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**LIFE PATH AND THE FORMATION OF SCIENTIFIC AND POLITICAL HORIZONS
OF THE SCIENTIST-MECHANIC, MINISTER OF FINANCE
OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE I. A. VYSHNEGRADSKY**

Anosova V. S.

**ЖИТТЄВИЙ ШЛЯХ І ФОРМУВАННЯ НАУКОВОГО ТА ПОЛІТИЧНОГО
СВІТОГЛЯДУ НАУКОВЦЯ-МЕХАНІКА, МІНІСТРА ФІНАНСІВ
РОСІЙСЬКОЇ ІМПЕРІЇ І. О. ВИШНЕГРАДСЬКОГО**

Аносова В. С.

The article briefly describes the life path, as well as the history of the formation of the horizons of the famous Russian scientist-mechanic, professor, Minister of Finance of the Russian Empire Ivan Alekseevich Vyshnegradsky.

By 1862, Ivan Alekseevich had already visited several European countries and received the title of professor. From the same year, Vyshnegradsky's activity began at the St. Petersburg Practical Technological Institute, in which he lectured on mechanical theory of heat and the theory of steam engines, was appointed a member of the study committee. On his initiative, the Department of Metal and Wood Technology was restored. In 1871, a mechanical laboratory was founded at the institute for scientific research on the resistance of building materials and for hydraulics experiments. In 1875, Vyshnegradsky was appointed director of the institute, continuing his teaching activities. Among the machines he designed: an automatic press for the manufacture of prismatic powder, lifting machines, a press for testing materials, a mechanical material handler (for a river port), etc.

Features of economic policy of I. A. Vyshnegradsky consisted in the desire to increase the gold reserve of the empire and increase Russia's influence on the international economy and politics. For him, the most important and only task was the visible improvement of Russian finance in a short time. Favorable conditions were artificially created for heavy industry, which became a priority among the interests of the Ministry of Finance, often to the detriment of the interests of all agriculture. Under Vyshnegradsky, the export of Russian bread more than doubled. Stimulated the export of not only surplus bread, but also part of the necessary stocks of peasants. As a minister, he led the redemption of unprofitable railways, undertook control and financial (1889-1890) and tariff (1889) reforms in the railway sector. Conducted the conversion of state (external and internal) loans, which helped to reduce payments on public debt, lower interest, streamline public debt.

Keywords: gold reserve, mechanics, politics, agriculture, heavy industry, economy, export.

Introduction. Ivan Alekseevich Vyshnegradsky (1831-1895) – an outstanding scientist, was engaged in

teaching activities at the Artillery Academy and the Technological Institute (1850-1870), served as director of the Institute of Technology (1875-1878), Full Privy Councillor (1890), Honorary Member of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences (1888), Manager of the Ministry of Finance (1888-1892).

He studied at the Tver Theological Seminary (1843-1845). He graduated from the Physics and Mathematics Department of the Main Pedagogical Institute in St. Petersburg (1851 - with a silver medal; for excellent abilities and success in exams, he received the title of senior teacher). Master of Mathematical Sciences (1854 - defended a dissertation at Petersburg University on the subject "On the motion of a system of material points determined by complete differential equations").

In 1860-1862 he was abroad to prepare for a professorship, studied the state of mechanical engineering at industrial enterprises and in higher technical educational institutions in Germany, France, Belgium and the UK, and attended Redtenbacher's lectures on machine design at the Higher Technical School in Karlsruhe.

General problem setting. Taking into account the achievements and merits of the mechanic scientist, professor and Minister of Finance of the Russian Empire, Ivan Vyshnegradsky, a more detailed study of the life path and the history of the formation of his horizons is advisable.

Analysis of recent research and publications. The biography of I. A. Vyshnegradsky is studied by his scientist, pedagogical and political activity: V. N. Kuznetsova; I.P. Lyashchenko; V. T. Sudeikina; P.P. Migulin; V.V. Witchensky; M.P. Kashkarov; N. D. Shidlova et al.

The purpose and objectives of the resesch. To trace the history of the formation of the interests and

skills of the scientist I. A. Vyshnegradsky with the aim of finding out what exactly had the greatest influence on the scientist's horizons and his political activities.

Presentation of the basic research material. In 1862, Vyshnegradsky, returning from a business trip abroad, began to take practical mechanics courses at the Mikhailovsky Artillery Academy and at the same time was approved as a professor of this subject. From the same year, Vyshnegradsky began his work at the St. Petersburg Practical Technological Institute, in which he began to give lectures on the mechanical theory of heat and the theory of the design of steam engines and was appointed a member of the study committee. At the suggestion of Ivan Alekseevich, the department of metal and wood technology was restored. In 1871, a mechanical laboratory was founded at the institute for scientific research on the resistance of building materials and for experiments in hydraulics. In 1875, Vyshnegradsky was appointed director of the institute, retaining his professorship.

Ivan Alekseevich Vyshnegradsky founded the Russian scientific school of mechanical engineers. He introduced the teaching of the theoretical foundations of mechanical engineering course, taught courses in applied mechanics, thermodynamics, elasticity theory, lifting machines, lathes, steam engines, etc. He introduced course and diploma design for students. The author of the manual "Elementary Mechanics", for many years was considered the best in Russia in this field. Among the students of I. A. Vyshnegradsky: V. L. Kirpichov (organizer of technical education, first rector of the Kharkov Institute of Technology), N. P. Petrov (creator of the mathematical theory of lubrication), A. P. Borodin (inventor in the field of steam locomotive construction).

I.A. Vyshnegradsky was rightfully considered an outstanding design engineer of his time. Among the machines he designed: an automatic press for the manufacture of prismatic powder, lifting machines, a press for testing materials, a mechanical material handler (for a river port), and others. Vyshnegradsky participated in the construction of the Okhta gunpowder factory, the mechanical workshops of the St. Petersburg arsenal, cartridge, powder and arms factories. The scientist is one of the founders of the theory of automatic regulation. In the work "On direct-acting regulators" (1877), he presented a method for calculating regulators of this type. He formulated the condition for the stability of the regulatory system (Vyshnegradsky criterion) [6].

In the 1880s, Vyshnegradsky was a close associate of the extremely influential conservative publicist, editor of Moscow News, Mikhail Katkov (he published articles on financial issues in his newspaper). It was at the suggestion of Katkov in 1884 that Ivan Alekseevich first became a member of the Council under the Minister of Education, where he participated in the development of a conservative university charter adopted in 1884, and also became the main author of the industrial education project. In 1886, the professor was

appointed a member of the Council of State and the Finance Committee.

Using the patronage of the influential Prince Vladimir Meshchersky (close to Alexander III), as well as the support of Katkov, who in 1885-1887 launched an active campaign for the resignation of Minister Nikolai Bunge, from January 1, 1887, Vyshnegradsky took the post of Minister of Finance [5].

I.A. Vyshnegradsky was prepared for this post, but of a completely different type than Bunge. He was also a learned professor, but not a theoretician-economist, but a scientist technologist and practitioner, undoubtedly very gifted, who showed his talents both in some inventions of a military-technical nature and in well-established academic courses. His experience at the artillery academy gave him an important advantage for the Minister of Finance: he was well acquainted with the military economy and the military budget, which was an important component of the general state budget.

Thus, Vyshnegradsky took the post of Minister of Finance as a trained and knowledgeable person. Ivan Alekseevich was able to quickly create his own financial condition thanks to his technical inventions, then he very successfully participated in various exchange speculations and exchange affairs, so this area was also familiar to him [3].

In his administration of the Ministry of Finance, and especially in financial and economic policy, Vyshnegradsky showed the complete absence of any broad views and foresight. For him, the most important and only task was the visible improvement of Russian finance in the near future. In his financial policy, he set himself the same goal that Reiter had once set himself: to restore the rate of the credit ruble.

It should be noted that the course of the Ministry of Finance with I. A. Vyshnegradsky has changed quite sharply. The main task of the ministry at Vyshnegradsky was the accumulation of large cash reserves at the treasury of the state treasury and the wide participation with the help of these reserves in international exchange operations in order to put pressure on the international economy and thus raise the ruble exchange rate.

Under Ivan Alekseyevich, the rights of factory inspectors established under Minister Bunge are extremely reduced through circular explanations, which very soon affected the composition of the factory inspection. This is due to the fact that in such conditions the most dedicated and independent representatives of this inspection, seeing the impossibility to act in accordance with their conscience and even in accordance with the law, resign. Thus, the institution of factory inspection is changing for the worse [7].

Due to a number of protection measures, the Russian heavy industry - the careful attitude of the Ministry of Finance to the issue of the direction of the railway lines that are advantageous for the domestic manufacturing industry and about such railway tariffs that would strictly correspond to the interests of the heavy industry, the most favorable conditions appear at

this time. Favorable conditions are artificially created for heavy industry, which has become a priority among the interests of the Ministry of Finance, often to the detriment of the interests of other sectors of the population and especially contrary to the interests of all agriculture, whose condition was especially negatively affected by the protection customs tariff of 1891, as a result of which the main for agriculture materials and agricultural machinery [9].

Under Vyshnegradsky, the export of Russian bread more than doubled. This is due to his desire to solve the problems of industrialization and financial stabilization through agriculture. A symbol of this approach was the winged phrase attributed to him: "we are undernourished, but we will take it out!". His colleague in the Ministry of Finance, P. Kh. Schwanebach, as follows explains the origin of the phrase: "I can't forget the exclamation that broke out in the spring of 1891, when, with a looming crop failure, he began to fear the ebb of gold: "We'll not eat it ourselves, but we'll take it out". However, he did not pay enough attention to the agrarian question, which contributed to the aggravation of the situation in the village and the famine of 1891-1892, which as a result undermined many of Vyshnegradsky's undertakings. It should be noted that as a minister, he lacked a broad outlook, he behaved mainly as a narrow financier. However, his resignation from the ministerial post in 1892 was caused not at all by incompetence, but by serious illness and intrigue, primarily from his immediate successor, S. Yu. Witte [2].

I.A. Vyshnegradsky devoted considerable attention to the creation of a reserve of gold cash, which allowed his successor S. Yu. Witte to carry out a monetary reform (introduce a "golden ruble"). He initiated an increase in indirect taxes: alcohol excise tax was increased, oil and match excise taxes were introduced, additional excise tax on refined sugar was increased, stamp duty was increased (the increase in indirect taxation was criticized by opponents of Ivan Alekseevich as worsening the situation of the poor) [10].

Vyshnegradsky advocated the priority of exports частности in particular, he carried out a reduction in grain tariffs on grain exported abroad, a 10% discount was established. Stimulated the export of not only surplus bread, but also part of the necessary stocks of peasants. When the crop failures of 1891 and 1892 caused famine among the peasantry and dealt a blow to export policy. As a minister, he led the redemption of unprofitable railways, undertook control and financial (1889-1890) and tariff (1889) reforms in the railway sector. Conducted the conversion of state (external and internal) loans, which helped to reduce payments on public debt, lower interest, streamline public debt (while the public debt itself increased due to new loans) [1].

In April 1892, Vyshnegradsky, for health reasons, resigned as minister, remaining a member of the Council of State. Comrade Minister—F. G. Turner was appointed Manager of the Ministry of Finance. Turner

ran the ministry until the appointment of S. Yu. Witte on August 30 (September 11), 1892. Many of the economic events initiated by Vyshnegradsky were continued by S. Yu. Witte, who replaced him as Minister of Finance. Vyshnegradsky was buried in the Isidorov Church of the Alexander Nevsky Lavra in St. Petersburg, the grave was not preserved.

Conclusion. In conclusion, it should be noted that Ivan Alekseevich Vyshnegradsky was an outstanding scientist and political figure of his time. Scientific, pedagogical experience, as well as the experience of speculation on the stock exchange made it possible to obtain certain knowledge and skills that in the future allowed him to take the post of Minister of Finance as an experienced and trained person for such a position. It should be noted that despite the broad outlook and the abundance of experience in various fields, Vyshnegradsky's activity as Minister of Finance was very narrow and limited. Despite the fact that Ivan Alekseevich lacked political foresight, his economic policy was based on the desire to strengthen the Russian empire in the international arena.

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Аносова В. С. Життєвий шлях і формування наукового та політичного світогляду вченого-механіка, професора, міністра фінансів Російської імперії І. О. Вишнеградського

У статті коротко описаний життєвий шлях, а також історія формування горизонтів відомого російського вченого-механіка, професора, міністра фінансів Російської імперії Івана Олексійовича Вишнеградського.

До 1862 р. Іван Олексійович вже побував у кількох європейських країнах і отримав звання професора. З цього ж року діяльність Вишнеградського розпочалася в Пе-

тербурзькому практичному технологічному інституті, де він читав лекції з механічної теорії тепла та теорії парових машин, призначений членом навчального комітету. За його ініціативою було відновлено кафедру технології металу та деревини. У 1871 р. В інституті була заснована механічна лабораторія для наукових досліджень стійкості будівельних матеріалів та проведення експериментів з гідравлікою. У 1875 році Вишнеградський був призначений директором інституту, продовжуючи свою викладацьку діяльність. Серед машин, які він сконструював: автоматичний прес для виготовлення призматичного порошку, вантажопідійомні машини, прес для випробування матеріалів, перевантажувач механічних матеріалів (для річкового порту) тощо.

Особливості економічної політики І. А. Вишнеградського полягали в прагненні збільшити золотовалютний запас імперії та посилити вплив Росії на міжнародну економіку та політику. Для нього найважливішим і єдиним завданням було видиме покращення російських фінансів за короткий час. Штучно створені сприятливі умови для важкої промисловості, яка стала пріоритетом серед інтересів Міністерства фінансів, часто на шкоду інтересам усього сільського господарства. За Вишнеградського експорт російського хліба більший ніж подвоївся. Стимулював експорт не лише надлишків хліба, а й частини необхідних запасів селян. Як міністр він керував викупом збиткових залізниць, проводив контрольно-фінансові (1889-1890) та тарифні (1889) реформи в залізничному секторі. Проведено конвертацію державних (зовнішніх і внутрішніх) позик, що допомогло зменшити виплати за державним боргом, знизити відсотки, впорядкувати державний борг. **Ключові слова:** золотий запас, механіка, політика, сільське господарство, важка промисловість, економіка, експорт.

Аносова В. С. Жизненный путь и формирование научного и политического кругозора ученого-механика, профессора, министра финансов Российской империи И. А. Вышнеградского

В статье кратко описывается жизненный путь, а также история формирования горизонтов известного российского ученого-механика, профессора, министра финансов Российской империи Ивана Алексеевича Вышнеградского.

К 1862 году Иван Алексеевич уже побывал в нескольких европейских странах и получил звание профессора. С того же года деятельность Вышнеградского началась в Санкт-Петербургском практическом технологическом институте, в котором он читал лекции по механической теории тепла и теории паровых двигателей, был назначен членом учебного комитета. По его инициативе была восстановлена кафедра технологии металла и дерева. В 1871 году в институте была создана механическая лаборатория для научных исследований сопротивления строительных материалов и для гидравлических экспериментов. В 1875 году Вышнеградский был назначен директором института, продолжив педагогическую деятельность. Среди машин, которые он разработал: автоматический пресс для изготовления призматического порошка, подъемные машины, пресс для испытания материалов, механический погрузчик (для речного порта) и т. Д.

Особенности экономической политики И. А. Вышнеградского заключались в стремлении увеличить золотой запас империи и усилить влияние России на мировую экономику и политику. Для него самой важной и единственной задачей было заметное улучшение российских финансов в короткие сроки. Искусственно созданы благоприятные условия для тяжелой промышленности, которая стала приоритетом среди интересов Министерства финансов, часто в ущерб интересам всего сельского хозяйства. При Вышнеградском вывоз российского хлеба более чем удвоился. Стимулировал вывоз не только излишка хлеба, но и части необходимых запасов крестьян. В качестве министра он руководил выкупом убыточных железных дорог, провел контрольно-финансовую (1889-1890) и тарифную (1889) реформы в железнодорожном секторе. Проведена конвертация государственных (внешних и внутренних) кредитов, что позволило сократить выплаты по государственному долгу, снизить процентные ставки, оптимизировать государственный долг.

Ключевые слова: золотой запас, механика, политика, сельское хозяйство, тяжелая промышленность, экономика, экспорт.

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INFORMATIVE SATURATION OF EGO DOCUMENTS AS A HISTORICAL SOURCE

Bondarenko P.S.

ІНФОРМАТИВНА НАСИЧЕНІСТЬ ЕГО-ДОКУМЕНТІВ ЯК ІСТОРИЧНОГО ДЖЕРЕЛА

Бондаренко П.С.

The paper attempts to determine the place and role of ego - documents in historical source studies. Specific source material (memoirs of Akmolin detainees' detention camps for the wives of traitors to the Motherland) describes the features of this type of documents in historical, psychological, linguistic aspects. It is proposed to determine the following by the results of intelligence: first, ego - documents are described as part of a group of sources known in the scientific classification as sources of personal origin; second, the use of ego documents, according to the author, will enhance anthropocentric approaches to the study of particular topics and problems, especially those associated with periods of radical change in society, which have had mostly tragic consequences for individuals and families. These are the events of the 1930s, the Great Terror; thirdly, the reference to ego exclusively - the documents artificially narrows the original base of the study, and therefore offers a comprehensive approach to its definition in order to create an objective and multi-vector picture of our past.

For the researcher, the emergence of a new type of documentary base raises several questions: first, whether the term "ego - document" is not simply a modern synonym for an already established type of documents that we classify as documents of personal origin; secondly, what is the peculiarity of this type of documents, and, finally, thirdly, what information load the said documents carry. We will try to answer these questions in this paper, because that is exactly how we have defined its purpose.

In domestic historiography, interest in "ego - documents" has become particularly noticeable with the intensification of oral history research, which aims at "knowing and understanding the individual experience of man as the main protagonist of history", even if the term is rarely used by researchers.

It is these peculiarities that determine the significance of these documents for the researcher, because they make it possible to grasp the whole tragedy of the situation at that time, to understand the inner world of ordinary people, to define the true and not demonstrably propaganda features of the "Soviet man".

Keywords: source studies, documents of personal origin, anthropocentric, historiography, daily life.

Introduction. The term ego-document is relatively new, and has been appearing in domestic scientific intelligence for the last ten to fifteen years. Its occurrence is likely to be related to the expansion of the source base of the research, in particular due to the expansion of opportunities for the researcher to work with archival sources: restrictions were removed from certain funds that previously had the code "For official use" or were generally hidden, access to funds of departmental archives, such as the archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.

The relevance of the proposed intelligence is to involve in the historical exploration of new sources, which will greatly increase the objectivity of these studies and enable the creation of complex works.

Goal. For the researcher, the emergence of a new type of documentary base raises several questions: first, whether the term "ego - document" is not simply a modern synonym for an already established type of documents that we classify as documents of personal origin; secondly, what is the peculiarity of this type of documents, and, finally, thirdly, what information load the said documents carry. We will try to answer these questions in this paper, because that is exactly how we have defined its purpose.

To the history of the issue. The term "ego - document" in the meaning of the source was first used in 1958 by Professor at the University of Amsterdam J. Presser, meaning under it a whole set of materials - autobiographies, memoirs, diaries, letters, travel records [1, p.15]. The beginning of active use of these documents by researchers dates back to the 80s of the last century and used mainly autobiographies. According to foreign researchers M. Masukh (USA), R.Dekker and A. Baggerman (Netherlands), K. Greyertz (Switzerland) contributed to this process explosion of studies in micro history, when the study of the perception of one, most often crossed, the person

became in the center history writing instead of the history of large groups of people and significant historical figures. These authors consider autobiographies to be the most valuable "ego - document" and consider, for their example, changes to the use of this group of sources in general [2].

In domestic historiography, interest in "ego - documents" has become particularly noticeable with the intensification of oral history research, which aims at "knowing and understanding the individual experience of man as the main protagonist of history", even if the term is rarely used by researchers [3, with. 7].

The term is given in the title of the article by Yu. Kiselova and T. Popova, who study the diaries of VE Krusman (1879-1922), professor of Novorossiysk and Perm Universities. However, the authors set themselves the task, not so much of ego research, of documents as a form of historical source, but of clarifying the role of these diaries in the process of forming a scientist's personality [4].

There is also a legal aspect to this type of document - so lawyers refer to documents that confirm a person's legal status, such as a birth certificate, marriage / divorce, taxpayer tax number, etc.

Finally, we turn to the most authoritative point of view - the textbook for students of higher educational institutions "Historical Lore." The reaffirmation of its credibility was the emergence of a second revised and revised edition. The terminology dictionary provided at the end of the publication does not contain the term "ego document". In our opinion, the closest meaning is the term "sources of personal origin" - monuments sponsored by individuals; documents that were formed during life, service, scientific, creative, civic activity [5, p.481]. Thus, in the educational space, the term "ego - document" has not yet been established and, perhaps, it is possible to speak of a certain subordination of the term under study to a broader concept - sources of personal origin.

Research results. The next question is about the particularities of ego documents and their informative capabilities, and this is directly related to the historical context, ie for which historical periods they are of the greatest importance. To answer the question, let us turn to the opinion of one of the most authoritative researchers of oral history, G. Grinchenko, who focuses on the study of pressing and controversial issues related primarily to traumatic events of national history, adjusting traditional views on specific concrete historical problems, filling "white spots," especially with regard to the recent Soviet past [6, p.4].

An important and painful "white spot" of the recent past were the events of the 1930s, in particular the mass repression of the population. The author of this exploration explores the gender aspects of this repressive activity, including the detention of women in camps, and the specific organization of their life in prison.

The largest collection of ego documents about the events of the 1930s is the "Academic Sakharov Public

Heritage Commission" (better known as the Sakharov Center), which has been officially in existence since 1999. The mission of the Center is to preserve and develop A. Sakharov's legacy, to shape the historical memory of Soviet totalitarianism and resistance to non-freedom, to promote the values of freedom, democracy and human rights, to support an active, high-quality and free discussion on current issues of history, human rights, humanitarian issues. in general, promoting civil society development. One of the areas of work of the center is to collect memories, letters, record conversations with former prisoners and their family members [7].

In our republic, the center of study of the events of the Soviet period is the Ukrainian Institute of National Remembrance, one of the tasks of which was the implementation of state policy in the field of restoration and preservation of national memory of the Ukrainian people, in particular, the implementation of a set of measures to commemorate the victims of political repression. [8]. The existence of such state and non-governmental organizations is a testament to the increased public interest in the problems of the recent past, especially its instructive lessons for the present. This means that the value of ego - documents for researchers is only increasing, because the anthropocentric approach that prevails in contemporary historical writing is precisely in regard to the individual, especially in times of radical changes in his life and in society as a whole.

While working on previous articles by the author [9], the memoirs of several former Akmolyn detainees 'detainees' camps for the wives of the traitors to their homeland, collected in both a generalized publication and in separate publications, were explored [10]. In our opinion, the most characteristic features of these documents can be considered:

- in historical terms, descriptions of events at the level of their family, their surroundings are predominantly presented, ie the history of the country is presented through the lens of individual history;
- in the psychological aspect:
 - there is an extremely high level of emotional component of the text, which is quite logical for women authors, especially when describing such tragic events of life;
 - much attention is paid to the description of household moments, such as furniture, clothing, etc. ;
- in linguistic terms, the text is often unstructured, even chaotic, with some "intersections" of chronologically previous events, etc.

It is these peculiarities that determine the significance of these documents for the researcher, because they make it possible to grasp the whole tragedy of the situation at that time, to understand the inner world of ordinary people, to define the true and not demonstrably propaganda features of the "Soviet man".

Conclusions. Therefore, the conducted intelligence provides an opportunity to draw some important conclusions:

- ego - documents can be considered as part of a group of written sources of individual (personal) origin;
- the use of ego documents provides an opportunity to enhance the anthropocentricity of studying historical events and epochs;
- the use of ego documents is better combined with other groups of sources in order to prepare a comprehensive multi-vector history.

The author intends to dedicate further explorations to characterization of sources of collective origin of the studied period.

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Бондаренко П.С. Інформативна насиченість еґо - документів як історичного джерела

У статті намагаються визначити місце та роль еґо - документів у історичних джерелознавствах. Конкретний вихідний матеріал (спогади таборів ув'язнених Ақколіна для дружин зрадників Батьківщини) описує особливості цього типу документів в історичному, психологічному, мовному аспектах. За результатами розвідки пропонується визначити наступне: по-перше, еґо - документи описуються як частина групи джерел, відомих у науковій класифікації як джерел особистого походження; по-друге, використання документів еґо, на думку автора, посилює антропоцентричні підходи до вивчення окремих тем і проблем, особливо тих, що пов'язані з періодами докорінних змін у суспільстві, що мали в основному трагічні наслідки для людей та сімей. Це події 1930-х років, Великий терор; по-третє, посилення на виключно еґо - документи штучно звужує початкову базу дослід-

дження, а тому пропонує комплексний підхід до його визначення з метою створення об'єктивної та багатовекторної картини нашого минулого.

Для дослідника поява документальної бази нового типу викликає декілька питань: по-перше, чи термін "его-документ" не є просто сучасним синонімом вже встановленого типу документів, які ми класифікуємо як документи особистого походження; по-друге, у чому особливість цього виду документів, і, нарешті, по-третє, яку інформацію навантажують зазначені документи. Ми спробуємо відповісти на ці запитання в цій роботі, адже саме так ми визначили її призначення.

У вітчизняній історіографії зацікавлення "документами его" стало особливо помітним із посиленням досліджень усної історії, яке спрямоване на "пізнання та розуміння індивідуального досвіду людини як головного героя історії", навіть якщо цей термін рідко використовується дослідниками.

Саме ці особливості визначають значення цих документів для дослідника, оскільки вони дають можливість осягнути всю трагедію тогочасної ситуації, зрозуміти внутрішній світ простих людей, визначити справжні та не демонстративно пропагандистські риси "радянської людини".

Ключові слова: джерелознавство, документи особового походження, антропоцентризм, історіописання, повсякденне життя.

Бондаренко П.С. Информационная насыщенность его – документов как исторического источника

В статье предпринята попытка определить место и роль его-документов в изучении исторических источников. В конкретном исходном материале (воспоминания лагерей задержанных акмолинцев для жён предателей Родины) описываются особенности документов этого типа в историческом, психологическом, лингвистическом аспектах. По результатам разведки предлагается определить следующее: во-первых, его-документы описываются как часть группы источников, известных в научной классификации как источники личного происхождения; во-вторых, использование документов его, по мнению автора, усилит антропоцентрические подходы к

изучению конкретных тем и проблем, особенно тех, которые связаны с периодами радикальных изменений в обществе, которые имели в основном трагические последствия для отдельных лиц и семей. Это события 30-х годов, большой террор; в-третьих, ссылка исключительно на его-документы искусственно сужают первоначальную базу исследования и поэтому предлагают комплексный подход к его определению, чтобы создать объективную и многовекторную картину нашего прошлого.

Для исследователя появление нового типа документальной базы поднимает несколько вопросов: во-первых, является ли термин «его-документ» не просто современным синонимом уже установленного типа документов, которые мы классифицируем как документы личного происхождения; во-вторых, в чем особенность документов такого типа и, наконец, в-третьих, какую информационную нагрузку несут указанные документы. Мы попытаемся ответить на эти вопросы в этой статье, потому что именно так мы определили ее цель.

В отечественной историографии интерес к «его-документам» стал особенно заметен с усилением устного исследования истории, которое направлено на «знание и понимание индивидуального опыта человека как главного героя истории», даже если этот термин используется редко исследователями.

Именно эти особенности определяют значимость этих документов для исследователя, потому что они позволяют понять всю трагедию ситуации того времени, понять внутренний мир простых людей, определить истинные и не наглядно пропагандистские особенности "советского человека".

Ключевые слова: источниковедение, документы личного происхождения, антропоцентризм, историописание, повседневная жизнь.

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TO THE ISSUE OF TIN BRONZES OVER THE AREA OF THE DNIEPER-DON REGION IN THE LATE BRONZE AGE

Brovender Yu. M.

ДО ПИТАННЯ ПРО ОЛОВ'ЯНІ БРОНЗИ НА ПРОСТОРАХ ДНІПРО-ДОНСЬКОГО РЕГІОНУ У ДОБУ ПІЗНЬОЇ БРОНЗИ

Бровендер Ю.М.

The paper is devoted to tin ores as an alloying impurity in the bronze production by the ancient population of the Dnieper-Don region in the Late Bronze Age. The eastern and western supply vectors providing the local population with both ore (cassiterite) and its products are considered. The author draws attention to the assumptions of some researchers not confirmed by geological surveys about the possibility of finding tin deposits in the Donbass and Krivoy Rog basin, which could probably have been developed in the Early Metal Age. An opinion was given regarding the production of bronze from copper ore with a high content of metals - impurities in the mineral phase and separately from polymetallic ore. In ancient times for the development of any mineral, its availability for development, as well as a great volume or high content of useful mineral in ore were indispensable conditions. Due to existing technologies, the requirements for minerals in antiquity were much higher than modern ones.

On the issue of tin raw materials for bronze production of the ancient population of Ukraine, attention is drawn to the assumption, not yet confirmed by geological surveys of some researchers (S.I. Tatarinov, D.P. Kravets, D.P. Nedopako) on the possibility of finding tin deposits in such ore-rich regions of Ukraine as the Donbass and Krivoy Rog.

The experimental work carried out on the basis of ores of the Kartamysh ore occurrence have indeed confirmed the idea of chemical elements redistribution, when some metals decrease and others increase. This trend with reference to the results of spectral analyzes of Bakhmut ores, slags and products of the Donetsk Mining and Metallurgical Center, performed by E.N. Chernykh was noted by S.I. Tatarinov. However, to obtain bronze, a high percentage of bronze-forming impurities is required, including tin in the minerals. However, the copper and polymetallic ores of Donbass do not contain enough tin in the initial ore to produce tin bronze. A series of our experiments yielded just pure copper. Thus, the author reposes on the commune notion, according to which it is not possible to obtain bronze from copper ores of Donbass and bronze without on purpose input of the appropriate elements into the melt.

Key words: bronze foundry, Dnieper-Don region, Late Bronze Age, tin, tin bronzes.

The quantitative increase in metal production in Eurasian spaces in the Late Bronze Age was accompanied by qualitative changes. Discovery and development of tin ore (cassiterite) deposits in Kazakhstan [Kuznetsova et al., 1994; Chernikov, 1960; Margulan, 2001; Berdenov, 2002], Ore Altai [Chernikov, 1960; Shcherba, 1951; Baryshnikov et al., 2005] and Central Asia [Ruzanov, 2002; Boroffka et al., 2005], actively developed at that time by the Fedorov culture of the Andronov community [Chernykh, Kuzminykh, 1989, p. 174 fig. 86.3] contributed to the emergence of the most important technological innovation - the changing of arsenic bronze to tin bronze [Chernykh, 1978; Bochkarev, 1995a; Klochko, 1994]. Raw materials were mined not only for domestic consumption by carriers of the Andronovo cultural tradition, but also, as evidenced by the large-scale volumes of annual production estimated by researchers (from 3 to 10 thousand tons) [Chernikov, 1960, p. 134-135], was exported [Tikhonov, 1978; Kuzmina, 1994, p. 141-152]. From there to the west, tin bronzes spread in the form of ore or finished products up to the Don basin area [Chernykh, 1978; 2007, p. 75] and the Dnieper basin area [Kuzmina, 1987; Kushtan, 2011; 2013, c. 198].

The manifestation of the eastern impulse in spreading this technological innovation on the territory of the Dnieper-Don region demonstrates the presence of funerary monuments among the logging equipment, as well as among the materials of the Andronovo ceramics settlements [Berezanskaya, Gershkovich, 1983; Kuzmina, 1987; Bochkarev, 1995; Otroshchenko, Rassamakin, 1997; Kushtan, 2013, p. 181]. In the settlements, isolated fragments of Andronov dishes are found among the materials of the first period of the Berezhnovsko-Mayevskaya Srubnaya culture of the Donetsk Ridge (Stepanovka, Chervone Lake-3) [Dubovskaya, 1978; Brovender, 2010, 2012]. Such ceramics are also known

in the early complexes of the Malopolovets burial ground (excavations by S.D. Lysenko), located on the northwestern periphery of the influences of the Berezhnovsko-Mayeviskaya Srubnaya culture.

Speaking of tin ore sources for bronze production of the Late Bronze Age in the Dnieper-Don region, one should pay attention to the western vector of ties, which material embodiment therewith was saturation of the studied region with metal products cast from tin bronze. It is known that in the Carpathians, as well as in the Urals, tin bronze was actively used at that time [Chernykh, 1976, p. 26-27, 180; Dergachev et al., 2002, p. 8]. According to the research results of E.N. Chernykh in the Northern Black Sea region the share of tin bronzes of the CT chemical groups (Carpatho-Transylvanian) (318/95,5%) and RB (right-bank) (159/91,5%) directly related to the manufacturing centers of the Balkan-Carpathian mining and metallurgical region significantly exceeds the metal of the eastern centers - VK (Volga-Kama) (69/36,2%) and VU (Volga-Ural) 14/76,9%. Note that the smallest chemical group CS (copper sandstones of the Donbass), comparable with the copper sandstones of the Urals, according to the observations of E.N. Chernykh is 13/15,4%, and the LB chemical group (left-bank) (mixed metal), corresponding to the Loboikov tradition [Chernykh, 1976, p. 40-42] of the Berezhnovsko-Mayeviskaya srubnaya culture - 184/56,8% [Chernykh, 1976, p. 26 table 1-II]. Bohemian tin, as well as Carpathian and Balkan copper, saturated metal-working workshops in Moldova, the North-Western Black Sea Region, and the Lower and Middle Dnieper [Chernykh, 1976, p. 180; Berezanska, Otroshchenko, 1997, p. 466; Bochkarev, 2006], and through them, metal, to a greater extent in the form of products, fell into the territory of the Dnieper-Don region. As an example, let us pay attention to the Raigorodsky treasure, where among the spectrally studied four metal products, two tools (50%) (celt and sickle) were made of tin bronze [Chernykh, 1976, p. 40, p. 265 table 8].

A similar situation can be traced in the chemical composition of metal of Novopavlovsk treasure. Three products have been analyzed, two (a fragment of the sickle and adze) are represented by tin bronze [Chernykh, 1976, p. 284-285], and one product (ingot) is chemically "pure" copper [Tatarinov, 1993, p. 150]. However, basing on 117 analyzed samples, the Loboikovskiy treasure is also represented by products made of both chemically "pure" copper 59/50,4% and tin bronze 58/49,6% [Chernykh, 1976, p. 41].

On the issue of tin raw materials for bronze production of the ancient population of Ukraine, attention is drawn to the assumption, not yet confirmed by geological surveys of D.P. Nedopako on the possibility of "finding tin deposits in such ore-rich regions of Ukraine as the Donbass and Krivoy Rog" [Nedopako, 1997]. It is important to note that in ancient times for the development of any mineral, its availability for development, as well as a great volume or high content of useful mineral in ore were indispensable conditions. Due to existing technologies, the requirements for minerals in antiquity

were much higher than modern ones. In this regard, we draw attention to the incorrect information of S.I. Tatarinov and D.P. Kravets [1997] about "easily accessible tin ore deposits - cassiterite on the right bank of the Calchik river."

There is also an opinion according to which bronze is obtained from copper ore with a higher metals content - impurities located in the mineral phase and separately from polymetallic ore [Klochko et al., 2005].

The experimental work performed by the dissertation author along with Yu.P. Shubin based on the ores of the Kartamysh ore occurrence have indeed confirmed the idea of chemical elements redistribution, when some metals decrease and others increase [Brovender, Shubin, 2009]. This trend with reference to the results of spectral analyzes of Bakhmut ores, slags and products of the Donetsk Mining and Metallurgical Center, performed by E.N. Chernykh was noted by S.I. Tatarinov [2006]. However, to obtain bronze, a high percentage of bronze-forming impurities is required, including tin in the minerals. However, the copper and polymetallic ores of Donbass do not contain enough tin in the initial ore to produce tin bronze. A series of our experiments yielded just pure copper. Thus, the author reposes on the common notion [Chernykh, 1976, p. 181; Berezanska, Otroshchenko, 1997, p. 460], according to which it is not possible to obtain bronze from copper ores of Donbass and bronze without on purpose input of the appropriate elements into the melt [Brovender, Shubin, 2009].

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Бровендер Ю.М. До питання про олов'яні бронзи на просторах Дніпро-Донського регіону у добу пізньої бронзи.

Стаття присвячена олов'яним рудам як легуючим домішкам у виробництві бронзи давньоруським населенням Наддніпрянщини в пізню бронзову епоху. Розглянуто східний і західний вектори поставок, що забезпечують місцеве населення і рудою (кассітеритом), і її продуктами. Автор звертає увагу на припущення деяких дослідників, не підтвержені геологічними дослідженнями щодо можливості виявлення родовищ олова в басейні Донбасу та Кривого Рогу, які, можливо, були розроблені ще в епоху раннього металу. Була надана думка щодо виробництва бронзи з мідної руди з високим вмістом металів - домішок у мінеральній фазі та окремо від поліметалічних руд. У стародавні часи для розробки будь-якого мінералу, його доступності для розробки, а також великого обсягу або високого вмісту корисного мінералу в руді були неодмінними умовами. Завдяки існуючим технологіям вимоги до корисних копалин у давнину були значно вищими, ніж сучасні.

У питанні олов'яної сировини для виробництва бронзи давнього населення України звертається увага на припущення, ще не підтвержене геологічними дослідженнями деяких дослідників (С.І. Татаринів, Д.П. Кравець, Д.П. Недопако) про можливість знаходження родовищ олова в таких багатих рудами регіонах України, як Донбас та Кривий Ріг.

Експериментальні роботи, проведені на основі руд залягання Картамишської руди, справді підтвердили ідею перерозподілу хімічних елементів, коли одні метали зменшуються, а інші збільшуються. Однак для отримання бронзи потрібен високий відсоток домішок, що утворюють бронзу, включаючи олово в мінералах. Однак мідні та поліметалічні руди Донбасу не містять достатньої кількості олова в початковій руді для отримання олов'яної бронзи. Серія наших експериментів дала просто чисту мідь. Таким чином, автор спирається на поняття комін, згідно з яким неможливо отримати бронзу з мідних руд Донбасу та бронзи без навмисного введення відповідних елементів у розплав.

Ключові слова: бронзолитварне виробництво, Дніпро-Донський регіон, доба пізньої бронзи, олов'яні бронзи, олово.

Бровендер Ю.М. К вопросу об оловянных бронзах на пространствах Днепро-Донского региона в эпоху поздней бронзы

Статья посвящена оловянным рудам как легирующей примеси в производстве бронзы древним населением Приднепровья в позднем бронзовом веке. Рассматриваются восточные и западные векторы снабжения, обеспечивающие местное население как рудой (касситеритом), так и ее продуктами. Автор обращает внимание на предположения некоторых исследователей, не подтвержденные геологическими исследованиями, о возможности обнаружения месторождений олова в бассейне Донбасса и Кривого Рога, которые, вероятно, могли быть разработаны в эпоху раннего металла. Было высказано мнение о производстве бронзы из медной руды с высоким содержанием металлов - примесей в минеральной фазе и отдельно от полиметаллической руды. В древние времена для разработки любого минерала, его доступность для разработки, а также большой объем или высокое содержание полезного минерала в руде были обязательными условиями. Благодаря существующим технологиям, требования к минералам в древности были намного выше, чем современные.

По вопросу о оловянном сырье для производства бронзы древнего населения Украины обращается внимание на предположение, еще не подтвержденное геологическими исследованиями некоторых исследователей (С.И. Татаринов, Д.П. Кравец, Д.П. Недопако) о возможности обнаружения месторождений олова в таких богатых рудой областях Украины, как Донбасс и Кривой Рог.

Экспериментальные работы, выполненные на основе руд картамышского рудопроявления, действительно подтвердили идею перераспределения химических элементов, когда одни металлы уменьшаются, а другие увеличиваются. Однако для получения бронзы требуется высокий процент бронзообразующих примесей, включая олово в минералах. Однако медные и полиметаллические руды Донбасса не содержат достаточно олова в исходной руде для производства оловянной бронзы. Серия наших экспериментов дала только чистую медь. Таким образом, автор опирается на понятие комин, согласно которому невозможно получить бронзу из медных руд Донбасса и бронзу без преднамеренного ввода соответствующих элементов в расплав.

Ключевые слова: бронзолитейное производство, Днепро-Донской регион, оловянные бронзы, олово, эпоха поздней бронзы.

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THE ROLE OF THE POLES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SUGAR INDUSTRY OF THE DIVISION AND THEIR PART IN THE CONDITIONS ORDER OF THE NKVD UNION

But O.M.

РОЛЬ ПОЛЯКІВ У РОЗВИТКУ ЦУКРОВОЇ ПРОМИСЛОВОСТІ ПОДІЛЛЯ ТА ЇХ ДОЛЯ В УМОВАХ НАКАЗА НКВС СОЮЗУ РСР

Бут О.М.

The article analyzes the problems of development of sugar modernization of Ukraine in the conditions of Soviet industrialization. Based on the work, a wide range of both published works and new and in-depth researched documents of the Union bodies and the State Archives of Vinnitsa region, the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory (Kiev) and the Polish Institute of National Memory (Warsaw). Thanks to them, the focus is on little-known events and facts. It is revealed that among the repressed victims of the "Polish operation" of the NKVD the overwhelming majority were Poles, but there were also representatives of other nationalities, including Ukrainians. The truth and decency of the management and specialists of the regional sugar trust and factories have been documented. Historical memory calls for the continued deepening of the known and the search for the new fate of the repressed sugar workers of Podillya. It is important to emphasize that such legally unfounded and unproven indictments and rulings ended with transfers to extrajudicial authorities relatively quickly (in 2-3 months). The sentence was one - the execution with confiscation of property. By the way, not later than the second day of its implementation.

Based on the above, it follows that the "Polish operation" in the sugar industry of Ukraine on the example of Vinnitsa testified promptness of the NKVD bodies in the agreement of J. Stalin, who on the basis of his personal nature wanted to avenge the unsuccessful campaign and the crushing defeat of the Red Army with the slogan "!" in 1920 near Warsaw.

It seems that the researchers still have a lot to find out, to tell about the terrible consequences of Stalinist totalitarianism in Ukraine. Historical memory awaits the discovery of little-known names of citizens of republics of different nationalities, the perpetuation of their patriotic actions. Historians, lawyers, political scientists, specialists in other specialties are still heavily indebted to the victims of disenfranchisement, and local authorities and self-government bodies should think about preserving the memory of these names in the names of new streets, avenues, squares.

Keywords: industrialization, sugar mill, NKVD, historical memory.

One of the main conditions for the stable provision of food to the population in the 1930s was the development of the sugar industry. In the economic plans of great importance was given to the traditional in the field Podillya. There was a system of cultivation of raw materials and processing, there were specialists and managers, permanent staff. At the end of the second five-year period, this system proved to be effective and efficient. But the Bolshevik-Soviet leadership in the face of officially proclaimed widespread democracy decided to quickly "cleanse" society of the remains of "pests." For this purpose, special operations were carried out by the NKVD of the USSR under the so-called "National trait". One of the first and most brutal casualties was the "Polish operation". The millstones of Stalin's repression fell on the honest workers and especially the leadership of the sugar industry in Vinnitsa region only because they were Poles. Their names lack historical memory.

The purpose of the article is to take an in-depth look at the underestimated role and place of Poles by origin, citizens of the USSR, as specialists in the development of the sugar industry in Vinnitsa region. The fate of them under conditions of totalitarianism suffered long-term oblivion. The task of the research is to show the little-known names of the leaders of the leading branch of the Podolsk region, which gives it relevance.

Analysis of research and publications. The question of the role of the Poles, traditionally known in the sugar industry, their place and fate in the modernization of industry in the 1930s, has increasingly attracted the attention of scientists. Among them are A. Davidiuk [5], V. Petrenko [8], A. Bezugly and N. Gushinets [1]. A generalized look at the actions of the Bolshevik authorities is contained in the new publications "Poland is an Essay on History", prepared by the Institute of National Memory in Warsaw [11], "100 Years of Neighborhood Ukraine - Poland" by the Ukrainian Institute of

National Memory [9]. Authors of original collections of INP collections of Poland, with the participation of well-known American, Ukrainian and Russian scientists concerning “the Polish operation of the NKVD 1937–1938. [10; 12].

Dozens of Podillya enterprises were included in the treasury of Soviet Ukraine among the old 174 former sugar factories. According to the Decree of the Council of People's Commissars of Russia "On the Nationalization of the Sugar Industry" (July 1918) and the Decree of the RNA "On the Sugar Industry" (January 1920), principles and measures were laid to preserve the "former landowners of sugar beet from the Vinnytsia kulak, various counter-revolutionary gangs. [2, p. 4]. The Moscow Sugar Trust united the factories of Ukraine as well. A number of preferential measures [4.1, p. 2]. This contributed to the consolidation of workers and the management of the industry, its exit from decline in the early 1920's to a powerful change. The dynamics of transformations is evidenced by the table. 1.

Table 1

Compiled by the author for: [2, p. 6-7]

Manufacturing season	Plants		Manufacturing sugars (in quintals)
	Total	Active	
1921–1922 pp.	43	25	118 083
1924–1925 pp.	43	27	722 690
1928–1929 pp.	43	40	2 802 879

The plan for the first five-year plan is to build 11 new plants in the republic. However, over time, it turned out that agriculture would not be able to provide such a capacity with raw materials, so there was a reduction to three new buildings [3, p. 372].

As a result of the measures taken, the area under sugar beet in Vinnytsia region began to decline since 1934. However, due to better cultivation of arable land, crops with good precursors and timely care increased. Most importantly, sugar production increased (see Table 2).

Table 2

Compiled by the author for: [2, p. 10-11]

Years	1932 p.	1934 p.	1937 p.
Centners	2 072 718	3 226 526	>5 500 000

The main and main production site of the sugar industry were factories whose labor teams processed beets from farms and collective farms. Their engagement helped endure the terrible human casualties caused by the Holodomor and reach the end of the second five-year plan. The results of the leading factories in 1937 testify to the characteristic changes in the Vinnytsia Regional Sugar Trust system (see Table 3).

Most of the trust's factories, including the newly built Glyvanivsky plant, have been successful. With the adoption of the "most democratic in the world" Constitution of the USSR in 1936 (by official estimation), the communist leadership, in preparation for the elections

of the authorities, wanted to get rid of all the unreliable ones. Among those taken into account by the NKVD of the USSR under the special decision of the Political Bureau of the ruling party on "political color" among the repressed in 1937-1938, the first place was arrested for the so-called. “National lines”. They amounted to almost 93.8 thousand people.

Table 3

Compiled by the author for: [4.2, p. 1; 4.3, sheet. 3]

Factory	Beet accepted (in.)	Quantity of production of white sugar (in.)
Babinsky	937 375	114 709
Bershchadsky	861 459	112 928
Gaysinsky	1 418 198	131 368

Among the 15 in the first place in the number of attracted was the "Polish line". It is about the NKVD Order of the USSR Union "On the Arrest and Liquidation of Local Organizations of 'Polish Intelligence' and 'Air Defense' # 00485 of August 1, 1937" [6, p. 225–226]. Unlike the first nationally-based "German operation" conducted under the shortened scenario, "Polish" was painted as a guide for the Chekists. Therefore, it is not surprising that almost every second of the attracted more than 54 thousand people was a Pole [7, p. 38]. According to a summary of my class teacher Z. Arfyeva, after my research on her older brother and finding out why he was “Lithuanian” for the NKVD during his arrest, and after a few months he became a “Pole”: “Since the summer of 1937, the Pole is only the enemy. " This was the zealous execution of the order of Yezhov.

Alfred Ludwikowe Franke, born in 1880, a native of the village of Ruda-Poviansk county in Lodz, Poland, was among the first to suffer from the Stalinist repression of Podillia. As evidenced by archival investigative case 32806 Vinnytsia Regional Department of the NKVD, son of a sugar factory, with good professional education and extensive experience, was arrested on July 11, 1937. He worked as a deputy chief engineer, head of the department of capital construction of the Vinnytsia Regional Tsun. In the style of "action" of the valiant armed party of the ruling party, as modern researchers understand, already in the second protocol of the interrogation it was fixed about the desire of AL Franke to "disarm before the conscience" and to give the desired "testimony" [4.3, p. 13].

For the investigation, it was the most colorful figure - a Polish German, from a family of exploiters, fits in "German", but better, according to the intent of investigators, in the "Polish line". Not surprisingly, the arrest was based on espionage and sabotage in favor of Polish intelligence, but later issued in favor of "German and Polish intelligence through special tasks at the Polish Consulate in Kiev".

At the request of the investigation, he told about the mythical spy-sabotage organization in the system of regional sugar trust to conduct "pest" on the task of spy,

engineer of "Golovspirt" in Moscow, Ya. B. Slobudsky. Later, under the conditions of AL Franke's rehabilitation, at the request of the Vinnytsia OUNKVS to the Central Archive of the NKVD of the USSR, information about "spy JB Slobudski" or cooperation with Polish intelligence was not found.

However, according to the "recognition" of the deputy chief engineer of the sugar mill, the names of the chief engineers of the Babinskiy, Hnivansky, Yaltushkivsky factories were named (MF Karpinsky, VY Kurkovsky, AY Stransky). The Chekists added to the list the employees of the sugar trust: chief mechanic BS Elperin, deputy design firm GM Stankevich, engineers of the construction department VA Vyshinsky, VB Elske, VI Rodionov [4.3, p. 35]. A week later, according to AL Franke's "testimony," Chief Engineer of Sitkavetsky Sugar Mill, KM Napalsky, was arrested in 1881. in the family of the director of a sugar factory in the Warsaw Voivodeship, a Pole, higher education (Lviv Polytechnic, Institute of Sugar Processing in Varemleje, Belgium). He went the way of a sugar engineer from a chemical analyst, executive director, chief engineer, to the director of the parent plant [4.4, p. 43].

Later, at the insistence of the investigation, it was necessary to point out to Alfred Leopoldovich the creation of a separate spy-sabotage group of seven souls at the Gnivansky Sugar Mill under the leadership of V.Y.Kurkovsky to fulfill the tasks of the Polish and German Consulates in Kyiv [4.5, Ark. 69].

If we analyze essentially only the names of the heads of different units in the regional trust system, all of them have proven themselves to be well-known specialists, able organizers of production. AL Franke himself had 27 years of experience in the sugar industry upon graduation. He started working as an engineer in the Uman department of agricultural machinery. For 13 years he held the position of Vice-Director of Stepanivsky Sugar Mill. It draws attention to the fact that none of the archival investigative cases examined included at least any specific spyware or sabotage, not to mention cases. Thus, in the final accusation of AL Franke under the article of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR 54-7,1a, 9,11 only - it is established that in the system of Vinnytsia regional sugar trust "anti-Soviet organization" was discovered and liquidated, this is the first. And secondly, and most importantly, the activity of the "organization" was directed by "Polish intelligence" to destroy the sugar industry of the USSR, to prepare the Polish counter-revolutionary elements for an active fight against Soviet power, to engage in espionage in favor of Poland [4.3, p. 191].

It is important to emphasize that such legally unfounded and unproven indictments and rulings ended with transfers to extrajudicial authorities relatively quickly (in 2-3 months). The sentence was one - the execution with confiscation of property. By the way, not later than the second day of its implementation.

Conclusions and suggestions. Based on the above, it follows that the "Polish operation" in the sugar industry of Ukraine on the example of Vinnitsa testified

promptness of the NKVD bodies in the agreement of J. Stalin, who on the basis of his personal nature wanted to avenge the unsuccessful campaign and the crushing defeat of the Red Army with the slogan "!" in 1920 near Warsaw. This could not have caused anything other than a great detriment to the leading sector of economic development of the USSR and Podillya as an integral part of Ukraine. Most importantly, thousands of the country's best workers and engineering workers and their families have been affected. And the answers to the queries of wives and children repressed by the direct leaders of the Union and the republic were one. Most convincingly, this hell was borne by his wife, AL Franke. Before 1940, that is, 2 years later, she made correspondence with various high-ranking authorities, including the "most just leader and teacher", asking for a review of her husband's case. From the answers she learned that Alfred Leopoldovich had been "sentenced to 10 years without correspondence". To all her attempts, Anna Yakovna received one answer: "This is known to the accused and you do not need to know" [4.3, p. 195, 202]. Hundreds of thousands of wives, parents, and children were present in this "oppressive unknown" such as this music teacher, until the Khrushchev Thaw period, and some to the new wave of rehabilitation in the late 1980s.

It seems that the researchers still have a lot to find out, to tell about the terrible consequences of Stalinist totalitarianism in Ukraine. Historical memory awaits the discovery of little-known names of citizens of republics of different nationalities, the perpetuation of their patriotic actions. Historians, lawyers, political scientists, specialists in other specialties are still heavily indebted to the victims of disenfranchisement, and local authorities and self-government bodies should think about preserving the memory of these names in the names of new streets, avenues, squares.

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Бут О.М. Роль поляків у розвитку цукрової промисловості Поділля та їх доля в умовах наказу НКВС Союзу РСР

У статті проаналізовано проблеми розвитку цукрової модернізації України в умовах радянської індустріалізації. На основі роботи, широкого кола як опублікованих праць, так і нових і глибоко досліджених документів органів Союзу та Державного архіву Вінницької області, Українського інституту національної пам'яті (Київ) та Польського інституту національної пам'яті (Варшава). Завдяки їм увага зосереджується на маловідомих подіях та фактах. Виявлено, що серед репресованих жертв "польської операції" НКВС переважно більшість склали поляки, але були й представники інших національностей, у тому числі й українці. Задokumentовано правду та порядність керівництва та спеціалістів регіонального цукрового заводу та заводів. Історична пам'ять вимагає продовження поглиблення відомого та пошуку нової долі репресованих цукрозаводців Поділля. Важливо підкреслити, що такі юридично необґрунтовані та недоведені обвинувачення та постанови закінчилися передачею до позасудових органів порівняно швидко (за 2-3 місяці). Вирок був один - страта з конфіскацією майна. До речі, не пізніше другого дня його виконання.

Виходячи з викладеного, впливає, що "польська операція" в цукровій промисловості України на прикладі Вінниці свідчила про оперативність органів НКВС в угоді Й. Сталіна, який на основі своєї особистої натури хотів помститися за невдалий похід і нищівна поразка Червоної армії з гаслом "!" у 1920 році під Варшавою.

Здається, що дослідникам ще належить багато чого з'ясувати, розповісти про жахливі наслідки сталінського тоталітаризму в Україні. Історична пам'ять чекає на відкриття маловідомих імен громадян республік різних національностей, увічнення їх патріотичних дій. Історики, юристи, політологи, спеціалісти з інших спеціальностей все ще сильно заборговані жертвами безправності, а місцеві органи влади та органи самоврядування повинні задуматися над збереженням пам'яті про ці назви в назвах нових вулиць, проспектів, скверів.

Ключові слова: індустріалізація, цукровий завод, НКВС, історична пам'ять.

Бут А.Н. Роль поляків у розвитку сахарної промисловості Подолья та їх судба в умовах наказу НКВД Союзу ССР

В статті аналізуються проблеми розвитку сахарної модернізації України в умовах советської індустріалізації. Основуючись на роботі, представлен широкій спектр как опублікованих работ, так и новых и углубленных исследованных документов органов Союза и Государственного архива Винницкой области, Украинского института национальной памяти (Киев) и Польского института национальной памяти (Варшава).). Благодаря им основное внимание уделяется малоизвестным событиям и фактам. Виявлено, что среди репресси-

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рованных жертв "польской операции" НКВД подавляющее большинство составляли поляки, но были и представители других национальностей, в том числе украинцы. Правда и порядочность руководства и специалистов регионального сахарного треста и заводов были задокументированы. Историческая память призывает к дальнейшему углублению известного и поиску новой судьбы репрессированных сахарных рабочих Подолья. Важно подчеркнуть, что такие юридически необоснованные и недоказанные обвинительные заключения и постановления закончились сравнительно быстро (через 2-3 месяца) передачей во внесудебные органы. Приговор был один - казнь с конфискацией имущества. Кстати, не позднее второго дня его реализации.

Исходя из вышеизложенного, следует, что «польская операция» в сахарной промышленности Украины на примере Винницы свидетельствовала о готовности органов НКВД в соглашении И. Сталина, который на основании своего личного характера хотел отомстить за неудачную кампанию и сокрушительное поражение Красной Армии с лозунгом «!» в 1920 году под Варшавой.

Похоже, исследователям еще многое предстоит выяснить, рассказать о страшных последствиях сталинского тоталитаризма в Украине. Историческая память ожидает открытия малоизвестных имен граждан республик разных национальностей, увековечивания их патристических действий. Историки, юристы, политологи, специалисты по другим специальностям по-прежнему в большой степени обязаны жертвам лишения гражданских прав, а местные органы власти и органы местного самоуправления должны подумать о том, чтобы сохранить память об этих именах в названиях новых улиц, проспектов, площадей.

Ключевые слова: индустриализация, сахарный завод, НКВД, историческая память.

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**ЕРУ DEVELOPMENT OF THE TECHNOLOGIES OF NATIONAL
DWELLING CONSTRUCTION OF PEASANTS OF POLTAV'S GOVERNORSHIP
XIX - BEGINNING XX, AS A PONDERABLE CONTRIBUTION IN
THE MATERIAL AND ARCHITECTURAL CULTURE OF THE REGION**

Galay K.B.

**РОЗВИТОК ТЕХНОЛОГІЙ БУДІВНИЦТВА ЖИТЛА СЕЛЯН
ПОЛТАВСЬКОЇ ГУБЕРНІЇ ХІХ – ПОЧАТКУ ХХ, ЯК ВАГОМОГО
ВНЕСКУ В МАТЕРІАЛЬНУ ТА АРХІТЕКТУРНУ КУЛЬТУРУ РЕГІОНУ**

Галай К.Б.

The main point in studying history is the material culture. It brings in itself a multifunctionality, it is a valuable source of studying of processes of the ethnogenesis. Dwelling can be considered one of the main things ethno cultural, economical everyday development of the population; it is an element of an identity of the rural population, the ethnical primary base. It can be observed as one of the main components of the ethno-cultural processes, which study not only principle of the building of dwelling, using building materials which are immanent for concrete district planning, relation with other buildings, but as a big heritage of spirituality. However for each person, house is a whole space where "life" traditions and spiritual values which are immanent for each family.

Reforming of rural construction in general depended from appearance and using of different building materials, skills, knowledge and practices of folk masters. There were their peculiarities in each regions. In construction of wells in a shape of roof and methods of its covering, in a shapes of beam brackets in design windows and doors, in artistic decoration. Poltava's governorship featured by felled houses special quadrangular shape of the roof, by "konuks" at the ends of brackets, special shape of a door in some regions. In some regions of the Northern Poltava's region to the rear façade of a house a long and narrow extension was building out ("prupysnut-sia"): it used for placing cattle.

For Ukrainian people hut always was not only a shelter from weather. There was creating life in it, every day existence with their happiness, sadness and worries. It is a whole direction in studying of material culture which demands detailed investigation not only for historical memory, but for a spiritual outlook of the modern population.

The article opens an important component of material culture - a development of the national construction of dwelling, which reflects a concrete historical development of a certain part of the population, community, large spiritual and cultural element with an essential feature of identity.

Key words: material culture, dwelling, construction, national architecture, building materials

Introduction. For each person a house is a fortress with its values and a special spiritual world. Ukrainian house for history is a large material and ethnographic value. Behind the special architectural construction of walls open a culture of a folk, traditions, vital and utilitarian meaning, which has gone a large distance.

A research of this link of an everyday life requires a large effort from specialists of different branches of science in order to learn all aspects of this huge theme. These are peculiarities of a building the dwelling in different regions, materials, a development of national architectural knowledge, a condition of a building technique, interior, artistic decoration, and along with it a combination of technique side spiritual: traditions and beliefs which are connected with a national housing.

Formulation of the problem. A subject of peculiarities of a housing attracts historians as a very essential part in the studding of a material culture and everyday life of a population. Topicality is in public interest of its national roots, back to ethnic motives.

A research is in studding and development of national architecture a construction of peasants dwelling of Poltava's governorship as an important information base for studying of ethnological aspects of material culture an everyday life of rural population a concrete region and period.

Aim: to research traditions of construction and interior of peasants dwelling Poltava's governorship XIX – beginning XX century: as a rich architectural, material culture and historical heritage.

Analysis of studding a researches and publications from present theme. Special contribution in studding of a national construction and architecture of Ukraine are works and researches of Victor Samoylovich. The result of persistent labor, processing and studding of many valuable materials became a book "Folk

Ukraine architecture in illustrations." It is a treasury of the brightest illustrations samples of a folk architectural art on which reflected a specificity of dwelling construction, national traditions, ethnic peculiarity and preferences [7].

Ethnographic research of Ukrainian dwelling from the ancient times to our days described in the book by Masnenko V.V. "Ukrainian house". It is a popular edition where describes a national dwelling as an essential contribution in everyday history, traditions, customs and rituals [4].

Educational manual "Culture and everyday life of Ukrainian folk", edited by of Nalko V.I. gives an open description of the main periods of an ethnic history of Ukrainians, their ethnographical value, peculiarities of development of life and economic activity, material and spiritual culture [5].

Presenting main material. Every day life of a population has a certain characteristics and peculiarities, which that can be very similar and at the same time are different in the separate regions of Ukraine. Its development affect ethnographical regioning, natural (regional) conditions, socio-economical aspect, interconnectedness with other folks, cultural differences. Dwelling is not exception [6, 384].

In the first half of the XVIII century, many yard dwelling were prevailed in Ukraine. Regional peculiarities made their changes and correctives to the widespread forms of rural settlements. Historically that on the territory of the Northern Kyiv region, Chernihiv – Sivershchyna and Poltava's governorship a feudal serfage oppression was weaker than on the other Ukrainian lands, and peasants till XVIII century had an opportunity to occupy under construction relatively free territories (freehold). That's why there were haphazard settlements in these regions. Till XIX century they changed on the street or on the street parts of haphazard settlements (pectinate streets with squares, ordinary, cord, combined, linear). There were circle settlements on these zones too: in that case, when buildings were located around the trade square [5, 40].

The development of settlements of the Poltava's governorship had a row of differences. The indexes for quick settling of territory and growth of the population were becoming natural conditions, the main of which was location of settlements within rivers and rich lands. On 1861 the number of inhabitants which occupied a locality near 20 big rivers comprised 822 357 persons (43%). In general, almost three quarters of governorship (74.6%) were living near waters and only 25, 4% were far away from it. Such a tendency of resettlement was observed till XIX century [2, 141].

Basis of the population of Poltava's governorship amounted to peasantry. This layer of population was making the main contribution in material culture. Geographical conditions we're assisting to include Poltava's villages, with it's pretty houses in the natural space more better.

The main principle which is sought to achieve in building of dwelling is a solving of practical tasks, providing a comfortable dwelling and protection from effects of the external environment. Building had to be

appropriate logical, economical, simple in a construction with using of a building material which characteristic every separate region [7, 6].

Architectural record of national housing - "hata" was almost similar for all territory of Ukraine. It could be traced in traditional methods of planning, correlation of architectural volumes of dwelling, interpretation of walls, places near wall and roof of the house.

Hut was a rectangular, some elongated building to the correlation of width a length of 1: 1.25 to 1: 2.25. Sharp fluctuations in proportions of planning is due to two types of buildings.

Simple type consisted from dwelling and passage. In the middle of the XIX beginning XX century is changing and the second type of building begins to predominate where there were two almost the same rooms connected by passage with each other. One room was living (hata, cabin, shack, hut), other used as utility where products, we're saving implements of seasoning cloth (pantry, cages).

Proportions of a facade of hata characterized of low and oblong form of the walls and not a height of the ceiling. Little height of the walls was a result of an economy of building material and desire to improving the thermal regime [10, 12].

About regional peculiarities of building a dwelling could "tell" materials from which they were producing. Buildings of a frame type dominated in Poltava's governorship. Basis were columns (risers), which we're digging in soil or were inserting in a lower crown. From walls (crowns) we are putting between columns in horizontal from boards, half-wood logs, brash, cane, clay salt rollers. There were making braces in the corners for strength of construction. To the end of the XVIII century cutting wood building considered a feature of wealth of a peasant, due to the large prices of wood and work. In the century frame building became the main [8, 462].

Foundation in the general its meaning (immersed in a deep pit of a building material) did not do. The first crowns of a cutting replaced on the "chairs" from the old stumps or big stones which we're scoring in the ground a little. Sometimes frame placed on the substrate from one layer of laying stones. General Stone foundation under the logs used very seldom. When such construction of foundation a probability of breezing of walls and a floor arose [10, 38].

In the village of Veluka Pavlivka (1879) there were houses built completely of frames. On the bore head of the house was making a pry tula with overlap. It's added to the building neat and complete compositional view [4, 95].

In some regions of the Northern Poltava's region to the rear facade of a house a long and narrow extension was building out ("prupysnutsia"): it used for placing cattle.

There existed a types of houses which called washed. Such dwellings were constructing from felled tree, which was not bleaching outdoor, but smoothly shaped. Walls were washing by water where it's name from. Washed huts were to the end of the XVIII century. On the Northern Poltava region they were more

of ben, because these lands were rich in forests. There were in using on oak (as a basis of a house), maple, alder, linden, birch. The wide popular was maple for it's, white colour. Washed houses were more frequent in wealthier peasants, because a building material and the work of the masters was in higher prices than chalk and clay [9, 16].

Regardless of tupe of the building a house, walls were covering by thick layer of clay and white washing. Suvh action were doing not only for tidiness but in order to lute slots and ruggs.

Covered walls with a layer of a coating had not only constorial aims but an essential architectural effect. Combining darkly gray strawy roof with white tunes of walls were making outhur view of huts very pictorial. That's why dwelling is Poltava's governorship combined so harmonically with amazing landscapes [1, 131].

Traditional dwelling had no less than three windows. They were constructing according to general rules, which were formulating from the inner planning of a dwelling. There are two windows: one the front façade one window is near the stove for illuminate a work place of the hostess, another is opposite the table ("pokutne"). One is in the end wall ("pruchilkove"). There were not building a window on the rear facade of building. If there was a small window it was without frame, just a piece of glass were luting in a wall. Front facade where were passage was not illuminated, it had only deaf door. There were hexagonal shapes of the door. There were in wide popularity in Yaresku, Shushaku and Myrgorod [5, 109].

Windows frames, which were opening by metal loops, appeared recently. Ancient method of the opening windows was without loops: a frame divided on two halves – tightly secured upper and low which were moving by side guide ruts.

In the result of single glass and not exact putting of window, frames the room strangle chilled in winter. That is why straw mats were covering which raising up in day or wood stutters.

Great attention was paying to designing of roof it's shape played a great de in architectural expression of main room jump from roof surface to vertical wall across a big canopy was very clear. It was a characteristic for all Ukraine. Popular shape of the roof was quadrangular. Important stage was hanging down a roof. The bigger it was so away from the walls rainwater and ice water were flowing down. High roof had an economic value too, as there were keeping and drying vegetables and fruits under the canopy [10, 22].

Peculiarities of Poltava region was decoration a brackets which were supporting of hanging down of a roof. Engraved processing of beams with great number of national motives become the architectural tradition. One of the regional peculiarities of a bracket become a pectoral architectural detail "konuk".

Till the XIX century the main material for covering of the roof was straw. The method of covering houses differed between the left and the right bank of the Dnipro. The roof was covering by laying straw in Poltava region smoothly without undulations and prongs (natryska) [4, 60].

Inner planning of the house were making from functional meaning of space and separate details of an interior in old houses of Poltava region which saved and date back to the XIX century the tradition of inner planning of a dwelling was strictly observed. Organic economic opportunities of an agriculture of the past forced during the building of a dwelling units in small rooms economic and every day processes [3, 254].

Conclusions. The are many monuments of the national culture, which characterize a nation and country and dwelling, is its essential link. Till the XX century folk architecture for rural population of Poltava governorship as for all Ukraine has come a long and difficult ways of development. When in the XVIII century a large family could life in a small single – stage house with the passage of time it has become on doable – stage dwelling with antechamber. Reforming of rural construction in general depended from appearance and using of different building materials, skills, knowledge and practices of folk masters. There were theirs peculiarities in each regions. In construction of wells in a shape of roof and methods of its covering, in a shapes of beam brackets in design windows and doors, in artistic decoration. Poltav's governorship featured by felled houses special quadrangular shape of the roof, by "konuks" at the ends of brackets, special shape of a door in some regions.

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Галай К.Б. Розвиток технологій будівництва житла селян Полтавської губернії XIX – початку XX століття, як вагомого внеску в матеріальну та архітектурну культуру регіону

Основним моментом у вивченні історії є матеріальна культура. Це приносить у собі багатofункціональність, є цінним джерелом вивчення процесів етногенезису. Житло можна вважати одним із головних, що стосуються етнокультурного, економічного повсякденного розвитку населення; це елемент ідентичності сільського населення, етнічна первинна база. Він може розглядатись як один із основних компонентів етнокультурних процесів, які вивчають не лише принцип побудови житла, використовуючи будівельні матеріали, які є іманентними для конкретного планування району, стосунків з іншими будівлями, але як велику спадщину духовності. Однак для кожної людини будинок - це цілий простір, де "життєві" традиції та духовні цінності, іманентні для кожної родини.

Реформування сільського будівництва взагалі залежало від появи та використання різних будівельних матеріалів, умінь, знань та практик народних майстрів. У кожному регіоні були свої особливості. При будівництві колодязів у формі покрівлі та способах її покриття, у формах брускових кронштейнів у дизайнерських вікнах та дверях, в художньому оздобленні. Полтавське губернаторство характеризується зруйнованими будинками особливою чотирикутною формою даху, "конуками" на кінцях кронштейнів, особливою формою дверей у деяких регіонах. У деяких районах регіону Північної Полтави до заднього фасаду будинку забудовували довге і вузьке прибудову ("пруписунція"): для розміщення худоби.

Для українців хата завжди була не лише притулком від погоди. Там створювалося життя, щодня існували зі своїм частям, смутком і турботами. Це цілий напрям у вивченні матеріальної культури, який вимагає детального

дослідження не лише історичної пам'яті, а й духовного світогляду сучасного населення.

У статті відкрито важливий компонент матеріальної культури - розвиток національної побудови житла, який відображає конкретно-історичний розвиток певної частини населення, громади, великого духовного та культурного елемента з істотною ознакою ідентичності.

Ключові слова: матеріальна культура, житло, будівництво, національна архітектура, будівельні матеріали

Галай К.Б. Развитие технологий строительства жилья крестьян Полтавской губернии XIX - начала XX века, как весомого вклада в материальную и архитектуру-турную культуру региона

Главное в изучении истории - материальная культура. Он несет в себе многофункциональность, является ценным источником изучения процессов этногенеза. Жилище можно считать одним из главных этнокультурных, хозяйственных и повседневных дел населения; это элемент самосознания сельского населения, этническая первичная база. Это можно рассматривать как одну из основных составляющих этнокультурных процессов, которые изучают не только принцип строительства жилья, используя строительные материалы, которые имманентны для конкретной планировки местности, связи с другими зданиями, но и как большое наследие духовности. Однако для каждого человека дом - это целое пространство, в котором «жизненные» традиции и духовные ценности присущи каждой семье.

Реформирование сельского строительства в целом зависело от появления и использования различных строительных материалов, навыков, знаний и практики народных мастеров. В каждом регионе были свои особенности. При строительстве колодцев в форме кровли и способах ее покрытия, в форме балочных кронштейнов в дизайнерских окнах и дверях, в художественном оформлении. Полтавской губернии отличались срубленные дома, особая четырехугольная форма крыши, «конуки» на концах кронштейнов, особая форма двери в некоторых регионах. В некоторых районах северной Полтавской области до заднего фасада дома строилось длинное и узкое продолжение («крупная»): оно использовалось для размещения крупного рогатого скота.

Для украинцев хижина всегда была не только укрытием от погоды. В нем создавалась жизнь, каждый день существования с их счастьем, грустью и заботами. Это целое направление в изучении материальной культуры, которое требует детального изучения не только исторической памяти, но и духовного мировоззрения современного населения.

В статье раскрыта важная составляющая материальной культуры - развитие национального строительства жилища, которое отражает конкретное историческое развитие определенной части населения, сообщества, крупного духовного и культурного элемента с существенной чертой идентичности.

Ключевые слова: материальная культура, жилье, строительство, национальная архитектура, строительные материалы

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THE STATE OF THE COAL INDUSTRY OF DONBASS AT THE END OF THE XIX – AT THE BEGINNING OF THE XX CENTURY

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ВУГІЛЬНА ПРОМИСЛОВІСТЬ ДОНБАСУ НАПРИКІНЦІ XIX – НА ПОЧАТКУ XX СТ.

Довжук І. В.

The article deals with the development of coal industry of the Donetsk basin and technical support of mineral fuel production in the mines of the region in the late XIX - early XX centuries.

The last decade of the XIX century. characterized by the concentration of coal enterprises, which led to the widespread implementation of steam lifting, drainage and ventilation devices, the use of dynamite instead of gunpowder in the conduct of underground mining; construction of better equipped and capital super-mine technological complexes. It is noted that the coal mining enterprises of Donbass in 1914, although technically lagging behind the leading capitalist countries, were relatively modernized and showed positive tendencies to their further improvement. One of the major drawbacks of the beginning of the development of the Donbass coal industry was the lack of advanced machinery. By the middle of 1914 at least 12 types of felling machines were already actively used in the mines of the Donetsk basin, moreover, the supply of disk and rod machines was carried out by British factories, chain - American, shock - British, American, and German. Cutting machines belonged to the heavy type and cost several times more than percussion. Cutting machines were driven by pneumatic or electropneumatic engines. It was emphasized that miners in search of maximum optimization and productivity of coal mining were increasingly concerned about the technical improvement of their enterprises, as the introduction of appropriate innovations could significantly affect the economic feasibility and profitability of enterprises. This was required by the technological necessity in connection with the expansion of production and the constant shortage of labor. Foreign owners and shareholders who tried to introduce advanced technologies of their countries played an important role in the implementation of innovations.

In addition, technical improvements in mining processes not only brought economic benefits to their owners, but sometimes indirectly improved working conditions and safety at mining facilities.

Keywords: coal industry, Donbass, mines, miners, technical support of mines.

Introduction. One of the major drawbacks of the beginning of the development of the Donbass coal industry was the lack of advanced machinery. Along with large capitalist enterprises that owned steam

engines, mines with primitive equipment were ubiquitous. So, in the early 80's in Slavyanoserb county, 17 mines used steam engines, and the rest worked with horse-drawn turns. Even at large enterprises, foreign entrepreneurs continued to work with backward equipment, preferring cheap labor. At the mines of the South Russian Coal Society, two horse-drawn caravans operated alongside three steam lifting machines. Two equestrian wheels continued to operate at the mines of the French Society, along with the powerful steam engines of the new mine at the old Rutchenkivsky Mine. At three mines of the Novorossiysk Society acted horseback. Similarly, local entrepreneurs acted. Of the seven mines in the Makeevka mine in Ilovaik, three were steam engines and four were horse-drawn wheels. Powerful drainage machines were used at the Petrovsky mine of Letunovsky, and on the other four they continued to work with horse-drawn rotors [3, p. 43-44, 50-54, 58; 9, p. 260-265; 10, p. 340].

However, due to the concentration of production, monopoly competition, significant expansion of the front of work and the deepening of mines in the coal industry of Donbass in the 1990s, some technical improvements were made.

Analysis of research and publications. The problem of development of the Donbass coal industry, in particular its technical support during the period under review, was covered in one way or another in the writings of V. Islavin, G. Bakulev, O. Terpigoriev and others.

The purpose of this exploration is to analyze a number of aspects of the development of the Donetsk Basin coal industry in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. To pay attention to the technical support of coal mining in the mines of the region.

Presenting main material. The last decade of the XIX century. characterized by the concentration of coal enterprises, - instead of "digging" was the construction

of deeper mines, which led to the widespread embodiment of steam lifting, drainage and ventilation devices, the use of dynamite instead of gunpowder when conducting underground mining; construction of better equipped and capital superhigh technological complexes.

Thus, in 1895, there were 356 engines with a total capacity of 10,324 hp at 244 mines (consisting of 739 mines) located in the Donetsk basin. and 25459 (on underground) and 7064 (on surface) persons were employed in coal mining operations, the total production of which for the year amounted to 298.3 million pounds; in 1896, the surveyed 274 mines (or 821 mines) accounted for 406 engines (13312 hp) with a total of 33,212 workers, which allowed to produce 33.2 million pounds. coal. In 1897, the work of 256 mines (780 mines) was provided by 493 engines with a capacity of 23,136 hp. and 46174 miners with a total coal production of 46.2 million poods. In 1898, there were already 610 engines with a capacity of 25181 hp in 760 mines (or 249 mines). and 49,827 miners with 461.9 million poods mined. coal; In 1899, replies were sent to 276 coal mines (605 mines), which produced coal using a 621 27114 engine, employing 63833 miners producing 561.5 million poods during the year. coal. By 1900, there were about 294 mines (880 mines) in the Donbass, which already had 973 engines with a capacity of 40858 hp. and 82420 people were employed, resulting in 67.1 million poods. coal.

As you can see, the number of mechanical engines used in the coal industry of the Donetsk Basin during the six years increased every year and reached 1900 in 973 with a total capacity of 40858 hp, against 356 engines with a total capacity of 10324 hp. in 1895, that is, the number of engines increased by almost three times during that period, and their power quadrupled. In this case, on average, one mine had to: in 1895 - 1.46 engine. capacity of 29 hp; 1896 - 1.48 engines. with a power of 32 hp; 1898 - 2.45 engines. capacity of 41 hp; 1899 - 2.25 engines. capacity of 43 hp; 1900 - 3.3 engines. with a power of 42 hp [4, p. 38, IX].

Over the next three years, technical shifts became even more noticeable. In 1903, the Donbass mines used technical equipment: 1265 steam boilers, 682 steam engines, 151 electric machines, 639 pumps, 64 locomobiles, 2990 working horses, which averaged 9.66 steam boilers per company, 5, 2 steam engines, 1.15 electric machines, 4.88 pumps, 0.49 locomobiles, 22 horses, etc. Also, during this period, a mixed rolling system, ie mechanical, manual and equestrian; although smaller businesses still had a manual rollback system. In this case, only mechanical rollback was applied to only 11 enterprises. Among the lighting systems on the surface, gas lighting was mostly used. There were 46 electric companies On the 27th we were safety lamps for work underground. Electric current was used mainly at large enterprises [5, p. VII-IX].

In order to reproduce a more or less objective picture of the technical condition of the coal industry immediately before the First World War, as well as to

determine the dynamics in the technical arrangement of the coal-mining enterprises during the five to six years that preceded it, it is advisable to study the materials. reports on the matter prepared by the Statistical Office of the Council of Miners of the Southern Russia. In view of the materials of this source, it can be stated that during 1909-1914 the coal industry of the Donetsk Basin underwent significant quantitative and qualitative technical changes and improvements, and the problem related to the technical equipment of the coal enterprises became important for their owners. The proof of this is the quantitative indicators and the qualitative characteristics of the equipment available at the pools.

Dynamics of quantitative and qualitative changes in technical support during 1909-1914. [6]

Years	Total coal production at mines Donbass (millions of poods)	Steam Boilers		Steam Machines		Turbine, compressor, locomotives, etc.		Together with all the machines	
		quantity	average heating area	quantity	average power of 1 m (hp)	number of engines	average power of 1 engine. (hp)	number of all machines	average power
1914	1883,78	2778	684	2059	68,4	427	265,5	2486	102,3
1909	1089,5	1796	618	1065	91,5	170	180,2	1235	103,7

As we can see, the quantitative increase was quite noticeable, and this applied to all categories of mechanisms, while increasing their power (the exception was only steam engines, which was explained by the preference for more advanced engines).

The relative calculations also indicate a clear improvement in the level of technical support. Thus, during the period 1909-1914 the production of mineral fuel in the Donbass increased by 54.6%. The number of steam boilers increased by almost the same amount, namely by 54.7%; the average heating area of one boiler increased by 10.7%, making the total heating area of all steam increased by 71.5% over a five-year period. Consequently, the increase in the capacity of boilers at the Donetsk basin during 1909-1914 was ahead of the increase and production of coal. The number of steam engines (as well as other engines) in the preceding five years also increased significantly; in relation to coal production, this increase was 24.5% (for all machines - 28%), and in quantitative terms it doubled (from 1235 to 2486), and their total capacity doubled: 254221 hp. in 1914, 128114 hp. in 1909 [2, p. 76-84].

It is also worth pointing out that particularly significant improvements in technical improvement were made, first of all, by large enterprises that had more resources and opportunities to provide technical support for coal production. Yes, companies whose coal production exceeded 5 million poods. a year, owned and

the vast majority of technical means. Thus, during this period, a directly proportional dependence of technical support on the size of coal production in enterprises was observed, which was noted earlier, but to a lesser extent.

During this period, the costs of coal enterprises for the purchase of machinery and boilers increased faster than coal production, which is another significant indicator of this issue for the owners of these enterprises. Applied in this regard are indicators of relative increase over the specified period of coal production and costs for the acquisition of technical means [6, p. XIV-XVI]. So, if we take the production and costs in 1909 for 1.00, in the following years the following trend was observed:

Years	Coal production growth	Cost increase for technical equipment
1909	1.00	1.00
1911	1.12	1.55
1913	1.42	2.24
1914	1.54	2.39

Thus, if production increased from 1 to 1.54, then the cost of maintenance - from 1 to 2.39, that is, entrepreneurs in the specified period more and more money was spent on the reconstruction and modernization of their enterprises. This tendency was marked by a certain constancy, from which it can be concluded that the innovations introduced were not aimed at obtaining fast profits, but on the overall improvement of the mining processes.

The above information is sufficiently informative for mine work in the region. In particular, there is a detailed analysis of the state of mechanization of practically all stages of mine work, namely the level of mechanization of the processes of lifting, drainage, ventilation, rollback, lighting, etc., and also find confirmation in other sources [8, p. 3-89].

In this regard, it should be noted that in 1914 the process of raising was mechanized at most coal enterprises. Thus, out of 133 companies that sent information, 112 used mechanical lifting means, 385 lifting machines were used to perform these works, which was 84.2%. Equestrian raising was used mainly in small mines with production up to 0.5 million pounds per year, such firms were 21, or 24.8%.

Another important step in the mine process was the drainage. However, no significant quantitative changes have taken place in this respect since 1909. Thus, in 1909, 136 companies operated 741 pumps, and in 1914, 133 firms - 752. However, their average profitability increased by 9%, but the average daily amount of pumped water was estimated at 1 million pounds.

annual production in 1909 was 11343 buckets, and in 1914 - 14575 buckets, ie increased by 3232 buckets or 28.5% [6, p. XIV-XVI].

The given data, as well as other calculations of the State Bureau make it possible to summarize that during the period 1909-1914 the development of drainage at coal enterprises went mainly through the equipment of mines with more powerful pumps.

Ventilation systems also occupied a significant place in mine work, since not only the working conditions of miners depended on the well-being of their operation, but more importantly, the level of mine explosion. Therefore, this area of technical improvement was given particular attention. In the years 1909-1914, the ratio in the number of mines with natural and artificial ventilation changed quite markedly: in 1909 artificial ventilation was used in 43.3% of mines (at 123 firms - 121 fans), and in 1914 - already in 53 % (there were 132 fans in 123 firms). It is worth paying attention to the increasing use of electric fan motors, along with steam engines. Thus, in 1909 49 steam and 37 electric motors were used, whereas in 1914 there were already 53 steam and 68 electric motors, that is, the relative share of electric motors in 1909 was 31.4%, and as early as 1914. - 56.2% of the total number of fan motors. This, in turn, significantly affected the average power of this category of engines, which in 1909 was 59.9 hp, and in 1914 - 92.9 hp.

The rollback systems used at the Donbass mines in 1914 were directly dependent on the size of the enterprise. Yes, of the 49 companies whose coal production was more than 5 million pounds. per year, mechanical rollback was applied at 37 enterprises (there were 196 engines and 2475 horses in use), however, here mechanical rollback was combined with other types (manual, equestrian), whereas only mechanical rollback was applied at one enterprise. In enterprises with a production of 1 to 5 million pounds mechanical recoil was used by 54.5% (which was provided with the use of 22 engines and 30 horses), and in firms with a production of up to 1 million recoil was mechanized only on seven of 45 or 15, 6% (four engines and 47 horses). In 26 enterprises only manual rollback was used in general [6, p. XX-XXII].

During the period under consideration, different lighting systems were used, which differed on the surface and underground. There were three types of surface illumination. Yes, electric was used at 48 enterprises out of 118 surveyed in 1914, out of this total only electric was used at 31 companies (26%) and mixed (electric and gas) - at 17 enterprises (14.5%). The other 70 companies (59.5%) used gas lighting. Significant changes have taken place in the distribution of the various underground lighting systems from 1909 to 1914. In particular, open lamps at this time were intensively supplanted by closed safety lamps.

Thus, in 1909 out of 134 companies that sent information, 71 (53%) used open lamps only, and in 1914 out of 119 surveyed companies only 24 (20%) [6, p. XXIII-XXX]. This trend, in addition to its technical significance, indicated that precautionary measures were taken to eliminate the factors of explosiveness and to prevent mine fires.

An important modernization measure aimed directly at the mechanization of the extraction process, and, consequently, the replacement of heavy manual mining work with mechanized work, was the introduction of cutting machines, as well as the expansion of drills and hammers.

It should be noted that the first cutting machines appeared in the Russian Empire quite early. For

example, in March 1875, the Mining Journal in the article "Cutting (cutting) machines and coal mines" points to two mines: the Russian Society and Nikitovsky, where there were already single cutting machines [1, p. 166]. During the same period, drilling machines were used in the Donbass, which acted, as indicated, with the help of compressors.

According to the Bureau of Statistics, by 1914, 127 reporting companies had only 40 (or 31.5%) used perforators and drill hammers (the vast majority of which had been used by powerful enterprises producing more than 5 million pounds - 714 out of 740 operating), and 26 firms, with only Group I, that is, with the production of more than 5 million poods., used machine tools, which numbered 56 [6, p. XXIV].

However, as it turned out, the data on the presence of cutting machines used in the Donetsk basin, sent to the Statbureau, were incomplete or inaccurate, since, according to the estimates of Prof. OM Terpigorieva, in 1914 120 units of different types of cutting machines were involved in the mines. These data are not in doubt because they have precise instructions on the place of use, as well as interesting calculations related to the use of these machines [7, p. 369-371]. Moreover, the "Description of the Donetsk Basin" prepared by him contains the analysis and generalizations made on the basis of the experience of using machines in Donbass. According to the data provided here, in 1914, 42 cutting and 78 impact cutting machines were used at the Donbass mines [11]. Their use, both in Soviet and modern historiography, is said to be largely experimental in nature, although it would be more correct to say that it was not widely used: at that time, the owners of coal enterprises were trying to find out the advantages of existing machines, especially as regards their productivity compared to with manual labor. In addition, their effective implementation required significant changes in coal mining and lifting technology, which took some time. Nevertheless, the very preparation in 1915 of the aforementioned study indicated the significant efforts of the mining industry, according to the materials of which this description was created, to increase labor productivity due to the technical improvement and mechanization of the main types of mine work and the replacement of manual work by mechanical. However, the acquisition of such machines was not available to all mining firms because their cost was high.

By the middle of 1914, at the mines of the Donetsk Basin, at least 12 varieties of cutting machines had already been actively used, and the supply of disc and bar machines was carried out by English factories, chain - American, shock - English, American, as well as German. The cutting machines were of the heavy type and cost several times more expensive than the impact machines. The cutting machines were driven by pneumatic or electropneumatic engines. The main question regarding the economical and productive operation of these machines has not yet been fully understood due to the small number of machines at the mines, and the search for the most optimal type of them for use has continued. However, already at this time, their economic and technological feasibility in coal

mining processes was obvious, which is why their quantitative growth during 1912-1914 was explained [11, vol. 2, p. 369-371].

Conclusions. Thus, the coal industry of the Donetsk basin at the turn of the XIX-XX centuries. acquired clear signs of the most developed within the Russian Empire, thanks to the concentration of significant capital here. Donbass coal-mining enterprises, in the run-up to the First World War, were technically technologically advanced, though lagging behind the leading capitalist countries, but were relatively modernized and showed positive trends for their further improvement.

Miners in search of maximum optimization and productivity of coal mining were increasingly concerned about the technical improvement of their enterprises, since the introduction of relevant innovations could significantly affect the economic feasibility and profitability of enterprises. This was also necessitated by the technological need in connection with the expansion of production and the constant shortage of labor.

Foreign owners and shareholders who tried to implement the advanced technologies of their countries played the last role in the introduction of innovations. In addition, technical improvements to the extraction processes have not only brought economic benefits to their owners, but have in some cases indirectly improved the working conditions and safety at the mining enterprises in the region.

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Довжук І.В. Вугільна промисловість донбасу наприкінці XIX – на початку XX ст.

У статті розглянуто розвиток вугільної промисловості Донецького басейну та технічне забезпечення видобутку мінерального палива на шахтах регіону в кінці XIX – на початку XX ст.

Останнє десятиліття XIX ст. характеризується концентрацією вугільних підприємств, що призвело до широкого впровадження парових, дренажних та вентиляційних пристроїв, використання динаміту замість пороху при проведенні підземних видобутку; будівництво краєц обладнаних та капітальних супермінних технологічних комплексів. Зазначається, що вугледобувні підприємства Донбасу в 1914 році, хоча технічно відстають від провідних капіталістичних країн, були відносно модернізовані та виявили позитивні тенденції до їх подальшого вдосконалення. Однією з головних недоліків початку розвитку вугільної промисловості Донбасу була відсутність передового обладнання. До середини 1914 р. Щонайменше 12 типів лісогартівельних машин вже активно використовувались на шахтах Донецького басейну, більше того, постачання дискових і стрижневих машин здійснювали британські фабрики, ланцюг - американський, ударний - британський, американський, та німецька. Ріжучі верстати належали до важкого типу і коштували в кілька разів більше, ніж ударні. Різальні машини приводилися в рух пневматичними або електроневматичними двигунами. Підкреслювалося, що шахтарі в пошуках максимальної оптимізації та продуктивності видобутку вугілля все більше стурбовані технічним удосконаленням своїх підприємств, оскільки впровадження відповідних нововведень може суттєво вплинути на економічну доцільність та прибутковість підприємств.

Цього вимагала технологічна необхідність у зв'язку з розширенням виробництва та постійною нестачею робочої сили. Важливу роль у впровадженні інновацій відігравали іноземні власники та акціонери, які намагалися впровадити передові технології своїх країн.

Крім того, технічні вдосконалення гірничих процесів не тільки принесли економічну користь їх власникам, але іноді опосередковано покращили умови праці та безпеку на гірничих об'єктах.

Ключові слова: угольна промисловість, донбасс, рудники, шахти, шахтери, технічне забезпечення рудників.

Довжук І.В. Угольная промышленность Донбасса в конце XIX – начале XX вв.

В статье рассматриваются вопросы развития угольной промышленности Донецкого бассейна и технического обеспечения добычи минерального топлива на шахтах региона в конце XIX - начале XX вв.

Последнее десятилетие XIX в. характеризуется концентрацией угольных предприятий, что привело к широкому внедрению пароподъемных, дренажных и вентиляционных устройств, использованию динамита вместо пороха при ведении подземных горных работ, строительство лучше оснащенных и капитальных супергорных технологических комплексов. Отмечается, что угледобывающие предприятия Донбасса в 1914 году, хотя и технически отстали от ведущих капиталистических стран, были относительно модернизированы и демонстрировали положительные тенденции к их дальнейшему улучшению. Одним из основных недостатков начала развития угольной промышленности Донбасса было отсутствие передовой техники. К середине 1914 г. в шахтах Донецкого бассейна уже активно использовалось не менее 12 видов валочных машин, причем поставка дисковых и стрижневых машин осуществлялась британскими заводами, цепными - американскими, ударными - британскими, американскими, и немецкой. Станки для резки принадлежали к тяжелому типу и стоили в несколько раз дороже, чем ударные. Режущие машины приводились в движение пневматическими или электропневматическими двигателями. Было подчеркнуто, что шахтеры в поисках максимальной оптимизации и производительности добычи угля все больше обеспокоены техническим совершенствованием своих предприятий, поскольку внедрение соответствующих инноваций может значительно повлиять на экономическую целесообразность и прибыльность предприятий. Этого требовала технологическая необходимость в связи с расширением производства и постоянной нехваткой рабочей силы. Иностранные владельцы и акционеры, которые пытались внедрить передовые технологии своих стран, сыграли важную роль в внедрении инноваций.

Кроме того, технические усовершенствования процессов добычи не только приносили экономические выгоды их владельцам, но иногда косвенно улучшали условия труда и безопасность на объектах добычи.

Ключевые слова: угольная промышленность, Донбасс, рудники, шахты, шахтеры, техническое обеспечение рудников.

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PUBLIC-EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS OF WOLINA THE 20'S - 30'S OF THE XX CENTURY

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ГРОМАДСЬКО-ПРОСВІТНИЦЬКІ ОРГАНІЗАЦІЇ ВОЛИНИ У 20-Х – 30-Х РОКАХ ХХ СТОЛІТТЯ

Каденюк О.С.

The article, on the example of Volyn, analyzes the activities of public organizations in the Ukrainian ethnic lands that became part of Poland and the Soviet Union after the signing of the Riga peace treaty. These lands were the reflection of the most tragic pages in the history of Ukraine. More than once, they have played an extraordinary role in the history of the entire Ukrainian people, which has been reflected in his fate. The defeat of national liberation competitions in 1917 - 1921 and the tragic consequences of these events for the Ukrainian statehood turned Volyn into a specific socio-political and geopolitical region. The events in these territories, as well as the policies of the governments of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the USSR and the Second Commonwealth, were decisive for the Ukrainian population living on ethnic Ukrainian lands and those who found themselves in other countries.

Our research suggests that the socio-economic processes in Volyn during the interwar period were an interesting social phenomenon when Ukrainians were immigrants in their ethnic lands among Ukrainians. The line of the Soviet-Polish border, which was the frontier of the opposition, attracted the most active participants in the national liberation struggle, who continued it under new conditions of statelessness, political and ideological pressure, persecution and repression by the smelling regimes. Work and activity in the interwar period of prominent political figures of the UNR era, religious, cultural and educational figures in the territory of Western Volyn, was of great importance not only for the population of the region, but also for the Ukrainian people. In the Volyn lands, the Orthodox Church had a huge influence on the people, Christian morality in the interwar period acted as the dominant ideology. No political party or NGO has had such an impact on the masses as the church. Understanding this, the Ukrainian clergy not only defended the Orthodox faith on both sides of the borders that divided Volhynia, but also nurtured national consciousness, language, and culture.

Keywords: *Volyn, Prosvita, public organizations, national politics, Commonwealth Friend, USSR.*

Formulation of the problem. In the twentieth century, events of centuries-old history of the Ukrainian

people intertwined, which became a bunch of the most important milestones in the destiny of the nation, in the struggle for survival, for the state and independence. This century concentrated in the powerful national liberation movement and attempts to gain state independence, the tragedy of defeats and the division of ethnic Ukrainian lands between different states, national revival and state formation at the end of the century.

In the context of all these events, the period between the 20's and 30's for the Western Ukrainian lands, including Volyn, occupies a significant place. Its lands were the reflection of the most tragic pages in Ukrainian history. More than once, they have played an extraordinary role in the history of the entire Ukrainian people, which has been reflected in his fate. The defeat of national liberation competitions in 1917 - 1921 and the tragic consequences of these events for the Ukrainian statehood turned Volyn into a specific socio-political and geopolitical region. The events in these territories, as well as the policies of the governments of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the USSR and the Second Commonwealth, were decisive for the Ukrainian population living on ethnic Ukrainian lands and those who found themselves in other countries.

Investigation of the problem. Volyn has played a special role over the centuries due to its geopolitical location in relation to the integrity of Ukrainian lands. Therefore, the problems of social, economic and political development of this region attract the attention of researchers Nagaevsky I. [6], Kondratyuk R. [7], Kucherepa M. [10].

The purpose of this article is to conduct a study that argues that socio-economic processes in Volyn during the interwar period were an interesting social phenomenon when Ukrainians were immigrants in their ethnic lands among Ukrainians. The line of the Soviet-Polish border, which was the frontier of the opposition, attracted the most active participants in the national

liberation struggle, who continued it under new conditions of statelessness, political and ideological pressure, persecution and repression by the smelting regimes. Work and activity in the interwar period of prominent political figures of the UNR era, religious, cultural and educational figures in the territory of Western Volyn, was of great importance not only for the population of the region, but also for the Ukrainian people.

The main content of the article. Despite the border demarcation, Volyn remained the only historical region where the indigenous population compactly lived. Political and ideological pressure on the part of the ruling regimes in the interwar years did not significantly affect the mentality of Volyns. The population of the region has preserved the Ukrainian language, Orthodox faith, spiritual and cultural traditions. Despite the confrontation between the political systems of the USSR and the Second Commonwealth, Volyns were sympathetic and sympathetic to residents of the region who lived abroad. Therefore, immigrants who ended up on the Volyn lands have adapted to the new environment without much difficulty. The local population often facilitated border crossings and provided temporary shelter. In Western Volyn, immigrants were not only quickly taken up in the new environment, but also became organizers of cultural and educational institutions and societies, leaders in political life.

Taking into account the fact that after the defeat of the liberation contests, Western Volyn became a kind of political refuge for many of their participants, the experience of their struggle in the new conditions was used to develop active socio-political activity in the region. Moreover, the majority of intellectual and political elites are among immigrants. Therefore, due to the labor of immigrants from the Dnieper Ukraine, the level of national consciousness is raised in the environment of the backward West Volyn region, education is being developed, and educational work is being activated. Some immigrants from the Dnieper region were elected by the local population as ambassadors and senators to the Polish Parliament. They headed political organizations, Ukrainian cooperatives, took an active part in the life of the region.

An important role in the cultural life of Volyn was played by the local Enlightenment societies. As a significant part of the Dnieper intelligentsia found themselves in immigration in the territory of Western Volyn, where the indigenous intellectuals were relatively small, it mainly acted as an organizer of the Enlightenment movement. Enlightenment "set the task of" spreading education and national consciousness among the Ukrainian people and defending everyone's rights to it ", as well as" to institute public awareness in the Ukrainian people sense, to give its members a good science and mental development. " Representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in immigration understood the complexity of the political situation in Western Ukraine and the mission assigned to them. In particular, the famous figure of the Enlightenment movement, the

immigrant S. Zhuk, in his article "Does the Volyn village rustle?" Wrote: "... the specific administrative relations that Volyn has inherited from the tsar with various new additions, are designed to be entirely slow down the normal development of Ukrainian life "and therefore the task of the Volyn intelligentsia," ... which is very few here (and mostly so-called "emigration" from Zbruch), is to consolidate, unite Ukrainians, defend their interests [1]. .

From immigrants distinguished their activity in the Enlightenment movement teacher of the children's shelter in Kremenets A. Zhivotko, teacher V. Doroshenko, R. Brzeski, Senator M. Cherkavsky, Senator O. Levchanovskaya, I. Vlasovsky, V. Bidnov and many others [2, Ark .4].

Since the beginning of Volyn's entry into Poland, the authorities have shown that they are loyal to Ukrainian institutions, in particular to the Enlightenment. This was a recognition of these societies as centers of organized national life. the authorities appealed to the heads of county societies, and the Ukrainians who applied for the position also demanded the characteristics of "Enlightenment" [3, p. 3].

Thus, in the early 1920s, there was a tendency for the development of cultural and educational movement among the Ukrainian population through the "Enlightenment" societies. The characteristic feature of the first post-war years was the opposite tendencies in this process of the Polish and Ukrainian sides. , was forced to reckon with such authoritative cultural and social associations as "Enlightenment" at that time. The Ukrainians who found themselves in Poland's occupied lands still hoped for a possible entry into the new state formation while preserving their national and cultural interests. The consequences of such cooperation were evident in the first years of occupation. In 1921, the Enlightenment in Volyn, Lutsk, Rivne, Kremenets, Dubna, Vladimir, Ostroh and Zdolbunov actively operated in Volyn. In the 1920s, the societies were the only national institutions in the country and the most influential among other organizations.

In July 1922, a congress of cultural and educational organizations of Volyn was held in Lutsk. The congress discussed the charter of the unification center and the adoption of its name, namely: "Association of cultural and educational organizations of Volyn under the name" Volyn Enlightenment. The commission on editing the statute included well-known Ukrainian figures in immigration, such as : Ivan Vlasovsky, Mykhailo Cherkavsky, Sergey Milyashkevych [4, page 4] The congress expressed demands to the Polish authorities to open a number of state Ukrainian schools in Volyn that would meet the number of Ukrainian population in the country. opened reading rooms, bookstores, cinemas, gave lectures, lectures for the common people, published books, magazines, etc. Primary and secondary schools were organized for the dissemination of education, foundations were created to assist able students in their science. Only in Kremenchug in almost 170 counties,

acquired the land to build the People's House. Roman Brzeski, an immigrant, became the director of a bookstore in the city that was one of the largest in Volyn. The library of the Prosvita Society in Kremenets numbered over 1,000 books, in Pochaev - over 600, Mizurintsi - 400, Berezhchy - 300 books [5, p. 15]. A similar situation was in Rivne, Dubnovsky, Lutsk and other counties.

Here it is expedient to compare the processes that took place in the cultural and spiritual sphere in the territory of Soviet Ukraine and Eastern Volhynia. In fact, during the same period, in the 1930s, after the collapse of Ukrainization, the Soviet government began to actively pursue a national policy that led to the assimilation of the Ukrainian population. The slogan of culture "national in form, socialist, international in content", created in the formally "sovereign USSR, covered the comprehensive falsification of Ukrainian national culture with the widespread use of propaganda means of the press, school, theater, radio, etc., and inculcation of the Soviet Union. about the leading role of the "great Russian people".

So, again, the two political regimes that prevailed in Volyn during the interwar period, despite the polarity of their ideologies in the sphere of cultural and national politics, carried out identical measures. Their ultimate goal was the assimilation of the Ukrainian population, the loss of their national identity, culture, language.

Thus, the integration of Western Volyn into the Second Commonwealth, especially in the field of cultural and spiritual life, was controversial and with great difficulty. Ukrainian public, cultural figures, many of whom were immigrants from the Dnieper region, sought ways of national-cultural coexistence in Poland's political system. However, the course of the Polish authorities, taken on the assimilation, oppression and Catholicization of the Ukrainian population, on the forced integration into the Polish state, increasingly exacerbated the Polish-Ukrainian relations, giving rise to confrontations and conflicts.

During the most difficult historical periods of enslavement, wars and social conflicts, poverty and dire economic conditions, the religious feelings of Ukrainians were a means of helping to survive. They were based on Orthodox faith, mother tongue, customs and rituals. A similar situation occurred in Volyn, divided by the Soviet-Polish border. Devastated by World War I and the events of the civil war and national revolution, the population of Volyn was in a very difficult situation. Political regimes on both sides of the border instilled their own ideology, built political systems. Although their policies were opposite and hostile in nature, common to both states was the anti-people policy towards the Ukrainian population. It is no coincidence that in this difficult period in Volyn the religious feelings of the population, which are closely intertwined with their national interests, are particularly sharpened. The church became an expression of the spiritual and ethical feelings of the Volhynia people,

there they found peace and spiritual comfort, there in the sense of their powerlessness they sought protection.

Employed after the end of hostilities by building their own states, the Polish and Soviet governments understood that a decisive attack on the spiritual life of the population could provoke a new resistance. Therefore, in the early 20's, they were loyal to the religious sentiments of the population of Volhynia, which was largely Orthodox.

Such a policy of the states that divided the Volyn region was triggered by the current situation. First, an attempt was made to enlist the support of the local population in carrying out political reforms and strengthening their positions on the ground, when the situation at the borders was not settled yet and the states themselves were weakened by the effects of the war. Second, the centuries-old confrontation for the Ukrainian flock determined the relationship between Catholic Poland and the Eastern Orthodox population. Despite the fact that the Soviet leadership in the sphere of spiritual life declared a policy of atheism, and the Polish religious authorities in the religious-spiritual life on the occupied lands took a course on Catholicism, the confrontation of these political regimes gave birth to some time and actively act Ukrainian Autocephalous Church.

Until 1920, Volyn lived a common Orthodox life with Dnieper Ukraine. The wave of Ukrainization of the Orthodox Church swept Volhynia immediately after the Theological Council in Kyiv in April 1918. However, as a result of hostilities, these processes were interrupted and curtailed. At the end of October 1, 1921, a Council of the lower clergy was convened in Kyiv, and during the liturgy at St. Sophia's Cathedral, Vasily Lipkivsky was appointed Kyiv Metropolitan [6, p. 377].

During 1922-1923, about 50 Ukrainian Orthodox parishes appeared in the territory of Volyn, 9 of them in the western part. Volyn ranked fifth in Ukraine by number of parishes. Not only Ukrainian but also Orthodox from other nationalities and even Catholics Ukrainians and Poles joined the Ukrainian church. In order to coordinate the activities of parishes and organize church administration, a clergy and lay congregation was convened in Zhytomyr on August 5-6, 1923, which decided to establish a Volyn Regional Orthodox Church Council as a branch of the All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church Council on the basis of its charter [7, with. 91].

The period of activation of Ukrainian church life in Volyn, as well as in Ukraine in general, was short. The period of liberalization in the economy (NEP) and "rooting" was coming to an end. Since the mid-twenties, the number of Ukrainian parishes in Volhynia has been gradually declining, their members undergoing persecution, and the premises being destroyed or misused.

In 1930, the Soviet authorities launched a struggle against nationalism in the Ukrainian SSR, which was reflected in the UAOC. Arrests were started among the clergy and civilians, who were accused of connections

with foreign countries and propaganda for "Petliur" ideas. Undoubtedly, the tendencies towards Ukrainianization of the church in Volyn had a mutual influence despite the border line. This was used by the Soviet authorities as one of the arguments for the liquidation of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Soviet Ukraine.

At the end of 1930, the UAOC "cathedral" was held, under which many self-accusations were issued under pressure from the Soviet authorities and a self-liquidation order was issued. All UAOC bishops were arrested. Metropolitan V. Lipkivsky was arrested and sentenced to death on November 20, 1937, by a special troika under the Kiev administration of the NKVD of the USSR and executed soon after [8 p. 15].

The formation of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church in Soviet Ukraine in the early 1920s and the involvement of Soviet authorities with the Ukrainian clergy intensified the Ukrainianization of single churches in Western Volyn, which was part of Poland. The hostile attitude of the Polish authorities to the national claims of the Volyns, even in the sphere of religious relations, and the persecution of those involved in these processes only exacerbated the confrontation.

Conclusions. A characteristic sign of the struggle for the preservation of the position of the Ukrainian Church in Poland was that the advocates of national interests in spiritual life were Ukrainian church figures in immigration. It was immigrants from Dnieper Ukraine who initiated the creation of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Poland. The development of spiritual life in the Volyn lands was controversial and ambiguous. Unlike in Galicia, where the convergence of interests between the Catholic Church in Poland and the Greek Catholic Church in Western Ukraine took place without conflict, in Western Volyn, integration in church life between the Catholic and Orthodox churches practically did not take place [9].

In the Volyn lands, the Orthodox Church had a huge influence on the people, Christian morality in the interwar period acted as the dominant ideology. No political party or NGO has had such an impact on the masses as the church. Understanding this, the Ukrainian clergy not only defended the Orthodox faith on both sides of the borders that divided Volhynia, but also nurtured national consciousness, language, and culture.

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Каденюк О.С. Громадсько-просвітницькі організації Волині у 20-х – 30-х роках ХХ століття

У статті на прикладі Волині аналізується діяльність громадських організацій на українських етнічних землях, які увійшли до складу Польщі та Радянського Союзу після підписання Ризького мирного договору. Ці землі були відображенням найтрагічніших сторінок в історії України. Вони не раз відігравали надзвичайну роль в історії всього українського народу, що знайшло своє відображення в його долі. Поразка національно-визвольних змагань у 1917 - 1921 роках та трагічні наслідки цих подій для української державності перетворили Волинь у специфічний суспільно-політичний та геополітичний регіон. Події на цих територіях, а також політика урядів Української Радянської Соціалістичної Республіки та СРСР та Другої Речі Посполитої були визначальними для українського населення, яке проживає на етнічних українських землях, та тих, хто опинився в інших країнах.

Наше дослідження свідчить про те, що соціально-економічні процеси на Волині у міжвоєнний період були цікавим соціальним явищем, коли українці були емігрантами на своїх етнічних землях серед українців. Лінія радянсько-польського кордону, що була межею опозиції, залучала найактивніших учасників національно-визвольної боротьби, які продовжували її в нових умовах без громадянства, політичного та ідеологічного тиску, переслідувань та репресій з боку пахучих режимів. Робота та діяльність у міжвоєнний період видатних політичних діячів епохи УНР, релігійних, культурних та освітянських діячів на території Західної Волині мала велике значення не лише для населення краю, а й для українського народу. На волинських землях православна церква мала величезний вплив на народ, християнська мораль у міжвоєнний період виступала як домінуюча ідеологія. Жодна політична партія чи громадська організація не мала такого впливу на маси, як церква. Розуміючи це, українське духовенство не лише захищало православну віру з обох боків кордонів, що розділяли Волинь, але й плекало національну свідомість, мову та культуру.

Ключові слова: Волинь, "Просвіта", громадські організації, національна політика, Річ Посполита Друга, СРСР.

Каденюк А.С. Общественно-просветительские организации Волини в 20-х - 30-х годах ХХ века

В статье на примере Волини анализируется деятельность общественных организаций на украинских этнических землях, которые вошли в состав Польши и Советского Союза после подписания Рижского мирного договора. Эти земли были отражением самых трагических страниц в истории Украины. Они не раз играли чрезвычайную роль в истории украинского народа, что нашло свое отражение в его судьбе. Поражение национально-освободительной борьбы в 1917 - 1921 годах и трагические последствия этих событий для украинской государственности превратили Волинь в специфический общественно-политический и геополитический регион. События на этих территориях, а также политика правительств Украинской Советской Социалистической Республики и СССР и Второй Речи Посполитой были определяющими для украинского населения, проживающего на этнических украинских землях, и тех, кто оказался в других странах.

Наше исследование свидетельствует о том, что социально-экономические процессы на Волини в межвоенный период были интересным социальным явлением, когда украинцы были эмигрантами на своих этнических землях среди украинском. Линия советско-польской границы, которая была пределом оппозиции, привлекала самых активных участников национально-освободительной борьбы, которые продолжали ее в новых условиях без гражданства, политического и идеологического давления, преследований и репрессий со стороны пахучих режимов. Работа и деятельность в межвоенный период выдающихся политических деятелей эпохи УНР, религиозных, культурных и образовательных деятелей на территории Западной Волини имела большое значение не только для населения края, но и для украинского народа. На волинских землях православная церковь имела огромное влияние на народ, христианская мораль в межвоенный период выступала как доминирующая идеология. Ни одна политическая партия или общественная организация не имела такого влияния на массы, как церковь. Понимая это, украинское духовенство не только защищало православную веру с обеих сторон границ, разделявших Волинь, но и лелеяло национальное сознание, язык и культуру.

Ключевые слова: Волинь, "Просвіта", общественные организации, национальная политика, Речь Посполитая Вторая, СССР.

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PROBLEMS OF REFORM IN THE UKRAINIAN REGIONS OF RUSSIA AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES ON THE EVALUATION OF THE POPULATION LIFE IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE XIX CENTURY

Mezeria O.A.

ПРОБЛЕМАТИКА РЕФОРМ В УКРАЇНСЬКИХ ГУБЕРНІЯХ РОСІЇ ТА ЇХ НАСЛІДКІВ НА ПОВСЯКДЕННЕ ЖИТТЯ НАСЕЛЕННЯ В ДРУГІЙ ПОЛОВИНІ ХІХ СТОЛІТТЯ

Мезеря О.А.

The article deals with the problems of modern historiography of everyday life of Ukrainians in the context of Russian reforms of the second half of the nineteenth century, reveals the theme of the author's approaches to his views on a given topic. In the context of the liberalization of the Soviet regime in the late 1950s-1960s, the term "Ukrainian historiography" was reintroduced into scientific circulation

With some liberalization of education, the government has tightened control over publishing activities. By law 1865 p. censorship institutions were transferred from the Ministry of Public Education to the Ministry of Internal Affairs. At the same time, church censorship operated.

Emphasis is placed on scientific intelligence to explore a number of selected issues. Due to the above factors, the author solves the task of defining a research and comparative analysis of the impact of Russian reforms on the daily lives of Ukrainians.

As a result of the 1861 reform carried out in the interests of the landowners, the economic situation of the bulk of the peasantry deteriorated significantly. That is why, since the 1870s, the anti-landlord peasant movement has been gaining ground in Ukraine. It increased even more in the late nineteenth century: according to incomplete data, during the period 1890-1900 alone, more than 150 riots of peasants occurred.

Extremely difficult were the living and working conditions of the workers, who encouraged them to fight for their rights. In the 1880s and 1890s alone, 97 strikes and 13 riots took place in Ukraine. The total number of participants in the strikes was 29,000.

Thus, despite the tsarist colonial policy, Ukraine was one of the first places in the Russian empire for economic development. However, its economy was largely one-sided. Finally, XIX century. Ukraine accounted for 70% of all production of the extractive industry, while in processing it accounted for only 15%. The peculiarity of Ukraine's economic development was the fact that capital accumulation took place not in the hands of Ukrainians, but in the hands of their foreign national exploiters.

Keywords: *Russian empire, liberation of peasants, Ukrainian provinces, peasant reform, serfdom.*

Introduction. During the 1960s and 1980s, the formation of the disciplinary status of historiography in Ukraine took place within the limits of official Soviet doctrine.

Ukrainian historiography was artificially incorporated into the all-Russian scheme of the history of historical thought. In particular, the thesis about the class orientation of historical thought, the unity of the spiritual and socio-political life of Russia and Ukraine became canonical.

Presenting main material. In the context of the liberalization of the Soviet regime in the late 1950s-1960s, the term "Ukrainian historiography" was reintroduced into scientific circulation (M. Marchenko). At the same time, there were a number of attempts to determine the disciplinary status of historiography:

- a special historical discipline that studies the secondary process - the history of historical science and is subordinated to specific and partial goals (F. Shevchenko);
- history of historical knowledge, history of science on the development of human society and historical thought (M. Marchenko);
- an integral part of public opinion of a certain era, which covers the development of historical knowledge and historical science in connection with the social process, struggle of classes (M. Marchenko); etc.

Studies in Ukrainian historiography are intensifying. In particular, a specialized collection of Historiographic Studies in the Ukrainian SSR (1968-73; since 1997 - Historiographic Studies in Ukraine) is established. Profile departments are created at Kharkiv and Dnipropetrovsk universities. There is also a circle of authors who develop Ukrainian historiographical issues (V. Dyadichenko, L. Kovalenko, N. Komarenko, F. Los, M. Marchenko, A. Santsevich, V. Sarbei, F. Shevchenko, etc.). A number of researchers are studying issues

related to Russian historiography, historiography of the history of the USSR (V. Astakhov, V. Shevtsov, I. Sherman, etc.) at the Institute of History (now the Institute of History of Ukraine, NAS of Ukraine).

Studies in Ukrainian historiography have been suspended again. They were ideologically neutralized and reduced to the level of problematic historiography and descriptive works. During the 1970s and 1980s, Ukrainian historiography existed in the face of ideological conformism, intellectual isolation, stagnation, and the artificial limitation of the source base.

The defeat in the Crimean War of 1853–1856 witnessed the considerable economic and military backwardness of the Russian Empire and forced its leadership to initiate socio-economic reforms. The most pressing issue in domestic politics was the reform of agrarian relations, first of all, the abolition of serfdom.

In order to avoid the revolution, the tsarist government conducted a "liberation of the peasants" from above. On February 19, 1861, Tsar Alexander II signed a manifesto on peasant reform proclaiming the abolition of serfdom. The serfs ceased to be the property of the landlords. The latter, for work or money, were obliged to provide the peasants with "permanent residency" and the first allotment of field land.

As in most counties of Ukraine the land was of high quality, here set less than in other parts of Russia, the standards of peasant land * In addition, landowners left the best land, and peasants allocated the worst, deprived them of grazing, watering, onions, forests and other lands .

The interests of the landowners also met the ransom operation conducted by the tsarist government. In general, the peasants had to make ransom payments about 4 times the market value of the land at that time.

Serious changes in economic life necessitated changes in the entire state system. Therefore, during the 1960s and 1970s, a series of administrative and political reforms were carried out, covering the main components of the empire's life: Zemsky, judicial, military, educational, censorship, etc.

Under Zemsky reform, elective bodies of provincial and district governments were created in all Ukrainian provinces, except the Right Bank - out of fear of possible domination of the Polish nobility. They were engaged in the development of health care, education, improvement of agricultural production, culture and more.

Important was the judicial reform, which introduced an out-of-court, open, independent court administration. It was compulsory to participate in the trial of two parties: the prosecutor who supported the prosecution and the lawyer - the defense representative. The defendant's guilt was determined by the jurors.

Between 1862 and 1874, military reform was carried out. Recruitment kits were eliminated and universal military service was imposed on all men over the age of 20. The army was re-equipped and re-equipped and so on. According to educational reform, a unified system of primary education was introduced, two types of gymna-

siums were established - classical and real, and some autonomy was granted to universities. Sunday schools were opened for adults.

With some liberalization of education, the government has tightened control over publishing activities. By law 1865 p. censorship institutions were transferred from the Ministry of Public Education to the Ministry of Internal Affairs. At the same time, church censorship operated.

Although the reforms of the 1960s and 1970s, primarily the peasantry, were limited and inconsistent, they accelerated the process of industrial society formation in Ukraine. The number of industrial enterprises increased: during the last third of the 19th century. from 3712 to 5301, Transportation, including rail and water, was actively developing. Only during 1866-1879 pp. in Ukraine more than 4,5 thousand miles of railway tracks are laid.

Transport development has increased demand for fuel and metal. Coal, iron ore and metallurgical industries are being created on the basis of the use of rich mineral resources of the South of Ukraine. From the beginning. In the 1870s, Donbass ranked first in the empire in terms of coal production. At the end of the century, Ukraine accounted for more than 57% of Russia's ore production and 52% of all-Russian iron smelting.

The textile industry in Ukraine did not develop due to competition with the products of Russian factories that used the protection of the tsarist government.

Some influence on the development of industry had foreign capital, the influx of which has increased significantly since the 80's of the XIX century. A particularly large flow of Belgian, French, English and American capitals rushed into Ukraine's mining industry.

In the post-reform period, the industrial population grew rapidly, cities grew, new industrial centers were established. In 1897 the urban population of Ukraine was approx. 13% of the total population. The number of small cities with a population of up to 10 thousand people has almost halved. Only 11.8% of the urban population lived in them.

At the same time, the number of relatively large and medium-sized cities doubled. However, industrialization and urbanization had little effect on Ukrainians, who in 1897 accounted for 73% of the total population and only 30% of the urban population.

The rapid development of capitalism in industry and agriculture, the presence of numerous remnants of serfdom deepened social contradictions, were the causes of the continuing struggle in the city and in the countryside.

As a result of the 1861 reform carried out in the interests of the landowners, the economic situation of the bulk of the peasantry deteriorated significantly. That is why, since the 1970s, the anti-landlord peasant movement has been gaining ground in Ukraine. It increased even more in the late nineteenth century: according to incomplete data, during the period 1890-1900 alone, more than 150 riots of peasants occurred.

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Мезеря О.А. Проблематика реформ в українських губерніях Росії та їх наслідків на повсякденне життя населення в другій половині XIX століття

У статті розглянуто проблеми сучасної історіографії повсякденного життя українців у контексті російських реформ другої половини XIX століття, розкрито тему авторських підходів до його поглядів на певну тему. В умовах лібералізації радянського режиму в кінці 1950-х - 1960-х років термін "українська історіографія" був знову введений у науковий обіг

Деякою лібералізацією освіти уряд посилив контроль над видавничою діяльністю. За законом 1865 р. цензурні установи були передані з Міністерства народної освіти до Міністерства внутрішніх справ. Одночасно діяла церковна цензура.

Основна увага приділяється науковій розвідці для дослідження ряду обраних питань. Завдяки зазначеним чинникам автор вирішує завдання визначення дослідження та порівняльного аналізу впливу російських реформ на повсякденне життя українців.

Внаслідок реформи 1861 р., Проведеної в інтересах поміщиків, економічне становище основної частини селянства значно погіршилося. Ось чому, починаючи з 1970-х, в Україні набирає позиції анти поміщицький селянський рух. Вона ще більше зросла в кінці XIX століття: за неповними даними, лише за період 1890-1900 рр. Відбулося понад 150 заворушень селян.

Надзвичайно важкими були умови життя та праці робітників, які заохочували їх боротися за свої права. Лише у 1880-х та 1894-х рр. В Україні відбулися 97 страйків та 13 заворушень. Загальна кількість учасників страйків становила 29 000.

Таким чином, незважаючи на колоніальну політику царизму, Україна посіла одне з перших місць у Російській імперії за економічним розвитком. Однак її економіка була значною мірою однобічною. Нарешті, XIX століття. На Україну припадало 70% усього виробництва добувної промисловості, а на переробку - лише 15%. Особливістю економічного розвитку України було те, що накопичення капіталу відбувалося не в руках українців, а в руках їхніх іноземних національних експлуататорів.

Ключові слова: Російська імперія, визволення селян, українські губернії, селянська реформа, кріпосництво.

Мезеря А.А. Проблематика реформ в украинских губерниях России и их последствий на повседневную жизнь населения во второй половине XIX века

В статье рассматриваются проблемы современной историографии повседневной жизни украинцев в контексте российских реформ второй половины XIX века, раскрывается тема авторских подходов к его взглядам на

данную тему. В контексте либерализации советского режима в конце 1950-х-1960-х годов термин «украинская историография» был вновь введен в научный оборот

С некоторой либерализацией образования правительство усилило контроль над издательской деятельностью. По закону 1865 г. Учреждения цензуры были переданы из Министерства народного образования в Министерство внутренних дел. В то же время действовала церковная цензура.

Акцент делается на научном интеллекте для изучения ряда отдельных вопросов. В связи с вышеперечисленными факторами автор решает задачу по определению исследования и сравнительного анализа влияния российских реформ на повседневную жизнь украинцев.

В результате реформы 1861 года, проведенной в интересах помещиков, экономическое положение основной массы крестьянства значительно ухудшилось. Вот почему с 1970-х годов в Украине усиливается антисеморское крестьянское движение. В конце девятнадцатого века он еще больше увеличился: по неполным данным, только за период 1890-1900 годов произошло более 150 беспорядков крестьян.

Чрезвычайно сложными были условия жизни и труда рабочих, которые поощряли их бороться за свои права.

Только в 1880-х и 1894-х годах в Украине произошло 97 забастовок и 13 беспорядков. Общее количество участников забастовок составило 29 000 человек.

Таким образом, несмотря на царскую колониальную политику, Украина занимала одно из первых мест в Российской империи по экономическому развитию. Однако его экономика была в значительной степени односторонней. В заключение. XIX век На Украину приходилось 70% всей продукции добывающей промышленности, тогда как на ее переработку приходилось только 15%. Особенностью экономического развития Украины было то, что накопление капитала происходило не в руках украинцев, а в руках их иностранных национальных эксплуататоров.

Ключевые слова: Российская империя, освобождение крестьян, украинские губернии, крестьянская реформа, крепостничество.

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**GENESIS OF WOMEN MOVEMENT IN THE CONTEXT
OF GENDER RELATIONS IN UKRAINE
(second half of XIX - beginning of XX century)**

Mykhaylyuk V.P., Mykhaylyuk O.I.

**ГЕНЕЗА ЖІНОЧОГО РУХУ В КОНТЕКСТІ
ГЕНДЕРНИХ ВІДНОСИН В УКРАЇНІ
(друга половина XIX – початок XX ст.)**

Михайлюк В.П., Михайлюк О.І.

The purpose and tasks of the article are to summarize and analyze the organizational forms of the genesis of the women's movement in Ukraine in the second half of the nineteenth - early twentieth centuries; highlighting their specificity in the time intervals proposed by the authors in each of the three stages; opening on the basis of the first organized women's groups and societies in the Dnieper Ukraine and the Western Ukrainian lands of joint orientation of actions in realization of tasks of achievement of gender equality.

On the first - emancipatory - there is a process of origin and formation of women's movement at first thanks activities of S. Kovalevska, E. Miloradovych, H. Alchevska and other prominent Ukrainian women. The activity is carried out by charity, dissemination of education, etc. From the mid-80's the first organized circles were formed O. Dobrogaeva and N. Kobrynska. At the same time, close ties are being established with leading Ukrainian figures I. Franko, M. Drahomanov and Ukrainian-language publishing activity is being established.

The second stage is characterized by the formation of women's societies of moral and ethical and socio-political direction. Their number is growing significantly. The politicization of the women's movement is becoming widespread. Expanding political slogans in his activities. At the First All-Russian Congress, two women's currents are being formed movement: liberal-democratic and social-democratic.

The third is characterized by some weakening of women's societies due to the reaction in society, the final separation of the two currents in the women's movement and the outflow of some activists to the ranks of political parties.

The revival of the movement began in 1909 with the formation of a new type of organization - independent organizations feminist orientation - Women's Clubs. Their activities and representation in the All-Russian and international forums. Women received partial rights in the socio-political and social spheres.

It is emphasized that legal changes, even inconsistent ones, in the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires have had a definite impact on the process of Ukrainian women's rethinking their position and the spread of emancipatory ideas; more women's access to education; familiarizing them

with civilizational approaches to the women's issue of domestic and foreign figures. It is proved that the development of organizational forms of the women's movement and its politicization were influenced by factors of general politicization and the development of the general social-political movement.

Key words: *Genesis of the women's movement, Dnieper Ukraine and Western Ukrainian lands, gender equality, women's issues, emancipation ideas, organizational forms of women's movement.*

Formulation of the problem in general. Gender relations have always been and are an integral part of the existence and development of every human society.

In this sense, the period of Ukrainian history, such as the second half of the 19th - beginning of the 20th centuries, deserves attention, when the struggle of women of Ukraine for the acquisition and expansion of their social, political, economic, etc. rights became an integral part of their lives in the broad sense. It is important to emphasize that the events in the Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires of these years and the freedom of the Ukrainian people contributed to the birth and development of the women's movement, whose content was multi-vector, but objectively subordinated, in general, to the idea of developing the national liberation movement of Ukrainians and their unity. . Ukrainians living in Austria-Hungary were involved in the reforms that resulted from the revolutionary events of the late 1940s and 1950s, and the population of the Dnieper Ukraine of the Russian Empire became participants and subjects of political, military, social and other reforms.

It should be noted that the reforms of the period defined for the study, the features of the development of organizational forms of the women's movement are in

some way consonant with the modern period - from the independence of Ukraine to the present.

Therefore, according to the authors, the topic of the development of this article, which is devoted to generalizing the experience of the past, has scientific relevance and theoretical and practical significance.

Analysis of studies and publications of precursors. In the opinion of the authors of the article, a brief overview of the contemporary historiography of the problem can be classified, in particular, by such basic substantive features. The first is a study of the historical profile. Among them are the fundamental study of the problem in the monograph by L. Smolyar, "Women's Studies in Ukraine: A Woman in History and Today", published at the end of the XX century in Odessa [1]. Noteworthy also the achievements of teachers of the Department of History and Archeology (in the past - the Department of World History) of the East Ukrainian National University named after Vladimir Dahl - "History of Gender Relations in Ukraine (IX - XXI centuries)", which was recommended by the Ministry of Education of Ukraine for higher education students [2]. Its authors, including those who defended their dissertations for a Candidate of Science degree in History of Gender Relations in Ukraine, have produced meaningful material on women's issues and the substance of solving problems within a certain period.

The authors include the scientific achievements of the historical-political science and philosophical plan [3, 4]. In their essence, they allow us to compare the historical background of the past and present state of formation of the philosophical and political doctrines of gender relations in the Ukrainian state and to draw appropriate conclusions.

The third group is made up of lawyers. In recent years, lawyers have made a very important breakthrough in the study of the topic chosen by the authors from a legal point of view. In our view, two dissertations defended in the eastern and western regions of the united Ukraine are illustrative in this respect: Nestertseva-Sobakar OV Legal status of women on Ukrainian lands in the Russian Empire in the second half of XIX - beginning of XX m. (Kharkov, 2009) [5] and Andrusyak IP. The idea of gender equality in Ukrainian legal thought in the second half of the nineteenth century (Lviv, 2017) [6].

The authors relied on the scientific achievements of their predecessors, and based on the analysis and generalization of source material, determined the purpose of their own article: to analyze the organizational forms of the genesis of the women's movement in Ukraine in the second half of the nineteenth - early twentieth century. The tasks were to highlight their specifics and to clarify the time intervals in each of the stages, to present facts and focus on joint actions of Ukrainian women's societies and organizations in Western Ukrainian lands and in the Dnieper Ukraine in the fight for gender equality.

Presentation of the main material as a result of the authors' own research. The second half of the 19th century was marked for Ukraine by the emergence and activity of an organized women's movement to embody and spread emancipatory ideas in Ukrainian society. Among the important prerequisites of this process are the following authors.

First, legal changes, whether consecutive or half-hearted, or even partial and inconsistent, carried out in the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires provided a significant impetus for change in the position of women in society, a rethinking of their role, broadly, in the family and to society. At the same time, the process of women's awareness of their condition was very slow.

Second, three factors have significantly influenced the re-awareness of Ukrainian women of their role in the family and society.

The first concerned the possibility of women's greater access to education, partly and higher, especially at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The second, closely related to the first, was about acquaintance and perception of the ideas of feminism in Western Europe by Ukrainian women (J.-S. Mila, A. Bebel, K. Tsetkin).

The third was related to the position of leading representatives of the male scientific and creative elite. On the one hand, they supported the desire of women to change their social and social status as a phenomenon that is important for the national civilizational and cultural life (M. Drahomanov, M. Pawlik, M. Grushevsky and others). On the other hand, the impulse and at the same time some relativity regarding the popularization of women's works and ideas were the thoughts of V. Stefanyk, S. Efremov and some other figures, which reflected their insufficient overcoming of patriarchal consciousness in Ukrainian society.

Third, the rise of the socio-political movement in the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires had a positive effect on the direction of the women's movement and, in particular, on its organizational design, not only so much feminist but also nation-state nationwide as democratic.

The authors note that the understanding of the development of the women's movement during the period under study has a number of rather controversial or not fully investigated issues, so the concepts of periodization and factual material provided by well-known researchers of the problem of L. Smolyar and O. Malanchuk are quite positive. Fisherman in the collective monograph "Women's Studies in Ukraine: A Woman in History and Today" [7, p.76-129].

At the same time, some of their own opinions are expressed during the discussion.

Given the predecessors of the periodization of the emergence and development of women's movement in the time studied by the authors, an attempt is made to make some clarifications on the problem.

First of all, this concerns the first stage, which the authors also call the first stage of the emergence of the women's movement in Ukraine (according to L.

Smolyar's periodization - the beginning of the 1950s - the 1990s - emancipation). But in their opinion, it is divided into two time segments.

The first has time constraints - the 50s - early 80s of the XIX century. It was during these years that the Russian and Ukrainian leading intellectuals were already well aware of the feminist movements in the West. Among them are physiologist I. Sechenov, historian T. Granovsky, surgeon N. Pirogov and a number of literary critics. They first voiced the problem of women's equality in socio-political and social life in the Russian Empire [8]. Secondly, Ukrainian public figures T. Shevchenko, M. Kostomarov, P. Kulish, M. Dragomanov, I. Franko, M. Pavlik, V. Barvinsky, O. Ogonovsky and others who supported the idea in general appeared at the origins of the women's movement. feminism and contributed to the development of Ukrainian women's writing and the formation of the women's movement.

During this period of time, the women's movement had almost no organizational design, but on the plane of women's self-awareness such figures of famous and widely recognized Ukrainian women as S. Kovalevska, E. Miloradovich, H. Alchevskaya, S. Bogomolets and others appeared. By status, they mostly belonged to wealthy circles, but professed populism. In general, however, their position in the women's movement is described by the authors as being almost the same, however, and in this the authors adhere to the character of L. Smolyar, they professed "... sacrifice, tolerance, democracy, the desire to concede their own interests for the sake of public" [9, p.91,92], and their practical activities were related to charity, education of women, acquisition of the latest professional knowledge.

It should be noted that one of the important issues for women's self-realization was the resolution of the right to study at universities. These efforts were facilitated by fairly organizationally designed and numerous rudiments of women's organizations - the Society for Assistance to Higher Women's Education and the Society of Working Women. Thanks to their activities, the Higher Women's Courses were opened in Kiev (1878 - 1886) and Kharkiv (1880). Among the first women in Ukraine to receive higher education diplomas were Sofia Kovalevskaya (the first woman to be awarded an honorary member of the Paris Academy), Alexander Efimenko, Sofia Okunevskaya, Sofia Rusova, Sofia Shcherbin and others [10, p.139].

In characterizing the first period, the authors point out that, as a whole, it is not necessary to emphasize and determine the final organizational forms of their activity, but singularly charity, charity of women as an incentive for future organizational unification.

The second time period in the studied stage dates back to the mid-80s - 90s of the XIX century. Its substantive characterization is indicated first of all by rather stable organizational forms. One of the first organizationally designed can be called a women's circle, which was based on the Higher Women's Courses (Bestuzhevsky) in Kiev at the initiative of

Elena Dobrogaeva in 1883 - 1884. Among the participants of the women's group were students: P. Pashkevich, O. Maksimovich, sisters Volkovykh, S. Bogdanovich, T. Sapezhko, Negovskaya, Strizhevskaya and others. The ideological and spiritual orientation of the circle was shaped by the views of M. Drahomanov and direct educational and private lectures by V. Antonovich.

Among the important issues of their activity, the circles considered raising the education of the people and conducting cultural and educational work among the Ukrainians, as well as teaching and scientific work on Ukrainian history, literature and ethnography.

Strengthening of organizational design was also occurring in Western Ukrainian lands. In this regard, we note the creation in 1884 of the "Society of Russian Women in Stanislav." The initiator of this event was Natalia Kobrinskaya. The significance of this society is not surpassed in terms of its design. Between October and December 1884, three significant events took place in succession: the constituent assembly of the Society was held, its charter was approved, and the first general meeting was held [11, p.53-57].

It is important to note at least three other facts. First, in 1885 O. Dobrogaeva, together with K. Melnyk, came to Galicia and established close ties with progressive women, and met with I. Frank, M. Pavlik, V. Kotsovsky, and began correspondence with M. Drahomanov. , agreed on the possibility of publishing Ukrainian-language periodicals in Lviv. Secondly, in the 1990s, new women's organizations were created in Lviv, Kolomyia, Bukovina, etc. The emergence of women's magazines spread through various parts of Ukraine. Third, the relationship between Ukrainian women of the Dnieper Ukraine and women in Western Ukraine was essentially aimed not only at developing the women's movement, but also as a leading idea of a single national liberation and rebirth.

The second stage of the women's movement dates from the 90s of the 19th century - 1908. It was at this stage in the 1990s that, under the influence of the expansion of the charitable and professional activity of Ukrainian women, the growth of their educational level and the attraction to advanced general civilizational ideas, the need for expanding the tasks and ways of improving the organizational construction of women's societies and organizations was gradually formed. between them, coordinating joint actions.

Therefore, at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, women's societies were formed of a new type: moral, ethical, and socio-political. That is, gradually changing the course of the women's movement, "... the main thing was to fight for the civil and political rights of women, to achieve the actual participation of women in public life" [12, p.97, 98].

In the direction of moral and ethical direction, new organizations are beginning to form - the Society for the Care of Young Girls (since 1901). They soon form in the major cities of Dnieper Ukraine and grow in numbers. Thus, in 1903, the Odessa Society for the

custody of young girls numbered 110 participants [13, p.159].

The moral and ethical direction is particularly characteristic in terms of organizational construction and effectiveness in combating trafficking in women and prostitution in the Odessa Society for the Defense of Women (1904 - 1917) and the Kiev Society for the Protection of Women (1905 - 1917). It should be emphasized that these societies have fruitfully planned the charity's income for the activity, also focused on their own strengths, and have implemented this principle in the minds of their educators. Due to the presence in the structures of societies an extensive network of philanthropic departments, law offices, vocational courses of tailoring and sewing, rewriting and printing courses and other, thousands of Ukrainian women by applying to these societies for help, received the protection of their rights as a female individual and vocational training and training. All this contributed to the involvement of women in public life.

In the early twentieth century, women's organizations of socio-political orientation emerged. This was a significant echo of the new phenomenon in the women's movement - its politicization. The All-Russian Union for the Equality of Women (SRZ), formed in February 1905, became a political organization. It also includes 9 branches from Ukraine. Throughout their existence, Ukrainian offices have repeatedly raised questions with Zemsky institutions about granting women's rights to participate actively and passively in elections; at the WPC congresses - about autonomy and then the federation for Ukrainians; Olena Pchilka's petition for the introduction of the mother tongue in schools and universities, etc. [14, p. 177, 182, 183].

It should be emphasized that during this period, women's organizations in practice created a model of women's initiative behavior as an independent subject in different social spheres, and the concept of women's self-protection was established in the women's movement of Ukraine.

In 1908, representatives of the Ukrainian women's movement took an active part in the First All-Russian Women's Congress, which attempted to create an All-Russian Women's Union and identified the strategic line of the women's movement as the struggle for political and civil rights [15, p.100, 101].

However, in the face of the defeat of the revolution and the reaction, as well as the politicization of the women's movement and internal contradictions, the congress objectively failed to unite the congress.

The authors respect the scientific achievements of the predecessors in determining the next two stages [16, p. 101, 103], but the solution of the goals and tasks defined for the article, allows the authors to generalize and merge them into a single third stage and determine its temporal space from 1908 to 1917.

In fact, at the First All-Russian Women's Congress, the differences between the two movements in the women's movement were finalized: the liberal-

democratic and the social-democratic. After the congress, these currents were finally demarcated. This was one of the reasons for the weakening of the women's movement. The second reason for the weakening is the politicization of society as a whole and its differentiation, the emergence of new political parties of social-democratic orientation, which, precisely, and women, began to seek the human potential for replenishing their ranks. The third reason is based on some confusion among women's movement members as a result of the defeat of the revolution and the widespread reaction that has objectively led to the weakening of societies and women's organizations in quantitative terms.

The rebirth of the women's movement has been around since 1909. A new type of organization is being set up in Ukraine - Women's Clubs, which have been regarded as independent feminist organizations. The largest of these were the Kiev Women's Club and the Kiev Women's General Assembly. Representatives of women's organizations in the Dnieper region participated in the work of the All-Russian Congress on Combating Trafficking in Women (1910), the All-Russian Congress on the Education of Women (1913), International Congresses, World Exhibitions [17, p. 141, 142]. It promoted the involvement of women of Ukraine in civilization processes, broadened the range of ideas and concepts about the mechanisms and methods of fighting for women's rights.

The outbreak of World War I made adjustments to the women's movement in Ukraine. First, the activities of women's societies and organizations began to focus on charity, voluntary assistance to refugees and sanitation. Secondly, the war divided Ukrainians between two hostile powers and they had to fight against each other. This also applies to womanhood. Therefore, it is not worth mentioning about the constant links between women's organizations in Western Ukrainian lands and Dnieper Ukraine.

Conclusions and suggestions on prospects for further study of identified and related issues. The article discusses the preconditions and genesis of the women's movement in Ukraine. There are three stages.

The first - emancipation - is the process of origin and formation of the women's movement, first thanks to the activities of S. Kovalevskaya, E. Miloradovich, H. Alchevskaya and other prominent Ukrainian women. The activities are carried out through charity, educational dissemination and more. From the mid-80's the first organizationally decorated circles of O.Dobrogayeva and N.Kobrynska were formed. At the same time, close contacts are being established with the leading Ukrainian figures I. Franko, M. Drahomanov and the publishing activity of the Ukrainian-speaking community is being established.

The second stage is characterized by the formation of women's societies of moral, ethical and socio-political orientation. Their numbers are growing significantly. The politicization of the women's movement is becoming widespread. Political slogans in

his activities are expanding. There are two trends in the women's movement at the First All-Russian Congress: the Liberal-Democratic and the Social-Democratic.

The third is characterized by some weakening of the activities of women's societies due to the reaction in the society, the final delineation of the two trends in the women's movement and the outflow of some figures to the ranks of political parties.

The Renaissance movement began in 1909 with the formation of organizations of a new type - independent organizations of feminist orientation - Women's Clubs. Their activities and representation in All-Russian and international forums are expanding. Women were granted partial rights in the socio-political and social spheres

The first - emancipatory - is the process of birth and formation of the women's movement, initially due to the activities of S. Kovalevskaya, E. Miloradovich, H. Alchevskaya and other prominent Ukrainian women. Activities are carried out through charity, education, etc. From the mid-80's the first organized circles of O. Dobrogaeva and N. Kobrynska were formed. At the same time, close ties were established with leading Ukrainian figures I. Franko and M. Drahomanov, and Ukrainian-language publishing activities were established.

The second stage is characterized by the formation of women's societies of moral and ethical and socio-political orientation. Their number is growing significantly. The politicization of the women's movement is becoming widespread.

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The All-Russian Congress is formalizing two currents in the women's movement: the Liberal Democrats and the Social Democrats.

The third is characterized by some weakening of women's societies due to the reaction in society, the final separation of the two currents in the women's movement and the outflow of some activists to the ranks of political parties.

The revival of the movement began in 1909 with the formation

organizations of a new type - independent organizations of feminist orientation - Women's Clubs. Their activity and representation in

All-Russian and international forums. Women received partial rights in the socio-political and social spheres.

The outbreak of World War I had a negative impact on the activities of women's organizations: only charities, refugee assistance and sanitation remained. Moreover, the Ukrainians were divided between hostile states and women. According to the authors, further research should be directed towards broadening the perceptions of members of individual societies, circles and organizations, as many names remain unknown or almost unknown. It will also be useful to analyze and summarize in a comparative terms the genesis of the women's movement in Ukraine and other countries,

using historical, historiographical, political and sociological methods.

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Михайлюк В.П., Михайлюк О.І. Генеза жіночого руху в контексті гендерних відносин в Україні (друга половина XIX – початок XX ст.)

Мета та завдання статті - узагальнити та проаналізувати організаційні форми генезису жіночого руху в Україні другої половини XIX - початку XX століття; підкреслюючи їх специфіку у часових інтервалах, запропонованих авторами на кожному з трьох етапів; відкриття

на базі перших організованих жіночих колективів та товариств Наддніпрянської України та західноукраїнських земель спільної спрямованості дій з реалізації завдань досягнення гендерної рівності.

На першому - емансипативному - йде процес зародження та становлення жіночого руху спочатку завдяки діяльності С. Ковалевської, Є. Мілорадовича, Х. Алчевської та інших видатних українських жінок. Діяльність здійснюється благодійністю, поширенням освіти тощо. З середини 80-х рр. Були сформовані перші організовані групи О. Доброгаєвої та Н. Кобринської. Водночас налагоджуються тісні зв'язки з провідними українськими діячами І. Франком, М. Драгомановим та налагоджується україномовна видавнича діяльність.

Другий етап характеризується формуванням жіночих товариств морально-етичного та суспільно-політичного спрямування. Їх кількість значно зростає. Політизація жіночого руху набуває широкого поширення. Розгортаючи політичні гасла у своїй діяльності. На Першому Всеросійському конгресі формуються дві жіночі течії: ліберально-демократична та соціал-демократична.

Третя характеризується деяким ослабленням жіночих суспільств через реакцію в суспільстві, остаточне відокремлення двох течій у жіночому русі та вплив деяких активістів до лав політичних партій.

Відродження руху почалося в 1909 р. З утворенням нового типу організації - незалежних організацій феміністичної спрямованості - Жіночих клубів. Їх діяльність та представництво на Всеросійських та міжнародних форумах. Жінки отримали часткові права у соціально-політичній та соціальній сферах.

Підкреслюється, що юридичні зміни, навіть суперечливі, у Російській та Австро-Угорській імперіях мали певний вплив на процес переосмислення своїх українських жінок та поширення емансипаторських ідей; більший доступ жінок до освіти; ознайомлення їх з цивілізаційними підходами до жіночого питання вітчизняних та зарубіжних діячів. Доведено, що на розвиток організаційних форм жіночого руху та його політизацію впливали фактори загальної політизованості та розвиток загального суспільно-політичного руху.

Ключові слова: генеза жіночого руху, Наддніпрянська Україна та західноукраїнські землі, гендерна рівність, жіночі питання, емансипаційні ідеї, організаційні форми жіночого руху.

Михайлюк В.П., Михайлюк О.І. Генезис женского движения в контексте гендерных отношений в Украине (вторая половина XIX - начало XX в.)

Целью и задачами статьи являются обобщение и анализ организационных форм генезиса женского движения в Украине во второй половине XIX - начале XX века; выделение их специфики во временных интервалах, предложенных авторами на каждом из трех этапов; открытие на базе первых организованных женских групп и обществ на Приднепровской и западноукраинской землях совместной направленности действий в реализации задач по достижению гендерного равенства.

На первом - эмансипативном - идет процесс зарождения и формирования женского движения, во-первых, благодаря деятельности С. Ковалевской, Е. Милорадовича, Г. Алчевской и других выдающихся украинских женщин. Деятельность осуществляется благотворительностью, распространением образования и т. Д. С середины 80-х годов были сформированы первые организованные кружки О. Доброгаева и Н. Кобринская. В то же время налаживаются тесные связи с ведущими украинскими де-

ятелями И. Франко, М. Драгомановым и налаживается украиноязычная издательская деятельность.

Второй этап характеризуется формированием женских обществ нравственно-этического и социально-политического направления. Их количество значительно растет. Политизация женского движения становится широко распространенной. Расширение политических лозунгов в его деятельности. На Первом Всероссийском съезде формируются два женских течения: либерально-демократическое и социал-демократическое.

Третий характерен некоторым ослаблением женских обществ из-за реакции в обществе, окончательного разделения двух течений в женском движении и оттока некоторых активистов в ряды политических партий.

Возрождение движения началось в 1909 году с образования нового типа организации - независимых организаций феминистской ориентации - женских клубов. Их деятельность и представительство на всероссийских и международных форумах. Женщины получили частичные права в социально-политической и социальной сферах.

Подчеркивается, что правовые изменения, даже противоречивые, в Российской и Австро-Венгерской империях оказали определенное влияние на процесс переосмысления своей позиции украинскими женщинами и ра-

спространение идей эмансипации; расширение доступа женщин к образованию; ознакомление их с цивилизационными подходами к проблеме женщин отечественных и зарубежных деятелей. Доказано, что на развитие организационных форм женского движения и его политизацию оказали влияние факторы общей политизации и развития общего общественно-политического движения.

Ключевые слова: генезис женского движения, Надднепрянская Украины и западноукраинских землях, гендерное равенство, женские вопросы, эмансипационные идеи, организационные формы женского движения.

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ECOLOGICAL ACTIVITY ON A RAILWAY TRANSPORT: HER ESSENCE, ACTUAL TASKS, PLACE AND ROLE IN THE NATIONAL ECOLOGICAL POLICY OF UKRAINE

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ЕКОЛОГІЧНА ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ НА ЗАЛІЗНИЧНОМУ ТРАНСПОРТІ: ЇЇ СУТЬ, АКТУАЛЬНІ ЗАВДАННЯ, МІСЦЕ І РОЛЬ В ЗАГАЛЬНОДЕРЖАВНІЙ ЕКОЛОГІЧНІЙ ПОЛІТИЦІ УКРАЇНИ

Пилипчук О.Я.

In the article ecological activity is examined on a railway transport. Enterprises of railway transport are the substantial sources of contamination of environment. The problem of decline of their noci-influence on an environment must decide by means of approach of the systems, including еколого-економический. Researches of the еколого-економических systems on a railway transport began to be conducted only lately. System researches of the informative providing of the еколого-економического monitoring are practically absent on a railway transport. It is necessary to confess that nature protection work on the railways of Ukraine presently remains the the least automated type of activity. Most operations of treatment of еколого-економической information come true by hand, and introduction of the specialized computer programs carries episodic character.

The aim of ecological activity on a railway transport is development of scientific and practical bases of analysis of the systems of еколого-економического risk of enterprises of railway transport and creation of the informative providing of management nature protection activity for railways.

On the one hand, such a structure should bring together relevant environmentalists, and on the other hand, cover the main management of divisions and enterprises of the industry by adding to their job descriptions of additional functions, duties, rights and responsibilities for the practical implementation of environmental activities. This structure is called the "Department of Traffic Safety and Ecology".

Currently, quite effective methods of wastewater treatment have been developed, as well as exhaust gases from diesel engines and various types of boilers. After appropriate research and development, they can be used in transport. That is why the primary task of environmental protection is wide implementation on the network railways of special treatment facilities and structures that will minimize environmental pollution. For example, the development of structures for the purification of exhaust gases from locomotives and boilers should begin today.

Keywords: railway transport, ecology, nature protection activity, environment, ecological policy.

Introduction. The Law of Ukraine "On Environmental Protection" (dated June 25, 1991, as amended on March 6, 1996) provides for the activation of activities of various sectors of the economy in the context of the conservation of natural resources and habitat for the benefit of present and future generations. The purpose of this law is to regulate relations in the field of protection, use and reproduction of natural resources, ensuring environmental safety, preventing and eliminating the negative impact of economic and other activities on the environment, conservation of natural resources, genetic resources of wildlife, landscapes and other natural complexes, unique territories and natural objects.

It should be noted at the outset that the railway transport of Ukraine in ecological terms is one of the relatively safe sectors of the national economy. For example, the share of environmental pollution by all modes of transport in the former USSR was 26.3%. At the same time, air pollution was distributed among the different modes of transport as follows: automobile - 7.0%, marine and river - 4.1%, railway - 9.2% [1]. Thus, the share of railways in environmental pollution is about 3.0% of the total pollution by transport and industry (combined), which is not so much considering the large stockpiles, the high volumes of transportation and the large number of workers in the rail industry. Today, the railway network pays a lot of attention to train safety, environmental work and epidemiological surveillance. However, the environmental status of many industrial centers of Ukraine has reached such a critical level when it becomes appropriate to put the words of the ancient Roman philosopher Seneca: "People do not die, they kill themselves." 4 million children and 18 million adults die annually as a result of water pollution in the world [2]. That is why the

problem of Ukraine's exit from the ecological crisis is a state priority [3].

Today, most of the major rail transport funds are morally outdated and subject to great physical wear and tear. As a result, one of the most important tasks of the industry is the timely replacement of these funds in the near future. It is not right to change outdated machinery, but it is advisable to introduce a new generation of technical means and technologies immediately. Therefore, the purpose of our article is to attract the attention of leading executives and specialists of the industry to the actual and perspective tasks of ecology. To transform rail transport into one of the most environmentally friendly sectors of the economy in the first decades of the 21st century, to contribute to the rehabilitation of the nature of the areas adjacent to the railways.

The term "ecology" was first introduced to scientific circulation in 1866 by E. Heckel, a supporter and follower of Charles Darwin. He defined ecology as a science that understands the relationship between organisms and the environment. Until the mid-70s of the twentieth century, it was known only to biologists (in various variants - plant ecology, animal ecology, ecology of groups, etc.). At the Stockholm International Congress on Environmental Issues in 1970, the words "ecology" and "ecologist" acquired new qualities. Today, we can say that the content and nature of ecology have changed dramatically over the last few years. It now exists in two positions: as a biological science in the traditional trade, and as a complex integral direction that integrates knowledge from the natural, social, engineering and other sciences. All of them are intended to ensure the optimal relationship of human activity with the environment [4].

From the standpoint of the teaching of Acad. VI Vernadsky about the biosphere and noosphere, ecology can be defined as the science of optimal control of the transition of the biosphere to the noosphere. Today in most developed countries and in Ukraine the basics of ecology in universities, schools and colleges are widely studied [5]. And scientific research in this area of knowledge occupies one of the priority places.

First of all ecology interacts (uses theoretical and methodological apparatus) with many other sciences and is divided into two main parts: general - scientific and methodological base and specialized - which contains the main functional and purpose areas of ecological activity, which are also divided into narrower ones. These areas of environmental activity, on the one hand, extend to many objects of different scales and sectors of the economy, and on the other hand - contain general scientific and methodological sections of ecology. Both areas use biological, chemical, physical, technical and technogenic (engineering) means of protection, control and environmental impact, and also pursue certain goals. Objects of different scale (and systems of different nature) may include the atmosphere, hydrosphere, flora, fauna and subsoil of the

earth; manufacturing enterprises, jobs, various representatives of wildlife.

As a result of the spread of various types of environmental activities to the railway infrastructure, independent branches, areas and sections of ecology are formed (which usually cover specific issues of theory, methodology and practice). However, the final tree of environmental science requires a clear definition of the boundaries and content of each of its components, which requires more serious efforts by many scientists. The main thing is that not only today, but also in the future, ecology will expand more and more widely into different spheres of human activity and play a greater role in its life.

A systematic approach to solving the environmental problems of rail transport is extremely important. Specificity of the railway transport and especially a number of its environmental tasks make it expedient to allocate the ecology of railway transport in an independent direction. It should distinguish the following main sections: proper environmental activities; the industry's production and enforcement system, which includes objects and processes that pollute the environment and which will be subject to environmental protection and rehabilitation. This will allow to evaluate the efficiency of the industry, optimize environmental performance. Let us dwell on some of the most important areas of railway ecology.

Environmental management in the field of railway production and enforcement system in Ukraine is currently carried out by the medical and sanitary service and is reduced to a limited range of tasks that are solved, except for sanitary and epidemiological control on the railway infrastructure. For the intensification and more purposeful nature of environmental activities, it is likely to be correct to create in the long term an independent environmental service (or to transform the health service into a health care environment), which will include functions of sanitation, hygiene and epidemiological surveillance, what are the ecological surveillance [2]. That is why the question of creating a special organizational structure for environmental management at the scale of Ukrzaliznytsia (railways and branches) has been raised. On the one hand, such a structure should bring together profile environmentalists and, on the other hand, cover the core management of the departments and enterprises of the industry by adding to their job descriptions additional functions, responsibilities, rights and responsibilities for the practical implementation of environmental activities. This is the structure of the Department of Traffic Safety and Ecology.

The problem of the organization of protection and rehabilitation of the environment by rail is extremely important. Despite the relative well-being of rail transport in the field of ecology, it should be noted that it sometimes causes serious damage to the environment. Passenger cars annually emit more than 200 cubic meters per kilometer. m of sewage containing faeces containing pathogenic bacteria and up to 12 tons of

garbage; flue gas contains more than 80 components, most of which are toxic; total water consumption by rail facilities is over 1 billion cubic meters, and wastewater discharge is 0.6 million cubic meters, of which 0.2 billion cubic meters. cube. m - in surface reservoirs (most industrial and municipal facilities in the industry do not have treatment facilities); noise and vibration from moving trains are adversely affected. This avalanche of pollution is not very noticeable against the backdrop of large industrial centers and cities, but it should be taken into account in clean and protected areas where railways pass. That is why the priority is to create a system of quality control of the environment, ie environmental monitoring, which means: "... observation of the state of the environment and warnings about critical situations that are created, harmful and dangerous to the health of people and others alive organisms »[6].

Currently, sufficiently effective methods of wastewater treatment, as well as the exhaust gases of diesel engines and various types of boiler rooms, have been developed. After proper research and development, they can be used in transport. That is why the priority of environmental protection is the widespread introduction of special treatment facilities and structures on the rail network, which will minimize pollution of the environment. For example, it is already necessary to begin designing structures for the cleaning of flue gas from diesel locomotives and boiler rooms.

Today, many land adjacent to the railways have reached such levels of pollution that it is necessary to take additional measures not only to protect them, but also to improve and restore the natural environment.

Another important objective is the environmental comfort of passengers in both conventional and corporate high-speed trains, which covers a wide range of issues, ranging from passenger safety to various types of services and amenities.

The idea of a systematic approach to the development of environmental activities in rail transport is:

- in ensuring the completeness of the identification and depth of analysis of all components of environmental activities, as well as in establishing functional interdependencies between them in the process of joint practical implementation;

- in timely identification of all informative main components of the production and execution system and their division by the degree of impact on the environment, as well as in the analysis of tasks and opportunities in nature protection and rehabilitation;

- in establishing information links of functional relationships between all areas of environmental activity and the relevant components of the production system;

- in building a tree of goals (performance criteria with their quantitative characteristics and objective optimization functions) and coordinating environmental activities to successfully achieve these goals.

The further task of the research is a deeper detailing and analysis of the dependencies between all

components of the system model for the formation of rational (optimized) environmental policy, as well as program-targeted management of its implementation, taking into account the parallel innovative progress of the industry and socio-economic development of its infrastructure.

The main content of environmental activities in rail transport is:

- environmental management of railway transport;
- development of scientific and methodological bases of environmental protection;

- prevention and elimination of environmental disasters;

- organization of environmental protection and rehabilitation by rail.

- each of these divisions is divided into several separate directions. List the last in the order of citation.

1. The environmental management of rail transport covers 5 areas:

- a) regulatory framework of environmental activity in rail transport;

- b) organizational structure of environmental management at the scale of Ukrzaliznytsya and six Ukrainian railways;

- c) system of planning, coordination and promotion of environmental protection works;

- d) financing and logistical support of works;

- e) management of interbranch and interstate environmental activities.

2. Development of scientific and methodological bases for environmental protection includes:

- a) systematic approach to solving environmental problems of railway transport and its infrastructure;

- b) justification of new environmental norms and standards for railway transport;

- c) development of mathematical apparatus (models) for risk assessment of environmental disasters;

- d) development of economic models and methods for assessing the effectiveness of environmental measures;

- e) applied scientific research on technical measures and technologies for environmental protection.

3. The prevention and elimination of environmental disasters shall include:

- a) improvement of the system of control over promotion, conservation, etc. environmentally dangerous goods;

- b) optimization of the technology of work on the prevention of environmental catastrophes in the railway transport;

- c) optimization of the technology of work on the prevention of environmental catastrophes by rail;

- d) optimization of logistical support of the system of elimination of ecological catastrophes.

4. The organization of environmental protection and rehabilitation by rail shall include:

- a) environmental assessment and certification of enterprises and territorial zones of railway transport;

- b) organization of environmental monitoring on railway transport and its infrastructure;

c) development and implementation of environmentally friendly rail transport facilities and technologies;

d) development of environmental expertise of projects;

e) development and implementation of measures for environmental protection and rehabilitation.

5. Interaction of railway with adjacent branches of regions includes:

a) cooperation of resources and means for elimination of ecological disasters in regions (districts);

b) cooperation of resources and facilities for regional environmental monitoring;

c) joint planning and implementation of regional environmental measures.

6. Training and use of ecology personnel in transport:

a) training of professional ecologists for railway transport at the universities of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine;

b) enhancement of ecological preparation of students from all specialties in all universities of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine;

c) organization of environmental training for scientific and technical workers and managers of railway enterprises;

d) the creation of full-time positions and additional functions of environmental managers.

Particularly noteworthy is the increasing contribution of the industry to improving the nature of Ukraine:

1. Transportation, storage, loading and unloading of cargoes (including environmentally dangerous).

2. Passenger transportation (safety, environmental comfort, etc.).

3. Train movement, track economy, rolling stock, electricity supply.

4. Railway undertakings and labor protection.

5. Residential settlements (zones, quarters) and railway infrastructure.

6. Other sectors of the economy adjacent to the railways.

7. Environment of railways.

8. Life, health and longevity of people, prevention of infant mortality.

9. Environmental costs of environmental measures.

10. Economic losses from environmental pollution.

11. The price of pollution (or cleanliness and health) of the environment.

12. The likelihood of environmental disasters.

13. Favorable working, living and resting conditions.

All listed criteria for increasing the contribution of railway transport to the improvement of nature of Ukraine form the general goals or criteria:

A. Saving people's lives and health, increasing their life expectancy.

B. Improving the cleanliness of the environment by rail.

B. Increasing the socio-economic efficiency of environmental activities.

Taken together, this contributes to the development and implementation of a comprehensive target program for the development of environmental performance in rail transport and environmental health.

The question of the place and role of rail transport in national environmental policy is extremely important.

Scientific research has shown not only the feasibility and importance of a comprehensive cross-sectoral solution to environmental, regional problems, but also the enormous opportunities for rail transport, which include:

- the use of technical means and the scientific and technical potential of the industry in a permanent environmental monitoring system (communication facilities, computing center for the processing and analysis of static and operational information, automated environmental control points, etc.);

- in the complex formation of environmental policy in the state together with the administration of Ukrzaliznytsia and enterprises of other branches, as well as in the rational cooperation of forces and resources (financial, transport, construction, scientific and technical, etc.) for coordination and more effective implementation of measures and protection and rehabilitation environment.

- in the cooperation of forces and resources to create a highly efficient system for prompt elimination of the consequences of environmental disasters.

Many of the listed areas of work also apply to all types of transport, which is supposed to be taken into account when coordinating these works on the basis of Ukrzaliznytsia. National activities should be developed in accordance with the strategic recommendations of the Ministry of Natural Resources of Ukraine and close contact with the units of the Ministry of Emergency Situations, especially in the context of disaster relief.

It is not only necessary to take measures to strengthen the environmental protection of rail transport, but also to provide assistance for their rehabilitation (replacement of polluted soil layers, expansion of plantings of green space, enhancement of ecological culture of the population, etc.), which is fully supported by railway companies. It is also important to improve environmental norms and standards and to bring our norms into acceptable air and water pollution to those in developed countries.

During the years of its existence, the sanitary and epidemiological service of the railways not only fulfilled its tasks, but also made a great contribution to the preservation of the health and efficiency of many people. It is the turn of the day on new environmental challenges for the industry that are no less relevant today than the fight for the hygiene and health of its workers in previous years. It is obviously time when the centers for sanitary and epidemiological surveillance are gradually transformed into railway ecological centers (Centers for ecological surveillance and management), expanding their functions, rights and conformity

accordingly, concentrating their activities in the field of industrial communal ecology. At the same time, it is necessary not only to strengthen their existing material and technical base, but also to supplement it with new personnel composition of professional ecologists, Technical means of ecological monitoring, etc. After all, one of the main tasks of the top management of the railway industry and railways is to create the well-being of the environmental conditions of work, life and recreation of their workers, which are directly responsible for all transport labor.

Thus, in the process of shaping and planning railway environmental policy, one of the most important issues is the choice of the most effective measures and the rational sequence of their implementation in terms of scarce resources and funding.

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Пилипчук О.Я. Екологічна діяльність на залізничному транспорті: її суть, актуальні завдання, місце і роль в загальнодержавній екологічній політиці України

У статті розглядається екологічна діяльність на залізничному транспорті. Підприємства залізничного транспорту є істотними джерелами забруднення довкілля. Проблема зниження їх негативного впливу на навколишнє середовище повинна вирішуватися за допомогою підходу до систем, включаючи еколого-економічний. Дослі-

дження еколого-економічних систем на залізничному транспорті почали проводити лише останнім часом. Системні дослідження інформаційного забезпечення еколого-економічного моніторингу практично відсутні на залізничному транспорті. Необхідно визнати, що природоохоронні роботи на залізницях України в даний час залишаються найменш автоматизованим видом діяльності. Більшість операцій з лікування еколого-економічної інформації здійснюються вручну, а впровадження спеціалізованих комп'ютерних програм носить епізодичний характер.

Метою екологічної діяльності на залізничному транспорті є розробка наукових та практичних основ аналізу систем еколого-економічного ризику підприємств залізничного транспорту та створення інформаційного забезпечення управління природоохоронною діяльністю залізниць.

З одного боку, така структура повинна об'єднувати відповідних природоохоронців, а з іншого - охоплювати головне управління підрозділів та підприємств галузі, додаючи до їх посадових інструкцій додаткові функції, обов'язки, права та відповідальність за практичне виконання природоохоронної діяльності. Ця структура називається «Департамент безпеки та екології руху».

В даний час розроблені досить ефективні методи очищення стічних вод, а також вихлопні гази дизельних двигунів та котлів різного типу. Після відповідних досліджень та розробок їх можна використовувати в транспорті. Ось чому першочерговим завданням охорони навколишнього середовища є широке впровадження на мережах залізниць спеціальних очисних споруд та споруд, які дозволяють мінімізувати забруднення навколишнього середовища. Наприклад, розробка конструкції для очищення відпрацьованих газів з локомотивів та котлів повинна розпочатися вже сьогодні.

Ключові слова: залізничний транспорт, екологія, природоохоронна діяльність, довкілля, екологічна політика.

Пилипчук О. Я. Экологическая деятельность на железнодорожном транспорте: ее сущность, актуальные задачи, место и роль в общегосударственной экологической политике Украины

В статье рассматривается экологическая деятельность на железнодорожном транспорте. Предприятия железнодорожного транспорта являются существенными источниками загрязнения окружающей среды. Проблема снижения их отрицательного влияния на окружающую среду должна решаться посредством сближения систем, в том числе эколого-экономического. Исследования эколого-экономических систем на железнодорожном транспорте стали проводиться только в последнее время. Системные исследования информационного обеспечения эколого-экономического мониторинга практически отсутствуют на железнодорожном транспорте. Необходимо признать, что природоохранные работы на железных дорогах Украины в настоящее время остаются наименее автоматизированным видом деятельности. Большинство операций обработки эколого-экономической информации осуществляются вручную, а внедрение специализированных компьютерных программ носит эпизодический характер.

Целью экологической деятельности на железнодорожном транспорте является разработка научных и практических основ анализа систем эколого-экономического риска предприятий железнодорожного транспорта и создание информационного обеспечения

управления природоохранной деятельностью железных дорог.

С одной стороны, такая структура должна объединять соответствующих экологов, а с другой - охватывать основное управление подразделениями и предприятиями отрасли, добавляя к своим должностным инструкциям дополнительные функции, обязанности, права и обязанности для практической реализации экологических мероприятий. Эта структура называется «Департамент безопасности дорожного движения и экологии».

В настоящее время разработаны достаточно эффективные методы очистки сточных вод, а также выхлопных газов дизельных двигателей и различных типов котлов. После соответствующих исследований и разработок их можно использовать на транспорте. Именно поэтому основной задачей охраны окружающей среды является широкое внедрение на сети железных дорог

специальных очистных сооружений и сооружений, что позволит минимизировать загрязнение окружающей среды. Например, разработка конструкций для очистки выхлопных газов локомотивов и котлов должна начаться уже сегодня.

Ключевые слова: железнодорожный транспорт, экология, природоохранная деятельность, окружающая среда, экологическая политика.

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ANTI-RENOVATIONIST OPPOSITION IN THE ORTHODOX CHURCH IN THE TERRITORY OF DONETSK REGION (1922 – 1925)

Ruban M.Y.

АНТИОБНОВЛЕНСЬКА ОПОЗИЦІЯ В ПРАВОСЛАВНІЙ ЦЕРКВІ НА ТЕРИТОРІЇ ДОНЕЦЬКОЇ ГУБЕРНІЇ (1922 – 1925)

Рубан М.Ю.

The historical circumstances of the organizational development of the Renovatoinist movement in the Orthodox Church in Donbas remain one of the less investigated pages of the Ukrainian Local Church history. Even though the problem of the Ukrainian Church history of the interwar period has been studied by many researchers, a large number of questions exist which require elaboration. Nowadays based on the earlier unknown material, it is possible to widen the general picture of the mentioned events.

That's why the main purpose of the article is to figure out a holistic picture based on a comprehensive analysis of historical sources and scientific literature, as well as the grounds of the anti-renewal opposition's struggle against the reformation and organizational development of the Renovatoinist movement in the Orthodox Church in the territory of Donetsk province in 1922 – 1925.

The originality of the article involves an attempt to research the events of Donbas Church history without traditional historical clichés, and in this case, all the trends of Ukrainian ecclesiastic life of that time should be considered. In our strong opinion ignoring the deep needs of interecclesiastic life's normalization led to a Church split. With the help of the atheistic government, the Renovation movement achieved its institutional organization. The characteristic issue of the religious life in Donbas was its relative conservatism. That was the main cause of the slow development pace of the reformationally oriented Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Synodal Church. Moreover, while speaking about the Synodal Church should be taken into consideration the demonstratively loyal attitude of the Ukrainian Renovationist clerks to the atheistic government. That's why despite the renovational hierarchs' attempts to the complete curtailment of church reforms the Synodal Church in Donetsk region could cover only a third of the Orthodox parishes on the land's territory. These circumstances testify to the lack of awareness of the scope of the problem of the national church reformation by the hierarchs of the Synodal Church. The history of the organizational development of the Donbas Renovatoinist movement proves the need for the introduction of modern methods of missionary activity against the backdrop of the implementation of a strategy of implementation of current church reforms to effectively develop local Orthodox eparchies.

In conclusion, it's worth mentioning that nowadays the research of Donbas church history of the interwar period is complicated by the difficult political situation in the region. Unfortunately, the material of the Lugansk and Donetsk archives is unavailable for Ukrainian researches, but gradual actualization of this problem makes the strong prospects for its fast research in the future.

Keywords: *Orthodoxy, Donbass, Renewal Movement, Anti-Renewal Opposition, Old Church, Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Synodal Church.*

Actuality and problem statement. The problem of regulating inter-denominational relations of key branches of Ukrainian Orthodoxy, finding new conceptual approaches to the implementation of the optimal model of church unity requires updating the historical experience of Christian dialogue in Ukraine, rethinking the social role of church institutions and ways of accomplishing their mission on the modern stage of history. Especially debatable is the topic of the canonical status of the Orthodox Church of Ukraine, which is politically significant and has paramount importance for national security. For over a century, the fight for spiritual independence has remained on the agenda of the programs of most Orthodox denominations, non-governmental organizations and political parties in Ukraine.

At the same time, ignoring of many urgent issues of moral, ethical, liturgical and disciplinary canonical character, ways of updating the methods of the ministry of the clergy, in our opinion, would not allow ensuring effective organizational development of the Church, even if the issue of its canonical status was finally settled. The emergence of the Church of the Renovation in the 1920s was a desperate attempt at reformation on the domestic religious ground, which, not without the support of Soviet special services, provoked a sharp inter-confessional confrontation and promoted the anti-religious policies of the USSR leadership. Without resorting to a critical appraisal of the socio-political

circumstances and consequences of the activities of the Renewal Movement, we consider it expedient to trace the history of the development and ideological basis of anti-renewal opposition in the example of Donetsk province and its influence on the process of institutional formation of both local dioceses and Synodal Church.

Updating the historical experience of attempts to implement church reform in the Donbas – a complex, nationally and culturally heterogeneous region of the Ukrainian-Russian border – gaining particular importance in the context of forming an effective strategy for the development of local Orthodox dioceses against the background of the risks of marginalizing intracellular religious life, the clergy and centuries-old foundations of the doctrine.

Analysis of research and publications. The history of the Update Church in Ukraine, in particular, the mechanisms of regulation of state-church relations and the provisions of religious policy in Soviet Ukraine, are presented in the works of some national historians: G. Bilan [2], O. Boyko [3], S. Zhyliuk [12], A. Zinchenko [13], O. Ignatushy [15], A. Kyrydon, V. Pashchenko [23], O. Sagan [26], V. Sylantiev [27], O. Trygub [30] and others. However, these works are characterized by attempts to establish a general picture of the development of key Orthodox denominations, while the problems of institutionalization of dioceses on the ground are not detailed.

To date, important works of Russian historiography on the emergence and development of both the updated movement and the conservative church opposition are the works of Metropolitan historians Feodosii (Protsiuk) [33] and Ioan (Snichov) [14], as well as the famous Soviet dissidents A. Krasnov-Levitin [19] and L. Regelson [24], who provide a cursory characterization of the events of interfaith confrontation in Ukraine in the 1920s – 1930s. However, the works written in Soviet times are characterized by numerous factual inaccuracies and distortions caused by the confessional outlook of the authors. Further development of studies on the history of the Church of the Renovation in the USSR is connected with the works of Russian researchers M. Shkarovskiy [42], S. Firsov [34], Archpriest V. Lavrynov [18], priest I. Soloviov [21], who involved a wide range of criminal cases of the updated clergymen, archival materials, and created profound handbooks of materials from the history of the Church of the Renovation in the USSR were created.

The first fundamental attempts to analyze the activity of the Orthodox denominations in the Donbas are the works of Lugansk religious lawyer O. Forostiuk [35]. For the first time, the author introduced a wide layer of material, examining the regional context of the event against the background of the general context of state religious policy. However, despite the wide factual material available, systematized based on currently unavailable regional archives of Donetsk and Lugansk regions, O. Forostiuk's works are marked by the tendency of a confessional outlook, do not exhaust the

completeness of our task, have numerous factual inaccuracies, eliminating additional scientific needs and eliminating the sources.

Therefore, the **subject** of the proposed study is the activity of anti-renewal church opposition in the Donetsk province, which envisages the following research tasks: first, to determine the initial status of the Orthodox Church in the Donetsk province; secondly, to cover the process of structural design of the dioceses of the Synodal Church in Donbas against the background of church events; third, to find out the peculiarities of the activity and ideological basis of anti-renewal opposition in the Donbas. The chronological boundaries of the study cover the period from the time of the institutional isolation of the Update movement in 1922 to the abolition of the Donetsk province and the corresponding reorganization of the diocesan network in the Donbas in the summer of 1925.

The purpose of the article is to create a holistic picture based on a comprehensive analysis of historical sources and scientific literature, as well as the grounds of the anti-renewal opposition's struggle against the reformation and organizational development of the updated movement in the Orthodox Church in the territory of Donetsk province in 1922 – 1925.

Exposition of the main material. In the early twentieth century, the parishes of the Bakhmut, Slovianoserbsk and Mariupol counties belonged to the Diocese of Katerynoslav, and their spiritual care was exercised directly by the Katerynoslav Bishops, who held the title of Katerynoslav and Mariupol. Instead, the parishes of the Starobilsk district, as well as the Slavic and Svatovo-Luchesk parishes, belonging to the Kharkiv province, belonged to the authorities of local hierarchs. The rapid administrative and economic development of the territory of the future Donetsk province required proper institutionalization of the forms of church administration. The definition of Vicar Bishops of the All-Russian Council of 1917 - 1918 increased the number of vicariates and their powers were significantly expanded [22]. From May 14, 1916, the Starobilsk Vicar Chair of the Kharkiv Diocese existed; in 1919 the Mariupol Vicar Chair was restored as part of the Katerynoslav Diocese [128].

The process of organizational formation of the Renewal Movement was set in motion on May 12, 1922, when, accompanied by representatives of the Soviet special services, a group of progressive clergy led by Archpriest O. Vvedenskiy and priests S. Kalynovskiy and E. Belkov visited a prisoner during a campaign to seize church resources amid the famine of 1921 – 1922 by Patriarch Tikhon (Bellavin) and convinced him to renounce church power. By his resolution, Patriarch Tikhon transferred the office of the Synod to these clergymen before the arrival of Metropolitan Yaroslavskiy Agafangel (Preobrazhenskiy), and the affairs of the Diocese of Moscow to Bishop Vernenskiy Leonid (Skobieiev) [1; p. 217]. On the same day, the above-mentioned clergymen formed the Higher Church Administration

for the Orthodox Church of Russia (hereinafter referred to as the HCA), which was initially headed by Bishop Leonid [18, p. 13].

On May 29, 1922, the founding meeting of the Living Church group united all supporters of the Church Reformation. The main programmatic principles of the group were: married bishopric, presbyterian administration, and the only church treasury. On June 8, the activity of the Living Church group was approved at a meeting of the HCA as such, "which took over the helm of the church administration" [18, p. 14]. On June 18, Bishop Antonin (Granovskyi) was elected the new head of the HCA. Initially, the activity of the HCA was focused on removing several conservative bishops from the eparchies of the dioceses with the help of Soviet special services.

In Ukraine, the renewal ideology has been significantly influenced by self-reliant sentiment. Considering the threat of the organizational spread of the overly reformative UAOC (1921), the Metropolitan of Kyiv, Patriarchal Exarch Mykhail (Yermakov) sought to overcome the divide, and as his main reason was the desire of the masses of the clergy for the institutional solitude of the Orthodox Church. In 1922, a meeting of bishops took place in Kyiv, which decided to embark on the path of obtaining autocephaly to restore the unity of the Church [33, p. 239]. Besides, as a progress, the possibility of bishops' consecration of the first Ukrainian candidates was considered. The council also discussed the issues of the Living Church group and agreed to disassociate with the group and to inform it locally. Adopting this decision has shattered the hope of local Renewalists to interact with the bishop, and soon a mass registration of the Renewal diocesan administrations has begun in Ukraine through the arrests of local hierarchs and the subsequent dismissal of the decrees by the HCU. On February 5, 1923, Metropolitan Mykhail (Yermakov) was arrested. After a lengthy investigation on July 13, 1923, by a resolution of the NKVD Commission on Administrative Exiles, the hierarch was exiled to Turkestan for a term of two years [40]. On January 25, 1923, by the decree of the Central Executive Committee, Tykhon (Vasilevskyi) was appointed as the new Metropolitan of Kyiv [18, p. 96].

Because, contrary to its decree on the separation of the Church from the state, the Soviet authorities resorted to comprehensive support for the renewal of the current to deepen the internal contradictions and weaken the organized structure of the Orthodox Church, and the renewalists began to actively implement radical church reforms, among the clerics and parishioners called "old-churchers" there was a powerful anti-renewal opposition called "Tykhonivshchyna" after the name of Patriarch Tykhon. Most of the reforms were limited to restricting the role of monks, the main activists of the anti-renewal opposition were the former inhabitants of abolished monasteries, as well as the wandering clergy, whose representatives held worship at the "Tykhon" parishes, which had the abbots of the Renewals [30, p. 78].

In Ukraine, the eparchy of the Kharkiv diocese became the ideological center of the Renewal Movement, where, between 1905 and 1908, there was a group of "progressive-clergy," headed by a private docent at Kharkiv University, and the editor of the liberal "Church Newspaper", priest John Filevskyi. [20] On June 28, 1922, the first meeting of the initiative group was held in Kharkiv, which raised the issue of democratization of church life. On July 14 – 16, 1922, at a provincial meeting, it was decided to remove from the leadership of the diocese of Kharkiv Archbishop Nafanail (Troitskyi) [30, p. 69]. Because after the ruling bishop, the Vicar Bishop Starobilsk Pavlo (Kratyrov) also took an anti-renewal position, on August 16, 1922, by order of the HCA, both hierarchs were retired, and on August 22, the Kharkiv Eparchy of the Eparchy was formed [30, p. 70].

On December 5, 1922, the bishops' consecration of the 35-year-old Vicar of the Kharkiv Diocese, the new bishop of Starobilsk Olexandr (Migulin), was soon held in Moscow, and he was soon elected the head of the local vicarage [18, p. 59]. According to the interesting observation of O. Forostiuk, the newly ordained archbishop launched a wide activity on the seizure of temples, however, he did not meet the sympathy of the religious masses. As on October 1, 1923, only 27 of the 150 officially registered parishes in the Starobilsk district belonged to the jurisdiction of the Update Church [35, p. 73 – 74].

On August 23 – 24, 1922, a district congress of clergy and laymen was held in Bakhmut to discuss the issue of the Living Church group. At the opening of the congress, Bishop Bakhmut Ioanikii (Sokolovskiy) made a thorough report in which he severely exposed the activists of the Renewal Movement and called on the local clergy to rally around him [7]. The hierarch supported most of the delegates present. Soon, based on these events, Bishop Ioanikii was arrested. After the preliminary investigation, the bishop was released for his subscription and the promise of church reforms [6]. However, as early as November 1922, Bishop Ioanikii was arrested again.

At the end of December 1922, a local congress of the Living Church congregation was held in Bakhmut, where it was decided to recognize the HCA and establish local units. The periodical noted the negative attitude of the local clergy to the congress, and even though the Bakhmut officials handed over to the renovators the ancient Trinity Cathedral, during the solemn prayer service that was planned before the congress was opened, the surrounding merchants thwarted its banquet and expelled the priests [16]. The building of the provincial church administration, the leadership of which refused to voluntarily transfer cases to the representatives of the Living Church, was sealed, and soon a new Donetsk diocesan administration was established in Bakhmut. The first hierarch of the diocese of Donetsk was erected to the rank of an archbishop with the title "Bakhmut and Donetsk", the former vicar of the Yekaterinoslav diocese 60-year-old bishop

Mariupol Andrii (Odintsov), who was arrested for "counter-revolutionary activity and concealment of church values" was recruited by the authorities of the GPU" [38].

The circumstances of the formation of the Renewal Movement in the Donetsk province showed that the position of the Reformed clergy was not supported by local hierarchs and clergy except for Bishop Andrii (Odintsov). At the same time, it would be a mistake to assume that the anti-renewal opposition was based only on the rejection of the ideas of normalizing the urgent problems of the church life. Thus, one of the future leaders of the catacomb movement, Bishop Starobilsk Pavlo (Kratyrov) testified on interrogation that "much in our church life needs transformation and change, and at the lawful Church Council the hierarch has undoubtedly become a more progressive part of the progressive part initiated by the initiators of the renewal movement of seizure of church power, their contempt for their brethren, who did not want to go with them one way to serve themselves before the civil authorities, forced the bishop into the ranks of the opposition to the Church of Renovation [30, p. 71]. At the end of 1922, an illegal Bakhmut diocesan administration was established in the Slavonic group of priests, headed by Archpriest K. Ruzhytskyi, to restore the organized church administration to combat the updated movement [8].

On February 14, 1923, at the meeting of the First All-Ukrainian Congress of Congress in Kyiv under the chairmanship of Metropolitan of Kyiv Tikhon (Vasylevskyi), the All-Ukrainian Higher Ecclesiastical Administration (hereinafter referred to as AHEA) was formed as an organ of higher ecclesiastical authority within Ukraine, Crimea, and Galicia [36]. On February 16, 1923, the First All-Ukrainian Congress of the Living Church Group was held in Kyiv, at which the Protopresbyter Ioan (Filevskyi), Kharkiv Protopriest, was elected chairman of the Central Committee of the organization [36]. On April 29, 1923, the All-Russian Council began in Moscow, which formally approved the introduction of a series of reforms to the church system. A delegation of the Diocese of Donetsk, headed by Archbishop Andrii (Odintsov), who was elected a member of the All-Russian Holy Synod, took part in the work of the Council [18, p. 110].

As radical reforms and revolutionary methods of their implementation provoked rejection in the church environment, the work of the Council was focused on disciplinary and canonical issues, while the issues of dogmatic and liturgical nature remained intact. The equivalence of a married and unmarried bishopric was legalized, the clergy's second-marriage status legalized, and a new calendar introduced. A separate ordinance concerned monasteries that closed and reorganized in the parishes of the labor communes. On May 3, the Council adopted a notorious resolution, which, according to O. Trygub's right observation, was "indignantly received by the majority of laypeople and ultimately detrimental to renewal": the deprivation of the dignity and monkhood of Patriarch Tykhon [30,

p. 79]. On October 25 – 27, 1923 in Kharkiv the Bishops' Cathedral was renewed, which proclaimed the formation of the Ukrainian Synodal Church and ratified all decisions of the All-Russian Council. The All-Ukrainian Holy Synod was reorganized into the All-Ukrainian Holy Synod, headed by Metropolitan Pimen (Pegov), who was elevated to the rank [18, p. 474]. According to S. Zhylyuk, as of January 1924, 190 update parishes were registered in the Donetsk province [12, p. 53].

The results of the work of the All-Russian and All-Ukrainian Councils allowed the church opposition to lay down strong ideological foundations for agitation among the fanatical part of the faithful. Particularly critical was the introduction of the new calendar, as a breach of the foundation of faith and a concession to the Soviet authorities. In the Starobilsk region, for the introduction of a new style of peasants, the Renovation priests were called "agents of the Communists" and "the Living Church" was called "the Soviet Church" [39]. Although in reality the issue of the use of the new style has been positively resolved in some Local Churches. The condemnation of Patriarch Tykhon was particularly acute. Although in some places success in such agitation has not always been on the side of anti-renewers. In particular, in the village. Bridges of the Starobilsk district, the priest Marsov entered into a discussion with local updates on the topic of Tykhonovshchyna and the Update, with a significant accumulation of believing peasants. During the discussion, the priest's speech was stifled by exclamations: "Away from the traitors, the bloodsuckers ... We have not forgotten what Tykhon did to the workers and peasants" [9].

The revitalization of the opposition was due to the release in July 1923 of Patriarch Tykhon, and in Ukraine to Bishop of Bakhmut Ioanikii (Sokolovskiy), who, having resumed the organized diocesan administration in Katerynoslav, led the struggle in Katerynoslav and Donetsk provinces. In November 1922, Bishop Ioanikii was arrested again [30, p. 41]. However, following a cassation appeal to the Supreme Court and further review of the case on December 18, 1923, the hierarch was released [17]. Repressions against the opposition to the Update movement of the clergy have also started on the ground. On February 24, 1924, leaders of the Bakhmut Diocesan Administration - priests K. Ruzhytskyi, Petrov, O. Danylov, and Sheptytskyi - were arrested on charges of counter-revolutionary activity, and the organization itself was liquidated [8].

On March 25, 1924, due to the lack of an organized church administration in the USSR, Patriarch Tykhon appointed Bishop Ioanikii the Acting Exarch of Ukraine and his representative in Kharkiv to elevate the hierarch to the rank of Archbishop [28, p. 314]. Upon entering the administration of the Orthodox Church of Ukraine, Archbishop Ioanikii began active activity in the normalization of its legal status through the gradual legalization of parishes. In the spring of 1924, in Kharkiv, Archbishop Ioanikii initiated and led the bishop's consecration of Archimandrite Ioasaf (Popov)

to Bishop of Bakhmut and Donetsk, who later became one of the leading figures of the catacomb movement [41].

Due to the active measures of the church opposition in the first half of 1924, the Church of Renovation in Ukraine underwent a major organizational crisis, losing more than 1,000 parishes. According to official data, as of September 1, 1924, there were only 25 registered communities in the Donetsk Diocese, as opposed to 174 communities of the Moscow Patriarchate [11], while the total number of Renewal parishes in the province as of January 1925 decreased to 85 [5]. As on September 1, 1924, the total number of legalized old-church parishes in the Donetsk province reached 223, against 55 updates [11]. However, the transfer of the Shakhtyn district of Donetsk province to the RSFSR should also be considered here. As the prospect of organizational collapse arose over the Synodal Church, its hierarchs resorted to the hasty curtailing of reforms: the hierarchical consecration of the married clergy was suspended, the transition to the living language of worship was delayed, and the use of the Gregorian calendar was abolished. In the first address of the All-Ukrainian Synod, it was stated that it firmly retains the purity of the Orthodox faith in its foundations, which are transmitted in the Scriptures, the Sacred Tradition, the doctrines of the Ecumenical and Local Councils [4].

On May 14, 1925, the Second All-Ukrainian Council began in Kharkiv. The rollback of reforms was swift and affected many aspects of church life. On January 24, 1928, the Moscow Holy Synod of the Orthodox Churches of the USSR addressed the All-Ukrainian Synod with a letter stating the deviation of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church from the principles of renewing Orthodoxy [10]. In parallel, the educational activity of the denomination was intensified. On February 28, 1926, Bishop Mariupol Avhustyn (Razumovskyi) was appointed All-Ukrainian missionary-evangelist, a member of the Gospel Commission at the All-Ukrainian Synod [18, p. 36]. From 1926 to 1928, the eparchies of the Donbas were visited by the leading apologists of the Synodal Church - Metropolitan Pimen (Pegov), Archbishops Andrii (Odintsov) and Olexandr (Chekanovskyi). Visiting hierarchs and conducting theological lectures were extraordinary events for the locals. In Starobilsk alone, 800 people attended the apologetic lectures in three days, including representatives of anti-renewal opposition [32]. As the archbishop of Starobilsk D. Liuminarskyi noted: "the main cause of separation is darkness and the main measure of its elimination is enlightenment" [31]. In the end, during the years 1926 – 1928 the Synodal Church succeeded in stabilizing the institutional crisis, although only 23.2% of the registered Orthodox communities of the republic were included in the period of its greatest development [37].

Conclusions. Thus, during the institutional formation of the Synodal Church in Donetsk province, a broad anti-renewal opposition arose among local clergy

and parishioners, caused both by the over-revolutionary nature of church reforms and the methods of work of the updated clergy and by the relative conservatism of the parishioners, whose service to the parish disciplinary and canonical components. In our view, this may be partly since there were no local chapters of church renewal in the provincial Donbas. It should also be noted that among the first colonizers of the Donetsk region were a lot of religious dissidents who were persecuted both during the Union of Brest in 1596 in the Commonwealth and church-ritual reforms of the mid-seventeenth century in the Moscow kingdom. The very question of ritual, devoid of fundamental theological nature, led to the success of the agitation of the conservative anti-renewal opposition.

Due to the threat of organizational collapse at the 1925 Local Council, the Ukrainian renewalists resorted to the complete curtailment of church reforms as a principled theoretical and ideological basis of the denomination, which subsequently allowed them to unreservedly integrate into the politically updated Moscow Patriarchate in 1943. testify to the lack of awareness of the scope of the problem of the national church reformation by the hierarchs of the Synodal Church. Instead, most of the pressing issues of the church renewal have become relevant today. We believe that the historical experience of implementing church reforms in the Donbas requires the early establishment of a solid missionary base around the culture of contemporary preaching, the formation of a wide network of modern educational institutions, and the implementation of economic and legal and economic activities of communities on the principles of openness and financial transparency.

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Рубан М.Ю. Антиобновленська опозиція в Православній Церкві на території Донецької губернії (1922 – 1925)

Історичні обставини організаційного становлення обновленського руху в Православній Церкві на Донбасі залишаються однією з найменш досліджених сторінок української церковної історіографії. Попри те, що проблемні сторони історії Української Церкви міжвоєнного періоду вивчалися багатьма дослідниками, існує велика кількість питань, які потребують більш детального опрацювання. У наш час, ґрунтуючись на раніше невідомому матеріалі, можливо розширити загальний контекст вищевказаних подій. Таким чином, основна мета статті – скласти цілісну картину боротьби антиобновленської опозиції в Православній Церкві на території Донецької губернії в 1922 – 1925 рр., на підставі всебічного аналізу історичних джерел і наукової літератури.

Оригінальність статті полягає в спробі дослідити події релігійної історії Донбасу без традиційних історичних кліше, і в цьому випадку слід враховувати всі тенденції українського церковного життя того часу. На наше тверде переконання, ігнорування глибоких потреб нормалізації внутрішньоцерковного життя призвело до розколу. За допомогою органів атеїстичної радянської влади обновленський рух досяг максимуму своєї інституалізації. Характерною проблемою релігійного життя на Донбасі був її відносний консерватизм, що багато в чому зумовив повільні темпи розвитку Української Православної Автокефальної Синодальної Церкви. Більш того, говорячи про Синодальну Церкву, слід враховувати демонстративно лояльне ставлення реформаційного духовенства до атеїстичного уряду. Тому, незважаючи на спроби обновленських ієрархів повністю згорнути церковні реформи, Синодальна церква в Донецькій губернії змогла охопити лише третину православних парафій. Ці обставини свідчать про недостатню обізнаність ієрархів Синодальної Церкви щодо масштабів проблеми реформування Помісної Церкви. Історія організаційного розвитку обновленського руху на Донбасі доводить необхідність впровадження сучасних методів місіонерської діяльності на тлі реалізації стратегії впровадження поточних церковних реформ для ефективного розвитку місцевих православних єпархій.

Як висновок, варто відзначити, що нині дослідження історії Православної Церкви на Донбасі міжвоєнного періоду ускладнюється важкою політичною ситуацією в регіоні. На жаль, матеріали Луганського і Донецького обласних архівів тимчасово недоступні для українських істориків, але поступова актуалізація цієї проблеми створює великі перспективи для її швидкого дослідження в майбутньому.

Ключові слова: Православ'я, Донбас, обновленський рух, антиобновленська опозиція, староцерковники, Українська Православна Автокефальна Синодальна Церква.

Рубан Н.Ю. Антиобновленческая оппозиция в Православной Церкви на территории Донецкой губернии (1922 – 1925)

Исторические обстоятельства организационного становления обновленческого движения в Православной Церкви на Донбассе остаются одной из наименее исследованных страниц украинской церковной историографии. Несмотря на то, что проблемные моменты истории Украинской Православной Церкви межвоенного периода изучались многими исследователями, существует большое количество вопросов, требующих более детальной проработки. В настоящее время, основываясь на ранее неизвестном материале, возможно расширить обций контекст вышеуказанных событий. Таким образом, основная цель статьи – составить целостную картину борьбы антиобновленческой оппозиции в Православной Церкви на территории Донецкой губернии в 1922 – 1925 гг., основанную на всестороннем анализе исторических источников и научной литературы.

Оригинальность статьи заключается в попытке исследовать события религиозной истории Донбасса без традиционных исторических клише, и в этом случае следует учитывать все тенденции украинской церковной жизни того времени. По нашему твердому убеждению, игнорирование глубоких потребностей нормализации внутрицерковной жизни привело к расколу. С помощью органов атеистической советской власти обновленческое движение достигло максимума своей институционализации. Характерной проблемой религиозной жизни на Донбассе был ее относительный консерватизм, что во многом обусловило медленные темпы развития Украинской Православной Автокефальной Синодальной Церкви. Более

того, говоря о Синодальной церкви, следует учитывать демонстративно лояльное отношение реформационного духовенства к атеистическому правительству. Поэтому, несмотря на попытки обновленческих иерархов полностью свернуть церковные реформы, Синодальная церковь в Донецкой губернии смогла охватить только треть православных приходов. Эти обстоятельства свидетельствуют о недостаточной осведомленности иерархов Синодальной Церкви о масштабах проблемы реформирования Поместной Церкви. История организационного развития обновленческого движения на Донбассе доказывает необходимость внедрения современных методов миссионерской деятельности на фоне реализации стратегии воплощения текущих церковных реформ для эффективного развития местных православных епархий.

В заключение стоит отметить, что в настоящее время исследование истории Православной Церкви на Донбассе межвоенного периода осложняется тяжелой политической ситуацией в регионе. К сожалению, материалы Луганского и Донецкого областных архивов временно недоступны для украинских историков, но постепенная актуализация этой проблемы создает большие перспективы для ее быстрого исследования в будущем.

Ключевые слова: Православие, Донбасс, обновленческое движение, антиобновленческая оппозиция, староцерковники, Украинская Православная Автокефальная Синодальная Церковь.

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THE ROLE OF VIDEO GAMES IN OBTAINING AND DISSEMINATING HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE

Sapytska O.M.

РОЛЬ ВІДЕОІГОР У НАБУТТІ ТА РОЗПОВСЮДЖЕННІ ІСТОРИЧНИХ ЗНАНЬ

Сапицька О.М.

The formation of the historical background in video games is provided by spatial narratives. In recent years, they are more and more amenable to adjustments in the direction of maximally exact correspondence to socio-economic, political, cultural, domestic, geographical, climatic and so on elements of the localized on the scenario of the game's chronotop. This may indicate another qualitative transformation of video games as a socio-technical and socio-cultural phenomenon, as well as about the positive cultural and intellectual dynamics of the modern "consumer society".

Computer video games, as part of the digital, educational and entertainment industry as a whole, are in a state of constant high-speed dynamic transformation in the context of global digitalization of all aspects of society and a lot of competition in the field of video games in particular.

Based on the analytics of the results of direct surveys, statistical and factual data, in article an attempt was made to assess the use of video games as a non-formal education tool for relaying and consolidating historical knowledge for different age and social groups of game products consumers, as well as the appropriateness of their use in the classical educational system at different levels.

Computer video games with the most accurate historical content as well as "alternative" historical content can become highly effective additional pedagogical tools for acquiring basic and in-depth knowledge of history both for self-education and in academic institutions. As part of the study of academic history, whole historical digital laboratories can be created that study both the multivariance of history and bring "alternative realities" into the linear real history of the development of human civilization. The success of using video games with historical content for the needs of academic history is high only if the teacher understands not only historical but also technical terms, knows the features of developmental psychology, knows the scenario and features of the video game proposed for modeling, and can develop their own teaching methods based on an interdisciplinary approach.

Key words: video game, gamer, historical background, relay of historical facts, historical modeling, out-of-school learning, informal learning

Introduction. 2013 US school statistics [1], which included studies by the Joan Ganz Cooney Center, Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, PBS LearningMedia, Pew Research Center on teachers' attitudes toward integrating technology into their classrooms, showed that 54% teachers of history and social sciences expressed high confidence in their ability to use digital technologies in teaching in the classroom. But, at the same time, evidence is provided that teachers aged 45 and older are less likely to use technology as regularly as teachers under 35, as there are noticeable generational differences in how teachers use digital technology in their professional life.

Given the many aspects of the development of Ukrainian society that deserve a separate comprehensive study, as well as the lack of such detailed statistics in Ukraine, we believe that the above statistics generally reflect the current state of things in teaching history in Ukrainian schools.

Therefore, in our opinion, non-formal education and training outside the school class can play a big additional role in the students mastering the teaching material, and historical factology in particular. And computer video games with historical content can play a positive role.

In order to understand the connection between the input (using thematic computer video games) and the result (training in school subjects), it is important to imagine how the results of such training correspond to the subject area in which this technology is used. [2]

Formulation of the problem. If we strictly follow the terminology, the concept of a video game is much broader than computer games, since they arose at different times and the second was developed as part of the first. [3]

In our study, we take this fact into account, but are based on the modern identity [4] of these terms.

Video games, as part of the digital, educational and entertainment industries as a whole, are in a state of constant high-speed dynamic transformation in the context of global digitalization of all aspects of society and great competition in the field of video games.

Video game development teams should take into account both the requests of the initially target part of game products consumers and consumers who want to develop intellectually, who no longer have a “colorful picture” on the device’s screen. Therefore, we believe that video games are a multi-faceted issue that remains constantly relevant.

Analysis of recent research and publications.

The study of computer video games in modern humanities, in contrast to the technical sciences, is a relatively new area. Games, both computer and regular, are not easy to learn due to their multidimensional nature.

If we consider the historiography of the object of our research on a global scale, we can confidently say that over the past decades a layer of both scientific and popular studies has been developed, based on describing an interdisciplinary approach to the study of computer games as a phenomenon of modern culture in the aspect of human-machine interaction. [5]

There are quite detailed studies of the very history of the development of both the video game industry and some individual video games. [6]

There is even more research devoted directly to the development of application tools for creating video games in general and their structural elements in particular [7], since interactive products, applications and systems can be designed to meet the educational needs of users.

A rather large stratum of theoretical and practical studies of the positive effectiveness of computer video games has been accumulated for the study of non-historical disciplines [8], in particular, philological ones. We believe that some conclusions and results of these studies are applicable to the development of historical disciplines. Thus, a study [9] (without specifying the division into disciplines) shows that out of 500 teachers surveyed in the USA, 70% agree that the use of digital games in the classroom increases the interest and involvement of students in the content of the lesson, and less than 10% of teachers indicated a negative experience using digital video games in the classroom.

We agree that video games of relevant content can be designed in accordance with selected educational principles, which will facilitate learning. Computer games also allow players to feel “inside” the game, to design a virtual environment with a rich factual background, where players are actively involved.

Research in the psychological and pedagogical vein [10] confirms the benefit for the formation of a cluster of historical knowledge among students when using graphic elements of video games with historical content as a visual aid, which presents many objects of material culture of a large number of people from different eras.

We support the view [11] that in high-quality computer video games, player actions or inaction often

come up with almost instant answers, which the player must then respond to. The execution of an action, the presentation of information as a result, the need for synthesis and analysis of this information and the implementation of something as a result - may correspond to the term “training”. In turn, some players learn enough lessons from their failures in the game to continue the game further, taking into account the newly acquired knowledge. Thus, in video games, effective mechanisms for real-time learning assessment are discovered.

We do not quite agree with the authors of that sector of research on the large topics of “video games and history,” who believe that the alternative story created by video game players with historical content distorts the history. [12] In our opinion, “an alternative history” in a gaming environment is in this case a technical modeling based on knowledge of historical factology, which stimulates the development of logic to achieve the most advantageous and appropriate result. The worse the player’s comprehensive knowledge of history, the less likely he is to “win”. We are confident that the features of psychology divide the players into two categories: one after a series of “failures” to lose interest in the game, and other “failures” are encouraged to build basic knowledge of the historical baggage and historical features factology certain gaming era to achieve a “win”.

In this context, we would like to highlight the 2018 study [13], in which the authors cited the results of their experience in teaching a mixed course of world history, which combined classic lecture and discussion elements, as well as video game sessions in which students play strategic video games with a deep historical focus. This course was designed for experiments on the integration of video games in the teaching of history, followed by assessment of students’ knowledge by writing their final scientific work.

Summing up the historiography of our study, we must say that the issues we are raising are so multifaceted and change so quickly in accordance with the needs of society and the advent of new technologies that the relevance of new research in the field of computer video games, in particular, with historical content, for pedagogical purposes non-formal learning and academic education remains very high.

The purpose of research. On the basis of analytics of the results of direct surveys, statistical and factual data, identify the potential use of video games in relaying and consolidating historical knowledge for different age and social groups of consumers of gaming products as a tool for non-formal education, as well as the feasibility and level of their use in the classical and non-formal educational system at different levels.

Materials and research results. According to some researchers [14], at this stage in the development of society, a lot of information has appeared, which is becoming increasingly difficult to process and assimilate, which causes the problem of information saturation. Such over-availability of information is transformed into a massification of knowledge and may mean a transition from an encyclopedic form of accu-

mulation of factology to a “wikipedization” of knowledge, when any fact can be quickly obtained from the Internet without considering its validity.

However, according to the digital project of Oxford University Our World in Digital, in 2017 only half of the world's population had access to the “free” Internet, which was also relevant for 2018-2019. (figures 1,2 [15]).

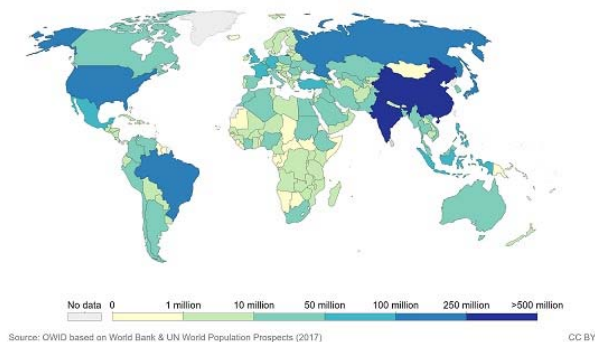


Fig. 1. Number of Internet users by country (2017).
The Internet can be used from any location via a computer, mobile phone, personal digital assistant, games machine, digital TV etc.

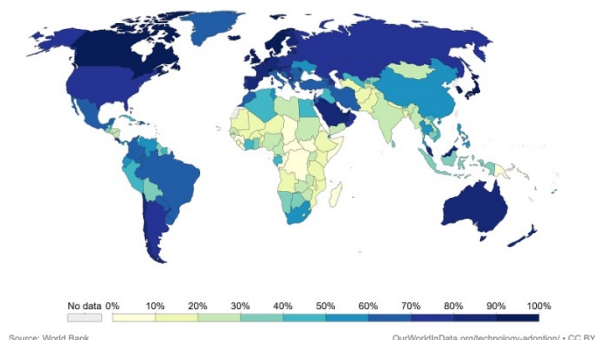


Fig. 2. Share of the population using the Internet (2017).
The Internet can be used from any location via a computer, mobile phone, personal digital assistant, games machine, digital TV etc.

Modern computer video games that can be downloaded from discs, for example, often do not require access to the Internet and contain an already built-in “game wiki” that explains some game points, including historical factology.

Computer games are a fundamentally new tool for both the interaction between game actors and the manifestation of the influence of the pedagogical and cognitive components on the target audience or objects, since they have become one of the important phenomena of modern culture.

The basic structure of computer games can be represented in a general way, as the interaction of two large blocks, on the basis of which the gameplay takes place: 1) A narrative story that is determined by the gaming environment. This includes game space and game objects. 2) Temporary order. As for the course of the game itself, it is linear, since time is a priori linear. However,

in the gaming environment itself, it can be clearly linear or fuzzy when tasks do not have a pre-established rigid link between the historical correspondence of space-time.

The first block is the narrative, related computer video games with literature and cinema. But, in the case of them, unlike computer games, the reader or viewer cannot interactively interfere with the course of the displayed events. Although it should also be noted that, unlike books or films, the narrative nature of some complex games is not always immediately understood, since part of the narrative is often created during the game, since the game contains modeling elements.

As part of the second block, we note that a computer video game contains cycles in which the player can go to another level. That is, during the passage of each cycle, the player leads his character, based on his own subjective factual baggage of knowledge and skills. A player will not be able to go through a cycle if he lacks knowledge and experience. So, for the successful completion of each game cycle, the player must acquire new knowledge and skills. It can be argued in this case that the game is becoming a form of non-formal learning.

As a rule, for school education, developers provide repositories from a set of short-time games that are related to the specific tasks of certain curricula, are developed taking into account the age psychology of schoolchildren, do not require large technical resources and are easily accessible. But this format of games often does not represent the time and opportunity for the player to independently model the situation and analyze their mistakes. That is, the existing effect of memorizing material that they try to convey in such a game form is usually short-lived.

Schematically, this simple interaction between the developer and the player through the game is displayed on figure 3.

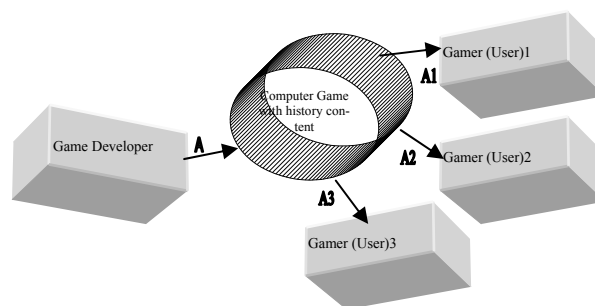


Fig. 3. Scheme of a simple game transfer from a developer to users

Dynamic scenarios of computer games make it possible to form a contour of the structure of historical information, within the framework of which each user can have an active influence on the solution of game problems, correlate his presentation with the specifics of the era of the proposed game. The scenario of a historical computer game allows the researcher to understand the meanings of game tasks, determine the degree of cor-

rectness of the use of historical data, and identify stereotypes on which game developers rely.

The task of developers of historical projects is to create not just games based on historical events, but a series of historical reconstructions. An equally important component of historical play is the creation of an atmosphere of a historical era. Similar effects are achieved through various graphic designs and models that display a degree of certainty of the reality of time.

In order to accomplish this task in a quality manner, in our opinion, it is important for serious developers of computer games with historical content to involve professional scientific consultants in the era displayed in the game. The scheme of such interaction is presented in the figure 4.

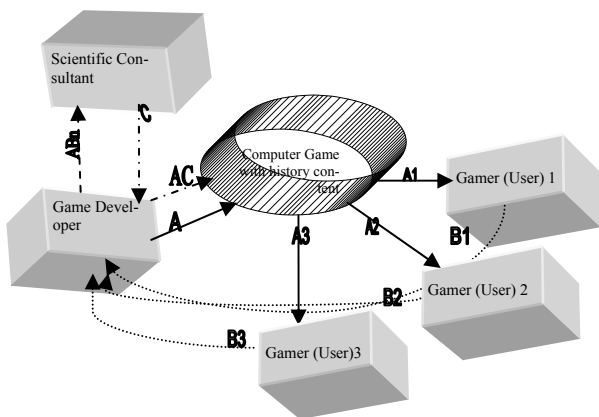


Fig. 4. Scheme with a multiuser feedback and work on errors and inaccuracies in narrative content with the involvement of a scientific advisor

A separate problem of the perception of historical material, on which a certain computer video game of the corresponding genre is based, is the difference in mental models due to the cultural divergence of players of different nations. One of the ways to unify the understanding of the historical canvas of the game, in our opinion, is the availability of discussion platforms for players with subsequent analysis and feedback from the developers of the game.

In our opinion, it is also important that computer video games constantly force players to develop new game skills. And the corresponding discussion platforms (figure 5), where each player can ask questions of interest to him and receive answers not only from other players, but also the professional answers of a scientific consultant, can be a positive social experience that creates a common environment for targeted constructive social communication.

To determine further areas of research within the framework of the stated topics and obtain the first practical results, we conducted a questionnaire by a limited-time and territory-based online survey among non-professional historians who play computer video games with historical content. Its results are presented in the figures 6-12.

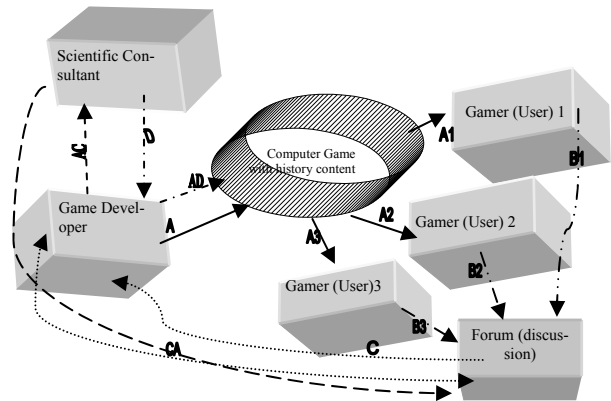


Fig. 5. Feedback scheme from thematic platforms and a scientific consultant to discuss players certain aspects of historical computer video games

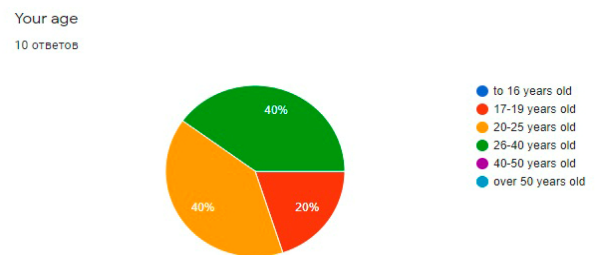
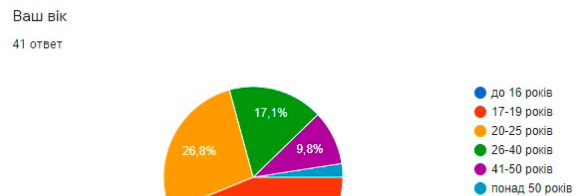


Fig. 6. Comparison of survey data by age between Ukrainian-speaking and English-speaking players

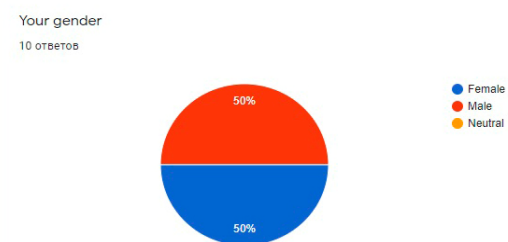
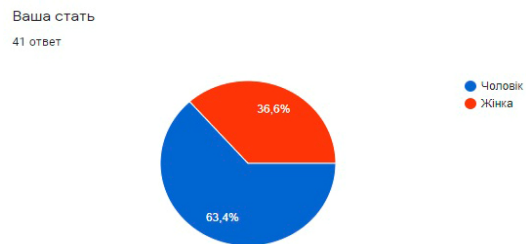
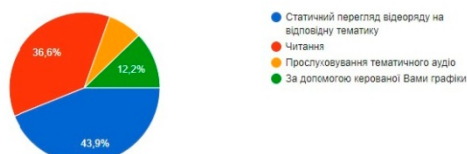


Fig. 7. Comparison of gender survey data between Ukrainian-speaking and English-speaking players

Який спосіб отримання історичної інформації для Вас є найбільш прийнятним з точки зору її повного усвідомлення та запам'ятовування?
41 ответ



What method of obtaining historical information for you is the most acceptable in terms of its full awareness and memorization?
10 ответов

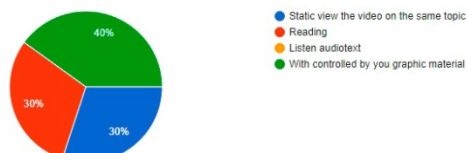
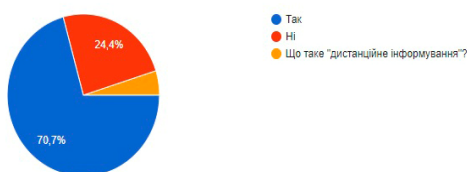


Fig. 8. Comparison of survey data on the preferred method of obtaining historical information between Ukrainian-speaking and English-speaking players

Чи можна стверджувати, що у сучасному світі історична комп'ютерна гра є одним із способів дистанційного типу інформування?
41 ответ



Is it possible to argue that in the modern world computer game with historical content is one of the ways of distance-based information?
10 ответов

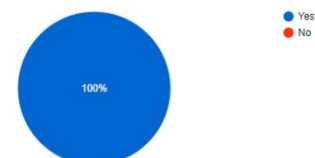


Fig. 9. Comparison of the survey data on computer video games with historical content, as one of the methods of remote type of information between Ukrainian-speaking and English-speaking players

The data from an online survey conducted using Google forms cannot be completely satisfactory due to the different number of Ukrainian-speaking and English-speaking players surveyed and the relatively small number of users surveyed in general for a relatively short period of time. But it is informative as a first step towards a larger study.

As we pointed out in our previous studies [16], the features of computer strategic games can be used in history lessons in secondary and high school, because teenagers, as an age group, have their own psychological characteristics of communication with a teacher and their own psychological characteristics of perception and assimilation of information. Often the «dry» factual material that history books offer to students seems uninteresting to them. Accordingly, that which is not interesting is not remembered, and vice versa.

Що найбільше приваблює вас у історичних комп'ютерних іграх?
41 ответ

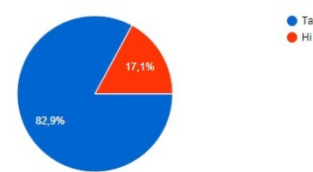


What attracts you most in computer video games with real historical content?
10 ответов



Fig. 10. Comparison of survey data on factors of interest in computer video games with historical content between Ukrainian-speaking and English-speaking players

Чи заохотила Вас зацікавленість комп'ютерною грою дізнатися більше про відповідний період в історії?
41 ответ



Did you encourage interest in computer videogames with real historical content to learn more about the relevant period in history?
10 ответов

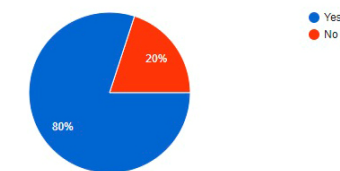


Fig. 11. Comparison of the survey data on further interest in the corresponding periods in history, which are displayed in a computer video game with historical content between Ukrainian-speaking and English-speaking players

Historical computer games can directly affect the self-educational component of players. Scenarios of historical games largely support mass historical stereotypes, contribute to their consolidation and distribution. At the same time, in some countries, developers do not adhere to historical reliability, but within political expediency, which leads to a distortion in the perception of historical information by some social groups of the population of these countries, especially young people.

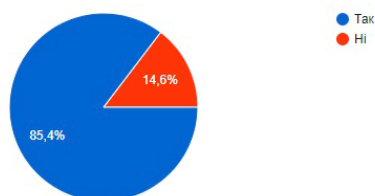
Conclusions.

The formation of the historical background in video games is provided by spatial narratives. In recent years, they are more and more amenable to adjustments in the direction of maximally exact correspondence to socio-economic, political, cultural, domestic, geographical, climatic and so on elements of the chronotope game localized by the scenario of the game. This may indicate

another qualitative transformation of video games as a socio-technical and socio-cultural phenomenon, as well as about the positive cultural and intellectual dynamics of the modern “consumer society”.

Деякі фактологічні знання з історії Ви отримали саме з комп'ютерних ігор?

41 ответ



Some factual knowledge about history you got from computer games?

10 ответов

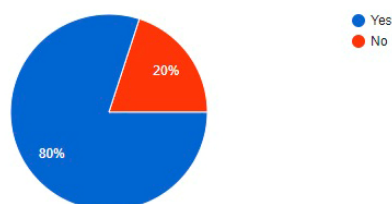


Fig. 12. Comparison of the survey data on obtaining some factual knowledge of history from a computer video game with historical content between Ukrainian-speaking and English-speaking players

The phenomenon of historical-format video games is that since their appearance in the 70s of the 20th century, the players are of the “first wave”, who, due to the psychological characteristics of adolescence, when choosing a game, the very fact of novelty and entertainment was initially important, as they matured, they became more demanding on the accuracy of historical correspondences, since a detailed reconstructed historical basis is a platform and a key point for a diverse aspect of successful modeling of situations by the player himself, provided his understanding of the cause-and-effect relationships of the occurred complex of events.

At the same time, it can be argued that such a situational game modeling of the outcome of historical events by the player himself is an effective indirect tool for personal self-education, which stimulates the development of logical and historical thinking and the increase in the knowledge of historical factology.

Video games with the most accurate historical content as well as “alternative” historical content can become highly effective additional pedagogical tools for obtaining basic and in-depth knowledge of history both for self-education and in academic institutions.

As part of the study of academic history, whole historical digital laboratories can be created that study both the multivariance of history and bring “alternative realities” into the linear real history of the development of human civilization. But, it should be noted that the success of using video games with historical content for the needs of academic history is high only if the teacher un-

derstands not only historical but also technical terms, knows the features of developmental psychology, knows the scenario and features of the video game proposed for modeling, and can develop its own teaching methods based on an interdisciplinary approach.

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- Сапицька О.М. Роль відеоігор у набутті та розповсюдженні історичних знань**
- Формування історичного бекграунду у відеоіграх забезпечується просторовими нарративами. В останні роки вони все більше корегуються в бік максимально точної відповідності соціально-економічним, політичним, культурним, побутовим, географічним, кліматичним тощо елементам локалізованого сценарієм гри хронотопу. Це може свідчити про чергову якісну трансформацію відеоігор, як соціально-технічного і соціально-культурного феномену, а також про позитивну культурно-інтелектуальну динаміку сучасного «суспільства споживання».*
- На основі аналітики результатів прямих опитувань, статистичних та фактологічних даних зроблена спроба оцінки використання відеоігор для ретрансляції та закріплення історичних знань як інструменту неформальної освіти для різних вікових і соціальних груп споживачів ігрової продукції, а також доцільність використання відеоігор з історичним контентом в класичній освітній системі на різних рівнях.*

Відеоігри як з максимально точним історичним контентом, так і «альтернативним» історичним контентом можуть стати високоефективним додатковим педагогічним інструментарієм для отримання базових і поглиблених знань з історії як для самоосвіти, так і в академічних інституціях.

В рамках вивчення академічної історії можуть створюватися цілі історичні цифрові лабораторії, що вивчають як багатоваріантність історії, так і призводять «альтернативні реальності» в лінійну реальну історію розвитку людської цивілізації. Успішність використання відеоігор з історичним контентом для потреб академічної історії висока тільки за умови, що викладач розбирається не тільки в історичних, а й в технічних термінах, знає особливості вікової психології, знає сценарій і особливості пропонованої для моделювання відеоігри і може розробляти власні методики навчання, засновані на міждисциплінарному підході.

Ключові слова: відеогра, геймер, історична довідка, ретрансляція історичних фактів, історичне моделювання, позашкільне навчання, неформальне навчання

Сапицкая Е.М. Роль видеоигр в получении и распространении исторических знаний

Формирование исторического фона в видеоиграх обеспечивается пространственными нарративами. В последние годы они все больше поддаются корректировкам в сторону максимально точного соответствия социально-экономическим, политическим, культурным, бытовым, географическим, климатическим и так далее элементам локализованного сценарием игры хронотопа. Это может свидетельствовать про очередную качественную трансформацию видеоигр, как социально-технического и социально-культурного феномена, а также про положительную культурно-интеллектуальную динамику современного «общества потребления».

На основе аналитики результатов прямых опросов, статистических и фактологических данных предпринята

попытка оценки использования видеоигр как инструмента неформального образования для ретрансляции и закрепления исторических знаний для разных возрастных и социальных групп потребителей игровой продукции, а также целесообразность их использования в классической образовательной системе на разных уровнях.

Видеоигры как с максимально точным историческим контентом, так и «альтернативным» историческим контентом могут стать высокоэффективным дополнительным педагогическим инструментарием для получения базовых и углубленных знаний по истории как для самообразования, так и в академических институциях.

В рамках изучения академической истории могут создаваться целые исторические цифровые лаборатории, изучающие как многовариантность истории, так и приводящие «альтернативные реальности» в линейную реальную историю развития человеческой цивилизации. Успешность использования видеоигр с историческим контентом для нужд академической истории высока только при условии, что преподаватель разбирается не только в исторических, но и в технических терминах, знает особенности возрастной психологии, знает сценарий и особенности предлагаемой для моделирования видеоигры и может разрабатывать собственные методики обучения, основанные на междисциплинарном подходе.

Ключевые слова: видеоигра, геймер, историческая справка, ретрансляция исторических фактов, историческое моделирование, внешкольное обучение, неформальное обучение

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THE IMPACT OF HISTORICAL REALITIES OF THE 1920S OF THE 20TH CENTURY ON PREMARITAL PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS OF THE UKRAINIAN YOUTH

Serhiienko S. Y.

ВПЛИВ ІСТОРИЧНИХ РЕАЛІЙ 20-Х РР. ХХ СТ. НА ДОШЛЮБНІ ОСОБИСТІ ВІДНОСИНИ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ МОЛОДІ

Сергієнко С. Ю.

Political, economic and social experiments carried out in the 1920s of the 20th century were studied by many specialists. However, there has been a lack of publications devoted to the impact of historical realities of that period on premarital personal relationships of the Ukrainian youth.

On the basis of literature, mass media and archival sources, the influence of the Revolution and that time social realities on the premarital personal relationships of the Ukrainian youth is considered. Attention is paid to the influence of the theories of “free love” and “a glass of water” on personal relationships of boys and girls.

It is concluded that political, economic and social experiments of the Bolsheviks significantly influenced the premarital relationships of the Ukrainian youth. In the youth circles, the theories of “free love” and “a glass of water” became popular. Under their influence, the centuries-old traditions of premarital relationships between boys and girls were significantly distorted; a crackdown was had on the institution of the family, traditional understanding of the responsibility of parents for upbringing of their children. The new state simplified the registration of marriage and divorce procedure to a minimum. At the same time, in the village where the absolute majority of the Ukrainians lived, new visions of premarital relationships were not widely spread. There the premarital relationships of young people were preserved mainly in traditional forms, which presupposed creation of family couples within their social stratum. But in cities, a certain part of young people rushed to establishing “new” personal relationships between boys and girls. Primarily, they were the members of the Komsomol. On the basis of those “new” relationships extreme frivolity and banal immorality could not but grow. In the new vision of premarital personal relationships the authorities brought the thesis of an unconditional primacy of the interests of the political regime instead of the personal feelings of the beloved. That thesis was actually acknowledged to be fundamental and persistently promoted by the authorities.

Key words: 1920s; premarital relationships; “free love”; youth.

Introduction. Ukraine entered the 1920s under conditions of the revolution and its consequences, which greatly influenced all aspects of the life of the society. Political, economic and social experiments carried out in the 1920s of the 20th century were studied by many specialists [1]. However, there has been a lack of publications devoted to the impact of historical realities of that period on premarital personal relationships of the Ukrainian youth. The author will attempt to highlight how the revolution, experiments and ideological campaigns of the ruling party of that time influenced personal relationships of young people in the premarital period of their lives.

Presentation of the research basic material. The Revolution involved the youth of Ukraine in active social life. At that time it was the most active stratum of society. The Bolsheviks were well aware of the importance of propaganda in bringing people to their side. Preparing for establishing their authority in Ukraine in November 1918, they insisted on the need “to send hundreds of communist agitators and organizers to Ukraine” [2, p. 16.]. Many Ukrainian boys and girls fell under their influence. That part of the youth became the anchor of the Bolsheviks and their allies, sincerely believing Marxist concepts that became an integral part of the power vertical in Ukraine since the early 1920s would bring long-awaited prosperity to people.

Under all political regimes the youth is anticipated to continue procreation, i.e., marital relationships. These relationships involve certain personal relationships between young people of different sexes. And it was there where the war and the revolution made significant amendments. It should be noted that the classics of Marxism studied the relationships between classes, economic principles, political structure of the new state in detail, but the relationships between the individuals were actually on the periphery of their analysis. Evi-

dently, it was thought that as soon as collective ownership of the means of production would be introduced, antagonistic classes would disappear and human relationships would follow the ideal course. When the Bolsheviks took power, they did not have a clear idea of how the personal relationships between boys and girls in the new society would develop. Only a few works of the communist theorists considered historical relationships between a man and a woman and family relationships, but the analysis of those relationships was not completed with precise forecasts.

Followers of the classics of Marxism, the subject of theoretical studies of which was premarital and family relationships under socialism (O. Kollontai, I. Armand, A. Lunacharsky, and others) came primarily from speculations expressed by F. Engels in his work "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and State", then from literature of that time and their own experience.

O. Kollontai was undoubtedly a talented writer with a clear orientation towards literary criticism. In the analysis of literary works and, first of all, those describing the lives of "single women", on the basis of which she built her own views of the issues of love. Love is a natural desire for such women, but this desire should not lead to the loss of their own self, their own freedom. Love should be free and in no way dissolute. In many cases, love ends with marriage, but "the modern form of legal marriage impoverishes soul"; furthermore, "society must learn to accept all forms of marriage communication whatever unusual contours it would have under two conditions: they should not harm the race and not be determined by the oppression of the economic factor. As an ideal, there remains a monogamous alliance, based on "great love". But it should not be "permanent" and frozen. The more complex the psyche of a man is, the more inevitable "changes" are [3, p.46]. That is, if in a married couple someone has love elsewhere, then the old marriage breaks down and a new one is created. Extramarital long-term cohabitation is also permitted. The main thing is love. Family and family relationships are in the second place. It is not quite clear what should be done with the natural "fruits" of that love - children. This approach can be interpreted differently, but it influenced personal relationships of the Ukrainian youth and the policy of the new state in the sphere of marriage relationships.

One young man who was about eighteen or twenty years old at the beginning of the 1920s, recalled that the youth "argued a lot about the popular book by O. Kollontai "Love of Worker Bees". The author defended free love, that was, love without everything unnecessary... "like drinking a glass of water"... Love without sighs and without flowers, without jealousy and tears. Love with kisses and love notes was considered to be a bourgeois superstition. A sincere revolutionary had to defeat all this in himself/herself. We even held a meeting on this topic. Our views were divided: some were for free love, but with "flowers", i.e., with feelings, and others - without any "flowers". I supported

feelings with "flowers", at least with kisses... Just at that time I fell in love, I was wooing my future wife. How did I do it? We were reading Gorky together, "Storm! A storm will soon strike!..." Was it naive? But it was also great... Dancing... just dancing... was considered a bourgeoisie. They arranged trials of dancing and punished those Komsomol members who danced, gave flowers to their girls. Once I was even the head of the trial of dancing... They held the Komsomol wedding. No candles, no crowns. No priests. Instead of the icons there were portraits of Lenin and Marx. My bride used to have long hair, so she cut it off before the wedding. We despised beauty... When we got a son, we called it October in honour of the 10th anniversary of the Great October" [4]. It must be admitted that in the above-mentioned memoir O. Kollontai's views were slightly distorted. She was not cynical in her views of love. But, regarding the atmosphere in the youth environment of those years, it was presented as it was in reality. There were many proofs to that. Not only in the students' classrooms there were heard the discussions about the necessity of family and marriage, upbringing of children. In general, an eyewitness wrote, "The polemics – even the most brutal one – was greatly welcomed in the twenties" [5].

Another well-known Bolshevik I. Armand tried to develop the theory of the relationships between a man and a woman. She believed that mutual love is the basis of personal happiness of people, "it is very difficult for a person to live without personal happiness" [6, p. 77]. In 1914 I. Armand was preparing a special brochure on "free love", in which she argued that "even a short-term passion is more poetic and purer than married kisses without love" [7, p. 56]. V. Lenin gave her advice on the main points to highlight. Eventually, the brochure did not come out, but the very fact that the Bolsheviks' leader paid attention to it, proved that the problem was topical, although Lenin personally did not attempt to develop it.

The war and the revolution of 1917-1921 shook the foundations of the century-old traditions of the Ukrainian village, but they could not destroy them. But in cities "free love" had quite deep roots. The rural youth coming to the city had to reckon with new relationships. The theory of "free love" was thought as liberation of love from material calculations, from prejudices and gossips in the realities of the early 1920s. It could not but be reborn into realities far from the idea of theorists. One of the "old Bolsheviks" I. Mykhailov bitterly stated in October 1924 that on his remarks to children about the need to adhere to the norms of ethics in communication with people of different sexes, children replied, "Oh, please, dad, you've lagged behind the modern life. Today's life is different". And in this "modern life... some responsible comrades promote such ethics: a woman who does not give herself to a man at once is a bourgeois. There are women who consider a man to be a fool, an idiot if he is not a womaniser" [8, p. 214].

It should be noted that the ghost of “free love” influenced not only ordinary young people, but also outstanding personalities. For example, the wife of the world-famous physicist L. Landau recalled that when she, being a young girl, met her future husband in Kharkiv, he was a passionate supporter of free love and was confident that it would be possible to marry because of foolishness or because of any common or material ideas and only the stupid ones got married on the basis of love. At the same time, “free love”, even a passionate one, caused great doubts in his wife” [9].

In the 1920s, despite the pressure of the notion of “free love”, the “old” manifestations of courtship were preserved. As D. Malakov said, relying on the memories of his parents, first of all, his father tried to show his respectful attitude to his future wife. He accompanied her to the railway station. They went 25 versts by a horse carriage. “On the first hill, he held her waist, and those who had to ride the old Podilskyi ways, remember that hills... accompany the traveller all the time, so Vasyl did not take away his hand... So, as mother later said, those 25 versts defined the fate of both” [10, p. 20].

It should be noted that the emergence of premarital preferences, premarital relationships took place mainly within a social stratum. In fact, there was preserved the main reason for breaking the fate of lovers - belonging to different social strata. In addition, it must be taken into account that people oriented on centuries-old traditions that did not welcome creation of a family by people from socially distant strata.

In 1926, an eighteen-year-old Ukrainian worker fell in love with a girl from a family of merchants. Love turned out to be mutual. The young people decided to get married. But the worker’s mother was the first against this marriage, saying that she did not want to be an eternal servant of the young lady. The girl’s mother also opposed, because he was a guy from a common family and an uneducated worker. All this made the young people upset, but they did not go against the will of their parents [11].

In the Ukrainian village, premarital relationships among young people gradually transformed under the influence of changes that a new political regime made. New obstacles appeared in communication – the political ones. If earlier social barriers could have been rarely overcome, then the political ones became a reinforced concrete wall between lovers. The Komsomol organizations were becoming more active in villages. In 1923, in Kharkiv oblast, a young man Petro Shelest was a friend of a girl named Pasha. The young people liked each other. Recalling that friendship, P. Shelest wrote in his elderly age, “Apparently, it was my first youth love”. But political affairs became an obstacle to love. P. Shelest was going to join the Komsomol and offered Pasha singing in the church choir to leave that choir, join the choir “Prosvita” and the Komsomol. The fact is that, having joined the Komsomol, P. Shelest could not meet and be friends with the girl who sang in the church choir. But Pasha’s father categorically prohibited not only to join the Komsomol, but even to have relation-

ships with the Komsomol members. P. Shelest wrote, “I was upset by the fact that Pasha would not be able to join the Komsomol, and if I join the Komsomol, I will still be unable to be friends and meet with her because she is a church choir singer, almost a servant of a religious cult” [11]. In October 1923, P. Shelest joined the Komsomol. The relationships with Pasha were broken off.

Under the influence of the life realities of the 1920s the premarital relationships of young people developed so that the “theory of a glass of water” was formed on the basis of the theory of “free love”. It assumed that in the communist society to satisfy sexual desire and the need for love would be as simple as drinking a glass of water. It also declared the absence of any love and domination of simple physiological needs. There is no love; there is just a sexual need to satisfy. Talks about love, marriage are a bourgeois trick.

In the 1920s, a well-known Soviet dissident, General P. Hryhorenko, being a young man, turned out to be in the Donbass under the influence of those ideas, “During the years of my “stewing” in the working “pot”, the theory of the absence of love was dominant among the Komsomol and half-Komsomol youth. “There is no love. There is a physiological need and a natural desire to continue the human race... and there is no use in dreaming of princes and princesses and sighing under the moon”. There was created literature that promoted such an attitude to love, and the youth worn it thin by much reading. P. Hryhorenko admitted, “I, as a sincere Komsomol member, surely had a rational view of love and expressed myself only in such a way”. That phenomenon became widespread. P. Hryhorenko proved that such a life position in relation to a woman almost led him to a suicide [12].

The practice of forcing women to sexual relationships by their direct superiors became widespread. The newspaper “Visti VUTsVK” wrote in this regard in September 1928, highlighting the situation of the trade union Narkharch, “In this union, simultaneously in two cities, Odesa and Kherson, there were cases of raping and forcing working women to sexual relationships. These cases indicate that these outrageous events have entered the system. The Soviet public should hear the scream of working women – “Save us!” [13].

A similar state was far from the ideals of “free love” and apparently caused concern of the authorities. In late 1926, People’s Commissar of Education A. Lunacharsky made a report, which the following year was issued in mass circulation and distributed in Ukraine. The People’s Commissar of Education, relying on Lenin’s authority, responded sharply negatively to the “theory of a glass of water”, because of which “our youth has got mad. And for many boys and girls, it became fatal. Its followers argue that this is a Marxist theory... I find the famous theory of a glass of water to be anti-Marxist, anti-social... [14, p. 25]. A. Lunacharsky sharply condemned the theory of “absence of love”, “The people saying like our Komsomol members that love is simply reproduction are hopeless” [14, p. 24].

The speech by A. Lunacharsky meant that the modernist theory of “free love” and the “theory of glass of water” derived from it could not stand the test of life.

At the same time, in the 1920s, the old traditions of young people’s communication continued to exist in the Ukrainian village. An outstanding artist I. Honchar recalled that during those years in Cherkassy oblast the youth especially celebrated Easter and an old holiday of Ivana Kupala. On Easter, the youth played, sang, danced till dusk in festival dresses. On Ivana Kupala, which had been a holiday since ancient times, where girls and boys chatted as potential founders of new families, the girls made wreaths, and the boys made a fire over which they jumped either themselves or sometimes with the girls. “We celebrated till night, girls and boys were walking, joking, singing together” [15, p. 33].

Vechornytsi were a place of communication of the rural youth in Kyiv oblast. On January 7, 1928, the Nizhyn district newspaper “Nove Selo” wrote that the local youth celebrated vechornytsi in the honour of St. Andrew. The newspaper had a negative attitude to such evening parties, believing that there were only “vodka and revelry”. Apparently there were “vodka and revelry”, but there was, undoubtedly, personal communication among young people. Vechornytsi were essentially a youth club where they became acquaintances, which then led to premarital relationships and ultimately creation of a family. But the “sting” of the newspaper was directed against the fact that the youths’ vechornytsi were devoted to religious subjects [16].

In Kurenivka, a suburban village near Kyiv, which had not yet merged with Kyiv, the youth also kept rural traditions and customs in personal premarital communication. “In winter, boys and girls arranged vechornytsi, and in summer they gathered on logs or benches everywhere in the streets. Girls were sitting, and boys generally stood and joked with them. Both boys and girls wore national Ukrainian clothes... In short, as it had always been. Throughout Kurenivka the Ukrainian folk music, jokes, laughter, fun and dances were heard in the evenings” [17, p. 61].

In the workers’ villages in the Donbass, where there was a significant stratum of immigrants from the Ukrainian villages, traditional Ukrainian forms of courtship were preserved, to which new formed by the city were added. V. Sosiura recalled that on Palm Sunday, the girls of his working village slightly beat boys with cut branches of willow for fun. They “beat” the ones who they liked. That custom came from the Ukrainian village. But the custom to play forfeits during the youth party seemed to be an invention of the city. The essence of the game was as follows: young people were divided into couples according to their preferences, and then they sat in pairs together in chairs near each other. They were covered with a big kerchief and “confession” began. The girl asked, “Are you sinful? – Yes. – How many times have you sinned? – Ten”. According to the rules of the game it meant that the couple had to kiss ten times [18, p. 99]. The workers’ settlements of the Donbas kept the tradition of fights for girls “using big spiky

and cornel tree sticks we broke each other’s heads, ribs and cut each others’ bellies with knives” [18, p. 89]. When a boy was dating in a foreign village, he was met by local young people at night and being “loyal to the ancient mining tradition” they demanded the so-called “bribe” from the boy. In case of refusal, they mercilessly beat him [18, p. 101].

The youth of the working-class villages met regularly in a certain place in the evenings, where acquaintances and subsequent relationships naturally led to creation of young families. V. Sosiura, who was known to spend his youth in the Donbas settlement of Tretia Rota, recalled, “We, factory and rural youth, went to the square between the station and the factory and walked through the dusty alleys to the silver sounds of the factory orchestra. Boys wooed girls, and children threw burdocks that stuck in the local beauties’ dresses” [18, p. 102].

The NEP made the relationships between people more tolerant. Moreover, it was felt in relationships between sexes, in which a positive component cannot help dominating naturally. However, the state remained predatory. And since its punitive bodies were housed in cities, the city was the first to feel the heavy hand of the dictatorship.

The relationships of young people of different sexes in the city significantly differed from the rural ones. Here a significant role was played by Western culture. Young boys had the opportunity to invite their girlfriends to cinema, cafe, play, etc. Given that in relatively free 1920s many foreign films came to the cinema screens, and foreign music was very popular as well, it was not surprising that a significant part of the urban youth was subjected to the influence of Western culture. The youth arranged dance evenings playing popular the foxtrot and Charleston. Those dances were accompanied by communication of young people: they met, developed relationships. But, as S. Holitsyn noticed, “then they looked at Western dances and jazz like... I can’t even pick up the words what hideous epithets were used in the newspapers to describe idle dancers” [19]. Now it’s hard to believe, but a person might have been imprisoned because of the foxtrot. [19]. In 1926 in distant Siberian Yeniseisk there lived twenty young boys deported to Siberia for dancing the foxtrot [20, p. 95].

However, in the Ukrainian city in the 1920s traditions were kept since ancient times. As a writer S. Boiko said, characterizing vechornytsi on Kholodna Hora in the suburbs of Kharkiv, those were “customs and forms that have had centuries-old layers since Kvitka-Osnovianenko till present days” [21, p. 83]. Kholodna Hora was populated by “semi-peasant, semi-bourgeois people”, to which a criminal element was added. The party was held in a fairly spacious room where there were many boys and girls who spoke “surzhyk”. On the initiative of a guy, a local authority, drinks and snacks were jointly bought. The one who invested the largest sum of money became the hero of the evening. After drinks and snacks, dancing started. The harmonist played “Apple”, “Little bricks”, and even some “spicy”

couplets. Suddenly, through that bedlam in the group of girls, a Ukrainian song “A fulsome willow in the kitchen garden” was heard, and it made the bedlam keep silent and others join the song. And when they sang “Digging a well”, and then “Planted cucumbers”, then even the local authority and his friends began to sing. And when they started humorous folk songs, they began dancing and whistling. Then girls and boys giggled in the corners. At the table they played vingt-et-un, shouted, swore and tried to fight. But they calmed down [21, p. 83]. At such parties, premarital personal relationships between girls and boys were often established.

Conclusions. Thus, political, economic and social experiments of the Bolsheviks significantly influenced the premarital relationships of the Ukrainian youth. In the youth circles, the theories of “free love” and “a glass of water” became popular. Under their influence, the centuries-old traditions of premarital relationships between boys and girls were significantly distorted; a crackdown was had on the institution of the family, traditional understanding of the responsibility of parents for upbringing of their children. The new state simplified the registration of marriage and divorce procedure to a minimum. At the same time, in the village where the absolute majority of the Ukrainians lived, new visions of premarital relationships were not widely spread. There the premarital relationships of young people were preserved mainly in traditional forms, which presupposed creation of family couples within their social stratum. But in cities, a certain part of young people rushed to establishing “new” personal relationships between boys and girls. Primarily, they were the members of the Komsomol. On the basis of those “new” relationships extreme frivolity and banal immorality could not but grow. In the new vision of premarital personal relationships the authorities brought the thesis of an unconditional primacy of the interests of the political regime instead of the personal feelings of the beloved. That thesis was actually acknowledged to be fundamental and persistently promoted by the authorities. At the same time, political leaders were forced to state that “free love” in that understanding in which it spread among young people did not correspond to the interests of the state and a crackdown began. But this is the topic for further research.

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Сергієнко С. Ю. Вплив історичних реалій 20-х років ХХ ст. на дошлюбні особисті відносини української молоді.

На основі літератури, засобів масової інформації та архівних джерел розглядається вплив Революції та тогочасних соціальних реалій на дошлюбні особисті стосунки української молоді. Пріоритетна увага впливу теорій "вільної любові" та "склянки води" на особисті стосунки хлопців та дівчат. Зроблено висновки, що політичні, економічні та соціальні експерименти більшовиків суттєво вплинули на дошлюбні стосунки української молоді. У молодіжних колах стали популярними теорії "вільної любові" та "склянки води".

Під їх впливом багатовікові традиції надмірних стосунків між хлопчиками та дівчатами були істотно зірвані; було застосовано жорстокі заходи щодо закладу сім'ї, традиційне розуміння відповідальності батьків за виховання своїх дітей. Нова держава спростила процедуру реєстрації шлюбу та розлучення до мінімуму. Водночас у селі, де проживала абсолютна більшість українців, нові бачення дошлюбних стосунків не отримали широкого поширення. Там дошлюбні стосунки молоді зберігалися пе-

реважаю в традиційних формах, які передбачали створення сімейних пар у межах їх соціального прошарку. Але в містах певна частина молоді поспішала встановлювати «нові» особисті стосунки між хлопцями та дівчатами. В першу чергу вони були членами комсомолу. На основі цих "нових" відносин надзвичайна легковажність і банальна аморальність не могли не вирости. У новому баченні дошлюбних особистих стосунків влада висунула тезу про безумовну першість інтересів політичного режиму замість особистих почуттів коханої. Ця теза фактично була визнана фундаментальною та наполегливо пропагується владою. У той же час політичні лідери були змушені стверджувати, що "вільна любов" у тому розумінні, яке воно поширювало серед молоді, не відповідає інтересам держави, і почалася жорстка дія.

Ключові слова: 1920-і роки; дошлюбні відносини; «вільне кохання»; молоді.

Сергієнко С. Ю. Влияние исторических реалий 20-х гг. ХХ в. на добрачные личные отношения украинской молодежи.

На основании литературы, средств массовой информации и архивных источников рассматривается влияние социальных реалий революции и того времени на добрачные личные отношения украинской молодежи. Обращается внимание на влияние теорий «свободной любви» и «стакана воды» на личные отношения мальчиков и девочек. Делается вывод о том, что политические, экономические и социальные эксперименты большевиков значительно повлияли на добрачные отношения украинской молодежи. В молодежных кругах стали популярны теории «свободной любви» и «стакана воды».

Под их влиянием многовековые традиции добрачных отношений между мальчиками и девочками были значительно искажены; были жесткие меры в отношении института семьи, традиционного понимания ответственности родителей за воспитание своих детей. Новое государство упростило процедуру регистрации брака и развода до минимума. В то же время в селе, где проживало абсолютное большинство украинцев, новые представления о добрачных отношениях не получили широкого распространения. Там добрачные отношения молодых людей сохранялись в основном в традиционных формах, которые предполагали создание семейных пар в их социальном слое. Но в городах определенная часть молодых людей бросилась устанавливать «новые» личные отношения между мальчиками и девочками. В первую очередь это были комсомольцы. На основе этих «новых» отношений не могли не расти крайняя легкомыслие и банальная безнравственность. В новом видении добрачных личных отношений власти выдвинули тезис о безусловном главенстве интересов политического режима вместо личных чувств возлюбленного. Этот тезис был фактически признан фундаментальным и постоянно продвигался властями. В то же время политические лидеры были вынуждены заявить, что «свободная любовь» в том понимании, в котором она распространяется среди молодежи, не соответствует интересам государства, и начались репрессии.

Ключевые слова: 1920-е годы; добрачные отношения; «свободная любовь»; молодежь.

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RESEARCHES OF HIGHER EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT IN UKRAINE (1990s)

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ДОСЛІДЖЕННЯ РОЗВИТКУ ВИЩОЇ ОСВІТИ В УКРАЇНІ (1990-ті рр.)

Січкаренко Г. Г.

The article deals with the state of research in the contemporary historical scientific literature of the problems of higher Ukrainian education in the 1990s, and clarifies a range of topical and promising issues for the study of the educational field. Various studies on the history of higher education in Ukraine are controversial. After all, the evolution of educational systems is determined by the educational policy, which is a field of interaction, interconnection of different social groups with the involvement of public institutions to realize their interests and needs. The consistency and directionality of the analysis is ensured by the use of the problem-chronological approach and the structural-functional method, which allows to determine the level of knowledge regarding the different stages of development of the educational process in the scientific literature. Therefore, the historiography of the development of higher education in Ukraine in the 1990s has undergone several major stages. The writings of the early 1990s were dominated by negative evaluations of Soviet higher education and over-optimistic expectations about its reform and borrowing from the achievements of the Western Defense Law.

The purpose of the article is to provide a historiographical overview of the basic scientific approaches of historians to the development of higher education in Ukraine in the 1990s. In modern research, there is a tendency to consider higher education in the 1990s through the prism of certain elements of its system: legislation, structural changes, quantitative indicators, funding and more. There is a lack of research that combines all the components of higher education and, most importantly, with the subjects of the educational process, human potential. The complex causes of the crisis phenomena in higher education, the peculiarities of the formation of the higher education network, the role of public organizations, the protection of the interests of participants in the educational process, the shadow relations, and so on, remain unanswered. To this day, comprehensive coverage by historians of the deep problems of higher education is relevant, which will help to understand the causes of its current crisis and the optimal ways to solve it.

Keywords: historiography, higher education, higher education institutions, university, private higher education institutions, students.

Formulation of the problem. Education is one of the basic social institutions whose weight is increasing in the modern world. Higher education in Ukraine has been in a state of permanent reform since independence, seeking a better solution to the problems that have accumulated in its system. To understand this process scientifically, it is necessary to conduct historiographic analysis of these processes, which has both scientific and applied importance, and also shows insufficiently researched problems.

Analysis of research and publications. The methodology of the historiographic process is actively studied by historians (J. Gritsak, L. Zashkilnyak, J. Kalakura, I. Kolesnik, V. Yaremchuk, etc.). The works of the Institute of History of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, which are presented, in particular, in the periodical collection "Historiographic Studies in Ukraine", edited by V. Smoly, are valuable. However, historiography of the problem of development of national higher education among historians is not sufficiently presented, the writings of historians are considered alongside the intelligence of representatives of other sciences, without taking into account the specifics [11; 18]. Thus, the analysis of the historiography of the development of higher education in the first decade of independence still requires scientific coverage in the historical literature.

The purpose of the study is to provide a historiographical overview of the basic scientific approaches of historians to the development of higher education in Ukraine in the 1990s.

Presenting main material. Scientific analysis of the development of higher education in Ukraine during the 1990s varied in content, methodology, periodization, and evaluations of researchers. This was influenced by the historical course of events, the political situation, theoretical and empirical studies in related disciplines, awareness of the consequences of the transformation of

education and the process of moving to the European space. The specificity of the topic is that it is closely related to the state policy. Not only representatives of all social and humanities disciplines, but also politicians, officials and others are widely involved in higher education research. The work of historians is a significant minority of these publications.

Historiography can be divided into two stages: 1) 1990s; 2) from the beginning of the XXI century. to date (modern). By type and form of work are divided into monographs and dissertations, as well as articles in scientific publications.

It should be noted that for the works of the early 1990s, as a transition period, there are contradictory approaches, the desire to blame all the problems of the previous Soviet system, the underestimation of the real deep processes in the sphere of education, as well as the limitations of the source base. Among the first historical works of this period are the research of R. Kigel [15] and Yu. Rarog [26], which considered the legal basis of higher education, state policy in the field of science, etc. Works of L. Gerasina [12], M. Dobruskina, A. Murashko, E. Petrov [10] and others. are devoted to the organization of scientific research in higher education institutions (HEIs), training of scientific-pedagogical personnel, etc. Most scholarly studies of this period are characterized by polemicism and criticism of existing public education policies, given the real negative socio-economic consequences of reforms.

Since the mid-1990s, a new phase in historiography has begun, characterized by a desire for more weighted estimates. The deepening of the crisis processes in higher education, the significant expansion of the university system, paid education, the outflow of qualified specialists, and the change of the state's approach to the role of higher education in society required the use of new theoretical approaches. We distinguish the works of Y. Alekseev [1], V. Astakhova, G. Klimova [3], L. Batchenko, D. Cherevatsky [6] and others. The scientific comprehension of the development and periodization of ZVO begins with the non-state form of ownership in the works of V. Astakhova, K. Astakhova, G. Klimova [2; 3], I. Tymoshenko, Z. Tymoshenko [34] and others. The main principles of stage separation were the governmental processes and government measures to regulate education policy. It is worth noting the research of V. Ogarenko [24] on the development of non-state higher education. The authors, based on a wide range of sources, analyzed the first steps of a private higher education institution, the contradictory positions of the process participants and summarized the main results. However, the findings do not always relate to public higher education.

M. Golik's dissertation is devoted to the formation of higher military education in Ukraine [13]. The author, based on a wide source base, has highlighted the legal documents, the state of the material and technical and scientific base of the military profile, especially the educational process, which contributed to a better

understanding of the evolution of military education and higher education in general.

In the 1990s, studies appeared on the history of the student movement, the dynamics of life aspirations of young people. These are the publications of V. Golovenko, O. Kornievsky [14], I. Koliak [16], and others, where empirical material provides new assessments of the role of student youth in society, the formation of its values, and the periodization of the youth movement.

In general, the historiographical improvements of this period can be divided into two directions. Representatives of the former positively evaluated the educational policy of the state, focusing on the achievements in norm-making activity, deideologization, diversification, development of private education, the growth of the network of ZVO, universities, students. These are the works of Yu. Alekseev, V. Astakhova, V. Surun [4], and O. Navrotsky [23] and others. The representatives of the second direction focused on crisis phenomena in higher education and science, the student environment (based on materials of sociological research). This is primarily the study of V. Ogarenko, I. Tarapov [33], etc.

In general, these works outline and develop important approaches to understanding the nature of the evolution of higher education in the new historical context. However, in our opinion, they were of a somewhat descriptive nature, did not sufficiently reveal contradictions, crisis phenomena and the role of the public in the educational process.

By the beginning of the XXI century. the attitude of the authorities and the public towards the reform of higher education is changing, the range of sources has increased, the amount of facts has increased, the opportunity has been given at some distance, to evaluate the consequences of higher education transformation more objectively. The second stage of historiographical exploration begins.

The monograph by V. Savchuk and M. Polyakov [25], dedicated to the evolution of classical universities, examines the transformation of higher education in Ukraine on the eve of the 21st century. The focus is on the processes of autonomy and self-governance of the HEI as an important component of the very idea of the university. K. Astakhova's monograph on the history of the formation of personnel potential of higher education [5] examines the causes of the crisis in the environment of teachers in the 1990s, personnel policy in general. The work of T. Finikov and O. Sharov [36] consistently analyzes the process of licensing and accreditation of HEIs against the background of the world experience of monitoring the quality of higher education, and draws attention to the biased attitude towards private HEIs by governmental structures.

The development of various aspects of higher education and the reform of the higher education system in the 1990s were considered in a large number of PhD theses in Ukrainian history. In the work of N. Safonova [29] the legal bases, organizational measures, stages,

directions of reforming, licensing and accreditation process are explained. The source of the research is the regulatory documents of higher authorities, separate archives, information-analytical, statistical materials. In the work of O. Levchyshyn [21], the types and the network of ZVO, financing of the reform, its influence on the material base, social status of students, scientific and pedagogical staff are considered. The research of R. Sopovnik [32] analyzes the role of students in the educational process, their participation in public and political organizations, including the example of specific HSEs, on a considerable source basis. The regional aspects of higher education development are devoted to the dissertations of I. Kravchuk [17] and O. Latsheva [20]. I. Kravchuk's work traces the stages of development of higher education in the Donbass, identifies the main sources of the problem, the dynamics of the number of HSE, teachers and students, areas of research, etc. O. Latsheva's work analyzes the activity of state and public bodies in forming the system of education of the Crimean Tatars, the experience of the Crimean State Industrial-Pedagogical Institute in training specialists from the Crimean Tatars. It has been proved that the revival of national education was contradictory, which became noticeable in the second half of the 1990s. Funding by the government, especially in the first stages, was carried out without proper control, many decisions were made without public opinion. The mentioned works highlight interesting points of view on the nature of the evolution of higher education in the regions, and develop important approaches to understanding the nature of the evolution of higher education in the 1990s.

Separate directions of higher education development were covered in the works of S. Bilan, G. Mishechkin, E. Rachkov, L. Roshchina [7; 22; 27; 28], etc. The authors, based on a wide source base, found out the state of the material-technical and scientific-information base of a certain profile, the peculiarities of the educational process, sought to reproduce a holistic picture of the processes in the educational sphere in the 1990s, which contributes to a better understanding of certain aspects of the evolution of higher education.

A historiographical analysis on the subject revealed V. Astakhova's scientific school at the Kharkiv Humanities Institute "People's Ukrainian Academy", which studies the development of private higher education. The research substantiates, on the one hand, the unity of the educational space of the country, on the other - public and private HEIs are recognized by different models of education not only by ownership, but also by function, financing, taxation, level of responsibility for the results of work, attitude by the state etc. The constant survival of non-governmental institutions is called continuous innovation. Particular attention was paid to research, human resources, legal regulation of private universities. Collective monographs [19, etc.], which analyzed the formation of private education, its quantitative characteristics, legal and international relations, the activities of the

Association of Educational Institutions of Extra-budgetary Financing, and regional universities, were the result of studies of non-state education.

In recent years, many studies have been published that are relevant to certain areas of higher education in the 1990s, but have been prepared mainly by representatives of other sciences. A generalizing material for understanding the transformation of higher education from a historical point of view can be found in the publications of G. Sichkarenko [see: 30], which reveal the contradictions between educational policy and real changes in HSE.

The scope of foreign studies is quite limited, but they can be analyzed in some specific problems. The leader is the American researcher J. Steter, who was one of the first (later with his colleagues) to critically analyze the formation and development of private air defense in Ukraine in the 1990s. [40] His works are based on statistical and sociological data. Of particular interest is the consideration of funding sources for private higher education institutions, methods and levels of industry management. Studies by J. Steter, E. Berezkina, and J. Stoker [41] draw attention to the low state support and selective assistance to individual HEAs in Ukraine, to an inadequate governance structure, to the spread of corruption, and to claim that licensing was a corrupt process and that Ukrainian tax policies private ZVO did not meet world standards.

The shadow processes in higher education are also covered in the writings of A. Osipian, who concluded that corruption in higher education in Ukraine had deep roots and traditions in its organizational structure, its own culture, functions and mechanisms, being an organic part of general corruption in society [39]. An interesting study of the American Bar Association [37] is devoted to the analysis of private legal education in Ukraine, which also examines the shortcomings and the opacity of state certification and accreditation procedures and their impact on the HEA activities.

An important source for highlighting the topic was research into the modernization of European higher education through the convergence of different systems to create a single European space. A critical analysis of these processes was made in the works of M. Carney [38], Leslie David V., Fretwell EK Jr. [37] and others. They called for some cautious attitude to borrow European models, to rely on their own national educational traditions. Unfortunately, this was not taken into account when implementing the reforms.

Thus, it can be stated that the main interest of foreign researchers was raised by new questions for Ukrainian historiography, namely: formation and development of private educational institutions, problems of certification and accreditation of HEIs, the process of European educational integration of Ukraine, academic values and shadow relations in the educational sphere. Comparable enough material for analysis can be found in numerous studies by Russian historians on relevant problems [see: 9; 35].

Conclusions. Therefore, the historiography of the development of higher education in Ukraine in the 1990s has undergone several major stages. The writings of the early 1990s were dominated by negative evaluations of Soviet higher education and over-optimistic expectations about its reform and borrowing from the achievements of the Western Defense Law. In the mid-1990s, there were studies that drew the attention of public authorities and the public to the urgent need to resolve economic, legal and organizational problems of the HEA, emphasized the growth of crisis processes, the need for increased budget financing, and so on. Many publications are characterized by polemicism and criticism about public education policy in view of the negative socio-economic consequences of the transformation of higher education and science. At the same time, a scientific understanding of the phenomenon of development of a new type of ZVO based on non-state ownership is beginning. Historical science, since 1991, gradually got rid of ideological restrictions, took on new methodological positions, used different approaches.

In the second half of the 1990s, most historians' estimates of higher education became more prudent. They can be divided into two directions. On the one hand, those who generally praised the state's educational policy, focusing on the achievements in its rulemaking activities, the development of private higher education, the de-ideologization of the educational process, the growth of the HSE network, the number of universities, students, etc. On the other hand, there has been an increase in the number of critical studies (especially historical and philosophical, sociological plans) that have focused attention on the crisis phenomena in higher education, which has been associated with the deepening of the economic crisis, commercialization, transformation of higher education into mass, service, and other services. qualified teachers and the decline in quality of education.

In modern research, there is a tendency to consider higher education in the 1990s through the prism of certain elements of its system: legislation, structural changes, quantitative indicators, funding and more. There is a lack of research that combines all the components of higher education and, most importantly, with the subjects of the educational process, human potential. The complex causes of the crisis phenomena in higher education, the peculiarities of the formation of the higher education network, the role of public organizations, the protection of the interests of participants in the educational process, the shadow relations, and so on, remain unanswered. To this day, comprehensive coverage by historians of the deep problems of higher education is relevant, which will help to understand the causes of its current crisis and the optimal ways to solve it.

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Сичкаренко Г. Г. Дослідження розвитку вищої освіти в Україні (1990-ті рр.)

У статті розглядається стан досліджень в сучасній історико-науковій літературі проблем вищої української освіти в 90-і роки, а також уточнюється ряд актуальних і перспективних питань для вивчення сфери освіти. Різні дослідження з історії вищої освіти в Україні суперечливі. Адже еволюція освітніх систем визначається освітньою політикою, яка є полем взаємодії, взаємозв'язку різних соціальних груп із залученням державних інститутів для реалізації своїх інтересів і потреб. Послідовність і спрямованість аналізу забезпечується використанням проблемно-хронологічного підходу і структурно-функціонального методу, який дозволяє визначати рівень знань про різні етапи розвитку освітнього процесу в науковій літературі. Тому історіографія розвитку вищої освіти в Україні в 1990-ті роки пройшла кілька основних етапів. У роботах початку 1990-х років переважали негативні оцінки радянського вищої освіти і надмірно оптимістичні очікування щодо його реформи та запозичення досягнень західного закону про оборону.

Метою статті є надання історіографічного огляду основних наукових підходів істориків до розвитку вищої освіти в Україні в 1990-ті роки. У сучасних дослідженнях спостерігається тенденція розглядати вищу освіту в 1990-х роках через призму певних елементів його системи: законодавства, структурних змін, кількісних показників, фінансування і багато чого іншого. Бракує досліджень, що поєднують в собі всі складові вищої освіти і, головне, з суб'єктами освітнього процесу, людський потенціал. Складні причини кризових явищ у вищій освіті, особливості формування мережі вищої освіти, роль громадських організацій, захист інтересів учасників освітнього процесу, тіньові відносини і т. Д. Залишаються без відповіді. На сьогоднішній день актуальним є всебічне висвітлення істориками глибоких проблем вищої освіти, що допоможе зрозуміти причини його нинішньої кризи і оптимальні шляхи його розв'язання.

Ключові слова: історіографія, вищу освіту, вищі навчальні заклади, університет, приватні вищі навчальні заклади, студенти.

Сичкаренко Г. Г. Исследование развития высшего образования в Украине (1990-е гг.)

В статье рассматривается состояние исследований в современной историко-научной литературе проблем высшего украинского образования в 90-е годы, а также уточняется ряд актуальных и перспективных вопросов для изучения сферы образования. Различные исследования по истории высшего образования в Украине противоречивы. Ведь эволюция образовательных систем определяется образовательной политикой, которая является полем взаимодействия, взаимосвязи разных социальных групп с привлечением государственных институтов для реализации своих интересов и потребностей. Последовательность и направленность анализа обеспечивается использованием проблемно-хронологического подхода и структурно-функционального метода, который позволяет определять уровень знаний о разных этапах развития образовательного процесса в научной литературе. Поэтому историография развития высшего образования в Украине в 1990-е годы прошла несколько основных этапов. В работах начала 1990-х годов преобладали негативные оценки советского высшего образования и чрезмерно оптимистичные ожидания относительно его реформы и заимствование достижений западного закона об обороне.

Целью статьи является предоставление историографического обзора основных научных подходов историков к развитию высшего образования в Украине в 1990-е годы. В современных исследованиях наблюдается тенденция рассматривать высшее образование в 1990-х годах через призму определенных элементов его системы: законодательства, структурных изменений, количественных показателей, финансирования и многого другого. Не хватает исследований, сочетающих в себе все составляющие высшего образования и, главное, с субъектами образовательного процесса, человеческий потенциал. Сложные причины кризисных явлений в высшем образовании, особенности формирования сети высшего образования, роль общественных организаций, защита интересов участников образовательного процесса, теневые отношения и т. Д. Остаются без ответа, На сегодняшний день актуальным является всестороннее освещение историками глубоких проблем высшего образования, что поможет понять причины его нынешнего кризиса и оптимальные пути его решения.

Ключевые слова: историография, высшее образование, высшие учебные заведения, университет, частные высшие учебные заведения, студенты.

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**SCIENTIFIC ACTIVITY OF PRINCE VO KUDASHEV
ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL
PRINCIPLES OF AGRONOMY AND ANIMAL HUSBANDRY
(SECOND HALF OF THE XIX CENTURY - BEGINNING OF THE XX CENTURY)**

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**НАУКОВА ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ КНЯЗЯ В.О. КУДАШЕВА З РОЗВИТКУ
ТЕОРЕТИКО-МЕТОДОЛОГІЧНИХ ЗАСАД АГРОНОМІЇ ТА ТВАРИННИЦТВА
(ДРУГА ПОЛ. XIX СТ. – ПОЧ. XX СТ.)**

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The article highlights the research activities of Prince V.O. Kudashev on agronomy and animal husbandry. Both general and special methods of scientific cognition were used in the research. Based on the research, it was found that the results of unique studies conducted by V.O. Kudashev during 1878–1888 were the first in domestic branch science to experimentally prove the advantages of surface tillage as an effective way of preserving soil moisture. The prince proposed a specific plan for the application of agricultural measures aimed at optimizing the physical parameters of the soil to obtain sustainable winter crops in conditions of insufficient moisture, as well as improved the technology of harvesting cereals. The prince's research on animal husbandry is of scientific significance. Thus, in 1886, V.O. Kudashev was the first in the country to breed Karakul sheep. In his estate, the prince also successfully bred horses of the Orlovskiy breed. In 1887, as the owner of a first-class horse factory of 350 heads, he took part in the work of the horse department of the Kharkiv Agricultural Exhibition, as a result of which he received a large silver medal for four horses in the trotting department. His article, published in 1888 in the Journal of the State Horse Breeding, which presented the results of six years of experiments on fattening young animals with feeds containing phosphoric acid compounds, was scientifically fundamental and new for its time. The prince established the optimal dosage of the introduction of dibasic phosphate lime in the diet in the first two and 3-4 years of a horse's life on the background of unlimited nutrition. During the position of editor of three leading domestic industry publications during 1901–1904, another facet of V.O. Kudashev – as a great promoter of industry research – was revealed. Shortly after his appointment as editor, the Zemlerobskaya Gazeta magazine was awarded a gold medal at the 1902 International Exhibition of Magazines and Newspapers. His name is associated with constructive achievements and decisions that determined the further development of agricultural research in Ukraine for several decades to come.

Key words: prince V.O. Kudashev; Kyryiakiv research field; agronomy; horticulture; animal husbandry; research

Introduction. The spiritual revival of society requires an objective coverage of the historical past in general and the history of science and technology in particular. Analysis of the origins of the formation and development of domestic agricultural research obliges to pay tribute to the creators and draw the attention of the scientific community to their creative achievements, which raises this issue for future generations of researchers. An iconic figure for the domestic branch research of the second half of the XIX century. - early twentieth century. there is Prince Vladimir Alexandrovich Kudashev (1846-1916). His name is associated with constructive achievements and decisions that determined the further development of agricultural research in Ukraine for several decades to come.

Some periods of life and scientific achievements of the prominent Ukrainian became the subject of study of such researchers as: P.M. Dubrovsky, NA Пузанкевича, B.A. Vergunova, I., NP, Kovalenko, OP Saika, I. Chekrizova and others (Dubrovsky 1892; Puzankevich, 1892; Vergunov, Kovalenko, Saiko, 1998; Chekrizov, 2002; Kuznetsov, 1974; Lebedev, 2001; Pavlovsky, 1907; Kotelnikov, 1916; Slezkin, 1892; Verbin, 1958). However, no special generalizing materials on the prince's research activities in the field of crop and livestock production were noted. Therefore, the purpose of the study was to supplement information on the research activities of Prince VO Kudashev in the direction of development of agricultural research.

Research methods. In the process of research, both general scientific methods (historical, system-structural, logical) and special (historical-comparative, subject-chronological, retrospective, bibliometric) were used, which helped to supplement and clarify certain biographical dates and events in the life of V.O.

Kudashev, the definition of priority areas of his scientific activity and periods of greatest creative activity, as well as to reconstruct the period of 1878-1888, when the prince was engaged in agronomic research in the Kyriakov research field.

Results and discussion.

The study of various aspects of agriculture, Prince VO Kudashev devoted a significant percentage of his work, so it is not appropriate to ignore them. Back in 1878, Volodymyr Oleksandrovych created a classic research branch institution at his own expense - the Kyriakov Research Field. It was the first such institution not only in modern Ukrainian lands, but also in the Russian Empire, which was fundamentally different from the previously established research and control station at the Riga Polytechnic (1864), research and training farm in Zguriv economy PA Kochubey (1872) and the experimental demonstration field at the Petrovsky Agricultural Academy (1877) in that it did not combine its functions with education. A multifactor stationary field experiment was studied on the area of 141.7 ha of the experimental field to study the depth of plowing, the effect of organic fertilizers and the timing of steam treatment. Having performed unique research during 1878-1888 (Kyriakovka research field was closed in 1890), he was the first in domestic industry to change the existing views on the depth of tillage for winter and experimentally proved the benefits of shallow tillage as an effective way to preserve soil. Journal of the Meeting, 1892).

All his generalizations and calculations were performed on a classical basis, on the results of field stationary research.

Field experiments were established in late 1878, when Prince VO Kudashev personally divided 130 acres of his research field into five plots, four of which were 30 acres each and the fifth was 10. For different plots, he used different tillage methods, which he strictly adhered to until 1888 inclusive. As he later claimed, he borrowed the schemes of experiments from German books, which he brought from a trip abroad, because there were no others worthy of attention (in his opinion) in the country at that time.

Therefore, having a certain scientific worldview as a candidate of science, although legal, he became a self-taught naturalist and at his own discretion developed a work program of research. Thus, in the first area, the prince proposed to fertilize the soil with manure in the spring and immediately plow it to a depth of 3 cream (1 cream - 4.5 cm). After that, plow the soil again (approximately in mid-June) to a depth of 5.5-6 cream. In the second section they did virtually the same, but the second plowing was carried out to a depth of 3 cream.

The third plot was plowed in the same way as the first, but not fertilized. There was no fertilizer on the fourth plot, but the soil on it was cultivated as on the second plot. The last area was a control, it used the most common then in the Dnieper tillage for the winter: 1) toloka to half of Petrovsky post (July 3-4), 2) plowing from 3 to 4 cream depth and necessarily after rain and

3) sowing seeds after the first Savior (approximately August 7-8).

The main task set by VO Kudashev - to identify the advantages of deep plowing (5.5-6 cream) in the first area compared to shallow (3 cream) in the second area under the same conditions of tillage and fertilizer application. He also planned to confirm the benefits of applying manure to local soils during deep plowing, comparing the first and third plots, and with shallow tillage (up to 3 cream) analyzed data from the second and fourth plots (Journal of the meeting, 1892).

The prince expected to receive reliable factual material about the economic effect of the same costs in the case of using different methods of tillage. He compared the results obtained from all plots with the control and in parallel studied their proportional relationship. For greater reliability, each of the four plots was divided into three divisions: a, b and c 10 tithes each.

In the areas of group (a) the whole complex of agrotechnical measures was carried out as early as possible in the spring in order to complete the application of manure and make the first plowing no later than April 20 of each experimental year; in the areas of group (b) - until May 10, and in the areas of group (c) - until May 30. Thus, it was planned to determine the optimal time for processing winter breads in order to prepare them for sowing. To do this, we compared the results obtained by the same plowing in all parts of each plot, before the initial tillage, which was planned to be carried out at different times: in early, mid and late spring (Kudashev, 1891; Slezkin, 1892).

The essence of the work of VO Kudasheva was precisely in determining the optimal of these three terms. Prince was the first in domestic and world agronomic practice to address the issue of the impact of tillage time on yield (and moisture retention) on the basis of a specially conducted full-fledged long-term stationary field experiment. He spent all the inherited funds for its holding and representation.

In addition, the prince identified and justified the reasons for the adverse effects of climatic conditions on agricultural production in this area: 1) too great uneven precipitation during the financial year; 2) the least amount of precipitation falls in April, May and August, or when plants with special energy develop all the basic foundations of their organisms and need the most moisture; 3) droughts are always accompanied by a significant increase in temperature and especially strong dry winds, which eventually remove the remnants of soil moisture. To combat these characteristics of the climate, the researcher recommended that owners not only facilitate the access of moisture to the soil in the period from November to April, but also keep it there until the cultivated plants need it for germination and further development. The key to preserving soil moisture, according to VO Kudasheva, was to loosen its surface layer. As he wrote: "The principle of preserving soil moisture should be set as a cornerstone in the cultivation of soil for winter bread in our area" (Kudashev, 1891, p. 57). However, he stressed that this principle can not be effective in dry or rainy years.

It is known that maintaining the soil in a loose (ripe) state contributes to the accumulation of nitrates. Without moisture, it is impossible to successfully develop nitrifiers that require soil moisture close to $\frac{3}{4}$ of its full moisture content. V.O. Kudashev did not consider the issue of nitrification, but his proposed methods of water-intensive and catchment treatment contributed to the accumulation of nitrates, the formation of which is directly proportional to moisture and inversely proportional to the time of treatment, of course, in the presence of soil aeration. It is no coincidence that one of the most authoritative supporters of the actions of VO Kudasheva - President of the Poltava Society of Agriculture DK Kvitka noted: "Although the principle of steam treatment and its goals are not new, but Kudashev's merit is that he put steam treatment in the first place in order to preserve moisture and wisely fulfilled this goal by a treatment system..., without being sly about the accumulation of nitric acid in steam salts, on the weathering of mineral components of the soil and their transition to a soluble state, etc. ... All these processes in the accumulation of moisture in our chernozem and its preservation receive the conditions for the best increase in soil fertility "(Journal of the meeting, 1892, p. 6).

All expressed by VO Kudashev's "principles" were confirmed by the results of field experiments conducted in a later network of southern branch research institutions, primarily in the Poltava research field, which began its activities in 1884, largely based on the work of the prince.

For the first time the results of his ten-year research on soil moisture retention V.O. Kudashev published in a short message in 1889, promulgating them at the request of many local farmers, especially the president of the Poltava Society of Agriculture DK Flowers. Over the next two years, three more revised editions of this report, entitled "On the Principles of Soil Moisture Preservation in Winter Field Cultivation," were published, with a circulation of 12,000 copies, each with an expanded productive part. Already in the first months, the entire circulation was sold out, and these publications have always been a bibliographic rarity. As is often the case in science, along with positive feedback on the report of Prince VO Kudashev on ways to preserve soil moisture appeared and negative, especially harsh, in particular, was criticism from the vice-president of the Poltava Society of Agriculture, one of the classics of domestic agronomy OO Izmail (1851-1914) and Poltava provincial agronomist, later inspector of agriculture of Poltava province and editor of the magazine "Agriculture and Forestry" P.M. Dubrovsky. The discussion was not limited to words or speeches at professional meetings, but splashed on the pages of periodicals. This forced VO Kudashev constantly give all sorts of explanations and refute the accusations of opponents about his proposed principles of soil moisture retention. After critical articles OO Izmail and P.M. On September 6, 1891, the Poltava Society of Agriculture sent a request to the acting director of the Poltava Research Field, M.O. Puzankevich with a request to organize an inspection at the site of the experiments and assess the reliability of the results. At the regular meeting of the

company MO Puzankevich "defeated" all the arguments of OO Izmail. By the way, the advantages of the proposed VO Kudashev's approach became quite obvious in 1891, when the whole winter of the Poltava experimental field perished. It also disappeared in the fields of the Kochubey estate, where O.O. Izmail. However, the prince's harvest reached 119 poods per tithe, and the seedlings of winter appeared as early as September 23, 1892. A high assessment was made by V.O. Kudashev also gave at a meeting of the first branch of the Poltava Society of Agriculture on January 20, 1899 ME Lyaskovsky. Despite the rejection of some figures, but having a high authority on the part of the classics of agronomy, professors VV Dokuchaeva and PA Kostichev, in 1896 VO Kudashev was awarded the gold medal of the Imperial Free Economic Society and in 1892 - the large silver medal of the Imperial Moscow Society of Agriculture (Kudashev, 2018; Modestov, 1924; Kornovenko, Pasichna 2019).

D.K. Kvitka in the notes to the report published by the Poltava Society of Agriculture M.O. Puzankevich "The results of the inspection of the winter shoots in 1891 in the Kyrakivsky estate of Prince VO Kudashev "pointed out the shortcomings or, rather, the inappropriateness of the first research work program of Prince VO Kudasheva. It should be noted that among its developers was OO Izmail. Like no other, well understanding the enormous practical significance of the developed VO Kudashev's method of combating numerous droughts, which only in the nineteenth century. there were 40, and therefore, with hunger, the leader of the local community DK Kvitka did his best to put the prince's ideas into practice, despite the lack of appropriate theory and academic methodology for conducting a field experiment. Beginning in 1894, the Poltava research field organized special experiments with four pairs rising at different times. Thus, along with the black and May pairs that had already been tested in the old Trypillia, the new experiment began to study the April and June pairs, which before V.O. Kudashev was not there. We can say that to some extent the prince's research became the prototype or basis of the well-known research work of the Poltava research field on early plowing of green vapors, according to the developed plan of activities of its first director BP The tortoise. However, his research VO Kudashev started earlier than the Poltava research field. Later, K. Mankivsky in the collection "Results of the Poltava research field for 20 years (1886-1906) paid tribute to the work of the prince, noting that" (V.O. Kudashev, having organized experiments on his estate in Kremenchug district to study the importance of plowing depth, manure and green manure, etc., quite by chance was the first to come across the fact of a huge impact on the winter harvest of plowing time. Despite various discussions, the effect of the introduction in production, as always, eventually put an end to the "and" (Chekrizov, 2002).

It should be mentioned the contribution of Prince VO Kudasheva in the study of agro-economic issues, in particular on improving the technology of harvesting grain crops, especially winter crops, which are little known and the development of methods for evaluating field experiments. It turned out that at the beginning of the last

century he systematized his own work not only in the field of ecology, but also for the needs of the economy (especially in relation to the cost of cultivated products) and cited some information about them in a number of publications in *Zemlerobskaya Gazeta*. Thus, he laid the practical foundations for the emergence of the agricultural economy in Ukraine as a science. In the late 80's of the XIX century, under the auspices of the Poltava Society of Agriculture, he organizes a competition to develop new approaches to storing straw and improve its classic form in the form of a mound. To this end, he proposed an original method of examination, when the sheaves, folded in different ways, stood in the field: 1) 2 weeks; 2) 1 month and 3) 1.5 months. It should be noted that no one in the country conducted a systematic analysis to determine the positive consequences of replacing live labor with technical equipment for harvesting bread (which cost a lot of money), because the agricultural economy as a science did not exist then. Prince V.O. Kudashev began to spend, based on the fact that the average yield of winter and spring breads in Poltava region (according to the results of his six-year experiments) was about 150 poods of grain per tith. It turned out that in the case of the content in one mound on average 5-6 poods of wheat grain, the cost of stacking sheaves in the mound was 30 kopecks, and directly to the thresher - 25 kopecks. on the tith. Thus, the previous transportation in the mound cost the owner 6 rubles, and directly to the thresher - 5 rubles, without taking into account additional organizational costs. Another important result of the research of Prince VO Kudashev was to establish the dependence of the amount of so-called "thin grain" obtained from the premature mowing of plants, especially in places with a valley relief. With premature mowing under the action of sun and wind, the grain became wrinkled and light. To find out the optimal time for harvesting bread, depending primarily on climatic conditions, Prince VO Kudashev conducted additional special studies. To this end, he selected 40 acres of winter and spring wheat from the entire grain crop, divided them into 80 plots, and developed an additional program to monitor the processes of mowing, knitting sheaves, and laying in the mound. These studies lasted five years, but were not fully completed due to the circumstances that led to the sale of the farm. As a result, tens and hundreds of tables with numbers were obtained. At that time (even during the rule of serfdom), the cutting of bread from the plots was considered a prerequisite, given the peculiarities of the climate of the central regions of the country. By definition, Prince VO Kudashev, this concept meant "... mowing in the period of ripeness, when the bulk of the grain - up to about two-thirds - may not be effortless, crushed and then easily half-rubbed between two or three fingers" (Kudashev, 1891, p. 67-69). He compared the force required to crushing grain to the force of crushing a hardened white candle wax. The main thing is that the fingers do not feel wet, because this is a sure sign that the grain has not reached. Thus, the grain, with the exception of the ground (secondary and generally late shoots), should be in the middle stage of yellow ripeness. During this period, the roots and the first internodes are actually drying

up and nutrients do not reach the ear, much less the grain. Therefore, mowing at this time does not affect the final formation (filling) of the grain, as this process ends in the ear and the upper, closest to it, part of the stem. The advantages of mowing in this period should also include the fact that the assembly of plants in the mound protects them from the sun and wind and prevents the effects of drought, which is typical for this time of year in the region. The correctness of this approach, Prince VO Kudashev confirmed the results of observations at six research sites (1 tenth each) with spring wheat harvest in 1891.

It was possible to establish other useful cases of V.O. Kudashev for the prosperity of the region, primarily for the needs of industry research, namely: the publication of a series of articles by the scientist on the use of corn as a precursor of winter wheat, growing green manure crops, mulching and fertilizing fields. The latter was considered by the prince to be an obligatory condition for farming not only to increase the productivity of fields, but also, most importantly, to increase soil fertility (Samorodov, 2014).

A sign of respect from the always conservative in the perception of innovations of the Poltava community and especially the intelligentsia can be considered the election of V.O. Kudashev was a member of the Kremenchug County Assembly from 1884, along with the performance of the functions of the Zemstvo chief of the second section of this county from July 12, 1889 to August 8, 1891. His public activity was no less fruitful. By order of October 27, 1884, he became a correspondent of the Main Department of Horse Breeding in Poltava Province. The County Zemsky Assembly repeatedly elected him an honorary justice of the peace of the Kremenchug Judicial and Peace Center (September 20, 1880, May 22, 1881, May 31, 1884, September 24, 1892 and September 21, 1893) and Khorolsky. 1872, February 23, 1887) of the counties of Poltava province (Vergunov, Kovalenko, Saiko, 1998).

The contribution of Prince VO was not fully studied. Kudashev in the further development of domestic animal husbandry, especially for the needs of Poltava region. In his estate he was successfully engaged in breeding Orel breeds of horses, not only with the use of the latest scientific developments, but also for the purpose of wide commodity production. The best horses from his stables received various awards at the national and local levels. Thus, at the All-Russian Agricultural Exhibition in 1887 in Kharkov in the trotting department for four of his horses, he received a large silver medal. It is no coincidence that 20 of his breeding mares since 1888 became the genetic source material for the newly created Grand Duke DK Romanov Dibrivsky horse factory in Poltava region. It was for the needs of increasing the productivity of animal husbandry in 1886 that Prince VO Kudashev was the first in the country to take care of the breeding of Karakul sheep, the source material for which he received from purebred breeders of the Poltava Agricultural Society. For his services to the above-mentioned society in 1904 he was elected an honorary member.

The first scientific articles of Prince VO Kudashev were devoted to the problems of horse breeding. They began to appear in the early 80's of the XIX century. in the

"Agricultural newspaper". But the researcher himself considered them rather promotional. The article based on the results of six years of parallel experiments on fattening young animals with phosphoric acid compounds, published in the Journal of the State Horse Breeding in 1888, was more or less scientifically fundamental. It was translated into English and French and published in the Journal d'Agriculture and published in a separate brochure in English. Due to the results obtained, it is believed that Prince VO Kudashev was almost the first in domestic scientific practice to conclude that for the full formation of the bones of a young organism (not only horses) it is important to introduce with the feed the appropriate rate of phosphoric lime in any form, including artificial, just to assimilate it (Journal meetings, 1892, pp. 4-10; Borodai, 2019; Bey, 2019).

Having spent their own fortune on research, as well as having certain personal reasons to change the situation, V.O. Kudashev was forced in mid-1895 to leave his favorite farm, where he lived almost without leaving, and return to public service in the newly created Ministry of Agriculture and State Property as an assistant manager of state property Akmola, Semipalatinsk and Semirchensk regions. Already on May 14, 1896 by the Most Merciful Decree of Prince VO Kudashev was awarded the Order of St. Vladimir the Apostle III degree.

The prince was able to apply his organizational talents and acquired scientific knowledge after his appointment in 1897 as his manager of state property, first in the Astrakhan and then in the Omsk province. His skill as an organizer and expert in agrarian affairs in the Astrakhan province was revealed to the greatest extent. Under the leadership of Prince VO Kudashev in the region was not only a survey of sands through the Commission for the Study of Natural, Historical and Economic Conditions in 1898, but also proposed a set of measures for their reclamation. There were also his victories in the field of education in the organization and deployment of educational institutions, as well as the Forest Protection Committee, not to mention a series of original articles and brochures on the state of animal husbandry in the region. The brochure "Animal Husbandry in the Astrakhan Province" (1900, St. Petersburg, 29 p.) Is still in scientific circulation and is used in industry monitoring research. For significant achievements on April 1, 1901 by the imperial order of Prince VO Kudashev was awarded the rank of a real state adviser.

The following year the prince returned to St. Petersburg, where by order of November 19, 1901 he was appointed official of special assignments of the V class of the Ministry of Agriculture and State Property. Holding this position, during 1901–1904 he worked mainly as the editor-in-chief of the leading branch publications: Zemlerobskaya Gazeta, Visnyk selskoho hospodarstva, Silske hospodarstvo i lisivnytstvo, and Visti Ministry of State Property. Another aspect of VO's talent was revealed in his editorial activity. Kudashev as a popularizer of branch research. This was confirmed by the award of the magazine "Zemlerobskaya Gazeta" with a gold medal at the International Exhibition of Magazines and Newspapers

in 1902, as well as numerous letters of approval from readers who came to the editorial office after the prince left her for health (fatigue) (Modestov, 1924).

In addition to editorial work, during this period VO Kudashev also works in the Railway Department and is a member of the Board of the Main Department of the State Horse Breeding. In 1904 he became an honorary member of the oldest in the Russian Empire, the Imperial Moscow Society of Agriculture. The service required a permanent stay in the capital, the climate of which did not suit him. Eventually, in 1908, after undergoing a difficult operation, the prince was forced to resign and move to Kharkiv to his sister Julia Hirschman. Despite his state of health, with the beginning of the First World War, Prince V.O. Kudashev could not stay away and began to actively engage in the organization of the cavalry of the active army, primarily as a first-class connoisseur of working and draft type of horses, as well as procurement of fodder and provisions for them. In this regard, despite his illness, he was constantly on the move (Samorodov, 2014).

Scientific achievements of VO Kudashev for 1889–1910 is 212 publications, of which - 7 books and brochures, 118 articles, 17 reviews and 69 "answers" to questions from readers of the weekly "Zemlerobskaya Gazeta". It should be added that Prince VO Kudashev strongly encouraged educated progressive owners who were interested in the latest developments in the agricultural sector and implemented them in their own farms, sent the results of their experimentation for publication on the pages of "Zemlerobskaya Gazeta". In many respects, it is thanks to such conscious figures of the higher aristocracy as Prince VO Kudashev was the formation of agricultural research as a field of knowledge and a component of science and culture of the nation.

For a long time, the date of death and burial place of Prince VO remained unknown. Kudasheva. With the help of his granddaughter from his sister Julia - a citizen of France Victoria Alexandrovna Hirschman-Comos managed to fill this gap. As evidenced by a personal letter sent by her, Prince VO Kudashev died in 1916 and was buried in the family crypt in one of the cemeteries of Kharkiv. Studies in the State Archives of Kharkiv region showed that Prince VO Kudashev died on September 8, 1916. He died of liver cancer and was buried two days later in the now destroyed Ioano-Usiknovensky (first city) cemetery in Kharkiv. Shortly before his death, Prince VO Kudashev, through a personal appeal to Nicholas II, passed his princely title to the godfather and nephew OL Hirschman (Chekrizov, 2002; Vergunov, Kovalenko, Saiko, 2018; Kovalenko, 2019).

Conclusions. So for the first time in the Russian Empire, Prince VO Kudashev broke stereotypes in his views on the depth of tillage for winter crops, experimentally proving the benefits of shallow tillage as a way to preserve moisture. Works on this problem were awarded the Gold Medal of the Imperial Free Economic Society (1896). The principles of soil moisture conservation developed by Volodymyr Oleksandrovych remain the basis of modern organic farming and domestic crop production, are widely used in practice, especially in

the introduction of soil protection system of agriculture with contour-ameliorative organization of the territory. Volodymyr Oleksandrovych's scientific heritage, which concerns the issues of tillage since 1890, has been in demand for the third century by agronomists and historians of branch science. The contribution of Prince VO Kudashev in the further development of domestic animal husbandry, especially for the needs of Poltava region is inexhaustible for study, which (together with Prince VS Kochubey, VY Arondar, etc.) is directly involved in the glory of Poltava region not only in the field of agronomy, but also breeding famous thoroughbred horses, working primarily under the auspices of the Poltava Society of Agriculture.

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Столяр О.П. Наукова діяльність князя В.О. Кудашева з розвитку теоретико-методологічних засад агрономії та тваринництва (друга пол. XIX ст. – поч. XX ст.)

У статті висвітлено науково-дослідницьку діяльність князя В.О. Кудашева з питань агрономії і тваринництва. При проведенні дослідження використовували як загальнонаукові так і спеціальні методи наукового пізнання. На основі проведеного дослідження було з'ясовано, що результати унікальних досліджень, проведених В.О. Кудашевим впродовж 1878–1888 рр. дали йому змогу першим у вітчизняній галузевій науці експериментально довести переваги м'якого обробітку ґрунту як ефективного способу збереження ґрунтової вологи. Князем було запропоновано конкретний план застосування агрозаходів, спрямованих на оптимізацію фізичних параметрів ґрунту, для отримання сталих врожаїв озимини в умовах недостатнього зволоження, а також удосконалено технології збирання зернових культур. Наукову значущість становлять дослідження князя з питань тваринництва. Так, у 1886 р. В.О. Кудашев першим у країні почав займатися розведенням каракульських овець. У своєму маєтку князь успішно розводив також і коней орловської породи. У 1887р. він як власник першокласного для свого часу кінського заводу в 350 голів взяв участь у роботі кінського відділу Харківської сільськогосподарської виставки, у результаті чого за чотирьох коней по рисистому відділенню він отримав велику срібну медаль. Науковою фундаментальністю та новизною для свого часу вирізнялася його стаття, надрукована в 1888 р. у «Журналі Державного кіннозаводства», в якій було викладено результати шестирічних дослідів з відгодівлі молодяку кормами, що містили фосфорнокислі сполуки. Князь встановив оптимальне дозування введення в раціон двохошовного фосфорнокислого ванна у перші два та 3–4 роки життя коня на тлі необмеженого харчування. На посаді редактора трьох провідних вітчизняних галузевих видань впродовж 1901–1904 рр. розкрилася ще одна грань таланту В.О. Кудашева — як прекрасного популяризатора галузевого дослідництва. Невдовзі після його призначення редактором часопис «Землеробська газета» було відзначено золотою медаллю на Міжнародній виставці журналів і газет у 1902 р.

Ключові слова: князь В.О. Кудашев; Кирияківське дослідне поле; сільське господарство; рослинництво; тваринництво; дослідження

Столяр О.П. Научная деятельность князя В.А. Кудашева по развитию теоретико-методологических основ агрономии и животноводства (вторая пол. XIX в. - нач. XX в.)

В статье освещены научно-исследовательскую деятельность князя В.А. Кудашева по вопросам агрономии и животноводства. При проведении исследования использовали как общенаучные так и специальные методы научного познания. На основе проведенного исследования было установлено, что результаты уникальных исследований, проведенных В.А. Кудашевым в течение 1878-1888 гг. позволили ему первым в отечественной отраслевой науке экспериментально доказать преимущества мелкого оброботки как эффективного способа сохранения почвенной влаги. Князем было предложено конкретный план применения зимостойкости, направленных на оптимизацию физических параметров почвы, для получения устойчивых урожаев озимых в условиях недостаточного увлажнения, а также усовершенствована технология уборки зерновых культур. Научную значимость представляют

исследования князя по вопросам животноводства. Так, в 1886 В.А. Кудашев первым в стране начал заниматься разведением каракульских овец. В своем имени князь успешно разводил также и лошадей орловской породы. В 1887. он как владелец первоклассного для своего времени конского завода в 350 голов принял участие в работе конского отдела Харьковской сельскохозяйственной выставки, в результате чего за четырех лошадей по рысистых отделению он получил большую серебряную медаль. Научной фундаментальностью и новизной для своего времени отличалась его статья, напечатанная в 1888 г.. В «Журнале Государственного коннозаводства», в которой была изложена результаты шестилетних опытов по откорму молодняка кормами, содержащих фосфорнокислые соединения. Князь установил оптимальную дозировку введения в рацион двух основных фосфорнокислого извести в первые два и 3-4 года жизни лошади на фоне неограниченного питания. В должности редактора трех ведущих отечественных отраслевых изданий в течение 1901-1904

гг. Раскрылась еще одна грань таланта В.А. Кудашева - как прекрасного популяризатора отраслевого исследовательницы. Вскоре после его назначения редактором журнал «земледельческая газета» было отмечено золотой медалью на Международной выставке журналов и газет в 1902

Ключевые слова: князь В.А. Кудашев; Кириякивське опытное поле; сельское хозяйство; растениеводство; животноводство; исследования

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PROFESSOR M. O. TIULENIEV'S (1889-1969) SCIENTIFIC HERITAGE IN FIELD OF LAND RECLAMATION AND SWAMP CULTURE

Shulha N.V.

НАУКОВИЙ ДОРОБОК ПРОФЕСОРА М. О. ТЮЛЕНЄВА (1889-1969 РР.) В ГАЛУЗІ АГРОМЕЛІОРАЦІЇ ТА КУЛЬТУРИ БОЛІТ

Шульга Н.В.

The article analyzes scientific heritage of Professor, Corresponding Member of AS of USSR, specialist in agro-reclamation, teacher Mykola Oleksandrovych Tiuleniev (1889-1969), devoted on issues of theory, methodology and practice of land reclamation experimental work and swamp culture. Author used historical-genetic, historical-chronological, problematic, historical-comparative, personal and biographical methods. In addition, methods of systematization, source study criticism and content-analysis were used. In particular, the following scientist papers were subject for consideration: «Review of events on the culture of forage plants. 1908-1913», «Storage of tubers», «A few words about swamp culture in Baltic region», «Prospects of the development of the peat industry in Ukraine», «What should do on swamp and how better use it», «About previous cultures at swamp improvement», «Radical improvement of Polissia due to increased yields swamp», «Course on meadow study», «Summary of results of the work of swamp base points of USSR» and others.

It is stated, that M. O. Tiuleniev is author more than 200 scientific papers (books, brochures, reports, articles in scientific collections and periodicals, papers under his scientific editorship), some of which are still unpublished. Complete (supplemented, updated) bibliography of the Professor's papers still waits for its researcher. In addition, all his scientific heritage requires detailed analysis and professional evaluation in context of prospect for development land reclamation experimental work.

It is proved, that M. O. Tiuleniev's achievements along with other scientists on study of nature of swamps and peatlands, properties of peat, swamp soils, the achievements on performance of drainage and hydraulic reclamation and agrotechnical measures of agriculture management became base of institutional formation a new component of experimental land reclamation work – swamp culture. The article analyzes in particular the scientist's contribution to the development of important issues of agro-amelioration and cultivation of crops on the drained swamp soils.

The scientist is rightly called a recognized classic of reclamation-experimental work of country of Soviet period.

Keywords: M. O. Tiuleniev, agro-reclamation, swamp culture, drainage of swamp, peat soils, swamp experimental station.

Mykola Oleksandrovych Tiuleniev (1889-1969) – Professor, Corresponding Member of the AS of the Ukrainian SSR, agro-ameliorator, teacher – belongs to a cohort of scientists who have made a significant contribution to the development of theory, methodology and practice of agro-ameliorative researches and swamp culture, as well as the training of branch specialists in Ukraine. M. O. Tiuleniev's professional career is connected with the Minsk Swamp Experimental Station (now – the Republican Scientific Subsidiary Unitary Enterprise «Institute of Land Reclamation» of the Scientific-Practical Center of the National Academy of Sciences of Belarus on Agriculture) (1911-1912), Department of Agriculture in St. Petersburg (Russian Federation), Provincial Land Department in Kyiv (1919-1921), Ukrmeliozem of People's Commissariat of Land Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR (1922-1923), Agricultural Scientific Committee of Ukraine (now – National Academy of Agrarian Sciences of Ukraine) (since 1921), Rudnia-Radovil Swamp Experimental Station (1923-1932), Kyiv Agricultural Institute (now – National University of Life and Environmental Sciences of Ukraine) (1923-1930), Ukrainian Research Institute of Hydraulic Engineering and Land Reclamation (Kharkiv, Odessa), Institute of Water Problems and Land Reclamation (1930's, late 1950's – 1960's), Kyiv Hydromelioration Institute (now – National University of Water Management and Nature Management in Rivne) (late 1930's – late 1940's), Supiysk Swamp Experimental Station (now – Panphilsk Experimental Station NSC «Institute of Agriculture of NAAS») (Yagotyn district Kyiv region) (early 1940's), the Institute of Plant Physiology and Agrochemistry of the AS of the Ukrainian SSR (now the Institute of Plant Physiology and Genetics of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine) (1950's) and other research institutions specializing on the study and practical implementation of agricultural reclamation in Ukraine.

In 2019, the 130th anniversary of the researcher's birthday celebrated on the state level, that actualizes his figure and creative heritage. We are convinced that the creation of an in-depth scientific biography of the scientist is an important and relevant task.

The activity and scientific heritage of the scientist have studied by O. Bachkala [3], V. Verhunov [4; 5], Yu. Dovgoruk [6] and others scientists; bibliographic indexes of M.O.Tiuleniev's scientific papers have published [21; 22].

The author used historical-genetic, historical-chronological, problematic, historical-comparative, personological and biographical methods. In addition, methods of systematization, source study criticism and content analysis were used.

M. O. Tiuleniev is the author of more than 200 scientific papers, some of which are currently unpublished (according to the testimony of M. O. Tiuleniev, dated 1958, there are 73 author's works in manuscript form for the period 1927-1950 in the amount of 164 printed sheets [5, p. 57]). Thus, the index [22] contains a bibliographic description of 218 papers by M. O. Tiuleniev, including 198 works – books, brochures, reports, articles in collections and periodicals (published and manuscripts), as well as 20 works by his scientific editor. A complete (supplemented, updated) bibliography of the professor's works is still waiting for its researcher.

M. O. Tiuleniev's first works were published while his work at the Minsk Swamp Experimental Station (1911-1912). This is, in particular, an article with the results of agronomic and agrophysical studies of peat soils [20] from different parts of Minsk province: estates «Vysoke» by M. I. Demidov (Minsk district), «Verkali» by M. O. Shistovskiyi (Minsk district), «Velen» by P. M. Mirkovych (Igumen district), «Lakhva» of the Peasant Land Bank (Mozyr district). The obtained practical results are still used in the professional circles in monitoring studies of the ecological condition of reclaimed soils of the Republic of Belarus.

A unique work of the first period of M. O. Tiuleniev's work is «Review of events on the culture of forage plants. 1908-1913» (St. Petersburg, 1914, contains 36 drawings, 6 cartograms and diagrams, 2 plans), that analyzes the background of the formation and development of swamp culture in the Russian Empire [1]. M. O. Tiuleniev is the author of the article «Storage of tubers», in which he proved to be an experienced agronomist who was professionally known on the process of growing potatoes on drained peat soils [19].

Significant is the article «A few words about the culture of swamps in the Baltic region» by M. O. Tiuleniev (1913) [18]. The researcher prepared a publication based on the materials of a sightseeing trip to the Estland, Liphland and Courland provinces to study the culture of swamps. The author noted the Baltics as the first region of the Russian Empire in terms of swamp culture, analyzing farms in the estate by Baron Claude «Engelgardshof», it situated in 49 miles from Riga on a mossy swamp, drained and used for pastures,

and the estate «Thuringiahof» for culture of meadow in 6 miles from Riga.

The courses on swamp culture for graduates of special agricultural educational establishments at the Riga Polytechnic Institute, which were taken care by Professor of university V. A. von Knirim, helped M. O. Tiuleniev to prepare thorough works on agroameliorative experimental case. Course listeners studied applied botany, soil science, geodesy, peat utilization, methods of chemical analysis, meadow farming onion, swamp culture. In addition, in the summer of 1912 M. O. Tiuleniev was sent to Sweden (Stockholm, Yongening), Denmark (Copenhagen), Germany (Berlin, North Prussia) to consolidate his knowledge, and visited the swamp farms of some provinces of the Russian Empire and the Baltics.

Thus, the first scientific papers by M. O. Tiuleniev, prepared during the Belarusian period of creativity (1911-1913), became a solid foundation for further developments in the field of agroameliorative experimental work and swamp culture

M. O. Tiuleniev's first position in Ukraine (after returning from Belarus and abroad traveling) was senior specialist in swamp culture of the Kyiv Provincial Land Department, and later – also assistant director of the partnership «Peat» (Proskuriv). In June 1921 he began working in the inspection-training department of the Kyiv Food Commission as a senior inspector of the technical part of the partnership «Ukrpeat» (Kyiv), which spread its activities in Poltava, Kharkiv and Kremenchug province. M. O. Tiuleniev's professional responsibilities included the processes of survey of swamps to determine the suitability of its development for fuel, the organization of peat extraction through «Provincepeat» in the places. From May 1922, M. O. Tiuleniev went to work, according to some sources, acting head of the scientific-technical department of Ukrmeliozem in Kharkiv, according to others – the head of its researching-reclamation part, which carried out the general management of activities of research-reclamation stations in Ukraine. From January 1923 he was a senior specialist in the research-reclamation work of this unit. This structure was tasked with determining the properties and qualities of peat, the conditions of its extraction and economic use. The experience of working in these positions and conducting practical work in this direction enabled M. O. Tiuleniev to prepare a thorough generalizing work «Prospects for the development of the peat industry in Ukraine» (1927), which systematized the statistical materials on the study of swamps and peat bogs of Ukraine.

Heading the Rudnia-Radovilsk Swamp Experimental Station during 1923-1932, M. O. Tiuleniev became the initiator and direct contributor to seven issues of the «Papers» of the station, which, starting from the fourth issue, also contained a summary in German. All this made it possible to widely represent the results of long-term field research of the station both in Ukraine and abroad. The researches by M. O. Tiuleniev with economic calculations on the profitability of growing

oats, vetch-oat compound and potatoes on cultivated drained soils, on the profitability of bean cultivation in the case of appropriate agronomic measures (work «What should do on the swamp and how better were to use it» (1927) [11] were published in the «Papers» of the station. In the mentioned work of the scientist the experience of the organization of drainage reclamation of many countries of Western Europe on the use of peat-swamp soils after surface improvement and ground improvement was generalized, as well as offered practical recommendations for the organization of this work on domestic soils, in particular, in the Ukrainian Polissia. M. O. Tiuleniev substantiated the importance of implementing a set of agronomic measures after drainage: tillage, fertilization, timing and rates of sowing, sorts of plant, crop rotations, stock, care; calculated an economic efficiency.

M. O. Tiuleniev also studied the place and role of previous crops to improve peat soils (these aspects are covered in the work «On previous crops to improve the swamp» (1928) [10]). Thus, it was proved the feasibility of sowing oats on swamp lands next 8-10 days after the start of spring field work, as well as vetch-oat compound for fertilizer. At two-year preliminary culture of oat of vetch-oat compound it is recommended to cultivate row crops (potatoes or vegetables – cucumbers, onions, cabbage, eggplants, cucumbers), and at the three-year – first peas or buckwheat, then – row cultures. Continuation of this topic was found in M. O. Tiuleniev's brochure «Radical improvement of Polissia swamps due to increased yield» (1930) [15], in which he argued the impossibility of carrying out all the necessary set of drainage measures by some land users, it was possible only by the so-called spinning, livestock and dairy collective associations, namely collective farms, according to which the scientist saw the future. Of course, such approaches could not to gain the approval of government structures, which both ideologically and financially supported such research, and in practice – contributed to the development of drainage reclamation.

In addition, M. O. Tiuleniev developed schemes for the organization of experimental-demonstration plots on the culture of swamps on the lands of reclamation partnership, groups, some peasants; this applied to the districts within the Volyn, Chernihiv, and northern parts of the Kyiv and Poltava provinces. Schemes have been developed for: 1) surface improvement without plowing on peat soil of grass-sedge bogs; 2) radical improvement (with plowing). M. O. Tiuleniev also developed 6 schemes for setting up experimental-demonstration plots on meadow culture, which were divided into two parts: 1) surface improvement without plowing on flooded and dry meadows (schemes for sandy, loamy and peat soil); 2) radical improvement with plowing (schemes for sandy, loamy and peat soil). M. O. Tiuleniev prepared a «Short instruction on the laying of experimental-demonstration plots of mass type in swamps with peat soil and on meadows (floodplain and dry)» and a special «Form for the description and

calculation of experimental-demonstration plots on the culture of swamps and meadows», which were recommended for widespread implementation in practice [5, p. 45-46].

It is worth mentioning the unique work by M. O. Tiuleniev, which, unfortunately, was never published – «Course on meadow farming» [2], which was prepared by scientists as a course on the culture of swamps and meadow farming and taught to students while his working on part-time in 1923-1930 at the Kyiv Agricultural Institute (now – NULES of Ukraine). M. O. Tiuleniev is the author of «Instructions on methods of research work on the swamps» (1932), «Methods of research on the culture of swamps» (1933), «To issue the methods and themes of experiments on alkaline type swamps» (1934), which now also remain in manuscript.

The article «Summary of the results of the swamp lands of the Ukrainian SSR» (1936) by M. O. Tiuleniev was a generalization of the work and experience of domestic scientists in the field of drainage reclamation of the prewar period under the methodological coordination of the Ukrainian Research Institute of Hydraulic Engineering and Land Reclamation [14]. In the publication, scientists highlighted the professional achievements of Rudnia-Radovel Base Point, Pidstavsk Swamp Base Point, Buriv Swamp Experimental Field and Sulsk Central Swamp Base Point. The main results of the experiments conducted at these points were: to establish the impossibility of increasing the yield of any crop on acidic swamp lands without the application of potash fertilizers; the need to drain grain; fixation the fact that potatoes taken from rainfed lands for planting on swamp lands for four years have lost viral diseases, inherent for mineral soils, and among technical crops, hemp, tobacco (especially shag), sugar beets and chicory grow the best on peat soils; the importance of choosing 14 crop rotations according to the specialization of the agricultural region, etc.

M. O. Tiuleniev's generalization on issues of soil preparation and cultivation, fertilization of swamp lands (acidic, neutral and alkaline), farming, cultivation of row and technical crops, vegetable and berry crops, sown meadows and pastures, its surface improvement, weed control and the use of fertilizers on mineral soils can be used for the introduction of modern housekeeping conditions on drained peat-swamp soils [5, p. 56]. In his speeches at plenums and conferences, the scientist made public information on the norms and degree of drainage, chemical reclamation and fertilization processes, agricultural techniques for technical crop growing and, first of all, sugar beet, tobacco, hemp, mint and cereals; he singled out a number of factors that hindered the introduction of drainage reclamation: the lack of special tools and machines, a sufficient amount of mineral fertilizers, as well as agro-reclamation specialists.

M. O. Tiuleniev performed a number of special studies on the culture of growing of sugar beets [7; 8; 12; 13; 16; 17], which were summarized in his doctoral dissertation «Growing sugar beets on drained peat soils of the Ukrainian SSR», defended by him in 1940 at a

meeting of the Specialized Scientific Council at the Moscow Hydromelioration Institute named after V. R. Williams.

The scientist-practitioner improved the study of sugar beet culture on drained peat soils, in particular, proving, despite the doubts of famous scientists, that under sugar beets should be taken well drained soils with sufficient aeration. Thus, under the leadership and with the direct participation of M. O. Tiuleniev, the following issues were studied at the production plots: 1) the influence of the degree of drainage of peat soils on the yield of sugar beets; 2) agricultural techniques of sugar beets on peat soils – the study of the impact on yield and quality of sugar beets of different depths of tillage, sowing dates, the optimal depth of seed wrapping; study of the influence of seed vernalization, soil rolling, feeding area, number of inter-row tillage, breaking time, etc.; 3) chemicalization of peat soils – study of the influence on the yield of sugar beets of the ratio of components of mineral fertilizers, norms of potassium fertilizers, the influence of microfertilizers, layer fertilization, etc.; 4) crop rotation of sugar beets on peat soils; 5) variety testing of sugar beets; 6) obtaining high yields of sugar beets on peat soils [5, p. 59-60].

Mykola Oleksandrovych Tiuleniev became a recognized classic of reclamation-research work in the country of the Soviet period. Moreover, since the mid-1960's, the swamp culture as a doctrine of the natural properties of wetlands and the transformation of low-productivity areas into highly productive fields has been comprehensively developed in the professional scientific surrounding. Achievements of domestic scientists on study the nature of swamps and peatlands, properties of peat, swamp soils, success in drainage and hydraulic reclamation and agro-technical measures of agriculture management declared the institutional forming of a new component of agro-ameliorative research work – the culture of swamps, combining knowledge of swamp science, soil science, land reclamation and agricultural technician of crops. An extraordinary role in this belongs to the Corresponding Member of AS of the Ukrainian SSR, Professor M. O. Tiuleniev, whose scientific developments were actively used in the republic in period of the swamp drainage.

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Шульга Н. В. Науковий доробок професора М. О. Тюленєва (1889-1969 рр.) в галузі агро меліорації та культури боліт.

У статті проаналізовано наукову спадщину професора, член-корреспондента АН УРСР, агро меліоратора, педагога Миколи Олександровича Тюленєва (1889-1969 рр.), присвячену питанням теорії, методології та практики агро меліоративної дослідної справи та культури боліт. Авторкою використувалися історико-генетичний, історико-хронологічний, проблемний, історико-порівняльний, персоналогічний та біографічний методи. Крім того, застосовано методи систематизації, джерелознавчої критики та контент-аналіз.

Розгляду підлягали, зокрема, наступні праці вченого: «Огляд міроприємств по культурі кормових рослин. 1908-1913», «Зберігання бульб», «Деякі слів про культуру боліт у Прибалтійському краї», «Перспективи розвитку торфяної промисловості на Україні», «Що треба робити на болоті і як краще використати його», «Про попередні культури при поліпшенні болота», «Корінне поліпшення

болот Полісся в зв'язку з підвищенням врожайності», «Курс по лувіництву», «Зведення результатів роботи болотних опорних пунктів УСРР» та ін.

Констатовано, що М. О. Тюленев є автором більше 200 наукових робіт (книги, брошури, звіти, статті у збірниках та періодичних виданнях, праці за його науковою редакцією), частина з яких наразі залишаються не оприлюдненими Повна (доповнена, уточнена) бібліографія робіт професора ще чекає свого дослідника. Крім того, детальний аналіз та фахової оцінки потребує увесь його науковий спадок у контексті перспектив розвитку агро меліоративної дослідної справи.

Доведено, що саме досягнення М. О. Тюленєва наряду з іншими вченими щодо вивчення природи боліт і торфовищ, властивостей торфу, болотних ґрунтів, здобутків у проведенні осушувальних і гідротехнічних меліорацій та агротехнічних заходів ведення землеробства стали підґрунтям інституційного оформлення нової складової агро меліоративної дослідної справи – культури боліт. У статті проаналізовано внесок вченого в розробку важливих питань агро меліорації та вирощування сільськогосподарських культур на осушених болотних ґрунтах.

Ученого по праву називають визнаним класиком меліоративно-дослідної справи країни радянського періоду.

Ключові слова: М. О. Тюленев, агро меліорація, культура боліт, осушення боліт, торфові ґрунти, болотна дослідна станція.

Шульга Н. В. Научное наследие профессора Н. А. Тюленева (1889-1969 гг.) в области агро меліорации и культуры болот.

В статье проанализировано научное наследие профессора, член-корреспондента АН УССР, агро меліоратора, педагога Николая Александровича Тюленева (1889-1969 гг.), посвященное вопросам теории, методологии и практики агро меліоративного исследовательского дела и культуры болот. Автором использовались историко-генетический, историко-хронологический, проблемный, историко-сравнительный, персоналогический и биографический методы. Кроме того, применены методы систематизации, источниковедческой критики и контент-анализ.

Рассмотрению подлежали, в частности, следующие труды ученого: «Обзор мероприятий по культуре кормовых растений. 1908-1913», «Хранение клубней», «Несколько слов о культуре болот в Прибалтийском крае», «Перспективы развития торфяной промышленности на Украине», «Что надо делать на болоте и как лучше использовать его», «О предварительных культурах при улучшении болота», «Коренное улучшение болот Полесья в связи с повышением урожайности», «Курс по луговодству», «Сводка результатов работы болотных опорных пунктов УССР» и др.

Констатировано, что Н. А. Тюленев является автором более 200 научных работ (книги, брошюры, отчеты, статьи в сборниках и периодических изданиях, труды под его научной редакцией), часть из которых сейчас остаются не обнародованными. Полная (дополненная, уточненная) библиография работ профессора еще ждет своего исследователя. Кроме того, детальный анализ и профессиональной оценки требует всё его научное наследие в контексте перспектив развития агро меліоративного исследовательского дела.

Доказано, что именно достижения Н. А. Тюленєва наряду с другими учеными по изучению природы болот и торфяников, свойств торфа, болотных почв,

достижений в проведении осушительных и гидротехнических мелиораций и агротехнических мероприятий ведения земледелия стали основой институционального оформления новой составляющей агромелиоративного исследовательского дела – культуры болот. В статье проанализирован вклад ученого в разработку важных вопросов агромелиорации и возвращение сельскохозяйственных культур на высушенных болотных почвах.

Ученого по праву называют признанным классиком мелиоративно-исследовательского дела страны советского периода.

Ключевые слова: Н. А. Тюленев, агромелиорация, культура болот, осушение болот, торфяные почвы, болотная исследовательская станция.

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POWER SUPPLY OF URBAN RESIDENTS IN NAZI OCCUPIED UKRAINE (BETWEEN 1941 – 1944)

Fomin A.V.

ЕНЕРГОЗАБЕЗПЕЧЕННЯ НАСЕЛЕННЯ МІСТ ОКУПОВАНОЇ НАЦИСТАМИ УКРАЇНИ (1941 – 1944 РР.)

Фомін А.В.

In this article, from the standpoint of anthropocentrism, social history, the history of everyday life, the problem of energy supply to residents of Ukrainian cities during the years of Nazi occupation is analyzed. Energy in an industrial society is one of the most important sectors of the economy, ensuring the functioning of industry, transport, water supply and sanitation, lighting and heating of homes. It plays a particularly important role in the life of cities, because the city's infrastructure is the center of population, industry and transport, high-rise buildings, and its normal operation without electricity is impossible. The study reveals the features of the restoration and operation of power plants, street lighting in cities, the cost of electricity, its availability for different groups of the urban population. Aspects of the functioning of urban electric vehicles are also discussed in the article. It is proven that the lack of electricity was felt throughout the entire period of occupation. Its absence restrained the restoration of communal services. Electricity was used primarily by German military units, Volksdeutsche, enterprises and official institutions. The methods of lighting and heating homes that were used by citizens during the years of occupation are considered. In the most difficult period in the winter of 1942, the local population was completely deprived of the right to use electricity at home. Violent measures (up to the execution) were threatened for violation of the order. The reverse situation was observed among the Wehrmacht soldiers who did not save electricity. In general, energy supply could not meet the needs of either the civilian population or industry, especially in the cold periods of the year. The reasons for this situation were the Soviet scorched earth tactics, the evacuation of all resources to the east of the USSR, the Reich's policy of looting and removal of electrical equipment, the lack of fuel and the general energy crisis in Germany as a result of the failure of the blitzkrieg. In their turn, the Nazis themselves, when retreating, also resorted to scorched earth tactics, which, along with heavy fighting and moving of the front line, completely deprived the population of electricity at the final stage of occupation and the Soviet-German war.

Keywords: *Second World War, energy production, power supply, Ukraine, city, occupation, population, Wehrmacht, Volksdeutsche, infrastructure, electric transport, scorched earth tactics, evacuation.*

Introduction. Energy production in an industrial community is one of the essential branches of economy which ensures the functioning of industry, transportation, water supply, lighting and central heating of habitation. It plays the most important role in the life of cities, because urban infrastructure is a center of residence, industry and transportation, high-rise buildings and its normal functioning is impossible without energy supply.

Problem Statement. In this article we attempt to highlight the peculiarities of urban residents power supply, as the most reliant on this amenity, during one of the most important periods in history – the period of Nazi counterurbanization policy. In our opinion, it is the issue of urban residents' life in Ukraine remains to be one of the least explored in native historiography. It concerns also the problem of everyday city functioning, its residents and urban infrastructure maintenance during the Nazi occupation of Ukraine.

A review of recent papers and research.

During the years of independence, Ukrainian historiography had accumulated many published memoirs concerning the Nazi occupation [31; 42; 54], works on economic development [40], state of different regions and zones of occupation [5; 22; 25; 35; 38; 50], the shift from understanding of general political processes to recreation of daily life of different social groups took place [20; 23; 40; 61], cases of collaboration [33; 35; 60]. The notion of occupational regime as a static phenomenon was rejected: the transformation of the regime in connection with military and economic factors was analyzed [35; 43; 55], the analysis of subjective opinions of Reich's leaders on Ukrainian problem [2; 28; 29; 52] was conducted.

Wide application of new methodological approaches allowed to turn the focus of history onto the real needs of people, life or survival of certain social groups, the reception of contemporary tragic occupa-

tional reality by those people and groups as well as its thorough analysis [51; 52; 55].

It must be pointed out that the state of industry and its electric power supply during the years of Nazi occupation is described in historical literature, but the problem of population's and urban infrastructure's energy needs during the years of Nazi occupation of Ukraine, in our opinion, had not received proper attention. To date this problem remains relatively understudied in historical literature. In addition, while the fundamental works on the history of Ukrainian peasant class do exist [24; 40], such works on the history of urban residents are lacking, and the unifying work still does not exist.

Purpose Statement. The purpose of our present article lies in the research of electric power supply of population's and housing and utilities sector's needs during the years of Nazi occupation of Ukraine (1941 – 1944).

The Results.

The scorched earth tactics which was used by the Soviet government during the retreat of the Red Army was mainly concerned with the electric power industry. Initially, we must admit that this tactics had its own laws. The farther in the East the electric energy industry facility was situated, the worse and more systematic damage it suffered from Soviet government. The large areas of West-Ukrainian regions and Right-Bank Ukraine, in military terms, were conquered by Wehrmacht relatively quickly and thus, the electric power industry infrastructure there had considerable chances to survive.

In this way, in Kirovohrad (now – Kropyvnytskyi) the retreating Red Army troops were not able to put out of commission the city's power plant. As soon as the 9th of August 1941 it returned to full operation, all the time growing in output. While in August 1941 it produced 314,6 thousand kilowatt of electricity, in October already 1 million 577 thousand kW, i.e. over three times more than in August. The working cost of electricity amounted to 36,6 kopecks. Instead of three turbines only one was in operation, which necessitated its maintenance repairs every three weeks (usually during Sunday) and left the city without electricity. In December 1941 1717,8 thousand kW was produced [41, 238]. In January 1942 the largest amount of electricity was produced – 1 million 733,4 thousand kW. The power plant's operation was ensured by a crew of 259 workers, 14 engineers and 30 security officers. Since January 1942 applications for electric supply were not accepted because of the lack of fuel for the power plant. The Germans supposed to end the war till then, but the situation on the front line changed dramatically. At the beginning of 1942 it was already obvious that the blitzkrieg had failed [41, 241]. In 1941 at the end of December the planned outages started. Other strict measures were used: for room illumination no more than one light bulb at 60 watts of power was allowed to be used. All the electric heating equipment had to be first registered at the Subscriber Service Center and later they were banned altogether [41, 238]. Unauthorized attachment to

the power supply was banned on pain of 100 thousand rubles of penalty [41, 239]. Apart from central streets and occupational administration buildings the street lights were off [41, 240].

The situation with the renewal of electric power supply was far more difficult in the Eastern Ukraine. Thus, from four power plants of 162 thousand kW output in total, which supplied power to Kharkiv (occupied by Wehrmacht since 24 of October 1941) in 1941, the generator equipment of total output of 135 thousand kW was destroyed or dismantled and the rest was demolished with explosives [46, 147]. The daily struggle of local administration for normal city's day-to-day activity and meeting of essential needs of the population had started. Some headway could be made in this. For example, at the end of November 1941 the turbo generator with an output of 1 thousand kW at a power plant No1 began its work. Later a few smaller generators were commissioned. It allowed producing over 27 million kWh of electricity during the 1942. Besides, six times more electricity was produced in the fourth quarter than in the first. But essential needs of the city amounted to 17 thousand kW of power. And in order to meet those needs it was necessary to renovate DPP – 1 and DPP – 4, what the occupational regime and city authorities failed to do. The lack of electricity was felt during the whole extent of the occupation. It also hindered the renovation of the housing and utilities sector [46, 147]. Electricity was used mostly by German military bases, factories and for lighting government institutions.

The situation in the cities of Stalin region was not much better. At the end of May 1942 the electricity from Dnipro HES, where the Nazi were able to partially restore the dam and two hydro turbines [9, 4]. During 1942 Yuzivka (until 1961 – Stalino, since 1961 up to nowadays – Donetsk) received 5 million kWh of electricity [10, 4]. Although at the end of November 1942 the population was in actuality banned from using it [11, 4]. It was caused mainly by the lack of electricity for industrial needs and the fact that the coal mining industry of the Donbas was not renewed and the general energy crisis of the Reich.

The difficult situation in electric energy production and supply started to show as early as at the end of 1941 and influenced mostly the civilian urban population. Wehrmacht cut down precisely on those needs of the population. In the West-Ukrainian regions and Right-Bank Ukraine as early as November 1941 the announcement about the necessity of electricity and gas economy started to appear in the newspapers. The Jews were ordered to turn off the lights at 20:00 (though by that time the majority of Jewish population was practically eliminated by the Nazi). For disobeying the order the offender would be charged with "high penalties". Drohobych parish elder on 17th of November 1941 had made a speech to the population of the district, calling them to limit the use of kerosene and electricity to a minimum, and ordered the Jews to stop using electricity immediately. Electrical heaters were banned. For diso-

being a penalty, disconnection from electric supply for the winter or even arrest could be enforced.

Current economy of electricity should have been facilitated by regulations that prohibited the use of high-power lamps or limited their number in an apartment. For example, on December 4, 1941, a Stanislavsk (Ivano-Frankivsk) newspaper submitted a notice setting limits on the use of electricity in private premises. Only one of the rooms was allowed to be lighted, and only up to 21:00 [30, 102]. Since December 1941, the Valkivsk district administration also allowed using incandescent lamps with a power not exceeding 40 watts. [30, 103]. On January 1, 1942, Gebietskommissar of Kremenets issued a special order concerning electricity consumers – Jews by nationality. They were obliged, during the compulsory resettlement process, to register power cut-offs and to pay the subscription fee according to the final metering figures. Responsibility for the implementation of the order rested with the Jewish City Council [30, 103].

The urban population of occupied Ukraine found themselves in unlit, unheated premises during the harsh winter of 1941 – 1942, when the temperature dropped to minus 40 degrees Celsius. People tried to adapt to this situation by all means. Inhabitant of Kyiv I. Khoroshunova recalled the times that in winter, ordinary residents were prohibited from using electricity. Violent measures up to execution by the firing squad were enforced to those who would violate the order. Those who had the money bought a bottle of gasoline at the bazaar and made small night lamps to last all night long. She wrote: “poor lighting is a kerosene lamp, but we have no right to complain, because others have only a night lamp, many don’t have even this. It’s dark, it’s cold. I want to sleep all the time. On January 13, 1942, the lights were switched off even in those rare apartments, where until recently it was allowed under special protection and permits” [52, 31]. According to D. Malakov about the occupation of Kyiv: “the electricity then shone only in the apartments occupied by the Germans and Volksdeutsche, and our own evenings were lit by the night lamps”. Inventive people of Kiev “used to illuminate the premises by many means. The most common was a night lamp, or a gas burner, or a wick lamp made from any small glassware. It could have been a pharmacy glass, a round, low glass mustard jar. A tinder, made from cord or thread, was inserted into the bottleneck through a tin tube or a wire twister and kerosene was poured inside. There was not enough of kerosene, it was very saved up. The Germans, if necessary, used patented carbide lamps, gasoline lighters from rifle cartridges” (cited in [31, 121]).

According to eyewitnesses, the same situation occurred in occupied Yuzivka. The people who occupied the First and Second Line homes after their permanent inhabitants were evicted were also driven out by the Nazi because they switched on power and lighting without the permission of the Germans. On the Seventh line, the Germans launched a turbine at the Stalin plant and supplied electricity, but only for themselves. It was

strictly forbidden for local residents to use it. Jews were “moved” en masse to the White Quarry [48, 113].

Not surprisingly, to gain access to the benefits of civilization people tried to be cunning, and pretended to be Germans. Interesting information about this is given by researcher Valentina Shaikan, who notes that this process was greatly intensified in 1942 – 1943, when to confirm your German origin it was enough to find only three witnesses. Thus, it turned out that in Lutsk there were more than 50% of ethnic Germans (18751 people). In the Rivne region, 1,141 people were able to register as Volksdeutsche [60, 10].

How did the occupiers live in Ukrainian cities? It can be argued that they led a relatively comfortable life, some memoirs of which have been preserved. They felt no particular restrictions on lighting and heating. This was explained, among other things, by security issues. In particular, in a published diary of Nándor Fettich (1900 – 1971), a well-known Hungarian scientist, archeologist, art historian, provides some information and personal impressions about the situation on the topic under study. At the end of 1941, this scientist was sent by the Office of A. Rosenberg to describe the cultural values stored in the museums of Kyiv. Here, Nándor Fettich talked with famous Ukrainian scientists who, for various reasons, remained in the occupied city. In general, the Diary contains many interesting details about the life of occupied Kyiv. It states in particular: “We did not dim the windows, turned on four large light bulbs at home” [54, 52]. And “We always have lamps shining everywhere. Electricity is free of charge, the light is on all night in the hallway in front of the apartment and in the yard (by a higher order) for safety. Apartment with heating and electricity is free of charge” [54, 75].

He also notes the administration’s strict stance on supplying electricity to civilians: “We are going to go to Franke with a request from Shugaevsky (a well-known scientist from Kyiv – auth.) to ask him for permission, as for a person engaged in mental work, not to cut off electricity supply in his home according to the new order” [54, 75]. After the New year, they negotiated it for him [54, 81].

Meanwhile, in Kirovohrad, in the summer of 1942, a small power plant was equipped, adapting for this purpose a 15-horsepower wood-burning “Deitz” engine and a gas-generator plant based on the ZIS-21 car engine. By burning firewood up to 8 kW were generated, which was sufficient for the lighting of houses, and at daytime – for the operation of metalworking machines [41, 241]. Due to lack of electricity and the prohibition of occupiers to use kerosene for lighting the premises, night lamps or candles were commonly used for these purposes.

Constant restrictions on electricity consumption by the local population continued throughout 1942 – 1943, especially with the onset of autumn and cold, which was reflected in local editions. For example, Gebietskommissar of Konotop by resolution of October 19, 1942, allowed using only one light bulb in the apartment. Disconnection from the electrical network or arrests were

enforced for violation of these orders. The same punishment awaited those who did not have written permission to use electricity or did not pay bills [30, 87]. Strict limits were set once more. In particular, on December 13, 1942, the Gebietskommissar of Kremenets had set the maximum number of kilowatts per month for 1943 in the following volumes: January – 12 kW, February, March – 9 kW, April-June – 3 kW, July – 2, August – 4, October-December – 10 kW each. Since household appliances at that time did not exist, such volumes of electricity consumption could provide some illumination of the premises or at least a part of them. Moreover, after 20:30 it was forbidden to switch on the lights at all. “Save up the electricity!” – local newspapers urged. Such an appeal was made, in particular, in the newspaper “Stanislavske Slovo”. It was reported that the city Commissar had set monthly power consumption rates for households according to the following amounts: 8 kW for non-Germans, 14 kW – for Germans. At the same time it was noted that all the utility premises, such as antechambers, lounges and cellars were not included considered living quarters. Extra kilowatts were charged an extra 5 roubles per kW. During periods of overload, certain districts of the city were shut off. For non-payers, the case usually ended with eviction from premises without providing another habitation [30, 86-87].

Regarding the cost of electricity, there was no set price per kilowatt. Regarding the established cost of services, since December 1, 1941, in Kirovohrad households paid 65 kopecks per kilowatt hour, and enterprises – 62 kopecks, which was a relatively cheap tariff compared to other cities of occupied Ukraine [41, 240]. In Shepetivka the cost of 1 kWh was 1,75 roubles. (before the war – 1 rouble) in Polonne, 1,5 roubles and 0,5 roubles respectively, Slavuta power plant sold electricity at 1,5 roubles per kWh. For consumers in Kamianets-Podilskyi since April 1942, a kilowatt hour cost 0,8 roubles [37, 116]. Given the low consumption, such prices were relatively affordable for locals.

At the request of the Rector of Odessa University, prof. P. Chasovnykov, mayor of Odessa G. Pyntia provided 65 professors with a 50% discount on rent, light and heating in the spring of 1943 [1, 830]. Similar attempts to better the life of the intelligentsia were observed in other cities of occupied Ukraine.

The state of the energy economy has directly affected other spheres of providing urban residents with the benefits of civilization. In the course of hostilities, the Donetsk water pipeline suffered especially great devastation. Its reconstruction during the winter of 1941–1942 in the war conditions was extremely difficult, and therefore the focus of the department of municipal economy was on the restoration of artesian water supply. Gradually, this network was brought to the working condition, but could be used at full power only if the electric energy was supplied up to 2,5 thousand kW. The power used for this purpose in December 1941 was only 200-300 kW, or 10 times less [46, 148]. Lack of electricity largely made it impossible for the normal water supply of Ukrainian cities occupied by Germany

during the Second World War. The issue of water supply to Ukrainian cities during the Nazi occupation is discussed in more detail in one of our previous articles [56].

The lack of electricity has greatly affected electric transport, the restoration of which has progressed due to the efforts of local governments. Thus, according to Dmitry Malakov, a tram ran to the Polytechnic Institute in Kyiv [31, 151]. A trolleybus was launched on Khreshchatyk in Kyiv during the pre-war years. The occupiers did not resume trolleybus traffic, and dismantled the contact network and scrapped it. According to the memoirs of Nándor Fettich, trams ran from the present-day European Square: No. 16 in the direction of Podil, number three – towards the Lavra. He wrote that “the broad gauged spacious tramcars were in a rather poor condition, worn both inside and out. The cars’ electrical appliances were in such a state it was a miracle they moved at all. The track along which they were moving also needed repair and did not allow running at high speed. Trams moved slowly, swaying as if at sea. However, they ran only on rare occasions. If people had any urgent matters, they reached their destination on foot, but if they had spare time, they always went by tram” [54, 51]. The tram line connected Darnytsia and Kyiv [54, 44]. “Trams can be ridden for free, which makes it easier to travel around the city. The military sit in front close to the driver, and the rest of the public – at the back one in a row. In winter, the tram stops at around 5 pm, which is explained by the curfew starting at 18:00. The roads were not illuminated at all” – Nandor recalls (cited in: [54, 51]).

The tram line in Dnipro was also functioning but its passenger capacity did not meet the needs of population [60, 41].

In Yuzivka (Stalino) trams ran from the city center to the market. They were actively used by German military [48, c. 221, 351].

In December 1941 special trams for the Germans started to run in Lviv [13, 4]. However, the complete restoration of electric transport was not even discussed. It lacked both the rolling stock and electricity generating capacity. All benefits of transport were enjoyed only by the occupiers, except for local residents with a special permission from military officials.

When retreating, the German occupiers also resorted to scorched earth tactics, the main purpose of which was to leave a wasteland behind. Such an instruction to the German troops included, in particular, the order of Himmler on the destruction of the Donbas to the supreme head of the SS and police in Ukraine, which reads as follows: “It is necessary to ensure that when leaving the regions of Ukraine no person, no head of livestock, no centner of grain, no rails were left ... The enemy must find a truly burned and destroyed country” [44, 261]. So the power grid network was again completely destroyed, and the energy supply of the population of cities with retreat of Nazi troops was stopped. Of course, this situation also resulted from the moving of the front line, the intense fighting for the liberation of

Ukraine from the Nazi invaders. The negative impact on the standard of living of the population also worsened because out of 64 power plants that had been active in the cities before the war, 62 had been completely destroyed and the remaining two had been significantly damaged. In their unheated apartments the townspeople constructed heat lamps, improvised stoves and potbelly stoves [6, 8].

In Yuzivka (Stalino) the occupiers burned a tram fleet, 89 wagons, 4 electric locomotives, destroyed 35 km of the tram railways, 35 km of the contact grid and 10 new trolleybuses, destroyed the city water line and the city power grid [32, 141]. Before the war, 23 cities of the republic had tram traffic, the total length of tracks was 142 km. A trolleybus service has already been launched in 5 cities. At the time of liberation, the entire trolleybus service was out of order. Damage to the tramway economy in 6 major cities of Ukraine – Kyiv, Kharkiv, Voroshilovhrad, Zaporizhia, Stalino and Dnipropetrovsk, amounted to 133 million rubles, i.e. 56% of their book value. The invaders resorted to widespread looting – trolleybus wire and tram rails were taken to Germany. The Kyiv trolleybuses, which had been received from the Yaroslavl factory on the eve of the war, were much liked by the invaders, and so they took those trolleybuses along [6, 8].

Conclusions. Thus, the problem of energy supply of the population of Ukrainian cities occupied by the Nazis is scientifically relevant and understudied in modern historical science. In the course of research of this problem the author concluded the following. After the Red Army's scorched earth tactics, the German occupation administration and local authorities made efforts to restore the energy supply to Ukrainian cities (divided into four occupational zones during this period). These efforts were more successful in West-Ukrainian regions and Right-Bank Ukraine (Soviet authorities had less time to export and destroy resources there). However, in spite of the renewal and growth of electricity production, it was impossible to meet the needs of industry, the Wehrmacht, the occupational government, the housing and communal services and the population of cities. Under these conditions, the most severe restrictions on electricity consumption were suffered by the local civilian population, and, by the end of 1941, the Jewish population in particular, which was subject to even more severe restrictions (as a result of the Holocaust, the Jewish communities in cities were destroyed up to that time). Since 1942, in large cities, the local population has been banned from using electricity at all. At the same time, the Wehrmacht and occupational administration were provided with electricity on minimal restrictions and free of charge. In the intermediate position there were the Volksdeutsche, who retained the right to use electricity throughout the whole period of occupation. Consequently, the overwhelming majority of the population of cities in the winter of 1942 used kerosene lamps, heat lamps and other appliances and improvised means for household lighting, and improvised stoves, potbelly stoves, etc. (for houses with

central heating) – for heating. Street lighting, not including the central streets, was generally absent. Electric transport functioned to a limited extent. The reasons for this situation rested in the Soviet scorched earth tactics, the evacuation of all resources to the east of the USSR, the Reich policy of looting and removal of electrical equipment, the lack of fuel and general energy crisis in Germany due to the failure of the blitzkrieg. In their turn, the Nazis themselves resorted to scorched earth tactics, which, along with heavy fighting and the moving front line, finally deprived the population of electricity on the final stage of occupation and war.

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Фомін А.В. Енергозабезпечення населення міст окупованої нацистами України (1941 – 1944 рр.).

У даній статті з позицій антропоцентризму, соціальної історії, історії повсякденності аналізується проблема енергозабезпечення жителів міст України в роки нацистської окупації. Енергетика в індустріальному суспільстві є однією з найважливіших галузей економіки, що забезпечує функціонування промисловості, транспорту, водопостачання та каналізації, освітлення та опалення осель. Особливо велику роль вона відіграє в житті міст, адже інфраструктура міста є пунктами зосередження населення, промисловості та транспорту, багатоперехової забудови, а її нормальна робота без забезпечення електрикою неможлива. У дослідженні розкриваються питання особливості відновлення та роботи електростанцій, зовнішнього освітлення міст, вартості електроенергії, її доступності для різних груп міського населення. Також висвітлені аспекти функціонування міського електротранспорту. Доводиться, що недолік електроенергії відчувався протягом усього періоду окупації, а особливо зими 1942 р. Її відсутність стримувала відновлення комунального господарства. Електрикою користувалися, насамперед, німецькі військові частини, фольксдойче, підприємства і офіційні установи. Розглянуто способи освітлення і обігріву осель, які використовували городяни в роки окупації. У найскладніший період взимку 1942 р місцеve населення було повністю позбавлене права використовувати електроенергію вдома. За порушення наказу погрожували жорсткі заходи аж до розстрілу. Зворотна ситуація спостерігалася у військовослужбовців вермахту, які електрику не економили. В цілому енергетика не могла забезпечити потреби ні цивільного населення, ні промисловості, особливо в холодні періоди року. Причини такого становища полягали в радянській тактиці «випаленої землі», евакуації всіх ресурсів на схід СРСР, політиці рейху по розграбуванню і вивезенню електрообладнання, недолік палива і загальний енергетичний криза в Німеччині в результаті провалу блицкригу. У свою чергу самі нацисти під час відступу також вдалися до тактики «випаленої землі», що, поряд з важкими боями і проходженням лінії фронту, остаточно позбавило населення електроенергії на завершальному етапі окупації і радянсько-німецької війни.

Ключові слова: Друга світова війна, енергетика, електропостачання, Україна, місто, окупація, населення, вермахт, фольксдойче, інфраструктура, електротранспорт, житлово-комунальне господарство, тактика випаленої землі, евакуація.

Фомин А.В. Энергообеспечение населения городов оккупированной нацистами Украины (1941 – 1944 гг.).

В данной статье с позиций антропоцентризма, социальной истории, истории повседневности анализируется проблема энергообеспечения жителей городов Украины в годы нацистской оккупации. Энергетика в индустриальном обществе является одной из важнейших отраслей экономики, обеспечивающей функционирование промышленности, транспорта, водоснабжения и канализации, освещения и отопления жилищ. Особенно большую роль она играет в жизни городов, ведь инфраструктура города является пунктами сосредоточения населения, промышленности и транспорта, многоэтажной застройки, а ее нормальная работа без обеспечения электричеством невозможна. В исследовании раскрываются вопросы особенности восстановления и работы электростанций, внешнего освещения городов, стоимости элект-

троэнергии, ее доступности для разных групп городского населения. Также освещены аспекты функционирования городского электротранспорта. Доказывается, что недостаток электроэнергии ощущался на протяжении всего периода оккупации. Ее отсутствие сдерживало восстановление коммунального хозяйства. Электричеством пользовались, прежде всего, немецкие военные части, фольксдойче, предприятия и официальные учреждения. Рассмотрены способы освещения и обогрева жилищ, которые использовали горожане в годы оккупации. В самый сложный период зимой 1942 г. местное население было полностью лишено права использовать электроэнергию дома. За нарушение приказа угрожали жесткие меры вплоть до расстрела. Обратная ситуация наблюдалась у военнослужащих вермахта, которые электричество не экономили. В целом энергетика не могла обеспечить потребности ни гражданского населения, ни промышленности, особенно в холодные периоды года. Причины такого положения заключались в советской тактике «выжженной земли», эвакуации всех ресурсов на восток СССР, политике рейха по разграблению и вывозу электрооборудо-

вания, недостаток топлива и обший энергетический кризис в Германии в результате провала блицкрига. В свою очередь сами нацисты при отступлении также прибегли к тактике «выжженной земли», что, наряду с тяжелыми боями и прохождением линии фронта, окончательно лишило население электроэнергии на завершающем этапе оккупации и советско-немецкой войны.

Ключевые слова: Вторая мировая война, энергетика, электроснабжение, Украина, город, оккупация, население, вермахт, фольксдойче, инфраструктура, электротранспорт, жилищно-коммунальное хозяйство, тактика выжженной земли, эвакуация.

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THE PRINCIPLES OF ORGANIZING THE MATERIAL-TECHNICAL SUPPORT OF THE ELECTRIC MACHINE-BUILDING COMPLEX OF THE UKSSR IN 1920-1925

Annienkov. I.O.

ОРГАНІЗАЦІЙНІ ЗАСАДИ МАТЕРІАЛЬНО-ТЕХНІЧНОГО ЗАБЕЗПЕЧЕННЯ ЕЛЕКТРОМАШИНОБУДІВНОГО КОМПЛЕКСУ УСРР У 1920–1925 РР.

Анненков І.О.

In this article re-create the historical picture of the process of forming the material and technical component of Ukrainian electric machine engineering during 1920-1925. Clarified that it took place in the context of policies of concentration of production in the public sector of the economy and centralization of the republican industry management at the Union level, and that fully corresponded to the concept of the USSR government regarding the conduct of electrification of the country. During the study period, the order of material and technical support of electric machine-building became the main and most effective way to achieve the objectives set by these policies in the Ukrainian segment of the Union industry. Electrification of production processes became one of the cornerstones of the Soviet government's industrialization of industry, the beginning of which he laid in the second half of the 1920s. This moment has determined the leading role of electrical engineering in the period of total transition to mechanization of production processes, as the development of this industry directly affected the composition of their characters and, accordingly, the consumption of electricity through the production of its conversion into mechanical and vice versa. Meanwhile, as early as the early 1920s, the domestic sphere of electric machine production was in a deep crisis, connected primarily with the consequences of the civil war (1918–1921). However, given the scale of the tasks set before it within the Soviet concept of electrification of the country in the middle of the same decade, its scientific and technological potential at this time was strong enough to at least achieve such tasks. However with it, the principles of filling the material-technical component of the scientific-technical potential of the electric machine-building complex, formed at that time, complicated this component future optimization, since they were based on the preventive increase in the absolute value of production capacities, without taking into account both the dynamics of the expansion of the range of electric machines and the development of means and technologies for their production.

Keywords: electrification, electric machines, industrialization, scientific-technical potential, new economic policy

Introduction. Electrification of production processes became one of the cornerstones of the Soviet government's industrialization of industry, the beginning of which he laid in the second half of the 1920s. This moment has determined the leading role of electrical engineering in the period of total transition to mechanization of production processes, as the development of this industry directly affected the composition of their characters and, accordingly, the consumption of electricity through the production of its conversion into mechanical and vice versa. Meanwhile, as early as the early 1920s, the domestic sphere of electric machine production was in a deep crisis, connected primarily with the consequences of the civil war (1918–1921). However, given the scale of the tasks set before it within the Soviet concept of electrification of the country in the middle of the same decade, its scientific and technological potential at this time was strong enough to at least achieve such tasks. At least, even with the weakness of scientific, organizational and personnel support, its material and technical component should have allowed to immediately undertake the implementation of the received production plans, because otherwise, even their adoption would be meaningless. Thus, the 1920s in the history of Ukrainian electrical engineering were marked by the fact of its rapid exit from the crisis with the concomitant strengthening of the material and technical base, which could not be done without the establishment of appropriate support at that time. Thus, the results of the research conducted within the chosen topic acquire the character of knowledge about the organization of post-crisis development of the most knowledge-intensive industries in the conditions of abrupt growth of demand for their products, which makes the provided scientific work relevant.

In the historiography of the development of electrical engineering in Ukraine, the issue of its logistics during 1920-1925 is practically not covered, although it should be acknowledged that there is little historiographical material on Ukrainian electrical engineering in this period. Hence, the second part of the collective work "Essay on the History of the Kharkiv Electromechanical Plant" [1], in fact, is the only historical study where the state of the material and technical base of the Ukrainian segment of the Soviet sphere of electric machines in 1920-1925. Relevant information is contained in Chapter 2 ("Transition to Peaceful Construction"), in which the logistics of the Kharkiv Electromechanical Plant (HEMZ) is considered in some areas: fuel and energy resources, raw materials and semi-finished products, means of production, capital construction. However, the authors of [1] avoided as much as possible specifics in covering the ways of its implementation and providing assessments of the results of relevant measures, limiting themselves to absolutely generalized quantitative criteria and not applying qualitative ones at all. However, the information provided in the study [1] relates to only one, albeit very powerful, electrical engineering company, when the Ukrainian SSR inherited from the tsar at least seven factories, in the range of products of which in 1920 were electric machines [2, p. 2]. In addition, since pre-Soviet times, there has been a fairly extensive network of electromechanical workshops in Ukraine engaged in piecemeal and small-scale production, as well as overhaul of electric machines, which resumed their activities in the USSR in the early 1920s new economic policy (NEP) and formed a certain segment of the industry.

Thus, in view of the above, we can state the lack of research on the history of electrical engineering in Ukraine any complete information on the issue, at least - sufficient to reproduce the historical picture of the organizational foundations of the process of filling the material and technical component of industry scientific and technical potential during 1920-1925 and providing a general assessment of the degree of their compliance with the chosen policy of electrification of the country, which are the objectives of this scientific work. The purpose of the latter is to clarify the degree of influence that exists during the selected chronological shade of the order of logistics of Ukrainian electrical engineering on the further development of the industry.

Main part. First of all, it should be noted that the establishment of Soviet power was accompanied by the nationalization of the qualifying industry, according to which all enterprises with more than 15 employees. in the presence of a mechanical engine and more than 30 people. without this passed to state ownership [3, p. 113]. Thus, the main and, practically, determining share of the material and technical base of Ukrainian industry was at the disposal of the state, which since the early 1920s was carried out through a hierarchically structured network of territorial councils of the national economy (RNG). According to the established

procedure, the management of the material and technical component of the scientific and technical potential of the most developed industry-forming enterprises in the USSR was assigned to the Supreme RNG (VRNG) of the RSFSR, and the Ukrainian authorities were assigned only supervisory functions. The Republican RNG of the USSR (URNG, Ukradnarhosp) was entrusted with the management of the material and technical base of medium-sized, but well-equipped with modern means of production plants, the activities of each of which, however, did not dramatically affect the performance of relevant industries as a whole. Less industrialized qualifying enterprises, as well as non-qualifying industries came under the control of provincial (provincial farms) and county RNG, but in 1921 the latter, as obviously redundant, were liquidated. Thus, in the early 1920s, a three-tier system of organization of management of Ukrainian industry and, accordingly, its logistics was formed. Management of the main (central) level was concentrated in Moscow in initially Russian, and after the formation of the USSR - union economic structures, the other two levels were controlled by the republican government through a system of administrative bodies of sales and supply URNG and local soviet economies. At the same time, direct filling, control and accounting of regional material and technical resources of industry was carried out by provincial farms, which, however, did not give them the right to dispose of them without approval of appropriate measures by higher republican authorities, in turn agreed with allied economic authorities [4, p. 3-5].

In the above way, a high degree of efficiency was achieved in taking into account the material and technical base of Ukrainian industry, for which the entire 1920 and early 1921 took place in a fuel crisis that began at the turn of 1917-1918, against the background of socio-political transformations led to its almost complete paralysis with the corresponding scattering of the remains of unused material and technical resources in numerous industrial establishments. At the same time, the concentration of administrative functions in relation to the latter at the central level allowed limiting excessive consumption by small enterprises to local situational needs, which in the absence of the process of recovery of material and technical resources threatened the final depletion of raw materials and fuel reserves for large industries. degradation followed by a very problematic recovery [5, p. 1]. For example, as a result of paralysis of domestic industry and focused exclusively on solid fuel of the electricity sector, the need for electrical engineering products in the early 1920s was minimal and amounted to about 4% of consumption of electric machines on the eve of World War I [6, p. 36]. Therefore, the simultaneous involvement of all existing electrical engineering facilities in Ukraine would undoubtedly lead to the prosperity of small specialized workshops, but, at the same time, to the actual complete shutdown

of large and medium-sized electromechanical enterprises.

Given the uncertainty of the duration of the crisis, any prolonged downtime of large and medium-sized electromechanical plants could lead to critical losses of qualified personnel, which, even with the preservation of fixed assets, clearly would not allow to quickly resume production. Meanwhile, in the early 1920s, the process of electrification of domestic industry no longer had an alternative - that is, its implementation acquired historical urgency and irreversibility and had to begin at the same time weakening the crisis in the economy. At the same time, the degree of economic necessity of electrification of the industry reached such a magnitude that the start of this process in the already Soviet Ukraine could not have been other than rapid. This factor made it impossible to meet the expected, even at the initial stage, consumer needs for electric machines with the corresponding total production capacity of existing small businesses. Because of this, maintaining the efficiency of electrical engineering plants in the economic crisis was the only guarantee of achieving comparable growth rates of production and consumption of electric machines at the time of a sharp increase in demand for the latter after the country emerged from the crisis.

Taking into account the above argumentation, the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR on July 6, 1920, decided on the logistics of subordinate to the Russian (at that time - the central) economic bodies of Ukrainian electromechanical enterprises on the same basis with military plants [7, p. 20]. At the same time, according to the same supply, the republican and locally subordinated electric machine-building plants maintained the general order for all nationalized factories and plants for the production of civil products. Prior to that, the current situation with fuel did not allow centrally subordinated enterprises to gain an advantage in their production activities over local and republican subordinate enterprises. Thus, due to the actual shutdown in 1918 of the coal complex, the main type of fuel in Ukrainian industry began to be firewood, the sources of which (forests) were under the full control of local authorities. Thus, the provincial economies were able to influence the priority supply of firewood to their subordinate enterprises, and secondly - the republican, ignoring the relevant requirements of the Supreme Economic Council under the pretext of lack of labor in the procurement of firewood. As a result, electric machine-building plants of central subordination were forced to send their production personnel to harvest firewood in the amount of up to half of the available industrial and production personnel [8, p. 19]. In addition, the areas designated by the local authorities for the plants of central subordination for firewood were located at a considerable distance from the transport communications, which made it quite problematic for them to deliver firewood in a prostitute [9]. Hence, due to the diversion of considerable effort and time to provide themselves with fuel resources, centrally

subordinated electromechanical institutions lost their advantage over the national and local enterprises, provided to them by the quantity and quality of industrial capacity.

In fact, the combined productivity of the enterprises of each of the three groups of the hierarchically distributed electrical engineering industry, which was equalized by the method of fuel supply, allowed all of them to receive an equal supply of raw materials and components by the mid-1920s, the volumes of which were regulated by productivity indicators. Therefore, despite the fall in consumer demand for electric machines, the number of qualifying electromechanical institutions in the USSR at that time remained at the pre-revolutionary level (within comparable territories) [10, p. 4]. At the same time, powerful enterprises worked on the verge of their shutdown, and small - in their usual mode chaotically distributed over time, but stable corresponding to the overall production capacity of demand. To remedy the situation in favor of large plants, from mid-June 1920 the Industrial Bureau of the VRNG (Promburo) in Ukraine at its territorial electrical departments organized special warehouses of raw materials and components for the centrally subordinate electrical industry, which included the Kharkiv Electromechanical Plant of the former (RT) "ZEK" (until the summer of 1917 - "ZKE"), which was named "Electrosila № 1" [11, p. 8]. The filling of these warehouses took place both due to the alienation of the share of the respective funds controlled by the Gubradnarhozes in proportion to the current production costs, and due to the targeted addressing of the imported components inherited from the Civil War and received by the Soviet government after the American and Japanese electricity companies. enterprises of former Russian firms [12, p. 54]. Together with the stocks of raw materials and semi-finished products accumulated at the central and republican subordinate electromechanical plants in the pre-crisis period, the formed reserve of material and technical means allowed this group of enterprises to form a significant handicap on the market of electric machine manufacturers.

Meanwhile, 1921 was marked by the continuation of the crisis and a further twenty percent drop in demand for electrical engineering products, which, however, took place in the already radically different conditions of logistics of the profile industry of the USSR [10, p. 89]. Therefore, a number of electromechanical enterprises, which had no reserves of raw materials and components, ceased to exist, and the total number of electrical engineering industrial institutions in the Ukrainian SSR decreased from 49 to 31, or 36.7% [10, p. 4]. However, it should be acknowledged that the number of closed institutions includes not only deprived of material and technical resources plants and workshops, but also those whose production was stopped in order to maintain the efficiency of more technically and staffed enterprises in the region. Thus, based on this goal, the work of the

republican subordinate electromechanical plant of the former Russian Society (RT) "Siemens-Schuckert" and the locally subordinate electromechanical plant of the Russian-French society were stopped in Kharkiv. In this way, the degree of supply of orders for the best technically equipped and staffed electromechanical plant "Electrosila № 1" increased [13, p. 6]. In Nikolaev, for more dense loading by orders of locally subordinated workshops of the Building bureau of former RT "ZEK" the newly built, but incomplete with machine equipment republican subordinated electromechanical plant "Temvod" was preserved [13, p. 6; 14, p. 7]. Thus, during 1921 the material and technical base of the electrical engineering subordinated to the republican economic bodies turned out to be completely preserved, and the local ones - half. Of the state-owned enterprises subordinated to the Gubradnarhozes, the unfinished Vickers plant in Katerynoslav, the electromechanical plant in Kyiv, the railway alarm plant in Odesa, and the workshops of the Construction Bureau of the former RT ZEK in Kharkiv and Mykolayiv remained operational [10, p. 90]. The rest of the locally subordinated qualifying electromechanical industry consisted of small private and cooperative institutions, the technical equipment of which was quite weak, and the logistics - spontaneous.

Due to the rather confusing policy of the state on the development of industrial cooperation, with the introduction of the NEP in 1921, enterprises with this form of ownership did not become widespread, forming even after the settlement by 1923 the order of cooperative relations only 28% of non-state industrial sector [15, p. 44]. Thus, private enterprises in 1921–1922 accounted for more than 70% of non-state electrical engineering or 18 out of 25 qualifying electromechanical institutions in this sector of the Ukrainian profile industry. In the absence of specific data, but taking into account the criterion of eligibility, the estimated number of employees in private electrical engineering at that time should be at least 270 people, and in general in the non-governmental - 375 people, which corresponded to at least a quarter of the total number of employees. industries in the republic. However, despite such a significant indicator in the balance of distribution between the state and non-state sectors of the economy employed in electrical engineering, the non-state sector could not compete with the state in the production of electric machines. This was hindered by the political involvement of the Soviet government, whose ideology a priori ruled out the possibility of dominance of the private sector in any sphere of state activity. Because of this, private enterprises had access to material and technical resources concentrated in the state through the previously mentioned measures, thirdly - after the institutions of the state and cooperative sectors of the economy. Given that the private sector had the same priority of access to credit resources and even four times more than the state, for five times less credit terms and the need to provide 25% more credit security, the

process of strengthening the material -technical base of non-state electrical engineering was doomed to pass at a much slower pace than the state [16, p. 66].

At the same time, the large-scale process of conservation of non-operating enterprises launched in 1921–1922, followed by the transfer of the withdrawn active share of fixed assets to operating plants, was very large, but officially concerned only the public sector, which further confirms the secondary logistics of non-state enterprises. sector of non-alternative state sources in this matter [17, p. 16]. And while we cannot deny the unofficial supply of non-state electrical engineering by means of production and ancillary equipment removed from non-operating enterprises, its volumes, due to this "informality", could not be significant to make the industrial sector competitive with industrial capacity. Because of this, the flow of orders for new electric machines was directed to state-owned enterprises, which, unlike private ones, were able to provide the required performance without the involvement of associates, even when producing large volumes of rather complex samples of this type of equipment.

Due to the situation, in 1922 almost all private and cooperative industrial institutions refocused exclusively on the repair of electromechanical equipment, completely freeing the market for the production of new machines for the public sector. However, the demand for electromechanical products remained low, as a result of which there were conditions for the development of competition in the relevant market already between the governing bodies of the centrally subordinated industry and local government agencies. To strengthen the position in this struggle, the central government in 1922 conducted an additional concentration of management of its subordinate electrical industrial facilities, resulting in the creation of the Central District Electrotechnical Trust (ETCR) with a board in Moscow [18, p. 76]. This step allowed to improve coordination in the organization of logistics of the respective enterprises, which, in turn, led to their more rhythmic work. As a result, the placing of orders for the manufacture of electric machines at these plants became even more attractive, and given that the number of customers was also dominated by industry-forming enterprises of central subordination, ETCR managed to monopolize the entire domestic market of this equipment. Thus, in 1923, the local subordinate state Ukrainian electrical engineering found itself in the same conditions of sporadic production as non-state. Meanwhile, if the latter due to its organizational flexibility managed to maintain at least some profitability, the cumbersome organizational scheme of state-owned industrial institutions in these conditions led to the complete loss of locally subordinate enterprises, which led to the final shutdown of this sector of Ukrainian electrical engineering.

Taking advantage of these circumstances, as well as the subsequent downtime of the republican subordinate electromechanical plants, ETCR in 1922 - 1924 conducted procedures for the alienation of

suspended Ukrainian electrical engineering facilities, resulting in his department got: local subordinate Nikolaev and Kharkiv Construction Bureau of the former R; republican subordinate plants "Temvod" in Nikolaev and the former "Siemens-Shukert" in Kharkov [13, p. 7]. The total capacity of these enterprises fully met the existing needs of consumers in electrical machines of the technical level that they could produce, and the corresponding equipment of a higher class - was imported. Certain current fluctuations in domestic demand for electric machines were small and were extinguished by the non-state electrical engineering sector. plant "Gerlyakh and Pulst" in favor of "Elektrosila № 1" in Kharkov [19, p. 96].

Thus, by 1925 the state electromechanical plants of republican and local subordination lost any prospect of their own development in the field of production of electric machines without significant infusions into their material and technical base. However, due to the periodic refusals of the Union government to allocate working capital to Ukrainian industry since 1923, both the budget of the USSR in general and the budgets of local governments in particular lacked funds for these infusions, which led to the transformation of such enterprises. in the category of relevant "budget ballasts" [20, p. 129]. Therefore, the share of Ukrainian electric machine-building plants of republican and local subordination, which was in conservation, was transferred to the balance of allied economic structures, and operating electromechanical establishments - or repurposed to manufacture those electrical products, competition with allied enterprises did not require significant current financial costs. , or leased to the local private manufacturing sector. However, the last step did not lead to a significant strengthening of the material and technical component of the scientific and technical potential of private electrical engineering of the USSR in 1925, because under the pretext of the administrative-territorial reform, as a result of which the provincial division of territories was replaced by district, provincial funding bodies. were eliminated [21, p. 27]. At the same time, their district counterparts were not created, so the only source of logistics in the industry were previously formed centrally subordinated supply institutions. Hence, the locally managed non-governmental sector of electrical engineering became completely and absolutely dependent in its logistics on the union branch structure - the State Electrotechnical Trust (DET), organized in 1925 to replace the ETCR.

Using its monopoly position on this issue, DET further limited the ability of non-state electromechanical enterprises to strengthen the active share of their fixed assets, allowing them to sell only obsolete equipment that had already exhausted its resources and required significant repair costs. At the same time, the branch supply organizations were required to confirm the inexpediency of using the equipment offered to non-state enterprises at state-owned plants. The planned funding of material and technical resources for non-state electrical engineering by DET was not carried out at all,

as a result of which its supply of raw materials and components was carried out situationally - depending on the extent to which the public sector performed current production tasks.

Conclusions. Thus, we can say that the implementation of the policy of centralization of management of Ukrainian electrical engineering during 1920-1925 took place, first of all, by transforming the order of its logistics. This method became an effective means of concentrating industrial capacity in the state subordination to the allied economic structures, which is fully consistent with the Soviet concept of electrification of the country. However, the principles of filling the material and technical component of the scientific and technical potential of the electrical engineering complex formed at this time complicated its future optimization, as they were based on the principles of preventive concentrated increase of absolute production capacity, without taking into account both the dynamics of means and technologies of their production.

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- В даній статті відтворено історичну картину процесу формування матеріально-технічної складової українського електромашинобудування впродовж 1920–1925 рр. З'ясовано, що він проходив у контексті політик концентрації виробництва в державному секторі економіки та централізації управління республіканською галуззю на союзному рівні, і що повністю відповідало концепції уряду СРСР стосовно провадження заходів з електрифікації країни. Упродовж досліджуваного періоду порядок матеріально-технічного забезпечення електромашинобудування став головним і самим ефективним способом успішного досягнення поставлених указаними політиками завдань

в українському сегменті союдної галузі. Однак разом з тим, сформовані в цей час засади наповнення матеріально-технічної складової науково-технічного потенціалу електромашинобудівного комплексу ускладнили її майбутню оптимізацію, оскільки ґрунтувалися на принципах превентивного концентрованого нарощування абсолютної величини виробничих потужностей, без урахування як динаміки розширення номенклатури електричних машин, так і розвитку засобів та технологій їх виробництва.

Ключові слова: електрифікація, електричні машини, індустріалізація, науково-технічний потенціал, нова економічна політика

Анненков И. А. Организационные принципы материально-технического обеспечения электромашиностроительного комплекса УССР в 1920–1925 гг.

В данной статье воссоздано историческую картину процесса формирования материально-технической составляющей украинского электромашиностроения в течение 1920–1925 гг. Выяснено, что он проходил в контексте политики концентрации производства в государственном секторе экономики и централизации управления республиканской отраслью на союзном уровне, и что полностью соответствовало концепции правительства СССР относительно проведения мероприятий по электрификации страны. В течение исследуемого периода

порядок материально-технического обеспечения электромашиностроения стал главным и самым эффективным способом достижения поставленных этими политиками задач в украинском сегменте союдної отрасли. Однако вместе с тем, сформированные в это время принципы наполнения материально-технической составляющей научно-технического потенциала электромашиностроительного комплекса усложнили ее будущую оптимизацию, поскольку основывались на превентивном наращивании абсолютной величины производственных мощностей, без учета как динамики расширения номенклатуры электрических машин, так и развития средств и технологий их производства.

Ключевые слова: электрификация, электрические машины, индустриализация, научно-технический потенциал, новая экономическая политика

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