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СХІДНОУКРАЇНСЬКИЙ НАЦІОНАЛЬНИЙ УНІВЕРСИТЕТ  
імені ВОЛОДИМИРА ДАЛЯ**

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# ВІСНИК

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НАЦІОНАЛЬНОГО УНІВЕРСИТЕТУ  
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## DEVELOPMENT OF TECHNOLOGY OF FORTIFICATION CONSTRUCTION ON THE WESTERN REGION OF KIEVAN RUS DURING THE TATAR-MONGOL INVASION IN THE XIII-XIV CENTURIES

Anosova V. S.

## РОЗВИТОК ТЕХНОЛОГІЙ ФОРТИФІКАЦІЙНОГО БУДІВНИЦТВА НА ЗАХІДНОХ ЗЕМЛЯХ КИЇВСЬКОЇ РУСИ В ПЕРІОД ТАТАРО-МОНГОЛЬСЬКОЇ НАВАЛИ У XIII-XIV СТОЛІТТЯХ

Аносова В. С.

*In the article, the author revealed the main types of fortification fortifications of the region, which took place in the 13th-10th centuries. Traced the main trends that characterized the development of defense structures, fortifications of the cities and castles. The influence of the Tatar-Mongol invasion on defense construction in the western lands of the former Kyiv state is analyzed. The general tendencies of the fortification structures, which took place in construction, are highlighted.*

**Keywords:** construction, towers, war, tree, castle, Western Ukraine, defense, strategy, fortification, brick.

**Introduction.** In the Middle Ages, the construction of defense structures in Rus was a separate branch of construction. Permanent military clashes between the armies of the feudal lords were a common occurrence. The danger threatened the population of villages and cities not only during the invasion of foreign troops, but also at a time when there was no "official" war, and not only in the border areas, but also in the central parts of the country. That is why, in the Middle Ages, fortifications were of great importance.

**Formulation of the problem.** Considering that the castle complexes of the Western Ukrainian region are a testimony to the centuries-old history of our country and have a significant influence on the formation of historical consciousness of the Ukrainian people, it is considered appropriate to carry out a more detailed study of the stages of the construction of locks in the region

**Analysis of recent research.** The study of regional features of ancient cities, fortresses and their fortifications was considered in the writings of P. Drenka; I. Kachora; O. Matsyuk; R. Mohiticha; O. Okonchenko; B. Omelchuk; I. Pasternak; R. Stands; L.

Sparrow; V. Shisha; P. Rappoport and V. Kostochkin; Z. Fedunkiv

**Aim.** On the example of a number of castle complexes, the brickwork of which dates from the XIII-XIV centuries to trace the main trends of fortifications in the region.

**Materials and research results.** Beginning X and especially in the XI century. on the territory of Kievan Rus considerably exacerbates the military situation. At this time, the onset of the Pechenegs intensified; in the southwestern regions of Russia, a threat from the already formed Polish state was threatened, and the attacks of the Baltic, litot-Lithuanian tribes also arose. It was at this time that there were already new opportunities for the construction of fortifications. The sharp social changes that took place in Russia during the marked period led to the emergence of settlement of new types—feudal castles, princely fortresses and cities in the proper sense of the word, that is, settlements in which the dominant role was played not by agriculture, but craft and trade [11, p. 117].

Significant changes in the development of Russian military-engineering art took place in the XIII century. From the beginning of the XIII century. Kamnemetyne machines for the destruction of fortress walls are becoming popular. Until the middle of the XIII century. these new tactical techniques gradually evolve into a whole system of new tactics of assaulting fortresses. The Mongol invasion drastically changed the whole military-political situation. The Mongols brought with them a carefully designed siege of fortresses to Russia. In general, it was the same tactic that was formed at that time in Russia, but it was supported by the Mongols with the wide use of kamnemets. Already from the second half of the 12th century. written sources are increasingly reporting on the "capture" of Russian cities

through direct assault. Gradually, this technique is becoming more widespread in the XIII century. almost completely displace the tactics of passive siege [10, p. 29]. During the assault, the auxiliary devices begin to be used;— grind bundles of bundles of humus, and climb walls with the help of stairways. Kamnemetnye cars were located in front of the walls of the besieged city at a distance of 100-150 m, approximately on the range of arrows with arrows. Only at such or less distant stones could damage the walls of the fortress. Starting the siege of the city, the Mongols surrounded him with a palisade to interrupt any link of the city with the outside world, cover their riflemen and prevent the defenses of the defenders. After that, they began to systematically beat stones from stoneworkers on city walls, to break any plot or at least knock down their wooden logs, took away. When it succeeded, a massive shelling of grass plucked a marked section of the wall with arrows. Defenders who were not laced on the floor could not carry out appropriate shooting. It was on the site where the rifle defense was suppressed, the attackers threw the main forces of assault [13, p. 132-133]. In this way, the Mongols successfully took even the most fortified Russian cities and fortresses.

The use of well-developed assault techniques by the Mongols accelerated the formation of a new defense tactic in Rus and a new military-engineering defense organization. Two regions of Rus were able to recover relatively quickly from the Mongol strike—South-West (Galician-Volyn land) and North (Volodymyr-Suzdal and Novgorod) Rus. It is here that you can trace further ways of development of the Russian military-engineering affairs.

In these territories in the second half of the XIII - beginning of the XIV century. are building fortifications of a new type. Stone towers were located inside the city walls, usually closer to the most vulnerable side, which provided a wide and far-flung firing of the surrounding area. This gave the opportunity to shoot at the opponent of guns and bows from above, the towers themselves suffered little from the stroke of rocket-propelled cars. Such towers have been preserved in Kamyanets-Litovsk, Stolpen and Belovin near the town of Kholm.

During the archaeological excavations, foundations of another tower— were found in Chortorijsk. All towers differ from each other both by material and form. In Stolpje and Belovina, the towers are made of stone and have a square-shaped shape, the size of the tower in Stolp'e -  $5.8 \times 6.3$  m, in the Bolshoy -  $11.8 \times 12.4$  m. The towers in Kamyanets-Litovsk and Chortoryysk built from a brick, have a round shape in shape, their outer diameter is about 13.6 m. The height of the towers in Stolp'e is 20 m, in Kamyanets-Litovsk— 29 m. Each of the aforementioned towers is an analogy of Western European units [4, c . 102-104]. The researchers believe that the towers appeared in Volhynia under the influence of military architecture of the western neighbors of Volyn—, Poland and Hungary, where the tower-donzhons became widespread at the same time [5; with. 172].

Thus, the construction of Volyn stone towers was carried out in western traditions, which was quite

specific for the Russian lands of that period, and was dictated by the new tactical requirements prevailing in Russia. Changes in the tactics of the siege and the defense of the fortresses were reflected in Volyn, not only in the construction of individual towers-donzhons. There was also a new tendency to strengthen the most vulnerable part of the fortress, against which the enemy could put stones. This technique can be seen in Bologna cities in the late XII - early XIII century. Here, part of the perimeter of the fortification could be protected only by a natural obstacle—by the river, and on the other hand they had strengthened defense, which consisted of several lines of shafts and ditches [16, p. 50]. Very clearly the same tendency was felt in Galich, where the defense of a vicious city consists of three parallel ramparts and ditches. It is worth noting that the shafts are artificially spaced, so that between each shaft and the moat behind it is a horizontal platform. Due to this, the total width of the defensive zone— from the beginning of the first (external) ditch to the crest of the third shaft - is 84 m. As noted above, the real range of combat stones did not exceed 100-150 m, and its main task was to destroy the main city wall, standing on third, inner shaft. In this case, stones would have to be installed at a distance of no more than 50-60 m from the first moat. Meanwhile, the defenders of the city could shoot at the enemy and, in the first place, the warriors who served stone mounds through the shelter, located on the first shaft. Thus, the storming men had to shoot at a distance of 150 m while the defenders of the city— doubled a shorter distance [6, p. 49-50]. The strengthening of the floor side of the fortress also manifested itself in the fact that it was here that the towers were usually erected.

A feature of the fortifications of the XIII - the first half of the XIV century. is a differentiated approach of architects to structures in accordance with their place in the system of defense. Shafts and walls, located on the side of rather powerful natural barriers, were small and have the simplest construction. Shafts and walls on the floor side of the floor— are much more powerful and have a more complex and perfect design. Thus, the height of the shafts of Zvenigorod and the Old man - about 8 m. The front slope of the shaft made always steeper—usually not less than  $30^\circ$  to the horizon, and the rear slope—more flat. The horizontal platforms on the top of the shaft initially made narrow, as in the shafts of the XI-XII centuries, but later, with the complication of the design of the defensive walls, they reached the width of 8-9 m [3, p. 172].

Earthen embankment shaft very often did not have an internal wooden frame. For application of shafts local soil was used, the advantage was given to the use of the most dense, sometimes pure clay was used as building material, for example the strengthening of the city of Kholm. In the absence of qualitative soil, weaker materials, sometimes even sand, were used. In the regions where the soil was rocky, the shaft was completely poured out of stones. In some cases, the shafts were built with an internal wooden frame. Usually it was a log wall with short transverse cross-

legs, protruding to the rear side. Situated under the crest of the shaft, the wall emerged on its surface [7, p. 84]. This type of frame is a simplified version of the carcass of shafts in the fortresses of the XII century. and is known on examples of fortifications of Zvenigorod, Ruza, Vereya, Galich-Mersky and others like that.

In the XIII century feudal fragmentation in Rus reached the highest point. The territory, once the only, powerful state occupied by feudal principalities, is divided into three major regions: Southern Russia - Middle Dnieper, Western Rus represented by the Galician-Volyn principality, North-Western Rus, whose territory was composed of Novgorod and Pskov lands, and North-Eastern Rus, where the largest and most powerful principality of that period stretched—Vladimir-Suzdal [5, p. 74].

The Middle Dnipropetrovsk, as one of the most economically developed regions,— was completely decontaminated, resulting in a stone fortification construction here interrupted for several centuries. Western Rus, Galitsko-Volyn land and Northern Rus represented by Volodymyr-Suzdal and Novgorod lands quickly recovered from the onslaught of the Mongols and as a result, it is here that one can trace the further development of Russian defense architecture [2, p. 100-102].

It should be noted that military conflicts with the German, Swedish and Lithuanian troops during the XIII-XIV centuries had a special significance for the development of defense construction, tactics and strategy of the north-western regions of Russia. and formed the foundations of slaughter equipment of the specified period. Like the Mongols, Western European armies actively used siege equipment and a direct storming of fortresses, and this was reflected in the ancient military art. At this time, the passive blockade of the fortresses replaces the direct assault of the fortifications.

**Conclusions.** Thus, the Tatar invasion in the XIII-XIV centuries contributed to a new stage in the development of fortification technologies. In response to new methods of fighting, tactics and strategies, as well as the previously neglected siege technique - rocket-propelled machines that the Mongols gained during the conquest of China, Russian fortifications are rapidly developing. At this time, special attention is paid to the construction of the first and second lines of fortifications with the aim of pushing the enemy's forces against the walls of the fortresses, thereby reducing the efficiency of the plowing machinery. The internal structures change, the stone fortress walls are erected everywhere, stone towers - donzhons appear for the first time, it is in the western Russian lands. Such a principle of the construction of tower towers was taken by the architects of Western Russia from the neighboring countries - Poland and Hungary. This fact is evidence of the borrowing of certain fortification technologies from Western European countries.

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**Аносова В.С. Розвиток технологій фортифікаційного будівництва на західних землях Київської Русі в період татаро-монгольської навали у XIII-XIV століттях**

*У статті автор розкрив основні типи фортифікаційних укріплень регіону, що мали місце у 13-10 століттях. Простежено основні тенденції, що характеризували розвиток оборонних споруд, укріплень міст та замків. Проаналізовано вплив татаро-монгольської навали на оборонне будівництво на західних землях колишньої Київської держави. Висвітлено загальні тенденції фортифікаційних споруд, що мали місце в будівництві.*

**Ключові слова:** будівництво, вежі, війна, дерево, замок, Західна Україна, оборона, стратегія, фортифікація, цегла.

**Аносова В.С. Развитие технологий фортификационного строительства на западных землях Киевской Руси в период татаро-монгольского нашествия в XIII-XIV веках**

*В статье автор раскрыл основные типы фортификационных укреплений региона, которые имели место в 13-10 веках. Прослежены основные тенденции, характеризующие развитие оборонных сооружений, укреплений городов и замков. Проанализировано влияние татаро-монгольского нашествия на оборонное строительство на западных землях бывшей Киевской державы. Освещены*

*общие тенденции фортификационных сооружений, имевших место в строительстве.*

**Ключевые слова:** строительство, башни, война, дерево, замок, Западная Украина, оборона, стратегия, фортификация, кирпич.

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UDC 56:591](092) М. В. Павлова

## ACADEMICIAN MARIYA PAVLOVA ON THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF POST-TERTIARY ELEPHANTS FROM TIRASPOL GRAVEL

Deforz H.V.

### АКАДЕМІК М.В. ПАВЛОВА ПРО ІСТОРИЧНИЙ РОЗВИТОК ПІСЛЯТРЕТИННИХ СЛОНІВ З ТИРАСПОЛЬСЬКОГО ГРАВІЮ

Дефорж Г.В.

*Academician M.V. Pavlova successfully conducted her research in several scientific fields. She was interested in the problems of paleozoology, studied the causes of extinction of animals in past geological epochs, investigated the fossil remains of elephants, rhinos, tapirs, ungulates, lower Cretaceous ammonites, described numerous fossil remains of mammals of Tiraspol gravel. Her talent was clearly manifested in the field of science, unusual were her abilities in the history of science, and in the promotion of paleozoological knowledge. Pavlova made a significant contribution to the treasury of world science by her many-sided scientific, social and pedagogical activity. Her merits in creating a national paleozoological school are invaluable. Her paleozoological works are known far beyond our country. Encyclopedism and theoretical thought are characteristic features of M.V. Pavlova, born as a result of the continuous work of a scientist. Her works mark a deep knowledge of history and a belief in the succession of all things progressive. She interestingly and publicly taught the most difficult questions, wrote her works with great pedagogical skill. A special place among scientific works of Pavlova is occupied by those studies that resulted from the generalization, critical rethinking of new concepts: studies of fossil elephants, phylogenetic rows of ungulates, environmental impact on ungulates. An analysis of these concepts has allowed her to draw very important conclusions that are consistent with our time.*

**Key words:** Paleozoology, M.V. Pavlova, Paleontology, Tiraspol gravel, elephants, Deinotherium, Mastodons.

**Introduction.** The importance of paleozoological research for taxonomy and systematics, evolutionary morphology and phylogenetics, paleoecology, biostratigraphy and paleogeography is now universally recognized and undeniable. The development of the systematics and phylogeny of mammals relates to problems of theoretical content and is based on the principles of the evolution of adaptations as the basis of phylogenetics. Applied tasks of this direction are realized through comparative-morphological analysis

and evolutionary morphology, practical systematics and phylogeny of groups, biostratigraphic schemes and paleogeographic maps. The history of paleozoology, as a separate field of natural knowledge, initiated more than 150 years ago, testifies to the successive stages of the development of the animal world and includes a whole range of ways of knowing the evolution of the organic world through the field of zoology and historical geology. In fact, it is the history of the formation of Paleozoology, an independent science of extinct mammal forms from the beginning of their formation in the early Mesozoic and up to the present. Ukrainian scientists have made a significant contribution to paleozoology, its history and major achievements.

**General problem setting.** Our research results of the contribution of academician M.V. Pavlova into the study of post-Tertiary elephants from Tiraspol gravel is based on a broad analysis of her scientific paleozoological heritage. It is reflected in numerous publications, manuscripts, catalogs, diagrams and various media (monographs, textbooks, articles, etc.).

Publications of Pavlova testify that in the history of the study and knowledge of the extinct fauna there were certain periods or stages of analytical synthesis of the accumulated data and achievements. These publications include the works of M.V. Pavlova: "Fossil Elephants" (1899) [1], "Post-Tertiary Elephants from Different Territories of Russia" (1909) [2], "Findings of Elasmotherium sibiricum in the Stavropol Province and Other Locations" (1916) [3], "Causes of the extinction of animals in past geological epochs" (1924) [4], "An outline of the historical development of the study of tertiary and post-tertiary fossil mammals found in Russia" (1922) [5], "Elephants of the southern USSR *Elephas planifrons* Falc. and others" (1931) [6]. These scientific works of M.V. Pavlova cover the history

issues of paleozoology and, in particular, the origin of elephants. Almost 100 years have passed since the final analytical publications on the subject, so our data characterize mainly the first third of the twentieth century.

**Analysis of recent research and publications.**

Academic Heritage of Academician M.V. Pavlova was considered in the works of Chaurina R.O. [7], Bessudnova Z.A. [8], Zagrebayeva V.M. [9]. However, even today, the analysis of the scientific work of Academician Pavlova, as a Ukrainian scientist, remains relevant.

**The purpose and objectives of the research.** To carry out the analysis of works of academician M.V. Pavlova on the study of post-Tertiary elephants, including in the territory of Ukraine, to reveal the little-studied problem in paleozoological science.

**Presentation of the basic research material.** The history of the study of extinct elephants of the fauna of Romania, Moldova and Ukraine has been known since the beginning of the 19th century, which is recorded in archival materials and publications of European naturalists. The first half of the nineteenth century. was a period of accumulation of materials and data on fossil elephants from Tiraspol gravel extracted for railway construction of tracks near Tiraspol (then Kherson province). Part of this collection, especially of Artiodactyla mammals (including elephants), was immediately elaborated by M.V. Pavlova in 1907 [10]. At the same time, she was offered by Kyiv professors P.Ya. Armashevsky and V.V. Hvoyk to study the bones of elephants collected by them during excavations of the Kyiv-Kirillovsky stand. M.V. Pavlova immediately agreed to inspect the collection of bones of elephants in Kiev. In addition, she received elephant teeth from sediments in present-day Moldova and the Odessa region of Ukraine (especially in the Kuyalnyk stuary zone). Also she got the remains of an elephant found in the territory of the modern Russian Federation in Nizhny Novgorod province from the professors V.D. Laskaryov and I.P. Tolmachov. The data of the bones of the elephants were immediately deposited in the Museum of Peter and St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences (they are still stored in St. Petersburg today).

Mariya Pavlova is the outstanding scientist-paleozoologist, geologist and paleontologist, doctor of zoology, professor (1910), academician of the AUAS (1921), corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR (1925), honorary academician of the USSR Academy of Sciences (1930), Honorary Member of the Paleontological Society, Head of the Paleontological Museum and Head of the Department of Paleontology at Moscow University (1919–1930).

Mariya Pavlova (Gortynska), is from Kozelets of Chernihiv region. She is one of the most prominent paleontologists and paleozoologists of our country and the world in general. She has written a number of scientific papers related to the evolution of fossil mammals in the territory of modern Ukraine, about which she had no idea. Her major works are devoted to

the history of fossil ungulates (horses, rhinos, various artiodactyl and elephants). In particular, M.V. Pavlova identified the ancestor of the modern horse. She expressed her opinion about the place of the hoofed tertiary horse-hipparion in the evolutionary tree of horses. Before her, the hipparion was considered as a direct ancestor of the horse. Mariya has convincingly shown that it is only a side branch. She also suggested that horses and paleotheria should be excluded from direct ancestors. All this contradicted the conventional wisdom at the time. However, thanks to the research of M.V. Pavlova, her point of view on location in the evolutionary development of the horse hipparion and paleotheria became dominant. M.V. Pavlova published a manual “Paleozoology” (in 2 parts), for a long time headed the Department of Paleontology at Moscow University, created a section “Fossil Mammals” at the Paleontological Museum.

Although the work on the study of the bones of fossil elephants in the early twentieth century extended, but the main material is still the remains of elephants from Tiraspol gravel, represented by several jaws, more than 35 teeth, both upper and lower. The bones of other parts of the body of the elephants were large in number, though incomplete, but still gave some idea of the elephants of antiquity, their size, distribution, etc.

In the work of M.V. Pavlova (1907) post-tertiary animals, which included part of the material from the Tiraspol gravel, emphasized that she sought to determine the age of geological deposits in the mammal and shell fauna. She concluded that the elephants from under Tiraspol are the closest to the geological layers of Mosbach, the oldest layers of Germany.

In this article Pavlova gives general information, and in the next article in 1909 went to paleontological presentation of the material, in order to explain the question whether it is really possible to attribute the remains of elephants to *El. trogontherii* Pohl. She noted that by chance, the material she found was much larger than that described for her for this species.

Studying the bones of elephants from Tiraspol gravel, she wondered, first of all, the size of the bones, which significantly outweighed the size of the mammoth bones. After comparing the Tiraspol forms of elephants with European elephants, she began to compare them with elephants from other countries in Asia and America, of which there was rich material in the literature. The main feature of the characteristic teeth of *El. planifrons* were additional humps between the enamel plates. And this feature existed on the teeth of elephants from Tiraspol gravel – very thick enamel with rounded humpbacks and large gaps filled with cement, complemented the similarity of the teeth of these fossil elephants with the teeth of mastodons.

M.V. Pavlova turned to the elephants of North America. She found forms that appeared to be similar to the Tiraspol elephants. Yes, *El. columbi*, which most paleozoologists bring closer to *El. meridionalis*, and even more so with *El. the emperor*, whose large body size is exactly the size of the Tiraspol elephants. All

comparisons point to the community of such remote forms. A comparative study of extinct elephants with current elephants indicates a genetic link between *El. namadiens* and *El. africanus*, on the one hand, and *El. ahntiquum* and *El. indicus* – on the other.

M.V. Pavlova concludes that the mammoth skull, brought from Indigirka, was one of the first skulls, which became the basis not only for the study of fossil remains of elephants in the Russian Empire, but also gave rise to the science that owes its origin to G. Cuvier, – paleontology. Moreover, M.V. Pavlova concludes that already at the end of the eighteenth century the study of domestic post-tertiary fossil fauna was started using a comparative-anatomical method. M.V. Pavlova also noted that under the influence of G. Cuvier's works there was an opinion that some of the extinct species are close to those animals that live today but are not identical with them. Even close-knit, one-of-a-kind species are broken down into separate species for a more detailed study of their skeletons, especially teeth. In J.I. Fischer von-Waldheim this is used in the study of elephants.

M.V. Pavlova notes that E.I. Eichwald points in his “Paleontology of Russia” to the remains of mastodons and dinotheria, such as those found in the soils with mammoth in the Podolsk and Volyn provinces. The application of the evolutionary method in the study of fossil mammals became the best way in the works of M.V. Pavlova for the period from 1886 to 1907. The study of post-tertiary forms is the last section of the study of the development of their tertiary precursors, on the one hand, and the link with modern animals, on the other [11].

In 1914, M.V. Pavlova, in her work, “A brief description of the new tertiary mammal fauna of southern Russia,” noted that during the last five years, the mammal's findings in Russia have been a great joy, although the first find about the dinosaur tooth was mentioned by P.S. Pallas as early as 1777 [12]. Most of these remains are individual teeth or bones, so finding a whole skull, such as a camel skull (*Procamelus*), was considered a rarity. Mariya also states that almost all the remains of mammals found in the south of Ukraine are concentrated in the following provinces: Podil, Kherson, Volyn, as well as in Bessarabia, Crimea and the Caucasus. Although these remains were sometimes not very significant, we still managed to establish the presence of new forms of fossil animals in our tertiary fauna. For example, *Protohippus* and *Anchitherium*. Even *Hipparion*, this common tertiary animal, was represented by only a few teeth in the paleontology office of Moscow University, and other universities were not richer.

An accidental finding of the jaw of this animal, found in one of the ravines of the village Grebinnyky (30 km from Tiraspol, Moldova) caused excavations in the area and allowed the enrichment of several museums with numerous and diverse mammal remains.

Almost simultaneously with the opening of excavations near the village Grebinnyky, Professor V.D.

Laskarev found another bone-enriched site for almost all major representatives – the village of Taraklia in Bessarabia. Following this discovery, other localities appeared: near Sevastopol, Odessa, Tudorov (now Tudora village), and Chobruchi in Bessarabia (now Moldova). Most of these collections came to the University of Odessa as the closest location to fossil mammals discovered by the researchers, as well as to the Petersburg Academy of Sciences and to the Geological Committee in Petrograd, which were also actively involved in the excavations.

Much of the remnants of the designated areas have been made available to the Geological Museum of Moscow University, which became the material for articles by M.V. Pavlova on tertiary and post-tertiary mammals, published in 1913–1914. Pavlova reported the first fossil mammals near the village Grebinnyky, even then emphasizing their importance. After all, the animal forms found there were new to the deposits of southern Ukraine and indicated their closeness to the forms of Pikermi and Samos island (Greece), with the forms of Kurouren (France) and Eppelsheim (Germany). Since then, collections of fossil mammals have increased significantly, so Mariya in her article provides a detailed description of forms from the following areas: Tiraspol – line of railway, villages – Grebinnyky, Taraklia, Tudor, Chobruchi, Kalfa.

The sediments in which mammal remains were found are considered identical with the Pikermi deposits. This conclusion was reached by the husband of Mariya Vasylivna – a geologist and paleontologist A.P. Pavlov when he visited in 1908 with her some of the listed areas. He formed his conclusion on the basis that these sediments had no turtle invertebrates at all. Mariya Vasylivna began the description of the ungulates (camels, gazelles, deer, pigs), which are represented by as many as 7 families of tooth-and-tooth animals. The researcher also did not miss the attention of the equine animals (horses, hipparions, elephants, Mastodons, *Deinotherium*), carnivores (6 genera – feline, hyenas, marten), and after a detailed description concluded that in Ukraine the forms closest to the fauna Pikermi in these areas by the number of investigated forms. Moreover, she found that there is one such representative in Ukraine that is absent in the Pikermi fauna – it is a species of fossil *Aceratherium*. Stranger are the forms that have much in common with the forms of North America. However, M.V. Pavlova says: “We know that this is not the first indication of the community of representatives of the known deposits of the Old and New Worlds. This is another confirmation of the connection between these continents in the tertiary era” [Ibid, p. 190].

M.V. Pavlova also notes that ordinary fauna, similar to ours, is called the Pikermi fauna, or the hipparion fauna, or the dinosaur fauna. But this is not entirely true, since the last two names, in particular, have a wide geological distribution from the Upper Miocene to the Upper Pliocene, and their different forms vary in different layers. Recent findings of fossil

tertiary mammals in southern Ukraine today confirm this. Sevastopol fauna with hipparions, described by A.O. Borysyak, much younger than the fauna of Chorbinniki and Chobruch. The above-mentioned forms, which inhabited a vast area from southern France, through Germany, Austria, southern Russia (Ukraine), Greece, Persia (Iran), Central Asia, and reached North America died at the same time after a long geological life, apparently due to some unusual catastrophes [Ibid., p.191]. And further Mariya Vasylyvna paints a picture of that terrible tragedy: “The conditions in which fossil remains of these animals in the above-mentioned localities found are of a general nature i.e. chaotic. All bones are broken, mixed, pressed into each other. I saw it in Pikermi, in the Cucuronan and here. Descriptions of other places – Samos, Maraga – give the same. Apparently, these various animals were killed at the same time and found themselves in very strong streams, which carried them quickly, breaking and mixing, setting aside places in each country and covering them with silt and sand. In addition to the mammals described, there are turtles in our collections that are close to but not identical to Pikermi ones. They will be described separately. March 10, 1914” [Ibid., p. 191].

Such features of the research program of M.V. Pavlova in Palaeozoology as latitude and pragmatic are to be mentioned. The latitude was determined by the drift of research towards the direction of the fauna, which originated and departed from the main line of paleozoology development in the twentieth century [13]. A similar drift towards geology has been sustained by actively working as researchers, students of M.V. Pavlova, especially V.V. Menner, M.O. Bolhovitinova, M.I. Shulga-Nesterenko et al. On the other hand, the rapid growth and differentiation of paleozoology, its rapid entry into the “great science” phase, have also swallowed up many professional geologists and, in part, the objects of their research. The breadth and pragmatic focus of the program at the school Pavlova provided her with a long life beyond the real science school, to this day.

Reflections on the Specific Program of the Scientific Paleozoological School M.V. Pavlov shows that the research program of any scientific school carries both the sprouts of the progress of scientific knowledge and the breakthrough in understanding phenomena, and factors that inhibit or stabilize the scientific process, sometimes divert it away.

**Conclusions.** In conclusion, it should be mentioned that the program of identification of scientific schools has gained high popularity in the post-Soviet space. At the same time, when selecting scientific schools, they often forget to take into account their main feature – the presence of a research program. Although science schools are notable for their competing research programs.

The reconstruction of the research program of a scientific school is always laborious and is a non-trivial task for the historian and sociologist of science. We

made an attempt to reconstruct the research program of the Paleozoological School of M.V. Pavlova that has become a prominent phenomenon in world paleozoological science. Elephant fossils from the Tiraspol gravel (Moldova) occupy an extremely important place in the research of M.V. Pavlova. With our publication, we call on modern paleozoologists to actively explore the world's fossil elephants.

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**Дефорж Г.В. Академик М.В. Павлова про історичний розвиток післяретинних слонів з тираспольського гравію.**

Академик М.В. Павлова успішно проводила свої дослідження відразу за декількома науковими напрямками. Вона займалася проблемами палеозоології: вивчала причини вимирання тварин у минулих геологічних епохах, досліджувала викопні рештки слонів, носорогів, тапірів, непарнокопитних і парнокопитних, нижньокрейдових аммонітів, описала численні викопні рештки ссавців Тираспольського гравію. Її талант яскраво проявився у галузі природознавства, незвичайними були її здібності і в історії науки, і в популяризації палеозоологічних знань. Своєю багатогранною науковою, громадською і педагогічною діяльністю М.В. Павлова зробила вагомий внесок до скарбниці світової науки. Неоціненними є її заслуги у створенні вітчизняної палеозоологічної школи. Її палеозоологічні праці відомі далеко за межами нашої країни. Енциклопедизм і теоретична думка – характерні риси М.В. Павлової, які народилися в результаті безперестанної роботи вченої. Її праці відзначаються глибоким знанням історії і віра у наступництво всього прогресивного. Вона цікаво і загальнодоступно викладала найбільш складні питання, писала свої праці з великою педагогічною майстерністю. Особливе місце серед наукових праць М.В. Павлової посідають ті дослідження, які стали результатом узагальнення, критичного переосмислення нових концепцій: дослідження викопних слонів, філогенетичні ряди копитних тварин, вплив навколишнього середовища на копитних тварин. Аналіз цих концепцій дозволив їй зробити дуже важливі висновки, які співзвучні нашому часі.

**Ключові слова:** палеозоологія, М.В. Павлова, палеонтологія, Тираспольський гравій, слони, динотерії, мастодонти.

**Дефорж А.В. Академик М.В. Павлова об историческом развитии послетретичных слонов с Тираспольского гравия.**

Академик М.В. Павлова успешно проводила свои исследования сразу по нескольким научным направлениям. Она занималась проблемами палеозоологии: изучала причины вымирания животных в прошлых геологических эпохах, исследовала ископаемые остатки слонов, носорогов, тапиров, непарнокопытных и парнокопытных, нижнемеловых аммонитов, описала многочисленные ископаемые остатки млекопитающих Тираспольского гравия. Её талант ярко проявился в области естествознания, необычными были её способности и в истории науки, и в популяризации палеозоологических знаний. Своей многогранной научной, общественной и педагогической деятельностью М.В. Павлова сделала весомый вклад в сокровищницу мировой науки. Неоценимыми являются её заслуги в создании отечественной палеозоологической школы. Её палеозоологические труды известны далеко за пределами нашей страны. Энциклопедизм и теоретическая мысль – характерные черты М.В. Павловой, родившихся в резуль-

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*тате непрестанной работы ученой. Её работы отличаются глубоким знанием истории и вера в преемственность всего прогрессивного. Она интересно и общедоступно преподавала наиболее сложные вопросы, писала свои работы с большим педагогическим мастерством. Особое место среди научных трудов М.В. Павловой занимают те исследования, которые стали результатом обобщения, критического переосмысления новых концепций: исследования ископаемых слонов, филогенетические ряды копытных животных, влияние окружающей среды на копытных животных. Анализ этих концепций позволил ей сделать очень важные выводы, которые созвучны нашему времени.*

**Ключевые слова:** палеозоология, М.В. Павлова, палеонтология, Тираспольский гравий, слоны, динотерии, мастодонты.

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## THE WORKERS OF THE DONBAS COAL MINES IN THE POST REFORM PERIOD

Dovzhuk I. V.

### РОБІТНИКИ ВУГІЛЬНИХ ШАХТ ДОНБАСУ В ПОРЕФОРМЕНИЙ ПЕРІОД

Довжук І. В.

*The article deals with the problems of providing labor in the coalmines of the Donets Basin in the post reform period. Attention is drawn to the use of female and child labor in the production process, and the conditions under which this happened are being ascertained. It is noted that the intensive development of the coal industry in the 1880-1890s led, on the one hand, to a high growth rate in the number of workers employed in coal mining, and on the other, it exacerbated the deficit of this category of workers. Gradually, with the development of industry in the region, a constant contingent of miners took shape. As a result, the so-called mining families began to form in the coal industry of Donbass, which later became a tangible source of replenishing the ranks of workers.*  
**Keywords:** Donbass, mines, coal, coal industry, miners, workers.

**Introduction.** The French Catholic, who arrived in Makeyevka in July 1908, described his impressions as follows: "This is a strange land. The earth is as black as the coal that is extracted from it. There is no tree and grass, and it looks more like a desert than what I saw behind the Jordan. The only vegetation here is an unusual grass with twisted leaves of grayish-green color. On a soil with wide creases, somewhere deep scattered ravines, blurred by rainstorms flowing over the fertile land and disappearing, leaving almost no traces of moisture. The air is hot and dry, and a strong wind that flies from the steppe seems to turn this place into hell in the winter "[4, p. 34].

The first miners, if you can call them, were peasants in Donbass. It was the peasants who honored the opening of the most important coal deposits, and many of them in the search for minerals have proved themselves to be excellent explorers. Welter-industrialist O. V. Shirman, paying tribute to the peasants-ore-diggers, wrote: "Numerous entrepreneurial works are formed precisely because of the fact that the peasants were made intelligence and excellent places ... These are these peasant works in many places pointed to the

wealth that hid in the depths of the earth and served as a reason for further development of industry "[10, p. 114].

Analysis of research and publications. This problem was viewed in one way or another in his writings by O. P. Reent, O. B. Shlyakhov, I. Felkner, P. Fomin, L. Liberman and other researchers.

The purpose of this intelligence is to analyze a number of aspects regarding the formation of the coal industry in the Donetsk basin. Pay attention to the working conditions of the workers of coal mines of that time, especially women and children, who due to poverty had to work in mines.

**Presenting main material.** The nature of the settlement of the studied region was, according to the exact characteristic of P. I. Fomin, "unregulated spontaneous folk colonization" [13, p. 328]. Indeed, in the then Donbass there was a lot of different incoming people. In the southern provinces, the local population constantly lacked working hands to process land, harvest, especially in productive years, and at the time of collecting bread and herbs there were many as peasants of the central provinces, as well as various questionable elements: "From all over Russia, and from the north especially went great artel mercenaries to the South. They walked along the big and small roads, obliquely behind their shoulders, boys and girls, hired along the road in a mower and rowing. The whole villages walked along the roads, in the dust and stuffy, barefooted and quiet, in anticipation of hard work ... There were a lot of free peasants with tickets and landlords with passports; but ... there were still more fugitives "[13, p. 331]. It was from this incoming element that recruited more than half of the workers of the coal mines of the Donetsk basin.

It should be noted that the local population was reluctant to go to the mines, being farmers. Thus, in the Slavianserbsky district, the coal industry was quite broadly developed, "... but in spite of this, the local peasant population is firmly holding agriculture. Even

those peasant communities that have their own coal mines in their area, give this fishery only part of the time not engaged in agricultural work, often rent their mines for a more or less long term, and in some cases even exchange land with coal mines and layers on the ground capable of agricultural production "[9, p. 159]. It is clear that the peasants of the Donetsk region, in contrast to the Tula or Orlov peasants, had a great opportunity to exist at the expense of their agriculture and not go to the mine with incredibly difficult working conditions. Zemsky researchers in this regard noted that "the coal industry is more important for the population of other provinces than for the inhabitants of Ekaterinoslav province" [9, p. 384].

The duties entrusted to the peasants by the state were beyond their control, many of them devastated. Assigned peasants have repeatedly filed complaints and petitions in various instances. It was clear to everyone that leaving the factory to the list of peasant peasants is not feasible. The government has decided to replace them with "indispensable" workers. In the proposal of the Mining Council on this subject, it was emphasized that the inhabitants of all settlements (Kamiannyi Brid, Verkhniy, etc.) should be transferred to "indispensable" workers with all their land, with all the children who are present in them, and then born. On January 10, 1821, Alexander I signed a decree according to which the inhabitants of Kamiannyi Brid and Verkhniy settlements, in the past, military settlers, and now state-owned peasants, were transferred to the state of "indispensable" workers of the Lugansk Foundry. This category of auxiliary workers was introduced at this enterprise on the example of the Ural factories.

The inhabitants of Stone Brody relied on factory works. The peasants of the village of Upper were obliged to transport the coal to the plant, to perform other works on the mines. "Indispensable" workers were given a meal - two pounds of flour per month for the worker and a pood for a dependent, a monetary allowance of 20 rubles. for a year. For this category of workers, a strict parity order was established. Above them were the officer, the elder, the centurion, the tenants, who were constantly watching that the workers with all precision fulfilled their responsibilities [6, p. 69]. But December 3, 1827, in connection with the inability to execute such a method of using "indispensable" workers, the government translated them into the master, at the same time depriving the land and passing it to the attention of the Lugansk plant [5, p. 32].

After the reform of 1861 coal mining in the Donbass becomes industrial. In the 1860s, it more than doubled (from 6 to 13.4 million pounds) [1, p. 95], and after a quarter of a century the extraction of mineral fuel already amounted to 240 million pounds. In the period of 1873-1882 gg. The number of mines increased from 88 to 179 [8, p. 137].

Coal mines in the Donbas were usually serviced mainly by seasonal workers, and there was no need to speak of the presence of any significant personnel of

permanent workers. This was especially evident in the western part of the basin, where, in the 1860s, local landlords and peasants were dominant, which in general suspended their work in spring-summer due to the lack of working hands. In the Hrushevsky district at the beginning of the 1870s, according to the testimony of the mining engineer Shostak, who examined the Yuzovsk factory in the autumn of 1870, anthracite mines employed annually up to 3 thousand people, also mostly "coming workers from the provinces of Orlov, Tula, Tambov and Kursk, more from the first three. But these workers mostly come from the month of October to Easter; their transition from the place of residence to the mines is complicated; but the same workers from them are very few "[13, p. 335].

It should be noted that the local population was reluctant to go to the mines, being farmers. Thus, in the Slavianserbsky district, the coal industry was quite broadly developed, "... but in spite of this, the local peasant population is firmly holding agriculture. Even those peasant communities that have their own coal mines in their area, give this fishery only part of the time not engaged in agricultural work, often rent their mines for a more or less long term, and in some cases even exchange land with coal mines and layers on the ground capable of agricultural production "[9, p. 159]. It is clear that the peasants of the Donetsk region, in contrast to the Tula or Orlov peasants, had a great opportunity to exist at the expense of their agriculture and not go to the mine with incredibly difficult working conditions. Zemsky researchers in this regard noted that "the coal industry is more important for the population of other provinces than for the inhabitants of Ekaterinoslav province" [9, p. 384].

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The situation was such that the owners of the mines of Donbass most of their workers should not be recruited from among local residents, but from the arrived workers who could not eat from their main occupations and were looking for outside earnings. . Mostly it was the peasants who worked in the mines during the free time from September to April. Since the beginning of the spring, they left mining work and went to the field. Thus, within four or five months of the year, mines remained almost no workers. "Such breaks and stops have a detrimental effect on the conduct of business, in accordance with the rules of mining technology and mine management, as mining productions are filled with water and, while remaining non-cast for a long time, need reinforced fasteners to prevent their crashes, and thus make the owner of the mine enter in unnecessary expenses, not to mention those monetary losses, which inevitably leads to a stop at any enterprise ", - summed up V. Islavin [2, p. 75]. This situation was characteristic of the whole Russian factory industry. In Donbass, local factors were added to it: the use of future workers in the sparsely populated areas of the region. As P.I. Fomin noted, the sparse population and the wealth of the province, the ease of finding an additional income for future workers and

agriculture, led to the fact that only the extreme need was forced into the mine, because the work of the miner was both heavy and dangerous [13, with. 338].

The situation began to change with the construction of railways and the emergence of the first metallurgical plants. Thus, the emergence in the 1870s of the large Yuzovsky and Sulinsky metallurgical plants at that time led to an increase in the number of workers in the coal and steel industry somewhere in 4 times - from 4 thousand people in 1870 to 15-16 thousand in 1880 [7, p. 98].

In connection with the increase in demand for mineral fuels, in the late 80's - in the early 90's of the nineteenth century. there was a real entrepreneurial boom, which contributed a lot to the construction of railways. So, if in 1884 in the industrial South there were only 24 mines, where 2356 workers worked, then in 1898 in the region there were already more than 250 mines with a constant number of workers up to 32 thousand [15, p. 58].

Consequently, with the growth of large enterprises in the Donbas, the problem of ensuring their labor force becomes one of the most important for many years, which is of vital importance to the industry of the basin.

The issue of providing coal to the Donbas labor force rose first by individual enterprises, and then did not descend from the agenda of congresses mining industry South of. Thus, mining explorer I. Felckner, in his work "Stone Coal and Iron in Russia" (1874), suggested that the government "expel" the factory population to the south of Russia artificially, at least in the early days. According to Felckner, to create a solid government cadre should have thrown up to 10 thousand people in the Donbas [12, p. 97].

Intensive development of the coal industry in the 80-90-ies of the XIX century. led, on the one hand, to the exceptionally high growth rates of the number of workers employed in the coal industry, and on the other, heightened the shortage of this category of workers.

Gradually with the development of the industry of the Donetsk basin there was a constant contingent of miners. As a result, the formation of more or less permanent personnel in the coal industry of the Donbas in the late XIX - early XX century. the so-called miner's families began to form, which became in the future a tangible source for replenishing the lavas of the mining workers.

We emphasize that the difficult conditions of manual labor in the coal industry could withstand relatively young and physically healthy men. According to the census of 1897 in the coal industry of the Donbas, women were about 1% of the total number of workers [14, p. 16]. But according to the Statistical Office of the Council of the Congress of Mining Industry South of Russia for 1902, women in the Donbass mines accounted for 2.4% [3, p. XLVI]. In the mines, women worked mainly on the surface, with the election of empty breed and sorting of coal, rolling and unloading of cars.

Interestingly, in our opinion, there is data collected from the reports of the Statistical Bureau of the Congress of Miners of the South of Russia and published in the explanatory note to the exhibits of the All-Russian hygienic exhibition, held in 1913.

**Distribution of workers by sex and age  
by groups of production in 1911 [11, p. 6]**

Enterprises by groups depending on coal production	Men		Women		Kids and Teens		Together	
	quantity	%	quantity	%	quantity	%	quantity	%
And the group with the extraction of more than 5 million pounds.	84171	92,37	1261	1,38	5690	6,25	91122	100
Group II with a yield of 1 to 5 million pounds.	6199	85,73	211	2,92	821	11,35	7231	100
Group III with a yield of 0.5 to 1 million pounds.	418	84,44	25	5,05	52	10,51	495	100
IV group with extraction from 0.1 to 0.5 million pounds.	1015	90,46	47	4,19	60	5,35	1122	100
V group with production less than 0.1 million pounds.	80	79,21	18	17,82	3	2,97	101	100
Together	91883	91,82	1562	1,56	6626	6,62	100071	100

As we can see, women's and child labor occupy a rather significant place on the mines of the Donetsk basin: from every hundred workers of all groups of production of women and children 8.2% worked. In the second production group, this category of labor is 14.3% of the total number of workers, in the third group - 15.5%, and in the fifth (the smallest mines) - 20.8%. It should be borne in mind that children's and women's work have actually been developed even more, especially in small peasant mines.

These data differ significantly from the data of the age structure of workers given by the researcher S.I. Potolov in accordance with the All-Russian Census of 1897 [7, p. 127].

Total of workers	Of them in percent as a whole, by age					
	Up to 14 years	15-16 years old	17-19 years old	20-39 years old	40-59 years	60 years or more
3246 6	0,9	1,5	11,1	73,4	12,4	0,7

This can be explained mainly by the fact that the data of the census were official, and therefore the share of child labor in mines was likely to be deliberately underestimated by entrepreneurs.

It is clear that the hard labor in the mines was influenced by the most able-bodied population (17-39 years old), especially since it quickly depleted workers, therefore, such a small percentage of the elderly.

Statistics on the use of child labor in mines were rather controversial. The law of March 9, 1892, prohibited the use of labor for children under the age of 15 in underground and night work. However, the administration of mines constantly violated these rules. L. Lieberman, who worked in the Donbass for many years, wrote on this subject: "In order to judge the application of laws that restrict child labor, it is necessary to go to any coal mine to enter the building of coal-fired or other cars, or in the so-called" lamp branch " - the rooms where the poured, burned out and given to the workers of the lamp and you will see a whole series of little boys who move among the lamps, wipe, pour, charge them with pistons for automatic ignition in underground workings ... ". And further. "With pale, tired faces, smeared with soot and soot, with black hands, extremely opaque, they are moving fast in a large house, under the indigestible eye of the chieftain. Most of them are difficult to give and 13 years, constantly falling children of eleven years. But if you ask anyone how old he is, he will, to your surprise, answer: "fifteen." This is often done by an order (of course, informal) of a lower administration that performs the "law" in this way, besides, the boy himself is not interested in discovering the truth: he may get rid of this place, which opens to him the prospect of malnutrition, eternal reproaches at home in laziness and paramodity. This was the law of the working age children. No less accurately he adhered to the length of the working day and night work. "

And further. "One of the mines we examined (Uspenska near Luhansk), the minors worked in two shifts, day and night for 12 hours each ... The same phenomenon can be observed in most large and small mines when sorting coal, where 10-13- old girls and boys for 12 hours choose their hands, with the help of small bosom, pieces of minerals found in coal, getting 25-35 kopecks for it. for a day. At the "horse" mines, that is, where coal is raised to the surface with the help of horses, the children 12 hours a day and night forced to walk around, adjusting horses "[5, p. 18-19, 54].

Speaking about work at the Donbas mines, it should be noted that there were many accidents there. Thus, for the period from 1906 to 1910, out of every thousand Donbass miners, 329 were counted at work, while only one out of every thousand factory workers received injuries. 33 According to another report, in 1906, out of a hundred thousand Donbass miners received various injuries 40 thousand people [5, p. 20-22].

Thus, more than half of the workers of the coal mines in the Donetsk Basin were from the central and other provinces of Russia. The hard work in the Donbas mines, which in the vast majority had primitive equipment, was under the influence of the most able-bodied population (17-39 years), especially since it

quickly exhausted the workers. Women and children not only lived, but worked on coal mines as they were supposed to help the family earn money. This, of course, had a negative impact on their health.

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### Довжук І.В. Рабочие угольных шахт Донбасса в пореформенный период

*В статье рассматриваются проблемы обеспечения рабочей силой угольных шахт Донецкого бассейна в пореформенный период. Обращается внимание на использование в производственном процессе женского и детского труда, а также выясняются условия, в которых это происходило. Отмечено, что интенсивное развитие угольной промышленности в 1880-1890-е гг. привело, с одной стороны, к высоким темпам роста количества рабочих, занятых в угледобыче, а с другой, обострило дефицит этой категории работников. Постепенно с развитием промышленности региона складывался постоянный контингент шахтеров. В результате этого в угольной отрасли Донбасса стали формироваться так называемые шахтерские семьи, которые и становились в дальнейшем оцутимым источником пополнения рядов рабочих.*

**Ключевые слова:** Донбасс, шахты, уголь, угольная промышленность, шахтеры, рабочие.

### Довжук І.В. Працівники вугільних шахт Донбасу в пореформенний період

*У статті розглядаються проблеми забезпечення робочою силою вугільних копалин Донецького басейну в пореформенний період. Звертається увага на використання у виробничому процесі жіночої і дитячої праці, а також висвітлюються умови, в яких це відбувалося. Зазна-*

*чено, що інтенсивний розвиток вугільної промисловості у 1880-1890-і рр. призвів, з одного боку, до високих темпів росту кількості робітників, зайнятих у вуглевидобутку, а з іншого, загострив дефіцит цієї категорії робітників. Поступово з розвитком промисловості регіону складався постійний контингент шахтарів. У результаті цього у вугільній галузі Донбасу стали формуватися так звані шахтарські родини, які й становились у подальшому відчутним джерелом поповнення лав робітників.*

**Ключові слова:** *Донбас, шахти, вугілля, вугільна промисловість, шахтарі, робітники.*

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UDC

**FEATURES OF TAILORING WOMEN'S CLOTHING TO THE PEASANTS  
OF THE POLTAVA PROVINCE OF THE XIX - EARLY XX CENTURIES:  
AS A SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF EVERYDAY LIFE**

**Galay K. B.**

**ОСОБЛИВОСТІ ПОШИТТЯ ЖІНОЧОГО ОДЯГУ СЕЛЯН  
ПОЛТАВСЬКОЇ ГУБЕРНІЇ ХІХ – ПОЧАТКУ ХХ СТОЛІТТЯ:  
ЯК ВАГОМОГО ВНЕСКУ У ВИВЧЕННЯ ПОБУТОВОГО ЖИТТЯ**

**Галай К. Б.**

*In the process of historical, cultural development in Ukraine, in each region there were characteristic traditions of making women's clothes, kind, cut, ornamental motive, composition, color scale, specific technique of execution.*

*Traditional costume has always been a vivid, visually fixed manifestation of nationality, identity of folk culture and is one of the most significant contributions to the study of everyday life. Over the years, he has changed, perceived the external influence, but despite all the accumulated significant ethno-cultural information, which testifies to the experience of the Ukrainian people, the idea of the world, criteria of behavior, aesthetic tastes, regional features and cultural motives.*

*The article is devoted to the study of the traditional system of Poltava, the manufacture and design of the main rural women's clothing of the Poltava province XIX - early XX century.*

**Key words:** folk costume, clothes, traditional style, complex of clothes, components, cut, decoration

**Introduction:** At all ages, clothes served not only domestic necessity, but also aesthetically - a cultural distinction. For Ukrainians, traditional clothing is a whole cultural world. His traditions, beliefs are connected with him. He reflected the social status, social and family status of man, the peculiarities of his work. The formation of the Ukrainian system went a long way. At the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries there was a period of development of capitalism and progress, which certainly influenced the appearance, quality of women's clothing. Ukrainian national costume has undergone all the ways of perfection, but retained its original features and became one of the main sources of studying the ethnic history of the population, social worship, aesthetic preference.

**Problem statement:** Poltava region, thanks to the geographical and historical situation, became the keeper of genuine Ukrainian culture. These circumstances led to the need for a detailed study of domestic life - as a

valuable part of Ukrainian material culture. Ethnic identity of traditional rural women's clothing is an important aspect of studying and popularizing the cultural heritage of our people.

**Goal:** comprehensive study and research of the features of women's clothing sewing on the territory of Poltava province XIX - early XX century.

**Analysis of research** studies and publications on this topic. Materials of the album of Ukrainian folk art and crafts, edited by P.A. The poluyanovs are composed mainly of exhibitions of 1938 in Moscow and Leningrad from the collections of the State Museum of Ukrainian Art in Kyiv. The album became a valuable source for studying the maiden costume of the 19th and early 20th centuries from all regions of Ukraine, as it also provides short historical information about the history of clothing research, description of various sets of clothing [9].

Ethnographic Dictionary of Kateryna Mateyko in 1995 "Ukrainian Folk Apparel" became a thorough scientific research of the national costume as an important component of material and spiritual culture. The publication reveals the names, important historical, cultural aspects of the development of the clothes, and is successfully classified according to the components of the fineness, the cut, the canvas, the system of decor, the peculiarities of forming the features of national identity of the national apparel complexes of the ethnographic regions of Ukraine and the dress of different social strata [5].

In the book "Ukrainian Folk Costume" edited by P. Odarchenko, G. Carynika, seventeen samples of clothing are described. Classification, regional differences are thoroughly presented, especially in the Poltava region and the Dnieper. The accent became the women's outfit, because it is more diverse, it is characterized by interesting artistic design. The purpose

of the publication was to preserve folk art for contemporary and subsequent generations [4].

The coverage of folk compositional methods of creating complexes of the traditional Poltava system, devoted their books to Voronai O. "The habits of our people" [2]., Antonovich K.M. "Ukrainian Clothing" [1]., Nikolaeva T.O. "History of the Ukrainian costume" [6].

**Presenting main material.** By the beginning of the nineteenth century, especially after the abolition of serfdom, Ukraine has reached a high level of culture and economy, which has affected the development of everyday life. The industrial capitalism has been steadily gaining momentum, and the Poltava Krai has become one of its centers.

The development of industry put the average person in dependence on the rick, which imprinted on the concrete facts of everyday life [8, 111].

Poltava region has always distinguished itself with its crafts and artistic crafts. Reshetilivka, Opishna - became centers of folk art and craftsmanship. Dikanka, Sorochintsy, Shishaki are well-known centers for the manufacture of fabrics and carpets, which later found their reflection in a certain kind of Ukrainian fabric "plachta" with impressive original, national patterns [5, 10].

At the beginning of the post-reform period, each family provided itself with raw material for making fabrics, and in the future for sewing clothes. These are small (family) crafts, which were characterized by the natural production of plant and animal origin. Therefore, the difference in clothing of different versts of the population were: the type of cloth (cloth, leather), decorative decoration, accessories. And with the development of capitalism and market relations imposed new forms of social stratification [2, 45].

The most widespread fabrics are steel - raw linen (linen fiber, hemp, mixed). It in turn, too, differed in quality, in color. The finest cloth was used to make a scarf. Of the coarse, warm cloth, mostly made of outerwear. Often fur was used. "Babak" - a fur-bearing fur coat covered with peasant fur coats. A high-quality and expensive dress was considered a wool of young sheep. The wool of the old sheep was valued cheaper, because it lost its quality. The skin of domestic pets was used in the manufacture of shoes and belts. Metal - for decorating clothes. But the metal-coated dress was not popular for the Poltava region.

The home-made tradition of tailoring was for long preserved in the north of the Poltava province (Gadyach, Lubny, Lohvytsya, Zinkiv, Mirgorod).

At the end of the nineteenth century, home fabrics began to supplant the factory. They have gained popularity at the expense of their low cost and quantity. More and more such fabrics and ready-made products began to be used by more developed regions of the Poltava region - Kremenchuk, Zolotonoshynsky, Kobelyatsky districts [1, 23].

In general, women's "Poltava" clothing is considered to be the basis of the Ukrainian national

wear and consists of a shirt, plach, stockings (predecessors), a belt, corset, a boot, a necklace and a wreath.

One of the main elements of underground clothes, at all times, was a shirt. This is an important part of not only material culture but also spiritual. The shirt accompanies each person throughout his life, from an early childhood to the very death [3, 216].

Important features and regional differences in the shirts are: technological capabilities, design (cutting the bases, methods of joints of sleeves, inserts, wedges, lines of cuffs, collars); decoration (features of embroidery); culture, traditions, religion.

In rural areas of the Poltava province, in comparison with all of Ukraine, for a long time the classical kind of clothing was stored, despite the great cultural influence of Russia. For sewing shirts, usually used hemp or linen homespun white cloth. The wealthier peasants could afford the purchased cotton material. The fabric that was taken from the machine was narrow, so the sewing shirt was supposed to consist of two, three, at least four parts.

At the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, three types of cut - tunic-shaped, with shoulder inserts, with a solid sleeve, and a coquettet were used. For the Poltava region was characterized by a long shirt "to the ankle" with a continuous sleeve, which was paid special attention. It was wide, as on this element tissue was allocated almost 50% of the entire product. When laying to the set it made magnificent by collecting fabric. Characteristic was the length - for the elbow, it made it possible to pull the sleeve, to make it even more lush.

Shoulder inserts - set as called pieces of canvas rectangular shaped sewn on the basis of or on the pod side of the state of the shirt. This type of tailoring was inherent in the Poltava Krai and still historians consider it a Ukrainian type of cut. He made it possible to expand the shoulder portion, to make a volume neck and sleeves [4, 63].

Plachta is a part of a women's costume that replaces a skirt. It is a woolen fabric in which the threads, crossing, performed special geometric ornaments in the form of squares and rectangles with the inscribed inside the pattern. The flames in most of the bright, the figures on them are always placed in a strict order, performing the finished drawing. Each region of Ukraine is characterized by its plags. They are different in size, ornament and color [5, 10].

The towns of Zinkiv, Lubny, Lohvytsya became the centers of sewing of cloth fabrics of the Poltava province. Geometric motifs have become geometric motifs for the prefabricated cloth weaving: "rozha", "shaludivaya pink", "pepper", "crayfish", "cloves", "carpal scales". In the basis of the fabric were used red or blue threads, in combination with brown, white, yellow and green brooms. Also, on a series of vivid patches, the more humble, which were more often used in everyday life, were held out [9, 45].

The cloth for plaster sewing was of high quality using sophisticated technology. There was a patchwork of two cloths 1.5 - 2 meters. The fabric was sewn from halves or two thirds, bent in half and left the part that framed the figure from behind. On the front were executed "wings", which were not stitched and were free on the sides. Fixing the plagate belt. Flaps that were worn by poor peasants were sewn without the side wings and called - half-blobs.

It should be noted that with the development of industry, home-grown industries began to lose their relevance. In order to help folk crafts, the provincial zemstvo created educational weaving workshops, display points, warehouses. But in Poltava region weaving studios worked in. Digtyari (1898). Olefirsk weaving workshop opened its branches in Mirgorod and the Great Sorochintsy. By 1903, the best point was Restilevsky [9, 46].

Pasture is the most ancient element in the complex of women's clothing. Knitted from a thin wool thread embroidering a geometric pattern. More rarely spoiled from corruption; sometimes folded into folds. Fabrics, mainly, were used striped "in circles", "in a Christmas tree".

When working, women used the front and rear spare parts for which the corset was not dressed. They were woven from hard woolen fabrics, usually black or dark blue. Girls always watched the entire suit. They had to look good, therefore, they usually supplemented the image of beads, ribbons on the head, white shirts, red belt and boots. Between the stocks was a shirt, the hem of which framed embroidery [7, 8].

In Poltava and Kyiv region, long-term care was taken to wear waistcoats. In the nineteenth century, self-made fabrics are replaced by factory ones. Traditional home-made clothing becomes festive and is less commonly used in everyday life. Increasingly, factory colored skirts were used, which lasted from 6 to 7 cloths and were laid in small collections and from the top sewn belt. The wealthy peasants could afford to cover the skirt in which the number of paintings reached 20.

With the advent of factory paintings changed apron and spare. The main fabric for sewing steel colored felt, wool. Rich peasants had the opportunity to sew a separate apron to each skirt [10, 76].

Corsets - sleeveless jackets, in Ukraine there were many types and kinds. Unfortunately, it is not possible to describe a general cure that would suit everyone. In different regions, they differed in form, kind of cut, material, artistic decoration.

General characteristics can be distinguished: length (in the period under investigation was extended form, extended to the bottom). The maximum length could reach even knees and below. The number of clinds - the older ones had 2 or 3 wedges. With the advent of factory fabrics, their number could increase up to 17. Over time, the wedges were replaced by bows (collections), which in the people called mustache or overlays. The local waistline line was overstretched to create the impression of a small upper part and a much

larger, distinctly enlarged lower; Composition level sleeveless sleeves added shirt [7, 28].

Having summed up the traditional women's clothing of rural women of the Poltava province is a bright independent historical, ethnographic phenomenon, a significant link of the general, Ukrainian, traditionally - domestic culture.

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**Галай К. Б. Особливості пошиття жіночого одягу селян Полтавської губернії XIX – початку XX століття: як вагомого внеску у вивчення побутового життя**

*У процесі історичного, культурного розвитку на Україні в кожному регіоні утворилися характерні традиції виготовлення жіночого одягу, виду, крою, орнаментального мотиву, композиції, кольорової гамми, специфічної техніки виконання.*

*Традиційний костюм завжди був яскравим, візуально фіксованим проявом національності, самобутності народної культури і становить один з найбільш вагомих внесків у вивчення побутового життя. З роками він видозмінювався, сприймав на собі зовнішній вплив, але попри все накопичив значну етнокультурну інформацію, який свідчить про набутий досвід українського народу, уявлення про світ, критерії поведінки, естетичні смаки, регіональні особливості та культурні мотиви.*

*Стаття присвячена дослідженню полтавського традиційного строю, виготовленню та конструюванню основного сільського жіночого вбрання Полтавської губернії XIX – початку XX століття.*

**Ключові слова:** народний костюм, одяг, традиційний стрій, комплекс вбрання, складові компоненти, крій, оздоблення

**Галай К. Б. Особенности пошива женской одежды крестьян Полтавской губернии XIX - начала XX столетия: как весомого вклада в изучение бытовой жизни**

*В процессе исторического, культурного развития на Украине в каждом регионе образовались характерные традиции изготовления женской одежды, вида, покроя, орнаментального мотива, композиции, цветовой гаммы, специфической техники исполнения.*

*Традиционный костюм всегда был ярким, визуальным фиксированным проявлением национальности, самобытности народной культуры и составляет один из самых весомых вкладов в изучении бытовой жизни. С годами он видоизменялся, воспринимал на себе внешнее воздействие, но несмотря на все накопил значительную этнокультурную информацию, свидетельствующий о приобретенном опыте украинского народа, представления о мире, критерии поведения, эстетические вкусы, региональные особенности и культурные мотивы.*

*Статья посвящена исследованию полтавского традиционного строя, изготовлению и конструированию основного сельского женской одежды Полтавской губернии XIX - начала XX века.*

**Ключевые слова:** народный костюм, одежда, традиционный строй, комплекс одежды, компоненты, крій, отделка.

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## SOCIO-CULTURAL CONDITION OF MODERN RELATIONS OF UKRAINE AND CANADA

Mykhaylyuk V.V.

### СОЦІОКУЛЬТУРНИЙ СТАН СУЧАСНИХ ВЗАЄМИН УКРАЇНИ ТА КАНАДИ

Михайлюк В.В.

*The author relied on the research of his predecessors and determined his own purpose of the study: to analyze the state of socio-cultural and cultural-humanitarian relations of Ukraine and Canada, to identify trends and their peculiarities in the context of general interstate and international relations of friendly countries.*

*Emphasis is placed on the fact that the interstate relations in the defined field of research were based on the relevant legal documents of international law and treaties and other legal acts of each state.*

*With regard to international relations, the author distinguishes it as such as the Ukrainian diaspora in Canada had and has its own peculiarities. This community is now one of the most significant in the world in its quantitative and qualitative relations, in political, socio-cultural and cultural-humanitarian influence. Therefore, in an advanced democracy of Canadian society, Ukrainians began to take the place of not only "aliens without rights", but also for many years prior to today, became active participants not only in the cultural, humanitarian, but also socio-economic and political life of Canada, which had a positive impact on socio-cultural and other relations. This is emphasized not only by the Ukrainian but also the Canadian side.*

*Therefore, the study of socio-cultural and humanitarian-cultural components of relations between Ukraine and Canada has the right to exist. At the same time, it emphasizes the relevance and scientific novelty of the research topic. The problem under consideration is multifaceted, covering many aspects. In this study, only partial consideration of Ukraine-Canada relations in interstate and international perspectives has been studied. The importance of international and interstate relevant structures in terms of their influence on relations is emphasized.*

*At the same time, in the author's opinion, it requires a detailed monographic study of the problem: the relation of Canada's role with Ukraine in the system of the "blocked" world.*

**Keywords:** socio-cultural and humanitarian-cultural components of the relationship between Ukraine and Canada; Ukraine; Canada; the Ukrainian diaspora.

**Formulation of the problem in general.** In the early 90's of XX century. By its very proclamation,

Ukraine gained Independence and Sovereignty. The leadership of the state and the Ukrainian people have been tasked with endorsing these tenets not only de jure but also de facto.

It should be noted that these postulates were based not only on their own desire to gain real independence by the Ukrainian state and its population, but also had interstate and international components. First of all, it is recognition of Ukraine at the interstate diplomatic level, and establishment of ambassadorial and consular relations. Canada is the first country abroad to recognize Ukraine as a state with sovereignty and independence.

Second, it is the formulation in the legal field of a wide range of interstate relations in different spheres, such as: military-political, socio-cultural, cultural-humanitarian, educational, medical, economic, environmental and many others.

Third, the establishment of effective positive relations directly between peoples at the non-state level - at the level of public associations, cultural and educational organizations, public funds and more. Particularly urgent in this regard is the study of the development of socio-cultural relations between Ukraine and Canada in the sense of the relations of the population of our country with the Ukrainian diaspora in a friendly country and its analysis in retrospect and plans for the future.

The above determines the scientific and practical importance of the chosen topic of study, analysis and synthesis of the submitted materials. Issues to be considered included in the research of the applicant approved by the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine and the Academic Council of the East Ukrainian National University named after Vladimir Dahl.

**Analysis of studies and publications of precursors.** During the years of independence and sovereignty of Ukraine, a considerable amount of publications appeared on the topics of interest in the subject. They, in turn, are divided into several groups.

The first concerns the general relations of Ukraine and Canada in the international sphere, including socio-cultural ones. One of the first "swallows" is the study of scientists N. Konon and A. Skrebneva [1], O. Belokos [2].

The second concerns Ukraine's relations with Canada at the level, in general, at the non-state level, especially with the Ukrainian diaspora. In this sense L. Dibchuk's scientific work is defined [3].

The third group consists of publications on Ukraine's relations in the context of its relations with NATO countries, in particular with Canada. It is well known that NATO and other international military-political organizations seek to establish not only military-defense alliances, but also advance much broader aspects of their activities. In this regard, the elaboration of the research by O. Soskin [4], I. Todorov [5], and I. Khraban [6] has greatly benefited from the development of the topic of his own research.

The interest of scientists, as evidenced by the examples above, only underscores the scientific relevance and practical importance of the research topic.

**The purpose of the article.** The author relied on these and other studies of his predecessors and determined his own purpose of study: to analyze the state of socio-cultural relations of Ukraine and Canada, to identify trends and their peculiarities in the context of general interstate and international relations of friendly countries.

**Presenting main material.** The first of the foreign countries recognized the independence of Ukraine and established with it among other countries of the Western world, as with a sovereign state - Canada. A good example of friendly relations is interstate documents. They formed gradually, but the leaders of this process were the first leaders or their deputies.

The socio-cultural and cultural-humanitarian aspects of cooperation between Ukraine and Canada are set out in the Joint Declaration on Special Partnership between Ukraine and Canada of 31 March 1994 and the Agreement on Friendship and Cooperation between Ukraine and Canada of 24 October 1994.

In accordance with the provisions of the Joint Declaration, the parties pledged "to cooperate actively to accelerate the mutual dissemination of information on national achievements in the fields of culture, science and education, the promotion of new achievements in these fields and the expansion of cultural, sports and information exchanges

Article 13 of the Friendship and Cooperation Agreement emphasizes the importance of cultural and sports exchanges for mutual understanding between peoples and provides for the continuation of bilateral cooperation in the fields of culture and sport. The parties also pledged to promote "the development of direct cooperation between educational, archival, cultural, creative and sports organizations of the two countries, as well as between associations and associations in these fields." Part Two of Article 14 of the Agreement regulates bilateral exchanges in the cultural and humanitari-

an fields, in particular that the parties "will facilitate contacts between political parties, trade unions, foundations, schools and higher education institutions, human rights organizations, religious and youth organizations, religious and women's, religious and women's organizations, organizations, environmental and other associations" [7].

These provisions were developed in the Roadmap of Relationships. In particular, the former emphasized that "the friendship of the two states is based on the mutual understanding and recognition that democracy is the main guarantee of security, prosperity and freedom, should be based on the rule of law and be maintained by good governance." The Seventh Direction identified, first, that Ukraine and Canada recognize the importance of developing bilateral consular relations and facilitating interpersonal contacts. Second, that Ukraine and Canada will continue to promote interpersonal ties through bilateral cultural, educational and professional exchanges, particularly for young people; Ukraine and Canada will work to conclude a Youth Exchange Agreement. Third, Ukraine and Canada will continue to promote direct contacts between their NGOs, including non-governmental and cultural organizations. Fourth, Canada welcomes the establishment of the Consulate General of Ukraine in Edmonton (Alberta) as a testament to the growing bilateral ties between their peoples [8].

Relations between the two countries have been constant since the end of XX century. developed steadily.

It should be noted that they are based on the positive features of the past. In particular, the history of the formation of the Ukrainian diaspora in Canada has greatly influenced the nature and content of the relations between the peoples of Ukraine and Canada. This community is now one of the most significant in the world in its quantitative and qualitative relations, in political, socio-cultural and cultural-humanitarian influence. Therefore, in an advanced democracy of Canadian society, Ukrainians began to take the place not only of "aliens without rights", but also for many years prior to today, became active participants not only in the cultural, humanitarian, but also socio-economic and political life of Canada. This is emphasized not only by the Ukrainian but also the Canadian side.

Among them are: P. Konoval, a Canadian of Ukrainian descent, the only Ukrainian cavalier of the Cross of Victoria, the highest and most honorable reward for courage in the face of an enemy who can be awarded soldiers from countries subordinate to the British Crown; K. Vinnyk is a Canadian film and television actress of Ukrainian descent; P. Yatsyk is a Canadian entrepreneur of Ukrainian descent, philanthropist and philanthropist, known for his significant contribution to the financing of Ukrainian studies in the West and in Ukraine, etc. [9].

In this respect, it can be emphasized that many Ukrainians hold well-defined positions in the state and self-governing bodies of individual Canadian provinces.

Another definition is that hundreds of Ukrainians are involved in the work of many Ukrainian-Canadian pub-

lic and educational organizations [10]. It promotes direct interpersonal contacts between citizens of our countries, as well as direct cooperation between public organizations in Canada and similar institutions in Ukraine: in Edmonton, Toronto, Saskatoon, Winnipeg, etc.

**Conclusions and prospects for further research.** Therefore, the study of socio-cultural and humanitarian-cultural components of relations between Ukraine and Canada has the right to exist. At the same time, it emphasizes the relevance and scientific novelty of the research topic. The problem under consideration is multifaceted, covering many aspects. In this study, only partial consideration of Ukraine-Canada relations in interstate and international perspectives has been studied. The importance of international and interstate relevant structures in terms of their influence on relations is emphasized.

At the same time, in the author's opinion, he needs a detailed monographic study of the problem: he correlated Canada's role with Ukraine in the system of the "locked" world, the role of NATO and its constituents in solving the issues of individual states, including Ukraine.

This may be the question of further research.

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#### Михайлюк В.В. Соціокультурний стан сучасних взаємин України та Канади

*Автор стирася на дослідження попередників та визначив власну мету вивчення: проаналізувати стан соціокультурних та культурно-гуманітарних відносин України та Канади, виявити тенденції та їх особливості у контексті загальних міждержавних та міжнародних відносин дружніх країн.*

*Акцентована увага на тому, що міждержавні стосунки в означеному полі дослідження стирася на відповідні правові документи міжнародного права та договорів і інших правових актах кожної держави.*

*Щодо міжнародних відносин, автор виокремлює її таку складову, як українська діаспора в Канаді мала та має свої особливості. Ця спільнота нині складає у своєму кількісному та якісному відношеннях, у політичному, соціокультурному та культурно-гуманітарному впливі одну з найбільш вагомих у світі. Тому в умовах розвинутої демократії канадського суспільства українці почали займати місце не тільки «прибульців без прав», але й протягом багатьох попередніх до сьогоднішнього року, стали дієвими учасниками не тільки культурно-гуманітарного, але й соціально-економічного та політичного життя Канади, що позитивно позначалося на соціокультурних та*

інших відносинах. На цьому наголошує не тільки українська, а й канадська сторони.

Отже, вивчення соціокультурної та гуманітарно-культурної складових взаємин України та Канади має право на існування. Водночас воно наголошує на актуальності та науковій новизні теми дослідження. Проблема, що розглядається, багатогранна, охоплює багато аспектів. У даному вивченні порушено лише частковий розгляд взаємин України та Канади у міждержавному та міжнародному ракурсах. Підкреслена значимість міжнародних та міждержавних відповідних структур у плані їх впливу на взаємовідносини.

Водночас, на погляд автора, потребує докладного монографічного дослідження проблеми: співвідносин ролі Канади з Україною у системі «заблокованого» світу.

**Ключові слова:** соціокультурна та гуманітарно-культурна складові взаємовідносин між Україною та Канадою; Україна; Канада; українська діаспора.

#### **Михайлюк В.В. Соціокультурний стан сучасних відносин України та Канади**

Автор опирається на дослідження предшественників і визначив власну мету дослідження: проаналізувати стан соціокультурних і культурно-гуманітарних відносин України та Канади, виявити тенденції і їх особливості в контексті загальних міждержавних і міжнародних відносин дружественних країн.

Акцентовано увагу на тому, що міждержавні відносини в розглядаваній сфері дослідження ґрунтуються на відповідних правових документах міжнародного права і договорах і інших правових актах кожного державства.

По міжнародних відносинах, автор виділяє таку складову, як українська діаспора в Канаді і має свої особливості. Це суспільство в сучасний час складає в своєму кількісному і якісному відношенні, в політичній, соціокультурній і культурно-гуманітарній сфері вплив на одну з

найважливіших в світі. Тому в умовах розвинутої демократії канадського суспільства українці почали займати місце не тільки «пришльців без прав», а й в процесі багатьох передшляхуючих сучасних років, стали дійсними учасниками не тільки культурно-гуманітарної, а й соціально-економічної і політичної життя Канади, позитивно сказувалося на соціокультурних і інших відносинах. Це підкреслює не тільки український, а й канадський сторони.

Таким чином, вивчення соціокультурної і гуманітарно-культурної складових відносин України та Канади має право на існування. В той же час воно підкреслює актуальність і наукову новизну теми дослідження. Проблема розглядаваного багатогранна, охоплює багато аспектів. В даному вивченні розглянуто лише частковий розгляд взаємовідносин України та Канади в міждержавному і міжнародному ракурсах. Підкреслено значимість міжнародних і міждержавних відповідних структур в плані їх впливу на взаємовідносини.

В той же час, на думку автора, потребує докладного монографічного дослідження проблеми: співвідносин ролі Канади з Україною в системі «заблокованого» світу.

**Ключевые слова:** соціокультурна і гуманітарно-культурна складові взаємовідносин між Україною і Канадою; Україна; Канада; Українська діаспора.

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## MODERN SCIENTIFIC PERIODIC EDITION ABOUT THE QUESTION ECOLOGICAL SAFETY IN THE AGRICULTURAL HOUSEHOLD OF UKRAINE

Mykhaylyk V.P.

## СУЧАСНІ НАУКОВІ ПЕРІОДИЧНІ ВИДАННЯ ПРО ПИТАННЯ ЕКОЛОГІЧНОЇ БЕЗПЕКИ В СІЛЬСЬКОМУ ГОСПОДАРСТВІ УКРАЇНИ

Михайлюк В.П.

*The author of this article considered and systematized the typical articles on different directions of achieving ecological safety in agriculture in Ukraine. The purpose of his article, he determines the consideration of modern scientific achievements of scientists, who saw the world in the professional publications of researchers in scientific periodicals. His tasks, he advanced the study of the essence and content of articles of recent years, published in all-Ukrainian and regional specialized periodicals. The author considers modern trends in the analysis of the state of ecological safety, in particular food. At the same time, the article focuses on the multiplicity of the identified problem and the ways of its solution in the legal, managerial, regional and other aspects.*

**Key words:** ecological safety; legal; managerial regional aspects; modern periodicals.

**Problem statement,** analysis of the basic works of predecessors, definition of goals and tasks. At the turn of the XX - XXI centuries. before humanity there were a number of problems of its further existence and development. Among them, it is necessary to distinguish between man-made and ecological. Since 1986, humanity has seen the consequences of the Chernobyl disaster, global warming has continued, and so on. These and similar phenomena associated with the ecological safety of mankind, especially flared up in Ukraine, and to a large extent affected the important life-supporting industry - agriculture.

It should be noted that the agricultural sector and the agroindustrial complex of Ukraine, in general, during the Soviet period and in the first years of Ukraine's independence, were quite profitable: the export of agricultural products appeared to be characteristic, and, with its steady development, Ukraine even "boasted" with the presence of a quarter of the world's black earths, which are well recognized in the world by highly skilled people. specialists in this field of production and record-breaking, almost annual, profits in the cultivation of orchard products.

The painting changed somewhat in the early years of the 21st century. In agriculture, there have been tendencies in reducing the production of certain types of agrarian products, especially livestock, the widespread use of harmful fertilizers for the production of environmentally hazardous agricultural products, the use of harmful impurities in animal nutrition, breeding of crop rotation and cultivation of agricultural products is only those that give the highest profits, etc. The consequence of this is to increase the risk of life for both humans and animals. At the same time, the processes of "chemicalization" in agriculture lead to pollution of the environment.

Unfortunately, the questions of scientific and practical significance of the agricultural sector have largely become practical, among which the question arose about the land, that is, the possibility or impossibility of introducing it into the sphere of internal and external sales. The author does not consider the political aspects of this issue, but, together with the previous factors, notes that from the solution of certain issues at the moment, it is necessary to note the urgency and scientific and practical importance of the problem of environmental safety in general, and its main component - environmental safety in rural the economy.

**All scientific developments of predecessors,** which have a fundamental research character, can be divided into three groups. The first publications include economists and scientists of agrarians (the authors of the works containing the bases of strategic directions of development of the agroindustrial complex of Ukraine - MF Zubets, Yu.O.Lupenko, P.T.Sabluk, etc., as well as developers of conceptual and institutional provisions for the development of individual branches of agrarian and industrial complex - OD Gnatovich, VA Grosul, etc.) [1]. The second group consists of the works of historians engaged in research on agrarian and environmental issues, generalizing from the historical point of view the causes of the course and consequences

of reforming the social sphere of the village, the ecological situation through the human prism, political parties and public associations in the contemporary modern space [2].

**The purpose of his article**, the author determined the consideration of modern scientific achievements of scientists who have seen the world in the professional publications of researchers in scientific periodicals. His tasks, he put forward an analysis of the essence and content of the articles of recent years published in all-Ukrainian and regional specialized periodicals - "Legal Ukraine", "Legal and public administration", "Theory and practice of public administration", "Economics of the agroindustrial complex of Ukraine", " Ecological safety ", " Balanced nature management ", " Effective economy ", " Regional economy ", etc. At the same time, the author focuses on the problems that, in his opinion, are key to solving environmental safety in the agricultural sector of the Ukrainian economy. Among the directions, the author highlights the general ecological, legal, managerial, and regional aspects of the ecological state of agriculture in Ukraine.

**Presenting main material.** The general problems of ecology and ways of their solution are highlighted in the magazines "Economics of the agro-industrial complex of Ukraine". In particular, in the article academician NAAS of Ukraine MP Sychevsky's "Global Food Security and Ukraine's Place in its Attainment" addresses the problems of food security of the state in the context of current internal and external challenges, assesses the potential of Ukraine to strengthen domestic and global food security, and substantiates the possibility of the food industry to strengthen food security. The significance of the article is enhanced by the use of the GFSI Index and other foreign and domestic methods [3]. It should be noted that the general problems of ecology in the journal "Economics of AIC of Ukraine" have a separate section.

In the journal "Ecological safety and nature management" also a separate section deals with issues of environmental safety in the agricultural sector of Ukraine. So, the article deserves attention to O.M. Trofymchuk, M.M. Korzhnev, Ye.O. Yakovlev, M.M. Kurylo, S.K. Kosharna «Conceptual approaches to the organization of monitoring of the geological environment and mineral resources of Ukraine in modern conditions» [4]. The author's note focuses on the state of ecological safety in Ukraine. They highlight two aspects of environmental safety in the mining region of the country. The first concerns the long historical period of coal mining, other mineral raw materials and exports of products for their processing. This, according to the authors, caused "a critical, often close to catastrophic, state of the geological environment" in the designated areas of Ukraine. The second concerns the aggravation of the situation, especially in the Donbass, which is associated with "the conduct of hostilities, the uncontrolled closure of mines and the suspension of mine water pumping," the rapid development of an ecological catastrophe "[5]. The

main content of the analyzed article concerns the substantiation and advocacy of conceptual approaches and the program for the elimination of the consequences of an ecological catastrophe. Consequently, the article provided for analysis is of great practical importance and covers both general environmental problems, and partly legal, managerial and regional aspects.

Regional aspects of environmental safety are reflected in the article O.M. Titarenko "Peculiarities of the Impact of the Agricultural Sector of the Eastern Podilsky Region on the Current State of Biodiversity and the Change in Agro-Phytocenoses Due to the Use of Herbicides" [6]. The author of the article relied on the fundamental edition "Agrobiodiversity of Ukraine: Theory, Methodology, Indicators, Examples / Ed. O.O. Sozinova V.I. Appendage "[7]. and articles by precursors of Movchana Ya.I. [8], Novozhilova E.V. and Belous AA [9]. In addition to the regional aspect in the article Novozhilova E.V. and Belous AA International practice is also analyzed.

The article is devoted to the legal and managerial aspects of the corresponding member of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine Yu.Ya. Luzan "Modern Problems and Main Factors of the Agrarian Sector Development in Ukraine" [10], in which the author specifies the problems and outlines the main priorities of the state agricultural policy at the present stage of development of the agro-industrial complex.

The hottest problems of Yu.Ya. Luzan sees labor migration, the decline of the social sphere, the deepening of the demographic crisis and the dying out of villages, the lack of development of market infrastructure, etc. [11]. To solve these and other urgent problems, including environmental ones, the author proposes to improve the "... methodology for assessing the value of land, ... inventory and continuous agrochemical certification of land, support for the development of animal husbandry, production of biofuels, ... conducting a continuous certification of Ukrainian villages, elaboration of social standards for living on villages and measures to enforce them ", etc. [12].

The economic and legal aspect has been given a place in the journal "Regional economy" by the author O.M. Suhina [13] and his article co-authored with Matyukha VV in the journal "Economics and Society" [14]. The article defines effective methodological approaches to the problem of the size of rent payments as the basis of the new system of environmental taxation on the principles of taking into account the ecotourism.

The magazine "Public Administration and Local Self-Government" publishes articles on the state policy in the field of environmental safety. Select the article D.V. Yakusheva "Modern tendencies of the state ecological policy in Ukraine in the context of the concept of sustainable development" [15]. The author comes to the conclusion that it is important for Ukraine to develop and implement the concept of sustainable development. It is important to use the foreign experience of the EU countries while at the same time

base it on the national economic and legal basis. In recent years, according to the author, significant political changes have taken place in Ukraine aimed at: decentralization of power; carrying out reforms that promote improvement of socio-economic and legal conditions of citizens, including the provision of environmental development; the need for power institutions; developing an effective mechanism for sustainable development of the country taking into account the environmental component; the need for effective use of social capital on the methodological principles of project and program management of development [16].

Conclusions and directions of further research. Thus, we can state that the issues of environmental security in Ukraine and in the world are extremely relevant, as they are an integral part of the overall system of national security and determine the state of protection of individuals, society, and the state from adverse environmental impacts. Its reflection of the direction of improving the situation are found in the materials of the scientific periodicals of specialists of many industries. In analyzing the scientific achievements of scientists, the author proceeded from the need to distinguish the most typical articles that reveal various aspects of the issue of environmental safety in agriculture in Ukraine: the general problems of environmental safety in Ukraine, taking into account the significance in this respect, of certain branches of the agro-industrial complex; economic, legal, managerial, regional, etc.

The author believes that the directions of further research, identified in the title of the article of the problem, will be, firstly, the preparation of a more extended, possibly monographic, study and analysis in the integrated work of a scientific generalization of questions raised in the article; secondly, it is advisable to prepare a popular publication for the general public on the issue of the importance of the overall ecological safety of the country and the environmental challenges in the agroindustrial complex as external and internal nature and ways of their solution.

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**Михайлюк В.П. Сучасні наукові періодичні видання про питання екологічної безпеки в сільському господарстві України**

*Автор даної статті розглянув і систематизував типові статті з різних напрямів досягнення екологічної безпеки в сільському господарстві України. Метою своєї статті він визначає розгляд сучасних наукових доробок вчених, які побачили світ у фахових публікаціях дослідників у науковій періодиці. Своїми завданнями він висунув*

*вивчення суті та змісту статей останніх років, що опубліковані у загальноукраїнських та регіональних спеціалізованих періодичних виданнях. Автором розглянуто сучасні тенденції аналізу стану екологічної безпеки, зокрема продовольчої. При цьому, в статті акцентовано увагу на багатоплановості означеної проблеми та шляхи її вирішення в правовому, управлінському, регіональному та інших аспектах.*

**Ключові слова:** екологічна безпека; правовий; управлінський; регіональний аспекти; сучасні періодичні видання.

**Михайлюк В.П. Современные научные периодические издания о вопросах экологической безопасности в сельском хозяйстве Украины**

*Автор данной статьи рассмотрел и систематизировал типичные статьи по разным направлениям достижения экологической безопасности в сельском хозяйстве Украины. Целью своей статье он определяет рассмотрение современных научных разработок ученых, увидевших свет в профессиональных публикациях исследователей в научной периодике. Своими задачами он выдвинул изучение сути и содержания статей последних лет, опубликованные в общероссийских и региональных специализированных периодических изданиях. Автором рассмотрены современные тенденции анализа состояния экологической безопасности, в том числе продовольственной. При этом в статье акцентировано внимание на многоплановости этой проблемы и пути ее решения в правовом, управленческом, региональном и других аспектах.*

**Ключевые слова:** экологическая безопасность; правовой; управленческий; региональный аспекты; современные периодические издания.

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## COMPARTMENT OPTICS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF PERSONAL CORRESPONDENTS

Piskun V.O.

### КОМПАРТІЙНА ОПТИКА РОЗВИТКУ ЖУРНАЛІСТСЬКИХ КАДРІВ

Піскун В.О.

*Mass media play a significant role in society, performing the role of "fourth power". The format of relations between the media and society is made in accordance with the political regime. In the conditions of a totalitarian state, which was the USSR, the media were always at the center of attention, because it was they who provided an ideological basis for the ruling political party and the vigilance of the journalist staff was an extremely important part of this "attention".*

*The article attempts to identify the main areas of the CPSU's personnel policy regarding media coverage of journalists, the presence / absence of essential features of party leadership in the staff in general and journalists-specifically, the current assessment of the effectiveness of the Communist Party leadership and its impact on the media.*

*The archival documents of the Central State Archives of Public Associations of Ukraine (Fund of the Central Committee of the CPU) and a number of published documents, sufficiently diverse in their format, were processed: memoranda, information, preparatory documents for plenums, meetings, resolutions of the republican and local party leaders.*

*The conclusions summarize the main historical lessons that will help society, the authorities of today and the media to build relationships that are inherent in the democratic stage of civilization development.*

**Key words:** *ruling party, "stagnant period", personnel policy, mass media, journalistic staff, own correspondents, ideological influence.*

**Introduction.** The role and place of mass media in society has always been significant enough, and in recent decades they have become so strong that it has become the basis for political scientists to identify them as the "fourth branch of government", which is actively used by the first three. Information and correction (we mean the influence of the media on the formation of ideological attitudes of the individual) the media's ability to cause and cause the desire of pro-government structures, political parties, civic movements and individual politicians to control them, influence editorial policy, etc. The European course of Ukraine implies the absence of such control and influence, the existence of

democratic foundations for the development of the media. In asserting such an ambiguous role plays an important role in mastering the historical lessons of the past, draw from them the relevant conclusions. That is why the question of the state of the media in the previous Soviet period preserves, and even increases its relevance in view of modern processes in Ukrainian society.

Formulation of the problem. The objectivity of historical research depends largely on the chosen range of sources. The basis of the source base is archival documents of the Central State Archives of Public Associations of Ukraine, Fund 31 - Central Committee of the CPU. Some of these documents have recently become available to researchers after removing the secrecy tag. Understanding the dosage-selection principle of forming party archives of the Soviet time, we will try to see and analyze the latent nature of these documents.

Analysis of recent research and publications. Personnel issues in the work of the former ruling party have always occupied the highest positions, which is only a phrase in relation to the tasks of the first Soviet five-year plan "The Cadres Decide Everything!", Which could only proclaim the great leader and father of the peoples. The propaganda cadres, and the journalists were an integral part of them, were in the spotlight, because they provided the ideological basis for a totalitarian state. Soviet historiography was filled with work on "wise" party leadership in various sectors of socio-economic, political and ideological, and so on, the life of society. We give examples of only two works that came out in Moscow and Kiev during the perestroika period, when the tone of such works has somewhat changed in the direction of presenting shortcomings and remarks [17, 21]. The first of these works received a favorable review in the main historical journal of Ukraine [5. - P.149-151]. These works for

today's historian play the role of a kind of historical source from the general characteristics of the era.

In the last quarter of the century there was fundamentally new research, the beginning of which was entrusted to MS Voslensky's "Nomenclature: the ruling class of the Soviet Union." For the first time, this work was published in German in Munich in 1980, where the author lived after depriving him of Soviet citizenship in 1976 (in August 1990, he renewed his nationality, now he is the director of the Research Institute for the Study of Soviet Reality in Vienna) [4. - P.624]. The issues of personnel policy are no less important today, and this is logical for any society. We have analyzed one of the modern teaching aids for the system of educational institutions of public administration, in which the list of used literature consists of 322 names, which testifies to the increased attention to these issues from both the state leadership and the corresponding public request [10. - S. 282-304]. Thus, there is practically no Ukrainian historiography in modern specialist papers devoted to the analysis of personnel policy in journalism. The account of historical lessons of the past in this plane is becoming more and more significant.

**The purpose of the article.** The paper attempts to determine, on the basis of published and archival materials, the main areas of the so-called party management of personnel, provide a modern assessment of the means of this leadership, an explanation of its influence, in order to prevent similar facts of the present. By this article, the author plans to begin a series of works in which it is planned to determine the Communist Party vision, the optics of the ruling political party of a totalitarian society in relation to the media and, using a method from general to specific, to analyze the documents of the central bodies of the CPU and their analogues at the local level.

**Research results.** Chronological boundaries of work cover the period of 60-80-ies more precisely (1964-1982), the so-called "Brezhnev's" stagnant period, which became the last "grateful" period of Soviet reality.

A significant amount of documents that have been processed are systematized in special collections, among which the most important source is the publication of the "CPSU in resolutions and decisions of congresses, conferences and plenums of the Central Committee". The excessive attention to personnel issues by the party leadership is evidenced by the fact that only from 1964 to 1975, 162 decisions of the CPSU were adopted, directly from the personnel issues - 11 resolutions, those relating to journalists' personnel - 1 (we consider it appropriate to add a resolution of August 30, 1958 "... on the improvement of leadership by the Soviet press", which had a significant influence on the press of the specified period). Of the above 162 documents, a significant part of the provisions relate to staffing issues: upbringing and role enhancement, training and retraining, leadership and selection, training and certification [author's calculations].

A modern look at the above-mentioned documents provides an opportunity to determine their main priorities and directions of the personnel policy of the ruling party, at least at the theoretical level, which included a kind of triad - selection, placement and training of personnel:

- democratic principles of personnel policy;
- competitiveness in the selection of personnel;
- active involvement of non-party members in leadership work;
- overcoming technocratic approaches in personnel policy;
- Increased demand for senior staff and periodic certification of personnel;
- Overcoming the manifestations of fellow countrymen, protectionism in personnel policy;
- opposition to careerist sentiments, considerable attention to moral and ethical qualities of candidates;
- mastering the Leninist style of work and the presence of Marxist-Leninist education.

The practice of personnel policy proves the domination of social-class criteria over real professional skills, the reproduction of the personnel of the national and social structure of Soviet society, the presence of hardware games around personnel appointments. This practice was largely the result of the mechanical growth of the ruling party's ranks and the declared tightening of control over the work of the governing staff was quite selective.

Among the above-mentioned decisions let us focus on the Resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU "On Measures to Improve the Training and Retraining of Journalists' Personnel" of January 20, 1975 [25. - p.489-491]. Actuality of the adoption of this resolution in the text of the document is determined by the following reasons:

- growth of the national economy;
- Complex tasks of upbringing a new person;
- peculiarities of the ideological struggle in the international arena;
- Lack of editions of specialists who are well-versed in questions of economic and cultural construction, international issues [25. - P.489].

Inscribing a ruling in a historical context, we understand that the mid-1970s in our history are a period when the systemic crisis of Soviet society has become a fact, and the leadership is trying to hide it through the media, to decorate the reality, to repel the problems. This really requires fresh, and most importantly effective shots. That is why the resolution proposes through the system of the second higher education (at the faculty of journalism of the Moscow State University to take specialists in the national economy, which already have higher education and certain literary abilities, for a shorter term of study), preparatory faculties (creation of special groups at preparatory faculties of universities), parallel education (admission to the faculties of journalism of talented students of philological specialties after obtaining basic knowledge) to engage in journalistic activities profe

ionaliv from other sectors of the creative young people and others. All candidates should be recommended by the editorial offices of the regional and republican newspapers in agreement with the relevant party bodies. All journalistic personnel required a steady assimilation of the Marxist-Leninist theory, the historical experience of the CPSU, its internal and external policies, and the fundamentals of ideological activity. From the party and Soviet bodies, the central committee demanded a careful and attentive attitude to the journalism staff [25. - pp. 490-491].

Interestingly, the previous party document on media personnel was dated back in 1958. This is the Decree of the Central Committee "On the improvement of leadership of the mass movement of workers and rural correspondents of the Soviet press" of August 30, 1958 [22. - P. 256-259], which focused on the mass character of the personnel issue, on the active involvement of journalists in the work of rural and rural correspondents who did not have the appropriate education. For the situation at the end of the 1950's, such approaches are clear and to some extent justified: after the condemnation of a person's cult, the pact is made on the mass, the collective of all sections of social life. In the mid-1970s, in the context of the crisis, the task of professionalism of the personnel potential was put forward.

Let's look at the characteristics of archival documents, some of which have only recently become available to the researcher, and we will try to illustrate some of the identified methods of party leadership in working with journalists, in particular, methods of working with journalists, their composition according to various indicators, especially the use of workers and villages correspondents in the new period of Soviet society. The main types of used documents are memos, information, preparatory documents for plenums, meetings, resolutions of the republican and local party leaders.

The first documents of the annual statistical reports on the work of newspaper editors and the qualitative composition of the journalists' staff of the local press, which until recently had the stamp "secret" [TsDAGOU, F.1, III sector description 70, case number №1, show the special attention to journalistic personnel). 57, 447, 644, 801]. Information about journalists is presented according to the unchanged scheme - education, party membership, nationality, gender, age, seniority.

From the standpoint of today's interest in the moral and ethical aspects of personnel work. In this format, we draw attention to the case 929, which is devoted to the description of the situation in the publishing house "Donbass", where there was a dispute between the director of the publishing house and the leadership of the propaganda and campaign department of the Donetsk Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine regarding the appointment of the editor-in-chief. The situation was described in detail in the letter to the editorial board of the newspaper Pravda, the director of the publishing house (1975), believing that

the reason for the dispute was precisely his principled position in this appointment, the disagreement over the appointment of the person proposed by the deputy head of the department. The situation, in the opinion of the director, was complicated by the use of completely non-civilized forms of work - "the terror of publishing houses, the creation of evil excitement, allowing blackmail, interrogations, face-to-face rates, written explanations on any occasion" to employees (TsDAGOU, op.70, sp. . 929]. He even asks not to send his letter to the local party bodies, but to send his special correspondent. However, the representatives of the local department of propaganda and agitation participated in the inspection, and as a result of "verification revealed shortcomings in the work of the publishing house" [TsDAGOU, op. 70, p. 929]. From the case materials we do not know how the director of the publishing house worked (or worked at all). We do not think it possible to set points in this story, but the fact of such a situation is evidence of the existence of serious problems in the field of personnel selection and indirectly evidence of an all-embracing "party eye."

Significant role in recruiting personnel was played by a factor that for today's reader is simply unclear, the factor of registration. Given the mandatory registration and artificial adjustment of the population of the capital and some other major cities at that time through its restrictions, talented personnel from the province had very little chance of becoming capital journalists. Thus, the editorial offices of the republican youth newspapers "Youth of Ukraine" and "Komsomolskoye banner" apply to the managing director of the Komsomol body - the Central Committee of the LKSMU to grant permission to invite 1-2 persons from regional publications to the capital with the granting of their permission to register and subsequent provision of housing as it is occurs with party and Komsomol workers. Even the figure is given - 38 people thus became residents of the capital. The Komsomol leadership would like to make such a practice, and the correspondence on this subject is posted on three pages of one archival unit of preservation. In the end, by letter dated July 14, 1988, the limit for the registration of 1 person (TsAGOU, op.32, sp 2439) was allocated.

The all-embracing nature of party control over the work of journalists clearly demonstrates a direction such as work with freelance workers, workers and rural correspondents. In one of the notes on the work of the editors of the regional newspapers of the Voroshilovgrad and Donetsk regions with a freelance activist (April 1971), it is determined that "one of the main conditions for the success of the periodicals is systematic work with the author's collective ... this voice of the public who has received support in masses, becomes a great force in the struggle for the tasks of communist construction. " A freelance asset is offered to involve raids and inspections, to create labor committees, to practice the holding of their correspondence party and workers' meetings, to attract

the asset of leading figures and innovators of production (ЦАГОУ, description 32, number 125).

The party bodies, in particular the propaganda and campaigning department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, periodically convened meetings of their own correspondents of the Republican party newspapers, seconded the department instructors to the regions. The instructors met with the heads and employees of the propaganda and campaign departments of the regional committees and city committees. During the meetings, the instructors expressed a number of comments and suggestions on improving the coverage of life in the oblasts on the pages of newspapers, in particular the post-mission instructor after a trip to the Donetsk region, indicates a small number of problematic and analytical materials on the topics of economy, cultural life in the region. It is recommended to work at full capacity, to show a creative initiative in writing productive articles in newspapers. At the end of the memorandum, there are traditional recommendations of the time, which we will quote in the language of the document: "To hold the regional take-off of musical groups and activists of the press, to discuss the role of the press in implementing the decisions of the XXIII Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR and the XXIV Congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine, plans of the ninth Five Years; to increase the role of the party organization of the editorial team and the organization of mass work among readers; to make a quarterly thematic analysis of editorial mail". (TsAGOU, description 32, issue 125).

Conclusion. Thus, the analyzed material provides an opportunity to reach certain conclusions:

First, working with journalists was an important direction for the ruling party, as journalists were part of the ideological front, the success of which directly depended on the socio-political situation in the country;

Secondly, there are no noticeable features in the work with journalists' personnel. The cadre work with them was subordinated to the general principles of the work of the party, which at that time was in power.

Third, the journalistic asset of Donetsk Oblast occupied an important place, which was determined by the importance of the region in the economy of the republic.

The author plans to dedicate the next work to the very characteristic of the subject of publications, where regional features will be even more significant.

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#### **Піскун В.О. Компарти́йна оптика розвитку журналістських кадрів**

*Засоби масової інформації відіграють значну роль в суспільстві, виконуючи роль «четвертої влади». Формат взаємин ЗМІ та суспільства виробляється відповідно до політичного режиму. В умовах тоталітарної держави, якою був СРСР, ЗМІ завжди знаходилися в центрі уваги, адже саме вони забезпечували ідеологічне підґрунтя для правлячої політичної партії і пильність відношення до журналістських кадрів була вкрай важливою складовою цієї «уваги».*

*У зазначеній статті здійснена спроба визначити основні напрямки кадрової політики КПРС щодо журналістського наповнення засобів масової інформації, наявність/відсутність суттєвих особливостей партійного керівництва кадрами взагалі і журналістськими-конкретно, по-сучасному оцінено засоби дієвості компартійного керівництва і пояснено його вплив на ЗМІ.*

*Опрацьовано архівні документи Центрального державного архіву громадських об'єднань України (фонд ЦК КПУ) та низки опублікованих документів, достатньо різноманітних за своїм форматом: доповідні записки, інформації, підготовчі документи до пленумів, засідань, пос-*

*танови республіканського та місцевого партійного керівництва.*

*У висновках підсумовуються основні історичні уроки, що допоможуть суспільству, владі сьогодення та ЗМІ побудувати взаємини, притаманні демократичному етапу цивілізаційного розвитку.*

**Ключові слова:** *правляча партія, «застійний період», кадрова політика, засоби масової інформації, журналістські кадри, власні кореспонденти, ідеологічний вплив.*

#### **Піскун В.А. Компарти́нная оптика развития журналистских кадров**

*Средства массовой информации играют существенную роль в обществе, выполняя роль «четвертой власти». Формат взаимоотношений СМИ и общества происходит в соответствии с политическим режимом. В условиях тоталитарного государства, каким был СССР, СМИ всегда находились в центре внимания, ведь именно они обеспечивали идеологическую поддержку для правящей политической партии и пристальное отношение к журналистским кадрам было крайне важной составляющей этого «внимания».*

*В данной статье предпринята попытка определить основные направления кадровой политики КПСС относительно журналистского наполнения средств массовой информации, наличие / отсутствие существенных особенностей партийного руководства кадрами вообще и журналистскими - конкретно, по-современному оценены средства действенности коммунистического руководства и объяснено его влияние на СМИ.*

*Обработано архивные документы Центрального государственного архива общественных объединений Украины (фонд ЦК КПУ) и ряда опубликованных документов, достаточно разнообразных по своему формату: докладные записки, информации, подготовительные документы пленумов, заседаний, постановлений республиканского и местного партийного руководства.*

*У выводах суммируются основные исторические уроки, которые помогут обществу, сегодняшней власти и СМИ построить отношения, присущие демократическому этапу цивилизационного развития.*

**Ключевые слова:** *правлящая партия, «застойный период», кадровая политика, средства массовой информации, журналистские кадры, собственные корреспонденты, идеологическое воздействие.*

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## PRECONDITIONS OF THE FORMATION AND ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE MARIUPOL EPARCHY OF THE UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX AUTOCEPHALOUS SYNODAL CHURCH IN 1922 – 1937

Ruban M.Y.

### ПЕРЕДУМОВИ УТВОРЕННЯ ТА ОРГАНІЗАЦІЙНИЙ РОЗВИТОК МАРІУПОЛЬСЬКОЇ ЄПАРХІЇ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ПРАВОСЛАВНОЇ АВТОКЕФАЛЬНОЇ СИНОДАЛЬНОЇ ЦЕРКВИ 1922–1937 РР.

Рубан М.Ю.

*The historical circumstances of the organizational development of the Renovatist movement in the Orthodox Church in Donbass still remain one of the less investigated pages of the Ukrainian Local Church history. Despite the fact that the problem of Ukrainian Church history of interwar period has been studied by many researchers, a large number of questions exist which require elaboration. Nowadays on the basis of the earlier unknown material it is possible to widen the general picture of the mentioned events. That's why the main purpose of the article is to figure out the circumstances of the organizational development of the Renovatist movement in the Orthodox Church in Mariupol region during the first decades of the Soviet rule in Ukraine.*

*The originality of the article involves an attempt to research the events of Donbass Church history without traditional historical clichés, and in this case all the trends of Ukrainian ecclesiastic life of that time should be considered. In our strong opinion ignoring the deep needs of interecclesiastic life's normalization led to a Church split. With help of the atheistic government the Renovatist movement achieved its institutional organization. The characteristic issue of the religious life in Donbass was its relative conservatism. That was the main cause of the slow development pace of the reformatively oriented Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Synodal Church. Moreover, while speaking about the Synodal Church should be taken into consideration the demonstratively loyal attitude of the Ukrainian Renovatist hierarchs to the atheistic government. That's why despite the renovatist hierarchs' attempts to minimize the reformative tendencies the Synodal Church in Mariupol region could cover only half of the Orthodox parishes on the land's territory. The Mariupol eparchy was one of the biggest in Donbass.*

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

**Keywords:** *Orthodoxy, Renovatist movement, Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Synodal Church, Mariupol Eparchy.*

**Actuality and problem statement.** The historical events around the organizational development of the Renovatist movement in the Orthodox Church in Donbass belong to perhaps the least illuminated pages of the national interwar period historiography. Owing to persecutions the possibility of a diplomatic settling of the interdenominational dialogue regarding solving actual ecclesiastical life problems and searching for an optimal model of an institutional reunion of the Ukrainian Orthodoxy was lost. Thus, church disunity resumed under the conditions of a relaxation of state control over the Orthodox Church in the late 1980s.

Regardless of considerable achievements of Ukrainian politicians in the field of normalization of the canonical status of the Orthodox Church of Ukraine (hereinafter OCU) and receiving the long awaited Tomos, which recognized OCU's autocephality by Constantinople Patriarchate, the institutional crisis of the Ukrainian Orthodoxy isn't overcome and the general religious situation in the country until now has been characterized by difficulty of interdenominational dialogue.

This problem is felt especially acute in the Donetsk region, where the process of Church reunion is carried out extremely slowly. Specifically, the internal ecclesiastical life is marked by excessive conservatism and marginalization. Also it's worth mentioning that against the background of the warfare and Donetsk occupation administrative center of the local OCU's eparchy has been moved specifically to Mariupol. From here it follows that actuality of studying the historical experience of organizational involvement of the reformative Orthodox denomination in Donbass, and more so in Mariupol region, is gaining an exceptional

meaning in the context of defining new conceptual approaches to OCU's eparchies development in the complex multicultural region of the Ukrainian-Russian borderzone.

**Analysis of research and publications.** The history of organizational development of the Renovatist Church in Ukraine in view of the regulation problem of interdenominational and state-Church relations across the republic is represented in works of a range of homeland historians and religion scholars, in particular H. Bilan [1], O. Boiko [2], S. Zhiliuk [5], V. Pashchenko [15, 16], A. Kyrydon [16], O. Sahan [20], O. Ihnatusha [8, 9], O. Tryhub [22] etc. However, the subject matter of the above-noted works is characterized by attempts of building a general picture of the denomination's development in interwar Ukraine but a solid regional illuminating of this issue is lacking.

In foreign church historiography to this day the prominent position hold chapters from master's theses of metropolitans-historians Feodosii (Protsiuk) and Yoann (Snychov) [7], which cursorily present characteristics of the Church movements in Ukraine in the first half of the 20th century. However, written back in the middle 1960s these works are characterized by numerous factual inaccuracies and distortions partially due to the authors' subjective disposition towards the process of normalization of the canonical status and institutional establishment of the autocephalous Local Church in Ukraine. Without exaggeration are unique, both for their content and character of material presentment, monographs of Russian protopriest V. Lavrynov [10, 11] and priest I. Solovyov [13], who drew and processed a wide range of materials on Renovatist hierarchs' criminal cases and created informative books of reference on material on Renovatist Church history in USSR.

The first fundamental attempt to study the history of emerging, activity and dissolution of organized Orthodox denominations in the context of regulation of the state-Church relations specifically in Donbass was a dissertation, later extended to a monograph, by Luhansk lawyer and scholar of religion O. Forostiuk [25]. He was the first to introduce a wide layer of material on the key events, figures of bishops and priests, who played a key role in religious history of the land, having considered regional events against the general background of state's antireligious politics in USSR. Yet, despite the use of wide factual material, systematized on basis of presently inaccessible regional archives of Donetsk and Luhansk, and presented unique narrative testimonies by local representatives of different denominations, the O. Forostiuk's works, however, are marked by tendentiousness of a denominational perception. They don't exhaust the amplitude of the task outlined for this article and have numerous inaccuracies, correction of which requires introducing into scientific use new additional sources.

Also, a number of the author's works [18, 19, 21] are dedicated to the problematics of institutional

evolution of individual Renovatist Church eparchies in Donbass.

Thus, the **subject** of the proposed study is the activity of the Mariupol eparchy of the Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Synodal Church (hereinafter UOASC), which entails addressing following research problems: firstly, highlighting the ideological origins of the Renovatist movement; secondly, trace the evolution of the organizational structure of the Orthodox Church in Mariupol district; thirdly, find out particularities of the Renovatist Mariupol eparchy's institutional development against the background of the general church division events in Ukraine in 1920s–1930s. The study's chronological borders encompass the period from the formation of the Mariupol vicariate of the Katerynoslav eparchy in 1919 until the factual elimination of the Renovatist movement at the end of 1930s.

The article's **aim** is to recreate a holistic picture of the preconditions of the formation and organizational development of the Mariupol eparchy of the Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Synodal Church in 1922 – 1937 on basis of an integral analysis of historical sources and scientific literature.

**Exposition of the main material.** The origins of the ideology of the All-Russian Church renovation (reformation) go as far back as 1860s-1870s, the time of the preparation for a program of church transformations, which was never implemented. From an interesting evidence by UAOC metropolitan Vasyl Lypkivskyi, this movement emerged as a result of Church's ideological submission to the state authority and politics among other things [3, p. 91]. Conceptual designing of this movement fell on the time of existence of the Pre-Council Presences in 1905-1906. That was also when emerged a circle of 32 clergymen, which relied on bishop of Narva Antonin (Hranovskyi) and lasted until 1908 when the group's activity was stopped and bishop Antonin was retired.

At the beginning of the 20th century the parishes in Mariupol district belonged to Katerynoslav eparchy and spiritual guidance over them was effected directly by Katerynoslav archpastors, who had the title "of Katerynoslav and Mariupol" and, with the formation of Tahanrog vicariate on the 1st of April, partially by their Tahanrog vicars.

In the result, lack of a local bishop and structural archaism of the churchdom didn't fully meet spiritual needs of the region that was going through a fast administrative growth.

On the 5th of February 1919 by a decree of Council of People's Commissars in the territory of Bakhmut and Slovyanoserbisk districts was formed separate Donetsk governorate. On the 15th of March took place the governorate's territory reorganization, which incorporated Mariupol, Starobel and Tahanrog districts as well as individual lands and volosts of Kharkiv and Katerynoslav governorates and the Province of the Don Cossack Host. Fast-paced administrative and economic development of the

industrial region required corresponding institutional development of the Church administration forms. At the same time liberated from excessive monarchic “care” the Orthodox Church needed a substantial rethinking of its ideological principles.

The revolutionary events of 1917 favored the actualization of the Renovatist movement’s ideology in the activity of the All-Russian Union of Democratic Orthodox Priesthood and Laypeople headed by protopriest O. Vvedenskyi. The organization found favor with Chief Procurator of the Provisional Government’s Most Holy Synod V. Lvov.

Seeking for an ecclesiastical life renewal and the impossibility of further functioning of the church administration system in force led to convening the All-Russian Council 1917-1918 at which was restored the Moscow Patriarchy. In the course of the Council’s work were adopted some regulations concerning democratization of the Church administration. A wide program of modernizational reforms of canonical norms and divine services, however, didn’t find support at the Council. At the same time by the All-Russian Council’s decretal “Regarding vicar bishops” the latter’s authority was significantly broadened and the vicariates’ number increased [14, p. 42]. Also a new order of bishop elections was assumed, in which now participated both district’s hierarchs and clergy with laypeople of the eparchy.

On the 22nd of May 1919 by a Stavropol Council Decision the Tahanrog vicariate of the Katerynoslav eparchy was reassigned as separate Rostov eparchy. In return in 1919 as a part of the Katerynoslav eparchy was restored the Mariupol vicarial cathedra, headed by a years-long eparchy’s cleric, lecturer at Katerynoslav seminary, newly ordained 57-years-old bishop Andrii (Odintsov) [10, p. 109].

The ideological ground of the concept of institutional segregation of the Renovatist movement was formed by Leon Trotsky in March 1922. An experienced theoretician, Trotsky reasonably noticed that in the face of the lack of a reformation in the Russian Orthodox Church, against the background of Soviet authority establishing, gradually emerged a loyal “Soviet” clergy movement, making use of which was planned for removing from power the old-regime episcopacy and carrying out a reformation “under the Soviet flag” [6]. The organization of the Church revolution was directly related to the confiscation of the church valuables on the back of the famine growing in the country in 1921, which was creating an opportunity for episcopacy discreditation. At the same time, L. Trotsky specified that the Soviet clergy were very nearly the biggest threat for the future working society, since they would have wide possibilities for entering the masses of people, for which reason was decided to create in advance a solid theoretical-ideological base against the renovated and reformatted Church [6].

Bringing into action the articles of the briefing note by L. Trotsky in May 1922 with SPD’s hands-on assistance a group of Renovatist clergymen at the top

with protopriest O. Vvedenskyi visited imprisoned patriarch Tikhon and persuaded him to resign from the Church affairs in favour of metropolitan Ahaphangel (Preobrazhenskyi). Inasmuch as metropolitan Ahaphangel was soon imprisoned as well, representatives of the Renovatist priesthood and laity created a group called “Living Church”, and as soon as 29 May 1922 in Moscow took place a constituent assembly of the Highest Church Government (hereinafter HCG) chaired by loyal to the Renovatist movement bishop Antonin (Hranovskyi).

The HCG’s main task was defined as an All-Russian Council convocation aimed at a legitimate introducing of Church transformations. At the end of 6-16 August 1922 the “Living Church”’s representatives held their own All-Russian congress at which was decided to defrock patriarch Tykhon, introduce marriage for episcopacy, remove monk hierarchs from power, close down monasteries and hand over the financial affairs to married clergy [11, p. 14]. Dogmatic and liturgical issues were postponed to the time of the All-Russian Council’s convocation [22, p. 28].

In Ukraine the Renovatist ideology experienced a significant influence of autocephalous spirit and recognized the need in ukrainization of the ecclesiastical life. Considering the threat of organizational broadening of the excessively reformative Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, patriarchal exarch metropolitan Mykhail (Yermakov) sought to overcome the arisen division, and since its main cause was the ambition of Ukrainian priesthood for autocephality and ukrainization of ecclesiastic life, 2-5 September 1922 Kyiv Episcopal Council decreed to follow the road of obtaining autocephality for the sake of restoring Orthodox Church of Ukraine’s unity [24, p. 239].

At the Kyiv Council was heard the problem concerning the “Living Church” group and was upheld the decision to dissociate from this group. The present participants were asked to familiarize at the local level the clergy and laypeople with the situation concerning this issue. Adopting this decision completely destroyed the Renovatist agents’ hope for an agreement with the episcopacy and in the end determined the fate of the “Council”’s participants. Before long an institutionalization of the Renovatist eparchial administrations took place through arrests of Ukrainian hierarchs by SPD’s authorities and further dismissal from cathedras by a Renovatist institution – the Moscow HCG. On the 5th of February 1923 in Kyiv was arrested metropolitan Mykhail (Yermakov). After a lengthy investigation on the 13th of July 1923 by a resolution of NKVD’s committee for administrative exile he was exiled to Turkestan for a term of two years [30]. On the 25th of January 1923 by a HCG’s decree Tykhon (Vasylevskyi) was assigned as metropolitan of Kyiv [12, p. 96]. On the 14th of February 1923 in Kyiv at a session of the First All-Ukrainian Renovatist Congress, chaired by metropolitan Tykhon, was established the All-Ukrainian Highest Church Government (hereinafter AUHCG) as an agency of

highest Church authority within the limits of Ukraine, Crimea and Halychyna [26].

Soon enough a Renovatianist temporary church government was established in Katerynoslav. In the summer of 1922 were arrested archbishop of Katerynoslav Ahapit (Vyshnevskiy) along with his vicars: bishop of Pavlohrad Serafym (Sylichev) and bishop Ioanikii (Sokolovskiy). For concealing church valuables and counteracting their confiscation was arrested bishop of Mariupol Andrii (Odintsov) with the clergy of the Mariupol's cathedral [31]. Shortly after his release by amnesty, bishop Andrii took charge of the newly formed Renovatianist Donetsk eparchy, which spread to the territories of Bakhmut, Luhansk and Yuzivka districts, and was elevated to the rank of archbishop with the title "of Bakhmut and Donetsk" [10, p. 110].

On the 29th of April 1923 began the "Second Local All-Russian Council" (the first Renovatianist), which officially approved introducing a range of Church structure's reforms. In the Council's work participated a Donetsk eparchy's delegation headed by archbishop Andrii (Odintsov), who was elected a member of the newly created All-Russian Renovatianist Synod [10, p. 110]. In October 1923 in Ukraine took place a Renovatianist All-Ukrainian Council, at which was proclaimed the establishing of the Ukrainian Synodal Church. On the 27th of October the All-Ukrainian Highest Church Government was reorganized into the All-Ukrainian Most Holy Synod, as a member of which was also elected archbishop Andrii [31]. According to the data of S. Zhyliuk, as of January 1924 in the Donetsk governorate's territory were registered 190 Renovatianist parishes [5, p. 53].

During 1924 as a result of active measures of the Church opposition, the Renovatianist Church in Ukraine underwent a substantial organizational crisis, having lost over 1000 parishes throughout the republic. Foremost, the clergy's support of the patriarchal Church grew with the release of patriarch Tykhon and the conversion of many Synodal Church's hierarchs to Moscow Patriarchy. In particular, on the 9th of September 1924 a former Renovatianist hierarch Antonii (Pankeev), who had done penance before patriarch Tykhon, was ordained as bishop of Mariupol, vicar of the Katerynoslav eparchy. As of January 1925, the general number of the Renovatianist communities in the Donetsk governorate decreased to 85, on top of that it's worth mentioning that according to official data in the Mariupol district's territory wasn't registered a single Renovatianist community [4].

In the spring of 1925 within the Donetsk eparchy was formed the Luhansk vicariate. Among the candidates for archpastorship was appointed protopriest Oleksii Rozumovskiy, who having soon taken the monastic vows was elevated to the rank of archimandrite under the name of Augustine [10, p. 36, 209]. However, in April 1925 archimandrite Augustine (Rozumovskiy) was ordained as bishop of Mariupol, vicar of the Katerynoslav eparchy, and became the first Renovatian-

ist hierarch of the restored Mariupol cathedra [10, p. 36].

14 May 1925 in Kharkiv a session of the Second All-Ukrainian Council was opened, at which was adopted the resolution on autocephality of the Ukrainian Synodal Church and korenization of the church services. Amongst the key Council's resolutions was the prohibition of the second marriage for priesthood. Thus, at the Second All-Ukrainian Council the Renovatianists managed to minimize excessive reformational tendencies in their practice. On the 7th of October 1925 the autocephality of the Orthodox Church of Ukraine was confirmed at the All-Russian Council [22, p. 100].

In the meantime, in view of the minimization of reformational tendencies in the Synodal Church's practice, emerging of perspectives for normalization of its canonical status and actualization of interdenominational dialogue, began a gradual increasing of the number of the Synodal Church's parishes in Donbass. By the first of July 1925 in the Mariupol district were registered already 29 Renovatianist communities [29]. The activization of church-institutional processes was also favored by a new administrative USSR's reform, under which the governorate division of the republic changed to district (okrug) division. In the face of a pressing need for realization of effective administration at the local level, a perspective for reorganization the network of the eparchial administrations emerged. In June 1925 by an All-Ukrainian Most Holy Synod's decree were formed 36 eparchies in the corresponding territorial districts' boundaries. That was also when from the Katerynoslav eparchy was segregated the individual Mariupol eparchy [10, p. 175].

As the head of the newly formed Mariupol eparchial administration was approved bishop Augustine (Rozumovskiy). On the 13th of June 1925 at the gathering of priesthood and laypeople in Berdyansk bishop Augustine was elected the ruling hierarch of the Mariupol eparchy [23]. At the beginning of 1926 the number of parishes within the Mariupol eparchy precipitately decreased to 11 [27]. 28 February 1926 bishop of Mariupol Augustine was appointed an all-Ukrainian missionary-evangelizer, member of the evangelizer committee of the All-Ukrainian Most Holy Synod, and as soon as April the 14th the hierarch was appointed the head of Iziium's eparchial administration [10, p. 36]. From 16 June 1926 the direction of Mariupol eparchy was effected concurrently by Makarii (Bystrov), bishop of Stalin [10, p. 343].

At the end of 1926 a former Renovatianist bishop of Katerynoslav Amvrosii (Nahorskiy) was appointed the head of the Mariupol eparchial administration [10, p. 100]. In May 1927 bishop Amvrosii participated in the All-Ukrainian Pre-Council Congress. That was also when the number of communities within the Mariupol eparchy reached its maximum – 42, which was closely half of the registered parishes in the district [28].

13 June 1930 bishop Amvrosii (Nahorskiy) topped the Mykolaiv eparchy, instead, the former bishop of Mykolaiv Rafail (Prozorovskiy) was elected the head of

the Mariupol eparchial administration [10, p. 100, 481]. At the beginning of 1930s the Renovationist eparchies in Donbass faced an aggressive wave of churches' closure. As early as 26 March 1930 in the course of the pre-election campaign the presidium of Mariupol's city council adopted the administrative directive #1173 concerning closure of the St. Charalambos's Cathedral and later use of the building as a radio center [21, p. 222]. In connection with the St. Charalambos's Cathedral's closing in January 1935 the archiereus cathedra was moved to the All-Hallows Cemetery Church. That same year the Mariupol eparchial administration was liquidated and bishop Rafail (Prozorovskiy), until the time of his arrest, carried out beneficiary's duties of the last Renovationist parish – All-Hallows Church, which had joined the Stalin eparchy [10, p. 481]. In October 1935 along with the closure of the Luhansk eparchy's Kazan Cathedral with the blessing of the bishop of Stalin Ioakym (Pukhalskiy) to the Mariupol All-Hallows Church was reassigned a former beneficiary of a Luhansk church, priest Arsenii Husev [25, p. 136].

On the 19th of September 1937 the last Mariupol hierarch of the Synodal Church, archbishop Rafail (Prozorovskiy), was arrested. Along with the arrest of bishop Rafail was closed the last parish of the former Renovationist Mariupol eparchy. 10 October 1937, by a decision of the Troika of the USSR's UNKVD in the Donetsk region, the hierarch was condemned to execution with confiscation of property [17, p. 428].

**Conclusions.** Thus, the historical analysis of the organizational development of the Mariupol eparchy of the Ukrainian Synodal Church proves that the issue of introducing Church reforms didn't find a wide public support in Donbass given the general conservatism of the religious life in the provincial lands. A brief success of the conversion of the communities during 1922 – 1923 is quite explained by that fact, that in the context of liquidation of canonical hierarchical administrations of Ukrainian eparchies, the Renovationist activists got plenty of room for organizing the network of their own eparchial administrations and taking over the highest Church authority in the republic. For the matter of this it's suitable to quote a thought of a researcher from Dnipro – O. Boyko: "Recognized by the Soviet government, the "Living Church"s Eparchial Administration, as an already formed Church office, became a "refuge" for the majority of the Orthodox priests. Specifically refuge because according to the government authorities' documents, the absolute majority of priests remained in position on the fence" [8, p. 45 – 46]. As a result of a revolutionary approach to implementing the Church reforms' program, representatives of the Renovationist movement discredited the very idea of an Orthodox reformation, consequences of which are felt in the religious discourse of the post-Soviet countries to this day. Only in the middle of 1920s, having minimized own reformational tendencies and gathered active support of the governmental authorities, the Synodal Church managed to overcome institutional crisis and accomplish the institutionalization of the Mariupol ep-

archy, which throughout the whole its lifetime consolidated approximately half of the district's parishes. The further development of the denomination was complicated, considering the change in state's politics in the field of religion and lack of an effective administrative system and low canonical discipline of the Renovationist clergymen.

The article's author believes that studying the historical circumstances of the Synodal Church's activity in interwar Donbass, searching and introducing into the discourse new historical sources on the subject, will let us widen our conception about modern religious worldview formation of the population of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions, and present new conceptual approaches in respect of overcoming the Church division of the Orthodoxy in Donbass.

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**Рубан М.Ю. Передумови утворення та організаційний розвиток Маріупольської єпархії Української Православної Автокефальної Синодальної Церкви 1922–1937 рр.**

*У статті здійснено спробу дослідити процес організаційного становлення Сталінської єпархії Української Православної Автокефальної Синодальної (обновленської) Церкви. Простежено хід інституалізації обновленського руху на теренах Маріупольської округи в контексті загальних тенденцій розвитку конфесії в Україні. Висвітлено історичні обставини конфесійного розділення Українсь-*

*кого Православ'я в міжвоєнний період на прикладі окремого регіону.*

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

**Рубан Н.Ю. Предпосылки образования и организационное развитие Мариупольской епархии Украинской Православной Автокефальной Синодальной Церкви 1922–1937 гг.**

*В статье осуществлена попытка исследовать процесс организационного становления Мариупольской епархии Украинской Православной Автокефальной Синодальной (обновленческой) Церкви. Прослежен ход институализации обновленческого движения на территории Мариупольского округа в контексте общих тенденций развития конфессии в Украине. Освещены исторические обстоятельства конфессионального разделения Украинского Православия в междувоенный период на примере отдельного региона.*

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

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## TO THE HISTORY OF THE INFLUENCE OF IT-TECHNOLOGIES ON THE FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF A MODERN INFORMATION SOCIETY

Sapytska O.M.

## ДО ІСТОРІЇ ВПЛИВУ ІТ-ТЕХНОЛОГІЙ НА СТАНОВЛЕННЯ ТА РОЗВИТОК СУЧАСНОГО ІНФОРМАЦІЙНОГО СУСПІЛЬСТВА

Сапицька О.М.

*The human universe in its development has undergone several stages of civilization transformation. Each of these stages is characterized by a set of etiologic features that directly influenced the quality of life of the society, and hence on all aspects of being at both the micro and macro level, if we consider the existence and functioning of social and political organisms as a system. Technological innovations almost always throughout the studied history in any society reflected social values and, in turn, transformed society in varying degrees.*

*The development of machine-based information processing techniques has influenced the rapid transformation of a modern society from industrial to post-industrial information society.*

*The article briefly describes the key moments of the emergence of the fundamental machine methods of information processing and digital technologies that influenced the formation of the modern information society and its functioning in all aspects of life in the general daily accessibility of a large array of the information which is different by quality.*

**Key words:** *civilizational transformation, information society, IT-technologies, robots, Artificial Intelligence (AI), machine methods of information processing*

**Introduction.** During each civilization stage, mankind accumulated information as useful for the conditions of existence within each chronotope, and unclaimed in the realities of that time. An array of this information was passed from generation to generation in various ways, creating, in the end, a historical background of processes that took place "here and now" in multi-level formations in the context of their existence in all spheres of human society.

At the same time, the accumulated information, as a set of knowledge about the surrounding world and its conditions of existence, which was transformed by people through imaginary modeling of reality, formed science as such. That is why science is considered as

one of the types of socio-cultural creativity of the historical subject. Each civilization stage did not start from scratch. The basic level was the achievement of previous generations.

Modern society is characterized as post-industrial, or information on the main product of its production - information, although it can not be said that this civilization phase of development of the planetary scale.

However, given the historical events of the past thirty years, it can be confidently stated that information technologies have been active in influencing the transformation of everyday life and, in general, the existence of all strata of the population and all social groups in most countries of the world.

Information can not exist on its own. According to the theory of information, it is stored and transmitted only on a material carrier by means of energy. Oral transmission of information also falls under this postulate, because the nervous system of living organisms is a specific set of communication channels. It is this feature that became the basis of the creation of artificial intelligence, which more directly or indirectly influences the course of events in all spheres of society, ranging from the impact on fundamental human rights and freedoms to the cultural and spiritual sphere.

**Formulation of the problem.** Under the influence of the scientific and technological revolution of the second half of the 20th century, due to the amount of information accumulated by humanity and in response to the increasing overall rate of its use and the demands of society, in the last decades there has been a rapid development of machine information technologies. And this pace of development is constantly accelerating, which makes many scholars, for example [1], - to call colleagues and society for caution. They warn about the high probability of technological singularity soon, with

all probable, predicted decades ago, the consequences for human civilization. According to experts, the proliferation of military robots is comparable in value to the invention of gunpowder and nuclear weapons in the historical-civilizational sense.

**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. Different aspects of the formation and existence of the information society are considered mainly from the point of view of sociology, informatization, political science, economics, etc. In the domestic space in general, there are no highly specialized historical studies of this issue. However, foreign historiography on this topic in historical aspect also is not quite significant. Showing a certain historical background, researchers mainly consider the practical issues of adaptation of different segments and groups of society to rapidly increasing technological innovations and the information sphere in general. The whole array of such historiography can not be analyzed within the framework of one article, but on some studies it is worthwhile to stop.

In Ukraine, the first who initiated a substantial renovation of the tools of historical research, drawing mathematical and machine methods into the analysis of science and technology, in particular the possibilities of electronic computers that originated in our country, became the founder of the Ukrainian science-education school Gennady Mikhailovich Dobrov [2].

In 1966, he advanced the idea of combining historical, scientific and scientific studies, in which the application of machine methods in historical and research studies for information processing had to facilitate the obtaining of results that could be used to identify the growth and potential points of new areas of science and science-technical progress. In the same year, he published his fundamental monograph "Science of Science" [3], which was reprinted in the seventeen countries of the world and has not lost its relevance in our time. Unfortunately, for the general public in the Ukrainian information space, the name of this outstanding scientist, who became one of the founders of domestic science-science, remains almost unknown.

In the 1970s, another domestic scientist – E.P. Semenyuk [4], – began to study in his works the information approach to the knowledge of reality. He analyzed the role of the information approach in understanding and solving such pressing problems of social development, as the economy transformation, management of social processes, the formation of public consciousness.

Some aspects in the context of our subjects considered in the researches of L.G. Khomenko [5], which had historical and scientific analysis of the experience of the formation of the cybernetic worldview and repressive response to its origin, to construct a theory of artificial intelligence in the former USSR and shows the evolution of Ukrainian cybernetics from the initial concept to the formation informatics as a science that studies in-

formation processes and systems in a social environment.

In the analytical report of the National Institute of Strategic Studies of Ukraine (2010) [6], the author's team noted that the information society could become an element for Ukraine that would allow it to provide a worthy place among the world's leading countries.

The most interesting and original work affecting our subject matter, in our opinion, is the book of Israeli historian and a professor in the Department of History at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem Yuval Noah Harari "Homo Deus: A Brief History of Tomorrow" [7]. We point out that this is not a strictly scientific, it's a popular science book for the masses, but it has a professional historical approach. The author believes that the language revolution was about 70,000 years ago, after which people began to live in the framework of "intersubjective reality", such as countries, borders, religion, money and so on, which were created to provide large-scale and flexible cooperation between individuals. Humanity is separated from animals by the ability of people to believe in these intersubjective constructions, which exist only in the human mind and are given by force through collective beliefs. The political system, says Harari, is no longer able to respond to new technological challenges, as the world changes too quickly and politicians do not have time to form a vision and plan for the future. In his opinion, today people are turning to algorithms rather than the church for answers. Harari believes that new religions will soon come to the forefront - dataism and technohumanism. It should be noted that the author operates large-scale abstractions, however, he does not provide well-structured logical constructions on the issue of important and fundamental defining differences between people ("organic algorithms") and computer algorithms.

Consequently, we must declare that the question under study is, for the most part, not fully disclosed in the information space of both domestic and English-language resources, publications, journals, etc.

**The purpose of research.** Briefly to describe the key moments of the emergence of the fundamental machine methods of information processing and digital technologies that influenced the formation of the modern information society and its functioning in all aspects of life in the general daily accessibility of a large array of the information which is different by quality.

#### **Materials and research results.**

A special feature of the informational sphere of modern society is its fundamentally undiscovered and, at the same time, a multidimensional character [8]. This determines the specificity of the methodological approach for the processing of information. Information is not only the main object of historical research. It is also a common object to which the methods of different sciences are directed. An important aspect is that the actual informational message is always selected from a set of possible messages [9], which makes the information suitable for mathematical and machine processing methods.

That is, the transfer of information is a physical process that can be described mathematically. Hence, the process of information retrieval and processing in order to acquire new knowledge for the benefit of society can be maximally optimized with the help of machine methods of processing large and varied data arrays.

Studies in 2011 [10] showed that 95% of all existing information in the world was digitized and accessible to the public through computer networks.

It can be argued that the global Internet has become the main technology of the information age. Initially, this network, like many modern technologies and equipment, was developed for the needs of the military. The modern Internet has evolved from the Arpanet network, which was developed by the United States Department of Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency and tested for the first time on October 29, 1969, and ended its functioning in June 1990. The Internet that replaced it has spread around the world at great speed.

The world's first website was created by the inventor of the World Wide Web (1989) and Turing Award Winner (2016) T. Berners-Lee at <http://info.cern.ch>. [11] This site appeared online on the Internet on August 6, 1991. It is also the world's first online directory. According to research, in 1996 there were 40 million Internet users, and in 2013 there were already 2.5 billion, and the number of wireless users in 2013 was close to 7 billion. [12]

The increasingly accelerated pace of progress in the development of computer information processing today has led to the widespread use of technologies associated with the use of artificial intelligence in many areas of human activity in modern society. It should be understood that the AI, as a set of interacting different types of artificial neural networks, can include anything from a machine algorithms for searching and processing of information requests to autonomous weapons. Artificial neural networks, which are now used in many spheres of human activity, have passed the path of more than sixty years, from the complete negation of their practical utility to the almost complete correspondence of the technical system of the number of neurons in the human brain. If describe in simple terms, the artificial neural network is a mathematical model that functions as a network of nerve cells of living beings.

Basics of the theory of the brain and neuron mathematical model was developed by Charles W. McCulloch and Pitts in 1943 and published by them in the article "The logical calculus of ideas related to neural activity." And in 1948, Norbert Winner [13] – "the father of cybernetics" – published the first scientific work describing the principle of biological processes as a mathematical model. It was considered problematic behavior and reproduction of natural and artificial complex control and information systems technology, nature and society. The writing of this study by N. Wiener was triggered by two events - familiarization with physiologist Arthur Rosenblut and the Second World War, during which he was engaged in problems

of automatic control and automatic communication, using comparisons of automated devices with functions of living beings.

The next step to the beginning of modern artificial neural networks was the research of Canadian neuropsychologist D. Hebb. In 1949, he published a scientific work "Organization of Behavior: Neuropsychological Theory" [14], in which one of the first proposed a theory of the relationship between the brain and mental processes. The result of his work was the first algorithm of machine learning.

N. Wiener and D. Hebb became the founders of the primary structure of artificial neural networks and machine learning: Wiener - from a mathematical point of view, and D. Hebb - from the neurophysiological.

However, the primary model of artificial neural networks was not without disadvantages. Thus, in 1969 M. Minsky published the book "Perceptron" [15], where he criticized the research in the field of artificial neural networks and demonstrated the necessary computing resources for this.

After this critique, the interest in researching artificial neural networks has fallen sharply, but in 1972, a prominent Finnish scientist in the field of artificial neural networks and machine learning, T. Kohonen and J. Anderson almost simultaneously invented a new type of artificial neural networks that can function as a memory. The new type used associations to transform information and sample data into their fragments. It currently exists now.

So, since the 1970s, scientists around the world were interested in problems of artificial neural networks. The top point of the historical development of artificial neural networks is the anthropomorphic high-tech artificial intelligence, which since the moment of its worldwide announcement in 2017 has already put a number of acute problem-solving problems of the general human scale to the society.

Human rights are rights that all people have, regardless of race, gender, nationality, ethnicity, language, religion or any other status, and which cover all spheres of human activity. Based on the content of the fundamental international documents [16] legally enshrining human rights, they can be divided into four large groups: social, economic, cultural and political. In the broad sense, human rights encompass all types of individual rights and freedoms, and all types of injustice are related to human rights [17].

Because any human personality is formed within a certain society, civil rights have a paramount importance for the topic in question, because they are provided with positive government actions, often in the form of legislation [18].

From the point of view of the beginning of the accelerating global entry of automated systems into the sphere of human activity, and, accordingly, in the legal field, we can consider the end of World War II as a starting point. After the world somewhat recovered from the World War II in the socio-economic aspect, in the 50's of the twentieth century began the rapid

development of scientific and technical progress. To a large extent, it was the transfer of scientific and technological developments for the needs of the war on a civilian plane, which set before the scientists the task of forming completely new approaches to research on the basis of new methodological tools. [19] It can be argued that the pace of implementation and the impact of the volume of the computer systems on society is practically on a planetary scale are so increased in recent decades that have transformed many public institutions.

Chronologically robots were the first to enter the sphere of human existence. The term “robot” to the widespread use was firstly introduced by the Czech writer Karel Čapek, writing the derived word “robot” from the Czech “robota” - “forced labor” in his play “R.U.R.” (Rossumovi Univerzální Roboti, 1920), which described the artificial people. In modern terminology, the word “robot” is interpreted as “a machine that resembles a human and is capable of automatically reproducing certain human movements and functions [20]”. Later, the word “robot” became very popular from the beginning among science fiction writers, who were the first to start thinking in their works about the ethical and legal aspects of the existence and development of “artificial people” in human society.

The famous science fiction writer by calling and biochemist by education Isaac Asimov in 1941 for the first time used the word “robotics” in print, which he used in his story “Liar!”. And in 1942, in the short story “Runaround”, he in first time formulated the famous “Three Laws of Robotics”, which were supposed to regulate the behavior of robots. The first law says: “A robot cannot harm a human or by its inaction allow a human to be harmed [21]”. Later he formulated the “zero law”, which extended the influence of the first law to all humanity. These “laws” later became the base for the initial stages of technological developments in the field of creating anthropomorphic robots and AI from the point of view of the practical application of I. Kant's formalized ethics in the human community.

The term “Artificial Intelligence” for the scientific community firstly was introduced by the American computer scientist J. McCarthy in his theses in 1955 for the conference in Dartmouth in 1956. [22] The modern definition of this term is: “AI - The theory and development of computer systems able to perform tasks normally requiring human intelligence, such as visual perception, speech recognition, decision-making, and translation between languages [23]”. To our opinion, this definition, taking into account modern realities, needs more specific formulations and we agree with researchers from the Information Technology Policy Center at Princeton University [24] that there is no generally accepted precise definition of “artificial intelligence” because the term “intelligence” still ambiguous.

Today, artificial intelligence is still designed to solve highly specialized tasks, but it has the potential to become smarter than any human. Now, the process of

creating and introducing the anthropomorphic robots with AI into the public life is considered mainly from the point of view of economic profits for its creators. However, the granting of citizenship to a social humanoid robot Sophia developed by Dr. Hanson from Hong Kong based company Hanson Robotics on October 25, 2017 at the Future Investment Initiative conference in Riyadh [25], which pursued primarily economic and advertising purposes, immediately created problems in legislative field. The society launched a massive debate, which boil down to whether or not to believe now that humanoid robots (androids) may possess the full range of civil rights and freedoms on an equal basis with people.

The developed robot was able to imitate 62 different facial expressions, establish eye contact, memorize people and maintain dialogue. At the same time, the android was originally intended to work in the field of education and health care, but gradually Sofia became a media person. Analyzing the numerous publications devoted to this human-like mechanism, it can be stated that the very fact of the emergence and active functioning in the information space of such a high technology has led to a change in the outlook of a large part of society in many countries. It is possible that this successful project has become another key point for the further historical development of human civilization.

Another example of AI, which officially received a set of civil rights, became Shibuya Mirai [26] - a chatbot in the messaging app Line, which is programmed to conduct seven year old boy. In the 2017, this artificial intelligence received a place in the real registry and an official residence in the Tokyo district of Shibuya with a population of about 224,000 people, Japan.

Because of the ever-expanding areas of artificial intelligence use in the life of human society, we can say that there is a tendency of development in the near future a kind of “Charter of Rights of Robots and AI”. Otherwise, the collapse of civil human rights can begin.

If we are somewhat deviate from the question of degree and completeness of the civil rights of robots and pay attention to the ever-widening sphere highly specialized applications of artificial intelligence in the socio-economic sector, then, along with numerous positive examples of its use, we have already begun to emerge and the negative impact of decisions made by the artificial intelligence in the sphere of the human rights of vulnerable groups of the population in developed countries [27].

### Conclusions.

In general, as we can see from history, many technological inventions that originally appeared in the works of the science fiction genre have become a reality these days. However, with regard to human rights, robots and artificial intelligence, should be aware that “no matter how much we value the experience and knowledge of individual scientists, they will almost always behave in accordance with the values of the societies in which they work. Virtually any study can create dual use - potential risks and benefits [28].”

By and large, most of the history of mankind is the history of the development of societies in terms of wars, conflicts, inventions and the use of weapons and military technologies. We think that the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 made many scientists seriously think about their responsibility for their inventions to society and future generations. The aforementioned sir T.J.Berners-Lee noted that computer scientists have not only technical but also moral responsibility to society. [29] Nowadays many members of robotics and artificial intelligence companies demanded UN to include military robots in the Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons, which entered into force in 1983 [30], but a lot of them simultaneously indicate that artificial intelligence has great potential for the benefit of humanity in many ways, provided that humanity will increase its intellectual potential, transforming positively in the future from the developed information society, where knowledge is a public value, into a high-tech deeply scientific non-conflict society.

In modern societies, there are practically no people who would not be involved in information processes, because everyone produces, transmits and uses information every day. Beginning in the 1970s, progress on the scale of information consumption by society began to accelerate every year. Thanks to modern IT-technologies and technology, this process has become too rapid over the last decade. The transition to the global information society under the influence of digital information technology is still happening as a result of the uneven socio-economic development of different countries, but now we must understand that history does not forgive the lack of the ability to analyze the information that supplied.

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#### **Сапицька О.М. До історії впливу ІТ-технологій на становлення та розвиток сучасного інформаційного суспільства**

*Людський універсум у своєму розвитку пройшов через декілька етапів цивілізаційних перетворень. Кожний з цих етапів характеризується набором власних ознак, котрі безпосередньо впливали на якість життя соціуму, а відтак, на всі аспекти буття як на мікро-, так і на макрорівні, якщо розглядати існування та функціонування соціальних та політичних організмів, як систему. Технологічні інновації практично завжди протягом дослідженої історії в будь-якому суспільстві відбивали соціальні цінності, котрі, в свою чергу, трансформували суспільство в тій чи іншій мірі. Поява машинних методів обробки інформації вплинули на швидку трансформацію сучасного суспільства з індустріального на постіндустріальне інформаційне.*

*У статті коротко описані ключові моменти появи фундаментальних машинних методів обробки інформації та цифрових технологій, що вплинули на становлення сучасного інформаційного суспільства та його функціонування у всіх аспектах життєдіяльності в умовах загальної повсякденної доступності та впливу великого масиву інформації.*

**Ключові слова:** цивілізаційна трансформація, інформаційне суспільство, ІТ-технології, роботи, штучний інтелект, машинні методи обробки інформації

#### **Сапицкая Е.М. К истории влияния ИТ-технологий на становление и развитие современного информационного общества**

*Человеческий універсум в своем развитии прошел через несколько этапов цивилизационных преобразований. Каждый из этих этапов характеризуется набором собственных признаков, которые непосредственно влияли на качество жизни социума, а значит, на все аспекты бытия как на микро-, так и на макроуровне, если рассматривать существование и функционирование социальных и политических организмов, как систему. Технологические инновации практически всегда на протяжении исследованной истории в любом обществе отражали социальные ценности, которые, в свою очередь, изменяли общество в той или иной степени. Появление машинных методов обработки информации повлияло на быструю трансформацию современного общества с индустриального на постиндустриальное информационное.*

*В статье кратко описаны ключевые моменты появления фундаментальных машинных методов обработки информации и цифровых технологий, повлиявших на становление современного информационного общества и его функционирования во всех аспектах жизнедеятельности в условиях повседневного влияния большого массива информации.*

**Ключевые слова:** *цивилизационная трансформация, информационное общество, IT-технологии, роботы, искусственный интеллект, машинные методы обработки информации*

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## THE IMPACT OF POLITICAL REPRESSION OF THE 1930s OF THE 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY IN UKRAINE ON PERSONAL RELATIONS AMONG CIVIL SERVANTS AND INTELLIGENTSIA

Serhiienko S. Y.

### ВПЛИВ ПОЛІТИЧНИХ РЕПРЕСІЙ 30-Х РР. ХХ СТ. В УКРАЇНІ НА ОСОБИСТІ ВІДНОСИНИ В СЕРЕДОВИЩІ ДЕРЖАВНИХ СЛУЖБОВЦІВ ТА ІНТЕЛІГЕНЦІЇ

Сергієнко С. Ю.

*On the basis of literature, mass media and archival sources, the impact of political repression of the 1930s of the 20<sup>th</sup> century on personal relations among civil servants and the intelligentsia of Ukraine is highlighted. It is noted that the authorities deliberately, through political repression and insidious actions distorted personal relations among people in order to prevent their unity aiming to withstand the existing regime. The result was distortion of personal relations of people, decrease in mutual trust, sincerity, growth of deceit and hypocrisy. The author emphasizes that even the fundamental relations of all mankind, like family ones, were subjected to distort. An issue for further research is identified.*

**Key words:** political repression, personal relations, civil servants, intelligentsia.

**Introduction.** With the beginning of the so-called collectivization, political repression began to intensify. In Ukraine, that growth was ominously manifested by the trial of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine, which began in March 1930 in Kharkiv, and due to which more than 30 thousand people were arrested, killed or exiled [1, p. 752]. It was a terrible attack on the Ukrainian intelligentsia that defended the interests of their people. Further attacks were not long in coming. Everybody who did not show obedience to the authorities was repressed. Political repression in Ukraine in the 1930s was studied by a number of specialists who presented a comprehensive coverage of the problem [2]. The massive nature of repression and its negative impact on the life of the society is an axiom nowadays. But now there is a lack of special studies devoted to the impact of political repression on personal communication among civil servants and the intelligentsia. The author of the article will try to determine the prime aim of that influence, its manifestations in the society and the main consequences.

**Presentation of the research basic material.** A researcher of the social life of the 1930s can undoubtedly conclude that political repression played a leading role in the state policy. It was driven by the highest authorities, which did not allow manifestations of “spinelessness” in fulfilment of their will. No one should have resisted that will. The authorities were relying first and foremost on a strong, proved and obedient structure – the Communist Party, which, in fact, was the ruling state body in the 1930s. All of more or less influential state officials were its members. In case of exclusion from the ruling party, the official automatically lost his post. Therefore, we can say that party functionaries and officials of various ranks were civil servants who acted as a cohesive force. Only the other cohesive force could compete with it. Those authorities clearly understood and cautiously watched such force not to be created in any way. Appropriate preventive work was carried out. A writer, and then, a high-ranking official of the USSR (Head of the Union of Soviet writers) K. Fedin, was perceptive. During a meeting with the emigrant R. Gul abroad at the end of the 1920s, he explained why people did not sing “Budenny’s March” and “Little Bricks” in the USSR, which used to be very popular songs, “Both “Budenny’s March” and “Little Bricks” disappeared because all the people were singing them, and our authorities do not like our nation to unite in something, even in a song” [3]. Only the ruling party had to unite people under its flag. A similar statement was also expressed by an academician D. Lykhachov. He noted that during approximately the same years, the authorities eliminated the so-called “tea houses”, which served only tea and there were no alcoholic beverages. Sober people gathered there and discussed their topical problems. Tea houses “were not accidentally destroyed: it was very convenient for people to speak, or rather, to converse on

different topics. And it was very dangerous for the authorities. Work and keep silent. Believe in everything official – nothing more” [4]. There were many characteristics of the Bolshevik Party, made by well-known people. They make it possible to understand what kind of people provided its capacity. A Russian philosopher I. A. Ilin believed that as a result of the October Revolution of 1917, “personally dishonest, self-conceited, ignorant, greedy, cruel and immoral” people came to power [5, p. 927]. A well-known writer V. Voinovych believed that a significant part of the Leninist party “consisted of people who were cruel, narrow-minded, but devoted to the ideals they followed, personally decent and even capable of self-sacrifice” [6]. The author of the famous memoirs “Russia in a Concentration Camp” I. Solonevych, characterizing the party of the 1920s-1930s of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, emphasized that it was “calm, confident, very reasonable and immeasurably impudent force” [7]. There are many generalizing characteristics of the ruling party, but no matter what the party was, none of the experts would deny that its influence penetrated the whole society. At the same time, political repression, which may include the so-called “cleansing”, were also directed at it, which could not but affect personal relations of the party members. Those relations were increasingly penetrated by suspicion, distrust and meanness. From the very beginning of its existence, the ruling party was a strictly centralized organization that left its stamp on relations among its members. Any subordination generates insincerity in communication. The Communist Party of the Bolsheviks of Ukraine was an inseparable part of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and had all the features of that party, but there were some specific points. The Ukrainian part of the party was always under suspicion of commitment to so-called bourgeois nationalism and to separatist tendencies to some extent. That gave rise to distrust of the local Communists and “strengthening” the Ukrainian party personnel, primarily, high-ranking officials, appointed by Moscow. In the 1920s-1930s, exclusively non-Ukrainians were in charge of the CP(B)U.

However, in the 1920s, members of the ruling party could communicate with each other quite frankly. For example, they could frankly show hatred of Stalin and call him a “martinet” in their personal conversations [8, p. 211]. But since the early 1930s, personal relations among party members have lost their sincerity. One of the leaders of Kyiv oblast described interpersonal relations among the local authorities to his old close friend during the Holodomor in Ukraine, “I cannot express my thoughts and feelings even to my closest friends without a risk of being betrayed. Even the most honest man of all my employees and acquaintances, who shares my way of looking at things deep in his heart will immediately run away and betray me, seeing a provocateur in me, who tests his reaction to my seditious talk. He will do it just in case, for the purpose of self-protection. Do you think that among our oblast activists there is anyone who will dare talk to each other about the real causes of

the hunger? Never, no matter what! Not everyone risks having such talks even in the family. All these people are spoiled to the depths of their souls. All of them are poisoned by hatred, mutual suspicion and envy. Anyway, I have not met a man among them, with whom I could speak sincerely yet” [9, p. 219].

As a result of intensification of arrests in the second half of the 1930s, relations in the ruling party became not just mistrustful, but extremely tense. That was how V. Kravchenko described the events of the summer of 1936 in Nikopol. During the meeting of the city activists, “the old sense of partnership has disappeared... A few months ago, one could hear a loud greeting, “Hey, Comrade Kravchenko!” “Ah, here you are, old chap!” There was a friendly exchange of gossip, anecdotes, talks on shop and party affairs. Now there was only intense silence. Everyone kept away from each other, as if beware of a deadly infection. Save yourself, be careful! Avoid neighbours! You seemed to hear those words everywhere”. During the meeting there was read a letter of the Central Committee of the AUCP (B). “The purpose of the letter was quite clear. The audience felt fear. As in the past we used to look for “enemies” among the whole population, then we had to look for them in our own ranks! In the future, you will be measured by the amount of your denunciations on your most trusted friends. Spineless and weak characters that will put personal friendship above the party interests will have to know the consequences of such “insincerity”. M. Khataievych was late. He was a Secretary of the Regional Committee, a member of the Central Committee of the AUCP (B). He went to the tribune surrounded by guards. “Perhaps, it was the most terrible news: guards and revolvers at the meeting of the active party members!” M. Khataievych’s speech was in the spirit of the letter of the Central Committee of the AUCP (B). “Since that moment, it became a matter of “honour” to denounce on and expose “secret enemies” of the party. You were afraid to talk to your closest friends. You were separated from friends, relatives and employees. As if they were infected, they were carriers of a terrible epidemic bacilli that spread across the country. You forgot that once there used to be such things as frankness, devotion, friendship in the world”... “Last remnants of partnership disappeared among us. Meeting each other in the streets or in the corridors, we, technical and party workers, looked at each other with astonishment. “How could it be? You are still alive”, our looks expressed” [10]. It was in the 1920s or 1930s when a fundamental rotation of the party personnel took place, which determined personal relations in the party environment and, above all, among functionaries. N. Mandelstam noted that by the middle of the 1920s, former members of underground organisations were met among the party figures everywhere: rough, confident in their undoubted rightness. They willingly started discussions, agitated, were often rude. Gradually they were replaced by round-headed blondes in embroidered Ukrainian shirts, such “nice guys” with jauntily fun and completely artificial manners, jokes and demonstrative

brutality. Silly diplomats came to their place – every their word was worth its weight in gold, they did not say many words, did not give any promises, but gave an impression of powerful and influential people [11, p. 131]. The latter came in the 1930s and sincerity was not their strong point.

The atmosphere of mutual distrust, suspicion in personal communication seized not only the ruling party, but, to a greater or lesser extent, all strata of the Ukrainian society. There is reason to believe that distrust in personal relations among people, especially those who held more or less responsible positions, was deliberately developed by the ruling elite. V. Kravchenko said that when he was appointed to a high position in a government institution at the beginning of the 1940s, the representative of the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs (NKVD) immediately gave him a guide on how to build relations with colleagues. "The essence of his lecture was that I should not trust anyone and keep in mind that others also do not trust me. There must be written evidence, detailed reports on each meeting or conversation. Mutual distrust was not only a fact in the Soviet apparatus; it was a recognized, obligatory way of life, the only chance for self-protection" [10]. It was also true for the scientific intelligentsia. As S. Holitsyn mentioned when he was appointed to a position in "Hydroproject" research institute, he met a friend whom he had not seen for a long time, "I began to talk with him about this and that. He interrupted me and said that the most strict order was to speak only on official topics, then looked around and whispered, pointing out the window, "You see, there is a prison to the left, and a home for the insane to the right, and we are candidates either here or there" [12]. In personal relations of the intelligentsia, there increasingly appeared meanness and provocation. In the early 1930s, a student from one of Odessa universities came to his elder friend, holding a responsible post, for advice: how to escape persecution. He was a son of a dekulakized peasant and if someone knew about it, then he would be expelled from the university. The friend advised to move to the other city as soon as possible. That student did not follow the advice of the experienced friend for some reason. He stayed in Odessa, but was not arrested. Thus, the experienced friend concluded that it was a provocation. There were often situations when, because of the fear of provocation, an honest man became a denunciator. Thus, I. Bahrianyi considered a writer Oleksii Pravdiuk to be a Bolshevik's agent who "put Bahrianyi into prison". Oleksii Pravdiuk, being a Petliurist in the past, knew that he was followed and therefore considered I. Bahrianyi a provocateur who started "counterrevolutionary" talks with him in order to find a reason for arrest. O. Pravdiuk decided to act proactively and denounced on I. Bahrianyi to the State Political Directorate. I. Bahrianyi was sent to prison. Later O. Pravdiuk recognized his mistake and in conversations with a faithful friend warned not talk much with him, because he had had "such a story with a poet I. Bahrianyi and he suffered". [8, p. 238; p. 265-266].

Such situations were not rare. It was not only in Ukraine. In 1934 a poet O. Mandelstam, living in Moscow in the early 1930s, received a request from his colleague, a well-known connoisseur of poetry, "not to read dangerous poems because he will have to denounce about it..." [11, p. 85].

Was it then worth wondering that in the late 1930s at the beginning of the 1940s, the concept of "a decent man" was "a rare phenomenon" [13]. And personal relations in the society were determined by its majority. It could be argued that this majority was formed by political repression.

During the training of specialists (i.e., future civil servants and people of intelligent professions), an atmosphere of distrust and pretentiousness was created in educational establishments. According to eyewitnesses, distrust in personal relations among students was very tangible. One of them argued, "Life forced students not to trust each other. That distrust suppressed, everyone knew perfectly well that among them somebody certainly was an informer, but they often did not guess who exactly it was and suspected everyone. And sometimes they knew and were scared" [14, p. 660]. A historian O. Riabchenko notes, "In order to have an opportunity to continue their studies, students were forced to conceal their political views or preferences... Students had to master the Bolshevik's rhetoric in order to convince all kinds of commissions in their "sincerity" to the authorities, and they did it to be able to graduate and find their place in a new society" [14, p. 683-684]. In relations among students of those years the most terrible was indifference to the other person's fate according to an eyewitness A. Rybakov. He stressed that indifference, "turned into mass cruelty, became the flag of the era" [15, p. 65]. A. Rybakov generalized the experience of the Soviet Union. Can Ukraine differ in this regard? Judging by the documents and literature, it did not differ, although there were some nuances. The nuance of Ukraine was that students and teachers were persecuted for "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" regardless of their ethnic origin, which also brought specific features to relations among young people and their teachers. Young people who were poisoned by suspicion denounced on their teachers and sometimes they were not only malicious losers, but also talented students. It is known that the genius physicist L. Landau was imprisoned in 1937 after denunciation of one of his best students in Kharkiv. When L. Landau became famous, the denunciator came to him to the Institute of Physical Problems to apologize. [16]. That situation could not help causing distrust and hypocrisy among students and teachers, and in the future, hypocrisy was manifested in the society leadership, as young specialists eventually became in charge of industry, agriculture, social sphere, etc.

At the end of the 1920s in the early 1930s, the authorities began to encourage employees' "courageous exposure, despite the personality" of the negative qualities of colleagues in every way. There were lots of expositors. As a witness says, "Each figure that rose in

those years used that method of exposing his chief at least once. Otherwise, how will you take his place?" [11, p. 84]. Such a situation did not make a positive contribution to personal relations among colleagues. Their sincerity was out of question.

People got used to thinking one thing, but saying what the authorities wanted to hear, i.e. hypocrising. That phenomenon penetrated even the intelligentsia, which was brought up on the principles of Christian morality. It was mass repressions that "transformed" that part of the intelligentsia. K. Nikitenko notes that, for example, M. Rylskyi, at an official event dedicated to the signing of The German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact in 1939, stressed, "I am happy". And in a private conversation he said that he really thought, "I do not see the compelling reasons that forced us to attack Poland still. It contradicts humanity and justice that we have always been calling for so much. Here I write poems every day that glorify the courage of the Soviet troops and the wisdom of our policy, and there is no enthusiasm in my heart" [17]. Well, the new intelligentsia was brought up on the postulate of Lenin that everything that was for the sake of communism was moral. Everything that harmed communism was immoral, and one should decisively fight against the immoral. And they fought. Not only ignoramus fought, but also talented people. Once in the Ukrainian public-political, literary artistic and scientific "Chervonyi Shliakh" magazine, which was published in Kharkiv in 1923-1936, and since January 1931 was the body of the Federation of Unions of Soviet Writers of Ukraine, there was published a novel by Ya. Mamontov, in which there were such lines, "A deceived village is sleeping, covered with snow and proclamations". Taking into account the following mass collectivization and its consequences, the given phrase precisely reflected the historical moment. But this is from the point of view of the present. At that time, that phrase "desperately outraged" a young talented poet V. Sosiura, who called it "true counterrevolution", and told the editor that he would go to complain to the Central Committee, which greatly scared the man. V. Sosiura pitied the editor and did not go to the Central Committee. But when a writer I. Mykytenko was forgiven after having concealed his own social origin because he rehabilitated himself by creative activity, V. Sosiura insisted that I. Mykytenko "deepened the crime of concealing his social origin from the party even further by his creativity". Thus, the young intellectual sincerely tried to put Lenin morality into practice. The atmosphere of mass repression affected V. Sosiura so much that when his wife was arrested, he "was depressed spiritually as a poet and as a man", but "believed that the NKVD was the sword of the proletariat dictatorship, and once Mary was arrested, it meant there was a reason" [18, p. 220, 272, 302]. There were a lot of such cases. Mass repression distorted personal relations in the family. The idea of family relations, which used to be much respected in Ukraine for centuries, was subjected to constant attacks by the authorities, who believed that in the family circle not family, but class feel-

ings should take the first place. Family feelings were seen as secondary compared to the class ones. The top of the class was the state of the proletariat dictatorship, which occupied the historical place of the Motherland. In vital values of a man the family had to retreat to the second place compared to the state with its policy.

According to eyewitnesses, there were people who demanded a special careful consideration of family members. A member of the AUCP (B) P. Nikolaienko can be a bright example. She called not to believe even one's father, let alone wife. And although M. Khrushchev, who knew P. Nikolaienko well, considered her to be crazy [19], was forced to support her, because at the February-March plenum of the Central Committee of the AUCP (B) 1937, Y. Stalin praised P. Nikolaienko, who, in his opinion, "exposed the family, the bourgeois-philistine approach to the personnel" [20, p. 24]. By the way, Y. Stalin himself sent some of his relatives to camps and to the underworld. He provided a personal example to follow. In the ruling party, during regular cleansing, there were persecuted the Communists, who did not break off with relatives not loyal to the authorities. Here are the resolutions adopted by Starobilsk District Committee of the CP (B) in 1929, "To suggest to break off any contact with any relatives of wife deprived of electoral rights", "To give a severe reprimand for instability as a party member who has not broken off with relatives of wife deprived of electoral rights", "To expel from the party for communication with kulaks, deprived of electoral rights" [21, p. 22, 27, 39]. In the 1930s, such resolutions were even crueler.

In February 1935, a student of Kharkiv University L. Kopeliev was expelled from the Komsomol only because his cousin was a "Trotskyist who was not disarmed" [22]. The capital did not lag behind. In 1937, in Kyiv, Yu. Starovoitov was expelled from the party doubting the lawfulness of his son's arrest and bringing parcels to him [23, p. 186]. In the second half of the 1930s, that approach reached its climax. Relatives who did not relate directly to the family of the arrested were persecuted. So, when in a newspaper in the city of Izium of Kharkiv oblast there was a note that a local educator was a nationalist, not only he and his sister – a biology teacher in the city of Zmiiv were fired, but "the question was raised" about dismissal of her husband [24]. Personal communication with close relatives who did not please the authorities was considered inadmissible. In order to avoid the axe of repression, there was one way out – to publicly renounce family ties with "enemies of the people", though such a step did not always save. In the 1930s, newspapers began to publish notes, "I bring to the attention of the public that I, such and such, broke off all relations with my father (a pop, a merchant, a former officer, etc.)." Contemporaries recorded cases when students of higher education establishments were invited to the direction and insistently offered to sign a renunciation of their parents. At the same time, they tried to assure that it was a pure formality that a person could remain in the same relations with his/her parents

as before, “no one would follow him/her”. Otherwise, there was inevitable expulsion [12]. Family relations were to be subordinated to the interests of the dictatorship. And although the family, according to the theory of Marxism, was the centre of the society, it could be ruthlessly destroyed for the sake of the state interests.

The idea of finding enemies of the people in their own family was supported by the legend about Pavlik Morozov, who, for the sake of state interests, destroyed his own father. This act was persistently imposed on the society and, above all, on its youth as an example of the behaviour of children in relation to parents. Some other “examples” of personal relations in the family were also provided. For example, a nineteen-year-old boy killed his own father, brother and sister, “who betrayed the cause of the revolution”. Four years later, he became a political commissar of Kamianets workers’ faculty [14, p. 605]. The killing of close relatives went beyond the limits of the Ukrainian mentality as well as mentality of any civilized society. A famous character of the times of Zaporizhian Sich Marco “the Cursed” who had killed his child, his mother and sister, was cursed by his father and doomed to eternal wanderings. He is clearly a negative character of the Ukrainian folklore [25, p. 842]. The exception is the literature character Taras Bulba. But in that case, it was a question of treason not to political institutions, but to interests of the family, the Cossack community. Though the issue is disputable and requires research.

Under the pressure of repression and corresponding education, some of children of the arrested high-ranking officials confirmed any slander against their own parents to investigators without a doubt. One of them stated in advance that he would say everything that the investigator would order during the interrogation, even if he had to doom both his father and his mother, “They have already lived their lives, but I need to think of myself.” A writer R. Ivanov-Razumnyk, who referred to those facts, called that behaviour “a worthy fruit of the communist upbringing” [13]. But there were those who believed that the Soviet authorities were not mistaken and their parents were really enemies. Such children tried to show their loyalty to the authorities. One can agree that the “communist upbringing” corrupted them, but it affected not everyone. Perhaps genes also played their role. R. Ivanov-Razumnyk described the behaviour of children of the Soviet high-ranking officials, among whom there were many people with distorted ideas about morality, and they were simply animals by nature. They, surely, passed their genetic pool to their children. So, paternal genes determined the behaviour of children. However, there were those who did not recognize parents as enemies. Perhaps, other parental genes played their role there. Mass repression together with corresponding education created conditions in the society where not parents but the state personified by Stalin took the first place in lives of children. Often in families belonging to the upper strata of the society, children said that they loved Stalin more than their parents.

Under special control of the state there were relations among the creative intelligentsia. The authorities managed to breed mutual distrust in that environment through repression. Everyone who tried to defend the freedom of creativity was mercilessly punished. At the same time, those who faithfully served the authorities were encouraged, in fact, even deliberately spoiled. People with strong sense of self-esteem tried not to yield to temptation of power. But, as they say, those who were not being broken did not break. Some were “smashed”, and some, without brutal coercion, took the path indicated by the authorities. Among them there were many talented people. It happened for a variety of reasons: some knew that they had to work in a way favourable for the authorities, some sincerely believed in virtues of the intentions of the Bolsheviks and tried to support them, and some simply sought material wealth. As a talented writer N. Mandelstam said with bitter irony, “Some cried when selling themselves, as Yu. Olesha, others licked their lips like Kataiev” [3]. It should be noted that that talented Yu. Olesha and V. Kataiev began their creative career in Ukraine. Under such conditions, personal relations of the Ukrainian artists did not have a solid basis for frankness, sincerity and benevolence. However, in the 1920s, there was no “coercion to defend the official line of the AUCP (B)” [8, p. 192]. A famous writer R. Gul noted, “During the years of NEP, writers were still semi-free” [3]. As a Ukrainian writer H. Kostiuk recalled, in the late 1920s and even in the 1930s, “we were not afraid of each other and were friendly sincere in our thoughts and tricks. After one or two glasses our souls luxuriated in freedom of comrade self-expression. Everyone told or read something of his own, intimate, inquisitive, intriguing, not intended or forbidden for general use. There was such an atmosphere when everyone wanted to reveal their suppressed or hidden thoughts.” And in September 1935, in Kyiv, the same writer talked with his colleague D. Kopytsia in his flat where the latter read his play reflecting the horror of the Holodomor of 1933 and asked to evaluate the work. H. Kostiuk suspected that he was trapped. He began to talk about common things, but then he could not resist and frankly said, “But, actually, why did you write that tragedy? After all, you cannot expect that it will be staged.” Then they spoke a lot and parted almost friends. When being arrested in November 1935, H. Kostiuk doubted, “And what if Kopytsia immediately went and reported everything to the NKVD? Or what if Kopytsia had already been arrested and his play were in the hands of investigators, and he already told them about reading it to me and our conversation about it?” [26, p. 291, 496-497]. Similar thoughts tortured not only arrested writers, as the unarrested ones also thought of possible provocations. Therefore, frankness could only be on topics that concerned politics in no way, for example, about hunting or culinary preferences. If there were any conversations which concerned politics to some extent, then frankness disappeared. The atmosphere of fear, which was becoming deeper in the society, did not allow frankness in personal relations.

Inside the informers of the NKVD there were also talented, seemingly decent artists. The reports on meetings with his close friend O. Dovzhenko were regularly written to the NKVD, for example, by Y. Smolych. However, he tried to show his interlocutor as loyal to the authorities [27]. As N. Mandelstam said, “It was the most horrible that you did not expect those people to be involved in this (denouncing)” [11, p. 86].

Ukraine was no exception in this regard. Insincerity, deceit in relations of the intelligentsia was in other republics of the USSR. Thus, in the middle of the 1930s, the 60th anniversary of a famous professor Oshman, the Head of the Medical Department was celebrated in Azerbaijan. Close friends came to the party. However, an uninvited guest arrived – an Associate Professor of the Department. “Bowling and apologizing, the uninvited guest said that he could not help congratulating the honoured chef at home and giving the most expensive gift for him. Then he gave Oshman something big like a samovar, wrapped in hard paper. Oshman was confused, mechanically took the middle of the package with both hands, it opened at the bottom, and a bust of Stalin fell on the floor, having crashed into several pieces. There was a dead silence. – “We need to take away everything, and then glue it together”, the impressed Professor whispered. The Associate Professor suddenly cried. “You broke the most expensive thing that I’ve had”... At night, everyone was arrested”. A special meeting gave three years of imprisonment to the Professor and his wife, children and guests got five years for counter-revolutionary activity. The Associate Professor was a provocateur who became the Head of the Department [28].

An interesting case is presented by a famous opera singer G. Vyshnevskaya. Once after the 20<sup>th</sup> Congress of the CPSU, when the process of rehabilitation of the victims of the Stalin regime began, a poorly dressed woman came to Moscow’s Bolshoi Theatre and asked to call the People’s Artist of the USSR H. Neliapp. Then a quote goes, “The famous tenor of the Bolshoi Theatre, slowly, with dignity, in a gentleman’s manner, is going down the stairs, covered with a red carpet... The woman, who was sitting below, silently rose to meet him. He came to her, “Good afternoon”. She was silent. “Did you want to see me?” And suddenly she opened her mouth and spat in his face! “Here you are, beast, for destroying my husband and my family! But I have survived to spit in your snout! Damn you! She turned and left”. The Director of the opera company explained to H. Vyshnevskaya that once H. Neliapp destroyed many people. He said, “Doesn’t he look like such a person? So, that’s it, that looking at him, it would never come to your mind” [29, p. 207]. H. Neliapp died of a heart attack shortly afterwards. He was only 52 years old. His life seemed to be a success, but apparently the people destroyed by him were still bothering his conscience. Ultimately, he became the victim of those relations that developed in the artistic environment in the 1930s under the influence of political repression. The state managed to change the perception of decent people of honour and

dignity that they sincerely believed that it was necessary to report on their relatives, and considered it a civil duty. We can illustrate this with such a fact. A very famous actress of the 1930s T. Okunievskaya once came to film shooting in Kyiv. After the shooting, the film’s creative team went to a cafe, where they had a friendly conversation over a glass of wine. Soon the film director sent a denunciation to the appropriate body that during the conversation T. Okunievskaya said that all Communists were lying and dishonest people. T. Okunievskaya was imprisoned at the Gulag. After Stalin’s death, the question about her rehabilitation arose. A face-to-face encounter of the actress with the denunciator was arranged. The police officer asked the investigator and the public prosecutor during the face-to-face encounter, “If you were told such things about Communists, would you denounce?” The answer was, “Absolutely! You are right, surely, we would write...” [30]. Thus, the society and, above all, its leadership were deeply penetrated by confidence that hiding thoughts expressed during personal communication with colleagues and friends from the authorities was a crime. Here you can add that the film director knew well, if he did not denounce, then someone else would do it, and he would be imprisoned for not denouncing. That was the atmosphere of personal relations as a result of mass political repression and massive fear caused by it in the society.

The state widely involved talented writers, prominent filmmakers, theatre figures in popularizing the postulate that “the interests of the state’s policy are above any private interests”. In 1924, B. Lavreniov wrote a story about the events of the Civil War “The Forty-First”, in which the girl killed her beloved boyfriend for joining the White Guard. And this piece of art was professionally filmed. In 1926, the play “Liubov Yarova” was written, which, without exaggeration, triumphantly was put in all the theatres of both Ukraine and the Soviet Union. Only one critic of the USSR called the play “reactionary” during a conversation with a colleague [31]. Others praised it in all ways. “Liubov Yarova” was presented as an example of a revolutionary performance. As evidenced in O. Bulhakov’s diary, Stalin himself ordered to put “Liubov Yarova” in theatres [32, p. 52]. Those who know this work can recognize its good artistic level, but the idea conveyed in it is reactionary – close family ties are nothing compared to the political preferences. The author of the play K. Treniov was awarded the Stalin Prize. The totalitarian state was supposed to be closer and dearer than father, mother, husband, wife. This could not but affect personal relations in the family.

**Conclusions.** Thus, political repression of the 1930s, especially in the second half, was primarily aimed at the intelligentsia and civil servants. It was necessary to prepare officials of various ranks and the intelligentsia for the unconquerable regime service. This, of course, in no way means that political repression of the 1930s passed by peasants and workers. But their main focus in the second half of the 1930s was civil servants and the intelligentsia. The authorities used the fear of

repression to influence personal relations, but did not disdain of provocations, encouragement of denunciations and other insidious methods. Repression greatly influenced personal relations in those strata in a long-term way. The main purpose of that influence was to prevent unification of people, especially those who were potentially able to create an organized force in the opposition to the authorities. Describing the situation in the Ukrainian branch of the ruling party in the 1960s and 1970s, its leader, P. Shelest, wrote, "... it is dangerous to tell the truth even in the party bodies, one should watch out each word, even if you know it is fair. You are being watched, everything is denounced. You may even not know who can do it. There is firm agency and spying everywhere. How it is all disgusting!" [33]. That was the long-term result of political repression of the 1930s. Sincere friendship, frankness, and trust disappeared from personal relations of the ruling class and the intelligentsia, with some rare exceptions. The only chance for self-protection was painful caution, distrust, hypocrisy. The family feeling, which had been the basis of personal relations in the family for centuries, was given a secondary role. The first place was occupied by devotion to the regime personified by its leader. Stalin needed personnel, for whom his authority would be higher than any other authority, including a family member or the most faithful friend. Only such personnel whose personal relations were based on mutual suspicion and mistrust could fulfil all the wishes of the leader. In personal relations of civil servants and the intelligentsia, an atmosphere was created in which a stray word to a colleague, neighbour or friend became known to the authorities and received its response. The regime's tentacles penetrated the most intimate personal relations. We can state that the authority of the 1930s achieved its goal. Mutual distrust among civil servants and the intelligentsia became an integral part of personal relations. No one completely trusted anybody. In that way, conspiracy against the existing system was prevented. However, it should be noted that a significant part of young people often sincerely perceived the power's propaganda about justification of political repression. The problem of the impact of that repression on personal relations of young people should be considered separately.

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### Сергієнко С. Ю. Вплив політичних репресій 30-х рр. XX ст. в Україні на особисті відносини в середовищі державних службовців та інтелігенції.

*На основі літератури, матеріалів засобів масової інформації та архівних джерел висвітлений вплив політичних репресій 30-х рр. XX століття на особисті відносини в колі державних службовців та інтелігенції України. Відзначено, що влада цілеспрямовано, за допомогою політичних репресій та підступних дій спотворювала особисті відносини між людьми з метою не допустити їхнього єднання для опору існуючому режиму. Результатом стало викривлення особистих відносин людей, зниження взаємної довіри, щирості, зростання підступності і лицемірства. Автор підкреслює, що тиску з метою спотворення зазнали навіть такі фундаментальні для всього людства відносини, як сімейні. Визначена проблема для подальшого дослідження.*

**Ключові слова:** політичні репресії, особисті відносини, державні службовці, інтелігенція.

**Сергиенко С.Ю.** Влияние политических репрессий 30-х гг. XX в. в Украине на личные отношения в среде государственных служащих и интеллигенции.

*На основе литературы, материалов средств массовой информации и архивных источников освещено влияние политических репрессий 30-х гг. XX века на личные отношения в кругу государственных служащих и интеллигенции Украины. Отмечено, что власть целенаправленно, с помощью политических репрессий и коварных действий искажала личные отношения между людьми с целью не допустить их объединения для сопротивления существующему режиму. Результатом стало искривление личных отношений людей, снижение взаимного доверия, искренности, рост коварства и лицемерия. Автор подчеркивает, что давлению с целью искажения подверглись даже такие фундаментальные для всего человечества отноше-*

*ния, как семейные. Определена проблема для дальнейшего исследования.*

**Ключевые слова:** *политические репрессии, личные отношения, государственные служащие, интеллигенция.*

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## THE “VIGILANCE” CAMPAIGN OF THE 1930s IN UKRAINE AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

Serhiienko Yu. G.

## КАМПАНІЯ «ПИЛЬНОСТІ» 1930-х РОКІВ В УКРАЇНІ ТА ЇЇ НАСЛІДКИ

Сергієнко Ю. Г.

*Considered forms and methods of the campaign "vigilance" in Ukraine in 1930s, which was carried out a view to approving a strictly centralized power and the main consequences of this campaign. In particular, the suppression lit any dissent within the ruling party. Determined that the course towards repression, as a method of achieving political goals was founded by Lenin. Was reflected the process of converting of the Bolshevik Party virtually in a paramilitary organization. Have been analyzed methods of attracting wider population in the campaign "vigilance". It is proved that the campaign "vigilance" stimulated painful craving for secrecy in politics, intolerance to the thoughts and views, the behavior of different from of the declared political power. Ultimately, the campaign "vigilance" has led to increased fear of authority in society, for fear of initiatives to distortion of by the media a state of inner life of the country and the life in foreign countries. This campaign has become an important factor in the approval of a totalitarian state.*

**Key words:** power, campaign of "vigilance", repression.

**Introduction.** Nowadays more than ever the present-day realities require a profound analysis for deciding where we are going, what society we are building. Official statements do not always reflect the real state of affairs, and, with the change of government, these statements are at least substantially corrected. Therefore, it is very important to know the historical experience of development of our statehood and on the basis of analysis and generalization of certain life situations of the Ukrainian society to show what results certain steps may have in the state governance, which, of course, is relevant not only for history.

Repression of the 1930s in Ukraine is reflected quite substantially in the works of well-known and less well-known specialists [1]. They highlight the course of repression in detail, but the “vigilance” campaign was not given very thorough consideration. The campaign seized the entire society and included a number of measures that were supposed to provide public support for repression. The article attempts not only to analyse

the “vigilance” campaign in Ukraine, but also to show its main consequences on the basis of historical facts.

**Presentation of the research basic material.** In Ukraine, the 1930s began with the so-called mass collectivization, which led to liquidation of peasant farms and creation of collective farms.

During the process of collectivization violence against peasants caused not only their natural resistance, but even resistance of a certain part of the new political elite of Ukraine, especially during the Holodomor of 1932-1933. The authorities used violence against both peasants and dissidents in their own ranks without any exceptions. But, as for peasants, it was easier: any of them could be declared a kulak or a kulak henchman. In relation to members of the ruling party, it was more difficult. In those days they were not kulaks at all. As M. Khrushchev recalled, his earnings as Secretary of Moscow City AUCP(B) was smaller than when he was a mechanic during the Tsarist regime. Accordingly, the material living standard was lower. Therefore, the authorities found other methods that formed the basis of the “vigilance” campaign. Among them there were accusations of espionage, family ties with the class enemy, creation of anti-party groupings, etc. All such accusations were generalized by the term “enemy of the people”.

At the climax of the Holodomor, the body of the Ukrainian Bolsheviks, the “Communist” newspaper, said, “An enemy with a party ticket in his pocket is more dangerous than a clear counterrevolutionary and should be punished with the utmost severity of the revolutionary law” [2]. On June 1, 1933, the same newspaper reminded that the most violent class struggle “does not quench, but intensifies as it approaches the final victory of socialism”. It meant that there would be even more enemies and they would resist even more insistently.

The Bolshevik leadership consistently emphasized that class vigilance, the ability to expose enemies of the party and the state, to fight against them are the main

qualities of a Communist. All who disagreed with the policy of the Bolsheviks were classified as undisguised mercenaries, agents of “foreign imperialist interventions” [3].

One of the leaders of the Ukrainian Bolsheviks P. Postyshev admitted that the decisive method of party organizations in Ukraine was repression [4, p. 67]. He emphasized, “Stalin’s irreconcilability – that’s what we really need now” [5, p. 33]. According to Postyshev, the success of socialism depended on how decisively the activists disposed of enemies, “when they said: beat the nationalist, a counter-revolutionary, beat that rascal, beat harder, do not be afraid – those activists, the party, the Komsomol got down to business like real Bolsheviks, and collective farms went up” [5, p. 93]. No word was said that Ukraine lost a lot of people as a result of such “decisive” actions. Anyone who tried to defend the interests of their people at least somehow, was declared a bourgeois nationalist, which was no better than “enemy of the people” and in some cases even worse.

It is interesting that such a point of view was supported even by some Bolsheviks who were arrested as “enemies of the people”. On November 6, 1935, L. Kameniev wrote in prison, “The enemy or one whom you consider an enemy can either be destroyed or isolated. This is a question of appropriacy; it is fair, lawful, understood, it’s in the Communist style...” [6]. Surely, Kameniev considered himself to be unjustly offended, while he considered the other repressed to be enemies. To deal with people humanly was considered a negative feature of the party behaviour [7].

Lenin himself defined the course for repression, when the principle of elimination of “strangers” was laid on the basis of political actions. Stalin made a further step in this direction; he transferred the notion of a “stranger” even to the party comrades who opposed him. Wherever it is not about a political struggle for destroying rival parties, it will never be about destroying the party fellows. Lenin unsheathed his sword first, so all his followers could not sheathe it. Among them there were different people: obvious careerists, and tough ascetics. Now it is difficult to determine who represented the majority: those who sincerely believed that dirty means were allowed in politics for the sake of the good of the people, or careerists – for the sake of political career. Was there a great difference for people, why they were tortured? People just wanted to live humanly.

It was in the 1930s when the “vigilance” campaign was widely launched in the country. Vigilance has always been an important component of radicals. Stalin made a cult of it. The main criterion of the Communist’s vigilance was the number of enemies that he had exposed. That process gained great development in Ukraine, where media appeals to vigilance were particularly intense. Stalin reasonably believed that after the Holodomor of 1933 the Ukrainians did not really respect him. In January 1934, the Plenum of the Central Committee of the CP(B)U emphasized, “Taking into account the peculiarities of the situation in Ukraine...

the December Plenum of the Central Committee of the AUCP(B) is of particular importance for the CP(B)U as it indicates that party members and party organizations have poorly learned the necessity of intensive increase of the Bolshevik’s vigilance” [8, p. 842]. “Vigilance” needed a clear centralized organization. As it is known, military is the most centralized organization. At the February-March Plenum of the Central Committee of the AUCP(B) in 1937, the Bolshevik Party was openly proclaimed a paramilitary organization. Stalin included 3-4 thousand high-level to its general officers. The party officers included 30-40 thousand mid-level executives. The non-commissioned officers included 100-150 thousand low-level executives [9]. The leader was modestly silent about his role in this military pyramid. In this way, any discussion of the leadership decisions was virtually cancelled. The party became a formal structure, fully subjected to Marshal Stalin. Slave obedience was developed to the highest gradation.

In Ukraine, that “genius” idea was quickly picked up and during the 13<sup>th</sup> Congress of the CP(B)U in May 1937, the secretary of the Central Committee M. Khataievych proudly declared that in the republic there were 1500 party officers and 45 thousand party non-commissioned officers [10, p. 183]. They were ready to fulfil any will of the Leader.

The personnel did not let down. In 1937, the number of the arrested was more than 10 times higher in comparison with 1936. Ukraine was flooded with a muddy wave of spy mania. Here is a typical note from the newspaper of that time. It is called “An example of revolutionary vigilance”, “The exposure of the gang of fascist spy rascals Tukhachevskiy, Yakir, and others has increased vigilance of Southern Railway even more. In recent days, attendants, foremen and carmen detained a number of spies and saboteurs. Acarman Riabchenko detained a saboteur... An attendant Kovalenko detained a spy-Trotskyist who went to Kyiv to carry out subversive counter-revolutionary tasks of his fascist masters. In one of the cars, a foreman Reznikov discovered foreign “tourists” who photographed the track, stations and barracks of military units” [11].

The wave of denunciations on aneighbourgained the scale of the ninth wave. It was reinforced by party leaders. So, P. Liubchenko, speaking at Kharkiv oblast party conference, said, “Vigilance takes not three weeks or even three months... it is always necessary, because, as Comrade Stalin said, saboteurs, spies, diversionists will exist, get through, recruit until there is capitalist environment... We exposed many Trotskyists, the German and Polish spies, we are fighting with flunkeyism, praising to the skies, arrogance, domesticity, but there are still fellows who think like “At my institution no one has been exposed, so I’m fine...” Such an attitude is extremely harmful and plays only into the enemy’s hands. Look carefully right now, you may find hidden enemies. Do not forget that new enemies and spies may appear... I repeat it again: vigilance and active struggle against enemies are needed not only during a short period, it is one of the most

essential qualities of a Bolshevik” [12]. Secretary of the Kyiv Regional Committee of the CP(B)U S. Kudriavtsev constantly asked the Communists who spoke at party meetings, “Have you reported on someone yet?” As a result, politically compromising reports were provided on almost half of the members of the city party organization in Kyiv [13].

The “vigilance” campaign, based on the idea of its inspirers, was supposed to get support in the masses. For this purpose, appropriate conditions were created. For example, on June 11, 1937, the CC of the CP(B)U received a telegram from Y. Stalin, “Due the trial passing of the spies and saboteurs Tukhachevskiy, Yakir, Uborevych and others, the Central Committee offers you to organize a rally of workers, and, where there is a possibility, peasants, as well as rallies of the Red Army units, and make resolutions on the need to resort to a higher degree of repression. The court must end tonight. Notice of the verdict will be published tomorrow, June 12” [14].

The telegram was sent at 16:50. The rallies were to be held immediately before the sentence was announced. Such a rush gave rise to nervousness, intimidation, mutual suspicion. Nobody had any guarantees that he would not become a victim of the “vigilance” campaign next day.

Mistrust and suspicion were taking an increasingly honourable place in the Communist moral code. As the “heroine” of the repression campaign Nikolaienko called at the 13<sup>th</sup> Congress of the CP(B)U, “Don’t trust even your own father...” [15, p. 57]. And at the same time, the adults believed in nonsense like, “A patrolman of Kilometre 184 of South-western railway, Oleksandr Artemiev, a resident of Kryshyna village of Kamianets-Podilsk oblast, personally detained 83 Polish agents” [16, p. 523]. The above-mentioned phrase is an excerpt from the speech at the 14<sup>th</sup> Congress of the CP(B)U of the People’s Commissar of Internal Affairs of Ukraine, Uspenskyi. There were also champions of denunciations. A Trihub reported on about 200 party comrades [16, p. 457].

And though the January (1938) Plenum of the Central Committee of the AUCP(B) condemned “some Communists-careerists who are trying to show up and be promoted at the expense of the party’s exiles, repressions against party members...” [17], but the requirement to expose enemies of the people remained. Literally a few months after the January plenum, the newspaper “Communist” called to elect those people to the party bodies who really proved their ability to “mercilessly expose and exterminate enemies of the people” [18].

A young (he was only 36 years old) secretary of the Central Committee of the CP(B)U M. Burnystrenko taught the Communists in February 1939, “Not all enemies of the people are exterminated... We must always remember the instructions of the party that while there is capitalist environment, intelligence of foreign countries will send us saboteurs, diversionists, spies and murderers in order to harm, spoil and weaken our

country. We must even more mercilessly destroy Trotskyi-Bukharin and bourgeois-nationalist bandits; we must keep our nation in a state of mobilization readiness” [19].

What are the main consequences of the “vigilance” campaign at the end of the 1930s? The main consequence was that in the country autocracy was established in its most unrestricted form, which was more negative than positive. But such a state had an advantage in case of emergency – war, natural disasters. Any opposition to the actions of the centre by the vertical power structures was impossible. The bureaucratic apparatus understood well that “jokes” on the authorities were inadmissible and obeyed all the instructions, even if they were absurd. However, such a “virtue” had its continuation – lack of initiative. A well-known Soviet writer I. Erenburh summed up the consequences of the “vigilance” campaign, “Many of us have got used to the fact that somebody thinks instead of them” [20, p. 281] and illustrated this with such an example. One day he went to one institution and hit the table. He was reassured, “Everyone stumbles on this table”. “Why don’t you move it somewhere else?” “The manager did not order. I will move it, and what if I am suddenly asked, “Why did do this? What does it mean?” [20, p. 333].

Initiative was supported in words, and de facto it was suppressed. It should be emphasized that initiative was suppressed from top to bottom. One can deny: the Stakhanovite movement and other similar movements were the result of the initiative from the bottom. It did not. The command came from the top: it was necessary to raise the labour productivity. The Party-organizer of the “Central-Irmino” mine K. Petrov found a young strong coal cutter and created conditions for his record. By the way, O. Stakhanov did not hide that fact, and in his memoirs directly wrote that it was K. Petrov who “had planned a record” [21, p. 47]. K. Petrov, in his stories in the 1960s and 1970s, also frankly said that the idea of the record had come to him as a result of the requirement of the centre to increase the miner’s labour productivity. Thus, initiative could only be within the limits of what was ordered. Any other initiative was not welcomed.

That was how the ruling elite mistrust in the ability of the people to independently decide their fate was manifested. It was believed that it was necessary to “drive the people to happiness with an iron hand”.

**Conclusions.** With the help of the “vigilance” campaign, the authority managed to create a powerful state, the economy of which was working, firstly, on military needs. People’s needs were taken into account according to the “leftover principle”, as they say. There were no “the untouchables” in the state. Exception was only Stalin. Every official, regardless of rank, could have been mercilessly punished. Past achievements were not taken into account. Such a situation forced the officials not to “show up”, not to boast of their position, material welfare, right people in the right places, etc.

As a result of the “vigilance” campaign in the country, the political elite of “lions” reigned with their brutal means of ruling, with contempt for their subordinates, and servility for the senior leaders at the same time.

The lie became one of the means of dominance. When prisons and camps were crowded with political prisoners, the Soviet media called for persecution of people for political reasons abroad. When there was no single independent newspaper in Ukraine, the Soviet propaganda wrote about corruption of the bourgeois press. The mass media of Ukraine cried about the absolute impoverishment of the working people in the west, at a time when the living standard of the Ukrainian people lagged significantly behind the European one.

The history was written and taught as it should have been from the point of view of the Bolsheviks. Thus, history was displaced from the field of science to propaganda. The barefaced lie was given under the name of “history”.

Suspicion blossomed, which penetrated the whole life of the society. Its slogan was the statement “Don’t believe even your own father”. People were taught to look for enemies of the people in every neighbour.

The “vigilance” campaign stimulated love for secrecy, especially in politics, when the common facts of the political life were “top-secret”. An integral part of life was intolerance of other thought, other behaviour, and other views. “The decencies” demanded to applause for everything that had received praise “from the top” and condemn everything that had been convicted there. The “vigilance” campaign created an atmosphere of suspicion, anxiety, uncomfotability in the society. It completely superseded such a notion as political neutrality. In fact, a motto was revived, “Who is not with us is against us”.

Ultimately, the “vigilance” campaign became an important factor in the formation and consolidation of the totalitarian society in Ukraine, brutal persecution of supporters of the national idea, the true Ukrainian statehood.

But even such a pressure of the state mechanism on the society could not completely destroy the potential of disobedience among the people. Therefore, the “vigilance” campaign continued in the 1940s, which requires a corresponding study.

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**Сергієнко Ю. Г. Кампанія «пильності» 1930-х років в Україні та її наслідки.**

*Розглядаються форми та методи кампанії «пильності» в Україні в 1930-х роках, яка була здійснена з метою утвердження суворо централізованої влади та основні наслідки цієї кампанії. Зокрема, висвітлений процес придушення будь-якого інакомислення у правлячій партії. Визначено, що курс на репресії, як засіб досягнення політичної мети, був започаткований В. Леніним. Знайшов відображення процес перетворення більшовицької партії у фактично воєнізовану організацію. Розглянуто методи залучення до кампанії «пильності» широких верств населення України. Доведено, що кампанія «пильності» стимулювала хворобливу тягу до таємності в політиці, породжувала нетерпимість до думки, поглядів, поведінки, відмінних від задекларованих політичною владою. В кінцевому рахунку кампанія «пильності» привела до посилення страху перед владою в суспільстві, боязні ініціативи, викривлення засобами масової інформації стану справ як у внутрішньому житті країни, так і за її межами. Ця кампанія стала важливим фактором утвердження тоталітарної держави.*

**Ключові слова:** влада, кампанія «пильності», репресії.

**Сергієнко Ю.Г. Кампания «бдительности» 1930-х годов в Украине и ее последствия.**

*Рассматриваются формы и методы кампании «бдительности» в Украине в 1930-х годах, которая была осуществлена с целью утверждения строго централизованной власти и основные последствия этой кампании. В частности, освещен процесс подавления любого инакомыслия в правящей партии. Определено, что курс на репрессии, как метод достижения политической цели, был заложен В. Лениным. Получил отражение процесс превращения партии большевиков в фактически военизированную организацию. Проанализированы методы привлечения в кампанию «бдительности» широких слоев населения. Доказано, что кампания «бдительности» стимулировала болезненную тягу к секретности в политике, нетерпимость к мыслям, взглядам, поведению, отличным от декларируемых политической властью. В конечном итоге кампания «бдительности» привела к усилению страха перед властью в обществе, к боязни инициативы, искажению средствами массовой информации состояния внутренней жизни страны и жизни в зарубежных странах. Эта кампания стала важным фактором утверждения тоталитарного государства.*

**Ключевые слова:** власть, кампания «бдительности», репрессии.

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## EUROPEAN COMPONENT IN THE ACTIVITIES OF THE HIGHER SCHOOL OF UKRAINE IN 1990 s

Sichkarenko H. H.

## ЄВРОПЕЙСЬКИЙ КОМПОНЕНТ В ДІЯЛЬНОСТІ ВИЩОЇ ШКОЛИ УКРАЇНИ В 1990-х рр.

Січкарєнко Г. Г.

*In the article the problem of international cooperation in the higher education sphere is examined in 1990s, it is accented attention to the necessity of strengthening of this component as an important factor of integration of the national education system into global educational space and strengthening of it competitiveness at the market of educational services.*

*An international component is analyzed in the activities of Ukrainian higher educational institutions, which has been rapidly developing since Ukraine gained independence. Especially noticeable was the rapprochement of Ukrainian higher education with European universities, international organizations, participation in the EU's Tempus educational programs, UNESCO, and others.*

*The international component in the activities of higher education in Ukraine in the 1990s. provided an opportunity to domestic universities to participate in mutually beneficial research projects with European partners, as well as to explore and creatively borrow the accumulated experience of organizing the educational process. It is pointed out to the minuses in the conduct of educational policy, namely, in the organization of the module-rating system of knowledge control, testing of graduates of schools, the transition to graduated training of students, etc.*

**Key words:** *higher education, higher school, higher education institutions, international cooperation, integration, mobility.*

**Introduction.** In today's world, against the background of sharp competition in the market of educational services, the world's leading universities are constantly working to improve the quality of education. Ukrainian society and Ukrainian universities, aspiring to take a worthy place in the European development system, must also respond to the challenges. In the "National Strategy for the Development of Education in Ukraine for 2012-2021", indicates a significant role in optimizing the integration processes of the active international activity of the modern university.

The current state of higher education is largely determined by the processes of its reform, which began

after independence. Therefore, the consideration of international activities in the field of higher education in the 1990's remains relevant from a theoretical and practical point of view, allowing for a deeper understanding of today's educational problems.

**Analysis of research and publications.** Problems of the development of the international activity of the University in the conditions of globalization are presented in the works of B. Clarke [7], B. Kindings [12], M. Kogan, D. Kogana [19], K. Moticimera [20], and others. Questions of international cooperation in the educational sphere in the considered period were investigated by V. Andrushchenko [2], Y. Alekseyev, S. Kulchytsky, A. Slyusarenko [1], and others. The tasks of the development of international relations of the Ukrainian higher education in the specified period are outlined in the normative legal documents, first of all, the Law of Ukraine "On Education" (23.05.1991), the State National Program "Education" ("Ukraine XXI Century") (3.11 .993) [10]. However, this problem has not yet received an objective coverage in the historical literature, using a wide range of sources.

The purpose of this intelligence is to analyze the main tasks and directions of international activity of the Ukrainian higher education in the 1990's in the context of state-building on the basis of archival sources and mass media publications.

**Research results.** At the end of the twentieth century. in the national systems of higher education, internationalization processes have grown. UNESCO defined this as one of the forms by which higher education responded to the opportunities and challenges of globalization. It covered curricula, educational process and research, institutional agreements, mobility of teachers and students, various forms of cooperation, etc. [18, p. 6]. With the participation of UNESCO, the concept of higher education at the international level "Reform and Development of Higher Education" was

developed. Program Document "(1995) [11]. In this document, UNESCO considers higher education as the most important part of the cultural structure of society responsible for the state of the education system as a whole. Higher education was supposed to create a system of massive coverage by its graduates of high-tech processes, as well as professional training of personnel adapted to them. ZWOs need to pursue vocational education on the basis of a diversified and flexible access system to higher education and towards the development of lifelong learning for all [11]. The difficult challenges faced by higher education in the new conditions were the coverage of the World Conference on Higher Education (Paris, 1998).

The new challenges faced by higher education in the world were a significant challenge for the young Ukrainian state. The reform of Ukraine's education should be aimed at "ensuring Ukraine's integration into the world educational and scientific space in order to attract foreign education, science, technology, culture, attracting foreign investment for the development of domestic education and science, mutual training and retraining of specialists" [10]. Through the media popularized the idea of an ideal model of training organization in England, USA, Germany, France, etc.

Meanwhile, the western high school since the 1970's was in a crisis, as evidenced by at least the names of research by Western scholars: "The crisis of education in the modern world" [8], "University in ruins" [12], "... decline, redistribution and reduction of states" [20], "Attack on higher education" [19], and others like that. Everything became noticeable by the lag of European universities from the American ones for the attractiveness of students. European governments curtailed funding and abandoned the economic regulation of higher education, stimulating it for extrabudgetary funding, new management methods, and decentralization. European ZLOs began to turn into "entrepreneurial", "corporate", "academic capitalism," and so on. At the head of the universities were representatives of the scientific community, which had experience in managing large organizations, thinking in terms of economic benefits and not dependent on teachers. In view of the new management, ZOO attracted extrabudgetary funds and used them for their own development. Thus, the University of Strathclyde (UK) reduced budget funding from 80% in 1975 to 45% in 1995, Joensuu (Finland) from 94% in 1985 to 66% in 1995, Chalmers Technical University (Sweden) ) from 67% in 1980 to 55% in 1995 [7, p. 63, 88, 113]. This led to the introduction of entrepreneurial culture in the academic environment.

Ukrainian higher education in the early 1990's experienced similar problems: reducing budget funding, finding additional funds, new management, emerging new types of ROI, competition for students and teachers. However, the ways of solving problems and consequences have turned out to be different.

The State National Program "Education" ("Ukraine XXI Century"), which was based on the Law "On

Education" (1991), the relevant state acts, international documents, in particular, the International Standard for the Classification of Education of UNESCO, was adopted in order to determine the strategic goals of education. The strategic tasks of international cooperation in the program "Education" were defined: ensuring the process of integration of Ukraine into the world scientific and educational space; ensuring wide participation of the domestic educational system in the world scientific and pedagogical life, in international contacts. Priority directions were identified: the establishment of a system of direct links in the field of education and science with other countries; introduction of specialized scientific and youth exchanges; expanding cooperation with UNESCO and other international organizations; improvement of the system of training specialists for foreign countries. The main ways of this development are: the creation and implementation of a long-term program of international cooperation, a wide exchange of students, postgraduate students, doctoral students and scholars; participation in international contests for scientific grants; improvement of the regulatory framework that would provide educational authorities and educational institutions the opportunity to independently determine the forms and methods of international cooperation; his financial security; creation of data bank and information network between educational establishments of Ukraine and foreign countries, joint centers of education, as well as enterprises, firms and temporary research groups, technology parks and consulting centers; conclusion of international agreements on the issue of diplomas and other documents on education. The Decree of the Cabinet of Ministers approved the Measures to implement the State National Program "Education" ("Ukraine XXI Century") with specific tasks, responsibilities and timelines [10]. The program mainly took into account the main tasks for modernization of the industry and its development towards the European space, as understood by the state education authorities of that time.

Already from the beginning of the 1990s work began on new curricula, Ukrainianization of higher education, the system of licensing of law enforcement, a step-by-step system of education, new types of universities were opened, in particular, the non-state form of ownership, etc. The movement continued to spread the independence of ZOO.

The organization of step-by-step training was the fundamental basis of the reform of higher education, which was associated with the inclusion of the European system. Even the Law of Ukraine "On Education" established a graduate system of training - a bachelor, a master's degree, along with a traditional level - a specialist. During 1991-1992, the Ministry of Education developed its concept, which attracted about 3 thousand specialists [14, ark. 136]. In order to work out the technology of organization of graduation training an experiment was started in a number of institutes. The most difficult was the harmonization of the content of

education, curricula for the preparation of bachelor, specialist, master's degree in different types of ZVO, which showed the lack of a single concept. Educational and professional bachelor's programs were approved in June 1994, specialist - in February 1995, and the master's degree - were not created. Various ZVO offered an uneven number of qualifications and educational levels, degrees, and terms of study. According to the results of a survey conducted by the heads of 26 ZVOs conducted by the Kharkiv State University, the main obstacles to the introduction of graduate training were mentioned: lack of a state program, incentives for reforming - 48%, insufficient material and technical base - 45%, lack of development of concepts of graduate education - 27%, lack of training - methodical base - 18%, passivity of educators - 6%, low qualification of scientific and pedagogical personnel - 5% [15, ark. 26-27, 33]. Thus, at that time, the introduction of step-by-step training prevented the lack of necessary normative documentation, lack of training programs, methodological literature, regulations on graduate training and training of specialists of various levels, etc. [see: 15, ark. 26-29]. There was also a misunderstanding of the population, part of the educators of different levels of higher education. Ukrainian labor market was not ready to accept new educational-professional levels. Thus, the transition to graduate education was extended to two decades.

International standards also required clarification of the current List of training courses and specialties. In the USSR, narrow-footed training of specialists at the request of enterprises prevailed. According to international practice, it was more appropriate to train specialists for integrated areas through new economic conditions and the development of science. When creating a new list of training areas and specialties Ukraine took into account the International Education Classification Standard (ISCED) and professions (ISCO). "The list of training courses for specialists with higher education in professional fields, specialties of various qualification levels and working professions" was approved by the Cabinet of Ministers in May 1994, but the time of its action was short-lived, as the principle of a systematic approach to the classification of the sphere of labor and education was violated. In 1997 the list was revised.

A qualitative new feature in the international activity of ZVO was the intensification of contacts and the establishment of direct links with foreign universities on the initiative of rectors, scholars and students. The practice of Ukrainian NGOs included agreements on cooperation with the universities of Europe, Asia, America, the participation of scientists in the competitive system of grants of foreign funds, and others. So, at the National Technical University "KhPI" in 1991, the company "Commonwealth-T" was created, where, together with the University of Manchester, began to apply methods of system analysis for energy-efficient reconstruction of the heating system. During 10 years more than 3500 plate heat exchangers were put

into operation, over 1500 heat points were reconstructed in 18 regions of the country [9]. Lviv University in 1992 established direct relations with 14 universities in the USA, Canada, Germany, France, Poland, Holland, etc. It provided an opportunity to study, exchange students and teachers [6]. In Odessa Polytechnic University equipment and software for the international space satellite "Inkrobo1-1", launched from the "Plisetsk" cosmodrome on 08.07.1995 [3, ark. 191-192]. Donetsk State Technical University together with Siemens created regional automation centers, which became the catalyst for scientific research and training of specialists in electric drives and software management systems [16, ark. 167-168]. At NTU "KhPI" every year, 10-15 international grants were issued for 2.2 million euros commissioned by firms from Austria, India, Italy, South Korea, Russia, Switzerland, and others. [4, ark. 7-16]. With the participation of the scientists of NTUU "KPI", systems of thermostabilization of electronic equipment of the German satellite "Bild" [5, ark. 208]. The ROTOR project was created at the Eastern Ukrainian State University, which was carried out within the framework of the European program "Eurika" together with specialists from Poland, the Czech Republic and Sweden [17, ark. 116-119].

Ukraine's accession to the Council of Europe (1995) has called for the practical harmonization of educational legislation with European requirements. As a result, the Partial Statute of the State Property Law, the Regulations on Educational Qualification Levels (step-by-step education), the Draft Provisions on the Training of Scientific and Research Pedagogical Personnel, the Information and Search System "State Register of Higher Educational Institutions of Ukraine", the State Standard of Higher Education, were introduced in A new list of specialties and specializations, and so on.

According to the relevant international organizations, the system of Ukrainian higher education in its capacity is recognized as one of the super-powerful in Europe and is understandable in terms of organization, content and tasks of training specialists. Information about Ukraine's OWS specifying the specialties, admission conditions, legislation, organization of the life of students was entered into data banks, directories of UNESCO and the Council of Europe, which increased the number of foreign students in 1997 by 2 thousand (13.5 thousand studied in general) [ 17th arc 63-68]. The decision of the 29th General Conference of UNESCO to celebrate the centenary of NTUU "KPI" was introduced to the list of outstanding world events.

In the structure of the Ministry of Education the Directorate for cooperation with the EU and the Concept of cooperation development were created. Universities have opened the Centers for Cooperation with the EU, the UNESCO Chair. By 1999, the country had concluded more than 60 relevant international agreements. In particular, within the framework of the EU educational program Tempus, which was

implemented since 1993, ZVO implemented 85 large projects, and 20 million ECU was invested in higher education in Ukraine (since 1993) [17, pp. 64]. The European Union was the largest donor of Ukraine. Together with the institutions of the Council of Europe implemented programs for the implementation of European educational standards, its experts helped in the development of laws.

It should be noted that the effectiveness of Ukraine's bilateral contacts with the EU countries and the former socialist states in the field of higher education was different. Thus, according to the characteristics of the Ministry of Education, cooperation with Britain, France, Finland, the Netherlands, Belgium had a concrete, prompt, responsible character. With Romania, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, there were mutual claims and lack of specificity, with post-Soviet countries - voluntary and inaccessible. The most productive among the western partners was Germany. By 1999, between the ZVO of Ukraine and the Federal Republic of Germany, 77 agreements were concluded, among them between the Association of Rectors of Ukraine and the Conference of Rectors and Presidents of the ZVO of Germany on academic cooperation, the representation of the German Academic Exchange Service was opened, which annually provided Ukrainian students with 150 scholarships for studying and internships in Germany. Only in the 1998/99 academic year 907 teachers were sent to Germany for training. On a bilateral basis, 35 Ukrainian ZVOs cooperated with 53 ZVO Federal Republic of Germany, and 7 had agreements with 11 RF RF [17, ark. 63-68]. From the point of view of the Ministry of Education, the imperfect legal framework, the lack of funding and specialists in international law [ibid] prevented the improvement of cooperation with Western partners.

In fact, far from all the possibilities of international cooperation were properly used by Ukraine [see: 13, p. 109-111]. Our country was not ready to implement the Lisbon Convention "On the recognition of higher education qualifications in the European region", which was developed under the auspices of the Council of Europe and UNESCO, and which Ukraine signed in Lisbon on 11.04.1997 (ratified on December 3, 1999). Under the Convention, Ukraine was required to ensure the openness of procedures and the reliability of the criteria for qualifying, which provided for such rules for admitting to OHS, granting scholarships, etc., which were in line with those adopted in Europe. This demanded, in particular, the improvement of educational legislation, the creation of a national system of nostrification of education documents, and the joint efforts of the Ministries of Education, Foreign Affairs, Finance and Justice.

**Conclusions** After Ukraine gained independence, an attempt was made to quickly move to a Western model of higher education, democratization of relations, academic freedom, etc. But without creating the appropriate socio-economic, organizational conditions, the interest of educators, this attempt was quite

successful. The branch of education, like other public spheres, was in an extremely difficult state, but it had its own specifics. The scale of the industry, its conservatism gave inertia to development, slowing down the processes of both destruction and reform.

The achievements of this period should be considered as the active development of international contacts at the state level and individual ZOO. Adoption, albeit with delay, of the State Program of Development "Education", other normative-legal acts. There has been a shift in the organization of training, although the test trials of school graduates, modular rating systems and the transition to graduate training did not receive broad support and were postponed for years. However, despite the objective complexity, inconsistency and contradictory nature of the processes in higher education in Ukraine, educational transformations slowly but steadily continued and continue in the European direction.

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**Січкаренко Г. Г. Європейський компонент в діяльності вищої школи України В 1990-х рр.**

*У статті розглядається міжнародна складова в діяльності українських закладів вищої освіти, яка з часу отримання Україною незалежності стрімко розвивалась. Особливо помітним було зближення української вищої*

*школи з європейськими університетами, міжнародними освітніми організаціями, участь у освітніх програмах ЄС «Темпус», ЮНЕСКО та ін.*

*Міжнародний компонент в діяльності вищої школи України у 1990-х рр. надав можливість вітчизняним ЗВО брати участь у взаємовигідних наукових проектах з європейськими партнерами, а також опрацювати і творчо запозичити накопичений досвід організації навчального процесу. Вказується на вади у проведенні освітньої політики, зокрема, в організації модульно-рейтингової системи контролю знань, тестових випробувань випускників шкіл, переході до ступеневої підготовки студентів та ін.*

**Ключові слова:** вища освіта, вища школа, заклади вищої освіти, міжнародне співробітництво, інтеграція, мобільність.

**Січкаренко Г.Г. Европейский компонент в деятельности высшей школы Украины в 1990-е гг.**

*В статье рассматривается международная составляющая в деятельности украинских высших учебных заведений, которая с момента получения Украиной независимости стремительно развивалась. Особенно заметным было сближение украинской высшей школы с европейскими университетами, международными организациями, участие в образовательных программах ЕС «Темпус», ЮНЕСКО и др.*

*Международный компонент в деятельности высшей школы Украины в 1990-х гг. предоставил возможность отечественным вузам участвовать во взаимовыгодных научных проектах с европейскими партнерами, а также изучить и творчески заимствовать накопленный опыт организации учебного процесса. Указывается на минусы в проведении образовательной политики, а именно, в организации модульно-рейтинговой системы контроля знаний, тестирования выпускников школ, переходе к ступенчатой подготовке студентов и др.*

**Ключевые слова:** высшее образование, высшая школа, высшие учебные заведения, международное сотрудничество, интеграция, мобильность.

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## IMPACT OF PERSISTENT ORGANIC POLLUTANTS SOURCES ON THE ECOLOGICAL STATE OF THE ENVIRONMENT

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## ВПЛИВ ДЖЕРЕЛ СТІЙКИХ ОРГАНІЧНИХ ЗАБРУДНЮВАЧІВ НА ЕКОЛОГІЧНИЙ СТАН ДОВКІЛЛЯ

Висоцька Т.І., Пічкур Т.В.

*The article studies the impact of persistent organic pollutants (POPs) on the environment. POPs are artificial substances for the environment. Nowadays, scientists have created more than 18 million chemical compounds, almost 100 000 of which are used in industry. It is widely understood that the pollution of the environment by persistent organic pollutants is due to their constant movement between the natural envelopes. Environmental studies show that regardless of sources (POPs) all the components of the biosphere are under their negative influence: surface water and groundwater, atmosphere, soil ecosystems, flora, and fauna. Measures that can be taken to prevent and reduce the impact of POPs on human health are conventionally divided into measures applied at the state level, and measures for the health maintenance, which should be used by each person, possessing certain knowledge about potential sources and properties of persistent organic pollutants. Considering the fact that POPs can remain in the environment for a long time, there is only one way to protect ourselves and future generations – it is to stop the production and use of POPs and to stop those production processes that use POPs. But this requires the efforts of the world community.*

**Key words:** sources of emission, environment, pollution, industry, chemical substances, soils, persistent organic pollutants.

**Introduction.** Sources of organic pollutants are quite diverse. Persistent organic pollutants (POPs hereinafter) are formed as a result of human economic activity, primarily in industrial regions. The development of energy, transport, and extraction of minerals leads to the inflow of hundreds of highly toxic substances, that accumulate in humans and animals, to the atmosphere, waterways, and the soil. The use of chemicals and polymer materials in everyday life, the widespread use of cosmetics, food colorants, preservatives, and medicines also contributes to the accumulation of persistent organic pollutants (POPs) in the human body [5].

**Content of the article.** By territorial features, POPs are divided into local and diffusive, and by

volumes of emissions into the environment, they are divided into regular and volley. The greatest danger to the environment and human are the geographically dispersed sources, which, first, pollute large areas (for example, motor vehicles), and secondly, it is difficult to detect them before they manifest themselves [3]. Among such pollutants there are:

- forest fires (for example forest vegetation treated with chlorinated pesticides);
- agricultural lands after the treatment with toxic chemicals;
- household waste garbage dumps;
- domestic furnaces which use the waste from woodworking enterprises, including waste wood impregnated with phenol- and halogen-containing substances;
- treatment ponds of waste plants, chemical, and mining processing enterprises.

The presence or absence of sources of POPs also depends on the measures ensuring environmental safety. Thus, if there is no or insufficient control over the content of POPs in industrial products and food products, then they can enter the human body through the contact with packaging materials, household chemicals, dyes, cosmetics.

What are the ways of receiving POPs by the environment and the human body? According to the formal matter, we distinguish the following:

- the imperfection of production processes of mining, chemical, petrochemical, pulp and paper, metallurgical and other industries;
- the use of products (polymers, dyes, solvents, packaging materials, etc.) which include POPs;
- imperfect technologies of water purification, utilization, and disposal of industrial, medical and household waste;
- the use of packaging materials containing POPs, such as phthalate;

- application of pesticides containing chlorine and mercury in agriculture;
- the flow of POPs with food products.

*Chemical industry*

The analysis of the most dangerous technologies for a person proves that when many chemical compounds are obtained, almost always in a certain amount POPs are formed: polychlorinated dibenzo-p-dioxins and dibenzofurans, chloro- and bromobifenils, chlorobenzenes, etc. [1-3].

The most dangerous industries (the industries of the first group) are enterprises that work with cyclic organic compounds - benzenes, phenols, cyclohexane, and their derivatives. The second group should include the high-temperature processes of chlorination and oxidation of chlorinated hydrocarbons, especially in the presence of a catalyst. For example, when obtaining vinyl chloride, pyrolysis of dichloroethane, a certain amount of hexachlorobenzene almost always forms. The third group includes low-temperature processes. The probability of POPs formation in such processes is very small [4].

Thus, in the production of one million tons of organochlorine products, the environment obtains 1 kg of polychlorinated polycyclic compounds.

In the countries of Europe and the USA, the activity of chemical enterprises practically does not affect the emission of POPs. In Ukraine and in post-Soviet countries, emissions of POPs in many cases depend on the volumes of chemical industry production. First of all, it concerns the production of di- and trichlorophenols, based on them pesticides, as well as penta- and hexachlorophenols, polychlorinated and polybrominated compounds, vinyl chloride and its polymers, phthalates, etc., in the process of production of which chlorine is used.

In this way, the imperfection of technologies used in the chemical industry, the accident at the enterprises, as well as negligence in economic activity - all of this poses a high risk of environmental pollution by persistent organic pollutants.

Most of the studies have shown up that the flow of POPs in the result of emissions is negligible. Mainly, these compounds are hazardous to workers who fall under the influence of these substances. Excess emissions of POPs in air may occur from combustion residues produced at chemical plants [2].

The receipt of POPs in the water reservoir occurs as a result of discharges of uncleaned wastewater generated during the production of chemical products. Also, POPs get into natural water sources when using chemicals from the chemical industry. For example, vinyl chloride easily moves from bottles made of polyvinylchlorides (PVC) to water, milk, juice and alcoholic beverages. The movement speed depends on the storage time. So, after 6 years in beer bottles with PVC, vinyl chloride was detected at a concentration of 2 mg / l. In addition, almost all brands of PVC contain a certain amount of dioxins (from 0.8 to 10 ng/kg).

POPs get into the soil as a result of atmospheric motions and as a result of production processes in which the industrial waste is thrown into landfills, with the use of pesticides, because of the leakage of chemical substances during the storage of chemical weapons. The degree of contamination of soils depends on the type of chemical, the technology of its storage and use, season, climate, etc. [5-6].

*Production of ferrous and nonferrous metals.* In the metallurgical industry, the composition of the POPs is determined by the quality of raw materials. For blast furnaces raw material is iron ore, for electric arc furnaces - metal scrap, which consists of waste steel and metalworking industries, and household scrap (for example, from cars and machinery, which have already served the time of exploitation). The use of metal scrap as raw material causes increased emissions of aromatic halogen-containing compounds (PCDD / PCDF, chlorobenzenes, PCBs), as well as polycyclic aromatic hydrocarbons (surfactants) and other organic substances of incomplete combustion (dyes, plastics, lubricants), which are part of the scrap, *table*.

Table

**PCDD / PCDF emission factors for the production of ferrous and non-ferrous metals, TEQ/t of a product [3]**

Emission source	Air	Refuse burnout
<i>Iron and steel production</i>		
Contaminated metal scrap	10	15
Non-contaminated metal scrap	3	15
Pure iron	0,1	1,5
<i>Processing of remelting copper</i>		
Basic technology	800	630
Furnaces with heating chambers	50	630
Application of sorbents and filters	0,1	300
<i>Aluminum scrap recycling</i>		
Unpurified scrap	150	400
Purified scrap	35	400
Application of sorbents and filters	5	100
<i>Production of lead</i>		
Production of lead from scrap	80	-
Purified scrap	8	-
Furnaces with a dust-collection chamber	0,5	-
<i>Production of zinc</i>		
Furnaces without dust-collection chamber	1000	-
Furnaces with a dust-collection chamber	100	-
Application of sorbents and filters	5	-
Zinc smelting	0,3	-

It has been found that in such production processes, PCDD / PCDF emissions are 5 times or higher (10 TEQ per tonne of liquid steel) than in

comparison with the emission of steel smelting in metal oxygen convectors [3].

Particular attention is paid to the thermal production of copper. The metal itself is an effective catalyst for the formation of PCDD / PCDF (*table 1*). Materials containing directly copper, a scrap of copper alloys, refuse burnout, residues, and sediment, for processing of which furnaces and processes of various types are used, including the shaft-type furnaces and convectors. Scientific researches of this process show that when using shaft furnaces, the emission of PCDD / PCDF is 779 TEQ/t of scrap. The concern is caused by dust formed during the cleaning of flue gases, which may contain up to 20 TEQ/t of TCDD / TCDF. If we take into account that when producing one ton of copper about 40 - 45 kg of dust is deposited on the filters, then the emission factor would be 630 TEQ/t of product.

The production of aluminum consists of several stages. Aluminum ores, usual bauxites, are purified to aluminum oxide trihydrate (alumina), and then there is an electrolytic reduction to metal aluminum. Formation of POPs, in this case, is associated with the use of carbohydrate anodes aluminum smelting. When aluminum remnants are melted in different types of furnaces, the emissions of toxic organochlorine compounds are due to the presence of polymer materials, dyes, lubricants, which are contaminated with organic or inorganic chlorine. *Table 1* shows the average values of the emission factors of PCDD / PCDF for the aluminum industry. The greatest pollution is associated with dust, which is formed when cleaning flue gases - from 146 to 233 TEQ/t of product.

The emission of polychlorinated dibenzo-p-dioxins and dibenzofurans in lead and zinc smelting is generally due to the high content of organic compounds in the scrap (*table 1*) [3]. In particular, the correlation between the content of polyvinyl chloride (PVC) in accumulators and the formation of PCDD / PCDF is detected [8]. Persistent organic compounds enter the air in the process of smelting and refining of scrap, and if there is an organic purification of gases, then their number is sharply increasing.

Thus, the emission of POPs into the environment during the production of ferrous and non-ferrous metals depends primarily on the degree of contamination of the scrap, as well as on technologies used to capture the production gases. The minimum emission is observed in the case when the raw material is not contaminated, and the purification of gases is comprehensive, that is, the cleaning with fabric filters, the use of sorbents on the basis of activated carbon, and in some cases - even the use of furnaces with combustion chambers. The process of regeneration of non-ferrous metals from PVC-based cables requires particular attention. Usually, they are burnt to remove the covering and the atmosphere gets 5 mg of PCDD / PCDF per ton of scrap. In many countries, such actions are considered illegal. Such cleaning of cables is required only in special furnaces, which have a gas cleaning system, which includes a combustion chamber and scrubbers.

*Transport system* considerably pollutes the environment as well. The general amount of pollutant emissions from road transport into the atmosphere is approximately 85 – 90 % of emissions from all other means of transport and is more than 50% of the total amount of anthropogenic pollution of the atmosphere. The level of atmospheric air pollution by polycyclic aromatic hydrocarbons (PAHs) in cities depends on the location of industrial enterprises and streets with intensive motor traffic. One car while driving emits about 1 mg of PAHs per minute. The main factor contributing to the growing pollution of the atmosphere is the increase in the number of cars.

When a car engine is working, up to 150 surfactants, their derivatives and homologs are thrown up into the atmosphere [7]. Car emissions contain ten times more pyrene and fluorene than benzopyrene, which acts as an indicator of environmental pollution of surfactants. For cars, this ratio is 25, and for diesel trucks, it is 50. The significant pollution of the air by road transport is evidenced by the fact that concentrations of coronene and benzopyrene in the air are quite large. This fact is particularly well-observed in cities with a high level of traffic and the presence of industrial enterprises. In the cities with intense traffic, there are other surfactants in the air typical for car emissions: chrysene, benzothiophenes, and cyclopentadiene.

Along with surfactants, polychlorinated dibenzo-p-dioxins and dibenzofurans enter the atmosphere with vehicle exhaust gas [9]. For Ukraine, this problem is extremely relevant as a result of the use of ethylene gasoline that contains chlorine additive as an automotive fuel. The use of unleaded gasoline and catalytic exhaust fumes reduces emissions of dioxins by more than 20 times. It is established that during the combustion of 1 m<sup>2</sup> of ethylenic fuel the exhaust gases contain 1ng of dioxins, while when the engine operates on unleaded petrol, this figure does not exceed 50 pg/m<sup>3</sup>. Catalytic converters reduce the content of dioxins to 7pg/m<sup>3</sup>. The prohibition on the use of ethylenic gasoline proves that gasoline engines will become a minor source of PCDD / PCDF emissions into the air.

In diesel engines, fuel is injected into a cylinder with compressed air. This provides almost complete combustion of fuel and reduces the emission of PCDD / PCDF. But when diesel engines do not work at full power, when there is no complete combustion of fuel, soot particles containing large concentrations of surfactants are formed. Therefore, it is necessary to equip diesel cars with filters for catching soot.

**Conclusions.** Persistent Organic Pollutants (POPs) have high toxicity, they can remain in the environment for a long time, move to considerable distances with streams of air, water or moving organisms, accumulate in human and animal fat tissues.

The main difference of POPs from most of the other pollutants is their ability to be stored in the environment for decades and to be transmitted with food chains.

Measures that can be taken to prevent and reduce the impact of POPs on human health are conventionally divided into measures applied at the state level, and measures for the health maintenance, which should be used by each person, possessing certain knowledge about potential sources and properties of persistent organic pollutants.

Considering the fact that POPs can remain in the environment for a long time, there is only one way to protect ourselves and future generations – it is to stop the production and use of POPs and to stop those production processes that use POPs. But this requires the efforts of the world community.

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### Висоцька Т.І. , Пічкур Т.В. Вплив джерел стійких органічних забруднювачів на екологічний стан довкілля

У даній статті розглядається вплив стійких органічних забруднювачів (СОЗ) на природне середовище. Для довкілля СОЗ є штучними речовинами. Сьогодні, науковцями створено понад 18 млн. хімічних сполук, з яких майже 100 000 використовується в промисловості. Зрозуміло, що забруднення довкілля стійкими органічними забруднювачами зумовлено постійною їх міграцією між природними оболонками. Екологічні дослідження доводять, що незалежно від джерел (СОЗ) під їх негативний вплив потрапляють всі складові біосфери: поверхневі та підземні води, атмосфера, екосистеми ґрунту, рослинний і тваринний світ. Заходи, які можуть бути зроблені для профілактики і зниження впливу СОЗ на здоров'я людини, умовно поділяють на заходи, що застосовуються на державному рівні, і заходи, збереження здоров'я, які повинна використовувати кожна людина, володіючи певними знаннями про потенційні джерела і властивості стійких органічних забруднювачів. Враховуючи той факт, що СОЗ може досить тривалий час знаходитись в оточуючому середовищі, існує тільки один спосіб захистити себе і майбутніх нащадків – закрити виробництво і використання СОЗ та зупинити ті виробничі процеси, які використовують СОЗ. Але для цього потрібні зусилля світової громадськості.

**Ключові слова:** джерела викидів, довкілля, забруднення, промисловість, хімічні речовини, ґрунти, стійкі органічні забруднювачі.

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**Высоцкая Т.И., Пичкур Т.В. Влияние источников стойких органических загрязнителей на экологическое состояние окружающей среды**

*В данной статье рассматривается влияние стойких органических загрязнителей (СОЗ) на окружающую среду. Для окружающей среды СОЗ являются искусственными веществами. Сегодня, учеными создано свыше 18 млн. химических соединений, с каких почти 100 000 используется в промышленности. Понятно, что загрязнение окружающей среды стойкими органическими загрязнителями предопределено постоянной их миграцией между естественными оболочками планеты. Экологические исследования доказывают, что независимо от источников (СОЗ) под их негативное влияние попадают все составляющие биосферы: поверхностные и подземные воды, атмосфера, экосистемы почвы, растительный и животный мир. Мероприятия, которые могут применяться для профилактики и снижения влияния СОЗ на здоровье человека, условно разделяют на мероприятия государственного уровня, и мероприятия по сохранению здоровья, которые должен использовать каждый человек, владея определенными знаниями о потенциальных источниках и свойствах стойких органических загрязнителей. Учитывая тот факт, что СОЗ может достаточно длительное*

*время находиться в окружающей среде, существует только один способ защитить себя и будущие поколения – закрыть производство и не применять СОЗ в производственных процессах. Но для этого нужны усилия мировой общественности.*

**Ключевые слова:** *источники выбросов, окружающая среда, загрязнения, промышленность, химические вещества, почвы, стойкие органические загрязнители.*

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