

Міністерство освіти і науки України
Державний заклад
„Луганський національний університет
імені Тараса Шевченка”

HISTORY OF UKRAINE

Навчальний посібник

*Рекомендовано
Міністерством освіти і науки України*

Луганськ
ДЗ „ЛНУ імені Тараса Шевченка”
2009

УДК 94(477)(075.8)
ББК 63.3(4Укр)я73
К93

Рекомендовано
Міністерством освіти і науки України
(лист № 1.4/18-Г-162 від 07.07.08)

Рецензенти:

- Шаповал Ю. І.** — доктор історичних наук, професор, завідувач кафедри політології Інституту політичних та етнонаціональних наук Національної академії наук України імені І.Ф. Кураса.
- Михайлюк В. П.** — доктор історичних наук, професор Східноукраїнського національного університету імені Володимира Даля, академік Академії наук Вищої школи України.
- Сорочан Т. М.** — доктор педагогічних наук, професор Луганського обласного інституту післядипломної педагогічної освіти.

Курило В. С., Семистяга В. Ф., Степикіна Т. В.

К93 History of Ukraine : навч. посіб. / В. С. Курило, В. Ф. Семистяга, Т. В. Степикіна ; Держ. закл. „Луган. нац. ун-т імені Тараса Шевченка”. – Луганськ : Вид-во ДЗ „ЛНУ імені Тараса Шевченка”, 2009. – 348 с. – англ. мовою.

ISBN 978-966-617-200-9

Огляд історії України від найдавніших часів до сьогодення подано з сучасної точки зору на минувшину нашої держави. Книга відповідає діючим програмам і навчальним планам, до кожної теми додаються запитання для самоперевірки й самоконтролю, що має сприяти більш ефективному вивченню студентами навчального матеріалу.

Навчальний посібник рекомендовано для студентів неісторичних спеціальностей з англійською мовою навчання вищих навчальних закладів I – IV рівнів акредитації, а також учителів, науковців, усіх, хто бажає отримати глибші знання з історії українського народу.

The review of history of Ukraine from ancient to recent times is done from the modern point of view on the past of our country. The text edition satisfies the requirements of the current syllabi and curricula; each topic is supplemented with assignments for self-control and self-checking which should facilitate effective knowledge acquirement.

The text edition is recommended for the students who specialize in the subjects other than history and study in the higher educational establishments of the I – IV levels of accreditation with English as the language of study, as well as for teachers, professors, scientists, everybody who would like to gain a more profound knowledge of history of the Ukrainian people.

УДК 94 (477) (075.8)
ББК 63.3 (4Укр) я73

ISBN 978-966-617-200-9

© Колектив авторів, 2009
© ДЗ „ЛНУ імені Тараса Шевченка”, 2009

CONTENTS

Preface	7
1. The ancient times. The dawn of human civilization on the territory of Ukraine	8
2. The Kyivan Rus as the eastern slavonic state	14
3. Political parcelling of the kyivan rus. The Galicia-Volyn principality in the XIII-XIV centuries	19
4. The struggle of rus lands against foreign enslavers	22
5. Ukrainian lands under the power of the foreign states in the XIV-XVI centuries	24
6. The emerge of Ukrainian cossacks. Zaporizhzhia Sich as the Cossack Republic	29
7. National liberation movement in Ukraine in the end of the XVI — the first quarter of the XVII century	34
8. Development of Ukrainian culture at Lithuanian-Polish times ...	37
9. National liberation war of Ukrainian people in the middle of the XVII century	41
10. The Ukrainian state system making during the liberation war	44
11. The Pereyaslav council of 1654 and its consequences for Ukraine	47
12. Social, economic and political situation in Ukraine in the second half of the XVII century	50
13. Ukraine in the first half of the XVIII century	53
14. The change of administrative and political systems and economic life of Ukraine in the second half of the XVIII century	56

15. The national-liberation and antiserfdom struggle in Ukraine in the second half of the XVIII century	59
16. The Northern Prychornomorya and the right-bank Ukraine becoming the Russian territories	63
17. The liquidation of the Zaporizhzhia Sich (host) by the Russian monarchy	67
18. The Ukrainian culture in the second half of the XVII-XVIII centuries	71
19. The Ukrainian lands under the power of the Russian and Austrian empires at the beginning of the XIX century	79
20. The decembrists' movement in Ukraine	83
21. The beginning of the Ukrainian self-consciousness revival	88
22. The national revival on the West-Ukrainian lands in the first half of the XIX century	93
23. Culture development in Ukraine in the first half of the XIX century	98
24. The crisis of serfdom in Russia. Tsar's reforms of the 1860s-1870s and Ukraine	105
25. The development of capitalism in Ukraine in the second half of the XIX century	109
26. National movement in Ukraine in the 1860-1890s	114
27. Development of the Ukrainian culture in the second half of the XIXth century	119
28. Social, political and national movement in Ukraine at the beginning of the XXth century	128
29. The first Russian revolution of 1905-1907 and Ukraine	135
30. Social, political and economical development of Ukrainian lands on the eve of the First World War	141

31. Development of Ukrainian culture at the beginning of the XX century	144
32. Ukraine at the time of World War I	149
33. The beginning of the Ukrainian state renaissance in 1917-1918	152
34. Fight for power	156
35. The Ukrainian state of Hetman Skoropadsky	158
36. The revival of the UNR. The directory	163
37. The Second War of the Soviet Russia against the UNR	168
38. The situation in Ukraine in 1920	172
39. National liberation movement in the West-Ukraine	178
40. The Soviet Ukraine in the period of the new economic policy (NEP)	182
41. The cultural reconstruction in Ukraine in the 1920s	186
42. The industrialisation of Ukraine in the 1930s	191
43. Violent collectivization of agriculture in Ukraine	194
44. Cultural life in the 1930s	198
45. The establishment of Stalin's totalitarian mode in Ukraine in the 1930s	201
46. West-Ukraine and geopolitical interests of the USSR	204
47. Ukraine before tragic events of 1941-1945	208
48. The struggle against fascist invaders in Ukraine in 1941-1942	211
49. Liberation of Ukrainian lands from nazi invaders	215
50. The Ukrainian Republic's activities on the International arena after the World War II	218

51. On the way of peace making (second half of the 1940s—beginning of the 1950s)	220
52. The political and cultural life in Ukraine in the late 1940s — in the early 1950s	224
53. Attempt to realize the new policy (the middle of the 1950s — half of the 1960s)	227
54. Crisis escalation in social, economic, political and cultural life of Ukraine (second half of the 1960s — middle of the 1980s)	231
55. Ukraine on the way to freedom and independence	237
56. Science and culture of Ukraine (1980s — 1990s)	240
57. Proclamation and development of the Ukrainian Independent State	243
58. The formation of the independence of Ukraine	246
59. Ukrainian national symbolics	255
Questions and tasks on main problems of the course	262
Glossary of terms	287
Major events in the history of Ukraine	309
Recommended sources	344

PREFACE

The modern stage of development of the Ukrainian state is objectively characterized by the growth of interest to the people's past, to historical knowledge. At the same time in connection with the assertion of new social, political and economic realities in public life there was a sharp necessity in a different interpretation of historical facts, events and phenomena. Historians began to stand aside from the one-sided view of history that was lighted before only from a class viewpoint. There's been a new conception of historical education designed in Ukraine lately, it provided researchers and teachers with new possibilities for making on-line tutorials, manuals and textbooks.

The offered manual is counted for teachers, school students, university applicants, University students, everybody, who is interested in the history of Ukraine. It provides for not only acquisition of actual material, but also acquaintance with the modern views of the past of the Ukrainian state. The structure of the manual is so organized that it engulfs the period of Ukrainian history from ancient to contemporary times. There is a plan offered to every theme. All historical events are lighted in accordance with the plan. A conclusion is drawn at the end of the theme. When making plans the authors of the manual tried to formulate them so that they fully and consistently exposed a theme. The offered plans foresee a possibility to reproduce preconditions, events, essence and historical value of the historical phenomena. When studying separate themes resulted in the manual, it is expedient to work not only with the textbook but also with monographic literature, by-reading-books, collections of documents and others. A manual foresees a creative approach of teachers, pupils, entrants to higher educational establishments and students. The alternative viewing of historical processes is possible.

1. THE ANCIENT TIMES. THE DAWN OF HUMAN CIVILIZATION ON THE TERRITORY OF UKRAINE

- *Pre-History of the Ukrainian People*
- *Eastern Slavs*

People have lived on the territory of Ukraine since the ancient times. The most reliable directions of their penetration were western and south-western. This very first period of human civilization got the name Paleolith, or The Old Stone Age. Its characteristic feature was a primitive development of productive forces and public organization. People lived in primitive herds, were engaged in fitter, hunted on shallow animals, had pair-group character of marriage ties. The basic sights of that time were the Crimean caves of Kiik-Koba, Chokurcha, Starosillya, cover of Zaskelny, stands near Korolevo at Transcarpathia, in Donbas region near-by Amvrosiivka, on the Dniester, in Luka-Vrublyvetska and others.

In the epoch of Paleolith the climate was warm, but at times periodic overfalls of temperature came as precursors of the Dnieper Icing Up. Gradual development resulted in disappearance of a Pithecanthropus and Neanderthal man and the emerge of Kromanionsk man, who is also called homo sapience, or an intelligent man, close to the modern type of a man. At that time characteristic and more accomplished form of organization of people was a family, in which a leading role was played by a woman. But matriarchy did not mean the leading role of a woman in a production sphere, though her role in the guard of habitation, fire, children, cooking, etc. is difficult to underestimate. Tools were perfected at this time. A step change to the stick and sharp stone a spear came. The most widely spread tools were made of bone, including a needle. People began to sew clothes, be engaged in fishing and built dug-outs of habitations. This period is characteristic by stands and settlements: Mizynske on the Desna river, Kyrylivske, Mezhyrich, Hintsy etc.

About 13 thousand years ago Mezolith or the Middle Stone Age came on changing to the late Paleolith. In this epoch the cardinal changes in natural environment took place. Somewhere 11 thousand years ago the last glacier disappeared in Europe. The climate became softer, the modern climate and landscape were formed.

As a result of change of natural environment people passed mainly to hunts on shallow animals, that in turn resulted in emerge of bows and arrows. At this time domestication of dogs, pigs, goats, and then cattle begins. There was pedigree organization in primitive society. Tash-Ayir, Murzak-Koba, Zamil'-Koba were well-known stands of Mezolith in the Crimea, Bilolissya, Hryzheve, Myrna in Odesa region, Hrebenky — on the Dniester, etc. But people began to settle on the most part of contemporary territory of Ukraine in Neolithic days (The New Stone Age). Exactly then a man first passed to the playback economy: cattle breeding and agriculture spreads. Treatment of tree and bone, farther, polishing and drilling, ax, adz, saw, sickle, etc. were used. Weaving and ceramics appeared to be practiced. The role and value of a family considerably grew at this time. By far there are known over 500 Neolithic settlements within the borders of modern Ukraine.

Neolith is the final period of the Stone Age. As a historian N.Polonska-Vasylenko states, already before VI thousand B.C. on a background subsequent ethnic development of Europe was noticeable Baltic-Bilorus-Ukrainian unity. Although this unity proved to be flimsy, Trypillian culture, one of the oldest civilizations, stemmed from it.

First findings of this culture near-by Trypillya in Kyiv region were explored by the archaeologist V.Khvojko at the end of the XIXth c. But its worldwide recognition came only in the 1970s. Characteristic touches of this culture are traced to I millennium B.C. It attained the climax of its development between 4000-3250 B.C. At this time its tribes occupied space of Eastern Europe from the Carpathians to Slobozhanshchyna, from Polissia to the Black Sea and the Balkan Peninsula. The Trypillian civilization by then was one of the most developed in Europe. Trypillians reared ten cereals cultures, flax, used cattle as a draft force in agriculture. High development was attained by pottery production. It was characterized by variety of forms to tableware

and its refined finishings, though here Trypillian tribes did not use potter's wheel and wheel.

Basic tools were knives, hoes, chisels, drills, adzes, etc. They were made of stone, flint and bone. Copper wares were extraordinarily rare and did not force out stone. Trypillians erected their two-floor dwellings using wood and clay. They invented the system of city building on circle-radial principle and that they passed down to the next generations. On the following stage of development the giant settlements — (pre-cities) appeared. Their area was about 400 hectares and there were 1.5 thousand houses. Probably, here from 10 to 30 thousand people could have lived. In particular, such are the settlements of Dobrovody, Maydanetske, Talyanky and others.

The Trypillian farmers had the widespread cult of The Sun, The Fire, The Mother of Goddess. Numerous researchers came to conclusion not only about the unity of material cultures of people which inhabited territory of Ukraine. By spiritual display, image-based language, stylish-composition principles, and from here, by the depth of penetration in essence of the universe is art of Trypillians and Ukrainians also ethnically common.

In the second half of III millennium B.C. the epoch of bronze began on the territory of Ukraine. At this time there were a few ethno-cultural groups. They included catacomb ceramics, frame, cord ceramics, Tshynetsko-Komarivska, Bilohrudivska, Bondarykhinska and other archaeological cultures. The Bronze Age became the final stage of the primitive communal system. Exactly at this time there were terms for the class relations, which were characterized by patriarchal organization of society that substituted matriarchy.

In I millennium B.C. the Iron Age began. The first, who seized to the tools and weapon on the territory of Ukraine were the nomadic tribes of Cimmerians. They, probably, belonged to one of the groups of Iran-speaking population. Homer was the first to mention them in "Odyssey" as adroit riders. This is the oldest writing in which Ukraine was mentioned. Cimmerians inhabited the land between the Don and the Dnister rivers up to the VII B.C., when they were forced out from

there by Iranian-speaking Scythians. The forest-steppe area of Ukraine was also occupied by Scythians.

In the IV century B.C. Scythians had the state association with the center in Kamyanske Horodyshe (modern Poltava). In III century B.C. under onslaught of new, relative by a common language Sarmatians of nomads, Scythians stepped back to the Crimea. There appeared a new Scythian state with the capital Naples (near Simferopol) which lasted till our era.

The general picture of settling apart of Scythians and their neighbours was presented by an ancient Greek historian Herodotus in the “History”. He divided Scythians into four groups: tsars, nomadic, farmers of Scythians and ploughmen of Scythians. The latter, as well as some farmers of Scythians, were of autochthonic origin, the descendants of Trypillians, pre-Slavs.

Scythians created a high material culture, absorbing the best achievements of civilization of the East, Caucasus, Greece and Rome. But the protracted exploitation of economic resources exhausted forest-steppe and became one of the main reasons for Scythia’s decline. After its fall till the middle of the III century A.D. Sarmatians ruled in steppes of North Prychornomorya only. Their domination was ended by Goths, their defeat was completed by new nomads — Huns (IV c. A.D.).

An important role in the ancient history of Ukraine was played by Greek colonists. In the middle of the VII century B.C. they founded a number of point-of-sale trading posts in North Prychornomorya and Pryazovya, which grew into the slave-owning republics of cities. The major of them were Tira, Olbia, Chersonesus, Phanahoriya, Panticapeum, Tanais and others. Close trade-economic and cultural connections were established between them and the local population. The only state association of the Greek states of cities was Bosporus reign, which arose in the V century B.C. Panthicapeus became its capital. It engulfed the Kerch and Tammany peninsulas and the north coast of the Sea of Azov. In 107 B.C. the Bosporus state was occupied by the tsar Mitridat IV Yevpator. He spread his power on Chersonesus, Olbia and Tira. After the assirtation of the Roman empire domination

in the I century A.D. the Northern Prychornomor'ya (the territory to the north of the Black Sea coast) got its dependence on Rome. But at the beginning of our era pressure spreads on the Northern Prychornomor'ya and Pryazov'ya (the territory to the north of the Sea of Azov) of nomads, which coincided with the general crisis of the slave-owning system.

At first in the III century A.D. Goths ravaged, and then in the second half of the IV century A.D. Huns finally destroyed flourishing local cities and settlements. Chersonesus was the only survived city and was the outpost of Byzantium in North Prychornomor'ya during a millennium.

At the beginning of our era a noticeable role in historic making on the territory of Ukraine was played by Slavonic tribes which belonged to the Indo-Europeans. The first written sources mention them by the name of "Venedians", and afterwards as "Sclavians". The term "Slavs" emerged only in the VI century A.D.

The east branch of Slavdom was represented by Antyans. They had their princes and state, which was not submitted to power of one man, but all affairs were settled in public. Consequently, this was the first Slavonic state on the territory of Ukraine. Besides Antyans were autochthones of Ukrainian territory and were the descendants of Trypillian tribes. M. Hrushevsky considers them the ancestors of the Ukrainian people. Most researchers tend to think, that Antyans laid the foundations of not only eastern ethnic groups but also of southern and even some western Slavs. Their natural habitat engulfed the territory from the Danube and Carpathians on the West to the Don and the Sea of Azov on the East, from Polissia in the North to the Black Sea in the South. According to the Byzantine sources Antyans were high, strong and adroit warriors, who could tolerate cold and heat. They waged wars against Goths, Byzantium, Bulgarians and Avarians; sometimes they came forward in union with Byzantines. It is considered that somewhere after 602 due to disagreements of pedigree leaders and as a result of indulgence through continuous wars the Antian union disintegrated.

During the VII century Eastern Slavs were settled on the right

bank of the Dnieper. There were about 14 large pedigree unions which populated the territories of Eastern Europe in the VIII century. Among them glades which lived in the Middle Podniprovyia were major. Other eastern Slavonic tribes which populated territories of Ukraine were Severians (lived above the Desna and the Seym), Derevlianians (above the Prypyat), Dulibians (above the Buh), Tyvertsians (above the Dnister river), Ulychians (between the Buh and the Dnister rivers), White Croats (at Prykarpattia).

Agriculture and cattle breeding were basic occupations of Eastern Slavs. Wild-hive beekeeping and fishing were also widespread.

Pottery, iron-ore and jewellery production also attained a high level. In agriculture wooden plough was used with some ferrous piece of it. In the IV century a plough with chereslo appears.

Cereals were collected with sickles and scythes. People lived in dug-outs and semidug-outs.

Animism was the basic form of spiritual needs satisfaction of Eastern Slavs; it was forces of nature worship and worship to the spirits of ancestors, such, as nymphs, goblins, wood-goblins and others. The Pagan pantheon considered Svaroh as the greatest deity. Among other gods were Dazhd-God, Perun, Khors, Stryboh, Yarylo. Eastern Slavs did not build majestic temples and did not have complex spiritual hierarchy. Some of their pre-Christian beliefs were saved and are constituent part of Christian holidays and ceremonies.

The unions of Eastern Slavonic tribes were the basis of the first states of Eastern Europe. In particular, the Arabic sources mention three pre-states in the IX-X centuries — Kuyaviya, Slavia and Artania. Probably, these are the future Kyivan, Novgorod and Rostovo-Suzdal principalities.

Consequently, on the territory of modern Ukraine a human society passed the same genesis, as well as people of other countries of Europe. In the second half of the I millennium A.D. Slavs, forming large unities of states, made pre-conditions for the origin of the Eastern Slavonic state of the Kyivan Rus in the IX century.

2. THE KYIVAN RUS AS THE EASTERN SLAVONIC STATE

— *Pre-Conditions for Education, Making and Development of the State System of Eastern Slavs*

— *Introduction of Christianity in Rus and Its Significance*

— *Culture of the Kyivan Rus and Its Role in Life of the Ukrainian People*

— *Historical Value of the Kyivan State*

After the decline of Antian union the new political institutions of Eastern Slavs were formed. Among them there were the state formation of glades in the Middle Prydniprovyia, Novgorod center above the Lake Ilmen and political union on the Peninsula of Taman. In 882 the prince Oleh united two of them, that paved the beginning of the large state of Eastern Slavs — the Kyivan Rus.

There are different theories of the origin of this state and its name. The so-called Norman theory was popular for a long time. Its authors were German scientists of the XVIII century Miller, Bayer, Schloetzer and others. Exaggerating the role of Varangians, they notarized, that a Scandinavian factor had been crucial in the Old Rus state system formation. But though in Rus indeed there were quite a bit of Varangian warriors, not them, but the process of economic and social and political development resulted in creation and consequent making of the state system of Eastern Slavs. Among them, first, development of productive forces, expansion of sewing areas, development of handicrafts, growth of cities, revival of trade etc. Secondly, decomposition of clan-tribal relations, distinguishing of clan-tribal clique and gradual decline of Viche (public council) etc.

The new state formation got the name Rus. Although the origin of this term in historical science can not be precisely defined, probably, the word 'Rus' was firstly used to call the Varangians, then as the name of glades in Middle Podniprovyia, and afterwards of the political formation which got the name the Kyivan Rus. Concerning the term

Ukraine, it was first mentioned in chronicles in 1187 and was used as a geographical concept of Kyivan outskirts.

It is possible to distinguish three periods in the political history of the Kyivan Rus. The first — hasty growth. It engulfs the time from reigning of Oleh in Kyiv to the death of Sviatoslav (882-972). The second — strengthening by Kyiv of its conquests and reaching the climax of its political power and stability, economic and cultural development. It engulfs reigning of Volodymyr the Great and Yaroslav the Wise (980-1054). The third — continual destructive princely squabbles, permanent menace of nomads attack and economic stagnation. After destruction of Kyiv by the Suzdal Prince Andriy Boholiubsky (God-loving), its political and economic value greatly diminished. The final destruction of Kyiv in 1240 by Tatar Mongols marked the end of the Kyivan period in history of Ukraine.

The Kyivan Rus was the largest political formation of medieval Europe. With the development of the state its population became more cosmopolitan according to the cultural orientation, ethnically mixed and all deeper stratified socially. The majority of population lived in villages, were engaged in agriculture. For tilling soil a plough, a wooden plough, a harrow and a hoe were used. Corn was gathered with sickles and scythes. People reared rye, wheat, millet, barley, oat, pea, etc. In agriculture the swidden system and the steam system with two-field and three-field crop rotations were used. The basic population class was relatively independent peasants called smerds. Except for them, there were enslaved or semifree workers called zakups. On the bottom of the social pyramid there were slaves, or kholops.

Trade was highly and widely developed in the state, which in turn stipulated appearance of monetary items — sribnyks (made of silver), zlatnyks (made of gold), hryvnas, and also of a social layer of merchants and shopkeepers.

A successful geographic position of Kyiv was instrumental in its presentation as a political, economic and trade center. But there were other important centers: Chernihiv, Pereyaslav, Volodymyr-Volynsky etc. In the XIII c. there were about 300 settlements of

city type, from which 100 — indisputably cities. There lived up to 15% of population of Rus. The urban population consisted mainly of chandlers and artisans. Higher in social gradation there were large merchants, combatants, boyars, church hierarchies, large boyars and “bright princes”. The ruler of the state was the Great Kyivan Prince, who consolidated soldieries, judicial and administrative functions in his hands. Formally he leaned against advice of boyars, which was the display of aristocratic power. The democratic phenomenon in the political line-up of Kyivan Rus was the council of townspeople — Viche. The princely power was financed on account of the complex system of taxation, duty and extortions for trade, legal proceeding, different sort of fines. Life regulation in the state was based on laws of the “Rus Pravda” (“Rus Justice”) by Yaroslav the Wise.

Qualitative changes in the state during Volodymyr’s reign required the proper changes in the sphere of ideology as well. Christianity came into special notice of princely court, in fact it allowed a root in the Kyivan state including princely families long ago. Among the first Christians there was the prince Askold. Olha adopted Christianity. During the reign of Ihor St. Elijah’s Church functioned in Kyiv. But Christianity as a single state religion in its Byzantine variant was introduced in Kyiv by the prince Volodymyr. This act was stipulated by specific political and economic factors of that time. First, Rus had already outlived the traditional heathen religion of animism, which dissatisfied spiritual, social and political aspirations of the community to a full degree. Secondly, Volodymyr tried to become related with Byzantine emperors, to heave up prestige of his own dynasty. Thirdly, the necessities of time required to find in Christianity ideological support which the state did not have before. Fourthly, this process was accelerated by previous connections with Christianized Poland and Hungary.

Adoption of Christianity opened doors to the stimulating cultural influencing in all spheres of life of the Kyivan state. Christian Church sanctified princely power, fastened and praised its authority. Growing into a large landowner, the Church accelerated

development of feudal relations, put beginning to the new, not known in the state before case frames, was instrumental in settling on new territory, contributed to the development of different trades, handicrafts and commerce. Christianity assisted to development of education, enriched an existent culture by the best properties of the Christian world. Introduction of Christianity resulted in humanizing customs, moral standards and public relations on the whole. Christianity, spreading from Kyiv to other territories of Eastern Europe, strengthened its salutary influencing and engaged other people in high Christian moral values. Finally, Christianity heaved up international prestige of the Kyivan state, helped to put right more close connections with the Christian world, to conclude dynastic unions with the European monarchies.

Introduction of Christianity assisted to development of the written language, education, science, literature, art in the Kyivan state. Unregulated writing was changed to the Cyrillic alphabet invented by Cyril and Methodius. Schools for the children of aristocratic origin were widely spread. Churches and monasteries, which were reputed not only as centers of orthodoxy but also of chronicle recording, arts, medicine and others like that, became the centers of educative activity. There were well-known schools and libraries. Society and spiritual public agents were well-educated people. In particular, Yaroslav the Wise was known as a bibliophile. His son Vsevolod knew five foreign languages. His daughter Anna was among the most educated at the royal court in France. The most educated man of his time was the author of the world-wide “The Tale of Ihor’s Campaign”. Wide spreading of education in the Kyivan state was problematic.

The high level of development in Kyivan Rus was attained by literature. It was mostly of religious nature. Among the literary works of that time there were “Pateric” by monks of the Kyiv and Pechersk lavra, “Word About Law and Plenty”, “Praise to Duke Volodymyr” and “Sermon” by the Kyivan metropolitan Illarion, “Lives of Saints” by other authors, “Instructions to Children” by the prince Volodymyr Monomakh, “Story of the Passed Years” by Nestor and Sylvester etc.

The most artistic poetic work of those days was “The Tale of Ihor’s Campaign”.

Unprecedented development was attained by monumental cult architecture which had comprehensive influence on the art. In the XIII c. there were only a few hundred churches and 17 monasteries in Kyiv. The Kyivan Sophia Church became a pearl of artistic creation.

Painting and artistic carving, arts and crafts, metallic casting, jewellery art etc. were highly developed.

Consequently, the Kyivan Rus attained the high level of socio-economic, political and cultural development, which on the whole not only answered the level of development of civilization at that time but even exceeded it. Cultural properties of the Kyivan state and its traditions were inherited by Ukrainian people and passed down from generation to generation. The leading figures of the Cossacks age and the fellow-fighters of the newest liberation competitions associated their statehood with Kyivan national traditions.

The Russian imperial historiography considered that political, military, religious, cultural and other glory of Kyiv belonged only to Russia. And the “theory” of The Third Rome hatched from here. In the soviet historiography the preconceived assertion prevailed about the Kyivan Rus as “a cradle” of three brotherly peoples — Russian, Ukrainian and Bilorussian. That, as though, these people originate from a common root — Old Rus nationality which created the Kyivan Rus. But M.Hrushevsky as well as modern Ukrainian historians refute these assertions on the basis of numerous factors. History of the Kyivan Rus is the history of Ukraine. And the heir to its traditions is the Ukrainian people.

Thus, formation of the Kyivan Rus became a logical completion of a state-creative process of Eastern Slavs. The Kyivan Rus attained a high level of development of economy and culture. It took a leading position among the European states.

3. POLITICAL PARCELLING OF THE KYIVAN RUS. THE GALICIA-VOLYN PRINCIPALITY IN THE XIII-XIV CENTURIES

— *Causes and Effects of the Kyivan Rus Parcelling*

— *Political, Social and Economic Development of the Galicia-Volyn Principality*

— *Role and Value of the Galicia-Volyn Principality in History of Ukraine*

Feudal parcelling was an appropriate stage of development of medieval society, which had not only a negative but also a positive value. On ethnic Ukrainian lands its chronological scopes engulf the first decades of the XII c. — the last decades of the XV c. Parcelling of the Kyivan Rus was caused by subsequent feudalization of the Old Rus society, by social and economic development in provinces. This process was accelerated by:

— victory of the principle of inherited (patrimonial) succession to the throne over the system of seniority or rotary press;

— primitiveness of the state control system;

— absence of the ramified system of communication and connection between enormous sparsely populated territories;

— Kyiv lost its status of social and economic, cultural and ideological center of the country, whose final destruction in 1240 by Tatar-Mongols meant the tragic end of the Kyivan period in history of Ukraine, etc.

But the Old Rus state did not disintegrate. It changed only the form of individual monarchy to the federal monarchy. About 15 principalities, among them Rostov-Suzdal, Polotsk-Minsk and Galicia-Volyn, getting independent political, economic, religious and cultural status, were developing gradually.

As we can see, the period of the Kyivan Rus parcelling into independent principalities was the effect of natural economy growth and expansion of feudalism in the XII c. Having weakened the state

politically, the parcelling contributed to the development of economy and culture in provinces. This process resulted in the loss of independence. Ukrainian lands got under power of the neighbouring states and did not outlive the process of revival of state centralization.

The Galicia-Volyn state appeared in 1199 as a result of amalgamation by the Volyn Prince Roman Mstyslavych of Galicia and Volyn principalities. Having carried out the row of triumphant hikes against aggressive neighbours — Poland, Lithuania and Polovtsi, he, as chroniclers mark, was the master of almost all lands and princes, was the “autocrat of the whole Rus”. The boundaries of his state extended from the Dnieper to the Black Sea and the Danube and included lands of modern Moldova and the North Bukovyna. The western boundary passed on the main spine of the Carpathians. But this territorial unity remained only for 6 years. Aspirations of subsequent expansion of boundaries of the domains became reason for his death in 1205 during a military hike on the Visla.

For a period of forty years after the prince’s death the Galicia-Volyn lands were seeing wars for power, complicated by intervention of Polish and Lithuanian troops. Only having collected Volyn lands, enlisting the support of peasants and middle classes in the fight against Galician boyars, Roman’s son Danylo in 1245 finally won and picked up the thread of the Galicia-Volyn principality.

Danylo Romanovych became fame as prominent figure diplomat and war-lord. He not only collected former lands in the unique state but also contributed to its economic and cultural flight. Acknowledging dependence on Gold Horde, Danylo built fortresses, fortifications, prepared antitatar coalition. To that end he adopted the royal crown. But the idea of “cross hike” did not find support in the neighbouring states and did not have the real consequences. Worse than that, after the duty attack of Tatars in 1259 he was forced to destroy fortifications and to give up antitatar plans. His descendants continued what Danylo had started. But in 1340 the boyars poisoned the prince from Romanovych dynasty Yuriy II Boleslav, after whose Ukrainian State power of princely days made off.

A high development was attained by cultural properties of the

Galicia—Volyn state. The spiritual influencing of both the Kyivan Rus and Western Europe interlaced. Town-planning, characteristic of which was white-rock architecture, was blooming. During Danylo's reign there were 70 cities built, among them Kholm, Lviv, Danyliv. In many towns stoning and earthen fortresses, feudal locks, princely palaces and temples were built. A high level was attained by jewellery business, painting, music and song art, registration of handwritten books. Books were created in luxurious frames, decorated by gold, valuable and decorative stone, wonderful miniatures. Princes also contributed to this. In particular, the Volyn prince Vasylko Volodymyrovych was a "high bookman and philosopher", patron of art of science and art. The Galicia-Volyn chronicle became the prominent work. The features of verbal folk development incarnated in itself literary and artistic works. There was a wise bookman Timotheus and glorious singer Mytus known far outside the state.

The role and value of the Galicia and Volyn principality is heavy to over-estimate in the History of Ukraine, in fact it inherited political and cultural traditions of Kyiv and prolonged the making of the state on the ethnic Ukrainian territories. The prominent Ukrainian historian S. Tomashivsky called the Galicia and Volyn principality the first indisputable Ukrainian state, as in the apogee of the power these incorporated principalities engulfed 90% population which lived within the limits of present boundaries of Ukraine. At the same time its lands were an important cultural border and an original watershed between the Catholic West and the Orthodox East.

Consequently, development of the Galicia-Volyn state was related to its advantageous geographical position, development of trade, economy, that walked up the higher level of development, greater density of population, and strong princely power, that overcoming boyars' opposition, was able to set wider goals. During the whole age of Kyiv decline the Galicia-Volyn principality served as a basis of the Ukrainian state system existence, became the main political center of Ukraine. But relative weakness of forces of centralizations, stopping of princely dynasty, permanent threat of Tatar-Mongolian Horde resulted in that principality's becoming the object of aggression from the side of Poland, Lithuania and Hungary and fell under their power.

Thus, feudal parcelling, on the one hand, loosened the Kyivan Rus and entailed the loss of its independence, and on the other hand, assisted to economic and political development of separate lands. That is why existence of the Galicia-Volyn principality which after the decline of Kyiv became the main political center of Ukraine turned to be reality.

4. THE STRUGGLE OF RUS LANDS AGAINST FOREIGN ENSLAVERS

— *Invasion of Tatar-Mongolian Hordes on Rus and Reasons for the Defeat of Old Rus Principalities*

— *Consequences of Horde Yoke*

Feudal parcelling of the state blew up the power of the Kyivan state. Clearly, that external enemies who took advantage of this factor were Polovtsi, Crusaders of knights, feudal lords of Poland and Hungary and especially Tatars and Mongols.

The mighty military-feudal Mongolian state appeared at the beginning of the XII c. In 1206 it was led by Hahn Tymuchyn (Genghis Khan). Having destroyed the flourishing civilizations of Pryamurya, China and Middle Asia, first Tatar-Mongols appeared in the Kyivan Rus in 1223. Exactly then they defeated Polovtsi who were forced to accept help from Rus princes. Galician, Volynian, Kyivan and Smolensk regiments came forward in a hike. A cruel sanguinary battle took place on the River Kalka that falls in the Sea of Azov. Nowadays Kalchuk, a tributary of Kalmius. The incorporated army without regard to numerous advantages sustained an utter defeat. It was stipulated by the absence of unique command strong discipline, inconsistency of actions during the fight, underestimation of enemy forces and its tactic. Only the princes Danylo and Mstyslav with insignificant tailings of army succeeded to pull through by escape.

In 1237 Baty at the head of the Tatar-Mongol horde alone with Baty, a Genghis Khan's grandson plunged in Rus. During 1237-1238 they captured and brought to ruin all North-Eastern Rus. In 1238 prince

Danylo stopped the offensive of the Teutonic order, defeating the crusaders under Dorohochyn. But in 1239 the hordes of Baty ruined Pereyaslav and captured Pereyaslav-the South. Chernihiv was captured and burnt. In such a situation Danylo sent to Kyiv his voyevoda Dmytro who in 1240 led the defensive of the city from the attack of Tatar-Mongolian troops. However, in December 1240, the city was taken by assault. Papal ambassador de Plano Karpini, being in Kyiv in 1246-1247, saw about two hundred houses which remained from a once mighty and beautiful city. During 1241 Tatar-Mongolian hordes conquered Galician and Volynian lands, raided Hungary and Poland. Having ravaged Croatia, Transylvania and Moldova, partly Serbia and Bulgaria, the army of Baty in the second half of 1242 got back to Povolzhya. The new state was founded — the Gold Horde with the capital in Saraj on the Volga. The Horde included a part of Middle Asia, Kazakhstan, Povolzhya, the Crimea, a larger part of Naddnipryanshchyna and all North-Eastern Rus.

Danylo of Galicia tried to rebuild the lands, which had been ruined by Tatar-Mongolians. But other enemies took advantage of temporal principality's weakening. There was the coalition of the Chernihiv prince, Galician boyars and the Hungarian King against Danylo. And though in 1245 near Yaroslav city Danylo inflicted them shattering defeat, forces were unequal. Danylo was forced to depart to Horde and to become Baty's vassal. It enabled, unlike other principalities, to convert Galicia-Volyn territories in a strong and large state.

In the 1250s Danylo made an attempt to finally get rid of Tatar-Mongolian dependence. He raided the troops of the Mongolian military leader Kuremsa, gave his consent to unite with the Catholic Church and was crowned in 1253 in Dorohochyn by the King But. But, unfortunately, this act did not result in a cross hike against the Horde. That is why in 1258-1259 Danylo after the requirement of the Mongolian war-lord Burunday was forced to prang fortifications of Lviv, Kremynets, Lutsk and other cities and fortresses.

Among the factors which resulted in the defeat of Old Rus principalities in the fight against Tatar-Mongolian conquerors, we will distinguish a few basic ones. These are, foremost, feudal parcelling,

loss of state unity and princely intestine wars which blew up power of the Kyivan Rus. In addition, invaders took large numeral advantage over Rus wives, were better armed, had an experience of taking the strongly fixed cities and fortresses, which purchased during hikes in Pryamurya, China, Middle Asia and Transcaucasia. The majority of towns in the Kyivan Rus were badly fortified.

The Horde Yoke for a few ages detained the development of the Old Russ territories. Agriculture, handicrafts and trade were on the decline. Socio-economic development of the country was slowed. The canning of feudal parcelling, which hindered to centralization of lands and revival of the state system, took place actually. Besides Kyivan, Pereyaslav and Chernihiv-Siversk lands became a component of one of western domains of Gold Horde and on great while found themselves in captivity.

In the 1920-1930s the Russian historians-emigrants tried to argue that the losses of Rus from the Tatar-Mongolian conquest were insignificant, and the mode of conquerors as though was instrumental in making of the state system of the Russian people. But such assertions do not have serious warrants and do not maintain the argued criticism.

Thus, the Kyivan Rus, being parcelled, was not able to stand on end in the fight against the hostile hordes. The Horde Yoke put economic, political and cultural development of the Ukrainian territories on the brakes.

5. UKRAINIAN LANDS UNDER THE POWER OF THE FOREIGN STATES IN THE XIV-XVI CENTURIES

— *Capture of Ukrainian Lands by the Neighbouring Feudal States*

— *The Lublin and Berest Unions and Their Consequences for the Subsequent Fate of the Ukrainian People*

— *Changes in Social and Economic Life of Ukraine*

In the middle of the XIV c. Ukraine lost the ruling dynasty and

was not able to resist the expansion of neighbours. Almost all Naddnipryanshchyna, Chernihiv and Volynian principalities were appropriated by Lithuania. Galicia and Kholmshchyna were in the power of Poland. Bukovyna stepped back to the Moldovian principality. Starodubshchyna, Sivershchyna, a part of Chernihiv passed to Moscovia. The Hordes of the Crimea khanate mercilessly beggared South Ukraine, Naddnipryanshchyna, Volyn and Podillia.

Lithuanians which created one of the largest states in Europe extracted almost a half of the territory of the former Kyivan state actually without resistance. It was made due to a number of circumstances. At first, Lithuanian domination was more favourable than the cruel yoke of Gold Horde, and that is why Ukrainians did not almost offer resistance. Secondly, by then Lithuanians, as well as Ukrainians, were Orthodox. Thirdly, the majority of population of principality perceived the higher Ukrainian culture language and right. Fourthly, Lithuanians engaged in the greatest administrative positions Ukrainian gentlefolk and compatible influenced national processes. Fifthly, adjusting to the native customs of Ukrainians and Bilorussians, Lithuanians considered the expansion as a mission on the revival of Rus. Clearly, that the local population did not feel strong about it. That is why Lithuania was able to raid in 1362 Mongols and Tatars on the river Dark Blue waters, in 1399 — near the Vorskla river, and in 1410 together with allies — crusaders of knights of the Livonian order near Gruenwald, halting their advancement east.

But Lithuania did not succeed in everything that was planned. In 1387 Galicia was finally plugged to Poland. In 1434 the Ukrainian laws were finally liquidated here and Polish administration and courts were inculcated.

In 1385 Polish and Lithuanian feudal lords united the forces, signing so-called Krev union. The Polish gentry used it for enthrallment of Ukrainian territories and enslaving peasants. In 1413, when this agreement was confirmed, Poland and Lithuania got more rights, and orthodox boyars, on the contrary, lost them.

In the second half of the XVth c. liquidation of independence of Kyivan principality, strengthening of social and religious burden, rivalry

and fight against Moscow, and also the Poland oriented policy of Lithuania resulted in that Chernihiv and Siversk lands stepped back to the Moscow state. And only at the beginning of the XVII c. the territory was won back by Poland, and colonized by the Ukrainian migrants.

At the beginning of the XVI c. the Lithuanian principality was near to decline. Failures in Livonian war and in the fight against Tatars blew up its power, forced to ask Poland for help. Poland consented to give its only subject to the condition association in unique political whole to Poland with Lithuania. And although for national and religious reasons part of the Ukrainian and Lithuanian magnates contested against these solicitations, however force-feed shallow gentry was not able to do anything. On July 1, 1569 Poland and Lithuania formed Polish-Lithuanian state — The Polish Kingdom (Rzecz Pospolita). From now on they had the elected king, Sejm, financially-tax system, single foreign policy, jointly. The large principality saved an autonomy and left after itself Bilorussian lands. But all Ukrainian lands which belonged to Lithuanians departed to Poland. They were now divided into Volyn, Bratslav, Kyivan, Chernihiv and Podillian provinces. The western lands of Ukraine passed to the Rus and Belzh provinces.

The Ljubljana union had the fatal consequences for Ukrainian people. For two centuries Ukrainians had relatively the favourable terms of development in composition of Lithuania, from now on the national wipeout threatened them. Owning Ukrainian lands, the Polish magnates gentry exploited natural resources, cruelly exploited the Ukrainian peasants, even executing them by death. Ukrainian cities were under their burden, where petty bourgeois in every way were limited in the rights. Soon this process outgrew in denationalization and capture of local population. The Ukrainian consuetudes were pursued, the violent planting of Catholicism and prohibition of Orthodox faith was conducted.

At the end of the XVI c. it became clear, that the Catholic Poland became as a complete opposition to Ukrainian society. All of it resulted in that a number of church hierarchies decided to untie the painful problems of Ukrainian society with the help of the union with Rome. So, many supporters and opponents of the union found a common

language, in 1596 in Berest the Church proclaimed the union with the Catholic Church. They adopted supreme authority of Rome on all matters of faith and dogma, but preserved Slavonic language, Orthodox liturgy and ceremonies. The Polish government declared the union obligatory for the Orthodox population in the Rzech Pospolita.

In its turn the Orthodox clergy condemned the union. Ukrainian society cracked in half, which resulted in the zealous fight between Catholics and Protestants in all realms of the Ukrainian society: in churches, parliament, in literature and others. What was started as an attempt to unite Christian Churches, resulted in their subsequent parcelling, because from now on there were three Churches: Catholic, Orthodox, Greek-Catholic.

This confrontation led to: first, to the loss by Ukrainians of the national elite which between its own poor cultural legacy and attractive Polish-Catholic culture chose the latter, and it's no surprise, that the majority of them adopted the Catholicism and afterwards were captivated; second, the division on two confessions put the beginning to the many differences between eastern and western Ukrainians; third, the religious polemic resulted in cultural presentation and awareness by Ukrainians of their originality; fourth, religious polemic and fight against the unity was component part of the Ukrainian liberation movement against the Polish policy.

Domination of foreign feudal lords and Tatars' attacks detained, but were not able to stop economic development of Ukraine. Agriculture, the dominating system of which was a three-field system, was developing further. City building and gardening were developing gradually. The stock-raising became a leading industry in south-east districts. A considerable role was played by beekeeping, fishing and hunting.

The high level of development was attained by processing raw materials, the indices of which were numerous water-mills. At the same time the process of separation of handicrafts from agriculture boosted. In dependence on the natural conditions in separate regions and also economic position of cities and villages, local markets developed potash, iron-ore, saltpetrous, salt, paper and other industries. The

development of rural economy and handicrafts was accompanied not only by the development of trade but also emerge of commodity-money relations, strengthened economic relations between lands, was instrumental for old and new cities existence.

Development of economic life caused change in social-class structure of population. In particular, the class system of organization of society, not known in the Kyivan Rus before, penetrated into Ukraine from the West. The major class that was shaped at this time was Shlyakhta (gentry). One could have joined it for military service to the Queen or the Great Prince. This class incorporated different social groups.

In Lithuanian times the core of gentry was made by a few princely or magnates families which descended from the dynasty of Ryurikovichi and Hedominases. Concentrated mainly in Volyn, they owned enormous riches, held high positions in principality, had a right to conduct the soldiers detachments under their own flags, etc. The higher stratum of gentry numbered a few hundred families and partly came of boyars of the Kyivan days, had 10-15 villages in their property, monopolized the local rule. The lower strata of the Polish gentry were most numerous. They incorporated thousands of families, outputs and peasants or petty bourgeois, and even magnates' servants. Quite often their life differed from that of peasants only by little. During the XV-XVI c. gentry established their wide privileges and political influence so firmly in the Polish Kingdom, that even limited the royal power and also access of large magnates to the public places and lands. Seeing point-of-sale competitors in towns, gentry aimed to blow them up, that negatively influenced the rates of urbanization in Ukraine. After acceptance of Ljubljana union Ukrainian gentlefolk, to have even rights with the Polish gentry, owed to adopt the Polish consuetudes, laws, language, religion, which was encouraged by Poland. Captivation of Ukrainian gentlefolk deprived Ukrainian people of their own national elite.

The town dwellers, petty bourgeois, were 1-15% of all population and were also formed as a separate community. The town elite consisted of dozens of patrician families. They ruled in the town management. A

middle stratum of town dwellers was formed of merchants. The majority of population was formed of workers. They did not have property and often lived in the suburbs. The population of towns was ethnically pied. Some cities, such as Lviv, Kamyanets-Podilsky, Lutsk, Kyiv, taking so-called Magdeburg Right from Polish kings or Great princes, got a possibility to have self-government.

80% of all population of Ukraine was presented by peasants. In the XIV c. they could still hand down their parcel of land or sell it, they still paid to feudal lord moderate working or natural rent off, and in some regions of Ukraine they were independent of feudal lord. However, during the XV c. exploitation of peasantry grew so, that they actually grew into serfs. In 1505 Seym finally forbade peasants to give up the villages without permission of their master. And in 1557 the so-called “Regulation on voloks” multiplied a working rent off to 3-4 and even more days for a week. And when serfdom died off in the West, in Ukraine it regenerated in an extremely exploitative form.

Consequently, Ukrainian lands fell under the power of a few feudal states. Without regard to certain economic and political changes, the prospects for Ukraine to attain independence were vague. Besides, cultural assimilation of Ukrainian gentlefolk by the ruling states began at this time. As a result the Ukrainian dominating apex lost ability to protect localisms.

6. THE EMERGE OF UKRAINIAN COSSACKS. ZAPORIZHZHIA SICH AS THE COSSACK REPUBLIC

— *Pre-Conditions of Ukrainian Cossacks Emerge*

— *Zaporizhzhia Sich (Host) and Its Mode*

— *The Role of Zaporizhzhia Cossacks in the Rebuff of Turkish-Tatar Aggression*

The Ukrainian Cossacks emerged in the second half of the XV-XVI c. Among the principal reasons for their emerge, there were

foremost economic factors. The lands of Eastern Galicia, Volyn, Western Podillia, northern districts of the Kyivan land were densely populated. There were not free enough, not touched for till lands. At the same time enormous southern territory, so-called Wild Field, where the Ukrainian people had lived since olden times, was sparsely populated for a long period of time. The existence of free lands was instrumental in their mastering by Ukrainian people. Along the Dnieper and its numerous tributaries that the Cossacks were forming, new farms and villages were founded.

Except for economic reasons for Cossacks emerge there were social and political ones. They were related to the protest expressed by the Ukrainians against a growing social, national and religious burden of Polish and Lithuanian feudal lords and necessity of reliable defense from the devastating raids of the Turkish-Tatar hordes.

The term “cossack” is of a Turkic origin. It was adopted by Ukrainians from the south neighbours — Tatars. In its broad understanding this word means a free, independent man, a seeker for military adventures.

Cossacks followed the plough, cattle breeding, trades, handicrafts, trade. The cossack suburb and farms were richer than the wretched villages of lordly citizens, as people were more interested in the results of their own labour than enslaved peasants. There was such a social organization growing gradually on the cossack territories which there was no compulsion in, although there was a certain social inequality.

Permanent threat of Turkish and Tatar attacks, danger from the side of Polish-Lithuanian and Ukrainian feudal lords who aimed to snatch mastered by the cossacks lands forced the cossacks to perfect their organization and military trade. The Ukrainian cossacks expressed will of the Ukrainian people, and that is why they became defenders of Ukraine both from external aggression and from nationally-religious and social-economic oppression of the Polish-Lithuanian gentry.

The foundation of Zaporizhzhia Sich marked the beginning of the cossack stratum formation.

For the defensive from the Turkish-Tatars and noble troops south

of thresholds in lower reaches of the Dnieper cossacks built small fortifications of wooden logs. But it was still difficult for cossacks to restrain a hostile onslaught. Probably, in 30-40s of the XVI c. they, uniting the forces, founded a large fortress under the name of Zaporizhzhia Sich. It also incorporated small town-hosts. According to the sources, the first fortification on Khortytsya Island was built by the prince Dmytro Baida-Vyshnevetsky.

In its figurative sense the word “Sich” meant the capital of the Zaporizhzhian Cossackdom, the center of activity and administration of all military matters, the residence of all main officers (“starshynas”) who headed the lower stratum of cossacks. During their more than bicentenary existence the Zaporizhzhian cossacks consistently changed eight Hosts.

Zaporizhzhia Sich had its original military-administrative organization which absorbed an old viche tradition. It had two subdivisions: military and territorial. The army was divided into regiments which were commanded by elective colonels. The regiments consisted of sotnyas (“hundreds”) at the head with a sotnik. Several sotnyas made kurens which were managed by atamans. There were 38 kurens. The territory was divided at first into 5, and then 8 palankas.

The supreme power in the Sich was the military counsel (“Rada”) with all cossacks participation. There were two counsels, two circles: Ī the large, general one, with participation of all Cossacks, Ī the small one, with participation of starshynas only.

The Zaporizhzhia military consisted of the leader (koshovy), the judge (suddya), the chancellor (pysar) and the adjutant (osavul). They managed military, judicial, administrative and even spiritual affairs of the army. They elected hetman who headed the cossack army during military hikes. The ruler of the Sich was the ataman. All plenitude of power was concentrated in his hands. However, he was not the unreserved possessor of the Zaporizhzhia army. His power was limited by the Rada. Annually on the 1 of January at cossack council after a report about their activity a new ataman and starshyna were elected. An exception was only made for

especially prominent and popular persons. In particular, Ivan Sirko was elected the ataman for 15 years, Petro Kalnyshevsky — for 10 years.

The military judge was the second person in the Zaporizhzhia army after the ataman. In the actions he followed an ordinary right which all line-up of Cossack life was based on.

The office of the Sich was conducted by pysar. His influence on political and public life was very considerable. Pysars didn't change. For 41 years from 1734 to 1775 only 4 pysars changed in the Zaporizhzhia army. Osavuls carried out the role of hetman's assistants in military affairs.

The military signs of the Zaporizhzhian army were korohvas (flags) and bunchuk — a long wooden stick, on the end of which was a copper or gilded bullet with tuft of hairs from a horse tail. The mace was the sign of hetman's power.

Polish authorities tried to split the Cossacks and put them under their control. In 1524 the Polish king Sigizmund I tried to attract for the guard of ferriages on the Dnieper and defence of frontiers 1-2 thousand of Cossacks. However through the shortage of finance it came to nothing. In 1572 by order of Sigizmund II August a detachment of 300 Cossacks was collected for state service. The new Polish king Stephen Batory in 1578 multiplied their number to 600. So as collected and brought to state service Cossacks were put on special lists (registers), from here their name came — “registered” cossacks. For participation in the revolts in 1591-1596 the “registered” Cossackdom was liquidated. It was restored only in 1599. In 1638 the registered cossacks numbered 6 thousand people. The registered Cossacks had a number of privileges: separate court, tax and duty relief, right to land ownership, permission to be engaged in business and trade, insignificant pay from the state treasury, clothes, weapon etc. The registered Cossackdom was divided into 6 regiments and hundreds. The regimental cities were Chyhyryn, Cherkasy, Pereyaslav, Korsun, Bila Tserkva and Kaniv.

The registered cossacks were the first who began to form the

Cossack state. Samiylo Kishka reestablished the Cossackdom as the organized, officially acknowledged Ukrainian national military force. Petro Sahaydachny, having made this force more powerful, proclaimed alliance of cossacks, Orthodox Church and petty bourgeoisie to strengthen own system of education. Mykhaylo Doroshenko legalized the existence of not only the cossack army but also of a cossack landownership, allotting them a certain territory. He organized policemen regiments, which had a decisive importance for making of the Ukrainian autonomy.

Zaporizhzhia cossacks, becoming stronger, became all more reliable barrier to the attacks of Tatars and Turks. At the beginning of the XVI century the Cossacks carried out bold raids on Turkish and Tatar shore. They captured and burned out such cities as Sinop, Varna, Istanbul suburbs. Turks and Tatars incurred considerable losses from Cossacks on the sea. During these raids Cossacks freed a lot of Ukrainian captives.

In 1616 hetman P.Konashevych-Sahaydachny annihilated the Turkish flotilla in the mouth of the Dnieper and captured the center of slave-trade in the Crimea — Kafa, whereupon he carried out a raid to the south coast of the Black Sea on the cities of Sinop and Trapesund. Inflicting to the Turks perceptible losses, Cossacks got back to Ukraine another way, through the Sea of Azov.

In 1621 the Cossack army played a crucial role in Khotyn battle and foiled the Turkish plans to capture the Polish Kingdom.

In 1624-1625 Cossacks carried out the further row of successful raids on the Turkish-Tatars domains at the Black Sea.

Thus, the Ukrainian Cossackdom was formed as a result of certain economic and social-political pre-conditions. An important role in its appearance and development was played by Zaporizhzhia Sich with its democratic institutes and features. It became not only an important factor in the process of creation of the Cossack republic but also inspired the Ukrainian people to the fight for liberation.

7. NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN UKRAINE IN THE END OF THE XVI — THE FIRST QUARTER OF THE XVII CENTURY

— *Cossacks' and Peasants' Revolts in the End of the XVI c.*

— *Liberation Fight of the Ukrainian People Under the Leadership of P.Konashevych-Sahaydachny*

— *People's Movements in the 1620-1630 and Their Significance*

At the end of the XVI c. social, economic, religious and national oppressions of Polish power caused resistance of the Ukrainian people. Fight of peasants and petty bourgeois supported the Cossacks who actually began counter-offensive against the Polish-noble domination.

The first revolt in 1591-1593 was led by the hetman of the registered Cossacks K.Kosynsky. In December of 1591 his detachment captured Bila Tserkva, took artillery and military supplies. Soon the revolt overcame the Kyivan land, Bratslavshchyna, Podillia and Volyn. Insurgents everywhere destroyed documents on the lordly landownership, hoping thus to break power of magnates. At the beginning of 1593 in a fight near Pyatka in Volyn the insurgents were defeated and stepped back to Zaporizhzhia. The siege of Cherkasy in summer of 1593 was also unsuccessful. K. Kosynsky was insidiously killed, his detachment was routed. The autumn raid of the insurgents on Kyiv brought no success.

In 1594 the second revolt blazed up against Polish-noble domination, led by S.Nalyvaiko. The registered Cossacks headed by the hetman Loboda and the colonel Shaula joined the insurgents. The revolt expanded and overcame almost all Ukraine. Bratslav, Husyatyn, Bar, Kaniv, Cherkasy and Lutsk were captured. In Bilorus the insurgents captured Slutske, Bobrujsk, Mohyliv and other fortresses and settlements. In bitter fights near-by Bila Tserkva and in a natural boundary Hostry Kamin the state troops incurred serious losses. But

the insurgent detachments also didn't manage to hold out and were forced to step back to Livoberezhzhia (the Left Bank of the Dnieper territories). In May 16, 1596 in natural boundary of Solonytsya near-by Lubny they were surrounded and without regard to bitter resistance were cruelly exterminated. Nalyvaiko, Shaula and other leaders were taken out to Warsaw. In 1597 after tortures they were executed. Nalyvaiko's death became a legend of Cossack heroism.

The first actions of Cossacks and peasants showed disorganization and absence of internal unity, which resulted in their division into two groups: radical and moderate. Poor and nomadic Cossacks, landless peasants, city artisans, step industrialists belonged to the first one. To the second one belonged well-to-do Cossacks, affluent middle class and gentry. Both groups laboured for freedom and liberty, but to achieve the purpose they applied an opposite tactic.

The beginning of the XVII c. turned out to be more favourable for the Ukrainian Cossacks. Poland needed their help in the fight against Moldova, Sweden and Moscovian lands. At that time the Cossacks were headed by P.Konashevych-Sahaydachny. He was reputed by the raids against Turks and Tatars. Trying to fix position of the Cossacks, he pursued a compromise policy in relation to Poland. As hetman he reformed the Cossack army, converting it into a regular one. He introduced order, hierarchy and discipline among the Cossacks, their number was inculcated to 40 thousand. But that was not the most important thing. Considering the Cossackdom as permanent motive power of Ukrainian society, P.Konashevych-Sahaydachny transformed it into a political factor with state aims, for the sake of what he united military force of the Cossacks with the politically weak Church and cultural apex of Ukraine. This association took place in 1620, when Konashevych-Sahaydachny moved the centre of the Cossackdom to the Kyivan fraternity. At the same time P.Konashevych-Sahaydachny contributed to renewal of hierarchy of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. As we can see, protecting an Orthodox faith, the Cossacks were defenders of their national independence. In 1621, in a battle near-by Khotyn the Ukrainian Cossacks helped Poland to rout the Turkish-Tatar troops. Turkey

and the Crimean khanate pledged to halt the predatory attacks on Ukrainian and Polish territories. But Poland, having profited by the Cossacks, did not meet its commitments, struck most Cossacks off the register and compelled them to work for the Polish gentlemen. That in turn resulted in a new wave of revolts. In particular, in 1625 incorporated insurgent detachments of 20 thousand people headed by Marko Zhmaylo on the Kyivan land inflicted serious losses to the gentry. Taking advantage of objective difficulties of the insurgents, Zhmaylo was deprived of the hetman's post. On the Kurukiv agreement the Cossack register grew short to 6 thousand. Others struck their names off the register and passed to a position of dependent peasants.

The antifeudal and liberation fight of the Ukrainian people reached its climax in the 30s of the XVII c. In 1630 the revolt under the leadership of Taras Fedorovych (nicknamed Tryasylo) broke out. In May 15, 1630 near-by Pereyaslav his detachments inflicted a shattering defeat on the Polish army. This battle was glorified by Taras Shevchenko in his poem "Taras' Night". But, without regard to victory, T.Fedorovych was deprived of the hetman's post. He was forced to get back to Zaporizhzhia followed by a group of Cossacks. However, a scared Polish government was forced to yield. The orthodox population was given the right to conduct religious ceremonies, build churches, found fraternities, schools, printing-houses, and hold governmental positions. In 1637 not registered Cossacks came forward led by Pavlyuk (Pavlo But). The revolt spread to Livoberezhzhia (the Left Bank). Having been defeated near-by Kumejky and Borovytsia, Pavlyuk and his associates fell into Poles' hands. Next year they were executed in Warsaw. New limitations of rights for the Cossacks, cruel oppressions of the Polish government led in 1638 to the revolt headed by Dmytro Hunya and Iakiv Ostryanytsya. However, this revolt ended in surrender near-by Starets.

Nevertheless, a leading role in the defensive of Orthodox faith and Ukrainian nation was played by petty bourgeoisie. Forming fraternities, they propagated national ideas, cultural and literary humanism. Together with the Zaporizhzhian Cossacks the brethren were

representatives of Ukrainian people in their opposition against captivity and expansion of Catholicism, they defended national, religious and cultural traditions of the people.

Consequently, repeated attempts of the Cossacks, petty bourgeoisie and peasantries in the end of the XVI c. — the first half of the XVII c. to limit the Polish-noble offensive on Ukraine were unsuccessful. By severe retributions, mass executions, announcement of the Zaporizhzhian Cossacks outlaw the Polish government for ten years obtained boundless metayage of the Ukrainian population and Polish domination. Polish historians called this period (1638-1648) “golden calm”. But it was calm before a more grandiose revolt of the Ukrainian people, which outgrew in liberation war, and then in the national revolution in the middle of the XVII c.

8. DEVELOPMENT OF UKRAINIAN CULTURE AT LITHUANIAN-POLISH TIMES

— *Ukrainian Culture Development*

— *State of Education*

— *Development of Ukrainian Language and Literature*

In the XVI — first half of the XVII centuries Ukraine ended up in a quandary. Its territory was a constituent part of the neighbouring states — Lithuania, Poland, Turkey, which were not interested in the development of the Ukrainian national culture. Trying to resist the foreign expansion, national, religious and cultural oppression, the Ukrainian society searched and found the ways of maintaining of the national culture and spirituality of the people. That is why the XVI c. — first half of the XVII c. is a period of awakening of national consciousness of the Ukrainian people. Being closely associated with internal socio-economic changes, political and ideological fight, it was caused by strengthening of national liberation movement and influence of Western-European process of Renaissance. The necessities of time supported the Ukrainian Renaissance with high civil content and patriotic direction.

The cultural revival in Ukraine was going on owing to active work of religious and national brotherhoods. At the turn of the XVII c. they were organized in Galicia, Kholmshchyna, Polissia, Podillia and Naddnipyrianshchyna. At the first stage of their activity brotherhoods had religious and charitable objectives, starting from the second half of the XVIc. they strengthened their influence on political, public and cultural life. Gaining more influence, helping to save the faith, ceremonies and ancient customs, they resolutely entered into the fight for development of domestic culture: they contributed to formation of hospitals, printing houses, libraries and schools, provided them with textbooks, retained teachers and poor students, helped the best of them to continue their study abroad. The brotherhoods included scientists, writers, publishers, teachers, educational specialists, political figures and other progressive forces, who kept in contact with not only the cultural centres of Ukraine, Bilorus and Moscovia, but also those of Western Europe. In particular, at the end of the XVI c. the Lviv brotherhood had one of the first printing-houses in Ukraine, a hospital, a library and a prominent Greek and Slavonic school that bred not only cultural figures but also teachers for other schools. Exactly under its influence in Lviv there was the cultural center of the talented youth. Its core was presented by an Orthodox figure and writer S.Zyzanij Pustanovsky, a poet and a scientist K.Stavrovetsky, a future theologist I.Boretsky and others. A considerable role in the national and cultural development of Ukraine in the XVII c. was played by the Kyivan brotherhood at Epiphany monastery. Except for the Kyivan middle class and clergy, a lot of Ukrainian gentry and Cossacks were its members. Its school incorporated with the school at the Kyiv and Pechersk monastery which afterwards grew into the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy.

School education in Ukraine at that time was based on achievements of educational specialists of previous times. In the second half of the XVI c. almost all cities, towns and villages had their own civil, home, church, or monasterial schools, where children were taught art of writing in the Old Church Slavonic language, arithmetics, prayers, singing, and others like that. And although these educational

establishments had different levels of teaching and confessional signs, all of them made a certain contribution to the development and distribution of education in Ukraine.

Ukrainian community was seriously disturbed by heterodox educational establishments which were open for the Orthodox Ukrainian youth. Well organized, with the newest European curricula, with the magnificent disputes and theatrical performances the protestant and Catholic schools were based on ideological and political principles of the Rzech Pospolita. That is why it was no wonder that the graduates of these establishments eagerly contributed to propagation of the strange faith and morals. That is why on the appeal of time the Volyn magnate K. Ostroz founded the first national high school, which did not yield to the European ones. He invited prominent Ukrainian and foreign scholars, who heaved it to the level of academy. The students of the school were taught in Slavonic language. They studied Greek, Latin, grammar, rhetoric, dialectics, mathematics, astronomy, music, considerable attention was paid to the study of works of Aristotle, Lucian, Ovidius, Vergilius and others. The Ostroh School put the beginning to the “Slavonic-Greek and Latin” type of schools in Ukraine. Its graduates traveled across Ukraine, spread knowledge and called the community to resistance to the Polish-Catholic offensive.

The beginning of book-printing in Ukraine had a great influence on the development of education, language and literature. The first Ukrainian printed works appeared in 1491 in Krakow, where on the request of Ukrainian community a German printer Schweipolt Fiol published “Chasoslovets” and “Osmyhlasnyk” in the Cyrillic alphabet, which were not only designed according to the sample of the Western European handwritten books but also printed according to the Ukrainian spelling of that time. The founder of permanent book-printing in Ukraine became Ivan Fedorov, who founded a printing-house in Lviv (1572-1573) and published “The Apostle” and “The Alphabet” there. Soon his printing-house became the property of the Lviv brotherhood and starting in 1594 it played a prominent part in the development of the Ukrainian book-printing. The first permanent Ukrainian printing-house was founded in Ostroh on the Volyn land, where 28 books including

the Bible by I.Fedorov (1580-1581) were published. “The Ostroh Bible” was the first complete edition of the Bible in the Slavonic language, which was well-known not only in Ukraine but also in Bilorus, Moscovia and Western Europe. The real development of book-printing in Naddnipryanshchyna began with the foundation of the Kyivan-Pechersk printing-house in 1616, which up to the XVIII c. was the largest in Ukraine. In 1616-1624 there were published a few considerable works, the prefaces to which were written by an archimandrite of the Kyiv and Pechersk Lavra (monastery of the highest rank) S.Pletenetsky. The chief printer in Lavra was Pavva Berynda. The first printing-house in Chernihiv was founded by K.Stavrovetsky (in 1626), where he printed his own works.

Attempts to make the Old Church Slavonic language approximate to the living national one (“The Peresop Gospel”) became a new phenomenon in the development of the literary language. Western European literature in this period was presented by the translations of works about Alexander Macedonian, Trojan War etc. Chronicle writing made a step forward, approximating to memoir presentation of events.

On the whole, poems, dramas, translated and polemic literature, works of L.Zyzanij, P.Berynda, K.Stavrovetsky, M.Smotrytsky, I.Boretsky, P.Mohyla and others were known far outside Ukraine. They were instrumental in cultural unity of Slavonic peoples, they united Slavs in fight against Catholic and Islam expansions.

Military subject, the images of domestic scenes, people and landscape were widely spread in the fine art. Folk art developed dynamically. The new genres appeared: dumas, historical songs which were put to the accompaniment of kobzas and banduras. People glorified the brave defenders of the country Bayda, Holota, Sahaydachny and many others.

As we can see, without regard to foreign expansion, violent policy of Catholicization and captivity, the cultural movement in Ukraine had the nature of cultural and national revival. The ideas of education and knowledge spread among common people, revival of national language and traditions, defence of forefathers’ faith, independent and free existence of people was spreading.

9. NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR OF UKRAINIAN PEOPLE IN THE MIDDLE OF THE XVII CENTURY

— *Reasons, Character and Motives of the Liberation War*

— *Features of the First Stage of the Fight for Liberation of Ukraine*

— *Rebuff of the Polish Gentry Aggression in 1649-1653*

The course of historical development of Ukraine led in 1648 to the national revolt against Polish-noble enslavement, which had its reasons for unendurable social, economic, national and religious oppression towards all layers of the Ukrainian community. The peasantry acted as the main motive force. The best armed and organized insurgents were the Zaporizhzhia Cossacks. The insurgents were supported by the Cossack starshyna, the Ukrainian gentry, the Orthodox clergy and the poor. The revolt outgrew in a war which had a liberation, just and national nature and was waged in the form of the national revolution.

The fight of the Ukrainian people was headed by an outstanding statesman, brilliant diplomat and talented war-lord Bohdan Zinovij Khmelnytsky. He was born in a family of a petty officer. He got a wonderful education and became one of the most educated people of his time. Khmelnytsky had a good command of foreign languages, knew history, law, geography, had a large military experience. Getting back from the Turkish captivity, Bohdan Khmelnytsky was enrolled to the register army and became a Chyhyryn sotnik (lieutenant of the Chyhyryn Cossacks). He was surrounded by the supporters of the decisive fight for national liberation. The Polish authority pursues him. That is why at the end of 1647, being a discharged prisoner, he escapes to Zaporizhzhia accompanied by his confederates.

The first stage of the liberation war of the Ukrainian people began by the Cossack revolt in Zaporizhzhia Sich. Exactly there in January 1648, B.Khmelnytsky defeated the Polish gentry garrison that had control over the Sich. It was then that the Cossack Counsel elected a

hetman, whereupon a preparation to launch a campaign against the Polish government widened its scope.

Trying to defeat the insurgents, the Polish troops headed for Zaporizhzhia. But in battles nearby Yellow Warters river in May, 15-16, and afterwards nearby Korsun in May, 26, they were defeated. The insurgents took a lot of trophies. A few thousand people and petty officers with the hetmans Pototsky and Kalynovsky at the head were taken prisoners. The first victories of the insurgents created favourable conditions for outgrowing of the wave of revolts into a mighty national liberation war of the Ukrainian people, which in turn allowed not only to destroy the Royal power on the Left Bank of the Dnieper, but also liberate the Kyivan region, Chernihiv and the Bratslav regions in summer of 1648.

Understanding that the domination of Poland was not done with, B.Khmelnysky established a regular army in autumn of 1648. It incorporated 35 regiments, 80 thousands of people in number. At the same time the Polish troops invaded the Western Podillia. Both armies met nearby the town of Pyliavytsi. Bitter fights lasted a few days. Finally, in September 13, during the decisive battle the Cossack-peasant troops completely defeated the enemy, took enormous trophies and entered Galicia. They were supported by numerous insurgent detachments there. The siege of Lviv and the strong fortress of Zamostya began. The High Castle fell down. In fact, the fate of Lviv was predetermined. But the autumn inclement weather, difficulties of war supplies, epidemic of plague forced Bohdan Khmelnytsky not to destroy the city, but content himself with redemption and get back to Podniprovyia. Besides, Khmelnytsky lost one of his talented associates M.Kryvonis, who played a decisive role in fights nearby Korsun, Pylyavytsi and during assault of the High Castle.

In December 1648, Bohdan Khmelnytsky got back to Kyiv at the head of the triumphant army, where he was met as “Ukrainian Moses”, who “liberated the people from the Polish slavery”. There began a period of state making which was interrupted by another Polish campaign against Ukraine. In June 1649 nearby Zbarazh the Cossack-peasant detachments surrounded a part of hostile troops, although they

sustained heavy losses. In particular, the noted colonels perished — S.Morozenko and K. Burlyaj. At the beginning of August a decisive battle took place nearby Zborov. The gentry troops were rescued from a complete defeat by an unreliable ally of the insurgents — the Tatar khan. During the decisive battle he requested B.Khmelnysky to halt the battle actions and open negotiations with the Polish king. It resulted in reaching the Zborov treaty on the 18th of August.

B.Khmelnysky made use of the peaceful respite. He launched a campaign against Moldova that supported the Polish magnates and formed an alliance in August, 1650.

During 1650-1651 a lot of skirmishes between Ukrainian and Polish troops took place, because the Zborov treaty satisfied neither of them. In February 1651 the Polish troops made a surprise attack on one of the Cossack regiments of Khmelnytsky's army in Podillia. In bitter fights nearby Krasne a national hero I.Nechaj perished. But the Polish attack nearby Vinnytsya was stopped by a talented colonel Ivan Bohun. Finally in June, 1651 one of the greatest battles of the Middle Ages took place in Volyn region nearby Berestechko. 300 thousand of people from both sides took part in the actions. The first two days were successful for Ukrainians. But the treachery of the Tatar khan at the crucial moment of the battle led to the Cossack-peasant army getting encircled. Under such conditions Bohun took command and managed to lead a part of the troops out of encirclement and force his way to Podniprovya.

The defeat nearby Berestechko was a terrible blow for the national liberation movement. The situation was also complicated by that the Lithuanian troops of the prince Radzyvil invaded Ukraine. They captured and brought to ruin Kyiv. Although their penetration of Ukrainian territory was stopped, there was not enough strength and facilities for the subsequent fight. That is why negotiations with the Polish government were completed on the 18th of September 1651 by signing the Bilotserkivsky treaty. But peace did not come to Ukraine. In 1652 there was another war. The final stage of the national liberation war began.

On May 23, 1652 in a fight on a plain Batih the Cossack-peasant

regiments gained a brilliant victory over the Polish army, almost all the territory of Ukraine was whereupon liberated. The contemporaries even called these actions “The Ukrainian Cannes”. In autumn, 1653 nearby Zhvanets the Cossack-peasant troops surrounded an 80-thousand Polish army. But this time, as it happened before, a treachery of the Crimean khan allowed Poland to avoid the defeat. Bohdan Khmelnytsky was forced to lead his regiments to Podniprovya. By the end of the year the battle actions were halted.

Thus, liberation war made off victory of the Ukrainian people. It passed three stages(I — in 1648), (II — 1649-1652), (III — in 1652-beginning of 1654). Despite the number of annoying defeats and failures, Ukrainian people defeated crack units of the Polish gentry and liberated a considerable part of Ukraine. During the fight a large landownership of the Polish magnates and gentry was annihilated, serf oppression was reduced, the Cossack state was considerably extended, military forces of Ukraine were founded. Bohdan Khmelnytsky’s patriotism would show up to a full degree and he led the Ukrainian people on the way to national and socio-economic liberation.

10. THE UKRAINIAN STATE SYSTEM MAKING DURING THE LIBERATION WAR

- *The Zborov Treaty in 1649 and Its Consequences*
- *Government Bodies Formation*
- *International Recognition of the Ukrainian State*

As a result of the first year of the people’s revolution on the liberated territory of Ukraine, the Polish power was destroyed and the hetman government was made. Ukraine broke off a state connection with Poland, set by the act of Lublin Union in 1569 and began formation of the own state system, its legal framework was pawned by the decisions of the Zborov treaty, concluded in August 18, 1649. On its terms the Ukrainian petty officers got far fewer than they required,

which did not correspond to success of the insurgents at the first stage of the war. In particular, the Cossack territory with the hetman government was limited to the Kyivan region, Chernihiv region and Podillia. Administrative positions there could only be taken by Cossack petty officers and Orthodox Ukrainian gentry. Only 40 thousand of Cossacks were inscribed to the register of the Zaporizhzhia army. All previous liberties were confirmed to them. Polish-Lithuanian troops did not have the right to appear on their territory. The question concerning existence of the Union was submitted on the regular meeting of the Sejm. They also promised to give the orthodox metropolitan a position in the Polish Sejm.

The conditions of the treaty satisfied well-to-do Cossacks, because they preserved the dominating position. But the threat of renewal of Polish-noble domination overhang above other layers of population. The Zborov treaty almost did not facilitate peasants' life. Tens of thousands of them remained serfs. The Cossack and town poor people were also doomed to feudal oppression. Such an outcome of Bohdan Khmelnytsky's short-sighted policy resulted in a new, yet more bitter people's war.

The insurgents were not able to retain what they had attained. Dissatisfied by the terms of the Zborov treaty Poland broke it and destroyed the Cossack units in the battle nearby Berestechko. According to the Bilotserkivsky treaty almost all the territories of Ukraine went to Poland. Only the Kyivan province remained under the hetman's reign. Polish gentry's rights were restored and they came into possession of their own estates. Peasants were yet more enslaved, the Cossack register grew short twice, and the hetman's rights were limited. The situation in Ukraine by little differed from being in 1648. Only in 1653 the Bilotserkivsky treaty was broken and Ukraine's independence was restored.

However, liquidation of the Polish administration during the first stage of the war put terms for creation of the own national state system. The Zborov treaty allowed to implement this program to a certain extent.

So as actually the power passed to the Zaporizhzhia army, an

independent administrative-territorial unit, its experience of a military organization was carried on the liberated territories of Ukraine. These territories were divided into 16 regiments and 272 hundreds. This organization became the only political, administrative, military and judicial power in Ukraine. It consisted of three governments: general, regimental and sotnian. Formally the Military Rada (Council) was the higher government body. But it was not a constantly working body and was convened only for the decision of major questions of life of Ukraine. Really the higher power belonged to the general government, which was represented by the hetman and general officers. They performed the duties of the Ministry and were engaged in organization of the state. The hetman, as the Ukrainian leader, was provided with wide powers in political, military, financial and judicial spheres. He issued obligatory normative acts, convened Councils, was the higher judicial instance. General officers managed separate industries of management. Regimental and sotnian governments managed locally. The regimental government consisted of the Colonel and regimental governmental officials which were elected by the regimental officer. The sotnian government consisted of the sotnyk and his assistants. In towns and villages management was carried out through the ramified system of local self-government.

Ukraine created the military forces at this period. Their quantity was not permanent. But on the whole at wartime the army numbered 300 thousand people.

In order to financially support state making the tax system was introduced. Profits went mostly from direct taxes which were paid by the whole population of Ukraine, except for the registered Cossacks. The money system was created at this time.

The legal system was original. On the one hand, Lithuanian regulations and the Magdeburg right remained valid. On the other hand, influence of common law grew in combination with the acts of the higher administrative power. At the same time the Church kept spiritual courts.

During the liberation war Ukraine as the equal in rights subject of international relations was acknowledged by the Crimea, Turkey, Moldova, Hungary, Moscovia, Sweden, Voloshchyna, Lithuania and

other states. Ukraine maintained diplomatic relations with many foreign countries. The events in Ukraine were under attentive observation of England, Denmark and France. It was favoured by active foreign-policy activity of Bohdan Khmelnytsky, who did all possible for strengthening of international authority of the Ukrainian state.

Consequently, without regard to the permanent Polish threat, Bohdan Khmelnytsky managed to create the Ukrainian state which was recognized in Europe. The new power was created instead of the annihilated Polish administrative bodies. The features of the Ukrainian state system give reasons to consider that it was based on the republican form of government.

11. THE PEREYASLAV COUNCIL OF 1654 AND ITS CONSEQUENCES FOR UKRAINE

— *Pre-Conditions of the Ukrainian-Russian Treaty in 1654*

— *Political and Legal Status of Ukraine in the Structure of the Russian Empire*

— *Violation of the Allied Treaties by the Tsar's Government*

The Ukrainian Hetman state was formed in the bitter fight against the Polish domination. But Poland did not submit to reality, tried to get what had been lost. That is why Bohdan Khmelnytsky pinned his hopes on external support. But the alliances were unreliable and did not provide independence. The situation was getting worse. Ruins and devastations put the young state before the choice, either to capitulate and lose what had been attained or to save the day by the strong neighbour. Searches for a promoter and defender, that would protect on the international arena and not interfere for internal affairs, were solved in favour of Turkey and Moscovia. Formally in 1651 the Turkish sultan acknowledged Ukraine as the vassal. But internal confusions did not allow to implement what had been planned. There was Moscow. During the war with Poland there were 13 Moscow embassies in Ukraine.

Trying to persuade Moscovia to declare war on Poland, Bohdan Khmelnytsky suggested adopting its protectorate in return. But Moscovia waited till Ukrainians and Poles exhaust each other. And although in February 1651, the Zemsky Sobor (Council) agreed to this suggestion, no real steps were taken. Only when exhaustion of the Ukrainian people reached its limits, the tsar's government convened on October 1, 1653 the Zemsky Sobor. Its members contented to adopt the Cossack-Hetman state under the tsar's protectorate. The extraordinary diplomatic mission with a boyar V. Buturlin at the head was sent to Ukraine. War on Poland was declared.

At the beginning of January 1654 Buturlin's mission and Bohdan Khmelnytsky met with cossacks in Pereyaslav. During the meeting the final decision about Ukraine's transition under the tsar's protectorate was made. On the 8th of January Khmelnytsky confirmed it on the main town's square. But there were serious complications. Swearing allegiance to the tsar, the Cossack officers required, that tsars' ambassadors on behalf of the monarch should swear to protect them from Poland and respect their rights and privileges. This request was denied, because the Moscow system was based not on democratic, but on absolutist-totalitarian principles. In order not to wreck the talks and not to lose the tsar's support B. Khmelnytsky and the cossack officers agreed to a unanimous oath. 284 cossacks and a small group of Pereyaslav petty bourgeois swore. On January 12, the general officers requested that the Moscow ambassadors should conclude a writing state guarantee treaty, but they got a refusal again.

In Soviet historiography the primary purpose of the revolt in 1648 was declared as the reunion of Ukrainians and Russians. The Pereyaslav Council appeared as an act of realization of the native dream of Ukrainian people when the cossack officers swore on behalf of all people, of all strata of the Ukrainian society. It does not correspond to the facts. There were no representatives of the Zaporizhzhia Sich in Pereyaslav. Ivan Sirko did not arrive there as well. Ivan Bohun, the first Cossack strategist after B. Khmelnytsky, did not perceive the ideas of the Pereyaslav Council. Uman, Hadyach and Bratslav regiments, Ukrainian clergy, many petty bourgeois, women and peasants did not swear at all.

As we can see, the Pereyaslav treaty did not exist. The Pereyaslav Council was small in number. It was of a representative and declarative nature and had no legal force. There was only a one-sided oath taken by the hetman, some officers, cossacks and petty bourgeois. In Pereyaslav the Ukrainian government got no single official document that would acknowledge the terms of association of two states, no single written guarantee of implementation by the tsar's government of verbal assertions of the Moscow ambassadors. What is true is that the Pereyaslav events became a turning point in history of Ukraine, Russia and East Europe. Moscovia, which was isolated and backward for that time, made an enormous step on the way of transformation into a large state. From that time the fate of Ukraine was related to the fate of Russia.

The political and legal status of Ukraine after the acceptance of protectorate of the Moscow state was defined by so-called "The March Articles" and "Letters Patent of the Tsar Aleksej Mikhailovich to the Zaporizhzhia Army on the 27th of March, 1654". They fastened the maintainance in inviolability of the framework of the Hetmanate state society, the previous order of management and judicial system, the former division on classes, previous rights and privileges of the Cossacks and some classes, finances, right for relations with foreign countries, independence of Orthodox Church. Moscovia undertook to protect the ally from encroachments of Poland. But at the same time Ukrainians had to pay a tribute to the tsar's treasury, and Moscow military pledge was introduced in Kyiv.

Thus, the union with Moscovia in 1654 was concluded from the hard, real reasonings of the Ukrainian policy. A considerable part of Ukraine, perceiving the protectorate of the Moscow tsar, came forward as a vassal administrative-territorial unit, remaining in future a separate state organism.

If in the first years after signing the treaty the Moscow government did not interfere with the internal affairs of Ukraine, then gradually still in Khmelnytsky's life-time it tried to subordinate Ukraine. Moscow boyars began to interfere with the financial matters of the Hetman state, trying to get profits.

Moscow tried to take the obtained territories under its power and

annihilated Ukrainian pledge. Moscow ambassadors in the hetman's capital Chyhyryn resorted to espionage, provoked revolts in Cossack regiments, agitated against the hetman's government, tried to discredit his policy. Enmity arose also in recently conquered Bilorus, where the population wished to have the Cossack government system. Ultimately, in 1656 during the talks with Poland, the Moscow commission did not allow Ukrainian delegates to enter the negotiations and signed the Vilno treaty without their content. This act was considered in Chyhyryn as s treason of the tsar.

Thus, Bohdan Khmelnytsky signed the treaty with Moscovia owing to its geopolitical situation. At that time Moscovia could guarantee Ukraine's defence. Such a step was politically justified.

But subsequent development of the allied relations did not happen. Ukraine did not have state-creative prospects in composition of Russia, because the interests of the Russian monarchy and the Ukrainian Cossack republic with its democratic institutes were opposite. Afterwards these contradictions outgrew in the fight between Ukraine and Russia. The course and consequences of this fight depended on the correlation of forces of both sides. In the end the situation was not favourable for Ukraine and it lost the independence.

12. SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SITUATION IN UKRAINE IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE XVII CENTURY

— *The War Between Moscovia and Poland and Its Consequences*

— *Changes of Social, Economic and Political Situation in Ukraine*

— *Struggle of the Ukrainian People Against the Turkish-Tatar Aggression and Its Consequences*

The Ukraine-Moscow treaty resulted in emerge of new military-political alliances. In particular, Poland united with Tatars, which during

the Cossack-Moscow offensive in Bilorus ravaged the Right-Bank Ukraine. Poland was attacked and devastated by the Swedes. Soon Poland was invaded by the cossack troops in alliance with the semyhorodsky king. Ukraine-Moscow relations were sharpened by the independent foreign policy of Ukraine and its rapprochement with Sweden.

After Bohdan Khmelnytsky's death in 1657 the Cossack officers began the fight for power, which lasted for a century. However, the hetman's successor I. Vyhovsky tried to defend independence of the state. He entered into alliance with Sweden and Rome, opened negotiations with Poland, broke off relations with Moscow. In 1658 in Hadyach, there was an understanding that collision with Moscow was inevitable. Vyhovsky signed the agreement with Poland. In obedience to the agreement Ukraine as a separate state with its own government was a member of the Polish Kingdom. The Orthodox Church was equaled in rights with the Catholic Church. The Seym was common. Freedom of speech and freedom of print were introduced. The Kyiv-Mohyla Academy was equaled in rights with Krakow University. There was another academy and schools founded.

Elimination of large landownership brought back to life basic industry of economy of Ukraine — agriculture. High-quality changes in the system of cultivating soil quickly heaved up its productivity. Specialization of separate regions deepened. Rural industry grew. Industrial development of the Left-Bank and Suburb Ukraine came alive substantially. Weaving, smithery, carpentry and other trades were widely practised. There were breweries and mills built in many settlements. Production of glass, iron and saltpetre was developing. Up to 300 handicrafts were counted in Naddnipryanshchyna. Development of agricultural and industrial production was instrumental in distribution of international trade. Through the territory of Ukraine a large trade-route was created between Moscovia and Western Europe, Baltic and Balkan countries, the Crimea and Turkey. The main shopping centers were Kyiv, Nizhyn, Chernihiv and Starodub.

Unfortunately, these successes were brought to nothing by negative tendencies of the state development. In particular, the elective military-

administrative system was changed for the successive one. Cossack officers used their position for the increase of influence and sufficiency. Due to the appropriation of public, cossack and peasant parcels of land they grew into big landowners. Liquidation of the Polish domination washed out the scopes of the layers of society. Clergy, petty bourgeois and peasants could easily become members of the Cossackdom or pass to other classes. The ideas of social equality were extraordinary widely spread.

That new apex gradually deepened the division of society in classes, encroached on liberties of common Cossacks, petty bourgeois and peasantry. Almost all settlements fell under its power, and the row of towns lost their self-governments. The cossack apex was supported by the orthodox clergy. In reward for personifying faith, arguing against influence of Moscow and encroachments of Poland, the Ukrainian Church got new lands with the peasants added to them and grew into a powerful landowner. As a result, such a policy split the Ukrainian society. The tsar's government made its contribution to the situation. From 1663 it settled all the problems with Ukraine through the Little-Rus Court in a complete consent with the hetmanate government bodies on places.

Under conditions of permanent Turkish-Tatar aggression a prominent role in its severance was played by Zaporizhzhia Sich and its ataman Ivan Sirko. Headed by him detachments carried out four raids against the Crimean khanate and Turkish fortresses Ochakiv and Islamkermen. Only during the raid in 1667 Kafa was occupied and 2 thousand captives were liberated. But it was needed not only to protect but also to restore independence of Ukraine. In 1668 hetman of the Right-Bank Ukraine Petro Doroshenko was proclaimed the hetman of all Ukraine. Unfortunately, the fight against Poland and Moscovia on the side of Muslims compromised him. In 1672 he signed the agreement about transition of Ukraine under Turkey's power. As a result Turkey captured and devastated Podillya, part of Volyn and East Galicia. Finally Cossacks broke with him. Meantime Turkey proclaimed Yuriy Khmelnytsky "the prince of the Little-Rus Ukraine". In 1677-1678 it attacked Chyhyryn twice. The capital of Cossack-

hetmanate Ukraine was razed to the ground. It seemed to the Ukrainian society to be a symbol of death of the Right-Bank Ukraine. Yuriy Khmelnytsky's attempt to raise the Right-Bank Ukraine from ruins resulted in its devastation by the troops of hetman of the Left-bank Ukraine I. Samoylovych and violent migration of population to the Left-Bank Ukraine. The military operations exhausted forces of the counteractive sides. In 1681 Turkey and Moscovia concluded a truce in Bakhchisaraj. Both sides consented to keep South Kyiv, Bratslav and Podillia under Turkey's nominal power. The territory between the Buh and the Dnieper remained uninhabited and neutral.

Thus, after Bohdan Khmelnytsky's death, Ukrainian petty officers began to struggle for power. Some of them were Russia-oriented, others — Poland-oriented. The crisis of political power was deepened by predatory Polish and Turkish-Tatar attacks. Ultimately, it resulted in the decline of Ukraine. The period between 1669 and 1683 went down in history under the name "Ruin". At the end of the XVII c. Ukrainian lands were parted between Moscovia, Poland and Turkey.

13. UKRAINE IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE XVIII CENTURY

— *Ukraine During the Northern War. Hetman I. Mazepa's Power*

— *Tsarismus's Offensive on Ukraine*

— *Peculiarities of the Social and Economical Situation in the Right-Bank Ukraine*

From the end of the XVII c. the competition among northern states of Europe increased, that led to the Northern War (1700-1721). The war had a significant effect on the future correlation of political forces on the continent: instead of a powerful for that moment Sweden the Moscovia state (which began to be called Russia) becomes a crucial force on the East of Europe. This fact had a tremendous impact on

Ukraine: it lost the remains of its autonomy and became the Russian empire's province.

A big coalition of states comprising Russia, Denmark, Saxonia and Poland was made for the purpose of struggling with Sweden. Nevertheless, the young Swedish king defeated them one by one. On November 19, 1700 the Swedish army defeated the Moscovia troops of Peter I at the Narva river.

Ukraine being bound by the conditions of agreements with the Moscovia state, and considering geopolitical circumstances on the East of Europe, had to take part in the Northern war. From the very outset of the war the Ukrainian regiments from Poltava, Chernihiv, Nizhyn and other places were engaged in battles. In 1701 the Ukrainian troops were rather active: some of their parts along with the Moscovia regiment under the command of prince Repin helped Poles and Saxon men at Riga. The main forces of the Cossacks' army with I. Mazepa at the head dislocated in Bilorus. 17-thousand Moscovia and Ukrainian corps headed by Danylo Apostol defeated the Swedish regiment at Erstfehr.

Hetman I. Mazepa and his government set their major task to save the traditional cossack structure of statehood in Ukraine, to prevent Moscow's interference with internal affairs of Hetmanshchyna, under favourable conditions to unite the lands which were under other states' power with Hetmanshchyna. Keeping in mind these tasks I. Mazepa's government negatively reacted to the idea of Moscow's union with Poland seeing it as a threat to Ukraine's strivings to unite the Right-Bank Ukraine with Hetmanshchyna, whose bigger part was under the Polish governing before the times of Hetmanshchyna.

The war dragged on. Great expences were spent for it. Many thousands of Ukrainian cossacks died in battles, while building fortresses and the new capital of the Russian empire — Petersburg. This caused a great outrage among Ukrainians. Tsar Peter I demanded new victims from Ukraine. In such circumstances the leadership of hetmanate Ukraine decided to establish ally relations with Sweden, to break up with Russia and to get a total independence for their Motherland. But a further circle of events was unfavourable for Ukraine. On June 27, 1709 Peter's I troops defeated Swedes at Poltava.

Poltava disaster had bad consequences for Ukraine. Hetman I. Mazepa and his close surrounding along with a few thousands of cossacks had to leave the native land. Thus, the first Ukrainian immigration which was headed by a general clerk Pylyp Orlyk, a member of Mazepa's leadership, emerged abroad.

Ukrainian folks had to go through great sufferings. Severe tortures haunted everyone who was suspected of a struggle for Ukraine's independence. At the same time the government of Peter I ignored all customs and traditions of Ukraine, deprived its autonomy. Under the tsar's order a new position of a minister-resident was made who was assigned to accompany hetman I. Skoropadsky and was supposed to watch and inform on political events in Ukraine to the tsar. Peter I awarded his informers and other enemies of Ukraine with a land property, promoted serfdom spread. In 1724 hetman P. Polubotok and other Ukrainian members of the leadership which were demanding full autonomous rights were imprisoned in the Peter-and-Paul's fortress on Peter's I order. The tendency of ruining the Ukrainian statehood with some deviations went on at times of Peter's I followers. In the long run, hetmanate was abolished in Ukraine in 1764, the majority of peasants were turned into serfs.

Life in the Right-Bank Ukraine, that was under Poland's governing, was no better. Its population was constantly under the threat of tatars and turks devastations, endured pressure of polish magnates. The latter didn't pay any notice of the Ukrainian government, kept their own regiments and made their short shrifts and massacre.

As a result of the polish national oppression living conditions became unbearable. Polish officials carried out the colonization policy in the Right-Bank Ukraine, tried to suppress the Ukrainian culture. By the decision of the Polish Sejm of 1796 the Polish language was introduced to administrative and legal organizations. The social and national oppression was accompanied by a religious one. All that caused indignation of wide circles of Ukrainian population which sometimes grew into Haidamaks' riots.

Therefore, the living conditions considerably got worse in Ukraine in the first half of the XVIII c. Ukraine lost the remains of its autonomy

on the territory of Hetmanshchyna. Its people suffered from a hard national, social and economical supression on the part of foreign governors and magnates.

14. THE CHANGE OF ADMINISTRATIVE AND POLITICAL SYSTEMS AND ECONOMIC LIFE OF UKRAINE IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE XVIII CENTURY

— *Ukraine's Autonomous System Liquidation*

— *The Development of Industry and Agriculture in the Left-Bank Ukraine and Slobozhanshchyna*

In the second half of the XVIII c. the Russian government continued to conduct its policy, that restricted the power of Ukrainian hetmans. This trend was reinforced at the beginning of the reign of Catherine II, whose intention was to cancel the autonomy and reinforce centralism in the Russian empire. In a secret instruction to the general-public prosecutor prince Vyazemsky hypocritically wrote to the Empress: “Little Russia, Lifyandiya and Finland are provinces, which are ruled by the privileges granted to them; to break these privileges immediately would be too inconvenient. These provinces, as well as Smolenshchyna, should be unostentatiously brought about to the point, when they will become russified and cease being hostile”.

But this was only a disguise, which could be easily seen in the rough actions of Catherine II and her satraps. In 1764 the Empress offered hetman K.Rozumovsky to abdicate “on his own accord”. The latter was compelled to obey the Monarch’s will, having stated thus a request to relieve him “from such an arduous and dangerous government”. For his submissiveness K.Rozumovsky received a pension in amount of 60 thousand roubles annually and enormous land properties, which was not usual for the time. On November 10, 1764 the manifesto of the Empress to “the Little Russian folk” about the

liberation of K.Rozumovsky from the hetman's power and the introduction of the Little Russian board with a president and a general-governor Earl P. Rumiantsev at the head appeared. Nothing was mentioned about the election of a new hetman. The old wish of Moscow rulers, "to make even the name of hetmans vanish into thin air" began to come true.

The Earl P.Rumiantsev received a secret instruction from Catherine II, which described the outline of his actions. It was said in it, that the treasury had too small profit from the rich Ukrainian land. The need to liquidate the differences, which distinguished Ukrainians from Moscow people, was especially emphasized. The Empress advised her officials to be attentive in keeping a check on the Ukrainian top class and calm down any displays of discontent on the part of the foremen. This was a program of transformation of the Ukrainian lands into Russian provinces deprived of any rights and the destruction of the national Ukrainian traditions. It was constantly and consistently carried out by Russian officials. For this purpose Hetmanshchyna (the territory was divided into three regions: the Kyiv, the Chernihiv and Novhorod-Siversky ones) was made. The all-Russian administrative and court establishments were introduced and every region was divided into smaller land parts (povet). At the same time they eliminated the old regiment system introduced by Bohdan Khmelnytsky. Cossacks were deprived of their old rights and were transformed into soldiers, which resulted in a commotion and armed oppositions. Besides, in 1769-1770 the rebellions of the Donetsk and Dnieper regiments took place in the south of Ukraine and were severely suppressed by the Russian government.

The changes of the administrative and political systems in the second half of the XVIII century made an impact on social relations and economic position of Ukraine. One must point out that agriculture remained the leading branch of economy. Ukraine kept on cultivating corn, wheat, barley, buckwheat, oats, millet, flax, hemp, tobacco, spring wheat, etc.

After cancellation on a great land-ownership of Polish magnates and members of the Polish gentry in the epoch of Khmelnytsky the

Fund of the state lands of “the Zaporizhzhia Troops” was created in Ukraine. The most wide-spread form of the land property became petty Cossack and peasant agriculture. But gradually the system in agriculture changed, the mobilization of the land property, its concentration in Cossack foremen’s hands became more visible. The latter owned not only the significant part of farmlands, but also hayfields, mills and other facilities of the agricultural products conversion. The strengthening of peasants enslaving by foremen was observed. Previously Ivan Mazepa limited the superciliousness by his decrees to 1-2 days at week, but in the second half of the XVIII century the exploitation of peasants became much more intensive. After the liquidation of Hetmanshchyna’s autonomous system, the Little Russian board conducted population and farms census in order to increase taxes. The example of serfdom in Russia which had existed there for a long time in the most loathsome kind had a negative influence on the Ukrainian peasantry. The situation when peasants were forbidden to change their place of living became more frequent. Finally on May 3, 1783 Catherine II issued an edict, which forbade peasants to move to new places. This edict legalized serfdom in Ukraine. The same processes in social relations also took place in Slobozhanshchyna, but it was considered that serfdom here was less intensive.

The spread of manufacturing production was a characteristic feature of Hetmanshchyna and Slobozhanshchyna. The number of cloth, sailing-linen, silk, glass, brick and other textile mills increased. Almost all of them were based on handwork with a broad usage of serfs. This prevented the development of capitalistic manufacturing. The developed branches of industry remained mining, production of saltpeter. Amongst their owners were representatives of petty cossack officers, clergy, merchants, townfolk. In 1766 Kyiv, for instance, had several hundreds of pubs.

Together with that there appeared a tendency of transformation of Ukraine into the Russian colony, which was a direct consequence of the Russian government politics. The latter limited the Ukrainian foreign trade, hampered the development of industrial goods, forced to supply the Russian industry with raw materials.

Thereby, the second half of the XVIII century is characterized by reinforcement of the feudal-serf relations, intensive enslavement of peasantry on the territory of the Left-Bank Ukraine and Slobozhanshchyna that was directly connected with the fact that Ukraine had lost its autonomous state system. This made a negative impact both on the industry development and that of the trade, made it inconsequential and contradictory.

15. THE NATIONAL-LIBERATION AND ANTISERFDOM STRUGGLE IN UKRAINE IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE XVIII CENTURY

— *Premises of the Liberation Movement Arising*

— *Peasantry Rebellions*

— *The Consequences of the Liberation Struggle for Ukrainian People*

As a consequence to the war between Russia and Turkey Peter I lost the Right-Bank Ukraine. Retreating, the Emperor's troops destroyed cities and villages, and took their inhabitants away to the left bank of the Dnieper. In 1714 the uninhabited lands became the property of the Polish Kingdom (Rzech Pospolita) according to the Polish-Turkish agreement. The Polish government commenced "a new colonization" of the region. The promises to help in the arrangement of the state and to exempt from duties contributed to fast settling of these lands by peasants from Volyn, Galicia and Polissia. But soon serfdom and duties were renewed. The oppression of the Orthodox Church was also restored. The Orthodox parishes were liquidated, the clergy was pursued, and its other ranks had to do their duties with peasants.

The protest against the power of the Polish magnates in the Left-Bank Ukraine transformed into the Haydamak movement. Haydamaks were considered by Poles to be the peasants, who ran away from serfdom and hid in inaccessible places and made their forays on the

property of the Polish land-owners from there. The First active mass disturbances took place in 1734 — 1738, in 1750. The Zaporizhzhia Sich (Host) gave a powerful support to Haydamaks. Quite often the Zaporizhzhia not only gave a refuge to Haydamaks, but also were at the head of their troops.

In 1768 the Polish government (Sejm) under the pressure of Russia made both the Roman Catholicism and other religions equal in rights and forbade the capital punishment for peasants. The part of the Polish magnates were strongly opposed to the progressive reforms, stood for reinforcement of the Catholic power, having created the so called Landowners' confederacy. Operations were started between the members of the Confederacy and the Russian troops. The general public of the Ukrainian peasantry have taken them as a signal for a rebellion against the Polish land-owners and the Jewish lessees.

The Haydamak movement of the year 1768 entered the history under the name Koliivshchyna (from the word *koliy* "a rebel"). The movement covered the Kyiv region, Bratslavshchyna, and a part of Podillia, Volyn and Polissia. Its organizers were the Orthodox priests with Father Superior of the Motryoninskiy-Troitsk monastery M.Znachko-Yavorsky and a novice of this monastery Cossack Maksym Zalizniak at the head. The reasons, which conditioned the development of this movement, were: firstly, the reinforcement of the Polish land-owners' and magnates' oppression; secondly, the reduction of the peasants' land property; thirdly, the increase of serfdom; fourthly, the limitation of the Orthodox rights; fifthly, violent actions of the Confederacy members, etc. The registered court Cossacks, peasants, lower middle class, and the Orthodox clergy took an active participation in the rebellion. Their demands were: firstly, deliverance from the Polish magnates' oppression; secondly, receiving of Cossack's rights back; thirdly, protection of the Orthodox religion and fight with forcible conversion into Catholicism; fourthly, deliverance from the foreign oppression, etc.

The rebellions seized Zhabotyn, Smila, Cherkasy, Fastiv, Kaniv, Bohuslav and other inhabited localities. In June, when a sotnyk of the

Pototsky court troops Ivan Honta joined the rebellions with a part of the Uman garrison, they seized a well fortified town Uman and got rid of their own exploiters. On the assembled council Maksym Zalizniak was elected the hetman, and Ivan Honta — a colonel and a prince of Uman.

In June-July, 1768 about thirty rebel troops acted in the Left-Bank Ukraine. On the conquered territories they restored the traditional Cossack management body, cancelled serfdom, and got rid of the hated Polish land-owners and the Jewish lessees.

The mutual efforts of Russia and Poland put down the rebellion. About one thousand insurgents of the Polish subjects and I.Honta himself after terrible tortures were executed in Poland. 250 insurgents of the Russian subjects, including M.Zalizniak, after tortures were exiled to Siberia by the Emperor's government.

Koliivshchyna of the year 1768 stroke one more blow at the rotted-through system covered with blood, which existed in Poland, and played a significant role in the coming-to-be of the freedom-loving traditions of Ukrainian people. But this was the last great rebellion in the Left-Bank Ukraine. After the Russian monarchy's open support of the Polish land-owners in their struggle against the insurgents, the hopes for liberation of the Ukrainian peasantry went out. Besides, the liquidation of the Zaporizhzhia Sich in 1775 made them lose their base, which used to them shelter and support.

In other regions of Ukraine in the second half of the XVIII century peasants' rebellions also took place. So, in Prykarpattia (territory in the West of Ukraine that stretches up to the Carpathian mountains) insurgents were called *Opryshky*. From 1738 till 1745 at the head of their movement the son of a mercenary from Pechenizhyn, in Pokuttia Oleksa Dovbush was. Opryshky hit upon the Polish land-owners and shared their property among themselves. In 1745 O.Dovbush was killed by the Polish mercenary. But the movement of Opryshky continued. Vasyl Baiurak and Ivan Boichuk, the followers of Dovbush, were at its head. Poland didn't manage to put down the movement completely, since hid in hardly available regions of the Carpathians, and in case of threat waited out in Moldova or Hungary. Only after

these territories were joined to the Austrian empire the movement of Opryshky began to subside.

The further colonization policy of the Monarchy also led to the struggle of Ukrainians against their enslavers. In 1754 a rebellion took place near Zhytomyr, in 1757 — in Nemyriv and Uman, in 1761 — in Lysianka, in 1764 — in Vinnytsia.

The significant influence upon the liberation struggle of Ukrainian people was made by the Peasantry war of the years 1773 — 1775, at the head of which was O. Pugachov. Many people, who had been born in Ukraine, took part in it. At the head of some regiments there were Ukrainian atamans V.Zhurba, S.Cherkashyn and others. In Slobozhanshchyna the rebel troops with Utvenko and Neustroeva at the head acted in this time, and the colonels of Pugachov, Emelianov and Stodola came to the Zaporizhzhia Sich for agitation among Cossacks.

In the 70-s Ā at the beginning of the 80-s of the XVIII century a rebel troop with Semen Harkusha at the head was glorified among peasants. He was repeatedly arrested, but managed to escape and continued to fight until he was caught and sent to penal servitude.

The process of the further enslavement of people in Ukraine resulted in a legal registration of the serfdom on May 3, 1783 in the Left-Bank Ukraine and Slobozhanshchyna. This prohibited peasants to change places of their living, and the duty reached 4-5 days a week. As a reaction new rebellions took places.

The rebellion in a village Turbai, Poltava region gained the broad publicity. This village was a constituent part of the Myrhorod regiment and was considered to be free. But when its inhabitants were oppressively converted into serfs and all complaints turned out to be futile, the peasants got rid of their own landlords the Bazylevsky and robbed their property. The inhabitants of this village created the Cossack self-management system and from 1789 till 1793 tried to assert their rights. In 1793 the imperial chastisers put down the revolt. More than 100 peasants were punished and exiled to penal servitude to Siberia. The rest were evicted to the Southern regions of Ukraine.

The liberation fight of Ukrainian people in the second half of the

XVIII century was a natural reaction to the renewal of the feudal-serf system in Ukraine. It unsteadied its foundations and promoted the formation of the national consciousness of Ukraine. Unfortunately, despite the sharpest form of social — political struggle, the country's struggle was finished unsuccessfully. The peasantry was not able to suggest anything constructive, and they could not do that in those conditions. And though the moral spirit of people, their unity in the struggle with their enslavers was high, the spontaneity of the public movements, their disorganization, locality, the heterogeneity of the participants, naive monarchism, absence of a precise program actions and purposes, bad arms — are the reasons for their defeat.

So, in reply to a political, social, national, religious oppression in the second half of the XVIII century the struggle against the enslavers in the sharpest form of the armed national revolts took place. And though the rebels suffered a defeat, they contributed to: firstly, raise of national-liberation movement; secondly, continuation of the Cossacks' traditions in the business of protection of the people's rights; thirdly, raise of the national consciousness of the Ukrainian people.

16. THE NOTHERN PRYCHORNOMORYA AND THE RIGHT-BANK UKRAINE BECOMING THE RUSSIAN TERRITORIES

— *The Struggle for New Land Properties*

— *Settling and Development of the Joined Territory*

— *The Consequences of Poland's Division for Ukrainian People*

For a century after the unsuccessful campaign in 1686 Russia tried to win the Crimea. The Russian and Ukrainian armies between 1734 and 1739 came to the territory of the peninsula, but the military campaign was finished without results. During the second half of the XVIII of century there were two bloody Russian — Turkish wars

(1768-1774 and 1787-1792) for the right of authority in the Northern Prychornomorya, where Ukrainian Cossacks participated. It was caused by: firstly, the struggle for safety of the Southern borders of Russia; secondly, the attempt to consolidate the hold of the Black Sea; thirdly, the attempt to obtain new territories; fourthly, the need of nobility for new fertile lands; fifthly, the struggle for an exit into the Mediterranean sea and consolidation of its presence on the Balkans; sixthly, the rivalry between Russia, Austria and France, etc. Turkey tried to keep the status quo in the South-Eastern Europe.

The military actions showed the weakness of the Osmanli empire. Thus, in 1769 the Russian army, in whose structure there were also the Ukrainian regiments, seized Azov, Taganrog, Khotyn, Yassy. In 1770 the Turkish armies were defeated on the rivers Larga and Kagul. Meanwhile the Zaporizhzhian colonel Tretyak defeated the Turkish flotilla and also destroyed 11 ships in the mouth of the Danube. The same year the Russian fleet smashed the Turkish squadron in the Chesmen bay in the Egey Sea. The next year Russia took the possession of the Crimea. In 1773 the army, at the head of which was Alexander Suvorov, took hold of the fortress Turtukay and in 1774 smashed the Turkish army near the village Kozluzh.

Ukrainian Cossacks took active part in the war. So, from the Left-Bank Cossacks body containing 12 thousand Cossacks was created, and the voluntary Cossack body — from the inhabitants of the Right-Bank Ukraine. The members of the Zaporizhzhia Sich entered the structure of the working army. In 1796 the Zaporizhzhian army totaled 7474 cavarly and 5773 foot Cossacks. Petro Kalnyshevsky was at their head, who showed a real talent of the commander during the battle actions. Cossacks carried out protection of the definite areas of Ukraine, provided the communication of the Russian army, carried out the separate strategic tasks, promoted the separation of the Nogayan Horde from the Crimean khanate, etc. In November, 1769 the Cossack troops put a defeat to the Tatar armies near the river Vovcha, took part in fights in Kinburn, under Ochakiv and Hadzhibey. Cossacks went to Tuluha, Ismail, assaulted Perekop, and seized Kafa. In 1771-1772 in the decisive fights the Zaporizhzhian fleet (19 boats

with a thousand team of the foot Cossacks) in the structure of the created by P.Rumyantsev the Danube flotilla was glorified.

The war was finished by signing the Kyuchuk-Kaynardzhir peace treaty in 1774. Russia received the access to the Black sea and the right of free trade navigation. Russia got the territory between the Dnieper and the Southern Buh on the bottom current up to the coast of the Black Sea, fortress Kinburn in a mouth of the Dnieper, east part of the Kerch peninsula, Azov with the adjoining lands. The Crimean khanate was proclaimed independent. Besides, Russia achieved the right to act on protection of rights of the Christian peoples of the Osmanli empire.

After the war's end the rivalry between Russia and Turkey proceeded. Turkey began to put significant efforts for getting the Crimea back. As a response the Crimea was included into the structure of the Russian empire in April of 1783. In its turn Turkey could not reconcile to this act and in 1787 a new war broke out.

In this war together with the Russian armies an active part was taken by the so called the Buh Cossacks army made in 1784 from the former Zaporizhzhian Cossacs. (In 1775 the Zaporizhzhia Sich was destroyed under the order of Catherine II). The Cossack troops took part in the Ochakiv fight (1788), took possession of the island Berezan (1788), Hadzhibey, Akerman, took part in the assault of Ismail. For bravery in fights the Cossack association began to be named "The army of the faithful Black Sea Cossacks". G.Potiomkin even accepted the title of "The Great Hetman". As a whole, the participation of Cossacks in military actions was not as significant, as in the previous war.

After the defeat at Machyn in 1791 Turkey concluded the Yassy agreement with Russia. Russia received the territory between the Dniester and the Southern Buh, including Ochakiv. The Crimea became the Russian territory.

As we see, owing to the Russian-Turkish wars of the second half of the XVIII century the Northern Prychornomor'ya was made a part of the Russian empire. Its active economic development began, though the first steps in this direction were made even before the destruction of the Sich and the Crimean khanate defeat. This was promoted by the

amplification of the feudal oppression in Hetmanshchyna, in the Polish Right-Bank, which resulted in mass runaways of peasants to the Zaporizhzhian lands. And the Zaporizhzhians rather actively mastered the new lands. Besides, significant land lots were also given to the Orthodox Serbs and German settlers by the imperial government. The resistance of the Zaporizhzhians to these actions only sped up the destruction of the Host. Therefore in the 1780s after the resettlement of Zaporizhzhia cossacks and the defeat of the Crimean khanate the mass settling of the South begins.

On the coasts of the Black and the Azov seas great ports and industrial centers arose: Kherson (1778), Mariupol (1784), Mykolaiv (1789), Odesa (1794) and others. On the fertile ground of the South husbandry reached a very high level, the transition from the extensive to the intensive economy was carried out, the multield system was introduced. The best sorts of bread, corn, sugar beet, tobacco were cultivated here. The Southern regions of Ukraine became a granary of Europe. The deposits of iron ore in the area of Kryvy Rih were discovered, the military ships were under construction in Mykolaiv and Kherson.

On February 2, 1784 on the lands of the former Crimean khanate the Tavrian area was created with the centre in Simferopol. With its creation the Azov and the Novorossiysk provinces, which in 1775 made up the Northern Prychornomorya, lost the significance of the boundary lands and turned into the internal region of the Russian empire.

Owing to the Russian expansion the Polish people lost their state system; the territory of Poland was divided between three most aggressive neighbours — Russia, Prussia and Austria. The first division of Poland took place in 1792, in 1793 the second was held, and after the third one in 1795 the Polish Kingdom ceased to exist. Russia received 62 % of the territory and 45 % of the population of the Polish state; Austria — 18 % of the territory and 32 % of the population; Prussia — 20 % and 23 % accordingly. These radical changes were considerably reflected in the destiny of the Left-Bank Ukraine. According to the first division Austria received the most part of the Western Ukrainian lands. Lviv was proclaimed to be the capital “Royal

territory of Galicia and Liudomeria”, to which in 1774 Austria also attached Bukovyna, having torn it off from the Moldovian principality. According to the second split Russia received the Right-Bank Ukraine (the Kyiv, the Bratslav, the Podolsk provinces and the Eastern part of Volyn). The third division joined the Western Volyn to Russia and the Eastern part of Kholmshchyna. The most part of Kholmshchyna was attached to Austria.

Thus, in the second half of the XVIII century as a result of two Russian-Turkish wars the Northern Prychornomorya was included into the structure of the Russian empire. The economic development of Prychornomorya began. The Russian expansion resulted in liquidation of the Polish state system. Owing to the split of Poland, the Ukrainian lands, that were earlier included into its structure, became again split between two neighboring states: the Left-Bank and the Right-Bank Ukraine remained under the authority of the Russian empire, and Galicia, Bukovyna and Transcarpathia (a territory on the West of Ukraine stretching behind the Carpathian mountains) — of the Austrian one. It affected the further destiny of Ukrainian people.

17. THE LIQUIDATION OF THE ZAPORIZHZHIA SICH (HOST) BY THE RUSSIAN MONARCHY

— *The Reasons for the Zaporizhzhia Sich Liquidation*

— *The Destruction of the Ukrainian Autonomous System by the Monarchy*

Having become an Empress, Catherine II continued the politics of her predecessors — russification of Ukraine and restriction of its autonomy. The cancellation of Hetmanshchyna on November 10, 1764 became the following step in the oppression of the political rights and freedom of Ukrainian people by the monarchy. With the purpose of final destruction of self-management in Ukraine the activity of an administrative body, which was completely dependent on the Russian

imperial government was renewed. That was the Little Russian board which had functioned till 1786, when the system of administration managerial control of the Russian state began to be spread in Ukraine.

The Zaporizhzhia Sich remained the only centre of the cossack's system. Also the imperial government took a way on gradual restriction of its territory. In 1751 in the North-Western region of the Zaporizhzhia lands the province called New_Serbia was created with the centre in Elisavetgrad, where the Serbian colonists got settled. In 1753 in the Eastern part of Zaporizhzhia Slavo-Serbia was founded with the centre in Bakhmut. This resulted in conflicts between the Zaporizhzhia and Serbian colonists concerning the division of the lands. The destiny of the Zaporizhzhia Sich was finally set on April 23, 1775. At the council conducted by Catherine II, the plan of the Host liquidation was offered by the general — governor prince Potyomkin.

In 1775 a 100-thousand army set off to the Zaporizhzhia lands, having taken advantage of unexpectedness and having chosen the moment, when the majority of cossacks had not returned yet from the field of the Russian-Turkish battle. The corps at the head of which prince Prozorovsky occupied the Left-Bank Ukraine, the corps with the general-lieutenant P.Teckelli at its head surrounded the Zaporizhzhia Host. After a long siege, not wishing any bloodshed, the Council of Elders decided, that the Zaporizhzhia Sich should surrender without any resistance. The Host was destroyed, and the cossack foremen were subjected to repression. The flags, values and archives were taken out to St. Petersburg. At the same time the Mezhyhirian monastery, the spiritual centre of Zaporizhzhia, was liquidated.

Among the most important reasons, which caused the Zaporizhzhian Host destruction, were: firstly, constant support and direct participation of cossacks in the social conflicts against dominating layers of population not only on the Ukrainian lands, but also beyond their limits; secondly, constant help and shelter, which cossacks gave to peasants who ran away from the landowners; thirdly, the loss by Zaporizhzhia of its most important function for the empire — protection of its borders, because after the Russian-Turkish war in 1768-1774 the Russian-Turkish border was moved to the South; fourthly, the

discontent of nobility with the colonizational activity of cossacks, who occupied and mastered the most fertile lands. Besides, the cossack farms were more progressive, than those of landowners, because they were based on free hired work, etc.

Nevertheless, the main reason was that the Zaporizhzhia Host with its democratic system and traditions began to contradict the system and traditions of the Russian empire.

The destinies of cossacks evolved differently after the Zaporizhzhia Host liquidation. So, Peter Kalnyshevsky, the last commander of cossacks, was deported to the Solovets monastery (the most remoted place in the Far North-East), military clerk Ivan Hloba — to the Turukhansk monastery, and military judge Pavlo Holovaty — to the Tobolsk monastery.

Catherine II forbade to use the word combination “the Zaporizhzhia cossack” to make even the memory about cossacks disappear. The significant part of cossacks were turned into the state military settlers. Poor cossacks and the run away peasants were given to the new land owners ownership, whom the imperial government had given the Zaporizhzhia lands to. About 5 thousand Zaporizhzhians moved to the Turkish lands, where they formed the Behind-Danube Host (1775-1828). Some cossacks were used by the imperial government in the war against Turkey (1787-1791), having formed the Black Sea Cossack army (12,5 thousand). In 1792 this army was moved to Kuban (the Southern Russian territory along the Don river). In the 90-s years of the XVIII century there were already about 25 thousand cossacks in this army. The part of them moved there. It was liquidated by Turks at the end of the 1820-s. After the Russian-Turkish war the imperial government settled a part of the former Behind-Danube Host cossacks at the coast of Azov, between Mariupol and Nogajsk. The Azov army was originated from them.

The Zaporizhzhia Host ceased to exist. The Ukrainian people lost the defender of their rights and freedom. But its historical role in the history of Ukrainian people doesn't confine itself to this, because it was one of the forms of the Ukrainian State system with all attributes inherent to it. The Zaporizhzhia Host played a significant role in the

shaping of national consciousness of Ukrainians; it also prepared the foundation for the further development of the national and liberation movement in Ukraine.

After the Zaporizhzhia Host liquidation Catherine II limited the rights of Ukraine even more. The further process of russification and liquidation the cossack foreman separatism resulted in the liquidation of Hetmanshchyna. In 1781 10 traditional regiments were liquidated in the Left-Bank Ukraine. After the Little Russian board liquidation on the Ukrainian grounds three regions ruled by governor-general were created — Kyiv, Chernihiv and Novhorod-Siversky, incorporated to the Little Russian general-governorship. Instead of the Ukrainian administrative establishments the imperial ones appeared. In 1783 the cossack units were reorganized into the regular Russian regiments. Peasants and non-Ukrainians were taken to them for the six-month term.

The spread of the Russian imperial system in Ukraine worsened the life of peasantry even more. By the decree of the year 1783 the Ukrainian peasantry was definitely converted into serfdom. The prevailing layers of Hetmanshchyna Ĩ the Ukrainian foremen did not render any opposition to the liquidation of the cossack public system, because their interests in many respects coincided with the interests of the Russian feudal lords. Therefore, the Russian monarchy met their requirements. In 1785 Catherine II by the “Letter granted to the nobility” expanded the rights and privileges of the Russian nobility and of the cossack foremen. The Ukrainian society as a whole perceived the new orders obediently, because it was for a long time discharged of any participation in the political life and had no influence on the public affairs.

In 1786 the Monastery reform completed the cancellation of the Hetmanshchyna system. The set of monasteries was closed, and their property was taken away. The army groups of the Russian army began to be formed of the monastery peasants. All this resulted in deterioration of education and printing in Ukraine, because they were connected with monasteries to some degree.

For almost one century Hetmanshchyna was a centre of the

political life in Ukraine. And though the Russian administration supervised its external relations and military actions, Ukrainians carried out management and created socio-economic policy themselves, they had the main role in courts, finance, and the army. Hetmanshchyna was an example of the Ukrainian self-management. The liquidation of the Ukrainian autonomy didn't result in the loss of the state-national traditions. The traditions were kept, they underwent durability-test and have reached up to now. Those traditions were embodied in life in the revived independent Ukraine at the end of the XX century.

18. THE UKRAINIAN CULTURE IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE XVII-XVIII CENTURIES

— *Education and Science in Ukraine of the XVII-XVIII Centuries*

— *The Search of Ways for Literature and Art Development*

— *Change in a Way of Life*

In the second half of the XVII-XVIII centuries there was a further development of the Ukrainian culture. Its development was considerably hampered by reactionary policy of the monarchy on the Ukrainian lands. The restriction, and then the liquidation of the autonomous system of Ukraine were negatively reflected in the cultural processes. The russification policy resulted in the loss by the Ukrainians of their originality. This process was strengthened after the transition of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church into submission of the Moscow Patriarchy in 1686. The Ukrainian church turned into one of the ways to spread the Russian culture on the Ukrainian lands. At the same time the best intellectuals were involved in cultural and educational activity of Russia. Such outstanding figures of the Ukrainian culture, as Pheopan Prokopovych, Stephan Yavorsky, Dmytro Tuptalo and others were at the head of many Russian churches and educational establishments. The decree of Peter I dated back to the year 1721 banning to print

any editions in the Ukrainian language caused a huge harm to the national culture. After transition of Ivan Mazepa on the party of Karl XII the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy underwent various oppressions for 30 years. Aspirations of the Ukrainian public to open a university on the territory of Hetmanshchyna in the XVIII century remained ineffectual.

Nevertheless, the monarchy was not capable of stopping the historical process. At this time education developed on traditions of the previous time. The situation in the Right-Bank and Left-Bank Ukraine was different. As long as serfdom still spread in the Right-Bank Ukraine, establishments of education were submitted to this purpose. Even the Lviv university founded in 1661, has turned to a means of colonization policy of the Rzecz Pospolita, and later Austro-Hungary. And though in the second half of the XVIII century grammar schools appeared in Kremenets, Chernivtsi, a seminary in Mukachiv — nevertheless, here prevailed not educational, but ideological objectives, that braked the development of culture in Ukraine.

In the Left-Bank Ukraine the situation was a little bit better. Here already in the middle of the XVIII century was a certain system of primary education (digital, regiment and garrison schools). Such 866 schools worked in the Left-Bank Ukraine and 129 — in Slobozhanshchyna. A certain role in spread of education belonged both to vagrant scribes and students of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. Chernihiv, Kharkiv and Pereyaslav colleges, which provided secondary education, were opened by the example of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. One can get a higher education in the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. At that time it was almost a unique non-regime educational institution in the Eastern Europe, which for a long time was playing a role of the centre of education, science and culture for the East-European peoples. Even, before the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy got the status of academy in 1710, it had not been inferior in the educational level to the European centers of higher education. Probably, the trustee and patron was hetman Ivan Mazepa, who had constructed a new building for the academy and Brotherly cathedral, frequently visited academy, participated in disputes and exhibitions.

The term of training in academy was not regulated. The students

had an opportunity to remain in one class for some years or to pass from the grown-up to the younger classes in order to fasten knowledge. The priority was given to Philosophy, History, Mathematics, Geography, and Rhetoric. A special attention was given to the study of languages. At grammatical classes Old Church Slavonic, Ukrainian bookish, Greek, Latin and other languages were studied

The best teachers of academy were also famous figures of education, science, culture of that time. Innokentiy Hisel, Stephan Yavorsky, Iosyf Horbatsky, Ioanikij Halyatovsky, Iosyf Krakovsky and many others were among them. The best of them made the significant contribution to the development of the country's culture. Only among the Russian graduates of the academy were: a well-known diplomat Porfirij Zerkalnikov, the author of the Russian "Primer" and "Brief grammar" Karion Istomin, the first Russian doctor of medicine Konstantin Shchepin, a field-marshal Boris Sheremetiev and others. The famous Russian scientist Mikhail Lomonosov studied at the Academy for some time.

Having taken the oppression of the Ukrainian culture, Peter I and Catherine II didn't leave alone the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. Though it didn't give up and continued to remain the centre of the Ukrainian culture, from the middle of the XVIII century the European educational level became inaccessible for it. Its best teachers now worked on glory of the other state – Russia. 95 professors from this outstanding educational institution worked in Slavic-Greek-Latin academy. At the end of the XVIII century the Russian government sped up the fall of the academy. Since 1738 the Russian language became obligatory there. The attempts of Danylo Apostol, Kyrylo Rozumovsky, even Rumyantsev and Potyomkin to spread education in Ukraine, namely to open universities, didn't receive support on the part of the Russian government.

Among the Ukrainian scientists of that time the attention to natural sciences, mathematics, medicine, philosophy, history, political studies as a whole was amplified. So, Ph.Prokopovych in the speech "On the Merit and Advantage of Physics", held at Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, called to a scientific cognition of the world. The Academy was the

centre of the Mathematical school, which was represented by the scientists F.Prokopovych, S.Yavorsky, S.Kulyabka, I.Markovych and others. Ph.Prokopovych actively propagandized the doctrines of Deckart, Lock, Bacon, Copernic, and Galilee.

The philosophical idea of the second half of the XVII century was developed by Y.Horbatsky, I.Hisel, S.Yavorsky. The first half of the XVIII century is represented by the new Pleiad of famous scientists-philosophers (Ph.Prokopovych, H.Konysky, H.Skovoroda and others).

An especially appreciable trace in the Ukrainian science was left by the philosopher and educator, writer and poet Hryhorij Skovoroda (1722 — 1794). After graduating from the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy he was teaching at the Pereyaslav and Kharkiv colleges. Having confronted the misunderstanding and animosities, having learnt 5 foreign languages and philosophical theories of the philosophers contemporary to him and those of the past, Hryhorij Skovoroda spent last 25 years of his life travelling, and propagandizing his ideas. During the travels he created the basic works “Dialogue, or Dwelling on the Ancient World”, “Narkiss. Conversation on the Point: Learn Yourself” and others. Skovoroda developed the concept of three worlds: infinite universe-macrocosm, microcosm-man and the “symbolic” world of the Bible. And though Skovoroda criticized the official Christianity as a dogmatic and scholastic doctrine, he didn’t deny religion, tried to find an invisible spiritual beginning in it. Regards human life the famous philosopher considered that a man achieves happiness only when he stands over material interests. In his opinion, self-cognition and labour are the ways to a happy life.

Hryhorij Skovoroda became the most famous person among the European philosophers of the XVIII century. His creativity played a significant role in the development of political ideas and made a great influence on the Ukrainian literature.

In Ukraine in the end of the XVII-XVIII centuries the attention to history and political studies was amplified. I.Hisel, L.Baranovych, I.Haliatovsky, S.Yavorsky, Ph.Prokopovych and others contributed to this. In their works the basic historical events of that time are

displayed. A tremendous and deserved glory expected the first systematized textbook on History, which M.Hrushevsky considered to be the first History of Ukraine. Its complete name is “Synopsis, or a Brief Description of the Origination of the Slavonic-Rus People by Different Chroniclers”. Its first publication was in 1674 in a printing house of Kyiv—Pechersk lavra, and in 1678 the second edition, and in 1680 — the third appeared. “Synopsis” was issued 30 times during the next two centuries. Probably, its author was I.Hisel.

The edition of “Kyiv-Pechersk Pateric” was a significant event in 1664; in 1678 it was issued for the second time.

The appearance of the Cossack chronicles became not a less significant event. Their authors, the former students of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy Samovydets, Hryhorij Hrabynka and Samijlo Velychko, trying to proceed from chronicles to History, described the events of the national and liberation war of the Ukrainian people in the middle of the XVII centuries. They not only used documentary materials, but also submitted ideological illumination of events from the point of view of the cossack ruling layers on the boundary of the XVII-XVIII century.

But all the above mentioned editions were surpassed by “The History of the Rus People”. This work written in 60 years, was issued in 1846 for the first time. Its author begins the history of Ukraine from the times of Slavic settlement. He considers the Ukrainian people to be a separate folk. He emphasizes that Ukrainians joined Russia as equal to equal, free to free. Thus, this work was the first that precisely put the idea of the state system of Ukraine and transferred it to the future.

The most famous historians of that time were Peter Symonovsky (1717 — 1809) — the author “Of the Short Description of the Little Russian Cossack People”, Vasyl Ruban (1742-1795), who issued “The Short Chronicles of Little Russia“, a scientist—historiographer Mykola Bantysh-Kamensky (1737 — 1814).

The publishing centers in Kyiv, Chernihiv, Novhorod-Siversky promoted development of education, science, literature. Textbooks by S.Polotsky, M.Smotrytsky, D.Yankovych, M.Lomonosov and others were issued here. Only the Kyiv printing house issued more

than 100 names of books up to the end of XVIII century, the most famous among them was “Synopsis”.

In 1760 in difficult conditions the monastery printing house executed the order of the Lubensk colonel and printed 2 thousand primers and Books of Hours for teaching the Cossack children. And in 1775 it printed primers for teaching soldier's and country children. Despite the interdiction to print and teach the Ukrainian language, the Ukrainian literary language already existed. The achievements of Ph.Prokopovych, H.Konysky, H.Skovoroda and others in the field of literature testify to it. At this time the Ukrainian poetic school was formed. Its formation took place due to laborious work of teachers of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, who not only wrote a number of the manuals on Poetics and Rhetoric, but also actively developed the theory of literature, in particular of poetry. At the academy 30 poetic genres were studied, though basically everybody was engaged in the Ancient poetry here.

Owing to O.Mytura and H.Skovoroda the Kyiv poetic school was formed. L.Baranovych and I.Maksymovych were its representatives in Chernihiv, Dmytro Tuptalo created it in Rostov, Hryhorij Skovoroda — in Kharkiv, etc.

The withdrawal from old, medieval canons and appeal to the national forms is felt more expressively in the Ukrainian art. The national motives are felt in monumental-decorative art, particularities of life are shown in it brightly. It is especially noticeable in painting of churches of the Honourable Christ in Drohobych, Sacred Spirit in Potelych, etc.

The style of Mazepian or Ukrainian Cossack baroque was spread in architecture of that time. 12 temples were constructed and 20 churches restored during the authority of hetman Ivan Mazepa. The most outstanding among them were churches of Ioan Predtecha in Borysohlib monastery (Chernihiv), the Church of All Sacred above Okonomsk gate of the lavra in Kyiv, the Church of the Ascension in Pereyaslav, etc. St.Mary Assumption cathedral, restored in 1718 after the fire by the Ukrainian foremen, became one of the most significant achievements of the Ukrainian baroque.

Since the 1720s the classical style was gradually spread in the monumental construction of Ukraine, the interrelations of the Ukrainian

and Russian builders amplified. At the same time the secular construction with the use of new composite materials (stone, glass, metal) developed: town councils, school, colleges etc. Kyiv, Lviv, Chernihiv, Pereyaslav, Kharkiv and other cities were under construction.

In the middle of the XVIII century the unique monuments of architecture were created. These are Andrew church in Kyiv (architects Rastrelli, I. Michurin), cathedral of Virgin Mary Birth in Kozelets (architects A. Kvasov, I. Hryhorovych-Barsky), complex of churches of Pochaiv lavra (architects G. Goffman, the Polyovsky, F. Kulchytsky) and others.

The portrait painting had a great popularity in a secular art. Basically the cossack foremen, hetmans B. Khmelnytsky, I. Sulyma and others were portrayed. Characteristic features of portraits were precise true-to-life portrayal of an image and others. In the XVIII century the works by A. Lysenko, D. Levytsky, I. Borovykovsky were widely known. Their portraits became a pride of the Russian and the West-European art galleries.

The theatre had a rise in Ukraine. The Kyiv-Mohyla Academy was its centre. Performances, as a rule, were staged by students, who charmed the spectators with works by F. Prokopovych, H. Konysky, M. Dovhalevsky.

Among the Ukrainian playwrights of that time L. Horka, D. Rostovsky, S. Polotsky, Ph. Trofymovych, I. Nekrashevych and others were widely known.

The significant role in a cultural heritage of that time belongs to musical-song creativity. Namely, polyphonical singing was establishing in church music. The pit singing called Kyiv was spread in Russia. Its theoretical bases were generalized by the Ukrainian composer Mykola Dyletsky in "Musical Grammar" (1677), which became the best musical manual of that time.

The musical centers arose in Chernihiv, Lviv, Kharkiv, Nizhyn. The residence of hetman Rozumovsky, Hlukhiv, at the same time became the musical capital of Ukraine in the XVIII century. A special school worked here, where vocal singing, playing the violin, basses, flutes, psaltery were taught. Rozumovsky invited a well-known conductor

A. Rachynsky to it, who was the teacher of the outstanding Ukrainian composers Mykhailo Berezovsky (1745 — 1777) and Artemij Vedel (1767-1808). Mykhailo Berezovsky is considered to be the first Russian church music composer. Artemij Vedel became famous as a church music composer, who used the Ukrainian folk motives in church singings. Creative work of Dmytro Bortniansky (1751-1825) was widely known. He was the author of a number of operas, chamber-instrumental products, choral church tunes, etc.

The decorative and ornamental art was close to life of the Ukrainian people. The level of national crafts, which continued realistic traditions of the past, was high. Such kinds of art were evolving: art weaving, embroidery, ceramics, art groove, and list.

The art fabrics, ornamental compositions were widely used in life. Embroidery became one of the most widespread kinds of the national art. It was characterized by a precise composition, various engineering of execution — cross, lineal, chain embroidery etc. The geometrical patterns were characteristic of embroidery in Galicia, Zakarpattia, Bukovyna, vegetative ornaments were characteristic of the Kyiv, Poltava, Chernihiv regions. Embroidered towels, shirts and other clothes were very much popular among the Ukrainian population.

Glass art was developing. Utensils and subjects of life were made of glass. Ceramics was scorched in Poltavshchyna, Kyivshchyna, Hutsulshchyna. Facing tile for furnaces, utensils, the toys were made here.

Thus, the education at the given period reached a high level. The network of schools was created; writing captured all the layers of the Ukrainian population. The Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, which supplied not only Ukraine, but also other countries with scientists, became an important centre of education and science.

The achievement in literature and art was significant. The elements of classicism, sentimentalism, educational realism became stronger in them.

The decorative and ornamental art became an important trend in the development of the art culture. It was closely connected to life of the Ukrainian people. Embroidery, carpeting, manufacture of glass, steel became the most widespread kinds of national art.

19. THE UKRAINIAN LANDS UNDER THE POWER OF THE RUSSIAN AND AUSTRIAN EMPIRES AT THE BEGINNING OF THE XIX CENTURY

- *The Crisis of Serfdom*
- *The Feudal Exploitation Reinforcement*
- *The Beginning of Industrial Revolution*

The socio-economic development of Ukraine of the first half of the XIX century is characterized by the feudal-serfdom power system. Nobility owned the majority of lands; peasantry was in feudal dependence on the landowners and the state. So, 70 % of all lands of the Left-Bank and Sloboda (North-East regions of Ukraine) Ukraine, 75 % — of the Right-Bank Ukraine, 68 % — of the Southern Ukraine belonged to the landowners. 60 % of peasants worked on them. The agriculture developed extensively, at the expense of expansion of the sowing areas, quantitative increase of economic parameters, reinforcement of the fulfilled rent. As a whole it was not efficient, with a low productivity of work. And the system of agriculture remained backward: the sowing shift was broken, the fields were fertilized insufficiently, and manual work prevailed. As a consequence — productivity and efficiency of agriculture were low. And though the imperial government continued in every possible way to support feudal lords, it was not possible to cope with depression in the economy. The whole feudal-serfdom system remained in a deep crisis, because it had become obsolete. Its basic features were:

- 1) development of the commodity-money relations and penetration of capitalist elements into the agriculture;
- 2) destruction or complete liquidation of country economies;
- 3) formation of new social classes — commercial and industrial layer of bourgeoisie and proletariat;
- 4) decline of serfdom manufacture and beginning of the industrial revolution;
- 5) aggravation of social contradictions owing to severe exploitation and reinforcement of anti-serfdom struggle, etc.

During the first half of the XIX century the Ukrainian agriculture got adjusted to the commodity-money relations. Their development, in their turn, has caused the growth of marketability of agriculture and separate regions deepening in agricultural manufacture. So, the South of Ukraine specialized in grain cultivation and a thin fleece-breeding, the Right-Bank Ukraine — on cultivation of sugar beet, in the Eastern Ukraine peasants of a suburban zone were engaged in industrial market-gardening. In the Poltava province they cultivated sunflower, in the Katerynoslavsk, Kherson provinces, Izium, the Kharkiv provinces — flax. In Poltava and Chernihiv provinces they cultivated hemp.

The further stratification of landowners' economies took place owing to marketability of the agriculture. Large landowners' economies of the Right-Bank Ukraine and the South were best adapted to the market. Rather frequently landowners handed over their lands in rent to merchants, well-to-do peasants. Petty and average farms of the Left-Bank Ukraine and Slobozhanshchyna basically kept a natural character.

Crisis of the serfdom system of managing was the main reason that caused reinforcement of the feudal exploitation and intensive destruction of country farms. Aspiring to receive super-profit, landowners in different ways were increasing their own lands at the expense of those that belonged to peasants and strengthened their exploitation.

The basic forms of exploitation were money and natural rents. Landowners have captured more than 90 % of country farms: in 1861 there were 97,4 % of serf-peasants on the Right-Bank Ukraine. In the Left-Bank Ukraine — 99,1%. According to the law of the year 1797 a three day serfdom with a free Sunday was established. But actually it was 4-6 days per week. Besides distanced forms of work were widespread there, it took 2-3 days. Additional duties were also fulfilled. The conversions of peasants into house-serfs, the work at enterprises were very widely practised. Besides, they took away peasants' lands and forced the peasants to work on the lands of landowners for a monthly food ration. In 1840 there was 25 % of such peasants, who worked for a monthly ration in the Left-Bank Ukraine.

The feudal exploitation of state peasants in the Eastern Ukraine also increased; before they had been considered to be free. This was especially harmful for state peasants that had been liable for quit-rent before. The state taxes took away 40 % of the peasants' annual profits, the largest part of peasants were unable to pay them. In 1853 country shortages have reached the huge sum — 68 mln. roubles.

With the purpose to improve management of state peasants and strengthen the financial system in 1839-1841 imperial government carried out a reform, which liquidated the rent of state property and introduced a tax on lands and crafts instead of the tax on each human being. This reform sped up a property stratification of peasantry and created conditions for transition to the market relations.

In 1847 — 1848 the so-called inventory reform, was carried out to establish industrial relations between landowners and peasants and to remove social pressure in the Left-Bank Ukraine. “The Inventory Rules” slightly limited the arbitrariness of landowners, but did not bring any relief to peasants. The landowners continued to determine the size and norms of duties and the size of their land possession remained the same. Besides the reforms were stopped in 1852.

As we see, the partial reforms could not limit the feudal-serfdom system, which completely exhausted itself. The question of the complete cancellation of serfdom was on the agenda.

The further development of industry became one of the most important parameters of decomposition of the feudal-serfdom system and setting of the capitalistic relations in Ukraine.

In the first half of the XIX century the insignificant number of landowners' and state manufactures dominated. If in 1773 there were 200 of them, in 1825 — 645. Basically they were the enterprises with forced labour of peasants on the primitive equipment with the backward technology. They did not avoid crisis, which captured the whole feudal-serfdom system. Cloth manufactures stood out among them in terms of size, number of the workers and weight of commodity production: the Khabensk of prince Radzyvil, the Riashkivsk of prince Iusupov, the Karlovsk of countesses Rozumovskaya. There were also state

establishments — the Luhansk iron works, the Shostka powder plant, the Kyiv Arsenal, the Kyiv-Mezhyhirska parceling factory, etc.

The 1830s were the years of the initial stage of the industrial revolution. The statistics testifies, that in 1860 the number of enterprises increased up to 2330. The quantitative changes were accompanied by the qualitative ones. As simultaneously there was a transition from manufacture to the large factory-plant industry. In the middle of the XIX century the factory-plant manufacture became firmly established in the metalcutting, textile, tobacco, glass, paper and other industries.

The increase of agricultural and industrial production at the markets of selling cured trade in Ukraine. 12 thousand fairs function in the middle of the XIX century. Among them there were the Kontraktov (Kyiv), the Vvedensk (Sumy), the Illinsk (Romny), the Onufriivsk (Berdychiv), the Heorhiivsk (Yelisavethrad) and others.

The chumak (an ox-cart driver transporting fish, salt and grain) craft became important. It annually provided the supply of about 40 mln. pounds of grain to the Black Sea ports. At the same time chumaks annually delivered 8 mln. pounds of salt to Ukraine, transported and sold stone coal, iron ore, sugar, flour and other goods.

The development of the money-commodity relations and the increase of industrial enterprises was caused by deep social changes in the Ukrainian society. In the first half of the XIX century the number of the urban population increased more than three times, that made 11 % of the whole population of Ukraine. The commercial and industrial layers of bourgeoisie were quickly shaped, basically at the expense of merchants (their quantity during 1816-1859 increased from 18,2 up to 104 thousand). The certain number of landowners was among capitalists that managed to reorganize their economies. Most enterprising peasants, to which the government had granted its permission to be engaged in the enterprise activity, joined the new class. The great industrialists — businessmen quite often originated from this environment, their typical representatives were the Yakhnenko and the Symyrenko. The fast fall of country farms, in its turn, made a surplus of the working hands. Only in the Eastern Ukraine in the 1840-s 90 thousand people annually left Poltava for the South to earn money.

The decline of the feudal-serfdom system and the reinforcement of capitalism resulted in aggravation of social contradictions. During 1800-1860 about 2400 peasants' revolts took place. The largest of them was the Buh revolt of state peasants in 1817, the Bazaliiv — in 1817-1818, in Uman, with a soldier Oleksij Semenov at the head in 1826, antiserfdom country movement in Podillia with the national hero Ustym Karmaliuk at the head in 1812-1835 and others. The movement "The Kyiv Cossacks" was widely known. This revolt has captured in 1855 the territory of 422 villages, where more than 180 thousand males lived.

Thus, in the first half of the XIX century the feudal-serfdom system in Ukraine was in a deep crisis, because it became objectively obsolete. A new public formation was made on its basis. These processes were accompanied by the reinforcement of exploitation and aggravation of social contradictions, which in its turn resulted in the open national revolts against the enslavers.

20. THE DECEMBRISTS' MOVEMENT IN UKRAINE

— *Ukraine in the Program Documents of Decembrists*

— *The Revolt of the Chernihiv Regiment*

The general crisis of the feudal-serfdom system made the political movement active. Under the influence of the Great French revolution the progressive European ideas were spread among the advanced part of intelligentsia and nobility. In Ukraine V.Kapnist, H. Vynsky, I.Orlay, I.Kotliarevsky were the adherents of the Russian educators M.Novikov, A.Radishchev and others. As the making of the Ukrainian nation was closely connected to the idea of independence of Ukraine, the political movement was nationally focused. The Patriotic War of the year 1812 caused the overall people's enthusiasm. The hopes of the advanced part of the Ukrainian society for reforming the country according to the Western sample got stronger under its influence. This did not happen.

Being deeply disappointed about the politics of Alexander I, a small group of people belonging to the advanced part of nobility, writers, army officers, mainly representatives of the most known families of Russia, created secret societies and Masonic lodges, which later gave life to the Decembrists' movement. Their purpose was the liquidation of autocracy and the establishment of the constitutional government.

The Decembrists' movement was caused by the following:

firstly, the necessity to liquidate the feudal-serfdom system of economy;

secondly, the changes of social — political life in the Russian empire (the necessity of wide democratization, restriction of autocracy, creation of the parliamentary forms of government and so on) became vital;

thirdly, aspiration of the advanced part of the society to play an active role in political life of the society.

It was a bourgeois anti-serfdom movement. The first Decembrists' organization "The Union of Rescue" emerged in 1816 in St. Petersburg and numbered 30 people. The majority of them were connected with Ukraine. Its organizers and the most active members were Oleksandr and Mykyta Muravyov, Serhij and Matvij Muravyov-Apostol, Serhij Trubetsky. The organization did not exist for a long time. In 1818 a secret organization "The Union of Prosperity" was created in Moscow instead of it. It existed up to 1812. About 200 men were the members of it. Its program — "The Laws of The Union of Prosperity", or the so-called "The Green Book", provided the realization of the wide anti-serfdom propagation, the preparation of revolution and destruction of serfdom, the shaping of public idea to support the revolution. Oleksandr and Mykyta Muravyov, Serhij and Matvij Muravyov-Apostol, Pavel Pestell, Ivan Yakushkin, Fedor Hlynka, Mykola Turhenev, Ivan Pushin were the main members of the organization.

The branch of "The Union" with Pavlo Pestell at its head existed in Ukraine at this time; its members were also Serhij Volkonsky, Volodymyr Rayevsky, Olexander Baratynsky and others. Earlier, in 1815-1916 a circle of the advanced officers "Iron Rings", created by Volodymyr Rayevsky, functioned in Kremenets.

In 1812 the Decembrists were reorganized in 2 political

organizations — “The Northern Community” with the centre in St. Petersburg and “The Southern Community” with the centre in Tulchyn. “The Southern Community” chose the Directory of Pavlo Pestel, Olexander Yushnevsky and Mykyta Muravyov for management. They carried out 4 congresses in Kyiv and created three branches: the Tulchyn, the Vasylykivsk and the Kamyansk ones.

The program document of “The Northern Community” (The Russ Law) was written by P.Pestel. The program provided the liquidation of all social and political inequalities, modernization of the country farms, the revolutionary top management with a possible establishment of dictatorship, severe centralization of government. At the same time, as well as other revolutionaries during many generations, they neglected the interests of the non-Russian peoples of the empire. Pestel, for instance, even working in Ukraine, did not reflect in his ideas the interests of the Ukrainian people. In his opinion, all national minorities, except for the Poles, should undergo russification. As for Ukraine, he considered, that “Little Russia never was and could not be independent ... Therefore it should refuse the right to be a separate state”.

There were also other points of view on the decision of the Ukrainian issue. Thus, M.Muravyov in “Constitution” planned to create two states with the right of autonomies: Ukrainian with the capital in Kharkiv and the Black Sea with the capital in Kyiv. But it was an exception, but not a rule. The primary majority of Decembrists stood for the united and indivisible centralized state.

Irrespective of “The Southern Community”, “The Community of the United Slavs” functioned in Ukraine. It was founded in 1823 in Novhorod-Volynsk by brothers Peter and Andriy Borysov and Polish nobleman — revolutionary Yulian Lyublinsky. Members of the community, the officers Ivan Horbachevsky, Petro Gromnickiy, Ivan Ivanov, Anastas Kuzmin, Ivan Sukhynov, Yakiv Drahomanov, Mykhailo Spirydov and others basically originated from Ukraine. The program documents of the community “The Rules” and “The Oath” provided: firstly, setting free and uniting the Slavs into a federation, secondly, liquidation of monarchy and establishment of democratic system; thirdly, liquidation of serfdom and any class privileges. Members of the

community hoped to execute the items of the program organizing a revolt of people. But, unfortunately, this Decembrists' organization also did recollect neither the Ukrainians, nor the Bilorussians among the Slavic peoples — members of the federation. And Ukraine did not appear any more among the members of the future federation.

In autumn of 1825, to the request of P. Pestel, the members of “The Community of the United Slavs” after a long negotiation entered the Vasylykivsk branch and thus “The Southern Community” grew up to 160 members.

Almost simultaneously with the Decembrists' organizations in Ukraine there appeared and functioned “The Little Russian Community” (1821-1825), which was formed of the Ukrainian noblemen. It was created and run by the former member of “The Union of Prosperity” and Moscow lodge “Love to Truth” and the leader of the Poltava nobility Vasyl Lukashevych. The idea of renewal of the Ukrainian autonomy was asserted in his program. The Polish Patriotic community and “The Southern Community of Decembrists” became its allies.

The activity of “The Little Russian Community” testified the activization of the national movement in Ukraine and certain connection with the Decembrists' activity.

The Revolt of Decembrists was planned to be carried out in summer of 1826. But the death of Alexander I, and then the crisis of the dynasty found them unawares. And though Decembrists of “The Northern Community” on December, 14 1825 organized a revolt on the Senate square in St. Petersburg, it was suppressed by the armies devoted to new Emperor Nicholas I. 1200 men were killed and wounded, and the chiefs of the revolt were arrested.

“The Southern Community” also prepared for a revolt. But it was not possible to support “The Northern Community”, because on December, 13 the chief of the organization Pestell was arrested. Besides, the messenger from St. Petersburg arrived too late in Ukraine. And the chiefs of the community Bestuzhev-Ryumin and brothers the Muravyov-Apostols were indecisive. Nevertheless, Decembrists were determined to continue the struggle. On December

29, 1825 the Vasylykiv branch with Serhij Muravyov-Apostol at the head organized a revolt in the Chernihiv regiment near Kyiv. The rebels were supported by 8 companies, which totalled more than 1 thousand soldiers and 19 officers. The chiefs of the revolt made up “The Orthodox Catechism” and an appeal to the people with a claim to destroy serfdom, to liquidate autocracy and to establish the democratic system. On December, 30 the rebels occupied Vasylykiv and set out for Bila Tserkva town. But on January 3, 1826 near the villages Ustymivka and Kovalivka faithful governmental armies defeated the rebels.

After the suppression of the revolt almost all the members of the Decembrists’ movement were arrested. Five of them were hung up. Among them there were chiefs of “The Southern Community” P.Pestell, M.Bestuzhev-Ryumin and S.Muravyov-Apostol. 137 officers were banished to penal servitude in Siberia or in the Caucasus, where there was a war with mountain-dwellers. After being punished by spire-twigs about 4 thousand soldiers-Decembrists were sent to this war.

Among the reasons for the Decembrists’ movement defeat were: firstly, absence of the wide national support; secondly, indecisiveness of the chiefs at the strategic moment of the revolt and inability to proceed to offensive actions; thirdly, complete ignorance of the national factor by the rebels and so on.

Despite the Decembrists’ movement defeat and repressions by the monarchy, the oppositional movement in Ukraine did not stop. In the second half of the 1820-s and in the 1830-s various secret political circles, groups, movements appeared and functioned there; their structure included students, professors, officials, officers. And in 1830-1831 there was a Polish revolt, which promoted activization of progressive forces in Ukraine. And though the government discovered and neutralized the adherents, defeated the rebels, free-thinking was widely spread and was increasing.

Thus, the Decembrists’ movement reflected the oppositional spirits in the community against the existing autocratic — serfdom system. The Ukrainian lands were also enveloped by this movement. And though Decembrists in their program documents did not give a due place to

Ukraine, their ideas had a strong influence on the shaping of the revolutionary political ideas in the Ukrainian society.

21. THE BEGINNING OF THE UKRAINIAN SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS REVIVAL

— *The Strengthening of the Role of Ukrainian Intelligentsia
Role in the Formation of National Self-Consciousness*

— *The Creation of the First Ukrainian Political Organization*

— *The Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius and Its
Significance*

The idea of national self-consciousness, which was based on the ethnic unity, appeared and became widespread in the European countries at the end of the XVIII — beginning of the XIX centuries under the influence of the Great French revolution. Due to the efforts of a new and not numerous layer of intelligentsia the process of shaping of national self-consciousness captured Ukraine. The general crisis of the feudal-serfdom system in Russia and Ukraine promoted this. The given process occurred in complicated conditions of the Ukrainian territory division between the Russian and Austrian empires, the imperialistic ideology power, imposing Russian, Polish, German languages and cultures, traditions, etc. As well as in other countries, this process was accompanied by the restoration of the national history, study of folklore, the Ukrainian language and literature revival.

The historians stood in avant garde of the national self-consciousness revival in Ukraine. From the end of the XVIII century the interest to the past was reinforced, especially to the Cossack history, among noblemen — intelligentsia. Trying to prove the idea of the Cossack autonomy, the historian Petro Symonovsky after the liquidation of Hetmanshchyna made a brief description of Little Russian people and their military affairs (1765). A bit later works of other historians were issued; they received praise from the local nobility. And though

they were full of local patriotism and idealization of the past (they were written in Russian), they emphasized the originality of the Ukrainian history. Among the works “The Brief Little Russian Annals” (1777) by Vasyl Ruban, “The Topographical Description of the Chernihiv Region” (1786) by Opanas Shafonsky, “The Little Russian Notes” (1798) by Yakov Markovych, etc. The scientific research of the Ukrainian history was commenced by Mykhaylo Antonovsky, Max Berlynsky, Timofij Kalynsky, Roman Markovych, Vasyl Poletyka, Fedir Tumansky, Vasyl Chernysh, Andriyan Chepa and others, who collected and published historical documents about outstanding acts and high status of their ancestors. The documentary book in four volumes “The History of Little Russia” (1822) by Dmytro Bantysh-Kamensky became very popular. The outstanding political treatise “The History of the Rus”, created in the first decade of the XIX century, had the greatest influence on the Ukrainian society. During decades it was distributed secretly and only in 1846 it was printed for the first time. Glorifying and making the Cossack past romantic, the unknown author proved, that: firstly, Ukraine, and not Russia was an heiress of the Kyivan Rus; secondly, Ukraine from old times always had its own autonomy. At the same time the author mentioned the issue about the rights and freedom of all the people in general and about the place of Ukraine in the political situation of Europe of that time.

The study of folklore became popular among young noblemen — intelligentsia. The work by Hryhorij Kalynovsky “The Description of the Ukrainian Wedding Customs” became the beginning of the Ukrainian ethnography. In 1819 prince Mykola Tsertelev published a wonderful collection of the Ukrainian folklore under the name “An Attempt to Collect the Old Little Russian Songs”. Mykhaylo Maksymovych carried out the most complete scientific research of the Ukrainian ethnography: in 1827 he issued “The Little Russian National Songs”.

In 1798 the publication of the poem “Eneida” by Ivan Kotliarevsky, which was written in the Ukrainian language, became an outstanding event in the development of the Ukrainian language. The work by Oleksij Pavlovsky “The Little Russian Dialect Grammar” (1818) was significant, and also the completion by Ivan Voytsikhivsky,

who in 1823 made a short Ukrainian dictionary. The Ukrainian literature became a powerful way of the national self-consciousness growth due to the ingenious Taras Shevchenko's literary heritage.

Thus, the Ukrainian intelligentsia not only caused the commence of the national movement, but also theoretically proved the necessity of the Ukrainian state revival.

The attempts of its practical solution did not stop. At the beginning of the XIX century the first secret Ukrainian organizations appeared as lodges. Gradually they acquired a mass character. Created in Poltava in 1818 by Mykhailo Novykov lodge called "Love for Truth", which gave the beginning to the origin of the organized oppositional movement in Ukraine, was the most famous. Separate Ukrainian lodges appeared in Kremenets and in Vyshnivka in Volyn.

In 1819 the Little Russian association was created in Ukraine, whose purpose was the acceptance of Ukraine's independence together. The centers of the association existed in Kyiv, Poltava, Nizhyn, Chernihiv and other towns. As well as other organizations, it was destroyed. But, in spite of the imperial reprisals, the Ukrainian national movement continued to develop. In the 1840-s new forces of the advanced part of the society joined the political movement.

Two years prior to the beginning of the West-European revolutions the young educational forces founded in 1846 a secret Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius in Ukraine at the Kyiv university with a radical charter and humanistic program of revival of the Slavic peoples. The association essentially differed from Masonic lodges and political circles of the first half of the century. Here there were no representatives of powerful families. Its structure included 12 persons, mainly children of average or poor noblemen, officials and even former serfs, namely, the founders of the association were a historian Mykola Kostomarov, the former student of Derpt university, official and lawyer Mykola Hulak, a student of Kyiv university, and then a teacher Vasyl Bilozersky. Its participants were: a poet and artist Taras Shevchenko, students of Kyiv University, a teacher, scientist and writer Panteleymon Kulish, a teacher Dmytro Pylchikov, students of Kyiv University Oleksandr Navrotsky, Ivan Posyada, Opanas Markovych, Heorhij Andruzsky,

Oleksandr Tulub, a nobleman from Poltava, a student of Kharkiv University Mykola Savych. All of them were real Ukrainian patriots and educators, people of advanced public viewpoint and ideals, with a high Christian morality. It was the youth at the age of 20-30. The eldest of them was T. Shevchenko who was 32.

His ideas rendered a huge influence on the association. In his poetic works “The Haydamaks”, “Dream”, “The Caucasus”, “To Both: the Dead and Alive”, “Heretic”, “The Testament” he showed the only correct way to social and national liberation not only for the Ukrainian, but also for all the Slavic peoples, that they need to become “good brothers”, “sons of the sun-the-truth”, to reject religious disagreements, to unite, to set themselves free by common forces.

The humanistic idea of liberation and unification of the Slavs in an association or republican federation of free states were embodied in the program documents of the association: “The Charter of the Slavic Brotherhood of St. Cyril and Methodius”, “The Book of Life of the Ukrainian People”, appeal “Brothers Ukrainians!” and “Brothers Great Russians and Poles!”, explanatory notes, scientific, publicist and artworks of the members of the association.

The most important tasks of the association are defined in “The Charter of the Slavic Brotherhood of St. Cyril and Methodius”. First of all, it was said that “the spiritual and political association of the Slavs is its present aim, which they should aspire to”. In the association “every Slavic tribe should have its independence”. They named the Ukrainians, the Russians, the Bilorussians, the Poles, the Czechs, the Slavs, the Serbs, the Croatians, and the Bulgarians. They should introduce “their national government”, control the equality of the citizens. Government, legislation, property right and education of Slavs should be based on “sacred religion”. For the decision of common state issues common Slavic council “with representatives of the free and independent countries was nominated”.

The famous publicist work of the Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz “The Book of the Polish People and Polish Pilgrim” (1832) served as a sample at creation by the members of the association of the original program-ideological document under the name “The Book of Life of the Ukrainian People”. A number of humanistic ideas were borrowed from there.

In “The Book of Life of the Ukrainian People” the great importance of the humanistic Christian doctrine for reorganization of a human society on the fair bases was underlined. The ideas of Christian socialism, natural right, Slavophilism, the Ukrainianism, Pan-Slavism, Messianism found their reflection in this work. The social-political program of national liberation and unification of the Slavic peoples in the republican federation, overthrow of monarchic autocracy, liquidation of serfdom, inequality of classes, confessional disagreements and contradictions were stated there.

As for the tragic history and that time situation of Ukraine, “The Book of Life of the Ukrainian People” highly estimated Ukrainian cossacks and their political role, called it as a sample of freedom for all dependent peoples. The Ukrainian people received a Messian role of the one, who will be the first to call all the Slavs to the Liberation struggle. Kyiv should have become the centre of the whole Slavic Federation. The Ukrainian national-liberation idea itself distinguished the program of St. Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood from the program of the similar “Association of the United Slavs”.

In the tactical plan between the members of the association there were some disagreements. If M.Kostomarov and P.Kulish considered the best way to be that of gradual reforms, M.Hulak and T.Shevchenko — the way of revolt and overthrow of the monarchy. The practical activity of the members was active and diverse. They made program documents, leaflets to the Ukrainians, the Russians, the Poles, distributed the ideas in educational institutions, at literary evenings. “Kobzar” by T.Shevchenko had a great popularity, M.Kostomarov issued the book “The Slavic Mythology”, published the collections of poetry “The Ukrainian Ballads”, “Branch”. P.Kulish wrote the first textbook for school students “The Story About the Ukrainian People”, wrote a poem “Ukraine”. The association took care of publishing books in the Ukrainian language for people.

The communication with figures of the Russian and Polish liberation movements, the Slavic revival in Poland (Adam Mickiewicz), Czech (Pavel Shafarik and Vaclav Gank) had an important function in the association’s activity.

The members of the St. Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood could not carry out the plan; because of the denunciation of a provocateur in March 1847 all of them, except for D. Pylchikov and O. Tulub, were arrested. After the investigation the imperial government found out, that the association with its activity had been undermining the bases of autocracy. Therefore, its members were imprisoned, or sent to remote regions of Russia. All of them got under the police supervision, many lost their right to work in educational establishments.

Any reference to the history of St. Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood caused suspicion, both in times of the Russian autocracy and in the totalitarian USSR. The authorities were afraid of expansion of ideas of the Ukrainian “bourgeois nationalism”, autonomism, Ukrainophilism, which were included in the documents of the association. Only in 1990 3 volumes of documents and materials “St. Cyril and Methodius Association” were issued in Ukraine.

Thus, at the end of the XVIII century a new period of formation of national self-consciousness began in the Ukrainian society. The intelligentsia was its source. It rose above the interests of separate layers and was directly guided by national values. To oppose the monarchy a secret organization under the name “The Slavic Brotherhood of St. Cyril and Methodius” emerged. It was the first attempt of the Ukrainian intelligentsia to stand on a way of the organized political struggle for national liberation.

22. THE NATIONAL REVIVAL ON THE WEST-UKRAINIAN LANDS IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE XIX CENTURY

— *The Activity of “The Rus Three”*

— *The West-Ukrainian Lands in the European Democratic Revolution*

In spite of the prosecutions, at the beginning of the XIX century in the West-European grounds, which were under the power of the

Austrian empire, the process of national revival was reinforced. The clergy, which not at once became nationally conscious, generated it.

The first attempt of the West-Ukrainian intelligentsia to be organized and to attract attention to the language issue took place in Peremyshel, which at that time was the centre of the Greek-Catholic diocese. The seminary functioned there; rich collections of books also were located here. Some of the most educated representatives of the Ukrainian clergy lived in the town. The so-called “Clergy Community” appeared in 1816. Ivan Mohylnytsky, high-ranking church hierarch founded it. The community prepared and distributed the religious texts in the Ukrainian language among the peasants, issued some prayer-books and primers. But under the pressure of the Polish clergy the community was destroyed soon.

In the 1820s a new circle appeared in Peremyshl. The Bishop Ivan Snihursky headed it. The members of this association collected materials on the history of the Eastern Galicia, its folklore, published research. Their research had a little influence, as they were written in the German, Latin or Polish languages.

In 1830-40s the centre of national movement moved to Lviv, and as its avant garde became a half-legal public-cultural association “The Rus Three”. It was founded by students of Lviv University and students of the Greek-Catholic spiritual seminary Markiyan Shashkevych (1811-1843), Ivan Vahilevych (1811-1866) and Yakiv Holovatsky (1814-1888). In 1832 under their management a group of students, members of the association, announced their purpose to be the eminence of the Ukrainian dialect up to the level of the literary language. As long as the Greek-Catholic hierarchies had rejected this idea, “The Rus Three” was maintained by the famous figures of the Ukrainian and Russian cultures: Ukrainophils Izmail Sreznevsky, Mykhailo Maksymovych, Yosyp Bodyansky; by the figures of the Czech national movement Slavophils Karel Zyupa, Yan Kolar, Pavel Shafarik, Karel Gavlichek.

Trying to distribute the Ukrainian historical traditions, folklore, idea of association of the Ukrainian lands, in 1834 “The Rus Three” prepared the historic-literary collection “Dawn” for the edition. However Viennese censorship forbade its edition. Having altered the collection,

in 1836 the members of “The Three” made an attempt to issue the almanac entitled “The Dnister Mermaid”. But this was prevented by the local censorship and the Greek-Catholic church. Only in 1837 “The Dnister Mermaid” was presented to the public in Budapest. Unfortunately, it was not possible to distribute the edition. All copies, which were brought to Lviv, were confiscated by the police. Only their insignificant amount was sold out by the composers or presented to their friends and saved up for themselves. The three composers and authors of the almanac were called to account as state criminals. The police organized their being under the constant surveillance. Disappointed by failures, soon M. Shashkevych died, I. Vahilevych soon entered the Polish national movement. Only I. Holovatsky continued the business. In 1846 in a sharp publicist article “The Situation of the People in Galicia”, which was placed in the magazine “The Annual Book of the Slavic Literature, Art and Science”, which was published in Leipzig, it actually formulated the socio-economic and political requests of the national movement.

As we see, the edition of “The Dnister Mermaid” was the apogee of “The Rus Three” activity. Its members passed from the decision of the culture and language problems to the social-economic problems. It was a significant step towards the development of national movement in the West-European lands.

The edition in 1846-1847 of the two-volume literary and publicist almanac “A Wreath to Rusyns for the Reaping” became a significant event in the cultural and political life of Ukrainians of the Eastern Galicia. It contained art products, folklore materials, historical notes, clauses and some materials from the forbidden “The Dnister Mermaid”.

The significant place in the matter of the Ukrainian national self-consciousness growth also belonged to the village priest Vasyl Podolynsky, which became the first speaker of the political independence of Ukraine in the Eastern Galicia. He proved the ideas in his publicist work “A Word of Warning”, which was issued in the Polish language in 1848.

The flame of the national-liberation revolutions, which captured the Austrian empire in 1848-1849, considerably affected and increased

the national movement in the Western Ukraine. On March 13, 1848 owing to the victorious national revolt in Vienna the political freedom was proclaimed, parliamentary transformations were also commenced. On March, 15 the democratic forces came to the authority in Budapest. On March, 18 the Hungarian Sejm supported the way of the bourgeois development of the new country.

Under the influence of these events the Polish national movement at first became active in Galicia. But the Poles completely ignored the right of Ukrainians for the national development. Trying to involve the Ukrainian peasantry into the struggle with the Polish magnates in order to restore the Polish state, 1848 the Austrian government cancelled the feudal dependence in the region on April 17. This act promoted the further development of the democratic movement. On April, 19 the Ukrainian clergy in the petition to the Austrian emperor proved the rights of the Ukrainians for Galicia, national education, administrative apparatus, and equation in the rights of clergy of the three religious confessions.

At the same time the Galicia intelligentsia acted decisively against the attempts of the Polish bourgeois-liberal circles to transform the region into the Polish independent province. On May 2, 1848 the Ukrainian clergy created the first political organization in Lviv — the Main Rus Council with the Bishop Hryhorij Yakhymovych at the head. Except for the priests, its structure included students and secular intelligentsia. Having concentrated in itself the function of the Ukrainian national government, the Council supported the realization of the bourgeois reforms, revived the national Old-Russ state symbolics (the blue-yellow flag), and aspired to ensure free development of the Ukrainian population. In the whole Eastern Galicia local Rus Councils were organized, which became the organizers of struggle of the Ukrainian population for the territorial autonomy of the Eastern Galicia, for teaching in the native language, for making the Ukrainian national guards. 50 local Rus Councils were functioning. They were submitted to the Main Russian Council.

During the elections to the first Austrian parliament the Ukrainian Galicia in a struggle received 39 deputy mandates out of 96 in the summer of 1848. In the Parliament the Ukrainian members acted against

granting indemnification for a cancellation of serfdom to magnates, demanded the unification of Galicia in equal in rights autonomies: the Eastern (Ukrainian) and the Western (Polish) unification of Galicia with Transcarpathia.

And though the majority of the requests of the Ukrainian population was ignored, in culture and education the achievements were significant. So, on May, 15 the Ukrainian weekly journal “The Dawn of Galicia” was published for the first time, which was a commence of the Ukrainian press in the Western Ukraine. Introduction of the Ukrainian language to national schools and its obligatory studying at grammar schools was launched. The cultural-educational organization “The Galicia-Rus Matytsia” was founded. It gave a start to publishing, introduced the Ukrainian language into the educational institutions. In autumn, 1848 at the congress of the Ukrainian scientists and figures of culture the decisions about the introduction of the Ukrainian literary language, as a colloquial one and about the use of Cyrillic instead of Latin alphabet were accepted.

It is clear, that the ruling circles of the empire were compelled to consider the requirements of Ukrainians. Therefore in Lviv the construction of a National House began. Here a library, a museum and a publishing house were supposed to be situated. At the end of 1848 the department of the Ukrainian language and literature was opened at Lviv University. It was run by I.Holovatsky. At the same time republishing of the Ukrainian writers works from Naddniprianshchyna began, reading houses were opened.

The most radical part of students and working youth of Lviv (the Ukrainians, the Poles, the Germans) decided to achieve democratic transformations in the Eastern Galicia by force. At night of November 1-2, 1848 citizens of Lviv began a revolt. But in 2 days the rebels were defeated. Hundreds of them were given up on punishment to military courts.

Passing to the attack, the Austrian monarchy cancelled the constitution and dismissed the parliament. The Main Rus Council was compelled to be selfdismissed in 1851. The revolutionary events captured also other West-Ukrainian Lands, though their scale was considerably smaller, than that in Galicia.

In 1849 the Austrian government proclaimed Bukovyna to be a separate region; owing to this the cultural-educational life of its dwellers got under the German, and the Church under the Romanian influences. Here a significant role in the national movement was played by the member of the Austrian parliament Lukiyán Kobyl'tsia, who was at the head of the anti-serfdom struggle during 1,5 years.

After the defeat of the Hungarian revolution the Ukrainian movement in Transcarpathia (The Hungarian Rus) was quickened. At this time the ukrainization education, state institutions, culture commenced in Transcarpathia. But in 1867 under the pressure of Prussia, Austria gave Transcarpathia back to Hungary. All the achievements were won before they were lost.

Thus, at the beginning of the XIX century the process of national revival was spread in the West-Ukrainian lands. The Ukrainian clergy intelligentsia played the main role in it. It made a political life active and created conditions for the further development of national consciousness. The activity of public-cultural association "The Rus Three" became an important phenomenon in the political life of the region: it united the forces of the progressive public, united Ukrainians by the national idea. The process of national revival owed to the influence of the European democratic revolution of the years 1848-1849. Its ideas inspired the Ukrainian community on the struggle for national and social liberation.

23. CULTURE DEVELOPMENT IN UKRAINE IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE XIX CENTURY

- *Education in Ukraine*
- *Science Development*
- *Achievements of the New Ukrainian Literature*

The national revival in the culture area became the most significant factor of the historical process in Ukraine in the first half of the XIX

century. Thus, under the conditions of Ukraine's submission to the Russian and Austrian empires the development of the Ukrainian culture was slowed down by a colonizing policy of those countries' governments. The imperial antiukrainian policy was acutely felt in education. Its features were: a class approach, studies in a foreign language and religious education in conditions of a lack of rooms, lack of text-books, a poor financing which very much influenced the quality of education. The antiukrainian policy also limited students' access to middle and higher education for the majority of population. In particular, on the territories that were a part of the Russian empire the Ukrainian language was not a curriculum subject since 1804 (the year it was prohibited to study). The studying was carried out mainly in Russian or Polish. And after the suppressing of the Polish riot of 1830 by the Russian troops the studying began to be conducted in Russian only. On the West-Ukrainian lands which were under the Austrian power the majority of subjects was taught in Polish, German and Latin. Though after the revolution of 1848-1849 the studying at elementary and secondary levels began to be conducted in Ukrainian, in the 1850-s this rule was cancelled.

According to "The Previous Rules of the National Education" (1803), to "Universities' Charters", "Colleges' subordinated to Universities Charters" (1804) in Naddniprianshchyna there were 4 types of schools functioning: paraphial, district, gubernian (gymnasiums), universities.

At paraphial schools the full course of studying took from several months till 1 year. Students were taught to read, write, Orthodox religion, arithmetical knowledge in Russian. But even the number of such schools was not enough. In 1844 for every 713 dwellers of Kyiv, Volyn, Podillia, Chernihiv gubernias there was only 1 student. At the end of the 1850-s on the territory of all Ukrainian lands, that were a part of the Russian empire, only 1300 schools functioned in which 67 thousand students studied.

Representatives of richer strata of population studied at district schools. For children of privileged strata of Bar, Vinnytsia, Nemyriv, Katerynoslav, Kyiv, Odesa, Poltava, Kharkiv, Kherson, Chernihiv cities

there were gymnasiums opened. There were 19 gymnasiums on the whole. Children at the age of 7 were admitted to them.

Private boarding-schools that offered a secondary education also functioned in Ukraine. Noblemen's daughters were educated in Institutes for Ladies which were founded in Kharkiv (1812), Poltava (1817), Odesa (1829), Kerch (1836) and Kyiv (1838).

There were also lyceums that were in-between gymnasiums and universities in Odesa (1817), in Volyn (1819) and Nizhyn (1820). The latter was transformed into the gymnasium of higher sciences.

The governing top of the empire could not ignore the society needs for educated people any more. That's why on the initiative of the local nobility new universities were opened for rich people in Kharkiv (1805) and Kyiv (1834). In contrast to the tsar's government expectations for shaping intelligentsia oriented on monarchy, the universities not only enlarged the base for preparing nationally and socially conscious intelligentsia but they became All-Ukraine centers of science and culture as well. Just Kharkiv university graduated about 3 thousand students, 56 of them became professors and worked at the most prestigious educational establishments of the empire.

Certain changes were made in preparation of clergy. Thus, in 1814 general educational Kyiv Academy was transformed into the higher educational school.

In West-Ukrainian lands under the Austrian power only a small number of Ukrainians could obtain a secondary and higher education. It was not always possible to get an elementary education either. People of Galicia obtained a higher education in Lviv: at Lviv university (opened in 1661), Real (trade) school (1817) and Technical academy (1844). There was no a single school in Transcarpathia. In Bukovyna the Chernivtsi lyseum was specialized in preparing clergy. The whole system of elementary education in West-Ukrainian lands was subordinated to church authorities.

The imperial regimes didn't resist the development of vocational training education. It was because industry and agriculture very much depended on vocational experts. That's why in 1804 the first in Naddniproshchyna vocational college was opened in Chernihiv. Later

on colleges for officials training were founded in Poltava and Kherson. Gardening college was opened in Odesa, in Kharkiv — agriculture college, in Kremenets — geodetic college. Professional sailors and ship-builders were prepared in Kherson college of trade navigation. Medical attendants were prepared in some towns.

Science reached some success at that time. Higher educational establishments, state enterprises, public communities were the scientific centers of Ukraine. Some wealthy landowners who did not take state positions made research.

Due to the fact that imperial governments had an indulgent attitude to natural sciences, there was a good ground for creation of Kharkiv and Kyiv centers in Astronomy, Geography, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Agronomy, Meteorology, Hydrogeology, Geology, Medicine, Forestry, Zoo-veterinary, Botany. Far beyond the borders of Ukraine there were famous Kharkiv mathematicians Tymophij Osypovsky and Mykhailo Ostrohradsky. A three-volume work by professor of Kharkiv university T.Osypovsky “A Course of Mathematics” was in use at higher educational establishments for several decades. His student M.Ostrohradsky made an important input into elaboration of mathematical analysis, he was elected the academician of St.Petersburg Academy of Science. A two-volume manual “Basis of Botany” by a scholar of encyclopaedic knowledge, the first Rector of Kyiv university Mykhailo Maksymovych was in a great use among students. He edited over 1000 scientific works in various scientific issues. He is truly considered one of the first scholars-evolutionists in Russia.

This period in history is generally characterized by an acute interest of educated people in their past, origin, in their understanding of a great role of historical consciousness, in search of everything that organically connects an individual with nation.

As a historian M.Maksymovych was against the Norman theory of Rus state origin, he became the first researcher of Koliivshchyna phenomenon (a national riot in the Right-Bank Ukraine in 1768). He played a leading role in making a Temporary Committee of Antiques in 1835 which became the foundation of the Temporary Committee for

Old acts Consideration in 1843. its members M.Berlynsky, M.Kostomarov, M.Ivanyshyn and others created the Archive of Old Acts at the Kyiv university in 1852 where they collected many valuable documents on the history of Ukraine.

Quite many documents on Zaporizhzhia cossacks were collected and published by Apollon Skalkovsky. His work “The History of a New Sich or of a New Zaporizhzhian Kish” (1841) took an important place in Zaporizhzhia historiography.

A five-volume “History of Little Russia” (1842-1843) played a noticeable role in shaping a historic consciousness of Ukrainian. His author was Mykola Markevych, a prominent historian and ethnographer who continued the best traditions of native historiography that were grounded by “The History of Rus People” by H.Konysky.

Ukrainian historians M.Markevych, M.Kostomarov, P.Kulish opposed the distinctiveness of historical development of Ukraine, its right to the independent development to great-state Russian historical conceptions by M.Karamzin, M.Pogodin, M.Ustrialov.

A number of works in history of old-Rus language was published by Izmail Sreznevsky who headed Slavonic Studies Department at Kharkiv university. Similar to M.Maksymovych, I.Sreznevsky refuted the statements of scientists from Russia and Poland about Ukrainian language being not a separate language but a dialect of either Russian or Polish languages.

Such ukrainian writers as I.Kotliarevsky, H.Kvitka-Osnovjanenko, P.Hulak-Artemovsky, Ie.Hrebinka, M.Shashkevych played a great role in finishing the process of the modern Ukrainian literary language making. The paramount role in this process belonged to Taras Shevchenko.

The cultural life in Ukraine was greatly connected with the literature development. The founder of a new Ukrainian literature with distinct features of a national consciousness became the author of ever famous poem “Eneida” Ivan Kotliarevsky. The contradictory character of that spiritual Ukrainian life was also reflected in works of a well-known writer, historian, linguist and publicist Panteleimon Kulish. In his numerous scientific and artistic works he was a true supporter of the

Ukrainian cultural and national revival, propagated educational and christian ideals. At the same time all the writers mentioned above were distinguished bearers of a national consciousness.

The publishing of the collection of poems by Taras Shevchenko became the most important event in a literary life of Ukraine (1840). His poetry raised Ukrainian people on a higher level of their national self-consciousness.

Libraries, publishing-houses, museums, theatres played a great role in the national culture evolvment. The first Ukrainian public library was opened in Odesa in 1830. Since the 1830s dwellers of Kyiv started to borrow books from the Kyiv university library. The libraries of Nizhyn gymnasium and Richelier lyceum were famous for their collections of books. The research institute "Ossolenium" founded in 1817 in Lviv got famous in Galicia. The richest library and museum with rare collections of historical and cultural monuments served as the basis for its foundation.

The antique museums in Feodosia (1840), Kerch (1826), the museum of archeology in Odesa (1828), museums of Kharkiv university (1835) and Kyiv university (1842), art gallery in Nizhyn lyceum served both academic and research purposes.

That time theatre art was manifested in people's drama, puppet and live theatre, intermedia. The serf theatre continued to exist. The first professional ukrainian theatre was founded in Poltava by Ivan Kotliarevsky and Mikhail Shchepkin. The plays "Natalka Poltavka" and "Moskal Charivnyk" were staged in 1819 by. Apart from I.Kotliarevsky's plays, the ukrainian drama was renowned for plays by Hryhorij Kvitka-Osnojanenko, Iakiv Kukharenko, Taras Shevchenko. Theatre groups introduced masterpieces of the world drama to spectators.

There continued to exist the Russian professional theatre in Ukraine. Mixed troupes were a special phenomenon of that period. Thus, some Russian actors M.Shchepkin, M.Rybakov, L.Molotkovska and others participated in Ukrainian plays, some Ukrainian actors Ia.Shumsky, V.Kapnist, K.Somnyk took part in Russian plays.

In some big cities of Naddniprianshchyna for permanent

performances there were built theatres in antique architecture style. They became the embellishment of Kyiv (architect A.Melensky) and Odesa (architects Toma de Tomon).

In West-Ukraine lands the first amateur troupes emerged on the eve of revolution of 1848. They had plays by I.Kotliarevsky and H.Kvitka-Osnovjanenko overwhelming in their repertoire. The Austrian authorities often forbade plays of Ukrainian troupes for their patriotism, national and social orientation.

The cultural traditions of the past were carefully kept by lyre-players, bandura and kobza players. The most famous among them were Ostap Veresaj, Ivan Kriukovsky, Andrij Shut. Rather popular there were songs-romances “A Cossack Is Travelling over the Danube”, “Winds Are Blowing”, “The Sun Is Setting Low” and some songs put on Taras Shevchenko’s versus “The Testament”, “My Thoughts”.

At the same time the Ukrainian symphony music started to develop. A choir art attained a high level.

The calendar traditional folklore and church holidays played an important role in life of the Ukrainian. They became an inherent part of the national culture.

Works of popular decorative and applied art were as always made by peasants. Their aesthetic taste, rites, rituals, worldview, morals determined the image of Ukrainian people that impressed many foreigners who visited Ukraine. They witnessed that Ukrainians were a separate folk.

Pottery, art glass, carpet weaving, art wood engraving attained a high level. Gradually these handicrafts obtained an industrial importance and grew into capitalistic manufacturing, within time in factories. Though there was some worsening of those goods quality but they remained artistically attractive and didn’t fall behind the quality of previously made goods.

As we can see, during the first half of the XIXc. there were significant shifts in a cultural life of Ukraine. They mainly embraced education at all its levels — from elementary to higher. Education development, especially vocational training, took place according to needs of time and society. The Ukrainian science reached good results,

namely a historical science. Mykola Kostomarov, Panteleimon Kulish, Mykhailo Maksymovych and others fruitfully worked at that time. The process of Ukrainian literary language making ended then. The name of Taras Shevchenko shone on the cultural horizons. Ukrainian intelligentsia made the main input in the development of Ukrainian national consciousness.

24. THE CRISIS OF SERFDOM IN RUSSIA. TSAR'S REFORMS OF THE 1860s-1870s AND UKRAINE

— *Serfdom Liquidation*

— *Reforms in Administrative and Political System*

On February 19, 1861 the Russian emperor Alexander II signed “The Manifest” on serfdom abolishment and “The Regulation on Peasants Released from Serfdom”. Those documents were announced in public in Ukraine at the period from March 9 till April 2 of 1861. Peasants got free but land lords remained to be land owners.

As we see, serfdom was abolished from the top in a way of reforms for the sake of interests of ruling strata. The reasons for serfdom liquidation were: first, economic factors that brought in the crisis of feudal-serfdom system and making of bourgeois manufacturing in its grounds; second, the defeat of the tsar Russia in the Crimean war of 1853-1856 that put the imperial role of Russia as “Europe’s guard” to an end and showed the economic and military backwardness of Russia; third, the threat of peasants’ revolution which could cause unseen shakes for the existing system; fourth, the ruling political elite’s awareness there was no way to keep their domination in its former mode.

The main goal of abolishment of a serfdom right was to preserve the dominance of land owners on the basis of strengthening of an autocracy.

As a result of the reform of 1861 Ukrainian peasants lost over 15% of the total square of lands which they cultivated. 94% of former

peasants-serfs got such lots that was under the minimum living rate, over 220 thousand peasants didn't get anything. The only exclusion was the Right-Bank where the government doubting in gentry's loyalty gave to peasants lots 18% bigger than they had before 1861. All peasants were supposed to pay a lease for the given land within 49 years. For peasants who could not pay the initial sum of a lease the rate of lease was diminished for 15%. Before peasants were allowed to pay a lease they were considered to be serfs and had to do all the serfs duties. Only in the Right-Bank they were allowed to pay a lease right away with the 20% discount.

Almost half of all Ukrainian peasants were state peasants. Their destiny was determined by a special law on a land system adapted in 1866. According to that law peasants could get all the lots they had before but no more than 8 acres per capita in small gubernias and no more than 15 acres per capita in big gubernias. Before peasants bought out their lots they were supposed to pay an annual state tribute tax, 58% of peasants got lots smaller than 5 acres.

On the whole, the lease for peasants' lots was estimated 867 mln.roubles, whereas the market price was 648 mln.roubles. From 1862 to 1907 former peasants-serfs paid 1540570 thousand roubles for lots and their freedom and they still had some debts. The revolution on 1905-1907 made tsarismus abolish leases.

The tsar's government implemented all-Russia's system of peasantry governing in Ukraine. The mutual responsibility in payments which didn't exist among Ukrainian peasants-serfs before the reform was carried out towards them and Left-Bank cossacks.

As we can see, all issues were solved for land owners' benefit. There were some remnants of serfdom left: land lords remained land owners, peasants did not have enough land and had no right to take charge of it, there were leases, semi-serf mode of peasants' exploitation, communal land property etc. The reforms did not equate peasants with other strata in their civil rights. All that hampered agricultural and cultural development of peasants.

Meanwhile, the reforms made better conditions for industrial growth: land became the object of purchase and sale, peasantry small

business got a boost, market relations widened in whose frames labour market was shaped.

Following the serfdom liquidation the tsar's government reformed the administrative and political system of management and expanded civil rights of population during the 1860s-1870s.

The reforming of zemstvo was the most important event (January 1, 1864) that implied the making of election body of a local self-governing. It was a radical step back from the imperialist policy of the "from the top decisions" of all government officials, for the reform intended to create zemstvos for governing local procedures: trade, school education, health protection, post, communications, culture etc.

Zemstvo self-governing was implemented in 1865-1875 in the Left-Bank and on the South. In the Right-Bank it was implemented only in 1911 due to the riot of the Polish gentry. Zemstvo meetings were held once a year. Delegates were elected from the three groups — big land owners, local population and peasantry. Since the electorate's influence was in proportion to land lots size which it had, noblemen had the majority of votes. They made over 75% of all members of zemstvos, whereas peasants made only 10%. For the permanent work there were organized zemstvo centers which worked under the control of noblemen's heads and general-governors. Thousands of democratic intelligencia men worked in zemstvos — doctors, teachers, agriculturists and others. Some of them became activists of Ukrainian national movement — Ivan Luchynsky, Petro and Dmytro Doroshenko, Illia Shrag, Vasyl Tarnovsky, Oleksandr Rusov, Borys Hrinchenko, Volodymyr Samijlenko, Mykhailo Kotsiubynsky and many others.

On the whole, zemstvos played a positive role in the development of welfare, education level, national self-consciousness. They taught a local population to have some degree of self-governing.

The reformation of self-governing in cities was rather close to zemstvo reform. By the City Rule (June 16, 1870) the elective body of a local self-governing was introduced — the city dumas (councils). Elections of city dumas members were carried out by representatives from different communities (e.g., several members from peasants,

several members from workers, several members from noblemen, several members from crafts men etc.) therefore, the advantage was given to petty bourgeoisie. City dumas took care of the same matters as zemstvos did in villages. Like zemstvos the city dumas turned into centers of liberal and democratic movement and taught locals to self-govern.

The reformation of a court system (November 20, 1864) became an important event. Courts ceased to be a secret state body. They turned into public court organs and became independent and closed for administrative bodies interference. Since then prosecution, defence, the jury and the judge took part in trials. The reformation of a court system promoted the legal system renovation, restriction of estates' privileges, shaping of a sense of a rule of law. As a consequence of the court system reformation a new group of highly qualified intelligencia lawyers-barristers appeared.

Bourgeoisie relations penetration in all economic areas raised the role of a monetary system. That was why the tsar's Ministry of Finance took a monetary system under its control on the territory of the whole empire and Ukraine as well in 1862. The State Bank was created as the result of the reform.

By legislative acts of the 1862s-1874s a military reform was carried out. The army was reduced more than 50%, whose bigger part was located in Ukraine. The term of service was shortened from 25 to 6-7 years. The construction of rail road on the territory of Ukraine was sped up. The army was rearmed, the system of provision got better, the training program of officers staff was improved.

Since 1864 the reformation of education started. All types of primary schools were changed for primary national colleges, they were managed by regional and gubernia councils. Gymnasiums were split into classical and handicraft ones. The number of technical schools increased, universities' autonomy enlarged, curricula got improved. At the same time an outrageous the Valuiev circular of 1863 and later the Emsk decree of 1867 forbade the Ukrainian language, did not allow to use it in schools, in zemstvos, city dumas and courts.

Thus, in the second half of the XIXc. the feudal-serfdom crisis

escalated in the Russian empire that had Ukraine as its counterpart. The ruling top seeking for the way out had to abolish serfdom. Its abolishment caused the need for profound reformation of all social areas. The reforms of the 1860s-1870s were intended to accomplish that. They not only promoted the overcoming of the economic crisis but also offered new perspectives for a further social and political development.

25. THE DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALISM IN UKRAINE IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE XIX CENTURY

- *Development of Industry*
- *Development of Capitalism in Agriculture*
- *Changes in the Social Structure of Population*

In the Western Europe capitalistic exchange relations began their victorious pass from the XV-XVI centuries. In Ukrainian domains capitalistic relations started to develop from the XIX century, after the abrogation of serfdom in the Austro-Hungary empire (that was comprised with the Western Ukrainian lands) in 1848 and in Russia (that was comprised with Naddnipryanshchyna). In Ukraine feudal serf relations were abolished by means of reform.

Abrogation of serfdom accelerated the industrial development of Naddnipryanshchyna. One of the most developed branches of Ukrainian industry became sugar boiling. Its substantial contribution to the whole Russian production of sugar reached 88% in 1882 — 1885.

As the result of technical rebuilding of sugar boiling manufactures the concentration of production was observed. Machine industry in the sugar production was formed on the basis of large manufactures through the change of serfs' handwork into the mechanic work of free-hired workers. In a while technical progress touched also the heavy industry.

In the 1860s the intensive development of the coal-mining industry boosted in Donets Basin. It was giving 70 % of the whole Russian coal-mining output. From 1864 to 1900 the extraction of coal increased up to 100 % there. The making of its own source of ironstone was of a great importance for the development of metallurgical industry of Ukraine. It was assisted by opening of the Nikopol manganese source in 1883, Kryvorizhzhya became the central region of the ore mining.

Hard time in the development of the metallurgical industry of Ukraine were the 1880-1890s. On the territory of the Katerynoslav and Kherson regions there appeared 17 large metallurgical plants (Oleksandrivsk plant near Katerynoslav, Dniprovsk plant in Kamensk, Hdantsivsk plant in Kryvy Rih). At the end of the 1890s Ukraine smelted 52 % of the whole Russian cast-iron.

Machine building of Ukraine evolved after the development of the metallurgical industry. Hartman locomotive building plant was founded in Luhansk in 1876, pipe- and metal-processing plants appeared in Katerynoslav, machine building plant in Horlivka etc. During the 1890s 109 machine building plants functioned in Ukraine that formed 32%. The biggest centers of the machine building became Katerynoslav, Kyiv, Odesa, Oleksandrivsk and Kharkiv.

During the 1890s the intense railway construction continued its evolvement. If the first railroad was built in Naddnipryanshchyna in 1865 (it connected Odesa with Balta), at the beginning of the 1890s there already functioned 9 railway main lines (their total length comprised 7,6 thousand miles). All main cities of Ukraine were connected with each other by railroad. In order to satisfy the needs of the railroad transport, apart from metallurgical and cast-iron plants, which produced the rails, were founded the locomotive building factories in Kharkiv and Luhansk. In Kyiv, Mykolaiv, Odesa and other cities there appeared vessel building factories. At the end of the XIX century 220 steamships went by rivers of Right-Bank, to the harbors of the Black and Azov seas were the assigned 280 vessels. The total transport system had been compiling that, in its turn, promoted a rapid economical development of the Ukrainian economy.

During the 1890s Ukraine had an industrial specialization: the Right-Bank Ukraine was characterized by developing food industry and machine building; the South that was divided into the Kryvyi Rih Prydniprovsk region with developing machine building and Donets Basin — developed coal-mining, metallurgical and chemical industries. Kharkiv industry region had its own specialization (machine building, sugar boiling industry): Odesa—Mykolayiv region was specializing in machine building, shipbuilding and food industry.

Much slower compared to Naddniprovyanshchyna developed the industry in West Ukrainian regions. They entered the new historic formation with many survivals from the feudal-serf relations, which in the unity with the colonial policy of the monarchy and foreign capital hindered the economic development of the region.

The end of the 1860s distinguished with reviving of industrial development of the West Ukrainian lands. The 1870-1890s were the period of making factory industry there. Dozens of industries appeared, the factory working class grew quantitatively. Though more than 94% of industries of Galicia remained small (they had up to 5 workers), they were totally mechanized. Besides the government made obstacles to industry rise: the western Ukrainian industry was deprived of those tax privileges, which were used by the new industries in Austrian regions. And still the main reason for the industrial depression of the region was the import of factory goods from more developed western provinces of the empire. West Ukrainian industry could not endure the competition of cheap goods from the western provinces of Austria and began to decline.

In the 1870-1880s under the influence of greater demand on oil the rapid retooling of the oil and ozocerite industry began. The greatest amount of oil was given by the Boryslav and Drohobych regions. Unmanufactured raw material was exported even to Austria.

In the Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna there were great deposits of salt. Western Ukraine gave 64 % of the whole output of salt to Austro-Hungary.

In the 1860-70s Western Ukrainian lands were connected with the West by railroad. A railroad was laid from the West through Krakow

and Peremyshl up to Lviv, soon after that up to Chernivtsi, and in the 1880s via Stry up to Transcarpathia. But railway constructing, which appeared in Russia and caused the huge development of heavy industry, assisted the development of industry in the Western Ukrainian lands (mainly the enlargement of wooden industry and manufacturing of building materials) only to some extent. Instead the Western region of Ukraine became the easy of access source of material and sales market for the Austrian production. To sum up, a West Ukrainian industry developed unilateral — in the direction of manufacture extension and primary reprocess of material and not the manufacturing of the final product. That was the result of the dictatorial policy of the Austro-Hungarian government and foreign capital.

During the XVIII-XIX centuries the capitalism was developing not only in industry but also in agriculture. Conforming to the law from April 17, 1848 the corvee and other serf duties were abolished in Galicia. As the result of the agrarian reform the leading class lost its power over peasants, though retained manors and cash incomes in the form of ransoms. In the West Ukrainian lands the reform made conditions only for a slow country-side development.

In the Russian empire preparations for the country-side reform lasted for almost 5 years. Its basic regulations were stated in the royal “Manifest” from February 19, 1861 and in the “Basic Regulation about Peasants Emancipated from Slavery.” According to these acts the serfdom was abrogated. Peasants could buy, own and sell movable and immovable property, trade, enroll in workshops and guilds, be engaged in business, sign on different kinds of documents, send children to educational establishments, and change over to different orders.

At the same time some limitations were preserved that kept peasants as lower tax order. They received passes only for one year, paid “soil” tax, presented compulsory military service, and were liable to penalty by rods.

Further development of capitalistic relationships necessitated landlords to proceed to new systems of management, to apply new mechanisms, many-field system of land cultivation, wage-work. The part of land-owners that could not conform to new relationships had

to sell their manors. At the end of the XIX century in Ukrainian domains almost 6 million tenths of land had been sold by gentlefolks. The land that was lost by the nobility mostly came into the ownership of prosperous peasants. In such a way in 1863 (during the two years of reform) on the Left-Bank Ukraine the peasants' land-tenure increased to 25% in comparison with the year of 1861. Capitalism also involved small peasants' economy, which was gradually getting exfoliated. As the result, on the one hand, the well-off intercalation of peasants segregated (peasant bourgeoisie), on the other hand — the majority of peasants went to smash and recruited the working class. At the end of the XIX century 425 thousand of hired workers were engaged in work on Ukrainian lands that allotted into the Russian empire. Alone with daysmen and term-workers it made 1,5-1,8 million hired agricultural workforce. The development of capitalistic relations in agriculture contributed to the raise of its productivity. Part of the collected corn was applied to satisfaction of own needs, though the great amount of it got to foreign market. The reform of 1861 deepened the process of country-side exfoliation. Almost 40% of land and 50% of cattle was concentrated in hands of a farm bourgeoisie. Well-off peasants had 18-21 tenths of land. On the other hand, a considerable part of peasants lost their land and contributed to lumpine.

The situation with peasants of the Western Ukraine was not at all better. They also met the debts for lands, were debared the possibility of forest or grassland ownership. The average size of peasant's hide in eastern Galicia was 12 acres, and 80% of peasants had no land at all. In Western Ukrainian lands the work power reserve exceeded the needs of agricultural business 2—3 times. The large scale unemployment and lack of land forced people to emigrate. They moved mostly to the USA. During 1890 — 1913 almost 800 thousand people emigrated from the Western Ukraine. That was the first wave of Ukrainian emigration. In the Russian empire the supernumerary rural inhabitants from Ukraine moved to Ural, Siberia and Far East. From 1885 almost 200 thousand people immigrated from Ukrainian gubernias.

As to the social structure of the Ukrainian society, it did not change greatly in the XIX century. According to the census of 1897 only 5,7%

of Ukrainians lived in cities, 18,1%—lived in country-side. In Ukrainian cities mostly Russians, Jews and Poles lived. Cities were the imperial administrative centers, which did not experience any autonomy. Ukrainian bourgeoisie was formed as national within the Russian empire, and it was, economically and politically dependent on tsarism as weak as the Russian one. The west Ukrainian bourgeoisie did not differ fundamentally from that of Naddniprovyanshchyna, the only difference was that it was probably less developed.

Thus, the abrogation of serfdom greatly forced the economical growth of Ukrainian lands. The capitalistic industry began to develop rapidly, as well as the formation of market relations started and great changes in agriculture occurred. But this development was implemented in an extensive way. Ukraine was greatly abreast with the progressive countries of the world, and this was the result of the predatory colonial policy on the part of the Austro-Hungary and Russian empires. Changes in economy led to significant changes in the social structure of the Ukrainian society.

26. NATIONAL MOVEMENT IN UKRAINE IN THE 1860-1890s

— *National Oppression of Ukrainians in the Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empires*

— *Activization of the Ukrainian National Movement and Its Consequences*

In the second half of the XIX century the Ukrainian lands were an organic part of the two empires — Russia and Austro-Hungary. The tsarist Russia was, according to the well-known saying, “the prison for folks.” 57% of the total number of imperial population was the representatives of national minorities, which were also formed by Ukrainians. Tsarism persecuted national culture and carried out the policy of russification in Ukraine. In 1863 the royal Secretary of Interior

P. Valuyev issued out a secret directive aimed against the Department of Ukrainian printed matters. He declared that “there is no, never was and will never be Malorus’ (Little Russia) language (a. w. Ukrainian).” According to this directive it was prohibited to publish scientific works and books in the Ukrainian language. The Valuyev’s directive was followed by a closure of Sunday schools and administrative deportation of some of prominent Ukrainians. Emsky decree (which was issued by Tsar Alexander II in the year of 1876 in the German town Ems) became the next repressive step of the Russian authorities. That was a secret decree aimed at prohibition of printing and distributing books in the Ukrainian language. Besides, the decree banned to import books that were issued “in ‘Malorus dialect’ abroad, did not allow playing, reading in the Ukrainian language and even printing of Ukrainian texts for some pieces of music. Soon after that the South-Western department of the Geographical Institution was closed by the authorities; it was engaged in the study of Ukrainian ethnography, history, language and economy. There was outlawed to print the newspaper “Kyivsky Telegraph”, which considered the Ukrainian issue positively; a few professors from Kyiv University were dismissed. There was no official reference to the title “Ukraine” itself — only ‘Malorus’ (Little Russia).

The population of the Western lands also experienced a national oppression. Indeed, in the Austro-Hungarian empire it was carried out in not so rude forms as in Russia. Along with the Hungarian government there also existed Marginal Seyms in Galicia and Bukovyna. The elections to them were held with the help of the whole population. But at the same time, the selective statute determined a high property qualification, which provided benefits for Polish ruling classes in Galicia Seym and for Romanian ruling classes in Bukovyna Seym. The Ukrainian representatives were few. The Ukrainian language and culture were not prohibited officially, albeit they suffered from different oppressions. In Transcarpathia there was held the policy of magyarisation of the Ukrainian population, in the Northern Bukovyna — of romanisation, in Western Galicia — of polonisation. Ukrainian schools existed, though there were very few of them, and their amount could not satisfy the needs of people. Ukrainians presented the nominal part of students in

the University of Lviv and Chernivtsi, where academic classes were held in the Polish and German languages.

In the second half of the XIX century the Ukrainian nationalistic movement became active. In Western lands it manifested itself in the form of the two social and political trends — narodovoltsi and moskovfils. Narodovoltsi appeared in the 1860s, when a young intelligentsia began its cultural work, which had to contribute to the national revival. Teachers, students, writers, lawyers took an active part in such a work. The head-quarter of the narodovoltsi became the editorial offices of literary journals “Vechornytsi”, “Meta”, “The Mermaid”, also newspapers “Nyva”, which were printed in Krakow during 1862 — 1866. Thanks to financial support of writers from Naddnipryanshchyna in the year of 1867 in Lviv the literary journal “Pravda” was founded where ideologists of narodovoltsi movement published their works — V.Barvinsky, A.Vakhnyanyn, A.Ohonovsky, Y.Romanchuk etc. In the year of 1873 there was founded Shevchenko’s Literary Association in Lviv. It contributed to the publishing of Ukrainian writers’ new books. On its base there was created T.H. Shevchenko Scientific Association in 1892.

As distinct from narodovoltsi movement moscowphils were the representatives of reactionary circles in the West Ukrainian society, which were oriented on Moscow. Moscowphils consolidated conservative-minded intelligentsia, clergy and rural bourgeoisie, namely the part, which hoped on Russia’s help in the struggle against Poles, Hungarians, Romanians and on adherence to Russia. Russia gave moscowphils not only a moral but also a financial support. Moscowphils published the newspaper “Slovo” (“The Word”) and a range of magazines in terms of Russian language, they also created cultural-educational associations — “The Association of Russian Women in Bukovyna”, “The Association of Russian Students in the Carpathian Mountains”. The ideologists of moscowphils movement were A. Dobryansky, D. Zhurytsky, and H. Kupchenko.

Of a great importance for the development of Ukrainian nationalistic movement in west Ukrainian domains was the cultural-

educational association “Prosvita”. It was established by the narodovoltsi movement in the year of 1868 in Lviv. At first it was headed by A. Vakhnyanyn — acknowledged educator, journalist and composer, later on he was relieved by Y. Lavrivsky known as the chairman of the club “The Rus Talk” (at the time of his supervision the Ukrainian National Theatre was established). “Prosvita” strengthened its positions: at the end of the XIX century it had 18 affiliated societies. “Prosvita” paid much attention to publishing. There had been issued newspapers “Chytalnya” (reading hall), “The Letter from “Prosvita”, annual “Folk Almanac”, works by Ukrainian writers, school textbooks etc. Apart from publishing, “Prosvita” was engaged in economical activity. It founded cooperative stores, milk shops, loan cash departments.

The Ukrainian nationalistic movement was also invoked in Naddnipyrianshchyna. It had something to do with the name of T. Shevchenko who personally helped democrats to establish Sunday schools and printed Ukrainian “Bukvar” (ABC-book) for them. After T. Shevchenko’s death, notwithstanding the interdiction of tsarist government, the days of poet’s commemoration were celebrated annually. They had their continuation in the form of demonstrations and indignation strikes against national oppressions. Of a great importance for the Ukrainian nationalistic movement at that period of time were Hromadas. The first hromada appeared in Saint-Petersburg at the beginning of the 1960s. T. Shevchenko, A. Kistiakivsky, H. Vashkevych were its members. In 1861 — 1862 there began to emerge its first literary and publicist journal “Osnova” (basis), which was published in the Ukrainian language. It was established by V. Bilozersky, M. Kostomarov, and P. Kulish, members of Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood which were liberated from exile. In 1861 hromada emerged in Kyiv, after that in other cities of Ukraine (Kharkiv, Chernihiv, Poltava and Lviv). At first they consisted of Ukrainian students who worked in Sunday schools, promulgated Ukrainian language, collected Athenaeums, distributed newspapers and magazines, set up concerts. The repressive pressure from the side of tsarist authorities temporarily

hindered the activity of Kyiv hromada. But in the 1870-1890s owing to adherence of V. Antonovych, M. Drahomanov, P. Chubynsky, T. Rylsky, O. Konysky, prominent scientists and cultural personalities, its work was invoked again. Kyiv hromada was entitled “The Old Hromada”.

The regime started a new wave of repressions, as the result of which in 1876 M. Drahomanov, who was one of the most active members of “The Old Hromada”, was dismissed from magistral work at Kyiv University. Having his actions with hromada coordinated he departed to Geneva, where he began publishing the digest “Hromada” and other books in the Ukrainian language. In Geneva F. Vovk and Y. Shulhyn collaborated with M. Drahomanov. They created “The Genevian Community”, which was considered as the first embryo of the Ukrainian socialistic movement. In 1886 M. Drahomanov broke off with “The Old Hromada”, the reason for that was that he became too radically red. The members of hromada were afraid that their connection with M. Drahomanov would cause further repressions on the part of tsarismus. That is why it stopped financing Drahomanov’s publishing activity. Reasoning from this in 1889 he accepted the invitation of Sofia University to take over a post of professor there. Being engaged in teaching work he maintained close contacts with radical revolutionary movement in the Eastern Galicia, which was formalized in 1890 in the Russian-Ukrainian radical party. M. Drahomanov became actually the concept leader of the newly created party. In 1895 M. Drahomanov died in Sofia.

Thus, in the 1860-90s in contrast to national oppression on the part of imperial power nationalistic movement grew stronger in Ukrainian domains. It found its reflection in hromada’s activity, social and political movement of narodovoltsi, cultural and educational work of “Prosvita” association. The necessary prerequisites were made for the genesis of national political parties. All this contributed to further development of the Ukrainian society, stimulated the growth of national consciousness of the Ukrainian nation.

27. DEVELOPMENT OF THE UKRAINIAN CULTURE IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE XIXth CENTURY

- *The State of Education and Science*
- *The Achievements in Literature*
- *The Development of Art*

Reforms of the 1860-1870s and rapid development of the capitalistic relations contributed to the development of the Ukrainian culture of the given period. However, at the same time the sojourn of the Ukrainian land as a part of the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires caused the regional peculiarities in the development of their culture, and the spread of monarchial, clerical ideology, social oppression, neglect of political and national rights of Ukrainian nation had a negative impact on the state and development of culture.

This policy had a rapid development in the field of education. At the boundaries of the 1860s the democratic youth began to organize Sunday schools for peasants, workers, and craftsmen. In 1862 more than 101 of them functioned in Ukraine. The training in most of them was conducted in Ukrainian by the extended programme in the humanities and naturalistic disciplines, training aids were given out, including “The South Russian Bukvar” (ABC-book) by T. Shevchenko. But according to the tsar’s decree from June 10, 1862 Sunday schools were liquidated, many of the organizers and teachers were arrested. Only at the beginning of the 1870s the cultural and educational life revived again, that was considerably connected with the Zemstvo activities. Exactly it increased assignations for schools building. During the period of 1871-1895 the assignations increased 6 times. As a result only in the Eastern Ukraine existed about 17 thousand primary schools of all types in 1897. Unfortunately, only one third of children went to school. Due to the difficult economical situation children of insolvent strata of population had to give up studies quite often. That is why by the end of the 1890s the percentage of literate people in different provinces of Ukraine fluctuated from 15,5 to 27,9.

Gymnasia remained the main secondary educational institutions. At the end of the XXth century only in the Eastern Ukraine there worked 129 gymnasia and 19 real specialized schools, where mostly the representatives of prosperous strata studied.

The policy of tsarism repressions (Valuev's directive of the 1963, Emsky decree of Alexander II in 1876) didn't weaken progressive tendencies in the sphere of education. In the 1870-1890s new higher educational establishments were founded, in particular Novorosiysk University in Odesa (1865), Nizhyn History and Philology Institute, established on the basis of the local lyceum, Kharkiv Veterinary Institute, South Russian Technological Institute in Kharkiv, Kyiv Polytechnic Institute, Higher College of Mines in Katerynoslav. 1200 students studied at three Universities of Naddnipryanshchyna in 1865, in the middle of the 1890s there were more than 4 thousand of them.

Certain achievements in the field of education were also made in the west part of Ukraine. There were founded several institutes of higher education: Chernivtsi University (1875), Lviv Polytechnic University and Academy of Veterinarian Medicine. From the year of 1896 a compulsory education for children aged from 6 to 14 was launched. At the same time the Austro-Hungary government actually continued the policy of polonisation of the East Galicia, magyarization of Transcarpathia, romanization of the North Bukovyna. 80% of students of secondary schools in Galicia constituted the Poles and only 16% were Ukrainians in 1897. The overwhelming majority of population of the Austrian Ukraine remained illiterate.

The development of science in Ukraine took place mainly at the universities and special higher educational establishments. It was hampered by imperial governments that assigned means for scientific research insufficiently, didn't worry about the introduction of scientific elaborations into the economy, treated progress-minded scholars suspiciously, idealized social sciences. Nevertheless, the second part of the XIX century is significant for considerable enlivening in all fields of scientific work.

The appearance of numerous scientific associations was a new

occurrence. In particular, on the basis of Kyiv University there emerged Physics and Mathematics, Psychiatry, Obstetrical and Gynecological Associations, an Association of Nature Researchers, Historical Association named after Nestor-the-Chronicler, and others. On the basis of Novorosiysk University Associations of Nature Researchers, History and Philology, and others were organized. The scientific associations worked on the basis of Kharkiv University, Nizhyn History and Philology Institute and other institutes of higher education. Taras Shevchenko Literary Association was founded in Lviv in 1873, which was changed into the scientific association. Within it there existed the leading scientific sections — historical and philosophical, philological, mathematical, natural and medical, and also commission dealing with the study of early texts, and library's ethnographical, legal, statistical, and other commissions. The influence of M. Hrushevsky who headed its work since 1987, was outstanding. Moreover, all associations had their own periodical publishing houses, that were read not only by scholars, but also by the public.

A good many of gifted scholars worked at the universities: the head of studies of Engineering department of Kharkiv University O. Liapunov originated the general theory of motion's constituencies, in the same place a well-known expert in the sphere of mathematic analysis and mechanics V.Imshenetsky worked. For 40 years M. Vashchenko-Zakharchenko was lecturing different courses of Mathematics at Kyiv University. He wrote textbooks, which many generations studied by. A noticeable input into the university growth was made by mathematicians V.Yermakov, I. Rakhmaninov, G.Suslov. At Novorosiysk University there worked famous mathematicians S.Sabinin, S.Yaroshenko, I.Tymchenko.

Since 1865 till 1890 the department of Physics of Kyiv University was headed by M.Avenarius who became a founder of one of the first scientific schools of Molecular Physics. The well-grounded analysis of the basic conceptions of thermodynamics was made by M. Shiller, who headed first established in Ukraine the department of theoretical Physics. One of the pioneers of radiography and rontgenology M.Pylchykov worked at Kharkiv University.

To the rising of the geological study there contributed K.Feofilaktov's Kyiv school of geologists, which famous scientists P.Armashovsky, V.Tarasenko, P.Tutkovsky graduated from.

Among the chemists of Kyiv University there was a number of original scientists: M.Kayander, Ya.Mykhaylenko, M.Bunge, P.Alekseyev, I.Borshchov, F.Shvedov.

Versatile was the activity of M.Beketov, who was the head of the university's department and A.Krasnov — the head of the first in Ukraine department of Physical Geography at the same university.

The biological studies had an intensive development in Ukraine. In 1886 I. Mechnykov and M. Hamaliya established the first bacteriological station in Odesa which was the first bacteriological station in our country and the second one in the world. Working at the Pasteriv Institute in Paris, I. Mechnykov was honoured with the highest world reward — the Nobel Prize.

A considerable progress was made in the historical science. Its source base was enlarged, the volume of the printing production was increased, the interest to the history of Ukraine rose. Of a great value for the study of the history of Ukrainian people were publications of "The Archives of the South-West Russia" — collection of historical documents and literary monument of Right-Bank and Western Ukraine of the XIV-XVIII centuries "Statements of the Southern and Western Russia" in 15 volumes, published in Petersburg in 1863-1892.

M.Kostomarov, O.Lazarevsky, V.Ikonnykov, V.Antonovych, D.Bahaliy, O. Levytsky and others tried to objectively narrate the history of Ukraine, of Cossacks, origin of the Ukrainian nation.

Among other outstanding scientists there were economists M. Ziber and M. Tuhon-Baranovsky, a lawyer O. Kistyakivsky.

Savage national oppressions, persecutions of the Ukrainian language complicated the development of the Ukrainian linguistics and literature, though it didn't stop the progress of the Ukrainian linguistics that reached a new level. Scientists P.Zhytetsky, O.Potebnya, F.Mishchenko, M.Dashkevych, M.Petrov, I.Franko, P.Chubynsky, M.Sumtsov, M.Drahomanov, B.Hrinchenko, A.Krymsky and many

others considerably influenced the investigation of lexicographic linguistics and literature.

The development of literary language, its vocabulary is obliged to the classical belles-letters. Its important success in the second half of the XIX century was possible due to the creative work of T. Shevchenko and I. Franko. In general all its genres — prose, poetry, drama, publicism etc. reached its highpoint at this time.

A substantial incentive to the development of the national literature was given by a journal “Osnova” (“Basis”, 1861-1862). Quite a number of writers of the Eastern Ukraine wrote their works for periodical editions in the West-Ukrainian lands such as: “Vechornytsi”, “Meta”, “Nyva”, “Pravda”, “Zorya”. To the consolidation of the literary forces of Ukraine contributed anthologies “Rada”, “Step”, “Skladka” and others. Outstanding realists of that time became eminent West Ukrainian writers V. Stefanyk and O. Kobylanska.

The authoress Marko Vovchok (M. Vilynska) first presented a democratic direction in the Ukrainian literature; in her works a serfdom got condemned, the images of ordinary people were portrayed, the struggle of the nation against its oppressors, foreign invaders, etc. was depicted. L. Hlibov, an outstanding fabulist in the allegorical form rendered an unfranchised status of the peasants, a willfulness and parasitism of landowners, bourgeoisie, functionary. His lyric poetry for children became popular. The first example of the realistic social novel of everyday life of that time (“Liuboratski”) created a talented creative writer A. Svydnytsky. A wide popularity acquired works by S. Rudansky: “The Wind, Blow to Ukraine”, “You Don’t Belong to Me”, “Over the Cradle”, “Hey, bulls!”, “Let the White Bend”, “Don’t Abandon Me”, and others. His humorous-satirical poems brought fame to the poet.

In 1863 a well-known ethnographer and a student of folklore P.Chubynsky wrote a renowned poem “Ukraine Has not Died Yet”. Being set to music by M. Verbytsky, it became the national anthem of Ukraine.

In the 1870-90s a new Pleiad of highly talented authors came into literature: I.Nechuj-Levytsky (“Mykola-Dzherya”, “The Kaidash’s

Family”, “The Barge Hauler Lady”, “Marusya Bohuslavka”), P.Myrny (P.Rudenko) (“When One Has Enough, One Does Not Complain”, “A Fallen Woman”, “Wicked People”, “A Famine Will”), P.Hrabovsky (“A Snowdrop”, “From the North”, “Kobzar”), I.Manzhura (“Steppe’s Ballads and Tunes”, “Over the Dnieper River”, M.Kotsiubynsky (“5 Gold Coins”, “At a High Price”, “For the Common Purpose”), Lesya Ukrainka (L. Kosach-Kvitka) (“The Dawn’s Lights”, “I Rely Without Hope”, “To My Friend for Keeping Memory”, “A Word, Why Aren’t You Firm as Steel”). Works by B.Hrinchenko also deserve a careful consideration (“Under the Rural Garret”, “A Sunbeam”, “Under the Still Willows”).

A weighty contribution to the development of the Ukrainian literature was made by the following authors: P.Kulish, O.Konysky, Olena Pchilka, D.Mordovets, West Ukrainian literary men M.Pavlyk, N.Kobrynska, S.Kovaliv, T.Bordulyak, S.Yaroshynska, U.Fedkovych and others.

In the 1870-90s in the Eastern Galicia I. Franko developed a many-sided talent of a writer, scientific, public and political figure. His creative work is a unique phenomenon of not only the Ukrainian but of the world culture too well. He created classical samples of public, philosophical, and intimate lyrics (“From Heights and Depths”, “Withered Leaves”, “From the Days of Sorrow”), pictured majestic images of fighters (“The Stonecutters”, “Eternal Revolutionary”, “To the Friends From the Prison”). A special place in his heritage is taken by “Boryslav’s Stories” where the history of a primeval capitalistic conglomeration, brutal exploitation of workers the employers, first images of people of labour were depicted.

Drama also had significant creative achievements. A talent of a writer and a dramatist M. Starytsky was versatile. (“Taras Bulba”, “A Bird in the Hand” (is worth two in the bush), M. Kropyvnytsky (“Until the Sun Rises a Dew Will Corrode the Eyes”, “The Profiteer or the Spider”), I. Karpenko-Kary (Tobilevytsch) (“Vanity”, “A Hundred Thousand”, “The Landlord”, “Martyr Borulya”). These examples of a social drama of everyday life and satirical comedy are topical also nowadays.

An eminent expert of dramatic art was I. Franko. In his dramatic works “A Stolen Happiness”, “A Teacher”, “A Prowan-Tree”, “A Stone Soul” there were portrayed pictures of people’s life, social processes that took place on the West Ukrainian lands.

Despite the prohibitions and oppressions of imperial government, Russification in the East and germanisation and capturing in the West, the process of dramatic art formation was continuing successfully. In the second half of the XIXth century the Ukrainian theatre got strengthened. The first Ukrainian professional troupe in Galicia appeared in Lviv in 1867 under the society “The Rus Talk”. It was created and headed by O. Bachynsky. The first on the Left-Bank Ukraine professional troupe with the assistance of M.Zankovetska, I.Burlak, M.Sadovsky, N.Zharkova, A.Maksymovych and others was created in 1882 in Yelysavethrad, a well-known playwright, the author of about 50 plays M. Kropyvnytsky. In a year a troupe was headed by a talented playwright and writer M. Starytsky, while M. Kropyvnytsky remained as a producer and actor. In 1885 a troupe which numbered approximately 100 actors, divided into two. One of them was headed by M.Kropyvnytsky, and the other by M. Starytsky.

Later on some more professional groups appeared, among which the troupe by I.Karpenko-Kary was famous for its high skill. The actors M. Zankovetska, M.Sadovsky, P.Saksahansky, A.Maksymovych, G.Borysohlibska, and others brought fame to the Ukrainian theatre.

In the 1880-90s there also worked several dozens of Ukrainian-Russian troupes, seasonal Russian groups in Ukraine. In 1891 the first permanent Russian theatre by M.Solovtsov was organized in Kyiv.

Ukrainian dramatic groups contributed to the rising of music culture, because they widely propagandized a folk song, music, put on the stage opera performances. And the leaders of the groups themselves were quite talented and musically educated people. M.Kropyvnytsky in particular was a singer and a composer himself. Such songs of his as “A Nightingale”, “Where Are You Wandering, My Destiny” gained a wide popularity.

A celebrated singer S.Hulak-Artemovsky during the after-reformation year wrote the first Ukrainian opera “A Zaporizhzhian

Cossack Beyond the Danube River”. “Party the Songs” by P.Nishchynsky, an opera “Kateryna” by M.Arkas put to the text of the poem of the same name by T. Shevchenko, an opera “Mazepa” by P.Sokalsky by A.Pushkin’s poem “Poltava” etc. were popular.

The whole epoch in the musical life of Ukraine was made by an eminent composer M.Lysenko who worked up over 6000 examples of Ukrainian musical folklore. He created an opera “Taras Bulba”, dramas “A Christmas Night”, “A Drowned Woman”, series of other operas, choruses, duets, composed music to a play by I.Kotlyarevsky “Natalka Poltavka”.

In West Ukrainian lands music by M.Verbytsky, I.Lavrovsky, A.Vakhnany, D.Sichynsky, and by other composers enjoyed a great popularity.

A number of artists associations contributed to the development of fine arts in Ukraine: The Society of Art Exhibitions in Kyiv, The Society of Southern Russian Artists in Odesa, The Society for Development of Rus Pieces in Lviv. An appreciable role was played by newly founded art schools in Odesa, Kharkiv and Kyiv (afterwards colleges).

Among the painters, named peredvizhniks, E.Vasylykivsky became one of the most well-known experts of a landscape and historical genre paintings. His landscape canvases “Steppe in Ukraine”, “Cossack’s Levada”, “Morning”, “Romodan’s Way”, and works on historical themes “Cossack’s Picket”, “The Guards of Zaporizhzhia’s Freedom” and others gained popularity.

Shevchenko’s traditions in painting were continued by L.Zhemchuzhnykov, I.Sokolov, K.Trutovsky, M.Pymonenko, who created splendid works of art. Thus, an expert in a genre art an academician M.Pymonenko became famous for canvases “A Festive Fortune-Telling”, “Seeing-Off the Recruits”, “Matchmakers”, “A Hayfield” etc.

The Ukrainian theme took a notable place in the creative work of the Russian painters O.Kivshenko, V.Orlovsky, A.Kuindzhi, Makovsky brothers. A special place here belongs to I.Repin. A remarkable event of Russian and Ukrainian historical genre became his canvas

“Zaporizhzhian Cossacks Write a Letter to Turkish Sultan”, which defined the ways of the subsequent search of Ukrainian artists for a long time.

For the creative work of the West Ukrainian artists an influence of European academic traditions was typical enough. But gradually the formation of West Ukrainian realistic school was put into effect. Its founders became K. Ustyanovych and T. Kopystynsky. A well-deserved fame gained Ustyanovych’s canvases “Fable’s Time”, “Hutsul Lady Near the Spring”, “Shevchenko in Exile” and Kopystynsky’s works “Hutsul from Lypovytsya”, “In a Country House”, “People Which Have Lost All Their Possessions in a Fire”, and others. At the end of the XIX century an eminent painter I. Trush began his work. The highest achievements of a historical art in Bukovyna were connected with the names of Yu.Pihulyak, M. Ivasyuk, and in Transcarpathia with the one of G. Roshkovytsch.

In architecture there prevailed the eclecticism — a mixture of the elements of different styles: thus, in Kyiv there were erected the buildings of the City Council (arch. O. Shille), hotel “Continental”, Polytechnic Institute, the First gymnasium (arch. O. Beretti), Solovtsov’s theatre, opera-house (arch. V. Shretter), Volodymyr’s cathedral (arch. G.Shtrom, P.Sparro, O.Beretti). In Kharkiv O. Beketov’s projects of Commercial College and Land-Bank were built. In Odesa in addition to the opera-house, before there appeared a building of the New Stock Exchange (arch. O. Bernardatsi), in Lviv — the buildings of the Polytechnic Institute (arch. Yu. Zakharevych), Galytsky’s regional Seym (arch. Yu. Gochberger), opera-house (arch. Z. Horholevsky), in Chernivtsi — the House of Residence in Bukovyna (arch. I. Hlavka), in Transcarpathia — the Hunting Palace of Shenborny dukes, and a series of others. Consequently the culture of Ukraine in the second half of the XIX century made a further step.

Education underwent considerable changes. A total number of schools rose, new types of educational institutions appeared, and universities and institutes became not only educational establishments but centers of science. The Ukrainian scholars made an outstanding

contribution to the world scientific treasury. Despite the cruel national oppression, Ukrainian literature and art reached weighty achievements.

28. SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND NATIONAL MOVEMENT IN UKRAINE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE XXth CENTURY

— *Social and Political Progress in the Ukrainian Society*
— *A Strengthening of the National Movement*

At the joint of the XIX-XX centuries an intensive process of monopolization of industry was happening. Small and average enterprises didn't stand market competition and ruined themselves. A world economic crisis in 1900-1903 led to a sharp reduction of production in Ukraine, mass unemployment, reinforcement of exploitation and impoverishment of various strata of society. At the same time it sped up some more monopolization and concentration of industrial production, reinforced its dependence on a foreign capital.

In a heavy position happened to be Ukrainian village. Agrarian reforms of the 1840s in the Austrian-Hungarian empire and at the beginning of the 1860s in the Russian empire didn't settle existing problems. A feudal and serfdom survivals were obstacles to economic development, led to merciless exploitation of workers and peasants and to emerge of social conflicts.

Under the influence of social-democratic organizations a working-class showed itself at the front border of a mass socio-economic and political struggle. A culmination of the working-class became a mass general political strike that covered industrial cities of Ukraine in summer 1903. At the same time almost all the regions and provinces were involved in a peasant movement, which reached the greatest range on the Right-Bank territory in 1900-1901. In 1902 in a number of regions of Poltava and Kharkiv provinces the attempts of peasants to solve

the agrarian problem grew to mass revolt. The government had to suppress it by force of troops.

In a political movement university school students took an active part that came out in favour of democratization of public life, rebirth of Ukrainian culture. On February 11, 1901 the Russian government gave 183 students of Kyiv University as soldiers — the most active participants of a mass student movement. In response a student strike became an All-Russian event in the empire. Among its participants there were the students of Kyiv, Kharkiv, Odesa. Senior students of gymnasia, seminaries, real specialized and technical schools joined them.

The same year the students of Lviv University came out, who demanded from the Austrian government cancellation of restriction to a free cultural development of Ukrainian nation, guaranteeing its right to study the mother tongue.

A great activity gained a liberal-democratic movement. It had a nature in opposition and developed mainly within the limits of Zemstvo's establishments. The voice of Zemstvos sounded loud on demand of convocation of All-Russian Zemstvo's council, decisive renovation of existing legislation, granting all the citizens political rights and liberties, etc. During the carrying by Zemstvos so called "banquet's campaign" in 1904 on the occasion of the 40th anniversary court's reform meetings and demonstrations of opposition took place, ordinary with a council anti-autocratic slogans. Tsarist authorities persecuted and discharged from work democratically thinking figures and employees, supporting a reaction of inclined leaders of Zemstvo's establishments. Nevertheless the government had to give in. At the end of 1904 it was allowed to convoke Zemstvo's congress, a decree about the expansion of Zemstvos' rights was declared, etc.

In the conditions of the general revolutionary rise at the beginning of the XX century the national-liberation movement had increased in Ukraine. In Naddniprovyanshchyna it was mainly expressed to the cultural and educational events. In particular, the scientists of Kyiv and Kharkiv universities, intelligentsia class of the great industrious centers came out in favour of decent laws' repeal of 1863 and 1876, which were

directed to persecution of the Ukrainian language. They were supported by the progressive circles of the entire empire. The important event of the national and cultural life was the opening in Poland in summer 1903 of the monument to the classic of the new Ukrainian literature — I. Kotliarevsky, both the celebration in Kyiv the 35th anniversary literary work — Ivan Nechuj-Levytsky; in Kyiv and Lviv the 35th anniversary of composer's musical creative work of Mykola Lysenko, the publication in Saint-Petersburg in 1904 of Mykhailo Hrushevsky's book with the title: "Studies on Ukrainian People's History", which gave to the great reader's circles such an opportunity not only to get acquainted with the brand-new conception of Ukrainian people's origin, but to be sure positive about a lawful renovation of the Ukrainian State system.

In the Eastern Galicia prohibitions of the Ukrainian word and printing weren't drawn. Therefore, a great variety of works were transported to Naddniprovyanshchyna from there. Through such organizations as "Sokil" and "Sich", which in 1902 got the mass broadening, the Galician-Ukrainian patriots were actively bringing up the youth due to Zaporizhzhia Sich military traditions and Ukrainian Cossack's traditions. It was rightful that the members of the whole Ukrainian liberation movement began to call the Eastern Galicia "The Ukrainian P'emont".

All these actions were conducive to increase national self-consciousness of Ukrainians, reinforcement contacts between Ukrainians in the Austro-Hungarian membership and in Russia. Though the national movement in Ukraine as a whole didn't acquire the mass character and its exponents consisted of liberal and democratic intelligentsia, still its reviving was assisted to national-political parties' formation, which came out on behalf of different social sections of the Ukrainian population.

The first Ukrainian political parties already appeared in the end of the XIX century. In such a way at the western part of Ukraine in 1890 due to the initiative of S. Danylyevych, K. Trylovsky, I. Franko, M. Pavlik and others the Ukrainian-Rus Party (URP) was founded. The immediate task to the radicals was acquisition of the autonomy in the membership of Austria-Hungary and in the

perspective they planned to create the independent, collectivist and socialist Ukrainian government. The absence of a powerful social base, ideological mess and instable organization structure led to the split of URP. First the party was deserted by social-democratic and then by national-democratic parts, although the party in the whole continued to exist.

In Lviv, in February 1892 the Social-Democratic Party was proclaimed as a component of Austrian social-democratic party. Its founders were A. Mankovsky, G.Dashynsky, I. Danyliuk. In 1896 some separate social-democratic groups united with the Social-Democratic Party of Bukovyna. The social-democratic organization of Transcarpathia joined the Hungarian social-democratic party.

In 1899 one of the groups left the URP and joined the structure of Ukrainian Social-Democratic Party (USDP), which was headed by M.Hankevych, S. Vityk, V.Okhrymovych and others. At that time one more group founded with “narodovtsi” the National-Democratic party (NDP). Its founders were M.Hrushevsky, K.Levytsky, U.Romanchuk, D.Savchak and others. In the beginning of the XX century it was the most influential political power in the Eastern Galicia. The party united some of the representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, clergy, lower middle class and the peasants, who with such slogans as “fight with Poles” and “the Ukrainian P’emont” came out in favor of independent Ukrainian formation.

At this time another combined political powers were presented by the party “**Rus and Catholic Union**”, which was founded in 1896 (ideologists — O.Barvinsky and A.Sheptytsky), and by “moscowphils” — “**Russian National Party**”, which was founded in 1900 (ideologists — O.Monchalovsky and others). “Rus and Catholic Union” was conducive to save all cultural and national traditions of Ukrainians, and was engaged in educational activities. “The moscowphils” joined all great landowners, clergy, and some officials of pro-Russian orientation, who forbade not only the existence of the Ukrainian language itself, but also the origin activity of culture, asserting that Ukrainians are the part of Russians.

In Naddniprianshchyna in the 1890-s there appeared some of

the groups called “intelligent conscious Ukrainians”, who tried to change the cultural-educational movement into political one. In 1892 some students of the higher educational establishment, whose names were Ivan Lypa, Mykola Baizdrenko, Mykhailo Bazkevytch and Vitalij Borovyk, founded the secret Ukrainian-national and politically-public society, which was called “**Taras Shevchenko’s Brotherhood**”. Its main aim was to struggle in order to establish Shevchenko’s social and political ideals. These groups were spread almost throughout the whole Ukrainian towns; they were united by the common program, which was determined by T. Shevchenko’s sayings: “Who struggle that fight down will win, because he is helped by God”. In 1893 the Lviv magazine “The Truth” printed this. In the history of Ukrainian movement “Taras Shevchenko’s Brotherhood” was the following step from the structural and bad organized society of the 1860-80s to the real national Ukrainian political organization.

The national movement, which followed the cultural and educational direction, was also made by the great variety of social organizations, which in 1897 united into the General Ukrainian Organization.

In Kyiv in 1899 the second All-Ukraine student congress, with the title “**The Young Ukraine**” was founded. Its program demands were actually reflected in the program demands of “Taras Shevchenko’s Brotherhood”.

The first political party in Naddniprovyanshchyna became **The Revolutionary Ukrainian Party (RUP)**. Its foundation was proclaimed on the 29-th of January in 1900 at the gathering of students ukrainophil societies of Kharkiv. Its founders were D. Antonovych, M. Rusov, O. Kovalenko, B. Kaminsky, D. Poznansky and others. The RUP’s first program document became the brochure of one of the Kharkiv lawyers M. Mikhnovsky, which was called “The Independent Ukraine”, where the idea of struggle for the only Ukraine was suggested. The party’s staff consisted of 6 “free societies” — Kyiv, Luben, Kharkiv, Chernihiv, Poltava and Chornomorsk. But “the Rupiivtsi” (members of RUP) didn’t create their own program and statutes. They expounded some

program ideas to illegal publications such as “The Peasants”, “The Work”, and “The Slogan”. In the practical activity, the party tried to vindicate peasants’ interests, considering them the basis of Ukrainian nation.

In the connection, that M. Mikhnovsky’s pamphlet with the title “The Independent Ukraine” on behalf of RUP had propagandized the slogan “Ukraine is for Ukrainians”, not all RUP members accepted it. That is why due to the inner-Party’s struggle the group of M. Mikhnovsky had left the RUP and in 1902 founded **The National Ukrainian Party (NUP)**, which was the only one among Naddnipyrianshchyna’s parties and which made the proposal to create the independent democratic state. The NUP’s activity was narrowed down to brochures publishing with criticism of Russians. It also attempted to blow the monument to A.Pushkin in Kharkiv up.

In 1903 one more party, headed by B. Yaroshevsky, left the RUP and founded “**Ukrainian Socialist Party**”, which had no great influence on the people.

In 1904 the RUP completely broke up. Some part of its members had created **The Ukrainian Social and Democratic Union** (“Spilka”). “The Spilka’s” leaders M.Melenevsky and A. Skoropys-Yoltukhovsky wanted the party to represent all workers of Ukraine, not paying any attention to their nationalities. In 1905 “The Spilka”, having the rights of the autonomy unit, entered the RSDRP fraction. Another great part of RUP, headed by D.Antonovych, V.Vynnychenko, S.Petliura, and M.Porsh transformed into **Ukrainian Social-Democratic Party (USDRP)**. This program foresaw some ideas of Ukraine’s autonomy, the confiscation of property land, considered that unification with RSDRP on federative principles could be quite possible.

In Kyiv, in 1904 there appeared two more National Ukrainian parties: **The Ukrainian Democratic Party (UDP)**, with such sensible and sociable statesmen as O.Lototsky, V. Chekhivsky and E. Chykalenko at the head; and also **Ukrainian Radical Party (URP)**, headed by such writers as B. Hrinchenko, S. Yefremov, and F. Matushevsky. Both these parties had liberal principles. In 1905 they

united into **Ukrainian Democratic and Radical Party**, which from 1907 was called **Ukrainian Labor Party**.

Their own organizations in Ukraine also had some All-Russian political parties. In some industrious regions of Naddnipyrianshchyna Russian Social and Democratic Party (RSDRP) had the great influence. The “Bolshevik” positions followed Katerynoslav and Mykolaiv committees. Kyiv, Kharkiv’s committees and Donetsk union had the position of “menshovyk”. There also existed other organizations that due to some reasons weren’t mentioned. But on the whole, the revolutionary and liberation movement of RSDRP not very seriously influenced Ukraine.

In Naddnipyrianshchyna there also functioned some local organizations as “The All Jewish Labor Union of Lithuania, Poland and Russia” (Bund). They utilized the influence among petty-bourgeois strata of Odesa, Katerynoslav, and Zhytomyr workers and also acted in other countries. The important role had also anarchists’ organizations.

Some social-revolutionary’ organizations (Essers) were engaged in propagandist work among peasants. In January, 1902 Essers made their own party on the base of national circles and groups, which already existed in the 1890s.

In Ukraine of that time the basic party was the South Party of socialists and revolutionaries.

The most influential among reactionary parties was “The Union of Russian People”, which stood up a single, indivisible Russia.

Manorial strata (bourgeoisie and landowners) looked for any necessity in having their own political parties that time, and that is why they created them later at the revolutionary time of 1905-1907.

Therefore, the beginning of the XX century can be characterized as Ukraine economics’ monopolization, which was strengthened by economic crisis, and which led to social altercations’ aggravation and following utilization of social and political tendency. Its reviving caused the rise of the whole number of political parties. To regret, in their programs, except for the National Ukrainian Party (NUP), they limited themselves just by demands of national autonomy for Ukraine.

29. THE FIRST RUSSIAN REVOLUTION OF 1905-1907 AND UKRAINE

— *The Beginning and Main Events of Revolutionary Struggle
in Ukraine*

— *The Increase of National and Liberation Movement*

Reforms of the second part of the XIX century greatly accelerated the advancement of the Russian empire along to progressive way. But the main obstacle for the development were numerous feudal survivals, the national press and people's lawlessness. The war defeat with Japan in 1904-1905 and some difficulties of economic crisis of 1900-1903 had quickened revolutionary events. After all, in January 1905, mass liberation rivalries of all Empire's population strata led to the democratic revolution. It began from strikes and political demonstrations of some capital workers. The massacre over them, which was made by tsar authorities on the 9-th (22) of January 1905, in Saint-Petersburg, brought a mass emerge of Ukrainian workers. During the whole January the workers of Kyiv, Kharkiv, Katerynoslav, Odesa, Horlivka, Yuzivka, Mariupol, Zhytomyr and other places were striking. From February till March the strike movement continued increasing, involving new workers' strata to the revolutionary fight. There were also involved peasants, editorial circles of the democratic intelligentsia, the part of local population, students and crude youth. Such demonstrations and mass-meetings with political slogans could be seen in the Eastern Galicia, Northern Bukovyna and Transcarpathia. In January-March, 1905 according to defective information almost 170 thousand people were striking in Ukrainian guberniyas. Employers and royal authorities had to satisfy some demands: to make better working conditions, to enlarge salary, to shorten the working time and so on.

Peasants emerge mainly ended with meaningless revenge and with the help of some programs of landowners' estates and others royal employers. Such events took place in Sumshchyna, Chernihivshchyna and Poltavshchyna. In the whole by the middle of 1905 there were observed more than 1300 peasants.

The revolutionary rising of all sections of the population reached its apogee in October 1905. Exactly in October the strike outgrew into all-Russian political organization, which comprehended in Ukraine more than 120 thousand people. It developed under such slogans as: “Get out, the tsar’s government!”, “Let national rising live!” Armed clash and battles happened in Katerynoslav, Kharkiv and Odesa.

Due to such strike fights, which were held in Kyiv, Katerynoslav, Luhansk, Kamjansk, Horlivka, Yenakyevo and other places, the Council of working deputies had appeared. They entered the 8-hour day at work, restored prices in industrial stores, controlled government and regional newspapers publication, organized the population security of barbarians and robbers.

The all-Russian political strike had paralyzed the government and forced the tsar to issue on the 17-th of October the manifesto “On Civil Laws and Political Freedom”, and also the legislative Duma’s (Supreme Council) gathering with the idea of involving all sections of the population to election.

This manifesto divided political forces and had led to the struggle’s aggravation. Some demands of armed insurrection and monarchy’s destruction could be heard everywhere. In response to that numerous black hundreds destruction in Odesa, Kyiv, Katerynoslav, Donbas, Kharkiv, Mykolaiv and other regions began.

The most pointed form of the battle at the revolutionary time of 1905-1907 was armed insurrections. The first, who came to this means were sailors of the Black Sea navy. Such rising was arranged on the 14-25-th of June, 1905 on “Potiomkin’s ship. Having made the raid from Odesa to Feodosiya and then to the Romanian port- Konstanzu, the crew yielded to the local authorities.

In autumn one by one there went the row of uncontrolled peasants’ insurrections; where among them there was the peasants’ emerge in “Velyki Sorochyntsi” in Poltavshchyna.

In the middle of November several sailors’ rising in Sevastopol appeared again. It was headed by the lieutenant P. Schmidt. After 13 hours of fight with faithful to tsarism troops, all rebels were defeated;

Petro Schmidt and his close assistants were chastised by the military tribunal's order.

On the 18-th of November soldiers of the sapper's subdivision came out of Kyiv at the head of the second lieutenant Borys Zhadanivsky. But this rising was also put down.

The greatest level of rising of the armed struggle was reached at the all-political strike period in December, 1905. In Ukraine such armed insurrections were spread to Kharkiv, Katerynoslav, Oleksandrivsk (Zaporizhzhia) and in other places. And the most spread armed rising of workers was held in Donbas.

First armed clashes of the armed workers' detachments and tsar's army took place in Yasynuvate and Avdiivka, on the 13-th of December. But then the center of events was Horlivka. Right there, on the 16-th of December, the tsar's army organized punishment over local factory workers. Nearly 4 thousand of armed workers' detachments came from Alchevsk, Debaltsevo, Yenakievo, Hartsysk and Yasynuvate in order to help these rebels.

On the 17-th of December, the rebels made the army run from the city and forced them to step back to a steppe. But because of inexperience and bad arming, rebels had been all the same defeated.

At that time a great revolutionary activity was arranged by workers of Kyiv, Mykolaiv, Konotop, Dovhyntseve, Kozyatyn and other places and villages. However, these groupings didn't grow into the general armed rebel. After these events the revolution began descending.

It was all right that during the time of democratic revolution, the Ukrainian national issue had been intensified. So, while struggling against the social press, the Ukrainian community was fighting against the national enslavement. In particular, the company for canceling the Valuev circular (1863) and Emsky decree (1876), which proclaimed the Ukrainian word's prohibition and which was also supported by the Russian democratic community, got a great support. By mutual efforts of different social strata and positions one could enter the Ukrainian language in elementary forms. Part of teachers and professors of secondary and higher education establishments agreed to the native language's teaching. The course of Ukrainian literature was introduced

to Kyiv, Kharkiv and Odesa universities. Though these achievements in “ukrainization” of education were soon liquidated by the tsar’s government.

After the proclamation of the tsar’s manifesto on the 17-th of October, 1905, the press in Ukrainian language began to appear. Only in 1906 there came out 18 Ukrainian publications, including Moscow and Saint-Petersburg. Among them one can mention such newspapers as “Hliborob” (corn-producer) (Lubny), “Hromadska Dumka” (public opinion) and later “Rada” (Kyiv), political and literature magazine “The Native Region” (Ridny Kraj) (Poltava) and others. The oldest journal in Ukraine “Kiev Starovyna” (antiquity) also used Ukrainian language, which began to publish with the title “Ukraine”. That year “The Literary-Scientific Journal’s” publication was transferred from Kyiv to Lviv by M.Hrushevsky. In all, during 1905-1907, nearly 24 different newspapers, daily journals and journals (mostly of revolutionary and democratic character) appeared in Naddnipryanshchyna. The government tried in any way to stop the Ukrainian publication and sometimes even to close them. However, they continued their publication activity. The whole row of newly created editions appeared also of long duration, which was publishing fiction literature in Ukrainian language by Ukrainian classics. In particular, due to V. Domanytsky’s editing the whole edition of “Kobzar” by T. Shevchenko had appeared for the first time.

The national movement’s display was the rise of Ukrainian self-employed cultural and educational organizations of “Prosvita”. Before the revolution, “Prosvita” successfully acted only in the western parts of Ukraine under the leadership of Austro-Hungary, so in Naddnipryanshchyna during the period of 1905-1907 there appeared 9 “Prosvitas” with 30 branches. Great statesmen of Ukrainian culture took an active part, literature and science: in Kyiv they were Borys Hrinchenko, Larysa Kosach (Lesia Ukrainka) and Mykola Lysenko; in Katerynoslav — Dmytro Yavornytsky; in Chernihiv — Mykhailo Kotsiubynsky; in Poltava — Panas Rudchenko (Panas Myrny); in Mykolaiv — Mykola Arkas; in Odesa — Mykhailo Komarov and others. Such “Prosvitas” founded libraries, reading-rooms, organized

literary and musical evenings, exhibitions, lectures and so on. The works by T. Shevchenko were widely propagandized, celebrations of Taras Shevchenko's anniversary were held every year. At the same time such "Prosvita" adjusted the publishing of fiction in Ukrainian language, tried to open some schools with the education in the native language. In the connection that the tsar's government hindered the "Prosvita" work and then paralyzed its activity on the whole, the first task of educators was the development of people's national self-consciousness.

Different political movements and parties tried to realize the national movement in Ukraine. The Ukrainian social-democratic party (USDRP) came out to the fore-part, which asserted the right to unite all workers according to the national features of Ukrainians. Its leaders M. Porsh, V. Vynnychenko, S. Petliura made a try to join the RSDRP on federative principles, but it was declined.

In the 1-st and the 2-nd State Dumas (Councils) Ukrainian parliamentarians formed the Ukrainian Society, where approximately 50 members had united. They demanded to give the political autonomy to Ukraine and introduce Ukrainian language in educational establishments, judicial and local administrative organs. In order to help the work of Ukrainian duma's work, M. Hrushevsky moved from Lviv to Saint-Petersburg. He was acquainted with Ukrainian deputies' work in the Austrian Parliament and region dumas of Galicia and Bukovyna. According to his participation the edition of "The Ukrainian Vestnik" journal was adjusted and later such newspapers as "Ridna Sprava" (the native case), "Visti z Dumy" (the news from Duma). He also worked out and substantiated the national program of Ukrainian duma's fraction. After the 2-nd Duma's break-up, which happened on the 3-d of June, the Ukrainian fraction developed more.

Revolutionary events echoed in the Eastern Galicia, Northern Bukovyna, and Transcarpathian Ukraine, where there were noticed mass organizations against social-political and national oppressions of the tsar's government, Polish, Romanian and Hungarian authorities. The gathering with demands to reform the national education and open new schools, including education in Ukrainian language, took place in

Lviv, Drohobych, Bortnychi of Tovmatsk's district and in other towns and villages in 1905.

Prolonged, though unsuccessful, was the struggle for the opening of the Lviv Ukrainian University. The democratic society, which was exceptionally against the German type in Chernihiv University, tried to have a right of using the native language and opening the Chair of the history of Ukraine.

For the government of national movement's in November, 1905, "The National Committee" with Y. Romanchuk and K. Levytsky at the head was created. Only in Galicia, in January 1906 nearly 300 mass-meetings with the participation of approximately 500 thousand people were arranged. The Austrian government had to make some concessions, in particular, to abolish some limitations on the Parliament's election and to give more rights to Ukrainian culture.

In general, the national movement in Western Ukraine developed in more conducive circumstances than in Naddniproshchyna. The center of the Ukrainian National movement, so called "Ukrainian P'emont", where devices of national, cultural and social rebirth (renaissance) were created and improved, became Galicia. It was caused by the specification of social, political and national circumstances in Galicia. By that time Ukrainian language had been widely spread, activities of the community by T. Shevchenko and "Prosvita" became popular. The experience of parliamentary struggle, a wide spectrum of political parties from right to left, became the important achievements. At last, the question about the necessity for national—territorial autonomy of Ukraine and federal system of multinational state was scientifically worked out here.

So, the economic crisis, which embraced the Russian empire at the beginning of the XX century, which also included Ukrainian lands, overgrew into the revolution. The workers attempting to defend their interests tried different kinds of class struggle. It made the social—political movement more active, promoted the growing of national self-consciousness of Ukrainian people.

30. SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMICAL DEVELOPMENT OF UKRAINIAN LANDS ON THE EVE OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR

- *Characteristic Features of Ukraine's Political System*
- *Realization of Stolypin's Agricultural Reform and Its Results*
- *Social and Economic Changes on the Eve of the War*

The period after the defeat of the Russian democratic revolution of 1905 — 1907 came into the Russian history with the name of Stolypin's reaction. Dissolution of the second state Duma on the 3-rd of June is considered its beginning.

In the country the state of emergency was set, demonstrations and meetings were forbidden, political rights of the workers and peasants were reduced, besides political parties of nationally—democratic tide were persecuted. More than 26000 people were imprisoned for political crimes in 1907 — 1909.

Repressions against Ukrainians were also intensified. The most severe case was against the participants of the armed revolt at Donbas, organized in Katerynoslav on Stolypin's initiative at the end of 1908. 92 of 131 justiciables were accused by military court, 8 leaders were convicted and hanged, and others got different terms of imprisonment with penal servitude. In comparison with the first state Duma the number of Ukrainian members in the third Duma was reduced from 64% to 22% of the whole number of members having been chosen in Ukraine. The role of chauvinistic and monarchist organizations, which were greatly supported by monarchy, was intensified. Simultaneously they closed and dismissed Ukrainian cultural-educational and trade-union organizations and establishments, basic Ukrainian periodical editions were eliminated, and teaching in native language at any educational establishment was forbidden. The great anti—Semitic campaign was set up. Its bright manifestation was so called "Beglis's case" — law suit, organized in 1913 in Kyiv against Jew Beglis, who had been blamed for murdering a boy for some ritual purpose. Despite the pressing of

chauvinistic forces, because of active defence of democratic community the case failed. Beglis was justified.

Political reaction complicated the nationally—emancipator movement, for example, Ukrainian Radical—Democratic Party disintegrated, “Spilka” stopped crisis. In 1908 the part of politicians of national movement united into inter—parties block CUP (Community of Ukrainian Postupovtsi). Its leaders, famous Ukrainian politicians M.Hrushevsky, S.Yefremov, I.Chykalenko and others called for the unity of all Ukrainian political forces in struggle for national rebirth. The most important task for them was ukrainization of education, social establishment, court and church. In 1913 TUP got the support of faction of workers and Constitutional Democracy in the Fourth state Duma.

Especially urgent there was the Ukrainian case of 1914, when the government forbade celebrations T.Shevchenko’s anniversary. Because of this the hitting discussion appeared at Duma, lots of members expressed their resentment and disagreement about this prohibition. Despite the repressions, democratic community held the manifestations in March in 1914 with yellow and blue flags. “Ukrainians should have their power and influence in Russia for the first time”, wrote M. Hrushevsky. The beginning of the First World War interrupted the process of development of Ukrainian nationally—emancipator movement.

Because of the influence of revolutionary events of 1905-1907, the Russian governing top recognized the necessity of widely spread social-economic changes. A great hope was associated with the agricultural reform. Just by means of this reform the Russian government tried to stabilize the economic and political situation to eliminate agricultural overcrowding in European part of the country by means of resettlement of the most revolutionary part of peasants into eastern regions, to create in the village groups of reach hosting, which could resist revolutionary movements. The reform got the name of Stolypin’s reform, by name of its author and epitomizer, the Head of the Council of Ministers and the Minister of Domestic Affairs, P.Stolypin.

P.Stolypin considered the common landowning to be the main brakes in the development of commodity-monetary relationships in village. So, his reform provided: firstly, destruction of commune and

fixing the owner to the proper part of the allotment; secondly, tendering the credits to peasants through “Selyansky Pozemelny Bank”; thirdly, resettlement of some peasants to thinly populated regions of Siberia, Northern Caucasus and Middle Asia.

Stolypin’s reform was the most popular in Ukraine. Till 1916 there were organized 440000 farmings that presented 14% of total number of farmsteads. Common landowning disappeared completely at Right-Bank and in Poltava region. “Peasantries bank” sold to Ukrainian peasants 596,4 the desiatinas of land. During resettlement campaign near 1 million peasants left Ukraine. And though a lot of them came back, on the eve of the First World War there were 2 million Ukrainians in Siberia and at Far East.

At large, Stolypin’s agricultural reform quickened the transition of Ukrainian village to the industrial basis and conducive to transformation of Ukraine into the European granary. Only in Naddnipyrianshchyna a cross collection of corn increased from 775million pounds in 1826-1902 to 1070 million pounds in 1909-1913. Ukrainian corn compiled more than 40% of the whole Russian export. However, at large Stolypin’s agrarian reform did not solve the problems of the village. Modernization of Ukrainian village passed much slower than in countries of Western Europe. Peasantry still suffered from shortage of arable lands. Landlords still had near 9 million dessiatinas of land. Besides, positive changes were stopped by Stolypin’s death that was caused by serious injury in Kyiv inflicted by the agent of safeguarding department D. Bogrov.

One of reform’s results was a growth of a number of landless peasants who supplemented the array of workers. The growth of working market and providing the industry with cheap workers conduced the industrial rise. In 1910 there were 475,2 thousand workers in Ukrainian industry, but in 1917 there were 89,3 thousand. At large in 1917 the number of Ukrainian workers around the whole country increased to 10%. Just for a period of 1910-1913 mining of coal increased to 50%, of iron ore doubled, and of manganese ore increased four times. On the eve of the World War I Naddnipyrianshchyna was giving 68,4% of the whole Russian cast iron

mining and 70,2 of coal mining. The most typical features of industrial rise in Naddnipyryanshchyna for this time were quickened development of Donetsk-Prydniprovsk region, increase of railways length, concentration of industry and its monopolization, getting some foreign funds. In 1913 83 foreign companies controlled 70% of mining coal and ore, 90% of cast iron production, and near 80% of machinery products in Ukraine.

In Western Ukraine metalworking, tanning and oil-extracting industry was developing, though a bit slower than in Naddnipyryanshchyna. Near 700 000 workers worked at 700 factories and plants. Because of some difficult working conditions the greater part of them went abroad till 1917.

As we can see, having chosen the way of reforms, Ukraine stepped forward. But radical changes in the economy weren't made. In 1913 in the general production of Ukrainian industry and agriculture 48,2% were formed by industry. Specific gravity of means of production in all industrial products formed 42%. Ukraine was mainly agricultural, and even 80% of population lived in villages.

So on the eve of the World War I there were considerable social-economic changes in Ukraine. There were used some measures for economic stabilization, some improvements in social structure took place. The nation-emancipatory movement became more active and powerful. All this opened new opportunities for further development of Ukrainian lands.

31. DEVELOPMENT OF UKRAINIAN CULTURE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE XX CENTURY

- *Particularities of the Development of National Culture*
- *Development of Education, Science and Machinery*
- *Achievements of Literature and Art*

The development of Ukrainian culture at the beginning of the XX century had its inherent features.

Firstly, it took place during the rise of national emancipatory and revolutionary movement.

Secondly, it was negatively influenced by colonization and chauvinistic policy of Russia and Austro-Hungary, which were interested in keeping their status- quo in Ukraine.

Thirdly, a deep cultural split of Ukrainian society became also a negative factor, because of what the majority of population could not have seen the property of national culture and assimilated its elementary achievements.

Conducting the anti-ukrainian policy in the sphere of education and culture, ruling ranges of Russia and Austo-Hungary should have taken into account objective concessions of the society. Economics needed efficient and educated human resources for industry and agriculture. Besides, reforms in all branches of education and teaching in native language were demanded disarmingly by the democratic community.

In such circumstances just in Naddnipryanshchyna from the end of the XX century till 1911 the number of primary schools for workers' and peasants' children rose up to 40%. Year by year the range of professional and secondary schools enlarged. To train teachers, eight pedagogical institutes were opened. Three universities (Kyiv, Kharkiv and Odesa) and the range of other high educational establishments had already been working. But at large the level of education was not satisfactory. In Ukraine during 1914-1915 452 secondary schools functioned, 140000 students studied there, and 19 institutes, there were 26 700 students.

The education in Western Ukraine was also in such a difficult situation. Moreover, the number of Ukrainian and mixed educational establishments, which had been opened earlier, decreased gradually. Besides, it was not allowed to speak Ukrainian at Lviv and Chernivtsi universities, Lviv Polytechnic Institute, and the number of Ukrainian students was also limited.

In 1917 Ukraine already had 27 high educational establishments, where 35000 students studied. While, there were no educational establishment, no state school with studying in Ukrainian.

Economic needs were quickened considerably by the development of native science and machinery. A great range of scientific-technical achievements proved the high level of engineering. For example, one of the founders of a school for blast-furnace workers was a scientist M. Kurako who had worked out and inculcated on the production of new constructions of blast furnaces. Scientific research of professor O. Terpygorev was devoted to complex processes of elaboration and exploitation of Donbas coal deposits. In the process of Donbas research geologist L. Lutuhyn played a great role. The map of geological structure of Donetsk coal basin, designed by him, was awarded with the gold medal at the World exhibition, and his conclusions did not lose scientific meaning nowadays.

Development of native aviation was promoted by the first airclub, opened in 1908 in Odesa, and Kyiv aeronautics club (1907-1916). In the sphere of aircraft construction remarkable personalities were D. Hryhorovych, designer of the first hydroaeroplane in the world, I. Sikorsky, designer of the first multiengine plane, and a father of helicopter construction, A. Anders, creator of the first native dirigible, etc. Military pilot P. Nesterov during his service in Ukraine (1913-1914) grounded a theory of aerobatics and showed in practice some methods, including “death loop” that put native aviation on prominent position in the world.

Outstanding scientists in the sphere of radio physics and radio were D. Rozhansky, T. Kravets, M. Pylchikov.

In sphere of medicine D. Zabolotny was the first one who proposed the effective ways of treating plague. Botanists S. Navashyn and V. Lypsky were among the first ones who gave a scientific discription of vegetation in Middle Asia, Indonesia, Northern Africa.

The great contribution to the development of Ukrainian linguistics was made by B. Hrinchenko, the author of a four-volume dictionary of Ukrainian language (1907-1909).

Native historians also had prominent achievements, which had described and popularized glorious past of Ukrainian people, their eternal fight for freedom and independence. Kyiv archaeologist V. Hvoiko found and explored the first monuments of Trypillian culture. The head of historical science became a professor of Lviv University

M.Hrushevsky. His “Notes on the History of Ukrainians” that was republished in 1906, 1911, 1913, had been firstly published in Petersburg in Russian language in 1904. Ukrainian variant “Illustrated History of Ukraine” appeared in 1911 and 1917. Simultaneously, scientists prepared his fundamental work, based on the documentary material, “History of Ukraine-Rus”, where he had worked out and proved the conception of Ukrainian history.

At that time the range of prominent historians were working with M.Hrushevsky. M.Arkas’s “History of Ukraine-Rus” was also rather popular then. The first among women of Russia, honorary doctor of History, O. Yefimenko published her two volumes of “Southern Rus” and popular “History of Ukrainians”. Professor of Kharkiv University D.Bahalij studied history of Slobidska Ukraine. This problem is discussed in his popular work by the same name, also in “Notes in History of Russia”, and in two volumes of “Kharkiv History for 250 years”, etc. His university colleague professor V. Buzeskul researched the history of ancient Greece. At Kyiv University the history of Decembrists, social and economic history of Bilorus and Lithuania were studied by professor M. Dovnar-Zapolsky, professor I. Luchytsky researched agrarian history of France, and a prominent expert at native history was professor V.Ikonnykov. A series of fundamental works in history of Ukrainian cossacks belonged to famous Dnipropetrovsk historian D. Yavornnytsky.

Ukrainian literature was going through intricate contradictory period. It was presented by the bright plead of names: I. Franko, L. Ukrainka, M.Kotsubynsky, V. Vinnychenko, P.Myrny, I. Nechuj-Levytsky, O. Makovij, O. Kobylanska, poet P.Makhini, O. Oles (Kandyba), S.Vasylchenko, V.Stefanyk, L.Martovych, M.Cheremshyn, etc. In their works they described the realities of Ukrainian life, intensity of revolutionary and nationally-emancipatory movement of Ukrainians, severely displayed disgrace and reaction of governing regimes of the Russian Empire and Austria-Hungary.

Despite the restrictions, Ukrainian art, especially music and theatre, was developing. The leading place in music belonged to M. Lysenko. Founded by him in Kyiv in 1904 musical-dramatic school

played a great role in bringing up the representatives of Ukrainian art. Among its students there were musician K.Stetsenko, singer M.Mykysha and others. In Western Ukraine such function was fulfilled in Musical Institute by M.Lysenko, which had been founded in 1905 attached to “Unit of Singing and Musical Communities”. Talented followers of Lysenko’s school were such musicians as K. Stetsenko, M. Leontovych, Y. Stepovy, S. Lyudkevych. M. Krushelnytska became the world-known singer. Her amazing voice is truly considered to be one of the best in the world art.

M.Kropyvnytsky, P.Saksahansky, M.Karpenko-Kary, M.Zankovetska, H.Borysohlibska, O.Polyanska, I.Maryanenko promoted the increase of the national theater’s role. In Western Ukraine the only professional Ukrainian theater of the community “Rus Talk” started to work more actively under the conduct of M.Sadovsky in 1905-1906. He was also a founder of the first in Ukraine stationary theater in 1907. Its staff made a direction of such Ukrainian operas as “Zaporizhzhia Cossack Over Danube”, “Natalka-Poltavka”, “The Christmas Night”, “Eneida”, “Roksolana”, etc.

S.Vasylykivsky, M.Samokysh, S. Svyatoslavsky, F.Krasnytsky, A.Monastytsky, L.Ivasyuk enriched Ukrainian painting with high-artistic works of historical theme. Talented West-Ukrainian painter I.Trush created the collection of wonderful portraits of I. Franko, L. Ukrayinka, M. Lysenko, I. Nechuj-Levytsky, etc. In 1905 he organized the first Ukrainian painting exhibition in Lviv, where the work of T. Shevchenko’s nephew and I. Repin’s disciple F. Krasnytsky “Get Out off Zaporizhzhia” was greatly popular. Creative work of I. Repin’s students M. Pymonenko, O. Murashko, P. Levchenko, M. Samokysh, M. Yarovy, K. Kostanda not only enriched the native painting with new achievements, but also reached the European level.

That time European modernism with its typical decorative shapes and synthesis of arts was widely spread in architecture of Ukraine. The most typical constructions were in Kyiv: building with chimeras (V.Horodetsky), State Bank (O.Verbytsky and O. Kabelev), first in Ukraine roofed market at Bessarabska square (H. Hay); in Kharkiv: artistic school by I. Kotliarevsky (arch. V.Krychevsky), etc.

So, at the beginning of the XX century Ukrainian culture made a great step forward in its development and reached the European level. But the cultural process was slowed down by the chauvinistic policy of the Russian Empire and Austria-Hungary, by the deep gap between a high cultural level of Ukrainian intelligence and a low level of education of majority of Ukrainians.

32. UKRAINE AT THE TIME OF WORLD WAR I

— *Ukraine in Plans of Opposite Sides*

— *Split of Ukrainian National Liberation Movement During the War*

— *The Results of War for Ukrainian Society*

On July 19 (1st of August) of 1914 the World War I broke out, 10 million people died, and more than 20 million were crippled. Ukrainian people felt the burden of the war greatly. Not having their own state, Ukrainians were defending somebody's interests. More than 3,5 million waged war in the Russian army, and 250000 were in the Austria-Hungarian one. Considerable part of Ukrainian territory found itself in front-side zone, and in Galicia, Bukovyna, Transcarpathia, in Podillia there started cruel fights.

The opposite sides paid much attention in their plans to the "Ukrainian issue". Under the cover of "eternal aim to gather Russian lands" Russian autocracy prepared to conquer Galicia, Bukovyna, and Transcarpathia. The Austro-Hungarian empire wanted to annex Volyn and Podillya to its territory. Germany also had some plans concerning Ukraine. It decided to take Ukraine under its protection and set its supremacy here.

Ukrainian nationally-emancipatory movement was split, because enemies had planned predatory war, but tried to present it as a national defence. Moscow emigrants from Western Ukraine had created in Kyiv "Carpathian-Rus Liberation Committee", which called Ukrainians from Galicia to treat the Russian army as liberators.

In August, 1914 in Galicia there was created an inter-party block of radical, social-democratic and national-democratic parties — the General Ukrainian Rada (GUR). Relying on the legion of Sich riflemen, the Council called upon the protection of constitutional mode of Austria-Hungary at the battle field. Sich riflemen took part in military operations in the region of Stry, at Tuzhotsky pass in the Carpathians and other parts of the battle-front. In 1915 against the background of success of German the Austro-Hungarian troops appeared with declaration, proclaiming their aim to create the independent Ukrainian state including lands that were a part of the Russian Empire. And it was also planned to create an autonomous region out of lands that were a part of Austro-Hungary. The attack of troops of South-Western front commanded by general Brusylov in March, 1916, frustrated these plans. After Poland's state proclamation GUR disintegrated itself.

At the same time as GUR was created, a group of political figures of Ukrainian movement from East Ukraine (D. Dontsov, V. Doroshenko, A. Zhuk, M. Zalizniak, M. Melenevsky, O. Skoropy-Yoltukhovsky etc.) created “The Union of Liberation of Ukraine” (SVU) in Vienna. Its aim was to create the independent hetmanate state with a democratic organization, equality of rights and freedom for all nationalities, with independent Ukrainian church on Ukrainian territories, reconquered from Russia and Austria-Hungary. The union undertook the representation of interests of the Great Ukraine and carried on negotiations with main states. It had its representatives in Berlin, Turkey, Bulgaria, Sweden and Norway, Switzerland, Italy. As facts state, SVU elaborated a broad propaganda and organizational work among Ukrainians, called for taking part in the war against the Russian empire.

Some information of SVU had success, provoked interest in events in Ukraine, but they didn't give anything real. High profile had activity of SVU members in prisoner-of-war camps. They succeeded in singling out Ukrainians-prisoners-of-war into detached camps in Fraishtadt (Austria), where there were 30 thousand of people in Ramshtat, Hannover, Hmunden (Germany). These camps had improved conditions of living, there were organized schools, churches, libraries etc. Active work of ULU in prisoner-of-war camps enabled them to create military unions — gray-jacket and blue-jacket divisions.

Political forces that represented the Ukrainians in Russia and in Naddnipryanshchyna treated such actions of GUR and SVU negatively. Ukrainian followers with M. Hrushevsky at the head adopted such a standpoint. They called the Ukrainians for defending the Russian Empire by means of the newspaper "Rada". Also S. Petliura spoke in support of Russia in declaration "War and the Ukrainians", who was the head of USDPR. Famous figures of Ukrainian movement A. Nikovsky, D. Doroshenko, A. Viazlov actively co-worked as members of Committee of South-West front of All-Russian Union of lands and towns for support of military efforts of Russia.

In 1916 S. Petliura was assigned as an assistant of representative Union of lands on the West front.

Tsar's regime treated Ukrainian movement negatively. At the beginning of war there were closed "Prosvita" and "NASh", their libraries and museums, the newspaper "Rada", in 1915 there were closed other publishings including "Jingle" ("Dzvin"), "Native Land", "Ukraine", "Scientific-Literary Herald" etc. One of prominent leaders of national-liberation movement M. Hrushevsky was arrested in Kyiv and sent to Siberia, then to Kazan and in the end to Moscow.

Having captured the most part of Bukovyna, Transcarpathia and East Galicia at the beginning of the war, Russia began a forced russification. As a result Ukrainian institutions were closed. There also began a campaign against Ukrainian Greek-Catholic church, Orthodoxy in Galicia was spread under compulsion. Metropolitan A. Scheptytsky was arrested and sent to Russia. About 12 thousand of local intelligencia figures were deported to Siberia. Even the leader of the party of Constitutional Democrats P. Miliukov considered such policy of tsar's government as "European scandal".

During the counter-offensive of German Austria-Hungarian troops tsar's government began a mass expulsion of population of Galicia. Villages were destroyed in order to leave nothing to the enemy. As experts believe during that time about 6 million people were resettled. As for the number of people who perished in conditions of unplanned evacuation this can't be counted.

In its part the government of Austria-Hungary began mass

repressions, blaming Western Ukrainians for love to Moscow. Tens of thousands of Ukrainians were killed in concentration camp in Telergoff, Gnava, Gmund, Teresienstadt etc.

The war led to the deep economic crisis all over the Russian empire especially in Ukraine. Western Ukraine was devastated. In Naddnipyrianshchyna there was a shortage of manufacturing of food and light industry and also halts in the work of transport. Until January, 1917, 36 blast-furnaces went out, crops were reduced to about 1,9 million of desiatinas, cereals crop decreased for 200 million pounds, there was not enough food supply, also inflation began. In its turn it all caused a social tension.

Military problems, economic difficulties and mass impoverishment of nation, anti-war agitation of social-democratic forces reduced to the new exalting of national- liberation and revolution movement.

So opposing forces tried to settle their essential needs at Ukraine's costs and so they featured "Ukrainian issue" in their plans. Masked unjust aggressive character of war split Ukrainian national- liberation movement. The war itself began destructive processes in the economy of Ukraine, that brought to social tension in society and then it brought to the development of revolution and national-liberation movement.

33. THE BEGINNING OF THE UKRAINIAN STATE RENAISSANCE IN 1917-1918

— *The February Democratic Revolution and Its Influence on Ukraine*

— *The Origin of the Central Rada and Its Politics*

— *The Sharpening of Combat Between the UNR and the Bolshevistic Mode*

The February Democratic Revolution started on the 23rd of February (or March 8, according to the new style) in Petrograd, which was then the capital of the Russian empire. It began with marches and

manifestations devoted to the International Women's Day. Women, who went out in the streets of the city with the demands to increase the standards of living and to let men come back from the war (the World War I which Russia was involved in), were supported by students, workers and petty bourgeois. Manifestations turned into strikes and disturbances. The tsar's government failed to make order in the capital. The police and soldiers refused to use any weapon against the panic-stricken people. Moreover, on the third day soldiers of the Petrograd Garrison went at the strikers. Thus, the general political strike grew into the revolt. On February 27 the rebels founded the Rada (Council) of workers and soldiers' deputies in Petrograd. It consisted mainly of the socialist party's representatives. Menshevik M. Chkheidze became the head of the Petrograd Rada. The same day (27 of February) on the basis of the State Council (in fact it was a kind of pre-Rada institution at the reign of tsar) the Temporary Committee of the State Rada was organized with M. Rodzjanko as the head. This committee started to form a new government. On the 2nd of March tsar Nicholas II gave up the throne because his government didn't have any social support. Not only workers but also bourgeoisie were not satisfied with the monarchy. By the time, the bourgeoisie concentrated the economical power in their hands and then was looking forward to that of politics.

The Temporary government, the authority of which was determined just until the All-Russia Establishing Assembly, was headed by G. Lvov. The new government came up with the formation of the executive power machine. It appointed its commissars to be the officials, who were supported by the executive committees in their turn. Kyiv executive committee of the new government was founded on the 4 of March, 1917. It was the committee, which was proclaimed by the executive institution of the Ukrainian temporary government. V. Starodonsky was put in charge of it. Along with the formation of new government power institutions in Ukraine as well as in Russia, the boards of the Rada of workers' deputies began turning up. In the middle of 1917 two hundred and fifty-two such boards could be found in Ukraine, the majority of which were headed by mensheviks and essers. Having failed to get most of the vacancies in the boards of the Rada of workers' deputies,

bolshevists were trying to increase their influence through organizing factory committees. It shaped into two-power mode in Russia, represented by the institutions of the Temporary government on the one hand and the boards of the Rada of workers' deputies on the other hand.

In Ukraine the political situation was more complicated by the existence of the very important power — the Central Rada (Council). It was founded on the 4 of March, 1917; and it was headed by an outstanding historian, Prof. M. Hrushevsky. The Central Rada included: The Society of Ukrainian followers, the Social Democratic Party, different creative associations, student and military organizations, clergymen etc., that is the Central Rada was supported by a wide variety of people. On March 19, 1917 the Central Rada carried out 100,000 demonstrations on account of the anniversary of the T. Shevchenko's death. The demonstrators expressed a lot of requirements for the Temporary government: to make Ukrainian land sovereign, to hold the Ukrainian National Congress to form the background for autonomy, to elect to the Central Rada the representatives of those regions, where the majority of people were Ukrainians, to carry on the negotiations with the Temporary government.

On 5-7 of April, 1917 the Ukrainian National Congress was held in Kyiv. In the course of the Congress the structure of the Rada was defined and members were elected. M. Hrushevsky became the head of Rada again and V. Vynnychenko and S. Iefremov were appointed to be the head substitutes. The Central Rada started to establish the local boards and bring up the army to strength.

Between 5 and 8 of May, 1917 there was the First All-Ukraine Military Congress in Kyiv. It recognized the Central Rada as the only legal powerful institution in Ukraine. Exactly the same resolution was carried during the workers and peasants' conventions. On June 10, 1917 the Central Rada passed a very important government law — Universal I — in which the autonomy of Ukraine was proclaimed. The government of the country was called the General Secretariat and it was manned. Naturally, those events did embarrass the Temporary government of Russia. It had to negotiate with the Central Rada and recognize the Rada as the highest regional power of the Temporary

government in Ukraine. That resolution was fixed in Universal II dated to July 3, 1917. Moreover, the Rada was obliged to prepare the law on the autonomous mode of Ukraine to be approved later during the All-Russia Establishing Assembly. But the political situation in Russia was extremely sharpened. And the events of July 4-5, 1917 in Petrograd were the best confirmation of it. In the course of those events the antiwar demonstration organized by bolshevists was shot up. The military regime was introduced in Russia. The Temporary government was headed by O. Kerensky. The party of bolshevists became illegal and started preparing the revolt to take the power. So under such circumstances the Rada preferred to stand by and wait.

On October 25, 1917 bolshevists put the successful plan of the revolt against the Temporary government into practice and took the power. On October 27 the General Secretariat printed the appeal "To All Citizens of Ukraine" which disapproved the bolshevists' revolution in Petrograd. In their turn, Kyiv bolshevists formed their own revolutionary committee to organize another revolt. At the "Arsenal" plant in Kyiv they began to bring their armed troops to strength. Loyal and devoted to the Temporary government the army forces, which were then quartered in Kyiv, were trying to take the initiative. They arrested the bolshevist revolutionary committee and smashed the accommodation of the Central Rada. But on October 29 bolshevists formed another revolutionary committee. On October 31 the corps of riflemen of the Sich and free Cossacks supported the Central Rada and made the armies of the Temporary government leave Kyiv. So the Central Rada was again in power. On October 9 it issued Universal III, in which the following was proclaimed: The Ukrainian People's Republic (UNR) was a constituent part of the Russian Federation; landowners' landownership was cancelled; 8-hour working day was introduced. The Central Rada didn't recognize the bolshevist mode. It suggested the foundation of the Antibolshevist Federation of Bashkiria, the Don, Kuban, Ukraine. The army of the Central Rada formed the frontier barrier between Ukraine and Russia. Ukrainian soldiers were appealed to disobey the Radnarkom and to join the army of the Ukrainian People's Republic.

Thus, the February Democratic Revolution had a remarkable effect on Ukraine. Democratic transformations were beneficial for growth of national consciousness. The Central Rada was proclaimed the regional organ of power in Ukraine. Its politics was directed to foundation and development of the state of Ukraine. Russia disapproved such a tendency. So, the relations between Russia and Ukraine became strained.

34. FIGHT FOR POWER

- *The First All-Ukraine Rada's Congress*
- *The First War of the Soviet Russia Against the UNR*
- *The Brest Agreement*

In December of 1917 the political situation in Ukraine was tense. The fight for power between the Central Rada and Bolshevistic Councils grew stronger. Bolshevistic Councils in order to organize the opposition to the Central Rada decided to carry out the first All-Ukraine Rada's Congress in Kyiv. The Congress was opened on December 6, 1917. 2000 delegates were sent there by the Central Rada and just 130 delegates by bolshevists. Having found it impossible to subordinate the work of the congress for their interests, bolshevists had to leave Kyiv. They moved to Kharkiv, where the third Convention of Donetsk and Kryvy Rih regional Radas was carried out. It consisted of 70 members. When united, they held what they called the first Rada's Congress. It took place on 11-12 December, 1917. That congress proclaimed Ukraine as the Soviet Republic and elected the members of the Central executive committee with E. Medvediev as the head. Besides, it organized the first Soviet government of Ukraine — the People's Secretariat.

The Soviet Russia was attempting to reinforce the crisis of power in Ukraine. On December 4, 1917 the Russian Radnarkom sent the ultimatum to the Central Rada with the following requirements: firstly,

no anti-bolshevistic armed forces could be allowed to go to Russia through the territory of Ukraine; secondly, to stop disarming the Red Army detachments and gave them their weapon back; thirdly, to give up the attempts to convert South-West Front into Ukrainian one with subordinating it to the Central Rada; fourthly, to let bolshevists troops go through Ukraine to the South Front. In case of non-acceptance of those terms, Radnarkom threatened to begin the war against the UNR. Thus, that ultimatum became the main reason for the first Soviet-Ukrainian war. On December 12, 1917 the Red Army detachments arrived from Russia in Kharkiv by an amount of 12 thousand soldiers. There in Kharkiv the making of the Red Army South Front HQ started. It was headed by V. Antonov-Ovsienko.

On January, 17 the common offensive of bolshevist troops to Kyiv began under the command of M. Muravjov. Attempts of the Central Rada to stop the soviet troops were disastrous. On January 29, 1918 in a fight near Kruty station bolshevists defeated the detachments of students and schoolchildren, who voluntary began to defend the UNR. Soviet aggression accelerated proclamation of the independence of Ukraine. On January 22, 1918 at the Central Rada open meeting, which was held at night, Universal IV was declared. Ukraine was proclaimed the independent, free and sovereign state. But as soon as on February 29 soviet troops conquered Kyiv. Bolshevists accomplished a bloody pogrom in the capital of Ukraine.

On those tragic for Ukraine days, the negotiations between Soviet Russia and the Union of the Four countries were held in Brest. The Central Rada delegation joined them on January 7, 1918. On February 29, 1918 the delegation managed to sign the agreement with Germany and its allies. According to the Brest Agreement the UNR was obliged to supply Germany, Austria and Hungary with 60 mln pounds of bread, 2750 thousand pounds of meat and other provision. Germany, in its turn, was obliged to allot credits to Ukraine (1 billion roubles). Then the Central Rada appealed to Germany with the request to give Ukraine a military help to fight against the Bolshevistic invasion. And Germany and its allies gave Ukraine such a help. At the beginning of 1918 the

troops of the Central Rada occupied Kyiv, and in March-April the Soviet Army abandoned Ukraine.

Thus, at the end of 1917 the political situation in Ukraine became very sharp as a result of the race for power between the Central Rada and bolshevists, which concluded in Kharkiv with proclamation of soviet power during the first All-Ukraine Rada Congress. The fight outgrew in the first war of the Soviet Russia against the UNR. As a result of war the considerable part of Ukraine turned under bolshevists reign and only intervention from the countries of the Union of the Four halted the subsequent bolshevist expansion.

35. THE UKRAINIAN STATE OF HETMAN SKOROPADSKY

- *Pre-Conditions of Hetman Skoropadsky's Coming to Power*
- *The Politics of Hetman's Government*
- *The Crisis of Hetman's Government*

According to the Brest agreement, which was signed by the delegation of the Central Rada and the representatives of the Union of the Four on the 9-th of February 1918, Ukraine had to sell its provision to Austro-Hungary and Germany. And they, from their side, had to help the Central Rada to force out the Soviet army from Ukraine. Moreover, the Central Rada insisted on those military units's coming to Ukraine, which were formed in Austria and Germany of Ukrainian war prisoners (about 30 thousand people). But the German and the Austrian-Hungarian troops came to the Ukrainian land, which made Austrian-Hungarian help a character of occupation. The Soviet Russia took out the Red Army from Ukraine. The German forces were in southern regions of Ukraine and Austro-Hungarian — in the northern part. The Central Rada in its proclamations called upon the people to be calm but there wasn't any calm among population. The situation in Ukraine became worse: first, the coming of the German and the Austrian

troops sent for an enmity in local population because it took them as occupants; secondly, the Austrian-Hungarian command was stroke that the Central Rada wasn't able to form functioning organs of administration at the places (there was chaos and anarchy everywhere), and it seemed that it wasn't able to guarantee promised provision; thirdly, the Ukrainian population saw in the Central Rada a traitor of national interests; fourthly, the politics of the Central Rada was criticized and blamed by people. The government was accused of Bolshevistic ways of solving agricultural problems; and the peasantry criticized it for indulgence to landowners and kulaks.

Those very circumstances were used by conservative forces of society. An extremely active role was played by big landowners, rich peasantry and bureaucrats.

The officers of the old army, the majority of whom had monarchy views and wanted a strong power. In the middle of April 1918 the representatives of those forces set the contacts with the German government. It was agreed to get rid of the government of the Central Rada and to establish the power of Hetman. The advantage was given to Pavlo Skoropadsky. He descended from an old cossack family. His family owned vast lands in the Left-Bank. He studied in the Moscow page corps, took part in the Russian-Japanese war, got a golden weapon as a reward. Later he served fligel-adjutant of tsar Nicholas II, occupied a row of high military posts. He was in the rank of lieutenant-general when the February Revolution began. He gave orders to the corps, where the process of ukrainization started in August, 1917. His name became popular; and when in October, 1917 there was the All-Ukraine convention of free Cossacks, he was elected the Ataman. So, we see, the name of P.Skoropadsky was not occasional on political horizon of Ukraine of that time.

On April 28, 1918 German soldiers broke into the Central Rada's HQ and arrested two ministers. The political tension was growing. On April 29, 1918 there was the Agricultural Congress in Kyiv. The congress was of the interests of well-to-do layers of Ukrainian population. The congress unanimously elected P.Skoropadsky the Hetman and gave him wide latitudes. The Hetman was given the right

to promulgate laws, to appoint the government, to manage foreign policy, and to be the supreme judge of the country.

That day the supporters of the hetman's power occupied all state establishments, dismissed the Central Rada and promulgated the manifest to Ukrainian people. It was said, that all power institutions of the Central Rada were liquidated, the land private property was renewed, poor peasants were promised to give some land, the rights of working people were promised to be provided.

The hetman liquidated the UNR and proclaimed the Ukrainian state. One of the first bills of the new government was the law which gave landowners their lands back. It caused a strong protest of bolshevist-orientated peasantry. The government of Skoropadsky was in charge to supply Germany with bread (75 mln pounds), butter and cheese (60,000 pounds), tobacco (250,000 pounds), sugar (2,5 mln pounds), wood (11,2000 carriages), iron ore (37,5 mln pounds). To implement all those deliveries would mean to abandon the Ukrainian industry without raw materials and the population — without food stuff.

In 1918 a considerable part of products was taken out. Ukrainian peasantry began to organize insurgent detachments. The struggle was especially severe in Zvenyhorodsky and Tarashchansky districts (near Kyiv), where peasant detachments were as large as 30-40 thousand people armed with machine guns and cannons; and they made Germany lose about 6,000 soldiers.

The relationships between the hetman government and working people were also complicated. It happened as the result of cancellation of the 8-hour working day (that was introduced by the Central Rada), and punishment of strikers. Manufacturers and factory-owner violated the rights of workers constantly, they cut down their wages. Unemployment became a great misfortune for workers. Some factories were closed because of the lack of raw materials which were taken to Germany.

P.Skoropadsky paid a considerable attention to military forces. Several specialised schools were founded to teach officers. A decision was made to form 8 corps of soldiers and a few equestrian divisions

(the cavalry army). In October 1918 over 70% of the Black sea fleet heaved up the Ukrainian flag and took the oath of allegiance to Ukraine and in November 1918 the government of Vladimir Lenin acknowledged that the fleet was Ukrainian.

The hetman undertook certain measures to make the army less politicized. On August 1, 1918 he passed the law, according to which soldiers were forbidden to join political parties and to take part in public meeting and manifestations. At the same time the Cossacks became the separate military organisation.

It is obvious, that the domestic policy of hetman P.Skoropadsky was orientated to building the state of Ukraine in which the interests of well-to-do strata of population would prevail and dominate. That was quite opposite to the politics of the Central Rada which leaned against a middle class. Hetman did his rate on high bourgeoisie which was the proprietor of capital goods and wanted a strong power. Hetman considered, if the state leaned against the poor people, the state would be wretched; but if it leaned against rich people, it would be strong and wealthy. Leaning against well-to-do layers and presenting their interests, P.Skoropadsky was also trying to win over intelligentsia to his side. He was doing it in a consistent and well-thought way. As the result of his work several more Ukrainian colleges were founded (there were 150 altogether). In those high schools where students were taught in Russian, the Ukrainian language and literature, the history and geography of Ukraine were introduced as obligatory subjects.

In October, 1918 two new Ukrainian universities were opened in Kyiv and Kamyanets-Podilsk. In Poltava they opened the History-Philological Department. The Record Ukrainian Office, the National Gallery of Arts, the Ukrainian Historical Museum, the Ukrainian National Library were also founded. On 24, November, 1918 there was an inauguration of the Ukrainian Academy of Science, the first president of which was V.Vernadsky. It was during the hetman's power when the Ukrainian Drama and Opera theatre, the Ukrainian state choir, and the State Symphonic orchestra came into being. Publishing business developed widely. In a very short period of time all primary schools began teaching in the Ukrainian. The hetman conducted the ukrainisation

of the state government machine. At every state and military establishments it was ordered to organize the Ukrainian country-learning courses.

The achievements of Ukraine in culture were enormous. However, not everything that was introduced by P.Skoropadsky managed to survive in the future.

Hetman tried to please ordinary people by propaganda of national traditions. He started it with his own clothes in which the cultural element became strong. Ordinary people, who had been long forbidden even to speak Ukrainian, were very impressed by the way the hetman was dressed.

The government of P.Skoropadsky used to pay great attention to the foreign policy. The Central Rada had diplomatic relations with just three states, whereas Hetman set diplomatic missions to twelve countries. The relations between Ukraine and Germany were given a priority. The relations between Ukraine and the Soviet Russia were also paid great attention by Ukrainian diplomacy. According to the Brest Agreement Russia was obliged to make peace with Ukraine. In the course of negotiations in Kyiv the problems of borders, economical collaboration, exchange of war prisoners were discussed. However, the negotiations didn't bring any certain results, and at the beginning of October 1918 were quite halted. The dependence of Ukraine on the Union of the Four limited the foreign policy activity of P.Skoropadsky. And only after the truce at the Western Front had been signed, it became possible to relate directly to the states of the Antanta. Trying to get their support P.Skoropadsky sent the special diplomatic delegation to France and was going to do the same in England and the USA, but he didn't have time to fulfil the task because of the crisis of the power Ukraine was suffering from. The popularity of P.Skoropadsky among the Ukrainian people decreased. The crisis of the hetman's government was strengthened with the defeat of Germany in World War I. P.Skoropadsky was left without Austrian and German support; his attempt to team up the White Guard movement was not successful at all. The White movement was for "the united indivisible Russia", where there was no place for independent Ukraine. Under such circumstances

leaders of Ukrainian social-democratic parties, which made the skeleton of the Central Rada and were dissolved by P.Skoropadsky, formed the political opposition to the hetman.

A lot of people of different social classes started uprising against the hetman's government. There was a mass revolt of peasants, who were then joined by groups of hetman's soldiers. 14, December 1918 the German troops left Kyiv. At the same time P.Skoropadsky emigrated to Germany, where he died in 1945.

To sum it up, one should say, that the weakness of power of the Central Rada and its disability to solve socio-economical problems of the society stipulated its defeat and hetman P.Skoropadsky's coming to power. His policy was orientated to the interests of well-to-do strata of population. Moreover, it was inferior to considerable influence of the Union of the four countries. However, the narrow social orientation and the defeat of Germany in World War I caused the crisis of the hetman's power. The hetman government couldn't find a way out of the political crisis, and the Ukrainian state went out of being.

36. THE REVIVAL OF THE UNR. THE DIRECTORY

— *Pre-Conditions for Creation of the Directory and Its Coming to Power*

— *Foreign and Domestic Policy of the UNR*

— *The Crisis of the Directory's Power*

The policy of hetman P.Skoropadsky didn't reflect the interests of the majority of Ukrainian population, and his social programme differed very little from the policy of the White Guard. Disregarding that fact, the leaders of the White Guard movement didn't recognize P.Skoropadsky but considered him being a separatist. Hetman understood it quite clearly, that a formal independence of Ukraine would be kept as long as it was being guarded by German regiments. The political opposition to the hetman's mode was formed in nearly a month

after his coming to power. The opposition was formed as the National State Union by democratic parties and trade unions. Among them there was All-Ukraine Zemsky Union headed by Semen Petliura, who accused hetman of restoration of the old mode. In August, 1918 the Ukrainian National Union was created on the base of the Ukrainian National Union (UNS). It proclaimed it would stand up for the renewal of the constituted government subordinate to the parliament. In September V.Vynnychenko became the head of the Ukrainian National Union. V.Vynnychenko came into contacts with the leaders of the Soviet delegation, that was then in Kyiv negotiating with the hetman. The leaders of the Soviet delegation while communicating with V.Vynnychenko promised him help in case he agreed to begin the revolt against hetman. Vynnychenko, in his turn, promised to make bolshevists' activity legal in Ukraine.

When it became obvious, that Germany was going to capitulate, Skoropadsky tried to be drawn together with the Ukrainian National Union. At the beginning of October, 1918 he parleyed with the Ukrainian National Union. As soon as his ministers knew about it, they forced him to organize antibolshevist front on principles of association of Ukraine and the whiteguard movement, which was supported by the Antanta. P.Skoropadsky, trying to find the way out, established a new compromise government headed by F.Lysohub. The government was comprised of both the representatives of the whiteguard movement and the Ukrainian National Union. The last was not satisfied by compromise and began preparing for the revolt against the mode. P.Skoropadsky had to dismiss the cabinet and on November 14, 1918 he declared a federal union of Ukraine and Russia — it was, in fact, the hetman's renunciation of the idea of Ukrainian independence.

Under such circumstances on November 14, 1918 there was a meeting of the Ukrainian National Union, in which the representatives of social parties, trade unions and Ukrainian Sich Shooters took part. In that way the Directory was established and became the supreme governing organ of the reborn UNR. V.Vynnychenko was elected the head of the government. It included S.Petliura, F.Shvets, P.Andrievsky, A.Makarenko. The aim of the Directory was to eliminate the hetman's

mode. The same day the Directory moved to Bila Tserkva, where Sich Shooters were deployed. They were supposed to become the armed kernel of the revolt. The Directory signed the agreement with the Great Soldiers' Rada of the German troops, which were still in Ukraine. The Directory took the troops to Kyiv. Near village Motovylyvka (30 km from Kyiv) defeated the Hetman's army. That defeat completely demoralised Skoropadsky's army. It lost its military strength, because the policy of the Directory was more attractive for peasants, who were forced to change their clothes into soldiers' overcoats, than the policy of hetman. It was during the revolt movement when the Directory spread its power throughout Ukraine. On December 14, 1918 the Directory conquered Kyiv. P.Skoropadsky quit and fled to Germany. On 19, December 1918 on the Sophiivska Square there was a military parade and a solemn prayer service in honour of the victory. The leaders of the essers' party M.Hrushevsky, V.Holubovych, O.Zhukovsky and others suggested that the Central Rada should be restored. But V.Vynnychenko and S.Petliura didn't want to give up power referring to the difficult international and internal situation.

Having come to power, the Directory began to carry out its own policy. It decided to expropriate state and church lands, as well as the lands of private owners; and began to distribute them between peasants. The Directory proclaimed itself the political institution which expressed the interests of workers, peasants and "labour intelligentsia". Then it announced that industrial and agricultural bourgeoisie was intended to be deprived of their election rights. It was the reason why the Directory was accused to be bolshevist orientated. Among the leaders of the Directory there was a serious disagreement as to how the state of Ukraine should be developed. V.Vynnychenko was for joining the bolshevist Russia against the Antanta; while S.Petliura was for uniting with the Antanta against the bolshevist mode.

While the Directory was fighting for power, in the west of Ukraine the West-Ukrainian People's Republic (ZUNR) was established on the wreckage of Austria-Hungary territories. It was proclaimed on November 13, 1918. But neighbouring Poland also had pretensions to owning those lands. So it started the war against

the ZUNR. To make Polish interventionists leave the country, the government of the ZUNR began organising regular troops of the Ukrainian Galicia Army (UGA). In 1918 there were 100,000 people, machine-guns, cannons and even 20 planes in the army. Since Poland was well supported by the Antanta, it forced out the Ukrainian Galicia Army to Naddnipyrianshchyna. The leaders of the ZUNR and the Ukrainian Galicia Army understood it quite clearly, that it is necessary to join forces to save the Ukrainian state system. The unification of the ZUNR and the UNR was proclaimed on January 22, 1919 on the Sophiivska Square in Kyiv in the presence of representatives of other countries. The ZUNR was renamed and became the western district of the UNR. Tryzub (trident) became the unique national emblem. That event was recorded in history as the Act of Unification.

January 16, 1919 the State conference was convened in Kyiv. It was composed of the members of the Directory and government, leaders of political parties and the Shooters of the Sich. The main issue was about the new ways of further development of the UNR and maintenance of the state independence. There were many suggestions: to turn the Directory into military dictatorship; to continue the parliamentary way of development; to set again the soviet power in Ukraine. Not a single decision was passed in the course of conference. It proved that the crisis of power had greatly increased in the UNR.

Later on, the crisis grew badly. The fact that the Dnieper division (disposed near Kyiv) became Bolshevistic, was the best proof of the crisis. The division and the peasants of near-by villages stated that the Directory was required to pass power to Councils and give big enterprises a national status. S.Petliura sent some troops to put down the rebellion and to disarm the Dnieper division. But those troops were defeated and some of the soldiers even joined the rebels. Left Essers and Nezalezhnyky (propagandists of independence) started forming opposition in the new administration.

At the end of January, 1919 some parts of the Trans-Dnieper division, which were then disposed in the south of Ukraine, became Bolshevistic, too. The soldiers refused to obey the Directory and started

battling against the White Guard and the Antanta army from Bessarabia to Perekop. They were joined by numerous detachments of peasants.

The detachments of N.Makhno near Huliaj Pole declared that they were going to support the Rada.

S. Petliura did not have enough forces. What he had was just the Zaporizhzhia troop headed by the ataman Balbachan, and the corps of Sich Shooters where E.Konovalets was in charge.

On 23, January, 1919 the Ukrainian Labour Congress was held in Kyiv. In the course of its work the disagreement between the political parties became more obvious and confrontation grew stronger. The representatives of the Essers' party were divided into three groups: "the left" (or "the strugglers") supported the Soviet mode, "the right" were for democratic socialism, "the centrists" insisted on the transmission of power to the institutions of labour Rada of peasantry and working people deputies. Having heard the reports of all the members of the government, the Ukrainian Labour congress decreed to charge the legislature and defence of the country to the Directory, to which the representative of the ZUNR E.Petrushevych was included.

Meanwhile, the political situation in Ukraine got worse every day. The Directory appealed for help to the military command of the Antanta in Odesa. But the military command of the Antanta being under pressure of the Russian White Guard refused to help the Directory, but required to join the troops of the UNR and the Denikin's army.

Consequently, V.Vynnychenko left the Directory, and S.Petliura made himself in charge. The Antanta army and its command, having been forced by the detachments of ataman M.Hryhoriev (in March 1919 he broke out with bolshevists), had to evacuate its soldiers from the Black sea shore. The event made the crisis of the Directory grew incredibly.

Thus, after it had got rid of the hetman, the Directory went through hard times itself. It underestimated the influence of the Bolshevistic mode upon the Ukrainian peasants and workers, in good time it failed to notice the Bolshevistic-orientated movement among the soldiers. Some inner contradictions — the rivalry between the leaders — also strengthened the crisis of the Directory's power. This process was

made yet more complicated by unfavourable international situation as some countries did not like the idea of the state independence of Ukraine.

37. THE SECOND WAR OF THE SOVIET RUSSIA AGAINST THE UNR

- *The Reasons and the Beginning of the War*
- *The Course of Its Main Events*
- *The Consequences of the War*

In 1917, after the Russian empire had been disintegrated, the Ukrainian people set off their way to the state independence. But the UNR from the first days of its existence fell, at first, under pressure of the Russian Temporary government, and then under the government of the Soviet Russia. In December, 1917 the government of the Soviet Russia began the first war against the UNR. Using the advantages of its numerous army and the support of the institutions of the Bolshevistic Rada in Ukraine, the Soviet Russia occupied the essential territory of the country and Kyiv — the capital of Ukraine. But bolshevists had to sign the Brest agreement together with Germany, halted their grab policy. According to the Brest agreement, the Soviet Russia called the troops off Ukraine. But it did not mean the Bolshevistic government had given up its grab policy, which was conducted under the slogan of the “fight for the world proletarian revolution”. As Germany was defeated in the World War I, the Soviet Russia declared that it considered the Brest agreement invalid. It happened on November 13, 1918. It presupposed that Russia was going to continue its neo-colonial policy towards Ukraine. Indeed, on November 17 bolshevists organised the Ukrainian revolutionary military Rada to which enlisted the following: J.Stalin, V.Antonov-Ovsienko, V.Zatonsky, G.Pyatakov.

On November 28, 1918 bolshevists proclaimed the Temporary working-peasantry government of Ukraine and

G.Pyatakov was in charge of it. One of the first bills of the government was a bill for the organisation of the Ukrainian Soviet Army. To complete the Ukrainian Army the Russian government let Antonov-Ovsienko choose the best troops of the reserve army distributed in Orel region. Antonov-Ovsienko took two regiments of the All-Ukraine Emergency Committee, the detachments of the Hungarian internationalists, the Volga Tatar soldiers, three regiments of boundary guard (which used to guard the border between Russia and Ukraine at the time when it was occupied by Germany) and three provision regiments. As we see, the Ukrainian Soviet army was made of not Ukrainian people, and in that way the national hatred was provoked by the Bolshevistic mode.

On December 1, 1918 the Temporary government of Ukraine proclaimed it would head the struggle of the Ukrainian people against P.Skoropadsky. In the manifest of the government it was promised to hold the All-Ukraine Convention of the institutions of Rada after the establishment of Soviet power in Ukraine. It was also proclaimed the nationalisation of industry and banks, and the distribution of landowners' lands between peasants on the condition of their further remaining. Bolsheviks were trying to take control over the struggle against the hetman's power, but most of the territory of Ukraine was ruled by the Directory.

Meanwhile, the troops of Antonov-Ovsienko invaded Ukraine. The situation was getting worse by the fact, that some military detachments became bolshevistic. Russian leaders watched carefully the development of events in Ukraine. Willing to strengthen the crisis, the deputy of People's Commissariat in Foreign Affairs L.Karahan promulgated a circular in which it was proclaimed, that the government of Russia was not going to regard Ukraine as an independent state any longer. It was recommended to all Soviet establishments to consider any official documents, issued by the Ukrainian government, invalid.

In December 1918, the first insurgent division, having betrayed the Directory, launched the offensive to Chernihiv and Kyiv, and the second division attacked Kharkiv. Near the station Kozacha Lopan it wholly defeated S.Petliura's army. On January 1, 1919 workers of

Kharkiv rose against the Directory. They conquered the city and retained it till January 3, 1919 when the Soviet troops came.

Partisan detachments began the fight against the Directory in Katerynoslav region. On December 27, 1918 they conquered the regional centre. But Petliura's troops, having received the military support, put partisans out of the city. But partisans still controlled the Left-Bank part of Katerynoslav region.

The situation changed for the benefit of the Soviet Army in the North region of Ukraine. The reason for that was not only the massive offense of the Red Army, but also the Directory's troops disintegration.

At the beginning of 1919 the government of the Directory made an inquiry from Moscow. They asked about the reason for the Soviet Army's invasion into Ukraine without any proclamation of the war. The Soviet commissar of foreign affairs in Russia V.Chicherin answered that there were no Russian troops on the territory of Ukraine. And the war events took place between the Army of the Directory and the Army of the Soviet Ukrainian government, which was absolutely independent. Hypocrisy was quite obvious, but the winner was the strongest. On the 4th of January, 1919 L. Trotsky, who was then the head of Revolutionary military Rada of the Soviet Russia, signed the direction to create the Ukrainian front on the basis of Ukrainian Soviet Army under the command of Antonov-Ovsienko. He was given the task to launch the offensive against the Army of the Directory on the Left-Bank Ukraine, to conquer the main river crossings of the Dnieper near Kyiv, Cherkasy, Kremenchug and Katerynoslav. In those conditions, the Head of the Directory V.Chehivsky being supported by V.Vynnychenko, started to look for the way out. He sent the diplomatic mission to Moscow, headed by S.Mazurenko, who proclaimed, that the Directory would agree to recognize the Soviet power in Ukraine, providing that workers and peasants were represented in equal proportions in the Soviet Rada, and in case the economical agreement with the USSR was signed. Moreover, it was proclaimed of Ukraine's neutrality along with its active defence against Denikin, the Antanta and Poland. In its turn the Soviet Russia would have to stop its attack in Ukraine and recognize the independence of

the Ukrainian National Republic. But Mazurenko's mission wasn't successful. Firstly, Moscow took into consideration the low status of the Directory among Ukrainian people. Secondly, the Commissary of Soviet people wanted to have the Soviet power in Ukraine only in a form of dictatorship of the proletariat. And the proposition of the Directory to represent workers and peasants in the Soviet government equally would result in bolshevists' defeat. After the mission had failed, the number of adherents to cooperate with the Antanta increased greatly. On January 16, 1919 the Directory proclaimed the war with the Soviet Russia. In return Bolshevists' army started to attack Poltava, Katerynoslav, Donbas.

There was a very difficult situation in the region near Kyiv. On January 12, 1919 partisans' detachments, acting against the Directory, conquered Chernihiv and came near Brovary. That was where the 40-thousand army of S.Petliura was placed. Despite the fact, that the number of anti-bolshevistic partisans was four times smaller, they assumed the attack bravely. S.Petliura retreated after 3 days of fighting. On the 5th of February, 1919 partisans entered Kyiv. It became possible not only because of a better organization of the army itself, but also due to concern and support of the local people.

The government of the Directory was in a deep crisis. The alliance with the Antanta wasn't welcome because it supported A.Denikin, who was against the independence of Ukraine. On the other hand, the attempts of the Directory to unite with the Soviet Russia were not successful, because Russia didn't recognize the independence of the UNR and did its best to set up bolshevistic regime in Ukraine.

The Directory left Kyiv, moved to Vinnytsia and began the parley with the Antanta. Delegation of the UNR met with the government of France and signed an agreement according to which the support would be provided, and France would be controlling financial, trade and industrial policies of Ukraine for 5 years. But the Antanta demanded to transform the Ukrainian government (to exclude Socialists), to refuse from bolshevistic social-economical policy, and to submit the Ukrainian army to government of the USSR. Those were awful conditions, but there was no other way out.

V.Vynnychenko quit the Directory and gave all the power to S.Petliura. S.Petliura in his turn claimed that he was not a member of the social-democratic party any longer. V.Chekhivsky also resigned. And the hopes of the Directory for the help of the Antanta were all in vain. Under the pressure of the Soviet Army on the 6th of March, 1919 Petliura's soldiers left Vinnytsia and stepped back further to the west. The fight of the Soviet Russia with the Directory continued until 1920. The Directory found an ally for the struggle with Bolshevist Army — it was with Poland. And it was only after Poland had been defeated when the Directory's tragic failure became obvious.

Thus, the second war of the Soviet Russia against the UNR was a pure military aggression from the side of Russia. It vividly demonstrated the neo-colonial imperial bolshevistic policy, the final aim of which was the “world proletarian revolution”. Ukraine became the centre of the cruel fight of different political forces: the Directory, the Soviet Russia, the Antanta, the White Guard movement, peasants' revolt movement and Poland. The fight was destroying the economy of Ukraine, was exhausting people, and caused great human losses. During the wartime the majority of Ukrainian population became poor and began to lose interest to the national idea and development of the independent country, giving priority to social problems. For the UNR the period of war was characterised by the failures of the national-liberation movement.

38. THE SITUATION IN UKRAINE IN 1920

— *The Agreement Between Poland and the UNR in Their Struggle Against the Soviet Russia*

— *The Defeat of the Anti-Soviet Movement on Ukrainian Territory*

— *The Establishment of the Soviet Regime and Its Policy in Ukraine*

The young Polish state, which appeared in autumn 1918, realized

the danger of neighbouring the Soviet Russia. The Bolshevistic authorities didn't hide the intention to make "the world proletarian revolution". The true demonstration of that policy was the war, initiated by the Soviet Russia against the UNR. The Bolshevistic leaders created Comintern for revolution export. The Polish bureau worked within the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party of bolsheviks — CC RKP (b). The committee received huge financial support for the development of the communist movement in Poland. Foreseeing the inevitable war with the Soviet Russia, Polish leaders turned to the Antanta with the request to give the urgent military help. During the first half of 1920 Poland received from the USA 200 tanks, more than 300 planes, 20 thousand machine-guns and other war equipment, the total cost of which was 1,7 billion dollars. Poland also got 2000 cannons, 300 planes and credit of 1 billion francs from France. In the spring of 1920 the Polish army consisted of 738 thousand men — it was the biggest army in Europe. Poland's leader U.Pilsudsky, undertook some measures to halt the revolutionary movement in the country, and more than 20,000 people were imprisoned. It was not a surprise, that the Directory which was beaten by bolsheviks, considered Poland its ally in the common fight against the Soviet Russia. On April 21, 1920 the UNR and Poland signed *The General* and *The Trade-Economic* conventions, according to which the borders of the UNR were recognized and new economic relations between the two countries were established. On April 25 the military convention was signed, according to which the army of the UNR was subordinate to Poland, as well as the railways. Poland was in charge to form the single currency for both countries. The three conventions got the name of the Warsaw Agreement.

People in Ukraine met the Warsaw Agreement negatively, as well as the fact that S.Petliura gave priority to Warsaw, but not to Moscow. It happened because the vast majority of Ukrainian population was under the influence of Bolshevistic propaganda. Poland considered that the best way to be defended from the Soviet Russia was attacking it. On 25 April, 1920 Poland, having united its own forces with the army of the UNR, started the war against the RSFSR (the Russian

Soviet Federative Socialist Republic). The amount of the three Polish armies was 150,000 people, and 40,000 of them were acting on the territory of Ukraine. The Polish army was three times stronger than its enemy and tried to surround two Soviet armies in the South-Western Front, and then it was going to capture Kyiv and the Right-Bank Ukraine. The UNR army (which consisted of 15,000 men) was acting together with the army of Poland. The sudden attack gave Poland essential advantages, and it quickly occupied the vast territory of the country, and on the 7th of May came into Kyiv. But the coming of the Polish army caused the great indignation among the local population, because some Polish soldiers committed robberies and requisitions. Bolsheviks began to carry out the mobilisation to the Red Army. On the occupied territories the partisan movement got hotter and hotter. Soviet leaders began to move essential military detachments to the Polish front. On the 5th of June, 1920 Soviet troops started the counter-offensive near Samgorod-Osern. There was a danger for the Polish army to be surrounded, so Poland stepped back.

On the 12th of June, 1920 Kyiv was taken by the Soviet Army. The soviet troops of the Western front, which were by then acting in Bilorus, reached Poland and launched an offensive to Warsaw. The troops of the South-Western Front, which were in Ukraine, attacked Lviv. The authority of Poland asked the Antanta for immediate help. On July 11, 1920 the British Minister of Foreign Affairs J.Kerson appealed with the note to the Soviet Russia to stop the troops at the distance not closer than 50 km from the line. The so-called Kerson's line on the 8th of December, 1919 had been defined as the east Polish border by the Antanta Supreme Council. The Antanta was going to help Poland in case the troops were not stopped. The Soviet government in its turn gave the note, in which it was claimed that it was ready to start the negotiations between Poland and Russia. But at the same time the Soviet government undertook certain measures to reinforce the Red Army attack. As soon as Soviet troops reached the territory of Poland, the Polish Revolutionary Committee was created whose head became Felix Dzerzhynsky. In one of the first manifests the revolutionary committee proclaimed the establishment of the Rada (Council), the

nationalisation of the industry, the expropriation of squires' estates. Special committees should be hired to carry on management.

In the East Galicia bolshevists created the Galicia Revolutionary Committee, which was proclaimed as the provisional government of the Galicia Soviet Socialist Republic on July 8, 1920.

Bolshevist V.Zatonsky became the head of the Galicia Revolutionary Committee. The committee issued the Decree according to which all squires' and churches' lands had to be confiscated, and banks and enterprises had to be nationalised. In August, 1920 in Sokolovsky district communists organised the revolt against Poland and proclaimed the Boykivska Soviet Republic. But Soviet troops failed to occupy Lviv, they sustained severe losses. The offensive of soviet troops to Warsaw grew weaker and weaker (it was the result of tiredness, losses of manpower, lack of live ammunition). Moreover, the Polish government did all possible to make the population rebel against Russia. The threat to be dependent on Russia joined the Polish people around the government. The Antanta helped Poland by weapon. The Soviet troops were shut-down near Warsaw, in the district of a suburban fortress of Modlin.

On August 14, 1920 having 6 times more people the Polish army came into counter-offensive. The results of that fight were striking: the Soviet Army was defeated and thrown away as far as the Buh river. A part of the Russian Army, seeking for salvation, escaped to Germany, where it was disarmed and interned. But it turned out that neither Russia nor Poland was able to go on fighting. In the middle of 1920 they began peaceful negotiations in Minsk. According to the agreement western Ukraine and western Bilorus remained within the territory of Poland, and new boulder was concerted. In March, 1921 the truce was signed between Poland and Russia.

Besides the Polish-Russian war, the territory of Ukraine turned into the arena of the fight against Vranghel, who in June became the leader of the former Denikin's troops in the Crimea. He organised the government in the South of Russia and was planning to conquer Donbas, and then to revive the solid and indivisible Russia as it once used to be. P.Vranghel formed the Russian army and applied to the Antanta for

help. He watched carefully the events of the Russian-Polish war. After the Red Army had launched an offence near Kyiv (June 5, 1920), on June 7 Vrangl took his troops out of the Crimea near Henicheska, but his plans to capture the territory of Donbas were frustrated — he just didn't have enough soldiers, whereas the Soviet government carried out the mobilisation throughout the country and formed the South front against the white guard. The Soviet government made an agreement to N.Makhno to cooperate against Vrangl and soon they tried to cut the white guard off the Crimea. But Vrangl perceived their intentions and retreated over the Turkish wall. On November 7, 1920 the Soviet army attacked Perekop. The assault lasted for five days. Soviet soldiers came into the Crimea but at the cost of uncountable sacrifice — there was a ten metre ditch full of killed soldiers bodies. Vrangl used ships to rescue 150 thousand of his soldiers and refugees and evacuate them to Turkey. On 17, November the Red Army annexed Yalta, and so the Crimea became Soviet.

The final events in the course of the Civil war on the territory of Ukraine were the battles between the Zbruch, the Dnister and the South Buh. There the former enemies — the White Guard and the Petliura's troops — formed the anti-Soviet front. In September, 1920 Petliura's army together with the Third Russian Army, organised by B.Savenkov in Poland, and with five thousand of Cossacks from the Don annexed the left bank of the river Zbruch and continued to tramp eastwards. But that adventure had no chances to be successful, because the truce between Poland and the Soviet Russia had already been signed in Riga. The attempts to struggle on their own weren't a success. In November, 1920, the remains of Petliura's troops were defeated by the Red Army under the command of G.Kotovskiy and V.Primakov, and escaped to Poland. For a short period of time they used to organise raids to Ukraine, but after the Soviet government had addressed to the Polish government with a protest, the latter ordered to seize such activities.

Thus, the Ukrainian national liberation movement was defeated. The Soviet power was established on the most part of Ukraine. But during the years of the Civil war the Ukrainian economy was made to

decline. Lots of industrial enterprises were out of order, the transport system was ruined; the crops areas were reduced, and as a result the yielding capacity decreased. The majority of population was at the edge of extreme poverty. Bolsheviks saw the best way out of the crisis in reinforcement of the centralisation and carrying out military communism policy. The process of nationalisation was strengthened. In 1920 82% of the working class was engaged in national enterprises. The common working responsibility became established for men aged 18-45. Out of some military detachments they organised labour armies. The military regime was still kept in transport and industry.

On 5, February, 1920 the Land Law was passed. The lands of landlords were to be given to peasants, and so they had 96% of all the farming areas. On February 26, 1920 the Committee of Soviet people of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic signed the law of crops assessments. Cavalry detachment, Komsomol and party organisations were asked to make the peasants give the crops to the state. The aim of forming the Committees of poverty (1918 — in Russia, 1919 — in Ukraine) was the same. The agricultural reform (handing the lands out to peasants) reduced the number of poor people, and it became unproductive to rely only on them. That was why the leaders of the Communist party of bolsheviks in Ukraine started organising the committees of landowners as long as the Committees of the Rada. Those organisations consisted of poor and average peasants (the former poor ones, who received their lands from the Soviet power and thanked for it). The law about rules of functioning of the landowners committees was accepted on May 9, 1920. The committees were supposed to help the government to take the crops from farms. The committees became spotters, which pointed to the peasants worth visiting by the provision teams from big cities. For their job they got 25% of the confiscated crops. The carrying out of state policy caused the disunity among the peasants and made the class hostility stronger.

Thus, the political and economical situation in Ukraine in the 1920s was very complicated. The crisis was the result of severe battles on the territory of Ukraine during the Civil war and foreign intervention, which ruined the economy and exhausted people. In the course of

national liberation competitions Ukrainian People's Republic lost its independence and was subordinated to the Soviet Russia. The period of great socialistic changes began in Ukraine.

39. NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN THE WEST-UKRAINE

— *The Situation in the West-Ukraine After Austro-Hungary's Disintegration*

— *The Proclamation of the ZUNR*

— *The Fight Against Poland and Russia*

In conditions of defeat of the Austrian-German block in the World War I, Galicia resorted to measures to take power in case of disintegration of Austro-Hungary. At the end of September the Ukrainian military committee was created in Lviv. It began to form the armed detachments.

At the beginning of October 1918 political forces of Galicia started to form the new Ukrainian administration in case of power change. On October 18, 1918 the General meeting of political and public figures of Galicia and Bukovyna, where the UNR was elected, took place in Lviv. It proclaimed that Galicia, Lemkivshchyna the north-western Bukovyna and Transcarpathia had to become the Ukrainian state. The UNR appealed to the national minorities that lived on the territory with the suggestion to delegate their representatives. During the meeting it was decided to work out the democratic principles of the Constitution of the future Ukrainian state. Another very important problem came into question, namely, whether the West-Ukrainian lands needed to team up with the state of hetman P.Skoropadsky or not. This question was set aside, as the states of the Antanta in conditions of the crash of the Union of the Four gave to the people of Austria-Hungary the right of self-determination, and interpreted all Russians (where Above-Dnieper Ukraine entered) as unified people. A situation

of the West-Ukrainian lands was complicated by the fact that Poland was applying for them. On October 28, 1918 Poland formed the Liquidating commission which was supposed to liquidate the power of the Austrian establishments and create Polish administration. Knowing about it, the UNR obtained from the Austrian government the consent on the transmission of the power exactly to Ukrainians, not Poland. On that ground the military committee which leaned against Ukrainians in the Austrian troops, at night on November 1, 1918 all governmental houses and strategic points were occupied in Lviv. In reply to it Poland began the armed fight. The UNR appealed to P.Skoropadsky for military help, but the necessary help was not given through disputes between P.Skoropadsky and the leader of the opposition to the hetmanate — V.Vynnychenko (the last wanted to use the Sich Shooters for the armed revolt against a hetman, and didn't let the UNR use them, as P.Skoropadsky had offered. So, on November, 22 Ukrainian soldiers were forced to leave Lviv. After the events mentioned before, other neighbouring states heeded in Galicia, namely: Romania and Hungary. The Romanian troops took Bukovyna, and the Hungarian took Transcarpathia. However, the considerable part of the east Galicia remained under the control of the UNR. On its initiative, the West-Ukraine National Republic was proclaimed on November, 13, 1918 (the ZUNR). Ievhen Petrushevych was elected as the Chairman of the National Council, and the state Secretariat was headed by K.Levytsky. On January 22, 1919 the government of the ZUNR signed the Act of union with the UNR, but it had a declarative character. In addition, the government of the ZUNR appealed to world publicity with proclamation of the Polish aggressive ambitions towards the Ukrainian lands. It was the president of the USA — Wilson — who was informed about that personally. At the end of February, 1919 the Antanta sent a mission to the government of the ZUNR to start negotiations and try to make peace with Poland. Unfortunately, it revealed its complete misunderstanding as to relations between Galicia and Poland. It was immediately required to halt battling and to conduct a demarcation line between Poland and Galicia so that one third of Galicia, together with Lviv and Drohobych districts rich in oil, departed to Poland. Naturally,

the government of the ZUNR did not accept that proposition, and the war against Poland went on. Then, as a result of complaint of the government of the ZUNR, on April 4, 1919 the second mission was sent, offering a more favourable project of agreement, so the government of the ZUNR passed that project.

In April, 1919 General Gallier's well-equipped army arrived in Poland from France. The Antanta appointed it to fight only against bolshevists, but the Polish government used it against the Galicia army. On May 15, 1919 Poland launched an offensive on Galicia. The Ukrainian Galicia army (the UGA) was less numerous than the Polish army, so it had to step back. At the beginning of June, 1919 in the conditions of war-time the president Ie. Petrushevych was given the exceptional rights of a dictator. He managed to make order in troops and halted anarchy. On June 9, 1919 parts of the UGA launched an offensive. The UGA (25 thousand) operated successfully. Lots of peasants began to join it, and very soon the UGA increased over 15 million soldiers, but still Galicia could count only on its own forces. Though the UNR helped the ZUNR with two military detachments, a few artillery batteries, and considerable financial help), it was not enough. But it just couldn't have helped more than that, because it was carrying out its own "to be or not to be" struggle. However, the success of the UGA didn't last long. The Polish army picked up the thread of the offensive (with the huge support from France). Between July 16-18, 1919 the UGA was forced to cross the river Zbruch to team up with the troops of the UNR.

But the union between the two governments of the ZUNR and the UNR was impossible: there were lots of ideological reasons for barring them from uniting. The government of the UNR (the Directory) had a socialistic background and was ready to unite with the bolshevist government for compatible fight against Denikin. The government of the ZUNR was aimed to fight against Poland and the Soviet Russia and it was ready to cooperate with Denikin.

The UNR and the UGA armies together had 80 thousand soldiers. But the UGA (45 thousand) was better equipped, disciplined, military efficient. In August, 1919 the armies of the UNR and the ZUNR began

a general campaign against bolshevists. Thus, their actions were not successive through great disputes between the HQ of the Ukrainian armies.

As to the main direction of the offensive on bolshevists, the authority of the UGA suggested to launch an offensive on Odesa or to clean the coast of the Black sea and to get in touch with the Antanta, and it used its help in the fight against bolshevists. The authority of the UNR considered the liberation of Kyiv as the matter of the first and the main necessity. In the result of these disputes the compromise decision was made: to tread simultaneously on Odesa and on Kyiv, and in addition on Korosten to disguise from the attacks of bolshevists from the north. That was not a very clever decision, as it divided the forces. When bolshevists got to know about the offensive on Kyiv on the one side and the approach of Denikin from south on the other side, they left Kyiv without any fight on June 30, 1919. On August, 31 the Ukrainian command appointed the solemn entry of armies of the UNR and the ZUNR to Kyiv. But the planned event did not happen because Denikin's army entered Kyiv simultaneously with the incorporated Ukrainian troops. The military command of the UNR started arguing with Denikin and then began firing. Under such circumstances the leaders of the UGA were ready to negotiate with Denikin's men, but soon they forced them to sign the agreement according to which the Ukrainian troops had to abandon Kyiv. In August, 1919 A. Denikin appealed to the population of Little Russia (Ukraine), and called the Ukrainian national motion treacherous, intended to divide Russia. On September 22, 1919 A. Denikin ordered to begin battling against the army of the UNR. On September 24, 1919 the Directory, the president of the ZUNR Petrushevych and the ministers signed the declaration in which they called the Ukrainian people to fight against Denikin's army. Thus, Ukraine found itself between the three enemies: bolshevists, Denikin's men and Poland. The Antanta held Ukraine in blockade. Different sorts of rows began to appear among the representatives of the government of the ZUNR. There were epidemics among the soldiers of the Galicia army. On November 15, 1919 the Directory disintegrated. S.Petliura was made in charge of affairs. Meanwhile, bolshevists defeated Denikin's army and occupied Kyiv in the beginning of

December, 1919. The army of the Directory tried to make a partisan war (the so called winter hike), but that was not a success. Under such circumstances, in April, 1920 the Directory signed the Warsaw agreement. Poland agreed to recognize the independence of Ukraine, but the price Ukraine paid for that was high — the Eastern Galicia, Western Volyn, Holmshchyna, Pidliashshia, Polissia. So, the Directory united with Poland to fight against bolshevists together.

On April 25, 1920 the joined troops (150,000 of Polish soldiers and 15,000 of Ukrainians) launched an offensive against the Red Army. Suddenness let the joined troops, headed by Pilsudsky, occupy a vast territory. On May 7, 1920 they conquered Kyiv. But their success didn't last long. On June 5, 1920 bolshevists began a counterattack, and on 13, August they reached Warsaw. However, the Red Army couldn't do any more than that, as it was extremely exhausted. In October, 1920 a truce between Poland and Russia was signed, which fixed the West Ukraine as a constituent part of Poland. The last Ukrainian soldiers left the territory of Poland, being led by S.Petliura, continued to make raid to the Right-Bank Ukraine. But after a strong protest of the Soviet Russia, the Polish government barred such raids and disintegrated the last military detachments of the Directory.

Thus, after the Austrian-Hungarian empire had been disintegrated, the ZUNR was established on the territory of the West Ukraine. But some neighboring states wanted to occupy its lands. The ZUNR didn't manage to resist all of them and stopped its existence in 1920.

40. THE SOVIET UKRAINE IN THE PERIOD OF THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY (NEP)

- *Preconditions for the NEP Launching*
- *The Realization of the NEP*
- *The Formation of the Administrative-Command System Which Barred the NEP*

The Bolshevistic power was eventually established in Ukraine in

the 1920s. However, the internal situation of the country was rather complicated. The economy was hardly ever functioning, and the majority of the population accepted the Bolshevistic policy of the so-called “military communism” quite hostile. A manufacturer lost his interest in the results of his work, because all he got from the state for his work was a “packet of food”. The only thing a peasant got from the state was a life limit and some grain to sow. The rest of the wealth was arrogated by the state. As the result of such a policy lots of enterprises closed, sowing areas grew smaller, the number of cattle decreased. Compared to the state of economy in 1913, the gross output in industry was cut down to 31%, and in agriculture — to 60%. The country had only 2% of the pre-war level of the iron production, 3% of the production of sugar, and 5% of cotton fabric.

To overcome that crisis one should cancel the provisional assessment and the card distribution, and introduce free trade. The general labour duty should be also cancelled, and the system of the management ought to be decentralized. Bolshevists had to abolish the policy of the military communism under the pressure of real life. The transformation from the military communism to the new economic policy was determined not only by the necessity to overcome the crisis, but also by the ambition of the ruling party to reach its destination — to build the socialist society (after all the difficulties would be overcome). The concessions in favour of the NEP bourgeoisie were considered temporary. V.Lenin’s words “the socialist Russia will grow out from the Russia of the NEP” just proved that well.

Under such circumstances, in March 1921, the Tenth Regular Plenary Session of the Russian Communist Party of bolshevists was held. In the sphere of economics the plenary session issued the law to abolish the provisional assessment and to introduce the new economic policy (NEP).

On March 27, 1921 a very important decision was made during the session of the All-Ukraine Central Executive Committee. It was decided to replace the provisional assessment by a provisional tax. On March, 29 the government of Ukraine decreed about norms and taxation. But they failed to change the economic situation greatly. In

1921-1922 there was a period of hunger. The result of “military communism” policy was the ruined agricultural system of the country. Sowing areas grew 25% smaller, and collection of grain became 1/3 less. There was another disaster — a dreadful drought in 1921, which contributed to the awful situation in the country. Nearly 2-3 million people died of hunger in Ukraine.

However, it did not prevent the bolshevist government to sell abroad 13,5 million pounds of the Ukrainian corn in 1922. Later the export of the grain grew from year to year, and the money they got from it went to the Center (Moscow). But in the course of time that new policy began to give good results. In 1926 the general production reached a pre-war level. Though restoration process in the economy of Ukraine had a contradictory character. On the one hand, the Soviet state sent considerable facilities (over 50% of all the union investments) there, on the other hand — it concentrated labor intensive industries there, the reconstruction of which was being delayed up to 1928 (iron-ore, metallurgical, coal-mining). They supplied the referred industries of the Union.

On that basis the scientists-economists V.Dobrogayev and M. Volobuyev explored and described the phenomena, which, being the results of the new centralized policy, led into economic dependence of Ukraine from Moscow. V.Dobrogayev stated, (according to data of 1924-1927), that 20% of Ukrainian income had been sent to the all-union budget beyond retrieve — it was more than in the times of the Russian empire. M. Volobuiev in his article “On the Problem of the Ukrainian Economy” proved the fact, that Ukraine remained the colony of Russia.

As to agrarian transformations, they were completed in 1923. The peasants’ economies were multiplied due to squires’ and church lands. The property of peasants comprised 92% of the land fund of Ukraine. The peasants’ economies paid taxes differentially. Poor men — 1, 2% of income, average — 3, 5%, well-to-do — 5, 6%. Since 1924 peasants had been paying taxes by money. It allowed the state to get enough money to form stocks of grain by grain purchases.

In the middle of the 1920s the grain yield attained a pre-war

level, though it wasn't a patch on that in quality. Replacement of good squires' economies by state collective farms could not compensate the expenses. The state allotted favourable credits to the collective farms and state farms. 20 thousand tractors had been brought into the country from abroad by 1926. At the same time a private sector gave over 90% of all agricultural products. Moreover, 85% of peasant economies were joined in cooperative organizations. A single system of consumer cooperation was created in Ukraine by the decision of government on April 13, 1921. The state gave it a right to carry out the storage and sale of products. In October, 1921 another form of co-operation came into being — agricultural cooperation. It became the most widespread in Ukraine. Although the consumer cooperation (storage and sale) prevailed at the beginning of the 1920s, in the course of time the role of productive cooperation increased greatly (processing of agricultural product, tractor-mechanical service, land-reclamation, providing by sowing material, etc.).

The credit cooperation of peasants assisted the development of agriculture. The network of agricultural credit system was made, which consisted of Ukrainian peasants' bank, local branches and numerous credit organizations. Except for a credit cooperation, there was a specialized cooperation. The following societies were founded: "Plodospilka", "Dobrobut", "Cooptakh" etc. They were building processing enterprises, reconstructing the old ones. The products of "Cooptakh" and "Dobrobut" were even exported to the international market and were highly valued there.

Cooperation was widely spread in the countryside (agricultural cooperation). Industrial cooperation became popular since the beginning of industrialization.

At the end of the 1920s the fight between parties was finished. Those, who won, were the supporters of command-administrative methods of economy management. There was another attempt of communist assault. Bolshevist guidance proclaimed 1929 the year of "the great break". But in fact it was the turn back to the old, military-communistic methods of social life organization. That turn was accompanied by the deconstruction of the new economic policy and

the liquidation of the multi-structural economic system. The new economic policy with its freedom and diversity was self-regulated and based its principles on trade-money relations. Naturally, it didn't match to Stalin's model of social-economic system. It was because of that fact, Stalin proclaimed the Bolshevistic government didn't recognize the new economic policy. It happened when he was making his speech during the Marksist Agrarian Conference in 1929.

As the result of "the great break" the regime of Stalinism was established in the country. The totalitarian regime of the power was a system of extraordinary measures, abuses, political crimes, and mass repressions. It undermined the whole system of NEP. The totalitarian regime presumed the absolute regulation of the life of the whole society. The system of social and economic relations was completely subordinated to that of politics.

Thus, the Bolshevistic regime, having failed to carry out the social and economic experiment in conditions of the "military communism", had to try a new economic policy. The state grabbing policy towards a manufacturer was cancelled. The New Economic Policy (the NEP) held by the state helped to overcome the economic crisis — industry was reconstructed, agriculture exceeded the pre-war level of agricultural production. The life standards increased greatly. But at the end of the 1920s the new economic policy was barred, as it didn't match the Stalin's model of social and economic relations. It also contradicted the administrative command system headed by the Bolshevistic party.

41. THE CULTURAL RECONSTRUCTION IN UKRAINE IN THE 1920s

- *Education Issues*
- *Science Development*
- *Literature and Art Development*

Cultural development in Ukraine in soviet times was carried out in difficult terms. The majority of adult population couldn't read or

write. Evidently it was impossible to build a new society or a state under such circumstances, and bolshevists realized it well. The state desperately needed specialists, engineers, managers, who would share the communist ideology. The swinging majority of pre-revolution intelligentsia was hostile to the communist experiments, foreseeing its sad consequences. That is why bolshevists had to bring up its own “working-peasant intelligentsia”. Such intelligentsia would not be only safe for them but also thankful for the power that gave it an opportunity to go up in the world. There was another reason why bolshevists fought against the lack of education and illiteracy. The formation of a new view of the world in the society of a new type was supposed to be carried out by mass agitation. An important role was given to the press. It was a mighty lever in ideological work among the population, but the subject to the condition, when the population could read. All of those measures were disguised under concern and taking care of people, as if the government was giving them opportunity to develop in harmony. In 1921 the All-Ukraine special committee aimed at illiteracy elimination was formed. The state institutions also joined Komsomol, trade unions, cultural and educational organizations, as well as military units to this process. In 1923 the society “Get Rid of Illiteracy!” was created. As a result of those efforts till 1927 2mln people in Ukraine became literate.

Being under the influence of such a policy, society paid great attention to schools. They got a financial support not only from public organs but also from workers. Students’ parents repaired school buildings, refurnished classes, made new tools on their own cost.

A very difficult financial situation in the country at the beginning of the 1920-s, miserable salaries induced teachers to strike. Most of the teachers did not trust the new government. They even put up the question of school depolitisation. But the introduction of the NEP improved the situation, and the growing attention of the state to culture and education contributed to the collaboration of teachers with the new government.

In 1928-1929 the number of school students grew up to 2,6 million, though nearly one third of school-age children remained out of school. In Ukraine there were 351 Polish schools, 592 German, and

480 Jewish schools. Honouring the national interests was not incidental. Bolsheviks, coming to power, understood that imprudence in national problems can cause distribution of confrontation and even to result in the loss of certain territories. They already had an annoying experience with Poland, Finland, Baltic republics. For this reason, the Soviet government resorted to the policy of “rooting”. In Ukraine it was presented by ukrainisation. This policy dealt with preparation for the party-state machine the staff of Ukrainian nationality, as well as the introduction of new studies, the edition of books, newspapers and magazines in the mother tongue. In addition, the bolshevist mode took into account the fact that the east industrial districts were populated by the Russian proletarians mainly, and peasantry on 80% consisted of Ukrainians. Ukrainisation was supposed to bring the two classes (workers and peasants) together. The policy of ukrainisation was not the final goal, but just a means of reinforcing the basement of the “dictatorship of proletariat”.

By 1927, as a result of ukrainisation, 80% in all the schools in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic the teaching was conducted in the Ukrainian language. 2/3 of official documentation was carried out in Ukrainian. More than a half of all the books and magazines were published in Ukrainian language. Radio broadcasting and film-making were also in Ukrainian. However, starting from the middle of the 1920s the process of ukrainisation had been made slower, and at the beginning of the 1930s it was completely seized.

The position of the science was even more ambiguous and tense. In addition to the lack of money, there was a strong pressure on the professors from the government. But even under those unfavourable circumstances the science was still developing.

A number of technical institutes was founded. The physicists of the Ukrainian Technical Institute worked fruitfully in Kharkiv. Ponderable contribution in the fight against epidemics was made by scientists with the world famous names (M.F.Hamalia, D.K. Zabolotny).

The scales of works in the field of social science had been also broadened. Such historians as D. Bahaliy, M. Javorsky, M.Yavornytsky, M.Slabchenko, critics S.Yefremov, O.Biletsky,

economist K.Vobly worked really hard those years. In 1924 the historian M.Hrushevsky, whose works received the world recognition, got back from emigration. The same year he was chosen as the academician of the Academy of Science of Ukraine, and in 1929 as the academician of the Academy of Science of the USSR. A scientific potential of the republic was constantly growing. In 1928 3,7 thousand of scholars worked fruitfully in different scientific establishments. The government made efforts to put science under the Communist party and state control. In the 1920s there were lots of the so-called pogroms among researchers. Some of the scientific establishments were even closed, if in the government's opinion too many bourgeois professors were working there.

The achievements in literature became a noticeable phenomenon of the cultural life in Ukraine. The majority of literary works were filled with the spirit of revolutionary romanticism. The most creative authors of that time were P.Tychyna, V.Sosiura, M.Bazhan, V.Chumak, M.Rylsky and others. There were lots of works by writers, who participated personally in revolutionary transformations (M.Hvyliovyy "Woodcocks", "The Sanatorium Zone"; Y.Yanovsky "The Horse Riders"; O. Donchenko "Red Pysanka", H.Epik "In Autumn", "The Patrons of Art, "Without the Ground" etc.). Young writers tested their skills, and the state supported them, gave possibility to be printed in newspapers and magazines. But it determined the subject of publications. There were lots of literary associations in the 1920s: "Temper", "Plough", "New Generation", "Sapling", "Avant-Garde". In 1925 the "Free Academy of Proletarian Literature" (VAPLITE) was founded. P.Tychyna, V.Sosiura, M.Bazhan, Y. Yanovsky, O.Dovzhenko, P.Panch became the members of the academy. Y.Yalovy, a very famous writer of that time, was elected to be the president of the Academy. This organization was created to protect the literary men from the administrative-command interference and pressure.

In 1925 writers, originating from the west of Ukraine and who for various reasons found themselves on the territory of the Soviet Ukraine, created another union of writers "The Western Ukraine".

M.Irchan, I.Tkachuk, D. Zahul, I. Merezhany became the organization's members.

In 1925 a literary discussion on the problems of the Ukrainian literature development took place. Alongside the questions of creativity there was a political censorship, which later turned into accusations of some literary men, and M.Hvyliovy (Fitiliov) in particular. The reason for that was his slogan "Away from Moscow!". This was the appeal to Ukrainian writers not to copy the cultural heritage of the Russian literature, but to reveal Ukrainian national values in their works. Because of his slogan the writer was accused of nationalism and excluded from the VAPLITE in 1927. In 1928 this organization was dismissed according to the instruction of the Bolshevik government.

In the 1920s the artistic work became popular. Both amateur and professional groups were created and numerous cultural establishments were founded. In 1926 music enthusiasts at the head with V.Yablonsky founded the first Ukrainian symphonic band in Kyiv. Such composers as H.Veriovka, P.Kozytsky, L.Revutsky worked fruitfully. At the same time the theatre was rapidly developing. The works by L.Kurbas, H.Jura, O. Serdiuk, A.Buchma reformed the theatre.

The fine art was also developing. It was presented both by the artists of a senior generation (M.Boichuk, I.Jizhakevych, K.Trokhymenko) and the new style painters (V.Kasyan, A.Petrytsky). The first steps had been made by the Ukrainian cinematographic art. In 1927 the construction of the Kyiv film studio was started. O. Dovzhenko worked hard and rather fruitfully in the film making industry. In 1928 his famous movie "Zvenyhora" appeared.

However, what was really happening under the great pressure of the bolshevist mode upon the cultural life of the country. There was the substitution of the common human values by the class ones. That phenomenon resulted in the substitution of moral concepts by totally political ones, and finally ended in excessive ideologisation of art in general.

Thus, in the cultural life of Ukraine in the 1920s some very considerable changes took place. The soviet society managed to

overcome a mass illiteracy among the adult population. The number of schools grew considerably. The overwhelming majority of children were involved in the process of school study. The increase of the educational level of the population let the state solve the problem of personnel for the economy. The scientific potential of the republic was also growing. The numerous discoveries of the Ukrainian scientists contributed much to the world science. Remarkable achievements were made by writers and artists. Their works formed the consciousness of the new society. But, unfortunately, the cultural life of Ukraine found itself under the strong pressure of bolshevistic ideologisation. The government took repressive actions against the creative intelligentsia, which weakened greatly the potential of the republic.

42. THE INDUSTRIALISATION OF UKRAINE IN THE 1930s

- *Pre-Conditions for Industrialization*
- *The Implementation of the Policy of Industrialization*
- *Effects of Industrialization for Ukraine*

In the second half of the 1920s the bolshevist mode made a new attempt to pass to the forced communist building (the first attempt was in times of the “military communism”). An important role in the realization of the plans was assigned to the so-called “industrialization”. Its necessity was stipulated, firstly, by the technical backwardness of the soviet state; secondly, by the necessities of the defense (the USSR was in hostile surroundings and it was likely that the war against the bolshevist mode might break out); thirdly, the soviet government intended to liquidate quickly the multitude system of economy through the general industrialization (bolshevists considered that Soviet power didn’t have to be based on the wide-range state industry consisting of small-scale commodity); fourthly, the industrialization preceded some

social changes in the structure of the society (the growth of the number of worker—proletarians who supported bolshevists most of all).

Judging all of the above, the rate, methods and orientation of the industrialization were determined. The acceptance of the state plan “GOERLO” might be considered as the beginning of industrialization. It was approved in 1921 and it stipulated the creation of the industrial power base (because any enterprise being left without electric power would turn out of a means of production into a model). According to that plan, several power stations were built in Ukraine (Dniprohes, Zujevska, Shterivska, Lysychanska).

The policy of industrialization was reflected in conventional decisions of the bolshevist party and state resolutions. XIV All-the-Union Convention of the Communist Party of Bolsheviks in 1925 defined industrialization as the policy of state reconstruction. In 1927 at XV All-the-Union Convention of the Communist Party of Bolshevists the first five-year plan was passed. The plan foresaw the high rates of manufacturing. But afterwards Stalin corrected a plan in order to make a “jump to communism”. At the beginning the plan envisaged the mining of 53 million tons by the end of five-year-term, Stalin raised the requirements of the plan to 80 million tons of coal (in fact, people managed to mine only 45 million tons). The plan of iron casting reached 2 million 400 thousand tons, but Stalin increased that number to 6 million (in fact, only 4 million 302 thousand tons of cast iron had been smelt).

In 1930 the XI Congress of Bolshevists Communist Party of Ukraine took place. It was held under the motto of complete support of the Stalin’s program of the forced industrialization and optimistic assessments of industrial possibilities of Ukraine had been approved. The leaders of the Ukrainian Communist party agreed to the union plan according to which almost half of the country’s industrial production had to be given by Ukraine. Meanwhile, the industry of Ukraine was working on verge of its possibilities, which is why acceptance of such a plan contradicted to the real state of events; and led to the further misbalance of the economy. Any criticism of the plan was taken as

sabotage. And people who dared to criticize were taken to books. The most famous public political trials were: “The Mine Case”, “The Industrial Party Process” and many others. At the same time the rates of industrial building were striking. Several new giant factories were built in Ukraine: Zaporizhstal, Kryvorizhstal, Azovstal, Kharkiv tractor factory, the Luhansk locomotive plant was reconstructed, metallurgical factories in Makiivka, Alchevsk, Dnipropetrovsk, Dniprodzerzhynsk were modernized.

But the construction of the new enterprises as well as the reconstruction of the old ones were politically colored. All of the above took place in the form of the “socialist competition”. The most remarkable event was the so-called Stakhanov’s movement. On August 31, 1935 O. Stakhanov, working in the mine “Central Irmino” in Luhansk region, mined 102 tons of coal, which was 14,5 times more than a norm. But on February 1, 1936 M. Izotov, working in the mine “Kochegarka” in Horlivka, made an absolute record — 607 tons of coal. The Stakhanov’s movement spread into other industries which got also the name “the movement of innovators”. However, the record rates were used for the increase of productive norms. The enterprises that didn’t manage to fulfill the plans, “false records” were set, and accordingly “false stakhanovs” appeared.

Although, none of the first five-year plans had been executed in full, industrialization had made the great effect on Ukraine. It was exactly in the 1930s when the profound reorganization of the Ukrainian industry took place. Lots of changes had been observed in machine building, defense, and chemical industries. It was due to industrialization, that Ukraine became the second in Europe in iron casting, and the fourth in coal mining. In metal production Ukraine passed ahead such developed countries as France and Italy. The results were really prominent, but one should bear in mind that development of industry was based on the extensive methods of production and the use of imperfect out-of-date technique and technology.

Moreover, in the 1930s in the course of industrialization the great ecological disaster came into being, which later on had huge negative consequences for Ukrainian society. The labour peasantry felt all the

burden of industrialization. All kinds of new economy relations (the NEP) were folded up. The mass repressive actions, carried out by the government, inflicted the substantial losses of the population. The growth of a heavy industry production was actually halted.

Thus, industrialization was conditioned not only by the economical needs of the country but also by pure political interests of the bolshevist regime. In the nick of time the Soviet Union, together with Ukraine as a big part of it, turned into industrial highly developed country. But its industry was developing according to extensive management. All those economical achievements resulted in a chain of changes in the social structure of Ukrainian society. Industrialization made all labour people suffer much from highly exceeded plans.

43. VIOLENT COLLECTIVIZATION OF AGRICULTURE IN UKRAINE

- *Pre-Conditions for Collectivization*
- *Realization of Policy of Collectivization*
- *Consequences of Collectivization*

Collectivization was predefined by the conception of bolshevist doctrine of socialism construction, according to which communal property on capital goods and the means of production was supposed to form the main economic basis for a new state. A manufacturer who owned capital goods and means of production was dangerous for the bolshevist state, because he was economically independent, and consequently, politically independent of the state. A peasant was exactly that kind of a producer. A peasantry made over 90% in the social structure of Ukraine. So, peasantry was the most dangerous social class for bolshevists because it had the private property on land (the so-called remains). Bolshevist couldn't just take it away because it would result in a real war against the communist mode. So, Vladimir Lenin, the leader of bolshevists, made an attempt to join the peasantry

to the process of “cooperation”. It is well known that cooperation preceded the formation of labour collectives possessing collective property. Cooperative property was in fact collective property, which in its general form was a kind of state property. Thus, V.Lenin found the way to tame the peasantry. The state created favourable conditions for cooperative movement. The process of cooperation was presented in different forms: from very simple ones such as consumption storing to rather complicated ones such as agricultural artel. The difference was the matter of the degree of property generalization. After Lenin had died in 1924, J.Stalin became the head of bolshevists’ regime. Stalin in his specific manner converted the policy of cooperation into collectivization. According to Lenin’s model of socialistic transformation of village, collective farms were just one of cooperation forms. Stalin went further: he considered that collective farms, being subjected to the state, should be the leading form of property. Then it was much easier for the government to collect all taxes of 200-300 thousand collective farms than of 25-30 million private peasant economies.

Besides, one should take into consideration, that collectivization was carried out by bolshevists simultaneously with industrialization; and collectivized village had to provide industry with cheap human resources (former rich peasants deprived of their economies replenished working class). But at the same time collective farms should provide industrial centers with food.

An important precondition for collectivization was the fact that forcing industrialization sped up the process of converting peasantry into working class. In such a way the social basement of proletariat dictatorship was widening (in fact — the dictatorship of the bolshevist party). Bolshevists did their best to convert peasantry from enemy social class into ally of proletariat.

Another precondition for collectivization was the fact that it opened a way for liquidation of many-leveled economy. According to bolshevist doctrine this was one of the most important criteria of socialism.

In November 1929 the plenary meeting of Central Committee of All-Russian Communist Party of bolshevists (CC ACP (b)) took place. At this meeting a decision to start total collectivization was

made. And Ukraine happened to be in the focus of great attention. On the 5th of January, 1930 CC ACP (b) carried a resolution to fulfil the plan of total collectivization in Ukraine by the autumn of 1931 or the spring of 1932 as the latest. But S.Kosior, the first secretary of CC CP (b) of Ukraine, gave a task to Ukrainian communists to finish collectivization by the autumn of 1930. Some local party leaders, in order to exude, reported that they were ready to complete the task even faster than that.

In 1930 38% peasants' economies were collectivized in Ukraine, and in 1932 it was almost 70%. But the increasing number of collective farms had some negative influence on labour productiveness; the harvests of grain-growing diminished, the production of agricultural goods grew smaller. In addition, collective farms did not have the proper technical base. In 1931 in a number of collective farms in the south of Ukraine 20-40%, and sometimes and 50% of the harvest remained on the fields having not been collected. Such attitude toward labour from the side of peasantry became the form of passive protest against collectivization. At the beginning of the 1930s Ukraine annually lost the 120-150 million pounds of corn. Gross collection of corn in 1932 was 78% in comparison with 1929.

And one of the reasons for agriculture's decline was the fact that bolsheviks considered peasantry to be a conservative class. Government did its best to engage the class of workers in reconstruction of the village. Such policy violated the public relations between workers and peasantry.

Collectivization in Ukraine was accompanied by increasing mass terror. One of its forms was the policy of making wealthy farmers poor by depriving them of their private property. The first wave of that "anti-wealthy farmers" motion began in January, 1930 and lasted till the beginning of March. The motion spread over 76% districts of the Soviet Ukraine. All farmers, considered exceedingly rich, were called 'kulaks' and were driven out of their estate (farms), but within the territory of Ukraine. In the autumn, 1930 the second wave of 'anti-wealthy farmers' motion began. All the countrymen, who seemed to be too wealthy,

were sent out of the republic. More than one million peasants were “made poor” in such a way and removed from the country. The policy of “making poor” became the means of political pressure upon the peasantry, as everyone, who didn’t want to enter collective farms, was considered to be a “kulak”.

Collectivization actually returned village to the military communism methods of manufacture management and public life. There was an unequal exchange between a village and a city. A village became a cheap extra source to the state budget. A peasant was deprived of possibilities to dispose results of his labour. Money lost its purchasing power, and market came out of being.

The great famine of 1932-1933 became the result of collectivization. The direct reason for famine was the policy of forced “grain collection”. At first, the state forbade collective farms to trade the grain. Secondly, the state halted any crediting of peasants economies and began to demand the payment for the allotted credits before the appointed time. Thirdly, different goods were withdrawn from state and co-operative trade commodities. Fourthly, the government strengthened the repressive actions towards peasants. The Ukrainian leaders, trying to execute the “grain collection” task of Moscow, made new confiscation of food supplies. But the plan of 1932 was executed less, than on a half. So, Ukraine was stroke by the famine. The famine losses comprised more than 6 million people (according to the non-whole data). The artificially made famine was the result of Stalin’s criminal policy of genocide towards the Ukrainian people, the ill conception of socio-economic transformation of the village.

Thus, the bolshevist doctrine of village reconstruction became the precondition for collectivization based on the so-called “socialistic principles”. Collectivization was conducted by the forced methods with the wide involvement of the state repressive machine. The true result of such a policy was the destruction of Ukrainian agriculture, and also the multimillion losses of population after famine.

44. CULTURAL LIFE IN THE 1930s

- *Education Development*
- *The State of Science*
- *Literature Achievements and Losses*

In the 1930s the Soviet government paid a special attention to the liquidation of illiteracy. Official propaganda insisted on such a policy as the only way of all-sided development of a member of the socialistic society, and for subsequent development of democracy in general. But the true reason for such measures was the desire of the Bolshevistic government to reinforce its influence on people's consciousness. Naturally, that the blaster of such policy was not the aspiration of harmonious development of personality and the subsequent democracy of society. It was just a strong intention to subject people through the means of educational establishments, and mass media — newspapers, magazines, literature. Except for this political precondition of educational development, it was determined by the forced industrialization and collectivization, which needed well-educated specialists. The original technical intelligentsia was deleted by the bolshevist regime; so, it was necessary to create favourable conditions for a new one, made of workers and peasants. The new intelligentsia (yesterday's peasants and workers) was expected to be thankful to the Soviet power for the given opportunity to take a decent position in the society. The new intelligentsia was passing through "the liquidation of illiteracy clubs" and "the faculties of workers" and was absolutely dependent upon the state. In general, the educational program was successfully executed in Ukraine. The number of schools was annually multiplied, the quantity of students grew. The high rates of school development required the increase in the number of teachers. In 1932-1933 126 thousand of teachers worked in schools of the republic; in 1938-1939 there were 194 thousand of them. The number of students grew one million more. Thus, every third student received a secondary education. The further development of school education was restrained by the fact that almost one-third of the teachers themselves hadn't finished secondary schools.

Administrative power applied widely repressive measures in relation to the teachers: groundless dismissal from work, insufficient financial providing. In the 1930s the communist mode strengthened the policy of “russification” in Ukraine. Everywhere students studied Russian. They had made certain changes in Ukrainian grammar to make it more similar to Russian. The number of schools where students were taught in Russian grew constantly.

On the 5th of August, 1931 the decree about primary and secondary schools was issued by the Central Committee of the Soviet Union Communist Party (CC of SUCP (B)). The decree blamed the innovations at Soviet schools and commanded to get back to the old forms of work. From then CC of the Communist party (B) became a real supervisor in the educational field. All it was not incidental, because the communist regime wanted all educational establishments of the USSR to become its convenient instrument in the fight for world domination.

Considerable changes took place in the 1930s in higher education. Thus, if in 1929 there were 38 institutes opened in Ukraine and 29 thousand students studied there, then in 1939 there were 148 institutes with over 125 thousand students involved in studying. The system of research establishments was also growing. The physicists and mathematicians gained some very important results. In 1932 the scientist of one of the Ukrainian physical and technical institute realized the atomic fission first in the Soviet Union. Academicians L.Landay and O.Brodsky worked fruitfully in the field of nuclear fusion. The academician E.Paton contributed much to the process of electric welding. The Ukrainian scientists got the world recognition in such industries as biology, chemistry, blast-furnace production, plants and animal selection, rocket engineering etc. The Ukrainian scientists working in social sciences should also be mentioned. Among them there were M.Hrushevsky (“The History of Ukraine-Rus”), A. Krymsky (“The History of Hazars”), N. Polonska-Vasylenko (“The History of the Left-Bank Ukraine of the XVII-XVIII Centuries”).

In 1936 the History of Ukraine Institute was founded as a part of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. “The Essays on the Ukrainian History”, “The Ukrainian History in Documents and Materials” (2

volumes), “A Brief Course of the Ukrainian History” and many other works were written and published there.

A good deal well-known researchers were stamped as “wreckers”, “transmitters of bourgeois ideology”, “nationalists” etc. Among the victims of repression there were such prominent scientists as academician of geology N.Svitalsky, a geneticist I.Agol, a philosopher S.Semkivsky, historians M.Hrushevsky, I.Hermaize, M.Slabchenko, M.Yavorsky and many others. Despite such terrible conditions the Ukrainian scientists contributed much to the world science.

The characteristic feature of the social and political life of the 1930s reflected in literature. The communist party determined the subject of writer’s work under the supervision of cruel censorship by the state. The diapason of the subject was not wide. Bolshevist government approved the work of the artists describing either the heroic spirit of the revolution and the civil war or the labor heroism of the Soviet people. In 1932 the Union of writers of the Soviet Ukraine was founded. The communist regime constantly strengthened its pressure on writers. The search for nationalism and different perversions in writers’ work became the most important type of work for party censorship.

At the beginning of the 1930s some Ukrainian writers were arrested groundlessly. In 1933 the wave of arrests was renewed. Ostap Vyshnia was arrested. He was blamed for being a member of a non-existing “anti-revolutionary Ukrainian military organization”. Ostap Vyshnia spent 10 years in Stalin’s concentrative camps. In 1933 M.Hvyliovy committed a suicide. In 1934 H.Kosynka, D.Falkivsky, K.Bureviy, O.Vlazko were arrested and shot. From 1934 to 1938 more than half of members of the Union of Ukrainian writers were arrested. It should be said that not all writers could maintain the communist pressure. Trying to survive, some of them started to glorify Stalin and his surrounding.

The poetry by P. Tychyna, M. Rylsky, V. Sosiura, M. Bazhan, A. Malyshko became a prominent event in the literary life of Ukraine. Prosaic works by P. Panch, Y. Yanovsky, I. Le, Y. Smolych took the

decent position in Ukrainian literature. Ukrainian drama was added by the plays of O. Kornijchuk, M. Kulish, I. Mykytiuk.

So, by the end of 1930 there were over 220 scientific establishments in Ukraine. Illiteracy was liquidated. The system of education was greatly improved. It should be noted that Ukrainian scientists would have worked considerably more fruitfully if they had been out of the communist regime's dictatorship with its mass repression. Certainly, all those factors influenced negatively the Ukrainian literary process. Nevertheless, there were Ukrainian literature works that made a considerable contribution to the world culture.

45. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF STALIN'S TOTALITARIAN MODE IN UKRAINE IN THE 1930s

— *Changes of the Administrative and Social Structure of the Society*

— *Mass Terror*

— *Changes in Social and Political Life of the Ukrainian Republic*

The formation of the totalitarian mode was accompanied by changes in the administrative arrangement. Such changes were to provide the strengthening of the Soviet administration's influence. In 1923 the soviet power renamed districts and volosts into districts and regions. In 1925 the provinces were liquidated. There was the three-unit system of the territorial division and management (center, region, district).

In 1924 in the body of the USSR the Moldavian Autonomous Socialistic Soviet Republic was founded. Its formation, on the one hand, was artificial — as there were only 30% of Moldavians in Moldavia, and on the other hand — it was far-sighted, because in 1940 together with joining Bessarabia the Moldavian autonomous republic was turned into the union. Thus, the communist mode

preliminary planned to expand its territory (the formation of Carelo-Finnish Republic in 1940 was another proof of this policy).

In 1930 in order to simplify the administrative structure regions were liquidated, but the result was that the amount of districts increased (over 500). The management system became two-unit, though 1932 it again got back to three-unit (center, region, district), as such a division allowed a better control of the territory. In the middle of the 1930s the totalitarian communist mode was so strong, that it did not have any political competitors. The new waves of repressions swept throughout Ukraine. In 1934 the communist power brought the capital of Ukraine from Kharkiv to Kyiv, that gave more advantages to carry out the administrative guidance over the regions.

The changes took place not only in the administrative mode but also in the social structure of the society. Forced industrialization, carried out by extensive methods, in addition to the lack of mechanization and energy supplies, required a plenty of workers. Collectivization also contributed to those changes. Thousands of peasants escaped from a village, being afraid of collective farms or “making poor”. To a great extent they also filled up the class of workers. That is why it was not surprising, that from 1928 to 1940 the class of workers of Ukraine was multiplied 2,5 times and made its number to 4,5 million people. The majority of the working class was compiled by workers in the first generation — in fact, they were semi-workers and semipeasants. Usually, the qualifying level of such workers was low. Industrialization and collectivization contributed much into the process of lumpenisation, and this was on behalf of the bolshevist mode, because the Communist party leaned exactly on lumpens and had a social support from them. Except for a tendency on increasing the class of workers and diminishing the class of peasantry, there was a noticeable growth of amount of managers and clerks. And in such a way the command-bureaucratic machine grew. This tendency was very characteristic of the totalitarian state. From 1928 to 1940 the amount of managers and office workers grew 3,6 times. The majority of new intelligentsia appeared in this period, but mass repressions caused a lot of damages and inflicted the enormous losses of population. It should be noted that the repressions at the beginning of the 1930s were only a prelude to a frightful 1937.

The terrible crimes became possible because party members did not stand up in time for the defense of the unfairly accused people. Though the majority of the soviet elite did not share the idea of such policy, but considered for the best not to think about it and they did not interfere with the elimination of the old party members, the creators of revolution by the administrative and command system.

In Ukraine the people, who were fighting for the establishment of the Soviet power, died under the millstones of repressions. In 1935 U.Kotsiubynsky became one of the victims. He had been a party man since 1913, an active participant of the revolution in Petrograd in October 1917, one of the leaders of fight against the Central Rada, an organizer of Ukrainian Red Cossacks teams, the vice-chairman of the Council of national commissars. Following Stalin's instructions, in 1937 U.Kotsiubynsky was shot. That year the first secretary of CC of C.P. (b) F.Kviring was executed and a bit later Kh.Rakovsky, a former chairman of the Council of national commissars of Ukraine was arrested and got the lead. Stalin actually smashed the Central Committee of Communist Party of Ukraine. A lot of Komsomol workers of Ukraine were made redundant and subjected to repression, and the Central Committee of Komsomol was dissolved. The real pogrom was made among soldiers. A commander of Kyiv territorial department I.Yakira, a commander of Kharkiv territorial department I.Dubovy and others were arrested and shot. Hundreds of Ukrainian commanders and party workers were groundlessly subjected to repression. The apparatus of repression worked on the verge of its possibilities, prisons of Ukraine were overcrowded. The ditches in Bykivni (suburbs of Kyiv) were filled with corpses of people killed near Kyiv, in the Rutchenkov field of Donetsk, in the Sucha beam near Luhansk. In many other cities of Ukraine one could see a similar picture.

In the 1930s a departure from democratic principle in social and political life of Ukraine became typical. It was caused by a low level of political education of population and antihuman policy of the communist regime. Stalin's thesis about the sharpening of class struggle and the subsequent success of socialist construction became the political credo of the regime. This thesis made a ground for subsequent increase of repressions. The assets of propaganda and agitation tried to shape the

idea, that the socialistic way of life had advantages only, but they were not completely revealed, because of the efforts of “enemies of nation”. In that way the leaders avoided responsibility for miscalculations and crimes.

In December 5, 1936 a new Constitution of the USSR was passed. On its pattern constitutions of the union republics were made. The Constitution of the USSR was passed on January 30, 1937. All rights and responsibilities of the Union Republics were actually stored there. But there was a great difference between the constitution built on the principles of democracy and the real life of the society. Life proved that Constitution had only declarative character. Human rights were not actually guaranteed. On such conditions social passivity and indifference spread in society. And the regime strengthened the repressions. Pogroms were held among scholars, artists, the party workers. All Ukrainian schools, clubs and newspapers, situated out of the republic, were liquidated. In Ukraine educational, cultural establishments for national minorities were closing. When in 1938, M.Khrushchev became the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, he began the liquidation of national districts and increased the russification.

Thus, in the 1930s in Ukraine, which was a part of the USSR, Stalin established the totalitarian regime. The process of its setting was accompanied by the changes in the administrative system and social structure of society. Mass terror and contradictions in social and political life became a typical feature of the totalitarian regime.

46. WEST-UKRAINE AND GEOPOLITICAL INTERESTS OF THE USSR

- *West-Ukraine Land in the Structure of Nearby States*
- *World War II and West-Ukraine Joining the USSR*
- *Changes in Social and Economic Life*

After the World War I, in consequence of disintegration of the

Austria-Hungarian empire the West Ukrainian lands, which were not included into the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, were divided by nearby states. The North Bukovyna and lands near the Danube were seized by Romania, the Transcarpathia was enclosed to Czechoslovakia, but the majority of the West Ukrainian Lands turned out to be under the Polish power. In the early 1930s the relations between the USSR and west states were complicated. Poland intensified repressions against the West Ukraine population. Many Ukrainians were strolled in concentration camps and prisons. Simultaneously repressions began with reinforcement of the Polish pressure against communists of the Western Ukraine. The Leaders of the West-Ukraine Communist Party /WUCP/ were called to Kharkiv, here they were arrested, accused of betrayal and killed them.

On the Ukrainian territory, which turned out to be the constituent of Romania, Ukrainians were treated the same way. The Ukrainian national party was dismissed, there was forbidden the activity of students and even sport clubs.

The fate of the Western Ukraine population was really hard. In 1918 it was joined to Czechoslovakia. After the Munich agreement in 1938 Czechoslovakia was split. There was announced the formation of the Carpathian Ukraine on March 15 of 1939. The President was A. Voloshyn. The same day Hungary with the support of Germany occupied Transcarpathia, and the Carpathian Ukraine ceased to exist. The participants of national-liberation movement of the Transcarpathia had to escape abroad. The definite part of them came to London, others went to the USSR, where suppressing majority was subjected to repression. A. Voloshyn appeared in Prague. In 1945 after the liberation of Czechoslovakia from the German occupation the Soviet Intelligence Service arrested A. Voloshyn, dispatched him to Moscow, where he was murdered. The same year Transcarpathia, altered from Czechoslovakia to Soviet Ukraine, and the process of reunification of all Ukrainian lands was terminated.

Amongst many factors, which have brought to the World War II, the decisive matter had two diplomatic agreements, which had the direct influence upon the destiny of Ukrainians. On September 30,

1938 the Munich agreement was signed, according to which western states tried to pacify Hitler. They allowed him to divide Czechoslovakia, hoping that this would provide peace in Europe. But these expectations were vain. Germany was not going to abandon policy of expansion. The next Germany's victim had to become Poland. Hitler understood that attacking Poland could bring England and France to the war. That was how he decided to provide himself the rear in the east. Hitler's attempt to find the common language with Stalin succeeded. On August 23, 1939 the Soviet-German pact was signed. According to the secret protocol, executed to pact in addition, separation was expected by both states, on which Western Ukraine with other territories had to be included into the USSR. By this act the USSR gave Hitler a full liberty of actions regards Poland, and it led to the beginning of the World War II. Thereby, Germany and the Soviet Union had signed up the agreement, in which it was presumed the division of the sovereign state. Armed with this agreement, on the 1st September 1939 Hitler began the war with Poland.

From the first days of the war the front events evolved badly for Poland. The German troops advanced quickly towards the East. Under such circumstances, in accordance with the pact, the Soviet troops on September 17, 1939 crossed the Soviet-Polish border and entered the Western Ukraine. Soviet leaders created the Ukrainian Front, commanded by S. Tymoshenko. The Red Army quickly advanced onward. On September 17 Ternopil, Zbarazh, Rivne, Dubno were seized. The following day, the Soviet troops entered Lutsk, Stanislaw, Halych, Sarny. On September 22 they were in Lviv, on September 24 — in Drohobych. The march lasted for 12 days. Before September 29, 1939 the Soviet troops seized the territory over 190 thousand sq. km with population over 12 million people — in three weeks Poland ceased to exist. On September 28, 1939 Germany and the USSR signed up a new agreement “On Friendship and Borders”. The Soviet Union became Germany's ally. It provided Germany not only with the moral, but with the material support as well. The USSR delivered a strategic raw material to Germany. It was not only the supplier of its own bread, but it also imported rubber and zinc from England and

cotton from America to export them to Germany. Suppressing the majority of the Western Ukraine population excitedly received the Soviet warriors. They came out of subfields and actively comprised the making of the new organs of the Communist power. They did not know that in some time the Stalin's regime would repress the majority of them. The New power began its activity with forbid of all Ukrainian political parties and public movements. On October 22, 1939 the election of parliament members took place on the Western Ukrainian lands at Public Meeting. On October 26, 1939 the Public Meetings of the Western Ukraine started in Lviv. The Meeting proclaimed the determination of the Soviet authorities on the territory of the Western Ukraine and accepted the Declaration of admittance as the constituent of Ukraine. The Territory of the Western Ukraine was divided into 6 administrative areas: Lviv, Stanislav (later it was renamed to Ivano-Frankivsk), Volyn, Ternopil, Rivne and Drohobych, which in 1959 merged with the Lviv region. In June 1940, considering agreements with Germany, the Soviet Union ultimately required from Romania to give back Bessarabia and the North Bukovyna, as their language and history resembled the Ukrainian ones. Romania had to satisfy these requirements. After the Western Ukraine's joining to the USSR the changes in public and economic life began. The new power launched the forfeiture and sharing the facilities of production and properties, the private property was liquidated. There were expropriated over two thousand industrial enterprises, was over million hectares of land, great amount of live-stock impounded. The collective farms and MTS were created, distribution of habitation began, the network of cultural and educational institutions was enlarged. But it goes without saying that all changes, which occurred, were conducted to consolidate the new power.

The liquidation of old managerial system was accompanied by arrests, sending out from the country. The victims of Stalinism became representatives of intellectuals, former members of the government, public people and politicians. The new power broadly used deportation. The population of the Western Ukraine felt the effects of Stalin- Hitler collusion. No wonder that it was this place where the active rebellions

against the Soviet authorities began. This Fight was carried out under the direction of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists /OUN/.

Thereby, the Western Ukrainian lands in the 1930s were strewn and inhere in composition of nearby states. With the beginning of the World War II the Western Ukrainian lands were reunited in frames of the Soviet Ukraine. The economic, political and cultural life was elevated. But it was accompanied by mass repressions of innocent people. Stalin's totalitarian regime spread to the Western Ukraine.

47. UKRAINE BEFORE TRAGIC EVENTS OF 1941-1945

— *Social and Economic Life*

— *Ukraine's Contribution to Fortification of Defending Capacity of the USSR*

— *The Errors of the Soviet Power*

Social and economic position of Ukraine before invasion of Germany to the USSR was complex. There was a great impact of military-communist assault of the first five-year plans. The industrial production was misbalanced. The rolling mills were out of work due to the lack of metal supplies. The attempts to solve a problem by means of a cruel management did not give positive results. The mass arrests caused the disappearance of certificated engineers. All this worsened the situation

The economic problems in agriculture were not resolved. Sped industrialization, on the one hand, created the condition for ensuring the agriculture by technology, but on the other hand, forcing farmers to pay money for this technology worsened the position of collective farm peasantry. The collective farms had no distribution independence. This held up the initiative of peasantry, deprivation of its interests in results of its work. In addition, in 1939 collective farmers were deprived of a part of their garden areas.

Public and economic life of republic was inconsistent. On the one hand, there existed the improvement of financial state of working people: the salary and funds of public consumption increased. In 1935 card rationing system was abolished. The rates of construction of houses, schools, cultural, educational, medical institutions vastly increased.

With totalitarian regime a person was transformed into tool for achieving Communism's political interests. Certainly, military threat required the reinforcement of discipline. However, under these circumstances in the industry institutions there was provided practically a state of emergency. In 1940 enterprises shifted on a seven-day workweek, the workers were forbidden to leave their work place without permission. The severe punishment was expected for issuing shoddy product, thus, repressions increased.

Ukraine played a significant role in fortification of defense capacities of the USSR. The economic potential increased which supported the defense industry. So, coal mining in Ukraine from 69,1 million tons in 1937 went up to 83,8 million tons in 1940. The production of electric power for that time increased from 9,5 billion to 12,4 billion hours. The production of machine building increased 1,7 times. There was concentrated enormous amount of plants in Ukraine, the majority of which made the goods for defense purpose. Exactly Ukraine gave the most of special steels, which went for production of military goods.

It was significant that before the war there was a strong tendency of civil enterprises' transformation into the military industrial organizations. In 1940 there worked 163 research institutes and departments in Ukraine. There were renewed enterprises of transport, machine building, shipbuilding, enterprises of chemical industry etc. In the prewar years there were working scholars of the Institute of Electric Welding under E.Paton's supervision.

Before that agriculture set up the problem to create the strategic spares, products of power supply. To solve such a problem was not easy from 1937 to 1940 the manufacturing of tractors grew shorter three times (the plants had been occupied for producing on issue of tanks). And all on 1, January 1941 there was created the institute of Electronics with Y.Paton at the head. They developed the new way of

speedy automatic welding. This way was broadly used in aircraft, tank and machine-building industry. The important achievements were reached in the field of chemical sciences that render the assistance in production development of copper, potassium, sodium, anticorrosive covering, refined metals etc.

But taking care of reinforcement defense abilities of the country, Soviet government with Stalin at the head did many errors. Stalin's policy was inconsequential and destructive. So, on the one hand, Soviet diplomacy called to disarming and making the system to collective safety, but on the other hand, the Soviet government did not refuse from doctrine of inevitability of the world revolution, called to bring up hatred for the whole world that did not comply with socialist ideology. Besides, it's necessary to note that creation of "image of enemy" did not render any assistance to associate the democratic spectrum to collectively resist the fascist aggression.

The inconsequence of the Soviet government external policy deteriorated by signing Soviet-German agreements in 1939. From this time on the Soviet ideology started to consider the main arsonist of the new war the English-French imperialism. The short-sighted policy of the USSR's government was Germany's economic support, the assistance in fortification of military-industrial field. In addition, the rapprochement and cooperation in military deals took place, which allowed the Hitler's military regime to dispose a rather exact information on condition of the USSR's defending capacities.

There were severe errors of the Soviet government in military construction. Before the war due to mass repressions there were destroyed most skilled and educated kernels of the Red Army's command composition, which were able to undertake control over the troops in the case of war. The Soldierly regions disposed in Ukraine were literally devastated by repressions. Atmosphere of awe fear and mistrust was shaped amongst the higher command staff of the army. Here also follows the feebleness of the defense Chief of the USSR K. Voroshylov.

At the end of the 1930s — at the beginning of the 1940s, in connection with hange of the state borders the question of making the

new line of defense border arose. The construction of a new defense line was realized simultaneously with taking down of the old one. And it turned out that by destroying the old border, militaries did not have time to build the new line. The West borders remained without behooving protection.

Thereby, the pre-war situation in Ukrainian lands was tough, society was not able to solve many economic and social problems. The complex situation was aggravated by bloody Stalin terror. The big harm was inflicted by rough errors of the state government both in the field of internal and external policy. So by the time the war set off, the country was forceless.

48. THE STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCIST INVADERS IN UKRAINE IN 1941-1942

— *The Hold up of Germany on the USSR*

— *The Main Combat Actions*

— *Occupation Regime and Struggle Against It*

On June 22, 1941 Germany hit upon the USSR. Two totalitarian systems faced each other here, which commenced fight with each other up to the whole destruction. Germany made the attempt to realize its own old plans on liquidation of the Soviet Union. The General staff of Wehrmacht developed the detailed plan of war that got the code name “The Barbaross’s Plan”. The name derives from name of German king Fridrich Barbaross — “red-bearded” (he was known as the active fighter against Slavonic folk in the XII century). This plan provided a simultaneous attack of three armies: “North”, “Centre” and “South”. The German commander planned to quickly seize the most important centers of the Soviet Union and to finish the war till winter. Out of three German groups of armies the most numerous group was “South”. It was supposed to act exactly in Ukraine. Fighting, during which the Soviet troops had to be defended, turned round on enormous territory.

In the beginning of July 1941 German troops broke to Zhytomyr, but after its seizure it turned out to be at the distance of 20 km from Kyiv. And even though Soviet soldiers had superiority in composition and prevailed over the enemy in human resources twice, in tanks — five times, planes — 2,5 times, because they were not ready for the war, and had unskilled supervisors, they weren't able to stand the enemy's attack. In September 1941 the troops, which defended Kyiv, were frightened by German encirclement. It was necessary to withdraw troops immediately and leave Kyiv. Exactly with such a suggestion the Commander-in-Chief of the South-West direction turned to Stalin. He was given permission and had been ordered to hold Kyiv till the last breath. Such a stupidity cost much for the Soviet troops. Only 665 thousand of the Soviet soldiers and officers were captured. The staff of the South-West front, including the commander of front General M.Kyrponos, became encircled and perished.

For the first month of the war the Soviet troops lost around 1 million soldiers and officers, 3,5 thousand of planes, over 6 thousand of tanks, 9,5 thousand of cannons.

What were the reasons for the Soviet troops defeat? First, the Soviet government miscalculated in estimation of the war and political situation. Second, there was an overestimated importance of the Soviet-German agreements of 1939. Third, the absence of highly qualified staff in the Soviet army because of the mass repressions amongst militaries at the beginning of the war. Fourth, works on making the new line of defense at new borders were not completed, but the old one was destroyed. Fifth, the Soviet government did not conduct any mobilization of border parts, being afraid to provoke the hold up of Germany. Germany had the first-class experience of conducting wars. It had seized most of Europe and vastly had intensified its military and economic potential.

Having seized Kyiv, the German group of armies "South" approached Odesa. The Romanian army helped the German troops in this operation. The defense of Odesa lasted 73 days. Its protectors pressed seaward, and were to leave the city and were evacuated by sea on October 16th 1941. In autumn 1941 the heavy position was

formed for the Soviet troopers. At the beginning of winter the enemy had seized practically the whole Ukraine and approached Moscow. But the Soviet troops managed to defend Moscow, and this was the first defeat of German troopers at the beginning of the World War II. The Soviet government revalued the success under Moscow, considering that the fracture had come in war.

The Red Army was given the order to approach. However, the Soviet troops did not have the necessary material and technical base in provision and their actions were not successful. Moreover, attempt to begin approach in the region of Kharkiv on 12, May 1942 became the tragedy. The Soviet troops had fallen into encirclement, but attempts to tear the ring were in vain. There were captured 240 thousand of soldiers and officers of the Soviet army.

The defeats in Ukraine and the Crimea (surrender of Kerch in May and Sevastopol in June 1942) became the beginning of new failures of the Soviet troopers. By the end of June 1942 German troops had unfolded a new approach in the south. On July 22, 1942 the Soviet troops had left the town Sverdlovsk in Luhansk region. Since this time nearly the whole Ukraine was occupied by the enemy. On the occupied territory invaders installed the mode of blood terror. The territory of Ukraine was divided. The North Bukovyna and west areas were returned to Romania. The West areas with Poland were under General-governor's jurisdiction. But there was created Ukrainian Reich-Committee on the majority of republic lands. Kokh was at the head. The East front-line territory of Ukraine were under the authority of military command. With the purpose of seized lands' colonization, the German government made out scheme "East", which had been planned for 30 years. In accordance with this plan uniqueness of the German nation was proclaimed, Slavonic folk had to be destroyed or resettled on the other territory, but their land was subjected to the German colonization. This plan was carried out from the first days of the war. In occupied cities and villages there was curfew, for the smallest fault a person was punished to death. In Ukraine there was created enormous amount of concentration camps. Only in one of them, in region Babij Cliff (Kyiv suburb), for the years of occupation there were destroyed

220 thousand people. But cruelty of the “new order” did not destroy the high spirit of Ukrainians. Resistance movement was presented by different forms of struggle against invaders. The most wide-spread form became guerrilla motion. In 1942 there acted over 800 detachments of resistance in Ukraine. For co-ordination of actions of guerrilla troops in May 1942, there was created the Ukrainian staff of guerrilla motion, which was led by the general T.Strokach. The Guerrilla troops realized the deep roadsteads in the rear of enemy, destroyed its communications, destroyed human resources and technology. The guerrilla troops acted in Ukraine under the direction of S.Kovpak, M.Popudrenko, O.Saburov, O.Foedorov, I.Borovyk and others. At the end of 1942 the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) headed by Stepan Bandera organized a greater guerrilla power, initiated the Ukrainian Rebel Army (UPA). The army had spread its supervision on Volyn, Polissia, Galicia.

Much harm to invaders was inflicted by the underground organizations, which acted in cities and villages. The most known of them was the underground organization “The Young Guard” (Moloda Hvardia headed by V.Tretiakovich). It became known in the postwar period in the town of Krasnodon, Luhansk region. The participants of the underground organization acted bravely “Guerrilla Spark”. It was in the settle Krymky, Mykolaiv region. It was organized by the teacher of local school V.Morhunencko along with their own students of a senior age. The heroic fight against invaders was held underground members of town Stalino (now Donetsk) at the head with the teacher of history S.Matiokin. Active participation was demonstrated by the members of the underground at the head with Batiuk in town Nizhyn. The members of the underground conducted the fight in many populated places of Ukraine.

Thereby, hold up of Germany on the USSR brought out the World War II on Ukrainian lands. In the course of hard struggle the Soviet troops were dislodged from Ukraine, but on its territory they reined a cruel occupation regime. But the Ukrainian folk was not conquered by invaders, the Resistance movement grew stronger. The war gradually outgrew in the all-nation one.

49. LIBERATION OF UKRAINIAN LANDS FROM NAZI INVADERS

- *The Fight for the Left-Bank Ukraine and Donbas*
- *Decisive Fights for Ukraine's Liberation*
- *Beginning of Ukraine's Reconstruction*

The victory of the Soviet troops in July-August 1943 not only bolted the fundamental fracture in the war with Germany, and created the premises for sacking from invaders of the Left-Bank Ukraine. On December 18, 1942 the Soviet troops freed the first populated point of Ukraine — village Pivnivka of Luhansk area. The significant success was obtained by the troops of the Steep front on the Kharkiv direction. They surrounded the city with three sides and the assault began at night on August 23, 1943. So there was rescued one of the most important industrial centers of Ukraine. The troops of the Central front on September 21 freed Chernihiv. On September 23 the Soviet troops freed Poltava.

The cruel fight took place around Donbas. The German troops created a strong defense on the river Mius. The Soviet troops used the tactics of fire gross, on August 18 they torn the defense of enemy, but on September 22 Donbas was completely freed from Germans.

Having freed the Left-Bank Ukraine and Donbas, the Soviet troops in the second half of September 1943 left for the Dnieper. The Germans created here a strong defense. On September 21, 1943 the Soviet troops crossed through the south Kyiv direction in the area of Velyky Bukryn. Since that time the Soviet troops created a variety of staging areas on the right bank. The scheduled operation on liberation of Kyiv had to begin from coming of the Soviet troopers from Bukrynsky staging area exactly. But terrain of staging area did not allow to unfold a successful approach, then was flown to carry the main attack on the north Kyiv, near the Liutetsky staging area. This attack was unexpected for the enemy. At night on November 6, 1943 the fight turned round on the north fringes of Kyiv. At 4 a.m.

on November 6, 1943 the capital of Ukraine was dispensed from the enemy. The losses of the Soviet troopers were such that staff army funeral commands could not cope with work, and the local population was mobilized to help them. The Kyiv land was covered with dead bodies. To indemnify the loss in human resources, the Soviet Command had conducted the mobilization of 16-17-year lads and threw them, unarmed, to leading position of fight. The majority of them perished.

The general offense of the Soviet troopers began in December 1943 on the Right-Bank Ukraine. On January 8, 1944 Kyrovohrad was rescued. The encirclement and full destruction of Korsun-Shevchenko groups of German troopers had a crucial importance. The operation began on January 25, 1944, on the 28-th — the Soviet troops locked the ring of encirclement. There were 80 thousand of soldiers and officers of enemy. The Germans tried by any cost to get free from the encirclement, but all efforts were in vain. On February 17, 1944 the encircled group of enemy was destroyed. The Germans forfeited 55 thousand of killed and over 18 thousand of imprisoned.

The victory under the Korsun—Shevchenko group made new opportunities for the Soviet troops. In February-March 1944 Rivne, Lutsk, Vinnytsia, Proskuriv, Chernivtsi and many other places were dispensed from invaders. The Soviet troops crossed up the South Buh and the Dnister, on March 25, 1944 they left for state border with Romania. The combat actions were carried on its territory.

The Soviet troops successfully acted during the Kryvy Rih operation. There were rescued such cities as Kryvy Rih, Kherson, Mykolaiv, Odesa (March-April 1944). On April 8th, after long-lasting artillery and aircraft preparation, troops of the 4th Ukrainian front and Separate Seaside army had come in approach. On 31, April they took Simferopol. 9, May 1944 Sevastopol was rescued, that meant the Crimea's liberation.

The Red Army reached a new success during a total approach. Surrounding under Brody 8 detachments of the enemy, Soviet troops

freed Lviv on July 27, 1944. Terminating operation on liberation of Ukraine was Carpathian-Uzhhorod. On 27, October German troops were beaten out from Uzhhorod, that meant Transcarpathia's liberation.

The battle for Ukraine's liberation lasted for nearly two years. It was paid by incredible human losses. Only in the combats in the West Ukraine there perished 527 thousand of Soviet warriors. The enormous losses inflicted staying of invaders on the Ukrainian territory. They disordered over 16 thousand of enterprises, destroyed 714 cities and villages, over 28 thousand of villages, 10 million of the Ukrainian population remained without a shelter.

After the liberation of Ukrainian lands the country's reconstruction started. The main attention was paid to the renovation of the strategic areas in industry. At the end of the war over 50% of mines were functioning. In 1944 there was started a production of metal at metallurgical plants of Ukraine. The Dniprogas and other power stations' reconstruction was implemented successfully.

Countryside happened to be in the difficult position. The war almost completely destroyed the farm machinery. The main labor force in villages were women and teenagers. Exactly due to their diligent work in 1944 more than 76% pre-war area of sowings was mastered and the state plan of bread supply was even over fulfilled.

Follows to note that recovering of the facilities was realized in the conditions of unfinished war, which distracted the significant expends from people. The state, as always, relied on a labor enthusiasm of people. The usual phenomenon was extra over-time work, often with the use of workers own instruments.

Thereby, during 1943 the Soviet troops freed the Left-Bank Ukraine and Donbas. They tore the mighty German defense and took Kyiv. In 1944 the Red Army eliminated Germans from the Right-Bank Ukraine, the Crimea and Western Ukraine. The Ukrainian folk having totally freed its lands from invaders, began to recover the ruined facilities.

50. THE UKRAINIAN REPUBLIC'S ACTIVITIES ON THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA AFTER THE WORLD WAR II

- *Change of Ukraine's Borders*
- *Ukraine's Membership in the UN*
- *Establishing Foreign Relations*

When the World War II ended there were made conditions for Ukrainian lands development. In October 1944 the Soviet troops dispensed Transcarpathia from the Hungarian occupation. On the rescued territory in Mukachevo on November 26, 1944 the convention of members of Parliament of Transcarpathian Ukraine took place. The Convention came to the conclusion to reunite Transcarpathia with the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. The situation became complicated because these lands by the moment of Hungarian occupation, were included to Czechoslovakia, which was destroyed according to the Munich agreement in 1938. After Germany's allies defeat, Czechoslovakia was revived. Considering the new international circumstances, the government of Czechoslovakia helped people of Transcarpathia. On June 29, 1945 the USSR and Czechoslovakia signed the agreement, according to which Transcarpathia was included into the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. But the changes in Ukraine didn't stop. Stalin's "Redistribution of borders" with Poland caused the resettlement of population. It took place in 1944 and 1946. From Galicia and Volyn nearly millions of Poles were deported to Poland. At the same time Ukrainians from Posiannia, Lemkivshchyna and Holmshchyna, that were sent by Stalin to Poland, that was approximately 520 thousand of them. Ukrainians immigrated into the Soviet Ukraine. On the territory given to Poles in April-May 1947, the so-called operation "Visla" was organized by the USSR, Poland and Czechoslovakia troops. Its mission was to destroy the Ukrainian Rebellion Army (UPA). In the course of operations out from Poland to the Ukrainian territory there were deported 189 thousand Ukrainians to the western and northern lands,

which Poland got from Germany. The last change of the borders of Ukraine took place in January 1954. The Supreme Soviet Presidium gave the Crimean peninsula to Ukraine. This event terminated the long-lasting process of joining the ethnic Ukrainian lands in composition of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, making conditions for a further consolidation of the Ukrainian folk and growth of its national consciousness.

The Active participation of the Ukrainian folk in the mess of fascism vastly raised the international image of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. Considering these circumstances, in March 1944 the Soviet government took the resolution about reconstruction of foreign representation by Ukraine. On this base there was formed the Public Komissariat of foreign affairs of Ukraine with Manuilsky at the head. Ukraine began to actively participate on the international arena. It became one of the founders of “United Nations Organization” (the UN). The Ukrainian delegation zealously worked at elaboration of the UN Charter. Ukraine was elected a member of Economic and Social Council in the UN. In 1948 — 1949 Ukraine became the constant member of Safety Council of the UN.

In the 1950s the representatives of Ukraine worked in 16 international organizations, signed 60 international agreements and conventions. Diplomatic activity of the government of Ukraine turned to be growing of exchange with delegations of state, political and public figures of many countries of the world.

In the end of the 1940s till the beginning of the 1950s the international situation aggravated. It was a state of so-called “cold war”, which Stalin began against the countries of west democracy. The Soviet Union tried to create insolated from the whole world “socialistic encampment”, which would vein on its own laws. Stalin considered that democratic world without the USSR and countries of socialist encampment wouldn’t be able to develop, and exactly this would render the assistance to spreading socialism all over the world.

As the opposition to such a state policy the countries of west democracy created the military block NATO in 1949. The Soviet Union, as contrasted to these actions in cooperation with countries of

the Socialist encampment made the block “The Warsaw Agreement” in 1955. The main direction of the Soviet Union’s foreign relations was economic relations. The overseas trade dominated in such relations. Ukraine delivered exported coal, cast iron, products of machine building, raw material. In turn, Ukraine got the industrial equipment and subjects of consumer goods. The development of foreign relations was not only limited to such relationships. Exchange in science and culture was evolving. Though, in the first postwar years exchange of a scientific information, literature and delegations of scholars was limited. In the course of time these relationships grew, Ukrainian and foreign scientists began to elaborate joint projects. There was exchange in the field of culture, exhibitions of graphic art, films, creative groups, etc.

Thereby, after the World War II Ukrainian lands were gathered in borders of the united state, whose authority vastly increased on international arena. Ukraine actively participated in creation and activity of the United Nations Organization, spread their own relationships with foreign countries.

51. ON THE WAY OF PEACE MAKING (SECOND HALF OF THE 1940s — BEGINNING OF THE 1950s)

- *Restoration and Development of Industry*
- *Agriculture Development*
- *Changes in Life of Society*

After the four years of the most destructive World War II Ukrainian people faced the problem of economy’s restoration. Industrial production of Ukraine in 1945 made only 26 % of the level of 1940. 600 great Ukrainian industrial enterprises were evacuated, from which only 150 people came back. The Soviet state started restoration according to the fourth five-year perspective plan of development (1946-1950). It was based on the inherent feature of the totalitarian system — to dispose resources, not relying on people’s

desires and needs. The plan demanded to build up the destroyed regions, to achieve in industry and agriculture a pre-war level. Great resources were used for Donbas restoration. Almost all mines were flooded; there was no technical equipment, experienced workers. The miners worked on the surface all day and night, took out water, assorted blockages. German war-prisoners worked together with miners. On the whole, it was extorted 650 million cubic meters of water from the flooded mines. It was conditionally equaled to lake by the area of 70 square kms and depth of ten meters.

It is necessary to note, that the success of restoration depended on human resources. For the years of war the population of Ukraine was reduced to one third, and the number of capable of work people decreased even more. A great impact had a demobilization in republic of 2,2 million soldiers, returned 800 thousand of people which had been taken out for work to Germany. In a short term the enterprises had been built up and began to give production: Voroshylovhrad engine-building, Kharkiv tractor plant, Zaporizhzhia transformer and other factories. The size of industrial production in the 1950s objectively increased compared to the pre-war level.

Agriculture was in the difficult situation. There was absence of not only working power, but of a necessary technical equipment which was destroyed during the war period. It was necessary to harness cows in a plough, here and there people ploughed themselves. The livestock of cattle decreased. There were no experts. Collective farmers received an insignificant payment for hard work, and in addition peasants were deprived of freedom in movement as they had no passports. In 1945 Ukraine gave grain to the state for 40 % less than before the war. In 1946 there was a drought, the famine began which took away 800 thousand people. Famine of 1946-1947 had the objective and subjective reasons. To objective reasons it is necessary to attribute: 1) a drought of 1946; 2) reduction of owing areas for crops; 3) decline of material resources at collective farms, 4) a lack of experts and labor forces. It was caused by: 1) underestimation of agriculture potential by the Soviet government; 2) command-administrative system methods of management; 3) low productivity of collective farms manufacture;

4) the overestimated plans of grain yields; 5) great portion of agriculture production for export; 6) by means of the famine Stalin tried to suppress a growing national consciousness of Ukrainians.

It is necessary to specify, that the state made attempts to improve the financial base of agriculture. New samples of agricultural machinery let out factories “The Sickle and the Hammer” in Kharkiv, “Red Star” in Kyrovohrad, “October Revolution” plant in Odesa, etc. But, unfortunately, trying to strengthen collective-farm system, the state was guided not by interests of village, and only aspiration to increase delivery of agricultural production. Development of the economic initiative of peasants and productive forces was braked by constant infringement of a material interest, excessive centralization. In the process of Ukraine’s economy restoration the whole world experienced a crisis output. It began restoration in the following sequence:

1) stabilization of the national currency; 2) restoration of roads, ways of connection and communications; 3) agriculture, food and light industries development; 4) reconstruction and modernization of industry on the basis of progressive technologies and science.

The Soviet state, restoring economy, gave advantage to heavy industry, the majority of labor and forces were output Stalin’s theoretical dogmas about the advantage of scheduled socialist economy over capitalist. As for surpassing rates of development of industrial group it was absolutized “A” in relation to group “B”. And it meant, that the satisfaction of vital interests of workers was overshadowed. The war exhausted the Ukrainian society. People’s lives of the post-war period differed from everyday live in the wartime. Cities and villages of Ukraine were devastated, there was a lack of clothes, food; people lived in the underground houses. In fact, the wages of workers were twice lower in comparison to the pre-war time. And the overwhelming majority of people had been satisfied that seemingly endless war had finished but that war had taken away the most valuable thing — people’s lives. People lived with truthful hope in future and, didn’t pay attention to hard life conditions, They gradually adjusted to the conditions. In 1947 it was allowed to cancel a rationing system of food distribution. The same year 1947 currency reform in scale 1:10 was carried out that

was made to increase a purchasing capacity of rouble. The state, as usual, carried out the stabilization of rouble due to workers. Savings which people had were lost, and wages, pensions remained scanty.

Purchasing capacity of the majority of population was brought to nothing, and the state compelled to go on reduction of prices on definite goods. Nevertheless, the state did not overlook the moral encouragement of people to hard wearisome work. Different forms of socialist competition and innovations were supported. Party bodies emphasized all time, that the population should find out political consciousness and be proud of that possibility to live in the most democratic state of the world, in the state that represents the future of the mankind. The widespread phenomenon the state loan as bonds which was in fact imposed upon people. And if someone refused bonds, he was accused of political limitation, etc. The state didn't forget to cancel even scanty payments to front-line soldiers as fighting awards, and the great number of handicapped in war people found themselves in a miserable condition.

In order to survive the overwhelming majority of the population addressed to gorodnichestvo. Such phenomenon got distribution also among inhabitants of the cities. The main problem for the townspeople was accommodation. Above 10 million of Ukrainian people were left with no shelter. People by their own created building brigades and after work at the enterprises came for building works.

Certain financial aid to the population of Ukraine at this time was given by the international organization Administration of Help and Restoration of United Nations (UNRRA) that was founded in 1943. Ukraine received food supply, clothes, medicines for hundred millions dollars. In 1947 the USA offered the program of restoration and development of Europe after the World War II by granting the American economic help (the plan of Marshall). This question was considered at the Parisian peace conference of 1947, but the Soviet delegation rejected American help, having declined to that and to the states of the East and Central Europe which was under the influence of the USSR. Thus, the USSR undertook obligations to give help to the countries of the so-called national democracy in restoration of their economy.

Concerning Ukraine, it was not the independent state and a question about its participation in realization of the Marshall's plan was not discussed at all. All burden of restoration of the economy was put on shoulders of working people.

Thus, social and economic development of the Soviet Ukraine in the mid- 1940s — in the beginning of the 1950s was undergoing a stagnation period. Due to a hard work of Ukrainian people they managed to reconstruct industry and agriculture. There were certain positive changes in people's lives, but widely advertised democratization didn't get a further development.

52. THE POLITICAL AND CULTURAL LIFE IN UKRAINE IN THE LATE 1940s — IN THE EARLY 1950s

— *Inconsistent Character of a Public Life*

— *Difficulty and Achievements in Culture Development*

During the first post-war year people basically kept believing in light ideals, they dreamed of happy life. By then the Soviet authority didn't exhaust an attractive social potential. Certain part of population was involved in work of deputy councils. In 1946, 1947 and 1948 the first post-war elections took place in the country of Soviets. Elections were without alternative and had a formal character. Bright reflection of contradictions in a political life was fratricidal war of 1945-1950 in Western Ukraine. The Soviet authority, trying to destroy the UPA (the Ukrainian Rebellion Army), tried to deprive of its support on the part of people. With this purpose practice of eviction of local population to Siberia was widely applied. During this struggle half a billion people was lost. For discredit the guerrilla the Soviet army dressed in the uniform of the UPA and destroyed villages, killed peasants whom favorably concerned the Soviet authority. The innocent local population became the hostage in struggle of two political forces. The war

challenged not only a political situation, but also the international relations. For Ukraine such a position became complicated because of activity of one of Stalin's ally L.Kaganovich. He was considered among Stalin's henchmen the original expert on emergencies. Increase of national consciousness of Ukrainian people as winners in struggle against fascism, national-liberation competitions in the western lands caused anxiety of a totalitarian mode. And in addition, the regime demanded the Ukrainian bread, and M. Khrushchov failed the plan of grain yield. Stalin remembered L.Kaganovich's success in the struggle against the Ukrainian national movement in 1925-1927 when he was tacing in Ukraine on a post of the general secretary of Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine. The last motivation for L.Kaganovich's sending to Ukraine of 1947 was Stalin's desire to teach a good lesson to M.Khrushchov who seemed to puff up and became insufficiently obedient in relation to the center. Stalin on March 5, 1953 died and the hope for democratization appeared. The Stalin's henchman Minister of Internal Affairs L. Berija tried to bring to nothing such expectations. He was supported in Ukraine by then Minister of Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian Republic P.Meshyk. Conspirators tried to seize power and establish terrorist dictatorship. But they did not manage to do it. They were arrested and executed. The totalitarian mode was weakened. The reorganization of power management began in Ukraine. Such policy was widely advertised as expansion of the sovereign rights of republic though actually there was a strengthening of a command-management system. The advertised policy of democratization didn't receive a further development as it was incompatible with a bureaucratic control system. In the post-war period the further development took place in the cultural life of republic. The special attention was allocated to national education as for years of war the majority of school premises was destroyed. At the same time alongside with the restoration of a national economy during the early 1950s there were built 1300 of new schools for 400 thousand student's places in Ukraine. Simultaneously the problem of maintenance of school teachers was solved too. All that allowed proceeding to obligatory seven-year education in Ukraine. The work of universities in Kyiv,

Odesa, Kharkiv renewed. For the first time in Transcarpathia the university in Uzhhorod was founded. During the post-war period high schools of Ukraine prepared ten thousand experts. The Academy of Sciences of Ukraine restored its work.

At the same time Stalin and his incompetent henchmen braked science activities. Special activity under the forcing of suspiciousness and hysteria among creative intelligence noted the secretary of the Central Committee A. Zhdanov. Under his management the struggle campaign against many scientists, literature specialists and artists took place. “Zhdanovshchyna” in Ukraine appeared in ideological reprisals against the so-called “The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists”. The shattering criticism of new directions in science, the work of Historical Institute of Ukraine, the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, the creative unions, publishing newspapers and magazines had a negative influence in spiritual life of Ukrainian people.

But, without consideration of all difficulties, in the mid 1940s and early 1950s a number of stories appeared. They received a wide recognition. The main theme was the war and post-war restoration. Before they had been focused on the Communist party. Poets like Volodymyr Sosiura, Pavlo Tychyna worked in this direction. In prose there were writers Ostap Vyshnia (Hubenko), Yuriy Janovsky and others. Heroism of Ukrainian people in the struggle against enslavers became a leading theme in creativity of composers of K. Dankevych (opera “Bohdan Khmelnytsky”) and D. Klebanov (the symphony “Babij Cliff”).

These years the popularity of a theatrical art grew. Outstanding masters of stage were B. Hmyrya, N. Uzhvij, H. Yura, M. Romanova.

Three film studios in Kyiv, Odesa and Yalta were available. A lot of their films became milestones of the past epoch (“The Rural Teacher”, “The Pedagogical Poem”, “Spring on Zarechnaja Street”, etc.). Certainly, the Ukrainian literature and art were under the pressure during this period owing to efforts of totalitarian system. Among artistic intelligentsia there was a widespread political conjuncture, distortion of the truth of life, etc. The intelligentsia of this period was more adapted to the communistic mode, than in pre-war period. It was not able to

resist Stalin's tyranny. A quarter of a century's domination of totalitarianism gave the consequences.

Thus, in political and cultural life of Ukraine in the late 1940s — the early 1950s there were significant shifts. The Soviet authority by then didn't exhaust the social appeal, the Stalin's mode made everything if only to distribute communistic illusions in the society, actively involving intelligentsia which was to certain extent adapted to totalitarianism and carried out its orders.

53. ATTEMPT TO REALIZE THE NEW POLICY (THE MIDDLE OF THE 1950s — HALF OF THE 1960s)

- *First Steps of Destalinization*
- *Search for New Economic Methods of Managing*
- *Changes in Social and Cultural Life*

After Stalin's death on 5 March, 1953 up to the middle of the 1950s just a little changed in the social life of Ukraine. Stereotypes of a totalitarian regime continued to be kept. A big number of innocent people continued to be kept in concentration camps, and Ukraine was under dictatorship of the Moscow center. But it was inertia in dealing with the existing mode. The society stood on a threshold of a new time. The important event in the political life became the XX Congress of the Communist Party (on February 14th-25th, 1956). At the congress with the report on Stalin's cult of personality and its consequences the First Secretary of Central Committee of the Communist Party M. Khrushchov made a speech. This speech began the process of destalinization of the Soviet society. The liquidation of concentration camps began, the majority of internal army had been disbanded, the rehabilitation unfairly condemned was carried out. The new political direction was perceived ambiguously in Ukraine. The overwhelming majority of population was stunned with quantity of the information, the hope for change of a severe mode appeared in certain parts of

population. As for the party government of the republic — it didn't find out the initiative in stalinism's dismantle. At the same time with these events in Presidium of the Central Committee the oppositional group against M.Khrushchov began to be formed. It tried to replace him with posts of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. But it was not possible. In June, 1957 at the Plenum of the Central Committee the opposition was from the supervising of the party and the state. But in the course the new government began to walk away from democracy. It happened because M. Khrushchov had made a lot to overcome a cult of Stalin's personality, but he himself appeared in such a position. Formation of M.Hrushchov's cult was assisted with his nearest surrounding, the party's nomenclature.

In Khrushchov's times there were many attempts made to carry out reforms both in political and in economic lives of society. Among such reforms there was cancellation of bureaucratized ministries and sovnarkhoz founding which were territorially closer to work collectives, than the capital ministries in 1957. But with liquidation of the ministry centralization branch had been also destroyed, connections and relations between the enterprises had become torn, began chaos in planning as before the ministries completely supervised the areas. For overcoming the chaos caused by reform and restoration of connections between the enterprises and production associations, firms have started to be created. Sovnarkhoz started to be reduced to the middle of their quantity in the 1960s. As a result it was impossible to implement the reduction of administrative personnel, its number in the first half of the 1960s grew to 41 thousand people.

In the 1960s it became obvious, that it was necessary to refuse the stereotypes of pro-socialist economy and to be guided by the world experience. In 1963 a professor from Kharkiv- economist O.Liberman addressed M. Khrushchov with the letter in which he suggested to reject dogmatic Soviet economic doctrines and to pass to the tested world practice of principles of a material estimation person's results of work, self-financing of commodity-money relations. However, the professor had been accused of limitation of vision prospects of the Soviet economical prospects, M. Khrushchov more relied on his own

experience and the personal vision. At this time a special attention was paid to agriculture. It was necessary to immediately raise its productivity, as the population of cities quickly increased, the urbanization inured. In the early 1950s there was a constant lack of bread. The government instead of intensifying of agriculture, staked on its extensive development: increased areas for crops, accustomed virgin lands. Over 80 thousand skilled agricultural workers were sent to the virgin lands of Ukraine, a plenty of technical equipment was transported. Such a policy exhausted resources of Ukraine. It was unpromising as it did not solve food problem but only postponed it till a certain moment, as virgin lands with thin useful soil layer could not give high crops constantly, their facilities were quickly exhausted. Besides the state government assigned big hopes for increase in crops of corn, forcing collective farms to sow it everywhere. But also it didn't give desirable results to overcome difficulty in maintenance of the population with food supplies and it was not possible.

It should be mentioned the reform of 1958 due to which MTSs were liquidated, and the technical equipment was sold to collective farms. The state government considered that such a reform, first, would strengthen material resources of collective farms, and second, the state treasury would be filled up with money for the sold technical equipment. However the plan didn't work out, as collective farms got old technical equipment that couldn't be repaired because of the lack of corresponding base and the qualified machine operators. This technical equipment broke down quickly, and collective farms did not hasten to transfer money to the state for scrap metal which they received. Owing to such unreasoned policy agriculture could not achieve the planned boundaries. Evidently it testified a 7-year plan (1959-1965), the volume of total agricultural production increased in Ukraine only by 11% instead of 70 %.

Certainly, lag of agriculture negatively affected food and light industry growth and also standard of life of Ukrainian population. Difficulty with maintenance of people with food proved inefficiency of the collective-state-farm system. All this put propaganda of so-called advantages of the Soviet order under doubt. At the same time it is

necessary to note, that during that period well-being of a certain part of the population improved. The wages of workers rose. Since 1958 the release of the state loans which was compulsory distributed among the population was stopped. In 1961 currency reform in scale 1:10 was carried out. It had increased purchasing capacity of rouble. The prices on the consumer goods were reduced. In the early 1960s public funds that supplied pensions, grants, and other help were twice increased. The important achievement in social problems solvement became housing construction. Such high rates of building of accommodation the Soviet state had never had before. Only for years of a 7-year plan (1959-1965) the accommodation fund in the country increased to 40 %.

In Khrushchov's period there were significant shifts in cultural life of society as well. Destalinization was accompanied by a growth of political and national consciousness of the Ukrainian society. Interest to the western culture increased. There were significant achievements in literature where zealously worked M.Rylsky, V.Sosiura, A.Malyshko, O.Honchar, M.Stelmakh. Young talented writers also declared about themselves: H.Tiutiunnyk, D.Pavlychko, L.Kostenko, I.Drach, V.Symonenko.

Dissident movement arose in Ukraine in the mid-1950s as a form of protest against actions of the party-state mode, against infringement of the constitution. The creation if the Ukrainian Workers and Peasents Union became an outstanding event in dissident movement in 1959. The author of its program was L.Lukjanenko. The union called for Ukraine's leaving the USSR. In 1961 the members of the union were arrested and condemned. In 1963 scientific conference was carried out at Kyiv University covering the questions of Ukrainian culture and language. During this time the "self-printed issues" published about the political and philosophical phenomena of that period The authority examined such editions, and people involved in this matter, were punished. Thus, conference turned to a public forum against prosecution of the Ukrainian language. First adherents of the idea of Ukraine's restoration made multiple copies of L.Kostenko's, V.Symonenko's poetic works on typewriters.

Thus, in the mid- 1950s — early 1960s attempt to realize a new policy was taken in Ukraine. It took place due to essential changes in public life. But the started reforms were not supported with political transformations and brought to nothing. Attempt to carry out reforms met a strong resistance on the part of the Soviet bureaucracy as reforms threatened its domination over people and their personal privileges. At the same time even under conditions of the limited democratization in a public and cultural life there were essential shifts: dissident movement inured, the national consciousness of Ukrainian people grew.

54. CRISIS ESCALATION IN SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND CULTURAL LIFE OF UKRAINE (SECOND HALF OF THE 1960s — MIDDLE OF THE 1980s)

- *Social and Economic Problems of the Ukrainian Society*
- *Social and Political Life of the Republic*
- *Culture Issues*

In the late 1960s the Soviet government made an attempt to reform economy. The essence of reforms was reduced to cancellation of total system of the work account of the enterprises and introduction of self-financing. The enterprises received the right to spend up to 40% of the profit for own needs. But reforms faced a very strong resistance on the part of party-economic bureaucracy, which insisted on coming back from sovnarkhoz to the ministries with their centralized power. There was a practice of the major republican ministries' transformation into the union-republican ones. As a result of such policy about 95 % of the industrial enterprises got under the union control.

The agriculture had faced significant difficulties. Despite huge means which were put by the state in this area, the feedback was insignificant. In agriculture there was usually a low productivity, big losses of crop were in its yielding, transportation and storing. The state

was compelled to import grain. And this was under conditions, that the economic loading on the ground 3-4 times exceeded loading in Germany, Japan. Agricultural soils in Ukraine occupied 70 % of its territory. Ukraine produced 25 % of total production of agricultural goods of the whole Soviet Union. The present disaster for agriculture was wind and water erosion. Intensive development of deposits operation of the grounds under construction rendered a big harm, inept land improvement, etc. From 1965 to 1985 areas under crops had decreased for more than one million hectares in Ukraine.

Social sphere was in a deep decline. The difficult and unbalanced work, absence of corresponding household and cultural conditions deepened a social problem in countryside. During 1966-1985 the countryside population was reduced to a quarter, hundreds of villages became deserted. The main reason for decline of villages was alienation from the ground of the peasant which did not want to work for granted.

During this period the standard of life in Ukraine, remained low, but even that level which the society had, had been achieved due to sale of national natural resources — oil, wood, coal, minerals. Social sphere was financed by a residual principle.

Escalation of the crisis phenomena in social and economic life led to deep deformations in political sphere. The usual phenomenon at that time became ignoring democracy on the part of the nomenclature, absence at the state government of resoluteness in practical affairs and growth of self-calmness and apathy in society. L. Brezhnev was at the head of the party for that moment. Having come to power in 1964, he actively dealt with the state problems, but eventually the indifference constantly began to dominate over his behavior. L. Brezhnev began to admire his own honors and entertainments, and toward the end he had absolutely run in leaderism as the nearest surrounding made him do it.

L. Brezhnev's leadership became the reason for cults emerge at local levels. The Central Committee of Ukrainian Communist Party was headed P. Shelest by then. He was cruel towards subordinates, ambitious P. Shelest was a supporter of Brezhnev's system in Ukraine for a long time, but he had overestimated his own role in it. In 1972 he was dismissed, having been accused of the Ukrainian nationalism.

His book “Our Soviet Ukraine” was subjected to criticism, in which Ukrainian history seemed to be idealized. The first secretary of the Central Committee became V. Shcherbytsky. He became one of the nearest henchmen of L. Brezhnev. V. Shcherbytsky was caught for active actions in the all-union command-management system which actively put into practice the idea of “merge of the nations” which tried to supersede the Ukrainian language and culture from all spheres of public life.

In 1972 the Central Committee of the Communist Party passed the resolution aimed at the amplification of the Russian language studying, and in 1983 teachers of Russian at schools of Ukraine got a raised salary, they received the status of the greatest assistance. During this period the definition “Ukrainian nation” was out of the usage. Significant event in political life of society was adoption on October 7, 1977 of the new Constitution of the USSR, and on April 20, 1978 the new Ukrainian Constitution was passed which copied the All-Soviet Union Constitution. The new Constitution had a declarative character; its contents contradicted the real life. The Constitution proclaimed the citizens’ right for freedom of speech, but there was a severe state censorship for real, there was proclaimed the right for habitation and no one had it. Achievements of the Soviet society were not that reality, but the consequences of demagogical propaganda. At that time an aggravation of ecological conditions began: lack of fresh water, air pools of cities and industrial centers became soiled, the vegetative and animal empire was reduced.

During this period significant shifts took place in cultural life of the Ukrainian society. Still in the 1950s under the influence of Khrushchov’s “thawing weather” the Ukrainian dissident movement had arisen. This movement’s papers were distributed by “self-made issues”. In the 1960s dissident movement got the further increase. On the arena of struggle there came a new generation of the Ukrainian intellectuals who were called “60s-years-livers” (“shistdesiatnyky”). They struggled against prevailing political system, supported the true universal cultural values, the political right, national freedom. Among “60s-years-livers” writers there were I. Svitlychny, I. Dziuba, L. Kostenko, V. Symonenko,

I.Drach, lawyer L.Lukjanenko, publicists V.Moroz, V.Chornovil, artists A.Horska, P.Zalyvakha. The authority started the repressions from them, many had been arrested, others had been sent out from Ukraine.

In the 1960s a new form of struggle for national, political and cultural rights started the Resistance movement. Its participants used basically legal methods of struggle: petitions, protests, demonstrations. The basic participants of movement were young intellectuals. V.Symonenko's poetry received a special feedback; an essay "Internationalism or Russification?" by I.Dziuba; "Disaster from Mind" by V. Chornovil; "The Report from Reserve Zone of Beria" by V.Moroz, etc.

The underground organizations were a basic form of resistance to communistic mode. Some organizations arose in the Western Ukraine in the late 1950s. The most famous of them became "The Ukrainian Workers and Farmers Union" (1958) led by L.Lukjanenko. An overall goal of the Union was independence of Ukraine and gain of democratic rights. Members of the Union counted a necessary output of Ukraine from the USSR. In 1961 members of the Union were arrested and punished. But, despite reprisals, the dissident movement lived. During 1970-1974 there was a censorship journal "Ukrainian Bulletin" which informed readers on reprisals of authority against Resistance movement.

In 1972 the second big wave of arrests swept all round Ukraine. The important event in the struggle for human rights became the foundation of "The Ukrainian Helsinki Group" on November 9, 1976 which was headed by the writer M.Rudenko. The group had a purpose to acquaint the Ukrainian society with the UN's Declaration of human rights. Members of group collected proofs of infringement of national freedom in Ukraine. Arrests and trials took place in 1977-1978 over the participants of right-defending movements, however it didn't stop struggle for human rights and national independence of Ukraine.

By the way, the communistic mode actively searched for new ways of the further influence on the Ukrainian society and in particular on young generation. Not surprisingly, that the Soviet authority tried to subordinate completely to itself not only youth political movements, and schools. Being proud of official statistics which testified that new

schools are annually opened in Ukraine, the fact of disappearance of schools with the Ukrainian language of training was ignored. In republic there was a directed process of the Ukrainian school's russification. It was supported not only ideologically but financially as well (teachers of Russian since 1983 received bigger wages, than colleagues of other disciplines at national schools). In addition russification captured preschool establishments, high schools, official bodies. In the 1970s years the school began to lose the best positions gradually. It was under conditions if the state proclaimed the main task to train labor workers. A formalism and over-idealization at school inured more and more. And contrary to bureaucratic obstacles teachers-innovators like V.Sukhomlynsky, V.Shatalov, M.Shchetinin and others improved training technique, brought up the best human qualities youth.

Essential shifts took place in system of vocational training. Every year the quantity of schools grew. From 1971 technical training colleges began to receive the status of secondary schools; their importance in the general structure eventually grew. And though graduates of such schools received secondary education together with a trade, the general level of their knowledge was not as qualitative as the school sent in the technical school poorly prepared students and "difficult" teenagers.

The state paid attention to such areas as vocational and higher education. From 1965 to 1985 the number of experts with an average special education increased from about 1,4 million up to 3,6 million, and with the maximum about 0,9 million up to 2,7 million people.

Nevertheless, the higher school had drawbacks. Quality of development was low, therefore, there were lacks of experts training, in particular at correspondence and evening departments. The system of reception in high schools also had defects. Grading students by wrong class principle had led to the fact that talented youth, which was outside of the class order, could not study in higher educational establishments. Trying to solve the enlightenment problems, in 1984 the state started the reform of a secondary school. But, unfortunately, reform basically was directed on expansion of an educational network. It didn't solve problems of democratization of a school issue, and in addition reform was poorly supported financially.

The Ukrainian science was in difficult conditions. There were many non-authorized problems, gaps which were caused by delay of fundamental achievements of science. Scientists did not find support at the top government of republic; cautions of scientists about an erroneous choice of a place for construction of the Chornobyl atomic power station were not taken into account. For their beliefs some scientists fell under reprisals. Thus, Candidate of Technology Sciences B.Bolotov had been condemned for his public statements against the communistic dictatorship for 8 years. A scientific philosopher E.Proniuk spent 12 years in prisons for the belief. The scholar of the Institute of Philosophy V.Lisovy had been accused of his political convictions to five years of conceptation camps. The official authority tried to oppose aspiration of scientific world deeply and to investigate objectively the public phenomena, the order which was reduced to pseudoscientific commenting decisions of the supreme party and state bodies and ideology of advantages of the Soviet way of life “.

But also then historical works were prepared among which there was the 26-volume “History of Cities and Villages of the Ukrainian Republic” deserves a significant attention.

Non-standard approaches to illumination of the Ukrainian history were shown by O.Apanovych, M.Braichevsky, Ia.Dzyra, O.Kompan and others.

A usual phenomenon in art was a policy of interdictions. The authority allowed and even made advances of illumination in literature and art of theme of class struggle, industrial subjects, and heroism of Soviet people during the war. But even in such conditions many novels which had got a wide recognition were created. Among them O.Honchar’s novels “The Cathedral”, “Cyclone”, “Ship”; M.Stelmakh’s “The Thought about You”, “Four Fords”, I.Drach’s, B.Olijnyk’s, D.Pavlychko’s innovative poetry type. At the same time the authority defined I.Dziuba’s, I.Svitlychny’s, E.Sverstiuk’s creative works as harmful and dangerous. Some writers did not sustain severe prosecutions and committed a suicide H.Tiutiunyk died in 1980, V.Blyznets — in 1987.

Under pressure of a communistic mode art was politized. Artists

were accustomed to think not in artistic images, but in ideological dogmas. Certainly, it deformed art.

Thus, in the second half of the 1960s — first half of the 1980s the Ukrainian society was up to deep crisis. Unsuccessful attempts of economic reforms even more complicated the situation. Economic difficulties went through a deep stagnation in a political life. Problems in sphere of culture and spirituality became aggravated.

55. UKRAINE ON THE WAY TO FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE

- *Democratization of Social and Political Life*
- *Growth of National Consciousness*
- *Declaration of the Sovereignty of Ukraine*

The deepening of economic crisis made the Soviet power noncompetitive in the world, its authority had failed. For a new political government of the USSR which was headed in March 1985 by M.Gorbachev it became obvious, that it was necessary to finish with utopian social and economic experiment. With coming to power of new political forces the hope for overthrow of the existing totalitarian order came to life. In the Ukrainian society there were preconditions or the use of the Ukrainian language, national revival, and achievement of independence. The policy of reorganization was accompanied by democratization of political life. In labor collectives people which stated claims to those heads who did not justify their trust have appeared. Under the pressure of public in some areas of Ukraine obkom secretaries had been dismissed from posts and some heads of official bodies, of the enterprises. In September, 1989 the secretary of the Central Committee Shcherbytsky got a retirement. The important event in a political life became elections of People's Deputies (members of Supreme Council) of the USSR to 1989. These elections were practically the first which were carried out on an alternative basis. The

form of the social protest on the part of the population became non-electing People's Deputies of the USSR of a significant amount of secretaries of the Communist party, heads of executive committees, councils of People's Deputies.

The attribute of democratization was occurrence of plenty of public organizations and associations. In September 1989 under the initiative of Kyiv there was organized the "Writers' Union of the Ukrainian Institute" of the literature socially political organization. National movement of Ukraine acted for reorganization, "The Rukh" (National Movement) had been created. "The Rukh" had acted as the organizer of many mass actions directed on revival of the sovereignty of Ukraine, elimination of mode of communist party, an establishment of democracy, an establishment of market relations. In 1992 "The Rukh" had broken up. One part of "The Rukh" considered that, it is necessary to support reforms of activity of the President of Ukraine, and another part estimated its actions as insufficient in conditions of that time and tried to create opposition to the President. Understanding necessity of the common actions, "The Rukh" went to the conciliatory proposals. III congress of "The Rukh" (1992) selected three co-chairmen M. Horyn, I. Drach, V. Chornovil.

In October 1989 the creation of ecological association "Green World" which was headed by writer J. Shcherbak was proclaimed. The same year the historical-educational society "Memorial", at the head with L. Taniuk was formed. On a wave of democratization there were many other public organizations: "The Union of Independent Ukrainian Youth"; "The Ukrainian Students' Union"; "The Society of the Ukrainian Language" which was reorganized into All-Ukraine society "Prosvita" later.

Delimitation of political forces was accompanied by creation of new political parties, as a rule, alternative to Communistic, among them there was Ukrainian Republican Party. Its first chairman became L. Lukjanenko. In May 1992 from this Party was formed the radical wing at the head with S. Khmara. Simultaneously there emerged Party of Democratic Revival of Ukraine, Democratic Party of Ukraine, the Ukrainian Countryside Democratic Party, Social-Democratic Party,

etc. In 1992 a number of political parties together with business circles based the association of democratic forces “New Ukraine”.

High political activity of the population was shown with elections to the Supreme Rada of the Ukrainian SSR and the local Members of Councils in 1990. The members of councils were considerably renewed. And in three West Ukraine areas — Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk and Ternopil there came to authority the new political forces. Political conditions in republic became complicated. A lot of parties and movements declared the negative attitude to the Communist party.

Democratization of political life assisted increase of national consciousness of Ukrainian people, rise of role of the Ukrainian language in a spiritual life. In 1989 was based the republican society of the Ukrainian language named after T. Shevchenko. It was headed by D.Pavlychko. In 1991 it was renamed in “All-Ukraine Society “Prosvita” It was headed by P. Movchan.

An important event took place during national revival. It was the adoption of law “On Languages in the Ukrainian Republic “(1989). The law proclaimed the Ukrainian language as the all-republic language. At the same time it provided conditions for development and use of minorities languages.

The adoption of the law on languages coincided with the process of folding of new political atmosphere. Under these conditions close connections with the Ukrainian cultural and educational societies in other states began to be adjusted. The important event in this direction became the creation of “The International Association of Ukraine’s Scholars” in 1989. In current there was opening of the International Management Institute in Kyiv in 1990. The initiator of its creation was a well-known scientist, the native Ukrainian professor P. Havrylyshyn. Ukrainians, which lived in the USA, organized “The Fund of Support of Chernobyl’s Children”; there was based “Taras Shevchenko’s Society of the Ukrainian language”, there was cooperation with the World Congress of free Ukrainians, Committee of Ukrainians in Canada, League of American Ukrainians of a great value for national Ukrainian revival was the First Congress of International Ukrainians associations was held in Kyiv (September, 1990). There arrived over

300 scholars from 23 countries of the world. The congress not only considered a question of revival and development of science and culture of Ukraine, and showed a national unity. Its assistance increased the international authority of Ukraine.

A logic ending of a growing national consciousness of Ukrainian people became the adoption by the Supreme Rada “The Declaration of the State Sovereignty” on July 16, 1990. The declaration not only proclaimed independence of Ukraine, it gave the right to all nationalities which lived in it, to free national and cultural development. On November 19, 1990 Ukraine signed the agreement with Russia. It certified that relations between two states should develop on the basis of equality and good neighborhood. Similar contracts have been signed with Bilorus, Uzbekystan, Turkistan, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Georgia and other republics of the former Union.

Thus, objective laws of development of a society forced the Soviet government to refuse continuation of utopian social and economic experiments and to search for civilized ways of an exit from crisis. Reorganization of an economic and political life caused wide democratization which had in turn caused the growth of national consciousness of Ukrainian people. Ukraine followed the way of freedom and independence. It proclaimed the state sovereignty.

56. SCIENCE AND CULTURE OF UKRAINE (1980s — 1990s)

- *Education Issues*
- *Impact of Science*
- *A Role of Literature and Art*

Search for ways of secession from the Soviet Union caused a condition for school reforming. However, the introduced reforms of the second half of the 1980s did not lead to essential changes. Our country on the educational level at the beginning of the 1990s had

occupied the 28th place in the world. Diligence to change condition educational put by reforming proceeded in the 1990s as well. So, in 1991 the Bill of Ukraine “On Education” was passed. In the Bill education was defined as basis of spiritual and social and economic development of the state. Serious shifts took place in school after the adoption of the bill “On Languages in the Ukrainian Soviet Republic” in 1989. Since then in 1991 there were opened about 400 schools with teaching in Ukrainian. It was possible to stop the process of extinction of the Ukrainian language at schools. But it was impossible to overcome the crisis, because at the beginning of the 1990s only 50 % of schoolchildren studied in the Ukrainian language.

Improvement of system of national education depended on qualitative teachers staff. In Ukraine many teachers-innovators which imparted knowledge to school students were able to work at this time, they cultivated decency, feeling of validity, freedom of thinking and deeds in children. Teaching under conditions of the profound economic crisis, slump in production appeared in beggarly condition. A significant amount of skilled teachers compelled were to abandon school and to search for work which would enable them to provide the families. Those who had remained at school, tried to struggle for the rights, resorting even to strikes.

The higher and compulsory special education was in a difficult situation. In the 1980s the material sources, teaching and methodical supply had considerably worsened. In such conditions the state followed the way of reductions of a number of students of evening and correspondence studying. In conditions of declaration of independence of Ukraine the structure of high schools was reconsidered. There was a reduction of educational establishments which prepared the same specialists and at the same time new schools opened which trained specialists that in demand for the young state. So, in 1991 at the Kyiv Institute of National Economics the Higher School of Business studied by curricula of international standards.

Reorganization in education was accompanied by the humanization process. The powerful contribution in humanization education became the Ukrainian Studies Institute founded at the Kyiv Taras Shevchenko

University, and since 1991-1992 — the first national humanitarian lyceum.

Strong brake of the ways of development of the higher school was insufficient financing. So, expenses for one student in Ukraine were 5-6 times smaller, than in the advanced countries of the world.

Science was in a difficult state. A leading centre of science was Academy of Sciences. Here research on the different areas was conducted, leading direction technical and applied structures. More than 90% of new technological elaborations were not applied at manufacturing. The financial problems had led to that the Academy of Sciences began to lose its positions. It lagged behind from the West in many issues, first of all, in the level of scientific development. Deficiency of deep and fruitful scientific ideas became more and more acutely felt; the level of inventions decreased. Thereof Ukraine was far behind in sphere of technologies. Concerned with crisis in which there was science and education in Ukraine, the group of the Ukrainian scientists in summer of 1990 had created the Ukrainian scientific association. It is called to assist revival of the Ukrainian science. In 1991 The Academy of Technology Sciences of Ukraine, Academy of Technological Cybernetics, Academy of Original Ideas and Projects were created. Ukrainians took an active part in revival of the Ukrainian science abroad. In 1991 the Institute of Oriental Studies of Ukraine was created which was headed by the professor of the Harvard University O.Pritsak. Magazine “Modernity”, which was edited since 1992, began its publications in Kyiv, edited by a professor of American university T.Hunchak.

The important role in updating the Ukrainian society belonged to literature and art. The significant amount of Ukrainian writers had refused to serve ideological dogmas; they stood on position of destruction of stereotypes in public consciousness. Many writers applied to such genre as publicism. From tribunes, pages of newspapers and magazines, by radio and TV there were distributed ideas by I.Drach, D.Pavlychko, P.Movchan and many others.

Reorganization process brought back many forbidden at soviet times names from oblivion: V.Vynnychenko, M.Kulish, M.Khvylioviy, V.Stus, I.Svitlychny and many others.

A lot of writers actively participated in political life. They were elected by members of the Supreme Council, headed different public and political organizations, movements.

At the beginning of the 1990s significant shifts took place in the Ukrainian cinema. In republic there began training of producers and script-writers. Sergei Paradzhanov — one of the leaders of the world motion pictures got back to active creative work.

The talented movie picture “Famine — 33” was created by producer O.Janchuk by S.Diachenko’s and L. Taniuk’s script.

Difficult processes occurred in a music life of the republic. Creativity of Ukrainian masters with a high international image did not become known to the broad audience of Ukraine. The first republican “Festival of Modern Ukrainian Songs “The Red Ruta” took place in 1989 in Chernivtsi. It had got a deep resonance not only in Ukraine. This festival took place in Zaporizhzhia next time.

Thus, in science and culture of Ukraine of the 1980-90s along with achievements there were also many insoluble problems which interfered with achievement of world samples. Insufficient attention to education, science and culture, residual principle of their financing had resulted not only in reduction of intellectual and spiritual potential, but to the delay of a scientific, technical and social progress as well.

57. PROCLAMATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENT STATE

— *Declaration of Independence of Ukraine. A Referendum of 1991*

— *Modern Social and Economic Problems of Ukraine*

Political and economic crisis in the Soviet society continued to go deep in 1991. Republics of the Soviet Union, having lost hope to overcome it in borders of the USSR, followed the way of their sovereignties. They considered such a way to be most rational as it

allowed to use the potential opportunities. Ukraine has proclaimed the sovereignty on July 16, 1990 existence of the USSR had got a more and more formal character. For this reason in summer of 1991 the president of the USSR M.Gorbachev began active actions from creation of new association of sovereign republics. However, signing of such agreement was prevented by attempt of revolution on August 19, 1991. For some days authority had grasped the putchists who had created body GKCHP (language of the original). Structure GKCHP included some heads of party and state bodies. They tried to break democratic processes. Putchists would resist democratic forces led by the president of Russia B.Yeltsin. The Ukrainian government in time of putsch took a two-place position.

The government, led by L.Kravchuk, waited. Defeat of putchists had strengthened anti-Communist and anti-imperialist mood in the society. They were reflected in adoption of the “Declaration of Independence of Ukraine” on August 24, 1991, and in some days the Communist Party activity was forbidden.

Having proclaimed independence of Ukraine, the Supreme Rada decided to get support within the society and carried out on December 1, 1991. The All-Ukraine People’s Referendum on confirmation of the Declaration of Independence. During the referendum there were carried out presidential elections of Ukraine which was begun by L.Kravchuk.

At the beginning of December 1991 the government of Ukraine, Belarus and Russia had gathered in Belovezhskaya Puscha. They ascertained disorder of the Union and recognized, that creation of the independent states became a reality. On December 8, 1991 the Agreement on creation of the CIS (the Commonwealth of Newly Independent States) was signed. On December, 21 other republics have joined the CIS. The CIS united 11 republics of the former Union. However, after a while between them there were serious disagreements, in particular between Ukraine and Russia. The CIS charter Confirmation, therefore, did not happen in Ukraine until the beginning of 1993. The agreement on formation of the CIS proved to be a political claim only, not the real treaty.

Ukraine’s Declaration of the sovereignty caused a positive reaction

of the international community. By March 1992, over 104 countries recognized the independent status of the Ukrainian state. This was assisted with connection of Ukraine to the majority of international agreements, its claim on denuclearized. It acquired a neutral status.

Becoming the independent Ukrainian state caused significant complexities in socially economic sphere. The parliament, trying to smooth them, had gone on populist actions. But it only had worsened a financial position, inflation has reached over 50 % for a month. The national income has decreased in 1992 in comparison with previous year for 14 %. Deficiency of the budget has exceeded 17 % of a total national product, productivity of work fallen on 13 %. Currency issue evolved 50 times. Almost everywhere there were economic and financial reasons involved. Reduction of manufacturing output with a simultaneous increase of the prices proceeded, that negatively influenced maintenance of the consumer market with the goods. Ukraine has from above 33 million hectares of lands (about 80 % of the common area agricultural lands any advanced country of the world has no that) from which 60 % are fertile chernozems. In opinion of experts, Ukraine could feed 100 million population, however the food problem now is cannot solved. For 1992 procurement prices have increased by agricultural production 20 times, whereas technical equipment for agrarian sector — 38 times, on fuel — 120 times. Similar position was kept and in 1993-1996. Type's course inflation, the standard of living of the population is reduced. Birth rate decreased, death rate increased.

Besides the population of Ukraine became the hostage of terrible ecological conditions. And not only for Chornobyl which caused sufferings of hundred thousands people, and the ecologically harmful enterprises which annually threw out 11-12 million harmful substances in an atmosphere, 6,5 million poisoning substances allowed only motor transport. In industrial centers — Donetsk, Dnipropetrovsk, Zaporizhzhia, Kyiv, Krivy Rih, Mariupol, impurity of air in ten times exceeded allowable norms. Lack of potable water has more and more an effect. Summing up, it is necessary to note, that Ukraine's declaration of independence became the important event in its people's life. Were there any conditions for a further development of the Ukrainian state,

though Ukraine appeared on unstable social and economic conditions? When they pass to the system of market relations, they will certainly overcome them. In fact the history testifies that crisis is always replaced by rise.

58. THE FORMATION OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF UKRAINE

— *The reforms and illusions. The President Leonid Kuchma.*

— *The Ukrainian Orange revolution. The President Viktor Ushchenko.*

In summer 1994 there was the process of changing of the political power in Ukraine. As a result of the presidential election of the second round L. D. Kuchma was elected as the new President of Ukraine. For the first time the power in the state passed from one person to another by the legitimate way on the civilized democratic basis.

The new President based himself upon the support of industrial directorship, the part of the state nomenclature and the left-wing. His slogan included the conducting of radical economic reforms, the resumption of the relations with Russia, the granting the official status to the Russian language, etc.

One of the first steps of L. D. Kuchma was the initiation of the constitutional process in Ukraine. That is why in September 1994 the new constitutional commission was set up. Attempting to delimit the power between the branches of the authorities and to determine the power of the President as the head of the state and the head of the executive power, L. D. Kuchma introduced the bill of the “Constitutional act about the state power and local self-government in Ukraine” to the Verkhovna Rada.

The constitution of Ukraine was resolved during the “constitutional night” from the 27th to the 28th of June in 1996. This event marked the

final consolidation of the Ukrainian state and the 28th of June was proclaimed the Day of the Constitution of Ukraine.

The Constitution of Ukraine consists of the preamble and 15 chapters that include 161 paragraphs. It proclaims Ukraine to be sovereign and independent, democratic, social, legal state with the single citizenship. Ukraine is unitary and its territory is holistic and inviolate. The carrier of the sovereignty and the only source of power in Ukraine is the nation. The official language is Ukrainian but the free development of the other languages of the national minorities is guaranteed.

In Ukraine the principle of the supremacy of right is operated. Its citizens have equal constitutional rights and liberties and are equal in the face of the law. But at the same time they have to retain the Constitution and laws of the state steadily.

The state authority in Ukraine is accomplished in Ukraine on the basis of its partition into legislative, executive and judicial. The only body of the legislative power in the state is the parliament — the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine. The head of the state is the President of Ukraine who speaks on behalf of it and is the guarantor of the state sovereignty, territorial integrity, following the Constitution of Ukraine, the rights and liberties of a man and a citizen. The supreme body in the system of organs of the executive power is the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine. The only organ of constitutional jurisdiction in the state is the Constitutional Court of Ukraine, and the highest judicial organ in the system of courts of the common jurisdiction is the Supreme Court of Ukraine.

Thus, according to the jury of expert opinion the Constitution of Ukraine belongs to the most democratic in the world. Its adoption is the most important step on the road of launching of state-making processes that laid the foundation for the further development of legislation and legal system of Ukraine. At the same time the valid power hasn't secured conditions for the realization of its constitutional rights and liberties of full value for the Ukrainian nation.

The main task that arose in the face of L. D. Kuchma was the overcoming of the economic crisis. To that effect he proclaimed the strategy of economic transmutation in October 1994. And during the

first 2-3 years of his presidential campaign the definite displacement for the better appeared in the economy. During the 3,5 years a part of the state property in the economy was reduced from 96 to 62%. In the year 1996 the financial stabilization that gave the opportunity to carry out the currency reform was already achieved. Simultaneously there was realized the liberalization of prices, rate of exchange, the mechanisms of foreign trade, the privatization of lands, the market of securities began to develop. The rates of GDP's fall were decelerated and the salary since October 1994 till April 1997 in currency equivalent increased in more than 4 times.

The reasons of such a situation were the deficiency of political liberty according to the optimization of the tax system that resulted in the formation of "privileged" economy; the great foreign debt; the growth of inland debt, etc. And the major reason was that the economic policy of the state during the 90-th didn't have the strategic basis and was put into practice fragmentary. The Verkhovna Rada, the President and the government didn't realize the opportunities and their authorities in full measure, a good few of time was spent for their own intestine wars. Quite a few mistakes were made in the matters of personnel. As a result, almost every year was marked with a change of the cabinet.

L. D. Kuchma couldn't abolish corruption and bribery. There in the country were formed criminal groups that accreted with the authorities, due to what Ukraine turned into one of the most corruptible states of the world.

Thus, absence of the sufficient political will, professionalism of all the branches of power, clumsiness to combine the world experience with the concrete Ukrainian conditions for the realization of structural reforms, the struggle within the very power caused the protracted economic recession and led to a decrease of the society's trust both to the very power and to the objectively necessary market reforms.

In May 1999 they started an election campaign of the Ukrainian President. To the second round of the elections that took place on the 14th of November 1999 came the active President L. Kuchma and the leader of the communists P. Symonenko. Leonid Kuchma overpowered regardless of the fact that during the first period of his guidance (1994-

1999) the real incomes reduced in 2,5 times and the number of unemployed grew in 12 times. This is explained by the usage of “administrative resources” and dirty technologies.

Thus, placed in front of the dilemma — the communist yesterday or the way of reforms, the Ukrainian nation gave the credit of trust to L. D. Kuchma once again. Those were just the expectations for the active solving of the present problems.

After the presidential elections the dislocation of political forces in the country underwent some changes. As a new head of parliament was elected Ivan Plushch, and the Cabinet of Ministers was headed by Viktor Ushchenko. Their actions renewed the trust from the side of the Western states according to Ukraine. Already in October 2000 the Council of Europe excluded Ukraine from the list of countries with not market economy. The cabinet of Ushenko stabilized the situation in the country and consolidated the tendencies to the economic growth. Though the majority of social tasks of the development were used slowly. Nevertheless the policy of the cabinet that was put to the program “The reforms for the sake of prosperity” attested the intensifying of rates of the economic development during the first quarter of 2001. But the policy of V. Ushchenko’s government provoked the dissatisfaction of the left-wing and oligarchs that resulted in his dismissal sanctioned by the President.

The new government headed by Anatoly Kinakh couldn’t use their precursors’ achievements effectively that was admitted by the President L. Kuchma. On the 21st of November 2002 already the tenth during the years of independence prime minister became V. F. Yanukovych, who was the first in the history of Ukraine to stand at the head of the coalition government. His actions in 2003-2004 favoured the expansion of the economy. But regardless of this the national debt increased in 20 milliards hryvnias. And the thoughtless use of funds in the struggle for the presidential position destabilized the financial-monetary system. The principal administrator of state’s resources became oligarchs and clan nomenclature. The society demanded the cardinal changes.

At the end of 2000 — at the first half of 2001 the country was

enveloped by the political crisis. It was caused by so called “cassette’s scandal” and murder of the oppositional journalist Heorgy Honhadze, general corruption in the echelons of power, infringement of person’s rights, attempts to introduce the political censorship, etc. There was a wave of protests across the country. The oppositional forces created the chains of structures: “Ukraine without Kuchma”, “The forum of national rescue”, “For the truth” and others. The climax of confrontation in the state attained the 9th of March 2001 during the celebration of the anniversary from the date of birth of T. Shevchenko when during the grapple with the militia in Kyiv suffered from the both sites scores of people and hundreds of activists of the opposition were arrested and imprisoned.

During the parliamentary elections in 2002 which took place with the help of compound based on majority proportional system the four percentages barrier was managed by 6 electoral blocs and parties. It was the first time when the communists didn’t collect most of the votes. The right-centered bloc of V. Ushchenko “Our Ukraine” celebrated the winning.

In spring 2002 there were numerous waves of protest against effective power in Ukraine. On the 16th of September the oppositional political forces of different ideological directions conducted in Kyiv All-Ukrainian conference “Rebel, Ukraine” with the assistance of scores of thousands of citizens. They became the most numerous action of protest from the times of the breakup of the Soviet Union. The manifestations of many thousands took place in all the regions. Their participants demanded the resignation of the valid President, called to the international isolation of L. Kuchma’s regime.

In response the authority resorted to counteraction measures, even to the disconnection of the television and cancellation of regular buses’ routes. However the actions continued later, having transformed into the peculiar permanent revolution.

Thus, obtruded to Ukraine by the power clan-oligarchic model of development led it to deep crisis, total poverty, unemployment, to the state of national catastrophe. The mass protests became a logical reaction of the citizens of Ukraine who realized what exactly the source

of power is. That was the beginning of the victorious Ukrainian orange revolution of November-December 2004.

The bright event of the beginning of the 21st century became the orange revolution of (November-December) 2004, named after the colour of the symbolism, which was used by the supporters of the pretender to presidential position V. A. Ushchenko. The revolution returned to the millions of Ukrainians the feeling of national dignity and self-perception with the understanding “the citizen of Ukraine”. As a result of the revolution Ukraine appeared in front of the world as a modern European state.

As an impulse for the revolution became mass falsifications of power during the presidential election campaign of 2004. (From July 2004 to the 20th of January 2005). As the pretenders to presidential position were registered 24 persons what testified the political disconnection of the society. Tired from lies and hypocrisy the Ukrainian society connected its hopes with the leader of the parliamentary fraction “Our Ukraine” Viktor Ushchenko the unification of efforts for the winning during the election.

On the 31st of October not paying attention to all the efforts of power V. Ushchenko was the winner at the first round. The second was V. Yanukovich.

During the preparation and realization of the second round of presidential election on the 21st of November the infringements on constitutional rights of citizens were even rougher and the process of the voting and the poll was characterized by the cases of criminal interference, violence and intimidation at the voting stations. The bodies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in many cases remained passive.

The natural reaction of the society to the disregard of the law, oppression of the person’s morality and dignity, total corruption, mockery of power against business, attempts to obtrude to the highest state position the candidate with the criminal past was the Orange revolution. The main motive power and the most active participator of the revolution was the youth, the ideologist of the democratic ideas — intelligentsia and the social support — the middle class. The leader of the Orange revolution was V. F. Ushchenko.

After the announcement on the 22nd of November the previous results of the election of the President of Ukraine about the fact that V. F. Yanukovich was going to outvote, on the Kyiv square of Independence there gathered 300 thousand of people and on Khreshchatyk Street grew a tents' borough. At just the very day the USA, Canada, European Union, Parliamentary Assembly of European Council, NATO, OSCE and other countries and international structures declared the non-recognition of the official results of a choice of the Ukrainian nation.

On the 24th of November the central election committee proclaimed V. Yanukovich the winner of the presidential campaign. In response to this the command of V. Ushchenko created the Committee of the national rescue, which announced All-Ukrainian political strike. The national actions obtained a mass character. Five millions of citizens took part in them. As a symbol of freedom, democracy and unsubdued movement of the Ukrainian nation became the Kyiv Square of Independence. The extensive actions took place also in other cities of Ukraine.

Under the influence of Maydan (Square of Independence) there began the democratic changes in the society. But the team of V. F. Yanukovich received the support in the South-Eastern Ukraine. On the 26th of November, in particular, the session of the Luhansk regional council took a decision about the creation of the South-Eastern Ukrainian Autonomous Republic and appealed to the President of the Russian Federation about the recognition of it by Russia. The decisions about the creation of the autocratic territory were taken also in Odessa and Kharkiv.

Regardless of the notification of the opposition about the responsibility of separatist actions on the 28th of November in Severodonetsk in Luhansk region there took place the so called All-Ukrainian congress of national deputies and deputies of local councils of regions' chains with the assistance of the government's head V. F. Yanukovich. A legitimate official decree of Central election commission about the results of the election of the President of Ukraine was admitted at the congress and it was declared about the creation of the

interregional union of organs of local self-government. But under the pressure of the world community and Maydan the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, nevertheless, censured the displays of separatism, and the Supreme Court of Ukraine annulled the results of the second round of presidential election and ordained to conduct the repeated voting.

On the 26th of December due to the repeated voting of the second round of the election 51,99% of the voters gave their votes for V. A. Ushchenko, and for V. F. Yanukovych — 44,20%. On the 23rd of January an official ceremony of inauguration of Viktor Ushchenko to the position of the President took place.

One of the first decisions of V. A. Ushchenko — the President became the appointment of U. V. Tymoshenko to the position of executor of responsibilities of the government's head. On the 4th of February 2005 the Verkhovna Rada gave consent to appoint the first in the history of Ukraine a woman to the position of the prime minister and confirmed the programme of the government “Towards people”.

Together with this the unconsidered abolishment of free economic areas and territories of primary importance of development, statement concerning reprivatization, administrative pressure to petroleum's traders, the splashing of prices at the market of meat, sugar, petrol undetermined a little the trust to the new government. But the greatest problem of the “orange” team became inner conflicts. The struggle between the communists-upholders for positions, rights, and spheres of influence to use the mutual information that comprises people led to the resignation of the government of U. V. Tymoshenko on the 8th of March 2005.

The attempts of V. A. Ushchenko who during his first year of being a President had enough authority to break up the system of power didn't have the strategic character and didn't change the situation in the country. The business wasn't insulated from the power and the strong presidential majority in the Verkhovna Rada wasn't formed.

On the 26th of March 2006 for the first time in history of Ukraine the parliamentary election on the proportional basis took place in accordance with the party's lists to the Verkhovna Rada of the 5th convocation five political forces. The forces which identified Maydan

(“Our Ukraine”, BUT (Block of U. Tymoshenko), SPU (Social party of Ukraine) received more votes than their opponents (PR (Party of regions) and Communist party of Ukraine).

For the first time in history of Ukraine the authority secured keeping of the democratic standards of the election.

In consequence of so called “coalitiation” only on the 22nd of June 2006 there was created a coalition of democratic forces including the of parliamentary fractions BUT, block “Our Ukraine” and SPU. But because of non-constructive position of the leader of socialists O. O. Moroz the so called antirecessionary coalition with the complement of such fractions as PR, SPU and CPU was created. In such a situation the President proposed all the parliamentary political forces to sign a Decree of national unity where there was a statement about the preservation of sovereignty and integrity, unitary state and collectivism of the state. After its signing V. A. Ushchenko introduced to the Parliament the candidature of V. F. Yanukovych to the position of the Prime minister of Ukraine. On the 4th of August 2006 the Verkhovna Rada confirmed him on this position. The cabinet, at the head of which he was, announced the policy to the acceleration of economical growth.

The considerable changes occurred in the political system of the country. The political opponents of the President, having taken the authority into their own hands, deprived him gradually of his official plenary powers. Notwithstanding the Constitution, there began the process of the stimulation of the oppositional deputies to the creation of constitutional majority that could overpower the presidential veto. All this menaced the usurpation of power. That’s why on the 2nd of April 2007 the President signed the Decree “About the pre-term stopping of power of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine”. The confrontation between the branches of power grew to the full-scale political crisis. On the 27th of May 2007 V. Ushchenko, V. Yanukovych and O. Moroz declared the Joint political statement about the completion of the political crisis in Ukraine.

On the 30th of September 2007 the pre-term election to the Verkhovna Rada took place. The majority of votes received the forces of the coalition: “Our Ukraine” and BUT (Block of Uliya Tymoshenko).

On the 18th of December 2007 from the presenting of the President as the head of the government was elected U. V. Tymoshenko.

Consequently, as we can see, the expectancy for the quick advancement of Ukraine through the course of reforms hasn't been carried into practice yet. Notwithstanding the great potential of the Ukrainian economy, the presence of a considerable stratum of the middle class, the overcoming of the durable economic crisis and vital increase of GDP of qualitative improvement of standard of living of the Ukrainian population didn't happen. Together with this, the Orange revolution caused the radical change in the souls of people and their psychology. Owing to the revolution Ukraine and Ukrainians became closer to Europe than ever.

59. UKRAINIAN NATIONAL SYMBOLICS

— *Emblems of Ukraine*

— *Flags of Ukraine*

— *National Anthems of Ukraine*

Every nation's symbolics embodies its struggle for self-determination. That struggle materializes in some aspects of a national statehood, its external attributes which make symbolics.

The Ukrainian national symbolics roots in history of patrimonial and tribal system on the territory of Ukraine. The Kyiv prince Volodymyr the Great among many other state emblems gave priority to Trident as it was connected with a number of religious, world view, cultural and ethnic ideas of our ancestors.

Knowing a triunified nature of the Universe and trying to tune with it people depicted life in ritual acts, cult objects, holy texts, protective mysterious signs etc. The Trident is a sign of Holy Trinity. It belongs to the oldest attributes that symbolize world making and world structure. It symbolizes that very Trinity of lively energies that a cross and six-angle star do (wisdom, knowledge, love or fire, water and life). This is

where the cult in our ancestors' beliefs come from, three-action manner in rituals — to bow trice, to put a cross trice, as they say “the God is embodied in the Trinity”. To signify those particularities three vertical lines were put. And since those lines were characteristic for one Person, they got connected with a horizontal line. That's how the first portrait — the image of the Unseen — a likeness of a Slavic letter “III” which has gone through various modifications in a thousand years.

IX-X centuries are the time of development and strengthening of the early feudal society in Rus where a special sign system that represented a state emerged. The symbols of Riurikovich's dynasty were set as the foundation of the Rus state. Nowadays over 200 distinctions of this heraldic sign in different interpretations are known.

According to the modern standpoint the Trident was not an official emblem of the Kyivan Rus. Thus, the real emblem distinctions got to Rus from the Western Europe in the XIV century only. After that they were commonly used in many different state systems. One has to note that from the XII century the Trident sign was replaced by the portrayal of the saint archangel Michael. Gradually the Trident was replaced by the Michael portrayal at Kyiv lands and by the climbing a mountain lion at the West-Ukrainian lands.

The sign of a lion took a significant place in the Ukrainian heraldic traditions a symbol of strength, bravery, dignity, generosity, power. The Galician princes Lev II and Andriy Iurijovych had a lion's portrayal on their seals. Within some time a golden lion was depicted on the blue field of a three-edged shield as an emblem. A lion sign was also set on Galicia money. Along with the introduction of the Polish administration in 1434 in Rus a lion became the emblem of the Rus province with the center in Lviv. The oldest description of the lion's colours in the story of the Polish historian Ia. Dlogush about the Gr̄newald battle is dated to 1410. On the blue flag of the Lviv cavalry regiment “a yellow lion descending the mountain” is depicted.

A new symbolics that was suitable for the state symbol was “a cossack with a shotgun or “a knight-cossack with an arbalest appeared in Ukraine in the XVI-XVIII centuries at Cossacks time. Along with registered cossack troops heraldic symbolics became popular — a

knight-cossack with a trifle. Since 1596 that depiction was widely used on Zaporizhzhian cossacks seals. It was also used during the process of signing international agreements.

For some period cossack acquired a status of the ethnic symbol of Ukraine. After the hetman's power abolishing in 1764 this symbol ceased to be used. For official uses it was replaced by an emblem for the Little Russia collegium.

On January 22, 1918 the Central Rada (Council) in the Universal IV proclaimed Ukraine an independent state. In February same year the Head of the Central Rada M.Hrushevsky suggested to recognize the Trident as a state emblem of Ukraine. Different versions of the Trident's depiction as a "little Trident" and "a big Trident" of the UNR were made by an artist V.Krychevsky. He depicted the Trident in the middle of the Ukrainian ornament stylized as an enclosed circle.

On March 22, 1918 the Central Rada confirmed the dynasty sign the Trident of a Great prince Volodymyr Sviatoslavych and his followers as a state emblem of the UNR.

The Trident was depicted on the Big and Small seals of the Central Rada. The Trident remained the emblem in times of Pavlo Skoropadsky and the Directory. It was even depicted on money which was produced by the government. Though one has to note that first the Trident's depiction with the cross on the central cog was set on the bill of 100 roubles that was issued by the Central Rada in December 1917.

On February 19, 1992 the Supreme Council of Ukraine confirmed the Trident as a small emblem of the state Ukraine considering it the main element of the big emblem of Ukraine. That's why this day is considered the day of Ukraine's emblem birth — the golden Trident on the blue background that symbolizes the outset of the Ukrainian statehood.

Both emblems and flags of Ukraine have their own old history. It is known that first flags appeared already in the XII century in the ancient China. As a means of sygnalizing a flag was known in Europe since the ancient times. The first mentioning of the Kyiv Rus flags at times of great princes belongs to the IX century. The process of final stabilization of state symbols started in the middle of the XIX century.

So, what was depicted on Ukrainian flags? Which colours do they have?

At times of Ukraine-Rus the heavens signs, crosses, princes' signs (tridents, twidents) were depicted. Since then different combinations of colours started to be used. Then the state flag didn't exist as such. There were only princes' flags which were respected. Without those flags the princes didn't set out for campaigns and didn't start the battle. As the sources show, the flag of Ukraine-Rus was the golden Trident on the red background of some great prince and later on it was the flag of the Rus kingdom (Galicia-Volyn age)— a blue flag with a golden lion.

One has to stress that in the XIV century the flag of a great Lithuanian duke was of a red colour with the golden trident-like sign of the Gedeminovich dynasty. A bit later a white horseman with a sword in the right hand and a blue shield in the left hand on a white horse appeared on it.

In the XVIII century a substitute of red for a blue colour on the flag and emblem of Kyiv took place. It accounts for a gradual likeliness of symbols to traditions of the Ukrainian national symbolics.

The foundation of Zaporizhzhian Sich (Host) and emerge of cossackdom enriched signs and colours of military, regimental, hundred and marine campaign flags. The most widespread among cossacks' flags were rectangular and trapezium widths. The signs of small detachments were mostly triangular with different shades of a red colour.

In the XVI-XVII centuries cossacks detachments used various flags: crimson, yellow, dark blue, white and their combinations. Within some time the main emblem of cossacks flags became a knight-cossack with a rifle on the golden or yellow shield background of a blue width. The blue and yellow colours got spread and fixed in the XVIII century as well. One can find their combinations on flags of Kyiv, Chernihiv and Poltava regiments.

Blue and yellow cossacks flags were depicted in Ivan Repin's (a famous Russian painter) picture "The Zaporizhzhian Cossacks are Writing a Letter to the Turkish Sultan". They were also used in the famous picture of M.Ivasiuk "Bohdan Khmelnytsky's departure for Kyiv in 1649".

Combinations of blue and yellow colours of cossack-hetman age got a logical continuation as national colours of Ukrainian people at new times. The issue of a national symbolics was touched upon in 1905-1907 in newspapers. When the tradition of cossack symbolics was broken off and Ukraine's sovereignty in the Russian empire was abolished the issue of a national symbolics was prohibited.

The yellow and blue flag as an ethnic symbol of Ukrainians appeared in the Austrian empire during the revolution of 1848-1849. Having invited to his residence the representatives of the Galician Rus the Austrian governor in Lviv duke Stadion gave the blue-yellow flag to them as a gift from the emperor's mother of Austria-Hungary Franz-Joseph. She personally embroidered it. The chosen colours corresponded to the emblem of Rus Galician dukes where a golden lion was depicted on the blue background. This flag was later used by citizens of the Galician and Hungarian Transcarpathian Rus.

In June of 1848 the yellow-blue flag was first set on the Lviv city council's tower. Such an idea suggested by the Main Rus Council was backed up by various sports and education organizations. On the border of the XIX-XX centuries organizations "Sokil" and "Sich" emerged in Galicia. In the process of preparation for the regional convention (the beginning of 1911) after long discussions and search the yellow-blue flag was made. Since then its application started to be widely used at West-Ukraine lands, and within some time in the Left-Bank Ukraine.

The yellow-blue flag was used during the 50-th Anniversary commemoration of Taras Shevchenko's death. And while commemorating the 100-th Anniversary of his birth the flag got an even wider spread.

The push for the yellow-blue symbolics spread was the February revolution of 1917 in Russia. The national liberation movement attained a higher level after it. In particular, on March 25, 1917 a tremendous manifestation of Ukrainians took place in Petersburg. Above a 20-thousand crowd of strikers there were swinging Ukrainian flags.

Once the Central Rada announced the Universal II the process of Ukrainian symbolics making started. There were no arguments over flag's colours.

On March 22, 1918 the Central Rada passed the law on the state flag — it was confirmed the yellow-blue. After the hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky came to power, its colours were changed into the dark blue-yellow.

Therefore, dark blue—yellow combinations as national colours were adapted in the XVIII but were broken off by pressure of the Russian tsarismus in the XIX century. In Galicia and Transcarpathia those combinations were set in the XIX c. Finally these colours were confirmed as All-Ukrainian only at the beginning of the XXc.

The red flag of the Soviet Ukraine has also got its history. It was a red width with the inscription USSR (the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) set in the upper left corner. Since November 1949 the flag kept the red colour and the emblem of sickle and hammer with a five-angle star. The red colour was compulsory for flags of all Union's republics. As for the yellow-blue flag, its emerge in the middle of the XIXc. was quite logical. The revolutionary events of 1848-1849 gave a push to not only the Ukrainian flag but to many other European emblems. There was no other alternative to the national symbol of Ukraine which would have such a lasting history.

With that exactly dark blue-yellow flag the Ukrainian patriots were fighting for freedom and democracy in barricades in front of Lithuanian and Russian Parliaments in January and August of 1991.

On August 24, 1991 the Act of Ukraine's Independence was declared and above the dome of the Supreme Council the dark blue-yellow flag was swinging. On December 1, 1991 after the All-Ukraine referendum on Ukraine's independence a new independent, sovereign, unified state whose emblem was the dark blue-yellow flag appeared on the world map. On January 28, 1992 the Supreme Council passed the law on the State Flag of Ukraine.

As all other nations, Ukrainians have their own national emblem, flag and anthem.

The national anthem is a solemn musical piece put on poetry of a programmed character. There are state, revolutionary, military and religious anthems. Since anthems are calculated for an overall listening it's characteristic imaginary text, solemn music, measured marched rhythm.

For all Ukrainians Taras Shevchenko's poetry is a historical relic. The first who used Shevchenko's poetry for a national anthem were a composer M. Lysenko and a poet M. Verbytsky. The former set Shevchenko's "The Testament" to tune. "The Testament" as the national anthem reached its apogee in the years of national-democratic revolution of 1917-1920.

"Ukraine Has not Died Yet" anthem became an officially recognized national anthem since 1917. First published in 1863 it was considered the national anthem for all Ukrainians of Austria-Hungary and Russia from 1900. It got widely spread thanks to authors Pavlo Chubynsky who was from Naddniprianshchyna and Mykhailo Verbytsky from Galicia. Such a cooperation between the central and western parts of Ukraine signified the unity of Ukrainian lands.

After Ukraine gained its independence in 1991 the Supreme Council of Ukraine recognized the "Ukraine Has not Died Yet" as the national anthem of Ukraine on January 15, 1992.

Thus, as we see, the national emblem-Trident, the national colours dark blue and yellow that became colours of the national flag have deep historical traditions. The Trident was a symbol of unity of all Ukrainian lands. Along with other national symbols it stresses the idea of Ukraine's unity.

It is worth noting that all forms of Ukrainian statehood in 1917-1920 and 1939 fixed these symbols as the state ones. And even the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in its apogee applied the symbols and rejected them only for ideological reasons. Internationalism in communists' understanding rejected the idea of Motherland and historical traditions were sacrificed to ideas of the world proletarian revolution.

QUESTIONS AND TASKS ON MAIN PROBLEMS OF THE COURSE

Topic: THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF UKRAINE

When and where the human civilization on the territory of Ukraine was founded?

What settlements of ancient people on the territory of Ukraine do you know?

Name the main archeological periods of prehistoric time and distinguish each period chronologically?

Characterize matria-patriarchal tribal relations. Distinguish their peculiarities.

Characterize the spiritual life of the ancient society.

What does neolitical revolution mean? What is its main point? What characteristic features does it have?

Whom and when the Tripillian culture was discovered? What is the origin of this name? Where did it exist? What hypotheses of the origin of that culture do you know? Characterize this period. When and why did it decline?

What changes were achieved in social relations during bronze period? Characterize them.

When and in what way did the transition to early iron period on the territory of Ukraine happen?

Characterize the first ethnic formations on the territory of Ukraine.

What do you know about activities and culture of Cimmerians and Tavrs?

Topic: ANCIENT STATE FORMATIONS ON UKRAINIAN TERRITORY

Where was Skifia located according to the Herodotus's theory? Characterize this state. What were the reasons for its decline?

Characterize the Sarmathian society. Point out its peculiarities.

What are the most important acquirements of skifo-sarmatian period? What is its influence on the pre-slavic culture formation.

Name the reasons for Greek reclamation of Northern banks of the Black and Azov seas?

Where were the main centers of ancient civilizations at the Black and Azov seas? Characterize them.

What were the forms of social, economic and political system of the Greek society on the Black and Azov seas banks? What do you know about them?

Characterize the Bosporian state. What were its characteristic features?

What periods can we distinguish in the history of ancient civilization situated on Northern banks of the Black and Azov seas? Characterize them.

What were the reasons for weakening and decline of Greek cities-states and Bosporian reign?

Characterize the development of culture, education, art, architecture of the ancient cities-states of Bosporian reign?

What was the influence of ancient civilization on shaping state-building traditions on the territory of modern Ukraine?

What reasons determined the northern direction of nations which lived on the territory of Ukraine those years?

Topic: EASTERN SLAVS ON THE TERRITORY OF MODERN UKRAINE AND THEIR NEIGHBORS

What do historical, archeological, linguistic, ethnographical and anthropological explorations say about the origin and settlements of tribes of eastern Slavs?

In what way was pre-slavic ethnos formed? Where were the roots of its culture?

State another point of view of different historical schools on the problem of location of the Slavic great-homeland?

Where was the great-home land of Ukrainians ancestors situated? When did their ancestors appear on the social arena of the world? What theories of ethno genesis are known to you?

Who were Veneds, Antyans and Sclavines? What is known to you about them from historical sources?

What do you know about the Antyans state and their state unification?

Distinguish the main approaches of state and cultural development of great Ukrainian ants tribes.

Characterize pagan believes, traditions and knowledge of eastern Slavs.

Characterize the relations of eastern Slavs with the nomadic world and Byzantine.

Topic: FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF GREAT-UKRAINIAN STATE THE KYIVAN RUS

What was the destiny of great Ukrainian tribes after the decline of Antyans state unification?

Find on the map the territories of state unifications of Slavic tribes that emerged in the VIII — first half of the IX c. Characterize them.

What were the reasons for transition to feudal relations in the society of Slavs?

What are the versions of the origin of the Kyivan Rus?

Name the reasons for great Ukrainian state formation with the centre in Kyiv. Do they coincide with the reasons for Western European states formation? Prove your answer.

Explain the origin and spreading of the terms “Rus”, “Rus Land”, “Ukraine”. Distinguish the main characteristic features of ethnic process on pre-Ukrainian lands. What are the differences between this process and ethnic process on great-Russian and pre-Bilorus lands? Name the basic signs of Ukrainian nation and characterize the main periods of its formation.

Characterize the main stages of the Kyivan state development. What reforms were made by Olha, Volodymyr, Yaroslav in Rus? What was their influence on the development of state?

What did the economy of the Kyivan State consist of? What was the population occupied with?

In what way did the development of the crafts in the state influence the development of trade and agriculture?

Analyse “The Rus Justice”.

What was the cause of a great growth of internal and external trade in the Kyivan Rus in the IX-XII centuries?

How can we explain the existence of different points of view on distinguishing the social relations in the Kyivan state in modern historiography?

Why wasn't the Kyivan Rus the monolithic state? What were the reasons for its weakening and decline?

What is the historical meaning of the Christian religion adoption for the Kyivan state?

Why did the magi always head the uprising?

Characterize the role of Ukrainian people in formation of pre-Rus culture.

Characterize the situation with writing and education in the Kyivan state?

In what way was music, art, painting and architecture developing? What monuments of architecture remained till nowadays? Characterize them.

Describe the historical portraits of great dukes of the Kyivan Rus — Olha, Sviatoslav, Volodymyr, Yaroslav.

There were several main religions in the world (Christianity, Islam, Judaism) in the X century. Why did Volodymyr adopt the Christianity of an Orthodox rite oriented on Byzantine? Explain it.

Distinguish the evolution of correlation between democracy and monarchy in the political system of the Kyivan Rus in the IX-XI c.

**Topic: GALICIA AND VOLYN STATE AS A SUCCESSOR
OF POLITICAL AND CULTURAL TRADITIONS
OF THE KYIVAN RUS**

What were the reasons for the south- western Ukrainian lands development in the XIIIc.?

Comment on M.Hrushevsky's words: "Galicia and Volyn principality are the acceptors of the political and cultural tradition of the Kyivan Rus."

When and who united Galicia and Volyn into one state?

Comment on the legal responsibilities of dukes, boyard council, and other representatives of state and local authorities?

Which peculiarities of Galicia and Volyn economical and social life influenced the political system of Galicia and Volyn state?

Find out the common things and differences of Yaroslav Osmomysl (1153 — 1187) and Andrew the God-loving (1157 — 1174) policies.

Is it possible to speak of two kinds of feudal social policy concerning Galicia and Volyn state of the XII-XIII and Volodymyr and Suzdol states of the same centuries? Explain your answer.

Comment on the inner-state policy of Galicia and Volyn state during the reining of Danylo of Galicia.

What do you know about the last princes of Galicia and Volyn state and their reining? How can you evaluate it?

Point out at the peculiarities of Galicia and Volyn state cultural development?

Why was it possible for Poland to conquer Galicia and Western Volyn?

Comment on the reasons for Galicia and Volyn state collapse and the consequences of this event for Ukrainians as a nation?

Reveal the historical importance of Galicia and Volyn state. Why did a prominent Ukrainian researcher Stepan Tomashivsky considered Galicia and Volyn state to be the first truly Ukrainian state?

Give the historical portraits of Jaroslav, Roman Mstyslavych, Danylo of Galicia?

Topic: UKRAINIAN LANDS UNDER THE POWER OF FOREIGN STATES

Which Ukrainian lands got under the power of the Great Lithuanian principality?

Compare the political system of the Great Lithuanian State of the XIV-XV and Rus of the XI-XIIc.?

Can the Lithuanian State be characterized as the Lithuanian Rus? Explain your answer.

Comment on the position of the Orthodox Church in the Great Lithuanian State in the XIV-XVc.?

Why the Rus Orthodox high society was tolerant to Lithuanian princes in the XIVc., in the XVc. rebelled against them, or left their lands to serve another master in the XV — XVIc.?

Comment on the position of Ukrainian bourgeois in the Great Lithuanian State in the XIV — first part of the XVIc. Why was bourgeois so eager to get Magdeburg Right for their towns?

When and as a result of which events Ukrainian lands were freed from mongol and tatar conquerers?

When was the Krev Union signed? Why did it lead to the reinforcement of Poland's influences in the Great Lithuanian State?

Point out the reasons for signing the Lublin Union (1569) between the Polish kingdom and the Great Lithuanian State and its consequences for Ukrainian society.

Why did Lithuanian and Ukrainian magnates stand against the creating of the united Polish-Lithuanian state, but bourgeois supported the idea?

When was the agreement on the unity of Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox Churches signed? What kind of a new church was created?

Was there any alternative to Berest Union of 1569? Analyze your answer.

Compare the position of Orthodox, Greek-Catholic and Catholic Churches in Ukraine in the first half of the XVIIc. Did the Union provide the rights and privileges for the Ukrainian Church, equality for Greek-Catholics and Catholics in Rzech Pospolita?

Comment on the political development of Ukrainian lands as a part of Rzecz Pospolita.

Comment on the agricultural development of Ukraine in the XVI — the 1st part of the XVIIc.

Comment on the development of cities in the XIV — XVIIc. What was the influence of Magdeburg Right on the life of Ukrainian lands?

Comment on the social classes of Ukraine in the XIV — XVIIc. and their status.

Topic: COSSACKS AND THEIR ROLE IN THE UKRAINIAN HISTORY (XV — MIDDLE OF THE XVII c.)

Which factors made the Crimean tatar kingdom become such a serious danger for the Ukrainian people existence in the XVc.?

What did “Wild Field” for the Ukrainian farmers’ life mean in the XIV-XVIIc.

Why despite the permanent danger Ukrainians were discovering “Wild Field” so intensively in the XVIc.?

What were the reasons for Ukrainian Cossacks emerge?

When and where was the first Cossacks fortification built? What do you know about Bajda-Dmytro Vyshnevetsky?

Comment on the system and governors of the Zaporizhzhia Sich. Why is it called “Christian Cossack Republic?”

Who were the register cossacks? When and why did they appear?

Is it possible to state that in the beginning of the XVII c cossacks turned into an influential factor in international life?

What were the cossacks social, national, state and spiritual ideals?

Why were cossacks a state making power? Explain your answer.

Comment on the position of cossacks in Lithuania and Rzecz Pospolita in XVI- the 1st half of XVII.

Comment on the reasons for cossacks rebels in villages in XVI — the 1st half of XVII and the aims of their participants.

Who were opryshky? What did they stand for?

Comment on the peculiarities of cossacks rebels with their leaders Crysstoph Kosynsky, Severyn Nalyvjako, and Matvij Shaula?

How did hetman Petro Konashevych-Sahajdachny organize actions as the actions of potential mover of Ukrainian society on the whole? Why did rebels begin again after his death?

Which rebels took place in Ukraine in the beginning of the XVIIc.? Who was their leader?

Which were the reasons for failure of cossacks rebels in villages in XVI — the 1st half of XVIIc.? What is the historical importance of these people's actions? Why was the period from 1638 till 1648 called the times of "golden calmness" by polish bourgeois?

Topic: NATIONAL AND LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF UKRAINIAN PEOPLE IN THE MIDDLE OF THE XVIIc.

Which were the reasons for Ukrainian national war to break out in the middle of XVIIc.? Comment on the driving forces, character and peculiarities of army actions in liberation war under the direction of Bohdan Khmelnytsky.

Comment of the Ukrainian state formation during the liberation war in the middle of XVII. Which state creating searches of Khmelnytsky influenced the formation of foreign policy of Zaporizhzhia Army?

In the light of new facts reveal the character and legal meaning of Ukraine-Moscow agreement of 1654.

Analyze the Hadiatch and Perejaslav agreements concerning the idea of Ukrainian autonomy.

What is common and different for Netherlands' revolution and liberation war in Ukraine?

Clear up the logic and regularity of "Ruina" as for a period of Ukrainian history from the point of view of inner development of Ukraine and foreign policy situation. Why did the period of political identification falls on the period of "Ruina"?

Why was hetman Ivan Vyhovsky eager to get the federation with

Poland? Comment on the conditions of Hadiatch agreement of 1658. Why did the intentions of hetman Vyhovsky fail?

Comment on the policies of Ivan Brukhovetsky, Petro Doroshenko, Ivan Samojlovych.

Why couldn't Doroshenko unite the Ukrainian lands and renovate its independence? Compare the reigning of Doroshenko and Vyhovsky.

How did Moscow decrease the autonomy rights of Ukraine? Argument your answer.

Which is the historical importance of "Ruina" period for the further development of Ukraine

Compose the historical portraits of Ukrainian hetmans Khmelnytsky, I. Vyhovsky, I. Brukhovetsky, P. Doroshenko, I. Samojlovych.

Topic: SOCIAL, ECONOMICAL AND POLITICAL LIFE OF UKRAINIAN PEOPLE IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE XVII-XVIII c.

When and how did Hetmanshchyna appear? Which lands did it include? Comment on the peculiarities of cossacks self-governing system on its territory.

Comment on the mentality and political philosophy of hetman Ivan Mazepa.

Which status did Hetmanshchyna have after signing "Kolomak articles" in 1687? Why were the reforms provided by Peter I dangerous for Hetmanshchyna's autonomy?

Comment on the inner state policy of Mazepa. Which motives of political and personal character was Mazepa led by, when uniting with Karl XII? How were Ukrainians punished by Peter I, because of Mazepa's "betrayal"?

Analyze the failure reasons for Mazepa's plans and his followers to provide the Hetmanshchyna's independence.

Which are the characteristics and peculiarities of the Russian government pressure on the rights of Ukraine in XVIII? When and how was the autonomy of Hetmanshchyna completely deleted?

Which lands did Zaporizhzhia Sich include? Comment on its administrative and political system.

When and how was the autonomy of Zaporizhzhia Sich liquidated? What do you know about Trans-Danube Sich, Buh, Black Sea and Kuban' cossack armies?

When and how did Slobozhanshchyna appear? Which lands did it include? Why did the Russian government not protest against cossacks colonization of Slobozhanshchyna?

Comment on the peculiarities of army and territorial governing of Slobozhanshchyna?

Comment on social and economical life of the land. What were its peculiarities?

How, when and why did the Russian government stop the autonomic existence of Slobozhanshchyna?

What is the importance of national state creation by Hetmanshchyna, Zaporizhzhia Sich and Slobozhanshchyna?

Topic: UKRAINIAN CULTURE IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE XVII-XVIII c.

Which were the conditions for Ukrainian culture development at that time? Comment on its peculiarities.

Which characteristics of European culture were common for the Ukrainian one? Explain the answer.

Which major changes did Ukrainians experience in their views on language and education?

Which system of education did Ukraine have? Which factors witness of its high level?

Why was the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy called the center of Ukrainian education, science and culture? Expand your answer.

Which factors witness of a high level of Ukrainian science?

Comment on the literature development in Ukraine? What are its characteristics of that time?

Who were the authors of the most prominent cossack chronicles?

Comment on the Ukrainian book print. When, why and who prohibited the book printing in Ukrainian? What were the consequences of these actions for the Ukrainian culture development?

Name the most prominent architects, artists and musicians of that time. Tell about the changes in architecture, art and music. Is it possible to speak about Ukrainian “Cossack” barocco? Which values and moral principles were accepted in the Ukrainian art of the 2nd half of the XVII-XVIIIc.?

Analyze the most prominent changes in Ukrainians’ views on religion, power and social system, which took place in the 2nd half of the XVII-XVIIIc.

Which factors widened the educational ideology in the Ukrainian society?

How deep was its influence on Ukrainians? Expand your answer.

Analyze the role of Church in the Ukrainian society life of the 2nd half of the XVII-XVIII c.

Analyze the mutual influences of Ukrainian and Russian cultures in the 2nd half of the XVII-XVIIIc. Give you evaluation to the Ukrainian culture input in Russian and other Slavonic cultures development of those times.

Compose the historical and pedagogical portraits of those personalities who were significant for the development of Ukrainian schools and education in the 2nd half of the XVII-XVIIIc.

Compose the historical portrait: “Hetman Ivan Mazepa — the patron of culture”.

Name the main cultural centers of book printing and education in Ukraine in the 2nd half of the XVII-XVIIIc.

Speak on the importance of the Kyiv—Mohyla Academy for the Ukrainian and other Slavonic nations education and culture.

Topic: **THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL MOVEMENT IN THE XIX c.**

Characterize conditions, in which the Ukrainian national consciousness was shaped in the XIX century.

What was caused by emerge of the political opposition to the Russian autocracy among the nobility in the Eastern part of Ukraine?

Find out the particular features of the Ukrainian “national revival” at the end of the XVIII c. till the 1930s. What are the main differences of its development in the Eastern and Western parts of Ukraine?

Determine the role of the Church in the national movement of Ukrainians in the Eastern part of Ukraine.

Characterize the programme demands of Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood. What was its role and place in the Ukrainian national independent movement?

Characterize the political and public activity of the following writers: M.Kostomarov, P.Kulish and T. Shevchenko.

Characterize the significance of “Kobzar” by T. Shevchenko for the revival and development of the Ukrainian nation.

Determine the facts, which promoted the idea of sobornist of the Ukrainians and made to realize themselves as a solitary nation of Galicia and Nuddniprianshchyna.

Where and when was the first Ukrainian cultural and educational organization “Hromada” founded? What was its goal? What were its main ideas? Who were its members?

Characterize the causes of the appearance of the nationwide movement in Naddniprianshchyna. What role did “Hromada” have in the 1860-70s in the Ukrainian national movement?

When did the “Valuev circular” appear? What influence did it have upon the process of the national revival in Ukraine?

Characterize the activity of “Stara hromada” (old community) in the national movement. How did “Emsk decree” influence the activation of the Ukrainian movement in 1876?

Characterize the program of the Ukrainian movement, which was created by M. Drahomanov in the publication “Hromada” in 1878-

1882. What influence, do you think, did Drahomanov's ideas have on the development of the Ukrainian national movement?

What alternatives of the society development were in the frame of the different trends of the socio-political movement spreading in Naddniprianshchyna in the second half of the XIX century?

Determine the role of the Greek—Catholic Clergy in the political and public life of the Western Ukraine.

Why did the well-known Ukrainian historian O. Efrymenko call the members of public and cultural association “The Rus Three” as three swallows, which “opened spring revival of Galicia and Rus nationality”?

The famous Ukrainian historian M.Hrushevsky, appreciating the activity of the Principal Russian Council, called it the first national government. Do you agree with it or not? Prove your answer.

What do you think about achievements and faults of the Ukrainian national movement in Galicia in the middle of the XIX c.?

What alternatives of the development of society were in frames of different trends of political and public movement, spreading in the Western part of Ukraine in the second half of the XIX c.?

Topic: THE POLITICAL MOVEMENT IN UKRAINE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE XX c.

Which facts promoted the politization of the national movement of Ukrainians in Naddniprianshchyna at the beginning of the XX c.?

Where and when did the first national political parties appear in Ukraine? Characterize the main points of their program, their strategy and tactic. What do you know about their leaders?

What party and program proclaimed the idea of the political independence of Ukraine at first in the Eastern part of Ukraine?

Who proclaimed the slogan “Ukraine is for Ukrainians” at first at the beginning of the XX c.? What included the historical significance for the development of ideas of the Ukrainian nationalism? Prove your answer.

Characterize the political background and the activity of the Ukrainian Parliament Hromada in the first and second Russian State Duma.

Characterize the activity of the different Russian political parties on the boundary of Ukraine.

Characterize the influence of the Revolution events of 1905 in the Russian empire upon the development of the Ukrainian national being.

Characterize the chauvinistic attack by the Russian government upon the Ukrainian national movement in Naddniprianshchyna after the Revolution's defeat in 1905-1907.

Characterize the political plans and intentions of the resistible sides concerning the "Ukrainian issue" just before the World War I. Why did the war actualize and aggravate it?

Compare the external political direction of the Ukrainian political leaders in Naddniprianshchyna, Galicia and Bukovyna during the World War I.

What politics did the Russian government have during the occupation in Galicia in the period of the World War I?

Determine the role of cultural and educational movements in the national living of Ukrainians in Galicia and Bukovyna at the beginning of the XX century.

How did the widespread emigration of Ukrainian farmers in Galicia influence upon the social and political living of Western Ukrainians?

Which facts proved aggravation of the Ukrainian and Poland conflict in Galicia at the beginning of the XX c.? Find out its causes.

Characterize the peculiarities of the national revival in the Western part of Ukraine. What facts promoted it being political? How did it demonstrate?

Why did Greek-Catholic Church become the main cause of the national movement? Prove your answer.

Characterize the activity of different organizations Galicia youth at the beginning of the XX century ("Sokil", "Sich", "Plast").

How were the Ukrainian Host Strilets (riflemen) units formed? What do you know about them?

What policy did the Austrian government have in Galicia during the World War I?

Topic: FIGHT FOR UKRAINE'S STATEHOOD REVIVAL IN 1917-1920

What was the peculiarity of the political situation in Ukraine after the February Revolution in 1917 in Russia? What government appeared in Ukraine after the tsarism? Determine the character, moving powers, targets and major directions of the Ukrainian national movement in 1917.

Characterize the relationships between the Central Rada (Council) and the Temporary government.

Analyze the content and determine the historical meaning of the most important state-building documents of the Central Rada.

What causes of the conflict were between the Central Rada and the Soviet National Committee of Russia?

What conditions were for proclaiming the Soviet authority in Ukraine? How did it spread?

Characterize the conditions of the Brest-Lithuania treaty for Ukraine. What relationships were between the Central Rada and the German and Austrian aggressive administration?

Characterize the legislative activity of the Central Rada during the last month of its existence.

Determine the historical significance of the activity of the Central Rada.

Make up the historical portraits of well-known representatives of the Central Rada: Mykhailo Hrushevsky, Volodymyr Vynychenko, Symon Petliura.

Compose the table: "A hundred days of the Ukrainian Central Rada".

What facts promoted the appearance of a new state formation — Hetmanate "Ukrainian State"?

Characterize the main directions of the internal policy of

P. Skoropadsky's government. What were the main points of his plans concerning the establishment of a new state? Could he realize them? Prove your answer.

What successes did external policy of Hetmanate have?

What was declared by Skoropadsky's letter on November 14, 1918?

What caused the changes in Skoropadsky's external policy of the Ukrainian state? What was its result?

What were the reasons for failure of the hetman's power in Ukraine?

Determine the major results of hetman's period in Ukraine.

Compose the historical portrait "hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky".

When did the authority of Ukraine set up the Directory? Who was its leader? Who were its members? What social classes of population were in its basis?

What facts determined the significance of the political direction of the Directory? How long was this direction perspective? Why?

What external policy did the Directory have?

When were the relationships set up between the UNR and the ZUNR? What is the idea of adopting "union"? Why didn't it come true in that historic period?

What was the main idea of the external policy of the Directory? What faults in its external policy came to losing control over Ukraine?

Characterize the development of war activity in Ukraine during 1919-1920.

What caused the failure of the Directory and the UNR? When was it?

Determine the causes of the defeat and lessons of the national and democratic revolution in Ukraine.

Topic: **SOVIET UKRAINE IN THE 1920s**

What causes influenced the Soviet authority in Ukraine? How was its Constitution made?

When was it made the Soviet form of the state in Ukraine — the Ukrainian Socialistic Soviet Republic at last? Why?

Characterize the main principles of the Ukrainian Soviet Constitution in 1919.

When and how was the Bolshevik regime adopted in Ukraine at last? Characterize the main aspects of Bolsheviks' policy towards Ukraine in 1920?

How did the process of creating “the political and military treaty” between the RSFSR and the Ukrainian SSR go?

Determine the essential periods of the general and legal creation of the USSR. When and what was the status of Ukraine in the structure of the USSR?

How did the Ukrainian foreign policy change after the USSR's formation?

What were the consequences of Ukraine's joining the structure of the USSR?

What results and consequences were after the policy of the “military communism” concerning Ukraine?

What caused the change of the “military communism” policy for the NEP?

What were special features of the NEP in Ukraine? What consequences were after its accomplishment?

When and why did the new economic policy discontinue its existence? What were the consequences of its end?

Characterize the political idea of the “korenization” in Ukraine. What successes did the policy of “Ukrainization” achieve in the field of education?

What political powers were against the “Ukrainization”?

What does it mean the “national deviation”? Who suffered from it among the famous representatives of the Ukrainian national movement?

Characterize the causes of the cultural renewal in Ukraine in the 1920s. What were the changes in the development of literature, music and art?

When and why was the right for being Unified Orthodox Church forbidden in Ukraine? What was the cause for starting repressive politics of “total” state? In what way was it held?

**Topic: UKRAINE IN THE PERIOD OF THE
SOCIALISTIC MODERNIZATION OF THE NATIONAL
ECONOMICS**

What was the way of making the totalitarian regime in Ukraine?

Who were the leaders and organizers of the Central repressive policy in Ukraine?

When and how was Stalin’s repressive government organized? What were its targets? How can you explain the wide-spread repressions in Ukraine?

Why wasn’t the Soviet totalitarian system interested in changing the people’s consciousness in the 1930s?

What causes and preconditions promoted the forced industrialization in the USSR?

What was the role of Ukraine in the industrialization? What were its peculiarities in Soviet Ukraine?

Find out positive and negative consequences of the forced industrialization for the development of the Ukrainian nation.

When and what causes did “significant” changes begin in Ukraine’s agriculture?

Why did the policy of “kurkulstvo’s liquidation as a class” promote the separation in Ukraine?

What consequences did practically the forced separation in Ukraine have?

What consequences did the famine of 1932-1933 have for the Ukrainian nation? How did it reflect upon the Ukrainian prospective generations?

Topic: **THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE IN THE WESTERN PART OF UKRAINE BETWEEN THE WORLD WARS**

When was the ZUNR proclaimed? How was its government called? Who was its leader?

Characterize the external and internal policy of the ZUNR?

What attitude did the Poles have as for the Ukrainian plans of the organization of the independent state in the Western part of the outskirts of Ukraine? How can you explain the Polish position?

What is the historical meaning of proclaiming the act of Union of the UNR and the ZUNR?

How did the national and liberation competition develop in Transcarpathia and in the Northern Bukovyna?

Why did the national and liberation competition fail in the Western Ukraine?

When and to which states the Ukrainian lands were given? What status did they receive?

What economic and political position had the Ukrainians in Poland, Romania and Transcarpathia?

What forms of the state activity gave the Ukrainians the opportunity to be against the policy of the Polish government, which was directed to the polonization and assimilation?

Characterize the activity of the Ukrainian political parties in Poland. What was their influence upon the social development?

Characterize the role of the Ukrainian and Greek—Catholic Church (UGCC) and its Metropolit A. Sheptytsky in the political life of the Eastern Galicia. Why did the Orthodox Church play a smaller role in the public and political life of the Western Volyn, Polissya and Kholmshchyna than Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church in the Western Galicia?

What were preconditions for appearing the Ukrainian Nationalists' Organization (the OUN)? Characterize the goal and the methods of the activity of the OUN. What were the strong and the weak points of its activity?

What does the term integral nationalism mean? What is its peculiarity?

Find out the strong and the weak points of ideas of the main ideologist of the OUN D. Dontsov. Are his ideas up to date?

Analyze the legal and illegal ways of the national and liberate movement in the Western Ukraine between wars. What were their relationships? Make conclusions.

Characterize the phenomena of the OUN and determine its historical meaning between wars.

Topic: UKRAINE DURING THE WORLD WAR II

What does it mean “Ukrainian issue”? What status did it have in the international politics before the beginning of the World War II?

What accelerated the beginning of the World War II?

What conditions of Molotov’s and Robbentrop’s treaty were carried out? What consequences did it have?

Characterize the policy of the neighbouring countries at the new Ukrainian lands?

Characterize the social and economic development and the political life of the Soviet Ukraine before the German and Soviet war of 1941-1945.

What were the main causes for the USSR’s and the Red army’s defeat in the battles for Ukraine? Why was the Ukrainian direction of offensive the key one in the German aggressive plans?

How did the news about the Ukrainian occupation influence the spirit of the Red army?

What administrative structure did Ukraine have during the occupation?

Characterize the German and fashist politics during the occupation in Ukraine? What was the main idea of collaborationalism of the definite part of Ukraine? What motivation did they have?

What was the main idea of the OUN’s proclamation of the Act

on the renewing of the Ukrainian independent state on June 30, 1941? Why did that attempt fail?

Why did the Resistance movement appear in Ukraine? Find out its forms and peculiarities.

Did the UPA play the role of the “third power” in the Soviet and German resistance?

How did the process of the liberation of Ukraine from the German aggressors and their allies go?

What problems did the Soviet power have with the Ukrainian nation on the liberated territory? What were the attempts of its revival?

What were the losses of the Ukrainian nation during the World War II? Characterize its contribution into the general defeat of Germany and its allies.

What administrative and territorial changes were in Ukraine during the war and after its ending? How did it influence the development of the Ukrainian republic?

Topic: UKRAINE AT THE AFTER-WAR DECADE

Characterize the main directions of the external policy of the Soviet Ukraine at the after-war period.

What facts showed the growth of the international influence of Ukraine during the after-war period?

Why was the foreign activity of Ukraine limited?

What were the consequences of the World War II for the Ukrainian economics?

In what way did the renovation of the Ukraine’s economics happen? Why did it have a contradictory character?

Determine the causes and the consequences of the famine in Ukraine in 1946-1947. Can we call it a holocaust? Why?

Characterize the social and economic actions of the republic’s government as for the economic situation of Ukraine in the after-war period. Did they achieve their aim? Prove your answer.

Find out the particularities of the social and political life in Ukraine during that time. What were the contradictions in it?

What were the changes in the cultural and educational life of the Ukrainian nation in the after-war decade?

What were the consequences of Stalin's ideological dictatorship in the after-war period for Ukraine?

What was the idea and particularities of the social and after-war changes in the Western part of Ukraine?

Analyze the activity of the OUN and UPA in the after-war period. Did they have a chance to achieve success? Prove your answer.

In spring of 1945 it was the final time of the most dangerous war among all the wars of the humankind in Europe. Europe celebrated the victory and prepared for the peaceful life. The war continued in Ukraine. All in blood the Western Ukraine entreated only about one thing: "Brothers, don't shoot!." Express your opinion about it.

Topic: UKRAINE IN THE CONDITIONS OF THE CRISIS OF THE TOTALITARIAN SYSTEM

Did external and internal circumstances promote the liberalization of the social life? How was it called? Why?

What were the directions of "destalinization" in Ukraine? What was the specific future of it? What were the causes of its inconsistent and unfinished character?

Why didn't the liberalization of the social life provide the essential changes in the Ukrainian society?

Find out the essence and the consequences of Khrushchov's social and economic reforms for Ukraine.

What is the essence of the reform in 1965? What changes were in the economics of Ukraine after it?

What were the consequences for the Ukrainian economics the fundamental economic reform in the 1980s? Why did it fail?

Determine the causes and the consequences of the crisis in the economics of Ukraine.

What changes were in the social politics of the Ukrainian government at that time? What were the consequences?

What was the essence of the political and social crisis in the USSR and Ukraine?

What was the contribution of the men of sixties to the national and liberation movement of Ukraine?

What role did the “samvydav” play in the legal movement?

What role did the Ukrainian dissident movement play in the social consciousness and in the development of the social activity?

Why did the national and democratic movement fail in Ukraine in the 1960-1980s? What was its main message for the Ukrainian nation?

Topic: MAKING OF THE INDEPENDENT STATE AND ITS BUILDING

Analyze the causes of the disintegration of the Soviet state and how it influenced Ukraine.

What causes promoted the adoption of the “Declaration of the State Sovereignty of Ukraine”? What functions did it have before the adoption of the new Ukrainian Constitution?

What difficulties did the Ukrainian SSR have carrying out the basic points of the declaration?

Characterize the historical meaning of the Ukrainian Referendum on December 1, 1991.

What is the meaning of the first World Congress of Ukrainians?

Characterize the main movements and parties, which appeared in Ukraine. What were their prospective development and their place in the national and state construction?

What do you think about the government crisis during the whole process of a new state building of independent Ukraine?

What is the historical meaning of the adoption of the Constitution of the Independent Ukraine? Characterize the main points of it as the basis of the National Law.

Determine the peculiarities of the social and economic development of Ukraine nowadays.

What difficulties did the independent Ukraine have while establishing market relationships?

Characterize the position of different political forces as for reformation of the market economics.

How did the legislation set up during the market economics? Did the legislation work? Characterize it.

Characterize the main directions of overcoming the crisis in the Ukrainian economics.

Show the influence of economic crisis on the living conditions of Ukraine's population.

Do you agree with the following statement, that there is a spiritual crisis in Ukraine? Prove your answer.

What are the most characteristic features of cultural development of the modern Ukrainian society?

What is your opinion about the correlation of the foreign and domestic politics of Ukraine?

What documents support the main directions of the foreign policy of Ukraine?

Characterize the preferable directions of the foreign activity of Ukraine.

Determine the central contradiction of the Ukrainian and Russian relationships.

What prevents the successful external relationship between Ukraine and Russia? What problems do they have?

Make up a table of the "Ukrainian and Russian relationships of the 1990s".

What international organizations does Ukraine take part in?

Prove the growth of international authority of Ukraine in the process of its national development.

What role does diaspora play in the modern history of Ukraine?

Make up the public and political portraits of the first Presidents of independent Ukraine: Leonid Kravchuk and Leonid Kuchma.

Analyze your school experience about leading and highly-

developed countries of the world. Is it possible to build up a highly-developed and modern European country without the general national idea and national ideology? What does the Constitution say about it?

How do you appreciate the events of the election of the President of Ukraine in 2004? What social and political process promoted the opposition being in the authority? Does Ukraine have the perspectives for overcoming the social and economical, political and spiritual crisis?

What are the reasons for the present political crisis in Ukraine and what can be the ways of its overcoming?

Topic: **THE FORMATION OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF UKRAINE**

What were the reasons of the intensification of crisis phenomena in the economy of Ukraine during the 1990th?

Define the structure and the main principles of the Constitution of Ukraine.

Compare the main content and directions of policy of the Presidents and governments of Ukraine.

Name the main reasons and achievements of the Orange revolution.

Follow the main tendencies and directions of foreign policy of Ukraine of the times of independence.

What factors, from your point of view, influence the formation of values of the modern society?

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Autocethalic church — an Orthodox church which has a complete autonomy in solving organizational and cult issues.

Authoritarianism — self-power, antidemocratic management of a political power that is characterized by a concentration of unlimited power in hands of one or several persons. Such type of power grounds on military and punitive staff, repressions and terror, social and national demagogu, substitution of democracy for dictatorship and reactionary forces.

Autochtones — ancient settlers of some country or territory.

Act of Independence of Ukraine Declaration — a document of the Supreme Council of Ukraine that on August 24, 1991 stated Ukraine was an independent, democratic state. According to the Declaration only the Constitution and laws of Ukraine were considered legitimate on its territory. All-Ukraine referendum held on December 1, 1991 confirmed the Act of Independence of Ukraine Declaration.

Act of the Ukrainian Statehood Declaration — was passed on the initiative of the revolutionary fraction the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN(r)) in Lviv on June 30, 1941. The Ukrainian state government with Iaroslava Stetsko at head was created on the same day. After a direct denial to dissolve the government and the OUN the German authorities arrested the head of the OUN Stepan Bandera, members of the government Ia. Stetsko, 200 of leaders of the OUN(r)), over 200 other nationalists. Most of them died in fascist concentration camps.

Animism — belief in the existence of soul and spirits — creatures which influence all phenomena and objects of material and non-material world that emerged alone with other primary beliefs at times of primitive communal system and was the basis of the cult of nature spirits and ancestors' spirits.

Annexation — a forced joining of some territory to another state.

Anthes — the name of East-Slavonic tribes. The name was used by Byzantine authors of the VI — the beginning of the VII centuries A.D. The political union of Anthes was one of the samples of the future East-Slavonic statehood.

Anti-Comintern's letter — a treaty between Germany and Japan signed on November 25, 1936, that was directed at the struggle against the Comintern. In November 1937 Italy and eventually other states joined it.

Anti-Hitler coalition — a confederacy of the states and nations which struggled against the belligerent bloc of Germany, Italy, and Japan at the time of World War II. It was made in 1941.

“The Apostle” — the first printed book in Ukraine published in 1574 by Ivan Fedorov in Lviv.

Assimilation in ethnography — the ethnic process when some peoples or groups of people communicate with the ethnos in which they live, adopt its culture, language and gradually merge with it. Amalgamation of one folk, nationality or ethnic group with the other, owing to which one group loses its national identity. Assimilation can be of two types: natural and forced.

The Bakhchisaraj agreement was made on January 13, 1681 between Russia, Turkey and the Crimean khanate for 20 years. Turkey and the Crimean khanate recognized the Left-Bank Ukraine, Kyiv and Zaporizhzhia annexed to Russia.

Berest Church Union of 1569 — a unification of the Catholic Church and Orthodox bishops of Ukraine and Bilorus on terms of recognition of the Catholic dogmatics concerning the Purgatory, the origin of the Holy Spirit coming from the God Father and the God's Son, the acceptance of the Byzantine's ceremony and Julian calendar.

Berest Union of 1596 — the union of the Orthodox and the Catholic churches on the territory of Rzech Pospolita. Recognizing the Pope as its head the Orthodox church of Ukraine and Bilorus kept the church service in the Slavonic language and the orthodox rites.

Berest Church Union of 1569 — a unification of the Catholic Church and Orthodox bishops of Ukraine and Bilorus on terms of recognition of the Catholic dogmatics concerning the Purgatory, the origin of the Holy Spirit coming from the God Father and the God's Son, the acceptance of the Byzantine's ceremony and Julian calendar.

Bila Tserkva Treaty of 1651 — is a covenant that was worked out on September 28, 1651 in Bila Tserkva (name of the town) between B. Khmelnytsky and the polish government after the Berest Battle, according to which the polish-gentry's regime was recommenced in Ukraine; the Cossacks register was twice shortened to 20 000 people; the Cossacks' territory was located till the Kyiv province; those Cossacks who were not included to the register, had to return as the subjects of their lords; hetman B. Khmelnytsky in his actions directly obeyed the crown hetman and Polish king; after the death of Bohdan Khmelnytsky the right to appoint the hetman and to relieve him of his post was given to the Polish king. In 1652 B. Khmelnytsky annulled the Bila Tserkva treaty.

Bondmen — the dependent on the feudal lords group of the population of the Kyivan Rus that in terms of its legal status was close to the slaves.

Brest-Lithuanian peace treaty of 1918 — was signed on February 9, 1918 by the representatives of UNR and the states of the Fourth Confederacy. After they declared the UNR at the head of the Central Council to be an independent state, and being guided by the contract of the Austrian-German army arrived in Ukraine by the end of March.

Brotherhoods — are public organizations of the Ukrainian and Bilorus petty bourgeoisie that were established by the end of XVI-XVII centuries to protect the estate, national-religious interests and cultural traditions. The brotherhoods established the printing-houses, fraternal schools. The known of the brotherhoods are: Lviv Assumption (established in 1585 by U. Rohatynets), Kyiv Bohoyavlenske (established in 1516 by I. Boretsky), Lutsk Chesnokhrestske (established in 1617 by T. Zemka).

Buyers — a category of peasants in the Kyivan Rus, who took a loan from their feudal lord. For that they had to carry out feudal duties.

Canonization — a statute, changing of some rule into the obligatory one.

The Central Council — is the organization, found on March 17, 1917 in Kyiv. It was at the head of the national liberation movement in Ukraine. To its membership were included the representatives of the various political forces, social strata, societies and groups, military men, etc. At the first stage the activities were concentrated on the propaganda of the idea of the national unity and working-out the general tactics concerning the execution of the national requisitions of the Ukrainian people. By the decision of the Ukrainian national congress in April 1917 it was turned into the utmost government body (the Ukrainian parliament). The executive office — the Minor Council — was formed proportionally from the representatives of separate factions. In June 1917 an utmost government — the General Secretariat was formed. In November 1917 it proclaimed itself to be the supreme government body in the Ukrainian People's Republic, and in January 1918 declared the independence of the UPR. It couldn't practically extend its rule to the whole territory of Ukraine owing to the Bolsheviks' counteraction. In December 1917 — January 1918 it temporarily lost its power. On January 27, 1918 the Council signed an agreement with Germany and its allies, by having voluntarily agreed to bring their forces to Ukraine. It reverted to Kyiv on March 1st, but on April 19, 1918 it was deprived of power during the coup d'état that was sanctioned by the occupants.

“Charter for portages” — a protocol of the Grand Lithuanian Principality. It was passed on April 1, 1557 and regulated the introduction of the agrarian reform. According to the “Charter” peasants' farmings were formed and were provided twice a week with a labour force of house-serfs and volost peasants. The lands were remeasured and divided into portages with the exception for the lots with the appropriate taxation. The regulation of work of the local administration was carried out this way.

The Chernobyl catastrophe — is an accident that took place on April 25, 1986 at the fourth power-generating unit of the nuclear power plant near Chernobyl in Kyiv region. It resulted in human victims, numerous illnesses among the population and led to the radiation pollution of a large part of the territory of Ukraine and the adjoining countries.

Chumakstvo — is a trade and vehicular line of business in Ukraine in the XVI — XIX centuries. Chumaks imported from the Crimea and Galicia salt, and from Ukraine they transported bread and other agricultural commodities. Chumakstvo was extended also in Povolzhya, Don and Kuban. It was stopped in the second half of the XIX century owing to the development of the railway and river stream transport.

The Church Cathedral in Lviv 1946. It liquidated Berestetsky union in 1596, prohibited the Greek-Catholic church, annulled the dependence upon Rome, and accepted a resolution to return to the Russian Orthodox Church. The act was carried through according to the directions of the security services of the USSR.

Cleinods — military insignias, regalias or attributes of the Ukrainian Cossacks which were used in the XVI — XIX centuries. Among them there were gonfalons, bunchaks, maces, pernaches, kettle-drums, badges, stuffs, etc. The highest sign of power was a mace that hetmans and atamans had.

Cold War — a term that was a symbol of the policy of the USA, the USSR and their allies. It was carried out since the end of the World War II till the end of the 1980s.

Collaborationalists — such individuals who collaborated with the Nazis on the territories of the occupied by them countries at the times of the World War II.

Committees of poor peasants (comnezams) — organizations of the rural poor in Ukraine in 1920-1933. They took an active part in the conducting of the forced collectivization and “dispossession of the kulaks”.

Conservatism — a benevolence to antiquated, obsolete things and the hostile attitude to the new, progressive in the social life, science, technology, arts.

The Constitution — is the main law of the state, that determines the basics of the political, legal, economic systems of the country and has the highest legal effect. The first Constitution of Ukraine “Pacts and the Constitution of the rules and liberties of the Zaporizhzhian army” was created by P. Orlyk in 1710. The projects of the Constitution were prepared by H. Andruzsky (1846-1850), M. Hrushevsky, M. Mikhnovsky (1905). The government of the Central Council approved the project of the Constitution of the UNR (April 29, 1918). That very day “The legislation about the temporary state structure of Ukraine” was adopted by hetman P. Skoropadsky. In 1919-1920 functioned “The short term fundamental law” of the ZUNR. During the soviet period the first Constitution was accepted in 1919. Owing to the formation of the SRSR in 1929 another one was approved; 1937- the third one; 1978 — the fourth Constitution of the URSR. On June 28, 1996 the new Constitution of Ukraine was confirmed.

Cossack’s chronicles — completed individual works written in the second half of the XVII — XVIII centuries by the representatives of the Cossack’s sergeant-major. They belong to the most important sources of the history of Ukraine. The most well-known chronicles were created by Samovydet, Hryhorij Hrabianka, Samijlo Velychko.

Cossacks’ sergeant-major — an administrative and military leadership of the Cossacks’ troops. It was divided into a regimental and a hundred.

Cyryl and Methodius Brotherhood — is the first secret political organization in Ukraine that was found by the end of 1845-1846 in Kyiv by M. Kostomarov, M. Hulak, V. Bilozersky. It scheduled by means of the reforms to liquidate the serfdom, democratic freedoms, to establish the federation of Slavonic nations at the head of Ukraine. In March of 1847 its members were arrested and condemned to different terms of imprisonment.

The Declaration of minorities rights in Ukraine — is a document that was accepted on the 1st of November in 1991 by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine. It guarantees equal political, economic, social and cultural rights to all the nations, national groups and citizens. It gives also the right to all the nationalities to preservation of the traditional settling in a new place and provides the development of the national languages and cultures.

The Declaration of State Sovereignty of Ukraine — is a document, statement accepted on the 16th of July 1990 by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine that established the process of the revival of the Ukrainian independent state.

Deportation — a policy of expelling, forced exile of some part of population by the state organs. In a wide meaning it is a forced eviction of the whole nations from the places of their constant residence. During the World War II such a fate overtook 650 000 of the Germans, 200 000 of the Crimean Tatars, almost a million of the Poles that were deported by order of Stalin. In 1947 the Polish regime deported 150 000 of the Ukrainians from Zakerzonnya (the so called operation “Visla”).

Destabilization — an official policy of the USSR and a number of the state and party activities aimed at the dethroning of Stalin’s cult and its consequences.

Directory — is the temporary state structure, established on November 14, 1918 by the Ukrainian national union for the organization and carrying out the rebellion against the regime of the hetman P. Skoropadsky. To its staff entered: V. Vynnychenko — as the head and members: S. Petlura, F. Shvets, O. Andriyevsky, A. Makarenko. After the liquidation of the hetman’s regime and reconstruction of the independent Ukrainian people’s republic the Council of the national Ministers of UNR was elected. And on January 22, 1919 in Kyiv was proclaimed the act of the reunion of UNR and ZUNR into one state.

Dissident — a dissenting person, an apostate, whose views differ from the ideology of the ruling power. Dissidents are participants of

the movement, directed against the communist totalitarian authoritarian regime. In Ukraine in the 1960s dissidents focused on the liberation of the nation, rescue of its religion, culture and language. Since the second half of the 1970s the movement for human rights was activated. As an anti-protective trend there served the Ukrainian Helsinki group which in the course of time turned into the Ukrainian Helsinki Union (UGU). In 1976 — 1988 41 people were members of the UGU.

Dogma — a regulation that is acknowledged as an irrefutable act, eternal and invariable, that is accepted without proofs.

Drevliany — is the Eastern Slavic tribe that resided in the VI — XII centuries in Polissya on the Right-Bank of the Dnieper river with its center in Iskorosten. During the rebellion in 945 the drevlyans killed Prince Ihor. His wife princess Olha stifled a rebellion and liquidated the principedom of the drevlyans.

The Emsk decree of 1876 — an order of Alexander II, signed in Yems (Germany) that supplemented Valuyev circular (1863) and according to which it was prohibited to import from abroad Ukrainian books, publish original works in Ukrainian, fulfill Ukrainian translation from foreign languages and show theatrical performances in Ukrainian.

Ethnogeny — a state of the formation of the ethnos, people.

Ethnos — a community that was historically shaped, it has a common culture, language, customs, etc. It is aware of both its unity and distinction from other similar communities.

Famine of 1921-1923 in Ukraine — was originated as a result of the Bolshevistic policy of “the military communism”. 25% of the Ukrainian population was starving, and several millions of persons became its victims.

Famine of 1932-1933 in Ukraine — was a purposeful genocide of Stalinism against the Ukrainian nation that was deliberately organized by the Bolshevistic totalitarian regime for the purpose of the mass extermination of the best Ukrainian forces. According to some facts Ukraine lost till 15 millions of persons. There are no accurate data

because the materials of the census of the 1937 were destroyed and the organizers of this census were shot down.

Famine of 1946-1947 in Ukraine — was produced by the decline of the agriculture due to the war and Stalin's system of leadership, low in a typical form of the kolkhoz-radhosp production, unreal plans of the state grain procurement, large amount of grain export and products of stock-raising and by trying of Stalinism to cause losses to a grown-up national self-consciousness of the Ukrainians and resistance forces of the totalitarian regime. Because of famine several millions of adults and children died.

Fascism — (from Italian “association”, “alliance”) — a notion of the socio-political movement, ideologies and inwardly state regime of the totalitarian type; similar in the way of political mobilization of society, procedures of the terrorist domination and propaganda to Bolshevism, Stalinism, Maoism, “Red Khmers”, etc.

Fetish — a thing or a person that people adore and in which they worship.

Galicia-Rus matytsya — is a cultural-educational association, established in 1848 in Lviv that existed till the 30th of the XX century. It published the generally newest and morally religious books, school textbooks, scientific collected articles, assisting the development of the Ukrainian culture in the Eastern Galicia.

Galicia-Volyn chronicle — is a prominent commemorative booklet in historiography and literature of the XIII century. It was kept safe in Ipatiiiv annalistic establishment. It consists of Galician chronicle (1201-1261) and Velynsky one (1262-1292) that contain a rich artistic and folklore material.

The General Secretariat — is an executive office of the Ukrainian Central Council, government of Ukraine at the period between the Universals I and IV (June 1917 — January 1918) that was transformed by the IV Universal UCC into the Council of the National Ministers of the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR).

Gestapo — the confidential police of Nazi Germany.

Gorodel privilege — an act of the decree of the Krev union. An agreement between the Grand Lithuanian Duke Vitovt and Polish King Yagailo that was completed on October 2, 1413 in the castle of Gorodel. It established the registration of the regulations rights of the gentry whose religion was Catholic. That gentry acquired guarantees of the property right and the right of the political priority opposed to the Orthodox gentry.

Gorodel Union of 1413 — is an agreement that was made up on October 2, 1413 between the cousins: the Polish king Yagaylo and Lithuanian-Russian grand prince Vitovt in Gorodel.

Lithuania admitted the right to have its ruler under the leadership of the Polish king. The Polish and Lithuanian feudal lords received equal privileges. In Lithuania was introduced the same as in Poland administrative and territorial division.

Hadyansk treaty of 1658 — is an agreement of hetman I. Vyhovskiy with Poland where there is an account of conditions of determination of the own Ukrainian state according the European standards. It hasn't been realized but has its significance as the commemorative booklet of the national thought of Ukraine.

Haidamak Movement — is a national liberation struggle against the serfdom and national-religious pressure in the XVIII century on the Right-Bank Ukraine, that was under the power of Poland at that time.

Haidamaks — public rebels at the Right-Bank Ukraine. Haidamaks (from Turkish “hayda” — to cause willfulness, attack, trouble) a humiliating name given by the Polish gentry to the participants of the national liberation movement in Ukraine in the first half of the XVIII century. In 1768 the movements of the Haidamaks ended up into an uprising that went down in history under the name of Koliivshchyna.

Hetman — the highest military official. After the formation of the

Ukrainian Cossack State in the middle of the XVII century he was the head of the state in whose hands almost all the fullness of the executive, legislative, and judicial powers was concentrated. He established and maintained relations with foreign states and had a considerable influence on the church matters.

Hetmanate — a national name of the Left-Bank Ukraine that since 1654 was under the protectorate of Moscow state and had a wide autonomy in the beginning. In the official records of the Russian Empire Malorus was called Hetmanate (Hetmanshchyna in the Ukrainian). In 1781 Catherine II countermanded regimental-administrated regime and Hetmanate ceased to exist, and its lands were included in the newly made Kyiv, Chernihiv and Novhorod-Siversky regions ruled by governors-general.

“History of Rus People” — is a historical and political commemorative booklet of the end of the XVIII — the beginning of the XIX centuries written by an unknown author. Here were described the historical events in Ukraine starting from the ancient times till 1769 from the position of part of nobles’ ideology that gravitated towards the political autonomy of Ukraine being a part of the Russian State. It gave the basis for the national awakening, began to appeal to the unity of the Ukrainian nation and realization of its place in the history, and to prophesy the state-political rebirth of Ukraine.

House-serfs — the servants of the grand dukes (boyards, house-keepers, stewards, butlers, etc.).

Hromadas — semi-legal groups of the Ukrainian intellectuals that appeared at the beginning of the 1860s. They were engaged in social activities and propaganda of the Ukrainian national idea. They were centers of the Ukrainian democratic intellectuals that carried out the national-cultural and civil-political work in the second half of the XIX — at the beginning of the XIX century within the bounds of the Russian Empire and abroad. With the acceptance of the Emsk decree of the 1876 their activities were prohibited and they operated semi-legally. At the beginning of the XX century many citizens

became the participants of the Ukrainian national-political organizations, civil clubs.

Hryvnia (hryvna) — a weight, counting and monetary unit in the Kyivan Rus. The weight hryvnia was used in the VIII — IX centuries. In the XI — XIII centuries it was equated to 51,9 grams of gold or silver. A coin of hryvnia is known since the middle of the XI century and represented a bar of silver of the standard weight and shape. Kyiv hryvnias are considered to be the first, and then appeared Novgorod and Chernihiv hryvnias.

Indigenous people — natives of the country or their descendants (in contrast to the peoples that moved to this territory).

Industrialization — making of a great machine production in all the fields of economics, first of all, in industry.

Kish — the central management body of Zaporizhzhia Sich that was in charge of the administrative, military, judicial, and other affairs. It originated since the times of the foundation of Sich (XVI century) and existed till its liquidation in 1775.

Koliivshchyna — a popular uprising of haidamaks in 1768 on the Right-Bank Ukraine against the national and social oppression of the Polish magnates.

Kolomatsky articles of 1687 — is an agreement between Cossacks' first sergeant and tsar's government, drawn up in Kolomak in Kharkiv's region during the choosing the left-bank Ukraine by hetman I. Mazepa. It was made up of 22 paragraphs that restricted the political rights of the hetman and the first sergeant, strengthened the feudal regime.

The Krev union of 1385 — is an agreement between Poland and the Grand Lithuanian Duchy in the castle Krevo about the matrimony of the Polish queen Jadwiga and Lithuanian prince Yagailo. It stipulated the unification of Lithuania and Poland. It caused resentment of the part of the Lithuanian and Ukrainian feudal lords because of the Poles' attempts to capture Ukrainian lands.

Kruty — a railroad station between Bakhmach and Nizhyn (today's Chernihiv region), the battle place of a hundred of the first military school named by B. Khmelnytsky and of a hundred of the Subsidiary students' kurins against the Bolshevistic forces that attacked Kyiv. While protecting the station 290 heroes were lost. Under the decision of the Central Council the bodies of 28 dead warriors were buried with military honours on March 19, 1918 near the Askold's grave in Kyiv.

Kuchmism — an ideology, policy and activities of a regime set by the second President of Ukraine Leonid Kuchma which provoked a resistance of the Ukrainian society.

Kyiv Chronicle — one of the oldest historical and literary commemorative booklets of the prince's period. It is a component part of the Ipatij Chronicle, a continuation of "A Tale of the Past Years". It includes the events since 1111 — 1117 till 1200. The translation of the chronicle appeared in "The Rus Chronicle" in 1989.

The Kyiv-Mohyla Academy — the first institute of higher education, the prominent cultural and educational center in Ukraine established in 1632 as a result of amalgamation of the Kyiv fraternal school and the school of the Kyiv-Pechersk lavra. Till 1701 the establishment was called college. In XVII-XVIII centuries — the biggest scientific, educational, cultural center of all the eastern Slavonic nations. In 1817 it was transformed into the state academy. In 1872 the church-archaeological association and the museum were found here. Nowadays it is an international independent educational institution that trains specialists in the humanities and natural sciences in accordance with the global standards.

Kyiv-Pechersk lavra — is an Orthodox monastery found in 1051. In the XI it became the center of propagation of Christianity in Kyiv Rus, the center of culture, education, writing chronicles. Since the XII-th century the cloister received the right of lavra (the monastery — for men). In XIV — XVII — it became the center of struggle against Greek-Catholics. By the decision of UNESCO the ensemble

of the Kyiv-Pechersk lavra was included in the Register of the World Heritage.

“Kyiv-Pechersk pateryk” — is a commemorative booklet of literature and history of Kyiv Rus, collected stories about the history of Kyiv-Pechersk monastery. It was created in the XIII century.

League of Nations — an international organization founded on April 28, 1919 at the Parisian Peace Conference (1919-1920). Its aim was to struggle for the limitation of arming, the development of collaboration between nations, a guarantee of peace and security. It was officially dissolved on April 18, 1946 by the decree of the special Assembly.

Left-Bank Ukraine — is a historical name of Ukraine as a part of the Russian state at the second half of the XVII-XVIII century that enjoyed certain autonomy. At the head of government was hetman. In 1722 and 1734 temporarily and in 1764 finally abolished the tsarismus hetman's government. The autonomy was completely liquidated in 1781.

Lithuanian charter — a code of laws of the Grand Lithuanian, Rus, Zhymoj Principalities that was passed in three versions in 1529, 1566 and 1588, in which the fundamental regulations of the public, civil, family, criminal, procedural law of the principalities were set. In Ukraine it worked since the XVI century till the 1840s.

Lithuanian regulations — are the summaries of laws of the feudal Lithuanian state of the XVI century that worked also on the incorporative to it Ukrainian lands. Three Lithuanian regulations were issued: “Stary” (1529), “Volynsky” (1566) and “Novy” (1588) that was worked till 1844. They protected private property, consolidated the primary privileges of the feudal lords, determined the legal grounds of the feudal exploitation of the peasantry. The regulation of the 1588 consolidated legally serfdom in Bratslavshyna and Prydniprovyia.

Little Russia Collegium — is a central body of the state management of the Russian empire on affairs of the Left-Bank Ukraine. It is established by Peter I in 1722 in order to supervise the hetman's

and Cossacks' chairman activities. It was abolished in 1727 and reestablished in 1764 to annihilate once and for all the remains of self-government in Ukraine. After the propagation of the system of the Russian management control in Ukraine it was liquidated in 1786.

Little Russia Order — is one of the central institutions of state administration of the Moscow State found in 1663. It headed the affairs of the Left-bank Ukraine to restrict the autonomy of Ukraine, destroy its organizational forms, and establish one for the whole country the system of national government body. It was liquidated in 1722 because of the creation of Little Russia Collegium.

Lubech Convention of 1097 — is a conference of princes of the Kyivan Rus in Lubech with the purpose to talk to the point of stopping the internecine wars and integration of efforts for struggle against the polovets that ravaged the Rus lands. An agreement about the stop of the internecine wars didn't put an end to the princes' fights.

Lublin Union of 1569 — an agreement about the unification of Poland and Lithuania into one state — Rzech Pospolita (matter of the nation). It was drawn up on June 28, 1569 and approved on July 1, 1569 during the separate meetings of the Seyms of Poland and Lithuania. The agreement meant that the king of Rzech Pospolita was selective and ascended both of the thrones: the Polish Royal and the Lithuanian Grand Principalities and Rzech Pospolita had the common Seym, common foreign policy and the same money standard. The Grand Lithuanian Principality kept its state autonomy. The Ukrainian gentry was equated in rights with the Polish and Lithuanian ones. The following Ukrainian lands went under the jurisdiction of Poland: Bratslavshchyna, Volyn, Kyivshchyna, Pidliashchia, and under the jurisdiction of Lithuania Bilorus and Beresteyschchyna remained.

Mace — one of Cossack's cleinods, the symbol of the highest power of hetmans in Ukraine in the XVI- XVIII centuries. It had a look of a stick made of a walnut with a silver ball at the end. As a rule it is decorated with the coat of arms, surname or monogram of the owner.

Men of the sixties — a national cultural trend of the opposition movement in Ukraine at the second half of the 1950-1980s. It is a new generation of fighters for a rescue of the nation, its spirituality, culture, language. They received the name due to the epoch of their artistic talent development “men of the sixties”. A hard rejection to the ruling ideology they were also called “dissidents”.

Miscellany of Svyatoslav — two anthologies of the literary works, created for the Kyiv prince Svyatoslav Yaroslavych, are the most ancient literary monuments of the Kyiv Rus. The anthology of 1073 contains the translations from Greek writings about the church-religious life. The anthology of 1076 was composed on basis of manuscripts of the grand prince’s library. Here the norms of a person’s behavior in different everyday situation were explained.

“Moloda Hvardiya” (Young Guard) — is an underground organization that operated in September 1942 — January 1943 in Krasnodon, Luhansk region during the German-fascist occupation.

“Moscowpheles” — language-literary and later social and political trend that appeared on the lands of Galicia, Transcarpathia, Bukovyna, and consolidated a part of the conservative intellectuals, clergy, rural bourgeoisie that oriented themselves on reactionary forces of the tsar’s Russia, propagandizing the total unity of Ukraine with Russia on the basis of one indivisible state.

“Narodna Volya” (People’s Will) — is a conspiracy of the revolutionary populists that originated in August 1879 due to the split of the national organization “Zemlya i volya”. On the territory of Ukraine its structures worked in Kyiv, Kharkiv, Odesa, Katerynoslav, Nizhyn, Yelysavetgrad, Mykolaiv, Kamyanets-Podilsky. Looking forward to stirring up the national revolution, they expanded the considerable organizational and propagandistic work being guided by terror in the struggle against the self-government. Mass arrests after the assassination on March 1, 1881 by members of the “Narodna Volya” of tsar Alexander II caused the ideological and organizational crisis of the organization.

“Narodovtsy” — are the members of the political movement West-Ukrainian intelligentsia in the 60th of the XIX century in Galicia and in Bukovyna. In the 70th it legalized its position as national-clerical party. They conducted cultural work, organized a Literary association named after T. H. Shevchenko in Lviv (1873), Ukrainian organizations “Prosvita” (1868), “Rus Talk” (1869). In 1899 narodovtsy and the part of radicals organized Ukrainian national-democratic party (UNDP) — the most popular and influential in the Ukrainian camp.

Nation — a body of people recognized as an entity by virtue of their historical, linguistic or ethnic links; a body of people united under a particular political organization, and usually occupying a defined territory.

National Anthem — is an official solemn song that together with the state emblem and the state flag symbolizes the state and is one of the attributes of the country’s state system. On January 15, 1992 the Presidium of the Verkhovna Rada resolved a decree about the National Anthem of Ukraine. Its author is Mykhaylo Verbytsky.

Nazism — (from the name the National and Socialist working party of Germany) — a sort of totalitarian socialism, its ideology, policy, and practical work.

New Economic Policy (NEP) — is the economic policy of the Bolshevistic party and authority that provided for temporary renunciation of military-communist control mode and return to market mechanism on conditions that the control of the state over the commanding heights of the economics will be preserved. Its basis was presented by the substitution of provisional assessment to provisional tax; the admission of the free-trade on the assumptions of its adjustment from the part of Soviet authority; the rent of a part of small state enterprises to private persons; the permission to use within certain limits hired labour and foreign capital formation to collaboration in reconstruction and abeyance of industrial production in the form of concessions. In 1929 I. V. Stalin and his associates once and for all reverted to economic policy that was based on the doctrine of a military communism.

Opposition — a counteraction, opposition to some policy, actions, and views.

Opryshky — national fighters against the feudal and national oppression in Galicia, Transcarpathia and Bukovyna. The movement of Opryshky reached its peak in the 1730-1740s under the command of Oleksa Dovbush.

“Ordination of the register troops of Zaporizhzhia” in 1638 — a decree of the Sejm of Rzecz Pospolita about the abolishment of the Cossacks’ self-government and legal proceedings. Instead of the highest register the governmental commissar was appointed. The posts of colonels and osauls were given only to gentlemen. The register was formed on the level of 6 thousand persons. All those who were discharged from the register were obliged to get back to the master’s citizenship.

Ostarbeiters — a term used to refer to individuals that were removed from the Eastern occupied territories to the coercive works in Germany at the times of the World War II.

Public Secretariat — is the first Soviet government of Ukraine established on December 17, 1919 in Kharkiv, that consisted of 12 public secretaryships. It functioned in the closest connection with Council of People’s Commissars of the soviet Russia.

Pact — an international agreement, an arrangement of a great political importance. It regulates such matters of foreign policy as security, non-aggression, mutual aid, etc.

Patrimony — a complex of the feudal property and the right to dependent peasants. In the Kyivan Rus the right of the patrimonies was assigned in “The Rus Justice”.

People — in the ethnic measuring coincides with the definition of the notion “ethnos”.

Posadnyk — an administrative post in the Kyivan Rus. He was appointed by the prince as a deputy of the lands that belonged to Rus, and had a considerable administrative power.

Prehistoric period — a period about which we don't have written evidence. Manifold archeological finds serve as its mediated evidence. That is why such notions as prehistoric period and archaeological period practically coincide.

Prehistory — a transition fairly recorded in writing by distant or close neighbors, not by the natives of the given territory.

Prince — Eastern Slavs called this person a military leader of the tribe or a union of the tribes during the period of the early feudalism. He is the leader of the state — principdom.

The prince's authority was at first selective but later it became hereditary. The princes who were at the head of the feudal states the Kyivan Rus and the Grand Lithuanian Duchy were called grand princes. Till the XVIII century the Kyiv title was solely hereditary, later it was given to noblemen for particular services.

Red Rus — a historical name of Galicia in written sources of the XVI-XIX centuries.

Registered Cossacks — the Ukrainian Cossacks that were on public service in Rzecz Pospolita in the second half of the XVI — first half of the XVII century. They were put on the special register (lists). It was first mentioned in 1572. The registered Cossacks had a number of benefits: the tax exemption, the release from the submission of the local administration, the right to their own legal proceedings, landed property, etc. They participated in the rebellion of 1591 — 1596 that is why registered Cossacks were abolished.

Riga peace treaty between the RSFSR (the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic), the USSR (the Ukrainian Socialist Republic) and Poland in 1921 — was composed on March 18 and marked the ending of the Polish-Soviet war of 1920. In accordance with the treaty the Western border of Ukraine was determined along the river Zbruch, and then a part of Volyn went to the North of Poland.

Ruin — a tragic period in the history of Ukraine that concerns 1663-1687 and was a consequence of the civil war and intervention of Moscovia, Poland, Turkey.

Sich (Host) — an administrative and military centre of Cossacks of Zaporizhzhia. In addition to Zaporizhzhia Sich there were the following kinds of Hosts: Tomakivska (till 1593), Bazavlutska (1593-1638), Mykytynska (1638-1652), Chortomlynska (1652-1709), Kamyanska (1709-1711), Oleshkivska (1711-1734), Nova Sich (1734-1735).

Stagnation — standstill in manufacturing, trade, etc.

State Emblem — is an official emblem of the state that is depicted on the seals, letterheads, banknotes, national flags, building fronts of the government establishments, etc. Its description and portrayal are determined by the constitutions and special legislations of the state. As the national symbol of Ukraine serves the heraldic symbol in the form of a trident which since the X-th century was the State Emblem of the Kyiv prince Volodymyr Svyatoslavych and his dynasty. After the declaration of independence of Ukraine on February 19, 1992 the Verkhovna Rada approved the trident as the small emblem of Ukraine, considering it to be the main element of the great emblem.

Taras Shevchenko Brotherhood — a secret national-patriotic association, established in the summer of 1891. Its organizers were such students as M. Bazkevych, M. Baizdrenko, V. Borovyk and I. Lypa. They swore at the grave of Taras Shevchenko in Kaniv to devote their lives to the matter of the national liberation of Ukraine and to the revival of the Ukrainian state system.

“Thaw” — a term introduced by the Soviet Russian writer and public figure Elias Erenburg who defined that time of Mykyta Khrushchev’s guidance, when the process of political warming and first attempts of social reforms in the soviet society took place.

Trade fairs — are the periodic haggles that are carried out in an appointed place, which became widespread in Ukraine since the XVI century. In contrast to the haggles that were put into practice once a week and catered for the local needs, the trade fairs took place traditionally once a year, were prolonged, and people from distant

lands gathered there. At the trade fairs people drew up agreements, contracts for wholesale of goods, arranged the credit operations, rents, etc. The best known trade fairs are: Khreshchensky in Kharkiv, Ilyinsky in Poltava, Khreshchensky contract fair in Kyiv. Since 1966 Sorochynsky trade fair in Poltava region was renewed.

The Trans-Danube Sich — is an organization of a former Zaporizhzhia Cossacks that lived in 1775-1828 on the territory of the Osman's empire in the mouth of the Danube where after the liquidation of the Zaporizhzhia Sich by the Russian tsarism migrated a part of Zaporizhzhia men.

Unification of Ukrainian lands — an act of proclamation of a joining up the Up-the-Dnieper (Great) Ukraine with the West-Ukraine National Republic (Galicia, Bukovyna, and Transcarpathian Rus) into one united independent Ukrainian National Republic. It was solemnly accepted on January 22, 1919 in Kyiv on the Sophia Square.

Union of Four — a name of the coalition in which Germany, Austro-Hungary, Turkey, Bulgaria were included. During the World War I it was opposed to Great Britain, France, Russia, and Italy.

Universals — legal documents that a hetman passed.

Utopia — a dream, fiction, fantasy.

Valuyev circular of 1863 — is a decree of the tsarist government, prepared by the Minister of the Interior P. O. Valuyev, according to which it was forbidden to print school textbooks, educational, religious editions and to teach in schools in Ukrainian.

Versailles-Washington system — the world system, established by the countries which were the winners in the World War I (Great Britain, France, the USA, and Japan). It was based on the Versailles peace treaty of 1919 and dealing with it agreements with the former allies of Germany, which were signed up and adopted at the Washington conference in 1921-1922.

Viche (public council) — people's gatherings in the Kyivan Rus where important public issues were discussed and solved.

Warsaw Agreement — a block of conventions, made by U. Pilsudsky and S. Petlura in April 1918 in order to make their actions in the struggle against Bolshevism unanimous.

“The way from the Varangians to the Greeks” — was the main waterway in the Kyivan Rus. It consisted of the system of the river ways and lines between them. Its extension was above 3000 km. It connected the northern lands of the Kyivan Rus with the Southern-Russian lands and the Baltic Sea with the Black Sea. It originated in the IX — X century. It had a great importance for the development of the inland and foreign trade, furthered various ties of the separate Eastern-Slavonic tribes that quickened their ethnic consolidation.

Wehrmacht — the name of the armed forces of Nazi Germany in 1935-1945.

The West Ukrainian People’s Republic (ZUNR) — is a state founded on the territory of the Eastern Galicia on November 13, 1918 after the break-up of Austria-Hungary. Its government was at the head of E. Pertushevych, K. Levytsky, S. Golubovych. In its antipolish policy it was orientated to allies. In 1923 the council of ambassadors of allies prescribed a sovereignty of Poland upon the Eastern Galicia and proclaimed the government of the ZUNR, that from April 1920 was in a foreign land in Vienne, illegal.

Zboriv battle of 1649 — is a battle of peasants-and-Cossacks forces of Bohdan Khmelnytsky against the polish gentry’s army of Yan Kazymir near Zboriv. Under the pressure of the Crimean khan Islam-Hirey III the battle operations were stopped and was drawn up a Zboriv contract, according to which the liberties of the Zaporizhzhian army were kept, the list of 40 000 Cossacks was made, in the provinces of Kyiv, Bratslav, Chernihiv the power passed to hetman, the amnesty of all the participants of the war was declared. Along with it the polish gentry was given again all its estates in Ukraine back.

Zemstvo — the elected body of the local government of the Russian empire that was introduced by Zemstvo reform in 1864.

MAJOR EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF UKRAINE

About 1 mln. years ago	Emerge of the most ancient man of a modern type on the territory of contemporary Ukraine.
1mln.–12 thousand years B.C.	The Age of Paleolith.
12 thousand – 6 thousand years B.C.	The Age of Mezolith.
VIII – VI thousands B.C.	The Age of Neolith.
V – III thousands B.C.	Eneolith or Copper and Stone Age. Trypillian culture.
II – beginning of the I thousand B.C.	The Age of Bronze
IX – beginning of the VII century B.C.	Cimmerians in the Northern Prychornomor'ya.
VII – beginning of the III cent. B.C.	The Age of Scythians.
VII cent. B.C.– V cent. A.D.	Greek cities-states in the Northern Prychornomor'ya.
III cent. B.C. – III cent. A.D.	Sarmathians' settlements.
III – IV cent.	Cherniakhivska archeological culture.
375	Huns' invasion.
Middle of the V – VII cent.	The Age of Antyans in the history of Slavs.
V cent.	The Kyiv city formation.

558	Avars' invasion into the Northern Prychornomorya.
602	Avars' campaign against Antyans. The last mentioning about Antyans.
VIII – IX cent.	Making of the Eastern Slavs state the Kyivan Rus.
860 – 866	Campaigns of the Kyiv prince Ascold against Constantinople.
The 860s	Education activities of Cyril and Methodius.
882 – 912	Prince Oleh governing in Kyiv. Unification of the Kyivan and Novgorod principalities.
907, 911	Oleh's campaign against Constantinople. Treaties signing between the Kyivan Rus and Byzantine.
912 – 945	Prince Ihor's governing.
941, 944	Prince Ihor's campaign against Byzantine. Agreements between the Kyivan Rus and Byzantine.
945	Derevlians' riot. Ihor's death.
945 – 964	Regency of Ihor's wife the pincess Olha during prince Sviatoslav's governing.
964 – 972	Governing of Sviatoslav (Ihor's son).
965	The Khazar kingdom defeat by Sviatoslav.
968, 969 – 972	Prince Sviatoslav's campaign to the Balkans.
978 – 1015	Prince Volodymyr's (Sviatoslav's son) governing.
988	The official adoption of Christianity in the Kyivan Rus.

1019 – 1054	The governing of Iaroslav (Volodymyr's son) the Wise.
1015	“The Rules” of Iaroslav the Wise (“The Rus Justice”).
1036	Pechenigs tribes's defeat with Iaroslav the Wise at head at Kyiv walls.
1037	St.Sophia Cathedral building in Kyiv. Foundation of the first library in Rus at the St.Sophia Cathedral.
1051	Kyiv and Pechersk lavra Foundation.
1068	The first attack of polovets tribes on Rus. Kyiv Rus' dukes (Iaroslav's sons) defeat at the battle on the Alta river. People's riot in Kyiv.
1072	Steating of “The Rus Justice”.
1097	Convention of Kyiv dukes in Lubech.
1113	Writing of “Tale of Years” by Nestor-the-Chronicler.
1113 – 1125	Governing of Volodymyr-the-Monomakh.
1125 – 1132	Governing of Mstyslav (Volodymyr's son).
1153 – 1187	Governing of Iaroslav-the-Osmomysl (Volodymyr's son) in Galicia lands.
1154 – 1157	Governing of Iurij the Long-handed in Kyiv.
1169	Kyiv's destruction by the duke of Volodymyr and Suzdal principality Andrew the God-loving.
1185	Campaign of Novgorod and Siversk duke Ihor (Sviatoslav's son) against polovets tribes.
1185	“The Tale of Ihor's Campaign” writing.

1187	The first mentioning of the name “Ukraine” in the chronicle.
1199	Galicja and Volyn lands unification by the Volyn duke Roman (Mstyslavych’s son) and Galicja-Volyn principality making.
1199 – 1205	Duke Roman’s Mstyslavych governing in Halych city.
1238	Duke Roman’s affirmation on Halych throne.
1239 – 1241	Mongols and tatars campaign against the Southern Rus.
December of 1240	Kyiv’s devastation by mongols and tatars.
1253	Crowning of Danylo from Halych as the king of Rus by the pope’s legate.
1264 – 1301	Governing of Leo I (Danylo’s son) in Galicja and Volyn state.
1301 – 1308	Governing of Iurij I (Leo’s son).
1303	Galicja center of empire making.
1308 – 1323	Governing of Leo II (Iurij’s son) and Andrew (Iurij’s son).
1325 – 1340	Governing of Iurij II (Troidenovych’s son).
1340	Galicja and Volyn principality collapse.
1349	Galicja’s seizure by Poland.
1362	Battle at the Blue Waters (Podillia).
1362 – 1363	Kyiv, Pereiaslav and Podillia lands annexation to the Great Lithuanian principality.
1370 – 1385	Galicja as a part of Hungary.
1377	Seizure of some part of Volyn by Poland.
14 August, 1385	The Krev union between Lithuania and Poland.

1387	Galicja gets under Poland's power.
15 July, 1410	Grünewald battle.
1413	The Gorodell union between Lithuania and Poland.
1471	The final liquidation of the Kyivan principality.
1482	The first great attack of Crimean Tatars on Ukraine, Kyiv's devastation.
The 1490s	The first documentary memories about Ukrainian Cossacks.
1490 – 1492	Revolt against Polish gentry in Galicja with Mukha at head.
1494 – 1496	Kyiv got the Magdeburg right.
1529	The First Lithuanian Charter.
1542 – 1544	Emerge of the first Brotherhoods in Lviv.
1544 – 1556	Building up a defence castle-fortress by Dmytro Vyshnevetsky on Small Khortytsia isle. Zaporizhzhia Host's foundation.
1557	Adoption of Charter in Lithuania.
1566	The Second Lithuanian Charter.
July 1, 1569	The Lublin union. Rzecz Pospolita's creation.
1572	Cossack Register regiment foundation.
1573	Opening the first printing-house by Ivan Fedorov in Lviv.
1581	The Ostroh Bible printing.
1588	The Third Lithuanian Charter: final serfdom for peasants.
1591 – 1593	Cossacks and peasants revolt with Cryshtoph Kosynsky at head.
1594 – 1596	Cossacks and peasants revolt with Severyn Nalyvaiko at head.

1596	Berest Church Union.
1615	Kyiv Brotherhood and its school foundation.
1616 – 1622	Hetmanship of Petro Konashevych-Sahaidachny.
1620	Restoration of Orthodox hierarchy in Ukraine.
September of 1620	Battle at Tsetsora.
1621	The Khotyn war.
1625 – 1638	Cossacks and peasants revolts with Mark Zhmailo, Taras Fedorovych (Triasylo), Ivan Sulyma, Iakiv Ostrianyn, Dmytro Hunia at head.
1648 – 1657	Bohdan Khmelnytsky's hetmanship.
April 19 – May 15, 1648	Battle at Zhovti Vody (Yellow Waters).
May 15 – 16, 1648	Battle at Korsun.
September 11 – 13, 1648	Battle at Pyliavtsi.
December 23, 1648	Bohdan Khmelnytsky's ceremonial entry in Kyiv.
August 5 – 6, 1649	Battle at Zboriv.
August 8, 1649	Zboriv Peace Agreement.
June 18 – 30, 1651	Battle at Berestechko.
September 18, 1651	Bila Tserkva Treaty.
May 22 – 23, 1652	Battle at Batih.
September – December, 1653	Battles at Zhvanets.
January 8, 1654	Pereiaslav Rada (Council).
March of 1654	March articles.
1657 – 1659	Ivan Vyhovsky's hetmanship.

September, 16, 1658	Hadiach treaty.
1659	Battle at Konotop
1659 – 1663	Iurij Khmelnytsky's hetmanship.
1659	Pereiaslav articles – agreement conditions between Moscovia and Iu.Khmelnytsky. Restriction of Ukraine's autonomy.
October 17, 1660	Slobodyschensky treaty – agreement between Iu.Khmelnytsky and Poland.
1661	Lviv University foundation.
1663	“Black Council” in Nizhyn. Beginning of the political division of Ukraine.
1663 – 1665	Pavlo Teteria's hetmanship on the Right-Bank Ukraine.
1663 – 1668	Ivan Briukhovetsky's hetmanship on the Left-Bank Ukraine.
1665	Moscow articles. Ukraine's autonomy restriction.
1665 – 1676	Petro Doroshenko's hetmanship on the Right-Bank Ukraine.
January 30, 1667	Andrusiv truce between Moscovia and Poland.
1668 – 1672	Dmytro Mnohorishny's hetmanship on the Left-Bank Ukraine.
1669	Hlukhiv articles. Ukraine's autonomy restriction.
1672 – 1687	Ivan Samoilovych's hetmanship on the Left-Bank Ukraine.
1672	Buchach agreement between Turkey and Poland.
October 17, 1681	Bakhchesaraj peace treaty between Moscovia and Turkey and the Crimean khandom.

1686	“Treaty on Eternal Peace” between Moscovia and Poland.
July 25, 1687	Kolomak articles – agreement conditions between Moscovia and I.Mazepa.
1687 – 1709	Ivan Mazepa’s hetmanship.
1700 – 1704	Liberation revolt on the Right-Bank Ukraine with Semen Palij at head.
1700 – 1721	The Northern war between Moscovia and Sweden.
1701	Kyiv-Mohyla Collegium gets the status of Academy.
October of 1708	Ivan Mazepa passes to the side of Karl XII.
November 2, 1708	Destruction of Baturin city by Moscovian troops..
1708 – 1722	Ivan Skoropadsky’s hetmanship
June 27, 1709	Poltava victory of Moscovian troops over Swedes.
September 21, 1709	I.Mazepa’s death in Bendery city.
October 14, 1709	Destruction of Chortomlyn Zaporizhzhia Host.
1710 – 1742	Pylyp Orlyk’s hetmanship (in emmigration).
1711	Oleshky Host foundation.
1722 – 1727	Functioning of the first Little Russia’s collegium.
1722	First division of Poland (Rzech Pospolita): Galicia’s annexation to Austria.
1722 – 1723	Pavlo Polubotok’s hetmanship.
1727 – 1734	Danylo Apostol’s hetmanship.
1734	The New Host foundation on the Pidpilna river.

1734 – 1750	Functioning of “Hetman’s government” in Ukraine.
1738 – 1745	Opryshky movement with Oleksa Dovbush at head.
1750 – 1764	Kyrylo Rozumovsky’s hetmanship.
1764	Hetmanship liquidation.
1764 – 1781	Functioning of the second Little Russia’s collegium.
May-June of 1768	Koliivshchyna liberation movement.
1774	Kiuchuk-Kainardzhysky peace treaty.
May 7, 1775	Constantinople convention between Austria and Turkey: Bukovyna’s seizure by Austria.
August 3, 1775	Manifest of Catherine II on Zaporizhzhia Host liquidation.
1775 – 1828	Trans-Danube Host existence.
1781	Liquidation of regiment territoriaal and administrative division in Hetmanshchyna, assigning governor-generals by Russian sample.
April 8, 1783	The Crimea’s annexation to Russia.
May 3, 1783	Serfdom of Ukrainian peasants by Catherine’s II decree.
1788	Making the Black sea troops of cossacks.
1792	The Black sea troops move to Kuban.
1793	The second division of Poland: the Right-Bank Ukraine becomes a constituent part of Russia.
1795	The third division of Ukraine: the Western Volyn becomes a constituent part of Russia.

1798	First print of “Eneida” poem by Ivan Kotliarevsky.
1801	Division of Little Russia’s province into Poltava and Chernihiv provinces with the single general-governor and two civil governors.
1805	Kharkiv University foundation.
1813 – 1835	Anti-serfdom movement with Ustym Karmaliuk at head.
1819	Revolt of military settlers in Chuchukva.
1819 – 1820	Foundation of head-quarter of “Prosperity Union” in Ukraine.
1821	Foundation of the secret union “The Southern Community” of Decembrists.
1823-1825	Work of the secret “Fellowship of United Slavs” in Novograd-Volynsky.
December of 1825 – January of 1826	Revolt of Chernihiv regiment.
1828	Zaporizhzhia cossacks return from Turkey. Azov troops formation.
1830 – 1831	Polish liberation revolt in the Right-Bank Ukraine.
1830 – 1837	Activities of educational society “The Rus Trinity” in Lviv.
February 3, 1831	Magdeburg right liquidation in the Left-Bank Ukraine.
July 15, 1834	Kyiv St.Volodymyr University starts its work.
1837	Literary anthology publication “Rusalka Dnistrova” in Budapest.
1839	Greek-Catholic Church liquidation on the Ukrainian lands of the Russian empire.

1840	First issue of poems collection “Kobzar” by Taras Shevchenko.
1846	“History of Rus people” publication in Moscow.
1846 – 1847	Cyryl and Methodius Brotherhood activities (as the first Ukrainian political organization).
April 16, 1848	Serfdom liquidation in the Eastern Galicia.
May 2, 1848	The first Ukrainian political organization formation in Lviv – Major Rus Council.
July 1, 1848	Serfdom liquidation in Bukovyna.
October 25, 1848	Cultural and educational society formation “Galician and Rus”.
December of 1848	Chair of Ukrainian language foundation in Lviv University with Iakiv Holovatsky at head.
March 2, 1853	Serfdom liquidation in Transcarpathia.
1853	The Crimean war.
1861 – 1862	Edition of monthly civil, political and literary journal “Osnova” (“Foundation”) in the Ukrainian language in St.Petersburg.
1861	Foundation of the first semilegal organization “Hromada” (“Community”) in Kyiv.
February 19, 1861	Serfdom liquidation in the Russian empire
1862	Producing of the first Ukrainian-language opera “A Zaporizhzhia Cossack beyond the Danube” by Hulak-Artemovsky.

July 18, 1863	Valuiev circular on books printing restriction and studying in the Ukrainian language prohibition at schools.
1863 – 1864	The Polish revolt in Ukraine.
1865	Novorosijsk University foundation in Odesa.
1865	First railway building Balta – Odesa in Ukraine (219km).
December 8, 1868	Foundation of the cultural and educational society “Prosvita” (Enlightment) in Lviv.
1873	Foundation of the literary Taras Shevchenko organization in Lviv (it was renamed and turned into the scientific Taras Shevchenko society (N.T.Sh.)).
1875	University foundation in Chernivtsi.
1876	The Emsk circular of Alexander II on books in the Ukrainian language publication and import, theatre plays in the Ukrainian language.
1888	Monument to Bohdan Khmelnytsky presentation in Kyiv.
1890	Foundation of the Rus-Ukraine Radical Party (RURP) in Lviv – the first Ukrainian political party.
1891	Creation of the secret society “Brotherhood of Taras Shevchenko members” – the first Ukrainian political organization that was grounded on the independence of Ukraine.
1894	Creation of the first youth organizations “Sokil” (Falcon).

1899	Creation of the Ukrainian Radical, of the Ukrainian National and Democratic, the Ukrainian Social and Democratic Parties (RURP, UNDP, USDP) in the Eastern Galicia.
1900	The Creation of the Revolutionary Party of Ukraine (RUP) in Kharkiv – the first political organization at the East-Ukrainian lands.
1900	The foundation of the first youth military-patriotic organizations “Sich (Cossack Host)” in the Eastern Galicia.
1902	The creation of the Ukrainian People’s Party (UNP).
1904	The creation of the Ukrainian Democratic Party (UDP).
January 9, 1905	“Bloody Sunday” in Petersburg, the beginning of the Revolution.
January, 1905	The foundation of the Ukrainian national democratic union “Spilka (Union)”.
November 14, 1905	Revolt on the cruiser “Ochakov”.
December, 1905	The armed revolts in Katerynoslav, Kharkiv, Horlivka, Olexandrivsk.
December, 1905	The Second congress of the RUP. Its transformation into the Ukrainian social-democratic labor party (USDRP).
1906 – 1909	Stolypin Agriculture Reform in Ukraine.
1908	The creation of the Ukrainian Postupovtsi Association (TUP).
1911	The creation of scouts “Plast (Stratum)” organization in the Western Ukraine.

1914 – 1918	World War I.
August 1, 1914	The creation of the Main Ukrainian Council in Lviv.
August 6, 1914	The creation of the Ukrainian Host Strilets (Riflemen) Legion (USS) in the Austria-Hungary army. The creation of the Union of Ukraine Liberation in Lviv.
February 23 – 27, 1917	The February Democratic Revolution. The fall of the autocracy in Russia.
March 4, 1917	The foundation of the Ukrainian Central Council.
April 6 – 8, 1917	All-Ukrainian National Congress.
June 10, 1917	The Ukrainian Central Council's <u>Universal I.</u>
June 15, 1917	The foundation of the Secretariat – General of the Ukrainian Central Council.
July 3, 1917	The Ukrainian Central Council's <u>Universal II.</u>
October 25 1917	The Bolsheviks coup d'etat in Petrograd.
November 7, 1917	The Ukrainian Central Council's <u>Universal III.</u> The declaration of the Ukrainian People's Republic.
December 4 (17), 1917	The Ultimatum of the Soviet people's committee (the RSFSR) to the Ukrainian Central Council – the declaration of war on the Ukrainian People's Republic (the UNR).
December 4 – 6 (17 – 19), 1917	The All-Ukrainian Congress of Councils in Kyiv.

December 12 (25), 1917	The Congress of Councils in Kharkiv. The declaration of the Soviet regime in Ukraine.
January 22, 1918	The Ukrainian Central Council's Universal IV . The proclamation of Ukraine's independence.
February 9, 1918	The conclusion of a peace treaty of the UNR with the Quarter Union states.
April 29, 1918	The approval of the UNR Constitution by the Ukrainian Central Council.
April 29, 1918	The all-Ukrainian corn-producers' congress: the proclamation of Pavlo Skoropadsky the Ukrainian hetman.
December 1, 1918	The Ukrainian National Revolt in Lviv.
November 13, 1918	The proclamation of the West-Ukrainian People's Republic (the ZUNR).
November 14, 1918	The creation of the UNR Directory (Supreme Government Body).
December 19, 1918	The arrival of the Derictory in Kyiv.
January 22, 1919	The Act of Unification of the UNR and the West-Ukrainian People's Republic (the ZUNR).
March, 1919	The approval of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialistic Republic Constitution.
December, 1919 – April, 1920	The first "Winter Campaign" of the UNR army.
April, 1920	The Warsaw treaty of the UNR and Poland.
August, 1920	The foundation of the (the UVO).
January 27, 1921	Spreading of all RSFSR decrees in Ukraine.

March 6 – 16, 1921	Introduction of the New Economic Policy (NEP).
March 18, 1921	The peace treaty of Poland, the RSFSR and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialistic Republic concluded in Riga.
October 11 – 17, 1921	The All-Ukrainian Orthodox Assembly. The Creation of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church.
November 4 – 29, 1921	The second “Winter Campaign” of the UNR army.
1921 – 1923	Starvation in Ukraine.
December 30, 1922	The foundation of the Union of the Soviet Socialistic Republics (the USSR).
April, 1923	The 13-th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party (b) proclaimed the policy of indigenization, which was called ukrainization in Ukraine.
August, 1923	The Soviet People’s Committee Decree about ukrainization.
1924	A trial over the representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia.
1925	The foundation of the Ukrainian National Democratic Union.
1925	The ratification of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic Constitution.
May 25, 1926	The assassination of Symon Petlyura in Paris.
March – May, 1928	„The Shakhtynsk case”
January 27 – February 3, 1929	The foundation of the Ukrainian Nationalists’ Organization (the OUN) at congress in Vienna.

November, 1929	The start of the mass collectivization and dispossession of the kulaks (prosperous villagers).
March 9, 1930 – April 19, 1930	The trial over “The Union of Ukraine’s Salvation organization” (SVU) in Kharkiv.
March, 1931	The trial over “Ukrainian National Center”.
1932 – 1933	The mass famine-genocide in Ukraine.
May 13, 1933	The suicide of Mykola Khvylyovy.
July 7, 1933	The suicide of Mykola Skrypnyk.
January 21, 1934	The resolution of the 12-th Congress of Communist Party (b) of Ukraine to move the capital of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic from Kharkiv to Kyiv.
1936	The start of the mass repressions and terror in Ukraine (“Yezhovshchyna”).
January 25 – 30, 1937	The 14-th all-Ukraine Emergency Congress of Councils approved the new Constitution of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic.
April 24, 1938	The study of the Russian language becomes obligatory at all schools in the Soviet Ukraine.
May 23, 1938	The assassination of Yevhen Konovalts, the Head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, in Rotterdam.
March 15, 1939	The proclamation of the Carpathian Ukraine’s Independence.
August 23, 1939	The German-Soviet pact about non-aggression and the secret treaty about the division of area of influence in the East Europe.

September 1, 1939	The German attack on Poland. The start of the World War II.
September 17, 1939	The Red Army crossed the border and entered the territory of the East Poland.
September 28, 1939	The Treaty about friendship and border between the Union of Soviet Socialistic Republics and Germany.
November 1 – 2, 1939	Verkhovna Rada (the Supreme Legislative Body of Ukraine) approved the law according to which the Western Ukraine joined the USSR and became the part of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialistic Republic.
February 10, 1940	The split of the organization of Ukrainian Nationalists' Organization. The formation of the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) (B) and OUN (M).
June 28, 1940	The Red Army occupied the Northern Bukovyna and Bessarabiya.
August 2, 1940	The Supreme Council of the Union of Soviet Socialistic Republics approved the law according to which the Northern Bukovyna, the Northern and Southern lands of Bessarabiya were joined to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.
June 22, 1941	The German attack on the Union of Soviet Socialistic Republics: the start of the occupation of Ukraine by the German invaders.
June 30, 1941	The approval of the Act of Renewal of Ukrainian State System by the Ukrainian National Congress (OUN (B)) in Lviv.

July 5 – September 26, 1941	The defense of Kyiv.
August 20, 1941	The creation of the Reichs commissariat with Erich Koch at its head in Ukraine.
October 30, 1941 – July 4, 1942	The defense of Sevastopol.
June 1941 – Autumn 1942	The activity of marching groups of the OUN in the Eastern Ukraine, occupied by Germany.
July 22, 1941	Germany occupied the whole territory of Ukraine.
October 14, 1942	The foundation of the Ukrainian Rebel Army (the UPA).
May – October, 1943	The raid of the guerilla detachment of Sydor Kovpak from Putivl to the Carpathians.
July 5 – August 23, 1943	The Battle at the Kursk Arch. The expulsion of the German army from Kharkiv (August 23).
September – November, 1943	The battle for the Dnieper river. The expulsion of the German army from Kyiv (November, 6).
April 8, 1944	The UPA started struggling against the Red Army.
July, 1944	The foundation of the Main Ukrainian Liberation Council (the UHVR).
October 28, 1944	The liberation of the whole territory of Ukraine from the German aggressors by the Soviet Army.
November 26, 1944	The decision of the 1-st Congress of Delegates of Transcarpathia Ukraine to join the Ukrainian Soviet Socialistic Republic.

April 26, 1945	The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic entered the United Nations Organization as its member and founder at the conference in San-Francisco.
May 8, 1945	The capitulation of Germany.
June 29, 1945	The treaty between the USSR and Czechoslovakia about joining of Transcarpathia Ukraine to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.
August 16, 1945	The treaty between the USSR and Poland about the border along Buh.
1946-1947	Famine in Ukraine.
March, 1946	The Church Assembly in Lviv: the liquidation of the Greek-Catholic Church (Uniate).
April – August, 1947	Operation “Visla” deportation of the Ukrainian population of Cholmshchyna and Lemkivshchyna to the Northern and Western Poland.
April, 1949	Scientific Taras Shevchenko Society (NTSh.) in Munich started publishing “Encyclopedia of Ukrainian Studies”.
November 21, 1949	The presidium of the Supreme Council of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialistic Republic approved the national anthem, emblem and flag of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialistic Republic.
March 5, 1950	The death of Roman Shukhevych (Taras Chuprynka), the head of the UPA. Vasyl Kook became the head of the UPA.
April 3, 1951	The opening of the branch of the Academy of sciences in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialistic Republic.

June, 1951	The second Decade of the Ukrainian literature and arts in Moscow: the crushing critics of poetry by Volodymyr Sosyura “Love Ukraine”.
March – July, 1953	The beginning of destalinization process.
February 19, 1954	The Presidium of the Supreme Council decided to join the Crimea to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.
May 12, 1954	The Ukrainian Soviet Socialistic Republic became the member of UNESCO and International Organization of Labor.
August – September, 1956	The start of rehabilitation of illegally repressed Ukrainian citizens.
October 15, 1959	Stepan Bandera was assassinated in Munich.
February, 1960	Bringing into operation of the first atomic reactor in Ukraine.
January, 1961	The trial in Lviv over the members of the Ukrainian Labour-Peasantry Union (the URSS) L. Lukyanenko, I. Kandyba.
April 20, 1961	The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic’s Council of Ministers’ Decree about the introduction of annual Taras Shevchenko awards in literature and arts.
August 11 – 15, 1962	The flight of the Ukrainian cosmonaut Pavlo Popovych around the Earth.
February 11 – 15, 1963	The conference of higher education establishments devoted to the problems of the Ukrainian language and culture.

	Its participants turned to the highest authority with the request to give the Ukrainian language the state status.
March, 1964	The destruction of the stained glass-window devoted to Taras Shevchenko at Kyiv University (authors: Petro Zalyvakha, Alla Horska).
December, 1964	The protest of the Ukrainian communists against the rebirth of Stalin's regime, policy of centralization and russification of non-Russian population.
Summer – Autumn, 1965	The first wave of arrests among the Ukrainian intelligentsia: 60 people were arrested (brothers Mykhilo and Bohdan Horyn, Oleksandr Zalyvakha, Sviatoslav Karavansky, etc.).
September 4, 1965	The protest meeting against the new wave of repressions among the Ukrainian intelligentsia in Kyiv cinema "Ukraine" during the premiere of Serhiy Paradzhanov's film "The Shadows of Ancestors in Oblivion".
January – April, 1966	Trials over the Ukrainian lawyers in Kyiv and Volyn region.
November 16 – 19, 1966	The 5-th Congress of the Ukrainian Writers Union started defending the Ukrainian language.
May 27, 1967	The demonstration of protest near the residence of the Ukrainian Communist Party against the arrests of participants of Shevchenko's night in Kyiv.
January, 1968	The magazine "Motherland" published a novel by Oles Honchar "Cathedral", which was severely criticized.

January – May, 1971	The second wave of political repressions in Ukraine. Over 200 people were arrested (Vyacheslav Chornovil, Yevhen Sverstyuk, Ivan Svitlychny, Ivan Dzyuba, Vasyl Stus, etc.).
1972 – 1973	Political trials in Ukraine.
February 20, 1973	The Ukrainian Communist Party accused Petro Shelest, the author of the book “Our Soviet Ukraine”, of idealization of Cossacks.
November 9, 1976	The foundation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group with Mykola Rudenko at its head.
April 20, 1978	The Supreme Council of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic approved the new Constitution of the Soviet Ukraine.
January, 1980	“Visnyk (bulletin) of Repressions in Ukraine” started being published abroad.
August 20, 1980	The ban on radiostations “The Voice of America” (the USA), “BBC” (Great Britain), “The German Wave” (Germany).
May 26, 1983	The decree of the Ukrainian Communist Party and Council of Ministers of the USSR about “The additional measures for the perfection of the Russian language studies in secondary educational establishments of Soviet republics” promoted the process of russification.
March 11, 1985	Michael Gorbachov was elected for the position of Secretary–General of the Communist Party. The start of liberalization process.

April 26, 1986	The nuclear catastrophe in Chornobyl.
Summer, 1988	The celebration of the 1000-th anniversary of the Kyivan Rus baptising.
February, 1989	The foundation of the Union of the Ukrainian Language named in honor of T. Shevchenko.
September, 1989	The primary congress of the National Movement of Ukraine for rebuilding (perestroika).
1989-1990	The process of new political parties' foundation in Ukraine, which were oppositional to the Communist Party.
October, 1989	The law about languages in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialistic Republic.
March, 1990	The elections to the 1-st Supreme Council of the Soviet Ukraine.
July 16, 1990	The Supreme Council approved the Declaration of the state sovereignty of Ukraine.
June 24, 1991	The Supreme Council proclaimed the Act of the State Independence of Ukraine.
September 17, 1991	The Ukrainian law changed the name of the state from Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic to the old "Ukraine".
December 1, 1991	The referendum about the independence of Ukraine. Leonid Kravchuk was elected a President.
December 8, 1991	The foundation of the Commonwealth of Independent States.
January, 1992	The 1-st Congress of Ukrainians.
March, 1994	Extraordinary elections to the 2-nd Supreme Council of Ukraine.

June – July, 1994	The presidential elections. Leonid Kuchma was elected a President.
November, 1995	Ukraine joins the Council of Europe.
June 28, 1996	Verkhovna Rada approved the new Constitution of Ukraine.
September, 1996	The introduction of the new national currency – hryvnya.
May 31, 1997	The Ukrainian-Russian treaty about cooperation.
March, 1998	The elections to the 3-rd Verkhovna Rada.
October – November, 1999	The presidential elections. Leonid Kuchma was elected a President for the second time.
April, 2000	The referendum on important state issues.
March – April, 2001	“The tape scandal”: political crisis in Ukraine, the resignation of Victor Yushchenko’s government.
December 5 – 14, 2001	All-Ukrainian census of population.
March, 2002	The elections to the 4-th Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine.
2003	The 70-th anniversary of Famine (1932 – 1933) in Ukraine.
Autumn, 2003	The territorial conflict with the Russian Federation about the spit Tuzla.
October – December, 2004	The presidential elections.
November – December, 2004	“Orange Revolution”.
December 8, 2004	Verkhovna Rada approved the law about the parliamentary-presidential regime.

December 26, 2004	Victor Yushchenko was elected a President of Ukraine.
January – February, 2005	The formation of the new democratic bodies of government.
September, 2005	The political crisis in Ukraine.
March, 2006	The elections to the 5-th Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine.
Summer, 2006	The new political crisis in Ukraine.
August 18 – 20, 2006	The 4-th World Forum of Ukrainians.
August 24, 2006	The 15-th anniversary of Independence of Ukraine.

GREAT PRINCES OF KYIV AND THE PERIODS OF THEIR GOVERNING

Oleh	882 – 912
Ihor	912 – 945
The governing of Princess Olha	945 – 964
Svyatoslav Ihorevych	964 – 972
Yaropolk Svyatoslavych	972 – 978
Volodymyr Svyatoslavych (the Great)	978 – 1015
Svyatopolk Volodymyrovych (the Cursed)	1015
Yaroslav Volodymyrovych (the Wise)	1015 – 1018
Svyatopolk Volodymyrovych (the Cursed)	1018
Yaroslav Volodymyrovych (the Wise)	1019 – 1054
Izyaslav Yaroslavych	1054 – 1068
Vseslav Bryacheslavych	1068 – 1069
Izyaslav Yaroslavych	1069 – 1073
Svyatoslav Yaroslavych	1073 – 1076
Vsevolod Yaroslavych	1077
Izyaslav Yaroslavych	1077 – 1078

Vsevolod Yaroslavych	1078 – 1093
Svyatopolk Izyaslavych	1093 – 1113
Volodymyr Vsevolodovych (Monomakh)	1113 – 1125
Mstyslav Volodymyrovych	1125 – 1132
Yaropolk Volodymyrovych	1132 – 1139
Vyacheslav Volodymyrovych	1139
Vsevolod Olhovych	1139 – 1146
Ihor Olhovych	1146
Izyaslav Mstyslavych	1146 – 1149
Yuriy Volodymyrovych (the Long-handed)	1150 – 1151
Izyaslav Mstyslavych	1151 – 1154
Vyacheslav Volodymyrovych	1154
Rostyslav Mstyslavych	1154
Izyaslav Davydovych	1154 – 1155
Yuriy Volodymyrovych (the Long-handed)	1155 – 1157
Izyaslav Davydovych	1157 – 1158
Mstyslav Izyaslavych	1158 – 1159
Rostyslav Mstyslavych	1159 – 1161
Izyaslav Davydovych	1161
Rostyslav Mstyslavych	1161 – 1167
Volodymyr Mstyslavych	1167
Yaropolk Izyaslavych	1167
Mstyslav Izyaslavych	1167 – 1169
Hlib Yuryovych	1169 – 1170
Mstyslav Izyaslavych	1170
Hlib Yuriyovych	1170 – 1171
Volodymyr Mstyslavych	1171
Mykhalko Yuriyovych	1171
Roman Rostyslavych	1171 – 1173
Mykhailo Yuriyovych	1173
Ryuryk Rostyslavych	1173
Svyatoslav Vsevolodovych	1173
Yaroslav Izyaslavych	1173 – 1174

Svyatoslav Vsevolodovych	1174
Yaroslav Izyaslavych	1174
Roman Mstyslavych	1174 – 1175
Svyatoslav Vsevolodovych	1176
Roman Rostyslavych, Mstyslav Rostyslavych, Ryuryk Rostyslavych	1176
Svyatoslav Vsevolodovych	1176 – 1180
Ryuryk Rostyslavych	1180 – 1181
Svyatoslav Vsevolodovych	1181 – 1194
Ryuryk Rostyslavych	1194 – 1201
Ingvar Kostyslavych	1201 – 1203
Ryuryk Rostyslavych	1203
Ingvar Yaroslavych	1203
Ryuryk Rostyslavych	1203 – 1204
Roman Mstyslavych	1204
Ingvar Yaroslavych	1204
Rostyslav Ryurykovych	1204 – 1205
Ryuryk Rostyslavych	1205 – 1206
Vsevolod Svyatoslavych	1206
Ryuryk Rostyslavych	1206 – 1207
Vsevolod Svyatoslavych	1207
Ryuryk Rostyslavych	1207 – 1210
Vsevolod Svyatoslavych	1210 – 1212
Mstyslav Romanovych	1212
Ingvar Yaroslavych	1212
Mstyslav Romanovych	1212 – 1223
Volodymyr Ryurykovych	1223 – 1235
Izyaslav Mstyslavych	1235 – 1236
Yaroslav Vsevolodovych	1236
Izyaslav Mstyslavych	1236
Volodymyr Ryurykovych	1236 – 1238
Mykhailo Vsevolodovych	1238 – 1239
Rostyslav Mstyslavych	1239

Danylo Romanovych	1239 – 1240
Mykhailo Vsevolodovych	1241 – 1243
Yaroslav Vsevolodovych	1243 – 1246

PRINCES OF GALICIA AND GALICIA-VOLYN AND THE PERIODS OF THEIR GOVERNING

Volodymyrko, son of Volodar	1141 – 1153
Yaroslav Osmomysl, son of Volodymyrko	1153 – 1187
Oleh and Volodymyr, sons of Yaroslav	1187 – 1188
Roman Mstyslavych, prince of Volyn	1188 – 1189
Volodymyr Yaroslavych	1189 – 1199
Roman Mstyslavych	1199 – 1205
Danylo Romanovych	1205 – 1206
Volodymyr Ihorevych, one of Chernihiv princes	1206 – 1208
Roman Ihorevych, brother of Volodymyr	1208 – 1209
Rostyslav Ryurykovych	1210
Roman Ihorevych	1210
Volodymyr Ihorevych	1210 – 1211
Danylo Romanovych	1211 – 1212
Mstyslav the Dumb, one of the princes of Volyn	1212 – 1213
Volodyslav Kormylchych, the boyar of Galicia	1213 – 1214
Koloman, the King of Hungary	121 – 1219
Mstyslav Udatny	1219
Koloman	1219 – 1221
Mstyslav Udatny	1221 – 1228
Andrew, the King of Hungary	1228 – 1230
Danylo Romanovych	1230 – 1232
Andrew, the King of Hungary	1232 – 1233
Danylo Romanovych	1233 – 1235
Mykhailo and his son Rostyslav, one of Chernihiv princes	1236 – 1238
Danylo Romanovych	1238 – 1264

Lev Danylovych	1264 – 1301
Yuriy Lvovych	1301 – 1308
Andrew and Lev Yuriyovych	1308 – 1323
Yuriy – Boleslav, the Mazovets prince	1325 – 1340

UKRAINIAN HETMANS

Dmytro Vyshnevetsky (Baida)	1550 – 1564
Bohdan Ruzhynsky	1575 – 1576
Shakh	1576 – 1577
Lukyan Chornynsky	1578
Samijlo Zborovsky	1581
Mykhailo and Kyryk Ruzhynsky	1585
Zakhar Kulaha	1585
Bohdan Mikoshynsky	1585
Lukyan Chornynsky	1586
Voytyh Chakovytsky	1590
Cryshtoph Kosynsky	1591 – 1593
Hryhoriy Loboda	1593
Bohdan Mikoshynsky	1594
Fedir Polous	1595
Matvij Shaula	1596
Krempysky	1596
Cryshtoph Netkovsky	1596
Hnat Vasylevych	1596 – 1597
Tykhon Baybuza	1596 – 1597
Fedir Polous	1598
Samiylo Kishka	1600 – 1602
Havrylo Krutnevych	1602 – 1603
Ivan Kutskovych	1602
Ivan Kosy	1602 – 1603
Hryhorij Izapovych	1606

Zborovsky, Olevchenko	at the end of 1606
Kalenyk Andriyevych	1609 – 1610
Hryhorij Tiskynevych	1610
Petro Sahajdachny	1614 – 1622
Dmytro Barabash	1617
Yatsko Borodavka Nerodych	1619 – 1621
Olifer Holub	1622 – 1623
Mykhailo Doroshenko	1622 – 1628
Hrytsko Chorny	1622 – 1628
Kalenyk Andriyevych	1624 – 1625
Marko Zhmajlo	1625
Hrytsko Chorny	1629 – 1630
Taras Fedorovych (Tryasylo)	1630
Tymofiy Orendarenko	1630 – 1631
Ivan Petrazhytsky-Kulaha	1631 – 1632
Andrij Didenko	1631 – 1632
Tymofiy Orendarenko	1632 – 1633
Ivan Sulyma	1635
Vasyl Tomylenko	1636 – 1637
Savva Kononovych	1636 – 1637
Pavlo Boot (Pavlyuk)	1636 – 1637
Iakiv Ostryanyn	1636 – 1637
Dmytro Hunya	1638
Bohdan Khmelnytsky	1648 – 1657
Yuriy Khmelnytsky	1657
Ivan Vyhovsky	1657 – 1659
Yuriy Khmelnytsky	1659 – 1663
Pavlo Teterya (the Right-Bank)	1633 – 1665
Yakym Somko (the Left-Bank)	1662 – 1663
Ivan Bryukhovetsky (the Left-Bank)	1663 – 1668
Stepan Opara (the Right-Bank)	1665
Petro Doroshenko (the Right-Bank)	1665 – 1676

Demjan Mnohohrishny (the Left-Bank)	1668 – 1672
Petro Sukhoviyyenko (the Right-Bank)	1668 – 1669
Mykhailo Hanenko (the Right-Bank)	1669 – 1674
Ivan Samojlovych (the Left-Bank)	1672 – 1687
Yuriy Khmelnytsky (the Right-Bank)	1677 – 1681
Ivan Mazepa (the Left-Bank)	1687 – 1708
Ivan Skoropadsky (the Left-Bank)	1708 – 1722
Phylp Orlyk (the Right-Bank, in emigration)	1710 – 1742
Pavlo Polubotok (the Left-Bank)	1722 – 1724
Danylo Apostol (the Left-Bank)	1727 – 1734
Kyrylo Rozumovsky (the Left-Bank)	1750 – 1764

GREAT LITHUANIAN PRINCES AND POLISH KINGS

Great Lithuanian Princes

Mindovg	1230 – 1263
Voyshelk	1264 – 1268
Shvarno	1268 – 1270
ViteN	1293 – 1316
Gedymin	1316 – 1341
Yavnut	1341 – 1344
Olgerd	1345 – 1377
Yagailo	1377 – 1392
Vitovt	1392 – 1430
Svydrygailo	1430 – 1432
Sigismund Keistutovych	1432 – 1440
Casmir	1440 – 1492
Alexander	1492 – 1506
Sigismund I the Old	1506 – 1544
Sigismund II Augustus	1544 – 1572

Polish Kings

Casmir II the Great	1333 – 1370
Lyudovik I the Hungarian	1370 – 1382
Yadviga	1382 – 1399
Vladislav II Yagailo	1386 – 1434
Vladislav III Varnenskiy	1434 – 1444
Casmir IV Yagellon	1447 – 1492
Ian I Olbreht	1492 – 1501
Alexander Casmir	1501 – 1506
Sigismund I the Old	1506 – 1548
Sigismund II Augustus	1548 – 1572
Genrich Valua	1573 – 1574
Stephan Batoriy	1576 – 1586
Sigismund III	1587 – 1632
Vladislav IV	1632 – 1648
Ian II Casmir	1648 – 1668
Mikhailo Vyshnevetskiy	1669 – 1673
Ian Sobeskiy	1673 – 1674
Augustus II	1674 – 1696
Stanislav Leshchinskiy	1704 – 1709
Augustus III	1733 – 1763
Stanislav Ponyatovski	1764 – 1795

GREAT PRINCES, TSARS AND EMPERORS OF MOSCOW

Great Princes of Moscow

Ivan Kalyta	1325 – 1340
Simeon Gordy (the Proud)	1340 – 1353
Ivan Krasny (the Red)	1353 – 1359
Dmitriy Donsky	1359 – 1389
Vasilij I	1389 – 1425
Vasilij II Temny (the Dark)	1425 – 1462
Ivan III	1462 – 1505
Vasilij III	1505 – 1533
Ivan IV Grozny (the Terrible)	1533 – 1547

Tsars of Moscow

Ivan IV Grozny (the Terrible)	1547 – 1584
Fedor Ioannovych	1584 – 1598
Boris Godunov	1598 – 1605
Lzhedmitrij (False Dmitrij)	1605 – 1606
Vasilij Shujskij	1605 – 1610
Mykhailo Fedorovich Romanov	1613 – 1645
Aleksej Mikhajlovich	1645 – 1676
Fedor Alekseyevich	1676 – 1682
Sophia Alekseevna	1682 – 1689
Peter I	1689 – 1721

Russian Emperors

Peter I	1721 – 1725
Catherine I	1725
Peter II	1727 – 1730
Anna Ioannovna	1730 – 1740
Ivan Antonovich	1740 – 1741
Elizaveta Petrovna	1741 – 1761
Peter III	1761 – 1762
Catherine II	1762 – 1796
Pavel I	1796 – 1801
Alexander I	1801 – 1825
Nicholas I	1825 – 1855
Alexander II	1855 – 1881
Alexander III	1888 – 1894
Nicholas II	1894 – 1917

Presidents of the Independent Ukraine

Leonid Makarovich Kravchuk	1991 – 1994
Leonid Danylovych Kuchma	1994 – 2004
Victor Andriyovich Yushchenko	2004

RECOMMENDED SOURCES

Basarab John, *Pereiaslav 1654: A Historiographical Study*.

Boshyk Jury, ed. *Ukraine During World War II: History and Its Aftermath*.

Brovkin V. *Robert Conquest's Harvest of Sorrow: A Challenge to the Revisionists*, 1987.

Brzezinski Zbigniew, *The Soviet Political System: Transformation or Degeneration*. Irningtom Publishers.

Conquest Robert, *The Great Terror: A Reassessment*. Oxford University Press, 1991.

Conquest Robert, *The Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and the Terror-Famine*. Oxford University Press, 1987.

Conquest Robert, *Stalin: Breaker of Nations*. Penguin, 1992.

Dzyuba Ivan, *Internationalism or Russification?* New York, 1974.

Encyclopedia of Ukraine. Toronto, 2001.

The Great Famine in Ukraine: the Unknown Holocaust. Jersey City, N.J., 1983.

Gustaf F. Steffen, *Russia, Poland and the Ukraine, Revolution and Nationalism in the Modern World*. No.2. Cleveland, 1981.

Hajda, Lubomyr and Beissinger, Mark, eds., *The Nationalities Factor in Soviet Politics and Society*. Westview Press, 1990.

Heike W. *The Ukrainian Division Galicia, 1943-1945: A Memoir*. Toronto, 1988.

Hrushevsky Mykhailo, *History of Ukraine-Rus'*. Volumes 1-10.

Hrushevs'kyi Mykhailo S., *The Historical Evolution of the Ukrainian Problem, Revolution and Nationalism in the Modern World*. No.1. Cleveland, 1981.

Hunczak T., ed. *The Ukraine, 1917-1921: A Study in Revolution*. Cambridge, MA, 1977.

Hunczak T. *The Second World War in Ukraine*. Forthcoming.

Kahan Stuart, *The Wolf of the Kremlin (Biography of L.Kaganovich)*. New York, 1987.

Kappeler A., Kohut Z.E., Sysyn F.E., von Hagen Mark, eds., *Culture, Nation and Identity: The Ukrainian-Russian Encounter 1600-1945*.

Khrushchev Remembers. *The Last Testament*. Toronto-Boston, 1974.

Koropecykj, Ihor S., ed., *The Ukrainian Economy. Achievements, Problems, Challenges*, Cambridge, MA, 1992.

Kostiuk H., *Meetings and Farewells: Memoirs*. Vol.1,2.

Krupnytskyi B., Chikalo I.M., Borshchak L., Lutsiv V., Mazepa, 1991.

Kostiuk H. *Stalinist Rule in the Ukraine*. New York, 1960.

Krawchenko B. *The Impact of Industrialization of the Social Structure of Ukraine*, 1980.

Kuromiya, Hiroaki, *Freedom and Terror in the Donbas: a Ukrainian-Russian Borderland, 1870s-1990s*. Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Kuzio, T. and Wilson, Andrew, *Ukraine: Perestroika to Independence*. St.Martin's Press, 1994.

Kuzio, T., *Ukraine-Crimea-Russia: Triangle of Conflict*. London, 1994.

Kuzio, Taras, *Ukraine under Kuchma: Political Reform, Economic Transformation and Security in Independent Ukraine*. St.Martin's Press, 1997.

Magocsi Paul Robert, *A History of Ukraine*. University of Toronto Press, 1996.

Magocsi Paul Robert, *Morality and Reality. The Life and Times of Andrij Sheptytsky*. Edmonton, 1989.

Magocsi Paul Robert, *The Shaping of a National Identity: Subcarpathian Rus', 1848-1948*: Harvard University Press, 1978.

Motyl, Alexander J., *Dilemmas of Independence. Ukraine after Totalitarianism*. New York, 1993.

Motyl, Alexander J., *From Imperial Decay to Imperial Collapse: The Fall of the Soviet Empire in Comparative Perspective // Nationalism and Empire*. New York, 1992.

Motyl, Alexander J., *The Post-Soviet Nations*. New York, 1992.

Motyl, Alexander J., *The Turn to the Right: The Ideological Origins and Development of Ukrainian Nationalism, 1919-1929*. Boulder, Colo., 1980.

Nahayeovsky I. *History of the Modern Ukrainian State 1917-1923*. Munich, 1966.

Potichmyj P.J., Raeff M., Pelenski J., Zekulin G.N., eds., *Ukraine and Russia in Their Historical Encounter*.

Prociuk S. *Human Losses in the Ukraine in World War I and II*, 1973.

Radziejowski J. *Collectivization in Ukraine in Light of Soviet Historiography*, 1980.

Rudnytsky Ivan L., *Essays in Modern Ukrainian History*.

Rudnytsky Ivan L., *Rethinking Ukrainian History*.

Saunders David, *The Ukrainian Impact on Russian Culture, 1750-1850*.

Serbyn Roman, and Krawchenko Bohdan, eds. *Famine in Ukraine, 1932-1933*.

Sevcenko Ihor, *Ukraine Between East and West: Essays on Cultural History to the Early Eighteenth century*, 1998.

Society in Transition: Social Change in Ukraine and Western Perspective. Toronto, 2003.

Subtelny Orest, Ukraine: a History. Toronto, 1994.

Sullivant R. Soviet Politics and the Ukraine 1917-1957. New York, 1962.

Szporluk Roman, National Identity and Ethnicity in Russia and New States of Eurasia. N.Y., and London, 1994.

Szporluk Roman, Nation Building in Ukraine: Problems and Prospects. Washington D.C., 1995.

Szporluk Roman, Russia, Ukraine, and the Breakup of the Soviet Union, Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2000.

Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia. Toronto, 1971.

Ukrainians and the European War, Revolution and Nationalism in the Modern World, No.6. Cleveland, 1981.

Velychenko Stephen, National History as Cultural Process: A Survey of the Interpretations of Ukraine's Past in Polish, Russian and Ukrainian Historical Writing from the Earliest Times to 1914.

Wolchik, Sharon L. And Zviglyanich, Volodymyr A., eds., Ukraine in the Post-Soviet World: Building a State. Central European University Press, 1998.

Навчальне видання

Курило Віталій Семенович
Семистяга Володимир Федорович
Степикіна Тетяна Володимирівна

HISTORY OF UKRAINE

Навчальний посібник

АНГЛІЙСЬКОЮ МОВОЮ

Випускаючий редактор — Лобода С. М.
Комп'ютерний макет — Крайнюк А. М.
Коректор — Коломієць Н. О.

Здано до склад. 07.06.2008 р. Підп. до друку 07.07.2008 р.
Формат 60x84 1/16. Папір офсет. Гарнітура Times New Roman.
Друк ризографічний. Ум. друк. арк. 20,2. Наклад 1000 прим. Зам. № 71.

**Видавництво Державного закладу
„Луганський національний університет
імені Тараса Шевченка”**

вул. Оборонна, 2, м. Луганськ, 91011. Тел./факс: (0642) 58-03-20

Книга надрукована в типографії „Поліграфічний центр „Максим”

91011, Україна, м. Луганськ, вул. Челюскінцев, 16-а, т/ф: 34-40-21

Свідоцтво про внесення до Державного реєстру
суб'єктів видавничої діяльності ДК № 3036 від 17.12.07 р.