships «Empress Maria» and «Emperor Alexander III» for the amount of 278 500 rubles, provided that they would be erected on the ship by «Rossud» (SAMR, f. 300, d. 1, c. 14, p. 27–29).

The beginning of the First World War increased the government's attention to the work of the shipbuilding industry on the one hand, and, on the other hand, significantly complicated the supply of shipbuilding plants with the necessary materials and created some difficulties in providing skilled personnel. The «Naval's» leadership was forced to appeal to the Maritime Ministry with a request to provide supplies to the factory of steel products and armor for ships. The appeal indicated that for the needs of «Rossud» and «Naval» abroad about 8 thousand tons of steel were ordered, as well as almost the same amount of steel parts for the mechanisms of the ships. Due to the impossibility in the conditions of the war to ensure the delivery of these materials and products it was proposed to place appropriate orders on the territory of the Russian Empire with the condition of their speedy execution. The attention of the Maritime Ministry was drawn to the fact that the concern «Prodamet» and the Kolomensky factory, as the only suppliers of steel and iron in Russia, refused to guarantee the urgent supply of materials. In such circumstances, shipyards also could not provide a guarantee of the commissioning of warships in accordance with certain deadlines. The Maritime Ministry was requested to take appropriate measures to ensure that the metallurgical plants that were



part of the «Prodamet» undertook obligations under the orders of «Rossud» and «Naval», which concerned the manufacture of steel products for the shells of warplanes, tower installations and ammunition out of turn, even to stop the execution of other orders (SAMR, f. 297, d. 1, c. 150a, p. 98–99).

In the appeals of the management of the Mykolay shipyards to the Marine Ministry, it was noted that however «Naval» and «Rossud» were executing exclusively state orders, it was necessary to arrange their unimpeded urgent supply of necessary materials with a clear strict schedule of receipt of necessary products. It was suggested to abandon the practice of constant coordination with the Ministry of the order of determining the transport companies, which were to provide the transportation of necessary goods. The Maritime Ministry was requested to transfer all cargoes which were intended for Mykolayiv shipbuilding factories into an emergency category with the approval of the relevant instructions for commandants of all nodes of the European part of the Russian Empire. Such cargoes should have been classified as «A», which would exclude, according to the management of the factories, delays in delivery of the necessary cargoes (SAMR, f. 297, d. 1, c. 150a, p. 107–108).

However, the Marine Minister repeatedly appealed to the leadership of the «Society of Nikolaev factories and shipyards» with a request to accelerate the construction of the battleship «Empress Maria». Appealing to the patriotic feelings of the administration and the workers, the minister pointed to the need to accelerate the installation of weapons of the ship, for which offered to work around the clock (SAMR, f. 297, d. 1, c. 150a, p. 74). By the way, in addition to accelerating the construction of linear ships, it was also required to make every effort to bring the destroyers and submarines into operation as soon as possible (SAMR, f. 297, d. 1, c. 150a, p. 76).

For a successful completion of work Mykolayiv shipyards were forced to apply to the headquarters of the Supreme Commander-in-chief with a request to relieve the most qualified workers from the array of forces. In particular, the applications indicated the specialization, the qualifications of the workers and the approximate amount of work that could be performed provided they were brought to work (SAMR, f. 297, d. 1, c. 150a, p. 191). In addition, in order to meet the growing demand for labor, the leadership of Mykolay shipyards was forced to apply to the Maritime Ministry with a request to provide him at the disposal of 500–800 inmates who were in the Mykolay penal colony for the purpose of their involvement in conducting earthworks (SAMR, f. 297, d. 1, c. 150a, p. 130).

Despite the high rates of construction of the «Empress Maria», certain problems in the construction were caused by orders of the company «Rossud» in England turbines, some auxiliary mechanisms, crankshafts and deadwood devices. In time financed, these items were delivered only in May 1914. In the face of an increased threat of war, the implementation of this contract remained an exception to the rules. At the same time, to accelerate the introduction of the battleship «Empress Catherine II» (from June 14, 1915, «Empress Catherine the Great»), which was built by the «Society of Nikolay factories and shipyards», the Maritime Ministry had to take a number of urgent measures: the factory «Naval» handed over the armor of the towers, battle cabinets, separate casing and chimneys from the third battleship in the series «Emperor Alexander III», and also spare guns of 305-mm of Baltic battleships «Gangut» type – «Sevastopol» and «Poltava». From the battleship «Emperor Alexander III» for the completion of «Empress Maria» was also taken items of spherical equipment, calculated on the composition of the crew of 1135 people (SAMR, f. 300, d. 1, c. 583, p. 176). In addition, it was proposed to expand the list of orders to Swedish firms without intermediaries

to meet the needs of the Maritime Ministry, which could facilitate the unrestricted placement of orders and their shipment for export outside Sweden, as the government of that country, as a rule, has put obstacles to the export of military equipment, if it was carried out at the initiative of the intermediary firms (Russian State Archive of the Navy – RSAN, f. 441, d. 1, p. 59, p. 188).

Nevertheless, despite all the measures taken, tangible failures in counterparts' supplies already by November 1914 forced the Maritime Ministry to agree with the delay in the transfer of readiness for battleships. On February 22, 1914, in a memorandum of the director of the «Rossud» plant, M. Dmitrieva noted that despite the extraordinary delays in the delivery of ship's steel and the limited number of workers, it was possible not only to launch the battleship «Empress Maria», but also to make a significant part of the body set battleship «Emperor Alexander III». At the same time, the monthly capacity of workshops of the plant reached 120 thousand pounds (SAMR, f. 300, d. 1, c. 124, p. 22–25).

The desire to accelerate the timing of the launch of new ships, caused by the war, in the context of hostilities, led to changes in plans of work due to redistribution of orders for compensation ordered equipment abroad (Ganelin, 2004b, p. 495). The same desire was due to the appointment of special prizes for the payment of emergency expenses for enterprises that participated in the construction of Black Sea battleships-dreadnought (Ganelin, 2004a, p. 547).

The state actively financed the purchase of ships mechanisms and devices abroad, but the principle requirement of the Maritime Ministry remained the maximum possible use of domestic materials, weapons and ammunition. Therefore, during the construction of the line ships, artillery cannons were manufactured and supplied by the Obukhiv Plant, the machines and mechanisms of the main caliber towers were manufactured by «Naval» and the Putilivsky plant, plates and devices for defense – Izhorsky plants, fire control devices – the plant «G. A. Lessner» in Petrograd, steering machines and spikes – Sormovsky plant, boats – Kronstadt port. The main boilers of the «Empress Maria» were supplied by the Kharkiv steam locomotive plant, and for the «Emperor Alexander III» they were made at «Rossud» (Kulikov, 2014b, p. 112–113).

The Russian association of artillery plants commissioned by Mykolayiv shipbuilding factories produced 8" guns with a length of barrel of 50 caliber, 12" guns with a barrel length of 40 calibers; Metal factory – four casemate machines for 8" guns with length of barrel 50 calibers, three casemates for 6" guns with a length of a barrel of 45 calibers, five-casemate machines for 120-mm guns with a length of a barrel of 45 calibers, towers for 12" guns, day and night periscopes; Perm factory – 6" guns with a length of the barrel of 45 caliber, the Obukhiv factory – sights of the system of Vickers, 6" high-explosive shells; Firm «Pol Giro» – 8" high-explosive shells; Sevastopol port – 75 mm guns, Joint Stock Company «Geysler and K°» (RSAN, f. 401, d. 6, c. 751, p. 1–2).

At the same time, to expedite the execution of works on the construction of ships for the inspection of private enterprises in order to identify the machines for guns that are suitable for immediate use, were sent artillery officers, who determined the terms of implementation of the requisites.

To accelerate the construction of ships on February 19, 1915. The Main Department of Shipbuilding has decided to streamline the procedure for review and approval of drawings, both for ships as a whole, and for separate ships mechanisms. In accordance with this document, the ship's general drawings should have been submitted by the factories before starting

construction on a scale in accordance with the specification of the General Directorate of Shipbuilding. After reviewing them in the departments, they were to be signed by the heads of departments and the head of the Main Department of Shipbuilding, and then sent to the Marine Minister for review and approval. Drawings and calculations of the main parts of ships and their general layout were approved by the departments of the Main Department of Shipbuilding. All drawings of the placement of devices, in consideration of which the practice of their application and operation was to be taken into account, should have been submitted to the Commission for the supervision of the construction of the ship, where they were approved. And all other detailed and working drawings had to be approved directly by the observers who followed the construction of the ships. It was pointed out that pipeline schemes necessarily had to be accompanied by drawings of pipes, valves, clinkers with indication of the color of each type of pipes as marking them as intended. All drawings of parts of the body, mechanisms and devices should be accompanied by characteristics of the most important elements for accelerating the consideration and approval. At the same time, the obligatory element of preparation of drawings was the indication of the weight of each individual detail. All the remarks on the drawings and calculations of parts and mechanisms of ships had to be removed by the factories as soon as possible, which was evidenced by the signing by their representatives of the relevant commissions. Drawings of separate mechanisms had to be sent to the Main Department of Shipbuilding in the event that no agreement was reached between the factory and the commission supervising the shipbuilding, or additional allocations were required. If during the construction of ships, it would be recognized that it is necessary to change the drawing of the general arrangement of ships mechanisms, the new drawings must have been submitted for consideration and approval to the Main Department of Shipbuilding (RSAN, f. 401, d. 6, c. 1310, p. 1–4).

In March 1915 it was planned to complete the construction of the battleship «Empress Maria» on May 15, 1915, to carry out mooring tests of the battleship «Empress Catherine II» – about July 15, the «Pylkiy» and «Pospeshny» miners – about April 15, the submarine «Marj» had to be prepared for tests already on March 20, «Narval» – about May 10, «Kashalot» – about June 1, «Keith» – until July 1, 1915 (RSAN, f. 401, d. 6, c. 851, p. 1).

Much attention was paid to the construction of not only battleships but also destroyers: the specifics of the conduct of hostilities on the Black Sea provided for their active use to block the transport of the enemy along the Anatolian coast. The miners were also used to block the port Zonguldak, which was used for the shipment of coal by the Turks. On March 17, 1915, the Maritime Ministry signed a contract with the Mykolayiv Society of factories and shipyards for the construction of eight destroyers with a full speed of 33 knots (RSAN, f. 401, d. 6, c. 875, p. 89).

In addition, the tests of these ships were supposed to be carried out at wind power of no more than 3 points, and after the approval of the drawings, no changes in the design of the destroyers were prohibited to be introduced without the consent of the Maritime Ministry. All parts of ships' hulls, mechanisms and separate devices were to meet the requirements of the relevant specifications and should be executed «from materials of Russian descent» (RSAN, f. 401, d. 6, c. 1321, p. 80).

All parts of the body and mechanisms for the ship's equipment were to be fitted to the «Derzky» type destroyers and be constructed of materials of «Russian descent», except those parts that were not manufactured in Russia, and the adjustment of their production would lead to delay in the delivery of ships. Mykolayiv Society of factories and shipyards received

the right to purchase materials for blades of turbines, blade forgings, as well as additional mechanisms purchased for demolition-type «Derzky», purchased abroad without reducing contract value. Regarding these parts, the right to make an order to acquire them abroad with the mandatory agreement of the order with the Shipbuilding Council was granted. The specifics of the contract provided payment by the Mykolayiv Society of factories and shipyards of all customs duties and fees necessary for the receipt of ordered mechanisms, as well as the prohibition on sending all materials of the specification on the destroyer to executors of orders abroad to maintain the secrecy regime. It is important that the guns and devices for attaching them to the ships (up to the corresponding base bolts), as well as equipment for transmitting signals were provided exclusively by the Maritime Ministry and could not be ordered abroad. At the same time, the installation of the specified equipment was carried out at the expense of the Mykolayiv Society of factories and shipyards and did not provide for the definition of additional financing (SAMR, f. 297, d. 1, c. 322, p. 64–70).

In case of unpreparedness of the floating dock of the Company to carry out works stipulated by the contract, it was planned to use the corresponding dock from Sevastopol at the expense of the Mykolayiv Society of factories and shipyards. Thus, for the built in accordance with the approved drawings, the destroyer, the Maritime Ministry had to pay 2 million 200 thousand rubles, and the total contract amount was 17 million 600 thousand rubles. Moreover, when the Marine Ministry would consider it necessary to refuse the establishment of certain mechanisms or devices on ships, the corresponding amount of their value would be deducted from payment (SAMR, f. 297, d. 1, c. 185, p. 69–76).

During the war, a revision of the estimates for the construction of vessels, including in connection with the introduction of changes in the construction of ships. For example, for the work of the «Empress Maria» and «Emperor Alexander III», the «Rossud» plant was initially allocated 125 thousand rubles for the execution of work related to the changes in the defense of battleships (RSAN, f. 401, d. 6, c. 850, p. 4). However, later this amount, according to the Department of Military and Maritime Accounts, increased to 470 thousand rubles (RSAN, f. 401, d. 6, c. 1283, p. 11). The problem of calculating the amount of funding for ship construction programs for the Russian fleet was the organization of their design and ensuring compliance with the design calculations of ships of one series in the absence of well-established work of research stations. Mykolayiv shipyards did not have enough qualified specialists to design battleships-dreadnought. This forced them to attract specialists from Baltic factories to work.

However, due to an error in the calculations, «Empress Maria» received a large divergent on the nose, which worsened even without that bad seaworthiness. To remedy the situation, it was necessary to reduce the ammunition of two bow-guns of the main caliber to 70 shots per barrel instead of 100 by state, on the battleship «Empress Catherine the Great» changed the centering of the weight behind the gangways with the transfer of the center of gravity of the ship to the stern, and on the battleship «Emperor Alexander III» to this end, they took off two 130 mm nose guns. The desire to improve the ships of one series or correct the defects found in the design led to certain changes in the design and the corresponding changes in estimates, which, for example, were shown by the specification of the mechanisms of the battleship «Empress Catherine the Great» (SAMR, f. 297, d. 1, c. 862, p. 1–4). Linear ships of the type «Empress Maria» differed in displacement («Empress Maria» – 22 thousand 600 tons, «Emperor Alexander III» – 22 thousand 600 tons, «Empress Catherine the Great» – 23 thousand 783 tons), by means of leveling trim, methods of fastening armor and its type, etc. This led

to the allocation of additional funds for the completion of ships, their redistribution between contractors and violation schedules of the planned work. In addition, the desire to accelerate the timing of the launch of new ships caused by the war, in the context of hostilities led to changes in plans of work due to redistribution of orders to compensate ordered equipment abroad (Ganelin, 2004b, p. 495).

Another reason for making significant changes to the design of the ships of the «Empress Maria» was the results of classified tests of the strength of the armor of new battleships, carried out before the war, when a corps of the battleship «Gangut» was cut into the body of the old battleship «Chesma». As a result of the tests, it turned out that the 305-mm high-explosive projectile of the 1911 model pierced the main armored belt of the Gangut baton from the cableway 63, and at more distances distorted the armored base, breaking the hermeticity of the body. Both armored decks were too thin – the projectiles not only pierced them, but also crushed into fragments, which caused even more destruction. That is why the armored protection of the Black Sea battleships was strengthened, and the fourth ship of the «Empress Maria» type had a significantly increased displacement and defense, which, accordingly, increased the amount of funding for its construction. It is worth pointing out that the adoption of its time as the basis of the project of battleships of the Design Bureau of the Baltic Plant under the leadership of I. Bubnov with a reduced thickness of armor was the result of the existence of a powerful lobby with the support of academician O. Krylov, who was both the chairman of the competition jury and co-author of the project (Korolev, 2011, p. 79–80). In his memoirs, the academician emphasized that France, which provided Russia with a loan for the construction of ships, opposed the adoption by Russia of the project of the German shipyard «Blohm & Voss» due to the unwillingness to invest about 500 million rubles in gold in the development of the German shipbuilding industry. The result of such a lobby was the investment of significant funds for the re-equipment and modernization of Russian battleships, based on which was not enough perfect design of the ship with a high speed, powerful armament, but extremely weak armor protection (Taras, 2002, p. 228).

That is why, under the contract of August 30, 1914, with the «Society of Nikolaev factories and shipyards» on the construction of the ship «Emperor Nikolay I», this battleship with the preservation of basic weapons in the form of twelve 305-mm guns had significantly increased armor protection, which increased its displacement before 27 thousand 800 tons. The weight of the armor without the towers reached 9 thousand 417 tons or 34,5% of the design displacement. In addition, reinforced the support base under the armor, and most importantly – all armor plates were connected with vertical dangles of the type «double tail swallows», which turned the belt into a monolithic 262-mm armor. Behind him was a 75 mm skid armor deck and puncture bulkhead of the same thickness, which increased the total thickness of armor protection to 337 mm. But such improvements significantly increased the cost of building a ship. In addition, the financing of the construction of the battleship «Emperor Nikolay I» significantly influenced the fact of Russia's participation in hostilities. The contract provided that the total amount of ordering equipment for battleship abroad should not exceed 2 million rubles, and in the case of the submission of calculations for exceeding this amount, the difference should be compensated by the profits of the owners of shipbuilding plants with a reduction in contract value of the construction of the ship. The total cost of the battleship, constructed in accordance with the contract drawings, should be 22 million 500 thousand rubles. This amount did not include the cost of mines, guns, airborne machines, armor, artillery fire control devices, wireless telegraph, seagoing tools and secret signaling

with appropriate wires, and any deviations from the project were allowed only if agreed with the Maritime Ministry. Shipbuilders were obliged to keep an account of the weight of all elements of the ship to prevent its overload, which was controlled by the relevant authorities (SAMR, f. 297, d. 1, c. 272, p. 82–92).

In wartime, the project of shipbuilding funding often had to be revised due to the increase in the cost of materials and wages. Thus, the electric equipment of destroyers of the type «Derzky» was ordered to the company «General Electric Company» under a contract from October 12, 1912, for the amount of 54 thousand rubles for a destroyer without taking into account the cost of installation on ships of electric tachometer. And in a series of destroyers such as «Ushakovsky», the overall increase in the price of electrical equipment under a contract from October 26, 1915 was about 75 thousand rubles and reached 129 thousand 935 rubles for a destroyer (SAMR, f. 297, d. 1, c. 84, p. 47).

On August 29, 1914, a contract was signed with the Russian Shipbuilding Company in Mykolayiv for the construction of two light cruisers of the «Admiral Lazarev» type. Incidentally, the amount of shareholders' profits in the construction of cruisers was laid down in accordance with a contract of 10% (SAMR, f. 300, d. 1, c. 400, p. 10–12). On March 17, 1915, a contract was signed with the «Society of Nikolaev shipbuilding and shipyards» for the construction of four submarines of the «Bars» type with a surface displacement of 650 tons. The cost of one submarine under the contract was 1 million 665 thousand rubles, and the total contract amount was 6 million 660 thousand rubles. This amount did not include the supply of Whitehead mines, radio telegraphs, compasses. In particular, as in other cases, the payment of fees for equipment imported from abroad was relied upon by the contractor (SAMR, f. 297, d. 1, c. 322, p. 48–54).

On April 15, 1915, Emperor Nikolay II arrived in Mykolaiv, accompanied by the Minister of the Sea I. Grigorovich, who visited the plants «Rossud» and «Naval». At «Rossud» to the emperor were represented the managing director of the plant M. Dmitriev, the chief ship engineer-colonel L. Koromaldy, the plant manager K. Vaschalov and at that time the engineer-builder of the battleship «Empress Maria» F. Ryadchenko. The chairman of the board, «Rossud», Professor Lieutenant-General V. Ivanov, reported that the battleship was built in three years, or seven months earlier than planned, and stressed that «Rossud» proved this construction that «on the strength of its equipment and the working capacity of its employees, including workers, it is not inferior to any foreign enterprise in this industry». Representatives from the workers attended the meeting, and the worker Belov made a speech and received a gift from the emperor – a watch with a coat of arms. Nikolay II was photographed on the deck of «Empress Maria» with shareholders «Rossud», factory administration and crew. He then visited «Naval», where he visited the boiler house and tower shops, forge, mechanical, steel and turbine industries and was present at the laying of a new battleship. In addition, Nikolay II visited a hospital, based on joint funds «Rossuda» and «Naval».

The visit of Nikolay II to Mykolayiv contributed to the fact that on April 20, 1915, the Maritime Ministry had an additional contract with the Mykolayiv Society of factories and shipyards to accelerate the construction of the battleship «Empress Catherine the Great», according to which the ship was to be fully prepared by June 20, 1915. In case of fulfillment of this condition, shipbuilders were paid an additional 1 million 250 thousand rubles. In the case if the ship will not be completed before the stipulated term from the amount of the prize was calculated the amount of the penalty, which should not exceed 750 thousand rubles. In addition, before leaving the ship from the factory, it was provided that the Maritime Minis-

try's commission had to draw up an exact list of works in accordance with the established drawings that would have to be fulfilled by the contractor when the ministry had the opportunity to return the ship for their execution. Under the terms of the contract, the customer did not pay the amount of 1 million rubles of the total cost of the ship, as a means of ensuring the performance of warranty obligations by the contractor. In the event of an accident or death of the ship or failure to return it to the plant within 12 months for the performed contract work, shipbuilders were paid all due funds, except for the payment of penalties for delayed performance of orders for certain mechanisms of the ship (SAMR, f. 297, d. 1, c. 322, p. 95).

The forms of financing the construction of the battleship «Empress Catherine the Great» were one of the keys to accelerating the construction of the ship, provided that the quality of the work is carried out. Representative of the company «Vickers» Johnsas, who attended the factory during the construction of the ship, on January 19, 1916, in a letter to Y. Yurienev noted that European specialists appeared to be unable to carry out such a large amount of work for such a short time. After all, within the framework of construction, 23 thousand 400 tons of steel, equipment and guns were manufactured and installed in the conditions of delays in the supply of materials, reducing the qualifications of workers. The letter emphasized that the pace and quality of the construction of the battleship «Empress Catherine the Great» allowed to assert that the Society of Mykolayiv factories and shipyards had a record for Russia in the construction of ships of this type (SAMR, f. 297, d. 1, c. 358, p. 286–286 v).

On October 26, 1915, the «Naval» plant appealed to the Council of Ministers with a request for an advance of 4 million rubles (RSAN, f. 401, d. 1, c. 33, p. 12). The reason for the appeal was the inability to repay loans and the lack of working capital. The debt of the Society of Mykolayiv factories and shipyards to Russian and foreign lending institutions amounted to July 1, 1915 – 21 million 205 thousand 346 rubles, On August 1 – 22 million 82 thousand 407 rubles, September 1 – 14 million 277 thousand 402 rubles, on October 1 – 16 million 549 thousand 232 rubles, on October 13 – 17 million 882 thousand 586 rubles (RSAN, f. 401, d. 1, c. 33, p. 15). It was decided to give the factory «Naval» an advance of 2 million 500 thousand rubles at the expense of the amounts intended to be paid under the contract for the construction of the ship «Empress Catherine the Great». At the same time, it was provided that if the Naval Ministry would need to repair the ship's mechanisms during the warranty period, then the corresponding costs should be reimbursed by retaining amounts from the Marine Ministry's previous orders (RSAN, f. 401, d. 1, c. 33, p. 117–117 v.).

In December 1915, a final calculation was made with the Nikopol-Mariupol Society for supplying shipbuilding factories of armored slabs for battleships-dreadnoughts. By decision of the Admiralty and the Council of State Control from December 17, 1915, it was recorded that one of the armor batches for battleship «Empress Catherine the Great» was transferred to shipyards as restored after processing, which reduced its resistance to shells by 1–2%. Taking into account this indicator of the reduction of armor stability, as well as the fact that the batch was returned to shipyards after processing, the Admiralty determined that the armor was considered to be manufactured outside the contract, which allowed it to set the appropriate prices for it, namely 116 thousand 33 rubles for the party number 5 armor for the battleship «Empress Catherine the Great». It should be noted that the fact of the return of the armor after processing was established by the Acting Head of the General Directorate of Shipbuilding Vice-Admiral of Artillery V. Girs and Major-General of the Marine Artillery Corps V. Fedorov (RSAN, f. 401, d. 6, c. 1351, p. 1–1 v.). However, during the testing of the first series of armored 300-mm plates from cropping cemented steel for the bow and fence towers of the

battleship «Emperor Nikolay I» there were no deviations from the norms, which allowed to successfully use the entire batch (RSAN, f. 401, d. 6, c. 1352, p. 12). And already in February 1916 it was decided to accelerate the construction of this ship and order condensation devices for turbogenerators in England firm «Vir» (RSAN, f. 401, d. 6, c. 1352, p. 5).

In December 1915, a contract was signed with «Rossud» for the construction of forty landing barges, provided to the supply of a corresponding number of motors by the Maritime Ministry. «Rossud» had to install these engines according to the specifications and requirements of the customer. At the same time, parts of the cases and separate devices were to meet the requirements of the specification and built from «domestic materials» (RSAN, f. 401, d. 6, c. 1280, p. 104).

At the end of 1915 – early 1916, the merger of not only the administrative structures of «Naval» and «Rossud» was rather noticeable, but also the formation of a «portfolio» of orders for enterprises. In 1915, out of ten members of the «Naval» government and nine «Rossud», four were part of the board of both companies at the same time. The board of both plants was in St. Petersburg in one house, and it was common case management (SAMR, f. 297, d. 1, c. 316, p. 20–21). Russian authorities have repeatedly expressed the idea of the need for a full merger of enterprises, provided «the takeover» «Naval» by «Rossudom» (RSAN, f. 401, d. 6, c. 1280, p. 57). This was due to the «irrationality» of many departments with large staffs. It was suggested to leave only two departments – office work and accounting, – which would serve both enterprises (RSAN, f. 401, d. 6, c. 718, p. 4).

Shipbuilding Mykolayiv complex was a technologically rather complex formation, which included foundry and forge production, mechanical workshops, case shops with a modern machine park, lifting and transport constructions, overpasses, pier, floating docks. An important role was played by scaffolds, piles and triggers. All of this equipment allowed the construction of ships with a maximum displacement of 25 thousand tons, including battleships and linear cruisers dreadnought type, light cruisers, destroyers (including the latest ones with the use of turbine engines), submarines and submarine mines (it is in Mykolayiv was built the world's first underwater mine barrier «Crab»).

In April 1916, the value of the products of the blacksmith and foundry departments of the «Rossud» plant was determined, among which there were steering frames, large shaft, bracket shafts. At the same time, it was recognized that it is possible to manufacture forgings of machines for 12", 14", 16" and larger guns (RSAN, f. 401, d. 2, c. 1154, p. 1–2). The possibility of manufacturing such products, despite the above-mentioned increased complexity of technical support, showed both the high professional level of the company's employees and the availability of equipment that made possible the execution of such works.

With a great tension of forces worked the factory «Naval» too. On May 1, 1916, on the battleship «Emperor Nikolay I», according to the contract and approved drawings, 6562 tons of steel were installed, which was 89% of the contracted trigger weight. And although under the terms of the contract from August 30, 1914, the fifth payment on the battleship was to be issued after the ship's descent to water, provided the body was ready for at least 60%, but guided by the instructions of the Main Department of Shipbuilding of August 8, 1915, No. 12033 was resolved to issue the factory «Naval» 1 million 780 thousand rubles provided to the maintenance of this amount of 886 thousand rubles, which was issued as a payment on the certificate of August 19, 1915. Thus, on May 6, 1916, it was decided to issue «Naval» 894 thousand rubles in the calculation for the fifth payment on the battleship «Emperor Nikolay I» (RSAN, f. 401, d. 6, c. 1284, p. 7).



On May 25, 1916, the Marine Ministry signed a contract with «Rossud» for the construction of eight submarines: four «Holland» type with a surface displacement of 952 tons and «Fiat-San Georgio» with a surface displacement of 920 tons. The cost of building a submarine of the type «Holland» was 4 million rubles, and «Fiat-San Georgio» – 3 million 800 thousand rubles with a total contract amounting to 31 million 200 thousand rubles. The Maritime Ministry retained the right to reduce the price of the contract in the event of refusal to install certain equipment on submarines and formed a commission to monitor the quality of the work (SAMR, f. 300, d. 1, c. 694, p. 9–16).

At the same time, there was a controversial issue regarding the use of «Rossud» scrap pig iron, which was located on the territory of the Mykolayiv sea port and was not used. The management of the plant proposed to use it for the manufacture of parts of new transport using the machines to accelerate the manufacture of parts of the battleship «Emperor Alexander III». It was supposed to use a combination of machines designed by engineers «Rossud», for mass cutting and threading of reinforcement (SAMR, f. 300, d. 1, c. 583, p. 71). However, the Main Directorate of Shipbuilding refused to «Rossud» to sell scrap pig iron and expressed its transfer to its pipe plant (SAMR, f. 300, d. 1, c. 583, p. 72).

In 1916 the «Rossud» plant managed to prove the readiness of the ship «Emperor Alexander III» to 92%, as during the year it was possible to transport the main mechanisms of the ship from England through Arkhangelsk by the water systems to Mykolaiv. The body and mechanisms of the ship were insured for 1 million 264 thousand rubles (SAMR, f. 300, d. 1, c. 244, p. 129). The size of the insurance for «Empress Maria» was 1 million 269 thousand rubles (SAMR, f. 300, d. 1, c. 244, p. 192–192 v.). The «Naval» plant was scheduled to complete the construction of this ship until the spring of 1917. By December 1, 1916, the construction of the lightweight cruiser «Admiral Nakhimov» was up to 78,7%, and «Admiral Lazarev» – up to 71,7%. The «Naval» plant ensured the readiness of the «Admiral Istomin» cruiser to 54,5%, while the «Rossud» plant proved the readiness of the «Admiral Kornilov» cruiser to 54,9%. During 1916 the destroyer «Fidonisi», «Kerch», «Hadjibey», «Kaliakria», «Cerigo», «Corfu» and «Levkas» were launched into the water. In 1916, the last of the submarines of type «Holland» was put into operation, with a displacement of 630 tons, built by Nevsky Shipyard in Mykolaiv. The Society of Mykolayiv's plants was launched into the water of the submarine «Orpheus» with the readiness to test until January 1, 1917 (Ganelin, 2004c, p. 631–632). However, in September 1916, there was a fire on the cruiser «Admiral Nakhimov», the cause of which was not established. To reimburse the losses involved representatives of the insurance company «Russia», where the ship was insured (SAMR, f. 300, d. 1, c. 583, p. 124).

In order to avoid fires on the battleship «Emperor Alexander III» from November 1, 1916 new rules of fire safety were established. According to them, the duty of a regular non-commissioned officer was the daily roundabout of the ship after the completion of work to identify unmixed flammable materials, monitoring mooring, switching off electrical lighting, monitoring workers' compliance with the rules of smoking, obtaining information on the ship and nearby it firefighting equipment. In addition, it was supposed to monitor the roll and trim of the ship. In the case of approaching a ship of boats, boats and other waterways, another non-commissioned officer had the right to stop them, including with the use of weapons. Of all detected deviations from established norms, a non-commissioned officer was required to report to a regular officer (SAMR, f. 300, d. 1, c. 679, p. 2).

In addition, to strengthen the protection of ships, additional measures were taken in order of the plant administration of November 17, 1916. According to this document, entry to the

ship not only to third parties, but also officers, even with the support of observers, was not allowed without permission. The lower ranks of the ship's warehouse, including the conductors, were to receive special passes. In the case of an attempt to carry officers or lower ranks on ships of any items or things, they should have been brought for care. In the event of a refusal, the officers could leave their belongings in the appropriate premises without the right to carry them on board the ship. During the work at the entrance ladder there was a permanent non-commissioned officer from the court team (SAMR, f. 300, d. 1, c. 679, p. 18).

The dynamics of shipbuilding capacity during the war years affected the number of employees at enterprises. Thus, at «Rossud» in 1914 2939 people worked in 1914, 2992 in 1915, 3901 in 1916, and 3991 in 1917 (Kulikov, 2014b, p. 113).

To provide shipbuilding plants with a labor force in 1915, a special meeting on defense decided to allow work to be done for women and adolescents. The Main Department of Shipbuilding, on the orders of the Assistant to the Marine Minister, recommended the widespread use of the named categories of workers to accelerate the construction of ships (SAMR, f. 300, d. 1, c. 470, p. 3).

However, on July 17, 1915, the announcement No. 10 of the «Rossud» plant administration was published, stating that in some areas of the empire there were cases where workers put forward demands that could not be fulfilled, «allowed themselves to leave their jobs». In this regard, the workers «Rossud» reported that self-abandonment of work became the cause of liability in the form of imprisonment for a period from 1 month to a year, arguing that such actions could be qualified as «weakening the activities of factories that manufacture items for needs army and navy and thereby threatened the security of the state» (SAMR, f. 300, d. 1, c. 485, p. 5).

However, in spite of coercive measures, at shipyards some time managed to avoid massive disturbances at the expense of an increased level of remuneration. In addition, the need for the formation of the core of highly skilled workers to perform complex shipbuilding work, created an atmosphere of respect for them, as well as for the administration that carried out managerial functions. Despite the high level of financing for shipbuilding, the atmosphere of «unity of Mykolayiv shipbuilders» has been promoted and the relatively high rates of shipbuilding have been maintained. At the same time, qualitative performance of works was stimulated by bonuses. The relatively high rates of shipbuilding workers' work were attributed to an increase in the volume of deposit transactions between them and local banking institutions, which was observed for at least the years 1914 – 1915. The chord system of remuneration, introduced at the enterprises, has shown its high efficiency in stimulating the growth of labor productivity of workers.

However, the problem of financing the shipbuilding industry was the strikes of 1916 and the spread of rumors among workers that seizure workers had significantly increased their wages. Thus, during a strike at the «Naval» Shipyard in Mykolayiv, the wishes for the requisition of the enterprise were even before the sequestration of the Putilivsky plant. Such hopes were associated with an example of the establishment of increased wages for railway workers who were requisitioned by the government (Polikarpov, 2008, p. 484).

Yet, on January 11, 1916, a strike broke out on «Naval», which lasted until the middle of March. The commander of the Mykolayiv port on the mobilization unit on February 12 appealed to the commander of the Black Sea Fleet, in connection with the strike on «Naval», of all the military workers in the case of their calculation from the plant to be credited to the local 45th reserve battalion in Mykolayiv. But in case of restoration of the plant it was point-

ed out the possibility of returning workers to «Naval». The commander of the Mykolayiv port emphasized that accelerated strike suspension is complicated by the uncertainty of the situation of the military-lenders (RSAN, f. 609, d. 3, c. 224, p. 24–24 v). At the same time, the management of the company (and personally B. Yurienev) refused to use the mass layoffs of workers and send the «guiltiest» strikers to the army, stressing that he preferred a «peaceful resolution» of the conflict with the workers. B. Yurienev appealed to the Chief of the Main Maritime Economic Administration to avoid the lockout and expressed his hope for an accelerated strike (RSAN, f. 401, d. 6, c. 1304, p. 152). At the same time, all calculated workers (namely – 3473 persons) were called and sent to spare battalions (Russian State Historical Archive – RSHA, f. 1276, d. 12, c. 295, p. 1).

For taking part in the strikes, part of the workers was dismissed by the management of the factories. To replace them, the administration was forced to appeal to the Supreme Commander-in-Chief with a request to release from the linear parts and transfer to the construction of ships of skilled craftsmen and workers who served in the army. Such a transfer was motivated by the desire to ensure the timely introduction of ships into operation. In particular, in the vast majority of cases, the appeal of plant managers was satisfied in a relatively short period of time (SAMR, f. 297, d. 1, c. 150a, p. 192).

In addition, in early November 1916 new norms of additional soldering for workers during the war were set: for married masters, 5 kopecks per hour for unmarried persons – 4,5 kopecks; for the workers who carried out roughing work (married men, married women, widows and widows with children) – 4,5 kopecks, and for the number of unmarried men, unmarried women, childless widows, widowers and students who performed rough work, the size of additional soldering installed in the amount of 3 kopecks per hour (SAMR, f. 300, d. 1, c. 679, p. 10).

On December 31, 1916, the plant management at the order of the board of «Rossud», with the agreement of the local factory inspector, organized a subscription of employees and workers for a three-billionth 5,5 percent short-term military loan with the opening of a collective bank account in the Mykolayiv branch of the State Bank for this purpose. The loan was to be repaid within nine months with equal monthly salary deductions from employees and employees starting from January 1917. Persons wishing to take part in this loan should contact the chiefs of the departments with the subsequent submission of data to the chief accountant before January 5, 1917 (SAMR, f. 300, d. 1, c. 644, p. 1).

In February 1917, the board of the plant «Rossud» decided to organize the assistance to workers who received a profit in 1916 more than 850 rubles in the case of filing returns on profits received. It was noted that there were a lot of such workers at the plant, therefore the reception of applications was organized in all workshops of the plant (SAMR, f. 300, d. 1, c. 644, p. 11).

**Conclusions.** In general, the financing of shipbuilding enterprises shows the scale of investment in the development of the shipbuilding industry. In favor of such a statement is that, for example, the director of «Rossud» already in 1914 considered the production capacity of the enterprise sufficient to perform the tasks. Problems in the area of financing created a rise in the cost of labor, increased payment for certain materials and their transportation by rail. The personal interest of the imperial family and a number of high-ranking officials in the work of shipbuilding factories, as their shareholders, facilitated the organization of production financing. At the same time, the value of Russian dreadnought was higher than their British counterparts. For example, the powerful dreadnoughts ordered by Turkey in England

in 1911 cost 15 million rubles every. And dreadnoughts, built in the Russian Empire, cost 21 million rubles every. In addition, unlike the Russian fleet, Turkish sailors could get British Dreadnought in 2–3 years after the signing of the contract. German dreadnoughts cost about 16–18 million rubles. For the construction of the German «Nassau» ship it took 2 years 2 months, while for the construction of the battleship «Emperor Alexander III» – 5 years, and the battleship «Empress Maria» – 4 years. In addition, a special commission that took the battleship «Empress Maria», identified a number of shortcomings of the ship, among which was high enough temperature in the places of gun storage (perhaps that this caused the death of the ship in October 1916). In spite of the huge expenses of the state for the needs of the naval department, the Russian fleet never received enough warships until 1914. The Russian empire, having further spent more than the other countries on the construction of the fleet, at the beginning of the war received less new warships (Popov, 2010, p. 102).

The rates of development of funds by shipyards at least until the end of 1916 remained rather high. Execution of orders created additional jobs and contributed to the accumulation of experience in the construction of state-of-the-art ships and their separate mechanisms. And the existence of a restriction on the purchase of materials and mechanisms from abroad for the construction of ships encouraged the development of related industries: electrical, chemical, metallurgical.

It turned out that the shipbuilding industry, which acted as an accelerator for related industries, is extremely vulnerable to the breach of industrial ties, as equipment for ships was manufactured in different regions of the Russian Empire. Excluding the possibility of organizing a closed cycle of ship production in a relatively small area due to the extraordinary complexity in concentrating the necessary production capacities, the system for manufacturing ships and equipment for them required clear operation of the entire economic mechanism.

High-tech construction of the «Empress Maria» battleships, which included the design of a layout scheme, the manufacture of armor protection, trimming towers and 305-mm guns with a large length of the barrel, as well as power plants that used both coal and oil as fuel, proved the correspondence of the shipbuilding factories «Naval» and «Rossud» to the world standards of shipbuilding at that time. And fulfillment of orders in difficult military conditions is a high level of organization of production and outstanding organizational skills of the heads of enterprises, and first of all M. Dmitriev and B. Yurienev.

Designers at shipbuilding plants worked at a high level. This is especially true for the specialists of the «Naval» plant, where the project of a linear ship was created, the basic principles of its construction were implemented in the leading countries of the world in the second half of the 30's – in the early 40's of the twentieth century. The designers managed to determine the prospects of increasing the displacement of the future battleships, the linear arrangement of the main caliber artillery, its type and the caliber of 405-mm along with the delineation of the distances of the future confrontation of the ships, as well as the basic principles of the organization of armor protection with the vertical placement of rectangular armor plates. The high level of execution of design work was also found in the design of turbine destroyers, as well as landing ships, which were built in large series. At the same time, designing ships was often confronted with bureaucratic obstacles on the part of senior government leaders, not least due to corruptions of high officials. This led to errors and disadvantages in the construction of ships, the elimination of which required the additional attraction of public funds.

A positive role in the organization of the work of Mykolayiv's shipbuilding enterprises was played by the introduction of a chord system of remuneration and premiums for early

qualitative execution of works, which allowed to ensure a high level of motivation for the implementation of work primarily by highly skilled workers. We also note the support of the married workers of factories due to the increased volume of additional rations for them.

Creation of a powerful industrial base for shipbuilding was carried out by the royal government with the attraction of foreign specialists and capital. First of all, it concerned the modernization of the «Naval» plant. At the same time, after the completion of the main works, the influence of both representatives of the royal family and senior executives of the country led to the displacement of foreign capital and the concentration of shares in shipbuilding enterprises in the hands of the subjects of the Russian Empire.

The concentration of production, and first and foremost, the interaction and specialization of Mykolayiv shipbuilding factories «Naval» and «Rossud» allowed to implement large-scale projects in the field of shipbuilding. These include serial production of battleships, dreadnoughts, cruisers, turbine destroyers and submarines.

**Acknowledgments.** The authors of the publication express the sincere gratitude to the director and the employees of the State Archive of Mykolayiv Region for the support and assistance in search of the archival material.

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

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*The article was received on January 14, 2019.  
Article was recommended for publishing 26.02.2019.*

UDC 94 (100) [323.2:343.322] «1914/1917»  
DOI: 10.24919/2519-058x.10.159175

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**ResearcherID:** A-5719-2019 (<http://www.researcherid.com/rid/A-5719-2019>)

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**Бібліографічний опис статті:** Kadol, O. (2019). Policy of tsarism and Soviet leadership concerning the ethnic Germans during the First and the Second World War. *Skhidnoievropeiskyi istorychnyi visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 10, 111–117. doi: 10.24919/2519-058x.10.159175

**POLICY OF TSARISM AND SOVIET LEADERSHIP CONCERNING THE ETHNIC GERMANS DURING THE FIRST AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR**

**Summary. The purpose of the research.** The goal of the research is to study the policies of the imperial and Soviet leadership regarding ethnic Germans in the period of the First and Second World Wars and to conduct their comparative analysis. **The research methodology** of work is based on the principles of historicism, systemic, scientific, objectivity, as well as on the use of general scientific and special-historical methods and on the theoretical basis of modern historiography, according to which First and Second World War are considered as two phases of one historical event. This approach opens up the new opportunities for researchers, both in generating ideas, and in the context of the factual reproduction of the past war. **The scientific novelty** lies in the fact that for the first time in historiography there was made the search for historical parallels between anti-German campaigns concerning the civilian population that took place in two world wars. This allowed us to illustrate the inadmissibility of collective allegations in collaboration based on the ethnic grounds. **Conclusions.** Numerous deportations of ethnic Germans in 1915 were due to the declarative goals – to prevent the entry of ethnic Germans into the armies of the enemy during the withdrawal of the imperial army. The greatest difference of the policy of the «German issue» in 1914 – 1915 between the policy of 1941 – 1942 was that the actions of the imperial government directly have depended on the military failures of the Russian army. Until the beginning of the Second World War, the victims of repressions except the Germans were also Ukrainians, Russians, Poles and others peoples; officially this side of repression was not being propagated by the authorities. Close to 1941, such repressive actions had a class character. Deportation of the German population during the Second World War was of a purely ethnic character and was carried out as a preventive measure. Only the Soviet security forces in the peacetime resorted to restrictions on the right to life and to direct physical destruction of ethnic Germans. It is noted that the fear of tsarism and Soviet leadership before the fifth column during the war years has played a decisive role in the fate of the German ethnic minority. It is emphasized that in the extraordinary circumstances (war, occupation, the policy of total unification of non-indigenous nations) the ruling government tends to practice the use of the ethnic image of the enemy. Therefore, there is quite logical rhetorical question: who they are – the German colonists, the German refugees, the German special settlers and the Ukrainian «Volksdeutsche», if not «their own» convenient enemies?

**Key words:** ethnic Germans, «Volksdeutsche», anti-German campaign, war policy, World War I, World War II.

## ПОЛІТИКА ЦАРИЗМУ І РАДЯНСЬКОГО КЕРІВНИЦТВА ЩОДО ЕТНІЧНИХ НІМЦІВ ЧАСІВ ПЕРШОЇ ТА ДРУГОЇ СВІТОВИХ ВОЄН

**Анотація. Мета дослідження** – проаналізувати політику Російської імперії та Радянського Союзу щодо етнічних німців у ході двох світових воєн. **Методологія** роботи базується на принципах історизму, системності, науковості, об'єктивності, а також на використанні загальнонаукових та спеціально-історичних методів і на теоретичному підґрунті сучасної історіографії, згідно з якою Перша і Друга світові війни розглядаються як дві фази однієї історичної події. Означений підхід відкриває перед дослідниками нові можливості як у генерації ідей, так і в площині фактологічного відтворення минулої війни. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше в історіографії здійснено пошук історичних паралелей між антинімецькими кампаніями щодо цивільного населення, що мали місце у час двох світових воєн. Це дало можливість проілюструвати неприпустимість колективних звинувачень у колабораціонізмові за етнічною ознакою. **Висновки.** Численні депортації етнічних німців (1915) пояснювалися декларативними цілями – унеможливити їхнє потрапляння до лав армій противника під час відходу царської армії. Найбільшою відмінністю політики в «німецькому питанні» 1914 – 1915 рр. від подій 1941 – 1942 рр. є те, що дії царського уряду безпосередньо залежали від бойових невдач російської армії. До початку Другої світової війни жертвами репресій, окрім німців, були українці, росіяни, поляки та ін. народи; офіційно цей бік репресій владою не пропагувався. Упритул до 1941 р. такі репресивні акції мали класовий характер. Депортація німецького населення часів Другої світової війни мала суцільно етнічний характер і була проведена як превентивний захід. Лише радянські органи безпеки в мирний час вдалися до обмежень прав на життя і прямого фізичного знищення етнічних німців. Зазначено, що острах царизму й радянського керівництва перед п'ятою колоною в роки війни зіграв вирішальну роль у долі німецької етнічної меншини. Наголошено, що в надзвичайних умовах (війна, окупація, політика тотальної уніфікації некорінних народів) правляча влада тяжіє до практики використання етнічного образу ворога. Тому цілком логічне риторичне запитання: хто вони, німецькі колоністи, німецькі біженці, німецькі спецпоселенці й українські фольксдойче, як не «свої» зручні вороги?

**Ключові слова:** етнічні німці, фольксдойче, антинімецька кампанія, воєнна політика, Перша світова війна, Друга світова війна.

**Problem statement.** This article is generated by a discussion within the researches concerning the expediency of studying of the fate of the German population in the period of the First and Second World Wars, while understanding the heredity of the policy of the imperial leadership regarding the German ethnic group as a lack of national-political tolerance in the society.

**The analysis of sources and recent researches.** The researches of O. Beznosova, S. Bobilyeva, M. Kostyuk, M. Shevchuk, Y. Lapteva, N. Wenger, L. Sinyavska (Sinyavska, 2013) are dedicated to the studying of the fate of the German population in the First World War. The dissertation works of S. Petkov and S. Harkavy are devoted to the historical and legal analysis of measures of restriction the property and civil rights of the German population. The postulates of the theory of nationalism are highlighted in the works of E. Smith and B. Anderson, O. Miller (Russia), A. Kappeler (Germany), M. von Khaghen (USA), P. Holkvist (USA), E. Lor (USA). They abandoned the mono-ethnic Russo-centric view of the Russian Empire as a state of one nation. The modern discourse of nationalism on the «German issue» is represented by the works of foreign researchers M. von Khaghen (Khaghen, 1999, p. 392), E. Lor (Lor, 2012, p. 304).

**The publication's purpose.** The goal of the research is to study the policies of the imperial and Soviet leadership regarding ethnic Germans in the period of the First and Second World Wars and to conduct their comparative analysis.



**Statement of the basic material.** The guide point for the theoretical foundation of the article is the methodological thesis of the modern historiography, according to which the First and Second World Wars are the two phases of one historical event, not being separate and self-sufficient wars. Therefore, it is expedient, in our opinion, to pay special attention to the events having taken place in the country from the angle of ethno political processes, which were caused by the geopolitical interests of the Russian (Soviet) state in the conditions of military conflicts of 1914 – 1917 and 1941 – 1945, having pursuing at the same time the goal of building of a comparative model of anti-German campaigns in the specified period.

So, we will define the criteria for a possible analysis and comparison of the policy of tsarism and Soviet leadership regarding the German population of the country during the period of world wars, with a focus on the general and specific features of this policy. These criteria should include:

- origins of this policy and its ideological foundations;
- forms of manifestation and the nature of application;
- international experience of the state nationalism concerning the punitive and restrictive actions against foreigners;
- evaluation of anti-German actions of political leadership in the context of historical alternatives.

We should note that this approach does not pretend to be the final solution to the problem and is considered by the author as an option for a possible discussion. Taking into account the specifics of this development, as well as its definite laconism, let us dwell on some aspects.

*Origins and ideology.* The intensification of attention from the Russian imperial side to the German population during the First World War did not become an unexpected phenomenon of political life and was conditioned by the historical background – the discussion on the solution of the «German issue» in Russian public opinion in 1880 – 1914 (Shevchuk, 2001, p. 56).

The German ethnic group that lived on the territory of the Russian Empire was characterized by a specific West European mentality. The hope that the reforms of Alexander II (the abolition of colonial privileges, the cancellation of their special governance, the introduction of general military conscription, the change of social status) would lead to the Russification of German settlers did not come true.

The great dissatisfaction of the orthodox clergy with the spread of stundism among the peasantry, the accusation of lutheran and mennonite pietists in this (Gherman, 1999, p. 62), the failures of the administrative and political restriction of German colonization of the south-western provinces – these all embarrassed the nationalist-oriented part of society, first of all the conservative element. The presence of a large German diaspora in the country, the nature of its resettlement in the strategically important regions from the point of view of the military interests, the remarkable success of the Germans in the sphere of state administration – all this especially bothered the imperial authority after 1871 (the moment of the creation of a single German state) because it automatically transformed the majority of Russian Germans into the citizens of the German Empire (Bovua, 1998, p. 293).

Therefore, it is not surprising that in the late 1880's – early 1890's these plots contributed to the formation of the thesis of «peaceful conquest of Russia» by Germany. The only possible lever of influence on the German diaspora, the imperial power chose the path of land restrictions, which was accompanied by forcing of anti-German sentiments in dependence on the level of good-neighborly relations with Germany. The dynamics of Russian-German trade-economic, military-diplomatic and political relations (until 1914) have feed the

«German issue» by impulses, creating, supposedly, a peculiar ideological form for internal filling with political decisions of tsarism. As a result, in the society such phenomenon as germanophobia has started to form. It gained full speed during 1915 – 1916.

Thus, in particular, assessing the pre-war political reality, general O. Brusilov has noted that «German external and internal ... the most powerful; he occupied the highest government positions, he was «persona gratissima» at court ... the Russian-German party demanded at the cost of any humiliation a strong alliance with Germany, which despised us» (Brusilov, 2002, p. 293). In the spirit of the idea of «peaceful conquest» of the lands, A.O. Brusilov pronounced that «the Germans reigned in all spheres of people's life» (Brusilov, 2002, p. 293).

The issue of the governance of the occupied territories was regulated by the article of the «Regulations concerning the administration of troops during the wartime». It provided the organization of civilian control on the occupied territory, the creation of special establishments for this and the formation of a military Governorate-General (Lozinsjka, 2017, p. 23).

Russia's unpreparedness to war in the moral and psychological aspect was also seen in the powerful influence that Russian politics suffered from by «internal» Germans. This example proves that even quite progressive figures of the royal era have fallen under the influence of Russian nationalism and official marches, which allowed numerous Russian military leaders during the First World War to decide the fate of foreign national settlements in one only known way – deportation.

The attitude of the Soviet leadership to the German population of the country in the pre-war period was due to the changes in the priorities of the national policy of the Bolsheviks Party, which have passed the path from the party-class approach in the post-revolutionary period to the ethnic selectivity in the 1930s – 1940s during the genocide and deportation of entire nations. First years of the Soviet leadership for the ethnic Germans occurred in the spirit of relatively democratic understanding, the existence within the national-territorial areas, the active participation of the Germans in social activities, the cultural and educational activities of the party among the national minorities (Vasyljchuk, 2001, p. 23).

All this was a temporary phenomenon, the calm before approaching changes in the socio-economic system of the former colonists. The same way as before the war in 1914, the authorities found a way of influencing the German minority – through the reform of the administrative system (German zoning) and according to it the redistribution of the land (Vasyljchuk, 2001, p. 23). Undoubtedly, there comes to mind an analogy with the reforms of the colonist system and the restriction of the purchase and lease of the land for the Germans in the Podillya, Volyn, Kyiv region in the late XIX century. Subsequently, the introduction of collectivization in wealthy German villages, especially in Ukraine, drastically changed the loyal attitude of government towards them. Since then, the authorities began to consider the Germans to be the class enemies, at the same time the slow pace of collectivization were explained by leaders as the counter-revolutionary activity of German kulaks.

The era of the «great changes» of 1929 – 1933 was painfully reflected on the life of the German ethnic group, striking hard on its material and spiritual values (Beznosov, 2001, p. 76). This became possible due to a number of actions of the Soviet leadership – provoked hunger, the introduction of collectivization, anti-religious struggle. In addition, the first mass evictions of the Germans were carried out within the framework of dispossession and under the slogans of the class struggle against the former landowners (Kryvec, 1998, p. 268). In particular, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine was especially concerned about the border areas, places of compact residence of the Germans.

Obviously, by analogy with the ethnic deportations of Germans, Jews and Galician Ukrainians during the First World War, the border areas were considered to be a potentially unreliable regions (Khaghan, 1999, p. 392). Right here the class accusations (kulaks element) were combined with political, traitorous (fascist agents, etc.) (Kryvec, 1998, p. 269). However, the repressions have not yet had such a systematic character as during the Second World War.

Repressions of the state security bodies against the Germans of Ukraine in 1937, where at that time one third of all Soviet Germans were living, has reached unprecedented levels. (Nikoljskyj, 2001, p. 54). At that time, besides the Germans, the victims of repressions were Ukrainians, Russians, Poles and others nations; officially this side of repression by the authorities was not propagated. Nevertheless, by 1941, such repressive actions were of a class character.

*Estimates.* The process of solving the «German issue» in the Russian Empire and the USSR was characterized by a coincidence of the interest of both the imperial and Soviet authorities in depriving the ethnic Germans of their national identity through all sorts of restrictions on faith, status and property rights. However, only the Soviet security forces in the peacetime resorted to restrictions on the right to life and to direct physical destruction of ethnic Germans.

*Policy.* The policy of tsarism and the Soviet leadership on the «German issue» pursued similar goals; however, differed in the nature of the events that were carried out as well as quantitative indicators (Nelypovych, 1997, p. 47). The royal government officially did not recognize the fact that the forced eviction and internment of the German civilian population had the character of deportation. These actions were explained by the tactics of the so-called «scorched earth policy» (Khaghan, 1999, p. 404) and were conducted within the framework of the evacuation of the population from theater of warfare. Numerous deportations of ethnic Germans took place in 1915; nevertheless they were explained by quite humane goals – to exclude the entry of ethnic Germans into the ranks of the enemy’s armies during the withdrawal of the imperial army. The greatest difference of the policy of the «German issue» in 1914 – 1915 between the policy of 1941 – 1942 was that the actions of the imperial government directly have depended on the military failures of the Russian army.

Despite the lack of officially recognized nationalism in the Soviet Union, the deportation of the German population during the Second World War was of a purely ethnic character and was carried out as a preventive measure. It was fundamentally different from the policies of the First World War by the mass exodus from the inner regions. Also the Soviet leadership saw a great danger in German border residents and ethnic Germans in Ukraine.

For both wars the typical things were the Germans' accusations of espionage and potential sabotage, collaboration in general. As one of the means of promotion of such policy, the Soviet authorities used the falsification of history, appealed to historical-popular studies, historical analogies of Russian-German conflicts. Thus, in particular, the most impressive example of this was the publication of documents of the «internal use» of political workers, such as «The German Espionage in Imperial Russia» (Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine, Kyiv – CSHAUK, f. 2233, d. 2, c. 353, p. 319). From such special literature came the idea that all German colonists – spies and informers of German intelligence, as well as the fact that the country through the system of commercial and industrial enterprises is infiltrated by the spy system of the Germans. However, some historians have attempted to separate the state's betrayal from the forms of cooperation of people with occupiers, justified by the circumstances, by using the term with less pronounced negative coloration. They replaced the term «treason» with the French

term «collaborationism», the foreign origin of which gave it a neutral character in Russian historiography in comparison with such term as a traitor (Sukhovska, 2018, p. 150).

The common feature of two wars was the use of forced labor of ethnic Germans. However, during the Second World War, this phenomenon has become much more terrible. Also the similar fate encountered the German military personnel in the royal and Soviet army. From the areas of direct warfare, they were transported to the rear parts or altogether were not allowed to be mobilized. A fundamentally important difference is in the determination of the status of the German population after the war, which directly depended on its outcome for the country. Thus, for many years further, the special settlement of the Germans as exiles of the Soviet regime was a standardized measure, a component of the repressive policies of the Soviet leadership. After the victory of 1945, this issue was first raised in 1950 at the diplomatic negotiations between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany. This process also took place by analogy of royal diplomacy in the late nineteenth century, when the fate of German settlers depended on the barometer of the Russian-German confrontation in the foreign policy.

**Conclusions.** The attitude of society to the foreign ethnic population during disasters of a national scale is a barometer of the presence or, conversely, lack of social harmony in the country. Unfortunately, the sad experience of two world wars reveals a common punitive and repressive policy of the Imperial and Soviet states regarding ethnic Germans. Such a coincidence is not accidental. To find an adequate explanation should become one of the leading tasks of the discourse of nationalism on the «German issue».

A comparative analysis of the military policy of the Russian Empire and the USSR makes it possible to argue that under extreme conditions (war, occupation, the policy of total unification of non-indigenous nations) the ruling government tends to practice the use of the ethnic image of the enemy. Therefore, there is quite logical rhetorical question: who they are – the German colonists, the German refugees, the German special settlers and the Ukrainian «Volksdeutsche», if not «their own» convenient enemies?

At the same time, ethnic radicalization, considered in this research study on the example of the «German issue», was not the only possible alternative of the mobilization of national consciousness. And although the imperial ethnopolitics concerning the ethnic Germans as controlled «from above» changes in the ethno-national, ethno-confessional and ethno-territorial component of the population of the state at the specified time had a largely chauvinistic character, this phenomenon should not be considered as a normalized expression of Russian mentality. Otherwise, the way back of comprehension of the phenomenon of nationalism inevitably leads to an abyss of xenophobia inside the society, as well as to the marginalization of historical memory, etc. Therefore, even comprehension of negative historical experience should serve to national reconciliation and act as an instrument of forgiveness.

The broad research perspectives in the field of historical ethnopolitics open the concept of «population policy» (from German – Bevölkerungspolitik), that is politically «motivated» repressions against the certain categories of people of the country by ethnic, ethno-confessional and ethno-territorial characteristics. «Historia est magistra vitae» – it was said by the ancient ones. The comprehensive study of the ethnic conflicts aims to prevent something like that in the future.

**Acknowledgments.** The author expresses the sincere gratitude to Professor S.Y. Bobilyeva and Professor S.S. Troyan for lots of advice and recommendations during the conducting of the research study.

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

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*The article was received on January 10, 2019.  
Article was recommended for publishing 18.02.2019.*

UDC 94 (477) (092)  
DOI: 10.24919/2519-058x.10.159219

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**Бібліографічний опис статті:** Batiuk, T. & Zymomrya, I. (2019). Journalism of Myron Korduba on pages of «Hromadska Dumka». *Skhidnoievropeyskyi istorychnyi visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 10, 118–128. doi 10.24919/2518-058x.10.159219

**JOURNALISM OF MYRON KORDUBA  
ON PAGES OF «HROMADSKA DUMKA»**

**Summary.** *The purpose of the reseach is to analyze the journalism of M. Korduba on the pages of the Lviv newspaper «Hromadska Dumka». The research methodology is based on a combination of principles (historicism and objectivity) and methods (general scientific and special-historical) of scientific work. The scientific novelty of the article consists in an attempt to comprehend the phenomenon of historian's journalistic heritage in «Hromadska Dumka» («Public Opinion»). Conclusions.* *The journalism of M. Korduba on the pages of «Hromadska Dumka» was devoted to the comprehensive analysis of the most important issues for Ukrainians of national life during the early 1920s. First of all, it was a difficult problem to overcome a wide range of consequences of the defeat of the national struggle in the Galician and Transdnestrrian lands. The historian urges against national self-humiliation, showing the subjective and objective reasons for Ukrainians to lose their own statehood. He proposes to make the right conclusions from defeat and move further to gaining independence. M. Korduba convinces that Ukrainians have the fate of their own hands, soberly assess*

the unfavorable foreign political situation, and urges to step aside from internal conflicts and to give a clear signal to the western countries about the presence of a consolidated vision of the national perspective. As M. Korduba claims, only unity of the Ukrainian nation will gain the respect of European partners and will establish constructive relations. This optimism also marked articles on the relations of Ukrainians with their eternal rivals – the Polish and Russians. He stresses at the need to seek consensus with the neighbors by establishing an equitable national dialogue and rejecting the policy of escalating national atrocities. In general, the analyses of M. Korduba's writings prove him to be a talented publicist, who was able to diagnose the problems of Ukrainians of his times and offer effective recipes for national recovery.

**Key words:** M. Korduba, «Hromadska Dumka», journalism, Ukrainian-Polish relations, Ukrainian-Russian relations.

### ПУБЛІЦИСТИКА МИРОНА КОРДУБИ НА СТОРІНКАХ «ГРОМАДСЬКОЇ ДУМКИ»

**Анотація.** *Мета дослідження* – проаналізувати публіцистику М. Кордуби на сторінках львівської газети «Громадська думка». **Методологія дослідження** спирається на традиційне для історіографічних праць поєднання принципів (історизму й об'єктивності) і методів (загальнонаукових та спеціально-історичних) наукової праці. **Наукова новизна** статті полягає у спробі цілісного осмислення феномену публіцистичної спадщини історика в «Громадській думці». **Висновки.** Публіцистика М. Кордуби на сторінках «Громадської думки» була присвячена всебічному осмисленню найбільш важливих для українців питань національного буття початку 1920-х рр. Насамперед це була складна проблема подолання широкого спектру наслідків поразки національних змагань на галицьких і надніпрянських землях. Історик відкидає деструктивні заклики до національного самоприниження, розкриваючи суб'єктивні та об'єктивні причини втрати українцями власної державності. Він пропонує зробити належні висновки з поразки і рухатися далі шляхом здобуття незалежності. М. Кордуба переконував, що слід самим взяти долю у власні руки, тверезо оцінити несприятливу зовнішньополітичну ситуацію, обличити внутрішні чвари та дати чіткий сигнал західним країнам про наявність консолідованого бачення національної перспективи. Тільки така поведінка, твердить М. Кордуба, поверне до нас повагу європейських партнерів та уможливить налагодження конструктивних взаємин. Цим оптимізмом були позначені і його дописи, присвячені стосункам українців з одвічними суперниками – поляками та росіянами. Він наголошує на потребі пошуку консенсусу з сусідами шляхом побудови рівноправного діалогу та відмови від політики колекціонування національних кривд. Загалом, проаналізовані дописи М. Кордуби показують його як талановитого публіциста, котрий проникливо діагностував проблеми сучасного йому українства та пропонував дієві рецепти національного одужання.

**Ключові слова:** М. Кордуба, «Громадська думка», публіцистика, українсько-польські взаємини, українсько-російські стосунки.

**Problem statement.** The leading tendency of modern «Korduba studies» (the scientific study of Myron Korduba's works) is a consistent expansion of historiographical analysis issues. In addition to the traditional attention to the diverse scientific heritage of the outstanding Galician historian, researchers have been talking about the need to analyze other aspects of his intellectual biography more and more often. At the same time, more and more attention is devoted to M. Korduba's public service and his political journalism first of all. It is devoted to the problems of the Ukrainians existence in a rapidly changing world, the search for the most effective models of civil consent and relations with the nearest neighbours. This journalism sometimes affects the relevance of the observations made.

**The analysis of sources and recent researches.** In the light of the foregoing, M. Korduba's journalistic heritage has been in the focus of attention of the researchers of his creative legacy for more than once (Batiuk, 2013; Batiuk, 2016; Batiuk, 2018; Telvak, Pedych, 2016,

p. 16–21, 48–52, 85–87, 154–162, 184–187, 269–273). At the same time, the theme of «Korduba-publicist» is still far from its somewhat full coverage, as most of its topical issues have still been waiting for an independent reflection. In particular, too little is known about the cooperation of an outstanding historian with many Ukrainian periodicals being published in Galicia in the interwar period.

**The purpose of the article** is to analyze the journalism of M. Korduba on the pages of the Lviv newspaper «Hromadska Dumka».

**Presentation of the main material.** As it is known, in 1919 M. Korduba moved to Lviv together with his family, having left Chernivtsi, which was occupied by the Romanians at that time. In the former capital of the ancient Austrian province, he plunged into the hectic social life of the Galician Ukrainians immediately and very actively. At that time they suffered painfully from the loss of short-term statehood and were fully exhausted from the pressure of the Polish invaders. Wielding an exquisite journalistic pen, the famous historian joined the understanding of the current situation on the pages of the Ukrainian publications of that time. During the whole 1920, which had a lot of important events in our history, he collaborated with the newspaper «Hromadska Dumka» («Public Opinion»). It emerged as one of the media-«clones», instead of «Dilo» («Business»), which was banned by the Polish invaders. The significance of M. Korduba's publicistic voice of that time is proved by the fact that his articles had always been published as editorials. Another sign of that difficult time that characterizes the Polish newly-formed «democracy» was the thing that the historian had to sign his texts with cryptonyms, for the fear of persecution by the new government, which deprived its opponents of labour and even freedom in a categorical way.

M. Korduba took topics for his publicistic messages from the life of that time, which was full of disturbing news for the Ukrainians. The most striking event of the end of 1919 was the fact that in November the World Peace Council in Paris made a decision to give the Eastern Galicia under the leadership of Poland for 25 years, while providing for the rights of the Ukrainians in a separate legislative charter. This decision was a real shock for the representatives of the Ukrainian Galician intellectual class, as it marked the irrevocable defeat of the national liberation struggle in Zazbruchany territory in the eyes of East European politicians. Among the shower of emotional publications, which portrayed the mentioned decision of the ambassadors as a real national catastrophe, a sober analysis of the situation was indicated by M. Korduba's reflections.

Pointing to the destructiveness of appeals to ignore the obvious, the scientist suggested figuring out the essence of the matter calmly instead. In his opinion, «it will be no harm to look around closer in the region, which was ordered by the World Peace Council to be a self-governing part of the Polish state for a longer or shorter period» (Korduba, 1920, p. 4). First of all, the historian proposes to try to give the name to a part of the Western Ukrainian lands appointed by the European ambassadors to be self-governing. Comprehending this problem, M. Korduba, as a well-known specialist in the field of *toponomastics* (place-name study), reveals the fact of a largely appropriate definition of the Ukrainian expanses that would have intended to be autonomous. Taking the above text into account, the scientist says, «there is nothing to call it Galician Ukraine, because its borders are much narrower than the borders of the Ukrainian-inhabited territory in the ancient Austrian province called Galicia» (Korduba, 1920, p. 4). It is impossible, as the publicist points out, to call this territory the Eastern Galicia too, because its western border is considered to be the Sian River. In view of this – «for the lack of a better name» – M. Korduba, with a certain witticism, calls



the projected autonomy the Lviv Republic. The author considers its boundaries to be «very bizarre» and adds to the mentioned arguments a few no less expressive ones, proving that the authors of the project ignore historical, ethnographic and historical realities completely. In fact, the above-mentioned resolution occupies the self-governing city of Lviv and 45 political counties.

The next problem that M. Korduba draws attention to is an attempt to reconstruct the ethnic composition of the planned autonomy. As a criterion the scientist proposes to choose the religion of the population. Thus, out of the total number of residents of the newly formed autonomy, which should be about 5 million people, the number of the Ukrainians, according to the scientist, accounts for a clear majority of about 3 million or 63.6 %. The distribution by nationality of the remaining inhabitants of the autonomy is as follows – 1 071 000 poles (22.7 %), 592,000 Jews (12.5 %), 44,000 Germans (1 %). M. Korduba points out that according to these estimates 2/3 of the seats in the future parliament of such an autonomy should belong to the Ukrainians, whereas only 1/5 – to the Poles. However, knowing the realities of the Polish «democracy» of that time, the publicist adds explicitly «if only the elections were conducted without abuses» (Korduba, 1920, p. 5). But M. Korduba's complaints of the injustice of the projected autonomy boundaries turned out to be futile, since, as it is known, Polish politicians fully ignored the assumed foreign policy commitments.

In the situation of uncertainty about the Galician Ukrainians' future, M. Korduba, as an analytical observer of «Hromadska Dumka» («Public Opinion»), devoted more attention to the consideration of new geopolitical realities that have developed as a result of the decisions taken at the post-war peace conferences. It is expected that the starting point of his discussion were Ukrainian interests. An experienced politician rightly stressed that «the war in the East and the solution of the East European issue, is now undoubtedly the most important thing of the European, or even world politics. The eyes and attention of prominent diplomats and state leaders of the Western Europe are now drawn to this problem» (the Problem of Eastern Europe. I, 1920). To prove this thesis, M. Korduba cites the evidence of dozens of local conflicts that continue in the region with various intensity.

The scientist determines the unresolved local social, political and national problems to be the reason for these armed conflicts. After all, the removal of the Romanov and Habsburg dynasties from the political scene only «demolished the wall», which had been obscuring the problems of Central and Eastern Europe by that time. Then M. Korduba lists and analyzes the most biting problems: «1) liberation from centuries of enslaved peoples, 2) regularizing social life on the same foundations for minorities as for the national majorities, 3) change of the medieval subdivision into classes and means of production in modern and democratic spirit, 4) the formation of economic federations without occupying the national life of individual States» (the Problem of Eastern Europe. I, 1920).

None of these problems, the historian sums up his analysis, has been solved in the East of Europe. That's because the western politicians, who were poorly guided in the situation that has developed on the territory of the former Habsburg and Romanovs empires, in their conclusions relied entirely on the opinion of Polish politicians. Thus, Poland in the eyes of the Western World became the follower of Austria-Hungary and Russia. However, according to M. Korduba, the new state had become the successor of not only the territories of both states, but also of their «fatal disease». Explaining the last point, the publicist says: «When looking around in the region, lined by the Polish army now [...] we will see that the proportion between the dominant and the enslaved nation here is even less useful for the dominant,

as it was in Austria-Hungary and Russia. [...] If only Polish politicians had really wished to have attached all those lands to Poland, would it be possible to predict a different destiny and a different end to the state like the one, which Austria-Hungary and Russia had recently encountered?» (Problem of Eastern Europe. II, 1920, p. 3).

Thus, M. Korduba, being one of the first among the contemporaries, predicted the rapid crisis of the new world order, which was created by the winners and based on the formation of states including a significant number of foreign-ethnic population, in a very shrewd way. With the knowledge of trends in the development of historical events on the European continent, the scientist proves the futility of creating new empires on the site of the states, which had already been destroyed by the revolutionary upheavals. He gives a piece of advice to the new masters of the situation: «Only recognition of the full independence of all captive nations and ability to put everything in order on genuinely democratic principles and to carry out desirable social and economic reforms will give the solution» (the Problem of Eastern Europe. II, 1920, p. 3).

M. Korduba expressed his conviction about the finiteness of the fair definition of interstate borders in post-war Europe in the article on negotiations between Poland and Soviet Russia. In fact, the Ukrainian lands on the right side of the Dnieper, which were planned to be included into the Second Polish Republic (Polish: Rzeczpospolita Polska), should have been the subject of these negotiations. The Galician historian strongly condemned the appeals of some Polish politicians and publicists to return the state borders of 1772 to their country, because it would mean the restoration of its imperial character. M. Korduba convinces that such negotiations should take into account the opinion of the local Ukrainian population: «The main ground of future negotiations between Poland and «bolsheviks» (*representatives of the political movement (fraction) in the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party*) should be a statement from the last mentioned of complete disinterestment in the lands that have lied to the West from the borders of the historic Poland since 1772. Poland was to decide the fate of those lands according to the will of the local population» (the Borders since 1772, 1920).

However, the publicist claims, the imperial ambitions of the new Polish authorities do not allow looking at the problem of its new borders objectively – in the light of the local population interests. M. Korduba states, that, on the contrary, the new Polish state sets up a claim to a significant part of the Right-Bank Ukraine expanses, which will mean the resumption of national oppression to these lands. «[...] As we see, – writes M. Korduba – the non-polish lands, which future and fate the Polish government is going to decide, exceed the imperious Poland almost three times in space and twice in population» (Borders from 1772, 1920). The historian warns the Polish government, emphasizing that such «expansionist appetites» would lead to acute national antagonism, which will eventually cause irreparable harm to the Polish state formation.

The Ukrainian lands of Bessarabia, occupied by Romania, also fell into the situation similar to Galicia. The same World Peace Council in Paris gave its consent to annex Bessarabia to Romania. Since the Bessarabian case had been rather resonant in the whole Eastern Europe for a long time and, as M. Korduba points out, «falls partly into the sphere of the Ukrainian interests», he introduces this issue to the readers of «Hromadska Dumka» («Public Opinion»). First of all, the scientist gives his thoughts on the name of the region, its territorial boundaries, natural conditions, history and ethnic structure (M. Korduba has 21% of the Ukrainians in Bessarabia, who have an advantage over the Romanians in two counties (Khotyn and Akerman)). As a result, the publicist comes to the conclusion that it is precisely these two mentioned counties from the entire expanse of Bessarabia that should receive full national-territorial autonomy.

Expressing these theses, M. Korduba enters into polemics with Polish journalists, who insisted on the identity of the Galician and Bessarabian situations and thus justified the capture of Galicia. The historian explains: «When «Gazeta Wieczorna» («Evening Newspaper») (of March 27th) wanted to draw a parallel between the capturing of Bessarabia by the Romanians and the Eastern Galicia by the Poles, we have nothing against it. When it comes to substantive justification, we should note that according to Russian population census there are 48 % of the Romanians in Bessarabia, and according to the Polish population census there are only 21 % of the Poles (Roman Catholics) in the Eastern Galicia» (Bessarabia, 1920).

Along with the analysis of the foreign policy situation, M. Korduba paid much attention to the understanding of the domestic political problems that befell the Ukrainians at the end of the First World War. It is fully expected that he paid most of his attention to the Polish-Ukrainian relations of that time. With an undisguised anxiety he registered numerous attacks on the civil liberties of the population of the Zazbruchany territories by the Polish occupation authorities. In a desperate tone of the article under the eloquent title «To everyone!» the scientist showed the unattractive face of the new landlords by giving numerous examples.

The historian pointed out that the situation in the educational sphere, which threatened to be the real humanitarian catastrophe to most of the natives of the East-Galician lands, was a particularly sensitive problem. Describing it, M. Korduba emotionally wrote: «A hundred Ukrainian youths, absolvents (Author's note: «absolvent» in the Ukrainian usage means a person who has completed a certain course of education; graduate of this or that educational institution) of gymnasiums and real schools have been languishing for two years without studying and any ability for further education. Without studying and the ability for further education, because all the necessary things were made, so that to close the access to all cultural means and sources of knowledge behind seven locks. Admission to studies in higher schools was made dependent on the service in the Polish army [...]» (To everyone!, 1920).

Moreover, the occupation authorities have banned the Ukrainians from accessing the university library, which for hundreds of years in any regime has always been open to the educated public. M. Korduba makes disappointing forecasts, that such a policy will lead to the intellectual degradation of the Ukrainians and will have «catastrophic consequences for decades», since the intellectual class, noticeably exterminated by the fire of World War I, will not have natural sources for its recovery. This explains the emotionality of his appeal to the peoples of the cultural world: «We appeal to all who understand the value of culture – in the name of the ideals of modern times. We appeal to the whole cultural world, to everyone. We appeal to those who were able to get knowledge from the well, as well as those whose way to it was immured. Do not let us fall into ruin, do not let to the gloomy darkness! Do not let our youth fade away and perish. We want to get only freedom and light on the land of our forefathers» (To everyone!, 1920).

Another reason for understanding Polish-Ukrainian relations for M. Korduba was the Warsaw agreement between S. Petliura and Y. Pilsudskii. Like most other political observers, the historian was anxious about the mystery of the Ukrainian representatives, who hid the course of negotiations from the general public and imposed a fait accompli to signing extremely unfavourable conditions for the Ukrainians. The greatest shock for the national intellectual class was the voluntary renunciation of the signatories of the Galician territories in favour of the Polish state. Expressing general indignation, M. Korduba noted: «But it is unprecedented and unnatural that a people, beginning their state life, had to exclude the most important part of their land, renounce the region where the population is the most developed

nationally, the area which for the last 50 years had been the heart of cultural and political life, which in the liberation struggle gave the best thoroughly trained intellectual workers, and the best army. Without any doubt Galicia has always been such a part of Ukraine as mentioned above. And no matter how preposterous and unnatural the German concept of Poland without Western Galicia and Poznań Voivodeship, without Kraków and Poznań looked, Ukraine looks even more preposterous without Eastern Galicia» (Polish-Ukrainian Condition. I, 1920).

The Galician publicist emphasizes that being a sober politician he understands the fact when the weaker side is completely inferior to the stronger one. Therefore, the Ukrainians cannot but lose making an agreement with Poland, which had won the war with the support of the western states. Yet there should be a limit to concessions, and the losses should be within the people's strength. M. Korduba claims that Ukraine might have been able to overcome the loss of Kholmshchyna (Ukrainian: Холмщина) or Pidliashia (Ukrainian: Підляшшя; Polish: Podlasie, Podlasze), Transcarpathian Ukraine, or Pre-Caucasian region (Ukrainian: Підкавказзя). But it will never be able to compensate the loss of Eastern Galicia, which has remained to be the «National Piemonte» of Ukraine for a long time. «Such a treaty will carry on the stigma of compulsion on the one hand and extreme indulgence on the other» – the historian emphasizes. «It will not bring the fraternization, but will become the nucleus of further persistent conflicts» (Polish-Ukrainian condition, II, 1920).

In view of the above text, M. Korduba raises a completely logical question if Poland needs a real mutual understanding of the people with each other, the state with each other, or whether it requires only the fiction of the treaty to disguise imperial goals. The historian states that if it is all about the sincere desire to establish Polish-Ukrainian relations undermined by the war, then the Polish elites should unanimously abandon their plans to incorporate the East-Galician territories. M. Korduba gives the following advice to political elites by accumulating the mood of Zazbruchany intellectual class at that time: «Therefore, you shouldn't put the requirements impossible to conduct, shouldn't tighten the strings! It is better to carry out the basic revision of agreement in advance from April 22, than suffer unwanted accidents afterwards and blame the Ukrainians for its disregard. To tell the truth, we considered it as the duty of national honour. Wisdom, moderation, understanding of possible and impossible! This way we appeal today to the Polish people, Polish governing, Polish state makers» (Polish-Ukrainian condition, II, 1920).

M. Korduba continued the criticism of April agreement in his following editorials of «Hromadska Dumka» («Public Opinion»). The appearance of his articles was caused by the successful headway of Polish troops to the Right-Bank Ukraine. Looking into the reasons for such an unexpected development of events, the scientist points out to Bolsheviks' systematic ignoring of past mistakes made by the imperial power, which dismissed the Ukrainians from the new Russian hosts in the short run. So the historian warns the Poles against the behaviour of the previous occupiers, showing their sad fate. The historian emphasizes the necessity of building an equitable interethnic dialogue: «Only frank, sincere and clear agreement of one people with the other one, secured by certain guarantees and fundamental change of the former policy and tactics can still make an impression. The Warsaw Pact since April 22 has encountered the one-sided denunciation of the whole Ukrainian people and all parties. On it, building a new era of Polish-Ukrainian relations would be a punishment worthy utopia, petty tyranny, a naive self-deceit. The current campaign of the Polish troops to Ukraine can create veritable grounds for Polish-Ukrainian terms for further goal» (Above the Dnieper!, 1920).

Equally painful for the Ukrainians was their relationship with the eastern neighbours, which became the subject of M. Korduba's journalistic reflections. As befits a historian, the

scientist first of all plunges into the history of Ukrainian-Russian contacts. Like the rest of the intellectuals of that time, he described the transition of Khmelnytsky under the Russian protectorate as the milestone event, calling it «a fatal wave for Ukraine» (Ukraine and Moscovia. I, 1920). He explains this fatalism by the incompatibility of the civilization codes of the Ukrainians and Russians, since «ossified» Moscow could not imagine a different way of life but its own one: «Muscovites have never been able not even to understand the local political and cultural interests of the peoples attached to their country, but at least to get along with them in their everyday life» (Ukraine and Moscovia. I, 1920).

After that M. Korduba analyzes the attitude to the «Ukrainian question» among the Russian intellectuals of the XIX – early XX century in brief. His conclusion is disappointing – even Russian romantics (Herzen and Bakunin) perceived the political ambitions of their Slavic brothers for their manifestation of frivolity. Their intellectual descendants from the second half of the XIX<sup>th</sup> century reacted rather hostile to the Ukrainian political aspirations, and this hostility was only increasing with the institutional formation of the Ukrainian movement. «Since the time when Russian revolutionary groups have stood upon more sure ground», M. Korduba noted, «since from the abstract theories they have begun to shift to practical life and activity their attitude toward Ukrainianness has been turning into more and more negative and hostile» (Ukraine and Moscovia. II, 1920).

The purpose of his excursus into the history of the «Ukrainian question» in Russia was to object the most popular theses of the local *Moscowphils* and *Little Russians of Over Dnieper land* (Author's note: «moscowphil» is a representative of one of the trends of the Ukrainian national liberation movement in the second half of the XIX<sup>th</sup> century, who supported the idea of the union with Russia; «Little Russian» an official archaic name of the Ukrainians in Russian Imperia, which takes its origin from Little Russia – a part of the Ukrainian land around the ancient capital of Rus Kyiv): «We have dwelled on the review of programs and tactics of the most left-wing, most progressive circles of the Great Russian society in the Ukrainian case much longer so that to break naive illusions and groundless hopes to the support of those circles in solving the Ukrainian issue and the construction of Ukrainian statehood» (Ukraine and Moscovia. III, 1920). M. Korduba, completing his historical review, claims that the Great Russian Revolution did not change the orientation of the Great Russian society in the Ukrainian case, but even «if we see the changes in the attitude, it is not for the better, but rather for the worse» (Ukraine and Moscovia. III, 1920). Taking this into account, the historian says, *moscowphil* orientations among the Ukrainian politicians should be overcome in every possible way. In his opinion, the belief in the commitment to the Ukrainians by the «Moscow liberal» is not only naive, but also extremely dangerous considering the historical moment that the Ukrainians have been experiencing.

In the situation of that time as to the defeat of the national liberation struggle, a significant part of the intellectual class began to propagandize the idea of federative association of the Ukrainians with other, first and foremost, neighbouring peoples. These appeals for the conclusion of various kinds of real and fantastic unions became a real political fashion of the early 1920s. Therefore, it is not coincidence that M. Korduba, with his own analytical approach to solving any problem, turned to this question, analyzing the historical and legal aspects of federalism in details. First of all, he deconstructs the idea of federalism as a universal political remedy for non-state nations. In his firm belief, the popularity of federal slogans in the Ukrainian case has always been a product of disbelief. M. Korduba emphasizes that federal slogans «are mainly propagated by those politicians who are not quite accustomed to working on the

awareness of the national masses and looking for fortitude to fight the political winners among them. And all appropriateness of their policy they saw sooner in conditions with government officials, in pacts, concessions, new eras... » (Federation or Independence? I., 1920).

The historian is especially surprised by those Ukrainian politicians who, despite the hundred years' experience of national enslavement, have still been looking for a Federal connection with Russia, which in the Bolshevik edition adopted all the imperial instincts of the Romanov state. Sharing his misunderstanding of such figures with the reader M. Korduba notes: «There are also such types that consider the federation with Russia not only as a temporary salvation, but as a «malum necessarium» (Author's note: in Latin «malum necessarium» means inevitable evil), but such a solution of the Ukrainian question they pose a much better one than the complete independence of Ukraine, saying that we are too weak, too little politically worked out to keep our entirely separate statehood» (Federation or Independence? I., 1920).

Convincing the reader of «Hromadska Dumka» («Public Opinion») in the unreality of the conclusion of an equal union with the Eastern neighbour, M. Korduba states that the Federation of Ukraine with Moscovia, that is, the restoration of ancient Russia in the form of a federal state, at least on the most advantageous initial conditions, would have caused a sharp internal struggle for victory from the very beginning. Describing the course of this struggle and appealing to the sad experience of the eternal Ukrainian-Russian confrontation, the historian wrote: «And due to the fact that except of economic and political contradictions between Moscovia and Ukraine there are also national ones, the struggle would manifest itself in all three areas, on the latter, obviously, the strongest. Like everything and everywhere, practical life would have moved over a paperwork condition to a day-to-day order very quickly. At every step one would have to compete not only because of the violation of the competences of the regional legislative and executive power, but also for the smallest everyday affairs. In addition, the national struggle should be conducted not only outside, but also inside, with yourself, taking into account the existence of *moscowphil* ideas in our literature, which deny our national freestanding segregation and which would find strong support from the Moscow centre. This struggle would require a terrible tension of strength, would eat up all our energy, would stop our natural development. And it's not so difficult to predict the ending, knowing the relationship of both sides. There is no need to be a prophet, to say in advance that the times of Ruin would happen again, possibly at a speeding pace» (Federation or Independence? II, 1920).

Aware of these real risks, M. Korduba asks if there can be at least a moment for a doubt, why Ukrainians should compete in this turbulent time and what to fear most? Responding to political romantics, he stressed: «Federation is not an evil thing, but only between equal contractors. The union of the weak and strong will end with the enslaving of the weak» (Federation or Independence? II, 1920).

In these conditions of general scepticism regarding the state-building capabilities of the Ukrainians, the historian was one of the few who propagated the slogan of orientation exclusively on their own. He insisted that we should take fate into our own hands, soberly assess the unfavourable foreign policy situation, leave internal conflicts aside and give a clear signal to the western countries in the presence of a consolidated vision of the national perspective. M. Korduba claims that only this behaviour will bring back the respect of European partners and enable a constructive political dialogue: «The Entente is waiting for our political maturity exam, looking now attentively from the side, how strong we manifest our state-forming force, and after that will say its hard word. But if we miss this useful moment, if we break the building of Ukraine only because this is the case now, when people and factors are somewhat

less likable, with which we have large settlements – then this case will obviously end up unsuccessfully and the world will pass over us to the day-to-day order» (England and East of Europe. II, 1920).

**Conclusions.** The journalism of M. Korduba on the pages of «Hromadska Dumka» was devoted to the comprehensive analysis of the most important issues for Ukrainians of national life during the early 1920s. First of all, it was a difficult problem to overcome a wide range of consequences of the defeat of the national struggle in the Galician and Transdnies-trian lands. The historian urges against national self-humiliation, showing the subjective and objective reasons for Ukrainians to lose their own statehood. He proposes to make the right conclusions from defeat and move further to gaining independence. M. Korduba convinces that Ukrainians have the fate of their own hands, soberly assess the unfavorable foreign political situation, and urges to step aside from internal conflicts and to give a clear signal to the western countries about the presence of a consolidated vision of the national perspective. As M. Korduba claims, only unity of the Ukrainian nation will gain the respect of European partners and will establish constructive relations. This optimism also marked articles on the relations of Ukrainians with their eternal rivals – the Polish and Russians. He stresses at the need to seek consensus with the neighbors by establishing an equitable national dialogue and rejecting the policy of escalating national atrocities. In general, the analyses of M. Korduba's writings prove him to be a talented publicist, who was able to diagnose the problems of Ukrainians of his times and offer effective recipes for national recovery.

The perspective direction of researching M. Korduba's journalism is the clarification of peculiarities of the historian's cooperation with other Ukrainian newspapers during 1920<sup>th</sup> – 1930<sup>th</sup> years.

**Acknowledgments.** The authors express their gratitude to the PhD (History), associate professor of Ivan Franko Drohobych SPU Lidia Lazurko for advice during the study.

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

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*The article was received on January 01, 2019.  
Article was recommended for publishing 28.02.2019*



UDC 94(477)«1920»

DOI: 10.24919/2519-058x.10.159183

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**Бібліографічний опис статті:** Sokyrska, V., & Karasevych, A. (2019). Activity of the Russian soviet procurement agencies in Ukraine in the 1920's. *Skhidnoevropeyskyi istorychnyi visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 10, 129–140. doi: 10.24919/2519-058x.10.159183

**ACTIVITY OF THE RUSSIAN SOVIET PROCUREMENT AGENCIES  
IN UKRAINE IN THE 1920-ies**

**Summary.** *The purpose of the article is to study the forms, the methods and the means of implementing the food dictatorship by the Soviet authorities and to characterize the activities of Russian food-requisition detachments in Ukraine in the 1920-ies. The research methodology is based on the general scientific and historical approaches and principles, which made it possible to study various documents, to systematize the empirical material, to analyze the statistical data, to carry out a content analysis of documents. The scientific novelty of the study is as follows: for the first time in the domestic historiography the peculiarities of the implementation of the Soviet food dictatorship in the 1920-ies in Ukraine were determined, the activity of Russian Soviet food-requisition detachments was described.*

the factors that caused the food crisis were analyzed, its permanent character in the USSR during the above-mentioned period was proved, using a wide range of archival and published documents. **Conclusions.** Using the difficult situation in Ukraine in 1919 – 1920, the Bolsheviks decided to turn it into its food colony and to preserve their revolutionary conquests. The desire to secure the Soviet regime with the material benefits, the fulfillment of the international treaties obligations and the destruction of the political activity of the Ukrainian peasantry prompted the Soviet leadership to pursue an active grain procurement policy in Ukraine. The food apportionment in Ukraine was implemented violently. The Soviet food policy in Ukraine in the 1920-ies caused the famine of 1921 – 1923.

**Key words:** RSFSR, USSR, Soviet power, food crisis, grain procurement policy.

### ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ РОСІЙСЬКИХ РАДЯНСЬКИХ ЗАГОТІВЕЛЬНИХ ОРГАНІВ В УКРАЇНІ У 1920-х рр.

**Анотація.** Мета дослідження – з'ясувати форми, методи та засоби здійснення радянською владою продовольчої диктатури і охарактеризувати діяльність російських продовольчих загонів в Україні у 1920-х рр. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на загальнонаукові й історичні підходи та принципи, що дало можливість вивчити різні документи, систематизувати емпіричний матеріал, проаналізувати статистичні дані, здійснити змістовий аналіз документів. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше у вітчизняній історіографії, з використанням широкого спектру архівних та опублікованих документів з'ясовано особливості здійснення радянською владою продовольчої диктатури 1920-х рр. в Україні, охарактеризовано діяльність російських радянських продовольчих загонів, проаналізовано чинники, які спричинили продовольчу кризу, доведено її перманентний характер в УСРР окресленого періоду. **Висновки.** Тоталітаризм радянської влади проявлявся і у здійсненні більшовиками продовольчої політики. Користуючись важким становищем в Україні (1919 – 1920), більшовики вирішили її повернути як продовольчу колонію та зберегти свої революційні завоювання. Прагнення забезпечити існування радянської влади матеріальними ресурсами, виконання зобов'язань за міжнародними договорами, знищення політичної активності українського селянства спонукали радянське керівництво здійснювати в Україні активну політику хлібозаготівель. Продовольчу розверстку на її території запроваджували силовими методами. Продовольча політика радянської влади в Україні 1920-х рр. спричинила голодомор 1921 – 1923 рр.

**Ключові слова:** РСФРР, УСРР, радянська влада, продовольча криза, політика хлібозаготівель, голодомор 1921 – 1923 рр.

**Problem statement.** Totalitarianism of the Soviet power was also manifested in the implementation of food policy by the Bolsheviks. Destroyed, already fallen behind for centuries, agriculture in Russia could not feed the newly formed state. Having lost bread areas, Russia could not provide itself with food. Taking advantage of the difficult situation in Ukraine, the Bolsheviks decided to return it as a food colony and to preserve its revolutionary gains.

More than 80% of the population of Ukraine after the First World War lived in the countryside. The agricultural output of Ukraine was about 52% of its national wealth (Solovej, 1959, p. 7). Therefore, the agrarian question in the policy of the Bolsheviks in general, and in their struggle for the subordination of Ukraine to Russia, acquired a special significance.

**Analysis of the research.** The study of the issue of the activities of Russian Soviet procurement agencies in Ukraine in the 1920-ies was not properly reflected in the historical works. The first studies of the issue are the works of the party and public officials of the 1920-ies: M. Vladymyrov (Vladimirov, 1920), V. Kachynskiy (Kachinskij, 1929), L. Trotskyi (Trockij, 1932), O. Schlichter (Shlihter, 1920). They were directly involved in the development of social, political and economic development programmes of the Russian SFSR and the Ukrainian SSR, determined the nature of their behavior and the level of cooperation, influenced the ideologue formation in historiography. The works of the Soviet historians (M. Davydov (Davydov,

1971), Yu. Kondufor (Kondufor, 1953) and the others) have the drawbacks of the schematic presentation of the material, the limitations in the use of the reference base, the preconceived conclusions. The revival of Ukraine's state independence and the democratization of its development have created qualitatively new conditions and opportunities for a thorough scientific understanding of the Russian Soviet food policy in Ukraine. The research of the problem by modern Ukrainian historians is represented by the works of S. Kulchytskyi (Kulchickij, 1993), Ya. Malyk (Malyk, 2013), S. Kornovenko (Kornovenko, 2018).

The works of foreign identifies unbiased scientific opinion, but there is a lack of source base and they are characterized by controversial approaches to the assessment of the Russian Soviet economic policy of Ukrainian SSR in the 1920s. Foreign historiography is presented by works of researchers of different periods, who were oriented on the examinations of the merits of the USSR, relations between its parties, the level of economic and national development (Kolarz, 1952; Mening, 1953). Foreign scientists were studying national policy, economic and cultural development of Ukrainian SSR in a system of the Soviet State and emphasized the colonial status of its economy (Mace, 1983; Karr, 1990; Besançon, 2000; Applebaum, 2017).

**The purpose of the article** is to find out the forms, methods and means of implementing the Soviet food dictatorship and the characteristics of the Russian food-requisition detachments activities in Ukraine in the 1920-ies.

**Presentation of the main material.** With the advent of power, the Bolsheviks immediately proceeded to solve the food problem. In order to struggle with «explicit and masked saboteurs», People's commissariat for Food of the Russian SFSR was created in November 1917 «as a fighting organ» of the dictatorship of the proletariat on the food front» (Shlihter, 1928, p. 96).

The desire of the Soviet Russia to conquer Ukraine by any means was explained by the words of L. Trotskyi in his so-called «Instructions to the Communist propagandists in Ukraine»: «We need to return Ukraine to Russia. There is no Russia without Ukraine. Russia cannot exist without Ukrainian coal, iron, ore, grain, salt, the Black Sea, it will suffocate as well as the Soviet government and all of us» (Central State Archive of Public Associations of Ukraine – CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 20, c. 397, p. 113). The grain problem was particularly acute. «For God's sake, take the most vigorous and revolutionary measures to send bread, bread, bread! Otherwise, Petersburg can come to an end ... Announce every day. For God's sake», called V. Lenin in his telegram to Kharkiv of January 15, 1918 (Ekonomicheskie otnosheniya, 1996, p. 149).

The basic principles of the Soviet food system – the monopoly of harvesting and distribution of the most important food supplies, the nationalization of trade and organizational forms of food apparatuses as bodies of the Soviet government – were formed at the First All-Russian Food Congress, held in Moscow in 1918. The Soviet government, the People's Secretariat, was formed in Ukraine in 1917, and Food Secretariat headed by E. Luhanovskiy was formed in it (Chernov, 1926, p. 22). Duplicating the policy of the Russian authorities in its activities, the Central Food Committee of Ukraine was created in Kharkiv by the People's Food Secretariat, which was later transferred to Kyiv.

After the proclamation of the Soviet power in Kharkiv, the Bolsheviks began to send trains with grain to Russia. By March 1, 1918, 140 freight cars went to the Russian SFSR every day; from March 1 – 300, and from April 1 – 400 freight cars every day. However, this was not enough, because a little later the Bolshevik leader is already directly calling his

subjects to the seizure of Ukraine: «It would be foolish to starve, die in Peterburg, when it is possible to take over bread and coal» (*Ekonomicheskie otnosheniya*, 1996, p. 156). V. Lenin obviously did not feel any discomfort because of the fact that Ukraine was a formally independent state at that time. In the Russian capital, they were satisfied with this state of affairs, believing that due to the stock of grain in Ukraine, the prospects of food rest were opened. The change in political and military situation in Ukraine compromised the revolutionary conquest of the Bolsheviks already in March 1918. «The fate of the revolution depended on our ability to ensure the actual supply of bread to the army and the proletariat», wrote O. Schlichter in 1919, while being a People's Commissar of Food of the Ukrainian SSR (Shlihter, 1928, p. 96).

The attempts of the Bolsheviks to keep the grain monopoly broke off, on the one hand, by attempts to create various Soviet departments and organizations of their own procurement bodies to provide food for their personnel. These bodies bought bread from peasants at free prices, and this upset the People's Commissar's efforts to carry out bundling at stable prices. On the other hand, the procurement of the People's Commissar broke down and the activity of small speculators who bought grain from peasants at any prices, reselling it in cities, especially in Russia at unreasonable high prices. Bread monopoly of the Bolsheviks was threatened by inevitable collapse. This would be particularly negatively reflected in the food supply of the army. Hungry military men are unlikely to fight for the new imperial interests of the Bolsheviks.

In an attempt to save the situation, in May 1918, a special decree of the All-Russian CEC declared a food dictatorship. The peasants were obliged to hand over the grain stocks only to the state. The market trading of bread was regarded as speculative. The attempts of the Bolsheviks to establish a state organization of distribution of products instead of trade quickly recruited forms of the most basic requisition of the agricultural products from peasants.

Before overcoming of the food crisis, which was so rapidly approaching, a personal initiative of the proletarian masses was involved. The organization of food business in Ukraine was regarded by the Soviet government as an urgent task. The need to provide food primarily to the hungry capitals – Moscow and Petrograd, where the main driving force – the proletariat – was concentrated, which led the Bolsheviks to power in the autumn of 1917, demanded that their leadership at all costs be entrenched in Ukraine. The newly formed the Council of the People's Commissariat of the Ukrainian SSR issued a decree «On Food for the RSFSR» (*Dekret Rady*, 1919, p. 76–78). According to the document, the People's Commissariat for Food of the Ukrainian SSR undertook to organize the supply of the North with food products in the form of the procurements on a state scale.

The position on the food issue, taken by the head of the Soviet government in Ukraine Kh. Rakhovskiy, allowed to actually carrying out the food and raw material plunder of the republic. The spread of Russian legislation on the territory of Ukraine also affected food policy. In Ukraine, all the laws of RSFSR, which were adopted during the period of «war communism», were in force. On February 5, 1919, the Ukrainian Council of the People's Committee adopted a decree «On withdrawal of residues of grain and the establishment of stable prices for them». It implied to transfer to the disposal of the republic all available balances of the grain stocks, leaving the necessary number for their own needs at separate farms. The withdrawal of these residues was entrusted to the People's Commissariat for Food and its bodies at the local level (*Dekret RNK*, 1919, p. 97).

The main tasks of the Soviet food policy were to replace the capitalist commodity exchange with a socialist product exchange. The closest practical measures on the way to fulfilling this task, checked by the rich experience of the Soviet Russia, was a state monopoly on procuring provisions at stable prices, the struggle with the wealthy Ukrainian peasantry. For this, food units and Committee of Poor Peasants were used. Resolution of the III Congress of the CP (b) U of March 5, 1919, the People's Commissariat for Food obliged to allocate most of the food products harvested on a national scale, primarily to send to the starving of the Soviet Russia (Kononenko, 1965, p. 100).

The sizes of the surplus appropriation system for Ukraine were determined by V. Lenin in the amount of 500 million poods. However, for surplus appropriation system, he suggested to take only a fifth or a tenth of its part (Lenin, 1977, p. 384). Proceeding from these instructions, the Central Committee of the RCP (b) adopted a decree on food policy in Ukraine, which obliged the People's Commissariat for Food of the USSR to supply 50 million poods of grain to the north of Ukraine in the first half of 1919. Having calculated the remnants of the harvest in 1918 at almost 279 million poods, the People's Commissariat for Food of the Ukrainian SSR, guided by the direction of V. Lenin, decided to give half of this amount to the allotment – 139.5 million poods (Davydov, 1971, p. 148). In this size, the Decree of the RNK of the Ukrainian SSR of April 12, 1919, approved the surplus appropriation system for Ukraine, and All-Ukrainian Central Executive Board adopted a decree on food dictatorship, under which the People's Commissariat for Food of the Ukrainian SSR was granted extraordinary powers in the procurement and distribution of food and consumer goods among the population. The Decrees on food allotment and food dictatorship have completed the introduction of the emergency food policy in Ukraine.

The food allotment in Ukraine was implemented by the force methods. In provinces and counties, the food departments were created, in which, in the vast majority, the personnel of the Central Committee of the RCP(b) and the People's Commissariat of Food of the RSFRR were involved. In mid-1919 2700 people of «the special forces units» were sent to Ukraine from Moscow and Petrograd for «the collection of grain». From the beginning of July, 48 «the food units» from the cities of the RSFSR were operating in Ukraine. According to the Russian Soviet leadership, from February 5 and until the end of April 1919, 2,621,622 poods of «harvested» food products were exported from Ukraine to Russia, and in June of that year additional 8 million poods of grain were «harvested» (Pasternak, 1979, p. 71).

Food army was also created for procuring provisions in 1919. It represented a state formation of a military model for the forcible extraction of grain from Ukraine. By the summer of 1919, this militarized formation numbered about 5 thousand soldiers, organized in squads under the command of commanders and commissars (Kondufor, 1953, p. 46). The campaigners who left for work in Ukraine in December 1919, were instructed by the head of the Revolutionary Military Staff of the RSFSR L. Trotsky: «It is your duty to explain to Ukrainian peasants that the grain will be taken only from the kulaks and not for Russia but for poor Ukrainian peasants, for workers and the Red Army, who drove Denikin out of Ukraine». Later, explaining the need for their stay in Ukraine, L. Trotsky continued: «... We need to return Ukraine to Russia one way or another. There is no Russia without Ukraine. Russia cannot exist without Ukrainian coal, iron, ore, grain, salt, the Black Sea, it will suffocate as well as the Soviet government and all of us ... All means are good to achieve this goal. Remember at all times that Ukraine should be ours, and it will be ours only when it will be Soviet» (Trockij, 1932, p. 150).

The Councils, Committees of Poor Peasants, the food squads, protecting squads and food army robbed Ukrainian peasantry. All food and feedstuffs, ranging from grain and straw to honey, butter, eggs, and the like, were to be laid out. Only in February 1919 175 carriages of grain, 8 carriages of dried vegetables, 5 carriages of sauerkraut, 1 carriage of semolina for children, 2 carriages of spaghetti, 5 carriages of sweets and confectionery, 2 carriages of jam, 5 carriages of various foodstuff were transported to the North (Central State Archive of the Supreme Government Authorities and Administration of Ukraine – CSASGAAU, f. 1, d. 2, c. 271, p. 42). There were carriages at the railway stations which continued to carry food, sweets, necessities for sending them to Moscow and Petrograd. «We must receive grain and meat from Ukraine as soon as possible and in the largest quantity» (Solovej, 1959, p. 20). In the future, the number of products exported from Ukraine to the RSFRR only increased. By the end of May 1919, 4,900 freight cars were taken out (Solovej, 1959, p. 136). City market places were almost empty, and those food products that were sold there were too expensive. The prices have grown by almost 60 times (CSASGAAU, f. 2, d. 1, c. 409, p. 9).

The peasants resisted the confiscation of grain and other agricultural products. Surplus appropriation system soon spread almost to everything that was produced in the peasant courtyard. Therefore, the authorities had to use the military force during procuring. The People's Commissars of the RSFSR and the Ukrainian SSR had even cavalry units to suppress the resistance of the peasants, to protect food cargoes, and to organize blocking units that fought with bullying in roads (Kulchickij, 1993, p. 4).

The RCP(b), having established the Soviet power in Ukraine, subordinated all bodies of the state administration of the republic to Moscow center. According to the decision of the IXth Congress of the RCP (b), the USSR government began to use actively non-economic compulsion to the population. In January 1920, the party leadership decided to switch the part of the troops to a peaceful construction and create Labor Army in Ukraine from the military units of the Southwest Front. By the decision of the RSKRR RNC of January 20, 1920, with its confirmation by All-Ukrainian Revolutionary Committee, the Council of the Labor Party was established under the chairmanship of J. Stalin. The ratio of Ukraine's agriculture which accounted to 30% of all federation, and of its industry – about 22% encouraged the Bolsheviks to hold on to Ukraine. The ratio of the population of Ukraine was as follows: urban population was 24.9%, rural – 18%, the average figure was 19%. In addition, Ukraine was undoubtedly one of the most prosperous parts of the federation, which provided about 39% of grain harvesting in the federation (Davyd, 1922, p. 12).

The third occupation of Ukraine by the Bolsheviks continued the previous food policy. By adopting the law on grain allotment in early 1920, the Bolsheviks determined that the grain harvest had to be about 600 million poods, of which a quarter was subjected to allotment (Verstyuk, 1991, p. 19).

Food bodies at a local level often overestimated the size of surplus grain. The peasants could not fulfill it. The year of 1919 showed that it was only through the use of force methods for peasants to carry out a plan for surplus appropriation system (Vladimirov, 1920, p. 13). Therefore, the food units were again in the right place. On January 11, 1920, All-Ukrainian Revolutionary Committee and Revolutionary Military Council of the Southern front issued an order to organize the food business on occupied Soviet troops in the territory of Ukraine. A joint food committee of the Southern Front was created in Ukraine to implement the general management of food and production units in Ukraine. According to the order, provincial revolutionary committees, provincial military committees and other local bodies of the Soviet power were

obliged to contribute in every way to the work of food units. The guilty of opposing this order were attracted «to court for all the severity of the laws of war» (Radyanske budivnictvo, 1957, p. 45–46). The Bolsheviks decided to carry out requisition of food from peasants by the hands of hungry workers. The enterprises, the workers' organizations and the trade unions had to allocate a certain percentage of workers for their participation in the implementation of food policy. «If this proletarian mass flows into a village with a wide flow, then the work on supplying food will acquire the nature of the voluntary conscious labor of the labor peasantry, and thus it will be extremely relieved» (Radyanske budivnictvo, 1957, p. 63).

From March 29 to April 5, 1920, the IX Congress of the RCP(b), which focused its attention on the economic construction, took place. The congress adopted decisions on the use of the army on the labor front. After the end of the Civil War, more than three million Red Army soldiers remained under the gun. They did not want to dismiss them to go home in the Kremlin. Without the proper transport it would be extremely difficult to gather them if necessary. In addition, the country faced the shocking task of collecting grain and delivering it to the industrial areas. To carry out this task quickly, masses of unskilled labor were needed. Therefore, the only way out in those circumstances the Bolshevik leadership saw, was the use of liberated army on the labor front (Mesheryakov, 1934, p. 316).

At the IV All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets, which took place in May 1920, the course for the «co-operation» of food units was approved. In the resolution of the congress, it was supposed to send thousands of advanced workers to the food work. In pursuance of this decision, All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee called on Ukrainian workers «to take action post in the countryside» on June 10, 1920 (Radyanske budivnictvo, 1957, p. 101).

In June 1920, the chairman of the Labor and Defense Council of the RSFSR, V. Lenin, proposed to use the army to carry out a surplus in Ukraine. It was tasked «every district (of about 1900 districts of Ukraine) was entered twice, after a certain period of time, first cavalry, and then foot». The task was to create a double (in comparison with surplus) food stock in each village under the protection of local peasants and under their responsibility, for non-execution – shooting, and in especially «stubborn» districts or villages military units had to organize the third visit for punishment (But, 2000, p. 24).

The compulsory labor department was established since August 1920 under People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs of the republic, which had 2 concentration camps. By the end of October, 9 units of compulsory labor and 7 concentration camps already worked in Ukraine. By January 1921, more than 30 thousand people were already in the ranks of Ukrainian labor army. Its main activity was concentrated on Donbass, where in May 1920 the laborers completed almost 40% of all cargo operations. However, the efficiency of labor was low; the mood of the proletariat of Ukraine was anti-Bolshevik.

In December 1920 at VIII All-Russian Congress of the Soviets the State Plan of Electrification of Russia (GOELRO) was approved. Peasant funds derived from the sale of forcibly withdrawn agricultural products in its natural form were to become the main domestic source of funding for the implementation of the plan of electrification. «We cannot develop foreign trade without grain», – V. Lenin said at the meeting of the assets of Moscow organization RCP (b) (Lenin, 1974, p. 69).

The post-war economic devastation, the drought in 1921, destructive for the agriculture economic policy of the Bolsheviks, became the main preconditions for the famine of 1921 – 1923. It covered the main agricultural regions of the former Russian Empire – the Volga region, the North Caucasus and the southern provinces of Ukraine. The catastrophic aggrava-

tion of the food crisis in the USSR was conditioned by the subordination of a formally independent republic to the Moscow Center. The main goal of preserving the distribution was the provision of Russian «red capitals». Already in March 1921, «food week» was announced, and thousands of communists and non-party workers were mobilized to grain procurement units sent to the village (Kulchickij, 1993, p. 6).

The one-third of the «Help for famine» collected by local organizations from Ukrainian peasants was exported to Russia. At the same time, even those regions that were categorized as starving were not released from the requisition of grain. As noted in the report of the Central Committee of Assistance to the hungry: «... The Government of Ukraine has pledged to take 25 thousand children from Volga region for shelter. This commitment was met by more than 150%. Only in an organized way, that is, by sanitary trains through permit of the Center's 35 thousand starving children arrived in Ukraine. ... We can say with certainty that Ukraine adopted up to 80 thousand children. ... When trains with children from Volga region began to come and the cities' orphan homes could not accommodate all the children, and workers' organizations did not have means for their feeding, a considerable part of the children was transferred to the maintenance of peasants» (Rik borotby, 1922, p. 35–37). Responsibility for this task was relied upon the commission at All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee (Pavlyuk, 1972, p. 213).

The technique of understatement of famine was worked out. On August 4, 1921, the Politburo of the Central Committee of the KP(b)U adopted a resolution stating «Instruct the provincial committees that during the campaign it is necessary to distinguish between the call to fight the famine in Russia and the fight against crop failure in Ukraine, where assistance to areas affected by crop failure, can be entirely provided by their provincial or district means» (Kulchickij, 1993, p. 26). Disclosure of the information about the scale of famine in Ukraine was tabooed. Only on January 14, 1922, Ukrainian Sovnarkom adopted resolutions on the recognition of the starving poor areas of Ukraine. On January 16, the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CP(b)U called off information blockade on the famine in Ukraine and commissioned the agitation-and-propaganda department at All-Ukrainian Center of Executive Committee to take measures to ensure that the press provided information on the state of the food supply of the population of Ukraine (Mesheryakov, 1934, p. 8).

At the same time, the central government was in no hurry with the abolition of the payment in poorly populated areas of Ukraine and announcement of their starving. In February, 680 carriages were already sent to Russia, including seed – 476 carriages. To Caucasus – 33 carriages, to the Crimea – 26 carriages. In total, 739 carriages were handed over in February. Thus, since the beginning of the economic year, the cargo of the mass of 20,701,383 pounds was transferred to RSFRR. The total procuring of grain as of March 28 amounted to 71,107,900 pounds from the entire territory of the Ukrainian SSR (CSASGAAU, f. 3, d. 1, c. 100, p. 37).

The Bolshevik leadership took into account political consequences of the famine. Then they successfully used them in the struggle against Ukrainian peasantry of 1932 – 1933. According to K. Kononenko, the main political consequence of the artificial Ukrainian famines was the end of Ukrainian struggle against Moscow and against the Bolshevik system. «More than three years of struggle of Ukrainian people for a national and social liberation, in the form of armed resistance to all occupiers, was stopped by famine, leaving a victory in the hands of the last invader – the Bolshevik Russia», he wrote (Kononenko, 1965, p. 110).

In the Central Committee, the work on the withdrawal of bread from the population was assigned to O. Tsiurupa, who was the People's Commissar for Food of RSFSR since 1918



and one of the founders of food units and politics of robbery of the village. In 1918 – 1922 he was responsible for the supply of the Red Army. It was O. Tsiurupa who was the creator and director of the Food and Requisition Army of the People's Commissar of the RSFSR (Prodarmiia), which dealt solely with forcing peasants to hand over bread, suppressed the local food riots, and executed shootings. The creation of bloody raids was the initiative of O. Tsiurupa. The total number of the army until September 1920 was already over 75 thousand people. In work on the withdrawal of bread, as in other areas of his activity, O. Tsiurupa showed the initiative and achieved significant results. On February 1, 1922, the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party(b)U adopted the decision to export 8 million poods of bread from starving Ukraine to Russia. By the end of 1922 19 million poods of grain were exported. A powerful resistance to the export of grain abroad in this complex and hungry time for the country was done by the Mensheviks and other non-Bolshevik elements who said that «... our bread is bloody» (Dvenadcatyj s'ezd, 1968, p. 24).

On November 5, 1922 «Agreement for the extension to the Union of Soviet Socialist republics of the agreement, signed on April 16, 1922 in Rapallo between RSFSR and Germany in Berlin» (Dyornberg, 1971, p. 563). The Bolshevik leadership did its best to fulfill its obligations to Germany. Meanwhile, Berlin was sending messages saying, «... barley and rye are of good quality and buyers admire them» (Dyornberg, 1971, p. 565).

The Central Committee of the RCP(b) set a high value to this agreement. In accordance with its terms, the Bolshevik regime was supposed to sell Germany one third of the export of grain. As of March 1923, 20 million poods of grain were exported from Ukraine, mainly to Germany, Finland, Scandinavia and England (Dvenadcatyj s'ezd, 1968, p. 24). These are small figures, compared with the data of the pre-war export of grain from Ukraine, when on average more than 400 million poods of grain were exported. However, under the conditions prevailing in Ukraine in the early 1920s, the figure of 20 million poods was superfluous for hungry Ukrainians and criminal for the Soviet power. In 1923, during food campaign, 429 million poods of grain were harvested in the USSR, of which 117 million poods in Ukraine, and 320 million poods were in the budget. In fact, the state treasury received funds for only 283 million poods (Materialy, 1985, p. 28).

The strong drought struck Ukraine in the summer of 1924. As a result of a survey of the Special Commission on combating the effects of low birth rates at the Council of People's Commissars of Ukrainian SSR, 145 districts were identified in Ukraine, in which the net per capita consumption of 8 main grain did not exceed 12 poods. At the same time, in 57 districts, net per capita was less than 6 poods. Of the last 32 districts, there were Kharkiv, Kupiansk and Melitopil districts (CSASGAAU, f. 2, d. 4, c. 328, p. 126). In order to preserve agriculture in Ukraine and to implement measures to combat low-crop yields, a Special Commission on combating the effects of low-priced RNC USSR («Osobkom of Ukraine») was created. This Commission recognized only these three districts as the poor crop districts in Ukraine with all the consequences of this (tax remissions, seed area, etc.) (CSASGAAU, f. 2, d. 4, c. 328, p. 135). In spite of everything, the federal bodies set the task of continuing the grain procurement in Ukraine. By August 10, 1924, 2.5 million poods of seed material was harvested and exported to the harvestless areas of RSFRR on the territory of the republic. This hasty harvest of seed grain adversely affected the state of Ukrainian grain market, which led to a rapid rise in grain prices.

The crop failure of 1921 – 1923, and then in 1924, covered 145 districts of Ukraine. In 1925, Tulchyn and Mohyliv districts, parts of Odesa and some districts of the steppe zone

became harvestless for Transdnister and Moldovian Republic (CSASGAU, f. 1, d. 20, c. 981, p. 14). The only source of ensuring the implementation of the grain procurement plan, which has constantly grown even in harvestless years, could only be the reduction of consumption of grain by the population. According to V. Kachynskiy, the share of Ukraine in the gross grain yield in the USSR was measured at 25 – 28% (Kachynskij, 1929, p. 34). The proportion of its population of those years was 26.3% of the total Soviet. It would be logical that the same percentage was meant for Ukraine in terms of grain procurement throughout the USSR. Meanwhile, the grain procurement results as of 1928 for Ukraine made up 40% of all all-Soviet grain procurements, and along with the Kuban region, mostly populated by the Ukrainians, it was 57% (Kononenko, 1965, p. 188).

The Ukrainian industry was also interested in reducing quantities of grain exported by official orders of Moscow from Ukraine. The withdrawal of a large amount of grain at low conventional prices reduced the purchasing power of the population and narrowed the state of the domestic market. All this affected the situation of the Ukrainian industry negatively. In addition, the market supply of grain declined, which led to the rise in prices in a private sale, at the expense of which Ukrainian population also met their needs for material resources. In fact, Ukrainian population paid for cheap grain in Moscow by reducing their own consumption of both food and industrial goods.

Frequent crop failures and growing of grain procurement plans in Ukraine created a situation of a permanent shortage of the food and hunger threat. Against this background, there were periodic contradictions between Moscow and Kharkiv, which manifested themselves as a «crisis of grain» in 1927. Not having enough arguments for their intentions to take grain from the Ukrainian peasantry, Moscow resorted to the already tried method – to take it by force (Kononenko, 1965, p. 189). It was decided to apply to wealthy peasants, in case of the evasion from withdrawal of grain to the state, there was clause 107 of the Criminal Code of RSFSR. It provided about one year of imprisonment with the confiscation of all (or part of) property for speculation. The practice of the rural poor bribing, probed in the period of «military communism», through the way of receiving 25% of confiscated grain was introduced. The confiscation, the prohibition of the market trade of grain, etc. were becoming common again.

**Conclusions.** Thus, the characteristic feature of the economic life in the early years of the Soviet power was the curtailment of production, the shortage of food, fuel, unemployment. This situation was largely due to the policy of the Bolsheviks who, in implementing their programme, sought for an immediate establishment of a socialist system, transforming the peoples of the former tsarist Russia, including the Ukrainians, into an object of an unprecedented magnitude and cruelty of the experiment.

**Acknowledgments.** Sincere thanks to the rector at Pavlo Tychyna Uman State Pedagogical University Alexander Bezludniy.

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

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*The article was received on January 17, 2019.  
Article was recommended for publishing 01.03.2019*

UDC 94(477.8) «1921-1939»  
DOI: 10.24919/2519-058X.10.159181

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**Бібліографічний опис статті:** Skakalska, I., & Semenets-Orlova, I. (2019). The Ukrainian elite of Western Volhynia (1921 – 1939): sources of the research problem. *Skhidnoievropeiskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 10, 141–148. doi: 10.24919/2519-058X.10.159181

**THE UKRAINIAN ELITE OF WESTERN VOLHYNIA (1921 – 1939):  
SOURCES OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM**

**Summary.** *The purpose of the research is to analyze and summarize certain archival and published sources, which contain information on the activities of the Ukrainian elite of Western Volhynia in the interwar period of the XX century. The research methodology is based on regionalist approaches to studying the problem. In the course of the study, general scientific methods were used. First of all, the method of actual data collecting (accumulation of facts) and the method of actual data compiling (analysis) were applied. Also, special methods (biographical, prosopographical, source study analysis) were used to characterize the activities of the Volhynian elite. During the study, a critical method was used, the value of which is a demanding approach to any information until it passes through the research verification. This method has been used most expediently during memoirs handling. The «text era» method is also important. The research novelty is based on outlining the available sources on*

the history of the Ukrainian Volhynian elite. It is also extended the methodological capabilities understanding of the biographical method in the research of the elite on the source materials basis. An analysis of the saved data about the Volhynian elite has been carried out, since the available sources are not a comprehensive list of possible ones, and further unknown data may be opened at further study. **Conclusions.** During 1921 – 1939 the Ukrainian elite of Western Volhynia played a significant role in the history of the region. The materials of the Polish authorities, party documents and the Ukrainian parliamentary representation in Volyn, as well as personal founds of public and political figures have the primary importance for the study of the Ukrainian elite activities of the interwar period in Poland. The source base is also compiled by a few contemporary memoirs of the events under study. The source study analysis of the research problem confirms that the information base of the research is rather extensive and varied. The representativeness and degree of reliability of materials are determined. A comprehensive and impartial approach to the whole set of documents enables to carry out a research analysis of ethno cultural transformation and socio political dimension among the Ukrainian elite of Western Volhynia in the interwar period of the XX century. The wide source base contributes to the deepening and coverage of various aspects of the ethnic population life of the region and the Ukrainian elite in the force field of the existing Polish government, which embodied the policy of assimilation in the Volyn lands. The comprehensive analysis of archival documents allows us to elaborate on a number of issues that are still not fully considered in Ukrainian historiography.

**Key words:** Western Volhynia, sources, the elite, documents, memoirs, Kremenets powiat, archeography.

### УКРАЇНЬСЬКА ЕЛІТА ЗАХІДНОЇ ВОЛИНИ (1921 – 1939): ДЖЕРЕЛЬНА БАЗА НАУКОВОЇ ПРОБЛЕМИ

**Анотація.** **Мета дослідження** – аналіз окремих архівних та опублікованих джерел, у яких міститься інформація про діяльність української еліти Західної Волині у міжвоєнний період ХХ ст. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на регіоналістичні підходи до вивчення проблеми. У ході дослідження використовувалися загальнонаукові методи, насамперед збирання фактичних даних (нагромадження фактів) і їх компонування (аналізу). Також було застосовано спеціальні методи (біографічний, просопографічний, джерелознавчого аналізу), які допомагають схарактеризувати діяльність волинської еліти. Під час дослідження послуговувалися критичним методом, значення якого полягає у вимогливому ставленні до будь-якої інформації доти, доки вона не пройде через дослідницьку верифікацію. Найбільш доцільно цей метод було використано під час опрацювання мемуарів. Важливим є метод «текстової епохи». **Наукова новизна** полягає в окресленні наявних джерел з історії української волинської еліти. Поглиблено розуміння методологічних можливостей біографічного методу в дослідженні еліти на основі джерельних матеріалів. Здійснено аналіз збережених даних про волинську еліту. Оскільки наявні джерела не є вичерпним переліком тих, що, можливо існують при подальшому вивченні можуть відкритися досі невідомі. **Висновки.** Українська еліта Західної Волині у 1921 – 1939 рр. відіграла вагомую роль в історії краю. У наявній сукупності друкована і неопублікована частини наявної джерельної бази є досить репрезентативною і дає можливість досліджувати проблеми формування і праці української еліти.

Першочергову вагу для дослідження діяльності української еліти міжвоєнного періоду у Польщі мають матеріали органів влади, документи партій та Української парламентської репрезентації на Волині, а також персональні фонди громадських і політичних діячів тощо. Джерельну базу складають також нечисленні мемуари сучасників досліджуваних подій.

Проведений джерелознавчий аналіз досліджуваної проблеми підтверджує, що джерельна база дослідження є доволі обширною та різноманітною. Визначена репрезентативність та ступінь достовірності матеріалів. Широка джерельна база сприяє поглибленню і висвітленню по-новому різноманітних сторін життя етнічного населення краю та української еліти в силовому полі існуючого польського режиму, який на волинських землях втілював політику асиміляції. Комплексний аналіз архівних документів дає змогу докладніше окреслити коло питань, які досі в українській історіографії розглядалися не в повному обсязі. Запровадження до наукового обігу нових джерел сприятиме висвітленню трансформації еліти в іншому ракурсі.

**Ключові слова:** Західна Волинь, джерела, еліта, документи, спогади, часописи.

**Problem statement.** The formation of the Ukrainian elite is an important problem nowadays because the ideological transformation of society in Ukraine should be spread by a population stratum that would combine intelligence, spirituality, and patriotism. The state needs its own national elite, which is professionally responsible. History shows that elite creative processes are long-term, as well as the past and the present are closely interconnected. Accordingly, one of the models for imitation can be formation and activity of the Ukrainian elite of Western Volhynia in the interwar period of the XX century. In order to outline the multifaceted activity of the Ukrainian elite of Western Volhynia in the interwar period of the XX century thoroughly, it is necessary to characterize the existing source base, to highlight the most important documents and materials.

**The analysis of sources and recent researches.** Comprehensive scientific analysis of the sources related to the activity research of the Ukrainian elite of Western Volhynia in the interwar period of the XX century was not carried out by researchers. In the publication *Memoirs of Yu. Shumovskiy as a source from the history of the Volhynian spiritual intelligentsia of the first half of the XX century* (Skakalska, 2010) instead of characterizing holistically all available and known sources, the author characterizes only one aspect of the problem. An example of such researches is the introductory part of Professor M. Kucherepa to the published memoirs of the Volhynian governor Henryk Józewski (Yuzevskiy, 2017). Also, the researcher V. Korniienko analyzes the memoirs of the elite representatives of the early XX century, but on the subject of the patriotic beliefs presence (Korniienko, 2016, p. 281–282).

**The purpose of the article** is to analyze and summarize certain archival and published sources, which contain information on the activities of the Ukrainian elite of Western Volhynia in the interwar period of the XX century.

**Statement of the basic material.** According to the Peace of Riga of 1921, Volhynia was divided artificially. The eastern part of its territory went to the USSR, and the western part was included in the Polish Republic as its integral part. Volhynian Voivodeship, with its center in Lutsk, was established on the territory of Western Volhynia. At this time, the bourgeoisie, teachers, doctors, artists and clergy were members of the Ukrainian intelligentsia that was not numerous. In addition, many of them were immigrants from Dnieper Ukraine and had the experience of struggle for Ukrainian statehood. They became leaders of political parties, public associations, and presenters of national revival ideas.

The Polish authorities implemented a policy of assimilation and discrimination against national minorities, in particular Ukrainians. The persecution and repression against the Ukrainian elite are evidenced by the materials of the State Archives of Brest Region (Belarus), the fonds 98 «Bereza Kartuska Detention Camp». It is known that a lot of representatives of the national elite were there because of their political beliefs.

The Ukrainian elite recorded events in Western Volhynia and expressed their views on solving individual problems concerning religious and social aspects of life. Thus, the personal files of the Ukrainian intelligentsia who worked in Volhynia and forced to emigrate to other countries are kept in the Central State Archives of Supreme Bodies of Power and Government of Ukraine. The fonds P-4465 «Collection of Separate Documentary Materials of Ukrainian Nationalist Emigrant Institutions, Organizations and Individuals» contains works of the Volhynian intelligentsia. Only works by R. Bzheskyi, V. Bidnov, U. Samchuk are stored in handwritten form.

There is relatively little information on the Volhynian elite activities of the XX century in the fonds of the Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Lviv. In particular, separate documents of the fonds 348 «Prosvita Society» confirms the public potential of the Volhynian elite. Another fonds – 392 «Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation in the Polish Sejm and the Senate» contains some information about political activities of the elite, its participation in the elections to the Polish parliament. The fonds 351 «Ukrainian Peasant Worker Union, Lviv» enhances information about political activities of the elite.

The fonds of the State Archives of the Volyn Region are of particular scientific interest. The fonds 46 «Volyn Voivodeship Directorate» reveals the transformation of the Volyn elite between two world wars in Western Volhynia. Among the issues of the fonds there are materials that show public and political activities of leading figures of the region in separate powiats (counties). The reports on the activities of civic organizations, the letters to the leaders of the societies, the report of elderships on the elections passing to the Sejm, etc. are important. For the study of the spiritual stratum, the personal cases of religious figures are of great importance, in particular, the case 2668 «Service Case of the Priest Maliuzhynskiy Mykola», located in the fonds 46.

The fonds 200 «Volyn Ukrainian Theater Society» is valuable for the artistic environment reproduction of the Ukrainian cultural elite. In the fonds 60 «Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation in Volyn», there is an informative case 11 «Articles, Reports and Speeches of Ambassador Serhii Kozyt'skyi (1926 – 1927)». The fonds 522 «The Lawyer Hryhorii Stepura in Lutsk» should also be noted. Substantive materials for studying the problem are found in the fonds 63 «Lutsk Administration of the Orthodox Supporters and the Protection of the Orthodoxy Traditions named after Petro Mohyla Society», for example, case 13 «The Report on the Society Activities for the Period from 02 April 1933 to 09 October 1936». The fonds 389 «Kovel Powiat Prosvita Society» contributes to a more comprehensive disclosure of the national elite public activities.

Separate sources of the identified problem are stored in the fonds of the State Archives of Zhytomyr Region, in particular, materials from the fonds 1 «Volyn Spiritual Consistory» allowed to supplement the biographical data of B. Kozub'skyi, a lawyer, enlightener and ambassador of the Sejm. Also the fonds 560 «Volyn Enlightenment Society», case 4, clarifies the biography of the famous Senator O. Levchaniv'ska.

The fonds of the State Archives of Rivne Region served as a significant source for characterizing the Ukrainian leading stratum. The fonds 30 «Rivne Powiat Starostwo» contains separate materials on this issue. In the fonds 160 «Jakub Hoffman», who was a historian and ethnographer, deputy of the Polish Sejm, the subject of a thorough analysis became the case 17 «The Charter of the Discussion Club of Ambassadors and Senators, the Draft Statute of the Parliamentary Cultural and Educational Group of Ambassadors and Senators», as well as documents related to the functioning of Volyn Scientific Institute at the Kremenets Lyceum, the verbatim recordings of Jakub Hoffman's performances in the Sejm of 1937 – 1938, and others. The fonds 265 «The 60th Electoral District for Elections to the Sejm of 1938» contains protocols of election commissions meetings. The fonds 33 «Prosecutor's Office of the Rivne District Court» provides an opportunity to observe the political activities of the national elite. The materials of the fonds 86 «Rivne District Administration of the State Police» are of a great value.

Most of the cases on this issue are contained in the fonds of the State Archives of Ternopil Region. For the most part it is the fonds 2 «Kremenets Powiat Starostwo», for example, where some cases are introduced to scientific circles for the first time. This is the case 1406 «The Statute and the Request for Registration of the Professional Union of Industrial Workers Society in Vyshnevet's Village», the case 1154 «The Request of the Inhabitants and the Commune Governor's Chamber on the Reduction of Night-time Protection in the Village», the case 1408 «The Statute and Periodical Information Regarding the Union of Village Housewives Society in Losiatyn village. 1936». The following fonds are also informative for us: the fonds 134 «Kremenets City Government of Volyn Voivodeship», the fonds 148 «Volyn Orthodox Spiritual Consistory», the fonds 222 «Kremenets District School Inspectorate», the fonds 231 «Political Parties of Kremenets District», the fonds 232 «Kremenets Orthodox Theological Seminary of the Volyn Voivodeship» (in this fonds we meet the personal cases of future religious leaders – the case 274 «Special Case of Yu. Shumov'skyi»), the



fonds 316 «Kremenets District Police» (many documents of this fonds require a particularly critical attitude). The study of these sources helps to disclose adequately all areas of political, social and ethno cultural transformation of the Ukrainian elite of Western Volhynia. For studying the issues considered in this research, the fonds 348 «The Prosvita Society» is of great importance. It contains protocols, letters of association and information about famous enlighteners. In the process of studying the documents of the fonds 351 «Kremenets Ukrainian Gymnasium», it was found that educational institutions were an important source of the national elite replenishment, first of all, the Ukrainian private gymnasium in Kremenets. A large number of documents were involved for the first time from this fonds. The materials are considered in details, where the information about teachers and pupils is presented. The fonds 228 «Kremenets State Gymnasium named after Chatskyi» contains the information about the educational elite. It should be emphasized that a large part of materials related to the activities of the spiritual elite is included in the fonds 258 «Spiritual Cathedral of the Pochayiv Lavra». A large number of documents from this fonds are used for the first time.

Thus, the complex of the archival sources discovered by us is significant; it contains important data that allow a much more complete coverage of the activities of the Western Volhynia national elite during 1921 – 1939.

A number of sources are stored in the fonds collection of the Kremenets Regional Museum. For example, information about the activities of O. Tsynkalovskiy or materials of the Volyn Institute of Science. This was the name of the institution that operated at the Kremenets Lyceum during 1938 – 1939 and was involved in conducting regional studies and scientific work. Some details of the research problem can be found in the regional studies of the interwar period, which are presented by Polish magazines and publications such as *Rocznik Wołyński* (vol. 3, ed. J. Hoffman, Rivne, 1934); *Województwo Wołyńskie w świetle liczb i faktów* (Lutsk, 1929); *Życie krzemienieckie* (1932 – 1933); *Przewodnik po Kpzemieńcu i okolicy* (Kremenets, 1932); *Przewodnik po województwie Tarnopolskiem (z mapą)* (Krakow, 1928); *J. Hoffman Przewodnik po Wołyniu* (Warszawa, 1938). Separate copies are stored in the museum, as well as in private collections of Kremets citizens.

Among published documents it is necessary to distinguish the Branch State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine, the fonds 65, the case C-9134, devoted to the activities of Taras Bulba-Borovets, whose views and ideological convictions were formed precisely in Western Volhynia in the interwar period of the XX century. (Serhiichuk, 2011, p. 29).

The collection *Ukraine and Poland: Documents and Materials of 1920 – 1939*, published in 2012, is a significant contribution to the restoration of the Ukrainian elite in the historical situation conditions of that time in Volyn in the area of interstate diplomatic relations between the USSR and the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Rublova & Rublov, 2012). The extensive archival material used by the compilers allows for a careful coverage of the Soviet and Polish authorities policy regarding the situation in the Volhynian lands. The collection consists of 133 documents from the fonds of the Central State Archives of the Supreme Authorities and Governments of Ukraine, the Central State Archives of Public Associations of Ukraine, the Branch State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine and its regional subdivisions.

In the process of our research, attention is paid to published documents from the Archives of New Files (Warsaw) (Syvitskiy, 2005). Also, a collection of materials «*Our Beautiful Generation...*» (Volyn in the fate of the countrymen and human documents), compiled by L. Oliander, L. Bubleinyk, M. Kucherepa (published in Lutsk in 1996), contains documents, memoirs that reveal the history of the Volhynian elite.

The important materials for outlining the sources are sought in the periodical journal *The Church and the Nation*, which was published in Kremenets, Volyn Voivodeship in 1935 – 1936 (edited by Ivan Vlasovskiy). This publication contains various publications,

research on different issues, etc. The content of the journal was divided into two sections: informal (words and sermons, apologetic articles, church history and archeology, church journalistic articles, stories, poems, political life, in the press, chronicles, obituaries, and writings) and formal (the order of the diocesan authority, decisions, statutes, reports, etc.). The journal *The Church and the Nation* is a peculiar and multifaceted historical source, not only in terms of content, but also in terms of the structure of published factual material. The information on the activities of the Ukrainian elite of Volyn was published here. Numerous notes, articles that are intensified with historical, religious, literary information, reflect the activities of leading Ukrainians in the region. However, journal publications are lack of clear reflection of the Ukrainian intelligentsia participation in the national liberation movement in Volyn of the interwar period, its work in societies and organizations.

In addition to the above mentioned periodic sources, it is necessary to name the non-periodic journal of the Society named after Petro Mohyla *For the Unification*, published in Lutsk, which placed materials of a religious orientation. It printed the scientific researches of V. Bidnov (*Volyn in the Orthodox Church Defense in the XVI–XVII centuries*), I. Vlasovskiy (*The Church Reform and Clergy*) and other representatives of the Ukrainian elite of Western Volhynia in the interwar period of the XX century.

Narrative sources are memoirs, nonfiction of famous political and public figures (Yu. Shumovskiy, V. Karhut, M. Skakalskiy, R. Hluvko, H. Yuzevskiy, etc.). These sources help to understand the historical period better. Actually, the historian is a kind of translator, who must understand the «language» that is spoken by the source; he should know the meaning of the concepts that were in the heads of the people of the past (Yakovenko). The memoirs reveal the life of the contemporary elite.

The memoirs *The Ruined Nest, or the History of a Priestly Family in Volhynia* by Yuri Shumovskiy (an archaeologist, Orthodox priest), written in the late XX century, is an important source for studying the history, archeology, culture, religion and various spheres of life of the Volyn people. They are valuable for studying various aspects of socio political and national cultural development of society. He mentions the names of well-known figures he met or faced with their activities. A copy of the memoirs is kept in the premises of the Kremenets district Prosvita society and is waiting for a thoughtful researcher.

The unique memoirs with a large amount of illustrative material are the recordings of Musii Skakalskiy, a resident of Kremenets (Skakalskiy). They contain information about the elections to the Polish Sejm, the development of the economic life of the region, the culture of Volhynia, the well-known people. A native of Western Volhynia, a famous artist, an icon painter R. Hluvko also left memoirs of the land where he was born and raised (Hluvko, 2003). The diary of the Volyn governor Henryk Józewski is a view of the official on the Ukrainian elite (Yuzevskiy, 2017).

It should be noted that a certain array of sources from the history of the Ukrainian elite of Western Volhynia was outside Ukraine. Winnipeg in Canada became a well-known Ukrainian community center. The Volyn Institute of Experiments and the Volyn Society, which united the intellectual elite came from Volyn, were founded there. The publication of memoirs in *The Chronicle of Volhynia*, which was published in Canada, for example (Melnyk, 1988), allowed the Ukrainian archeology to attract a powerful array of sources from the diaspora to scientific use.

There are cognitive memoirs of an emigrant Yakov Lavrychenko, a former enlightenment and cooperative figure of the interwar period, a native of the Popivtsi village, Kremenets district of Volyn Voivodeship. For example, in his research, we find information about Ukrainian officials, but only the lowest levels of Polish power. In particular, he talks about M. Swiderskiy, the woyt of Pochayiv commune of the Kremenets district, as «an honest person, an intellectual and an economist» (Lavrychenko, p. 23).

In order to understand the political beliefs of the Ukrainian elite, it is necessary to get acquainted with their works on this topic, for example, by Senator M. Cherkavskyi (Cherkavskyi, 1927). Party program documents also cover one of the directions of the elite's work. A contemporary historian Z. Porai substantiated the correctness of the UNDA policy (Ukrainian National Democratic Association) regarding the participation of the Ukrainian elite in the parliamentary elections of 1938, which were boycotted by the majority of Ukrainian political forces (Porai, 1938). Also, tasks and the purpose of the USRP (Ukrainian Socialist Radical Party) were set out in the political program *What Does the USRP Want?*, which in its turn is the conviction and practical activity of the part of the elite that supported the ideology of the party.

The press provided information on the scientific work of the elite, but it was extremely laconic and designed for the mass reader (Feshchenko-Chopivskyi, 1938, p. 373). The scientific articles of I. Vlasovskyi, who was a notable figure in Volyn in the interwar period of the XX century, were published in periodicals (Vlasovskyi, 1938, p. 20–25). The scientific achievements of the Ukrainian elite were not significant, since there were no relevant national scientific institutions or higher educational institutions in Volhynia.

Separately, it is necessary to highlight autobiographical journalistic works considered critically by us, since they contain a significant percentage and artistic imagination of the author. But we could not refuse such sources. Because such works are informative; their creators are the representatives of the Ukrainian elite. The publicist story with autobiography elements *Flaming Whirlwind* written by a doctor, a public figure V. Karkhut, presents the names of well-known representatives of the national elite of Volhynia, reveals the life peculiarities of Kremenets citizens in the Volyn Voivodeship (Karkhut, 2003). It is worth paying attention to the autobiographical work of a famous writer U. Samchuk *The Youth of Vasyl Sheremeta*, which reveals the formation conditions of the national elite of Volhynia, and shows the role played in this process by the Kremenets Ukrainian private gymnasium where he studied (Samchuk, 2005).

**Conclusions.** We can affirm that the complex of printed and unpublished parts of the existing sources is quite representative and allows us to research the source problems of formation and work of the Ukrainian elite.

The materials of the Polish authorities, party documents and the Ukrainian parliamentary representation in Volyn, as well as personal founts of public and political figures have the primary importance for the study of the Ukrainian elite activities of the interwar period in Poland. The source base is also compiled by a few contemporary memoirs of the events under study.

The source study analysis of the research problem confirms that the information base of the research is rather extensive and varied. The representativeness and degree of reliability of materials are determined. A comprehensive and impartial approach to the whole set of documents enables to carry out a research analysis of ethno cultural transformation and socio political dimension among the Ukrainian elite of Western Volhynia in the interwar period of the XX century.

The wide source base contributes to the deepening and coverage of various aspects of the ethnic population life of the region and the Ukrainian elite in the force field of the existing Polish government, which embodied the policy of assimilation in the Volyn lands. The comprehensive analysis of archival documents allows us to elaborate on a number of issues that are still not fully considered in Ukrainian historiography.

**Acknowledgments.** The authors of the publication express the sincere gratitude to the Professor Afanasii Lomakovych – rector Taras Shevchenko Kremenets Regional Academy.

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

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The article was received on January 18, 2019.  
Article was recommended for publishing 04.03.2019.

UDC 94(477):331.108(1-22)«1929–1939»  
DOI: 10.24919/2519-058x.10.159168

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**ResearcherID:** B-6760-2019 (<http://www.researcherid.com/rid/B-6760-2019>)

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**Бібліографічний опис статті:** Bilan, S. (2019). Staffing the Ukrainian village with agricultural specialists (1929 – 1939). *Skhidnoievropeiskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 10, 149–160. doi: 10.24919/2519-058x.10.159168

**STAFFING THE UKRAINIAN VILLAGE  
WITH AGRICULTURAL SPECIALISTS (1929 – 1939)**

**Summary.** *The purpose of the research is to analyze the problems and ways of personnel support of agricultural production, its impact on the formation of the social composition of the Ukrainian peasantry and to highlight its impact on the processes of transformation in 1929 – 1939. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, objectivity, pluralism, multifactor, systematic character, comprehensiveness and continuity. The principle of historicism was implemented by a consistent analysis of the dynamics of the structural elements of the socioeconomic and national-cultural development of the Ukrainian village in 1929 – 1939 in the context of Soviet national policy. In his research the author kept to the principle of objectivity by using a significant number of historical facts, achievements of historiography, authenticity of written sources. Methodological pluralism is determined by the presence of various theoretical models of elucidation of political and social history, the main conceptual foundations of which are theories of totalitarianism and the principles of modernization. The system approach required an adequate methodology that avoids one-sidedness, fragmentarity and specificity, and hence the selectivity of problem analysis. System and comprehensive approaches to the research of the history of the Ukrainian peasantry involves multidisciplinary synthesis and analysis of the chosen problem in the context of the history of Soviet politics, political science, social history, sociology, the culture of Soviet everyday life, economic history, etc. The analysis shows that the ways of forming the labor potential of the Ukrainian village and the expanded reproduction of national-cultural personnel were determined by the party-state leadership in the 30's of the twentieth century and have become an objective tendency that could be slowed down or distorted under the influence of Stalin's terror, but not canceled. The scientific novelty of the study lies in the fact that for the first time in modern historiography stereotypes regarding the production activities of agricultural structures are critically revised under the conditions of building a general Soviet mechanism and forced industrialization in Ukraine during 1929 – 1939 and the conceptual foundations of the formation of the system of training agricultural specialists, its forms are defined and the influence on the formation of the production layer and the intellectual and professional provision of the Ukrainian village is revealed.*

*Proved that the peasantry as a holistic social group suffered significant deformation and a new type of rural workers was gradually formed – collective-farmers that were influenced by Bolsheviks*

ideology. They were the most characteristic and most numerous group of all able-bodied members of the population of rural territories of Ukraine with all their peculiarities that were in the interests of totalitarian power. Additionally, in 1929 – 1939 the collective-farm peasantry formed the socio-professional groups, among which the most popular and notable people were machine operators, harvester and tractor drivers, which fit into the administrative-command system and could implement the planned agrarian reforms. Thus, in fact, the beginning of the break-up of the established way of life of Ukrainian peasants was the continuous collectivization and expropriation of individual peasant farms.

**Conclusions.** Consequently, the conceptual foundations for the formation of the Soviet in-service training system for agrarian specialists had determined its influence on the formation of the industrial stratum and the intellectual and professional provision of the Ukrainian village and the contribution of the Ukrainian peasantry to the implementation of the social programs of the Bolshevik regime and the «socialist modernization» of Soviet society, the development of which required new labor resources.

**Key words:** Staffing, Ukrainian peasantry, totalitarian regime.

### НАПОВНЕННЯ УКРАЇНСЬКОГО СЕЛА ФАХІВЦЯМИ АГРАРНОГО ПРОФІЛЮ (1929 – 1939)

**Анотація. Мета дослідження** – аналіз проблем та шляхів кадрового забезпечення сільськогосподарського виробництва, його впливу на формування соціального складу українського селянства та висвітлення його участі у трансформаційних процесах 1929 – 1939 рр. **Методологічну основу дослідження становлять** принципи історизму, об'єктивності, плюралізму, багатofакторності, системності, всебічності та наступності. **Пропонований аналіз свідчить**, що визначені партійно-державним керівництвом у 30-х рр. ХХ ст. шляхи формування трудового потенціалу українського села та розширеного відтворення національно-культурних кадрів, стали об'єктивною тенденцією, яка за умов сталінського терору могла бути уповільненою, спотвореною, але не скасованою. **Наукова новизна** дослідження полягає у тому, що вперше в новітній історіографії критично переглянуто стереотипи щодо виробничої діяльності сільськогосподарських структур за умов побудови загальногосподарського радянського механізму та форсованої індустріалізації в Україні впродовж 1929 – 1939 рр., а також концептуальні засади формування системи підготовки фахівців-аграрників, визначено її форми, розкрито вплив на формування виробничого прошарку й інтелектуально-професійне забезпечення українського села. **Висновки.** Доведено, що селянство як цілісна соціальна група зазнало істотної деформації, поступово був сформований новий тип сільських працівників – заідеологізовані більшовицькою владою колгоспники, які становили найхарактернішу і найчисленнішу групу всього працездатного населення сільських територій України з усіма притаманними їм особливостями, що відповідали інтересам тоталітарної влади. Крім того, в 1929 – 1939 рр. у складі колгоспного селянства відбулося становлення соціально-професійних груп, серед яких найбільш популярними і знатними людьми стали комбайнери, трактористи та механізатори, які вписувалися в адміністративно-командну систему та могли здійснити заплановані аграрні реформи. Відтак, фактично початком зламу усталеного укладу життя українських селян стали суцільна колективізація та експропріація індивідуальних селянських господарств.

**Ключові слова:** кадрове забезпечення, українське селянство, тоталітарний режим.

**Problem statement.** During the last years, problems in the sphere of preservation and development of the labor potential of the Ukrainian village, which has lost its attractiveness for living, work and development of the rural population, has become considerably aggravated. This situation has been the result of long unsuccessful political and economic reforms. In particular, Ukraine has been affected by the consequences of disastrous Soviet agrarian policy, which requires a detailed study of the fundamental changes that have taken place in Ukrainian lands in the twentieth century.

**The analysis of sources and recent researches.** Problems of regulation of the processes of using the labor potential of the Ukrainian village and the formation of the culture of its social and labor relations were studied by N. Anisimov, M. Viltan, Yu. Kurnosov, V. Sadovsky and others (Anisimov, 1946, Vyltsan, 1973, Kurnosov, 1981; Sadovsky, 1935).

Among the works of the modern period the most notable are the researches of Yu. Borisov, G. Burshanov, O. Grishnova, V. Danilenko, S. Drovosyuk, T. Zayats, G. Kasyanov, B. Kravchenko, S. Kulchytsky, L. Kustrich, L. Lanovyuk, O. Lisovskaya, V. Marochko, Y. Prisyazhnyuk, I. Rybak, I. Romanyuk, Y. Fedorenko, Yu. Shapoval, M. Shytyuk, in which the political, socio-economic and spiritual aspects of collectivization, dispossession, famine, deportations and repression of the rural population of Ukraine during the 1930's were uncovered (Borisov, 1991; Burshanov, 2001; Grishnova, 2013; Danilenko, Kasyanov, Kulchytsky, 1991; Dorovyuz, 2005; Zayats, 2017; Kravchenko, 1997; Kulchyts'kij, 1999; Kustrich, 2017; Lanovyuk, 2018; Lisovskaya, 2018; Marochko, 2012; Prisyajnyuk, 2018; Rybak, 2000; Romanyuk, 2011; Fedorenko, 2018; Shapoval, 1993; Shitjuk, 2014). Of considerable interest are the dissertations of T. Vronskaya, O. Lukashevich, Ya. Mandryka and V. Sharpathy (Vronska, 2009; Lukashevich, 2006; Mandrik, 1998; Sharpathy, 2007). However, despite a large number of works directly or indirectly affecting the chosen problem, most of them have fragmentary coverage of the 1929–1939 period. This period is characterized by the final approval of the totalitarian political regime, the introduction of command and administrative methods of governance, changes in ownership forms and management and, ultimately, the socio-economic and national-cultural shift of the Ukrainian peasantry.

Therefore, the **aim of this paper** is to analyze the influence of the transformational processes of the agrarian sector on its intellectual and professional provision, quantitative and qualitative parameters of training of agricultural specialists in the late 1920's and 1930's.

**Statement of the basic material.** The transformation of the agrarian sector and changes in the structure of an agricultural production during the period 1929 – 1939 led to the demand for skilled agricultural personnel. However, in conditions of forced and expanded reproduction of professional generation, all the peculiarities inherent to the Soviet system led to a radical change in the social composition, including agricultural specialists. The party-state leadership of the USSR did not pay attention to the personnel issue in the agrarian sector, but instead they focused on the spread of their influence on the process of personnel selection, and gradually the code of professional dignity was replaced by a code of ideological stamps, which radically changed the socio-psychological type of Ukrainian peasantry.

In particular, the organization and nature of production in collective and state farms of Ukraine in 1929 – 1939 led to the use of both permanent and temporary employees. The contingent of permanent employees included a managerial unit (the director (chairman of the collective farm), his deputies, district heads), agrotechnical staff (engineering and technical workers, agronomists), accountants and skilled workers (tractor and harvester operators, drivers, maintenance workers). The group of temporary employees consisted of seasonal workers who worked at farms from early spring to early winter (assistant drives and operators, refuellers etc.) and hired workers who were hired for the period of performance of certain works (threshing, trituration, loading and transport work, etc.).

The staff of state farm workers of the Ukrainian SSR were approved in 1929 and did not change throughout the prewar period (Table 1).

Table 1

**Staff of the state farms (1929)**

| <b>Employees</b>                            | <b>Number of People</b> |
|---|-------------------------|
| Permanent employees:                        |                         |
| – managerial unit                           | 5                       |
| – agrotechnical staff                       | 18                      |
| – engineering and technical staff           | 16                      |
| – office staff                              | 34                      |
| – tractor drivers and other skilled workers | 133                     |
| – unskilled workers                         | 64                      |
| – Temporary employees                       | 540                     |
| <b>Total</b>                                | <b>810</b>              |

(CSAHAAU, f. 4860, d. 1, c. 4826, p. 12)

Thus, in 1929 – 1933, temporary employees accounted for the overwhelming majority of the total number of employees of the state farms (66%), which explained the low level of mechanization of harvesting operations. However, during the 1934 – 1936 the technical base of agriculture was improved, which led to the decrease of the number of temporary employees in state farms to 27% and, therefore, the vast majority of workers were the permanent employees (CSAHAAU, f. 4860, d. 1, c. 4823, p. 38).

The contingent of temporary employees was formed in several ways, the main of which was the agreements between collective and state farms, which, at first, was based on the mutual interest of both parties: the state farms cultivated a part of the collective farm lands, and the collective farms provided workers and draft animals. Subsequently, the state farms were unable to conclude agreements of this nature due to emergence of serious difficulties in the economic development of the land, and therefore, administrative methods were used. According to the instructions of the Central Committee of the CP(b)U the district and regional party committees issued orders to the administrations of the collective farms to supply workers to the state farms.

The administration of the state farms began the recruitment of employees both through the regional departments of the People's Commissariat of Labor, and through state-owned enterprises. For the most part, recruitment took place in the villages of the area where the state farm was located, but sometimes recruiters also brought employees from remote regions of Ukraine.

The widespread way of forming the contingent of temporary employees was to «mobilize» workers of urban industrial enterprises, servicemen, students, and in the state farms themselves – housewives and students of general schools. It should be noted that the use of the large number of casual people as temporary employees in the grain industry proved to be inefficient, because as a result of short-term professional training, employees had low level of qualification that did not correspond to the complex nature of mechanized production. In addition, the situation was complicated by the huge flow of temporary employees, which reached 60–70% of the total number of workers each year.

Gradually, with the expansion of the activity of state-owned companies, the staffing of management personnel and specialists occurred through training courses, contracting and free hiring. Thus, most directors of Ukrainian state farms were appointed after short courses at the Central Committee of the CPSU(b). The positions of the technical deputy directors



were staffed with specialists from the sugar industry. In particular, for the training of management specialists of state farms, the Higher agro-industrial courses with a one-year training period were opened in Kharkiv in 1933 (SARF, f. P-5446, d. 14, c. 2439, p. 46).

In the second half of the 1930-ies the training of management personnel and specialists for state farms and collective farms was organized through a network of higher educational institutions and technical schools. In particular, they studied in the Kiev Agricultural Institute, a number of higher educational institutions in the city of Kharkiv (Institute of grain crops, agricultural, engineering-economic and road-building institutes), Odessa Institute of grain crops, Kherson Agricultural Institute and many others.

Engineering, technical and agronomic staff were formed through contracting students and the use of hiring systems. It is noteworthy that the graduates were selected based on social background and party affiliation and the level of qualification of future specialists was not considered, and therefore, the hired personnel was unskilled. Thus, in 1933 – 1934, due to «some difficulties in agriculture» in the Ukrainian SSR the higher educational establishments had early graduations of students, who, by contracting, were assigned to the positions of engineers, instructors, technicians, assistant managers (CSAHAAU, f. 27, d. 13, c. 88, p. 19).

The specialists of agronomic and accounting groups were mostly hired for work, which was explained by their small number in comparison with engineering and technical workers in the agriculture of the investigated period. Despite the huge size of land, the state farms had only 1–3 agronomists, who often had low qualifications. For example, in Dnipropetrovsk region, in 1933, there were 150 agronomists with special agricultural education for 600 production sites (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 20 (part III), c. 6270, p. 37), and the rest were farmers from collective farms – people who did not even know the basic principles of agronomy.

Insufficient staffing, especially the lack of local staff (district agronomists, mechanics who directly provided technical instruction, etc.) is clearly demonstrated in Table 2.

Table 2

**The staffing of the collective farms of the Ukrainian SSR as of June 1, 1933**

| Region    | Local agronomists |           |            | Local mechanics |           |            |
|-----------|-------------------|-----------|------------|-----------------|-----------|------------|
|           | Necessary         | Available | Percentage | Necessary       | Available | Percentage |
| Kyiv      | 271               | 226       | 83,4       | 396             | 193       | 48,3       |
| Vinnitsa  | 546               | 199       | 36,4       | 440             | 152       | 34,5       |
| Kharkiv   | 288               | 100       | 34,5       | 288             | 107       | 37,1       |
| Chernihiv | 84                | 10        | 11,9       | 84              | 15        | 17,8       |

(CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 20 (part III), c. 6270, p. 37)

The existing agronomic staff was simply unable to manage the areas, which occupied 8–12 thousand hectares, since agronomists were not well acquainted with the agricultural machinery that came to the collective farms and state farms – vehicles, harvesters, tractors. It became a serious obstacle for them to act as real managers of a large mechanized economy. The vast majority of mechanics were practitioners without theoretical training who did not know the basic requirements of agrotechnics, the reasons that caused the froth of fields, the effects of shallow plowing. It reflected in the incorrect use of a vehicle park, irrational combination of mechanization with agrotechnics, inefficient use of all the technical capacity of the collective and state farms production.

The emergence of new means of labor, machines (tractors, harvesters, motor vehicles, etc.) and the creation of vehicle-tractor stations exacerbated the problem of mechanization personnel in the Ukrainian SSR agriculture, since it was required to train masses of illiterate peasants to become specialists of previously unknown mechanization professions. The Ukrainian village could not have prepared more than a quarter of a million mechanics per year; the collective farms did not have the financial resources, material resources, teaching resources and experience for this, and large industrial enterprises participated in the formation of production personnel of state farms and collective farms. Thus, at the factories of Kyiv and Kharkiv, courses for the training of mechanic instructors from among the skilled workers (turners, locksmiths, mechanics, etc.) were opened, after which they left for permanent work in the state farms and collective farms.

The greatest shortage of technical personnel during this period was felt in the field of livestock breeding. There was absolutely no information in central institutions on the number of specialists who worked in livestock farms, since their number was significantly less than the farms themselves. Therefore, there were specialists who traveled and serviced whole groups of farms, they were united in district units and were subordinate not to single farms, but to districts, and sometimes to regions. According to the data of July 1, 1934, the meat and dairy farms of the USSR were served by 2,395 specialists of higher qualification, which was only 17% of their needs and 4,625 specialists of average qualification, or 14.6% of the needs. Later, in spite of the powerful system of training of specialists in Ukraine in 1938, one zootechnic and animal husbandry technician had to service two farms, that were provided with technical specialists with higher and secondary education by 15% (Arzumanyan, 1939, p. 89).

At the beginning of the second five-year plan, the staffing problem in the state farms became so acute that even in official publications it was impossible to conceal it. In particular, in the article collection «Socialist Ukraine» it was noted: «The fluidity of the staff is incredible: it is difficult to meet a tractor driver who would work at the same state farm for 2–3 seasons. Such fluidity is also observed in the administrative and technical personnel of state farms» (Asyatkin, 1937, p. 108).

The fluidity of the personnel of agriculture has led to the fact that in collective farms, new employees occupied almost a third of the positions each year. Thus, in 1937, 45.9% of heads of collective farms, 41.1% of heads of audit commissions, 34.9% of accountants, 40% of gardeners, 54.4% of livestock workers, 33.9% of veterinarians, 43.5% of heads of livestock farms had worked for less than a year. That is, most of the former workers of these professions in 1937 had quit their job for various reasons and were replaced by others. The fluidity of collective farms personnel in 1937 exceeded the corresponding figures of 1933 – 1936 (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 20 (part III), c. 6268, p. 91, 115, 136).

The main reason for the fluidity of the employees of the collective and state farms were the unbearable material and living conditions, which, primarily, concerned housing. In 1933, only 12% of workers of Ukrainian grain-farm holdings were provided with relatively decent housing, while the rest lived in huts, dugouts and other temporary buildings (CSAHAAU, f. 27, d. 14, c. 417, p. 94). Most of the so-called dormitories at state farms, especially in production departments, were sheds in which people slept on the ground, straw, or pallet, at best.

The Head of the Dnipropetrovsk Regional Committee of the Trade Union of Grain State Farm Workers O. Bodryi described the material and everyday state of the grain farms of 1934 – 1935: «Disorganized hostels, straw, lice, typhus, death» (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 20 (part III), c. 6282, p. 135). The living conditions of the workers of the state farms were explained

by the policies of the Stalinist government, which mercilessly exploited the workers of the state farms for the purpose of carrying out adventurist projects. Without sufficient funding, state farm directors were not able to create decent living conditions for workers, as the construction of dozens of mechanized agricultural enterprises could only be carried out at the expense of people's health.

At the end of the second five-year plan, central farmsteads and workshops in many farms were still unfinished. Even at those farms where the number of confiscated dwellings was sufficient, their repairs were not carried out on time. Thus, in the report on the results of the trip to the state farms of the Kherson Grain Trust in the spring of 1937, the People's Commissar of the Soviet Union, T. Yurkin, wrote: «The central farmsteads of the «Bolshevik Offensive» grain farm occupies a beautiful house owned by the local kulaks, which it is very well built. However, now it is in terrible state – the walls are peeled off, the roof has holes, dirt, manure, and all the trees are broken ... The same is observed in the «Red Lighthouse» grain farm, where the central farmsteads is located in the premises of the former monastery» (Mandrik, 2005, p. 156).

The workers of the state farms of the Ukrainian SSR and their families lived hand to mouth, satisfied with a meager ration of 800–1 000 g of bread per day for workers and 400 g for servants and dependents.

The principle of remuneration of ordinary collective farm workers did not differ from the payment to their management, since for all employees of agriculture the main unit of accounting and remuneration was a workday, the difference was only that the work of heads of collective farms, foremen, heads of farms and other managers was calculated at higher rates. Thus, in 1935 in the Ukrainian SSR, on average, 158 workdays were credited to an able-bodied collective farm worker, 431.6 – to the head of the collective farm, 398.9 – to the head of the dairy farm, 350.7 workdays were credited to the foreman-farmer. In the process of income distribution, by the number of accrued working days, an average of 5.6 quintal of grain was given to the able-bodied farmer, 14.2 quintal to the head of the collective farm, 10.9 quintal to the head of the dairy farm, and 10.2 quintal to the foreman-farmer (CSAHAAU, f. 539, d. 11, c. 366, p. 18). Therefore, even if one carries out elementary calculations and divides 5.6 quintal by year for one able-bodied farmer, then it turns out to be about 1.5 kg per day, and if there were 3–5 children and infirm in his family, then they received only an average of 300–500 g per person, which actually forced the family to starve. In addition, a collective farm remuneration was not permanent and guaranteed and depended on the results of the agricultural year and the implementation of the grain procurement plan.

The difference in the salaries of the specialists of the lowest level of land authorities and vehicle-tractor station was significant as compared to the salaries of specialists who worked in regional and district organizations. Thus, in 1934 in the Kharkiv region, the head of the agronomic-industrial sector of the People's Commissariat of the USSR received 475 rubles per month, the head of the agronomy-production district department – 500, the senior agronomist of vehicle-tractor station – 210–260, agronomic deputy director of the vehicle-tractor station – 275–300. That is, the senior agronomist who worked in the field, received wages almost twice lower than a specialist in the middle category of the central and regional apparatus of the People's Commissariat of Land, who worked in the office (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 20 (part III), c. 6292, p. 39, 46, 53). A regional agronomist who was directly responsible for the state of agriculture in the entire region, carried out complex and local agronomic planning, managed collective farms that were not serviced by vehicle-tractor station, and had to qualify

no less than a senior agronomist of the vehicle-tractor station, receive only 35% of senior agronomist's salary.

The situation was similar with respect to the senior mechanics of vehicle-tractor station, whose salary, compared to officials of the People's Commissariat of Land, was actually twice lower. The leader of the operation group of the vehicle-tractor park of the People's Commissariat of Land of the Ukrainian SSR received 450 rubles per month, engineer operator – 400, the senior mechanic of vehicle-tractor station – 180–230, the senior mechanic of the state farm – 180–220 (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 20 (part III), c. 6291, p. 26, 28).

The measures to increase the material interest of the agricultural workers most affected mechanizers. For tractor drivers, in 1933, a guaranteed minimum wage for a working day of 2 rubles 50 kopecks and 3 kg of grain was introduced. Payment for works on the plow, where higher prices were set, was especially stimulated. Gradually, with the increase in the share of other types of tractor works (harrowing, sowing, cultivating, cleaning, etc.), there was a need to increase the payment for tractor drivers, depending on the size of the worked area. It was proposed by the All-Union Meeting of Managers of the vehicle-tractor stations and Land authorities in January 1936 by the People's Commissar of agriculture of the USSR.

The question of the use of harvesters in agriculture, the preparation of harvester drivers and their payment was discussed at the November Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU(b) in 1934. According to their recommendations, the Central Committee of the CPSU(b) and the SNK of the USSR in April 1935 issued a resolution «On the work of harvester drivers and the compensation for their labor at the state farms and vehicle-tractor stations». Based on the resolution, the collective farm harvester drivers were enrolled in the state-owned enterprises – vehicle-tractor stations, which provided them with guaranteed wages. Importantly, the fact that the wages of harvester drivers accounted for a premium-progressive system. The same principle of payment was used as the basis for the resolution of the party and the Government «On the payment of drivers and other operators of threshing-machines», adopted in early June 1935. The arrangement of the system of remuneration of machinery mechanics significantly influenced the reduction of their fluidity. By 1933 almost half of the mechanics had left the vehicle-tractor stations each year, but in the next period (1934 – 1939) the number had reduced to only a quarter of workers.

The increase in the productivity of the vehicle-tractor park in many cases depended on the rational organization of work. Vehicle-tractor station mechanics in general, and most important and numerous of their category – tractor drivers, established a permanent tractor brigade as a basic form of organization of work. They had fixed assignment of equipment and fields, and the work of machine operators was evaluated and paid for the results of labor. The engineering and technical personnel and workshops of vehicle-tractor stations ensured the operational maintenance of the vehicles in the tractor brigades, monitored the quality of the equipment directly on the fields, therefore, the productivity of labor in the collective farms increased by more than 3–4 times in short time, substantially increasing the production of agricultural products (Gayduksky, 1997, p. 59).

The vehicle-tractor stations employed tractor and field brigades, which were a different form of labor organization, unlike collective farms and state farms. Collective farmers and mechanics had formed mutually interested relations in the tractor and field brigades, which led to better use of the labor resources of vehicle-tractor stations and collective farms. By 1935, collective farms had specialized brigades: orchard, horticultural, construction and livestock based on animal species – dairy, pig, poultry, and the others. In pursuit of a better form

of labor organization in some advanced collective farms it was decided to create integrated brigades who could fully use the vehicle-tractor station technology. They worked together on the implementation of the technological processes envisaged in the contracts of vehicle-tractor stations with the collective farms. One of the important points of the correct relationship between collective farms and vehicle-tractor stations was a rational combination of the work of the tractor brigade of vehicle-tractor stations and the collective farm's brigade. If the tractor brigade was not attached to a particular field-type brigade or a team of brigades of one collective farm, then the production results declined. Thus, in Vinnytsya region in 1936, four tractor brigades served more than 20 collective farms each, which resulted in excessive waste of working time and fuel for frequent transfers from one collective farm to another. On the other hand, there were cases when two or three tractor brigades served the same collective farm: one plows, the other sows, the third harvests, which led to the depersonalization, irresponsibility, a poor quality of work, and lower yields (Rybak, 2000, p. 14).

Gradually, the party organizations have achieved the consolidation of vehicle-tractor stations tractor brigades with certain collective farms or their field brigades. The Presidium of the Kharkiv Regional Executive Committee and the Bureau of the Regional Committee of the CPSU (b) in its resolution of February 16, 1936 «On the Plan of Spring Sowing in 1936 and Measures to Increase Productivity» decided that the tractor brigade is assigned to the collective farm for the whole year to cultivate the areas of the same field brigades (Marochko, 2012, 1, p. 247).

The charter of the agricultural artel, adopted in 1935, consolidated the collective farm brigade as its main production unit. The brigades have become larger, and their composition became constant. Thus, in 1937, on average, there were 2.2 brigades per artel, each, on average, consisted of 62 people (24 men, 30 women and 8 teenagers).

It was difficult to find favorable organizational forms among livestock farmers. People's Commissar of the Ukrainian SSR L. Papernyi in 1936 noted that «... the existing instructions on the organization and remuneration of labor in livestock collective farms, which played a great positive role in introducing unit payment on farms, are now obsolete and need to be revised» (CSAHAAU, f. 27, d. 14, c. 154, p. 23).

The main organizational disadvantage in a collective livestock farming was that a significant part of the workdays were credited for the care for cattle, and not for the production of livestock products. Taking into account the experience of leading livestock farms, the People's Commissariat of Land of the USSR developed and implemented in February 1936 a new instruction on the organization and payment for labor on farms. According to the new instruction, the collective farm management had to create a permanent livestock brigade for a period of at least three years, headed by a foreman appointed for at least two years. At the dairy farm, which was served by one brigade, the foreman was also a manager of the farm. With more than 100 cows and calves on the farm, several brigades were organized. The number of the collective farmers who worked in a permanent brigade was established taking into account the full service of all livestock. For each livestock brigade and farm, a certain amount of livestock, inventory and buildings were assigned as needed. «The work between the individual members of the brigade – as indicated in the instruction – is distributed directly by the foreman, who is obliged to use every collective farmer of his brigade at his best potential, while not allowing any nepotism during the division of work, and strictly taking into account qualification, experience and a physical strength of each of his workers». Each member of the brigade received annual and monthly tasks from the collective farm board (expectations of milk, number of calves, average daily gain of live weight of calves, etc.).

The norms of the load and the rates of the working days of each type of work on the farm were developed and approved at the general meeting of the collective farmers, taking into account the equipment of the farms, the degree of mechanization of individual production processes of the collective farms. For example, for every 100 liters of milk from the group of cows a milkmaid was credited with 1.7 workdays. Under conditions of over-fulfillment of the annual task, a milkmaid's wage was increased by 2 times in accordance with the bonus plan (CSAHAAU, f. 27, d. 14, c. 154, p. 24–25).

In line with the increase in livestock of the collective farms, the number of livestock brigades increased, they became larger and more permanent in their composition. Thus, livestock brigades who looked after cattle, were divided into three groups – for the care for dairy cattle, meat cows, young animals. The brigade serving dairy cattle (approximately 350 cows) consisted of a supervisor, a senior milkmaid, 22 main milkmaids, 4 substitute milkmaids, 8 cattle breeders, a substitute cattle breeder, a veterinarian, a controller-accountant (Viltsan, 1978, p. 105).

The flaws in the system of remuneration and the general difficulties of the collective farm's material situation were not the only reason for the high fluidity of agricultural workers. In most cases, an excessively frequent change of collective farm managers was the result of an excessive administration and unjustified interference with collective farms and vehicle-tractor stations by various organizations. Yu. I. Shapoval, analyzing the shortcomings of the personnel policy of the Soviet government, came to the conclusion that «... the negative effects of the cult of I. Stalin's person were more strongly than anywhere else» (Shapoval, 1993, p. 35). The personnel problem of the collective farms and state farms of the Ukrainian SSR was exacerbated by «cleansing» and repressions, most of which were committed at the end of the first and second five-year plans, when the Stalinist government punished the leaders for not fulfilling the five-year plans and «purified the production teams from dissidents». During the mass repressions of 1937–1938, the leadership of the collective farms and state farms suffered the most, and therefore, in order to eliminate the huge shortage of heads of various rank, the People's Commissariat of Land and the People's Commissariat of Soviet State farms began to widely apply the principle of «nomination of personnel», the essence of which was to appoint active workers to the positions of managers, most of whom did not have the appropriate education and practical experience of management work. In particular, in 1937 in the Kyiv region out of 145 directors of vehicle-tractor stations 85 were dismissed, in 7 vehicle-tractor stations directors were changed twice, and as of January 1, 1938 more than 300 vehicle-tractor stations of the Ukrainian SSR did not have directors (SSASSU, f. 16, d. 32, c. 35, p. 210–214).

**Conclusions.** Therefore, the adventuristic attempt by the Stalinist government to form production personnel of collective farms and state farms in the process of their forced organization has failed, and during the investigated period, the process of their final staffing was not finished. The accelerated form of training of specialists did not justify itself, because, first of all, it caused their low professional level and the inability to adequately serve agricultural production. At the same time, the striking mismatch between the needs of skilled agricultural specialists and the state of their preparation in 1929 – 1939 still forced the state to expand the system of preparation of agricultural specialists. The gradual introduction of the brigade organization of labor and the rise of the production and technical level of the peasantry improved the process of using human resources of agriculture and increased the productivity of their labor.

In order to clarify and supplement the scheme of socio-economic and national-cultural life of the Ukrainian peasantry during the years 1929 – 1939 such promising thematic groups and areas of concrete historical research can be offered: adaptation of the development of individual branches of

Ukraine's agriculture to the needs of a totalitarian state; the policy of the authorities regarding certain social and professional groups of the Ukrainian peasantry the inclusion of the Ukrainian peasantry in the ideological system of the totalitarian regime in order to influence its consciousness.

**Acknowledgments.** Thanks to the employees of the Sectoral State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine, the Central State Archive of the Highest Authorities of Ukraine and the Central State Archive of Public Associations of Ukraine in Kyiv for the opportunity to process materials of different content and origin.

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

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The article was received on January 21, 2019.  
Article was recommended for publishing 3.03.2019



UDC 355.425.4(44):725.945(=161.2)  
DOI: 10.24919/2519-058x.10.159188

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**Бібліографічний опис статті:** Filinyuk, A. & Klimchuk, Y. (2019). Sites of memory of the ethnic Ukrainians participation in the French resistance during the Second World War. *Skhidnoievropeiskyi istorychnyi visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 10, 161–170. doi: 10.24919/2519-058x.10.159188

## SITES OF MEMORY OF THE ETHNIC UKRAINIANS PARTICIPATION IN THE FRENCH RESISTANCE DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR

**Summary.** In the article, an attempt has been made to investigate the problem of the ethnic Ukrainians participation in the French Resistance during the Second World War on the basis of analysis of documents, scientific literature and sites of memory characteristics as important sources that allow us to understand the role and significance of Ukrainians in defeating Hitler's Germany. **The purpose of the research** is to reveal an importance of the sites of memory as sources for clarification the question of the ethnic Ukrainians participation in the French Resistance during the Second World War. **The research Methodology.** During the research, the following principles of historical research were used: historicism, objectivity and consistency. Special historical methods were used: historical and comparative, terminological, chronological, retrospective, and the method of actualization. The research is described in the problem systematic sequence. **The scientific novelty.** For the first time in the national historical science using concrete actual material, it has been proven that sites of memory are an im-

portant historical source and means of scientific research, which has a wide range of possibilities for revealing and elucidating motives and internal behavior logic of concrete participants of the French Resistance from Ukraine. It is substantiated that the study of the sites of memory in France and Ukraine not only helps to establish the historical truth about the combat community of Ukrainians with citizens of other countries who were not voluntarily on French territory in the struggle against Nazi invaders within the framework of the Resistance movement but may also act as an effective method of developing the prospects of mutual understanding between peoples and uniting efforts to preserve peace and security at the present stage. **Conclusions.** The investigated problem has a theoretical and practical significance, since success in defending the territorial integrity of Ukraine in the war with Russian intervention largely depends on the comprehension and consideration of historical lessons on the nature, features and extent of participation of Ukrainians in the French Resistance.

**Key words:** sites of memory, ethnic people, Ukrainians, Ukraine, Resistance movement, France, camp committees, prisoners, partisans, detachments, groupings.

### МІСЦЯ ПАМ'ЯТІ ПРО УЧАСТЬ ВИХІДЦІВ З УКРАЇНИ У ФРАНЦУЗЬКОМУ РУСІ ОПОРУ В РОКИ ДРУГОЇ СВІТОВОЇ ВІЙНИ

**Анотація.** У статті зроблено спробу дослідити проблему участі вихідців з України у французькому Русі Опору в період Другої світової війни на основі аналізу документів, наукової літератури та характеристики місць пам'яті як важливих джерел, котрі дозволяють осмислити роль і значення українців у розгромі гітлерівської Німеччини. **Мета роботи** – розкрити значення місць пам'яті як джерел з'ясування питання про участь вихідців з України у французькому Русі Опору в період Другої світової війни. **Методологія дослідження.** При написанні роботи нами використано такі принципи проведення історичного дослідження: історизму, об'єктивності і системності. Зі спеціально-історичних методів використані: історико-порівняльний, термінологічний, хронологічний, ретроспективний і метод актуалізації. Дослідження викладено в проблемно-систематичній послідовності. **Наукова новизна.** Вперше у вітчизняній історичній науці на конкретному фактичному матеріалі доведено, що місця пам'яті є важливим історичним джерелом і засобом наукового пошуку, яке володіє широким спектром можливостей для виявлення та з'ясування мотивів і внутрішньої логіки поведінки конкретних учасників Руху Опору Франції з України. Обґрунтовано, що вивчення місць пам'яті в Франції та Україні не тільки допомагає утверджувати історичну правду про бойову співдружність українців із громадянами інших країн, які опинилися не зі своєї волі на французькій землі, у боротьбі з гітлерівськими окупантами в рамках Руху Опору, а й може виступати ефективним методом вироблення перспектив взаєморозуміння між народами і об'єднання зусиль у збереженні миру та безпеки на сучасному етапі. **Висновки.** Досліджувана проблема має теоретичне і практичне значення, позаяк успіх у відстоюванні територіальної цілісності України у війні з російською інтервенцією значною мірою залежить від осмислення і врахування історичних уроків про суть, характер, особливості та масштаби участі українців у французькому Русі Опору.

**Ключові слова:** місця пам'яті, вихідці, українці, Україна, Рух Опору, Франція, табірні комітети, в'язні, партизани, загони, угруповання.

**Statement of the problem.** In the context of rethinking the national historical past in Ukraine, a special place belongs to the areas of scientific research that are intended to serve the development and ensuring national interests of the state at the present stage of development. It allows exploring comprehensively both the deep origins of national foundations and their correspondence with the international course of events, in particular during the Second World War. After all, the successful advancement of the chosen way depends entirely on the real unity of the world community on the preservation and consolidation of peace. Ukraine is extremely interested in reproducing historical truth about its role in that war and its place in world historical memory. Actually, not only because of the enormous losses recognition, but also due to the significant contribution of Ukraine to the victory over the Hitler coalition

during the Second World War, the USSR acted as one of the founders of the United Nations (Kudriachenko, 1999, pp. 14–16). In addition, the problem of Ukrainian patriots participation in Resistance movement in general, and in particular in the French Resistance, remains insufficiently highlighted in scientific literature, since the prohibition on its study by professional historians was removed only at the dawn of the state independence of Ukraine.

**Analysis of recent research and publications.** The research source was formed by the fonds documents and materials of the Central State Archives of Public Organizations of Ukraine in Kyiv, the State Archives of Vinnytsia Region, the Russian State Archive of Social and Political History, the National Museum of Ukrainian History in the Second World War, Lviv Historical Museum, Kamianets-Podilskyi State Historical Museum Reserve, the documentary publication *The Second World War in the Historical Memory of Ukraine* of the Ukrainian Institute of National Remembrance, as well as the actual material from the memories of the Resistance movement participants and the scientific works of domestic and foreign authors.

The problem of «historical sites» about the participation of ethnic Ukrainians in the European Resistance movement during the Second World War, and in particular in the French Resistance, was not specifically studied in a complex way, but some of its aspects were reflected in the studies of V. Bondarchuk, D. Viedienieiev, V. Viatrovych, A. Havryshchuk, L. Herasymenko, O. Hryhorenko, V. Hrynevych, T. Katorhina, Yu. Klimchuk, M. Koval, K. Kolybanova, B. Kolodnyi, V. Korol, O. Lysenko, T. Matsenko, A. Morozova, I. Mukovskyi, I. Patryliak, R. Pyliavets, T. Pidlasko, A. Filiniuk and other researchers and ethnographers. In particular, the scientific literature focuses on the ways in which the representatives of Ukraine replenished the ranks of the European Resistance movement; it submits forms of their participation in the struggle against Hitler's enslavement in labor and concentration camps, underground organizations and military formations, specifies names and facts of heroic struggle, places of death, burial, perpetuating memory in the countries of Europe and Ukraine, etc. However, the chosen subject has not become an object of independent coverage in the Ukrainian historical literature yet. So, it is worth continuing this work, paying attention to aspects that have not been studied yet.

**The purpose of the article** is to reveal the sites of memory significance in understanding the extent of ethnic Ukrainians participation in the French Resistance during the Second World War and justifying the need to find and preserve sites of memory of these events in France and Ukraine on the basis of archival and published sources, involving a complex of actual material from scientific works.

**Statement of the basic material.** It is known that for Ukrainians the memory of the Second World War was essentially created in Moscow as a truncated interpretative system. Therefore, both «the Ukrainians who attempted to conquer the independence of their own country from the Stalinist Empire, turning to the side of their powerful enemy» (Hrynevych, 2012, p. 45) and the participants of the European Resistance movement were excluded from its narrative. On the other hand, «many participants of the foreign Resistance movement were forced to hide their accomplishments and fought against the Nazis under fictitious names, as in the homeland, under the conditions of the Stalin regime, captivity was associated with treason» (Herasymenko, Pyliavets, 2010, p. 207). In this regard, there is an increasing need for a thorough study of the sites of memory of the joint efforts and the price that Ukrainians and other peoples have put on the altar of victory over Hitler's Germany. The current social and political situation caused by the war in the east, Russia's annexation of the Crimea and the need for confrontation in the information psychological warfare only exacerbates the tendency to update the sites of memory research in the system of a symbolic and discursive

series of narrative memories of the Second World War and the contribution of Ukraine in victory over Nazi fascism, as well as in dissolving the myth of the «great» victory in the Great Patriotic War (Kasianov, 2018, p. 296).

We share Pierre Nora's opinion that sites of memory are any significant phenomenon, whether material or immaterial in nature, which, from the human's will or under the influence of time, have become a symbol of the memorial legacy of a community. By studying sites of memory, historians turn to the past as to its representation, encoded in monuments, symbols, discourses, etc. (Nora, 1994, p. 189). According to the American scientist P. Hutton, they deal with «images of the past» as forms of representation of the past (Hutton, 1993, pp. 17–22). The need for the «sites of memory» creation is due to the disappearance of the «memory environment», when the memory dies, dissipates, passes into nothingness. The study of sites of memory changes helps to clarify the changes in historical consciousness and the collective identity of social groups (Nora, 2010). Historical descriptions practically deny the right to memory for an adequate reflection of the past, debunking the myths of memory, and builds it up through rigorous research procedures of «objectivity», scientific analysis (Nora, 1999, p. 34). At the same time, memory gets a chance to survive in some codified tracks, artifacts (sites of memory), or as part of a historical description (Prost, 1999, p. 149).

However, according to a fair estimation of the historian H. Kasianov, many works on this problem claiming for analytical status relate primarily to the affirmatory, with the claim to be the foundation of modern identity and social system in Ukraine; and didactic historiography, which seeks to give specific advice to the present and the future: they are actualized by current political tasks or by cultural repertory enthusiasm. One of the reasons for this is that the understanding of «western» authorities turns into an uncritical translation into the Ukrainian context of ideas that originated in radically different cultural, political, and cognitive contexts (Kasianov, 2018, pp. 40–41).

It should be emphasized that if the events of the Second World War are part of the history, then the orders, photographs, clothes, personal belongings of people who survived became rarities of collectors and museums; and only a part of them became monuments of history and culture, which require a careful attitude, as well as monuments of architecture, art and culture (Rosental, 2003, pp. 322–355). After all, they preserve the memory of the concrete participants in the war. The monuments and the attitude towards them determine the political, social, religious, moral, aesthetic norms and values that prevail in a society in a certain historical period.

Focusing on the historical sites of memory in the world history, we naturally refer to the events of the Second World War as a severe test on the path of human development (Zinchenko, 2018, p. 12) and to such an important milestone in the history of peoples as a joint struggle against Nazism in this war. The Resistance movement played a key role in the war; it was «a voluntary and underground struggle between representatives of various peoples and nations with foreign residents and their accomplices for the liberation of the country in which they lived ...» (Prost, 1997, pp. 21–23). According to the conclusion of the modern French researcher Soufflet, «there was a clear link between the Battle of Stalingrad, the strikes of workers in Northern Italy in March 1943 and the unification of all the forces of the Resistance in France in the spring of that year – the common struggle and cohesion of different peoples and nations on different fronts of the Second World War» (Soufflet, 2016, pp. 11–12).

In particular, only in the initial period of the Second World War, in May 1940, in the Foreign Legion in France, from 5 to 7 thousand Ukrainians fought in the Battles of Flanders, Sedan, the Somme, the Seine, the Marne, the Loire, etc. (Herasymenko, Pyliavets, 2010, p. 206). Ethnic Ukrainians together with the soldiers of the Polish Army, the People's Liber-

ation Army of Yugoslavia, the People's Army of Bulgaria, with the support of the Resistance movement, fully or partially liberated the territories of 10 European countries and 2 Asian countries with a population of 183 million people (Katarhina, Kolybanova, 2004, p. 383). The joint efforts of the Resistance and parts of the «Fighting France» were liberated from the enemy by almost the entire territory of the country and established the power of the de Gaulle government (Babaytsev, 2009, p. 136). Due to the Resistance movement and the efforts of the French leaders in emigration, France took its place among the allies, who began to respect it at the end of the war (Tkachev, 1998, pp. 315–337).

When studying sites of memory of the ethnic Ukrainians participation in the French Resistance, special significance is given to the works of French historians and cooperation with them. This allows shedding light on a number of important aspects of the struggle of Ukrainians on French territory. For example, according to the archives of the Paris Police, details of the latter battle for Y. Klishch with the Nazis were established (APP, F/7/15670 et 15671). In this regard, our interest was caused by the book of the modern French researcher J. Soufflet, in which the author approached as much as possible the forgotten, transformed, mythologized, obscured by oblivion, memory and its metamorphosis, gaps, conflicts in the history of the Resistance in France, and destroyed a series of mistakes that were heavily contaminated and eclipsed the memory of those years as the relationship between the language groups, and explained the long incomprehensible understanding of the warm relations between various flows of the Resistance movement, as well as the tragic misunderstandings and confrontation of the partisans of various groups (Filiniuk, Klimchuk, 2016, pp. 423–424). The work applications contain extensive information on the participants of the French Resistance from Ukraine, in particular on Ivan Skrypai from Cherkasy and Serhii Chubar from Kharkiv. They helped one of the authors of this research find a site of memory about Ivan Skrypai – his grave at the cemetery in Cherkasy (La tombe d'Ivan Skripai). Before the book appeared in Ukraine, the biography of Serhii (Serge) Chubar was almost unknown. He was a «...Chief of Staff of Maksym Horkyi maquisards detachment», a native of Kharkiv, who lived in France after 1917. At the beginning of 1943, in Paris, having joined with his sister to Russian emigrants who had undergone an underground struggle against the Nazis and assisted prisoners of war from the USSR, he became a member of the Resistance movement. Since 1944 the Captain of FFI S. Chubar has been in the disposal of «Colonel Nicolas» – Ivan Skrypai in Côte d'Or, playing a prominent role in the unification of disparate detachments of the Soviet partisans and coordination of the Leningrad detachment actions along the Siena and the Loire (Soufflet, 2016, p. 131).

The sites of memory of the Second World War events on the territory of European countries include houses, constructions, where there were the headquarters of armies, partisan detachments and unions, which acted independently or participated in joint operations of the allied armies to free them from the Nazi occupation. Thus, on 3 October 1943, a «Union of Russian Patriots» was created in the apartment of Heorhii Shybanov, a Ukrainian emigrant from the anti-Nazis from the USSR, which left a significant mark in the development of the French Resistance. It was attended by Mark Slobodynskyi from Dashkivtsi village of the Litynskyi district of Vinnytsia region (Shibanov, 1962, pp. 439, 442). There are a lot of sites of memory in the country, but they are still unknown or little-known in Ukraine. This requires hard research to establish the exact addresses of their location based on the memories of the Resistance movement participants, and in particular the identification of common «sites of memory» of the Ukrainian and French peoples.

The most numerous group of the sites of memory of the Second World War is the burial of soldiers in the European countries where there was a military operation. Among them there are more than 10,000 military cemeteries, fraternal and separate graves, in which thousands of people from Ukraine are buried. Thus, on the wall of the Arras citadel, along with the names of 220 French patriots, where they were shot by the Nazis, the names of Ukrainians V. Poryk and V. Dotsenko were carved (State Archive of Volyn Region – SAVR, f. 5333, d. 1, c. 7, p. 12). A postcard with the image of the national hero V. Poryk, «the invincible courage of the Ukrainian people's son», was published in France (Sovko, 1999, p. 5). And on the grave in the town of Enen-Likitar, where he was buried with the Ukrainian soldier V. Kolesnyk in 1968, near the memorial plaque from the miner's family Offir, who takes care of it, a monument was installed by the Kyiv sculptors H. Kalchenko and A. Ihnashchenko with the inscription «From the Ukrainian people» (Kmieciak, 1986, p. 12). In the Pas-de-Calais department, another 13 Soviet citizens reside in the eternal sleep: 4 on the square of the Marles-les-Mines commune, and 9 on the square of the Méricourt-sous-Lens commune (APC, 1W 48098/1 et 51J1). It reminds about the joint struggle for freedom.

In one of the 25 camps of the Nor and Pas-de-Calais departments – «Beaumont», where there were many natives of Vinnytsia, Kyiv and Chernihiv regions, in October 1942, Lieutenant V. Poryk created the underground «Committee of Soviet Patriots», in August 1943 – the inter-camp committee of the northern departments, and in late 1943 – early 1944 he created partisan detachments in 10 camps, which united more than 220 fighters (Bondarchuk, Havryshchuk & Hryhorenko, 1995, pp. 60–61). The patriots dismantled the equipment, mixed up the fuel with water, carried out daring sabotage on the railways, highways, and important objects, derailed German echelons, destroyed enemy soldiers and officers, railroads, telegraph and telephone lines (Lysenko, 2002, pp. 117–118). V. Poryk wrote appeals and leaflets, which were replicated by the typewriter of the underground «propaganda department» and distributed in all the camps, which facilitated the uniting of prisoners and prepared them for struggle (SAVR, f. 5333, d. 1, c. 7, p. 8–9).

It should be emphasized that on 7 July 1945 in Paris, on the facade of the house on the Bolivar avenue, where Bukovina citizen Y. Klishch died, who was the commander of the francs-tireurs and partisans group, operating in the vicinity of Paris, a memorial plaque with the inscription «Here, in 1943, in the battles with the Nazi invaders, Yosyf Klishch heroically lost his life.» Almost always there are fresh carnations near it, and the name of the Ukrainian hero is eternally written in the list of French fighters who gave their lives for defeating Nazi-fascism (Fund of the Kamyanets-Podilskyi State Historical Museum-Reserve. f. g/p 8740-8746, c. 12, p. 1–3).

In memory of the leader of the partisan movement in France, the Hero of France and the Hero of the Soviet Union Vasyl Poryk (Koval, 2012, p. 404) on his small motherland, in Poryk village of Vinnytsia region, there is a bust and the only Ukrainian museum on the participation of V. Poryk and Ukrainians in the French Resistance during the Second World War, which has been functioning since 1972 (Filiniuk, Klimchuk, Matsenko, 2016, p. 426). More than 2320 exhibits and documents reflect the fighting way of the legendary Podolia citizen and his fellowmen M. Boyko, I. Boychuk, P. Hryhorenko, V. Dotsenko, S. Kondratiuk, A. Krylov, D. Rudkivskyi, I. Solodkivskyi, A. Tkachenko, H. Tomchenko and many others (Pidlasko, 1987, p. 31). The streets in Kyiv, Vinnytsia, Bobryntsi, Khmilnyk and Chernivtsi are named after V. Poryk.

The National Museum of the Ukrainian History in the Second World War (Fund of the NMUHSWW), regional and local historical and regional museums serve as really important

sites of memory about Ukraine's participation and contribution to the liberation of France from the Nazi occupiers. Among the exhibits of the NMHUSWW, there are personal belongings of the national hero of France, the Soviet Union V. Poryk; documents of V. Lozovyi, the organizer and coordinator of the activities of the partisan units of Ukrainian emigrants in Paris district (Ukrainocentrism); details and biographical information about the participants of the French Resistance: V. Diachko, P. Lysak, I. Skrypai, V. Taskin, H. Shybanov, and many others. They showed the indomitable strength of the will and spirit of the Ukrainian people and they evidenced the common struggle of ethnic Ukrainians and the French, representatives of many nations for peace in Europe and the world as a whole.

Most of the documents are formed by the correspondence of the Resistance movement members. In particular, in a letter to I. Skrypai (6 May 1971) V. Taskin shares the reflection on the creation of a true history of the Resistance movement in France. In a commemorative note of the Veterans of the Resistance to the Soviet Committee of War Veterans (18 April 1964), it is described about the organization in October 1943 and the activities of the «Union of Russian Patriots» in Paris, which included Ukrainian representatives. In a statement addressed to the Commission on Former Partisan Affairs of the Great Patriotic War of 1941 – 1945 under the Verkhovna Rada of the USSR (4 July 1965), I. Skrypai applies for recognition him as a member of the European Resistance movement, confirming it by the original documents of combat participation in the underground partisan movement of France during 1942–1944 (Fund of the NMUHSWW, f. KN-261143; D-64612; KN-261111; D-64580; KN-261109; D-64578).

Among the fonds materials there are: the certificate of the volunteer of the French Maquis V. Diachko, the member's book of the French military federation of the Resistance interned participants and patriots No. 003642, issued in 1944 and the certificate No. 383 of the Head of the Ukrainian National Front V. Lozovyi. There are also photographic materials: a group photo of A. Tkachenko's partisan detachment in France, among which – V. Diachko, V. Poryk and his connector H. Tomchenko (Fund of the NMUHSWW, f. KN-7503; D-1708; KV-40397; D-9239; KV-40399; D-9241; KN-7504; F-1103; NA-224).

An important «site of memory» was «Lviv Historical Museum», which holds in its fonds: binoculars and ribbons to the wreath at the grave of the Ukrainian emigrant in France Mykola Tereshko with the inscription «Perished for France», the French passport No. 127 of Kateryna Tereshko-Sheptytska and a number of photos of other members of the French Resistance (Funds of the Lviv Historical Museum, f. Z-3895; TK-3916; MA-6561).

Only in the late 1960's, it became known from the letter of French friends S. Tomazi and K. Lermite that Oleksandr Tkachenko was not missing, but he was a participant of the French Maquis, headed an international partisan detachment and perished as a hero for France and Ukraine. After the death of O. Tkachenko, the detachment carried his name, and he was buried in one grave with his French friend R. Pekuerta in Berles-au-Bois. After the war, Robert's body was reburied by his family, and the remains of O. Tkachenko were transferred to a fraternal grave at the military cemetery in Lille. In the middle of the 80's in the book by B. Kolodnyi «Roses on Granite», Petro Hryhorenko from Vinnytsia region and Vasyl Diachko from Transcarpathia told about the battlefield and how the fascists broke the life of the avenger from Cherkasy region (Kolodnyi, 1985, pp. 133–134). By the decision of the USSR government on 18 July 1975, Stepantsi Secondary School of Kaniv district in Cherkasy region was given the name of an active member of the French Resistance, and with the assistance of the French side in 1983, a monument to the patriot was erected on its territory as a symbol of contribution of the Ukrainian people to the liberation of France from Nazism.

The teacher A. Kozak, as a member of the delegation of Kaniv city during the visit of Arras city in 1999, collected and systematized archival documents and materials about victories of a fellow countryman (World War II). The collaboration started with the site of memory of O. Tkachenko was continued in 2001 with the arrival of a delegation of the Ukrainian-French Caniv–Lambersart Association led by Jean Marie-Roger. Shortly thereafter, the article «Soldier Tkachenko» appeared in the French newspaper, and the petition of Jean Marie-Roger to the French Ministry of War was completed by the installation of an inscription on the grave with his name and the date of his death (History of Stepantsi village).

The historical place about the participant of the French Resistance, Yosyp Kalynychenko, is Kaharlyk Historical Museum of Local Lore of Kyiv region. Among its exhibits an extract from the Central Archive in Moscow is kept on the detachment named after Shchors, which consisted of 75% of Ukrainians who had been taken from the Kaharlyk district and Chernihiv region for hard labor and which was commanded by a former chairman of the collective farm of Kaharlyk Y. Kalynychenko. His partisans in the eastern part of France derailed 35 echelons with weapons and manpower of the enemy, defeated 2 railway stations and 2 bridges of strategic importance, destroyed 2,700 Nazis and captured 30 of them (Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History, f. 553, d. 1, c. 2, p. 43). This document made it possible for museum workers to find more than 40 people who were taken from the Kaharlyk region to the mines of occupied France. Among them, besides Y. Kalynychenko, there were P. Volkodav, V. Horpynenko, Ye. Kovalenko, Yu. Komlyk, V. Kravets, S. Poteria, I. Salii, M. Stoliarenko, V. Tryhub and others. In a foreign country they did not despair and did not accept their hard destiny, but, risking their lives, became members of the underground, arranged sabotage, escaped from death camps, became active participants of the Resistance movement. This is confirmed by the reporting documents of the commander of the partisan detachment named after Shchors Y. Kalynychenko and the lists kept in the Central State Archives of Public Associations of Ukraine (Central State Archives of Public Associations of Ukraine, f. 57, d. 4, c. 303, p. 46–59).

**Conclusions.** Thus, the concept and specific Ukrainian and French sites of memory serve as an important method of scientific reconstruction of the ethnic Ukrainians participation in the French Resistance. The analysis and study of various «places of memory» allows refuting the myth that almost all of the traitors or collaborators of Nazi Germany have been captured by Nazi concentration camps or sent to work as Ostarbeiter. Investigation of the Ukrainian representatives' participation in the French Resistance with the help of sites of memory broadens the knowledge and understanding of the role and significance of Ukrainians in the Second World War outside of their homeland, makes it possible to see that only joint efforts could defeat Hitler's Germany and conquer the world.

Sites of memory serve as a means of continuing active work on filling the vacuum on this topic with the help of foreign actual material, as well as a tool for rethinking and deconstructing Soviet and contemporary Russian historical myths about their contribution to the victory over Hitler's Germany. The analysis and study of various «sites of memory» allows refuting the myth of Soviet historiography that the Nazi concentration camps from Ukraine who were captured or sent to work in labor camps as Ostarbeiter, almost all were traitors or collaborators of the Nazi Germany.

In the future, to study the problem, the areas of former concentration, labor and repatriation camps and the functioning of military missions, through which the participants of the French Resistance from Ukraine passed, should be considered as such sites of memory.



**Acknowledgments.** We express our sincere gratitude to the editors of the publication for the opportunity to publish an article on an important aspect of the ethnic Ukrainians participation in the French Resistance.

**Financing.** The author did not receive financial support for the publication of this article.

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**APC** – Archives départementales du Pas-de-Calais.

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The article was received on January 19, 2019.  
Article was recommended for publishing 2.03.2019.

UDC 94(477.83):335.316«1944-1947»  
DOI: 10.24919/2519-058X.10.159184

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**Бібліографічний опис статті:** Starodubets, G. (2019). Women's experience of participation in the process of the Sovietization in the Western regions of Ukraine in the conditions of Stalin's regime. *Skhidnoievropeiskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 10, 171–180. doi: 10.24919/2519-058x.10.159184

**WOMEN'S EXPERIENCE OF PARTICIPATION IN THE PROCESS  
OF THE SOVIETIZATION IN THE WESTERN REGIONS OF UKRAINE  
IN THE CONDITIONS OF STALIN'S REGIME**

**Summary.** *The purpose of the research is to show the ways and methods of the Bolshevik-Soviet authorities to involve women in the process of Sovietization of the western regions of Ukraine. The research proposed contains two storyline components: 1. Using the examples of women sent to western regions – the party and Soviet officials it is aimed to display the conditions of their work, life and regional leadership's attitude to them; 2. Using the examples of local activists involved in party-public work by so-called «the Zhenotdely» of the relevant committees of the CP(B)U to trace the specification of their participation in the process of collectivization. The research methodology of the research is based on several methodological approaches: 1. The determination of the Soviet political system of the Stalin's period as a classical totalitarian model; 2. The investigation of women's experience in the post-war period in terms of manifestation of the gender policy by Soviet power at the micro level. The scientific novelty is that basing on archival sources the role of female officials sent to the western regions of Ukraine by the Central Committee of the CP(b)U in the process of Sovietization, as well as the conditions of their life and work is shown for the first time in historiography. The gender component of the Soviet policy of agricultural collectivization in the region is analyzed. Namely, the using of local women as propagandists in the collective farming system by party-Soviet authorities. Conclusions. The process of Sovietization of the western regions of Ukraine in the first years after the liberation of the region from the German invaders became a kind of mainstream for the implementation of the gender policy by the Bolshevik authorities. Under the leadership of the Central Committee of the RCP(b) «the Zhenotdely» were created. They were special bodies aimed to attract the women to active social and political life. The Party-Soviet authorities mobilized women's resources, on the one hand, as helpful workforce for the reconstruction of economic objects and, on the other, as a repeater of communist ideas and slogans. The image of a Soviet female worker, «stakhanovka», an ideological encourager for revolutionary transformations which was formed in the 1930s was actively exploited by the Bolshevik ideologists in the public propaganda discourse and used by them as one of the instruments of Sovietization of the region.*

**Key terms:** Sovietization, «the Zhenotdely», gender policy, Bolsheviks, western regions of Ukraine.

## ЖІНОЧИЙ ДОСВІД УЧАСТІ В ПРОЦЕСІ РАДЯНІЗАЦІЇ ЗАХІДНИХ ОБЛАСТЕЙ УКРАЇНИ В УМОВАХ СТАЛІНСЬКОГО РЕЖИМУ

**Анотація.** *Мета статті* – показати способи та методи залучення більшовицько-радянською владою жінок до участі в процесі радянзації західноукраїнського регіону. Пропоноване дослідження містить дві сюжетні складові. На прикладі: 1. відряджених до західних областей жінок – партійних і радянських посадовців – ставимо за мету продемонструвати умови їх роботи та побуту, ставлення до них регіонального керівництва, 2. аналізуючи роль місцевих активісток, залучених до партійно-громадської роботи так званими «жінвіділами» при відповідних комітетах КП(б)У, прослідкувати специфіку їх участі у процесі колективізації. **Методологія** дослідження ґрунтується на засадах кількох методологічних підходів: визначення радянської політичної системи сталінського періоду як класично тоталітарної моделі; дослідження жіночого досвіду в умовах повоєнного повсякдення крізь призму прояву гендерної політики радянської влади на мікрорівні. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше в історіографії на основі архівних джерел показано роль у процесі радянзації західних областей жінок-посадовців, відряджених сюди ЦК КП(б)У, умови їх життя та праці. Проаналізовано гендерну складову радянської політики колективізації сільського господарства регіону. А саме використання партійно-радянською владою місцевого жіноцтва як пропагандистів колгоспної системи. **Висновки.** Процес радянзації західних областей України в перші роки після звільнення регіону від німецьких загарбників став своєрідним мейнстрімом для реалізації більшовицькою владою гендерної політики. Під керівництвом ВКП(б) створювалися «жінвідділи» – спеціальні органи, зорієнтовані на залучення жінок до активного суспільно-політичного життя. Партійно-радянська влада мобілізувала жіночий ресурс, з одного боку, як допоміжну робочу силу для відбудови господарських об'єктів, а з іншого – ретранслятора комуністичних ідей та гасел. Сформований у 1930-ті рр. образ радянської жінки-трудівниці, стахановки, ідейного натхненника революційних перетворень активно експлуатувався більшовицьким ідеологами у публічно-пропагандистському дискурсі і використовувався ними як один із інструментів радянзації регіону.

**Ключові слова:** радянська, жінвідділи, гендерна політика, більшовики, західні області України.

**The statement of the problem.** The history of the Soviet state during the period of Stalinism attracts attention of researchers as during this period the formation of a political system that accumulated all the classic features of totalitarianism was completed. In order to establish absolute control over all spheres of life the party – state used both, instruments of physical violence and various kinds of moral, psychological and ideological pressure on society in general and on separate social groups, in particular. An important role in the process establishing Soviet power in the USSR was given to women. The Bolshevik emancipation project was focused on the active involvement of a woman in the social and political, economic, cultural and educational space equal with a man. During 1920 – 1930s the project was tested on the territory of Soviet Ukraine and in the post-war period – in western regions of Ukraine.

**The analysis of recent researches and publications.** The subject of our research is the gender policy of the Stalin's regime and the policy of Sovietization in the western regions of Ukraine in the first years after its liberation from the German invaders. Therefore, the range of historiographical works and sources used by us while writing the article is quite diverse. In contemporary national historiography the problem of the role and place of a woman in the process of Sovietization of the western regions of Ukraine is paid a little attention. Among the researchers of this issue along with the author of this article there are also R. Popp, H. Chornii, M. Smolnitska. Considering the issue of political and ideological work of the Bolshevik Party in the western regions of Ukraine R. Popp focuses on the activities of women's organizations in this direction. She states that «female associations directed the work, first of all,

on the formation of a «correct» civic stand of women» (Popp, 2018, p. 147). Analyzing the position of a Soviet woman during the period of Stalinism M. Smolnitska emphasizes that a woman was considered by the authorities, first of all, as «the labor resource that was mobilized by the state to perform various tasks» (Smolnitska, 2011, p. 162). H. Chornii has quite similar opinion. The researcher discovers the process of creating so-called «the Zhenotdely» (woman's departments) in the Lviv region and emphasizes that «the task of these women's centers was to form a «conscious» civic position of as many women as possible and actively involve them in the production process» (Chornij, 2017, p. 15). V. Ilnytskuy and N. Kantor consider the peculiarities of the status of the woman of western Ukrainian regions in terms of the combat of Soviet power against «not only direct participants of the liberation movement, but also their families» (Ilnytskyi, Kantor, 2018, p. 179).

The works of Ukrainian and foreign researchers of gender policy of Soviet power during the period of Stalinism also complement the methodological basis of this research. In the context of mentioned above the scientific discoveries of M. Voronina and K. Kobchenko are also important. They deal with the female aspect of the official policy of the Bolsheviki in the 1920s – 1930s. M. Voronina sees the reason for the increased interest of the Bolshevik Party in the women's issue in its «desperate attempt to try to imitate the constitutional state and expand its electoral base» (Voronina, 2017, p. 111). K. Kobchenko stresses that the Soviet ««gender project» of the Stalin's period can be considered as successful only partially. Ensuring equal rights for women can be considered to be realized only from formal point of view» (Kobchenko, 2016, p. 69). In her dissertation Barbara Agnieszka Nowak distinguishes common features of gender policy of the communist power in post-war Poland and Stalin's regime. The researcher notes that the Polish League of Women («the Liga Kobiet») was created to mobilize women as a social base of the communist regime. However, it «was not merely an anomaly of the communist era. The organization was not controlled absolutely by central League and party authorities. It manifested elements of both central control and localism, receiving directives from above and initiating programs from below, working both for the state and for women» (Barbara A. Nowak, 2004, p. 65). The majority of researchers consider gender policy of the Bolshevik power as a way of gaining authority both, within the country and on the international arena. Choi Chatterjee emphasizes that «The rhetoric about women in the Soviet Union served primarily as a means of legitimation for the regime» (Choi Chatterjee, 1999, p. 3). Providing women with significant legal preferences the Bolsheviki «wanted to turn women into argnet defenders of the new order to prevent them from undermining the men's revolutionary ideals» (Alice Shuster, 1971, p. 261). Generally, the question under discussion is still lack studied and requires comprehensive research.

**The purpose of the article** is to show the ways and methods of the Bolshevik-Soviet authorities to involve women in the process of Sovietization of the western regions of Ukraine. The research proposed contains two storyline components: 1. Using the examples of women sent to western regions – the party and Soviet officials it is aimed to display the conditions of their work, life and regional leadership's attitude to them; 2. Using the examples of local activists involved in party-public work by so-called «the Zhenotdely» of the relevant committees of the CP(b)U to trace the specification of their participation in the process of collectivization.

**The statement of basic material.** There was a positive attitude towards the role of a woman in the Soviet state in the official Bolshevik discourse of the second half of the 1930s – 1940s. Using all the powerful instruments of the propaganda apparatus the authorities imposed the stereotype of the official model of the «Soviet woman» on the society in various ways, whose

basic parameters were constructed in the 1930s. Soviet propaganda intended «Women were praised for their sense of sacrifice and their capacity for resistance. In the official speeches they were presented as pillars of the family» (Martine Mespoulet, 2006). In addition to the traditional show-model image of a female worker («stakhanovka», foremost of the socialist competition), in the conditions of the personnel lack of postwar years in the western regions of Ukraine the image of a politically conscious public female activist was popularized.

The party officials sent here from the eastern regions of the Ukrainian SSR were a peculiar model of such type of a woman. In general, they formed rather small percentage of the total mass of Soviet party officials in the region. Despite gender equality which was officially declared by the authorities, in the offices there was a tacit rule that women should not be assigned to key positions. So in Ternopil region, on January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1946, there were 763 employees, only 89 (11.6%) of them were women. A year later, this figure decreased to 9.2% (SATR, f. P-1, d. 1, c. 655a, p. 4). «On January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1947, among 718 leading staff of the Lviv region there were only 58 women, which was 8% of the total number of officials. The women's sphere of management was limited to the posts of the lower sections (secretaries of village, town district councils, v.c. of heads or chiefs of a certain department or management body, etc.) or certain state-economic spheres - education, medicine, culture» (Starodubets, 2018, p. 75)

A striking example of the peculiarity of the gender approach to the solution of the personnel issue is the situation with comrade Romanchuk who was sent by the personnel department of the Central Committee of the CP(B)U to the Ternopil Regional Committee of the CP(B)U in order to appoint her as the chairman of the executive committee. Indignant woman wrote in a letter to O. Kyrychenko the secretary of the Central Committee of the CP(B)U on personnel: «During the conversation with the third secretary of the party's regional committee T. Zozuliev on March 1<sup>st</sup>, 1945 he told me that the people of the Central Committee are out of their mind, since they send a woman to work here. I would never appoint you for the chairman position in my life. You need to consider that you are a woman and you can never be compared with a man at work. We need a man to work here, he must be able to hold the gun in his hands. Currently we are working exclusively against banderivtsi and what will you do here?» (CSAPOU, f. 1, d. 46, c. 395, p. 152). As we see, the propaganda slogan of the Bolsheviks about gender equality remained empty words in practice. A female officer even on a fairly high level, was forced to prove her professionalism while the man was considered as the best professional «by definition» even if the quality of his work was subject of sharp criticism. It was quite frequent fact in the period under determination.

In addition to gender discrimination in the professional sphere the level of domestic conditions and material position did not contribute to raising the authority of the female manager. As a rule, in the first postwar years it was so low that women could not stand the pressure and tried to leave the western regions of Ukraine in every way and return to their previous place of work or residence in the eastern regions of the republic. For example, the instructor of the Oleksandriya district committee of the party in Rivne region comrade Shmargun the mother of a four-year-old child. «She always went to the villages of the district, did a lot of work with the local people but the secretaries of the district committee did not provide enough assistance to her, did not support her initiative in the work, despised her and neglected her remarks. She was not helped with household issues even with fuel supplies. As a result, Shmargun began to look for reasons to get out of work and asked to let her leave the region» (CSAPOU, f. 1, d. 75, c. 61, p. 16). Moreover, the difficult material and everyday situation was amplified by the frankly unfavorable attitude of the locals who also suffered from both,

the consequences of the German occupation and the permanent continuation of armed confrontation. However, the local population unlike the party nomenclature did not feel any social protection from the state.

The following cases were nearly normal: «newly arrived employees were not granted with the apartment to live for a long time. In particular, the instructor of the Tlumach district committee of the Komsomol in Stanislav region Galych was assigned to an apartment on the outskirts of the city that is why she lived in the Komsomol district committee for one and a half months. The instructor of the Komsomol district committee Ostrovska and the party district instructor Irkina lived in unheated apartment all winter» (CSAPOU, f. 1, d. 1, c. 300, p. 165). In the end, desperate women threatened to leave their jobs without any permission even if they would lose a party ticket as a result. For example, a propagandist of one of the district committees of the party T. Zubyska was ready «to leave the party job by her own even if she wouldn't be let to» because «the representative of the Central Committee of the CP(b)U deceived her while mobilizing her for work in western regions of Ukraine. He said: you will have party work until the end of the war and then we will let you work as a teacher in the eastern regions of Ukraine» (CSAPOU, f. 1, d. 46, c. 1612, p. 25). Consequently, the personnel policy of the Bolshevik power regarding the formation of a higher management structure of the western regions of Ukraine in the first years after the liberation had a vivid gender aspect: the percentage of women among high officials was negligible in average – about 10.

A year after the deployment of the process of Sovietization the leadership of the republic and the region obviously faced the lack of personnel. It was clear that without recruiting local people to work in party-Soviet institutions any successful reconstruction or development of the region and, moreover, suppressing of the national liberation movement could not be reached. Due to the little social base of Stalin's regime support, the Communists sought for the support among the certain social layers trying to split it into separate segments: «peasants – poor people», «party-Soviet activists», «youth», «women» and others.

Under such conditions the involvement of local women in active public and political work was one of the most important tasks of the regional party nomenclature. For its realization the authorities used the experience of the creation and activities of women's organizations in the Ukrainian SSR during the 1920s – early 1930s. In 1919 in order to attract apolitical women to socialist construction the so-called «the Zhenotdely» as a structural subdivision inside the party was formed to deal with problems of the women. Not only Communists but also non-party women who, in fact, were the overwhelming majority of the women were covered by its professional «care». The key tasks of the «the Zhenotdely» were the work in direction of eliminating of «the illiteracy of women with the help of «likneps», involvement of the women in «cultural and social line (school, household, sanitation, houses for reading, organization and taking care for nurseries, etc.)» (SAZHR, f. R-277, d. 98, c. 98, p. 112). The special attention was paid to agitation and propaganda work, as well as to spreading the legal education among women so that every woman could understand «that the victory of socialism is turning the woman worker, like the man, into the conscious creator of her own life» (Clements, Barbara E., 1997, p. 211). In the early 1930s «the Zhenotdely» were eliminated, however, they played an important role in raising the level of self-consciousness, political and social activity of women. Actually, the ruling party in the western regions of Ukraine in the first post-war years faced the similar tasks.

The core ways of work with women were determined by the decision of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CP(b)U on April 5<sup>th</sup>, 1945. According to the established

algorithm of actions of the Soviet bureaucratic management system the departments on work among women were urgently created in April 20s in the regional committees of the CP(b)U and female organizers were appointed in the district committees of the CP(b)U to realize the basic provisions of this document.

At «the Zhenotdely» on the level of districts and village councils there were several sections. Their directions reflected the specific tasks assigned to the female activists. Among the main tasks were: school, club (cultural and educational), cooperative, and sanitary. The considerable attention was paid to the work with youth and on eliminating of low literacy and illiteracy. It should be noted, that the newly established «the Zhenotdely» monopolized the work with local women. The practice of absolute subordination of the civil movements to the communist party, the establishment of total control over their activities at the same time extended beyond the borders of the USSR to the countries with so-called national democracy. «By forcibly creating one mass women's organization in each of the newly formed party-states within Eastern Europe, party leaders and women activists homogenized women's needs, responsibilities, and roles. At the same time, these organizations took on a wide range of initiatives and goals, ranging from charitable endeavors and programs for women to the spreading of political propaganda» (Barbara A. Nowak, 2004, p.79–80). Actually, the involvement of women in agitation and propaganda, first of all, among women was one of the most important tasks of «the Zhenotdely». Under conditions of a disastrous lack of professional agitators in the district and regional committees of the CP(B)U in the first post-war years the using of female activists as horns of Soviet power on a voluntary basis was a fairly common practice. Thus, the women voluntarily/forcedly joined the process of creating of a new socialist reality.

An extremely important component of the process of Sovietization was the agricultural collectivization. The state could not apply the experience of creating collective farms in Ukrainian villages gained in 1930s to the western regions of Ukraine. The local people supported by the armed units of the UPA and the rebel underground stubbornly resisted collectivization for a long time. Therefore, the process of creating collective farms was moving quite slowly until 1947. Nevertheless, state policy in the field of agriculture remained the same as the collective farming was considered as a non-alternative way of labor organization of peasants. The Soviet power could not find a reliable support in the face of a western Ukrainian peasant. That is why women continued to remain the target audience of party agitators and propagandists for a long time. Similar to the Polish Liga Kobiet «the Zhenotdely» «served as an important potential bridge between the party and masses of women», and their activities were a likely directed to «focusing their attention specifically on increasing women's, not all citizens', political and social consciousness and including women in reaching party goals» (Barbara A. Nowak, 2004, p. 89).

One of the guiding work targets of «the Zhenotdely» especially since 1946 was agitation and propaganda activity both, in the direction of attracting the residents of western Ukrainian villages to the process of collectivization and the direct participation of female activists in the creation of collective farms. We can find a lot of information in official party reports proving this. For example, in the Stanislav region in 1947 «there in Kutsky district a collective farm «New Life» was organized on the initiative driven by the women's council (head – Slavytska Hanna and members – Boichuk Vasylyna, Radysh Ievdokiia, Dedo Iustyna, Andruks Olena)». In general, by 1947 «44 collective farms with 1823 female members» were created in the region (CSAPOU, f. 1, d. 23, c. 4581, p. 182). The official reports of the party-Soviet bodies



of regional authorities dated 1946 – 1948 are full of information about the «victory of the collective-farming system» in the western regions of Ukraine.

The main form of agitation of the peasantry to join the collective farms was various kinds of lectures, talks, reports, etc. The topics of the speeches of the Bolshevik propagandists were not distinguished by the special originality: «On the advantages of the collective farming system over the small individual peasant domestic economy», «Women Participation in the implementation of the economic plan for bread supply», «The regulations of selkhozartili – the law of collective farm life», «The role of Lenin and Stalin in the preparation and carrying out the October Socialist Revolution» (CSAPOU, f. 1, d. 23, c. 298, p. 166), «The care of the Soviet power about the mother and the child», «Ukrainian-German nationalists - the worst enemies of the Ukrainian people» (SARR, f. 400, d. 3, c. 76, p. 3), and so on. It should be mentioned, that not only party officials of the relevant departments of the committees of the CP(b)U but also female activists were the speakers. Quite often these were simple female peasants with low educational level but with high level of acquaintance with the bases of communist ideology and will to spread it widely.

It is clear that during the active phase of the deployment of the policy of collectivization in the western Ukrainian village the topical issue of the lectures was the establishment of collective farms. However, a certain peculiarity of thematic selection of propaganda speeches is noticed: the problems of the legal status of a Soviet woman and granting her as a mother with many children or working mother with a complex of preferences, in particular, was an obligatory part of this «set». In this way, the Bolshevik authorities tried to gain the commitment of the politically passive part of women, to attract them with a series of «social privileges», a kind of bonus offered to them in return for the legitimization of the collective farming system.

The practice of public appearances of successful women who came from the locals took an important place in the propaganda arsenal of Soviet power, as well. «Through their lifestyles, employment, and social and political activism, they were also to act as role models for other women by providing a good example of citizenship and patriotism» (Barbara A. Nowak, 2004, p. 84). As a rule, the main issue of their speeches was to draw parallels between the «Past» (backward and anti-national) and «Current» (modern, with the reign of equality of all working people). The Soviet identity was created as a counterweight to the imaginary European identity, both liberal and fascist. Soviet achievements have often been praised versus the flaws and limitations of more «advanced» Western Europe. In this dialogue the «new Soviet woman» emerged as the embodiment of the Soviet belief in gender equality and state policy of general welfare» (Choi Chatterjee, 2015, p. 120). Traditionally, the focus was on the poor, weak and difficult position of a woman «in pre-revolutionary Russia» or «lordly Poland» and how bright and beautiful it became due to the activities of the Bolshevik Party and, personally, comrade Stalin.

A compulsory outcome of such meetings was the solemn decision making «for women to take concrete commitments of successful preparation for spring sowing and agricultural collectivization» (SALR, f. p-3, d. 1, c. 107, p. 60).

The speech of the deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR Uliana Yefymchuk-Diachuk to the delegates of the regional meeting of women of the Rivne region in 1946 is a typical illustration of using this kind of propaganda techniques. The woman proudly emphasized that «in 1939 I did not know how to sign and during the war she worked as deputy chairman of the district executive committee. I was not taught to work. My mother was poor, I was taught only to work for lords. And today I am managing a big work and studying. I became

experienced, I have a practice of Soviet work and I work. So are you, in the near future you also will be able to manage a lot of work» (SARR, f. 400, d. 1, c. 97, p. 74). It is significant that illiteracy is not interpreted as a negative fact. This official points out that in a Soviet state a woman can achieve high career levels through good work and education is not an important factor. The essence of Yefymchuk-Diachuk's speech, as well as other women activists', was to demonstrate to ordinary women that the Bolshevik Party is taking care of each of them. However, the potential for their career growth and material well-being is directly dependent on how much they are ready to serve the political ideals of the Bolshevik revolution and to put them above their own interests. The idea of such kind of speeches was the idea that a female farmer feels herself truly free only working in a collective farm.

Why did the authorities try to get the support from women in this issue so eagerly? In addition to the demographic crisis caused by losses during the Second World War, armed confrontation between the Ukrainian insurgents and Soviet power, the subjective factor should also be taken into account. The practice of planting of the Soviet power in Ukraine has demonstrated that women in their masses often showed greater conservatism than men which was manifested in the desire to preserve the traditional foundations of rural life and activities. There are a lot of examples when party officials appealed to the female audience in order to persuade them to become active participants in the collective farming movement. Addressing to the delegates of the republican assembly of women of the western regions of Ukraine in January, 1947 M. Khrushchev said: «Agitate your husbands to join the collective farms as you return home» (CSAPOU, f. 1, d. 23, c. 4579, p. 41). The first secretary of the regional committee of the CP(b)U Begma, speaking in 1946 in front of the participants of the regional meeting of women of Rivne region emphasized that «in the organization of collective farms the greatest role belongs to women more than men, because many men are listening and thinking: «It's good that the collective farm is organized, let's see what's going to happen next». A man wants to go to the collective farm and the woman says: «Why do you need to go to the collective farm?»» (SARR, f. 400, d. 1, c. 97, p. 94). Expanding this topic the official claims a thesis about the enormous role of the Bolshevik party in providing women with a wide range of rights. Taking into account the general social and political background that was formed in Ukraine in 1946 (third famine) Begma's statement that the work on the collective farm «which made the woman free with its «trudodni» and made her independent» became a serious counterweight to the hard work of women «on Polish lords» or «kulaks» sounds a bit cynical. In the opinion of the regional communist leader the essence of «the release of a female peasant is that she is now working not on her father while she is a girl, not on her husband when she is married, but, first of all, she is working on herself. This is the collective farming system, which makes a woman labor, equal to any man» (SARR, f. 400, d. 1, c. 97, p. 94).

Having strong levers of influence on the local people of western regions of Ukraine the authorities did not need to apply here exclusively violent repressive methods of collectivization (like the Holodomor in 1933). It tried to convince the people that «a collective farm village is a way of salvation of the peasant and especially female peasant» (CSAPOU, f. 1, d. 23, c. 4579, p. 28). Thus, the legal status of a Soviet female peasant was directly determined by her desire to become a collective farm worker.

The speeches of the delegates on regional and republic meetings (as a rule, in roles of representatives of the rural activists) who shared their own success in launching the collective-farm construction abundantly complementing their words with praise of the Soviet

government and party leadership were so called addition to the noble party slogans about the need to enter the collective farms. For example, comrade Barysh the head of the women's council of the collective farm named after Koniev from the Lviv region at one of the republican meeting of women of Ukraine pathetically stated that «now the farmers are convinced that it is much better to work on the collective farm, that only through collective farms we will soon be able to build a rich and happy life» (SALR, f. P-3, d. 2, c. 107, p. 59). As we can see, the women were imposed by the idea that their social status and success are directly dependent on the process of Sovietization, in particular, in the part of collective farming construction.

**Conclusions.** Thus, the process of Sovietization of the western regions of Ukraine in the first years after the liberation of the region from the German invaders became a kind of mainstream for the implementation of the gender policy by the Bolshevik authorities. Under the leadership of the Central Committee of the RCP(b) «the Zhenotdely» were created. They were special bodies aimed to attract the women to active social and political life. The Party-Soviet authorities mobilized women's resources, on the one hand, as helpful workforce for the reconstruction of economic objects and, on the other, as a repeater of communist ideas and slogans. The image of a Soviet female worker, «stakhanovka», an ideological encourager for revolutionary transformations which was formed in the 1930s was actively exploited by the Bolshevik ideologists in the public propaganda discourse and used by them as one of the instruments of Sovietization of the region.

The subject of the research given is female activists, supporters of the Bolshevik Soviet power. However, the other groups of the population of western regions of Ukraine have their own experience of living in the process of Sovietization: apolitical female peasants, members of the Ukrainian rebel groups, youth and women of middle and senior age. It is obvious that research of this problem in such aspects is waiting for its investigator.

**Acknowledgments.** Sincere thanks to the employees of Rivne, Zhytomyr, Lviv regional state archives for their help in finding the necessary documents. I express special thanks to Lubynska Khrystyna for help in preparing of the English version of the article.

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

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*The article was received on December 22, 2018.  
Article was recommended for publishing 02.02.2019*

УДК 94(477.8):355.316«1941–1944»  
DOI: 10.24919/2519-058x.10.159174

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**Бібліографічний опис статті:** Plynyskyi, V. & Kantor, N. (2019). Establishment of the Soviet administration in the Carpathian region through the use of the open forms of punishment (1944 – 1954). *Skhidnoievropeyskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 10, 181–192. doi: 10.24919/2519-058x.10.159174

**ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SOVIET ADMINISTRATION  
IN THE CARPATHIAN REGION THROUGH THE USE  
OF THE OPEN FORMS OF PUNISHMENT (1944 – 1954)**

**Summary.** *The purpose of this research is to reveal the peculiarities of the use of the public forms of the punishment and the intimidation (open trials and executions, exposing of the victim bodies to the general survey, the rebel graves destruction) of the nationalists and local residents who supported the Ukrainian liberation movement in the Carpathian region (1945 – 1954) by the Soviet repressive and punitive bodies. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, systematic, scientific approaches, verification, the author's objectivity, as well as the use of general scientific methods (analysis, synthesis, generalization) and special-historical (historical-genetic, historical-typological, historical-system) methods. The scientific novelty consists in the fact that for the first time on the basis of the unknown and less-known archival documents, the forms of conducting the open trial processes*

and the executions, exposing of the victim bodies to the general review, and the destruction of the rebel graves have been considered comprehensively. **Conclusions.** Consequently, the Stalin's regime used the most brutal measures to overcome the opposition to its policy. The terror against the liberation movement and the local population was encouraged by the supreme leadership of the state. One of the forms of the establishment of the Soviet administration and the struggle against the Ukrainian liberation movement was the policy of intimidating members of the OUN and the UPA and the local population: the open trials and the executions, the exposition of the victims' bodies to the public, and destroying the rebellious graves. A special importance of the Soviet administration was given to the open trials of the OUN members and the UPA members and the executions aimed at discrediting the activities of the OUN, to form a negative attitude towards the nationalists. However, neither the public executions nor other force and propaganda forms were able to deprive the nationalists of the support and the population assistance, to keep them in fear, as the regime sought for; but it did not contribute to the formation of the pro-Soviet mood. The perspectives of the research is the study of the peculiarities of conducting the open court trials in Volyn region.

**Key words:** open trials, public executions, Soviet administration, Carpathian land.

### УТВЕРДЖЕННЯ РАДЯНСЬКОЇ АДМІНІСТРАЦІЇ У КАРПАТСЬКОМУ КРАЇ ЧЕРЕЗ ВИКОРИСТАННЯ ВІДКРИТИХ ФОРМ ПОКАРАННЯ (1944 – 1954)

**Анотація.** *Мета дослідження* – розкрити особливості використання радянськими репресивно-каральними органами публічних форм покарання та залякування (відкриті судові процеси і страти, виставлення тіл загиблих на загальний огляд, руйнування повстанських могил) націоналістів і місцевих мешканців, які підтримували український визвольний рух у Карпатському краї (1945 – 1954). *Методологія дослідження* ґрунтується на принципах історизму, системності, науковості, верифікації, авторської об'єктивності, а також на використанні загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, узагальнення) та спеціально-історичних (історико-генетичний, історико-типологічний, історико-системний) методів. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше на основі невідомих та маловідомих архівних документів комплексно розглянуто форми проведення відкритих судових процесів та страт, виставлення тіл загиблих на загальний огляд, руйнування повстанських могил. **Висновки.** Отже, сталінський режим використовував найжорстокіші заходи для подолання спротиву своїй політиці. Терор над визвольним рухом і місцевим населенням заохочувався найвищим керівництвом держави. Однією з форм утвердження радянської адміністрації та боротьби із українським визвольним рухом була політика залякування членів ОУН і УПА та місцевого населення. Особливе місце радянська адміністрація відводила відкритим судовим процесам над членами ОУН та УПА і стратам, які мали на меті дискредитувати діяльність ОУН, сформувати негативне ставлення до націоналістів. Проте ні публічні страти, ні інші силові та пропагандистські форми не змогли позбавити націоналістів підтримки та допомоги населення, втримати його в страху, чого прагнув режим, та аж ніяк не сприяли формуванню прорадянських настроїв. Перспективним напрямом дослідження є вивчення особливостей проведення відкритих судових процесів на Волині.

**Ключові слова:** відкриті судові процеси, публічні страти, радянська адміністрація, Карпатський край.

**Problem statement.** The Soviet administration used various forms and methods of establishment in the western Ukrainian region. However, the main focus was made on power measures, which was accompanied by a large-scale discrediting, ideological campaign. The first years of confrontation with the Ukrainian liberation movement dispelled the hopes of the Soviet authorities to eliminate it quickly and completely. The government actually recognized the OUN and the UPA as a serious military-political adversary, addressing them repeated appeals in the middle and the second half of the 1940-ies in the XXth century. A forceful and ideological influence of a powerful state did not make the desired result, as the nationalist

underground continued to get a broad support of the population, providing them with success in confronting the Soviet totalitarianism. That is why, following the instructions from the senior state government, the local leaders of the party and repressive, punitive bodies treated the local population with a particular cruelty. The local population refused to accept the Soviet reality and supported the liberation struggle.

**The analysis of sources and recent researches.** The Soviet administration in the Carpathian region of the OUN did not have a special focus on using public forms of punishment and intimidation of nationalists and local residents, who supported the Ukrainian liberation movement in the Carpathian region (Ivano-Frankivsk region, Transcarpathian region, Chernivtsi region and the southern of parts of Lviv region). However, this question was occasionally outlined in the generalized works on the history of the Ukrainian national liberation movement. In particular, the use of various forms and methods by the repressive and punitive organs during the Sovietization was reflected in the works of A. Kentii, Y. Kyrychuk, I. Patryliak, A. Rusnachenko (Kentii, 1999a; Kentii, 1999b; Kyrychuk, 2000; Patryliak, 2012; Kyrychuk, 2003; Rusnachenko, 2002). Some aspects of this problem were highlighted in I. Bilas's work on the history of the formation and functioning of the repressive and punitive system in Ukraine (Bilas, 1994). T. Vronskaya reveals the use of the deportation measures against the families of the anti-Soviet resistance movement (Vronskaya, 2009). Various scientists considered the deportations in a broad context, for instance, O. Bazhan, V. Ilnytskyi, J. Nadolskyi (Bazhan, 2012, Ilnytskyi, 2014, Nadolskyi, 2008). The authors of the collective monograph, devoted to the activity of the OUN and the UPA (Kulchytskyi, 2005), did not overlook this problem either. The peculiarities of the post-war Sovietization of the Western-Ukrainian region were considered by R. Popp, O. Stasyuk in their works (Stasiuk, 2018; Popp, 2018). The authors of this study, consider repressions against the families of the Ukrainian insurgents as one of the forms of the intimidation of the local population (Ilnytskyi, Kantor, 2018).

**The publication's purpose.** The purpose of this article is to reveal the peculiarities of the use of the public forms of the punishment and the intimidation (open trials and executions, exposing of the victim bodies to the general survey, the rebel graves destruction) of the nationalists and local residents who supported the Ukrainian liberation movement in the Carpathian region (1945 – 1954) by the Soviet repressive and punitive bodies.

**Statement of the basic material.** The leadership of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR believed that the OUN and the UPA could only be neutralized through a cruel repression, intimidation. During the leadership of M. Khrushchev the demand was set up to destroy the Ukrainian liberation movement completely. Following the instructions of the center (Moscow), he went on a control, inspection trip to the western regions. According to its results, on November 15, 1944, M. Khrushchev sent a letter to J. Stalin, in which, among the other things, he proposed the introduction of the military-field courts in the internal forces of the NKVD: «I consider it necessary to introduce military courts in the NKVD forces. In order to intimidate the bandits, the prisoners sentenced to death should not be shot but hanged in accordance with the sentences of these military court courts. The courts should be held openly with the involvement of the local population. The court verdicts should not be highlighted in the press. The execution of military courts sentences to be carried out publicly in villages, if possible, where the convicted offender committed a crime» (Central State Archive of Public Associations of Ukraine in Kyiv – CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 23, c. 1060, pp. 13, 16–18). According to M. Khrushchev, the consideration of the arrested members' cases of the anti-Soviet

struggle was unjustifiably delayed (sometimes for three or four months), therefore, he suggested establishing the temporary special triky under the regional departments of the NKVD of the western regions of Ukraine, consisting of: the secretary of the party's regional committee, the head of the regional department The NKVD and the regional prosecutor, giving them the right to examine cases «of the Ukrainian-German nationalists and their accomplices and to use the highest standards of punishment against the perpetrators – the immediate execution sentence» (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 23, c. 1060, pp. 14). That is, the courts were obliged to carry out the political decisions of the state leaders.

In December 1944, two military colleges of the Supreme Court (one in Lviv, Stanislav, Drohobych and Chernivtsi regions, and the other in Rivne, Volyn, and Ternopil regions) started the Circuit Court of Session in the western regions of Ukraine (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 23, c. 1060, pp. 92), which sentenced 128 executives of nationalists to death by hanging. The death sentence was announced publicly, with a large number of the residents of the cities and the villages (Artyzova, 2012, p. 558).

In accordance with the practice of the Soviet leadership, the local officials often brought in more radical ideas in comparison to those officials of the center in order to show their loyalty to the system. The ideas of a severe punishment of the nationalists were expressed by the regional leaders. For instance, on September 29, Mikhaïlo Slonch, the secretary of Stanislavskiy regional committee of the party, in the information on behalf of Demyan Korotchenko spoke for more brutal measures (Kulchytskyi, 2005, p. 353; Shapoval, 2004, p. 185).

After the arrest to obtain confession to the alleged crimes from a suspect, the inquest authorities used tortures, in particular a physical and psychological pressure. The confession to the crimes, the accused did not commit, was often required. After obtaining evidence and completing the record, a closed court was held without the defendant's participation. The judges trinity quickly made the decision and formulated the sentence. During the investigation process, even at the final stage of the struggle in 1952, when the number of cases decreased, and, let alone 1940-ies, the educational and professional level of the repressive staff and punitive apparatus grew, but the investigation was carried out poorly, as a result, the cases were returned to be done an additional research. Only in May 16.6% of cases were returned to be reinvestigated by the prosecutors and courts. During a half a year period, there were 19 of them. This figure indicated serious drawbacks in the investigative work, the main reasons for which were violations of the «socialist legality», the non-compliance with terms, etc. Some investigators sent the cases unexplored, giving the following arguments: the USSR MGB established directives (Nos. 206 and 314 of March 1952) set the terms for conducting investigations in all cases, except of particularly complex cases (Sectoral State Archive of Security Service of Ukraine – SSA SSU, 71, d. 6, c. 296, 2–3). For instance, only in April 1945 in the UNCCD of Chernivtsi region about 40% of cases that were in progress, the terms of the case investigation were violated (Kentii, Lozytskyi, & Pavlenko, 2002, pp. 433). In the other areas of Carpathian region in April-May 1945 the situation was even worse: the percentage of completed cases was 45.9% in Chernivtsi, 41.2% in Drohobych, 35.3% in Stanislavskii (Kentii, Lozytskyi, & Pavlenko, 2002, p. 434). Among the serious drawbacks in 1952, the main ones were the poor quality investigation, that evidenced the amount of returned cases to the reinvestigation (SSA SSU, 71, d. 6, c. 296, pp. 2–3). Thus, in 1952, more cases were returned for the reinvestigation than in 1950 – 1951. The percentage can be illustrated in the following way: in 1950 – 2,8%; 1951 – 5,2%; 1952 – 8,8% (SSA SSU, f. 71, d. 6, c. 296, pp. 49–50).



Besides the violation, there was an overt falsification. Thus, in March 1952, the military prosecutor's office in Stanislavskiy Region Department of the MGB exposed the facts of the falsification of the investigative materials. There were recorded cases of the submission to the military prosecutor of unreasonable materials for the arrest sanctions of citizens. Only during the first quarter of 1952, the military prosecutors denied the arrest warrants for 18 people in Ukrainian western regions. The terms of the investigation cases of the first quarter of 1952 did not decrease and remained unsatisfactory: in the third quarter of 1951, in terms of more than two months, according to the UMDB of the western regions, 33.4% of cases were completed, in the fourth quarter of 1951 – 40% and in the first quarter of 1952 – 42% of cases. Due to the incompleteness of the investigation, various courts returned to reinvestigation in the third quarter of 1951, 6.7% of cases; in the fourth quarter of 1951 – 7% and in the first quarter of 1952 – 9.3%. In particular the investigative work was unsatisfactory in UMDB of Lviv region (10,3% of cases were returned to the reinvestigation in the first quarter of 1952, 20% to Rivne, 10,4% to Stanislavskiy region and 11,6% to Ternopil) (Serhiichuk, 1998, p. 848).

Hence, if such lawlessness occurred in the 1950-ies, then it is logical to assume the level of the violations at the initial stage of the struggle. The practical result of the NKVD «triples» was fabricated by hundreds of thousands of people accused of various political crimes (espionage, sabotage, the anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda, secret preparation for a coup, terrorism), and therefore the hanged, shot or sent to prisons.

To the execution were the verdicts of the Circuit Court of Session of the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR sentenced to death penalty by hanging. Soon there was the wave of public executions. Drohobych Regional Party made the first reports on the implementation of the instructions of the Central Committee: 14 hanged in different districts of the region. As a result, on January 9–11, in Drohobych region, 14 people were executed publicly with the involvement of tens of thousands of people (in Drohobych on January 9, 1945, on the market square publicly, in the presence of 8,000 people two people were hanged (Mykhail Stetsyk and Ivan Ryhusa) (SSA SSU, f. 71, d. 6, c. 51, pp. 12; c. 35, pp. 12; Kentii, Lozytskyi, & Pavlenko, 2002, p. 309; Kyrychuk, 2003, p. 191; Vorotylenko, 2007, p. 112; Veselova, Hrynevych, & Serhiichuk, 2015, p. 120); on January 9, 1945, in Boryslav, Drohobych region, Volodymyr Lysyk was hanged in public of 5,000 local residents (SSA SSU, f. 71, d. 6, c. 51, pp. 14, 15, rev 35; CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 46, c. 787, pp. 2; Kylchyttskyi, 2005, p. 381, Lialka, Korytko, & Onyshkevych, 1997, p. 29; Kentii, Lozytskyi, & Pavlenko, 2002, p. 309), in Stryi on January 9, 1945, three (Zynoviy Hoysaka, Mykhailo Zheshkovych, Petro Stefaniv) (Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine in Lviv region – ASAUL, c. p-24076, pp. 147–149zv; Sprv. 44883, arch 4, 6–7, 13, 15, 42, 49–50), January 11, 1945 – two (Pavlo Hadyak and Pavlo Babi; according to the recollections of the witnesses, the executed were shot at night from the 13<sup>th</sup> till the 14<sup>th</sup> of January and buried in an unknown place (SSA SSU, f. 71, d. 6, c. 35, pp. 12; c. 51, pp. 13; Kyrychuk, 2000, p. 140; Kyrychuk, 2003, p. 191; Kulchyttskyi, 2005, p. 381; Lialka, Korytko, & Onyshkevych, 1997, p. 29); January 11, 1945 – in Zhydachiv, Drohobych region – two (Hrehorii Valytskyi and Vasyl Hamziy) (SSA SSU, f. 71, d. 6, c. 51, pp. 13; c. 35, pp. 12 p.); January 19, 1945 in the village of Dublyany – two (Mikhailo Kupchyk and Vasyl Artymovych) (SSA SSU, f. 71, d. 6, c. 51, pp. 15). However, this was not enough. Drohobych District Party Committee in its report to the Central Committee of January 11, 1945 informed: «In the coming days, up to 20 sentences of executions of the nationalist gangs active members by hanging are foreseen in various cities and regions» (SSA SSU, f. 71, d. 6, c. 48, pp. 32–33; Kentii, Lozytskyi, & Pavlenko, 2002, p. 309; Serhiichuk, 1998, p. 195).

The public insurgents incidents took place in Chernivtsi. On January 17, 1945, the Circuit Court of Session of the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR, in a closed session, sentenced to death Vasyl Bidnyak, Dmytro Horodetskyi, Mykola Hordey and Hrihoriy Voyeridka by hanging the inhabitants of the village Lenkivtsi, Sadsirskyi district. They were sentenced for the attack on the house of the village council chairman (Novosilka village, Kitsman district), burning a village council building and robbing shops in the village Shubranets of Sadsirskyi district and village Bila, Chernivtsi district. On January 18, 1945 at 17.00 in the village Novosilka of Kitsman district there were hanged H. Voyeridko and M. Hordey, and at 17.30 in the village of Shubranets – V. Bidnyak and D. Horodetskyi (Fostii, 2004, p. 244; Pavliuk, Fostii, & Teren, 2007, p. 106). At the same time, two other nationalists were hanged on the main road of Chernivtsi – Snyatyn to frighten the local population (Bukovyna in the struggle, p. 35). In some places, even students were sent to witness the execution death.

The frank negligence also happened. On January 23, 1945, the Military Tribunal of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Chernivtsi region condemned to the execution P. Bilan, I. Hordey, D. Tymchuk and V. Kostyniuk. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on March 17, 1945, replaced the death penalty for 20 years of a hard labour. However, on March 30, as a result of the secretary's mistake of captain Kurchenko, all four were shot. Kurchenko was transferred from the tribunal to the general military personnel division for this crime (Fostii, 2004, p. 246).

The higher party leadership, trying to take over the situation, required the reports on the implementation of public sentences and the population's reaction to them, and the party leadership, in order to flatter the center (Moscow), gave mostly positive feedback. Thus, in the report «On the reaction of the population in connection with the hanging of active members of the OUN in Drohobych and Stryi, Drohobych region», the People's Commissar of the State Security of the Ukrainian SSR, Serhiy Savchenko, wrote that on January 9–11, 1945, in Drohobych and Stryi there were made the verdicts of the Circuit Court of Session of the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR, Z. Hoysak, M. Zheshkovych, P. Hadyak, P. Stefaniv and P. Babiy were sentenced to prison (SSA SSU, f. 2-N, d. 54 (1953), c. 3, vol. 1, pp. 209). It was noted that during the execution e about 17,000 people were present, namely, the hangings were accompanied by applause. In addition, the execution of sentences was used for the propaganda purposes (SSA SSU, f. 2-N, d. 54 (1953), c. 3, vol. 1, p. 209). Along with this, the local officials had to make negative statements. Thus, the resident of Stryi Podlevalov said: «Do not believe they are guilty, people have lied them about, that's why they have been hanged» (SSA SSU, f. 2-N, d. 54 (1953), c. 3, vol. 1, pp. 212). Preferably, after such statements, these individuals were the objects of KGB agent's work.

The reports on the attitude of the population to the execution of sentences were written by the leaders of other regions. In particular, in a special report «On the reaction of the population of Stanislav region on the verdict of the Circuit Court of Session of the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR», it was noted that on January. 14, 1945, at 13.00 in Stanislav, the sentence was made on the market square of the Circuit Court of Session of the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR. Three active rebels were sentenced to death by hanging, in the presence of almost five thousand people: the local residents and peasants who came to the market place. Significantly The positive perception of the execution by the population was marked. However, the informant «Olena» noticed that after the execution, most of the people, who came from the villages, kept themselves closed

and did not speak with the strangers on this topic (SSA SSU, f. 2-N, d. 54 (1953), c. 3, vol. 1, pp. 217–219; f. 13, c. 376, vol. 81, pp. 266).

It should be noted that the majority of the decisions were taken to the satisfaction of senior authorities to carry out the instructions on conducting the open court trials and the execution of sentences. There were no real grounds for sentencing those arrested to death. The public executions continued in the future (SSA SSU, f. 71, d. 6, c. 51, pp. 15; Kyrychuk, 2000, p. 144).

M. Slon, the secretary of the Stanislavsky Regional Committee of the Party with a special initiative, who reported to M. Khrushchev on the execution of the sentences of the Circuit Court of Session of the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR, concerning those sentenced to death by hanging. On February 23, 1945, he noted that, simultaneously with other repressive measures in the course of the struggle with the rebel movement «in the region, there have recently been sentenced to death by hanging 28 nationalists, of which 25 bandits were hanged in 18 districts of the region and three bandits – in Stanislav» (SSA SSU, f. 2-N, d. 54 (1953), c. 3, vol. 1, pp. 208, 220–223; Borys, 2002, p. 48). The two captured deserters who tried to avoid the service in the Red Army were sentenced to death by hanging (Mykhailo Hultaichuk, Ivan Kanuschak) (Tomenchuk, Lukian, & Doroshenko, 2000, pp. 24–25, 30). That was done in order to intimidate the local population finally and to show what a terrible punishment awaits anyone who dares to avoid the service in the Red Army or go to the rebels.

It should also be noted that, along with the open executions, the special services practiced such measures on their own initiative (SSA SSU, f. 71, d. 6, c. 88, pp. 236). So, on March 8, 1945 in the village Zeleniv Vashkivets district, the NKVD members hanged Ivan Mykolaychuk «The Sword» in the center of the village of Stanychne (Bukovyna v borotbi, p. 37). There were also curious cases. Thus, Vasyl Nakonechnyi, who was sentenced to death by shooting, in March 1947, escaped during the process of execution (SSA SSU, f. 71, d. 6, c. 136, pp. 27).

At the meeting of the regional chiefs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs the following issues, concerning the intimidation of the local population and underground members, were discussed: «To conduct court hearings on the cases of the captured underground members directly in the villages where they committed crimes. Do not strive for the creation of some special public processes, but conduct public trials, publicly announcing sentences. The trial should last no more than two – three hours». The meeting was held on January 8, 1947 (SSA SSU, f. 2-N, d. 36 (1960), c. 3, pp. 53). Thus, the judgments of the courts were subjected to a political decision.

At the final stage of the national liberation struggle, the repressive and punitive system tried not only destroy physically, but also exerted moral and psychological pressure on the nationalists and those who supported them. At the same time, the leaders of the Soviet administration continued to hope that the open court trials would help to eliminate the Ukrainian liberation movement, turning away from it the support of the local population. In particular, on September 5, 1949, the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CP (b) of Ukraine adopted the resolution «On conducting the open trials in the western regions of Ukraine over individual members of Bandera-terrorist groups». That is, in the USSR from May 1947 to January 1950, the death penalty was abolished, however, the open trials continued, and the death sentences were imposed (Kulchytskyi, 2005, p. 429).

According to the instructions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (b) of Ukraine, on September 27, 1949 at 12.00 in the village Putila in the premises of the dis-

district club there was organized an open trial on Ilya Matsiopa. The meeting was attended by more than 500 local residents. The court sentenced 25 years to the prison-camps. During the preparation of the reporting documents, the Chekists noted the significant advantages of the open trial process (SSA SSU, f. 2, d. 59 (1953), c. 5, vol. 5, pp. 50, 58; Vovk, Pavlenko & Cherchenko, 2001, p. 378). Another open trial took place on November 28, 1949 (from 12.00 till 19.30) in the premises of Vyzhnytsia village local club. All the defendants were sentenced to 25 years in prison by the Military Tribunal. With a special enthusiasm about this event, the head of the UMDB, Chernivtsi region, colonel Mykola Reshetov (SSA SSU, f. 2-N, d. 59 (1953), c. 5, vol. 5, pp. 253–254) reported this event.

The open trials were also held in Stanislavskiy region. So, on December 24, 1949 (at 11.00) in the town of Kosiv, the court in the case of the OUN members Dmytro Rabynyuk and Petro Tomyuk started. The trial process was broadcasted live on the radio in the district center and in the villages of Sokolivka and Old Kosiv, Kosivskiy district. The hall was attended by 350 inhabitants of Kosiv, Yablunivskiy, Kutskiy and Zabolotiv districts. More than 600 people gathered near the radioreproducer in the district center. There was a significant number of agents at the meeting who monitored the attendees' position carefully, observed their behaviour and reported (SSA SSU, f. 2-N, d. 59 (1953), c. 6, vol. 7, pp. 362). In particular, the informant of the district department MBB «Familiar» reported that an unknown citizen in a buffet with an interlocutor, said: «The court is all nonsense, I wanted to join the underground movement». The unknown person was a citizen of the village Utorop, Yablunivskiy district, Stanislav region, Dmytro Kolodiy, on whom the operational measures began to be carried out (SSA SSU, f. 2-N, d. 59 (1953), c. 6, vol. 7, pp. 363).

The open court proceedings against the members of the underground movement occurred in the subsequent years. In accordance with the decision of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (b) of Ukraine dating back to October 1951, it was supposed to hold the open trials of participants in the liberation movement in Lviv in the case of the murderer of Yaroslav Galan, as well as the military tribunals in Drohobych, Mykolaiv, Chortkiv. The center's instructions were implemented instantly and precisely at local places. Ivan Pikhotskiy, Ivan Ivanovskiy, Myron Helner and Oleksandr Kalchenko were arrested in Drohobych region and chosen for the open court trials. The open trial of the Military Tribunal in the case of I. Pikhotskiy and I. Vanivskiy was to take place on October 20, 1951 in Drohobych, in the premises of the regional drama theater. After that, on October 27, 1951, an open trial of the Military Tribunal in the case of M. Helner and O. Kalchenko was planned in the local club in Stryi (SSA SSU, f. 71, d. 6, c. 245, 95 pp.; c. 269, pp. 14; f. 13, c. 372, vol. 47, pp. 173–174; Vovk, Pavlenko, & Cherchenko, 2001, p. 437; Serhiichuk, 1996, p. 823). In the 1950-ies the open court trials were prepared carefully. The first secretaries of the City Department and District Department CP (b) together with the heads of the City Department and District Department of MGB selected from each collective farm of the region two collective farmers, from Borislav, Stryi, Sambir – for 25 people, and from Drohobych – 60 workers, employees and students, provided them with transportation to the regional center to hear the trial at 10.00 on October 20, 1951. In order to give a certain service to these listeners, an employee of the City Department and District Department of MGB, who was chosen and obliged to stay with them. The heads of the city, district police departments of the MGB were supposed to provide the persons who were delegated to the court process with incident supervision, including at least four or five persons from the checked agents sent from each district. An officer was required to provide regular contact with the agent. At the same time,

in the course of the process, he was supposed to convey to Major Shemarov in the UMDB a written statement about the mood and the reaction to the trial of those, present at it at least twice a day (SSA SSU, f. 71, d. 6, c. 269, pp. 18). The editor of the regional newspaper the «Radyanske Slovo», Senzyuk was obliged to provide the coverage of the court proceedings in the regional and district newspapers (SSA SSU, f. 71, d. 6, c. 269, pp. 15, 17). The director of the broadcasting network Krytsyn provided the radio system in the courtroom hall (SSA SSU, f. 71, d. 6, c. 269, pp. 1–24; c. 246, pp. 1; f. 2-N, d. 61 (1953), c. 2, vol. 2, pp. 127; f. 13, c. 372, vol. 95, pp. 185, 189; vol. 47, pp. 175–176). The open court trials continued. Thus, in 1954, in Rivne, Lviv, Stanislav, Volyn and Ternopil regions 14 open trials were conducted over 51 former OUN members, of which 24 were sentenced to the VMP (Lytvyn, 2006, p. 399; Vovk, Pavlenko, & Cherchenko, 2001, p. 582).

Some barbaric acts of the arrived staff who had unlimited powers and sought for intimidating as many as possible persons, resembled the actions of inhumane people. Yes, on January 14, 1946 in the village of Ust Putyla of Putyla district the ENKVD members revealed the ‘kryivka’ of Vasyl Mamutka – «Iskra», in which he was shot, and then he was beheaded. The head was brought to his wife (Bukovyna v borotbi, p. 39). In Stanislav region, the ‘providnyk’ Kosivshchyna «Pidhirskyi» and his guard «Kolos» died, at the battle place, the chekists cut off their heads and took them to the district center, and the bodies were buried in the place of the battle in two weeks (SSA SSU, f. 13, c. 372, vol. 18, pp. 151).

According to the former Head of the Oryavskyi Junior High School, Pavlo Haranyuk, which was recorded by Hryhoriy Demyan, it was said that the chekist Kyrylov brought to him the cut off heads of eight rebel guys and two girls with his group in the winter of 1947. All died in the forest near the village of Smozhe. Due to the fact that there were no horses, the NKVD members decided to make things easier: «When they saw the heads in the soldiers’ tents in the morning, and the bloody floor below them in the school hall, Pavlo Haranyuk glanced at Kurylov astonished, and the latter cynically explained that for this you would be able to drink much vodka» (Demian, 1992, pp. 26–28).

In Chernivtsi region, the NKVD members treated the local population with superiority, consequently, committed various crimes. On March 28, 1945 in the village of Kyselytsi of the Putyla district during the raid the chekists killed Dmytro Karapka – «Boyaryn». His body was brought to the village of Putyla and crucified on the wall. All the villagers were driven out for this «event». After the outrage, the body was thrown into a ravine and it was banned to bury it. However, despite the prohibition, the local residents stole the body and buried it (Bukovyna v borotbi, p. 37). On April 15, 1945 in the village of Yablunytsia of Putyla district on the Vivchyna valley in the battle with the force authorities there was killed the district NKVD leader Oleksiy Lubomyrskyi – «Beria», who was beheaded, brought to the district, and in order to frighten the local population his body was thrown at the entrance of the NKVD building (SSA SSU, f. 13, c. 376, vol. 81, pp. 4).

Quite often, during the interrogations, the NKVD members showed the remains of the skulls to the arrested. The skulls were scattered at the walls of the District Department of the NKVD building. The NKVD members boasted about it during the interrogations, highlighting that those skulls were «the heads of all the rebels who did not obey voluntarily» (Bukovyna v borotbi, p. 38).

One of the forms of intimidation of the local population was also the insurgents’ graves vandalism, which, incidentally, took place in the entire Carpathian region throughout the period of the existence of the underground movement (SSA SSU, f. 13, c. 376,

vol. 80, pp. 237). The Chekists made enormous efforts to ban any commemorative processions (SSA SSU, f. 13, c. 376, vol. 80, pp. 238).

**Conclusions.** Consequently, the Stalin's regime used the most brutal measures to overcome the opposition to its policy. The terror against the liberation movement and the local population was encouraged by the supreme leadership of the state. One of the forms of the establishment of the Soviet administration and the struggle against the Ukrainian liberation movement was the policy of intimidating members of the OUN and the UPA and the local population: the open trials and the executions, the exposition of the victims' bodies to the public, and destroying the rebellious graves. A special importance of the Soviet administration was give to the open trials of the OUN members and the UPA members and the executions aimed at discrediting the activities of the OUN, to form a negative attitude towards the nationalists. However, neither the public executions nor other force and propaganda forms were able to deprive the nationalists of the support and the population assistance, to keep them in fear, as the regime sought for, but it did not contribute to the formation of the pro-Soviet mood. The perspectives of the research is the studythe peculiarities of conducting the open court trials in Volyn region.

**Acknowledgments.** The authors of the publication express the sincere gratitude to the director and the employees of the Sectoral State Archive of Security Service of Ukraine for the support and assistance in search of the archival material.

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

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*The article was received on December 16, 2018.  
Article was recommended for publishing 24.02.2019.*



UDC 271.2:323.281(477.52)«1920/1930»  
DOI: 10.24919/2519-058x.10.159172

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## THEY SUFFERED FOR THEIR FAITH

**Monograph Review: Olitskyi V. Will Not Been Better of the Right (Repressions Against the Orthodox Church in Sumy Region in 1920s – 1930s Years): Monograph. Sumy: Trytoria, 2018. 242 p.**

## ВОНИ ПОСТРАЖДАЛИ ЗА ВІРУ

**Рецензія на монографію: Оліцький В.О. Блаженні гнані за правду (репресії проти Православної церкви на Сумщині у 1920–1930-ті роки): монографія. Суми: Триторія, 2018. 242 с.**

Integration of Ukraine into European socio-political institutions is accompanied by significant changes in social relations, including state-church ones. Combined with the reinterpretation of Soviet past, this actualizes the importance of study the experience of previous periods, including the 1920s and 1930s. The process of mass declassification of archival recording, including documents of the Soviet special services began in Ukraine together with the process of de-communization. This promotes the actualization of the repression of the 1920s and 1930s, particularly against the Orthodox Church. The study of this issue at the regional level, allows to establish the local government of repression, to explore the role of local authorities in this process. In addition, this problem shows the process of planting totalitarianism and its negative results. Today, the problem of state-church relations in Ukraine is also actualized by obtaining the Tomos of autocephaly of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine. And the complicated military-political situation of Ukraine, particularly the conflict with the Russian Federation, requires highlighting the negative Soviet past connected with the persecution of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine.

In this regard, the monograph of Ukrainian researcher V. Olytskyi «Blessed are expelled for the Truth», dedicated to the repressions against the Orthodox clergy in the 20 – 30th years of the 20th century, is considered to be relevant to both the scientific community and the general

public. Although geographically the study covers only the territory of the present Sumy region, it should not be perceived as those with purely regional (ethnographic) character. The phenomena and their causes, described by the author, are typical for the entire Ukraine of the studied period.

The work is carried out on the basis of a wide source base, which consists of various different sources by their nature: unpublished archival recording, including archival criminal cases, recording of cross examination of witnesses and documents from the archives of village councils and museums, collections of documents, materials of the time press. For his research, the author has attracted funds of ten Ukrainian archives. Having regard to the specifics of the topic, archival documents belong to the activities of various departments, both civil and law enforcement, which explains their dispersion in various archive offices. The processing of such a large number of sources has made it possible to more fully disclose the subject and to highlight objectively the events as well as draw the conclusions. A significant number of sources for scientific turnover was introduced for the first time. V. Olytskyi devoted considerable attention to the historiographic work of his predecessors, analyzing and using scientific achievements of both professional historians and ethnographers, who covered various aspects of repression. The historiographic analysis revealed the absence of a special study that would comprehensively and comprehensively reveal repressions against the Orthodox Church in Sumy region in the 1920 – 1930s and would determine their regional features.

A brief analysis of the regulatory legal act for the implementation of anti-Church policy, without overloading the reader with monotonous information, shows the evolution of Soviet legislation towards the formation of totalitarianism and preparing the ground for the implementation of large-scale repressive policy that would fit into Soviet legislation. Moreover, it is shown that certain segments of this policy, as well as the formation of the regulatory framework, occurred in accordance with the oral or written instructions of the first persons of the state.

The author managed to logically distribute the types of repression depending on the forms of oppression. Thus, he was able to show that the repression of the Soviet totalitarian regime against the Orthodox Church is not only the criminal persecution of the clergy and the destruction of churches, but they covered all the life spheres of society, displacing the Church from it. It is important to note that V. Olytskyi came to the conclusion that the elements of state policy, which, upon their individual consideration, are not reduced to repressive ones, still form repressive policies in a complex. After all, their ultimate goal was to destroy the Orthodox Church. In fact, this is discussed in the second chapter of the monograph «Political, ideological and economic oppression».

The author expresses a rather successful thesis that after winning the power, the Bolsheviks tried to gain a foothold, as fast as possible, and for this purpose it was necessary to control all spheres of life and, above all, ideological sphere. But here they faced opposition from the Orthodox Church, which, under the monarchist regime, controlled this sphere, functioning within the limits of the Russian monarchical formula «Orthodoxy. Autocracy. Nation». According to the old monarchical regime in the consequence, both the Bolsheviks and a part of the society were associated with the Orthodox Church. Therefore, it was necessary to oust her from public life. Here it is necessary to agree with the author, because today among scientists there is no exact number concerning the exempt assets even in Ukraine as a whole. At the same time, he found materials concerning the exempt of church property in certain points of the Sumy region, having counted the minimum amount of exempt church values in the region. The author noted that the main result of the campaign was not the loss of the Church's wealth, because the region had an agrarian character, and most of the temples were rural and were not wealthy. This campaign laid the foundation of a new accusation against

the clergy – concealing and opposing the exempt of church property, what in it's turn started a new stage in repression - the criminal prosecution of the clergy.

The monograph contains the facts of cooperation in one of the points of the Konotop district between the authorities and representatives of various Orthodox denominations, which made it possible to minimize the amount of exempt property. It is shown how, in the Romny district, the authorities used the confrontation between various Orthodox confessions, having achieved some of the best results in the country. V. Olytskyi defined the stages of temple's closure and the persecution of the regional clergy. An attempt was made not only to establish the number of closed temples, but also destroyed ones. The author asked the question, what purposes were church premises used for? It turned out that despite the declaration by the Soviet authorities of the critical need to close the temples with the aim of redeveloping them to social facilities, which in fact were mostly empty. For this purpose, protocols of citizens' meetings were falsified, administrative restrictions were carried out due to the restoring the parish activities, and the complaints of illegal actions of local authorities were ignored.

Speaking about the administrative and criminal prosecution of the clergy, the author clearly defined the periods of such prosecution and the characteristics of each of the periods. The number of arrested, convicted, executed clerics is given, the facts of deaths during the investigation are described. Archival criminal cases made it possible to calculate that the number of clergy, which was delayed by law enforcement agencies and NKVD bodies, reached 211 people, of which 60 were shot. The author submitted a list of bodies that issued convictions during the investigated period, provided data on the number of appeals filed and satisfied, the terms of imprisonment, age, nationality, education of the detainees. The facts of clerics' assassinations by Soviet activists are presented. However, the investigation notes that the numbers given are not final, cause some of the criminal cases could not be preserved, some were not found, and many representatives of the clergy and monks, especially during the period of Red Terror, were destroyed without documentary evidence.

For a fuller understanding of the illegality of priests' arrests, the author described in detail examples the falsification of criminal cases, testimony and torture of prisoners.

It is worthwhile to dwell on highlighting the resistance of the population to the anti-church policy of the Soviet government. The monograph shows that such resistance was permanent, resulting from time to time open riots or speeches. The number and scale of such speeches after the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933 is significantly reduced, but they still do not stop. This material is very relevant today, because it shows that Ukrainian society not only watched the repression, but they tried to fight them using the available means.

According to the scientific character, the work of V. Olytskyi is emphasized by the powerful scientific apparatus placed in the peer-reviewed publication. These are geographical and individual index, list of abbreviations and applications. A particular importance has the pointer of the repressed clergy, which contains not only brief biographical data, but also information on archival criminal cases of these persons (pp. 209–221).

The author's conclusions (p. 173–180) are formulated, in our opinion, convincingly and concretely. In general, V. Olytskyi's reviewed monograph «Blessed are expelled for the truth (repressions against the Orthodox Church in Sumy region in the 1920s – 1930s)» is a truly holistic, completed scientific work, that comprehensively reveals the problem. It is distinguished by the availability of factual material, original generalizations and conclusions of its author, deserve the attention of not only experts, but also a wide range of readers.

*The article was received on January 17, 2019.*

*Article was recommended for publishing 16.02.2019*

UDC 94:32  
DOI: 10.24919/2519-058x.10.159177

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**HOW AND WHY DO POLITICIANS USE HISTORY?**

**Review: Heorhiy Kasianov. Past Continuous: Historical Politics of the 1980-ies – 2000-ies: Ukraine and its Neighbours.**

**Kyiv: Laurus, Antropos-Logos-Film. 430 s.**

**ЯК І ДЛЯ ЧОГО ПОЛІТИКИ ВИКОРИСТОВУЮТЬ ІСТОРІЮ?**

**Рецензія: Касьянов Георгій. Past Continuous: Історична політика 1980-х – 2000-х: Україна та сусіди. Київ: Laurus, Антропос-Логос-Фільм. 430 с.**

The space of the historical memory consolidates people in the stable societies, where value systems are already in place. Instead, in the polarized and especially in post-totalitarian societies, it is an area of risks which are not always easy to explain; after all, there is no unified vision of history even in the developed democratic societies. Therefore, it is better to have a sensible policy of the historical memory than an uncontrolled erasure of memory under the conditions of a liberal democracy and political pluralism. Even though professional historians can distance themselves from the current political developments, they cannot be completely detached from the society and academic discourses in which an analytic historiography functions. This conclusion is sustained (perhaps contrary to the author's intention) by Heorhiy Kasianov's new book «Past Continuous: Historical Politics of the 1980-ies – 2000-ies: Ukraine

and its Neighbours. The author is the head of the Department of Modern History and Politics of the Institute of History of Ukraine of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine.

H. Kasianov stipulates that a historical policy means the policy aiming at the purposeful design and practical application of the 'historical memory' and other forms of collective imagining of the past as well as its representations, in particular a professional historiography, in politics. Moreover, it is carried out on behalf of the political, cultural, ethnic and other social groups in their struggle for power, and as a means of keeping or redistributing it. At the same time, it can serve as a means of securing political, cultural and other forms of loyalty of large social groups, as well as for maintaining ideological and political control over them. The author deduces the strength of such influence and its appeal from the fact that the historical policy is about the appropriation or creation of a symbolic capital, which is closely linked to generating other forms of capital, such as social, political, and economic. Perhaps the most distinctive feature of the historical policy is the ideological and political instrumentalization of history, knowledge, ideas about the past and memory, as well as the utilitarian use of history and memory in domestic politics, legal and legislative practices, social conflicts, and a foreign policy. The author emphasizes accurately that the historical policy not only appeals to already existing cultural stereotypes, but also creates the new ones.

The author deals with various agents of the historical policy at length – the state structures, the civil society institutions, in particular the local communities, the mass media, the educational institutions, the virtual communities in the social networks. It is argued that in Ukraine, from the late 1980-ies to the early the 2000-ies, several models of the historical memory co-existed. The first one, called «exclusive», dominated in the two main narratives of memory associated with two different forms of a cultural and political identity: national / nationalistic (mostly in the west of Ukraine) and Soviet-nostalgic (observed primarily in Donbas region and in the Crimea). The second «inclusive» model proposed to integrate various versions of the collective / historical memory into a single memorial and a symbolic space. The third «mixed», or «ambivalent», model proposed a simultaneous coexistence of different, at times ideologically and politically incompatible, versions of a collective memory in parallel public spaces. It should be noted that presenting the national and nationalist narratives as one raises serious doubts since the first is wider, more accepting and less controversial in terms of the content and forms of expression, as well as its purpose compared to the latter.

The author provides an unexpected but well-reasoned conclusion that the Soviet-nostalgic narrative of history and memory usually borders and is combined with an imperial (imperial-nostalgic) narrative not only in Russia but also in Ukraine. However, after the Euromaidan of 2014, the Soviet-nostalgic and mixed narratives have been replaced by the national / nationalist ones. It is also argued that the national / nationalist narrative can be combined with the imperial, as evidenced by the cult of the Habsburg era in Galicia and in Bukovyna. This argument is based on the fact that in Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Kolomyia, Chernivtsi and other cities of the western region there are many cafes with the nostalgic names («Tsarisar», i.e., Ukrainian version of the title «Kaiser», etc.) and several sculptures in honor of Franz Josef II have been inaugurated.

Further in the book H. Kasianov examines different approaches to the nature of history and memory relations, which can be seen as either incompatible, or identical or complementary phenomena. At the same time (following Allan Megill) he proposes to consider three types of historiography: affirmative, didactic and analytical. The first (uncritical) type subjects past events to the contemporary projects. It primarily works towards consolidation of a certain community, be it nation, state, political or religious group. In fact, it is a legitimate «marriage of history and

memory». The didactic historiography shifts more towards analytic history, yet within its memory is not viewed as separate from historiography. In contrast, the analytical history (historiography) claims to be separate from memory; actually, it purports to offer criticism that comes from outside the realm of memory/ies. Thus, the author comes to the conclusion that «the historical policy» can be described as an intentional deliberate blending of history and memory, as a domination of an affirmative historiography, or as the attempts to separate history from memory, to reconcile them with the means of didactic history.

The book argues that the ideal historical policy characteristic of pluralist societies and stable democracies is an unrestricted coexistence of all three types of histories / historiographies, where the affirmative and didactic histories perform their functions without undermining the authority of the analytic history, which, in its turn, is free to reflect on the other two.

The subplot on the decomunization offered in the book deserves a special attention (and can be of use to the authorities). The author elaborates on an important component of the historical policy of most countries in Eastern Europe in the following areas: rehabilitation of victims of political repressions and financial compensations to them; restitution and financial compensation to individuals and institutions; lawsuits against functionaries of the communist regime in Romania, Germany, Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia; bans on displaying the Communist and the Nazi symbols in public; laws against a public denial of crimes of the Communist (as well as the Nazi) regimes in Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Lithuania; the memory laws that reformed the official memory space; the lustration laws in Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, East Germany, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, the Czech Republic, and Estonia. Various specialized institutions that were involved in the establishment of the historical policy are also dealt with: the Institute of National Remembrance in Poland, the Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes in the Czech Republic, the Committee for National Remembrance in Hungary, the Institute for the Investigation of Communist Crimes and the Remembrance of the Romanian Emigration in Romania, the Institute of National Remembrance in Ukraine, and the others. The activities of other stakeholders in the realm of the historical policy in Ukraine – the President, the Verkhovna Rada (Parliament), the Cabinet of Ministers, the National Bank of Ukraine, the national postal service, courts, the Security Service of Ukraine, local authorities and self-government, archives, and museums – are identified and analyzed. Obviously, a special focus is on the Ukrainian Institute of National Remembrance, which, according to H. Kasianov, for a long time has been conducting a domestic historical policy that is prone to cause conflicts, since it boils down to administrative and political imposition of the one and only (usually pro-government) version of the collective / historical memory at the expense of the others. In addition to this, the book offers a critical analysis of the activities of non-state stakeholders: the political parties, NGOs, the mass media, the social media communities.

Analyzing the activities of the stakeholders of Ukrainian historical policy of the 1980-ies-2000-ies, the researcher uses a typology of «mnemonic actors», proposed by the political scientists Michael Bernhard and Jan Kubik. According to it, there are four ideal-type actors, a warrior, a pluralist, an abnegator and a prospective, who are engaged in different practices. Following his colleagues, H. Kasianov claims that the Ukrainian case is dominated by prospective (interpreting the past as a collection of mistakes which need to be considered and corrected) and warriors (supporting the only 'true' vision of history) (pp. 101–102).

A detailed typology of actors in the realm of Ukrainian historical policy offered in the book made it possible to identify a whole network of institutions and organizations that make use of the past instrumental. This multi-level typology allowed the researcher to demonstrate the regional specifics of Ukrainian memory, and, consequently, its heterogeneity. In our opinion, more attention should be given to the role of the state and private museums in contemporary political

practices, as their public and exhibition activities are often instrumentalized by the authorities, especially at the regional level.

H. Kasianov observes rightly that «historical policy» is produced by public servants of various ranks, political and public figures, «discourse-mongers» (journalists, writers, cultural figures). In this company a special place is reserved for a professional group whose main occupation is to study, to interpret and to explain the past, that is, historians. The author described the activities of the latter in the context of ideological changes of the late 1980-ies and the nationalization of the Soviet narrative. In addition, the historian has paid special attention to the phenomenon of the public history, discussing its virtual absence from the Ukrainian cultural tradition. Few active public Ukrainian historians (Yaroslav Hrytsak, Andriy Portnov, Vasyl Rasevych) are treated as an evidence of attempts to bring foreign (French, German, Polish) experience to Ukraine.

H. Kasianov understands the gravity or even the danger of manipulating the past both in Ukraine and its closest neighbours (Russia, Poland). It is the intense, systematic actions of Russian and Ukrainian politicians, and the differences among the Ukrainians in relation to the past that led to the annexation of the Crimea and the war in Donbas region. Conflict potential of historical policy is shown on the example of the disputes about historical events between Ukraine and Poland and Russia. In democratic Poland, the communicative memory and political manipulation of the Kresy and right-wing parties led to the beginning of the anti-Ukrainian campaign under the slogans of «returning to the truth» about the Volhynia tragedy of 1943. The historian showed how a systematic celebration of the tragedy anniversaries radicalized Polish society and led to an introduction at a state level of the term «genocide» as denoting the Ukrainian-Polish tragedy of 1943. Another issue that caused tensions in Ukrainian and Polish societies was the issue of the restoration of the Cemetery of the Defenders of Lwów on the Lychakiv cemetery. Analyzing Ukrainian-Polish historical discussions, the author identifies a phenomenon which he calls a «division of labour», that is, an active role played by the right-wing and right-conservative organizations that «cultivated an exclusive model of the historical memory based on the national / nationalist narrative» (p. 323). The discussions with Russia followed the similar patterns and made use of comparable discursive practices. Their central themes were Holodomor of 1932 – 1933 and opposition to the aggressive Ukrainian nationalism. The author called this a conflict between the Soviet-nostalgic and the national / nationalistic narratives of memory.

To the honor of the author it should be said that he acknowledged existing gaps in his monograph. An important historical policy stakeholder missing in the book is church, its structures and institutions. However, some research has been already done in this area; Lviv researcher Nazar Kis in his book «Memory and Identity of Ukrainian Greek Catholics» (2018) talks about sources of the historical policy of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. Yet, similar activities of the Orthodox churches, the Jewish and Muslim religious organizations require further studies.

To sum up, the new book by Heorhiy Kasianov is undeniably a positive signal for the Ukrainian academic community. This is a study of the secondary sources, a very popular direction of the historical research in Western historiography, yet underrepresented in domestic academia. Foreign researchers (including Polish, German, and French) started to reflect on the phenomenon of memory and its influence on everyday life, political and social practices a long time ago, while the Ukrainian research community (with some exceptions) is still at the very beginning of defining the role and the place of a historical heritage in a contemporary public field. Even though H. Kasianov admitted that the historical policy and its actors do not appeal to him personally «since they clearly or implicitly demonstrate an irresistible desire to make to march in one line those, who are not adapted to such an exciting task», his work is an example of a reasonable academic approach to such a complex phenomenon as a modern Ukrainian historical policy.

*The article was received on January 01, 2019.*

*Article was recommended for publishing 24.02.2019.*

НАУКОВЕ ВИДАННЯ

**СХІДНОЄВРОПЕЙСЬКИЙ  
ІСТОРИЧНИЙ ВІСНИК**

**EAST EUROPEAN  
HISTORICAL BULLETIN**

**ВИПУСК 10  
ISSUE 10**

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Здано до набору 21.03.2019 р. Підписано до друку 26.03.2019 р.  
Гарнітура Times. Формат 70x100 1/16.  
Друк офсетний. Папір офсетний.  
Ум. друк. арк. 23,25. Зам. № 0319/60  
Наклад 300 примірників

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Свідоцтво суб'єкта видавничої справи  
ДК № 4392 від 20.08.2012 р.