

МІНІСТЕРСТВО ОСВІТИ І НАУКИ УКРАЇНИ
СХІДНОУКРАЇНСЬКИЙ НАЦІОНАЛЬНИЙ УНІВЕРСИТЕТ
імені ВОЛОДИМИРА ДАЛЯ



ВІСНИК

**Східноукраїнського
національного університету
імені ВОЛОДИМИРА ДАЛЯ**

**№ 4 (252)
2019**

НАУКОВИЙ ЖУРНАЛ

Сєвєродонецьк 2019

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СХІДНОУКРАЇНСЬКОГО
НАЦІОНАЛЬНОГО УНІВЕРСИТЕТУ
ІМЕНІ ВОЛОДИМИРА ДАЛЯ

№ 4 (252) 2019

НАУКОВИЙ ЖУРНАЛ

ЗАСНОВАНО У 1996 РОЦІ

ВИХІД З ДРУКУ - ДВНАДЦЯТЬ РАЗІВ НА РІК

Засновник

Східноукраїнський національний університет
імені Володимира Даля

Журнал зареєстровано

в Міністерстві юстиції України

Свідоцтво про державну реєстрацію

серія КВ № 15607-4079ПР

від 18.08.2009 р.

VISNIK

OF THE VOLODYMYR DAHL EAST
UKRAINIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

№ 4 (252) 2019

THE SCIENTIFIC JOURNAL

WAS FOUNDED IN 1996

IT IS ISSUED TWELVE TIMES A YEAR

Founder

Volodymyr Dahl East Ukrainian National
University

Registered by the Ministry

of Justice of Ukraine

Registration Certificate

KB № 15607-4079ПР

dated 18.08.2009

Журнал включено до Переліків наукових фахових видань України (Наказ МОН №1328 21.12.2015 р.), (Наказ МОН №515 16.05.2016 р.), в яких можуть публікуватися результати дисертаційних робіт на здобуття наукових ступенів доктора і кандидата наук з технічних, економічних та історичних наук відповідно.

Журнал включено до Міжнародної наукометричної бази даних Index Copernicus International (ICV 2017: 48.35).

ISSN 1998-7927

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Рекомендовано до друку Вченою радою Східноукраїнського національного університету імені Володимира Даля (Протокол № 8 від 23 квітня 2019 р.)

Матеріали номера друкуються мовою оригіналу.

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УДК 623.1:624]:94(477.8),13/15”

**MAIN TRENDS IN DEVELOPMENT OF FORTIFICATION TECHNOLOGIES
OF CASTLE CONSTRUCTION IN WESTERN UKRAINE
(second half of the 14th-16th centuries)**

Anosova V. S.

**ОСНОВНІ ТЕНДЕНЦІЇ В РОЗВИТКУ ФОРТИФІКАЦІЙНИХ
ТЕХНОЛОГІЙ ЗАМКОВОГО БУДІВНИЦТВА НА ТЕРЕНАХ ЗАХІДНОЇ УКРАЇНИ
(друга половина XIV – XVI ст.)**

Аносова В. С.

The article traces the development of fortification construction of defence complexes of Western Ukraine according to innovations in military affairs and technology. The main factors that contributed to the development of fortification construction during the 14th-16th centuries were determined, the author traced the main tendencies that were typical of the development of defence systems of Western Ukraine.

Key words: artillery, loopholes, construction, towers, war, wood, castle, Western Ukraine, stone, defence, strategy, tactics, fortification.

Introduction. Until the middle of the 15th century, artillery finally surpassed catapults, which were gradually disappearing from the military history arena. During next centuries, the main weapon of attackers was artillery, the strength of which was constantly increasing. Wooden siege structures – towers and rams – became completely ineffective, taking into account rapid destruction of besieged fortifications by artillery. As a result of such changes, during siege of fortifications the main role was played by artillery, which contributed to further development of fortifications construction technologies.

Problem statement. Given the geopolitical location of Western Ukraine, which was on the border of the east and the west, it is considered relevant to conduct a more detailed research of the stages of fortification technologies development that took place during construction of defence complexes located within the designated region.

Recent research analysis. Research of ancient Rus fortified settlements, as well as peculiarities of wooden and stone fortifications is given in works of M. Bevz; A. Bunin and T. Savaretska; N. Voronin; V. Dovzhenko; V. Kostochkin; N. Kradin; A. Kuz; M. Kuchera; O. Matsiuk; O. Okonchenko; O. Plamenetska; C. Planyshko; L. Prybiega; P. Rappoport; P. Siredzhuk.

Regional features of ancient Rus towns, fortresses and their fortifications were considered in works of P. Direnko; I. Kachor; O. Matsiuk; R. Mohitich; O. Okonchenko; B. Omelchuk; Ya. Pasternak; R. Pidstavka; L. Prybiega; V. Pshik; P. Rappoport and V. Kostochkin; Z. Fedunkiv.

Aim. To trace the transformation of fortification and castle construction technologies in the 15th-17th centuries in the context of development of military affairs and technology, to trace the main trends of fortification construction in the region.

Materials and research results. During the given period, the method of gradual attack was spread on the Ukrainian lands. During the 16th-17th centuries throughout all the Ukrainian territories the most widespread was capture of a fortress by direct storming with usage of artillery. Defence of fortresses in Western Ukraine was more developed than the siege technologies. Successful defence of fortresses in the “century of gunpowder” was possible only with active actions of defenders. The besieged troops usually used the following methods:

- construction of retrenchments behind an area that is subjected to artillery attack the most; those were supportive (usually wood and earth) fortifications inside the fortress to strengthen internal defence after the enemy captures external fortifications;
- frequent raids aiming to destroy artillery, mine galleries and enemy live forces;
- counter mining to neutralize miners and blow up mines of the attackers. In order to detect mine galleries, there were erected trenches faced with stone that led behind the fortress walls.

During that period, both wood and earth, as well as stone defence structures actively coexisted. Wooden log walls were usually connected either with the internal rampart structures located below them, the continuation of which they were, or put on piles, hammered into ram-

parts. An example is the old wooden wall in Kolomyia, which laid on piles, located in a quadrilateral in the earth ramparts [11, p. 108].

The logs of wooden fortresses were usually connected "in oblo" ("in a bowl"), i.e., the ends of the logs extended beyond the outer side of the wall. In that case, the upper log was placed in a semicircular cut-out of the lower log. In earlier buildings, a reverse scheme was used, i.e., the upper log with a semicircular cut was placed on the lower log, but then logs quickly rotted. The connection of the logs ends in the corners of both rectangular and multi-angle towers was carried out not only "in oblo", but also "in lapa", i.e., without extending the logs ends beyond the outer side of the wall [6, p. 13].

Walls and towers were usually covered with a roof. They were usually "in two planks", i.e., thin boards of softwood that were overlapped so that the top layer closed the gaps of the lower one. The roof "in one plank" was less commonly used. In that case lath was put under or battens were nailed on the top. Sometimes the ends of the planks were decorated in the form of dentils or feathers (spears). Wooden walls were covered with a coating, usually made of clay. Such coating protected the walls from burning. In addition, it looked like whitewashing and provided wooden defence constructions the appearance of stone buildings.

The masonry of stone walls was mostly stone-faced rubble. As a result, the structure was triple, consisting of two outer layers of facing masonry and internal rubble fill. The outer layers, especially the first one, were usually made of the hardest stone, softer stone like crushed or uncut stone was used for rubble fill, which together with mortar filled all the holes and depressions. Unlike monolithic masonry that was used in those lands much less often, such a construction of walls took much less time to build and it was possible to use wastes of brick and monumental construction [4, p. 104-107].

Clay was usually used as a mortar for foundations and lower parts of stone walls. The upper parts of walls consisted of lime mortar with addition of sand or crushed local stone. Stone walls were never erected without mortar [9, p. 234].

Walls and towers of some castles had a layered structure, i.e., consisted of horizontal rows of different stones. It should be noted that the boulder played a major role in fortification architecture. Cannonballs of the first artillery either splat or ricocheted when got at a boulder. That was why the bulk of boulders was concentrated on the outer sides of walls. But by the end of the 15th century, the power of artillery greatly increased. When a strong ball hit the wall, boulders shattered and pulled out. Therefore, the builders returned to stone-faced rubble masonry, placing boulders between layers of treated flagstone [2, p. 68]. Then, with destruction of the outer layer of flagstone, a stronger mass of the boulder rubble fill was opened, where each boulder was set much stronger and not easily fell out.

From the end of the 15th century, bricks became widespread as building material, which firstly had been

used only in military architecture. Sometimes brick and stone were used together - the bottom part of the wall was made of stone, and the upper part - of brick; or rubber fill was made, and the outer and inner sides of the wall were faced with brick. To increase strength of stone walls, logs for connecting the wall elements were used. The logs were longitudinal or transverse, and sometimes they were horizontal frames, connected with joints at the ends. Such frames were made of long parallel logs, connected in several places by transverse short logs. Frames were usually located in two or three layers along the walls. In tower walls, frames were sometimes like a "ring" of logs connected at an angle [6, p. 8-10]. In the 16th-17th centuries, iron elements became greatly widespread for connecting walls.

In northern regions of Volyn, where the area was a boggy lowland, fortresses were built among impenetrable bogies, which minimized the possibility of using stone mortars and artillery. Fortified settlements in those regions were mostly of cusp type and protected by defensive structures of various capacities. On the side where there were natural obstacles, fortifications were significantly less strengthened, due to impossibility of location of stone mortars in those areas. However, the side facing the enemy was always protected by several lines of ramparts and moats [15, p. 45-47]. The purpose of such fortifications was to force the attackers to push the stone mortars as far as possible from the fortification walls and overcome each line of defence in turns, under constant fire of the defenders.

For Western Ukraine, a system of three-line fortifications was the most common. On the first rampart there were walls of a fortress and a wall walk, the width of which was about 20-32 m. Such dimensions were explained by its use for equestrian movement. In front of this rampart there was a moat equal to 7-8 m in width, and between it and the second line of defence called a "stronghold", there was a moat with the width of 6-14 m. The stronghold was made of wood and was quite low, the width of the wall walk was 2-9 m. Between the stronghold and the third line of defence there was another moat with the width of 14-15 m. The third line of defence was 2-3 times higher than the barrier of the first two lines, since it fired all the surrounding area [3, p. 21-24]. In Galychyna, defence of the outertown consisted of three parallel lines of ramparts and moats. The ramparts were slightly spaced and the total width of the defence belt was 84 m from the outer rampart to the ridge of the third rampart. It was important that in order to achieve the greatest fire effectiveness to destroy the fortress walls, stone mortars should have been at a distance of no more than 50-60 m from the first rampart. However, at the same time, the military operating stone mortars turned out to be in a disadvantage - the defenders of the outer rampart could fire at them at a very short distance [5, p. 240]. Thus, the storming attackers were forced to fight for each line of defence in turns, and be under fire from all the defence lines of the fortress.

Like in Volyn, cusp type fortresses of the second half of the 14th-first half of the 15th century had a "one-

way” character, i.e., one side –facing the enemy, was protected by powerful artificial fortifications, and the others– with weaker defensive structures. On the side facing the enemy, there were wooden towers, which provided flanking fireas the most effective against the forces storming the wall. On the side facing the enemy, it was possible to carry both frontal and flanking fire, and on the other side – only frontal [12, p. 7-9]. Such a defence system was in towns of Starytsia, Romanov, Vyshhorod on Protva, Pleso, Galych-Merskyi. The smaller the length of the side facing the enemy was, the lower cost the fortress erection required, and the better it was protected. Fortifications of the 14th - the first half of the 15th century had the same principles of planning.

The 14th-15th centuries were the period of permanent construction of fortifications in Galychyna, Volyn, Novhorod and Pskov. In contrast, at that time, in north-eastern Rus, they did not only erected new defensive structures of outertowns, but even did not reconstruct the old fortifications built in the 12th-13th centuries.

At the turn of the 14th-15th centuries, in the region wooden fortresses were also built, which continued to coexist with the stone ones. Sometimes one fortress had stone and wooden walls at the same time. In the western lands such examples include fortifications of Galych and Kholm, where stone walls were usually used to protect the most vulnerable side facing the enemy.

In the 15th century ramparts generally did not have an internal wooden frame and consisted of just earth and stones. In those cases, where the internal rampart structure was still present, it was simpler than that used in ramparts of fortresses of previous centuries. Such a construction was mostly anoak log wall with short transverse cuttings, which extended beyond the outer side. It is worth noting that in some of the fortresses of that period there were found inclined wooden frames located in the outer side of the rampart. The wall of the internal rampart structure extended over the surface of the rampart ridge. The front slope of the rampartwas always steeper and at least 30° to the horizon, and the otherone – flatter. Compared to ramparts of the 11th-12thcenturies, the horizontal platform on the top of the rampartbecame wider due to complication of the walls construction and its width could be 8-9 m.

Moats in fortresses of the 14th-15th centuries were deep and wide. The moatwidth was of particular importance for protection of settlements from the fire of stone martyrs, and then artillery. Moats were located so that they could move the enemy troops to the maximum distance from the fortification walls. Moats had mostly a symmetrical profile with a slope of walls at an angle about 30° to the horizon.

From the middle of the 13th century in the majority of Rus regions, an active construction of stone defensive structures began. Stone walls of fortresses in the 13th - the first half of the 15th century were of different thickness. From the side facing the enemy – the most vulnerable one, their thickness could be up to 3-4 m, and on other side it was 1.5-2 m. The thickness of stone walls, as well as towers, usually slightly decreased upwards.

They ended with a parapet with stone dentils, which in their turn ended with the roof. The thickness of walls at the top was determined by the parapet width, which was not less than 55 cm, and the width of the wall walk, which was supposed to be wide enough so that two armed soldiers could pass each other, i.e., about 1.5-2 m [8, p. 42; 14, p. 123]. Taking this into account, the optimum wall thickness should have been at least 2 m.

From the second half of the 14th century, there was a general tendency to increase the walls height, and in the first third of the 15th century– to make them thicker. Similar processes were observed at that time in Western Europe. From the middle of the 15th century loopholes were made in the walls for wall base fight [12, p. 109-111].

In the first half of the 13th century, fortresses practically did not have towers. Generally, besides the gate tower, typical of the earlier period, fortresses of that period were equipped with one or two towers that were located on the side facing the enemy. Those constructions were called towers, pillars and barbicans. The pillar was the tower, which was not connected with the fortress walls and stood apart. Towers and barbicans were both separate towers, and towers connected with the fortress wall.

During the 14th-15th centuries, fortresses were equipped with a large number of towers. During that period, their aim was changed as towers began to play an active part in defence. Towers of the 14th-15th centuries extended beyond the wall and were built mainly where walls changed the direction, i.e., on the corners of fortresses [6, p. 14]. Thus, they were built for flanking fire on bordering walls. The appearance of a large number of towers in a separate fortress was also associated with spread of artillery. That phenom on wasexplained by the fact that at the beginning of the era of artillery, the defenders of fortresses placed artillery in towers. In that period, defence of fortresses became more passive: it was active only on the side facing the enemy, and passive on the other side defended by natural obstacles.

Wooden towers were rectangular or multi-angle – hexagonal or octagonal – which were often called “round”in written sources [13, p. 71]. Stone towers had a rectangular, round or semi-circular shape. Some researchers believe that round stone towers were next stage of development compared to rectangular [14, p. 108]. This is explained by the fact that round towers largely avoided the fire of cannonballs, while the angles of rectangular towers were easily shot down. This hypothesis is proved by the fact that in some fortresses of Galychyna and Volyn, quadrangular towers were rebuilt into round and semicircular with appearance of artillery [14, p. 204]. It should be noted that the last two types of towers were better adapted to conduct “fan-shaped” fire than rectangular.

Thus, it is clear that round and rectangular towers coexisted actively both during the period of martyrs, and during the period of artillery. It should be noted that with appearance of fire artillery, the number of round and semicircular towers increased compared with the

previous period, but rectangular towers did not disappear completely.

From the 14th century towers were extended beyond a line of fortress walls, which allowed flanking fire. They were divided into tiers by wooden bridges – plank covering, grooves of beams of those bridges can still be seen in many of them. The number of tiers usually reached 3-4, and sometimes 5. The connection among tiers was made by wooden stairs through special hatches in coverings. Sometimes stairs were attached, and in case of danger they were pulled up.

From the end of the 14th century, towers were smooth, without vertical or horizontal splits, and slightly narrowed upwards. The surfaces of walls were not smooth, but slightly curved. It is worth noting that towers were never completely identical. Stone towers were equipped with two types of loopholes with and without chambers. Some researchers of medieval fortifications believe that loopholes with chambers were designed for placing artillery and appeared only after its spread [15, p. 140-142]. Loopholes in towers were located in a semicircle, which allowed firing in any direction – forward or along the walls. Loopholes of one separate tier did not give an opportunity for this, and there remained unshelled area in front of the tower. Such an area was under the sight of loopholes of other tiers. However, in Galychyna, Volyn, Pskov and other regions there were towers, loopholes of which were equipped with chambers. Construction of those structures referred to the first half of the 14th century – in the period when artillery was not very known. It should be noted that by the beginning of the 15th century loopholes with chambers were not wide-spread, but with spread of artillery, they became typical of fortress towers.

In the 14th-15th centuries in gate towers of Western Ukraine fortresses, there were drop gates, which were mostly made of metal, and rarely of wood covered by iron. In front of the gate, a narrow bridge on pillars was thrown across the moat. Until the middle of the 15th century bridges were made of wood, later, along with wooden, there were stone bridges. In the territory of modern Western Ukraine, as in Rus, particularly, lift-bridges were not built until the end of the 15th century.

Conclusions. Taken into account the above-mentioned, it becomes clear that at the beginning of the 15th century fortification technologies of all the previous eras were actively used in Western Ukraine. The main driving forces in the development of fortification technologies in the second half of the 15th-early 16th century were:

- permanent military clashes, which resulted from the military-political and socio-economic situation in the region in the 14th-15th centuries and stimulated qualitative changes in development of defensive structures, siege technologies, methods of battle conduct;

- wide-spread of artillery, which in its turn gave rise to a number of innovations in the fortification construction of the specified period.

It should be noted that these factors caused the development of fortification technologies in the region in previous eras as well.

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Аносова В. С. Основные тенденции в развитии фортификационных технологий замкового строительства на теренах Западной Украины (двух половинах XIV-XVI ст.)

В статті, простежено розвиток фортифікаційного будівництва оборонних комплексів Західної України відповідно до новацій у військовій справі та техніці. Визначені основні чинники, що сприяли розвитку фортифікаційного будівництва протягом XIV-XVI століть, автором простежені основні тенденції, що були характерні в розбудові оборонних комплексів західноукраїнського регіону.

Ключові слова: артилерія, бійниці, будівництво, вежі, війна, дерево, замок, Західна Україна, камінь, оборона, стратегія, тактика, укріплення, фортифікація.

Аносова В. С. Основные тенденции в развитии фортификационных технологий замкового строительства на территории Западной Украины (вторая половина XIV-XVI вв.)

В статье, прослежено развитие фортификационного строительства оборонительных комплексов Западной Украины в соответствии с новациями в военном деле и технике. Определены основные факторы, способствовавшие развитию фортификационного строительства в течение XIV-XVI веков, автором прослежены основные тенденции, которые были характерны в развитии оборонных комплексов западноукраинского региона.

Ключевые слова: артиллерия, бойницы, строительство, башни, война, дерево, замок, Западная Украина, камень, оборона, стратегия, тактика, укрепления, фортификация.

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Стаття подана 22.03.2019

УДК 622.012.2-029:9]:001.82

ON THE USE OF THE CONCEPT “PIT” IN ARCHEOLOGY

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ПРО ВИКОРИСТАННЯ В АРХЕОЛОГІЇ ПОНЯТТЯ «КОПАЛЬНЯ»

Бровендер Ю.М.

The article is devoted to the methodological aspect of the basic concept of the new direction in Ukrainian archeology (mining archeology) - the concept of “pit”. Some researchers regard this term incorrectly and it often leads to delusions. Consequently, the ideas as to the real scale of mining works carried out in antiquity are misrepresented; accordingly, the data as to the amounts of metal obtained after processing are distorted. In general, the very nature of metal production activity in antiquity seems also distorted.

The author focuses attention on the fact that until the clarification of the issue whether mining operations took place simultaneously or in different periods of time, the concepts of “pit” and “pits” in the territory of one ore manifestation should be used with restriction. Analyzing the production activities of the ancient population within the territory of the particular ore manifestation the author considers it appropriate to discuss the number of mine workings, differentiating them by their types. The issue referred to the number of mines operating in the territory of the particular ore manifestation requires further consideration.

Key words: *mining archeology, mine working, Donetsk mining-and-metallurgical center, Kartamysh archeological microdistrict, metal production, pit, ore manifestation.*

Large-scale archaeological excavations of ancient mining sites in Eastern Ukraine in the first decade of the 21st century actually laid the foundation for a new direction in Ukrainian archeology, that is, mining archeology [Brovender, Otroshchenko & others, 2007]. S.I. Tatarinov was the founder of this trend in Ukraine, and he devoted many years of his life to the study of the ancient mining-and-metallurgical sites of Donbass [Tatarinov, 1993, 2003, 2006]. Mining archeology as a new interdisciplinary knowledge in Ukraine based on the results of a comprehensive analysis of sources originating from the ore territory of Donbass provides the most comprehensive information in order to recreate a holistic picture of metal production in the Paleometal era [Brovender, Shubin, 2014].

The pursuit of a comprehensive study of the ancient metal production activity, where each of its production cycle is a link in the chain of a complex process of obtaining metal, determined the need to combine all knowledge about metal production into a unique system

that could become the theory of the ancient metal. This branch of archaeological knowledge, which A.D. Pryakhin named as paleometallic studies [Pryakhin, 2007, p. 18], was formed and developed by E.N. Chernykh. The basic branch of paleometallic studies as a complex of knowledge about ancient metals is mining archeology. The object of its study is mining-and-metallurgical sites.

The development of any scientific knowledge is impossible without the conceptual apparatus which is one of the most important tools of scientific knowledge. In the 60s of the XX century E.N. Chernykh guided by this methodological setup made an attempt to bring the terms concerning the problem of metal production and used by the archeologists into a certain system. At the same time he tried to define the most frequently used concepts [Chernykh, 1967]. Enlargement of the source base, as well as the development of issues related to the ancient metal production, allowed E.N. Chernykh took steps aimed at some regulation of the conceptual apparatus in the 70s [Chernykh, 1976, 1978, 1978a]. In fact, the article, published by E.N. Chernykh in 1967 was the only comprehensive theoretical study devoted to the conceptual apparatus of the ancient metal industry. Short comments on particular concepts (hearth, province, zone), as well as the characteristics of specific types of mining works and their traces (mines, tunnels, excavations, holes) were given by E.N. Chernykh in several subsequent works [Chernykh, 1976, p. 166-168; 1978a, p. 262-263; Chernykh, Lebedeva, 2002, p. 25-30]. Attempts of some researchers to argue metal science concepts did not bring anything new, since they were based on the methodological approaches previously applied by E.N. Chernykh. An example of such attempt was the report of V.M. Kurtamasheva [2002] at the conference in Barnaul, which was a kind of review presentation on the article published by E.N. Chernykh in 1967.

Some attempts to create a theoretical foundation for geoarcheology in terms of definitions for basic concepts which characterize ancient metal production were undertaken by a team of Russian researchers under the

supervision of V.V. Zaykov [Zaykov, Yuminov et al., 2011, p. 256-263]. In general, it should be noted that the theoretical foundations of mining archeology, as well as the principles of paleometallic studies laid by E.N. Chernykh in the 60s of the 20th century unfortunately was not further developed, which, to a certain extent, held back the development of research ideas as to the early stages of the metal production activity in the Eastern European steppe and forest-steppe. The situation was overcome only in the 90s of the 20th century when the researchers advanced to the microregional level of source analysis. The efficiency of such approach, especially in recent decades, has been clearly demonstrated by the experts [Gershkovich, 1995; Brovender, 1997, 2000, Savrasov, 1998; Chernykh, Kuzminykh and others, 1999, 2005; Chernykh, 2002, 2007; Matveeva et al., 2004; Tatarinov, 2006; Sanzharov, 2010]. An example of such approach is the study of the sites of Kartamysh archeological microdistrict (KAM) of the Donetsk mining-and-metallurgical center of the Bronze Age (DMMC) [Brovender, Otroshchenko et al., 2010; Brovender, 2012, 2016].

One of the basic concepts in the assessment of the production activities of the DMMC, like any other mining-and-metallurgical center, where mining is the main type of production activity, is the concept of "pit". An incorrect understanding of this term often leads the researchers to misconceptions. Thus, for some archaeologists, "mine working" and "pit" are synonymous terms. In this case, the number of mine workings coincides with the number of pits. Such a notion (Tatarinov, 1993, 2003, 2006) distorts the real scale, as, in fact, the very nature of metal production in antiquity.

In terms of the definitions of contemporary mining science, a pit (mine administration) is considered as several mines and surface workshops, united by a single administrative and economic administration, having a common centralized facilities for processing and transporting the minerals [Kiliachkov, 1971, p. 13]. In this regard, an ancient pit should be determined as a set of mine workings operating at the same time in the territory of one particular ore manifestation, or even one large-scale open-pit mine with surface (anthropogenic) mineral processing sites, representing a single production complex. In other words, a pit is an industrial complex of various underground and surface facilities simultaneously functioning on one ore manifestation for sinking, mining and processing of the ore body.

Isolation on the territory of an ore manifestation, having traces of ancient mine workings, of one or several pits makes certain difficulties. Thus, three lenses of ore are developed in Kartamysh ore manifestation; they are located in an echelon manner, separated by barren intervals and extended over a large area. Such a nature of ore lenses extension in ancient times led to the mining of those ore bodies in three open-pit mines. However, the question of functioning of one or several mines in the territory of a particular (Kartamysh) ore manifestation remains open. This question also arises in relation to the other ore manifestations of the Bakhmut basin, in

the territory of which traces of mining activity have been revealed. To resolve this issue large-scale studies of the entire archaeological microdistrict (Kartamyshsky, Klinovy, Mednorudinskiy, Pilipchatinsky) are needed. Evidences of simultaneous operations of all mine workings and the corresponding infrastructure provided by surface production (including anthropogenic) sites as well as settlements of ancient miners, cooperatively forming a single residential-production complex, operating within a single population array are needed. In this regard, it becomes apparent that the number of pits determined by some researchers in absolute terms is relative. The notions of "pit" and "pits" in the territory of one ore manifestation are also debatable. They are given by researchers before large-scale works carried out in the area of the entire archaeological microdistrict which they are an integral part of. Thus, at the initial stage of the study of Kartamysh ore manifestation the nature of the mine workings (open and underground) and the peculiarities of their location due to disturbance of ore lenses fixed on the surface by the landscape character were applied as a principle for identifying mines.

Taking into account the above mentioned, when analyzing the production activities of the ancient population within a specific ore manifestation, it is more correctly to speak about the number of mine workings, differentiating them by their type, leaving the question about the number of pits operating within a specific ore manifestation for further consideration. E.N. Chernykh describing the scale of industrial activity in Kargalinsky mining-and-metallurgical center applied the concept of mine working. The concept of a pit in this case was not used [Chernykh, Lebedeva, 2002]. The Kazakh researcher of mining-and-metallurgical sites A.Kh. Margulan [2001] also used this concept carefully. Concerning KAM, in the territory of which large-scale excavations have been carried out, there are some reasons to assume the functioning of its sites (the pits of Chervone Ozero-I-IV, the anthropogenic section of the pit of Chervone Ozero-I, the settlement of Chervone Ozero-1, the first chronological horizon of the settlement of Chervone Ozero-3) as a single residential-production complex, operating within a single population array [Brovender, 2012, p. 552].

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Бровендер Ю.М. Про використання в археології поняття «копальня».

Стаття присвячена методологічному аспекту базового поняття нового в українській археології напрямку – гірничої археології – поняттю «копальня». Некоректне розуміння деякими дослідниками цього терміну, часто призводить до помилок. У підсумку спотворюються уявлення про реальні масштаби проведених у давнину гірничих робіт, а відповідно, й про об'єм отриманого в результаті переробки мідних руд, металу. Загалом спотвореним представляється сам характер металовиробничої діяльності у давнину.

Автор акцентує увагу на тому, що до моменту з'ясування питання про одноразовість або різночасність експлуатації гірничих виробіток, поняття «копальня» і «копальні» на території одного рудопрояву, слід використовувати з застереженням. При аналізі виробничої діяльності давнього населення в межах конкретного рудопрояву автор вважає за доцільним казати про кількість гірничих виробіток, диференціюючи їх за типами, залишаючи на майбутнє вирішення питання про кількість функціонуючих на території рудопроявів копалень.

Ключові слова: гірничої археологія, гірничої виробітка, Донецький гірничо-металургійний центр, Картамиський археологічний мікрорайон, металовиробництво, копальня, рудопрояв.

Бровендер Ю.М. Об использовании в археологии понятия «рудник».

Статья посвящена методологическому аспекту базового понятия нового в украинской археологии направления – горной археологии – понятию «рудник». Некорректное понимание некоторыми исследователями данного термина, зачастую приводит к заблуждениям. В итоге искажаются представления о реальных масштабах, проведенных в древности горных работ, а, соответственно, и объеме полученного в результате переработки медных руд, металла. В целом, искаженным представляется сам характер металлопроизводственной деятельности в древности.

Автор акцентировал внимание на том, что до момента выяснения вопроса о одновременности или разновременности эксплуатации горных выработок, понятия «рудник» и «рудники» на территории одного рудопроявления, следует использовать с оговоркой. При анализе производственной деятельности древнего населения в пределах конкретного рудопроявления автор считает целесообразным говорить о количестве горных выработок, дифференцируя их по типам, оставляя на будущее решение вопроса о количестве функционирующих на территории рудопроявления рудников.

Ключевые слова: горная археология, горная выработка, Донецкий горно-металлургический центр, Картамышский ар-

хеологический микрорайон, металлопроизводство, рудник, рудопроявление.

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Стаття подана 10.04.2019.

UDK 93/624(631.2) «19/20»

**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 XIX – ПОЧАТКУ XX, ЯК ВАГОМОГО ВНЕСОКУ
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 the 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.

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 its walls opens 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 of 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 and 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 studying 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 swparate 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 serfagenal 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). Thet'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 aguare [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 becamng 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 woters and only 25, 4% were bar away from it. Such a tendensy 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 constructionwith 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 passege. In the middle of the XIX beginning XX century is changing and the second type of building begins to

prodominate 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 eoblong form of the walls and not a heigh of the ceiling. Little height of the wells was a result of on 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 produsing. 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. Frome 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 wery 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 complele compositional view [4, 95].

In some regions of the Northern Poltava's region to the rear façade 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 on-ly constorial aims but an essential architectural effect.

Combining darkly gray straw roof with white tones of walls were making outer view of huts very pictorial. That's why dwelling in 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 of 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.

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 fora spiritual outlook of the modern population.

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Галай К.Б. Розвиток технологій будівництва жилища селян Полтавської губернії XIX – початку XX, як вагомий внесок в матеріальну та архітектурну культуру регіону

Головним моментом у вивченні історії є матеріальна культура. Вона приносить у собі багатofункціональність, вона є цінним джерелом вивчення процесів етногенезу. Житло може вважатися одним з головних етнокультурного, економічного повсякденного розвитку населення; це елемент ідентичності сільського населення, етнічної первинної бази. Він може спостерігати як одну з головних складових етнокультурних процесів, які вивчають не тільки принцип будівництва житла, використовуючи будівельні матеріали, які є іманентними для конкретного районного планування, зв'язок з іншими будівлями, але і як велика спадщина духовності. Однак для кожної людини будинок - це весь простір, де "життєві" традиції і духовні цінності, які є іманентними для кожної сім'ї.

Розкрито важливу складову матеріальної культури - розвиток національної побудови житла, що відображає конкретний історичний розвиток певної частини населення, громади, великого духовно-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, как весомого вклада в материальную и архитектурную 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 процессов развития 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 жилища, 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.

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

Ключевые слова: материальная культура, жилище, строительство, национальная архитектура, строительные материалы.

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Статья подана 08.04.2019.

UDK № 168522

**CULTUROLOGICAL “KNOW-HOW” IN THE SYSTEM OF SPECIALISTS
TRAINING IN HIGHER EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS
OF I-II LEVEL OF ACCREDITATION****Hub’jak V.D., Hub’jak M.V.****КУЛЬТУРОЛОГІЧНЕ «НОУ-ХАУ» В СИСТЕМІ ФАХІВЦІВ,
ПОВЧАЛЬНИХ У ВИЩИХ ОСВІТНІХ УСТАНОВАХ І-ІІ РІВНІВ АКРЕДИТАЦІЇ****Губ’як В.Д., Губ’як М.В.**

The object of the research are transformational processes in the system of culturological education in historical aspect as until recently culturology was a part of anthropology, archeology and history, but today the concept of culture consists of all spheres of human activity including ones which are known as science and system of science. It means that methodological chaos appeared not only regarding educational discipline of culturology but regarding scientific one on the first place.

The article emphasizes the necessity of an integrated approach to preparation in the process of training a specialist in a higher educational institution, identifies one of the most effective ways of solving this problem, that is the formation of a system of culturological skills through the introduction of integrating cultural models.

Keywords: *cultural education, Bologna process, genesis, integration, transformational process, ethno-social structure, culturology, regional peculiarities, innovations and technologies*

Cultural education in Ukraine nowadays is in a difficult situation associated with the formation of new strategies for the development of Ukrainian education as a whole, which is based on the principles of globalization and regionalization; integration and diversification of educational structures, unification of special fields of training specialists, innovation of training technologies. In these conditions, it is particularly relevant to study the peculiarities of cultural education in the regions as the basis for the development of all Ukrainian education.

The aim of this research is to analyze cultural education, its historical aspect, place, and role in the social development of the state.

The subject of the study is the transformational processes in the system of cultural education, the historical aspect.

It is known that the term “history of culture” arose at the beginning of the twentieth century in connection with the study by anthropologists of backward, so-called

primitive cultures. Note that there are many definitions. Therefore, a relatively small factual material (compared with the civilizations of the West and the East), manifested in the culture of many tribes of America, Africa, and Asia, which belonged to several hundred, and even dozens of people, such a term was fully applicable and justified. But with the further development of science, this term began to lay claim to a methodological principle of studying all past and present civilizations, regardless of their size and range. However, until recently, history of culture, as a rule, was located within the framework of anthropology, archeology, and history, but today, all areas of human activity are covered by the notion of culture, including those that are known to us under the name of science or systems of sciences. In other words, the methodological chaos appeared not only in relation to the educational but, above all, in relation to the scientific discipline of cultural studies [8, 12].

Hence, a second problem arises, which is directly related to the question of developing a model of cultural education. It is connected with the lack of scientific criteria for the structuring and systematization of knowledge of the culturological cycle, since the uncertainty of the notion of culture does not allow us to take as a basis one or another approach to the assessment of empirical material, to which we refer well-known interpretations and theories of cultural level. Therefore, we have to be guided by both the most authoritative sources on the given problem and to use the experience of domestic and foreign experts on the problem of teaching cultural studies, and own developments in this field.

Since the task of constructing a model of cultural education is still posed with definiteness, inevitably in the process of this work analysis and experience will be formalized both in the educational and in the scientific discipline of culture at the same time. Therefore, we consider it necessary to structure and systematize mate-

rial for the cultural educational cycle, based on our clearly defined viewpoint regarding the main methodological approaches and basic concepts in the field of cultural studies. [4, 18].

The task set before the educational model to ensure and preserve such fundamental criteria of the integrity of cultural knowledge as continuity, make us appeal to the basic methodological approach when selecting material for educational discipline "history of culture" at different levels of education, from musical schools to higher education institutions. This approach should be connected not only with the system or structure of culturological knowledge but also with the age of children [5, 24].

In our view, without a more or less clear definition of the subject of cultural studies, at least in the most general form, we can not justify and substantiate the linking of the architectonics of cultural education. Without going into theoretical explanations and analysis of existing theories, we can state that culture in the broadest sense is a combination of modes of existence and human livelihood, as well as their results in the past, present and future time on the scale of all humanity living on Earth. From this definition, we see that the subject of the history of culture is both a static and dynamic system, and this gives us the opportunity to apply the primary distribution to study it.

By statics, we understand the completed results of the types and ways of human activity in the past, its achievements in different cultures, ranging from the methods of extracting fire to masterpieces of art. By the dynamics of culture, we understand the mechanisms and processes of change and development, which can be attributed, including any socially significant events that, one way or another have changed the look of human society in the past or present. Speaking about the history of things and the history of events, we remain within the broadest and undifferentiated edge of understanding of culture, namely, within the framework of universal or general cultural consciousness [12, 149].

Following this, a new, more in-depth understanding of the essence of culture opens, namely, the level of detection and knowledge of the laws in the cultural process and in cultural achievement. Here there is a differentiation of the general field of universal history into the history of locally existing groups of people, united by numerous factors and conditions. Of the many known histories of civilizations, each of them becomes a subject of study consistently (to one degree or another), as a result of which we become aware of the diversity and dissimilarity of cultures, their uniqueness. Each studied socio-cultural field appears in the form of a whole world inherent only in its methods of thinking and feeling, management and religious worship, the development of art styles and conduct of military operations. Here, statics and the dynamics of culture are limited to one culture, one society, which has an analogy with human life cycles - birth, development, maturity, and death [10, 416].

At the next level, the study of the subject of cultural studies we begin to recognize the statics of culture as a theoretical object, as an abstract object, that is, the structure of culture. In this case, the main forms of human activity, excepted in human society, their roles, the place and significance of each of them in relation to man, culture, and society as a whole are determined. The dynamics of the theoretical object - culture as integrity - will allow us to understand the systemic connections and relations of all structural elements, all cultural phenomena among themselves and in relation to their whole [10, 416].

Thus, we have the methodological and technological principles according to which culturological education should be formed. The first is the principle of chronology, the linear time according to which all events and things known today, ranging from the origin of the first person and to the present-day historical situation on the planet, are raised as a single forward process. The chronological methodological and technological principle in constructing a model of culturological education is intended to play the role of the quantitative factor when the emphasis is on obtaining the maximum amount of knowledge. By the way, this very methodological principle was almost entirely reigning both in education and in world science: a well-known historical theory shared the history of mankind in the hereditary periods of time in the history, in which it was formed, namely, "Ancient world - Middle Ages - New time - Newest History". In our view, this approach to the historical process is relativistic and legitimate only at the initial stages of the study of human history.

The second technological principle in culturological education can be called cultural-historical, it is intended to form students' perceptions of the cultural diversity of the world through the study of specific cultures of the past and present. This principle in education should promote the elimination in the minds of people of national and cultural centrism when each culture is understood as a unique achievement of a huge group of people to which the criteria of evaluation of any other civilization are not applicable [11, 360].

The third technological principle in approaching the construction of a model of culturological education in Ukraine is the culturological principle in the selection and presentation of knowledge. At this level of preparation, when there is already a great deal of historical and cultural-historical information, culture should be presented as an abstract study object, in which two main points are distinguished: structural, or static, and systemic, or dynamic. It is at this stage, in our opinion, that information on the origin and history of the development of cultural science as a science should be presented, as well as the main and most well-known theories on the interpretation of culture as such.

But in order for the whole amount of knowledge that is studied in educational institutions to be included in culturological training, it is necessary to order it in accordance with certain principles - principles of

culturological development of knowledge. This requires, first of all, to identify the role and content of history of culture as a science. Among the numerous interpretations of the history of culture in the system of scientific knowledge the most common are the following two: first, history of culture is represented as the assembly of human sciences and, secondly, as interdisciplinary science [4, 26].

In the first interpretation, cultural studies act more like a cultural science, in which each scientific discipline is a part of the general space of human knowledge and relations with the world, and their unity is provided by the general basis, source, and cause of occurrence - human creative activity. In the second interpretation, cultural science is seen as a discipline that stands above other sciences, for which the source and the target point is a way of understanding, interpreting the world, and the knowledge of man about it. In this sense, history of culture is a special edge of consciousness, which is located above other spheres of human knowledge and which deals only with explanation of every historical event, every artistic image or mode of management as a historical type, a model of human activity that has a structure and obeys a single pattern in its appearance and actions. In our view, both interpretations of cultural studies as a scientific and educational discipline have the right to exist [4, 28].

Culturological training involves the achievement of certain qualities by students that would enable them to operate the basic cultural concepts and to reveal the principles of the cultural level in individual events or phenomena. Therefore, the interpretation of culturology as a cultural science, as a system of human sciences, sciences about human creative activity, can be used as a methodological principle of providing information to students before culturological training. It means that a huge field of information about the world and about a person, about their relations (contradictions and unity) among themselves, should not simply be provided within the limits of already existing educational disciplines, but with the emphasis on:

1. external (chronological) and internal (logical) connection of the main historical stages of the development of one or another sphere of knowledge;

2. connection of the investigated historical phenomenon, event or discovery with historical conditions accompanying them in other spheres of public life. In this case, the student will form such a vision of a single historical fact in which this fact itself will be considered in connection with other facts of history that preceded or followed the investigated phenomenon [2, 16].

When forming such student's attitude to the studied phenomenon, it is necessary to clearly indicate the general basis, the cause of the connection of these phenomena, which is originally present in each event or phenomenon of history, namely human activity. A student must receive a sufficient foundation for acting in the consciousness at the culturological level, that is, actions must be aimed at achieving understanding of the

single fact as part of the overall human process. If such an emphasis is made, this will be the first and main factor for the formation of a student's cultural understanding of history and the present.

The second point to be ensured in the culturological training of students is to determine the condition of connection between individual facts and historical phenomena, namely the concept of time. The chronology can be presented as an irresistible flow of many events in the history of human society, and therefore the correlation of each historical fact with the time period can and should not only be a necessity for the emergence of history as such, but also an opportunity to understand the emergence of certain historical events. In this case, a specific historical time can and must be understood and presented as a condition of coincidence of many events in different spheres of human society life, ranging from the methods of warfare to the creation of works of art, or even the formation of styles and entire areas in art, literature, etc. Therefore, the chronological coincidence of different in appearance events or historical facts should attract the attention of students and create, in this way, the preconditions for the formulation and solution of issues inherent in the culturological level [6, 62].

The two above-mentioned moments relate to the chronological method of student's culturological training in choosing and providing information. These two points form the basis of the chronological principle in culturological education and are aimed at the formation of the culturological level in the consciousness, the student's perception of the fact of history or modernity. Both time and human society are manifested, in this case, in a non-differentiated form, as a common substance of events, and allow humanity to be represented as a unit that lives in time under unified and immutable laws. This allows, on the one hand, to provide education in general with humanistic nature and direct the student to the perception of individual strange cultures, and on the other hand - to form the cultural basis of perception and understanding of information about a person as a generic being, despite the various racial, ethnic, cultural and other differences between people. The method of chronology in culturological education should be used at the first stage of the student's cultural training [14, 86].

At the second stage of culturological preparation, the main method of selection and provision of information should be the cultural-historical method. The peculiarity of this method is the appearance of new connecting facts of history. To the already described two connecting elements of the history of mankind - time and human activity - a few are added, the main of which are:

- 1) the notion of culture or civilization;
- 2) ethno-social structure of the studied cultural or civilizational systems [13, 128].

The notion of culture at this stage is introduced as a formal historical concept. The understanding of culture as a result of human activity in time is

accompanied by an understanding of culture as a regional-historical whole in the space of human civilizations, human history in general. Here the spatial and temporal distribution of the historical process is introduced, different historical cultures are selected, which can be described and confirmed by historical evidence and archaeological materials. Cultural-historical method is connected with the fact that the student begins to see the historical process not only as a single line in time and space but also as a historical process of development of many different cultural entities, characterized by specific features [15, 94].

On the other hand, the concept of culture, limiting the overall historical process of space-time frameworks, at the same time, is a common core for all events, phenomena, and facts of the studied cultural-historical system. Linear time appears, in this case, as the only scale on which there exist and develop various rather closed cultural institutions, within which all spheres of society are interdependent. This creates the necessary preconditions for preparing a student for a more complex cultural analysis of historical facts in the future, as the diverse life of society appears as a whole and, therefore, every branch of life, from economics to art, is perceived as dependent on all others. Although structural analysis at this level of culturological training is not yet used, the emergence of a systemic vision of culture as a complex organism is already becoming an inalienable attribute of the study of any cultural integrity.

The second element that plays the same dual role, as well as the concept of culture in relation to history and human, is the ethnos and mentality or ethno-social community. Just as the notion of culture is an element that separates the integrity of the historical process into locally-geographical, cultural-historical complexes, the concept of ethnos introduces differentiation into student's knowledge of a single humanity. Despite the fact that humanity is a real notion and no matter how different people are between themselves, they are equally related to the human race, it is not just an integer, but an integral set consisting of elements - ethnic groups, nations, peoples [10, 16].

In modern textbooks on history, civilizations are studied according to geographical and chronological features, briefly mentioning the peoples living in the specified territories. Meanwhile, it is necessary to distinguish the ethnic element into one of the most important components of the cultural-historical process, because ethnos are the creators and bearers of cultural traditions. For example, it's a mistake to speak of the culture of ancient Rome, because ancient Rome is a huge geographic and national feature of the branch of ancient history, which includes many conquered cultures, for example, Egypt. It would be more correct to consider the culture of peoples and the role of each of them in the Roman Empire [2, 37].

A similar emphasis on the ethnic basis of each culture, every civilization complex should not only make the student aware of the diversity of the human

race but also prepare him for the perception and understanding of different cultures, no matter how distant they seem at first glance. In addition, the ethno-social division of cultural-historical formations will help the future cultural scientist to form readiness and, at the same time, the professional ability for intercultural communication, unthinkable without the prior awareness of the ethnic and cultural diversity of history and modern times [6, 172].

The culturological stage in culturological education is characterized by the achievement of the main goals and objectives of culturology in general, namely:

- 1) training of specialists in culturology, able to use professionally the basic cultural concepts, to operate freely with a cultural apparatus for the analysis of cultures, their structural parts and forms of interaction between them, to understand the tendencies of occurrence, development and decline of the cultures common to all cultures, patterns of the appearance of cultural models, styles and arithmetic reactions etc.,

- 2) search and definition of perspective directions of scientific researches in the field of culturological knowledge, in a deeper and more accurate understanding of mechanisms of cultural achievement and intercultural communication. These tasks are faced with the university and after-university stages of culturological training [8, 18].

The peculiarity of this stage is the use of the characteristic cultural method in the selection and submission of information, in the development and completion of those educational areas of cultural education, which were involved in the previous stages, in order to ensure the continuity of culturological training and culturological knowledge itself. Cultural method of selection and submission of information to students and postgraduate students consists of previously developed forms of chronological and cultural-historical analysis of the history of human life, as well as in the structural and systematic analysis of typical, archaic mechanisms of existence and cultural dynamics [14, 76].

Many events in the life of one cultural and ethno-social community should be analyzed in the direction of finding the sole basis for their manifestation, the finding of some common archaic patterns for them, which constitute the content of a particular cultural tradition. At this stage of culturological preparation, it is important to study the structure of ethno-cultural integrity, structural elements and their relationships between themselves and the whole, as well as studying the effect of these elements in social dynamics. In addition, the function of both structural elements of culture and society, as well as the function of cultural-historical education as a whole, as interdependent cultural traditions and ideas in the single spatial-temporal flow of human existence, is an important subject of the study. [3, 10].

One of the most important subjects of culturological education at this stage is the deepening of

knowledge on the study of sign systems of different peoples and their cultures, both of which are passé and modern ones. The problem of intercultural communication today is very acute because this is one of the causes of misunderstandings and conflicts between different countries. Therefore, the understanding of the uniqueness of each cultural tradition, along with the penetration into the content of what is happening, is possible only on the basis of an in-depth study of the semantic and semiotic features of the cultural languages of many peoples of the world [9, 116].

The most important element in the culturological training of students at this stage is the concept of structural unity of all known cultural and historical institutions today, despite their difference in scale and external forms of manifestation. In essence, it is a question of studying the abstract object - culture as a system in which the visible phenomena of social life are linked by an invisible but very strong bond of structural properties. Every fact or phenomenon of the history of a particular culture is considered in relation to others not only in relation to a single time scale, not only in relation to the common cultural-historical space in which it was discovered, but also in relation to the most functional structure of the whole cultural integrity, in which this fact or phenomenon acts as a feature and form of deep meaning - the structural and functional part of a unified cultural system [18, 147].

Л і т е р а т у р а

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Губ'як В.Д., Губ'як М.В., Культурологічне «Ноу-Хау» в системі фахівців, повчальних у вищих освітніх установах I-II рівнів акредитації

Об'єктом дослідження є трансформаційні процеси в системі культурологічної освіти в історичному аспекті, оскільки до недавнього часу культурологія була частиною антропології, археології та історії, але сьогодні концепція культури складається з усіх сфер людської діяльності, включаючи ті, які відомі як наука і система науки. Це означає, що методологічний хаос з'явився не тільки з при-

воду навчальної дисципліни культурології, а й з наукової на першому місці.

У статті наголошується на необхідності комплексного підходу до підготовки фахівців у процесі підготовки фахівців у вищому навчальному закладі, визначається один з найбільш ефективних шляхів вирішення цієї проблеми, тобто формування системи культурологічних навичок шляхом впровадження інтеграція культурних моделей.

Ключові слова: культурна освіта, Болонський процес, генезис, інтеграція, трансформаційний процес, етносоціальна структура, культурологія, регіональні особливості, інновації та технології.

Губ'як В.Д., Губ'як М.В., Культурологическое «НОУ-ХАУ» в системе подготовки специалистов в высших учебных заведениях I-II уровня аккредитации

Объектом исследования являются трансформационные процессы в системе культурологического образования в историческом аспекте, поскольку до недавнего времени культурология была частью антропологии, археологии и истории, но сегодня понятие культуры состоит из всех сфер человеческой деятельности, в том числе известных как наука и система науки. Это означает, что методологический хаос возник не только в отношении

учебной дисциплины культурологии, но и прежде всего в отношении научной.

В статье подчеркивается необходимость комплексного подхода к подготовке в процессе подготовки специалиста в высшем учебном заведении, выявляется один из наиболее эффективных способов решения этой проблемы, а именно формирование системы культурологических навыков путем внедрения интеграция культурных моделей.

Ключевые слова: культурное образование, Болонский процесс, генезис, интеграция, трансформационный процесс, этносоциальная структура, культурология, региональные особенности, инновации и технологии.

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Стаття подана 15.03.2019.

УДК 56:591]378.4(470)павлова

PALEOZOLOGICAL SCHOOL AT MOSCOW UNIVERSITY: WORK OF M.V. PAVLOVA

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Палеозоологічна школа в Московському університеті: діяльність М.В. Павлової

Дефорж Г.В.

The current task of modern historical science is the thorough study of the personalities of prominent people who have made a significant contribution to the formation and development of world science. The article is devoted to the analysis and systematic synthesis of a set of scientific facts that objectively characterize various aspects of the work of the outstanding zoologist of the present-day Mariya Vasylivna Pavlova as the head of the Moscow School of Paleozoologist. In the history of science M.V. Pavlova is known as an outstanding biologist who devoted her entire life to the study of the wonderful diversity of the animal world. She belongs to the cohort of those zoological scientists who have made a remarkable contribution to the evolutionary biology. The analysis of the sources allowed us to give an objective assessment of all that was achieved by Paleozoological School of Mariya Vasylivna.

Key words: paleozoology, paleontology, science, biology, scientific school.

Introduction. One of the interesting periods in the history of domestic paleozoology is undoubtedly the end of the 19th - the first third of the twentieth century. During this decisive time, very important discoveries were made in Paleozoological Science, which gave a powerful impetus to the development of domestic and foreign paleontology, formed the main paleozoological researches and created the main paleozoological schools. Referring to the history of Paleozoology of this period is dictated by the need for a comprehensive study of the phenomenon of the emergence of new knowledge in science as a complex and multidimensional process.

General problem setting. The rapid progress of Paleozoology in the USSR in the 30's and 40's of the twentieth century has led to the emergence of new hypotheses and theories. In the domestic paleozoology, in addition to the study of methodological and theoretical problems, practical work became of great importance. It is strange that the cognitive history of Paleozoology of these years has fallen out of sight of many researchers. Therefore, it is expedient to study and analyze the activity of the Paleozoological School of Moscow University, which was headed by M.V. Pavlova and it is im-

portant for the research study that took place not only on the territory of the Russian lands, but also on the territory of Ukraine as a whole.

Analysis of previous researches and publications. In foreign and domestic historiography there is a number of works devoted to paleozoology of this period. Among the most famous foreign studies of this kind, one can mention K. Tsittel (1934) and A. Romer (1939) [1-2]. Among the domestic authors, the issue of the history of Paleozoology 1930-1940 was covered by L.Sh. Davitashvili (1940, 1948, 1958) [3-5]. However, in works of a generalizing nature, the role of scientific schools and collective creativity in the development of theoretical and applied questions of genetics is given an insignificant place. After all, science is a social institution, which includes, first and foremost, scientists with their knowledge and experience, the distribution and cooperation of scientific work; scientific laboratories and institutes; scientific schools and community. The most successful in this respect was the work of «Pavlov's Geological School» [6].

The purpose and objectives of the research. The analysis and coverage of the main stages of the scientific activity of the Moscow School of Paleozoologist, headed by M.V. Pavlova.

Presentation of the basic research material. The peculiarity of the studied period is the presence of a wide range of different paleozoology schools: M.V. Pavlova, O.O. Borysiak, I.G. Pidoplichko. It is interesting to trace the history of the emergence of these schools and discover the causes that affected their decay. The analysis of the scientific heritage of domestic paleozoology schools clearly demonstrates the processes of continuity within the school and science in general.

Speaking about the phenomenon of the emergence of ideas in the scientific community the concept of personal knowledge of Michael Polanyi should be remembered (1980) [7]. Since the science is a social phenomenon, the product obtained in the course of scientific ac-

tivity can not be de-personified. This means that the identity of scientists can not be separated from the knowledge created by them. In this case, often implicit knowledge embodied in the system of habits and peculiarities of behavior, are transmitted «from hand to hand», that is, not verbally. Actually, implicit knowledge can explain the phenomenon of the birth of ideas for the collective work of researchers.

Science is social in its nature, and research work of scientists, which are often depicted in historical and biographic works as hermits who devote themselves only to science, are deeply collective in their essence. The human activity is a reflection that acts in the continuous interaction of all previous and present generations. The most important element of such a reflexive culture is the adequate and self-organized attitude to himself or herself, as well as the comprehension-cognitive attitude to the surrounding world [8].

This is a rather non-standard approach to scientific knowledge as a product of personal creativity, and not a single individual in the person of a scientist, but a complex system of interpersonal components that make up the arsenal of scientific and cognitive motivation of the researcher. This position, in our opinion, allows us to determine the complex process of constant development of science, without clear spatial and temporal boundaries. The explanation of the birth of a new science is not limited to theories of paradigm shift or gradual cumulative processes. Often in studies on the history of science the subjects of study are forgotten, describing, for example, the chromosomal theory as a product of the abstract mind. But in science not just the chromosomal theory remains to exist, but Thomas Hunt Morgan and his students as a subjective part of their research program. Moreover, the methods of transferring the initiating mechanisms to the emergence of new hypotheses often make us turn to the sphere of irrational. N.I. Kuznetsova notes: «The tradition that civilization calls «the science» can not be reproduced by showing only products (knowledge) and algorithms of actions (techniques and procedures); no less significant constantly reproduced impulse in the new generations of passion for finding the truth, admiration for the beauty of research, the experience of deep existential content of these mental exercises» [9].

In the social history of Paleozoology, there are many studies that deal with the interaction of science and politics, but, in our opinion, there are still insufficient materials that affect the mechanisms of the birth of conceptual discoveries. Consideration of the issues of the history of the national paleozoology of 1890-1940 on different sides – cognitive, historical, philosophical and psychological – seems rather interesting, as any interdisciplinary study. Our research allows us to trace the genesis of the domestic scientific Paleozoological School and to evaluate the contribution of this school to the development of the biology of the twentieth century.

Some facts about the concept of a school of science. In most cases, scientific knowledge is a collaborative work of many minds. As early as the beginning of

science, many studies have become the fruit of associations (schools), often headed by leaders. Such leaders have evolved from generators of ideas to symbols of various scientific directions [10]. With the appearing of a leader who possesses a wide range of qualities for the formation of a scientific direction, and a team capable of developing fundamental ideas, there is a scientific school. But is it always possible to name a team of a scientific organization as a science school? One of the problems is the measure of objectivity in the allocation of an independent scientific school. To solve the problem, it is necessary to determine certain criteria of a scientific school. Of course, every school is a unique phenomenon, so it is difficult to find the strict parameters that determine the scientific school. Yet in our study, we tried to isolate the laws in the emergence of the phenomenon of a scientific school in the domestic paleozoology of the late nineteenth – first third of the twentieth century.

Analyzing the causes of the emergence and development of the school, we came to the conclusion that for a scientific school it is necessary to have a leader with creative potential and certain personal qualities, as well as students capable of implementing ideas. The priority in the organization of the work of any team, without a doubt, is the role of a leader. Very often a scientific school is associated with its leader, while the most of the workers in the creative group remains in the shadow. The head of the school must have a high authority both among the leaders of the scientific community and among the students. The authority of the leader is determined by contribution to science, experience, culture, erudition, the ability to make the best decision in a difficult situation and certain human qualities [11].

Undoubtedly, the group leader is a motivator for the work of scientific school scholars. To explain the mechanism of this influence, we tried from the standpoint of the theory of subjectivity by V.A. Petrovskiy [12-13]. Under the «reflected subjectivity» V.A. Petrovskiy means «the representation of one person to another», «personal contribution to another». The leader of a scientific direction acts as a «significant other» for his students and influences their system of values, thereby indirectly determining the peculiarities of their motivation in solving problems.

The second important condition for the organization of a collaborative research is the presence of fruitful ideas for development. K.A. Lange notes that when characterizing the school, they often say «a direction in science, which has certain features, properties associated with commonality or continuity of principles» [14]. According to I.A. Arshavskiy: «The first and main feature of a scholarly school is, first of all, created by a leader who became headed by the team he had gathered, some of the original ideas or theories in connection with which an entirely new research direction is organized, previously unknown in science» [15].

Speaking of the school, however, it should be noted that the problem developed by the group does not have to be new and original. Even if the leader and his

students are united by common principles in the treatment or form of research of a previously developed problem, then in this case the given team can be called a school. Perhaps, in the conditions of collective consciousness of already realized ideas, there can arise fundamentally new and original hypotheses.

Actually implicit knowledge can explain the phenomenon of the birth of ideas in the collective work of researchers. Recently, interest in the problem of irrational science has been particularly intensified. The presence of irrational layers in the human spirit gives birth to the depth from which new ideas appear. The mutual transition of rational and irrational is one of the fundamental foundations of cognition.

According to P.K. Anochin, «a scientific school – ... this is a tradition of thinking, a special scientific atmosphere» [16]. Unfortunately, often interesting hypotheses can not unite talented researchers around them. The evidence of a lack of only one new paradigm for the formation of a school can be the absence of direct students from Charles Darwin and Dmitry Mendeleev. Young people need to develop basic ideas. Very often a scientific school arises in educational institutions (for example: the school of I.P. Pavlov, the school of O.P. Pavlov, the school of M.V. Pavlova, which arose in domestic universities, the school of Thomas Morgan – at Columbia University). With the advent of young researchers in the school there are new tasks: the development and growth of students, their involvement in new ideas. First, young scientists often copy the head of the school, and this should not be feared, because it corresponds to the goals that are facing the research team – rapid enrichment with knowledge, ideas, methods, style of work. A young person can do it all by herself, but with more energy and time. Any scholarly school has both negative sides: it sometimes strangles initiative, creativity, eliminates members of the group. In preventing such phenomena an important role of the leader (first of all, his personality traits). The terms of the existence of a scientific school are one or two generations of students. Then it must necessarily break apart, although there is a phenomenon of continuity of scientific schools.

The reasons for the collapse of scientific schools may be different: a) the leader's departure and the inability of the students to further develop his ideas; b) the creation of new schools due to the high organizational qualities and enormous scientific potential of former students; c) disorder inside a school (due to personal quarrels and hostility); d) loss of the novelty of the fundamental ideas of the school as a result of changes in scientific paradigms.

Considering the phenomenon of a scientific school, it should be emphasized that it can not be explained outside the system of three coordinates: subject-logical, social and psychological [17]. Such an interdisciplinary approach only proves that the formation of a school is a complex phenomenon, which appears as a result of the plexus of many causes and circumstances.

Therefore, the meaning of the term «scientific school» may be multifaceted.

Of all the variety of definitions, the most successful is the definition of R.A. Fando: «A science school is an association of scientists, often associated with a leader, where there is a continuation in the development of tasks and methods of research. Moreover, the scientific school – a unique phenomenon, which is not only different from the entire scientific community of this era, but also unique in the history of science. Scientific school is associated not only with the leading scientist and disciplinary direction, but also with historical time, as well as with the state and national traditions» [18, p. 9].

As a rule, many factors influence the formation of a school, but the school itself has a huge impact on the development of scientific and social thought. In addition, it is impossible to consider the school in isolation from the peculiarities of the development of science of this period and from other scientific schools. According to M.G. Yaroshevskiy, «the struggle of schools ... most often moved forward scientific thought. But the relations of schools imprinted both on the activities of each individual scientist, and on the general state of science in this era» [19, p. 146]. Given this, one can speak about the origin and development of the Paleozoological School by M.V. Pavlova as a complicated process of formation of scientific schools, which follows from the interaction of scientific, social and psychological components.

Particularly interesting is the genesis of M.V. Pavlova School of Paleozoology on the study of fossil vertebrates. Academician M.V. Pavlova is interested not only in her role in the formation of domestic paleozoology, but also in the peculiar qualities of nature, which caused scientists, over several generations, a sense of the process of development of this science.

In this section, the task of our study is not an analysis of her personality. It is very important to find out the features of the scientific school of M.V. Pavlova and her place in the history of domestic paleozoology, as well as analyze the socio-psychological motives that contributed to the formation of the creative team and provided a long longevity of the methodological ideas of this scientific school.

In 1919 M.V. Pavlova has headed the Department of Paleontology at Moscow University. All employees at the department were chosen by Mariya Vasylyvna herself. M.O. Bolkhovitinova, T.O. Dobrolubova, D.M. Rauser-Chernousova, S.V. Semikhatova, Ye.D. Soshkina, M.I. Shulga-Nesterenko, as well as men V.V. Menner, V.O. Teryaev started to work at the department. Let's try to determine the main scientific and methodological basis in which employees of the Paleozoological School of M.V. Pavlova worked. To do this, you should set up the research credo of Mariya Vasylyvna – the founder of the school.

M.V. Pavlova wrote that she began her path in science while studying at the Sorbonne (in 1880). Substantial biological education has led to a combination of dif-

ferent traditions in the scientific views of a young scientist. But, of course, the scholar of such a scale, which for many years was the leader of the creative team and largely determined the further ways of development of the domestic paleozoology, as a rule, «proceeds» to the usual limits and becomes the founder of a new tradition. And the involvement in the scientific arsenal of the traditions of their teachers (A. Gaudry, M. Neumayr, J. Simpson, V.O. Kovalevsky) is logical, because, as G. Bergson said: «... a thought that brings into the world something new, is forced to manifest with the help of already ready ideas that she meets and attracts to her movement ...» [20, p. 43].

Before the establishment of the Paleozoological School in 1919, M.V. Pavlova has been working on the field of Paleozoological Science for over a number of years (more than 20 years). Her works have greatly enriched the knowledge of scientists about the peculiarities of Paleozoological Science. Her greatest fame brought her a series of studies of ancient fossil ungulates. The work of M.V. Pavlova «Essays on the History of Fossil Ungulates» (1887) was the first scientific publication, which subsequently began a series of works as M.V. Pavlova herself, and employees of the Paleontology Department on the problems of the study of ancient ungulates [21]. The work attracted a lot of attention, and the researcher immediately became visible on the scientific skies. This work on the evolution of the ancient ungulates is the first issue of the series, which M.V. Pavlova also called («Etudes sur l'histoire paleontologique des ongules»). In this remarkable series of works published by M.V. Pavlova for more than 20 years, the family ties of investigated mammals on the basis of Method of V.O. Kovalevsky with the observance of the positions of Darwinism.

To restore the history of the main groups of ungulates M.V. Pavlova not only used all the well-known materials from the museums of Western Europe and America, but also, first of all, sought to highlight the development of mammals in the territory of the Russian Empire, which at that time there were no ideas. As is known, all the classical works of V.O. Kovalevsky were written on the basis of the study of foreign material. And Mariya Vasylyvna compared the results of research on fossil materials from Russia, especially from Ukraine. It was not limited to materials stored in the Museum of Moscow University, but used all trips from the O.P. Pavlov at international congresses to visit all the great museums of Western Europe and North America. At home in the country, she visited almost all university and regional lore museums, described in detail and identified bones of fossil vertebrates that kept there, contacted local lore organizations and individual collector lovers, ethnographers, teachers, and watched new discoveries.

Thus, in her hands concentrated great material, which allowed her to first illuminate the development of Tertiary and Quaternary mammals on the territory of the Russian Empire and Ukraine in particular.

The scientific school of M.V. Pavlova managed to raise the rating of Moscow University for a short-term due to a series of paleozoological works. Investigations of the staff of the Department of Paleontology attracted the attention of not only domestic but also foreign scientists. From the moment of its foundation (autumn 1919), the department, having undergone a difficult path of formation, already in the early 1930s, became one of the leading Paleozoological institutions in the world. Especially great was the merit of M.V. Pavlova in the organization of scientific work of the department [22].

In addition to developing a research problem for fossil ungulates, members of the Scientific Paleozoological School M.V. Pavlova spent many years studying other issues of Paleozoology. Particularly interesting for us are the evolutionary views of the Paleozoological School of this school, which gave an answer to a whole range of issues of evolutionary theory. The answer to these questions is further in separate essays on each member of the Paleozoological School of M.V. Pavlova.

Today, the problem of finding a new methodology in fossil vertebrate research has become more acute than ever. Analysis of the evolutionary heritage of the scientific school of M.V. Pavlova allows to reveal the theoretical and methodological prerequisites for further research in modern paleozoology, and also points to the interdisciplinary approach (involving the achievements of ecology, biochemistry, geology, mathematical modeling and other related disciplines) in solving problems set before the fundamental science.

Despite the significant contribution to the development of biology of the twentieth century. the work of the school of science M.V. Pavlova ended in 1930, with her retirement. Many members of the department, members of the school, switched to the Geological Intelligence Institute, the Paleontological Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences and other educational and research institutions established in 1930. The workers of the department themselves became outstanding scientists and educators, some of them headed the paleontological departments, others after the end of the Second World War became academics and famous scientists.

Conclusions. Great merit of M.V. Pavlova is in the formation of talented paleozoologists, her followers in Ukraine: I.G. Podoplychko, V.A. Topachevskiy, L.I. Rekovets.

During the period of 1920-1930 the foundations of the modern network of scientific institutions of the paleontological cycle were laid. This allowed us to quickly expand the research front. And academicians from 1960-1970 became the leaders of new scientific directions in their majority. The emergence of paleozoology in institutions of different fields: research laboratories, paleozoological centers led to the definition of the main features of the national paleozoology 1920-1930 years.

Including:

- significant proliferation of collective forms of organization of research work, the study of various issues of Paleozoological within individual scientific schools;

- the orientation of a number of studies on their practical significance;

- interest in the problems of changing the whole faunas in the process of life on Earth as one of the fundamental issues of Paleozoology;

- Synthesis of Paleozoology and Evolutionary Theory.

Representatives of the school of M.V. Pavlova had to work at the Paleontological Museum over collections. Mariya Vasylyvna wanted her subordinates to systematically review the fossil material in order to «set» their sights on hundreds of models in order to learn to identify those bone material samples that were sent from everywhere, were able to clearly invent them.

Each year, during the arrival of the spring Mariya Vasylyvna called on her subordinates to go to the expedition. She told what real expeditions are necessary for each Paleozoologist. Today we can confidently assert that it is the students of M.V. Pavlova who determined by the level of Paleozoological Researches in the first half of the twentieth century in Russia, Ukraine, Georgia and other republics of the former USSR.

Among the most prominent representatives of the school of M.V. Pavlova at the Moscow University should be called Academician V.V. Menner, professors M.O. Bolkhovitina, M.I. Shulga-Nesterenko, V.O. Teryaev.

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Дефорж Г.В. Палеозоологічна школа в Московському університеті: діяльність М.В. Павлової.

Актуальним завданням сучасної історичної науки залишається всебічне вивчення персоналій видатних діячів, що зробили вагомий внесок в становлення та розвиток світової науки. Стаття присвячена аналізу та систематичному узагальненню сукупності наукових фактів, які об'єктивно характеризують різні сторони діяльності видатного зоолога сучасності Марії Василівни Павлової, як керівника московської школи палеозоологів. В історії науки М.В. Павлова відома як видатний біолог, яка присвятила все своє життя дослідженню дивовижного розмаїття тваринного світу. Вона належить до когорти тих вчених-зоологів, які зробили непересічний внесок у розвиток еволюційної біології. Аналіз джерел дозволив дати об'єктивну оцінку всього того, що вдалося досягти палеозоологічній школі Марії Василівни.

Ключові слова: палеозоологія, палеонтологія, наука, біологія, наукова школа.

Дефорж А.В. Палеозоологическая школа в Московском университете: деятельность М.В. Павловой.

Актуальной задачей современной исторической науки остается всестороннее изучение персоналій выдающихся деятелей, внесших весомый вклад в становление и развитие мировой науки. Статья посвящена анализу и систематическому обобщению совокупности научных фактов, объективно характеризующих различные стороны деятельности выдающегося зоолога современности Марии Васильевны Павловой, как руководителя московской школы палеозоологов. В истории науки М.В. Павлова известна как выдающийся биолог, посвятивший всю свою жизнь исследованию удивительного разнообразия животного мира. Она принадлежит к когорте тех ученых-зоологов, которые сделали выдающийся вклад в развитие эволюционной биологии. Анализ источников позволил дать объективную оценку всему тому, что удалось достичь палеозоологической школе Марии Васильевны.

Ключевые слова: палеозоология, палеонтология, наука, биология, научная школа.

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Стаття подана 6.04.2019.

УДК 377.3:622-051](477.7) «186/190»

TRAINING JUNIOR SPECIALISTS FOR THE MINING INDUSTRY OF THE SOUTH OF UKRAINE IN THE POST-REFORM PERIOD

Dovzhuk I. V.

ПІДГОТОВКА МОЛОДИХ СПЕЦІАЛІСТІВ ДЛЯ ГІРНИЧОЇ ПРОМИСЛОВОСТІ ПІВДЕННОЇ УКРАЇНИ В ПЕРЕНОСНІ РЕФОРМИ

Довжук І. В.

The article deals with the issues of training skilled personnel for the mining and metallurgical industry of the South of Ukraine, which actively developed in the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In the post-reform period in the South of Ukraine an industrial area of the imperial significance was formed. The development of the coal-metallurgical industry required a large number of specialists. Training of profile personnel was carried out in higher and secondary specialized educational institutions. Before the establishment of special educational institutions in Ukraine engineering and technical personnel for the South industry were trained in Moscow and St. Petersburg. However, already in the 1970s, the Lisichansk Shtehyergy School, as well as the Gorlovka Mining School, began to operate in the Donbass, where specialists were trained for the coal industry.

Key words: *South of Ukraine, industry, educational establishments, engineering-technical personnel, stratigraphy.*

Introduction. The policy of the tsarist government in the field of public education was reactionary, which resulted in the development of education slowly and did not meet the needs of the growing industry. Workers and peasants, their children were not able to receive secondary specialized education because they did not have sufficient level of pre-training. In addition, tuition fees were unbearable for the poor.

The organization of the system of secondary specialized education as a whole was backward. Educational institutions violated the sequence in the study of theoretical disciplines, curricula were multidisciplinary, with inconsistencies in theoretical teaching and practical knowledge on selected special subjects. Institutions of secondary specialized education did not have common curricula and programs, they compiled and sought approval in each institution separately. Negative impact on the organization of training in technical schools lack the necessary textbooks and manuals on special subjects.

However, in spite of the disadvantages of training, the pre-revolutionary secondary special school has accumulated and a positive experience of training specialists. In a number of schools, the organization of the educational process was at a high level. The theoretical studies and practical work at the Lisichansk secondary school, Gorlovka Mining School them. S. S. Polyakova, Alexander Mechanics and Technical College.

Analysis of research and publications.

Researchers such as O. Rient, O. Shlyakhov, V. Podov, P. Fomin, S. Shukhardin and others have considered this problem in their writings in one way or another.

The purpose of this intelligence is to analyze the activities of special educational institutions that began to open in the south of Ukraine to meet the needs of the mining and metallurgy industry in profile specialists.

Research results. The autocracy played a key role in the implementation of economic modernization, which diverted the development of heavy industry and transport, which contributed to the completion of the technical coup in the country. In fact, its final stage, which can be dated by the late 1880's, created the real conditions for the realization of capitalist industrialization. It was at this time that the main branches of the economy of the "Little Russian provinces" approved the factory production system. There is a machining of production processes [12, p. 29-30].

The availability of its own iron ore base (Kryvorizhzhya) and large reserves of energy resources (Donbass) led to the formation of metallurgy. Extraction of iron ore in the Krivoy Rog basin with 6.9 million pounds in 1885 increased to 66.7 million pounds in 1895. The development of metallurgy stimulated the development of coal deposits. In 1868 coal mining in the Donbas amounted to 6 million pounds, and after a quarter century - 240 million pounds. In the period of 1873-1882 gg. The number of mines increased from 88

to 179 [8, p. 137]. Such intensive development of the coal-metallurgical industry required skilled personnel, the lack of which was felt very acutely.

The Lisichansk secondary school has made a significant contribution to the training of skilled personnel for the mining industry in the South of Ukraine. The initiative to create this educational institution was revealed by the leadership of the Luhansk mining district. In 1870, the head of the mining district counselor Mykola Terentyevych Letunovsky (1808-1884) proposed to open an mining school in Lisichansk. The development of the mining and metals industry in the Donbass required the training of qualified specialists [2, p. 128].

On December 2, 1870, the State Council of the Department of the State Economy, which considered the estimates of the Mining Department in 1871, by decree No. 648 ordered the Minister of Finance to take into account the possibility of establishing a secondary school at the Lisichansk Plant, in which students would be able to obtain practical mining data on extraction Coal [3, p. 22].

Initially, the Mining Officer of Lugansk District M. Letunovsky intended to establish not a secondary school, and a secondary school, that is, an average mining school. He developed the draft charter of the educational institution and filed it for consideration by the Mining Scientific Committee. On November 3, 1871, the committee reviewed the project of M. Letunovsky and handed over the draft statute of the Lisichansk Shtehyerg School to the consideration of the mining engineer V.G. Yerofeyev, which is in line with the draft of a number of amendments. In his opinion, students should be admitted to an educational institution not from 13-15 years, but from 15-17 years. In his report, V. Yerofeyev praised the program of teaching, and in the end wrote that the word "school" should be replaced by the word "school". The draft statute was revised in accordance with the remarks. The Chief of the Lugansk District proposed to draw up a staffing schedule and determine the cost of maintaining the school.

May 21, 1872 Emperor Alexander II approved the provisions of the Lisichansk Shtejerg school and the staffing of the educational institution. The position on the school states: "Lisichanskaya Shtejerskaya school, founded in the mountain village of Lisichansk Bakhmut district of Ekaterinoslav province, is aimed at preparing the trainees, that is, masters of the ore mining coal region of Donetsk" [3, p. 23]. According to the provision, the school should have been kept with the treasury, be in charge of the head of the Luhansk mining district and under the supervision of the steward of the Lisichansk Iron and Steel Works. On its maintenance was allocated 11350 rubles. per year [9, p. 420].

Under the school decided to adapt the existing buildings of the mine stables. It was planned to open the school on September 1, 1872, but due to lack of appropriations, it was not time to redevelop the building and the school was opened in a year.

In August 1873, the first students in the 1st and 2nd grades of the school of secession were accepted. "Provision" was supposed to teach at the same time 40 people at the school. However, as a result of the significant influx of young people into school, in the first years of their studies 1,5-2 times more students were studying than was planned [5, p. 189]. In 1910-1911 he studied 145 people [7, p. 155].

School was attended by young people of all walks of life. Of particular interest are the data on the status of the students of the Lisichanskaya Shteherskaya school. So, out of 38 students who entered the period from 1873 to 1874 There were 8 children of nobles and officials, 1 landlords and 11 villagers and 11 villagers, and 11 townsmen and other classes. 7 people left the village for a year. In 1874-1875, Mr. There were 7 children of noblemen and officials, 2 of them merchants and honorary citizens - 2, of rural residents and peasants - 5, of spiritual rank - 6, of townships and other classes, entered the 1st form of 24 persons, in the 2nd - 4. - 6 persons [7, p. 156]. As we see, most of the students were children of privileged status.

Entrants were exams in the course of elementary schools. The term of study was four years. The following subjects were included in the curriculum: God's Law, Russian Language, Geography, History, Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry, Mineralogy, Physics, Chemistry, Geodesy, Petrography, Geology, Mechanics, Mining and Surveying, Drawing and Drawing. Every day, in addition to theoretical ones, practical classes were held in the carpentry, the smiths or in the school curriculum.

During the summer holidays (June-September), pupils of grades 2-4 were practicing at public and private mines, in particular, in the well-equipped Dagmar mine. Second class students, besides working in the faces, were copying mine and topographical plans; 3rd grade students worked in their faces and prepared drawings and drawings of mine machines and mechanisms; 4th-grade students performed a geodetic survey of nature. At the end of the practice, students of grades 3-4 were supposed to hand over reports that seemed to be diploma work. During the holidays excursions to the best Donbas mines were organized [5, p. 156].

It should be noted that the rights of graduates of the Lisichansk Shtejerg school were extremely limited. They did not have the right to enter higher education institutions directly, since the secondary school was not officially a part of secondary education, and when entering the civil service, its graduates did not enjoy the right to assign ranks. Mining industry was interested in reducing the rights of the laborers - this made it possible to lower their labor costs at the same time, and at the same time keep them in production, given that the Lisichansk school straps were considered first-class.

In the first decade, the Lisichansk Shtehyerskaya school produced 106 mining specialists who have proven themselves well in the mines of Donbass and other regions [6, p. 155].

The educational institution was constantly in the field of the Mining Department, and not only. In 1877, four Don Cossack Army scholarships were established for the best students, and in 1878 the Museum of the Mining Institute began collecting a mineral collection, which in 1881 was transferred free of charge to the Lisichansk Shtejergsky School [2, p. 333].

In 1888 the school visited the scientist-chemist D. I. Mendeleev. He highly evaluated the training in it, well responded to the practical training of treaders and their work in mines [2, p. 129]. In his article, "The Future Power Resting on the Dons' Shores," he wrote that the school is preparing "not masters and not classical doctrinaire", but true specialists [3, p. 24]. The same positive responses to the preparation of the Lysychanskaya Shtejergskaya school students were given by prominent scientists of that time, for example, Professor I. A. Timonov - one of the first organizers of wide vocational education. Ivan Augustovich noted the importance of preparing masters for mines in a high school. "Everywhere in the mines," he wrote, "we managed to hear praise in relation to Lisichanskaya school" [9, p. 419].

Among the teachers of the schooling school at different times were such highly educated mining specialists as Ivan Ilyich Zelentsov (1844-1910), Dmitry V. Dunchych (1850-1906), and others.

Lisichanskaya Shtejherskaya school issued from 1874 to 1917 705 well-trained tugs, which were highly valued in the mines and pleased inviting not only to the mines of Donbass, but also to other coal basins. Often, graduates of Lisichanskaya Shtejergskaya school hired in the mines of engineers and had in their subordination to graduate engineers [10, ark. 33].

However, the Lysychanskaya Shtejergskaya school could not fully meet the needs of the coal industry in junior specialists. Therefore in 1877 the Gorlovka Mining School was founded. S. S. Polyakova. It was a private educational institution and was kept in the early years at the expense of the Society of the Southern Russian Coal Industry, on private funds of the chairman of the Board of Trustees of the School SS S. Polyakov and other coal industry, as well as on the funds received for study.

Mining school was in charge of the Ministry of State Property and was arranged in order to prepare it for mine surveying, treaders, machinists and in general supervisors for special mining operations. The school's statute has been developed in accordance with the "Regulations" of the Lisichansk Shtejheryg School and the statute of the Alexander Railway College. The structure of the school cost the Society 34 500 rubles. The school building - a large three-story stone house, covered with iron - stood near the line of the Kursk-Kharkiv-Azov railway [1].

Annually in the Mining School were 29 people. Due to the fact that the percentage dropout of pupils was significant, the total contingent of the four groups was 60-80 people. The school hosted children of miners, officials, priests on the recommendations of influential

people. Upon entrance examinations, persons who completed six classes of a real school, six classes of the gymnasium, or a two-year school of the Ministry of Public Education were admitted. Due to the fact that the Gorlovka School was private, students had to pay a tuition fee of 150 to 180 rubles. per year [6, p. 155].

Since 1905, the Mining School has been transferred to the Ministry of Trade and Industry. However, there was no provision for scholarships. The term of study at the school was four years, with the first three courses - theoretical training, the fourth - the practice. During the period of theoretical study, the pupils visited the mine once a week under the guidance of the master. During the summer holidays students worked in mines, arranged there independently. In the last year of study, the pupils worked as assistant tigers for eight months. After completing the practice, they completed the final exam, and those who withstood him, appropriated the title of master.

Gorlovka School was essentially a secondary special educational institution. However, his graduates, like the graduates of Lisichanskaya Shtejherskaya school, did not have the right to enter higher educational establishments on a par with those who received secondary education.

It should be noted that at the end of the nineteenth century. only lower technical educational institutions acted in Ukraine, there were no secondary schools. And only the first years of the twentieth century. can be considered the beginning of the development of a secondary technical school in Ukraine, which aimed at training secondary technical personnel for industry. In the period of 1900-1911 in Ukraine, the following secondary technical educational institutions were opened: seven-level mechanics and technical school in Aleksandrovska (Zaporizhia), a normal four-level mechanics and technical school in Mykolaiv, an eight-level agricultural technical school in Kamyanets-Podilsky and seven-level mechanics and technology - in the village Klintsy Chernihiv province [11, ark. 1-6].

In addition to secondary technical schools in the early twentieth century. New, more simplified and "cheap" types of educational institutions have been created in Ukraine. So, in 1900 the school of mining tenants was opened in Makeyevka, and in Horlovka there was a mining school. In 1908, the Charter of the Novocherkassk school of dignitaries was approved [3, p. 27]. School leaders were an important form of technical training for junior practitioners for the industry.

On the eve of the First World War, secondary technical education institutions of a special type (such as technical schools) began to appear in private initiative in Ukraine. These included: electrotechnical courses by O. Melnykov in Kharkiv (from January 1910), Kiev Technical Courses-Technical School V. Perminov (from October 1908), Katerynoslav Technical Courses (technical school) V. Korobochkina (from January 1911) [3, p. 27; 4].

On the eve of the October events of 1917 in Ukraine there were 18 secondary technical educational institutions, which annually produced 300-350 specialists. However, such a small number of secondary technical schools with a small contingent of students did not provide the industry with specialists in secondary education. For example, until 1910 all the secondary technical schools of the Russian Empire, which trained specialists in mechanical, chemical, construction and mining specialties, prepared no more than 4 thousand technicians. All this led to the fact that the average technical personnel were formed mainly from masters-practitioners who could handle a stable system, established production technology, but were not able to work with new technology and new technology [3, p. 28].

Thus, the development of the coal-metallurgical industry in the South of Ukraine in the post-reform period required a significant number of specialists. Training of profile personnel was carried out in higher and secondary specialized educational institutions. Before the establishment of special educational institutions in Ukraine engineering and technical personnel for the South industry were trained in Moscow and St. Petersburg. However, already in the 1970s the Lisichansk Shtehyergy school began to operate in the Donbass, as well as Gorlovka Mining School named after them. S. S. Polyakova, where specialists were trained for the coal industry.

At the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. with the opening of new educational institutions, the pace and volume of training of engineering and technical intelligentsia grew, but this volume did not meet the needs of industry in Ukraine.

The problem considered has prospects for further research, in particular, concerning the training of personnel for Ukraine's heavy industry in higher education institutions at the beginning of the 20th century.

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Довжук І. В. Підготовка молодих спеціалістів для гірничої промисловості південної України в переносні реформи

У статті розглядаються питання підготовки кваліфікованих кадрів для гірничо-металургійної промисловості півдня України, які активно розвивалися у другій половині XIX - на початку XX століття.

У пореформений період на півдні України сформувалася промислова зона імперського значення. Розвиток вугле-металургійної промисловості вимагало великої кількості фахівців. Навчання профільного персоналу здійснювалося у вищих і середніх спеціальних навчальних закладах. До створення спеціальних навчальних закладів в Україні інженерно-технічний персонал для Південної промисловості проходив підготовку в Москві і Санкт-Петербурзі. Проте вже в 1970-х роках на Донбасі почали діяти Лисичанська школа гірників, а також Горлівська гірничої школа, де готувалися фахівці для вугільної промисловості.

Ключові слова: південь України, промисловість, навчальні заклади, інженерно-технічний персонал, стратиграфія.

Довжук І.В. Подготовка молодых специалистов для горной промышленности южной Украина в переносные реформы

В статье рассматриваются вопросы подготовки квалифицированных кадров для горно-металлургической промышленности юга Украины, которая активно развивалась во второй половине XIX и начале XX века.

В пореформенный период на юге Украины сформировалась промышленная зона императорского значения. Развитие угольно-металлургической промышленности требовало большого количества специалистов. Подготовка профильных кадров проводилась в высших и средних специальных учебных заведениях. До создания специальных учебных заведений в Украине инженерные и технические кадры для юга промышленности проходили подготовку в Москве и Санкт-Петербурге. Однако уже в 1970-х годах на Донбассе начали функционировать Лисичанское училище энергетики, а также Горловское горное училище, где готовили специалистов для угольной промышленности.

Ключевые слова: юг Украины, промышленность, учебные заведения, инженерно-технические кадры, стратиграфия.

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Стаття подана 16.03.2019.

УДК: 32.105.44

**TRADE UNIONS AND PRODUCTION MEETINGS.
ASPECT OF A POLITICAL NARRATIVE OF THE THAW****Dokashenko V.M.****ПРОФСПІЛКИ І ВИРОБНИЧІ ЗУСТРІЧІ.
АСПЕКТ ПОЛІТИЧНОЇ РОЗПОВІДІ З ВІДЛИГИ****Докашенко В. М.**

The article studies the problem of determining the place and role of trade unions in the organization of production meetings, which are considered as derivatives of the Soviet system of economic management and the mobilization nature of its economy. The political component of the process is singled out to prove the direct interest of the authorities in the functioning of production meetings. In this connection, it is explored the significance of production meetings as a means of controlling the administrative activity of enterprises, their ability to act as a kind of fuse against the possible excess of the level of workers' protest and the implementation of specific actions to improve production.

Each of the aspects was based on the political principles of the Soviet model of totalitarianism, but was initiated by various circumstances. The first was activated by the management reform, the second – by the reformist dashing aside of the Thaw, and the latter, according to the author, served as a formal pretext for the existence of the first two, which covered the activity of the workers' self-management bodies with a thick layer of latency. It is proved that it was impossible to implement the production meetings' decisions, which gives grounds for tracing them as a grand political project ordered by the party-state power of the Thaw. Thus, trade unions, as its direct performers, did not protect the interests of the working people, but strengthened the political foundations of the government, which fundamentally altered their original functional purpose. The latter gives grounds to characterize the Thaw not as a fundamentally new stage in totalitarian development, but only as an upgraded version of classical Stalinism.

Key words: *administration, the Thaw, production, production meetings, power, trade unions, Soviet model of totalitarianism.*

Production meetings system occupied a special place in the Soviet management. Their nature was based on the fundamental principle of socialist economic management, proclaimed by the Constitution, - the socialist form of ownership of the means of production. The latter served as a ground for economic development of the country, whose leaders in 1917 took the courage to declare the development of a new type of industrial relations. In principle, it would be possible to agree with the condition of legally issued property rights of citizens

to the tools and the correct development of the mechanism for its implementation. The Basic Law, adopted in 1936, proclaimed that the USSR was a state of workers and peasants, that all power in the person of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies belonged to the working people. That is, obviously, it should be understood that, according to the Constitution, all political power belonged to the people. As for the means of production, land and its subsoil, water and forest resources, large agricultural enterprises and machine-tractor stations, as well as communal enterprises, they were declared state property, that is, the national property [5].

Consequently, the constitutional right to property was not formalized directly with each worker or peasant, but through the political institute, which the state advocated. It is the right of every individual in this mix of political and legal equilibrium to simply dissolve, which simultaneously creates the illusion of its presence in the complete absence of such. Under these circumstances, the activities of production meetings, which set the task of attracting workers to production management, from the position of today it was not enough to certify not so much the effectiveness of the Soviet system of management, but the legitimacy of its existence. In view of the above, already in the very fact of the existence of production meetings contained a significant proportion of the political component. He was not so pronounced in Stalin's times, since the workers were only the executors of the will of the "genius" of the war. Under these circumstances, the activity of the production meetings could not have a significant effect, but not on political processes, but not on the production itself. This Stalinist model did not require effective participation of workers in management. In fact, their function was only to denote this participation.

The philosophy of "thaw" revived the idea of production meetings as a form of participation of workers in management, which by itself actualizes the problem, since it allows us to more clearly trace the distinction between Stalin's and Khrushchev's approaches to the

role of a person in society. The logic of the coming leaders, who completely denied the cult of the person differed from Stalin's. In the first place in it there is a team that led to the growth of the role of the party, which was considered by them not only as the vanguard of society. However, the individual, a separate individual, was still in the deep rear of their conceptual constructions. Undoubtedly, in comparison with Stalin's methodology, this was a serious theoretical shift towards liberalization of society, which was widely used in the propaganda arsenal. The collective, first of all, its productive variety, and the party, were those social categories, which at least somehow, albeit with a large part of the conditionality, could be opposed to the ever-increasing democratic foundations of the Western world. From this point of view, the development of the idea of production meetings in the propaganda arsenal of the party of power was intended to convince the entire outside with the entire insider community in the ability of the Soviet political system to civilized transformations. Consequently, the aim is to defend the political system both in the middle of the country and beyond. This explains the existence of a significant political component in the process of restoration of production meetings as an element of the improvement of the Soviet system of social relations.

The political aspect of the VAT Code lies in the mobilization nature of the Soviet economy. The latter, in the opinion of a number of specialists, affected the state form of ownership and the use of categories of non-material interest, as, say, in its market analogue, and the use of a combination of non-economic mechanisms, compulsory and mobilized. And yet, as writes the well-known researcher A.C. Senyavsky, these factors were not enough. "For the success of the tasks set forth, their voluntary and energetic support by the society, the majority of the population, mass enthusiasm, and the forms of organization uniting and directing the broad strata was necessary" [18, p.26].

This complex of questions seemed to us so interesting and important for understanding the post-war metamorphosis of the Soviet system of totalitarianism that we were expecting due attention from him and from colleagues-historians. However, this assumption is not destined to cope. The problem of the activities of production meetings, as well as their analogue of the era of "thaw" - the constant working meetings (VAT), did not cause them significant interest. And yet, for the sake of justice, let's call some of the works. The closest to us according to the chronology is the work of the researcher of the second half of the 70's of the twentieth century GF Maryshevich [6]. Her author tried to construct an archetype of this form of participation of workers in production management, somewhat different than his colleagues from the 1950's to the 60's. However, written at the time of the heyday of "stagnation", the work copied all his flaws. Therefore, for us, it may be of interest only as a material for comparing the views formulated in similar works by the historians of the Khrushchev era.

More than fifteen years ago, the author of this publication turned to the problem of production meetings,

trying to evaluate their activity from the point of view of historiography that stood at the turn of the millennium [2]. However, due to the lack of complexity in evaluating this form of participation of workers in production management in terms of today's understanding of the historical process, it needs to be substantially refined. Using a clear gap in this area, we will emphasize the importance of the workings of our predecessors of the Soviet era, which we are considering not from the point of view of historiography, but from the point of view of source studies as a possible source for studying the history of the totalitarian era.

For modern researchers, they are, in essence, a source of personal origin. Of course, we do not allow the idea of the possibility of discussion with their authors regarding the presentation of the material, its selection, the nature of the filing, the more assessments of those or other events. It was a different era, other conditions and other realities, estimated from the standpoint of historians of another historic school. We consider this approach to be fully justified. After all, nobody will fall into the thought of discussing with the authors of works, for example, the ancient epoch or the era of the Renaissance, although much of the historians, based on their analysis, develop their own vision of that era. Given this fact, it would be fair to mention at least one collection of documents and some of the most important studies on the problems that are part of our scientific interests [16]. In this circumstance, we also emphasize the fact that now this group of historical literature stands on the verge of complete disappearance. Unfortunately, its source value is not fully taken into account even by those libraries that have the status of scientific. They mercilessly write it down in the waste paper, causing irreparable harm to a whole group of historical sources of personal origin. We confidently emphasize that this considerably reduces the possibilities of historical search in the field of research of social relations of the era of totalitarianism, with the negative consequences of which we have fought unsuccessfully for more than a quarter of a century.

If we proceed from the fact that the declared topic reproduces the subject of research, and its object is the most numerous public organization, as an important component of the Soviet model of totalitarian relations, whose analysis in Ukraine will not lose its relevance for a long time, and also taking into account the undeniable fact of the absence of modern the scientific development of the problem, the said advocates a solid basis for further scientific tracking of the problem. The purpose of the article is to analyze the activity of production meetings as a form of participation of workers in the management of production, with a distinction of its political component in the context of the activities of the most massive trade unions. To accomplish the goal, the author plans to perform a number of local tasks. These include tracking the use of production meetings as a form of control over the administration's activities, investigating their role as a safety valve for preventing a critical level of social tension, as well as proving or denying the futility of their proposed economic development measures.

First of all, we note that in its entire history, the Soviet authorities have made several attempts to intensify production meetings. The first took place in May 1929 and is associated with us only with the implementation of the first five-year plan and the process of industrialization. It was July 18, 1929, the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR adopted a Resolution proposing measures to improve their effectiveness. Building the economy by mobilizing the principle and carrying out appropriate mass actions in this direction, it was imperative for the authorities to involve the widest sections of the working class in this process. Therefore, the said Decree obliged the state and economic authorities to register all the proposals received from the production meetings. At the same time, they were divided into two categories: those that were immediately executed and those that had to be executed in accordance with the economic and financial terms. The management of the economic bodies was obliged to submit all necessary documentation to the meeting of the production meetings [10]. Consequently, the intensification of the activities of production meetings in 1929 was unambiguously connected with the intensification of mobilization measures aimed at implementing the first five-year plan as a stage of industrialization.

The next major effort to intensify production meetings was made more than a quarter century. In 1955, the Presidium of the All-Union Soviet Socialist Republic adopted the Resolution "On the Work of Production Meetings" [11]. The Resolution, in our opinion, was the reaction of the supreme body of trade unions of the USSR to the July 1955 Resolution of the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, which considered the problems of the rise of the industry of technological progress and improvement of the organization of production [9]. And although the participation of workers in the activities of production meetings at the Plenum was not even mentioned, he played a significant role in their development. It is the first time after the death of JV Stalin was tasked with expanding the role of public organization in society. The plenum demanded "to raise the work of trade unions to a new, higher level." This sentence is regarded by us as the first decisive statement about the need to replace the stalled Stalinist methods of managing a new one that would more fully meet the demands of the post-war world.

In the Decree of the WCRPP, production meetings were qualified as "the most accessible and effective form of increasing the activity of workers and engineering workers and employees." By its very nature, it was a detailed instruction for the FZMK and the workshops on the organization and holding of production meetings. According to our estimates, the range of the agenda of the latter was quite broad and included 14 possible options for raising the question: from the observance of cleanliness in the workplace and the struggle with the storming area before the introduction of new technology, advanced technology and lower cost of production. In order to ascertain the political nature of this trade union ruling, it is enough to compare the list of issues that were proposed for consideration at meetings of production meetings with the tasks set forth in the Resolution

of the aforementioned party forum. In fact, they coincide in the smallest detail. Thus, the Soviet trade unions reanimated the activities of production meetings on the threshold to overcome the serious challenges that arose before the Soviet society and were formulated at the Central Committee Plenum. Their realization was to change the form of the Soviet economy, by replacing it with the rails of extensive forms of development that were increasingly exhausting itself, on the intense, at which time most of the countries of the world passed.

In addition to these tremendous shifts, the Soviet system of economic management had to overcome the consequences of the alienation of workers from the means of production, which was all the more important. To some extent, to overcome them was the force of the Law "On Further Improvement in the Organization of Industrial and Construction Management" of May 10, 1957 [7], the main principles of which were previously considered by the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee in February 1957. So, just mentioned Plenum opened for production conferences new opportunities. In his resolution, in particular, it was noted that the new structure of management "will create the best conditions for involving a wide range of workers, engineering and technical intelligentsia and other sectors of society in the active management of enterprises, individual industries and the entire national economy [8, p.172]

This quotation from the Resolution was quite enough to ensure that on July 9, 1958, the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the All-Union Economic Union of the Russian Federation adopted the Statute of permanent working meetings [14], which will be discussed in much more detail. Let's pay attention to one regularity. The mentioned document was again offered to the society in a very responsible, even critical moment, when the nature of the management of the whole industry and the construction, which was formed more than 40 years, changed fundamentally. And although some of his former colleagues MS Khrushchev, as, for example, the former chairman of the VTSRPS VV Grishin, considered him "a reformer in nature" [1, p.9], to reduce the initiation of the management reform solely as the initiative of the First Secretary, it is still not worth it. Obviously, for such radical changes he had to have other, considerably more weighty grounds. Following a series of researchers, the reason for the reform of governance, we see in the crisis of policy management and complex, caused by it, negative for the whole economy of consequences [21].

If we proceed from these circumstances, then the MS team Khrushchev, for the implementation of the reform of governance, which was at the center of his reformation, needed broad support from the broad strata of workers. Only with their help, she could overcome the serious resistance of the bureaucracy, which, with the creation of the Soviets, lost a serious lever of influence. Under such circumstances, active involvement in industrial management and construction of production meetings seems not only a logical, but also a crucial step. Moreover, in our opinion, in its basis, it was laid not so much economic as political expediency. On the truth of this statement we will dwell a little later. At the

moment, we will only emphasize that without such support, by the forces of only their supporters to overcome the resistance of ministerial officials and their subordinate structures whose interests it was significantly restricted, MS Khrushchev would hardly have succeeded. Undoubtedly, the leader of such a campaign was not in force during the time of classical Stalinism. Then the bureaucracy, intimidated by the arbitrariness of the security forces, would not have dared to deny such grandiose perturbations.

At the time of the "thaw", a new political leader, building up his own political line, based on a liberal idea, even the Soviet model, could not resort to such methods. And, consequently, he had to invent, a control element that would not allow the bureaucratic reforms raging them to challenge them, and obediently accepted the elimination of ministries and the formation of Soviets. Production meetings fit perfectly. They did not have to invent, they had their own long history. They needed to provide only a new impulse to development, directing their activities to the necessary course. Therefore, the adoption of the Regulations on permanent production meetings took place shortly after the adoption of the relevant Law [7]. The Joint Decree of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the All-Union Center for the Social-Democratic Labor Party made some adjustments in their organization. Now they were created in shops and in enterprises in which the number of workers and employees prevailed by 100 people, which transformed them into massive collective control bodies. Secondly, production meetings, in accordance with the wishes of the Party Plenary, were transferred to the category of constantly acting, which provided their activities of a continuous nature. These two important features of the renewed meetings of workers and employees were of fundamental importance and directly confirm our assumption of their political orientation. In fact, they put under control of the central party power the work of the administration of shops and enterprises throughout the country.

Of course, in the joint decree of the Council of Ministers and the WCRPD, the term control is not used at all, but it only created the illusion of its absence. By this document, the administration was obligated not only to contribute in every way to the successful work of the meetings, but also to eliminate the shortcomings identified by it in the work of the enterprise or the workshop, and even "individual workers, and respond to suggestions on strengthening the staff of the lagging sections." At first glance, there may be a misleading impression that the latter generally goes beyond the understanding of the Soviet recruitment policy, since it was previously considered to be the exclusive competence of party organizations. However, the connection to this process of production meetings certainly should not be considered as the beginning of the party's demonopolization in the field of personnel work. It was only a clumsy imitation of the influence of the artificially created collective body on personnel policy. Historical experience shows that in the most difficult time for power, the Soviet system went even further. During the period of "perestroika", for example, she agreed to hold the

election of shop managers and even enterprises. Therefore, the value of "impact" of VAT on personnel policy should not be overestimated.

Therefore, it is more appropriate to consider continuously functioning production meetings not as a body of influence on the personnel policy of the party of power, but as an instrument of public control over the activity of the administration of enterprises and their structural divisions. With the help of the meetings, the party was going to strengthen its control over their activities, that in the conditions of decentralization of management, from the point of view of the interests of the authorities, there was no idea devoid of meaning. Moreover, with Jesuit cruelty, this document required management companies to help themselves in their conduct, as well as to familiarize members of the meetings with the actual state of affairs in the workplace.

Taking into account the importance of this issue, preparation for the VNU's governing body has begun everywhere. On November 29, 1959, the Presidium of the Ukrprofrada approved the Measures of Trade Union Organizations to improve their work, which included 9 points. The first place was the completion in December of this year of the presidium of the presidium of production meetings at enterprises and workshops. The list also included the organization of training new heads and secretaries of the VAT, studying and sharing their experience. It was planned to provide assistance in their organization in the Kherson, Lviv and Stanislav regions. The report on the work of the regional prospect had to be filed by December 20 [15, ark. 13]. In a short time only in Dnipropetrovs'k region 586 general-industrial and 946 permanent workshops of workers and employees were created, in which about 72 thousand people took part [19, ark.38]. In Poltava region, more than 11,000 workers, engineers and employees were involved in their work [4, pp. 46]. In total, in the Ukrainian SSR, at the time of protection of trade unions formed 9,106 VAT on enterprises and 7,942 in shops. The total number of their permanent members reached - 694 430 people, of which 72% were workers [3, ark. 1].

There is no doubt that such, with the permission to say boisterous activity, was deployed solely due to direct political interest in this issue by the party of power. The latter is quite relief in the decree of December (1957) to the Plenum of the Central Committee, which considered the problems of the post-war organization and the activities of trade unions, which requires the identification of certain appraisal markers of this interest. The most successful unit of measurement, from our point of view, is the printed character. Of course, he is not able to demonstrate the quality aspect of the question. But the count of their number and comparison with other aspects of trade union activity will make it possible to conclude on the importance of the party of power of this or that nuance of the practice of unions. So, in a long list of their tasks set forth in the document, the production meetings did not yield to the primacy of even the notorious socialist competition. According to our calculations, 1326 characters (with spaces) were used in the party resolution to state the idea of socialist transformation, and 1550 for production meetings re-

spectively. If we completely formalize this issue, we note that the problem of socialist competition in this document took about 51% of the page. text, while production meetings - 59%. In our opinion, it is rather eloquent evidence that, as of the end of 1957, the activity of production meetings for power may have even more significance than the competition that has always been exposed in the red corner of the whole system of Soviet management.

Of course, these calculations can be skeptical. However, continued work with the documents of the Soviet era convinced us that scrupulous calculations of the number of signs - far from being an empty formality. The system of party leadership was arranged in such a way that most party instructors carried a deeply latent, hidden from a third-party character. Therefore, sometimes the ruling ringleader was enough to hint at some kind of circumstance or to add an additional emphasis on a particular detail, so that the subordinate structures immediately rushed to fulfill it. Therefore, more than half the page of the hard-copy printed text in the Resolution was not just a hint, it was an order that was subject to immediate execution. The fact that the production meetings are called to perform a kind of function of overseeing the administration's activities, in fact, did not hide the party itself. This form of participation of working people in management was considered by it so that it allowed "to combine unity with the exercise of control from below" [12, p.218].

In this way, there are every reason to believe that, in the context of the implementation of the government's reform of governance, it was primarily the control of the control of the bottom. More precisely, there was no real control, and the one with which it was possible to maintain the administration of enterprises and workshops within the established limits, but which could not have been used to the slightest harm to the power policy. In view of this, the production meetings were brought to the competence of trade unions, which, in turn, acted under the patronage of the ruling party. Consequently, with the help of production meetings, during the material production, the system of multi-stage control over the activity of the administration of enterprises was intensified. The VAT rates themselves could not have been at least a threat to the government's policy, but they greatly increased the control over the management of enterprises and shops, which, in a context of mass decentralization, was of paramount importance. Under these conditions, at a meeting of a permanent production meeting, even a hypothetical question could not appear that would not suit the party organization. The agenda of its meetings was determined by the Presidium, whose composition, depending on the number of employees, varied from 5 to 15 people. It is clear that the nominee for the post of chairman and secretary of permanent production, even if this function was carried out on a voluntary basis, was consistent with the trade union committee, which, in turn, was agreed with the party.

However, the consolidation of the activation of the activities of production meetings exclusively to the problem of control of the activities of the administration would mean an underestimation of the Soviet model of

totalitarianism which, in our opinion, provided them with another, much more complex function. The control was only situational, largely activated by the management reform. But no less important was the other side of the question of the organizational potential of this form of participation in the management of production. It was based on an extremely controversial and declarative right of ownership of workers and employees to the means of production, which generated not only their alienation from the latter, but also caused numerous disputes in this process. All taken together negatively affected the rhythm of production, forced stagnation, overtime work, and the involvement of workers to work on weekends and holidays. Of course, this indicated inevitably led to a decrease in wages, which caused fair dissatisfaction of the workers. At the same time, we would like to note that all this took place against the backdrop of a general reformist sharakanin, which further exacerbated social tension. Under these circumstances, the authorities clearly needed a safety valve that could release a critical mass of a couple of people's protest, thereby warning of a possible massive social blast. At the same time, we will emphasize again the fact that with its limited liberalism, the "thaw" rejected Stalin's rigorous control methods, which immediately intensified the level of society's protest in its various forms.

In essence, the team MS Khrushchev had to respond both for his sins and for Stalin's, and for the failures of the entire system. Indicative in this respect is the reaction to a lecture by one of the responsible party workers on the conviction of a person's cult. Artylnik from Khersonschiny S.P. Staryuk (1956). after her in a voice said: "Thirty-eight years, you deceived the people with their promises, but did not do anything. There is nothing in the shops, people are hungry. Why do not you tell the people how many people were shot, and now you try to smash someone. Where were you then and what did you do?" [20, p. 32]. Consequently, for the majority of the community, both regimes combined the powerful notion of "power." The owners could not hope for a high level of class consciousness of society, which was so loudly calling, "building" communist tomorrow. It should not be apparent from the accounts and the fact that at that time the authorities were also considerably limited in their ability to use force. This contradicted the methodology of "thaw" and could discredit it in the eyes of millions, and, as a result, weaken the positions of power. However, in the most critical moments of this opportunity, she did not rub, as evidenced by the events in Russian Novochoerkassk, and in the Ukrainian Kryvy Rih. However, it was the last years of Khrushchev's regime.

On his own take-off, when, in fact, there was the idea of activating production meetings, the situation was different. This was another time when it was easier for power structures to prevent social protests, and then to find ways to overcome them. Given the complex of these circumstances, production meetings, ranked as permanent agents, were called to act as precisely such a fuse. To reinforce the argument, we return to the analysis of the joint resolution of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the All-Union Soviet Socialist Republic

on July 9, 1957 [14], further elaborating on the content of the work of the meetings. They cover 9 areas of activity of enterprises and are summarized in the table below.

The table summarizes the activities of the meetings in terms of content and form of implementation, which allows for two important conclusions. First, the right-hand side of the table (content) confirms an extremely wide list of powers of these bodies of labor self-government. Even with a great desire to add to it at least one more or less significant position is practically impossible. At least, the author of this edition did not succeed. According to our convictions, this created the illusion of the full participation of workers and employees in management. At the same time, this wide range of powers and functioned as a safety valve, which was supposed to prevent unauthorized social blast. After all, now through the production meetings it was possible to hold a discussion of any topical issue, thereby releasing a couple of discontent and not putting pressure on the team to a critical point. At the same time, having received such high powers, VAT was forced to assume and have the same degree of responsibility for their implementation. In essence, they now share responsibility with the administration for the execution or non-fulfillment of each of the positions in the long list of competences "granted" to them by the Resolution, which directed their activities to prevent the least conflict.

Let us now turn to the left of the table, which reproduces the form of activity of production meetings. The analyzed document also offers 9 varieties, however each of them did not provide an independent decision. They "direct the work", "take part", "develop questions and measures", "review plans", "make proposals", but in no case do their decisions act as independent, the more final. This means that the relevant divisions of the company who were responsible for one direction or another could listen to them, and could simply ignore it. Consequently, we have a case where the form of activity is so narrow that it is not able to miss the proposed activities. The content is extremely wide, but the form of implementation is narrow. In this case, all competencies are shown on the right side of the table, turning into a declaration of insatiable wishes. However, the said could not confuse the authorities. For her, the main thing was that in the management process, an organ was created that created the illusion of participation in this process of the working people, which served as a safety valve. Any controversial issue, if necessary, could be safely brought to the discussion of production meetings without fear of its consequences. And the more workers involved in the preparation and decision-making, the more productive meetings met their latent mission. That is, the VAT was converted into a kind of working smokehouse or the same notorious Khrushchev cuisine, where similar conversations were conducted, with the exception that they were exclusively private in nature and not sanctioned by the state.

Table

Table of correspondence of the content of VAT activity in its form

Form of activity	Contents of activity
- directs work to ensure the success of the enterprise	execution and overfulfilment of the production plan, development of socialist competition, increase of labor productivity, dissemination of experience of innovators and leading figures of production;
- participates in the development and discussion	projects of current and perspective plans and proposals on issues of internal plant planning, listening to the reports of managers about the current work on the results of economic activity;
- is considering the issue	organization of labor, wages, technical regulation, proposals for implementation of norms, improvement of quality and reduction of the cost price of products;
- develops activities on	struggle against deficiency, downtime, non-rhythmic work, for better use of equipment;
- discusses	plans of organizational and technical measures, planning of introduction of new equipment, mechanization of production, introduction of proposals of rationalizers;
- is considering plans	industrial, residential and cultural-residential construction services and measures to increase the efficiency of the use of funds allocated for investment;
- make suggestions	to improve internal plant management and improve its work;
- considers the measures	on improving working conditions, safety and expediency of using funds allocated for this purpose;
- is considering the issue	related to the training of personnel training, the correct use of workers in accordance with their profession and qualifications, strengthening of labor and production discipline.

Finally, the third appointment of the VAT, which could fully use the power was not in their latent, but in the practical possibilities, detailed in the right side of the table. However, the analysis of their practical activity provided no reason for any optimism. From the time of its resuscitation in 1958 and until the end of the "thaw" era, archival documents are filled with helplessness of the newly created bodies of labor management. On the one hand, they testify to the crazy number of workers' suggestions made at the meetings of these meetings and introduced in the production process, and on the other hand, with careful reading and comparisons with other documents, indicate that there is no relation, and not to the introduction of these innovations, but they have no economic effect. For example, the head of the Labor and

Wages Department of Ukrprofrada reported to the highest trade union leaders of the republic that only in the first half of 1959 in the Ukrainian SSR, about 60 thousand meetings of production meetings were held, in which 3.3 million people took part. They have expressed over 650 thousand proposals, of which 540 thousand have been introduced into production [3, ark.2]. From the acquaintance with such data, it seems that all the problems of the Soviet economy are not initially inherent in the system's falsehood, but that continuously-functioning production meetings have been ineffective at the preliminary stage of historical development.

Certainly, this statistics can not be considered reliable. The party and trade union committees that took care of the VAT, in order to increase their own significance, and in order not to clasp with the shattering critique of higher bodies, were knowingly mercilessly oversteering it, curtailing the increase in indicators. At the same time, the implementation of the decisions of these bodies is associated with a number of subtleties that allowed manipulate the results. For example, the discussion of the problem at the meeting of the production meeting and the adoption of the corresponding decision did not mean at all that the director of the company or its chief engineer did not apply to this issue, for example, to the leadership of the council or the party bodies. Therefore, of course, the primacy in its decision should be given not to the VAT, but to the management of the enterprise. However, in merit, it certainly came to the meetings that were at the power of the hearing. In reality, everything was much easier. The director of an enterprise, when applying to the leadership of the council, at best, could only use their decision, as if to strengthen their own arguments, relying on the fact that the taxpayer being in a status at the time of the trend, by his decision will help solve the matter before the higher economic authorities.

In practice, none of the issues put forward for discussion at a permanent production meeting, but not at the enterprise level, nor at the workshop level, could have been resolved a priori. For example. The joint resolution of the Council of Ministers and the WCRPPS states that these authorities should develop measures aimed at combating downtime and the non-rhythmic work of enterprises. They really could develop them, but this did not solve the problem. In this, it is easy to verify, having taken in the archive of public associations of Ukraine the documents of the correspondence of the party bodies, which greatly reveal the essence of the issue. The point is that trying to save the implementation of the state plan, which was constantly threatened with failure due to the failure of supplies from the constituents of raw materials, components, units and aggregates, which were the main cause of downtime, party bodies were drawn into fruitless correspondence with the Central Committee. Shortly after convincing of the hopelessness of such appeals, they directly entered into correspondence with the leaders of the Central Committee of the Union republics and regional committees, on the territory of which there were suppliers of enterprises. Those, in their turn,

informed them that short delivery was due to the misconduct of their substitutes. So the circle was closed. It is clear that here in the country's economy was clearly marked by a systemic misery, which could not even overcome even such a powerful car, which was the party of power. Therefore, to hope that in this situation, at least to some extent, could be used to confer production meetings, would simply be the summit of naivety.

Involuntarily, the opinion suggests, and maybe not one expected from the VAT? It is possible, though the first point of their authority was the task of implementation and overfulfilment of production plans, the development of socialist competition, the dissemination of experience of innovators, etc. At the same time, trade union documents for some reason can be traced to the implementation of the plan for holding production meetings. For example, Ukrprofrada in June 1957 considered the issue "On working with a trade union activist at the enterprises of the Crimean region". In the part of the resolution, the participants of the meeting noted that in many FSMK little attention was paid to production meetings and control over the implementation of the proposals of the workers. At the plant them V. Kuibysheva, stocking factory №2 and other enterprises, noted in it, the plan of 4 months is not fulfilled, low-quality products are produced, but production meetings are held very rarely, and the productive is not involved in their preparation [17, Ark. 5 - 7]. In this, a copy of the archive document reproduced close to the text, the dependence of the implementation of the plan from the production meetings is clearly seen. Did their leaders believe in it? Convinced that no. Of course, nowadays, from the height of the current perceptions of the nature of totalitarian relations, this is perceived only with a bitter smile, because it is now obvious that the whole hustle of trade unions on the role of production meetings was aimed at one thing: to ensure that the reform of industrial management is painless for the authorities and construction and prevent the massive social protests.

Considering the potential possibilities of VAT from the point of view of the interests of party-state power, it seems possible to draw some conclusive conclusions. First, permanent meetings of workers and employees could only be the invention of the Soviet system of economic management, based on the mobilization nature of its economy. They existed as a means of mobilizing the broad strata of the working people to carry out party-state designs. Secondly, the entire activity of the VAT was subordinated not only to the resolution of production issues, but to the resolution of the political problems of the new government, which was in a state of permanent struggle with its political opponents of the Stalinist class. The latter makes it possible to make a third important conclusion. Trade unions, as organizers and curators of this form of labor participation in production management, served as a function of political protection for the party of power, and not for the broad strata of workers. Therefore, the "thaw" is not a fundamentally new stage in the development of the Soviet political system, but was an upgraded, rather well-disguised version of Stalinism.

Further development of these conclusions the author sees possible after analysis of other forms of mobilization of society, which were within the powers of trade unions. A highly probable version of the continuation of the study is the study of the organization of workers' meeting in their political dimension.

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Докашенко В.М. Профспілки і виробничі зустрічі. Аспект політичної розповіді з відлиги

Досліджено проблему визначення місця та ролі профспілок у організації виробничих нарад, які розглядаються як похідні від радянської системи управління економікою та мобілізаційного характеру її економіки. Політична складова процесу виділяється, щоб довести прямий інтерес органів влади до функціонування виробничих нарад. У зв'язку з цим досліджується значення виробничих зборів як засобу контролю адміністративної діяльності підприємств, їх здатності виступати як свого роду запобіжник проти можливого перевищення рівня протесту працівників та здійснення конкретних дій поліпшити виробництво.

Кожен з аспектів базувався на політичних принципах радянської моделі тоталітаризму, але був ініційова-

ний різними обставинами. Перша активізувалася реформною управління, друга - реформістським лихом, відхиляючись від відлиги, а другий, на думку автора, послужив формальним приводом для існування перших двох, які охоплювали діяльність робітників. 'органи самоврядування з товстим шаром затримки. Доведено, що неможливо було виконати рішення виробничих зустрічей, що дає підстави для відстеження їх як великого політичного проекту, упорядкованого партійно-державною владою відлиги. Таким чином, профспілки, як її безпосередні виконавці, не захищали інтереси трудящих, а зміцнювали політичні засади уряду, що принципово змінювало їх початкове функціональне призначення. Остання дає підставу характеризувати відлигу не як принципово нову стадію тоталітарного розвитку, а лише як оновлену версію класичного сталінізму.

Ключові слова: адміністрація, відлига, виробництво, виробничі збори, влада, профспілки, радянська модель тоталітаризму.

Докашенко В. Н. Профсоюзы и производственные встречи. Аспект политической рассказы с оттепели

В статье исследуется проблема определения места и роли профсоюзов в организации производственных собраний, которые рассматриваются как производные от советской системы хозяйственного управления и мобилизационного характера ее экономики. Выделена политическая составляющая процесса, чтобы доказать непосредственную заинтересованность властей в функционировании производственных совещаний. В связи с этим исследуется значение производственных собраний как средства управления административной деятельностью предприятий, их способность выступать в качестве своего рода предохранителя от возможного превышения уровня протеста работников и осуществления конкретных действий по улучшить производство.

Каждый из аспектов был основан на политических принципах советской модели тоталитаризма, но был вызван различными обстоятельствами. Первая была активирована реформой управления, вторая - реформистской лихорадкой в сторону оттепели, а последняя, по мнению автора, послужила формальным предлогом для существования первых двух, которые охватывали деятельность рабочих органы самоуправления с толстым слоем латентности. Доказано, что было невозможно реализовать решения производственных совещаний, что дает основание считать их великим политическим проектом, предисанным партийно-государственной властью Оттепели. Таким образом, профсоюзы как их непосредственные исполнители не защищали интересы трудящихся, а укрепляли политические основы правительства, что коренным образом изменило их первоначальное функциональное назначение. Последнее дает основание охарактеризовать оттепель не как принципиально новый этап тоталитарного развития, а лишь как обновленную версию классического сталинизма.

Ключевые слова: администрация, оттепель, производство, производственные совещания, власть, профсоюзы, советская модель тоталитаризма.

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Стаття подана 20.03.2019

УДК 279.125

СТАВЛЕННЯ ПРАВОСЛАВНОЇ ЦЕРКВИ ДО ПІЗНЬОПРОТЕСТАНТСЬКИХ РУХІВ В КИЇВСЬКІЙ ГУБЕРНІЇ ДРУГОЇ ПОЛОВИНИ ХІХ – ПОЧАТКУ ХХ СТОЛІТТЯ

Кравчук Б.В.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE ORTHODOX CHURCH TOWARDS THE LATE PROTESTANT MOVEMENTS IN THE KYIV PROVINCE OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE XIX AND EARLY XX CENTURIES

Kravchuk B.V.

У статті розглянуто питання відносин Православної Церкви та протестантських рухів на етапах їх зародження, становлення та поширення. На основі архівних та актових джерел досліджено процес еволюції взаємовідносин ортодоксального духовенства та протестантів. Проаналізовано зміни в свідомісних орієнтирах православного населення губернії, а також реакційна політика ієрархів на появу «інородного тіла» в релігійному організмі Російської імперії

Ключові слова: пізній протестантизм, духовенство, віровчення, єпископські з'їзди, місіонерство.

ВСТУП. Останнім часом міжконфесійні відносини різних релігійних напрямків та осередків в українському суспільстві починають грати дедалі вагомий та визначальний вплив. Висвітлення стосунків релігійних діячів різних деномінацій в ЗМІ, обговорення в побуті, свідкують про велику зацікавленість та потужний їх вплив на життя населення. Саме тому сьогодні, як ніколи, стають актуальними дослідження в царині взаємовідносин різних релігій, конфесій чи деномінацій. Для пояснення багатьох процесів сьогодення, треба звернутися в минуле за парадю.

Постановка проблеми. Взаємовідносини різних релігійних організацій, їх співіснування, боротьба за душі вірян часто впливали на політичне життя держав. Незважаючи на відхід в далеке минуле релігійних війн та конфліктів проблема стосунків різних церков не зникла, а набуває нових обертів, не минуло це і Україну. Один із таких типових прикладів є проблемою нашого дослідження, зокрема, відносини Православної Церкви та реформаторсько-протестантських рухів Російської імперії, їх позиції, реакційна політика духовенства, боротьба з «іновір-

цями» за допомогою місіонерської та душеопікунської діяльності.

Мета статті. На основі доступних джерел дослідити ставлення духовної влади до протестантських рухів в Російській імперії, проаналізувати реакцію духовенства на їх появу.

Результати досліджень. Сталося... І на теренах Київської губернії з'явилися представники пізнього протестантизму. Як давно православна церква не мала клопоту із ворогами, ще з часів Берестейської унії та Никонівських реформ. Багато століть будучи під крилом російського самодержавства, вона виявилась не пристосованою до появи різного роду «інфекцій». Тому спробуємо дослідити якою була реакція православної церкви на появу нового вчення в межах Київщини.

Ставлення православної церкви до протестантських рухів протягом всього періоду, який ми вивчаємо, не змінювалося. Навпаки, негативне ставлення до них як до «секти», яка порушила мирне і дрімотливе становище церкви, змінювалося за силою і тактикою, але так ніколи і не стало, та й не могло стати, позитивним.

Для виявлення причин появи «нової» віри серед православних селян і міщан духовенство кинуло всі свої сили, при цьому не дооцінка протестантів дала про себе знати в майбутньому.

На думку ієрархів православної церкви Київщини причини в близькості центру духовного пробудження православних українців та німецьких колоністів - Херсонщини до Київської губернії. Друга причина, у візії священників - це сезонна міграція селян Київщини на заробітки в ту ж таки Херсонщину, де, як сказано вище, вирувало релігійне піднесення серед простого населення.

З появою протестантського руху, православна церква вимагала від урядових органів радикальних і рішучих дій, взявши на себе роль духовного душпастирства. Вплинути на населення церква могла лише під час богослужб, за допомогою проповідей та «увещаваний». Метод «увещавання» так званих відступників не приносив та й не міг приносити бажаних результатів, моральний авторитет панотців серед простого населення був надто низький, до того більшість неопротестантів були вже досить «загартованими» у вірі.

З вуст протестантів доволі часто лунали подібні репліки, що вони «готовы всем пожертвовать и все претерпеть за проповедываемое ими учение, будучи глубоко убеждены, что одно только их учение есть истинное»[1, арк.61] і «никто их к этому не подстрекал, а они сами по прочтении Евангелия и Библии не пожелали более исповедовать православную веру».[2, арк.12] До того ж проповіді проти них спрацьовували за принципом «заборонений плід – найсмачніший», і це спокушувало багатьох вірян цікавитися вченням нововірців.

Коли в результаті методи «увещаний» виявилися неефективними, церква перейшла до нових методів: захисту від «духовної хвороби» ще не «заражених» вірян. Перше, що вона була в силах зробити, то це запламувати протестантів перед прихожанами і зробити з них ворогів не тільки панотців, а й всього населення. Велика проблема полягала в тому, що ті мали «примерную нравственность».[3, арк.9] До них не було претензій зі сторони односельчан і урядовців за їх поведінку. Це суттєво заважало церкві проводити антипротестантську пропаганду. Друге – це детальне роз'яснення прихожанам всіх догматів православної церкви та критика, на основі Святого Письма, догм протестантів.[4, арк.13,24] Цей метод був доволі ефективним, так як більшість мирян не знали навіть головних тез православного богослів'я, на відміну від протестантів, які прекрасно володіли власною теологією.

Знаючи про одну із головних причин переходу православних до протестантів, яка «возникает вследствие возымания платы за совершение таинств и требоисполнения»[5, с.12], духовенство вдалась до наступних дій: в приходах, де рух протестантів набув значного розмаху, священники відмовлялись від утримання за кошти громади, від платні за треби, задля підняття власного авторитету в очах мирян.

І тільки в 1884 році, коли «духовна інфекція» протестантизму за 15 років свого існування перетворилась в «духовну чуму» для православ'я, в Києві, за ініціативи обер-прокурора Святішого Синоду К.П.Победоносцева, відбувся з'їзд єпископів Південно-Західного краю, який тривав з 8 вересня до 2 жовтня. Але вже в перший день між митрополитом київським і галицьким Платоном і самим ініціатором сталося непорозуміння. Победоносцев хотів одразу приступати до питання «штундизму», але Платон окреслив такий спектр питань порядку денного

з'їзду, де це питання надто гостро не ставилось. Та все ж тема «штундизму» була піднята.

В прийнятому на з'їзді «Пастирському посланні до пастви»[5, с.13] єпископи звертаються до священників приходів і самих мирян. Перших просять подавати приклад пастві, останніх – не спокушувались через тих священнослужителів, які живуть не правильно. В основному, текст сповнений критики протестантів як ересі, завезеної іноземцями, і як антидержавницького руху, що підриває підвалини самодержавства, аргументуючи своє бачення місцями з Біблії.

Священики, нарешті зрозуміли, що потрібно не воювати із нововірцями, а стати на захист власних «овець».[6, с.152] Як завжди, це рішення прийшло запізно, але принесло немало користі для душпастирів. Згідно із рішенням з'їзду, в духовних семінаріях було розроблено розділ про «штундистів» в предметному курсі боротьби з «ерессю». Це давало можливість студентам розбиратися у віровченні, знати історію рухів, тобто ближче і більше розуміти те, від чого в майбутньому вони будуть захищати своїх мирян. Саме таких підготовлених осіб можна тепер посилати на місіонерство в приходи, де проживали протестанти.[7, с.28-30] А саму систему місіонерства було вирішено посилити, направивши в приходи більшу кількість здібних і підкованих в богослів'ї місіонерів.[8, арк.4-7]

Серед місцевого населення вирішили розповсюджувати листівки із роз'ясненням тих місць Біблії, які протестанти використовували проти православ'я. Але ж для цього селянам треба було вміти читати, тому священники повинні були забезпечити функціонування церковно-приходських шкіл, бібліотек і братств. Залучати якомога більше молодих сільських хлопчаків-підлітків для навчання в подібних закладах освіти. В «заражені» приходи направлялись найкращі священники, які мали читати і тлумачити Біблію селянам, детально роз'яснюючи невірність протестантських догм. Їх спонукували правильно і вчасно виконувати всі церковні треби, беручи за них лише добровільні пожертви.[9, арк.21] До того ж священнослужителі мали бути прикладом для «стада», живучі благочестивим і чесним життям.

Щодо керівництва православної церкви, то їх дії були спрямовані не для замирення, а на повне викорінення інакодумців. Без впливу Святішого Синоду закони, які обмежували діяльність протестантів, не були б прийняті. Київська духовна консисторія брала участь в судових засіданнях і бесідах з протестантами, часто послуговуючись прикладами і методиками херсонських колег.

В духовних семінаріях почали викладатись спеціальні курси «обличення» протестантів, на яких слухачам пропонували практикуватись на самих протестантах. В Київській духовній академії викладачем таких дисциплін був професор цієї академії і приват-доцент Імператорського університету святого Володимира Степан Тимофійович Голубев, про

рівень підготовки студентів під керівництвом такого видатного педагога годі говорити.

В провінції церква не мала широких можливостей, щоб протидіяти протестантам. Конкуренція з місцевою владою часто ставала на заваді. І справді приклад, який подавали місцевому населенню священники був не надто позитивний, тоді як протестанти мали високий авторитет, заробивши його власним життям без алкоголю, сварок, бійок. А для звичайного обивателя діла, зазвичай, красномовніші, ніж слова. Тому задля реабілітації своїх промахів духовенство вдавалося до різних заходів: не давали ховати померлих протестантів на загальних цвинтарях, вважаючи, що «еретикам» і після смерті немає місяця серед православних; шлюби, укладені протестантами, вважали незаконними, а дітей, народжених в подібних шлюбах, незаконнонародженими. Таким чином священству вдавалося хоч чимось дошкуляти «еретикам», докоряючи їх за «не святе» життя, понижуючи, такими чином, їх авторитет в очах селян. А ті, хто народжувався і не був хрещений за православним обрядом, не записувалися в метричні книги, що ставило таких дітей поза законом.

Ще одним із важливих змін – стало будівництво храмів у тих приходах, де їх не існувало, адже саме жителі подібних сіл перші ставали в ряди протестантської віри, стомившись ходити за багато верст у сусідні села для відправлення своїх релігійних потреб там.

Ставлення православного духовенства до протестантів увесь час залишалось незмінно негативним. Їх вважали головними ворогами православ'я, бо з'явившись, протестанти не тільки не зникли, а й розповсюджувались по всій Російській імперії, підриваючи авторитет і монополне право православної церкви на душі підданих імператора. А православна церква, міцно захована під крилами російського самодержавства виявилася не здатною побороти «інфекцію» протестантизму. Та все ж після декількох невдалих спроб та втрати великої кількості душ вірних їй вдалося нав'язати боротьбу різним протестантським релігійним напрямкам та стати на захист своїх мирян. Та все ж докорінно знищити своїх релігійних «ворогів» не вдалося, вдалося лише стабілізувати їх постійний приріст.

Висновок Прослідкувавши ставлення духовної влади до протестантських рухів, можна зробити наступний, доволі важливий, висновок: державний захист православної церкви, доволі законсервованій та не динамічний погляд на всі сфери життя, відсутність практики боротьби з «інакомислячими» призвів до появи та масового поширення пізньопротестантських рухів в Російській імперії, зокрема в Київській губернії. Але їх виникнення підняло на порядок денний реформування релігійного життя в парафіях, віддалених від духовних центрів. І цей виклик православ'я прийняло, але не дало конкретної відповіді. Щодо протестантизму, то йому вдалося надломити релігійну монополію пануючої церкви,

скористатися її консервативністю та стати новою складовою релігійної мапи Російської імперії. Ортодоксальна церква так і не змогла до кінця перемогти своїх опонентів і провести термінові та злободенні реформи, що і призвело в недалекому майбутньому до відокремлення церкви від держави.

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Кравчук Б.В. «Отношение Православной Церкви к познепротестантским движениям в Киевской губернии второй половины XIX - начала XX века»

В статье рассмотрены вопросы отношений Православной Церкви и протестантских движений на этапах их зарождения, становления и распространения. На основе архивных актовых источников исследован процесс эволюции взаимоотношений ортодоксального духовенства и протестантов. Проанализированы изменения в сознании православного населения губернии, а также реакционная политика иерархов появления «инородного тела» в религиозном организме Российской империи

Ключевые слова: поздний протестантизм, духовенство, вероучения, епископские съезды, миссионерство.

Kravchuk B.V. The attitude of the Orthodox Church towards the late Protestant movements in the Kyiv province of the second half of the XIX and early XX centuries

The article deals with the issues of relations between the Orthodox Church and Protestant movements at the stages of their birth, formation and spread. The process of the reaction of the orthodox clergy to the religious challenges of the time has been investigated on the basis of archival and documentary sources.

The reasons for the emergence of Protestantism in the Kyiv province have been investigated through the prism of the views of the spiritual power. The changes in the conscious guidelines of the Orthodox population of the province, as well as the reactionary policy of the hierarchs on the appearance of the "foreign body" in the religious organism of the Russian Empire, are analyzed.

The Orthodox Church, which for a long time was guarded by the state, was not ready for reform movements among its subjects, therefore, at the beginning, it acted with a delay and rather sluggish. Instead, the Protestant movements took advantage of the conservatism of the church and became a new religious center in the Russian Empire.

Key words: Late Protestantism, clergy, creeds, bishop conventions, missionary work.

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Стаття подана 29.03.2019.

УДК 94(477) «1945-1991»

FEATURES OF GENDER RELATIONS IN UKRAINE IN THE 1945TH - EARLY 1990s

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ОСОБЛИВОСТІ ГЕНДЕРНИХ ВІДНОСИН В УКРАЇНІ У 1945 - ПОЧАТКУ 1990-х РОКІВ.

Михайлюк О.І., Мухайлюк В. Р.

The article presents and solves the issues of the peculiarities of gender relations in Ukraine from the time it was liberated from the Nazi invasion to the acquisition of independence.

Analysis and synthesis made it possible to conclude that the declared "equality" between men, women and other gender actors became illusory in life practice. The formation and approval of a totalitarian state under the sovereignty of the all-Union legislation was leveled out by national peculiarities and priorities of Ukrainian society.

Women were the category that played the role of only a "side member", far from the main one, in increasing the quantitative cadastre of "communists' builders"

The formalization of gender relations led to the humiliation of the role of women in social and political life and the degrading of their dignity and human rights violations.

Key words: *peculiarities of gender relations in the period of approval of a totalitarian society, illusory gender equality in the years 1945 - early 1990s, declarations and the reality of the "equality" of men and women in the minds of finding Ukraine in a totalitarian state.*

Problem resolution. Period 1945 - the beginning of 90-ies of the XX century. was characterized by the final approval of the totalitarian state of the USSR in which national characteristics, including in the field of gender relations, were subject to the so-called international, all-Union. Hence, all gender policies in Ukraine were based on all-Union laws and regulations.

Consequently, total totalitarianism prevailed and his echoes were quite tangible.

Unfortunately, researchers do not quite perceive this period, so studying the problem has both scientific and practical significance.

Among fundamental researches it is necessary to highlight a rather substantial scientific work done at Volodymyr Dahl East Ukrainian National University, a collection of scientific developments "History of gender relations in Ukraine (IX-XXI ст.)" Was published under the heading under the stamp of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine (the old name) . It contains

a separate section devoted to the period being studied [17, p.302-378].

The state supported the special role of women in society, setting the boundaries of the dominant gender contract (unwritten regulatory interactions, rights and obligations of articles in the private and public spheres). With the process of massive involvement of women in labor, including the most difficult in the physical plane (this "tradition" has rooted so much that many of our contemporaries are ready to work in difficult conditions for a penny), and their social significance, which was accompanied by the expansion of the circle, significantly increased responsibilities and increased responsibility. According to the Soviet model, the woman had to work full-time, bring up children and at the same time take care of the household, take care of the elderly. [1, p.39-46]

Her work, mobilized by the state beyond the immediate economic necessity, and motherhood were elevated to a rank of civic duty. The cult of the mother, who developed in the USSR under Stalin, had a banal pragmatic basis - to promote population growth.

The family law of the USSR in 1968 confirmed the central role of women in the family, with reference to the fact that she "provided the necessary social and living conditions for the combination of happy motherhood with an increasingly active and creative participation in productive and socio-political life." True, maternity leave was very low: only 56 days before childbirth and 56 after. The logic is simple - it was necessary to maximize the woman's use in production. Only in the 1980s, mothers of Soviet Ukraine, were entitled to additional leave for child care until the age of one and a half years. In addition, it was provided without wage salary.

In the Soviet period, the child was paid only from the fourth kid (the average family in the Ukrainian SSR had up to three children). The state needed first of all mother-workers. [1; 69-87]

At the same time access to all kinds of work and declared civil equality did not apply to politics. Women could apply for membership in the party, but not for participation in its governing bodies. They held "decorative" leadership positions: they headed councils, trade unions, Komsomol organizations, and others like that. The Soviet party nomenclature itself had a pronounced patriarchal essence.[17, p.314-321]

Only the woman who was engaged in men's work deserved respect. The salary in the Soviet Union was small so that a person of any gender and position worked all the time to secure himself. Hope that she feeds her husband, his wife did not fall due to the special charms of the "socialist paradise". If a woman chose the usual responsibilities for her: home care, birth and raising children, she was subjected to public condemnation, she was termed "unemployed", "hawk" and "barine".[2]

For a long time, official ideology denied the sexuality and corporeality of Soviet workers. This public taboo was especially evident in the realm of fashion. In particular, during the period of the person's cult reigns a ban on clothing, which emphasized women's forms. Until the mid-1950's our compatriots did not wear a neckline, used "shoulders", wore long skirts and wide skirts, and so on. The dress of the Ukrainian SSR citizens did not have to express their belongings, be modest and as simple as possible (preferably "rectangular"). The policy that the Soviet sociologist Ihor Kon described as stateless sexism (with the same interpretation of both sexes) did not recognize the right of women to express their carnal self-expression, which was an integral part of emancipation on West in the 1950s and 1960s. Over the next two decades, "red" propaganda in every way opposed the decent and highly moral Soviet woman to the immoral Western. [5, p.32-36]

The "triple" burden on women was accompanied by a gradual transformation of marriage and maternity institutes, as well as a narrowing of men's responsibilities. The new gender system, under state regulation, has laid down a delayed action of enhanced atrophy of their responsibility for their families, gradual moral degradation and even marginalization. [14]

World wars, mass repressions, famines, ethnic cleansing, which caused irreparable demographic losses, in particular in Ukraine, also contributed to the massive "extinction" of men. According to the observation of demographers, the wars, epidemics and hunger as much as possible "mow" the male part of mankind. However, the Stalinist regime by large-scale repressions also had a detrimental effect on mass psychology, putting instead the traditional patriarchal male superiority in the family and beyond, the principles of "do not stand" and "be like everyone." Alcoholism and household fights were compensated for by man's displeasure, for which neither Party Committees nor local authorities could give it until the end of the Soviet Union's existence. From here developed a shrill discrepancy between hypertrophied male "I", which in the conditions of the USSR could be shown to friends or their own wife in the kitchen, and

with the marginalized to the pity of the possibilities to implement it. Thus, the totalitarian regime exterminated the most passionate part of society and contributed to the formation of the spirit of servility and servitude, and this was further aggravated by the moral decline of society, especially of its male part, which was to some extent involved in the socio-political sphere. [17]

In the second half of the 1950s - in the early 1960s, the limited liberalization of society and the "privatization" of private life gradually weakened the Bolshevik gender code and pushed for an alternative interpretation of femininity and masculinity in the USSR. At this time, the role of the state-controlled "shadow" gender contracts, which became a reaction to living conditions in Soviet realities and the consequence of the desire to adapt to them, became apparent. [12]

In the daily sphere of social reproduction, women expected traditional: cares, services, real and symbolic maternity, as well as the performance of functions that offset the underdevelopment of the service and the shortage of consumer goods. The official provision of the family model based around it was enshrined in the USSR Constitution in 1977, which defined the role of women in society as "workers, mothers, educators of their children and housewives." At the same time, the practice of lonely and forced motherhood, which did not fit into the official canon of the family "as the main part of society", became popular. The illegitimate gender model has always been persecuted by the communist government as contradicting the "Soviet way of life." [10, p.121-128]

Conclusion. The survival strategies in the conditions of Brezhnev's stagnation strengthened the female gender role. Ability to get food, provide family clothes, arrange a child in a kindergarten and a good school, arrange an annual visit of an elderly relative to a qualified doctor or reception of guests - all this determined the social competence of a housewife. The situation of a Soviet woman gave her the responsibility, strength, ability to manage others dependent on her care. In such conditions, the infantilisation of a man who was unable to assume a part of domestic duties and at the same time failing to fully realize socially was continued. In the 1970s and 1980s, the Soviet cinema responded to the "tendency": the soldiers and "sculptor virgins" on the screens replaced the unpretentious workers of a certain research institute, modest engineers or indecisive doctors (remember the characters of Andrei Myagkov, Zhenya Lukashina from "Ironic Fate" and Anatoly Novoselytsev from "Service Romance").[6, p.228-230]

After the collapse of the USSR, the transformation of gender relations was accompanied by a kind of "patriarchal Renaissance", which brought archaic and premodern stereotypes to the surface in the presentation of the role of women in the family and society. Yes, in spite of structural changes and the emergence of new gender practices, rules, norms and traditions derived from Soviet behavior patterns are still stable, which is, in particular, confirmed by employment statistics.

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Михайлюк О.І., Михайлюк В.П. Особливості гендерних відносин в Україні у 1945 - початку 1990-х років.

У статті висувуються і вирішуються питання особливостей гендерних відносин в Україні періоду від звільнення її від фашистської навали до набуття незалежності.

Аналіз та узагальнення дозволили дійти висновків про те, що декларована «рівність» чоловіків, жінок та інших гендерних суб'єктів поставала у життєвій практиці ілюзорною. Становлення та затвердження тоталітарної держави за всевладдям загальносоюзного законодавства нівелювала національні особливості та пріоритети українського суспільства.

Жінки виступали тією категорією, що виконувала ролі лише «побічного члена», далеко не головного, у збільшенні кількісної кагорти «будівників комунізму»,

Формалізація гендерних відносин призводила до пониження ролі жінок у суспільно-політичному житті та приниженню їх гідності й порушенню прав людини.

Ключові слова: *особливості гендерних відносин у період затвердження тоталітарного суспільства, ілюзорність гендерної «рівності» у 1945- на початку 1990-х р.р., декларації та реальність «рівності» чоловіків та жінок в умовах знаходження України в тоталітарній державі.*

Михайлюк О.І., Михайлюк В.П. Особенности гендерных отношений в Украине в 1945-начале 1990-х годов

У статье выдвигаются и решаются вопросы особенностей гендерных отношений в Украине периода от освобождения ее от фашистского нашествия до вступления независимости.

Анализ и обобщение позволили сделать выводы о том, что декларируемая «равенство» мужчин, женщин и других гендерных субъектов возникла в жизненной практике иллюзорной. Становление и утверждение тоталитарного государства за всевластием загальносоюзного законодательства нивелировало национальные особенности и приоритеты украинского общества.

Женщины выступали той категорией, исполняла роли только «побочного члена», далеко не главного, в увеличении количественной кагорты «строителей коммунизма»,

Формализация гендерных отношений приводила к унижению роли женщин в общественно-политической жизни и унижению их достоинства и нарушению прав человека.

Ключевые слова: *особенности гендерных отношений в период утверждения тоталитарного общества, иллюзорность гендерной «равенства» в 1945- в начале 1990-х г.г., декларации и реальность «равенства» мужчин и женщин в условиях нахождения Украины в тоталитарном государстве.*

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Статья подана 09.04.2019.

УДК 93/94/32/339.9/327(1990-2019)

**UKRAINE'S RELATIONS WITH NATO STATES IN THE DEFENSE SPHERE:
HISTORICAL-POLITICAL AND MILITARY ASPECTS
(90TH YEARS XX CENTURY - 2019 YEAR)**

Mykhaylyuk V. V.

**ВІДНОСИНИ УКРАЇНИ З ДЕРЖАВАМИ НАТО В ОБОРОННІЙ СФЕРІ:
ІСТОРИЧНО-ПОЛІТИЧНІ ТА ВОЄННІ АСПЕКТИ
(90-ті роки XX століття - 2019 рік)**

Михайлюк В.В.

The purpose and tasks of the research were to study, analysis and generalize the main stages of establishing and implementing cooperation between Ukraine and NATO member states in general and Canada, in particular, assessing their content and significance, revealing the dynamics of relations in the defense and their dependence on political intentions, and actions of representatives of the ruling Ukrainian authorities. The realization of tasks allowed to distinguish four stages of relations of our country with the countries of the North Atlantic Alliance: 1) 90's of XX century - the end of 2004; 2) 2005 - 2010; 3) 2010 - to the annexation of the Crimea and aggression in the East of Ukraine; 4) since the beginning of the deployment of a military conflict at the present time. These stages were characterized by many events that were conditioned by direct aggression and the loss of territories (external factors) and internal causes: the lack of loyalty of the state-political elite to the national interests of the Ukrainian state and the Ukrainian people, even betrayal of them, especially in the third stage; the lack of a clear strategic political course of the state in identifying real friends and allies and permanent waste from establishing mutually beneficial relations with the EU and NATO states, consolidating the legislative strategy of Ukraine's entry into a democratic European community and the Alliance only at the fourth stage.

Keywords: NATO, North Atlantic Alliance, European Community, Ukraine-NATO relations, defense sphere, four stages of relations with Alliance countries, the annexation of the Crimea, aggression in the East of Ukraine.

Problem statement in general, analysis of the latter research and publications. The Independence of Ukraine in the early 90's years of the twentieth century put before the newly-established state and its people a whole a number of questions. They are associated with both its new international and international status, and with the internal political and socio-economic, socio-cultural, and so on. Unfortunately, these problems were not so much self-arising, but interdependent, which was needed to decide not only and not so much in a one-

dimensional dimension, but also to take into account all factors inherent in a sovereign state.

In external and internal politics, urgent solutions have emerged the question of self-determination as a sovereign country. You can to assert that no country will have its own external independent policies and strategies for its implementation without an established internal political.

At the same time, in this context, there was an important need for defining and realization in the practical plan of new directions of further development and efficiency in the international plane, gaining European and world-wide recognition. Particularly significant in the current conditions of aggressive action against Ukraine on the part of the RF and self-proclaimed and not recognized by LNR and DNR, the issues of establishing close cooperation with the countries of the world, which could help our state protect sovereignty and overcome the consequences of aggression and the return of the annexed Crimea. In this plan, Ukraine chose, first of all, Alliance countries. This and determines the relevance of the topic, what is being studied. The development of its individual aspects in the scientific sense, analysis and synthesis are of practical importance.

Among the achievements of the scientific and scientific-methodological nature that out of print in the first decade of the XXI century should be highlighted General works: "Accession to NATO is a strategic choice of Ukraine" for general ed. O. I. Soskin [1], monograph by I. Ya. Todorov [2], I. A. Kharban [3] and so on. They were a product of their time, therefore, they had in general more than less predictive-exploratory character, consistent with general policy the need for Ukraine to occupy a new place in the world and in the world pan-European communities.

Quite useful information on the problem also contains articles, published in the past to present three years, the essence of which is highlighted on the peculiarities of relations in these aspects, Ukraine with separate ones NATO member states, in particular, with Canada [4]. By their content they analyze the signs as a fact, directly or indirectly, necessity intensifying close cooperation with Allied countries.

In preparing this article, the author relied on the works of predecessors and **defined the purpose and objectives of his research**. They are: in studying, analysis and generalization of the main stages of adjustment and implementation Ukraine's cooperation with the NATO member states in general, and Canada, in particular, the assessment of their content and meaning, the disclosure of the dynamics of relationships in the defense sector and the dependence of these relations on political intentions and actions representatives of the ruling Ukrainian authorities.

Presentation of the main research material. The relations between Ukraine and the Allies began to be established already in the first years after the proclamation of Independence. It was in the early 90's XX century before the young state faced the question of joining the European and world communities.

The Interstate Education, to which Ukraine first joined after the collapse of the USSR, was the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) - December 1991. It should be noted that Ukraine has not ratified the CIS Charter, therefore it was formally considered only an observer in this organization, and not its member.

The further development of events proved unacceptable for our country's stay in the CIS, and in 2014 it was decided to start the process of getting out of it.

At the same time, in the early 1990s, which marked the first stage of cooperation, active contacts on establishing Ukraine-NATO cooperation began to develop. In 1992, two significant events took place: in January, a representative of our state first participated in the North Atlantic Cooperation Council Working Group (RPAS); In February, NATO Secretary General Manfred Werner, who invited Ukraine to participate in the NACC, made his first visit to Kyiv.

Important was the direct contacts of Ukrainian representatives with the seminar participants of the North Atlantic Assembly "Ukraine and European Security, which took place in the summer of 1993 in the capital of our country. The next step was the signing of the Partnership for Peace (PfP) Framework Document by the Head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine A. Zlenko. This program, in particular, provided for openness in relations between Ukraine and NATO, development of cooperation in certain areas of the military sphere, participation of Ukrainians in peacekeeping operations within the framework of the program and the current legislation, etc. To participate in the program, our state began to provide a defined

military contingent, units of civil defense and military equipment [5, p.25-26].

However, in the second half of the 1990s, quite contradictory processes of relations between our country and NATO took place in Ukraine. First, in general, military cooperation, in general, there was a positive dynamics. Thus, within the framework of its implementation in 1995-1996 several dozen joint measures were conducted against only two in 1994. Secondly, in 1997 and 1998, important documents were signed, in particular, the "Charter on a Distinctive Partnership between Ukraine and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization"; approved by the Decree of the President of Ukraine "State Program of Cooperation of Ukraine with NATO for the Period till 2001".

Fruitful in the early 90's - 2004, you can name the relationship in this area between Ukraine and Canada. The last of the first of the countries of the West recognized the independence of our state and began cooperation in various spheres, including in the military. In this sense, should be made to assist Ukraine in reforming the armed forces, particularly in the preparation of Ukrainian officers in the Program for Educational Military (Military Training Assistance Program). Since the mid-1990s, over the next ten years, more than three and a half hundred senior military personnel have been trained in Canada [6].

At the same time, negative tendencies towards Ukraine's rapprochement with NATO grew. In this sense, it is important to refer to the documents that were considered at the relevant international negotiations and adopted in Ukraine - the government. Even a quick review emphasizes the fact that our country continued to adhere to dual policies in relations with NATO and the CIS in the 1990s. The proof of this is the version of the "Military Doctrine of Ukraine", approved by the Presidential Decree on June 15, 2004 (expired on September 26, 2015). During the same period, there was a rather inconsistent relationship between the authorities in Ukraine's cooperation with NATO, which is due to factors such as the lack of formation of Ukrainian civil society and its lack of awareness of NATO's role and significance; the lack of unity in the political and state orientation of the opposite layers of the ruling elite in the 90 years of XX - early XXI centuries This caused, on the one hand, the publication of these sociological polls about the necessity of joining NATO during the specified period, as a rule, in the majority as "uncertain" or even "negative". On the other hand, politicians and government-supporters of rapprochement with the Alliance made up a significant minority. In the light of this society, periodically there were quite predictable situations like "Ukraine without Kuchma", etc., for which the vector of public opinion was translated.

The beginning of a new phase was the year 2005, when the newly elected President, Viktor Yushchenko, made an effective turn in NATO's relations with the European integration. At the beginning of the year, V.Yushchenko at a summit in Brussels outlined the main provisions of Ukraine's strategy, and his decree of

April 21, 2005, restored the first edition of the Military Doctrine on the urgent preparation of the state for full membership in NATO and the EU [7, p.17].

It is important to note that this period was more directional. But senior officials and Allies took into account the experience of previous NATO relations with Ukraine and made at least two comments. First: the necessity of the obligatory definition of the ruling political and governmental elite in the attachment and final development of the state's course on the specified integration processes. The second is the rapid establishment of a social and internal political consensus, which will support the support of the population of Euro-Atlantic integration. The latter depends on the degree and content of conducting explanatory work with different layers of the population, forming the structure of Ukrainian society [8].

The next stage began in 2010 when Yanukovich's cohort and his supporters came to power.

Already on April 2, 2010, the new President of Ukraine, by his decision, liquidated the Interdepartmental Commission on the preparation of Ukraine for joining NATO and the National Center for Euro-Atlantic Integration [9]. In the internal policy of the authorities, as well as in the foreign, by the beginning of 2014, two mutually exclusive tendencies appeared: positive, in relations with the Russian Federation, and actually negative, directed in essence, on the freezing of Euro-integration and Euro-Atlantic processes with NATO countries. From then on, until the beginning of 2014, Ukraine's relations with NATO, in general, and with Canada, in particular, in the defense sector, were not developing properly.

With the onset of aggression of the Russian Federation in the year 2014 and the turbulent facts associated with the capture of Ukrainian sailors and their captivity, a rather rich new phase, which continues to this day, is traced. It contains two informative events that have significantly raised the content and nature of relations in the defense sphere to a new level.

The first is the annexation of the Crimea and the occupation of the industrial regions of the Donbas with the emergence of unrecognized and constitutionally unacceptable by Ukraine proclaimed by the LNR and the DPR. The author believes that the very purpose of the Russian Federation was precisely the annexation of the Crimea. The goal is to establish control over the Black and Mediterranean seas. The occupation of Donbas and the unsuccessful "attempts" to spread the "Russian spring" in the territory of our state is proof. This event took place in 2014 and had a clearly pronounced character of external aggression. Taking into account the determined effectiveness or without the effectiveness of the Minsk agreements, it continued to capture the Ukrainian sailors, and marked the transition to a new quality, a new event - the consolidation of not only the territory of the annexed Crimea but also an attempt to turn the Azov Sea into the internal Russian.

The Russian aggression against Russia and Russia's armed attack on Ukrainian ships near the Kerch Strait with the seizure of Ukrainian sailors have significantly changed in a positive way towards Euro-Atlantic integration and, in essence, have become an important reason for Ukraine's engagement with NATO and the individual countries of the Alliance in closer and more effective cooperation, consolidation of the legislative directions of our state before joining the EU and NATO.

In the relations between Ukraine and NATO and individual Alliance countries, new relations in the defense sphere began to emerge. In the past two or three years, there has been an intensification of political, diplomatic and material and military assistance, there are an expansion and introduction of new sanctions against the aggressor. Among the most important measures of material and military assistance, one can mention the following: 1) annual financial assistance from the United States alone (the Pentagon's request for 2020 is about 250 million dollars) and Canada (increased up to \$ 100 million annually) to support the army and special services Ukraine; 2) in 2017, Ukraine is defined as a country that is allowed to export certain types of weapons; at NATO Armed Forces training attended by high-ranking officials of NATO; contingent of military instructors from Canada has been significantly increased; the presence of NATO naval forces in the Black Sea has been substantially increased; the issue of supplying Ukraine with anti-tank weapons and strengthening its naval capabilities is positively considered etc.

Conclusions and ways of further research. The analysis and synthesis made it possible to draw conclusions about the rather difficult way of becoming and developing the relations between Ukraine and NATO and the individual countries of the Alliance in the field of defense in the period under study.

First of all, the consideration of the problem allows us to identify the four stages in establishing these ties and the legislative consolidation of the strategic course on the entry of our country into the EU and NATO: 1) 90th years of the XX century - the end of 2004; 2) 2005 - 2010; 3) 2010 - to the annexation of the Crimea and aggression in the East of Ukraine; 4) since the beginning of the deployment of a military conflict at the present time. These stages were characterized by many events that were conditioned by direct aggression and the loss of territories (external factors) and internal causes: the lack of loyalty of the state-political elite to the national interests of the Ukrainian state and the Ukrainian people, even betrayal of them, especially in the third stage; the lack of a clear strategic political course of the state in identifying real friends and allies and permanent waste from establishing mutually beneficial relations with the EU and NATO states, consolidating the legislative strategy of Ukraine's entry into a democratic European community and the Alliance only at the fourth stage.

Further study of the problem may be carried out on the basis of historical, political and social analysis of the internal and external factors that hinder the entry of Ukraine into the EU and NATO. It is also important to analyze other than purely defense mutually beneficial areas of cooperation based on the fact that the Alliance establishes relations in scientific, socio-cultural and many other spheres.

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Михайлюк В.В. Відносини України з державами НАТО в оборонній сфері: історично-політичні та воєнні аспекти (90-ті роки ХХ століття - 2019 рік)

Метою та завданнями дослідження було вивчення, аналіз та узагальнення основних етапів встановлення та реалізації співпраці між Україною та державами-членами НАТО в цілому та Канадою, зокрема, оцінка їх змісту та значення, виявлення динаміки відносин у сфері оборони їх залежність від політичних намірів та дій представників правлячої української влади. Реалізація завдань дозволила виділити чотири етапи відносин нашої країни з країнами Північноатлантичного альянсу: 1) 90-ті роки ХХ століття - кінець 2004 року; 2) 2005 - 2010; 3) 2010 рік - анексія Криму та агресія на Сході України; 4) з початку розгортання військового конфлікту в даний час. Ці етапи характеризувалися багатьма подіями, обумовленими безпосередньою агресією та втратою територій (зовнішніми факторами) та внутрішніми причинами: відсутністю лояльності державно-політичної еліти до національних інтересів української держави та українського народу, навіть зрада їх, особливо на третьому етапі; відсутність чіткого стратегічного політичного курсу держави у визначенні реальних друзів і союзників і постійних втрат від встановлення взаємовигідних відносин з країнами ЄС і НАТО, закріплення законодавчої стратегії вступу України до демократичної європейської спільноти та Альянсу лише на четвертий етап.

Ключові слова: НАТО, Північноатлантичний альянс, Європейське співтовариство, відносини Україна - НАТО, оборонна сфера, чотири етапи відносин з країнами Альянсу, анексія Криму, агресія на Сході України.

Михайлюк В.В. Отношения Украины с государствами НАТО в оборонной сфере: историко-политические и военные аспекты (90-е годы ХХ века - 2019)

Целью и задачами исследования было изучение, анализ и обобщение основных этапов установления и реализации сотрудничества между Украиной и государствами-членами НАТО в целом и Канадой, в частности, оценка их содержания и значения, выявление динамики отношений в сфере обороны их зависимость от политических намерений и действий представителей привлекать украинской власти. Реализация задач позволила выделить четыре этапа отношений нашей страны со странами Североатлантического альянса: 1) 90-е годы ХХ века - конца

2004 года; 2) 2005 - 2010; 3) 2010 год - аннексия Крыма и агрессия на Востоке Украины; 4) с начала развертывания военного конфликта в настоящее время. Эти этапы характеризовались многими событиями, обусловленными непосредственной агрессией и потерей территорий (внешними факторами) и внутренними причинами: отсутствием лояльности государственно-политической элиты к национальным интересам украинского государства и украинского народа, даже измена их, особенно на третьем этапе; отсутствие четкого стратегического политического курса государства в определении реальных друзей и союзников и постоянных потерь от установления взаимовыгодных отношений со странами ЕС и НАТО, закрепление законодательной стратегии вступления Украины в демократической европейского сообщества и Альянса только на четвертый этап.

Ключевые слова: НАТО, Североатлантический альянс, Европейское сообщество, отношения Украина - НАТО, оборона страны, четыре этапа отношений со странами Альянса, аннексия Крыма, агрессия на Востоке Украины.

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Стаття подана 02.04.2019.

УДК316.733:94][477]«185/194»(092)

В. НІКІТІН – ВИЗНАЧНИЙ ПОДВИЖНИК УКРАЇНИ КІНЦЯ ХІХ – ПЕРШОЇ ПОЛОВИНИ ХХ СТ.

Печериця Т.В.

V. O. NIKITIN – THE OUTSTANDING ASCETIC OF UKRAINE IN THE LATE XIX – FIRST HALF OF THE XX CENTURY

Pecherytsia T.V.

У статті аналізується громадська діяльність визначного подвижника України кінця ХІХ – першої половини ХХ ст. – В. О. Нікітіна. Особливу увагу в статті приділено подвижницьким зусиллям В. Нікітіна у сфері національно-культурного пробудження місцевого населення України, зокрема, у м. Єлисаветграді (тепер Кропивницький). Автор констатує, що В. Нікітін був відданим патріотом України, який упродовж всього життя боровся за українську мову, українську культуру та українську державність.

Ключові слова: В. Нікітін, подвижницька діяльність, український рух, Україна.

Серед цілої плеяди визначних подвижників України кінця ХІХ – першої половини ХХ ст. важливе місце належить юристу і педагогу Василю Олександровичу Нікітіну (1868 – 1942). Всю свою енергію, ентузіазм, вільний час, а нерідко й кошти він спрямовував на подвижницькі зусилля у сфері національно-культурного пробудження місцевого населення України, зокрема, у м. Єлисаветграді (тепер Кропивницький). При цьому В. Нікітін ризикував не лише кар'єрою та матеріальним благополуччям, але й неодноразово потрапляв під поліцейсько-жандармський нагляд, часом втрачаючи й свободу. Безмежна синівська любов до Вітчизни надихала його невтомну подвижницьку громадську та просвітницьку діяльність.

Дослідженню В. Нікітіна як особистості, громадського й культурного діяча присвячено досить обмежене коло наукових розвідок, статей, публікацій, серед авторів яких слід вказати: М. Смоленчука, С. Шевченка, В. Степанова. Вважаємо, що той обсяг досліджень присвячених В. Нікітіну, який був зроблений науковцями до цього часу є занадто малим, а тому потребує подальшого вивчення та висвітлення.

Метою даного дослідження є спроба проаналізувати подвижницькі зусилля В. Нікітіна у всій їх багатогранності, у громадській та національно-культурній сферах, й тим самим, привернути увагу

не лише науковців, а й української громади до постаті В. Нікітіна яка, на наше глибоке переконання, заслуговує на більшу увагу.

В. Нікітін народився 1868 р. у м. Полтаві на Колоністській вулиці (колишній німецькій колонії) у сім'ї помічника бухгалтера Полтавського земства. Батько його був за національністю росіянин, а мати, яка походила зі сім'ї службовців також, українкою. Батько В. Нікітіна за 35 років служби отримав орден Володимира ІV ступеня, що в той час давало йому звання дворянина. На жаль, у 1880 р. передчасно померла мати В. Нікітіна... Тяжко переживаючи смерть дружини у 1881 р. його батько переїхав із м. Полтави до м. Вязьми Смоленської губернії. У зв'язку з цим, В. Нікітін спочатку навчався у В'яземській гімназії, а згодом на юридичному факультеті Московського університету, який закінчив у 1891 р. Навчаючись в університеті, він захопився музикою, сам на слух грав на фортеп'яно українські та російські пісні, уривки з російських опер. Співав у студентському хорі, в котрому часто був солістом (теж студент) Л. Собінов. По закінченню університету В. Нікітін спочатку був кандидатом на суддівську посаду, служив у м. Смоленську, м. Дорогобужі, м. Вязьмі, а потім міським суддею у м. Гжатську Смоленської губернії, де пропрацював 8 років. Перебуваючи на цій посаді він написав дві брошури «Історія міста Дорогобужа» і «Гжатськ та його околиці».

У травні 1903 р., за запровадження нововведень, завдяки яким покращився рівень юридичної грамотності серед найнезаможнішого міського населення м. Гжатська, В. Нікітіна було переведено до м. Єлисаветграда членом окружного суду (цивільне відділення). На цій посаді В. Нікітін пропрацював до 1911 р. З 1911 – 1917 рр. В. Нікітін був міським нотаріусом. Починаючи з 1917 р. В. Нікітін учивлював, викладав головним чином українську мову. Слід зазначити, що ще перебуваючи в м. Гжатську і м. Полтаві, як вказав сам В. Нікітін у протоколі до-

питу від 7 жовтня 1929 р., він сильно захопився українською літературою, багато читав про український народ та його культуру. Завдяки цьому, через кілька років він став свідомим українцем й розпочав шукати однодумців, разом з якими прагнув розпочати боротьбу проти царизму за відродження українського народу. Син В. Нікітіна Фауст Нікітін у своїх спогадах про батька писав: «Скільки його пам'ятаю, він весь час захоплювався природою України і Т. Шевченком. Літні канікули ми проводили тоді на Україні» [1, 44]. Переведення у 1903 р. на Україну до м. Єлисаветграда Херсонської губернії стало подарунком долі для В. Нікітіна. Прибувши до Єлисаветграда В. Нікітін одразу ж зайнявся культурно-просвітницькою діяльністю, для чого об'єднує навколо себе українських ідейних однодумців, зокрема, він знайомиться з українофілами, передовсім з майбутнім членом Центральної Ради – М. Левитським та колишнім київським «громадівцем» – П. Михалевичем. Приблизно тоді ж він познайомився з М. Кропивницьким, з артистами: М. Заньковецькою, П. Саксаганським, М. Садовським та іншими, які щорічно приїжджали до м. Єлисаветграда на гастролі. Сам В. Нікітін у своїх спогадах написав, що М. Кропивницького він знав ще з 1887 р., коли той приїздив до Москви зі своєю трупкою й виступав в театрі «Парадіз». Будучи студентом В. Нікітін дуже любив відвідувати вистави першої славетної української трупи. На початковому етапі подвизницької діяльності В. Нікітіна в м. Єлисаветграді підпільної роботи не проводилося, однак, дуже часто влаштовувалися нелегальні бесіди і читання для обговорення самих злободенних тем того часу. У Нікітіних збиралася гімназійна молодь, яка обговорювала національні проблеми. Сам В. Нікітін був керівником українського подвизницького руху в м. Єлисаветграді. Пізніше В. Нікітін почав організувати у себе по четвергах літературно-музичні зустрічі, або, як тоді їх називали, журфікси, у ході яких, окрім музикування, дуже часто обговорювали українські питання, з величезним обуренням критикували дії царського уряду та обговорювали заходи легальної боротьби проти утисків української культури. На них збиралися під виглядом музикування, українські діячі, зокрема, їх відвідувала донька композитора М. Лисенка Галина Миколаївна з чоловіком (К. Шило), молодий Г. Нейгауз, під час своїх гастролей у м. Єлисаветграді – М. Кропивницький, М. Заньковецька П. Саксаганський, Ю. Тобілевич, бував на них і майбутній композитор Ю. Мейтус (гімназистом). За спогадами Ф. Нікітіна М. Кропивницький кілька разів гостював у Нікітіних, мову вели про культурний український рух і про заходи в умовах царського режиму. Саме під час цих зустрічей у В. Нікітіна з'явилася ідея влаштування Шевченківських вечорів у міському театрі (тепер – ім. М. Кропивницького), збір від яких було вирішено передавати до фонду побудови у Києві пам'ятника Т. Шевченку. Офіційно очолити цю справу В. Нікітін не зміг, оскільки пере-

бував на державній службі, тому юридичний бік справи було доручено П. Михалевичу, він був влітах і не боявся втратити службу. Шевченківські вечори в Єлисаветграді вдалося влаштувати і вдало провести двічі у 1909 р. та 1910 роках, після чого вони були суворо заборонені губернатором. В цих заходах активну участь взяли кращі артистичні і музичні сили – М. Кропивницький, Л. Старицька-Черняхівська, І. Стещенко та багато інших. Для оформлення театру в українському стилі В. Нікітін виписав з Полтавського губернського земства виставку українських виробів. Вечори ці відкривалися лекцією В. Нікітіна про життя і творчість Т. Шевченка, після чого хор на сцені співав «Як умру, то поховайте» («Заповіт» Т. Шевченка), а потім відбувався концерт підготовлений провідними українськими артистами. Зі спогадів В. Нікітіна відомо, що «Заповіт» Т. Шевченка переповнений зал слухав стоячи, а бажаючи його виконати підіймалися до хору на сцену. На останньому другому Шевченківському вечорі, зокрема, виступив і «батько українського театру» М. Кропивницький який прочитав «Думи» і «Чернець» з великою майстерністю і великим піднесенням. Слід зазначити, що невдовзі після цього М. Кропивницький помер... Після смерті корифея В. Нікітін увійшов до ініціативної групи з організації українського літературно-музичного драматичного товариства ім. М. Кропивницького «Рідна хата», створення якого заборонив губернатор. Від другого Шевченківського вечора, що відбувся 16 березня 1910 р. було отримано чистий прибуток в сумі 380 крб. 41 коп. Хоча В. Нікітін і не вважався офіційним організатором вечорів, однак поліція і жандармерія все-таки дізналися про його провідну роль. З В. Нікітіним була проведена бесіда під час якої йому було запропоновано або припинити подібну діяльність, або ж піти з державної служби. Не довго думаючи В. Нікітін пішов у відставку й перейшов на напів приватну роботу нотаріусом. Посилення політичного переслідування й початок Першої світової війни, значно послабили український рух, багатьом учасникам якого, у тому числі й В. Нікітіну, доводилося навіть переховуватися від поліції.

Другий етап поживавлення українського культурного й політичного руху на Єлисаветградщині розпочався після Лютневої революції 1917 р. У результаті революційних подій були оприлюднені жандармські архіви, у яких, зокрема, в списках політично неблагонадійних значився і В. Нікітін, як «український соціаліст». Починаючи з 1917 р. В. Нікітін стає лектором української мови, зокрема, читає популярні лекції на заводах і в установах за путівками політпросвіти, пізніше викладав українську мову та літературу в технікумах і школах. Окрім того, в цей період, В. Нікітін знову на своїй квартирі почав влаштовувати збори представників українського руху як культурницького так і політичного спрямування. Зокрема, у В. Нікітіна у цей час побували М. Панасевич, К. Шило, М. Левитський та інші. В цей же час В. Нікітін організовує «Просвіту» і стає її

першим головою. При цій організації створюються хор і бібліотека, ставляться п'єси. Разом з В. Нікітіним, активно співпрацювали «просвітяни» міста Н. Пиходько, О. Семененко, М. Панасевич, Ю. Тобілевич, участь у концертах «Просвіти» брала донька М. Лисенка Г. Шило зі своїм чоловіком. У 29 квітні 1918 р. В. Нікітін виступив з лекцією в залі «Просвіти» з проблем української культури, слухачів зібралося близько 50 осіб. У лекції В. Нікітіна «Про українську культуру» висвітлювалася ідея існування національної української культури та української мови: «Малоросійська мова одна з найкрасивіших у світі і має бути поставлена поряд з визнано найкрасивішими – італійською та французькою» [1, 28]. Аналізуючи малоросійську літературу В. Нікітін ставить Т. Шевченка, як поета, вище Пушкіна і Міцкевича, називає його величнішим із світових геніїв.

У часи гетьмана П. Скоропадського «Просвіту» очолює син корифея театру Ю. Тобілевич, а В. Нікітін, перебуваючи у колі її активних діячів, сконцентровується на учительській роботі. Наприкінці серпня 1919 р. в м. Єлисаветграді була встановлена влада денікінців, яка провела обшук, у тому числі і у В. Нікітіна. У 1920 р. після встановлення радянської влади В. Нікітін працював викладачем у кавалерійській і соціально-економічній школах, викладав українську мову та суспільствознавство. У 1921 р. він виїхав під час голоду в село Любомирку Добровеличківського району, де один рік працював завідувачим трудової школи. Із Любомирівки В. Нікітін переїхав до Добровеличківки Первомайського округу, де працював викладачем української мови в агрошколі і водночас був правозахисником. Під час перебування у цьому селі від поганого харчування померла його дружина Шапошникова Наталя Олександрівна. У 1923 р. В. Нікітін повертається до Зінов'євська, де викладає українську мову у сільськогосподарській школі та російську мову у профтехшколі. Згодом два роки він працює в агротехнікумі, а після його закриття переходить учителем української мови до трудової школи №5. Отже, у радянські часи В. Нікітін проводить в життя політику українізації, захоплюється не лише освітньою, громадською, але й науковою роботою. Зокрема, В. Нікітін докладав зусилля до організації при історичному музеї гуртка краєзнавства, участь у роботі якого брали Д. Карабінович, П. Рябков, Ф. Золотаренко. Головою гуртка був Д. Кучма. Саме він і доручив В. Нікітіну написати історію українського театру на Єлисаветградщині. Цьому сприяло те, що краєзнавець був особисто знайомий із провідними українськими артистами: П. Саксаганським, М. Садовським, М. Заньковецькою, М. Кропивницьким. У 1925 – 1926 роках П. Саксаганський приїздив у Зінов'євськ на запрошення заводського театру «Червоної зірки». Окрім того, В. Нікітін є автором спогадів про М. Кропивницького, які були надруковані у збірнику «За 100 років». Готуючи до друку історію українського театру на Єлисаветградщині В. Нікітін у 1928 р.

познайомився з академіком ВУАН С. Єфремовим та професором П. Руліним, якому і передав свій рукопис про Зінов'євський театр. У 1923 р. В. Нікітін допомагав учителю співів С. Тележинському організувати у Зінов'євську музичну філію імені Леонтовича. Очолив філію С. Тележинський, В. Нікітін зайняв посаду секретаря.

Слід зазначити, що В. Нікітін дуже швидко розчарувався у радянській політичній системі, зрозумівши, що вона не є демократичною. У 1929 р. під час зустрічі з антирадянськи налаштованими вчителями – Скрипкою і Задиракою, він погодився з їхнім різким засудженням соціалістичної системи і зазначив: «Партія – це група людей, яка захопила владу в свої руки з метою використання її для того, щоб експлуатувати інших, а самим жити в розкоші і т. д.» [1, 41]. 25 вересня 1929 р. В. Нікітін у розмові з учителем Задиракою заявив: «... у нас зараз виборів фактично немає, а нав'язування кандидатур зі сторони партійних органів. До того часу поки при владі будуть перебувати неграмотні і неосвічені люди порядку не буде» [1, 42]. Громадська діяльність В. Нікітіна, незалежність його поглядів викликали недовіру, підозру влади. 4 жовтня 1929 р. Зінов'євським окружним відділом ДПУ він був заарештований. Його заарештували за підозрою «в нелегальних зв'язках з українськими шовіністичними елементами з інтелігенції та групуванні їх з контрреволюційною метою». При обшуку були вилучені (за протоколом) «Оповідання з української історії», «Незабутні» (ред. С. Петлюра, 1918 р.), «На захист української культури», «Тризуб» (німецькою мовою), «Послання Євангелісту Дем'яну Бедному», «Грамота до всього Українського народу», «Статут української просвіти», «Історія українського народу» [1,30]. Спочатку ДПУ спробувало залучити В. Нікітіна до справи СВУ. Від нього вимагалось зізнатися у зв'язках із заарештованим С. Єфремовим і членстві у СВУ. Але В. Нікітін відкинув ці звинувачення, пояснивши, що зустрічався з С. Єфремовим у Києві в справі відкриття в Зінов'євську краєзнавчого гуртка. Поряд з цим В. Нікітіну ставили в винуватість його активну громадську позицію, відстоювання своїх переконань. В. Нікітіна, як члена підпільної організації «Спілки визволення України», хоча винним він себе не визнав, постановою особливої трійки при колегії ДПУ УРСР від 26 січня 1930 р. за ст. 54-10 КК УРСР (антирадянська агітація у галузі освіти) було вислано у Казахстан на три роки. У вироді зазначалося, що працюючи учителем 5-ї трудової школи м. Зінов'євська В. Нікітін систематично підтримував давні зв'язки з колишніми членами української «Просвіти», з колишніми активними петлюрівцями та видатними українськими діячами, проводив таємну агітацію серед української інтелігенції та учнів, яка була направлена на об'єднання антирадянських українських елементів з контрреволюційним минулим.

Після відбування покарання В. Нікітін, який був звинувачений в українській діяльності, не отри-

мав права жити в УРСР, а тому він змушений був періодично проживати то в свого сина Фауста, то у своєї молодшої доньки. Восени 1941 р. Ф. Нікітін довелось евакуюватися з під м. Курська в м. Казань. Оскільки В. Нікітін вже був досить старим, було вирішено не ризикувати й не везти його на возі, тому він переїхав у м. Белгород до середньої доньки, де він і помер у червні 1942 р. від голоду. Реабілітація прийшла лише в 1994 р. (через 52 роки після смерті).

Окремо слід зазначити про здобутки дітей В. Нікітіна, яких у нього було п'ятеро – два сина й три доньки. Найбільш відомим є Фауст Нікітін, який був кавалером св. Анни IV-го ступеня за хоробрість у боях Першої світової війни, генетиком, лауреатом Держпремії СРСР. Саме Ф. Нікітін залишив найбільше спогадів про свого батька, й взагалі, про культурне та політичне життя Єлисаветградщини наприкінці XIX – у першій половині XX ст. Молодший син Юрій Нікітін, як і молодша донька Тетяна, захоплювався театром. Театральну освіту Ю. Нікітін здобував під керівництвом Л. Курбаса, працював на студії О. Довженка, став організатором українського драмтеатру у м. Харкові. Однак, на жаль, у 1938 р. був репресований та засланий до Магадану, де через два роки помер... Ще дві дочки В. Нікітіна – Ніна та Марія мали фах учительок.

Отже, викладене вище свідчить про те, що всі зусилля українського подвижника В. Нікітіна були спрямовані на утвердження національно-патріотичної ідеї в українському суспільстві, відродження національної культури і духовності. В. Нікітін був відданим патріотом України, який упродовж всього життя боровся за українську мову, українську культуру та українську державність.

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Печериця Т. В. В. О. Нікітін – известный подвижник Украины конца XIX – первой половины XX в.

В статье анализируется общественная деятельность известного подвижника Украины конца XIX – первой половины XX в. – В. А. Никитина. Особое внимание в статье отводится подвижническим усилиям В. Никитина в сфере национально-культурного пробуждения местного населения, в частности, в г. Елисаветграде (ныне Кропивницкий). Автор констатирует, что В. Никитин был настоящим патриотом Украины, который на протяжении всей своей жизни боролся за украинский язык, украинскую культуру и украинскую государственность.

Ключевые слова: В. Никитин, подвижническая деятельность, украинское движение, Украина.

Pecherytsia T. V. V. O. Nikitin – the outstanding ascetic of Ukraine in the late XIX – first half of the XX century.

The article analyzes the public activity of the outstanding ascetic of Ukraine in the late XIX – first half of the XX century – V. O. Nikitina. Particular attention is paid in the article to the ascetic efforts of V. Nikitina in the sphere of national-cultural awakening of the local population of Ukraine, in particular, in the city of Elisavetgrad (now Kropivnitsky). The author states that V. Nikitin was a devoted patriotic of Ukraine, who fought for the Ukrainian culture and Ukrainian statehood throughout his life.

Key words: V. Nikitin, ascetic activity, Ukrainian movement, Ukraine.

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Стаття подана 13.03.2019.

УДК 574

ЕКОЛОГІЧНИЙ МОНІТОРИНГ І КОНТРОЛЬ ПРИРОДНОГО СЕРЕДОВИЩА В УКРАЇНІ

Пічкур Т.В.

ECOLOGICAL MONITORING AND CONTROL OF THE ENVIRONMENTAL ENVIRONMENT IN UKRAINE

Pichkur T.V.

У статті розглядаються питання здійснення екологічної політики в Україні, спрямованої на збереження безпечно-го для існування живої і неживої природи навколишнього середовища, захист життя і здоров'я населення від негативного впливу, зумовленого забрудненням довкілля, досягнення гармонійної взаємодії суспільства і природи. Наведена інформація щодо моніторингу атмосферного повітря, води, ґрунтів, відходів, біорізноманіття.

Ключові слова: екологічний моніторинг, охорона довкілля, забруднення, державне управління, природоохоронна діяльність, спостереження.

Introduction. The present ecological situation in Ukraine on all levels (official and unofficial) is unambiguously classified as catastrophic. We inherited the deformed national economy, in which the most hazardous industrial branches (metallurgical, mining, chemical, nuclear energy etc.) play an important role. Wearing (moral and physical) of the industrial equipment, retardation from the global technological standards, huge man-made load on environment (in Ukraine the norms of European countries are exceeded by 5 – 6 times), uncontrollable accumulation of different wastes and absence of the facilities for their efficient disposal significantly complicate the situation. The list of environmental problems to be solved urgently is incomplete. Therefore to eliminate negative man-made consequences for natural environment and to improve the ecological situation the environmental monitoring system is applied.

Generally accepted definition of monitoring is as follows: *monitoring* is a complex system of observation, collection, processing, systematization and analysis of information on environmental condition, which estimates and forecasts changes, develops reasonable recommendations for making managerial decisions.

Analysis of recent researches and problem statement. Term “monitoring” comes from Latin “monitor” (Latin – to control, observe). Canadian scientist R. Man introduced this notion into science on the threshold of UN Stockholm Conference dedicated to the environmental problems (June 1972). Professor Man offered to

call monitoring “a system of repetitive observations over one or more environmental elements in time and space with particular purposes and under the preliminary scheduled program” [1].

Yu. A. Israel (1978) called monitoring “a system of observations which allows defining of changes of biosphere condition under effect of anthropogenic activity” [2].

The term “environmental monitoring” was widespread in the international practice after UN Environmental Conference of 1972 and UN General Assembly, which passed the UN Environmental Program approved by the resolution dd. December 15, 1972. Within the framework of this Program the concept and program of monitoring and environmental condition assessment were developed [3].

In Ukraine 8 monitoring system entities are responsible for observation and informational support in the state environmental monitoring system: the Ministry of Natural Resources, the Ministry of Emergency Situations, the Ministry of Healthcare, the Ministry of Agrarian Policy, the Ministry of Building and Housing and Communal Services, State Committee on Water Resources, State Forestry Committee, State Committee on Land Resources. In their work these state authorities are guided by Decree of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine No.391 dd. 30.03.1998 “On Approval of the Provision on the State Environmental System” [4].

Nowadays, in the period of Ukraine’s integration into the international community, implementation of international environmental (air, water, soil) control standards and development of a standards set for environmental control system are on the agenda.

Internationalization of the environment quality problem actualizes not only natural-and-scientific, socio-economic and international political aspects of the environmental management.

The purpose of the article is to disclose control mechanisms for solution of global problems: pollution of atmosphere, hydrosphere, lithosphere, destruction of

biosphere, which cannot be solved within the territory of one country.

Content of the article. The environmental mechanism of nature protection and natural resource management activities in Ukraine has been formed during three last decades. There are two main developmental periods of this mechanism: *regulatory* – from 1960th till the beginning of 1990th, when a set of environmental laws was passed, and *eco-economic*, starting from 1991, when the Law of Ukraine “On Environmental Protection” was enacted establishing the basic principles of formation of economic mechanisms of nature protection and natural resource management activities. Further on, with varying completeness degree, this mechanism was developed in land, water, forestry, subsurface, atmospheric air protection legislation, decrees of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine and in other instructive and normative-methodological documents developed in accordance with the indicated Law.

Anthropogenic environmental pollution extends to all spheres of the Earth. Thus, *air pollution* control is often required for general environmental and population health protection. It should be determined which air pollutants shall be checked and to which degree they shall be reduced. Attempts to manage all polluters from all sources are impractical and unnecessary. While monitoring and managing influence of the main air pollution sources on general environmental and population health, they shall be given the highest priority. The largest emissions containing toxic components shall undergo special monitoring.

Air quality management is a term used to describe functions, which include management rules, management strategy, emissions inventory, atmospheric observation network, data management system, recruitment of the organization and financing, systems for analysis of complaints and sampling operations. Air quality management includes consideration of various management strategies, which shall finally lead to environmental protection and general population health. Development of the scientifically reasonable system of environmental quality regulation, including atmospheric air, suggests, foremost, establishment of such levels on anthropogenic influence on the environment, which would not be harmful for human beings, animal and plant populations, biogeocenose in general.

Actual monitoring of air pollution levels is an essential requirement both in air quality management and control. The World Meteorological Organization (WMO) became the center of global atmospheric monitoring. According to resolution of General Assembly No.1721 (XVI) dd. 20.12.61 on international cooperation on peaceful uses of outer space, the WHO formulated plans of the new global weather forecasting system, which was called the World Weather Watch (WWW) consisting of three global systems: observation, telecommunication system and data processing.

In 1970 the WHO Executive committee accepted the proposal on establishment of the global atmospheric pollution monitoring system. The network consists of

two station types: regional air pollution stations – stations designed for indication of distant changes in atmospheric composition through changes in regional actions on land use or other actions (samples for SO_4^- , Cl^- , NH_4^+ , NO_3^- , Ca^{++} , Mg^{++} , K^+ , heavy metals, alkalinity, conductivity etc.); basic air pollution stations – stations designed for registration of distant changes in atmosphere, values of specific parameters for weather forecasting and climate with minimum impact of local or regional factors (such parameters as turbidity, chemical composition of sediment (as on regional stations), nitrogen in air samples are analyzed).

Consideration of environmental aspects in *water resources* use implies implementation of water management activities, simultaneously taking into account nature protection issues and interests of the whole community.

Water resources management efficiency can be provided if understanding, knowledge and financial resources are available. In the global water preservation strategy the transfer of experience, technologies and financial support to shall be provided, first of all, to the developing countries, as a result of which these countries have to gain an ability to solve water supply and sewage diversion problems. It is necessary to design and introduce the resources-saving, efficient, cheap technologies in such areas as agriculture, industry and communal service.

Long-term water resources management purposes include support or recovery of ecological water balance, quantitative and qualitative provision of potable and industrial water supply, satisfaction of all other public water demand.

Water quality monitoring systems are classified by water type: natural, waste and salty waters. The freshwater systems are designed for natural and treated waters; waste waters monitoring system is designed for analysis of discharges from point sources (for instance, industrial and municipal wastes); the salty waters systems are used for pollutants control in flood and sea plains.

The water state monitoring is a system of collection, treatment, preservation and analysis of information about qualitative and quantitative condition of water, forecasting of its changes and development of scientifically reasonable recommendations for taking managerial decisions in the field of waters use and protection and water resources recovery.

State waters monitoring subjects are as follows: surface waters (natural basins (lakes), waterways (rivers, streams); artificial basins (water storage reservoirs, ponds), channels and other water basins; underground waters and sources; inland sea waters, territorial sea, including (sea) economic zone of Ukraine; water pollution sources, including return waters, emergency discharges of liquid products and wastes, losses of products and materials while mining mineral resources within the water area, inland sea waters, territorial sea and exceptional (sea) economic zone of Ukraine and wastes dumping, agricultural runoff, filtration of polluted substances from

service basins and storage reservoirs, large-scale development of blue-green algae; supply of hazardous substances from bottom deposits (secondary pollution) and other pollution sources, which may be observed. [5].

To carry out monitoring, the monitoring institutions shall develop national, regional, departmental and local monitoring programs, wherein networks of points, observation parameters and modes for water bodies and waters pollution sources, regulations for information transfer, processing and use are determined. Organization and coordination of waters state monitoring shall be carried out by the Ministry of Environmental Protection and Nuclear Safety. State waters monitoring institutions shall improve or establish special services for state waters monitoring. While waters state monitoring, which is subdivided into background and general, the lists of priority parameters of conditions of water basins and negative impact parameters are created.

Background monitoring shall be carried out by means of systematic observations on water bodies, which do not undergo the direct anthropogenic influence, to get information for estimation and forecasting changes in condition of water bodies caused by industrial and economic activities. Background monitoring of surface and inland sea waters, as well as territorial sea waters and waters of exceptional (sea) economic zone of Ukraine, underground waters shall be carried out by the Ministry of Ecology and Natural Resources of Ukraine. [6].

General monitoring shall be carried out to detect actual condition of water bodies, development and taking decisions on efficient use, protection and recovery of water resources. Monitoring on the state network of observation points for surface and underground waters shall be carried out by the Ministry of Ecology and Natural Resources of Ukraine. Monitoring of anthropogenic influence on surface and inland sea waters, as well as territorial sea waters and waters of exceptional (sea) economic zone of Ukraine shall be carried out by the Ministry of Ecology and Natural Resources of Ukraine and enterprises of water and sewage utilities, underground waters – by the Ministry of Ecology and Natural Resources of Ukraine.

Crisis monitoring shall be carried out on water bodies in the places of minimum indirect anthropogenic load and consists of monitoring on the state network of observation points, monitoring of anthropogenic influence on water bodies, monitoring of water bodies in places of their use and special monitoring types to be carried out in the increased risk areas and in the areas of emergencies and emergency situations influence.

Lands monitoring consists of systematic observations over condition of lands (survey, inspection and search), detection of changes and estimation of condition of using acreage, fields, areas related to variations of lands fruitfulness (evolution of water and wind erosion, humus loss, soil structure worsening, bogging and salting down), agricultural lands overgrowing, soil pollution with pesticides, heavy metals, radionuclides and other toxic substances; condition of coast-/beach-line of rivers,

seas, lakes, basins, water storage reservoirs, coastal lakes, hydraulic structures; processes related to formation of ravines, shears, debris flows, earthquakes, karstic, cryogenic and other phenomena; condition of lands of settlements, territories where oil and gas production facilities, waste treatment plants, purulent storage facilities, warehouses of combustible and lubrication materials, fertilizers, parking lots, dumping of toxic industrial wastes and radioactive materials and other industrial facilities are located [7].

Observations over lands condition, depending on their duration, are divided as follows: *basic* – initial, which register condition of the observation subject at the beginning of lands monitoring; *periodic* – in a year or more; *operative* – current changes are registered. Condition of the land reserves shall be estimated by analyzing a number of subsequent observations and comparisons of the obtained results. Informational support of lands monitoring consists of data having the required completeness for objective estimation of the situation, its modelling and forecasting. Monitoring of lands shall be carried out by the State Committee on land Resources with participation of the Ministry of Ecology and Natural Resources of Ukraine, the Ministry of Agrarian Policy and Food of Ukraine, Ukrainian Academy of Agrarian Sciences (UAAS), NKAU and other interested ministries and departments.

For qualitative monitoring of underground waters the whole existing geological and hydrogeological information shall be estimated. Selection of the monitoring procedure depends on potential levels of additives concentration, time available for monitoring and general geological conditions. The first step in a hydrogeological research of a place is inspection of soils, geological conditions of underground waters. For all underground waters the background determinations shall be done. Monitoring shall be carried out for every separate source – potential pollutant. Pollution of soils and underground waters with toxic substances and hazardous wastes is interdependent, that's why the polluted soils shall be obligatory controlled during underground waters monitoring. Before the beginning of monitoring the pollutant type shall be determined, pollution degree of soils shall be evaluated, as well as polluted place area, accurate location of the main polluted soils, the best method of polluted place control and actual purpose of monitoring shall be determined, too.

In accordance with article 39 of the Law of Ukraine “On Flora”, *the flora monitoring* is a component of the environmental monitoring and is carried out in the order established by the CMU. Article 28 of the Forest Code of Ukraine stipulates to carry out monitoring of forests, which is a component of the general environmental monitoring and is carried out in accordance with decree of the CMU No. 391 dd. 30.03.98 within the framework of the SEMS.

Environmental tension is rising all over the world. According to the World Commission on Environment and Development's data, annually 6 mln. ha of fruitful lands are taken out of use and turned out into a dead de-

sert, above 11 mln. ha of forests are cut out and die out as a result of fires and hazardous anthropogenic influences, which in three decades will equal the territory of India. As a result of intensive use of chemicals in agriculture and industrial emissions of hazardous substances, the larger amount of such substances get into human organisms along with foodstuff and drinking water, doing an irreparable harm to health. According to the available statistics, around 14 thousand people die from pesticides poisoning every year. The mankind is being approximated in environmental aspect towards the critical limit. It is extremely difficult to find a way-out from the ecological crisis and huge efforts shall be applied, including legal ones. To remove the consequences of environmental violations or to prevent them is to win just a half of the battle. Communication of humans with nature shall be always mutually useful. Certainly, these environmental relations shall be initiated by a human being who is an intellectual being. [8].

Conclusions. It is impossible to solve population welfare improvement tasks and strengthening of their health, not having ensured the rational nature protection and natural resource management. For this purpose, Ukraine conducts the environmental policy in its territory, which is directed for preservation of the surrounding environment safe for both wild and inorganic nature, population's life and health protection from the negative influence caused by environmental pollution, establishment of harmonious cooperation of society and nature, protection, rational use and recovery of natural resources. The following spheres within the territory of Ukraine are subjected to protection and regulation: natural environment as an aggregate of natural, social conditions and processes; natural resources which already have been involved into economic turnover, and those, which have not been used in the national economy yet (land, water, atmospheric air, forest and other flora, fauna); landscapes and natural complexes. Population's environmental safety is regarded as the most important and honorable tasks. Law has an essential role in achievement and permanent provision of cooperation of society and nature. Legislative acts determine the priority directions of state nature resource management policy and ways of ecological crisis removal. With the help of law the environmentalization of technologies in industry, agriculture, energetics, construction, transport spheres and implementation of a deep reform of the existing nature resource management practice shall be provided.

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Пічкур Т.В. Екологічний моніторинг і контроль природної середовища в Україні.

В статті розглядаються питання здійснення екологічної політики в Україні, направленої на збереження безпечної для існування живої і неживої природи оточуючої середовища, захисту життя і здоров'я населення від негативного впливу, викликаного забрудненням оточуючої середовища, досягнення гармонічного взаємодіяння суспільства і

природи. Приведена інформація касаючаяся мониторинга атмосферного воздуха, воды, почв, отходов, биоразнообразия.

Ключевые слова: экологический мониторинг, охрана окружающей среды, загрязнение, государственное управление, природоохранная деятельность наблюдение.

Pichkur T.V. Ecological monitoring and control of the environmental environment in Ukraine.

This article considers issues on implementation of environmental policy in Ukraine, which is focused on preservation of the surrounding environment safe for both wild and inorganic nature, protection of population's life and health from the negative influence caused by environmental pollution, establishment of harmonious cooperation of society and nature.

Information about monitoring of atmospheric air, water, soils, wastes and biodiversity is given below.

Key words: environmental monitoring, environment protection, pollution, governmental management, environmental activity, observations.

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Стаття подана 15.03.2019.

UDC 94:271.222(477.61)«1922/1930»

THE ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE RENOVATIONIST MOVEMENT IN THE STAROBILSK REGION IN 1922 – 1930

Ruban M.Y.

ОРГАНІЗАЦІЙНИЙ РОЗВИТОК ОБНОВЛЕНСЬКОГО РУХУ НА СТАРОБІЛЬЩИНІ 1922 – 1930 рр.

Рубан М.Ю.

The article attempts to investigate the process of the organizational formation of the renovationist movement in the territory of Starobilshchyna. The course of the institutionalization of the Starobel eparchy of the Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Synodal Church is traced. The historical circumstances of the denominational separation of Ukrainian Orthodoxy in the interwar period are highlighted by the example of a separate region.

Keywords: *Orthodoxy, Renovationist movement, Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Synodal Church, Starobilsk Eparchy.*

Actuality and problem statement. The historical events around the organizational movement of the Renovationists in the Orthodox Church in Donbass belong to perhaps one of the least illuminated pages of the local religious history of the interwar period. Due to oppressive actions was forcibly destroyed the multi-confessionalism of Ukrainian society caused by suspense of many important internal problems of the Church's life. Consequently, the division of the Church on the similar ground resumed in the conditions of liberalization of the state religious politics at the end of 1980s. The relevance of studying of the historical experience of the organizational evolving of the reformatory orthodox confession on the Donbass territory, its circumstances and personalities of this process acquires an exceptional meaning in the context of defining new conceptual approaches in the development of the local Orthodox Church in the border region of Ukraine and Russia.

Analysis of research and publications. The history of the Renovationist movement in Ukraine, especially of the problem of regulation of the relationship between state and Church on these lands is represented in the works of many local religious historians, like G. Bilan [1], O. Boiko [2], S. Zhyliuk [6], V. Pashchenko [11; 12], A. Kyrydon [12], O. Sagan [13], O. Trygub [14] and others. Though, for such works it is characteristic to attempt a determination of the

general image of the multi-confessionalism development in Ukraine, while the local studies are almost absent.

In the Russian ecclesiastical historiography to this day the leading positions hold PhD works of metropolitan-historians Theodosius (Protsiuk) [16] and Ioan (Snychov) [7]. They give cursory characteristic of the Church movements in Ukraine in the inter-war period and during the German occupation. But these works were written in the middle of 1960s, so they have various factual inaccuracies due to subjective view of the authors on the process of establishment of local Orthodox Church in Ukraine.

Unique without exaggeration are monographs of Russian priests – V. Lavrynov [8; 9] and I. Soloviov [10], due to the contents as well as to the way of presenting the material. These authors worked on a broad horizon of materials of the criminal cases of the Renovationist hierarchs and created substantial guidebooks on the materials of Renovationist church history in the territory of the USSR.

The first fundamental attempt to study the history of the emergence, activity and elimination of organized Orthodox denominations directly in the Donbass area in the context of regulating local state-church relations is the dissertation of the Lugansk lawyer and religious scientist O. Forostiuk [18; 19]. The author was first to introduce a wide range of material on key events, figures of bishops and clerics who played a key role in the religious history of the region, having considered regional events against the background of the general context of the state anti-religious policy in the Ukrainian SSR. Despite the wide range of factual material systematized on the basis of currently inaccessible regional archives of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions, unique narrative testimonies of the participants in religious movements in the region, the works of O. Forostiuk are marked however by tendentiousness of denominational perception. They do not exhaust the

amplitude of the task we have outlined and have inaccuracies, elimination of which requires introduction of additional new sources into scientific discourse.

Thus, **the subject** of this research is the activity of the Starobilsk vicariate (later—eparchy) of the Ukrainian Autocephalous (Renovationist) Orthodox Church, which means solving such research tasks as follows: firstly, analysis of the Orthodox Church situation of that time in the Starobilsk region; secondly, to highlight the process of institutional formation of the Renovationist movement in the region. Thirdly, it is also important to determine peculiarities of the church-religious activities of the Starobilsk eparchy in the period of institutional disunity of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine in 1920-1930s. The chronologic limits of the research are set from the time of institutional formation of Renovationist movement in this region in 1922 until its actual abolishment in the mid-1930s.

The goal of the article is to reconstruct the entire picture of organizational development of the Renovationist movement in the Orthodox Church in the Starobilsk region in 1922-1930, basing on the analysis of historic sources and scientific literature.

Exposition of the main material. In the spring of 1922 a quick revolutionary attempt of the representatives of the Renovationist movement, supported by the state authorities to make a revolt in the midst of the Orthodox Church in the USSR, quickly spread throughout key regional centers, however in the Donetsk province it was carried out rather slowly. The first Renovationist communities in the Starobilshchyna, which at that time belonged to the Kharkiv eparchy, appeared in the villages of Neshcheretove and Tytarivka only in January 1923 [19, p. 73]. On January 29, 1923, at the meeting of the Starobilsk region executive committee was established the local executive committee membership of the leading Renovationist group “The Living Church”. The head of the committee was appointed the senior priest of the local Neshcheretove church of the Holy Trinity [18, p. 32]. As recently as on December 5, 1922, in Moscow took place the bishopric ordination of a Renovationist vicar for Kharkiv eparchy, Starobilsk bishop Oleksander (Migulin) [8, p. 59]. Soon afterwards the hierarch was elected the head of the local vicariate administration. An interesting observation by O. Forostiuk shows that newly ordained bishop started broad activity of taking over parishes, but this was not met with sympathy of religious masses [19, p. 73]. As of October 1, 1923, in Starobilsk uyezd only 27 out of 150 officially registered parishes belonged to Renovationists [19, p. 73–74]. Although, it is worth noticing that they were given the antique 18th-century cathedral of the Holy Virgin Protection [18, p. 78].

The local authorities reported that the Renovationist movement in Starobilsk region was still in embryonic state. On the 8th–9th of May 1924 in the Starobilsk Cathedral of the Holy Virgin Protection took place a district meeting of clergy and lay people with participation of one of the leading ideologists of Church renovation in Ukraine, bishop Iosyf (Krechetovych) of

Izum. In the first day of the meeting participated 192 delegates, but the next day were registered only 168 [18, p. 76]. At the convention was also raised the question of electing a new bishop, but the elections however never happened. Instead, the All-Ukrainian Holy Synod shortly after appointed newly ordained bishop Meletiy (Fomin) as the head of Starobilsk district church administration [8, p. 354].

In the first half of 1924 because of active measures of the church opposition the Renovationist Church in Ukraine was brought to a crisis having lost about 1000 parishes all over the republic. The overall number of Renovationist communities in Donetsk governorate was reduced to 85 as at January 1925 [3]. However, it should be noted, that in the official statistics of that time there is no information on presence of the Renovationist parishes in Starobilshchyna before January 1, 1926, which suggests inaccuracy of the data [20].

On May 14, 1925, in Kharkiv was opened a session of the All-Ukrainian Local Council. It adopted a regulation about the autocephalous status of the Ukrainian Church and korenization of the Liturgy. 34 bishops, 88 clergymen and 86 lay people participated in the Council [14, p. 99], including the vicar of the Kharkiv eparchy, bishop of Starobilsk, Meletiy (Fomin). Archpriest of Starobilsk area D. Liymynarskyi made an appeal to immediate translation of Liturgical texts into Ukrainian, initiation of Ukrainian language classes for clergy, formation of a committee for developing a special address to UAOC representatives and election of a delegation for negotiations concerning uniting with UAOC [5, p. 3].

Among other regulations the Council also banned the second marriage for priests. Thus, on the 2nd All-Ukrainian Council the Ukrainian Renovationists managed to minimize the excessive reformatory tendencies in their internal Church practice. On October 7, 1925, the autocephalous status of Ukrainian Church was confirmed at the 3rd All-Russian Council [14, p. 100].

The activation of institutional church processes of that time was also favoured by an administrative reform in the USSR, as a result of which the governorate division of the republic changed to a district (okrug) one. According to the new reform in January 1925 the Holy Synod of the Ukrainian Synodal (Renovationist) Church reorganized the eparchial control network. As a result 36 eparchies were formed within the boundaries of corresponding territorial districts, and Starobilsk eparchy was segregated from Kharkiv eparchy [6, p. 175].

In September 1927 the Archbishops Andrii (Odintsov) and Oleksander (Chekanovskyi) visited Starobilsk with the purpose of holding lectures within the frame of theological courses. In a secret letter the local old-Church hierarchy prohibited the clergy and lay people to attend the courses on pain of excommunication. Nonetheless, 10 priests and some lay people ignored the prohibition and became course students. Until November 1934 the district centre

Starobilsk did not have railway connection and was 56 km far from the nearest line, so a well-known bishops' visit and theological course holding were extraordinary events for provincial town residents and animated the dull uneventful life of the local believers. During three days 800 people attended the lectures. The archbishops gave ten lectures of an apologetic character and informed the audience about the religious situation in Ukraine. Archpriest D. Luminarskyi, member of the Starobilsk eparchial administration, expressed sincere gratitude to the hierarchs and a hope that "such courses were held not for the last time, and that "our gospels" would visit our district in future" [15].

As S. Zhyliuk aptly remarked, after the visit of the Starobilsk region by the mentioned archbishops the struggle between the old-Church hierarchy and Renovators somewhat calmed in the eparchy [5, p. 290]. In the end, in the spring of 1928 the Starobelsk eparchy consisting of 62 parishes [16] was one of the largest in the former Donetsk province. In November 1928 the Starobilsk bishop Meletiy (Fomin) headed the Kamianets-Podilskyi eparchial administration. Meanwhile the Starobilsk cathedra remained vacant until its actual abolition in 1930.

In 1929 the Union of Atheists addressed the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee requesting to close the antique Starobilsk Cathedral of the Holy Virgin Protection. The All-Ukrainian (Renovatorist) Holy Synod addressed the same committee with the request not to close the cathedral, because that could have bad consequences for the Synodal Church in the region [19, p. 126]. Nevertheless, despite the efforts of the Synod the cathedral was closed that year, and in 1933 it was demolished. At the same time commenced an active annulment of actual parishes. Since May 1927 till August 1935 53 churches were closed in the area and as of June 1935 only three Renovatorist parishes were functioning in the region [19, p. 130].

Conclusions. The process of organizational formation of the Renovatorist movement within provincial Starobilsk region took place against the background of an energetic state anti-religious policy, as well as an acute inter-confessional confrontation of separated parts of a once united Orthodox Church. Since in conditions of an escalation of denominational division the representatives of the Renovatorist movement minimized their reformative tendencies at the 2nd All-Ukrainian Council, the institutional crisis within the denomination was partly limited. For some time Starobilsk area became a place for numerous religious disputes for representatives of various denominations. After the appointment of bishop Meletiy (Fomin) to the Starobilsk cathedra the eparchy with active support of the local authorities achieved its highest institutional development, encompassing over one third of the orthodox communities in the region and became structurally the biggest in the territories of the former Donetsk gubernorate.

Unfortunately, nowadays the development of the Renovatorist movement in Donbass is not properly

illustrated in church historiography, moreover, its individual aspects are estimated subjectively. Undoubtedly, the activity of Starobilsk Renovators has to be properly rethought and reassessed from the point of view of particularly Ukrainian church historiography. Because only further non-preconceived study of this topic will allow to reveal the actual circumstances of development and reasons of decline of organized Church structures in Donbass during the difficult period of persecutions and tragic ordeals.

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Рубан М.Ю. Організаційний розвиток обновленського руху на Старобільщині 1922–1930 рр.

У статті здійснено спробу дослідити процес організаційного становлення обновленського руху на теренах Старобільщини. Простежено хід інституціалізації Старобільської єпархії Української Православної Автокефальної Синодальної Церкви. Висвітлено історичні обставини конфесійного розділення Українського Православ'я в міжвоєнний період на прикладі окремого регіону.

Ключові слова: Православ'я, обновленський рух, Українська Православна Автокефальна Синодальна Церква, Старобільська єпархія.

Рубан Н.Ю. Организационное развитие обновленческого движения на Старобельщине 1922–1930 гг.

В статье осуществлена попытка исследовать процесс организационного становления обновленческого движения на территории Старобельщины. Прослежен ход институциализации Старобельской епархии Украинской Православной Автокефальной Синодальной Церкви. Освещены исторические обстоятельства конфессионального разделения Украинского Православия в межвоенный период на примере отдельного региона.

Ключевые слова: Православие, обновленческое движение, Украинская Православная Автокефальная Синодальная Церковь, Старобельская епархия.

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Стаття подана 09.04.2019.

УДК 794-028.23:94-021.121

ANALYSIS OF THE HISTORICAL AUTHENTICITY OF FACTUAL MATERIAL IN COMPUTER VIDEO GAMES OF THE GENRE "HISTORICAL STRATEGY"

Sapytska O.M.

АНАЛІЗ ІСТОРИЧНОЇ ДОСТОВІРНОСТІ ФАКТОЛОГІЧНОГО МАТЕРІАЛУ У КОМП'ЮТЕРНИХ ВІДЕОГРАХ ЖАНРУ «ІСТОРИЧНА СТРАТЕГІЯ»

Сапицька О.М.

The variety of media genres causes a large number of objects through which you can display a popular story. In addition to the entertainment value, teachers and scholars have begun to take into account the educational value of historical thematic films and video games. Even if games and reconstruction are lost in the historical method, they compensate, stimulating historical curiosity. With a relevant scientific critical approach, computer video games can become a powerful toolkit for teaching history along with traditional educational approaches.

On the example of several popular computer game games with historical content in the article are analyzed the historical authenticity of certain historical facts, which are reflected in the space of selected computer video games genre "historical strategy".

Key words: *academic history, computer video games, historical strategy, public history, historical content, reconstruction*

Introduction. Video games have recently become a topic for learning in academic space. Areas of research are separated from the video game algorithm to the critical analysis of the theory of video games and their quality. As the popularity of computer games is steadily growing, developers carry out thematic research more profound to reproduce historical events closest to the real ones and set up the mechanics of games for them as much as possible.

Well-known companies-developers for the fulfillment of these tasks attract professional historians (for example, Mike Loades – the famous British military historian, who advised Ubisoft – the developers company of the very popular video game Assassin's Creed), because consumers of digital video games on historical topics are no more satisfied with the common entourage of this or that epoch. They require maximum realism and accurate detailing of a particular historical era in the game. Historicity of games consists of a number of parameters: the re-creation of historical realism of events, the re-creation of architectural models of a certain era,

military equipment, the inclusion of historical personalities, the historical landscape etc. The combination of these components forms the playing space of the historical game.[1]

The relevance of the theme of the work is determined by the fact that history as a discipline is not limited to text materials, but also includes a component of the media. At present, historical themes are actively used in games and films, which can be called interactive modeling of events and a relatively new method of scientific knowledge of facts. It is important to use factual materials and how reliable they are to modify and interact. At the same time, historical accuracy often remains an underdog issue in the study of authenticity in media formats.

Formulation of the problem. By analyzing the critical discourse of a historical object in the media space, one can display the relation to the representation of history in the form of video games. Because video games are one of the many tools of public history, their accuracy should be analyzed. The scientific significance of videogames is not confirmed by the domestic historical community, so the obvious problem is the need to investigate their authenticity, as many developers often face negative stereotypes and feedback that hold the media and relevant studies that show people's opinion.

Analysis of recent research and publications. It should be noted that there is a significant lack of specialized historical historiography of the issue under study. In the domestic space in general, there are no highly specialized historical studies of this issue. However, foreign historiography on this topic, especially concerning the top computer videogames with historical themes, is quite significant [2]. The whole array of such historiography can not be analyzed within the framework of one article, but in some studies it is worthwhile to stop.

It is important to recognize video games both in the media environment and in history as part of public history that can expand the line between the fictional video game space and historical research. This is stated in the publication «Privileging Form Over Content: Analyzing Historical Videogames» A. Chapman[3].

Chapman begins his article by saying that he hopes that most historians are at the point where they can take certain historical video games (he calls «Civilization» and «Assassin's Creed» as examples). The author believes that video games should not be thoroughly analyzed since their content or history is historically accurate or inaccurate, but videogames as a specific environment or tool can be used to study. It should be noted that although Chapman suggests that comparing historical instruments is useless, his subsequent conclusions seem much more biased in the field of video games. It goes on to say that the "feeling" of history can often be more informative than specific historical details, and the presence of players passing through historical situations helps to understand more than just tell people how things are happening.

The next publication is «Being Historical» R. Gilles [4]. He thinks about in what sphere the historical theme of video games is popular and where the «history creation» format fits in the general definition of «history». The author is surprised at what happens when player take a topic that is similar to a history that is usually considered a record of the past event and opposes itself or a fictional idea of oneself to it. Like Chapman, he calls «Assassin's Creed» and «Civilization» as examples, where players get theoretical direct control over how the game world is formed. As an example of the foresight and diversity of historical games, Gilles claims that historical games allow players to be «historical» rather than simply «studying history». The author also argues that while there is a gap between factual history and fictional history, somewhere between this split, there is a «popular history», and he says that the games seem to rely on the fact that they focus more on entertainment and storytelling than in education.

The work of Kurt Squire is quite substantiated from the point of view of the applied research of the functioning of computer video games in the educational space [5]. As a social research, he studied the effectiveness of using the video game "Civilization III" to help study history in class. The study envisaged the training of students how to play the game, place them in realistic scenarios based on their civilizations and conduct a discussion after trying to play for discussion both the process of the game and the problems they encounter.

The author noted that the students quickly realized the importance of the various resources needed to advance their civilizations and, consequently, the need of trade and war. Although the game does not correspond to any historical scale, it includes the simulation of «geographical and materialistic processes», which allowed to simulate a historically similar picture.

Squire was surprised during this study that there was a lot of students who began to reproduce historical

events on their own and actively comparing them with actual stories. Many students also began to explore civilization to study new strategies and understand how some groups actually managed a trade policy or war to reproduce their identity.

Consequently, we must state that the question under investigation is, for the most part, the information space of English-language resources, publications, journals, etc.

The purpose of research. On example of several popular video games with historical content to analyze the problems that a developer may encounter when selecting and processing factual material for video games, as well as highlighting the variability of realism and the overall selection of material in historical strategic games. The research of the above problems is based on their distribution into several categories: visual, strategically important and balance. Thus, we will be able to assess the historical authenticity of the selected computer video games genre «historical strategy».

Materials and research results.

When trying to identify the video games academically, researchers have even developed controversial views on how to define «video games» and how to describe a gaming process for a player. In this case, two directions of thinking were created known as «Narratology» [6], or a story, and «Ludology» [7], or interaction.

Narratology defines video games as a narrative environment, similar to movies or books, and so, events can be analyzed in a similar way. The interaction of the player with the game, according to the idea of narratology, does nothing but progress in the game for its ultimate outcome. The ability to reproduce events such as war, and watch how they unfolded, with the ability to change the smallest details to see their specific impact - this is something that one can never hope for another form of media.

Originally in computer historical games, the following topics dominated: World War II, Napoleonic wars, American Civil War. Since the mid-1990s, with the advent of new game genres, strategies began to take shape that addressed a broader historical period, in particular strategies devoted to ancient history, the history of the Middle Ages, and the New Times. Today the dominant theme is still the history of the Second World War, and at the same time the ancient period of world history is actively being considered.[8]

Historical accuracy often remains an unfinished topic when studying the problem of authenticity in video games. This topic is extremely interesting and important and deserves attention. The use of history for the development of video games has led to the creation of the best series of the genre "historical strategy", which has attracted a multimillion audience. Thus, the popularity of video games with the use of historical facts has led to the creation of new, even larger games, and, as a result, has increased the focus on the authenticity of the presentation of historical events.

The material of this research is the computer game video genre «historical strategy». We chose for an ex-

ample the most popular series of them - the Sid Meier's Civilization series by Firaxis games, the Total War series by the Creative Assembly, and Grand Strategy games such as Europa Universalis and Hearts of Iron by Paradox Interactive and others.

If you divide the components of computer video games into general categories, the first is visual changes. These are things that do not have a significant effect on the gameplay. In other words, if these things have been changed, the player may not notice them.

The second category is strategically important issues. This is something that can affect the gameplay to a large extent, covering ideas that are directly related to the gaming model of the world, and how this world is going to behave. Players should present a plausible historical world.

However, real systems, such as diplomacy, including written and unwritten deals, are too complicated to accurately bring them into the game. Approaching real historical events is usually done for playback. A simple example can be found in Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty of 1949, which states that: «an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all...[9]».

The attack on the French Guiana (the main European cosmodrome) in the Europa Universalis game is obviously not real, but an attack on Saint-Pierre and Miquelon (small French fishing islands off the coast of Canada) could have been. Given these assumptions, there are some difficulties in modeling such situations close to historical events. At the same time, the war may be limited or colonial. But in the game of developer Paradox interactive the principle is all or nothing. It is almost impossible to exist a «semi-war», but only a full-scale war that activates alliances. And, for example, in the Supreme Ruler: Cold War video game, the developer tries to create a more realistic situation where there may be countries that sponsor insurgents or spy invading missions (sea or air) without actually being declared war. And the player interactively plunges into the reconstruction of historical events of the times of bipolar confrontation in the second half of the 20th century. But at the same time, the player needs to know the facts of events well in order to understand the psychological aspects of the opponent's behavior in order to achieve success in the game.

The third component is the balance, or system design. Regardless of the developer's intentions or efforts to be fully authentic in displaying data, a tank or ship may have a more authentic look and other features than a combat model, but the game as a means of display requires abstraction. Otherwise, the game quickly becomes bulky, impossible for playback, and generally unpleasant for the consumer.

Now give examples of the visual changes that have no real impact on the game process. Some people can see this difference, some not. As, for example, the Swiss flag uses a 1: 1 aspect ratio, while almost all others use 2: 3. This has an effect on the game interface, because it requires settings for handling different flags. The 1: 1

side flag is displayed correctly, but players begin to assume that the game mistakenly displays this flag because it is different from the other. Also, the player may be confused with the difference between the current flag and the past, if the player doesn't know which flag was before and may make it an error. For example, the modern flag of Canada has nothing to do with the flag until 1921 [10].

In addition, confusion may occur when two flags are very similar, for example the flag of East Germany and West Germany or the USSR and the People's Republic of China, where there are differences, but in the absence of knowledge, one can not notice the difference.

Another area of visualization is the choice of toponyms. Difficulties may arise when using short forms, such as, for example, the United Kingdom, instead of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, etc.

Issues of strategic importance are changes that can significantly affect the historical credibility, namely political and economic components, an attempt to turn the industrial base of the country into an «industrial potential» or to divide the military, industrial production and reproduce the simplified version of the world. However, simplifications are not performed in the interest of reliability, and therefore compromises that developers resort to, cause curiosity. For example, in the game, Indonesia at the time of 1949 is still a Dutch colony, although it actually gained independence in 1945. This was done to increase the curiosity of the game, although it would be more practical to make it independent, as it was in fact, and to forget about the colonial struggle.

In addition, game developers often have discussions about the territory's membership to a particular country. For example, there was a question about the French occupation zone in Germany. The area in which they wanted to keep the time frame was the French territory until 1956, but the developers wanted to continue to leave the territory beyond France, and not Germany. Subsequently, they realized that the change of one event would entail other changes, especially since Saar, which was referred to, was a source of coal and steel.

Resources are another important area in video games. On the one hand, the player can know in which country there are rich reserves of oil or ore and chooses the way for their processing in advance, on the other hand the player may not know this. Placement of resources in the game may be historical or random. But for the successful development of the character in the game, the player needs to know these features. This stimulates the cognitive function of the player. The more nuances the developers take into account and prescribe, the more real facts the player needs to know. For example in «Europa Universalis III», unoccupied colonies can not use resources until they are colonized. This model retains the macroeconomic situation as a whole and leaves the player with a legitimate historical dilemma - which region to colonize more profitable, which adds the game to the effect of unpredictability.

The Europa Universalis series allows players to make complex decisions on all issues, from economics to diplomatic relations, such as royal marriages or military alliances. The changes in historical sense can lead to a lot of strangenesses, such as the fact that Sweden will become a great superpower country or to Irish colonialism in India. In a world, that containing thousands of political systems, with an ever-increasing number of written and unwritten rules, it's simply impossible to correctly model leadership of the country everywhere all at once. The player is entitled to choose, even a democratic state or a dictator. It is impossible to exist if the player can not make a choice in the real world, when several overwhelming elections can determine further events.

Rather than having the game look at politics as built from people, it usually takes the point of view «I am a state», where automation serves to reduce micro-management for a player, rather than acting as a realistic counter to their desire.

Balance is a problem at all times. Subjects in the game have certain costs, some statistics, which determine their different attributes, abilities, and so on. Various military systems use different statistics - it can be labor, money, building slots, production time, and resource types consumed by a certain type of troop or population. Also, any historical strategy reflects national assets such as industrial base, economic assets, military potential, etc. The importance of these things is that by their destruction or capture, there are consequences that are then reflected on the population and the country. The biggest problem of balance is the imbalance and unpredictability of the world and events. Sometimes it is impossible to predict which solution is better than the other. To improve the situation, the game introduces statistics that help stabilize the situation and achieve a balance between the historical events and the possibilities of video games. Before the developer, among other things, there are legal and social issues in the event that the territory is controversial or under the control of one of the factions present in the game. It's always worth remembering that the real world can not be programmed like computer video games. However, historical facts can not be changed, unlike the possibility of varying events in time and space in the game world.

Among the problems of balance and systematization there are units that simplify the understanding of the game. So, for example, to make «Total War: Shogun 2» simpler in terms of gameplay and balance among troops, the samurai units use swords, while the vast majority of samurai during the Sengoku period used a bow or spear in combat, and kept the sword as a minor and almost last weapon. Including samurai units with swords emerged from the popular idea of samurai fencer. Despite some inaccuracies such as the above, the level of research and attention to the details that have been achieved by the developers allow players to immerse themselves in a very detailed picture of Japan of the XVI century.

Creating global changes in the historical scale may be interesting. But most games of this kind also include a script that allows players to reproduce certain moments from history and actively interact with the resource without significant deviations, which may have a limited effect on the final result. Experiments with these games can help those who are not familiar with the history of a certain time to understand the importance of specific events.

The creator of the first historical strategy on a global scale Civilization Sid Meier said: «To the game was interesting, details should not be too deep or abstruse [11]». Historical information for the making of this game he scored in children's libraries. This view was shared by many developers of video games with historical content. However, former players-children grew up. And soon, among the players began to appear discussions and comments about the historical inconsistencies. This forced game developers to hire professional historians to write video game scripts to create new video games with the reproduction of the exact details of the relevant historical era and to improve the quality of existing video games of historical themes. For these purposes some games, for example Sid Meier's Civilization series, have a some sort of an in-game encyclopedia (like the games' «Civilopedia») or other way of giving more information about the history related to units, buildings, events ingame etc.[12] It was in the game «Civilization» that the first «tree of technologies» appeared with which improvements are being made in many areas of life. During development in this iconic game it is possible to change the structure and form of government, for example, to carry out a civilization from the tribal system and feudalism to democracy. Each form of government has its own specialization. For example, fascism gives advantages in the war, and theocracy in the spread of religion.

Instead of appealing to physical skills, in strategic games, the player must use the intellectual skills to achieve victory. Due to their abstract quality, strategic games have helped consolidate the notion of games not as formalistic systems, but rather a competitive framework with clearly defined goals in which all the possible movements of players are bound by rules and ultimate aims.

Conclusions. As shown in this paper, historical authenticity can be an interesting and important topic for discussion, which needs further attention and research. Developers are faced with many problems and challenges when creating strategies and other historical video games in general, as public opinion about the game and the events played in it depends on it. Players are growing with games, and over the years they start to require more and more detailed and historical accuracy of video games, which forces developers to hire professional historians for consultations.

The video game industry has grown into one of the largest forms of media in the world and has found its use not only in the entertainment field, but also as a learning instrument. As video capabilities improve and

develop graphic applications, video games appeal to the replay of real historical events. This move to realism and accuracy also leads to an increase in the number of historical studies performed to reflect the accuracy of the content of the game. Thus, the growing interest in historical accuracy has led to the fact that some video games are now created with great attention to detail, through careful research and the use of historical advisers, who working in the field of academic history and public history.

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Сапицька О.М. Аналіз історичної достовірності фактологічного матеріалу у комп'ютерних відеоіграх жанру «історична стратегія»

Різноманітність жанрів медіа обумовлює велику кількість об'єктів, крізь які можна відобразити популярну історію. Крім розважальної цінності, вчителі та науковці почали брати до уваги освітню цінність історично-тематичних фільмів та відеоігор. Навіть якщо ігри і реконструкції втрачають в історичному методі, вони компенсують це, стимулюючи історичну цікавість. Із відповідним критичним апаратом ігри можуть стати потужним інструментом для викладання історії поряд з традиційними освітніми підходами.

На прикладі декількох популярних комп'ютерних відеоігор з історичним контентом проаналізована історичну достовірність певних історичних фактів, що відображені у середовищі обраних комп'ютерних відеоігор жанру «історична стратегія».

Ключові слова: академічна історія, комп'ютерні відеоігри, історична стратегія, публічна історія, історичний контент, реконструкція

Сапицкая Е.М. Анализ исторической достоверности фактологического материала в компьютерных видеоиграх жанра «историческая стратегия»

Разнообразие жанров медиа обуславливает большое количество объектов, через которые можно отобразить популярную историю. Кроме развлекательной ценности, ученые и преподаватели стали учитывать образовательную ценность историко-тематических фильмов и видеоигр. Даже если игры и реконструкции теряют в достоверности исторической фактологии, они компенсируют это, стимулируя заинтересованность в изучении исторического процесса в общем. С соответствующим критическим аппаратом, компьютерные видео игры могут стать ценным инструментом для преподавания истории наряду с традиционными образовательными подходами.

На примере нескольких популярных компьютерных видеоигр с историческим контентом проанализирована историческая достоверность определенных исторических фактов, отраженных в среде избранных компьютерных видеоигр жанра «историческая стратегия».

Ключевые слова: академическая история, компьютерные видеоигры, историческая стратегия, публичная история, исторический контент, реконструкция

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Стаття подана 04.04.2019.

УДК 94(477) : 341.485] “19”

THE IMPACT OF THE HOLODOMOR OF 1932-1933 ON PERSONAL RELATIONS IN THE UKRAINIAN SOCIETY

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ВПЛИВ ГОЛОДОМОРУ 1932-1933 РОКІВ НА ОСОБИСТІ ВІДНОСИНИ В УКРАЇНСЬКОМУ СУСПІЛЬСТВІ

Сергієнко С. Ю.

The Holodomor of 1932-1933 is one of the most tragic pages in modern history of Ukraine. This tragedy had terrible consequences and led to the death of millions of Ukrainians. To date, there are quite a large number of writings devoted to this catastrophic event. At the same time, there are no writings that would set the task of highlighting the impact of the Holodomor on personal relations in Ukrainian society.

The article deals with the process of the Holodomor impact on personal relations in Ukraine based on literature, media materials and archive documents. The author came to the conclusion that the Holodomor had a significant impact on personal relations in Ukrainian society and, above all, on its rural segment, which constituted its absolute majority. The Holodomor also significantly changed personal contacts in urban communities. Sincerity in relationships diminished, traditional cordiality significantly degraded, in many cases it was replaced by cynicism and rudeness. The degree of honesty in personal relationships also decreased dramatically. Stealing, which was unusual occurrence in Ukrainian rural regions before the Holodomor, became commonplace. This resulted in distrust in personal relations. Traditional honesty of the Ukrainian village was destroyed by the Holodomor, or rather, by the regime that gave birth to it. Personal relations in the family also changed. Mother-child relations became characterized by hitherto unheard of insincerity. The distrust caused by the terrible famine showed up also in relations between adult children and parents. Confidence in neighbors decreased and hence also the level of personal relations. Collectivization and the Holodomor paralyzed the strength of the Ukrainian rural community, which was the guardian of personal relations in the countryside. This could not but affect development of the society as a whole. The Ukrainian intelligentsia tried to preserve the age-old traditions of its ancestors, but it was under constant pressure from the regime, which from time to time turned into cruel repressions.

Keywords: *Holodomor; power; personal relations; national character.*

Introduction. Personal relations in society depend on many factors. These are age-old traditions, national character, political regime, wars, revolutions, economic

development, religion, etc. Among these factors we can name a famine, which raged three times in Ukraine in the 20th century. The level of negative consequences for the society was different in each case. The most terrible consequences were due to the famine of 1932-1933, called the Holodomor. Historians have still been arguing how many people the Holodomor killed, but none of the experts doubts that this number reaches millions of victims. That is, historians agree that it was a terrible phenomenon. There are many papers dedicated to the Holodomor study, among them we can distinguish works by S. Kulchytskyi and V. Marochko [1]. These papers based on numerous documents and memoirs highlight the picture of terror by the famine and the consequences of this phenomenon. At the same time, the authors did not set a priority task to highlight the impact of the Holodomor on personal relations in the Ukrainian society. It also applies to papers of other researchers studying the Holodomor. The author of this article sets such a task within the scope of the given work and will try to highlight what impact the Holodomor had on personal relations of the Ukrainians.

Presentation of the research basic material.

First of all, it should be noted that any significant phenomenon has its impact on the society both in a short-term perspective, which eventually loses its power, and in a long-term perspective, which lasts for a long time and changes national character. In one of his short stories, a talented American writer D. London described how hungry people who had been in a deserted place constantly tried to hide food after returning to the society where there was plenty of it. Although there was no threat to be left without food. It can be argued that it was a temporary phenomenon that passed soon, but the attitude of these people towards food seemed to have changed for their entire lives and had an impact on their characters. This is a long-term impact. The writer M. Kolosov, who spent the first twenty years of his life (1923-1943) in Ukrainian Avdiivka near Donetsk, de-

scribed the similar impact of the famine with autobiographical authenticity. He said that his relatives began to dry rusks and put them into a large bag after the famine of 1921. The second time they began to dry rusks after the Holodomor. But even during safe years from the point of view of food availability, they did not stop doing this [2, p. 107-114]. This is evidenced by the teacher of History M. Burlieieva, who still remembers a metal barrel of wheat that her parents hid in the attic in Zhytomyr oblast after the Holodomor in case of a new famine. She believes that the fear of this experience haunted the witnesses of the tragedy to the end of their lives [3, p. 13].

A person who has experienced a famine, changes his/her views not only on food. If we take into account that millions have passed through the Holodomor, seen numerous deaths from hunger alongside them, this could not help affecting their character, and hence national character. Changes in national character are not specifically recorded in documents, but they can be traced in some nuances of these documents. At the same time, in memoirs of eyewitnesses, there are many facts that show people's character and make it possible to follow its evolution. National character, as it has been mentioned before, is an important factor in personal relations. Certainly, it is subjected to changes, but its deep-seated traits change very slowly. One of my colleagues told me about such a case of teaching the History of Ukraine. During the seminar the teacher read a description of a Zaporozhian Cossack's behaviour made more than a hundred years ago by a well-known historian D. Yavornytskyi, namely, «a real Cossack always looked somehow gloomy, sullenly, met strangers unfriendly at first, answered questions very reluctantly, but later became a little softer, his face became more friendly during the conversation, bright and piercing eyes were lit up by fire...» [4, p. 173]. During the discussion, students came to the conclusion that these features were very similar to the modern Ukrainians'. Obviously, some basics of national character are slowly subjected to changes, which makes personal relations in the society more or less stable. However, social cataclysms cannot but leave their imprints on personal relations. The Holodomor was a cataclysm. It became a consequence of transformations in the society, which the Bolsheviks started, and, first of all, the so-called collectivization, which was a distortion of the idea of agricultural cooperation. None of the experts will deny that the cooperative agriculture is much more efficient than small, uncooperative, at least because it can use modern technology. But still, the main factor in the production success is people. They need to be motivated and, first of all, financially. If there is no such interest, people will not work devotedly. However, the collective farming essentially revived serfdom, when the state, as once a landowner, determined the peasant's share, but a landowner had to take care of his peasants all their lives. The state did not guarantee this. In fact, the state promised some income to peasants, which generally was very small. Therefore, it was not surprising that the labour

productivity was very low in collective farms. It was several times lower than the labour productivity in agriculture of western countries. The Soviet statistics had to recognize that fact as well. The question arose how the Bolsheviks succeeded in imposing their will on the absolute majority of the population - the peasantry - under such conditions. Then the Bolsheviks skilfully used their tactics of engaging allies. They were lumpenized peasants and a great part of the youth. The lumpens were attracted by material benefits, the youth - by successful propaganda of happy future. It is known that in the village there have always been the rich and the poor. The village community was focused on the rich. They were envied and copied. It is a human's nature. The Bolsheviks decided to split the peasant community. According to their plan, personal relations between the rich and the poor should have become openly hostile. To achieve this purpose, the whole propaganda apparatus of the party-state was involved. Those who read newspapers of the late 1920s - early 1930s, knew that there was no article or report from the village in which the kulaks were not condemned in the most brutal tones. That propaganda campaign was effective. If earlier less wealthy peasants' attitude to their wealthy countrymen had been respectful and even humble, then with the beginning of the process of dekulakization the situation began to change dramatically. That was a fact from the life of a village in central Ukraine, described in the essay by the correspondent of the Republican newspaper «Communist» in January 1930. The process of dekulakization began. Local activists came to the peasant's house and read the resolution of the village council, which ended with the words, «Everything in the house and in the yard is ours, the state's, and you are immediately thrown out with your whole family to the four winds... Right now... And never set your kulak foot here anymore. Kulak Bilokon frowns, «Well, we've reached the point. Shall we go cadging?...» «And it's your business now», Odarka (activist) answers. «You've never taken care of us». She lists all the sins of the kulak. Bilokon is the actual head of the church, constantly turns women against collectivization, a dozen heads of cattle had passed through his hands, which has recently been killed mercilessly. He might have been planning to run away... It is interesting to see how the kulak goods will be distributed. There are various gossips. Some people sympathize, the kulak henchmen intentionally play on heartstrings, «shed» tears. Some old man whispers, «My God, what they're doing! Taking everything and driving them out to the four winds... How can this poor man live now?...» Aman drops a phrase, «Let them rob. They will end up in a bad way...» Another man in ragged boots cries, «That's right, now it's their end, the blood-suckers». It is heard in the crowd, «It should have been more ... It seems there are still some things in the attic. Was it that much? What about a tribal bull... Where did he get it? And a good bekeshka, a new black coat...» [5]. Even based on the essay published in the Bolshevik newspaper, it is clear that not all the peasants support the policy of dekulakization that cast a bone among

people. But «men in ragged boots» are satisfied. Their personal attitude to the countryman offended by the authorities is unequivocal – hatred. Thus, a stratum of allies in the village was formed. But the point was that some of the «men in ragged boots» could later become kulak henchmen, since they could not be kulaks at all. They also felt hatred of some villagers. That is, hatred became the cornerstone of personal relations. It turned out that anyone could have been declared an enemy of the people, and that led to caution in personal relations, which undoubtedly was imprinted on these relations. Perhaps it was less relevant to ordinary people, but people with some experience in public life made conclusions from the existing realities. Even then, that social stratum became confident that frankness in personal communication might end up in a bad way. It should be said that exile of hundreds of thousands of hard-working people from the village as a result of dekulakization could not but affect not only the productivity of agriculture, but also personal relations of the peasants. If in the second half of the 1920s the Ukrainian village had been known as wealthy according to eyewitnesses, and personal relations had been human, then the beginning of collectivization and dekulakization was a turning point.

A famous sculptor I. Honchar recalled how in 1927 he travelled on foot in the present Cherkasy oblast. «People willingly answered my questions, invited me to their houses, treated with everything best. In Ukraine, at least in our land, the traveller was the dearest guest, and that guest was always treated with the best food, even different delicacies were given for his way» [6, p. 34]. A personal translator of J. Stalin V. Berezhkov, recalling those years, wrote, «In every village on a hot summer day, in any case in Ukraine, one could knock on any house, ask for a drink, and you were given a jar of cold milk, a piece of brown homemade bread, and even a piece of fat or a piece of cut comb honey. They treated «with all heart», sincerely, and refused to take money ... And in that land, where everything breathed in extraordinary wealth, two years of violent collectivization led to a terrible famine that took millions of lives» [7, p. 67].

The collectivization and the famine that became the Holodomor dramatically changed the relations of people in the village. The new economic policy (NEP) made it possible for a significant number of peasants to become wealthy, but in the late 1920s - early 1930s, forced collectivization made them virtually slaves. On the other hand, there were some of those people who had actively established the Soviet power, but remained poor in the years of the NEP. It embittered them, imprinted on personal relations in the village. D. Goychenko, who directly participated in bread requisition of the Ukrainian peasants at the beginning of the 1930s, suggested that the stratum was a solid support in bread requisition, «They were all extremely poor, offended, angry and ready for any business» [8, p. 169]. This is a portrait of one of them, «Then Horobets appeared. He was wearing a threadbare jacket without even a shirt. One leg was in a torn boot crossed over by

a rope, and the other one – in the same galoshe. The head was decorated with an old red cap, which was boldly askew. Horobets had a brave look and twisted his lush moustache from time to time. He might be forty years old judging by his appearance. As he said, his family consisted of seven people, who were cold and hungry, because the collective farm did not provide fuel; therefore, the family does not leave the house for days, and warms up each other. Horobets said he hoped that the collective farm would be better, but it turned out to be very bad». When the representative of the authorities asked if Horobets was ready to help them (it meant to take bread from peasants), he answered, «I am always ready to help, but I also should not be forgotten, as it was before, because I had fought, shed blood and now I live in such poverty. The Soviet authorities must be ashamed of me, but no one hears me, neither sees, nor wants to know». Similar activists «just burned with a desire to report more of such information (where peasants hide bread), obviously, first of all, waiting for a reward» [8, p. 167, 169]. During bread requisition, personal relations between peasants changed dramatically. The notion of decency in relations between people was distorted by the authorities' pressure. So, during bread requisition, one of the activists told the authorized district committee, «I am in a collective farm, where I haven't received any grain for my work. I have two pounds of barley and ready to give it, like everything else, and I'll give it away right now, but do you know where my bread is from? I borrowed it, or rather, that Macohon, who has bread hidden, gave it to me. I don't know what you are going to do with him, but it's a very good and honest person. He isn't very wealthy, we can say that he is a typical average peasant, but he has already given the state more than two hundred pounds, and besides, I know a dozen collective farmers, which he simply pitied and gave a sack of grain for their children... Giving bread, he told everyone, «If you have, you will give it back, and if no – forget about it». Here (among the gathered activists), except for me, there are two others who received bread from him». The one of the two named said, «Speak for yourself. Did he give it to you and to me because of his poverty? He gave what he had in abundance. You don't know what he had in his mind. He may have decided, «Instead of giving it to the state for free, I will better give it to the poor, who can then protect me», but, under the guise of this help to the poor, he decided to hide other bread, and when they are going to take his bread now, he answers, «I've given it to the poor». Such a good-doer! I would tear him to bits». The representative of the district committee generally supported that point of view, but made some clarifications of the authorities, «Nobody knows what real intentions Makohon has. If he had not hidden bread, there would not have been any talk of him. I fully understand a friend who is sorry for his benefactor, but we are political people and we are facing a great public task – it's a fight for bread ... So, should we think if we had to dekulakize even our own father to collect the needed amount of grain?... I renounced my father and my whole

family for the sake of communism... My father has cursed me for this. As you see, I didn't have mercy for my own father... It is possible not to feel any hatred and even sympathize with a person, but when the interests of the state demand, then it is necessary to sacrifice him». This justification of sacrificing their benefactors was accepted by activists with great pleasure [8, p. 172-173]. So, with the help of propaganda and material gain for a part of the village community, the authorities created an atmosphere of mutual hatred in the village. On this basis, personal relations were formed in the early 1930s. Certainly, not everyone welcomed that foundation. In the Ukrainian village there were age-old traditions of personal relations, based on mutual courtesy, tolerance, respect for the elderly, etc. In the village from time immemorial, people kindly greeted each other and taught their children to do so. A child greeted all friends and strangers on the street. I. Honchar, being a young man in the 1920s and coming to Kyiv from his native village, wondered why not all the passers-by responded to his greeting, which he addressed to every man [6, p. 34]. It was violation of the rules of personal communication for him. However, collectivization and the Holodomor made adjustments. A well-known dissident of the Soviet period General P. G. Hryhorenko recalled how he arrived in his native village in the south of Ukraine at the end of 1931 and saw «deserted streets of the village. Several people who I met passed me by indifferently, without even responding to my greeting (a completely impossible incident for the former Ukrainian village)» [9]. It was a direct result of the village ruin. The Holodomor of next 1932 distorted personal relations among people even more. It happened not only in the village. The talented Ukrainian poet V. Sosiura, referring to 1932-1933, wrote that starving peasants came to him in Kharkiv at the writer's house «Slovo», «And the half-dead eyes of the sufferers of my people looked in my tear-filled soul with a severe reproach, and their torment terribly deepened in it to explode with a hypomanic fire in 1934». Due to such communication, the poet had a nervous breakdown, which reflected in his personal communication with others [10, p. 256, 262]. It was quite possible to admit that it led to nervous breakdowns of many people and reflected on their personal communication in future.

The Holodomor greatly intensified cynicism in personal relations. This was the case for all the population strata: from artistic intelligentsia to ordinary collective farmers. When, for example, half-starved writers stood in a queue for lunch in the dining room on the ground floor of a multi-storey building, the wife of one of the successful writers said with «ridiculous superiority» from the first floor, «And we give such dinner to our puppies». V. Sosiura, who recorded that fact, writes, «I hated her for that phrase, and when she was repressed, I thought, «Yes, that kulak deserved it!» [10, p. 256]. That is, malevolence, which never left personal relations, was intensified under the impact of the Holodomor. Cynicism gained unprecedented scope in personal relations. Thus, in Kyiv oblast during the Holodomor,

unindifferent people began to help the young man who was dying on the road from hunger. A young man in the uniform came up to them and with a contemptuous smile said, «Why are you tinkering with him? You won't save everybody. He'll die in half an hour». The young man was the deputy head of the MTS political department on party-mass work [8, p. 229]. A local activist in Vinnytsia village of Stepanivka liked to sing «The International» - «Arise, ye workers from your slumber...». When the villagers found him on the road, dying from hunger, they shouted not without sarcasm, «Hey, Matviy! Arise ye worker...» [11, p. 290]. Matviy could not get up. Similar personal relations were generated by the atmosphere created by the authorities with the help of hatred and the Holodomor.

The age-old traditions in relations of parents and children, close relatives were destroyed. Children threw away their old parents from the house in order not to feed them. Sometimes they even killed them. One of the Ukrainian peasants said that her adult son told his parents, «If you can't get anything, go away, I can hardly look at my family». Then father, who was in the collective farm, decided to ask its head - his nephew - for help, but his nephew drove him out. When the old did not leave the house, son strangled his father at night and drove his mother away. Mother tried to justify her son, «We used to live quite friendly. But the man (son) was simply in despair. God knows, maybe, he could not bear his father's suffering, who was also in boils, and he decided to put an end to his suffering, and then he could have strangled me as well. But I would have been happy. Why do I live in the world?... Here many people killed their parents. But there were those who killed their children. But it was done not because of evil, but because it was unbearably difficult to look at sufferings of their relatives» [8, p. 246-247]. We can only guess how people who have killed their parents will communicate in future. There were a lot of such people during the Holodomor. No one gathered statistics and it is impossible to find it out precisely now.

The documents and testimonies of survivors of 1932-1933 indicate that cannibalism was rather widespread. It is possible to provide numerous facts of cannibalism given in memoirs. It was «in many places» like P. Shelest wrote [12, p. 65], «there was massive cannibalism», I. Maystrenko recalled [13, p. 253]. If I. Maystrenko may be accused of hating that authorities and thus exaggerating, then P. Shelest occupied one of the highest places in the power hierarchy, and in this case it was hard to accuse him. The fact that this phenomenon has reflected on personal relations of people not in the best way is doubtless. A person carrying such a burden in his/her soul cannot be in normal relations with others. A man who does not have a burden in his/her soul after cannibalism is terrible for society. There were obviously such people. They also did not make positive changes in personal communication.

New signs of destruction of communication traditions appeared even in the most trusting relations of a small child and his mother. A little boy in Luhansk oblast

was suffering from hunger, and once his friend offered him to steal a medallion hanging under icons at his home for a half a loaf of bread. The boy did it after some hesitation. He was growing and his body needed food. Then, as an adult, he realized that under the hood of the medallion there was a photo of his grandmother in her youth, which was very dear to his mother. The boy was Mykola Rudenko. He became a famous public figure, philosopher, poet. His conscience was torturing him for that act during his whole life [14]. It is possible to admit that other children who had committed similar actions were also tortured by conscience, which could not but affect their personal communication. We could admit that some of them were not tortured at all and it also affected their personal relations with people. In any case, the Holodomor had a great impact on interrelations of people in this sense as well.

In the Ukrainian village, where theft used to be a rare phenomenon, it became widespread. As D. Hoychenko emphasized, «When people were facing starvation, they began to fight for life with all the available means, without regarding the interests of neighbours or relatives, and, moreover, strangers. Theft has become a mass phenomenon. Neither cow, nor sheep, nor pig could spend even one night in a shed. Therefore, those who managed to keep some cattle, including cows, kept it in the house where they lived. It was from Kyiv to Chyhyryn and from Uman to the Dnipro. And so it was all over Ukraine...» [8, p. 248]. In addition, there was a situation in which a thief being in prison had more chances to survive than a farmer who had been robbed by him. Thieves daily received three hundred grams of bread and some kind of brewery in jail, but the authorities did not guarantee anything to villagers [13, p. 254]. It was during those years when the fundamentals of the strongly negative attitude of the Ukrainian peasantry towards theft were destroyed. Certainly, theft was not welcomed, but taking into account the circumstances, it was justified in some cases. Theft of the collective farm property did not usually cause condemnation of peasants. A writer of the Soviet era V. Smyrnov gave a picture of the peasants' life of Ukrainian Polissia after collectivization and the Holodomor. He described how those who carried grain taken from the collective farm field in their pockets or bosom to their starving families were caught, «And except for those who are from the district, there is a neighbour-friend in the ambush. You cannot get rid of him; he has been bearing malice for a long time, maybe since the collectivization or even the land distribution. The village has long been in mutual distrust and discord, it even seems that somebody wants people to be hostile to each other. Such a discord, fear that doesn't let people live...» [15, p. 5]. V. Smyrnov was completely loyal to that-time authorities. It was proved by his works, and therefore he did not «blacken» the reality. Before the Holodomor, any theft was usually considered to be dishonour in the Ukrainian village.

It should be noted that the Holodomor increased the factor of hypocrisy in relations among people. Espe-

cially among those who held a more or less important place in public life. That conversation took place in Kyiv during the Holodomor. People came out of the cinema and, as it usually happened, they shared the impressions of the film. A young woman said, «What is the meaning of these beautifully made pictures, if in reality there is severe famine?» In front of her, the Red Army commander walked arm-in-arm with a woman. He stopped and asked harshly, «Where have you seen the famine?» The woman was not confused and asked the counter question, «Don't you see? And what are these people crawling through the streets and dying under your feet? There are more of them than the population in Kyiv» «Let it be known to you», the commander instructed, «that these are idlers and saboteurs who want to do with the collective farms the same as kulaks you saw in the cinema were trying to do. I do not advise you to use some kulak provocative gossips about supposedly existing famine. Only vicious enemies of the people can imagine that there may be a famine in our country, and thanks to such talks I can send you to one place that is right for you» [8, p. 271-272]. It was impossible to admit that the commander of the Red Army did not know about the famine. It was known to everyone. One thing remains – it is hypocrisy. It was generated by the fear of losing a post, place in the society and even getting into prison.

A notable factor in the transformation of personal relations was the mass migration of peasants to cities. It began due to the policy of industrialization. Surely, the conditions were difficult at factories and building, but when the collectivization and the Holodomor caused by it began, then, as R. Conquest wrote, «The recruitment of manpower for industry has stopped being a problem, but another one has emerged - how to prevent depopulation of the village» [11, p. 190]. Urban culture is different from the rural one everywhere. Ukraine was no exception. Generally poorly-qualified peasants, having come to the city as manpower, tried to adjust to the requirements of urban culture. Taking into account the fact that at industrial enterprises the dominant language was Russian, identified with urban culture, and since 1933, the «Ukrainization» began to fade dramatically, then peasants, trying to fit into urban culture, began to speak Russian. It was, certainly, surzhyk, but it was a very noticeable change in personal communication. Though that factor related to the process of industrialization, first of all, but the Holodomor also had a significant impact on it by driving masses of peasants to the city, depriving them from their ability to rely on the traditions of the Ukrainian culture, the bastion of which the village had been for centuries. As the Holodomor practically destroyed the Ukrainian classical peasantry, it gave the authorities an opportunity to openly oppose the «Ukrainization». If before collectivization a peasant had felt as a full owner in his native village, then, having come to the city to live from hand to mouth, he felt his inferiority and behaved respectively.

One cannot avoid mentioning increase in brutality in personal relations, which had begun long before the

Holodomor, but the latter greatly aggravated that phenomenon, because in the fight for survival, animal instincts begin to dominate over a human-being that generate cynicism and rudeness. Friendliness was perceived as a manifestation of weakness. No wonder the language included the concept of «strong language». Such «strong language» could only be used by a strong, brutal person. Who wanted to be weak in the brutal world?

One can not omit the fact that the Holodomor also affected personal relations among the authorities. Those people in power who could not accept the fact that their people die and frankly opposed the robbery of peasants were subjected to repressions. Others adopted the policy of destroying people as a matter of course for attainment of utopian ideas. So, personal communication in their circle was such as if nothing terrible had happened. In December 1932, in a personal letter to Stalin, the leader of the Bolsheviks of Ukraine, S. Kosior wrote, «Increased grain collecting can be achieved by a significant increase and improvement of work despite the great difficulties» [16, p. 21]. It was easy-written when the famine led to mass deaths. It was a rebirth of the Middle Age traditions, when the provincial leader, reporting on the state of affairs in his possessions, did not talk about negative phenomena, so as not to annoy the ruler.

Conclusions. Thus, it can be stated that the Holodomor had a significant impact on personal relations in the Ukrainian society and, above all, on its rural part, which constituted an absolute majority of the nation's population. But the Holodomor made significant changes in personal communication in urban communities. Sincerity in personal relations decreased, traditional friendliness greatly degraded, in many cases it was replaced by cynicism and rudeness. When the Ukrainian cities were filled by the crowds of hungry peasants, city policemen, who were not very rich as well, could not treat them kindly. However, a friendly attitude without material assistance would have seemed to be more like humiliation. The level of honesty in personal relations also decreased dramatically. Theft that used to be a rare phenomenon before the Holodomor in the Ukrainian village became a common thing. It led to distrust in personal relations. Traditional honesty of the Ukrainian village was broken by the Holodomor, or rather, by the power that gave birth to it. The authorities cynically robbed the peasants, pushing them to rob their neighbour's. The authorities cansocan I. Personal relations in the family were also changed. Unprecedented insincerity appeared in mother-child relations, when the child was forced to secretly steal from his home. Distrust caused by the terrible famine was manifested in relations of adult children and their parents. The level of trust in neighbours decreased, and hence the level of their personal relations. The collectivization and the Holodomor paralyzed the power of the Ukrainian rural community, which was guarding the personal relations in the village. This could not but affect development of the society as a whole. The Ukrainian intelligentsia tried to preserve the traditions of its ancestors, and it was under constant pressure of the authorities, which turned in-

to cruel repression from time to time. But this is a topic for the other study.

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Сергієнко С. Ю. Вплив Голодомору 1932-1933 років на особисті відносини в українському суспільстві.

На основі літератури, матеріалів засобів масової інформації та архівних документів розглянуто процес впливу Голодомору на особисті відносини в Україні. Наведені чисельні факти такого впливу. Зокрема, зосереджено увагу на впровадженні владою атмосфери ненависті в сільській громаді за допомогою пропаганди і матеріальних заохочень. Зроблено обґрунтований висновок, що Голодомор значно спотворив особисті взаємини людей і це позначилося на розвитку суспільства. Запропонований напрямок подальшого дослідження проблеми.

Ключові слова: Голодомор; влада; особисті відносини; національний характер.

Сергієнко С. Ю. Влияние Голодомора 1932-1933 годов на личные отношения в украинском обществе.

На основе литературы, материалов средств массовой информации и архивных документов рассмотрен процесс влияния Голодомора на личные отношения в Украине. Приведены многочисленные факты такого влияния. В частности, сосредоточено внимание на внедрении властью атмосферы ненависти среди сельского населения с помощью пропаганды и материальных поощрений. Сделан обоснованный вывод, что Голодомор значительно исказил личные взаимоотношения людей и это сказалось на развитии общества. Предложено направление дальнейшего исследования проблемы.

Ключевые слова: Голодомор; власть; личные отношения; национальный характер.

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Стаття подана: 14.04.2019.

УДК 378:94(477)

THE BEGINNING OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN UKRAINE AFTER INDEPENDENCE

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ПОЧАТОК РОЗВИТКУ ВИЩОЇ ОСВІТИ В УКРАЇНІ ПІСЛЯ НЕЗАЛЕЖНОСТІ

Січкаренко Г.Г.

The article analyzes the processes of formation of state policy in the field of higher education in the first years after Ukraine gained independence. On the basis of archival documents, the problems of reorganization of public administration bodies of education, the first normative acts of higher education reform, optimization of the network of universities, their accreditation, the creation of higher educational institutions of non-state ownership, the adoption of the State National Program "Education" Ukraine of the XXI century", etc. are considered.

It is to be noted that, due to inconsistent state policy, economic crisis, educational reforms were carried out mainly by administrative methods and were controversial. The crisis processes in higher education were a real manifestation of the socio-economic crisis of the society of that period.

Keywords: higher education, higher school, higher education institution, educational reform, accreditation of universities.

Introduction. Higher education is one of the main social institutions whose significance is increasing in the modern world. It meets the basic need of society in the qualitative social reproduction of the population and should become the basis of the intellectual progress of the state.

Higher school in Ukraine is still in a state of reform. In the message of the President of Ukraine to the Verkhovna Rada it is noted that the domestic educational system today needs to be substantially updated in accordance with the needs of social development. About a quarter of Ukrainians consider it important to improve education in society, and more than a quarter assigns them to the top priority [1, p. 428, 429].

The current state of higher education is largely influenced by the processes of its reform, which took place in the early 1990's since independence. Therefore, consideration of the formation of state policy in the field of higher education after 1991 is relevant from a theoretical and practical point of view, allows us to understand more deeply today's educational problems.

Analysis of research and publications. This problem is to a certain extent considered in the writings of Yu. M. Alekseev, V.P. Andrushchenko, V.I. Astachova, V.S. Zhuravsky, and others. However, archival documents are not used in them.

The purpose of this intelligence is theoretical generalization of the historical experience of transformation of

higher education in the conditions of the beginning of the development of independent Ukraine.

Research results. The state-building process in Ukraine began with the formation of the main branches of power and the division of powers between them. This process took place in a tense political struggle and took on a protracted nature, reflected in educational policy.

The key change in the system of higher education should be the elimination of the ministries of public education and higher education and the creation of the Ministry of Education of Ukraine on their basis (Presidential Decree of 25.02.1992). PM became a minister P. Talanchuk (1991-1994). The union of ministries, in our opinion, had mixed ambiguities. On the one hand, the possibility of implementing a unified policy in all branches of education increased, on the other - the pace of restructuring of higher education slowed down, launched in 1987. The newly created ministry should focus on the urgent needs of secondary education, which the state guarantees for every citizen.

In general, the specifics of public administration bodies in the first years after independence were their constant reorganization, which influenced the pace and quality of transformations in the industry. New tasks were attempted to solve the old mechanisms without changing the style of leadership that remained of the previous period. The main educational reforms fell on the period of acute economic crisis, which distorted their course and results. The question arose about the survival of the educational sphere, although some quantitative indicators, in particular through the commercialization of higher education, grew.

Ukraine inherited a network of institutions of higher education (ZVO), which did not meet the interests and needs of the country. This was related to the territorial location, departmental affiliation, vocational training, the nomenclature of specialties, national filling, etc. The largest number of OWOs (56.8%) was located in industrial centers: Kyiv, Kharkiv, Odessa, Lviv, Dnipropetrovsk, Donetsk regions, where 63.1% of all students studied. In such areas as Volyn, Transcarpathian, Zhytomyr, Kiev, Chernihiv, Chernivtsi, there was only one or two ZVO [7, Ark. 78, 89]. This negatively reflected on the effectiveness of the use of specialists, the possibility of self-realization of the population, development of regions, etc.

The imbalance between the training of specialists (especially engineers) and the labor market was threatening. Only in Donetsk ZVO the number of graduates in the specialties metallurgy, automation of technological processes and production exceeded the needs of the economy in 4 times, agrochemistry and soil science - 3 times, etc. [7, Ark. 84]. There was no scientifically based prediction of the country's needs in the specialists. Under the new economic conditions, contractual obligations to the production of ZOO did not operate. ZOO were interested in inflow of entrants and opened prestigious professions regardless of the needs of the labor market, which deepened the disparities in the training of specialists and the needs of the labor market.

The reform of the higher school was complicated by the uncertainty of the state's development goals. On the one hand, the media popularized the idea of an ideal model for organizing learning in England, the United States, Germany, France, and so on. On the other hand, the Ukrainian government has often tried to follow in the wake of Russian educational norm-setting. All this prevented the formation of its own strategy for the development of higher education.

In order to develop higher education in the first years of independence, the Ministry of Education issued an order "On urgent measures in the system of education" (03.06.1992), which referred to the mechanisms for bringing education to the level of international standards. Among the urgent issues was the development of a fundamentally new type of system and content of education; accreditation of ZOO; subordination of the ZNO of former Union departments; development of an alternative education system; attestation and awarding of academic degrees to teachers, restoration of the contract system, the installation before 01.09.1992 of payment for teachers for teaching in the Ukrainian language, etc. [5, Ark. 8-15]. Not all decisions were thought out and tested, which could not give the desired effect.

In November 1992 among the main problems of the branch of the Ministry of Education was highlighted: low education of the population (by the number of specialists with higher education of the USSR occupy 9th place among the republics); imbalance in the training of specialists in engineering and humanities; the lack of a legal basis for the training of specialists [7, Ark. 78-85]. The task of optimizing the network of higher education institutions was set. In a short period, not always justified, dozens of institutions have received the status of universities and academies. This, on the one hand, increased the accessibility and prestige of higher education in the regions, on the other - undermined the economy of the industry, the authority of higher education.

There has been a sharp decline in the budget financing of the ZOO. Funds were allocated only to salaries, scholarships, and partly to pay off current expenses. The heads of ZOO called for the economy and rational use of funds, strict compliance with tax legislation, and the search for extrabudgetary funding. The latter, with a significant reduction of audits due to lack of control services, lack of experience and unregulated legal norms, created conditions for abuse.

Comparison of the content and dates of the issuance of orders, normative documents testify that the Ministry of Education worked very intensively, however, still lagged behind the events in the places where privately owned non-controlling interests appeared and at the discretion of the state transformed. The latter independently created structures changed the status and renamed, leased or sold premises, buildings, enrolled students for a fee to budget places, etc. Thus, in the fall of 1991, without sufficient grounds, Dnipropetrovsk and Kharkiv agricultural institutes were turned into agrarian universities [4, Ark. 127]. There was a

certain transitional period, when the ministries and departments created new ZOO, reorganized the operating without certification and approval by the state authorities. This made the latter act more promptly. In December 1991, the Cabinet of Ministers was sent Regulations on higher education, on its accreditation, the procedure for the creation of reorganization and liquidation. In the Republican Inspection, the headquarters of higher education had to inspect and certify newly established institutions during 1992-1993 [4, pp. 128].

An important indicator of the educational reform was the emergence of non-state ownership of property, which was a consequence of the transformation of society towards the market and democratization. The first non-state ZVOs began to be created in the late 1980s without a proper regulatory framework and licensing. The Law "On Education" (June 4, 1991) enshrined the equal functioning of the ZOO of all forms of ownership. Only 01.06.1992. The Cabinet of Ministers Resolution "On Accreditation of Higher Educational Institutions" established accreditation as official recognition of the right of a law-enforcement agency to carry out activities at the level of state requirements and standards of education. The Inter-branch Republican Accreditation Commission (IAC) was established, the deadlines (prior to 01.01.1994) for re-registration of the ZA in the State Register with the issuance of a license were established. Accreditation should be carried out at the initiative and at the expense of educational institutions. The main principles determined the orientation to advanced quality standards, transparency, periodicity, reliability, the objectivity of expertise and authority, independence of experts.

The institutes of the III accreditation level were given the right to qualify as a "specialist" and autonomy in determining the content of education, the structure of specialties, the creation of educational institutions, scientific and production organizations, salaries and additional payments. At the IV level of accreditation to universities, academies were granted the right to award a master's degree and a broader autonomy in determining the structure and plan of admission, the duration of training, the assignment of academic degrees and titles, the development of research, funding for higher standards and the management of all appropriations. Getting the autonomy demanded by OLA managers since the late 1980s was important for their development, but it demanded transparency, control not only from the state (as permitted by the said Resolution), but also by public organizations to prevent abuse.

Having completed the formation of the system of accreditation, the Ministry of Education issued an order of 20.10.1992, which set out the following main objectives of the IAC: definition of the directions, state priorities of programs of training specialists, marketing support for the activities of accredited higher educational institutions, promotion of their international recognition. Accreditation includes licensing, certification and certification. Licenses were to be passed by all state universities, others - at will. It defined preferential taxation and the right to state contracts. Certification granted the right to a state-issued diploma and budget financing [6, pp. 115-130] and included a survey of graduates, examination of student work, the activities of teachers, research work, the status of the material and technical base, and others like that. Based on the findings of the expert group, the Intersectoral Commission, together with the relevant ministries, took a decision and submitted it to the Ministry of Education for consideration.

Since March 1993 the mass approval of the decisions of the IAC of the Ministry of Education about the changes in the

status and names of state ZA has begun. Dozens of institutes received the IV accreditation level and changed the names of universities, academies, affiliates, and institutions to independent status and subsequently became universities. Thus, according to the resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of 13.06.1993 "On Improving the Network of Higher Educational Institutions", on the proposal of the Ministry of Education, coordinated with the ministries of finance and economics, 17 ZVOs received the status of universities and academies. The minutes of the Board of the Ministry of Education discussed the need for managers of ZVOs who upgraded their status, together with the departments of education of regional administrations, to develop measures in three months to strengthen the material and technical base and provide institutions with scientific and pedagogical staff of higher qualification [9, Ark. 9-10]. Consequently, the material base and the scientific and pedagogical composition of the ZVO were not sufficient, but this did not prevent the receiving of the status of academies and universities.

The agenda was to determine the educational strategy of the state for a new period of development. The branch ministry received a lot of appeals from heads of universities, parents, deputies of different levels regarding explanations of the urgent problems of the development of higher education, especially of a financial nature. Ministry of Education issued May 14, 1992, issued an order number 19 "

The national state program "Education" (Ukraine XXI st.) After the heated debate was adopted as the basis of the All-Ukrainian Congress of Educators on December 23-24, 1992. The amended document was approved by the Board of the Ministry on February 17, 1993, on March 15, its state and scientific expertise [8, Ark. 44]. However, only on November 3, 1993, the State Program, together with the Measures for its implementation, was approved by the Cabinet of Ministers Resolution No. 896. The education was recognized as a priority tool for the development of the state. At all levels of government, it was necessary during 1994 to develop appropriate programs and create conditions for their implementation. However, the text of the State Program was issued in 1994. Therefore, over two academic years after gaining independence, the ZVO did not have a national concept of reforming education, concrete ways of its implementation.

The ministries of economy and finance had to allocate funding for the implementation of the Program during 1993-2005, but it was not actually provided. The program did not have the mechanisms of implementation, material and personnel support, certain measures remained unfulfilled. Nevertheless, the involvement of educators involved in the reform of the reform, which made proposals that intensified public policy, in particular, the lawmaking, was positive.

In the State Program "Education" the strategic objectives of higher education were defined: the transition to a multi-level system of training specialists, the formation of a network of OHS, which meet the needs of the individual, regions and the state, raising the educational level of the population, raising higher education to the level of developed countries and integration into international scientific and educational community [2, p. 33-34]. Proclaimed democratization, humanization, humanization of the educational process, the combination of national and human values in it, a variety of investment policies, overcoming the state monopoly on education, expanding the autonomy of higher education institutions.

The program met the needs of society, international law, although it was somewhat declarative. To implement it, it was necessary to coordinate the work of many state and non-

government agencies and significant resources that could not be provided by the government. It should be noted that the period was characterized by a somewhat too optimistic and frivolous attitude to the prospects of independent development of Ukraine. There has been a simplified, uncritical borrowing of western samples. A few steps were taken without proper justification, funding, and experimental verification, such as introducing testing for entrance exams.

Consequently, the significant achievements of the first years of independence in the development of higher education should include the creation of a system of licensing ZVO, streamlining the management system, opening new types of universities and promoting their independence, as well as the adoption of the program "Education (Ukraine XX century), other regulations that eventually contributed to the process of modernizing the industry, its movement towards the European space. Certain initiatives in the organization of training (tests of graduates of schools, modular rating system) did not receive extensive support and were postponed for ten years (see: 3, p. 52-63).

However, a lot of time was used inefficiently and soon the reforms slowed down, mainly due to the deepening of the economic crisis. There was inconsistency and collision of the interests of various participants in educational transformations. Due to inconsistent state policy, lack of resources innovations were controversial and were carried out mainly by administrative methods. The crisis situation of a high school, inherited from the USSR, has intensified due to the transition to market relations and the reduction of budget financing since the early 1990s reached its peak in the middle of this decade.

The search for extrabudgetary funding in many OIES took place quite slowly and sometimes became a form of shadowy relations. The management bodies focused on current problems. The strategic task - the increase of intellectual and spiritual influence on social development in the practical plane was not put. As a result of the decline of a science-intensive economy in the country, public demand for intellectual activity has fallen, and behind them is a corresponding component in education. Higher education quickly turned into the mass. It became noticeable that there was a contradiction between the decline in the labor market needs of specialists with higher education and the growing number of students, ZVO. Crisis processes in higher education were a concrete manifestation of the crisis of society at this time.

The so-called optimization of the network of higher education institutions, in reality, has led to unjustified increase in their number and receipt of many of them with a higher status. This happened against the backdrop of the restructuring of state bodies, the lack of legal framework, the reduction of budgetary funding for education and the redistribution of property, and demonstrated weakening of the state authorities' influence on higher education, inability to work in new conditions.

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Сичкаренко Г.Г. Початок розвитку вищої освіти в Україні після незалежності

У статті проаналізовано процеси формування державної політики у сфері вищої освіти в перші роки після здобуття Україною незалежності. На основі архівних документів розглядаються проблеми реорганізації органів державного управління освіти, перші нормативні акти реформи вищої освіти, оптимізація мережі університетів, їх акредитація, створення вищих навчальних закладів недержавної форми власності, ухвалення Державної національної програми "Освіта" Україна XXI століття "та ін. .

Слід зазначити, що через непослідовну державну політику, економічну кризу реформи освіти здійснювалися переважно адміністративними методами і були спірними. Кризові процеси у вищій освіті були реальним

проявом соціально-економічної кризи суспільства того періоду.

Ключові слова: вища освіта, вища школа, вищий навчальний заклад, реформа освіти, акредитація університетів.

Сичкаренко Г.Г. Начало развития высшего образования в Украине после независимости

В статье анализируются процессы формирования государственной политики в сфере высшего образования в первые годы после обретения Украиной независимости. На основе архивных документов рассматриваются проблемы реорганизации органов государственного управления образованием, первые нормативные акты реформирования высшего образования, оптимизация сети вузов, их аккредитация, создание высших учебных заведений негосударственной собственности, принятие Государственной национальной программы «Образование» Украина XXI века» и др. ,

Следует отметить, что из-за непоследовательной государственной политики, экономического кризиса реформы образования проводились в основном административными методами и были противоречивы. Кризисные процессы в высшем образовании явились реальным проявлением социально-экономического кризиса общества того периода.

Ключевые слова: высшее образование, высшая школа, вуз, реформа образования, аккредитация вузов.

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Стаття подана 10.04.2019.

УДК342.5 (73)

**THE INFLUENCE OF LEGISLATIVE ACTS OF A. LINCOLN GOVERNMENT
THE COURSE OF THE CIVIL WAR OF 1861-1865 IN THE USA****Tatarenko H., Serhiienko H., Karaulanova N., Tatarenko D.****ВПЛИВ ЗАКОНОДАВЧИХ АКТИВ ПРАВЛІННЯ А.ЛІНКОЛНА КУРС
ГРОМАДЯНСЬКОЇ ВІЙНИ 1861-1865 р.р. В США****Татаренко Г.В., Сергієнко Г.С., Карауланова Н.О., Татаренко Д.В.**

The article is devoted to the study of the essence of historical processes, the development of state-legal phenomena and the political system of the United States of America during the Civil War of 1861-1865, and the influence of economic, sociopolitical and military factors on these transformations. A review of the historiographic approaches to coverage of the analyzed events was also carried out, and critical comments were made on certain national traditions. Particular attention was paid to the role played by a number of legislative acts of A. Lincoln Government in changing the nature of hostilities in 1862-1863, their content and mechanisms of influence on social reality were analyzed. In addition, the most significant outcomes and trends of development in the socioeconomic and political organization of the United States of America, connected with the results of the North-South confrontation, were mentioned.

Key words: Civil War, Government, legislation, Congress, Constitution, state formation.

The work's topicality lies in studying the impact of the internal armed conflict on a new political system formation using the example of the results of the Civil War of 1861-1865 in the United States of America. The study is based on analysis of the law-making influence on the course of hostilities and the formation of the political and legal systems of the United States of America. The role of regulations in the course of hostilities is unprecedented in this case. In addition, the surprisingly outdated approach of the Soviet historiography, which consists in assessing historical events through the prism of Marxism-Leninism, needs to be revised, which also proves the relevance of the topic being studied.

The purpose of this article is to determine the influence of the Civil War of 1861-1865 in the USA on transformations in the economic, social and political spheres of social life of the United States of America.

The given purpose involves solving the following tasks:

1) to study the War's preconditions;

2) to determine the political, legal and economic status quo that preceded the hostilities;

3) to analyze the course of confrontation and important regulations of that period;

4) to characterize the political and economic consequences of the Civil War;

5) to provide a substantiated historical assessment of the analyzed events.

There are lots of studies on the proposed topic in history and legal science. It is worth mentioning a profound profile work of Ya. Belson and K. Lyvantsev [1], a work by A. Kormylets [2]. There are very interesting works by such scholars as S. Buryin, A. Bushkov, B. Honchar, R. Ivanov, N. Kovalevskiy, H. Kuropiatnyk and many others. However, a large number of studies does not diminish the relevance of considering this period in the history of the American state and law, which is explained by importance and a turning point of the changes caused by the analyzed events.

Before proceeding directly to the analysis of the confrontation events, it is worth characterizing the historical preconditions for its emergence. The social and economic development of the United States in the late 18th and early 19th centuries was uneven. In the North of the country, enterprises and the majority of manpower – mostly immigrants – were concentrated. In this territory there were machine-building and metal-working enterprises as well as other industrial objects.

The opposite was the situation in the South, where the United States seized lots of vacant lands after the war with Mexico in 1846-1848. Those territories were occupied by great landowners – planters. A significant problem of the region was the lack of manpower due to migration of people to the North, so planters exploited imported African Americans.

Thus, public production in the Northern states was intense, as opposed to extensive in the South. Fresh impetus for slavery, experiencing a crisis at the end of

the 18th century, was provided by appearance of cotton with long fiber, which was grown on plantations, as well as creation of machines for its processing. Cotton was America's export monoculture. So, slavery seemed to have been "embedded" in the capitalist industrial development.

However, the industrial revolution began in the country. It required significant structural changes in the economy, e.g. development of the transport system or creation of a single internal market. Those goals could not be achieved with the status quo preservation. So, the Civil War between the North and the South of 1861-1865 was essentially a bourgeois-democratic revolution according to its driving forces and goals.

The victory of Lincoln, the representative of the newly formed Republican Party, did not give instant advantage to supporters of the abolition of slavery at the 1860 Presidential election. This is explained by the fact that the newly elected President had to occupy his post on March 4, 1861, and by that time the role of the head of the state was performed by a representative of slaveholders, a member of a democratic party, James Buchanan. Influential circles of the South were openly going to use that time interval to strengthen their positions. So, controlled by them Mississippian wrote, "It's time to act. As long as the power in the country is in friendly hands, it is necessary to take decisive measures for secession and achieve its completion" [3, p. 405].

Thus, those political forces started an open rebellion – secession, i.e., exit from the Union. This process was initiated by South Carolina, which left the Union on December 20, 1860. In January-February 1861 its example was followed by Louisiana, Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Texas and Tennessee. In spring those were Arkansas, North Carolina and Virginia. The lands of eleven separated states amounted to 733,144 square miles, that is 40 percent of the entire territory of the United States of America as of 1861.

As a confirmation that the rebels used the gap between November 6, 1860 and March 4, 1861 in order to strengthen their positions and redistribute the resources of the entire country to their territories, we may give the following statistics: on December 13, 1860, the military department handed over 500,000 rifles to the Southern states and refused help to the Charleston garrison, which was already besieged by the secessionists. All the US military forces were re-deployed from the South and between the Southern and the Northern states, which could later have become a line of collision to the Far West. The US Treasury Secretary, slaveholder Howell Cobb, transferred large sums of money to southern banks, so when Abraham Lincoln became the head of the Federation, the state treasury was almost empty. "The South has secretly been preparing for the war for several years..." – F. Engels noted [3, p. 407].

On February 4, 1861, representatives of the separated states held a meeting in Montgomery, which, on February 8, reported the creation of a new state – the

Confederate States of America. Jefferson Davis, former Minister of War and Mississippi State Senate, was elected as the President of the newly formed state. After that event the latter said that "all citizens of the United States of America have the same rights to manage their property regarding the whole country" and that neither the US Congress nor the legislative meeting of any state has the right to abolish slavery from this point of view [4].

Moreover, on February 8, they adopted the Provisional Constitution of the Confederate States of America, the text of which, with slight changes, coincided with the text of the Constitution, approved on March 11. Most of the text of the Constitution of the Confederate States literally coincided with the text of the Constitution of the United States. At that, there were some differences in various articles. First of all, the Constitution of the United States gave individual states more extensive rights, as reflected in its Preamble. The US President was elected for six years and could not be re-elected for a second term (unlike the US President, who was elected for four years, and what is indicative – for an unlimited number of terms).

K. Marx, an ideologue of the communist philosophy, wrote about this document, "... The Constitution bred in Montgomery is significantly different from the Constitution of Washington and Jefferson by the fact that, for the first time, slavery is recognized ... as the cornerstone of the entire state building, while revolutionary ancestors... looked at slavery as at ... the evil that could be overcome in the course of time" [6, 201]. It was likely that due to this quotation, Soviet historians tried to bring the centrism of the Constitution of the United States to the issue of slavery in every way. Thus, a scientist E. Ivanian noted that the document openly proclaimed that slavery is a "natural state" [4]. In this context, it should be noted that such a quotation was absent in the document. Some reasons for such statements can be found in the fact that Soviet scholars also wrote that the issues of slavery did not significantly concern the opposing sides, because it was not the main cause of the War.

In the same source, the scholar wrote that for most of the inhabitants of the North, represented by all social strata, the problem of slavery was not fundamental. It was more likely to be derived from a much more significant issue of incompatibility of the political and economic interests of the industrial bourgeoisie and planters [4]. It should also be noted that such an approach was not used by all scholars. In particular, in works by Belson and Lyvantsev it was mentioned that the Constitution established that the institution of slavery is "recognized and defended by the Congress; the population of the Confederate States has the right to import slaves" [1]. In that case, the authors provided the real content of Section 9 of Article 1 of the Constitution of the Confederate States of America.

The problem of slavery was not acute for most of the US population, particularly, in the context of electoral indicators. Quite an illustrative proof of that is

be the fact that four of the first five American Presidents were slaveholders, who continued to use slaves while already holding the post of the head of state.

Among thirteen heads of the state, elected later, there were eight slaveholders, but only four had this status after appointment. The last United States President, who had slaves, was William Grant, the eighteenth in this post. Thus, among the first 18 US Presidents, two-thirds were slaveholders, and eight politicians did not liberate Negroes, even having become in charge of the state.

In addition, the bourgeois elites of the North still had an interest in preserving slavery. They were textile manufacturers who needed cotton from the South for recycling; traders who won by selling the Southern states all the industrial goods, which were needed but not produced in those large territories. Besides, the status quo satisfied both the transport companies, as well as bankers who lent to planters.

Perhaps that was precisely the reason why Lincoln's first official speech in the post of the President of the United States was the thesis that the new administration would not infringe on the interests of slaveholders. In particular, it was said that the law requiring the return of the slaves who had escaped to their masters, would be implemented in practice. At the same time, Lincoln clearly denied the powers of the Southern states regarding exit from the Union, "no State upon its own mere motion can lawfully get out of the Union; that resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void, and that acts of violence within any State or States against the authority of the United States are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances." At the same time, he tried to warn the rebellious slaveholders, "In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors" [4].

Chernyshevskiy noted the significant riskiness of such a complicated rhetoric. In his opinion, the compromise would have had much worse consequences comparing to all the other options, among which he also distinguished the Civil War and the voluntary peaceful separation of the Southern states. According to the figure, both ways would have resulted in revival of The Anti-Slavery Society, or at least to legislative changes that would have led to its abolition. And the concession would have delayed the solution again [3, c 408].

The fighters for freedom of Negro slaves condemned Lincoln's speech. Special criticism arose due to the President's statement on the Government's consistent implementation of the law on slaves who escaped. On March 8, 1861, *The Liberator*, published by a well-known abolitionist Harrison William Lloyd wrote, "We were shocked and stricken that Lincoln included that shameful part in his official speech during his inaugural address without any coercion".

It was interesting enough that some politicians in the North considered the secession of the slaveholding states to be a legitimate act. Even when the newly formed Confederacy adopted the Provisional Constitution, H. Greeley, a Republican politician and journalist, expressing the point of view of the Northern elite, said in *The New York Daily Tribune* that, according to the provisions of the Declaration of Independence, the Southern states have a moral right to the development of its own independent nation. A similar view was expressed by *The Cincinnati Commercial*, a leading magazine of the northwest, which wrote in March 1861, "We should not doubt the legitimacy of the Government formed by all the Southern states and maintain friendly relations with them".

However, in the context of the analysis of the separation, it is no less important that the internal crisis of the 50s and 60s occurred during the active phase of the industrial revolution - the transition from manual shop manufacturing to the mechanized stage of the development of the capitalist social formation. The owners of large iron and steel smelters, railways and mines had the greatest influence among the industrial bourgeoisie. The economic development as well as the adoption of political decisions depended exactly on them. Their interests were in implementing the tasks faced by the American economy through the industrial revolution, namely, the questions of: creating one internal market, building a unified transport system, which is unlikely within the two independent states; establishing a protectionist customs tariff, which was unprofitable for planters because of the need to sell products to England. As we can see, those plans concerning significant structural economic reforms dictated by the development of capitalist relations, could not be realized within the framework of the current situation, and the Southern elites understood it well.

Finally, Lincoln's attempts to pacify the rebels did not give results. In the separated states, Lincoln's inauguration was the reason for the beginning of the Civil War. Under this paradigm, on April 12, 1861, the Confederacy began an assault on Fort Sumter, serving as the defensive line for the Charleston garrison. But 83 militaries, defending the fort, did not manage to resist the Confederacy's seven thousand army, having artillery support, for a long time. After the battle, which lasted for 1.5 hours, the Fort surrendered. This event is considered to be the beginning of the Civil War.

In response to such actions, on April 15, 1861, Lincoln announced that the states united in the Confederacy were in a state of revolt. Their naval blockade started, the formation the Federation army began. The President announced the recruitment of 75 thousand volunteers on terms of signing the contract for a period of 3 months. As of July 1, instead of 75 thousand, about 301 thousand volunteers joined the army ranks [3, c 411]. The overwhelming majority of industrial facilities were concentrated in the North. The population was also bigger than in the South. In 19

“free” states, 19.1 million people lived, while in the 15 slaveholding ones there were 12 million [4]. The population of the 11 separated states was about 9 million.

However, the South was more united than the North, part of influential circles of which, namely those maintaining economic relations with planters, still considered the secession a legitimate act, and was strong in the military sense. The latter was explained by the fact that in the ranks of the Confederate States Army there were more experienced officers, the new country had significant armaments that had entered the territory of the Southern states before Abraham Lincoln became the President. In addition, a significant number of soldiers from the United States Army sided with the rebels. Among them there was Robert Lee, a prominent figure, who turned out to be a talented commander.

While in the North, Lincoln proclaimed the restoration of the Union as the official aim of the War [1], the inhabitants of the South had a strong ideological background in their struggle, because their leaders, including Jefferson Davis, took care of this. Thus, the latter, in his speech in front of the US Congress, showed the following point of view on the essence of the events that were taking place. In particular, he said that because of the poor quality of soil in the beginning of the century, the North sold its slaves to the Southern states, and now wants to deprive the local population of the right of their possession [4]. Recalling Lincoln’s first speech as the President, such statements seem to be insincere. It was quite possible to assume that they were also an element of the necessary propaganda. Indeed, because of such beliefs, the Confederacy inhabitants full of hatred to “Yankees” had more motivation to take up arms.

The first major collision occurred in Virginia, near Manassas railway station on July 21, 1861. Then unprofessional and inexperienced units of the US Army, having overcome the strait of Bull Run, attacked the South. The decisive actions of the defenders forced the Federation to retreat, the troops of the South launched a counterattack.

Only as of autumn 1861 in eastern part of the theater of war, the Union created a properly equipped grouping of troops under the command of General McClellan, who on November 1, 1861 was appointed as a head of the entire army by Lincoln. Unfortunately, he showed himself not in the best way, sometimes he avoided battles. On October 21, his army was defeated at Ball’s Bluff, near Washington. The tactics of both sides was to capture the capital of the enemy as soon as possible, so that state of affairs put the North in a difficult position. In August 1862 McClellan was appointed a Commander-in-Chief of the army once again.

The sea blockade of the coast of the Confederacy was significantly more effective. A famous episode of this front was the capture of RMS Trent on November 8, 1861, which caused a risk of a possible war between Britain and the United States.

At the end of 1861, the Federation army had more than 650,000 troops. However, the implementation of a very general Anaconda Plan led to the dispersion of the army throughout the large-scale collision line.

The Union army reached the greatest achievement in 1862 on western front. In spring under the command of General U. S. Grant, the army, having seized several forts, pushed the Confederacy out of Kentucky, and later, following the battles at Shiloh, pulled them back out of Tennessee in the south. The offensive was developed and in May 1862 the troops of Grant entered Missouri, and also consolidated in northern parts of Mississippi and Alabama. It is difficult to overestimate the occupation of New Orleans on April 25, 1862 (during the joint campaign of the units of General B. F. Butler and the ships of Captain D. Farragut), which was of high value because of its location as a commercial center and a military bridgehead.

So, the Confederacy was split into halves. The US Army could have captured Richmond, but all the offensive attempts were repulsed with great losses. Only thanks to redeployment of certain units from the west, the Federation managed to stop the swift attack of the South Army headed by General Lee.

Thus, during the first phase of the Civil War in the United States (1861-1862), which some researchers also call the constitutional period [3], the initiative in hostilities mainly belonged to the Confederacy. The radical changes, however, came as a result of Abraham Lincoln Government adopting a number of significant legislative decisions. In May 1862, the United States Congress voted in favor of the Homestead Acts - a document on granting land to individual categories of citizens, signed by the President on May 20 and announced in a letter to the Congress on May 27, 1862.

According to this regulation, every person who held a family and reached twenty-one years; had the nationality of the United States or expressed such a wish; who “never participated in the war against the United States; did not provide assistance to their enemies”- had an opportunity to get a land plot of a size that did not exceed one hundred and sixty acres starting since January 1, 1863. A person meeting the specified criteria received a land plot of the mentioned size in the property. Further, if a person had been engaged in agriculture on this land for five years, he was granted a patent for the land [6, c 203]. Exceptions were the Army soldiers of the United States army that served for at least fourteen days as volunteers or mobilized, since they were given the opportunity to exercise that right before the age of twenty-one years.

Another prominent document was the Emancipation Proclamation issued in September 1862 by Abraham Lincoln. Beginning since January 1, 1863, those who had the status of slaves in any state or its part, including those in rebellion against the United States of America, were considered free and the official authority “will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons” [6, p. 204]. In addition, former slaves

could be taken to the ranks of various formations of the US Army.

According to most researchers of those events, those documents helped the Government of A. Lincoln to change the course of the War by increasing the number of troops and motivating the soldiers. At the same time, it was decided to nationalize the property of the rebels, to introduce the universal military service, to begin cleansing of the United States Army, aimed at the agents of the Confederacy, and also closed the papers that published collaborative materials [6, p. 218].

Alongside with the benefits to the North, new legislative changes negatively affected the South. As noted, 11 states had 9 million people. Four million were slaves [4]. Thus, the Proclamation was extremely effective. The massive rebellion of slaves, successful blockade of the sea undermined the economic stability of the South. The needs of the front could not have been satisfied with the small industry of the Southern states. The most acute was the need in medicines, food, weapons. Instead, the North traded with the countries of Europe, from which a large numbers of hardworking migrants arrived, so the United States industry was functioning quite lively.

The last significant victory of the South was the battle near Chancellorsville, which took place in spring of 1863. Then the United States army, amounting 130,000 soldiers, was defeated by twice the size less army of General Lee. But, the economic capabilities and human resources of the Federation were sufficient to compensate for the losses. In July, slave troops were defeated near the city of Gettysburg. In August 1863, the troops of General Lee went to Virginia. In autumn of 1864, Atlanta fell - a strategically important industrial center of the South. On April 9, 1865, after city defenses suffered heavy losses, Richmond surrendered to the Federation Army. As a result of the collision near Appomattox, the military units of Northern Virginia surrendered. In May 1865, the main centers of resistance were overcome and the demoralized forces of the Confederacy were no longer able to continue hostilities. It was the end of the Civil War.

Conclusions. Summing up the above-mentioned, we can draw the following conclusions.

The most important outcomes of the armed confrontation are the following: cleansing of the army, officers and state apparatus from traitors; the law on confiscation of property of the rebels, the law of 1862 on land plots (Homestead Act); the abolition of slavery on the territory of the rebellious states and the call of former slaves to the army.

Those measures helped Lincoln Government win the war. In the context of racism, success was not achieved, since the moderate reconstruction of the South, launched by the 16th President of the United States, collapsed after his assassination by the short-sighted Republican radicals. They achieved the opposite result with their too harsh measures, because they

caused reactionary sentiment and brought the so-called democratic party to power in the Southern states.

In addition to short-term military-related difficulties, the Civil War had a positive influence on the United States economy, having consolidated a unified economic formation in the country, destroyed all the pre-capitalist remnants, finally settled the agrarian issue by giving the nationalized lands to farmers' ownership, giving rise to the paradigm of the American path of the agricultural capitalist development. The emergence of significant areas free for economic activity of the bourgeoisie allowed to build the world's largest railways. The rapid economic development of the country was accompanied by a rapid increase in the number of inventions, and the industrial revolution also took place in the Southern states.

The consequences of the armed confrontation for politics were also significant. The victory of the North led to consolidation of the Federation, centralization of power, and the authority of the President and the Supreme Court. In the Constitutional law of the United States the following provision was adopted: states do not have the right to declare the federal laws invalid, do not have the right to exit from the Federation.

It is evident that the economic and political results of the Civil War are very significant, turning and decisive. Thus, it is indeed appropriate to consider the Civil War as the completion of the war on independence of the bourgeois and democratic revolution in the United States of America.

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Татаренко Г.В., Сергієнко Г.С., Карауланова Н.О., Татаренко Д.В. Вплив законодавчих актів правління А.Лінколна курс громадянської війни 1861-1865 р.р. в США

Робота присвячена вивченню сутності історичних процесів, розвитку державно-правових явищ та політичної системи Сполучених Штатів Америки за часів Громадянської війни 1861-1865 рр., впливу на зазначені перетворення економічних, суспільно-політичних та військових чинників. Також було здійснено огляд історіографічних підходів до висвітлення аналізованих подій, та викладено критичні зауваження щодо окремих вітчизняних традицій. Окрему увагу приділено ролі в зміні характеру військових дій у 1862-1863 роках низки законодавчих постановлень уряду А. Лінколна, досліджено їх зміст та проаналізовано механізми впливу нормативно-правових актів на суспільну дійсність. До того ж виокремлено найбільш значні наслідки та тенденції розвитку у соціально-економічній та політичній організації Сполучених штатів Америки, зумовлені результатами протистояння між Північчю та Півднем.

Ключові слова: громадянська війна, уряд, законодавство, Конгрес, Конституція, державотворення.

Татаренко В., Сергиенко С., Карауланова Н.А., Татаренко Д.В. Влияние законодательных актов правления А.Линколна курс гражданской войны 1861-1865 гг в США

Работа посвящена изучению сущности исторических процессов, развития государственно-правовых явлений и политической системы Соединенных

Штатов Америки во времена Гражданской войны 1861-1865 гг., Воздействия на указанные преобразования экономических, общественно-политических и военных факторов. Также был осуществлен обзор историографических подходов к освещению рассматриваемых событий, и изложены критические замечания относительно отдельных отечественных традиций. Особое внимание уделено роли в изменении характера военных действий в 1862-1863 годах ряда законодательных постановлений правительства А. Линколна, исследованы их содержание и проанализированы механизмы воздействия нормативно-правовых актов на общественную действительность. К тому же выделены наиболее значительные последствия и тенденции развития в социально-экономической и политической организации Соединенных Штатов Америки, обусловленные результатами противостояния между Севером и Югом.

Ключевые слова: гражданская война, правительство, законодательство, Конгресс, Конституция, государства.

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Стаття подана: 05.04.2019.

УДК 929:629.4.02 (09)

**VYNOKUROV M.V. ON SCIENTIFIC CONTRIBUTION
OF THE CARRIAGE ROLLING STOCK: RETROSPECTIVE ASPECT**

Ustiak N. V.

**ВИНОКУРОВ М.В. ЩОДО ВНЕСКУ ВЧЕНИХ У НАУКУ
ПРО РУХОМИЙ СКЛАД: РЕТРОСПЕКТИВНИЙ АСПЕКТ**

Устяк Н.В.

The article covers the retrospective aspect of the history science and technology through the prism of the Professor views M.V. Vinokurov for researching activity of various scientists and engineers who made their contribution to the development of Ukrainian railways, in particular the science of moving glass, and nowadays have the scientific-theoretical and practical significance for transport. The experience of foreign countries, and above all, the USA, which influenced the views of domestic scientists in the field of carriage engineering, was analyzed. The factors of formation professor M.V. Vinokurov scientific concepts on the development science of rolling stock.

It has been found out that the domestic scientists fixed the high priority in developing of important theoretical positions on the rolling stock, created effective structures and individual units of the railway carriage.

The creation of new scientifically grounded sciences - construction mechanics and dynamics of a railway carriage, the founders of which is M.M. Belyaev, M.V. Vinokurov, V.Z. Vlasov, M.M. Davidenko, O.M. Dinnick, M.E. Zhukovsky, O.M. Lyapunov, M.I. Lobachevsky, Y.O. Paton, M.P. Petrov, I.V. Podzolov, S.V. Serensen, Y.S. Umansky, M.M. Filonenko-Borodich, A.A. Holodetsky, S.O. Chaplygin and others.

Mikhail Vinokurov, a well-known engineer of communications, a specialist in the field of rolling stock, participated in a series of experimental and theoretical research, theoretically substantiated the possibility of creating original and perfect in operation of rolling stock structures in the USSR and, in particular, in Ukraine.

List of works by M.V. Vinokurov for the application of new technologies in carriage construction is very impressive. The diverse activities of the scientist testify to the recognition of his authority in the scientific and administrative circles of the Ministry of Railways. Wherever he used his knowledge and qualifications of the engineer, these were the most important areas of state policy in the field of car-building and operation of rolling stock of railways.

Key words: *M.V. Vinokurov, scientists, scientific researches, dynamics, mechanics, rolling stock, carriages, car building*

Introduction. Nowadays the Ukrainian people are striving to return their historical heritage; therefore, our attention is attracted by problems connected with the history of national science and technology.

Since the time of railroad transport existence there was accumulated an extensive experience in the sphere of construction and operation of railways as well as the rolling stock. Based on this there appeared the national transportation science, in particular, the science of rolling stock. Many fundamental scientific studies have been conducted in Ukraine, which influenced the history of transportation science. *Mykhailo Vasyliovych Vynokurov (1890-1955)* is a vivid example among the founders of the science of rolling stock in our country: Doctor of Engineering Sciences, professor, general director of draft of the II rank, specialist in the field of constructions of railroad vehicles, dynamic interaction of rolling stock and track, a teacher and organizer of new course in the transport science [1, p. 543].

Statement of the problem. This topic has not been widely explored and there is only a reference to scientific research of M.V. Vynokurov as a highly skilled specialist in the field of rolling stock designs, implemented in separate scientific articles and referenced in monographs on the history of railway transport.

Analysis of recent research. There are very few special works in which the study of the development of the science of rolling stock and scientists who worked on it, among them are the works of O.L. Brodovsky, O.M. Solovyova, L.A. Shadura, M.O. Zenzinova, S.O. Ryzhaka, G.M. Kirpa, O.M. Pshin'ka, I.V. Agiyenko. Activities of professor M.V. Vynokurov are described only in encyclopedias.

Purpose of the article. Highlights of the retrospective aspect of the history of science and technology through the prism of the views of professor M.V. Vynokurov for the research activities of various scientists and engineers who made their contribution to the development of Ukrainian railways, including the rolling stock science, until now have scientific, theoretical and practical significance for transport. The factors of formation of professor M.V. Vynokurov's scientific concepts of the development of the rolling stock science are considered.

Presentation of the main research material including the full justification of the scientific results obtained. The outstanding scientist, founder and first head of the "Wagons" department of the Dnipropetrovsk Institute of Transport

Engineers¹, Mykhailo Vasyliovych Vynokurov, was a highly educated and talented person in mathematics, physics and industrial culture. While working at the Institute, he made a major contribution to improving the educational process and the development of science. He owns fundamental scientific works on the dynamics of the carriage of cars, calculation and design of the rolling stock components, and the operation of wagons [2].

Mykhailo Vasyliovych was a moderate person; he worked a lot as a public official, organizer of the educational process, and headed many experimental and theoretical researches. 1947-1955 – he was a member of the Academic Council at the Academy of Railway Transport. 1948-1955 – he worked as an editor-in-chief of the "State Transport Railway Publishing House", was the author of the 7th volume of "Locomotive and Carriage Economy", edition of the "Railroading Technical Guide" (total 13 volumes). Below stated is the contribution of individual scientists and the characteristics of their studies by Professor M.V. Vynokurov [3].

One of the founders of the rolling stock science in the former Russian Empire was Professor *Mykola Pavlovych Petrov (1836-1920)*. His scientific heritage includes more than 100 published works and articles, which deal with the problems of friction, traction of trains, the interaction of rolling stock and the upper structure of the track. Among the outstanding works of scientific and practical importance in the field of car building, his work on the hydraulic theory of lubrication should be considered.

M.P. Petrov's research "Friction in the cars and the lubricant's effect", made it possible to create rational constructions of the box and the box bearings, to choose lubricating oils for different nodes of the friction surfaces of the rolling stock depending on the conditions of their work [4].

Hydraulic friction theory, created by professor M.P. Petrov, laid the foundation for a series of research works of both domestic and foreign scientists. Among the works on the study of the theory of friction, it is necessary to highlight the scientific works by professor *Mykola Yegorovich Zhukovsky (1847-1921)* and *Sergiy Oleksiyovich Chaplygin (1869-1942)*, who solved the problem of the thrust² movement in the bearing. Experiments were conducted to create typical designs of lubricating devices, among which the "lubricating pad"³ was chosen as optimal [5, p. 35].

Many experiments were conducted by professor M.P. Petrov concerning the dynamics of rolling stock, which were highlighted in the following works: "Resistance of the train on the railway with the possible increase in the probability of traffic safety", "Dangerous train speeds", "Effect of the transverse velocity of the wheel on the tension in the rails," "Tension in the rails from the vertical the pressure of rolled wheels", "The pressure of the wheels on the railways, the strength of the rails and the stability of the track" and others.

By analyzing his works, M.V. Vynokurov wrote that in these scientific works professor M.P. Petrov first outlined the laws of the movement of railway cars and determined the working conditions of the upper structure of the track under the influence of the train's undercarriage. The practical

question of the dynamic interaction of the wheel and the track remained open until the publication of the monograph by M.P. Petrov "Pressure of wheels on rails" [6, p. 292].

Professor *Anthony Adamovych Kholodetsky (1855-?)* also studied the dynamics of rolling stock. In 1898, he established that the railway vehicles, while passing the curves, occupy a position in which the guiding efforts are minimal. This law laid the basis to the modern theory of the inclusion of locomotives in the curve. In Germany, this law on curves was confirmed by professor V.I. Goymann only 15 years later.

Based on the work of professor A.A. Kholodetsky Professor *Pavlo Vasyliovych Koturnytsky (1844-1913)* in 1898 issued the original method of calculating strutted⁴ carriage frames [7].

The valuable scientific contribution to the theory of springs, the creation of original structures of spring hanging, as well as studies on the smooth of movement by *Yegor Yegorovich Nolte (1854-1934)*, who for the first time established the concept of transverse stability of wagons and determined its numerical value.

Professor Ye.Ye. Nolte proved the formula for determining the numerical value of such an important factor of smoothness of the course, as the relative friction coefficient in bolster springs. This factor is used in all calculations related to the smoothness of the carriage cars. A similar study in France conducted by Professor G. Marier [8].

Professor M.V. Vynokurov wrote that, with regards to calculations connected with the smoothness of the course, many of the findings of domestic scientists are set forth in US encyclopedias.

Professor *Mykhailo Volodymyrovych Gololobov (1870-1919)* in 1907 developed a method for calculating bolster springs and derived an exact formula for determining their deflection. In 1918, the formula based on this calculation was invented in Germany under the name "Witsig's formula".

As a result of experiments conducted by domestic scientists, methods for calculating bolsters and springs, important theoretical studies related to the issues of wagon construction technologies, the strength of car structures, smooth running of cars, improving the safety of traffic and determining the basic parameters of rolling stock.

Professor M.V. Vynokurov noted that during the creation and designing new cars it was always a very difficult and important problem to determine the magnitude of the external forces affecting the car during its operation. Moving car in the train is influenced by vertical and horizontal forces, and the latter act on the car both at the transverse along the track, and in the longitudinal directions. Under the influence of these forces, the car carries fluctuations, which can be significantly reduced by rational choice of parameters of spring hanging and the correct design of shock-relief devices. Along with these questions, there arise tangential questions of the strength of parts of the car, its longevity and safety of passengers [9, p. 24].

The original theoretical experiments of domestic scientists in the field of disturbing movements of cars made it possible to determine the quality and choose the optimal variant from among this or that type of spring mounting, and experimental research confirmed the theoretical results and gave a clear idea of the magnitude of the vertical and transverse horizontal forces acting on the body of the wagon. All this enabled us to confirm the strength of the existing and

¹ Dnipropetrovsk Institute of Transport Engineers is now called Dnipropetrovsk National University of Railway Transport named after Academician V. Lazarian.

² Thrust - part of the shaft or axle that comes in contact with the freighter and takes the load from the latter. The thrust is a kind of spike that is designed to provide a rotary movement.

³ "Lubricating pad" - special devices for lubricating the crank axle of wagons, are widely used for the needs of rolling stock.

⁴ Strutted frame - is an auxiliary structure that strengthens the beam in the plane of its bend, consisting of a strip, one or more racks inserted between the string and the bottom of the beam. It is intended to prevent the deflection of the middle part of the frame.

new carriages that were built and to ensure the safety of their movement.

The degree of safety of motion and smoothness of the rolling stock can be determined according to the criteria set by the scientist *Oleksandr Mykhailovych Lyapunov* in his work "General issue of motion stability" (1892).

The scientific and correct elucidation of the issues related to the choice of bridle, the calculation of frames and body of wagons, the design of the longitudinal profile of the track and the management of heavy trains could only be in the case of deeply studied longitudinal train dynamics. Analyzing the domestic technical literature, we understand that this issue became of particular importance among our scientists, for example, the work of professor *Mykola Yegorovych Zhukovsky* "The work of Russian cross-cutting and American non-circular traction device when starting at the beginning of movement" (1919) [10, p. 31-67].

M.V. Vynokurov, analyzing this work, wrote about the significance of M. Ye. Zhukovsky's views, where he considers the efforts which arose in the devices of the through and separate screw during the starting and movement on a broken profile. Based on a number of his studies, he came to the conclusion that the traction power of the locomotive increases instantaneously and later remains constant if the train is composed of uniform and equally loaded cars. The resistance of the train in motion has not been taken into account.

Mykhailo Vasyliovych concluded that M.Ye. Zhukovsky gave an approximate performance of the task definition of force at a screw-thread, considering the train as an elastic rod with a load (locomotive) at one end, and also pointed out the ways precisely this task when considering the train as a system of solids, connected by elastic bonds [11].

Theoretical and experimental research on the longitudinal dynamics of the train were conducted by a group of scientific researchers, students and followers of professor M.V. Vynokurov at the Dnipropetrovsk Institute of Transport Engineers under the direction of Doctor of Engineering *Vsevolod Arutyunovich Lazarian* (1909-1978) [12; 13, p. 406-416].

In their studies, domestic scientists adopted the calculation scheme of the train, indicated by Professor M.Ye. Zhukovsky, in the form of an elastic rod. Also, the scientists considered the forces, speeds and displacements that arose in different parts of the train, made up of homogeneous and equally loaded cars, connected by a scattered screw or a railway coupling⁵ with a monotonous or nonmonotonic increase in the traction forces of the locomotive.

M.V. Vynokurov stated that the research of domestic scientists makes it possible to determine the amount of effort in clamping devices when starting, during braking, the approach of the locomotive to the carriage and the riding of cars. The influence of fractures of the longitudinal profile of the gauge on the forces that arose in the trains' boarding gear was studied.

In France, the issue of longitudinal dynamics was studied by scientist *Anri Amé Rezal* (1828-1896), a French mechanic, mathematician, physicist and engineer, a member of the Paris Academy of Sciences (1887), a member of the Swedish Academy of Sciences (1887). In his work on the study of the process of movement during the train's starting, A. Rezal did not prove the analysis before obtaining formulas that would allow to deduce the efforts that have arisen in the

gears, the speed and displacement of various parts of the train [14, p.141-145].

Experimental research conducted by domestic scientists questioned the strength, unreasonableness of the calculations of the American Rail Association (ARA), which was set during the design of cars. Not always samples of foreign technology fit our railways, based on the above example, and observing the current situation on the railways of Ukraine.

Professor MV Vynokurov found that at a voltage in different nodes of a car defined by ARA methods used in the US, this voltage differed significantly not only in magnitude, but sometimes in a sign from actual tensions.

As a result of use of inaccurate methods of calculation, many critical elements of the bearing structures were of low strength, and therefore cracks appeared, for example, belt strikes were formed in the bogie bogs, as well as cracks

occurred in other nodes, mainly in the back frames, slopes of frames and walls of tanks.

Domestic scientists have created new scientifically grounded branches of science - building mechanics and dynamics of a car, among them M.M. Belyaev, M.V. Vynokurov, V.Z. Vlasov, B.G. Galerkin, M.M. Davydenko, O.M. Dynnyk, M.Ye. Zhukovsky, O.M. Krylov, O.M. Lyapunov, M.I. Lobachevsky, Ye.O. Paton, M.P. Petrov, I.V. Podzolov, S.V. Serensen, Ye.S. Umansky, M.M. Filonenko-Borodych, A.A. Holodetsky, S.O. Chaplygin and others [15].

Among the theoretical works that laid the foundation for the science of rolling stock, there should be included the work of *Mykola Mykhailovych Belyaev* (1890-1944), who for the first time studied the tense state at the point of contact of the bandage with the rail, which allowed to highlight the difficult issues of the metal bandage and rails. This fundamental work has been recognized throughout the world.

Professor *Oleksandr Vasyliovych Makhov* (1889-?) studied the work of the car axles. He substantiated the need for a 100% introduction of the heat treatment of the axis after the forging, which was introduced for the first time. Professor Makhov correctly figured the real connection between the so-called "austenitic grain size" and the properties of the axial metal and conducted comparative, so-called "transshipment experiments", to determine the possibilities of different axial steel grades to work partly at significant overloads. Also O.V. Makhov for the first time has established the value of the impact viscosity for the axes.

Professor *Mykola Petrovych Shchapov* (1896-1968), working in the field of steel research for cars manufacture, has established the qualitative characteristics of its increased strength, which made it possible to reduce the weight of the car and increase its strength.

Professor *V.A. Kysliak* found the characteristics of steel for wheels and bandages of cars. The conclusions from these experiments for the first time made it possible to determine the influence of chemical composition, thermal treatment and mechanical properties on the stability of wheels and bandages in operation.

Professor M.V. Vynokurov analyzed the studies of domestic scientists about antifriction alloys for car bearings and their thermal treatment.

Based on theoretical and experimental experiments, professor *Oleksiy Oleksandrovych Popov* (1905-1966) proposed more precise methods for determining the tension in the car axles, bands, hubs, knives and rims of the wheel center.

During this period, experiments were also carried out on the strength of the forging of car wheel centers. Professor *M.P. Zobnin* investigated the strength of the carriage wheels as a collective responsible knot of the press connections of the axes. He established the presence of plastic deformations in

⁵ Railway coupling CA-3 - an automatic coupling device for connecting units of rolling stock among themselves, was used on the railways of the USSR, Mongolia, Iran and Finland

the spokes of the car centers, proposed methods and regimes to improve the quality of the surface to be tightened [16].

M.V. Vynokurov wrote that foreign designers considered the frame of passenger carts as a construction consisting of separate longitudinal and transverse beams, connected by joints.

In his view, such a simplified method did not make it possible to determine the actual stresses in the various elements of the frame, so the sides of the carts were heavy, but not strong.

In the years 1934-1936, based on the study of the reasons for the appearance of cracks in the carriages of subway types "A" and "B" cars, scientists concluded that the need to consider the so-called "skew-symmetric"⁶ loads of frame frames caused by deviations in the rigidity of the bolsters and springs, as well as the inequalities of the track. It was then that the domestic experts proposed for the first time an accurate method for calculating the frames of a telescopic system, taking into account skew-symmetric loads.

Particular attention is paid to theoretical studies conducted in the field of the strength of cars by professor *Borys Mykolayovych Gorbunov (1901-1944)* of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (formerly the Soviet Union). In this paper, based on the theory of calculation of thin-walled rods, created by professor *Vasyl Zakharovych Vlasov (1906-1958)*, the refined theory of calculating frames from thin-walled rods is given, taking into account the elastic deformation of nodes.

This theory with exhaustive completeness gives an opportunity to explain the appearance of cracks in the car frame designs and to give a correct assessment for new car designs.

For an accurate calculation method, Professor Gorbunov in his work "Approximate methods of calculating frames" proposed these methods for frames of thin-walled profiles. Such a method took into account the spatial effect of the induced loads, in addition to the deflection, there was also scrolling of the rods, which was accompanied by significant additional stresses. The tensions, which were determined by the approximate method, were based on the result of precisely sufficient for practical purposes [17].

M.V. Vynokurov pointed out that, analyzing the technical literature of Western Europe and the United States, he used only domestic sources for the methods of calculating the complex frame structures of cars and trucks, as well as in the field of calculating tanks of tanks, because they were introduced for the first time.

Using the method proposed by professor Vlasov, which made it possible, through the calculation, to fully determine the tension in the tank resistance zone, as well as to select the optimum wall thickness in the area of the supporting surfaces.

Leading a large number of theoretical and experimental experiments in this area of study, professor M.V. Vynokurov denied the calculation methods adopted in the US for the design of metal passenger cars.

He points to the false assumptions that longitudinal forces in a passenger metal carriage are perceived by the back frame. An example of this is theoretical studies that have proven that a significant part of the longitudinal effort is perceived by the body and the removal of the back frame from the middle of the car will slightly affect the changes in the magnitude of stresses in the walls, floor and roof of the body, therefore the basis of all structures should be a longitudinal set, unlike transverse. Replacing the transverse to longitudinal

allows you to lower the deadweight and simplify the technology of manufacturing the body. The conducted experiments proved the optimality of the methodology for calculating metal wagons and allowed the creation of an original design of a domestic car with an autocrane, but without a back frame.

Professor M.V. Vynokurov himself was engaged in and analyzed the works of various researchers, who, in addition to the field of construction mechanics, achieved a lot and created a new science - "the dynamics of cars." It is noted that in the foreign technical literature, such questions were raised very little.

In this process, the main issues of the dynamics of wagons are considered, as well as the exceptional importance was paid to the smooth running of cars and increased traffic safety.

Domestic scientists have developed a method for selecting the parameters of the car, which allowed to determine its optimal size.

Our railways came from Mytyshchynsk and Kryukivsk Rail-Cart Manufacturing Plants. During the study of a number of new welded structures, scientists created the perfect original structures of the car frame middle node - the so-called "nodes with piercing." In this node, the ends of the transverse beams were passed through the cuts made in the inner and outer walls of the beam sidewalls, with which they were carefully welded along its perimeter.

For structures for underground cars and rail transport there were used stamped sheet steel parts, which were formed to fit for connecting them with each other by welding. The advantages of stamping and welding have led to significant weight relief in contrast to cast structures.

M.V. Vynokurov pointed out that in 1931, as a result of attempts to remove balancers in the "Fette" carts and replace the riveting with welding, an unbalanced trolley appeared. The same year, the "Khanin's bolsterless bogie" was released. Later, in these series of trolleys introduced wedge-type shock absorbers, which gave the possibility of smoother movement of the car, which was not inferior to the quality of the carriage of cars on the carriages with other, more complex structures of shock absorbers.

We consider the widespread use of welding in wagon construction as the world-renowned contribution to the creation of original and perfect structures of rolling stock. Our scientists not only invented welding, but also for the first time in the world began to use it in wagon construction. As a result of the introduction of welding in the wagon construction, there were produced wagons with significantly lower deadweight and higher load carrying capacity, more passenger-sized, and passenger welded trolleys from rolling mill stamps of perfect original designs, are significantly less heavy than cast frame ones of all other railways in the world.

The introduction of welding works into the carriage of construction was carried out by the Institute of Welding of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, headed by academician *Yevgen Oskarovych Paton (1870-1953)*. He proposed the original design of a tank in which the automatic welding was used [18, p. 175-201].

Also, domestic scientists under the leadership of E.O. Paton were carried out the tasks to reduce the weight of cars. The container of the improved car of conventional steel had a weight of 2 tons less than that of conventional cars. A cohort of scholars also developed metallic cars made of low-alloy steel.

Conclusions. Mykhailo Vasyliovych wrote that the domestic scientists set a high priority in the development of

⁶ Skew-symmetry (antisymmetry) is the property of a mathematical object, which is a function of several arguments, to change a sign (get a multiplier -1) by rearranging any two arguments.

important theoretical positions on the rolling stock, created effective constructions and individual units of the car.

Professor M.V. Vynokurov argued that the design of passenger cars in the former Soviet Union, Western Europe and the United States was based on completely different principles.

Based on his works, the rules of designing cars of foreign countries were different, in particular, in the United States there was laid the principle of preservation in the wreck of the car, and not the actual life of people. Therefore, too rigid body designs were used there, resulting in very strong jolts during the collision, in which passengers could not stay in their seats and retreated with great acceleration to the walls or partitions of the body, which led to terrible consequences.

The basis of the design standards for domestic wagon structures was primarily the concern for people and the predictability of this concern in dangerous moments. Consequently, there was high importance of ensuring the safety of travel through the creation of a safe deformation for the car, which prevented the car body from breaking down, resulting in a significant reduction in the acceleration during collision. In accordance to this provision, the elements of the body and frame were designed. These elements were estimated for the corresponding load and had to absorb the dangerous energy during wagons collision.

Therefore, it is now important to conduct a retrospective analysis during the state-building period in our country, we should not focus on western or eastern tendencies, which, as practice in the field of rolling stock showed, did not meet their own expectations, but we should look for their own priorities.

Mykhailo Vasyliovych Vynokurov set up the science about cars and made a significant personal contribution in the area of modern Ukraine. His textbook "Cars" (1949) for professionals and students is in tremendous demand. We have the opportunity to trace that all scientific research in the field of rolling stock in Ukraine and abroad is based on the fundamentals of his works.

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Устяк Н.В. Винокуров М.В. щодо внеску вчених у науку про рухомий склад: ретроспективний аспект.

У статті висвітлюється ретроспективний аспект щодо історії науки і техніки через призму поглядів професора М.В. Винокурова на дослідницьку діяльність різних учених та інженерів, які зробили свій помітний внесок у розвиток українських залізниць, зокрема й науки про рухомий склад, і нині мають науково-теоретичне і практичне значення для транспорту. Проаналізовано досвід зарубіжних країн, і передусім США, що впливав на погляди вітчизняних учених у галузі вагонобудування. Розглянуті чинники формування професором М.В. Винокуровим наукових концепцій щодо розвитку науки про рухомий склад.

З'ясовано, що вітчизняні вчені закріпили високий пріоритет у розробках важливих теоретичних положень про рухомий склад, створили ефективні конструкції та окремі вузли вагона.

Визначено створення нових, науково обґрунтованих наук – будівельна механіка і динаміка вагона, основоположниками яких є М.М. Беляєв, М.В. Винокуров, В.З. Власов, М.М. Давиденков, О.М. Динник, М.Є. Жуковський, О.М. Ляпунов, М.І. Лобачевський, Є.О. Патон, М.П. Петров, І.В. Подзолів, С.В. Серенсен, Є.С. Уманський, М.М. Філоненко-Бородич, А.А. Холодецький, С.О. Чаплигін та інші.

Михайло Васильович Винокуров – відомий інженер шляхів сполучення, фахівець у галузі рухомого складу, брав участь в проведенні низки експериментальних і теоретичних наукових досліджень, теоретично обґрунтував можливість створення оригінальних і досконалих в експлуатації конструкцій рухомого складу на теренах СРСР і, зокрема, в Україні.

Список праць М.В. Винокурова щодо застосування нових технологій у вагонобудуванні дуже вражає. Різноманітна діяльність ученого свідчить про визнання його авторитету в наукових і адміністративних колах Міністерства шляхів сполучення. Де б він не застосовував свої знання і кваліфікацію інженера, це були найважливіші сфери державної політики в галузі вагонобудування та експлуатації рухомого складу залізниць.

Ключові слова: М.В. Винокуров, учені, наукові дослідження, динаміка, механіка, рухомий склад, вагон, вагонобудування

Устяк Н.В. Винокуров М.В. по поводу вклада ученых в науку о подвижном составе: ретроспективный аспект.

В статье освещается ретроспективный аспект по истории науки и техники через призму взглядов профессора М.В. Винокурова на исследовательскую деятельность различных ученых и инженеров, которые сделали свой посильный вклад в развитие украинских железных дорог, в том числе и науки о подвижном составе, и сейчас имеют научно-теоретическое и практическое значение для транспорта. Проанализирован опыт зарубежных стран, и в первую очередь США, которые влияли на взгляды отечественных ученых в области вагоностроения. Рассмотрены факторы формирования профессором М.В. Винокуровым научных концепций по развитию науки о подвижном составе.

Выяснено, что отечественные ученые закрепили высокий приоритет в разработках важных теоретических положений о подвижном составе, создали эффективные конструкции и отдельные узлы вагона.

Определено создание новых, научно обоснованных наук – строительная механика и динамика вагона, основоположниками которых являются Н.М. Беляев, М.В. Винокуров, В.З. Власов, Н.Н. Давиденков, А.Н. Динник, Н.Е. Жуковский, А.С. Ляпунов, М.И. Лобачевский, Е.О. Патон, Н.П. Петров, И.В. Подзоллов, С.В. Серенсен, Е.С. Уманский, М.М. Филоненко-Бородич, А.А. Холодецкий, С.А. Чаплыгин и другие.

Михаил Васильевич Винокуров – известный инженер путей сообщения, специалист в области подвижного состава, участвовал в проведении ряда экспериментальных и теоретических научных исследований, теоретически обосновал возможность создания оригинальных и совершенных в эксплуатации конструкций подвижного состава на территории СССР и, в частности, в Украине.

Список работ М.В. Винокурова по применению новых технологий в вагоностроении очень впечатляет. Разнообразная деятельность ученого свидетельствует о признании его авторитета в научных и административных кругах Министерства путей сообщения. Где бы он ни применял свои знания и квалификацию инженера, это были наиболее важные сферы государственной политики в области вагоностроения и эксплуатации подвижного состава железных дорог.

Ключевые слова: М.В. Винокуров, ученые, научные исследования, динамика, механика, подвижной состав, вагон, вагоностроение.

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Стаття подана: 06.04.2019.

УДК 94(477) «1941/1944»

**WATER SUPPLY IN UKRAINIAN CITIES OCCUPIED
BY THE NAZI (during 1941-1944)**

Fomin A. V.

**ВОДОПОСТАЧАННЯ МІСТ ОКУПОВАНОЇ
НАЦИСТАМИ УКРАЇНИ (1941 – 1944 pp.)**

Фомін А.В.

On the basis of a wide range of historical works and sources, it was established that during the time of their rule the Nazis paid considerable attention to the restoration of the water supply system of the Ukrainian cities destroyed during the retreat by the Red Army. This did not fit into the primary strategy of Reich, according to which large cities in the eastern occupied territories should have disappeared. Yet they remained administrative, economic, and cultural centers, despite a significant decline in the population. Water supply recovery has taken a long time and has not been fully completed. Unsatisfactory electric supply became a significant obstacle. The focus was on the central areas of cities and districts where the occupying forces or the Volksdeutsche were living. Often the water that came to the homes did not meet the required standards. Polluted drains flowed into the water bodies. The most difficult time was the freezing winter of 1941-1942, when the main source of water for the city-dwellers were ice-holes and wells. During 1942 the situation with water supply improved. This was due to the Blitzkrieg failure, the need to comply with sanitary and epidemiological standards, the hygiene of the hosted troops and population and fire safety. It should be noted that sufficient stable water supply was not achieved. Widespread were the epidemic diseases, the morbidity rate of which has increased several times. During the retreat the Nazis utilized the "scorched earth" tactics, completely breaking down the system of water supply and drainage of Ukrainian cities.

Keywords: *occupation regime, Nazism, Ukraine, water supply, cities, "scorched earth" tactics.*

Foreword. Under the circumstances of the Crimea annexation and occupation of several districts of Donetsk and Luhansk regions, the problem of a retrospective comparative analysis of the diversity of occupation regimes received a new, modern perspective. Indeed, world history and political practice has vast experience in this area: from moderate economic exploitation and development, the creation of puppet states, quasi formations and protectorates to the complete destruction of state institutions, the total exportation of resources, the transformation into a raw material base for the ruling power, genocide, the

introduction of a strict occupation administration. In general, this allows us to understand the ultimate goal of conquest. Despite the already considerable historical distance, in modern science there is a lively study of the period of Nazi occupation, a significant theoretical basis in the study of similar phenomena is gathered.

Formulation of the problem. This article does not claim to be a comprehensive coverage of the Nazi regime in Ukraine, of all manifestations of its genocidal nature. **The purpose of this study is to** highlight a small, but important aspect of it – water supply of cities and provision of their population with the necessary drinking water resources. This is not just a matter of convenience in everyday life. This is a strategic point of ensuring the health of both local civilian population and the garrisoned occupation forces in cities, their hygienic needs, and fire safety.

Analysis of recent research and publications. Historiography of the problems of the Second World War and occupation of Ukraine by the Nazi currently has several hundred volumes. A large part of it belongs to the Soviet period, which, first of all, tried to highlight all the horrors of occupation, ignoring the issue of survival of the population on occupied territory. However, since the first years of independence, fundamental changes have taken place in the approaches to the analysis of the occupation regime. During this time, the picture of the occupation reality, which in ideologically biased works consisted of the atrocities of the Nazi, the heroic struggle of the overestimated number of guerrillas was complemented by a significant amount of published memoir literature [29; 39; 51], works on economic development [40], state of different areas and zones of occupation [5; 22; 24; 33; 36; 47], the transition from awareness of general political processes to the reproduction of the everyday life of different segments of the population took place [20; 23; 38; 57], the phenomena of collaboration [31; 33; 56]. A refusal to perceive the occupation regime as a static phenomenon occurred: the transformation of the regime,

depending on military and economic factors [33; 40; 52] and the subjective views of Reich's leaders on the Ukrainian question [2; 27; 28; 49] were analyzed.

The widespread use of new methodological principles, of anthropocentric approach, allowed us to turn the focus of history onto real social needs, the life or survival of separate social groups, even families and people, perceptions of the past tragic occupation reality and at the same time display of it in all diversity [48; 49; 52]. Research involving a wide range of sources, including the memoirs of dozens of contemporaries of events, has made it possible to achieve significant progress on these issues.

Research results. Regarding the plans of Reich's leaders, with the onset of aggression, they foresaw the transformation of Ukraine into an agrarian country with a maximum extortion of raw materials and agricultural products. Part of the implementation of such a policy would be the destruction of cities and large industry as the main consumers of food and migration of urban population to the village. What were the plans of the leaders of Reich for Ukrainian cities, recorded by historians? Cities, according to Hitler were the breeding grounds for Bolshevism and Russianness. "The Germans were not under any circumstances to settle there, it is better that the soldiers lived in barracks outside the city. Destruction of the main Russian cities is the prerequisite for the eternity of our power over Russia" – wrote Hitler [2, 45.]. Erich Koch talked about destruction of the Ukrainian industry, and the proletariat driven back to the village [2, 47]. Himmler dreamed that, after twenty years, at the crossroads of highways and railways, there would be purely German cities, each of which would have at least twenty thousand people, and surrounded by purely German villages [2, 54-55].

Despite the fact that this strategy was subject to changes due to defeat of the blitzkrieg plan and the situation on the fronts, the urban population was rapidly shrinking. This was manifested in the decrease of the population of Kyiv (from 846 to 200 thousand, or more than 4 times), Kharkiv (from over 928 thousand to less than 200 thousand), the Dnipro (from 501 thousand to 280 thousand), Nikolaev (from 167 thousand to 84 thousand, twice) and other cities. According to T. Vronskaya, at the time of the liberation of Ukraine from Nazi invaders, the urban population was 38% of the prewar level [6, 5]. It should be noted that the factors involved were the mobilization, evacuation, tactics of the "scorched earth" of the Red Army, the considerable food complexities of the city's population, even famine (especially in Kharkiv and Kyiv), deportation to Reich, mass execution of the population, the Holocaust, general decline in fertility. In 1942, in Kharkiv, more than thirteen thousand people died of starvation, and in general over thirty thousand [50] during the years of occupation. The Dutch historian Karel Berkhoff draws an analogy with the Holodomor of 1932-1933, but in this case it is a question of organizing an artificial famine in large cities by the occupation regime [2]. As a result of the famine, many city-dwellers began to move

to villages, which was in line with Reich's strategy. Nevertheless, the cities themselves remained the administrative, cultural, and economic centers of the occupied Ukraine.

Having established their power, the Nazis were forced to solve the problems of urban life, providing the minimal needs of the population, quartered troops and sanitary conditions for their existence. At the same time, in the apartments of the absolute majority of the urban residents there was no centralized heating, there was no food, and visiting the village under such conditions took incredible effort. In such a difficult situation were placed, in particular, hundreds of residents of Kyiv and Kharkiv, who often did not return home, perishing from cold and famine on the streets of the city, or on rural roads in search of food. A significant factor was the lack of work for the vast majority of townsmen which left people without livelihoods and food cards. The changing of government in power, the general disorganization in the supply of the city, the support of occupants for private trade and not centralized shipment did not contribute to the betterment of the situation. The overall socioeconomic situation in the cities occupied Ukraine was extremely difficult.

Setting up the work of the sewage and water supply economy was one of the main tasks for the occupation authorities. Sanitary and epidemic security of the quartered troops, the timely extinguishing of fires depended precisely on this. A significant issue in this process was the energy supply of water-pump equipment. Applying the tactics of "scorched earth", the Red Army completely destroyed the energy infrastructure. The destruction of the water supply system continued with the beginning of occupation due to the mining of objects, actions of saboteurs and partisans. The most striking example of this situation was Kyiv.

On September 18, 1941, Soviet troops completely destroyed the water supply and sewerage network, damaged the electrical equipment and machinery of the Dnipro water supply station and the Vvedensky duct station, the collector was destroyed by the explosion at the Harbor bridge, and also the artesian water supply was terminated [21]. An eyewitness of the events, the Kyivan resident Dmytro Malakov recalled the following about this time: "Morning of September 20 came. The crane in the kitchen hissed and became silent ... There was no water anywhere ... But people were coming who carried water from the very Dnipro ..." [29, 72]. Part of Kyivans, who lived far from the river, in the first days of occupation took water from a water well or springs. Water had to be carried from the wells, which were located a few kilometers from the houses. Often the well was the only one in the area. People were lined up in queues, standing for 2-3 hours, trying to pour full buckets and bring them home without spilling. Sometimes the Germans, ordered to the wells or fire tanks to collect water, got it for the citizens too [21]. Last but not least, the lack of water supply, in turn, played a role in the destruction of a large part of the city

center during fires and explosions organized by the Red Army.

In a special message of the deputy Commissar of Internal Affairs of the USSR Savchenko to the Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPU M. Khrushchev on December 4, 1941, noted that thanks to the efforts of the workers of Water and Sewer trust the city water supply was restored [20]. But water was served, first of all, in the building, captured by the occupants and in separate buildings in the central part of the city, moreover, on the upper floors the water pressure, as a rule, was not enough. Everyday household problems, including residential ones, have become crucial for the further improvement of life for many Kyivans for a long time. Bad living conditions negatively affected the health of citizens.

For a long time the situation with water supply in Odessa, which belonged to the Romanian occupation zone Transnistria, remained difficult. Professor V. Selivanov reproached the Soviet authorities that “they fled and left the city without water, light, without factories and plants, with ruined houses”. He was supported by Professor V. Kiselev, who stated that “two months of defense have brought horrible destruction to the city, but we are confident that the military command will provide great help ...” [5].

The situation was worse in Kharkiv and Stalino (present-day Donetsk, during the occupation also known as Yuzivka), captured by the Germans at the end of October 1941. Given the acute shortage of electricity and difficult weather conditions, their city councils in the autumn-winter of 1941/1942 did not manage to provide city districts with water. So in the winter of 1941-1942 the main source of water supply were rivers, other reservoirs and wells. The queues of the elderly, children and women were formed near the ice-holes. Exhausted people had to make considerable efforts to overcome the slopes of the river banks, where they were often waited upon by German soldiers who took away buckets and used this water for various technical needs [43, 297]. In Kharkiv, the city dwellers had to cross the rivers and streams of the Kharkiv and Lopan rivers, the Zhuravlivsky slopes in order to get to the Nahirny district. Moreover, it is characteristic that, according to orders of almost all city authorities, repair of water supply and sewage and all the relevant services were carried out primarily in houses occupied by the Germans [16, 1]. The sewage system at this time also significantly malfunctioned, transferring only half of the wastewater to the treatment facilities, the rest without any filtering went down to the rivers. One can only imagine the quality of water used by the people [17, 2-3]. Unfortunately, there is not much information about water samples. On this we will dwell further.

The following data testify to the problems of the water economy of this period. Before the war, Kharkiv's water supply network gave the city 120 thousand cubic meters of water per day, including from Donetsk water supply – 50 thousand cubic meters, from artesian water supply – 70 thousand cubic meters. 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 [43, 148]. In addition, at the beginning of occupation due to weather conditions, the situation in the city was catastrophic. Frosts exceeded 30°C below zero, which became an additional factor in the failure of all water supply networks.

It must be noted that in the cities of occupied Ukraine the benefits of civilization were first used by officers of the occupation forces and local authorities, since they were occupying the central streets. A typical phenomenon at that time was the eviction of inhabitants of the central streets from their homes. In the beginning of the occupation of Kharkiv, the Germans evicted more than 4 thousand families from apartments, which they occupied, a total area of about 100 thousand square meters [42, 111]. And on December 15, 1941, the occupation authorities issued an order to evict the inhabitants of the central streets, who immediately had to go to the barracks of the machine-tool factory and of the former 8th trust, taking clothes and valuables with them. Within two days Hitler's bandits drove 16 thousand families to these barracks under the threat of shooting. In January 1942, their entire population, about 30 thousand people, was robbed, transported by car to the Drobitsky ravine and shot [42, 114]. Such atrocities continued from the beginning to the end of the rule of the Nazi regime. A similar situation was observed in Kiev and other cities where the German troops occupied the premises in a convenient city center. The Volksdeutsche were in a relatively favorable position as well.

All the same, let us note that during 1942 water supply of cities significantly improved. However, when in Kharkiv the urban water supply system started to supply water in almost all areas of the city, it turned out that a significant part of the communications around the houses and inside them was damaged. The city council found a way out of this problem by shifting responsibility for its own water supply to the inhabitants themselves, and if they did not take any measures to repair the networks, they could be fined [26, 45]. During the entire occupation, Kharkiv water supply was very limited and extremely irregular. According to the city authorities, 25 thousand cubic meters of water were received every day [26, 45]. When even not taking into account the needs of German soldiers, then it accounted for 15 liters per day per capita, and before the war this figure was as high as 120 liters. It should be noted that the population could not timely pay for utilities according to the existing tariffs of the time (5 rubles for water supply per person, 3 rubles for drainage [18, 9]),

which, of course, negatively affected the workings of utility companies. In fact, most of the water was used by German soldiers, and the population used mostly wells [43, 148].

In the Stalino (Donetsk) and Voroshilovgrad (Luhansk) regions, since spring 1942, special brigades of workers were formed for the restoration of the water economy, which were provided with all necessary facilities and at the same time produced a daily report on the work performed [12, 36, 64]. Although it was not possible to fully restore water supply in cities in a short period, however, significant progress was made in this: in particular, the water supply of city centers was restored both in Voroshilovgrad (Luhansk) and in Yuzivka [7, 50], other cities [8, 2-7] and industrial facilities. But if the daily need for water supply to the residents of Yuzivka was 9-10 thousand cubic meters daily, then in fact in January 1943 Stalino was supplied 6 thousand cubic meters [11]. Sometimes water did not meet the requirements for drinking water: one of the appeals to the city population indicated that due to the expected high turbidity of tap water during the passage of flood waters to prevent diseases of the gastrointestinal tract it is necessary to drink only boiled water [10, 4]. The situation in Yuzivka was complicated by the fact that its own water supply company "Vodokanal" did not have its own water sources, and all the water was supplied by the water supply company "Donbasvodtrest". Given this, as well as the acute shortage of electricity, the uninterrupted supply of water was impossible [13, 4]. But some water at least went to ordinary residents and, most importantly, to bath houses, disinfection points and cameras, laundries [13, 2-7].

As a result of war, residents of cities in the general district were deprived of water supplied to their homes by water pipes [35, 117]. For example, in Proskuriv city, it became accessible to ordinary citizens with the commissioning of a repaired water supply since February 1942. The city authorities immediately developed new tariffs on water. For the use of water from the water supply, owners of apartments and private houses paid 2 rubles per person a month [35, 192]. The city's population could take water free of charge only from the columns and water intake booths. In other cities of the district for water and electricity and other utilities the population paid the following tariffs: in Shepetivka city, the cost of 1 m³ of water was 1 ruble 50 kopecks (before the war 1 m³ cost 80 kopecks) [35, 193], the cost per kilowatt-hour was 1 ruble 75 kopecks (before the war only 1 ruble) [35, 194]. For consumers in the city of Kamyanets-Podilsky from April 1942 a kilowatt-hour cost 80 kopecks, 1 m³ of water – 1 ruble 70 kopecks [35, 195].

For most of Kyivan population, almost all of 1942, water was supplied only once a day at a certain time. Due to the lack of water and fuel in the city there was only one operational common bath house. In most cases, people paid for water and sewage without actually using either one [4, 203-204].

The lack of water, especially hot, and hence the inability of daily hygiene, worsened the sanitary and epidemiological situation in Kyiv. Most of the water pipelines were damaged. Cold water was extracted from the wells, courtyard cranes. Hot water, as well as electricity, was not available in most of the apartments at all because of interruptions in the operation of power plants due to lack of fuel [20].

During 1942-1943 the water supply of the former capital of Ukraine gradually improved. Residents paid 1 ruble 32 kopecks per square meter of housing and 4 rubles per each member of the family for communal utilities [56, 41].

In another large city of Ukraine – Dnipro (Dnipropetrovsk) – during the period of occupation water supply was also mostly restored. Bath houses, laundries and "Green Plants" management were functioning. Reports on the quality of drinking water in the water supply network from August 1942 to February 1943 for the city of Dnipro are preserved. In August 1942 the bacteriological laboratory tested the quality of the Dnipro water 31 times. In February 1943, 324 bacteriological and 27 chemical analyzes were carried out in reservoirs of drinking water, as well as in the water supply pipeline on Budyonny Street. It was established that the water supply was heavily contaminated with bacteria [56, 58].

However, not everywhere in the Dnipropetrovsk region the circumstances were so good. So in Vasylykivsky district of the region there was no functioning water supply company and water had to be constantly supplied because there were not enough wells with quality water [56, 42].

The immediate consequence of the long unsatisfactory state of water supply and drainage, water quality was the escalation of the epidemic situation, the spread of various diseases, which are satellites of military hardship in any case. Taking into account such factors as pollution of rivers and wells, shortage of fuel for boiling water, there was rapid spread of gastric diseases, typhus and other dangerous diseases [52, 125-127].

The response to this German command was the formation of the anti-epidemic fund. The money from it were spent on the formation of sanitary detachments, the main purpose of which was mass vaccination. Their work was largely null and void, as the overwhelming majority of the population used water from rivers or mine wells, and the lack of bath houses and laundries led to a massive pediculosis. Therefore, despite the efforts of healthcare workers, outbreaks of dysentery, typhus, malaria, diarrhea and smallpox had an epidemic nature. For example, in the Rovenkovsky district of Voroshilovgrad region in 1942, a cholera outbreak began. But the Germans kept it secret from both the public and local civilian health authorities. By protecting their troops from this disease, they did nothing to help practically helpless medical workers: disinfectants, medicines were not distributed. As a result, cholera spread among the local population (200

cases were identified, of which 150 ended lethally). A similar situation was with typhoid fever. Typhoid mass diseases have been detected in the settlements of Kuteinikovo, Pavlovka, Grigoryevka, Karakubstroy, Amvrosiev of the Stalino region. At their borders, the Germans set up special signs about the epidemic and did almost nothing to improve the situation [54, 208]. As a result of begging, famine, generally insufficient quantity of soap, disinfectants, etc. which is necessary to combat this disease, typhus in cities and large settlements has become widespread, and the number of patients has been measured by thousands. In some areas, the command issued orders for the shooting of families in which typhus would be detected. By this they drove the disease in depth, prevented it from treatment, and condemned the population to a gradual extinction [14, 95]. In the opinion of the author, the most problematic region in terms of the spread of infectious diseases was Kharkiv: the morbidity rate of the Kharkovites during the period of occupation increased by 15 times compared with the prewar period. In 1942, according to incomplete data, 7917 patients with tuberculosis were registered, of which 141 people died already in the first half year [43, 315].

To prevent the spread of dangerous epidemics in the cities of the general district, the population was held administratively liable for not complying with the established sanitary norms for the maintenance of cesspools and garbage pits and yards [35, 118].

According to the summary data by O.V. Shaikan, the incidence of typhus on occupied Ukrainian territories has increased 15 times, typhoid fever – 12 times, diphtheria – in 18 times [56, 54].

Thus, the morbidity rate of epidemic diseases under the conditions of occupation was growing rapidly, which was a direct consequence of unsatisfactory water supply and drainage in the cities of Ukraine.

During the retreat, the occupiers utilized the tactics of “scorched earth”, the main goal of which was to leave behind a desert. 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 ...” [41, 261].

In the cities of the Voroshilovgrad (Luhansk) region, the Nazis destroyed 13 water supply stations, four dams, 44,674 thousand cubic meters of economic buildings. In Stalino occupants destroyed the city water duct and the city electricity grid [30, 141].

As a result of the “scorched earth” tactics used by the Germans up to 85% of Kyiv was destroyed, up to 70% of Kharkiv, and other Ukrainian cities suffered significant losses. In the postwar period due to losses caused to urban water supply, the population was deprived of quality drinking water for a long time. People were forced to extract water from accidental, dangerous sanitary sources: rivers, streams, abandoned

wells; in winter, they were drinking snow thaw water very often, in summer it was rain water. The actual water consumption rate of the population in comparison with the prewar period decreased by 2-3 times or more [23]. It is also necessary to take into account the general policy of the Nazi leadership of Germany to destroy large cities in the occupied eastern territories. Retreating, Germans actually destroyed the system of water supply and sewage of Ukrainian cities.

Conclusion. Thus, on the basis of a wide range of historical works and sources, it was established that during the time of their rule the Nazis paid considerable attention to the restoration of the water supply system of the Ukrainian cities destroyed during the retreat by the Red Army. This did not fit into the primary strategy of Reich, according to which large cities in the eastern occupied territories should have disappeared. Yet they remained administrative, economic, and cultural centers, despite a significant decline in the population. Water supply recovery has taken a long time and has not been fully completed. Unsatisfactory electric supply became a significant obstacle. The focus was on the central areas of cities and districts where the occupying forces or the Volksdeutsche were living. Often the water that came to the homes did not meet the required standards. Polluted drains flowed into the water bodies. The most difficult time was the freezing winter of 1941-1942, when the main source of water for the city-dwellers were ice-holes and wells. During 1942 the situation with water supply improved. This was due to the Blitzkrieg failure, the need to comply with sanitary and epidemiological standards, the hygiene of the hosted troops and population and fire safety. It should be noted that sufficient stable water supply was not achieved. Widespread were the epidemic diseases, the morbidity rate of which has increased several times. During the retreat the Nazis utilized the “scorched earth” tactics, completely breaking down the system of water supply and drainage of Ukrainian cities.

The preparation of this article has shown that native historiography has not yet sufficiently developed the material on regional studies and urban history, which is a barrier to proper coverage of the Nazi occupation regime in Ukraine. In future research, in our opinion, more attention should be paid to the plight of different groups of the urban population and the Ukrainian cities themselves, the state of communal utilities and transport in them.

Література

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Фомін А.В. Водопостачання міст окупованої нацистами України (1941 – 1944 рр.).

У статті розглядається проблема забезпечення питною водою міст окупованої нацистами України. на основі широкого кола історичних праць та джерел, встановлено, що нацисти за часів свого панування приділяли значну увагу відновленню системи водопостачання міст України, зруйновану під час відступу Червоною Армією. Це не вкладалося у первинну стратегію Райху, за якою великі міста на східних окупованих територіях мали зникнути. Все ж вони залишалися адміністративними, економічними, культурними центрами, не дивлячись на значне скорочення населення. Відновлення водопостачання зайняло тривалий час та в повній мірі так і не було завершено. Значною перепоною стало незадовільне електропостачання. Основна увага приділялась центральним районам міст та районам, де компактно квартирували окупаційні війська або фольксдойче. Часто вода, яка надходила до помешкань, не відповідала необхідним стандартам. До водойм скидалися забруднені стоки. Найбільш важким часом стала надзвичайно холодна зима 1941 – 1942 рр., коли основним джерелом води для містян стали ополонки та колодязі. Протягом 1942 р. ситуація з забезпеченням водою покращувалась. Це пояснювалось провалом бліцкригу, необхідністю дотримання санітарно-епідемічних норм, гігієни розміщених військ та населення, пожежної безпеки. Зазначимо, що достатнього стабільного водопостачання досягти не вдалось. Ширилися епідемічні хвороби, захворюваність на які зроста у декілька разів. Під час відступу нацисти також застосували тактику «випаленої землі», повністю зруйнувавши і систему водопостачання та водовідведення міст України.

Ключові слова: окупаційний режим, нацизм, Україна, водопостачання, міста, тактика випаленої землі.

Фомин А.В. Водоснабжение оккупированных нацистами городов Украины (1941 – 1944 гг.).

В статье рассматривается проблема обеспечения питьевой водой городов оккупированной нацистами Украины. На основе широкого круга исторических исследований и источников, установлено, что нацисты во времена своего господства уделяли значительное внимание восстановлению системы водоснабжения городов Украины, разрушенную во время отступления Красной Армии. Это не укладывалось в первичную

стратегию Рейха, по которой крупные города на восточных оккупированных территориях должны были исчезнуть. Все они оставались административными, экономическими, культурными центрами, несмотря на значительное сокращение населения. Восстановление водоснабжения заняло длительное время и в полной мере так и не было завершено. В значительной преградой стало неудовлетворительное электроснабжения. Основное внимание уделялось центральным районам городов и районам, где компактно квартировали оккупационные войска или фольксдойче. Часто вода, поступающая в квартиры, не соответствовала необходимым стандартам. В водоемы сбрасывались загрязненные стоки. Наиболее трудным временем стала чрезвычайно холодная зима 1941 - 1942 гг., когда основным источником воды для горожан стали проруби и колодцы. В течение 1942 г. ситуация с обеспечением водой улучшалась. Это объяснялось провалом блицкрига, необходимостью соблюдения санитарно-эпидемических норм, гигиены размещенных войск и населения, пожарной

безопасности. Отметим, что достаточного стабильного водоснабжения достичь не удалось. Распространялись эпидемические болезни, заболеваемость которыми возросла в несколько раз. Во время отступления нацисты также применили тактику «выжженной земли», полностью разрушив и систему водоснабжения и водоотведения городов Украины.

Ключевые слова: оккупационный режим, нацизм, Украина, водоснабжение, города, тактика выжженной земли.

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Стаття подана: 19.03.2019

**ВІСНИК
СХІДНОУКРАЇНСЬКОГО НАЦІОНАЛЬНОГО
УНІВЕРСИТЕТУ
імені ВОЛОДИМИРА ДАЛЯ
№ 4 (252) 2019**

Науковий журнал

Відповідальний за випуск

Михайлюк В.П.

Оригінал-макет

Могильна О.В.

Статті надруковано в авторській редакції

Підписано до друку 26.04.2019 р.
Формат 60 x 84 1/8. Папір офсетний. Гарнітура Times.
Друк офсетний. Умов. друк. арк. 13,3. Обл.-вид. арк. 14,9.
Наклад 300 прим. Вид. № 3226. Заказ № 19. Ціна вільна.

Видавництво
Східноукраїнського національного університету
імені Володимира Даля

Свідоцтво про реєстрацію: серія ДК № 1620 від 18.12.03 р.

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