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THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN HISTORICAL SCIENCE: THE EXPERIENCE OF EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AND PROSPECTS FOR UKRAINE

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In the monograph are discussed the theoretical and practical aspects of the development of modern historical science, taking into account the experience of European countries and the development prospects of Ukrainian historiography. The philosophical problems of historical knowledge, new approaches to the study of the history of philosophy, the history of education, science and culture are analyzed, an original interpretation of historiosophical issues has been proposed, the latest achievements in the development of special historical disciplines are described.

The publication is intended for scientists, teachers, graduate students, students, as well as for a wide range of readers.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

The history is the collective memory of humanity. Fixing the information content of this collective memory in scientific research allows not only to classify individual blocks of historical knowledge, but also to identify key aspects of the process of knowledge of the past. The team of authors of the monograph which is submitted to the attention of the scientific community, offered their own vision of individual problems related to the most, in our opinion, promising areas of historical research.

Among the sections of historical science to which our scientists turned are the philosophical problems of historical knowledge, consideration of which allows us to formulate an updated paradigm of sociopolitical processes. New approaches to the analysis and assessment of long-term historical processes, global social phenomena in their dynamics are proposed. The historiosophical themes in the monograph stimulate the development of a critical attitude to the object of study, substantiates its dynamic perception.

The scientific interests of the authors of this collective monograph generally coincide with the development of the leading schools of world historical science. Much attention in the book is given to the history of education, science and culture. A distinctive feature of the methodological approach in the consideration of these branches of scientific knowledge is the attempt to maximize philosophical generalization of extensive factual material. Moreover, the authors do not impose their ideological position on the readers, but invite them to a creative discussion.

Among the special historical disciplines presented in the monograph are the regional history, the history of certain ethnic groups, the history of everyday life. Obviously, the considerable attention is given to the history of Crimea, as an integral part of Ukraine. The problems of everyday history help to complement the understanding of the global social processes deeply.

Thus, the complex of scientific problems presented on the pages of the monograph represents an attempt to integrate historical and philosophical knowledge based on the achievements of modern methodology of the humanitarian sciences.

LAND POLICY OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT
IN CRIMEA IN 1920'S

Horiunova Y.

INTRODUCTION

The periods of reforms are always painful for the population, because they are accompanied by radical changes in the socio-economic and political structure of the state. While the greatest problems arise in post-revolutionary periods, where the destruction of the old system and the creation of new political and economic grounds are taking place.

Crimea population have faced with these problems in 1920s when they found themselves in a new reality created by Soviet power authorities. The main factors of Bolsheviks policy in this period in Crimea, as well as throughout the country, are the fulfillment of their main promises – the liquidation of land tenure of the landlords and the redistribution of these lands among peasants, taking into account the regional features of Crimea – the presence of landless areas and the multinational composition of the peninsula population.

The redistribution of land among the peasants required new economic rules which were implemented within the framework of the new economic policy with its multi-layered nature of the economy, lease, use of hired labor and market relations in the countryside. But, as time shows, all these outgoings were temporary and aimed at solving the food problems.

The land policy of the Bolsheviks was based on a class approach, which determined the priority of collective farms before individual ones, which had to disappear gradually on the path of further socialist transformations. Therefore, the Soviet authorities in every way supports not the land owners, but the poor- farmhand elements of the village, which should have become the basis for future collectivization.

Because of the class logic new economic policy in the Crimean countryside was crushed and the peasants was forced to join collective farms as they were threatened by dispossession, which was accompanied by deprivation of not only political, but civil rights.

1. The features of the Bolsheviks agrarian policy in Crimea under the power of Soviet Union

The first document, which outlined the basic principles of socialist transformation in the Crimean countryside was adopted in January 1918 by the decree on the socialization of land. According to the document, the private ownership for land was permanently canceled, the land was transferred without any redemption to "labor peasants". That is, the land could only be used by those who really process it by their own work.

The decree also listed natural and legal persons who were entitled to have land. Among them, above all, there were listed the state through the organs of Soviet power; public organizations controlled by the power authorities; the agricultural communes and associations, as well as rural land associations; commercial, industrial, and transport enterprises; individual families and individuals who do not use land for income generation. The land was handed over to use, first of all, to those who wished to work for it not for their own benefit, but for the sake of the public good[1].

On February 19, 1919, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (ACEK) and the Council of People's Commissars (CPC) of the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic (RSFSR) adopted the Law "On the Land of the Crimean Soviet Socialist Republic (CSSR)". This law was needed in order to embody the general principles of Soviet Russia land tenure taking into account the regional features of the Crimea.

For the purpose of socialist justice in the division of land all Crimean land was divided into the main and secondary land funds. The main fund consisted of so-called "former non-labor households" lands. It was intended to provide the land for poor and landless peasants, as well as for Soviet farms (state farms). The reserve fund was formed from the remaining lands, and was intended to satisfy the land needs of the Crimean Tatars who returned to the Crimea from emigration.

First of all, the land should have been provided for poor and landless peasants who were engaged in agricultural labor in the Crimea before February,19 1918. In the second place, land plots were intended for agricultural purposes of population, which appeared in Crimea after February 19, 1918 Another part of population of the peninsula had the opportunity to get land in the last turn.

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[1] Третий Всероссийский съезд Советов. Госиздат, М., 1918. С. 33-47.

The law sets the terms of land use for cultivation – 9 years, and for the cultivation of perennial crops – 15 years.

The land plots were given to peasants for use from main funds in accordance with the Crimean commissariat of land relations (narcomzem) standards. In each of the 30 climatic-ground regions of the peninsula the special land standard was established[2].

In total, three main agricultural zones of Crimea were created, depending on the climatic conditions and features of the soil. In accordance with these features a certain specialization zones were defined: animal husbandry and field farming for the steppe zone; gardening, viticulture, tobacco – for the mountain zone; and the mixed type of farms for the foothills zone.

However, due to the continuation of the Civil War, this law was never implemented on the peninsula. But after the final victory of the Soviet power in the Crimea this document was taken as the basis for conducting land policy in the Crimea.

The first step of the Bolsheviks in the land – nationalization of land on the southern coast of Crimea – from Sudak to Sevastopol. Not only the land of private individuals, but also the possession of various institutions and organizations were nationalized. A few months later, nationalization cover the entire peninsula. However, Bolsheviks did not hurry to transfer the nationalized lands to the peasants, planning to place on them more than 1,000 Soviet collective farms – state farms.

The regional conference of the Russian Communist Party of the Bolsheviks (RCP (b)) held in May 1921 defined the basic principles of land policy in the Crimea for the coming years. The main task of the communists in the countryside was to implement a policy of social differentiation of the population, which will allow the poorer and middle classes of the countryside to be attracted to the side of the Soviet power, without support of these parts of population it was difficult to count on Proletarian revolution success in the agrarian country. In addition, the agricultural sector of the Crimea should have become an example for other peoples (especially the Muslim East), so the Bolsheviks hoped to raise the agriculture of the peninsula to "such a height that it did not achieve under capitalism." But for it was necessary to conduct a powerful

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[2] ДААРК (Державний архів Автономної Республіки Крим). Ф. 1. Оп. 1. Спр. 53. Арк. 80.

struggle against all manifestations of capitalist relations in the countryside[3].

There were proclaimed specific ways of solving these problems: 1) full expropriation of non-labor lands and their socialization; 2) extermination of capitalist relations in the countryside through undermining economic positions of the most powerful layer of the peasantry; 3) satisfaction of the poor peasant`s land hunger at the expense of the kulaks[4].

The Crimean Bolsheviks tried to justify such a policy with the help of Marxism, which, in their opinion, insisted on "the inevitable death of agriculture in the process of economic development". Accordingly, the individual peasant economy is doomed, and the collective forms should be the main alternatives: 1) state farms as indicative examples of a new culture of production in the village – "farm as a grain mill"; 2) the agricultural labor communes as a product of rural proletariat independence and 3) agricultural artels and societies as a transitional form on the way to socialization of agriculture[5].

But such a land policy of the Bolsheviks was not understood by the majority of the Crimean peasants, who were expecting from the Soviet power a fair distribution of land, but received the requisitioning with the withdrawal of almost all food.

Against the background of the socio-economic situation deteriorating in Crimea the "white-green movement", consisting of the remnants of White Guard movements supporters who could not be evacuated from the peninsula together with the army of Wrangel, and the Crimean Tatars, who were most not satisfied with the land policy of the Bolsheviks, was unfolding.

The Crimean authorities saw this movement as "political gangsterism" which they tried to destroy with the help of military units. In the spring of 1921 a number of punitive operations were carried out in a single block, but the number of "white-green" supporters was increasing, along with the area of its distribution through the Crimean territory[6].

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[3] РЦХИДНИ (Российский центр хранения и изучения документов новейшей истории). Ф. 17. Оп.16. Спр. 178. Арк. 16.
[4] Там само. Арк. 27.
[5] РЦХИДНИ. Ф. 17. Оп.16. Спр. 178. Арк. 27.
[6] Ішин А. В. Антибільшовицькі виступи у Криму і боротьба з ними (кінець 1920-1925 рр.): автореф. дис… канд. іст. наук: спец. 07.00.01 Історія України. Дніпропетровськ, 2002. 12 с.

The situation was so complicated that a special commission from the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR came to Crimea from Moscow, the goals of such visit were formulated in the "Addressing to the Labor Population of Crimea". The Soviet Communists stressed that their main mission was to eliminate misunderstandings and conflicts that arose due to the "inefficient, and sometimes criminal actions of individuals and institutions", having in mind the Crimean power authorities. Commission members promised to deal with the situation, to correct the mistakes and to punish the perpetrators. Crimeans also promised to reorganize local power authorities and provide real autonomy, "taking into account local characteristics"[7].

The Moscow Commission begins to collect complaints about the actions of local authorities – in two weeks it was given 65 collective letters from the peasants. Considering the land policy aspects on the peninsula, the Commission has identified that the food campaign in the Crimea started in good conditions – after the evacuation of the White Guard troops from the peninsula a lot of food left. But the arrival of new parts of the Red Army on the peninsula required more products. Therefore, the Crimean authorities send out the Soviet troops to Crimean farmers in order to take food, they were operating in the countryside as "war communism" since the Civil War.

On the other hand, Moscow set unrealistic food requisitioning norms to Crimea, which did not take into account the real state of the Crimean agriculture. The consequence of such a policy is the rapid impoverishment of the Crimean population. "At the moment, the food situation in Crimea is catastrophic. We have 75,000 pounds of bread in the presence of 108,000 eaters from military institutions and 200,000 public institutions and enterprises," – the Commission has noted in the report[8].

All this forces the Russian authorities to cancel the food requisitioning, although most of the food has already been expropriated. For example, of 2 million pounds of grain already harvested 1 560 646 pounds (i.e. 78% of the plan). Of the planned 2,400,000 pounds of fodder grain it was possible to raise more than half – 1 234 121 pounds[9].

The members of the Moscow Commission realized that it was simply impossible to take more food in the Crimea, and further pressure on the

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[7] РЦХИДНИ. Ф. 17. Оп.13. Спр. 508. Арк. 6.
[8] РЦХИДНИ. Ф. 17. Оп.13. Спр. 508. Арк. 48.
[9] Там само. Арк. 50.

local population could lead to very serious consequences. Therefore, it was better to admit that "political gangsterism" in Crimea is a consequence of the unsuccessful land, food and national policy of the Crimean authorities.

This solution allowed to appoint in July 1921 near Alupka meeting between members of the Commission and local authorities on the one hand, and the commanders of "white-green" units on the other hand. During the meeting an agreement was reached on the handing over of weapons by "white-green" units for two weeks. In exchange for this they were guaranteed amnesty[10].

In addition, during the talks, the Soviet authorities tried to attract the Crimean Tatars on their side promising them not only to resolve the land issue, but also the real autonomy of Crimea and places in state authorities.

In August 1921, the Crimean Land Department published an appeal to Crimean farmers, promising them to respect the peasants' right to use land "which they can process by their own families." Bolsheviks promised that in landless regions the peasants would be given the land of collective farms and state farms that are not of national importance[11]. However, these promises were not fulfilled: by the end of 1921, the needs of landless and poor land peasants were not satisfied, it caused a new wave of peasant dissatisfaction.

At the same time, the economic situation in the Crimea is significantly deteriorating. In the autumn of 1921, the Crimean authorities are turning to Moscow for food aid, but the power authorities of RSFSR refuse to recognize Crimea as a starving region until February 1922, when more than half a million people (60% of the population) are starving on the peninsula.

In December 1921, 2,000 persons have died of starvation on the peninsula, and in January 1922 this figure has reached almost 10,000. During the next time the number of deaths grew very fast: 14 864 people in February, 19 869 – in March, 23 353 – in April, and 32 053 – in May. In general, according to official figures, over half a year in the Crimea, more than 160 thousand persons have died from starvation. But these data are not final. "In the cities we registered only those corps that were buried by the utility services, while the religious communities burial – Jewish,

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[10] Ішин А. В. Антибільшовицькі виступи у Криму і боротьба з ними (кінець 1920-1925 рр.): автореф. дис… канд. іст. наук: спец. 07.00.01 Історія України. Дніпропетровськ, 2002. 13 с.

[11] ДААРК. Ф. 1. Оп.1. Спр. 71. Арк. 7.

Karaite, Armenian, Greek, and others, as well as private individuals are not included in these numbers" – said the head of the Crimean Central Executive Committee (Crimean CEC) Haven[12].

The situation in cattle breeding was horrible: only 40% of sheep, 25% of cows, 21% of horses and 2% of pigs in Crimea remained in comparison with 1916. At the end of 1921, the Crimean peasants did not even have seed grain[13]. The area of sowing during the 1920-22 period was reduced by 2 times in the Crimea – from 491 249 to 186 505 acres.

This situation was due to objective reasons (dry summer of 1921), and this was also the result of the irresponsible policy of the Crimean authorities, which, through the use of class approaches in the countryside, focused on the collective farm building instead of providing the Crimean peasants with real land.

The socio-economic crisis was characteristic not only for the Crimea, but it also covered the whole Soviet Russia. Therefore, at the X All-Russian Congress of Soviets in December 1922, the resolution was adopted "On Approaching and on the strengthening and development of agriculture", which emphasizes the implementation new land policy principles that will be reflected in the Land Code.

It was adopted in December 1922 by the Land Code to organize measures on tax policy in the countryside in order to develop the most profitable from an economic point of view branches; it was declared a partial transition from natural taxes to money, the opportunities for peasants' cropping were extended, as well as the necessary measure for the development of agriculture is determined by the maximum increase in sown area[14].

The Land Code establishes the right to endless use of land, but there was prohibition for its purchase and sale, will, gift, but it allows the labor lease of land – the processing of leased land by the forces of peasant own economy. Hired labor could only be used if all able-bodied household members were involved in the processing of land alongside with hired workers.

However, the most attention in the Code focuses on the collective forms of land use, that is, the processing of land by the communes, state

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[12] ДААРК. Ф. 1. Оп.1. Спр. 81. Арк. 3-4.
[13] ДААРК. Ф. 1. Оп.1. Спр.314. Арк. 165.
[14] Хронологическое собрание законов, указов Президиума Верховного Совета и постановлений правительства РСФСР. Том. 1. М., 1949. С. 85-86.

farms and collective farms, which for the Bolsheviks remain the main participants in land relations in the countryside[15].

Thus, the first steps of Soviet power in the Crimean countryside were connected with the realization of the methods of "military communism" with its overproduction, which caused a strong resistance of the local population. To stop the struggle of the peasants, the Bolsheviks were forced to move to other forms and methods of land policy on the peninsula.

2. Agrarian policy of Soviet authorities in the Crimea in 1924-29 years

In the 1921-1925 years the main problem in the land policy in Crimea was division of land between the cities, countryside, towns, collective and state farms and various institutions.

Since 1925, power Crimea begins to distribute land in the countryside, which was aimed at determining the boundaries of each peasant household separately. This task was fulfilled by the Bolsheviks from class positions. First and foremost, land was used for poor households, which was given the best land at the state expense. Land management of other farms was carried out in the second turn and at the expense of the peasants themselves.

The launch of the Land Code in 1923 revives the situation in agriculture – the recognition of restrictions on the lease of land and the use of hired labor expands the capabilities of the Crimean peasants. But these limited measures did not allow to exceed the level of pre-war and revolutionary years. So, if in 1917 the size of the sown area is 697 095 acres, then in 1923 in other though grows in comparison with the previous years, but it reaches only 265 358 acres (2 times less than in 1917). In 1924, the Crimean crop area has increased by another 39 749 acres, but to a large extent it inferior to the pre-Soviet level[16].

The Bolsheviks did not succeed in reaching pre-revolutionary harvesting rates. If in 1916 in the Crimea collected 12.5 million pounds of wheat, then in 1924 – only 5.2 million. Accordingly, the harvest of barley has decreased from 6.7 to 2 million pounds, oats – from 3 to 0.6 million.

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[15] Земельный Кодекс РСФСР. М., 1923.
[16] РЦХИДНИ. Ф. 23. Оп. 14. Спр. 185. Арк. 14-15.

If in the years 1916-17, it was 57-60 pounds of grain per one peasant, then in 1924 – only 27.6 pounds[17].

1925 year was exceptional as the most productive one. That year it was possible to exceed the harvest of pre-revolutionary times. In the same year, the number of sown area in the Crimea is increasing to 450 thousand acres of land. This growth continues further, almost reaching in the 1926-27 pre-war levels of 650 thousand acres of land[18]. The increase in agriculture in 1925 was due to the removal of restrictions on land lease and the use of hired labor force.

However, these actions to the peasants were only a temporary and compulsory measure aimed at both increasing production in the agricultural sector and strengthening ties with the peasants who, according to Lenin, cited by Stalin in 1925, "cannot live in these conditions without commodity turnover, without the admission of a certain revival of capitalism"[19].

The new economic policy in the countryside had several important results. Firstly, due to the partial representation of market relations, the economic situation in the agrarian sector improves – crop areas and yields increase. On the other hand, the process of rapid social differentiation takes place, when on one pole we have broad stratum of the rural proletariat, and on the other – a layer of wealthy households, the so-called "soviet kurkul" on which Bolshevik power, guided by the class ideas of Marx and Lenin, exerts economic and political pressure. Such a policy did not contribute to increasing the profitability of rural masters, because they could quickly be classified as "kulaks" with all the consequences of such a process – future dispossession, deprivation of political rights and exile.

Because of such an agrarian policy during the 1920s the value of gross agricultural products in the Crimea declined from 87 rubles 90 cents in 1923 to 58 rubles 63 cents in 1928-29[20].

The problematic situation also arises with the special culture raised in the Crimea. The area of the gardens in 1916 was equal to 13 857 acres and yield up to 3.855 million tons per year, then the on maximum area of 9 600 acres in 1928 the harvest does not exceed 980,370 pounds (4 times

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[17] РЦХИДНИ.Ф. 17. Оп. 14. Спр. 13. Арк. 2.
[18] ЦГА РФ (Центральный государственный архив Российской Федерации). Ф. 2313. Оп. 13. Спр. 148. Арк. 9.
[19] Сталин И. Сочинения. Госполитиздат. М., 1947. Т. 7. С. 357.
[20] РЦХИДНИ. Ф. 17. Оп. 16. Спр. 118. Арк. 15.

less). The largest crops were harvested in 1925 and 1926, when the Soviet government was forced to make concessions and expand the conditions for renting land and using hired labor. That is why in 1925 in the Crimean gardens 1 566 000 pounds of fruit were harvested, and in 1926 – 1 980 000 pounds. But already in 1929 the harvest decreased to 767 000 pounds, which is 2.5 times less than in 1926, and 5 times less than in the pre-Soviet period[21].

In 1916, the Crimean vineyards occupied the area of 7 469 acres, on which one million pounds of grape was harvested. In 1926 there were already 8 649 acres under vineyards, but the harvest is only 960 thousand pounds. This was the maximum figure for the twenties. The next year the area of vineyard is much smaller (the area has decreased for 35% – up to 5 600 acres) and the yields has reduced almost 2 times – up to 505 thousand tons[22].

The tobacco plantations in Crimea occupied an area of 4,145 acres of land in 1916, from which it was harvested more than 207 thousand products. Only in 1925 and 1926 the Crimean peasants managed to collect more tobacco than in the pre-Soviet period – 275 and 295 thousand pounds respectively. However, since 1927, tobacco plantations have been significantly reduced (up to 3,000 acres), and the yields has been reduced twice – to 147,000 pounds in 1929[23].

So in the late twenties Crimean gardens gross output decreased by 5 times, vineyards – 2 times, tobacco – by 1.5 times.

Crimean animal husbandry suffered a powerful blow from Soviet times. In ten years (1916-1926), the number of horses decreased from 166 564 to 75 697 (that is, 2.2 times), cattle – from 163 645 to 94 179 (1.7 times), sheep from 462 021 to 288,680 (1,6 times), pigs – from 70,847 to 42,820 (1,7 times). It`s only the number of goats has been increased – 2.1 times – from 16 337 to 35 117[24].

After removing some restrictions 1927-28 it was managed to increase the number of horses to 114 thousand heads, and the number of cattle increased to 156 thousand (almost to the level of 1916). However, the

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[21] ЦГА РФ. Ф. 2313. Оп. 14. Спр. 117. Арк. 28-30; ДААРК,. Ф. Р-30. Оп. 2. Спр. 7. Арк. 84.
[22] Народное хозяйство Крыма за 1927/1928 год. Симферополь, 1929. С. 11-12.
[23] Народное хозяйство Крыма за 1927/1928 год. Симферополь., 1929. С. 11-12.
[24] Народное хозяйство Крыма за 1927/1928 год. Симферополь., 1929. С. 14.

livestock of the sheep decreased to 200 thousand heads (compared with 1926), the number of pigs and goats almost did not change[25].

Since the Bolsheviks in ten years after the "October victory" failed to exceed the level of Tsarist Russia in the agricultural sector of the Crimea, Soviet officials tried to manipulate figures actively and create fake statistics in order to demonstrate growth which does not correspond to reality. As a result, in the reports of the Party and Soviet bodies of the Crimea there were fictitious indicators ("hollow numbers") that demonstrate to Moscow the seemingly positive development of agriculture on the peninsula.

Such false statistics were reported to the Fourth Plenary Meeting of the Crimean Regional Committee. In the session of the All-Union Communist Party of the Bolsheviks (the Communist Party (b)) at the end of 1929. "All the time, they are talking about an increase in sown areas. We must say that there are exaggerating in a number of sown areas by People's Commissariat of Land Relations – the hollow figures. The reality of these figures is not taken into account at all, they do not have any economic justification. And when we raised the issue of the reality of these figures, they were given the answer: "You have given control figures and no changes will be made. The fact that you are not able to reach it, we know ourselves because they are not feasible," said the secretary of the Kerch Regional Committee of the CPSU (b)[26].

Thus, agriculture of Crimea in 1920 did not reach the level of pre-revolutionary not by sown area, nor by the gross yield of both cereals and special crops, or by livestock.

Such a development was due to a number of factors. First, in 1919, emphasizing the alliance of the working class with the middle peasantry, the Soviet government continued to rely on the poor man and farmhand who almost did not produce anything.

According to the sample surveys of farms of the Crimean poor man, most of them did not have their own crops. For example, in 1924 there were 24 thousand unscrupulous farms in the Crimea. As a result, instead of sowing 250,000 acres (as it was planned by the Crimean authorities), only 181,000 acres were sown (by one third less)[27].

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[25] Народное хозяйство Крыма за 1927/1928 год. Симферополь., 1929. С. 15.
[26] ДААРК. Ф. 1. Оп. 1. Спр. 854-а. Арк. 26-27.
[27] Красный Крым, 1924, 1 марта.

In autumn, during the sowing campaign of 1929, the Crimean authorities planned to increase the sown area by 36.8%, but managed to fulfill the plan only for 69%. This indicated that some peasants were not interested in expanding crops and raising yields. These were the very poor strata, who had many privileges from the state – for example, they were exempted from paying taxes.

"If we look for figures of the People 's Commissariat of Finance of the Crimea, then you can see the following: 24% of households, that is, the poor peasants exempted from tax. There were 19 335 farms. In some regions, the number of farms exempted from agricultural tax reaches 60-65%. In some regions of countryside the tax is not paid at all," – reported in 1927 the People's Commissar for Land Relations Memetov[28].

In the late 1920s, all the poor peasants and farmhand were exempted from paying agricultural tax. However, according to data from the sample surveys of the budgets of the Crimean peasant farms, it did not affect the level of their lives – they were fed no worse than the middle classes who worked actively on land and pay taxes. Comprehensive support of the poor peasants in the context of the Bolsheviks' use of the class approach in the Crimean countryside killed the desire of peasants to expand farms and increase yields.

Thus, the Soviet authorities actually cultivate poverty among the Crimean peasants, because only in the rural proletariat they see a real support to the regime. It was the poor man who wanted to become a bulwark of mass collectivization in the countryside, to which Moscow was actively preparing.

For the wealthy peasants the situation was even worse, since from the second half of the 1920s they bear the main burden of agricultural tax. In 1928-1929, the full amount of the tax was completely transferred to the "kulak" economy. Interestingly, during the 1924-27 years in the reports of the Crimean authorities "wealthy peasants and kulaks" were identified. But in 1928–1929 years all more or less prosperous household were identified as "kulak" which must be dispossessed.

In February 1929, the CEC and the SNK of the USSR adopted a new law on agricultural tax, which completely exempts poor households from taxation and introduces individual taxation for kulak farms.

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[28] *ЦГА РФ.* Ф. 2313. Оп. 16. Спр. 18. Арк. 123.

In complying with this law, the Crimean Regional Committee of the CPSU (b) requires local Soviet authorities to adhere strictly to the class approach when taxing peasants in the peninsula. At the end of 1929 secretary of the Crimean Regional Committee of the CPSU (b) Zhivov reported to Moscow about the plan of grain deliveries. "We take all measures to implement as quickly as possible the plan for all hundred percent. From this point we strengthen the pressure on kulaks" – he wrote[29].

Moscow responded to the Crimean Communists by telegram signed by the candidate for the Central Committee of the CPSU (b), Lazar Kaganovich, who clarified the main principles of work in the countryside to the Crimean authorities from the Central Committee of the Communist Party by November 3, 1929. Firstly, the Party and Soviet local authorities needed to focus their attention on grain supplies. Non-fulfillment of the plan in Moscow was seen as a lack of pressure on the kulaks, "which is a reflection of the rigid implementation of the party line." The central government offered to accelerate grain procurement by means of punitive measures involving the United State Political Department (USPD) – a special body of state security of the USSR[30].

Political struggle in the countryside led to the fact that economic problems fell into the background. The Bolsheviks constantly emphasized that an individual peasant economy is an anachronism and does not correspond to the tasks of the socialist construction. Therefore, the policy documents of the Central Committee are increasingly requiring more rigorous measures against the kulaks. One of the directives of the Central Committee for the Crimean Regional Committee of the CPSU (b) in 1928 demanded "to carry out an immediate removal of all the kulak land without any compensation for the embedded work, or for additional plantings, and to give it to the poor peasant, which are organized in the collective farms."[31]

In such conditions, many wealthy peasant farms, which became such after 1925, have not seen an incentive to expand crop yields and increase crop yields. Therefore, they either completely stopped working on their own farm, or they were engaged in the work without any interest in further development.

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[29] ДААРК. Ф. 1. Оп. 1. Спр. 920. Арк. 58.
[30] ДААРК. Ф. 1. Оп. 1. Спр. 920. Арк. 69.
[31] ДААРК. Ф.1. Оп. 1. Спр. 837. Арк. 220.

The Crimean peasants understood very well that the class struggle that was used in the countryside through tax policy did not create the conditions for the development of their farms and negatively affected the state of the agricultural sector of the peninsula. They were talking about it during the meeting were of the party leadership of Crimea. But these thoughts of the peasants were not taken into account, because they contradicted the Bolshevik`s ideology.

The policy of the Bolsheviks in the area of land use was uncertain: during the 1920s various directives concerning labor norms of land use were sent from Moscow. Thus, in 1921-23, land management was delayed under the pretext of seeking a compromise variant of the norm, which would have satisfied both the state and the peasants. Such a norm was determined only in 1924, when it was defined a special unit of land allocation. It was determined by three main indicators: 1) the peasant yard as a whole; 2) the number of able-bodied workers in it ; 3) the number of eaters in it[32].

However, such an approach to the distribution of land caused criticism of those who had more workers and less eaters at the farm. Such peasant households had more opportunities to expand their farms than those where there was one or two able-bodied people.

As a result of the corresponding policy of Soviet power, land tenure standards in the Crimean countryside were constantly revised, which led to new redistribution of land.

On the other hand, during the 1920s, the Soviet authorities of Crimea carried out a number of relocations. Firstly, the peasants from the mountainous and foothill areas are relocated to the steppes (first of all, it concerns the Crimean Tatars). Secondly, peasants from other regions of the country are also relocated to the Crimea – first of all, this concerns the massive migration of the Jewish population to the peninsula.

For example, as of October 1, 1927, 2,408 families (10,714 eaters) were resettled in the borders of Crimea. Another 1,617 families came to the peninsula from outside, with an absolute majority of them – Jewish families (96%)[33].

The total area occupied by the settlers is 311793 hectares, of which more than 100 thousand hectares of land belong to the Jewish families[34].

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[32] РЦХИДНИ. Ф. 17. Оп. 13. Спр. 756. Арк. 13.

[33] ДААРК. Ф. 1. Оп. 1. Спр. 644. Арк. 153.

[34] ДААРК. Ф. 1. Оп. 1. Спр. 644. Арк. 5.

The policy of the Jewish population resettlement in the context of unresolved issues of land management for the Crimean Tatars caused a negative reaction from the latter.

In addition, the provision of land to peasants was very slow, although local authorities had all the necessary legislative acts and land fund. The best land from among the former landlords' farms was not given to the peasants – it was provided for the creation of Soviet farms (state farms). Therefore, some peasants did not receive land for years and complained about it to the Party and Soviet bodies.

"At the beginning of 1921, we were announced about future work on land management, – the peasants of the Syuyurtash Land Association wrote to the Crimean Regional Committee of the CPSU (b). – Then we paid for the cost of land assignment. Despite this, the borders of the Syuyurtashs Land Association were not identified until February 1925, the issue of spare public land remains open"[35].

During the 1920s, the norms of peasant land use changed often. Only on September 7, 1925, the Crimea Central Committee approved the "Regulations on the Procedure of Labor Land Use", which established the norms of land allocation. In the field of farming, they ranged from 13 to 40 acres of land to an average family of 6 people with 3 workers. The size of the rules depended on the conditions of the soil and the distance to the markets[36].

Thus, to 1927 the average norms of land plots for peasants of Tatar nationality were increased from 11 to 21 acres of land, Bulgarians – from 15 to 23.2 acres of land, and other nationalities – from 20 to 24 acres of land. On the other hand, the amount of land for German peasants was reduced: if before the revolution they had 389,520 acres of land, then, after the Soviet land administration, only 221,063 acres remained in their use (44% decrease). This was due to the fact that half of the German peasants were large landowners. In Soviet times they left only 25 acres per household[37].

As a result of land management work the number of lands cultivated by national minorities increased considerably: if, before the revolution, they had only 775,295 acres (half of it belonged to the Germans), then after the Soviet land tenure, they have 1,767,486 acres of land. For

[35] ДААРК. Ф. 1. Оп. 1. Спр. 382. Арк. 56-58.
[36] ДААРК. Ф. 1. Оп. 1. Спр. 457. Арк. 242.
[37] ДААРК. Ф. 1. Оп. 1. Спр. 457. Арк. 243.

example, the land plots of Bulgarians increased by 34% – from 39 444 to 59 580 acres, Greeks – 6 times (from 7 436 to 44 977 acres), Armenians – 6.5 times (from 558 to 3 594 acres). The Jews first received land plots with a total area of 120 114 acres[38].

However, conducting land management work, the authorities of the Crimea were engaged primarily in creating conditions for the collectivization of peasant farms. As of May 1, 1927 , there were 423 collective farms in the Crimea, including 19 communes, 360 artilleries, 44 CPL (the company for the processing of land)[39].

Crimean Tatars and Russians were most actively involved in collective farms – their share in various forms of collective land use was equal to 54.96% and 30.02% respectively.

Permanent fluctuations of the Soviet government in relation to land policy, delaying land management processes along with the application of class approaches to supporting the poor elements of the countryside and the oppression of wealthy groups negatively affected the economic potential of the agricultural sector of the peninsula. As a result, food prices have been rising steadily.

For example, for only one month in 1924 flour prices for rye increased by 309%, for wheat – by 330%. Potatoes went up by 412%, beets – by 300%, meat – by 274%, milk – by 287%, oil – by 275%, and eggs – by 189%[40]. The similar situation was in the Crimea and later – especially in 1928-29, when the state began an open class struggle against wealthy peasants who cut their own farms.

Such a policy leads to the fact that the bread for the urban population of Crimea in the late 1920's was already procured in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR). But, since the Soviet policy of curtailing individual farms was characteristic for the whole territory of the Soviet Union, there were also crisis symptoms in the Ukrainian food market, which leads to a reduction in the supply of bread and cereals for the peninsula.

Because of the shortage of food, the Crimean leadership was forced to appeal to Moscow to include the peninsula in the Ukrainian harvesting plan along with the Ukrainian regions. The government of the USSR

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[38] ДААРК. Ф. 1. Оп. 1. Спр. 837. Арк. 83.
[39] ДААРК. Ф. 1. Оп. 1. Спр. 924. Арк. 8.
[40] Красный Крым, 1924, 20 февраля.

supported the Crimean authorities, obliging Ukrainian suppliers to send 100 food wagons to the Crimea[41].

Thus, the problem of full recovery of the productive forces of the Crimean countryside during the 1920s. was not resolved. Crimean agriculture has not only become an exponential model, as planned by the Bolsheviks, but, on the contrary, it was in a state of deep crisis.

CONCLUSIONS

The policy of Soviet power in the Crimean countryside did not meet the interests of the most economically and hard-working part of the Crimean peasantry, but it was frankly the opposite. This led to the negative attitude of the majority of Crimean peasants to measures of Soviet power in the land, food and tax sectors.

Having declared on the VIII Congress of the RCP (b) in 1919 a new course for the creation and strengthening of an alliance of the working class with middle peasants, in practice until the end of the 1920s the Bolsheviks continued to rely on the poor peasants-farmhands' strata of the countryside, which made the Soviet land policy power contradictory and inconsistent. This leads to a crisis in agriculture on the peninsula, which is most aggravated in 1928-29.

In spite of the transition to a new economic policy, the Party and Soviet leadership of the Crimea constantly returned to the methods of command and administration of relatively wealthy peasants, contributed to the strengthening of the process of class differentiation in the countryside, and preferred the political interests of the state over economic ones.

Based on the implementation of the policy in the countryside on the poor peasants-farmhand the Crimean authorities provided them with all possible political and economic support. For this reason, the poor peasants-farmhands were in a better financial position than low-income peasant farms, and was not interested in expanding crops and improving yields

By expanding the possibilities of leasing land and employing hired labor in agriculture in the mid-20's, power structures in the future sharply narrowed these economic and administrative measures. But this does not lead to positive results. The desire of the Soviet regime to subordinate

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[41] ДААРК. Ф Р-652. Оп. 1. Спр. 1534. Арк. 3.

private peasant interest to the state turned out to be unnatural, it led to decrease in sown areas and yields in the agricultural sector of the Crimea.

SUMMARY

The article analyzes the specificities of the implementation of the land policy by the Bolsheviks in the Crimea during the 1920's. It was determined that the Soviet authorities in every way delayed the process of giving the peasants land, constantly changing the rules of land use and interfering in the economic activities of the Crimean peasants. It is proved that the policy of the Bolsheviks in the Crimean countryside was based on the principles of political expediency, not taking into account the economic needs of the peasantry, resulting in comprehensive support for the poor peasants-farmhands, who did not have their own crops. As a result of such actions Crimean agriculture finds itself in a crisis situation.

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12. РЦХИДНИ. Ф. 17. Оп. 16. Спр. 118. Арк. 15.

13. ЦГА РФ. Ф. 2313. Оп. 14. Спр.117. Арк. 28-30.

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19. Красный Крым, 1924, 20 февраля.
20. ДААРК. Ф Р-652. Оп. 1. Спр. 1534. Арк.

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FUNCTIONAL DIFFERENTIATION OF EARLY MODERN EUROPEAN SOCIETY AND THE PRESENT TIME

Kosmyna V. G.

INTRODUCTION

The modern conditions and prospects of human society, first of all, in the field of interdependence and rather complex interaction of civilizations, can not be clarified without understanding of origins and meaning of differences in the system structure of the society within each civilization. Such understanding becomes possible by using the systematic theory of one of the most prominent sociologist of the late 20th century Niklas Luhmann.

Firstly, there are some remarks concerning this sociological theory itself. German scientist described its different aspects in dozens of his comprehensive works. "The Social Systems" (1984)[1] and "Society of the Society"[2] are the most well-known and generalized among them. Originality, if not unusualness of the theory, is associated with the fact that the society is considered as a system constructed on communications between people in it alone. The people themselves, as consciousness systems, or psychological systems are in the environment of the system. They make communications possible, but they are not their part, thus, they are not the part of the society as well. Communications have only meaningful relation between each other.

Every individual communicative operation consists of three elements: the addresser's message, the information contained in the message, understanding of the message (extracting personal information from the message) by the addressee. Understanding is the most essential element here since both the nature and the meaning of further communication operations depend on it, namely, continuation (or cessation) of communications as well as their inclusion in one or another consciousness system (or subsystem). In the terms of historical process and its studying

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[1] Luhmann N. Soziale Systeme. Grundriss einer allgemeinen Theorie /Niklas Luhmann. Frankfurt am Main : Suhrkamp Verlag, 1984. 674 S.

[2] Luhmann N. Die Gesellschaft der Gesellschaft / Niklas Luhmann. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1997. 1150 S.

by historians it turns out that every action or event, any historical source is nothing else but communication. The main thing is that they have to reveal themselves outside and other participants as well as contemporaries understand them and continue communication in one or another way.

It is through meaningful relation that communications are constructed in both meaningful sequences and entire social systems where they are united by joint meaningful codes. This connection can be internal (consecutive) in each subsystem or external (reactive), interacting between subsystems, when each of them reacts by own changes to the processes in its environment. All that is "left" for a historian is to observe the meaningful relations of communications by their "imprints" in sources-communications, revealing communicative meaningful codes in the systems (subsystems) and in their responses to each other and to the outside world.

Another part of Luhmann's theory, namely, the concept of systems differentiation of society, plays an essential role when studying the history of mankind and the differences in the development of various cultural and civilization regions. There are four forms of such differentiation according to it. They "accumulated" consequently during the entire human history, and today they are often united with each other in various parts of the world in a very particular way.

1. Four Forms of Systems Differentiation of Society

The first form among them has been the segmental form of a systems differentiation. It appeared at the dawn of the history of mankind, when various groups of people, although having sporadic communicative relations among themselves within the entire planet (Luhmann insisted that human society as a universal social system is possible only in the form of a world society. Here he totally disagreed with his teacher T. Parsons who wrote about "the system of modern societies"[3]), but any intense integrating communications were taking place only inside the local segmental communities – communes and tribes. Actually, they could not be broader, considering that oral communication among someone directly present was the only way of communication, and in the period prior to the "Neolithic revolution", the primary crowd and early family

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[3] Парсонс Т. Система современных обществ / пер. с англ. Л. А. Седова и А. Д. Ковалева ; под ред. М. С. Ковалевой. М. : Аспект Пресс, 1998. 270 с.

communes generally survived due to rather isolated living in large, but separate territories suitable for hunting. We know this kind of a social order well from Marxist historical scheme as a primitive early human order.

A new form of a systems differentiation has emerged when a powerful integrating "center" has grown among many separate segmental communities. Its emergence is possible primarily because there is a new means of communication, namely, written language. Thanks to it, communication goes beyond communications among someone directly present and extends over long distances in space and time. At these distances, identical (or approximately identical) meanings of communications are established, and hence – the meanings of actions, events, social orders, structures of expectations, and thoughts, mental structures of the population masses as well, since the systems of their participants' consciousness are also "connected" to communications. Such a supreme order of social life, in conjunction with its certain socio-cultural unification, indicates the emergence of nothing else but civilization.

It is known that civilization is characterized by the presence of not only written language, but also other attributes. They include, in particular, the state, cities as centers of attraction for a colorful rural district, monumental buildings (made of stone or burned brick) as material symbols of stability and historical succession, and a developed social structure (at least, the division into "those who fight, those who pray, and those who work"). These elements do not appear simultaneously, but can be formed for many and many centuries, but a new type of social organization is fixed with the emergence of written language. Due to it, reputable texts are created and distributed – first of all sacred ones, but in combination with them and with references to them – the powerful, administrative texts as well. The texts of local, functional or individual content appear later on.

The center itself, producing reputable texts, acts as an organizational and unifying core in all important functional fields of social life. Among the most important ones are the religious, political (power-administrative), economic (economic-fiscal), artistic, scientific (search of truth), etc. Such a multifunctional religious-power-property center regulates and directs the daily life activity of these segmental social communities (rural and urban),

which must be multifunctional as well. These peripheral communities maintain also their own traditions, which should be taken into account by the center, and, finally, regulate the life and behavior of individuals, bring together their interests and, as usual, act as collective counterparts in communicating with the center.

Not only one such systems-forming civilization center can be formed in the world. Luhmann himself calls civilizations as "high cultures" and counts in the history of mankind (obviously, following A. J. Toynbee) "from 20 to 30" such local societies. It goes without saying, that here he includes societies with a center-peripheral form of a systems differentiation.

To their number he includes societies with a third, stratifying form of a systems differentiation as well. The latter is the division of society into communicative relatively closed social groups – strata located at different steps of the hierarchical ladder ("rank order", according to Luhmann[4]). As usual, it complements (namely, complicates) the structure of a society with a division into a center and periphery at a higher level of its development. It may be a caste hierarchy in India, as well as a ranking bureaucratic hierarchy in China, or a class hierarchy in medieval Europe. Luhmann writes about such a complex structure, when the general center-peripheral systems differentiation is combined with segmental differentiation in the village and stratification differentiation in the city. In any case, it is all society of "high cultures", or civilization.

We define civilization as "a set of interrelated and mutually agreed spiritual, moral, political, economic and social means (media), through which society as a system of communications provides its functioning and stability in space and time"[5]. However, if we always deal with communications here, which as we have already known, are structurally similar, and their systems are functionally similar, then how can we distinguish between existing civilizations and, at the same time, describe the differences that have been their features for centuries or millennia? To that end, we can not rely on the meanings of communications, because they are always certain and narrowly directed, and we use the category "style of communications", which means a kind of deviation, orientation,

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[4] Луман Н. Дифференциация / пер. с нем. Б. Скуратова. М. : Логос, 2006. С. 101.
[5] Космина В. Г. Проблеми методології цивілізаційного аналізу історичного процесу : монографія. Запоріжжя : Запорізький національний університет, 2011. С. 127.

manner of communications, the way of organizing their external forms, inherent in one or another civilization [6].

According to externally expressed style of communications, we can distinguish and describe such modern civilizations as Indian, Chinese, Japanese, Islamic, belonging to the Eastern "branch" of civilizations, as well as Western, Latin American, and Eurasian, which are conventionally united into the Western "branch". A specific study of the historical development of each of them should take place by analyzing the evolution of meaningful relations between communications, their sequences, subsystems and systems.

It is worth reminding that the emergence of civilizations enabled the emergence of a new means of communication – the written language. However, the spread of one of other means of communication, namely, book-printing, predetermined not less "revolutionary" systemic changes, at least in one of the civilizations during the 15-16th centuries. The transition of the Western European society to the fourth form of systems differentiation is exactly associated with it, namely, the division into functional social systems of politics, law, economics, production, science, intimate relationship, art, education, health care, religion, morals, etc. that, actually, meant the beginning of the movement to the post-civilization.

It is noteworthy that the book-printing did not cause such changes in other civilizations, even in China, where, after all, it had appeared much earlier. The reasons are obviously hidden in the specific organization and specific conditions of the existence of the Western European medieval society. Although, it is generally referred to the traditional societies, it significantly differed from the latter, in particular from the Eastern ones, in a number of features.

We can start with the fact that in that civilization, along with a feudal agrarian society, which could largely resemble the traditional oriental societies; there were cities, being, in fact, civilization successions of ancient policies. The latter represented a unique structure for the ancient world. If in the civilizations of the East of that age the patrimonial state (where the principle of "power-property" is dominated) co-existed and interacted with community subordinate to it, then in the ancient Greece, these institutions, in fact, merged into one institute, namely, the state-

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[6] Космина В. Г. Проблеми методології цивілізаційного аналізу історичного процесу : монографія. Запоріжжя : Запорізький національний університет, 2011. С. 131.

community, or the polis. The polis retained all attributes of the community, including communal property (joint property) on the land and meetings of community members (heads of families). However, at the same time, it became a state where the meeting of community members-citizens gained the status of the highest authority, and the land plots were in double ownership – they belonged to the polis and the citizen who owned the household (oikos). It resulted in unprecedented political and economic sovereignty of the personality. This polis tradition was, to a greater or lesser extent, maintained (or reproduced) in many medieval cities, which were largely autonomous centers of trade and commerce, and where the key issues of their inner life and communication with the outside world were solved collectively within the framework of the universitas (urban communes, guilds, shops, brotherhoods, universities, schools, etc.). By comparison: in the East cities remained primarily the centers of the state administration, the rank of which determined the status of the city.

However, not only the presence of such cities determined the specifics of the European Middle Ages on the ashes of other, non-Western societies. Here, the integrated multifunctional religious-power-property center had never been formed, although some tendencies towards its formation on the basis of hierarchical agrarian society were observed. There were several reasons. Firstly, there was no unification between religious and temporal power. If the first one was concentrated in the hands of the head of the Catholic Church – the Pope; then various temporal rulers executed the second one in their possessions – kings, princes, electorates, etc., who often competed for the superiority of their power with the Pope and his representatives at the local level.

Secondly, there was no somebody's monopoly disposal of property for any resources, and primarily for the main one – for land. This property was also distributed between the church, the royal power, the ancient aristocracy, servants of the nobility (conditional property), and others. Thirdly, the natural climatic conditions themselves in Europe did not require any organizational intervention of the state in production processes (such as the construction of irrigation systems or the terracing of mountain slopes in the East). And fourthly, the latter did not require the collective work of commune members and consolidation of the peasant community as a universal multifunctional peripheral structure, which would bring together the interests of commune members, limit their

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individual contacts with the state and make the state unsubordinated to society, patrimonial.

It should be added that the power-administrative structure in the Medieval European society did not have a clear organization, since it was based on a rather complex and intricate system of contractual vassal-seignior relations with the mutual obligations of the seignior and the vassal.

And most importantly, the Christian faith requires a person, who has come to the path of salvation for the sake of restoring the lost (due to original sin), to be godlike in their thoughts and actions always to be likened to Jesus Christ. This, in particular, means – to realize, comprehend, evaluate and re-evaluate almost every life step, comparing it with the ideal. This is the burden of the responsible personal freedom of Christians who focus on their own actions and thoughts, and create the objective preconditions for the formation of individualistic features in their character and mentality traced in the very idea of the individual connections of a person with God.

All these circumstances resulted in the relative spiritual, social, political and economic independence of the individual, even in a feudal society (of course, in comparison with the Eastern societies), not mentioning the cities, as well as the noticeable communicative influence of the individual on the life of society. The result was a fair amount of flexibility in responding of various segments of Western society to changes in the outside world, and hence its ability to internal systems transformations.

2. Circumstances of the Western Society Transition to Functional Form of Systems Differentiation

To begin with, the material and technological preconditions for systems transformation should be outlined. First of all, we should note the above mentioned optimal climatic conditions of Western Europe (the peninsula location near the warm current of the Gulf Stream, relatively warm and short winter and "long" summer, the optimal amount of precipitation, sufficiently fertile soils), which, on the one hand, stimulated actively the development of agrarian production, and on the other hand – it made it quite effective. It was supplemented by innovations in agrarian production at the turn of the I – II B.C. (transition to three-field and multi-

field systems, wide use of organic fertilizers due to the development of livestock, the use of an iron plough, water mill, etc.), which increased fruitfulness and created some surplus of agricultural products. It was resulted in the development of trade in agricultural products in cities and the growth of cities and urban craftsmanship.

The emergence of a mechanical clock and rationalization of craft production on the basis of time (and its reducing!) required for the implementation of certain industrial operations, the introduction of specialization and co-operation of labor, the emergence of manufactories on this basis and the growth of manufacturing commodity production were of great significance. The emergence of gunpowder caused a real revolution in military affairs and military-industrial production, and the emergence of the compass was a revolution in navigation and, Great geographical discoveries, which, in particular, provided a flow of gold from America, served as the primary accumulation of capital in European countries).

The success in the production field and the economic field development began to give them the nature of independent values in human lives engaged in them directly, and in the life of the entire society, contributed to the gradual differentiation of these social systems.

The second group of preconditions was socio-political. Growth of the Western European cities (it should be reminded that they were original civilization successions of antique polis) was primarily due to the development of urban crafts (in some time – manufactory commodity production) and trade. Therefore, for their further development and even maintenance of their own existence, they required external security (primarily from the arbitrariness of local and neighboring large feudal landlords), expansion of markets for goods produced in cities, and most of all – overcoming obstacles to their transportation – various inter-feudal barriers, borders, customs, etc., which the same feudal landlords set along their possession. Only strong royal power could provide such protection and free market.

From its part, the royal power itself strived for independence and overcoming the actual dependence on the noble vassals (the same feudal lords) who made up its military and administrative power, but increasingly behaved in accordance with their own interests. It required creating its own military forces, an administrative, judicial and fiscal

system, which needed new and stable sources of funding. Fast-growing cities, urban production and trade, could be such source, but only under the condition of their further development and observance of certain limits in taxation by the state authorities, so that this development and enrichment of cities continued.

A certain compromise between royal power and cities allowed for the emergence and prolonged existence of an absolute monarchy in the European countries which was unlimited centralized state power of the king. Freedoms (or arbitrariness) of noble feudal lords was limited, inter-feudal borders were destroyed (a single national market was opened), central state institutions were strengthened. Interested in the further growth of financial revenues, the absolute monarchy itself contributed to the development of production (including manufactory) and trade, establishing the general "rules of the game", acceptable and common for the cities, and giving the cities the right to organize domestic life on the basis of self-government (for example, "Magdeburg Law").

It was leading to the fact that the whole country was the "field of activity" for various groups, the borders of the former universitas gradually erased. Striving for success in their activities governed a professional interest in a specific social field. And within its limits, certain meanings and styles of social communications were developed. Thus, the formation and functioning of absolutist political regimes, which no longer relied on the system of personal relationship among the nobility, required the development of a special art of politics, which in a difficult organized society should be carried out by the monarch and his authorized representatives. One of the consequences was the widespread public distribution of N. Machiavelli's treatise "The Prince". The foundations for the next separation of social systems of politics and law in social communications were laid.

Of course, the state acquisition of sovereignty, and first of all, independence from the church, as well as the differentiation of other functional systems would certainly have been impossible if there were no changes in the spiritual area at the same time. Therefore, the spiritual preconditions of system transformation were of great importance. The growth of the material well-being of individuals, and hence their independence, the development of cities and the growth of their influence, long history of "Crusades" and familiarity with foreign cultures (the Great

geographical discoveries and overseas conquests had the same consequences later on) contributed to the rise of value of the mortal life of Christians. In the system of medieval communications there was a change in the very position of human observation. It had been the position of the Gospel doctrine earlier. An ordinary person was considered a priori sinful and neglected, but only a special person – "a holy person" – could be depicted and respected. Now it has been the position of observation of the person themselves and their external world, including both God and the Gospel doctrine.

In European history under such conditions the cultural-historical process arose and deepened in the 15th-17th centuries, known as the Renaissance, namely, the revival of, first of all, ancient humanist traditions, respecting for and honoring a person. However, these cultural traditions were already revived on a fundamentally new, Christian ground. Artists, sculptors, poets, writers, musicians, scholars began to show extraordinary interest in a person, their mortal everyday life, their aspirations and preferences. Celebration of a real person was interpreted as the glorification of God-creator and church as the comprehension of divine craft.

The Renaissance with its values of humanism and individualism played an outstanding role in the fact that art also began to turn into a separate system of communications (a social system) with a common meaningful code such as "the beautiful".

If the Renaissance was the achievement of only rich and educated elite of society, then, new cultural values could only come to the public masses in an acceptable and understandable religious form. The decisive role here was played by the Reformation in the Christian church and the emergence of Protestantism in the form of Lutheranism and Calvinism. The first efforts at reforming the Catholic Church took place in the 15th century, but German priest Martin Luther made the most decisive step in 1517, speaking with 95 theses against the sale of indulgences. He denied the ability of the church to influence the destiny of a person (their soul) after death, and stated that a person can justify themselves before God through their belief, which is God's grace itself, and therefore the church can not be a mediator. He translated the Bible into German language so that every person could compare their actions with the Holy Scriptures. After the church tried to excommunicate Luther, German princes

protested against its actions, which led to the new movement called Protestantism. The essence of Luther's (Lutheranism) doctrine: human actions are justified, if dictated by their unselfish belief in God. It meant that a person could determine their way of life according to the belief.

Calvinism (Geneva Archbishop Jean Calvin's teachings) was the next, more radical step in the Reformation. The essence of Calvinism is in the idea of an absolute predetermination of the final destiny of a person: God has determined his decision on this person in the Last Judgment yet before their birth, and a person can not change anything, no matter what they do, and nothing can be changed by the church as well. According to logic, it would have to undermine all human life and social activity. On the contrary, the opposite things happened: the Protestant-Calvinists began to demonstrate extremely high labor and entrepreneurial activity, striving for continual success in mortal life. They completely limited their own consumption, and all incomes invested in new production. It was the activity of Protestants that laid the spiritual, and, to a large extent, the mental foundations of European capitalism. Why? A believer wants to know their final destiny more than anything else, if it has been already defined, and therefore, they seek evidences of their choice for salvation at the Last Judgment in everything that happens. They believe that the righteousness and impeccability of they life, the success in their activities, to which, apparently, the God has appointed them, serve as evidences of the choice for salvation by themselves. It stimulated entrepreneurship, the labour activity of Protestants. If the Protestant succeeded, then in their eyes, and in the eyes of people around them, they appeared to be God's chosen. In this case, success could not be a one-time thing, it should be constant and daily, and therefore, having earned any money, they invested it in a new production. This fact extremely rationalized the life and activities of the believer.

A fundamentally new situation arose, when religion as an integral part of a multifunctional center, "the bearer of truth", a universal regulator of morality, and hence communications in all fields of social life, turned, as well as morality, into one of the systems of communications (social systems).

The ways for the independent formation of out-differentiated communicative systems around their own meaningful codes were discovered. It also concerned politics, science and art, and above all,

economics. Therefore, in order for individual media of social communications began to turn into self-referential autopoietic social systems within the entire Western European society, already in the 16th century the material, technical, political, economic, and most importantly – spiritual preconditions practically formed in the Western civilization, previously controlled by religion and morality. It was only necessary that the relevant communications went beyond interactions – direct, usually oral, communication within the universitas – and linked numerous communications of a certain orientation, scattered in space and time in a unified system.

The book-printing created such conditions. It appeared in Europe after the invention of a printing machine by J. Guttenberg in the 15th century. By the end of the 15th century they reached many millions of copies. In the 16th century the volume of book printing increased by 20 times; and in the 17th and 18th century it increased by another 5-6 times[7]. At the same time, a great share of publications consisted of biblical texts that were published by Protestants. Protestantism expanded rapidly due to the book-printing. Large publications of books were published by the Catholic Church. Books on the issue of science, philosophy, politics, law, economics, etc., were published in smaller volumes in circulation of several hundreds or thousands of copies, but significant for that time; works of fiction were published even more. They formed the information field in certain areas, the meanings and standards (styles) of behavior of readers, their culture. As a result, according to W. McNeill, instead of one, more or less unified corpus of reputable texts that defined the meaning of human life, there were many book traditions: "Lawyers, doctors, theologians, mathematicians, scientists, writers and other specialists produced their own views of life, and their less and less worried about the issue of how their professional activities correspond to some general understanding of the world"[8].

3. Functional Systems: from the Early Modern Time to the Present

Therefore, starting from the 16th century in the West, the formation of the out-differentiated functional systems had already occurred. This

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[7] Шоню П. Цивилизация классической Европы / пер. с фр. и послесл. В. Бабинцева. Екатеринбург : У-Фактория, 2005. С. 320.

[8] Мак-Нил У. Цивилизация, цивилизации и мировая система. *Цивилизации : выпуск 2*. М. : Наука, 1993. С. 22.

process lasted for several centuries. Each of the systems developed, observing the development and changes in its environment, especially in other functional systems. It can be said that such social systems finally obtained their "personal look" (personal external style forms) in 19th century. Their outlines are sufficiently described in the scientific literature, mainly from the positions of external observation. Therefore, here we note their general features only.

In *politics*, as a result of revolutions or the permission for at least part of social groups to take part in the state regulation, the democratic principles of the political system have gradually established, namely: the electorate of power; separation of powers between the three branches (executive, legislative, judicial); wide (and in the 20th century – general) elective right; competition of political parties as representatives of interests of various social groups; the establishment, finally, of a civil society capable of solving social problems without the participation of the state, based on mutual relations of the individuals themselves or their associations alone.

At the same time, the *legal* system as a set of legal norms, institutes and branches of law gained its own development. In the Western civilization, it was divided into two types: Romano-Germanic, in which the main sources of law are legislative acts, and Anglo-Saxon, where along with such acts there are sources of judicial precedents. The culmination of law-making was the adoption of Constitutions that regulate the functioning of power itself.

In the *economy*, evolution revealed in the legislative approval of private property, in the development of the market and banking system, creation of share capital (the 20th century), deepening of the competitive struggle, and domination of hired labor of freelance workers. The main economic "classes" were entrepreneurs, hired workers and a large middle class. Influential social groups were also employees, including state employees, small entrepreneurs, persons of free occupations, managers, some peasants, etc.

In the *production* field, the accelerated development of industrial technologies resulted in the creation of various types of machines that replaced manual labor, and manufactories that combined specialization and co-operation of labor, and then it resulted into the establishment of a

large machine production, which technical and organizational level was constantly increasing.

There was an intensive development of *science* focused on searching the truth. It is worth reminding that the science search for truth was inherited from religion, however, through a range of stages. At each stage people saw the truth in different ways. In the culture of the Middle Ages: only God knows the truth, the church can approach it; in the culture of the Renaissance: everyone's opinion is true; in Protestantism: only something in what I believe is true; finally, in modern European science: the truth is what can be proven. At the philosophical level an important role in the differentiation of science from religion was played by Rene Descartes' teaching of two substances created by God: the "physical" in which the Creator laid laws of structure and movement, and "spiritual", which does not have a definite structure and location, and the proof of its existence is the famous "cogito ergo sum" – "I'm thinking, so I'm existing". Orientation to the study of the first substance by the second one in order to comprehend the greatness of the Creator, gave impulse to the unprecedented development of natural sciences, and later – to the sciences of society, which began to comprehend the meaning of the functional social systems themselves.

However, even earlier the *art* began to realize and display human life and society, which became more and more complicated, by their own means. Perhaps, this was reflected in the Baroque style in the most demonstrative way (in the 17th century), in its striving to embrace the inner complexity and contradictory nature of the world in a certain form of unity while at the same time aspiring to something new, to the future. Baroque was characterized by irrationalism and disharmony of world perception, fear of the outside world, refusal from anthropocentrism of the Renaissance and the development of landscape and still life, namely, genres "without a person". The comprehension of the diversity of the outside world resulted in the multiplicity of forms and genres of art and literature: versatility in architecture, symphony in music, novel in literature, etc.

The rest of the functional systems such as education, health care were formed in the same way. Influential organization systems along with interactive systems, operated practically in all of them. It meant, by the way, that the old Christian morally loaded conception with its code of distinction of "respect/disrespect", "good /evil" was not suitable for

describing the self-referential functional systems evolution directed to the unknown future.

Moreover, the clearly defined social hierarchy disappeared now, crowned with a multifunctional center, and hence the civilization structure itself. Their place was occupied by *post-civilization with a "hetero-archaic" structure of society*. However, along with this, the individual lost the former apparent social identity, giving them belonging to multifunctional segmental communities, where almost all their communications take place – communities, universitas, and so on. With the disappearance of the latter and the transition to functional social systems, they could not, in all they individuality (individuo – "inseparable"), be identified with none of the system. These systems are completely indifferent to each particular individual; individuals are left to themselves and now clearly remain outside of social systems.

Thus, with assertion of the Western society differentiation in functional systems, some new semantics was required to define a new state of society and a new status of a personality. It was supposed to lay the foundations for the structures of meaningful expectations in social communications, which in the traditional civilizations was carried out mainly by religion. However, in a secular society, this could not be done by religion anymore, but the time for the semantics of out-differentiated systems had not come yet. Therefore, a so-called "intercepting" or "transient" semantics arose (according to N. Lumann)[9] in the form of liberal ideology. It was formed on the basis of philosophical understanding of reality and it was distributed in the society as communication, in particular, through the system of education (with the support of authorities), popular literature, press, etc.

Liberal views on a person and their life in the society are based, first of all, on the ideas of personality freedom and social agreement, deprived from religious colouring. The concept of a social agreement creates the theoretical basis for the development and adoption of the constitution of the country (written equivalent of a social agreement), the formation of a law-governed state. Such interpretation of a social agreement is used even today: the state and the power must serve the interests of people themselves.

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[9] Луман Н. Самоописания / пер. с нем. А. Антоновского, Б. Скуратова, К. Тимофеевой. М. : Логос, ИТДГК «Гнозис», 2009. С. 226.

Along with liberalism, other ideologies with "intercepting semantics" appeared, strongly opposed to the differentiation of society into functional systems. It is nationalism that relied on the semantics of a segmental society, and socialism (Marxism), that focused on the semantics of a stratified ("class") society. However, by the end of the 20th century both ideologies, especially in their extreme forms, have lost their former influence.

In the 20th century, the functional social systems continued to evolve on the basis of autopoiesis (self-creation) on their own meaningful codes and self-reference (appeal to themselves). The speed and frequency of communications was increasing, which made the systems often fail to respond in time to their own changes in the world around them. In the 21th century, domination of electronic media of the communications distribution ensures their high intensity exactly on a world-wide basis, but within the framework of the same functional systems. Now they have become world-famous and decisive for mankind.

The modern stage of the evolution of the world community takes place under the sign of globalization, which is interpreted by scientists, mainly, as an increase in the interdependence of countries and regions, and is associated primarily with the completely visible process of forming a single, global economy. At the same time, great attention is paid to other aspects of globalization – political, cultural, social, informational, environmental, safety, etc.

However, its complexity is in the fact that non-Western civilizations are continuing to exist, which preserve a number of their traditional features. Now they have to interact not with other similar civilizations, but with post-civilization functional world communication systems that have their own meaningful codes and have originated from out-differentiated functional social systems of the Western civilization.

W. McNeill writes as to the latter, that even in the 17th century in Europe, the destruction of the ancient Latin-Christian tradition took place as a result of the process of human interaction, which "is gaining strength and importance as transport and communication systems are improving". Therefore, "about three and a half centuries ago, European civilization disappeared, giving the way to the global cosmopolitanism that arose at that time and exists at present." Today, "the communications system has become global and flash-like in speed. Information having a general

nature, now, as a rule, brings specialists in a particular field together, overcoming linguistic and political barriers"[10].

The orientation and speed of autopoiesis of these self-referential systems are usually correlated with the events in their environment. Their evolution takes place in the most dynamic, effective and balanced way, where they have formed simultaneously and when they worked in close interaction for several centuries, that is, in the West. Thus, the social system of economy can generate intensively all new operations (communications of sales and purchase), if the operations of the production system are updated in the same intensive degree (the production of up-to-date products in large quantities). For the success of the latter, it is required to upgrade technologies continuously, and to that end – in the chain – all new design developments are necessary as well as applied and fundamental research, training of relevant specialists, changes in information networks, in art, etc. A legal system, a democratized system of policy, a flexible fiscal system must promptly react to all these processes accordingly, and, again, by circle, a system of economics that provides appropriate financial revenues. In each of these systems and subsystems, the tone is set not by interactive systems, but by systems of organization, some of which are already global in nature, such as transnational corporations and multinational banks. Moreover, according to N. Luhmann, organizations from different systems, in contrast to the most functional systems, can interact directly with each other; the World Economic Forum in Davos is an example of it.

However, functional communication systems spread around the world at different speed. The most "successful" is the economic system. It is exactly because trade (exchange), including for long distances, has the longest history and has always been a channel of interaction between countries and civilizations, subordinating even wars between them. And in today's interconnected world, economic communications have only incredibly accelerated, resulting in the creation of an appropriate infrastructure.

However, production and production technologies spread more slowly, saying nothing of communicative systems of science, education, law, and politics. One of the main reasons is not readiness of out-

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[10] Мак-Нил У. Цивилизация, цивилизации и мировая система. *Цивилизации : выпуск 2*. М. : Наука, 1993. С. 22–23.

differentiated (or weakly differentiated) for functional systems of societies in all its range to connect to the corresponding communication systems, and thus to achieve their coherent and effective functioning. It creates imbalances in the processes of globalization, exacerbates social, economic, political, cultural, environmental problems in non-Western societies and nourishes anti-global, anti-Western, "anti-imperialist", fundamentalist movements. In some cases, international terrorism also arises on this ground.

At the same time, in a number of countries and civilizations, it was possible to combine their own civilization traditions with the logic of the world evolution of functional systems and they benefited from the advantages of globalization, although in other roles. In this sense, Ukraine has a number of preconditions in the cultural and civilization context in order to be successfully involved in the specified world systems as well. In general, globalization encounters the more or less stable civilization structures almost everywhere that continue determining the meaning and lifestyle of the public masses and, at least, can not be ignored.

CONCLUSIONS

The theory of German sociologist Niklas Luhmann interpreting the society solely as a system of communications, allows us to study the history of civilizations in the perspective of changes in the forms of system differentiation of the relevant societies. At different stage of mankind, four such forms appeared which could co-exist and they are: segmental, central/peripheral, stratification and functional.

The Western European society was functioning as a classical civilization in the Middle Ages ("the society of high culture") with division into the center and periphery and elements of stratification, although it had a range of peculiarities, in particular, split nature of multifunction religious- power center and even a certain competition between religious and temporal power. However, certain media of communications, well-known since antiquity, separated and transferred to the independent functional systems such as politics, law, economy, production, science, intimate relationship, art, education, safety, health care, religion, morality etc. with the emergence of such means of communication as book-printing and its rapid expansion in 15th century.

Finally, re-orientation of social interests and values from the past, from the tradition to the future took place on the turn of 18th-19th centuries. Nowadays, they have become global in their essence, and the Western civilization has turned out a post-civilization. Although, non-Western civilizations, in general, have still kept their identity, resulting in the tension between their universal moral-religious meaningful codes and meaningful codes of communications of functional systems, it should be noted that all developed countries have gained their success because of the very active inclusion in this systems.

SUMMARY

The article deals with the issue of meaning and historical origins of the Western modern society as well as its uniqueness. The author relies on the systematic and communicative theory of Niklas Luhmann, namely, on his theory of differentiation. The following historical forms of systems differentiation of society are considered: segmental, center/peripheral, stratifying, functional.

In the Middle Ages European society belonged to the classical civilizations, where the center/peripheral and stratification forms of systemic differentiation ruled, organizing society not in a very strict way. It is the relative amorphous nature that allowed these societies to succeed in responding to the challenges of the outside world. As a result, after the emergence of such means of communication as a book-printing, a transition to a new form of systems differentiation – division into autonomous functional systems of politics, law, economy, production, science, intimate relationships, art, education, health, religion, and morality became possible. This unique transformation has dramatically accelerated the development of the West and ensured its domination in the world up to the present time.

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7. Мак-Нил У. Цивилизация, цивилизации и мировая система. *Цивилизации : выпуск 2*. М. : Наука, 1993. С. 22, 23.

8. Луман Н. Самоописания / пер. с нем. А. Антоновского, Б. Скуратова, К. Тимофеевой. М. : Логос, ИТДГК «Гнозис», 2009. С. 226.

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PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY:
TRADITION AND CONTEMPORALY TRENDS

Kudrya I. G.

INTRODUCTION

The very fact of the coexistence of the most diverse conceptions of history, the number of which is steadily growing, suggests that each of them covers not more than any one side of the multidimensional phenomenon of the historical one. Analyzing the basic philosophical concepts and cultural-civilization models of history, it is important to bear in mind that their heuristic is rather conditional. After all, the images of history are kind of refracted in every civilization. Images of the history of different civilizations and different epochs are so different that often deny each other. The next reason is that none of these models has exhausted itself completely: changing, modifying, they continue to live. Moreover, they often coexist with each other. In this study, we will proceed from the assumption that all these concepts are to some extent heuristic, all contain some limitations and should be considered in a holistic manner – on the verge of their complementarity. Unfortunately, due to the limited scope of the monograph, we can't dwell on all the concepts of history that are important to us, and we will only touch upon those who create a cross–cutting path to understanding the phenomenon of historical as a cultural phenomenon.

Historical knowledge includes not only specific situations and processes that have taken place in the past. Historians, with their professional commitment to working with primary sources, too often forget about the existence of general problems of scientific interpretation that require study: how to explain long-term historical processes, or the emergence of similar social institutions in absolutely unrelated societies. The wider the scope of the research, the more the need for theory, which not only points to the historian's new data, but also really tries to explain one or another process or pattern. The philosophy of history, even if it does not recognize any other merits for it, brought the basic problems of

history to a scientific advancement. Indeed, without theory, one can't approach the really significant questions of history.

1. The origins of the philosophy of history

Voltaire first introduced into the scientific circle the concept of "philosophy of history". "The phrase 'philosophy of history' has come to have two narrow and widely divergent meanings: the first, that of an epistemological inquiry into the nature of historical truth; the second, speculation as to the 'meaning' or 'goal' of history or the pattern behind historical development. But there are other problems, too, problems associated with the purpose of the study of history, with historical change and causation, with determinism and free will, which, in the eighteenth century at any rate, cannot be dissociated from the first two".[1]

He, on the one hand, rejected the traditional Christian view of history as a definite god. On the other hand, it revealed the unjustified hopes that evil in history is eliminated by divine providence, and one should expect that without its purposeful efforts everything will set itself for the better. According to Voltaire, only a constant and intense worldly activity, illuminated by intelligent goals and knowledge of the means of their achievement, can lead to improvement of the situation of man on earth. Only it can reduce physical evil, protecting people from the effects of natural elements, and eliminate moral evil, a foolish and unfair social organization. Reflecting the rationalist attitude of the eighteenth century, Voltaire acted as one of the forerunners of the theory of historical progress. The undoubted merit of Voltaire is that he formulated in new terms the requirements and tasks of the study of the philosophy of history, pointing out the need to study not only and not so much church and dynastic history, but also economic, cultural and political history in the widest sense of the word. With Voltaire's understanding of history, the ideas expressed by Turgot, one of the brightest thinkers of the French Enlightenment.

Physiocrat Turgot, creator of the first theory of progress. "For Turgot, progress was the inevitable consequence of historical development and, at the same time, the creation of the human will acting with an understanding of the past"[2]. In his philosophical and historical works, he

[1] Brumfitt J. H. Voltaire Historian. New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. P. 951.
[2] Younkins E. W. Champions of a Free Society: Ideas of Capitalism's Philosophers and Economists. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2008. P. 110.

considered the history of mankind as a natural progressive movement along the ascending line. According to his scheme, the ascension of humanity by the ladder of progress, is associated with the transition from harvesting and hunting to cattle, and then – to agriculture. Since agriculture feeds significantly more people than is necessary for cultivating land, this leads to the division of labor, the emergence of cities, trade. Thus, changes in the material life of Turgot serve as a decisive factor in progress.

Rousseau imagined the historical process as a single and logical one. The principle by which Rousseau explained history is the idea of universal will, coming from the people as a whole, which could be applied not only to the history of the civilized world, but also to the history of all peoples at all times.

The initial principle of the historical theories of materialist philosophers was the idea of man as a sensuous being. Feelings are defined as the engines of history. This is the so–called naturalistic explanation of history, based on physiological needs. Developing this idea, they proposed a scheme of initial stages of history close to the Turgot scheme. According to Diderot, people consistently switched from harvesting to hunting and fishing, then to cattle breeding and, finally, to farming. At the stage of agriculture, private ownership and political organization arose.

Condorcet considered the driving force behind the progress of education and scientific knowledge. "His survey of history is marked not by political changes but by important steps in knowledge"[3]. These principles are laid down by Condorcet as the basis of the periodization of history, in which he identified nine epochs.

The first five ages cover the development of mankind from primitive times to antiquity inclusive. With the fall of Rome, the sixth era begins, covering the period of the early Middle Ages. However, in the next, the seventh epoch – from the XIV century, before the invention of printing – the human mind again finds lost energy, makes important inventions. But the special acceleration of progress brings the eighth era – from the end of XV to the middle of the XVII century. The ninth era – to the French republic. It was in this era that people came to understand true human

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[3] Shreedharan E. Manual of historical research methodology. Trivandrum: Centre for South Indian Studies, 2007. P. 319.

rights. Thus, Condorcet has deepened the teachings of his predecessors on progress and first proposed a theory of a unified linear history of mankind with successively changing stages of development, moreover, changes for the better.

An original phenomenon in the philosophy of history was the Scottish Historical School. Its representatives, A. Ferguson and W. Robertson, attached great importance to the history of the development of industry and trade. A. Ferguson sought to open a general law governing the historical development. He proceeded from the position that progress in the development of history plays a decisive role. A. Ferguson divides history into the following stages, each of which corresponds to its type of economic activity: savage (hunters and fishermen), barbarism (pastoralists), civilization (agricultural workers).

I. Kant, in his philosophy of history, put forward the idea of creating a perfect world order by organizing an alliance of peoples, in which even the smallest state would enjoy protection and security. "Political philosophers are turning to Kant for his concepts of provisionality, agency, cosmopolitan right, the public sphere, and of course for his systematic treatment of human freedom in general"[4]. I. Kant was convinced that historical development would lead to this goal, and called for the construction of such a general history, which with the help of an ethical imperative would show the regularity of the process of uniting into one whole human race.

"However idiosyncratic Kant's specific concept of a regulative principle may have been as the source of historical connectedness, the general resort to an extra-historical stability for the purpose was archetypical"[5]. Thus, the philosophy of the history of the Enlightenment was characterized by: 1) the concept of "philosophy of history", that is, the philosophical conception of historical reality; 2) critical attitude to the historical past; 3) the desire to invent the laws of history; 4) a general approach to history; 5) an emphasis on the dynamics of the historical process; 6) the discovery of a new material factor in history: the economy, labor and trade activities of people; 7) setting on a naturalistic understanding of history.

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[4] Kant's Political Theory: Interpretations and Applications by Elizabeth Ellis (ed.). University Park PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012. P. 1.

[5] Krieger L. Time's Reasons: Philosophies of History Old and New. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989. P. 50.

The modern concept of world history is closely linked to the philosophy of the history of Hegel and Marx. Both philosophers have developed majestic projects of world history. Hegel and Marx put forward the idea of freedom as the content or purpose of history, thereby abandoning the conversion to transcendental goals. Modern reconstruction of their projects proves their viability.

For Hegel consciousness develops in stages, ranging from simple consciousness to a higher form – self–consciousness. History is the embodiment of the Spirit (Geist), that is, consciousness and freedom (self-determination). "The goal of this contention is, as already indicated, the self-realization, the complete development of spirit, whose proper nature is freedom – freedom in both senses of the term, i.e. liberation from outward control – inasmuch as the law to which it submits has its own explicit sanction – and emancipation from the inward slavery of lust and passion"[6]. As a person develops, it becomes more conscious and free, and history is the development of the spirit. In the process of its development, the spirit becomes more conscious and therefore free. Historical development of societies is the only process that is determined by a single principle.

Hegel's philosophy is an attempt to construct a scheme of world history as a natural process. In the limited, closed national history, he opposes the universalism of world history. Hegel regains the status of world history, which was summed up by romanticism to the level of national spirit. "Unquestionably, however, a gap subsisted between the heterogeneity of historical events and the uniform integration of rational structure, and Hegel filled this gap with the famous, if ambiguous, notion of "the cunning of reason," … ."[7]. The spirit of each individual is only a step in the development of the world spirit. Hegel combines the principle of universal historical progress, advanced by Enlightenment, and the principle of organic development, promoted by romanticism. The national history of Hegel is inextricably linked with the general, with world history.

Thus, world history is considered by Hegel as the only, organic, natural process of progressive development of mankind. Freedom, according to Hegel, is the content of the world spirit. He regarded world

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[6] Hegel G.W.F. The Philosophy of History. Kitchener: Batoche Books, 2001. P. 10.
[7] Krieger L. Time's Reasons: Philosophies of History Old and New. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989. P. 56.

history as the necessary progress in the realization of freedom. An important feature of the Hegel philosophy of history is that the historical process has a staged nature.

The history of Hegel's project is three stages:

1. Ancient civilizations of the East (China, India and Persia), where only one person is free – a despot.

2. Antiquity, where some are free (citizens of the policy).

3. The Christian world, where all are free. In the civilizations of the Ancient East, man was not yet aware of his freedom and was completely subordinated to despotism. Only one monarch was free. "The Orientals have not attained the knowledge that Spirit – Man as such – is free; and because they do not know this, they are not free. They only know that one is free. But on this very account, the freedom of that one is only caprice; ferocity – brutal recklessness of passion, or a mildness and tameness of the desires, which is itself only an accident of Nature – mere caprice like the former. – That one is therefore only a Despot; not a free man"[8]. The rest were free mass. In antiquity, they already realized their freedom, but only few were freed. Full freedom reaches in Europe, after the Reformation. This scheme, in an accessible form, demonstrates the growth of freedom in the course of world history. According to Hegel, history develops dialectically, that is, one stage generates the opposite, and as a result of the contradictions between them there is a third stage, which combines elements of the first two stages.

Applying the dialectical method to the study of history, Hegel formulated three principles: the unity and struggle of opposites, denial of negation and the transfer of quantity to quality, thus establishing the laws of historical development. The driving force behind history is internal contradictions, not external forces.

The ultimate goal of history is the triumph of freedom, a spirit that is fully realized in the form of a liberal state. In the realization of complete freedom, Hegel saw the final stage in the history of mankind. Thus, the goal of world history is human freedom. This is not just a state, but an awareness of yourself free. A means to achieve this goal is the state, and the scale of history is worldwide.

Hegel's idea of history as the development of awareness of freedom has become a source of Neo-Hegelianism in the philosophy of history.

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[8] Hegel G.W.F. The Philosophy of History. Kitchener: Batoche Books, 2001. P. 31.

Neo-Hegelianism came from the definition of history as freedom. Among representatives of Neo-Hegelianism are B. Croce and R. Collingwood. In their approach to the problems of history, they proceeded from the principles of Hegelianism, but at the same time criticized the Hegel's philosophy of history. Following Hegel, they adopted the thesis of the dialectic of the deployment of consciousness in the life of mankind, but at the same time denied the schematization of the historical process. B. Croce consistently carried out the installation that the awareness of freedom of the individual in conjunction with the common interest, are the main drivers of the historical process. Unlike Hegel, he opposed the idea of a steady increase in the degree of freedom of mankind in history.

Periods of freedom and non-freedom alternate in the process of human development, he believed. B. Croce criticized the position of world history. Principal for his philosophy of history is the distinction between history and chronicle. In the history of B. Croce called what characterizes the reproduction of the past through the prism of the present, needs, motives and goals of the subject. He called the chronicles a dead story, which lost its direct connection with the present and turned into an academic description. The basis of the history of B. Croce was contemporary. "The truth is that chronicle and history are not distinguishable as two forms of history, mutually complementary, or as one subordinate to the other, but as two different spiritual attitudes. History is living chronicle, chronicle is dead history; history is contemporary history, chronicle is past history; history is principally an act of thought, chronicle an act of will. Every history becomes chronicle when it is no longer thought, but only recorded in abstract words, which were once upon a time concrete and expressive"[9]. The ideas of B. Croce were taken up by the presentism, which argued that every generation rewrites history for itself. The historian, as the creator of history, is seeking the meaning of the past through the prism of the present and the future, which does not foresee the writing of a chronicle. B. Croce emphasized the dialectic of history and chronicles. Hence, the regularity of the constant renaissance's of the past, the transformation of the chronicle into history. History was seen by B. Croce as universal in a particular. The historian, combining universal with an individual, creates

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[9] Croce B. Theory & history of historiography. London: G. C. Harrap, 1921. P. 19.

an individualized universal in the light of our present, our own hopes, and goals. Thus, the actual history is a modern history.

Basic principles of Hegelianism to understand the meaning of history shared by R. Collingwood. He not only followed the Hegelian tradition, but constantly sought to entrench it on the basis of English philosophy with its empiricism and reflexive method of analysis. This circumstance makes itself felt in solving the problem of the meaning of history.

The presence of history distinguishes man from all other creatures. History, and not rationality, is the basic feature of human differences from animals. R. Collingwood, like B. Croce, refused to attempt speculative design of world history schemes. R. Collingwood turned to the consciousness of the historical subject. The task of the philosophy of history is to identify the specifics of ideas of self-consciousness. The universal ability by which a historian can find the meaning of history is called historical imagination. Thanks to historical imagination, the historian can imagine the past. R. Collingwood goes through the search for a priori principles of comprehension of the meaning of history, making history a philosophical discipline. There is an a priori idea of history, inherent in a person who directs the activities of her imagination. This idea belongs to every person as an element of the structure of her consciousness, and it opens it in itself as soon as it begins to realize. R. Collingwood criticized source studies, arguing that creative imagination is a decisive factor in the work of the researcher, who must reveal the content of the past.

The influence of the Hegel's philosophy of history is most clearly manifested in the Marx philosophy of history. In Marx's story has the same logic as in Hegel, but another meaning. The Marx's philosophy of history is fully consistent with the name of historical materialism, which belongs to F. Engels. The content of each historical stage is determined by productive forces and production relations. Productive forces: tools, technology and raw materials, along with the workforce that implements their productive potential. The productive forces of interaction with industrial relations, under which Marx understood the division of labor and ownership. This structure is the basis crochet the superstructure, which includes political institutions, as well as ideology and law.

If for Hegel, the criterion for the development of history is the degree of freedom and self-awareness, then for Marx, the criterion for the

development of history is the state of productive forces. This is the main aspect of historical materialism. Like Hegel, Marx believed that history is a dialectic of the stages of development. However, unlike Hegel, for Marx, the stages of history are determined not from the point of view of the development of spirit, but through the development of production. "This level is the most openly finalistic: it derives, modified only by a 'materialist inversion', from the way Hegel and other philosophers of history organized the epochs of universal history ('oriental despotism' becomes the 'Asiatic mode of production', the 'ancient world' becomes the 'slave mode...' etc.)"[10]. Marx distinguished three historical epochs, each of which is characterized by a certain method of production more progressive than the previous one. Ancient society (Greece and Rome) was replaced by a feudal and, accordingly, capitalist (or modern bourgeois) society, which originally appeared in England in the seventeenth century, and then triumphed everywhere in Europe, especially as a result of the French Revolution.

Asia, he made a separate category, different from Europe. According to Marx, the Asian mode of production did not possess sufficient internal dynamics of historical changes, and capitalism (and hence socialism) in the East could have been created only as a result of colonialism. Marx advocated for modernization, the western way. General periodization determined the general direction of the historical process, the concrete implementation of it in different peoples associated with significant modifications, deviations from the general path. This general picture of historical development served as a scheme for understanding the individual aspects of the historical process, its division into certain periods, the clarification of the nature of certain epochs.

Marx argued that not the consciousness of people determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social existence determines their consciousness. According to Marx, the contradiction between productive forces and industrial relations is the main driving force of history. When productive forces reach such a level when their further development is restrained by property relations, there is a change in production relations. The long-term trajectory of historical changes is determined by the dialectics of productive forces and industrial relations, but the moment and the concrete form of transition from one stage of development to

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[10] Balibar E. The Philosophy of Marx. London: Verso, 2007. P. 94.

another depend on the consciousness of people, their ability to act and the conditions that they inherited. Marx admitted that the superstructure or legal, political and ideological factors (what Hegel called spiritual) factors significantly influence the course of historical development, but the leading factor is the economic factor. There is an interaction between the base and the superstructure. Productive forces, however, prevail. This is the fundamental principle of historical materialism, which makes the Marx's philosophy of history a form of materialism. For Hegel, history is a teleological process whose purpose is a liberal state. Marx criticizes this goal. Marx considered the goal of history communism. Communism was seen as a formation that is changing capitalism, as the future of mankind. The Marx's philosophy of history is not unilateral economic determinism. On the contrary, Marx's main idea was that economic development would lead to spiritual development and freedom, albeit with cruel methods of capitalism.

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The neo-Marxist K. Wittfogel developed the original concept of agro-bureaucratic, or hydraulic engineering society. He showed that the East is not a private property, but the power of the bureaucracy determines the course of history. The power of bureaucracy in agrarian societies inevitably acquired a centralized, despotic character due to its role in the organization of hydraulic engineering works. In his study of Eastern society, K. Wittfogel repudiated Marx's idea of an Asian mode of production, deepening its Weber's theory of bureaucracy. K. Wittfogel showed that the bureaucracy in hydraulic despotism is a cohesive organism that differs not only from the modern bourgeoisie, but also from the feudal nobility. Of the three types of despotism, K. Wittfogel attributes Russia to the submargin, along with the classical hydraulic society (China) and the marginal (Byzantium). In these societies there are no classes, as is typical of the West, as socio-economic categories. State power of hydraulic societies is despotic, totalitarian. There is only

one way to include hydrotechnical despotisms in the context of world history – this is an external intervention of capitalism through the form of colonialism.

Along with Hegelianism and Marxism, historicism made a significant contribution to the formation of the philosophy of history. The term historicism was first introduced by F. Schlegel in 1797. Romantics legitimized historicism in the philosophy of history, creating a history of language, law, culture, art, literature. It was in the German historical schools of philology and law, with the greatest consistency, a romantic idea of historicism was developed. In Germany, historical schools, united the most famous representatives of romanticism. In the framework of historicism arose, and then established in the philosophy of history, the direction of historical and philological analysis. Historicism as a method of cognition has established itself in the mythological school presented by Schelling, Schlegel, the brothers Grimm. Representatives of this school laid the foundations for a comparative-historical study of mythology, folklore and literature.

The German historical school of law also constructed the past on the basis of the principle of historicism. F. Savigny and K. Eichhorn made a significant impact on the philosophy of the history of the first half of the XIX century, with its clear formulations of the concept of organic communication and continuity in the development of the people and the state, the ideas of the nation as a collective individuality, the idea of the Volksgeist "national spirit" as the main creative force in history.

The romantic philosophy of history was predominantly political, and the choice as the main subject of the study of the nation contributed to the fact that the basic principles of historicism were developed primarily in relation to the history of individual countries, their rights and state institutions. The romantic philosophy of history formulated the problems of tradition and succession as factors contributing to the development of the nation. In this sense, historicism first made the nationalization of history.

The processes of forming a national identity, liberation movements in Europe mobilized a profound need for historicism. Historicism in the first place focused on the category of the Volksgeist. The concept of the Volksgeist covered a wide range of measurements from climate and religion to the law and customs. The combination of all these dimensions

and their interaction was the content of the Volksgeist. This approach opened up the opportunity to focus on clarifying the national identity of the cultures of individual peoples.

A huge role in the formation of historicism belongs to Herder, who departed from the schematic representation of the Enlightenment on historical development as a straightforward process and highlighted the idea of developing history not smoothly, but jump-free, with possible deviations and local cultures. Fundamentally new in Herder's history was an understanding of the cultural identity of peoples. In the national culture of a certain people, namely in language, art and poetry, it was expressed in a national character. "Herder is the father of organic historicism. Organic historicism grasps the second nature of naturalization as the living spirit of a people that informs all its institutions"[11]. Historicism opposed the Enlightenment progressive conception of history as a development on the ascending line from lower to higher, the theory of the cycle of history, put forward in his time by Vico. According to Vico, the story goes through the stages of childhood (the period of the gods), youth (heroic period), and maturity (human period), in which modern humanity lives.

The human period – the higher, after it the ruin will come, and humanity will again go to the primitive state. " …Vico believed that the 'course' run by ancient civilizations such as those of Greece and Rome was recapitulated in a 'recourse' played out by modern nations. History is cyclical in the sense that individuals constitutionally rework an inherited pattern of evolution on their own terms"[12]. Historicism highlighted the principle of individualization of phenomena, events and relationships, emphasizing the search for a unique, original, special, exotic in a historical phenomenon or event. Thus, historicism made it possible to understand the place of every nation in the past, the originality of the culture of each nation, and predicted the future, based on the connection of the present with the past.

The philosophy of the history of positivism has become the answer to the challenges of the industrial age. The positivist model of knowledge of history was characterized by the absolutisation of the inductive scientific procedure, the principle of multifactorial synthesis and the unity of the historical process, the theory of evolution, and the priority of mass

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[11] Roberts D., Murphy P. Dialectic of Romanticism: a Critique of Modernism. London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2004. P. 6.

[12] Hamilton P. Historicism. New York: Routledge, 1996. P. 36.

psychology. Positivism abandoned synthetic generalizations, introduced a pluralist theory of factors and empiricism in historical research at the end of the XIX century. The fundamentals of the positivist approach were laid by A. Comte and were developed in the works of H. Spencer.

H. Spencer divided history into two stages: the original, which was divided into two sub-stages: savagery and barbarism, and civilization (respectively: despotic – militaristic and industrial). "This was his dichotomy of militancy and industrialism"[13]. Positivism developed a linear-staged conception of the history of the Enlightenment, as well as the idea of a regular nature of historical development. Positivist philosophy of history emphasized the unity of the historical process, the similarity of the leading historical laws to all peoples. Under the influence of representatives of Anglo-American positivism, the meaning of history was happiness. Positivism believed that the laws of history do not differ from the laws of nature and recognized Darwinian evolutionism.

Positivist philosophy of history is replete with analogies between the biological organism and society. The biological reductionism of positivism was a powerful critique of idealism and providentialism in the philosophy of the history of the second half of the nineteenth century. For the first time, the socio-economic and biological factors of history have become the full object of research. In addition, the phenomenon of social movements has become a new subject of research. For the first time in the philosophy of history there are concepts of civilization, laws, evolution. Positivism laid the foundation for the socio-psychological comprehension of the history presented by the works of W. Wundt, G. Le Bon, G. Tarde, J. Frazer and E. Tylor. Socio-psychological approach investigated the origin and evolution of various institutes of society: family, property, religion, state, ethics and law, as well as psychology of the masses.

Thus, in the classical positivist philosophy of history, which emphasized the importance of collective research objects, the nation was recognized as the main subject of the historical process. If Romantics most often used the terms of the hero and the Volksgeist, then the positivists used the concept of popular mass. For romantics, the people's spirit was an ethnographic concept; instead, the popular mass was regarded by positivists as a sociological category.

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[13] Sanderson S. K. Evolutionism and its critics: deconstructing and reconstructing an evolutionary interpretation of human society. Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2007. P. 12.

For a scientific explanation of history, this approach applied psychological and sociological laws. At the turn of the XIX-XX centuries, recognition of sociological and psychological laws by the laws of history has become a characteristic feature of the philosophy of history.

One of the main structural elements of the positivist philosophy of history was the idea of a multifactor of social development. The multifactor approach allowed not only to deeply explore historical facts, but also to come back to the problems of the meaning of history and the search for the regularities of the historical process in a new way. Positivism distinguished two groups of factors of the historical process: external (geographical location of the people, influence of nature, geopolitical position) and internal (economic, political, cultural, psychological). The factor approach opposed the absolutisation of representatives of various idealistic and materialist trends of the philosophy of history of the principle of causality and their attempts to reduce the diversity of the historical process to the manifestation of a single operating principle: material or spiritual. The philosophy of the history of positivism represented the historical process as the interaction of equal factors. History is recognized as a complex system, which operates through the interaction of its various elements (factors). The positivists tried to prove the causal nature of the historical process.

The main elements of the positivist philosophy of history were: the belief in social progress; recognition of the historical process logical and multifactorial; development of the theory of social evolution. In this respect, the local variants of positivism practically did not differ from their European prototype. Biological reductionism deprived the philosophical thought of the ideas of divine Providence and the people's spirit. The theory of social evolution has diminished the significance of individual celebrities in history. Evolutionary theory contributed to the development of ethnology and archeology and more active study of the initial stages of development of world civilization. In particular, it stimulated the use of the historical-comparative method for studying the history of different states. Evolutionary theory relied on the generally accepted principles of the positivists of the notion of the unity of the laws of nature and society and the belief in social progress. Such a rational approach was objectively directed against religion and metaphysics. Fundamentally, from other methodological positions, the issue of the

allocation of the same stages of development in different societies was solved. In addition, the theory of social evolution contributed to the systematization of concrete facts as a cause-and-effect chain. The formulation of historical laws occurred in the investigated period, mainly not deductive, and the inductive-normative method – by generalization of a particular historical material. These attempts contributed to the further development of the philosophy of history. The foreground in the history of sociological and psychological laws is evidence of recognition of the evolutionary and multi-factor nature of the historical process.

If Romantics, not referring to the source, so as not to violate the romantic genre of the story, then in positivism, on the contrary, a detailed reference apparatus becomes one of the main indicators of possession of the specialty historian. Requirements for historical research were extended to the design of the reference and bibliographic apparatus, the content and structure of historical journals. National history as a whole changed direction and began to develop mainly in the context of narrative history. Social history has turned into sociology. The action of the masses was determined by the laws. Positivism was the dominant trend in the philosophy of history in the 1860's – the first decades of the XX century. One can't speak of the unambiguous domination of positivism, since such scientific traditions as romanticism and Hegelianism partly continued to exist. Positivism can be defined as the philosophy of history, which set itself on the service of natural science, as the philosophy of the Middle Ages was the servant of theology. The positivist philosophy of history gave a huge boost to specific historical knowledge, based on an unprecedented study of sources of accuracy and critique. Positivist historians were considered the greatest connoisseurs of historical details.

Morphology of history – the direction of the philosophy of history, formed on the basis of comparative study, focuses on clarifying the similarities and differences between cultures and civilizations, combining them into classes on essential similarities. As a result of these studies, the links between cultures and their place in history are clarified, certain cultural-historical types are distinguished by degree of similarity. An analysis of these types is the main subject of the morphology of history. The main methodological principle of the morphology of history is the civilization approach – a description of history as a cycle, from birth, flowering to the death of civilizations. Such an approach contributes to

revealing the self-worth of civilization, its place in world history. Traditionally, civilization is interpreted as a type of society that differs from savagery and barbarism by urbanization, writing, and state. Within the framework of the morphology of history, two main areas are distinguished: local civilizations and world civilization. At the root of the concept of local civilizations was N. Danilevsky. "Danilevsky rejects as nonsensical those schemas in which all human history is divided into ancient, medieval, and modern periods".[14]

According to N. Danilevsky, the totality of cultural-historical types or civilizations is the history of mankind. As in nature, living organisms, as well as cultural-historical types appear, grow, reach maturity, and then move downward. Duration of existence of a type is determined by energy. This energy is manifested in activity. Its main types are economic, social, political, artistic, aesthetic, and religious.

Subsequently, the morphology of history was filled with new content. O. Spengler isolated eight cultures: Egyptian, Indian, Babylonian, Chinese, Apollonian (Greco-Roman), magic (Byzantine-Arabic), Faustian (Western European) and Maya. At the stage of formation was the Russian-Siberian culture. The age of each culture depends on its inner life cycle and covers about a thousand years. By completing its cycle, culture dies and passes into the state of civilization.

The fundamental difference between culture and civilization is that the latter acts as a synonym for technology, while the first is a creative activity. "At the heart of Spengler's philosophy of history is the idea of culture as distinct from civilization"[15]. A. Toynbee denied the existence of a single history of mankind and recognized only certain, not interconnected closed civilizations. At first he counted twenty one civilizations, and then limited their number to thirteen, excluding minor ones that did not occur or did not receive proper development.

Each of the civilizations passes the same cycle of development – the emergence, growth, fragmentation and decomposition, as a result of which it perishes. "All civilizations, said Toynbee, passed through four stages: genesis, growth, breakdown, and disintegration.

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[14] Slaboch M. W. A road to nowhere: The idea of progress and its critics. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018. P. 64.

[15] Ibid. P. 90.

The mechanism for the emergence of civilizations from primitive societies Toynbee termed «challenge-and-response.»"[16]. Identical in its essence, there are social and other processes taking place in each of civilization, which allows formulating the laws of history, on the basis of which one can recognize and even predict its course. Thus, according to A. Toynbee, the creative force of history is the creative minority, or an elite, which, taking into account the conditions created in the society, makes appropriate decisions and forces them to persuade and authority or to use violence by another part of the population that is inert. The stimulus of history is the challenges faced by society (challenges). These can be difficult natural conditions, the development of new lands, invasion of the enemy, social oppression, and so on. Society needs to find an answer to this challenge. The development and flowering of civilization directly depends on the ability of the creative minority to serve as a kind of model for the inert majority. If the elite is not able to solve the problem of the historical development, it becomes an inferiority from the creative minority to the ruling minority, which carries out its decisions not through beliefs, but by force, in an optimal way. Such a situation leads to the weakening of the foundations of civilization, and in the future to its death. In the twentieth century, only five main civilizations – Chinese, Indian, Islamic, Russian and Western – have survived.

Philosophy of history K. Jaspers was formed largely under the influence of M. Weber. K. Jaspers distinguishes four periods of human history. The first of them is the Promethean era (prehistory). According to K. Jaspers, almost simultaneously, in the three regions of the world, new types of civilization arise entirely independently of one another. So begins the second period – the era of great historical civilizations. This is Babylonian, Egyptian and Aegean; the Indus civilization and, finally, China. The common features of all these great cultures are state and written language.

However, these cultural periods are not yet known for the spiritual revolution that he defines as the axial time – the period of the birth of philosophy, when people first began to understand the nature of space, mind, soul and the goals of human existence, which remain in the focus of philosophy to this day. Third Period The Axial Age is the time of the birth

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[16] Civilizations and World Systems: Studying World-Historical Change. Ed. by Stephen K. Sanderson. Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press, 1995. P. 16.

of a new, modern type of man; the emergence of world religions that have replaced paganism; and, finally, the philosophy of its awareness of the uniqueness of the historical mission, the eschatological perspective and transcendental values that changed mythology. Man of the axial time has mastered the transcendental values, has become face to face with history. Man is attached to the transcendental value, becomes equal force in relation to natural and historical processes, able to change them at their discretion, in accordance with their values. According to K. Jaspers, this period begins with the Zarathustra, which lived about 800 BC, and ends about 200 BC, after which the Spiritual Age begins, with the key figures of which are Jesus and Muhammad. In the specified period, says K. Jaspers, there was a fundamental turn in history. In China, during this period, all the directions of Chinese philosophy were formed. In India there are Upanishads, Buddhism begins. In Persia, Zarathustra creates a doctrine of the struggle between good and evil. Palestine has the first religious prophets. In Greece there is an ancient philosophy. Modern science, which was established in the seventeenth century, caused the uniqueness of European culture. Along with the classification of historical epochs, K. Jaspers gives the classification of peoples whose criterion is the concept of axial time: axial peoples – the Chinese, Indians, Iranians, Jews and Greeks; beyond the axial peoples, we are talking about such cultures as Egyptian and Babylonian; the rest – historical peoples and primitive. «The term "axial age" has, therefore, a threefold dimension: The synchronic dimension refers to the simultaneousness of comparable progresses in thinking situated along a geographical axis from the Mediterranean to east Asia. The diachronic dimension refers to the molding influence it has had for all later developments of each of the respective cultures.

The universalistic dimension refers to the "challenge to boundless communication", that is, the perspective of a common future for mankind, which the axial age has opened up for the first time».[17]

2. Modern philosophy of history

In the modern philosophy of history, the direction of the history of concepts has been formed, which is divided into the German school of the

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[17] Roetz H. Confucian Ethics of the Axial Age: A Reconstruction under the Aspect of the Breakthrough Toward Postconventional Thinking. P. 24-25.

history of the concepts of "Begriffsgeschichte" and the Anglo-Saxon "History of Concepts". The ideological foundations of the first direction were formulated by R. Koselleck who, together with O. Brunner and W. Conze, was one of the project leaders in the writing of "The Historical Lexicon of Socio-Political Language in Germany" [Geschichtliche Grundbergriffe, 1972-1993]. "One hypothesis regarding our dictionary of fundamental historical concepts is that, despite continual use of the same words, the political-social language has changed since the eighteenth century, inasmuch as since then a "new time" has been articulated. Coefficients of change and acceleration transform old fields of meaning and, therefore, political and social experience as well. Earlier meanings of a taxonomy that is still in use must be grasped by the historical method and translated into our language"[18]. Reconstructing the process of the emergence and change of concepts in a broad socio-cultural context, the representatives of "Begriffsgeschichte" sought to consider the process of disappearance of the old world and the emergence of modern through the prism of the history of its comprehension in the categories of certain concepts.

In the second direction, language is considered as a means of forming and expressing historical consciousness in close connection with practical actions of people, motives of actions and the results of which were recorded in verbal and written form.

According to the leading theoreticians of the Anglo-Saxon school J. Pocock and Q. Skinner, the political language should be considered both as a means of communication and as a deliberate political action. Thus, the main subject of "History of Concepts" is not so much the true meaning of individual concepts, but the method of their use in close connection with different normative-value and political instincts. In general, the history of concepts is the result of the so-called linguistic turn in the philosophy of history.

The next modern direction of the philosophy of history is the theory of historical memory. Representatives of which are J. Assmann and P. Nora. A significant influence on the idea of J. Assmann and P. Nora was made by sociologist M. Halbwachs, who was engaged in the development of the theory of collective memory and the idea of social

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[18] Koselleck R. The Practice of Conceptual History. Timing History: Spacing Concepts. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002. P. 5

conditioning of human memory. M. Halbwachs highlighted the forms through which memory is transferred. He noted that the forms of memory should be specific, that is, to have coordinates of time, place and personality. In this case, in the collective consciousness comes the moment of crystallization – freezing, memorizing the society of certain events. M. Halbwachs singled out individual and collective memory. Shapes of memories in collective memory are always examples, teachings. "Halbwach's work on the social foundations of collective memory, therefore, has provided an important theoretical groundwork for the study of the politics of memory in which contemporary historians are currently engaged".[19]

They express the general position of the group, norms of conduct and world perceptions, which are legalized through references to the past. M. Halbwachs highlighted the problem of the correlation of collective memory and history. History, acts directly opposite to collective memory. If for collective memory it is typical to notice only similarity and continuity, then history perceives exclusively the differences and discontinuities of continuity. As a result, M. Halbwachs opposed history and collective memory. Where the past is not even more remembered, that is, not experienced, lost links with persons and places of the past, history begins. According to him, the past does not grow naturally, it is a product of the group's cultural creativity. "It was the great achievement of the French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs to show that our memory depends, like consciousness in general, on socialization and communication, and that memory can be analyzed as a function of our social life (Les cadres sociaux; La memoire collective). Memory enables us to live in groups and communities, and living in groups and communities enables us to build a memory".[20]

Continuing M. Halbwachs research, J. Assmann studied the ways of manifestation of cultural and collective memory and ways of their identification. J. Assmann compared cultural and collective memory, introduced the basic parameters of similarities and differences. Collective memory embraces memories that are associated with the recent past and are stored in the memory of the generation, has a rather weak design and

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[19] Hutton P. H. History as an Art of Memory. Hanover, N.H.: UPNE, 1993. P. 7.
[20] Assmann J. Communicative and Cultural Memory // Cultural Memory Studies. An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook, Berlin, New York 2008, p. 109.

may include many variants of interpretation of events, since there are many collective memory carriers.

A. Assmann argues that during the XX century, the temporal model declined more and more.

A new model of history is being formed. "Many explanations have been offered for the new predominance and enduring fascination of the memory paradigm. They include the decline of modernization theory …; the end of a philosophy of the subject, …; the end of one-track disciplines in the humanities … Against this background, the subject of memory emerges both as a new field of interdisciplinary approaches …"[21]. It is the problems of today, as well as the circumstances of the immediate past and the immediate future, determine the topics of modern philosophy of history.

First of all, it is the history of the body, the study of the language and body metaphors, the study of how a person relates to his body throughout history, the concept of a political body or an analysis of the policy of power, which is to the individual body, civilization and body. Food was also the object of studying the philosophy of history, and a special direction of research, food studies, united philosophers, historians, ethnographers, anthropologists and sociologists. The phenomenon of food is considered through the categories of food culture, food code of civilization, gastronomic culture.

A powerful impetus to the emergence of an ecological trend in the philosophy of history was the increasingly important role of environmental movements in the modern world. The main themes of the ecological philosophy of history are the Neolithic revolution, imperialism and colonialism, changes in agriculture, the effects of technological revolution and urbanization. The global theme is the historic human impact on climate change. The history of colonization and migration has a significant ecological dimension. Recently, the culturological approach in ecological history becomes more and more relevant. His main feature – the concentration of attention is not on the environment, but on the person in a changing natural environment.

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[21] Assmann J. Communicative and Cultural Memory // Cultural Memory Studies. An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook, Berlin, New York 2008, p. 109.

CONCLUSIONS

Thus, summing up, we can note the relevance of the problems of the philosophy of history, which is expressed in the novelty of problem-setting and the development of new methods and approaches to the historical process. Speaking theoretical understanding of world history, the philosophy of history answers the question of the objective laws of history and the meaning of history. Philosophy of history serves rational-logical science, which uses the conceptual-categorical apparatus of philosophy in the study of history. The philosophy of history in its broad sense is a theoretical and methodological reflection of world history. All this testifies to the heuristic significance of the philosophy of history, because only it is able to give a holistic view of the purpose, content and orientation of the historical process. The present is determined by the intersection of two global trends: the ecological crisis and the loss of authoritative sources of transcendence – ideals, principles and ethics that were once formulated religions and ideologies. Ecology and transcendence will be the main goal of comprehension the philosophy of history of our time.

SUMMARY

This essay offers an original approach to understanding the philosophy of history and its role in modern historical science. Today, in an age of globalization and fleeting historical changes, the philosophy of history becomes a necessary part of philosophical, historical and cultural studies. The working of ontological, axiological and especially epistemological aspects of the philosophy of history is necessary for solving the actual problems of the theory and methodology of history. The purpose of the essay is to discuss traditional methodological approaches and modern trends in the philosophy of history. Practicality and the leading role of the philosophy of history in historical knowledge come from historical, philosophical and interdisciplinary positions. Completed in an essay, the conceptualization of the basic ideas and approaches of the philosophy of history has a heuristic significance. The essay discusses the most significant theoretical and methodological stages of the development of the philosophy of history: the progressive philosophy of history, the philosophy of the history of Hegel and Marx, historicism, the positivist philosophy of history, the morphology of history, the theory of axial time,

the history of concepts, the theory of historical memory, the history of the body and the ecological philosophy of history.

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STATE POWER AND LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN KIEVAN RUS

Malchyn Yu. M.

INTRODUCTION

Kievan Rus marked the beginning of the statehood in Eastern Slavs. This is the inception of own history of Ukraine in relation to both its statehood origins and self-government on the own land. This is the source from where we take positive and negative experiences of state-creation as well as local self-government organization in Ukraine.

The issue of both state power and local self-government will always be vital for scientific analysis because the state power has been and is the main means of the state policy as well as main instrument of state and personal interest implementation at all times. And local self-government, which appeared long before the statehood, is a regulator of internal group relations, which is inherent in the society, aimed at realizing their interests due to unification of public endeavors.

Human experience from ancient times to present proves that it is through the local self-government that the idea of power realization by people directly can be fully implemented into life, as well as the problem of interaction of the state, community and personality can be solved.

Kievan Rus gives us good lessons of prosperity and decline of the state. The examples are the roles of great princes in the state prosperity and separatist actions of appanage princes, local boyars and merchants in the weakening of the state, having led to its decline. The value of princes' personal qualities, their authority and the example for authority of power and state in the world community should be mentioned. The importance of regulating taxes and fees, making them feasible and acceptable to people, clearly determination of the tribute amount for the state and principality needs should be mentioned as well. The good example is how free assemblies of citizens (veche) are gradually coming under the influence of wealthy city dwellers and, in fact, serve their interests. And the boyars and merchants involved in the prince's administration, lobbying their interests, have strengthened separatist attitudes in the appanage principalities.

Braichevsky M. Yu., Hrushevsky M. S., Doroshenko D., Poyuchevsky V.O., Krypiakevych I. P., Polonska-Vasilenko N., Solovyov C. M., Tolochko P. P., at al. devoted their works to the study of the state power and local self-government issue in Kievan Rus.

Their deep scientific studies comprehensively cover the historical period of the Kiev state, its prosperity and disintegration.

State Power in Kievan Rus

M. Hrushevsky dates the beginning of the state life in Ukraine back to the 12th century. He connects it with the trade development. Commercial caravans required armed protection from attackers on the land route as well as on the Dnipro. Only a certain organization could give such protection. So, the military leaders-princes together with their druzhina (a fellowship) appeared in the trade cities. This way, in his opinion, the state life begins to develop along with the trade development.[1]

From the middle of the 9th century, Kievan state gained fame for its campaign against Byzantium. It was a military campaign to Tsargrad. The "Tale of Bygone Years" describes how Askold and Dir destroyed the outskirts of the city in 866.[2]

In foreign sources, fragmentary information about the state of Kievan Rus can be seen. In the middle of the 9th century, the Emperor of Byzantium, Konstantin Porphyrogenitus, recalled the treaty between Vasily I and Rus in 873-874 during the reign of Askold. At the same time, the first Raffelstetten customs regulations were created during the reign of Ludwig the German (876), which set the duty on goods transported from Rus to Bavaria.[3]

These and other facts prove the existence of a powerful state organization from the middle of the 9th century, namely, Kievan Rus, that subordinates neighbors, fights with Byzantium, concludes peace treaties with it as well as with other states. Based on the above mentioned, Russian historian V. Klyuchevsky reasonably concludes that "the Russian state was founded based on the activities of Askold and Oleg, and the unification of Slavs in the ancient state took place in Kiev, but not in Novgorod".[4]

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[1] М. Грушевський. Історія України-Руси. – К. Наукова думка,. 1992. – Т. I. – С. 388-398.
[2] Повесть временных лет. – М – Л. – 1950. – С. 19.
[3] Полонська-Василенко Н. – К. Либыдь, 1992. – Т. 1. – С. 93.
[4] В. О. Ключевський. Курс русской истории. – М. – 1923. – Т. I. – С. 175.

In 907, Oleg went to Tsargrad with a large army, burned its outskirts and made it sign very favorable treaties in 907-911. The treaties provided Oleg's druzhina and merchants with broad rights. In particular, they had to receive a detention for 6 months from the Greeks in Tsargorod. The Greeks had to provide them with sails and all the necessary equipment for boats as well as food for "their journey back home".

In the treaties with Russia the right to duty free trade was recognized. Byzantium paid Russia great contribution. The treaties resolved the issue of the possible capture of ships of one of the parties, the murder of a foreign citizen, the escape of a slave, and so on. It should be noted that the treaties of the Byzantine Empire with other states were made in two copies with the same content both in Greek language and the language of other contracting party. Both parties made an oath concerning observance of the treaty: the Greeks under the Christian law, while the Russians swore in the name of Perun and Veles, and laid swords. In the treaties of 907-911, Kievan Rus serves as a state that is not inferior to Byzantine culture, has a political organization and well-established law. This is the first document in which Eastern Slavs come to the historic stage as equal to the Greeks.

In the structure of state institutions of Kievan Rus, the Grand Prince of Kiev played the main role. Only a family member of Volodymyr the Great could be a prince that contributed to the idea of unity of Russian land. However, the lack of stable forms of succession caused a constant struggle for Kievan throne. In that struggle someone who was stronger or who was supported by veche often won, but not anyone who had more rights.

The competence and power of the prince were unlimited and depended on his authority and the real power which he relied on. In fact, he was a military leader. He initiated military campaigns and their organization. The prince's competence also included: administrative management, tax policy, legal proceedings, international relations, etc. The Grand Prince of Kiev had an influence on church matters as well.

Prince's druzhina (a fellowship) was the main military force of the prince. It was connected directly with the prince. He kept druzhina, provided with weapons, horses, clothes. The senior members of druzhina received land plots as remuneration from the prince, and the junior members of druzhina received a share of the war booty. The druzhina was engaged in collecting tribute, performing police functions, was also an

advisory body under the prince. Therefore, the prince, as a rule, agreed with his druzhina the most essential issues of the state life, and the ways of their solving.

An integral participant of the prince's management was the boyars' council. A moral obligation of the prince was to take some advice from senior members of druzhina, and from boyars later on. They could refuse to obey if the prince decided to do something without consulting them. However, in spite of the moral obligation of meetings with the boyars' council, their actual existence, they did not become a state institution in Kievan Rus with a certain composition, competence, functions, but they gathered from time to time at the request of the prince.

The prince appointed all the officials personally and they reported for their actions or inaction to him only. The first place among the government was held by the chancellor-stamp man, who not only affixed a stamp on prince's orders, but also performed complex diplomatic orders, and also executed military functions.

The main official of the prince was tysyatsky (a thousandman), who had been elected by veche before the prince reign, and then turned into a prince official. He was responsible for solving economic, financial, business issues, as well as governed the city military troops.

Judgment in Kievan Rus was carried out on the basis of city "truths", legal codes existed in an oral form. Such law was called the customary law.

The first written code in Russia was the "Yaroslav's Truth", which was based on verbal "truths" of Oleg, Igor, Olga, Volodymyr. Judicial functions were performed by teunos and posadniks. Lower court officials called vyrnyky, metalnyky, mechnyky, and otroky.

A significant role in the management of the state was played by single princes controlling the territories of appanage principalities, protecting them from the encroachment of neighbors and nomads, collecting tribute and sending it to Kyiv. The appanage princes had their druzhina and, as a rule, participated in the military campaigns of the Grand Prince of Kiev as the leaders of druzhina.

It is worth keeping in mind that the prince was invited to reign by the city "veche". "Veche" could dismiss the prince. The Kievan prince asked (offered) veche's consent for the reign of his sons, agreed the above mentioned issues with the "best people", and came to an agreement with them.

A constant prince's concern was to expand the boundaries of the state and strengthen it. Oleg tamed Polans, Severians, Drevlyans, Radimichs, and forced them to pay tribute, and he was fighting with Ulichs and Tivertsi. Igor continued Oleg's activity, taming the tribes of Tivertsi and Ulichs, and attached a large territory between the Dniester and the Danube to the Kiev state.[5] Princess Olga laid the foundations of new towns and villages. She introduced the procedure for collecting tribute concerning the time and place of collection and its quantity. She established that 2/3 of the tribute is sent to Kyiv for national needs, and 1/3 to Vyshgorod for the needs of the prince's court.

Olga's successor, her son Sviatoslav, began his reigning by campaigns on the Oka and the Volga, where he defeated Vyatichs, Kama Bulgarians in 964 and in 965 destroyed the Khazar Kaganate. Sviatoslav first carried out the division of the state into separate principalities, having appointed Yaropolk in Kiev, Oleg in Ovruch, and Volodymyr in Novgorod. It is the appointment of Volodymyr in Novgorod that united him with Kiev and thus united the Northern and Southern Rus.[6]

The reign of Volodymyr the Great brought the prosperity to Kievan Rus. Its territory was extended to Transcarpathia and Krakow. Volodymyr defeated Pechenegs, replaced the Varangian druzhina with the Rusychi, and distributed the land between twelve sons, keeping Kiev for himself. The tribal names disappeared; the names of Kievites, Smolyani, Pereyaslavtsi, and Chernigivtsy appeared.[7]

Volodymyr comes to the understanding that besides power there should be an additional, unifying the state, power. And he sees such force in religion. At first Volodymyr preferred the pagan religion. In an effort to unite the numerous tribes of Kievan Rus, he put the statues of their gods in the Pantheon and demanded the official recognition of these gods, bringing them a sacrifice. However, the tribes continued to pray to their gods: respect, appreciation and fear of these gods they placed higher than relations with the Grand Prince of Kiev.

Volodymyr understood that pagan religion can not unite his state, playing the role which had been played by Christianity for the establishment of neighboring European states. At that time, Bulgaria (864), Czech Republic (928-935), Poland (962-992) were baptized. It was

[5] Б. Д. Греков. Киевская Русь. – М. – 1953. – С. 456.
[6] М. Грушевський. Історія України-Руси. К. Наукова думка, 1992. – Т. I. – С. 459.
[7] Д. С. Лихачев «Повесть временных лет». – М., 1950. – Т. II. – С. 328.

clear for Volodymyr that his state only accepting Christianity could enter as an equal member to the circle of European states.[8]

Such circumstances appeared in 987 when the Byzantine commander Bardas Phokas opposed Emperors Basil II and Constantine. They asked Volodymyr for assistance. Volodymyr agreed to support them, but on condition of his marriage to their sister Anna. They, in turn, set preconditions for the wedding, namely, Volodymyr's christening. He sent 6,000-army to the emperors to help, which defeated Bardas Phokas' army. However, the emperors changed their mind in relation to their promise. Then, after a long siege, Volodymyr captured a Byzantine colony in Crimea – Chersonese, threatened them to go to war against Byzantium. This fact forced the emperors to fulfill the condition of their agreement. After Volodymyr's christening, he was married in church with Anna, the sister of the emperors, at the end of 987. In the summer of 988, Rus was baptized.[9]

Baptizing of Rus strengthened the princely power through the receipt of the title of Caesar (tsar). The princely power became power from God. Christianity brought the "law of God" to Rus as well as Byzantine education and culture. Volodymyr as a Christian and a ruler of the Christian state became in line with the most prominent rulers of Europe. He married his children with members of the families of European monarchs and thus strengthened the international authority of Kievan Rus.

During his rule, Yaroslav the Wise continued the activities of Volodymyr the Great. After completing the struggle with Svyatopolk, he started returning the western lands of Kievan Rus. In 1022, he returned Berestia back; in 1031 he went to Poland and took the city of Cherven. M. Hrushevsky believes that Yaroslav returned all the lands of the Polish-Ukrainian border. Yaroslav extends the boundaries of the state towards the Finnish lands.

In 1130, he went to war to Chud and consolidated his power over the Lake Peipus, and he builds the city of Yuriev over the Western Dvina (now referred as Tartu).

In 1036 Yaroslav totally defeated Pechenegs, after which they left the Black Sea steppes and traveled over the Danube.[10]

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[8] Е. Вінтер. Візантія та Рим у боротьбі за Україну. – Прага, 1944. – С. 13-14.

[9] Назарко У. О. Святий Володимир Великий. Володар і хреститель Русі-України. – Рим. 1954, с. 83.

[10] Повесть временныъ лет под ред. В. П. Андриановой –Перет. Статьи Д. Лихачева. – М-Л. 1995, Т. 1. – С. 99-100; М. Грушевський. Історія України-Руси. – К, наукова думка. – 1992, Т. 1. – С. 22.

Following Volodymyr, Yaroslav arranges diplomatic relations with the rulers of the Western European states primarily through the marriages of his sons and daughters with members of their families. During Yaroslav reign a widespread development of various crafts, grain production, and trade was taking place. The church matter was finally formed. In 1051, following the order of the prince, bishops gathered in Kiev and elected "Ilarion Rusin" as Metropolitan, a priest of the Church of the Savior on Berestov church – a highly educated erudite and a brilliant speaker. His "Word of Law and Grace" proclaimed in the Church of the Tithe, is an outstanding work, which had nothing equal in the Greek Church of that time.[11] The reign of Yaroslav is characterized by an exceptional rising of art.

Volodymyr Monomakh made the last attempt to unite the land of Kievan Rus around Kiev. During his reign from 1113 to 1125 ¾ of the territory, Pereyaslav, Smolensk, Turovo-Pinsk was under the authority of Volodymyr.

Volodymyr ruled the state together with his sons, who had not yet been released from the witness. But he held other princes in witness too. He gave new articles of "Russian Truth", arranged the loan matters and set the amount of legitimate interest.[12] Volodymyr Monomakh's authority was so high that he passed the throne to his eldest son Mstislav without any obstacles.

Mstislav I, following the reign of his father in 1130, captured the principality of Polotsk. There were only ¼ of lands of the entire territory of Kievan Rus beyond his power. Since his death in 1132, the period of Ukrainian history ended, when the struggle for concentration of lands around Kyiv was still taking place with separatism, the tendency to separate the lands from the state of Kievan Rus. However, the principle of separatism beat the desire to create a powerful centralized state in a short time.

What was Kievan rus like as a state at that time?

Even in accordance with modern requirements, it had all the signs of a sovereign state at that time. Kievan Rus had a territory within clearly defined boundaries, namely, from the Carpathians and Volyn in the West to the Don and the Volga in the East.

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[11] Н. Полонська-Василенко. Історія України. – К., Либідь, 1992. – Т. I. – С. 130.
[12] М. Грушевський. Історія України-Руси. – К., Наукова думка, 1992, Т. II. – С. 180-181.

From Ladoga, Yuriev (Tartu), the Lake Peipus in the North to the Ros River in the South.

Kievan Rus was not a union of tribes, but a territory with an administrative division into separate principalities with their capitals. And people were not called Polans, Severians, Ulychs, but Kyivites, Novgorodians, Pereyaslavtsi, and Chernigivtsy. They were identifying themselves as Russian people more and more.

The Great Prince of Kiev and appanage princes had druzhinas for the protections of boundaries from the outside enemy.

There was an own tax system – the collection of tribute such as furs, honey and wax, which were sold on the Eastern markets. For the money earned, the prince kept his druzhina satisfying other state needs.

There was an own court system, where the trial was carried out in accordance with the "Yaroslav's Truth".

Kievan Rus had its own money. These were silver hryvnas and gold coins depicting a prince and a trident state emblem.

The public power existed in Kievan Rus. The state was headed by the Grand Prince of Kiev, appanage princes in certain lands, there were "veche" in the cities and "verv" in villages.

In spite of constant wars with steppe nomads, civilization and culture developed, cities and villages grew, crop areas were expanded, through nomadic life of the steppe horde the trade continued to reach the sea, and the development of culture was in progress.

The impulse for the disintegration of Kievan state was its division between the sons and numerous relatives of Volodymyr Monomakh and the lack of clear laws on the throne succession: whether from father to son, or from brother to brother.

In 1130s, Novgorod was separated from Kyiv. Even earlier the Polovtsian principality had been separated. In 1150s a separate Turov-Pinsk principality was formed. Then Volyn and Galicia were separated. Then the Pereyaslav, Smolensk, Chergihiv and Nadvolga principals were separated. By the end of the 12th century, only Kyiv region and its suburbs remained from the great state of Volodymyr the Great and Yaroslav the Wise. The title of the Grand Prince continued to exist, but it gradually turned into something nominal. The Grand Prince had neither power nor real strength.

The tributes obtained from various principalities were stopped. The Grand Prince could not gather enough army that needed to protect the borders, as it depended on those princes, who influenced the state disintegration. The desire of more and more landss to create their own states with their own dynasties had intensified. This trend was consolidated by the Lubetsky congress of princes in 1097. That resulted in the fact that the Grand principalities were divided into numerous small, poor principalities, which were incapable of state life in full measure.

All the above mentioned led to the decline of the Grand prince's authority as well as to the weakening of Kievan state.

Local government in Kievan Rus appeared long before the Old Russian state. The available historical sources bring to us the first reliable recollections about the people's rule in the Eastern Slavs. These reports of people's assemblies in the Eastern Slavic tribes are dated from the middle to second half of the 6th century A.D.. Byzantine historians Prokopius of Caesarean Mauritius Meander stated that the Slavs lived under the conditions of the tribal regime, and all their matters, good or bad ones, they solved together. Prokopius, for example, wrote that the Slavs and Antas were not ruled by anyone alone, but they were governed by people's assemblies for along time. However, in times of general danger, they chose the king ("reks"), whose authority was recognized by the entire public.[13]

This Byzantine historian left a description of public assemblies for us, which addressed the most important issues of their existence in the Antes such as the unification of all forces for war, relations with neighbors, election of leaders, etc.

And only at the end of the 9th century, within the East Slavic settlement, the oldest socio-political organization appeared which we can study in more detail using a variety of written sources. The first written mention of local self-government bodies in Kievan Rus dates from 983. Namely, in the "Tale of Bygone Years", a description of such people's assembly is given. In this invaluable source it is noted that the decision was made by voting, by drawing lots.

Along with the head of the principality government is a "veche" gathering of the capital city. Regional self-government existed in the form of veche assemblies. The Veche[14] is an "assembly" of all citizens. Veche

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[13] Полянська-Василенко М. Історія України: У 2 т. Т. I. До середини XVII століття. – К.: Либідь, 1992. – С. 68.

[14] Слово «віче» народилося у праслов'янські часи і означає «рада».

decisions have full legal force, but they must be adopted unanimously. In the absence of unanimity, the veche ends with no result, and sometimes with a common quarrel or even a fight.

Between these two bodies, the "prince-veche" there was not any restriction: everything that the prince could do, the veche could do as well. The veche, inviting the prince, concluded, as the chronicle writes, a "ryad" (literally "a row") with him, that is, a formal agreement.

During the times of Kievan Rus in the 10-13th century, various forms of local self-government found their manifestation in veche. For the veche organization of administration, the more or less clear division of powers between the prince and free people of the region was typical. It is significant that people did not imagine a state and socio-political life without the prince. "It's hard for the Kievans, they had no prince at all", wrote the Kyiv chronicler in 1155. Even more vivid events took place in Galicia: the nobility did not imagine life without a prince even there and in difficult conditions of struggle with Danil Galich invited, at first, Igorevichi, then the Hungarian king.

Veches invited or dismissed the prince; they were in charge of war and peace, took part in the formation of administrative and judicial bodies, etc. In Kiev, the chronicle under year 1024 gave the first hint about the veche: Mstislav gained a victory over Yaroslav, but he did not take the throne of Kiev because the Kievans did not want him. In the year of 1068 Kievans – against all rights – elected prince Vseslav of Polotsk, from another dynasty. In 1113 – again contrary to the right of the throne succession – they invited Vladimir Monomakh. And in 1151, the Kievans did not want to have Prince Vyacheslav, but recognized his brother Izyaslav: "We do not want him, you are our prince".

Princes, mostly, recognized the veche's right to elect, approve or, conversely, dismiss. Izyaslav II behavior is very demonstrative: in the fight against Yuriy Dolgoruky for Kyiv, he appealed to Kievans several times for support and did not blame them for refusal to fight with "Monomakhovich", that is, Yuriy. Even when, having been in the struggle, the Kievans asked him voluntarily give way to Kiev to Yuriy in 1149, so Izyaslav left it obediently.

The princes recognized the will of the veche as a certain imperative of "given": Izyaslav Davidovich explained to Yuri Volodymyrovych that "he did not go to Kiev himself, but the Kievans put him on the throne".

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The prince elected by people had "to make an agreement" with them, to conclude a "riad". When Prince Rostislav, who was elected in 1154, went to the campaign, not concluding the "riad", then boyars reminded him that it was better "to receive an approval from people", and they were right, because he lost his throne.

We do not know exactly the content of these "riad". We must suppose that it was an agreement not to give the tiuns a right to administer justice themselves, to go deep into all matters. At least the "riad" with Igor looked that way in 1146. Volodymyr Monomakh gave in his "Preachment" the theory of duties of the prince in relation to people. He taught his sons to go deep in all the details of administration themselves.

The Veche in Ukraine did not acquire such definite forms as it was in Novgorod or Pskov. It had neither clearly defined competence nor the order of convocation. Sometimes the prince convened the veche. In 1147 Izyaslav convened the veche to announce about his agreement with Metropolitan. Danylo Galytsky, during the struggle for Galich, convened the veche in Galich and asked if he could have support from Galich citizens. Many examples like this can be given. Even more cases are known when the veche assembles without the will of the prince, spontaneously. So, it was the same in 1068 in Kiev, and in 1097 in Volodymyr. In the latter case, the "Volodymyrske" veche forced David to extradite the boyars to Rostislavichi who were involved in the blindness of Prince Vasilko.

And yet, it should be emphasized that the veche remained an accidental phenomenon, it did not obtain the nature of a state institution, Kyivan veche did not reach the level of development inherent in Novgorod veche.[15]

It is a well-known fact that the veche democracy was the most developed in the North of Kievan Rus, in Novgorod. Here we can find the sprouts of people's self-organization bodies. We should note that Novgorod had a developed system of local self-government. The city was divided into five parts such as administrative districts. Each of them had its own territorial "end" (kontsy) veche. Everyday matters were solved at these meetings, as well as tactics of behavior were developed at the general city veche. Officials and administrative bodies were elected there – the end elder and the end council. It should be noted that end

[15] С. Томасівський. Історія України. Старинні віки і середні віки. – Мюнхен, 1948. – С. 84.

system overlapped on a more ancient hundredth (sotnia) system. Novgorod was also divided into ten hundreds, and hundreds was further divided into "streets". Elected hundreds and street elders were at the head of them. According to archaeologists, elections at this level were carrying out not by shouting, but by submitting special "ballots" called the Birch bark letters.[16]

We should note that despite the significant, sometimes overwhelming role of the boyar aristocracy, Novgorodians had the opportunity to strictly control the actions of the elected officials. At the request of one of "ends" the veche could make a decision on the displacement of any official and, if necessary, their punishment. Many times the princes were dismissed, including Alexander (Nevsky), posadniks were dismissed for excessive extortions and, even, the archbishop for bribing during the election.[17] Such actions were not possible without activity of "end" and street elders, who represented ordinary people of Novgorod.

Many facts prove that the veche made decisions on the issue of the prince's military troops, namely, the warriors. So, veche decided to give warriors or not. During the struggle of Izyaslav II with Yuri, the Kyivites stated, for example, that, despite the love to Izyaslav, they would not go against "Monomakhovych-Yuri", but they would go even with their children against Olgovichi.

The economic basis of city self-government was city corporate property, including land. The city community itself established rules of economic management, city taxes, payments and other duties.

Tysiatskii (a thousandman) was at the head of a large urban community, who also governed the people's military troops. The community council managed the daily life of Kyiv. It included tysiatskii (a thousand), sotskii (a hundred), and representatives of the wealthy elite. The activities of the city council are repeatedly mentioned in the chronicles. The meeting of the inhabitants of the main city was the only one in the local principality. It equally concerned the capital city of Kiev as well.

Cities in Kievan Rus were divided into private-ownership and free ones. Private ownership cities, as a rule, are small city centers, fortresses and castles belonging to princes or boyars. In free cities, the prince did not have the right to sit on the throne without consent of the community. As a

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[16] Янин В. Л. Я послал тебе бересту… М., 1965. – С. 156.

[17] Цей тлін Р. С., Сергеев С. А. Историяместного управления и муниципального самоуправления в России: Учебное пособие. – Москва: Омега – Л., 2006. – С. 19.

rule, large cities, centers of lands and principalities belonged to them. In Southern Rus from the second half of the 12th century, first of all, the capital city of the state Kyiv, and, also, Volodymyr, Galych, Chernigov, Lutsk (Luchevsk) Peremysl were such cities, which represented significant trading cities.[18]

According to some scholars, the attack of princes on the community city liberties resulted in an opposition that turned into a struggle for full judicial and tax immunity, that is, the right to collect taxes and judge citizens according to their own laws. These collections of legal acts were city "Truths", legal codes that existed in oral form. This law is called the customary law. The struggle of citizens for their rights and freedoms resulted in the fact that the first written code in Rus was granted to the city community and it was called "Yaroslav's Truth".

It was based on the oral Truths: "The Russian Act" of Oleg and Igor and "Law of the Earth" by Volodymyr Sviatoslavich.[19]

Thus, the first mention of the people's assemblies in the Eastern Slavs belonged to about the middle of the 6th century A.D. These tribal assemblies gradually turned into veche, where the most important issues of life in the region, the principality or the city were solved. As for Kiev, it could decide the issues on the election or the dethronement of the prince. At the time of Rus separation, no prince could sit on a throne of Kyiv without the consent of the community.

Having become stronger, the princely government is attacking the rights and liberties of city dwellers. However, the city dwellers have secured their rights to judicial and tax immunity in the city "Truth" and the conclusion of special agreements with the princes, called "riad". However, one should not exaggerate the value of these documents. However, city democracy was limited in nature, since all the "best men" governed everything at assemblies (veche): the boyars and prince's troops (druzhina), merchant and artisan management elite, not taking into account that all citizens of a free city participated in city councils formally.

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[18] М. Картер. К вопросу о Киеве VIII-XI вв. Кратки сообщения о докладах и Полевих исследованиях института Ист. Мат. Культуры. Вып. VI, выд. Акад. Наук СССР. – Москва, 1940.

[19] З історії самоврядування та демократії у Києві (від княжої доби до нашого часу) : Посібник для старших класів: Котляр М. Ф., Левітас Ф. Л., Несторенко Л. С., Рубців В. П., Семашко О. М., Тараненко М. Г., Ткачук А. Ф., Чухліб Т. В. – К., 2000. – С. 56-57.

"Ukrainian cities and, mainly Kiev, experienced the same process of struggle against princely power and patricianism that took place in the Western Europe and led to the formation of free city communities in France, Germany, and Italy. From the short words of the chronicle, one can conclude that such a struggle was "the first revolution of 1068", the death of Izyaslav, the uprising and suppression of him by Mstislav. The uprising of 1113 was even bigger".[20]

From the middle of 12th century the struggle of middle citizens to the rights of the city became stronger. We know about the agreements "riads" of the prince with people dated 12th century.[21]

The subject of rural self-government was a rural community (verv). It united the dwellers of several neighboring villages. This is probably due to the fact that the villages were small, their people were united in larger communities to solve common issues and protect their interests. Verv had a small land in corporate ownership, represented its citizens in their relations with other city dwellers, feudal lords, and state power.

In the 12-13th centuries the extension of boyar's landownership took place, which led to a decrease in the number of independent peasant communes. On the contrary: the number of laborers, peasants, dependent on landowners who worked on the boyars' land, being free, are increasing.

It should be noted that "veche" and "verv" were of great importance for the formation of the statehood of Kievan Rus, being the support of the prince in solving, first of all, the issues of war and peace, other significant state issues, large and small problems of cities and villages.

At the same time, "veche" expressed the interests of different segments of the city population, to whom the prince had to pay. But in time, prosperous citizens or "the best people", "muzhy" whose interests often did not coincide with the interests of the prince influenced the adoption of "veche" decisions more and more. And then "veche" was used to fight the prince. At the end of the 12th century, at the beginning of the 13th century, the prince's "veche" was controlled by the boyars and local merchants. There were occasions when the "veche" was convened by a prince or "best people". The "veche" broke the succession matters of the princes more and

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[20]Полянська-Василенко М. Історія України: У 2 Т. Т.1. До середини XVII століття. – К.: Либідь, 1992. – С. 221-222.
[21]Тихомиров М. Н. Древнерусские города. – Москва, 1956. – С. 141-147.

more, chose "the dearest" people, opened their city gates and expelled from the city "hated" people. All this weakened the prince's power.

The weakness of the city "veches" was in the fact that they were not a systematic phenomenon, convened from case to case. Thus, they did not acquire the nature of constantly functioning state institutions. And they did not form the foundations for parliament, as happened in England after the adoption in 1215 of the "Great Charter of freedoms."

Based on all the above mentioned we can affirm that this was one of the reasons for the decline of Kievan Rus.

CONCLUSION

Prosperity of the Kiev state took place during the reign of princes Volodymyr the Great and Yaroslav the Wise. At that time Kievan Rus was the greatest state in Europe. It was a centralized state governed by the Great Prince of Kiev with unlimited powers. Druzhina was the main military force of the prince. Boyars' council was the advisory body served to the prince. Judging was carried out according to "Yaroslav's Truth". The self-government bodies at the local level were "veche" in the cities and "verv" in the villages.

Kievan Rus gained fame by a world military campaign of princes to Byzantium and the conclusion of agreements with the Byzantine emperors favorable for Rus, campaigns on Khazaria, Bulgaria, in Polish and other lands. That was the time for the expansion of the state borders, the conquest of neighboring tribes, the gathering of land around Kiev, their integration into the Kiev state.

The activities of Kiev princes significantly expanded the political relations of Kievan Rus with the Western Europe. In addition to Byzantium, Poland and Norway, primarily due to dynastic marriages, close ties with Germany, France, Hungary and other states were established.

The baptism of Rus, which brought the law of God to the Rus people and placed them in one line with the most powerful European states, was an event of historical significance. In Rus, churches and monasteries were built, under which schools were created.

The internal policy of the Great princes, in its implementation, was focused on the reorganization of administrative management and troops, on the development of agriculture, livestock and beekeeping, pottery and

woodworking, the development of crafts of local and foreign trade, education, culture and art.

The intensive process of Kievan Rus disintegration began when Yaroslav the Wise divided the state between his sons and many numerical relatives in the absence of strict standards of succession. With the win of the hereditary throne succession principle of the patrimony over the system of seniority for princely families, it becomes increasingly apparent that their future is associated with appanage lands, and not with Kiev, for which continued struggle has taken place. The princely dynasties lost their sense of solidarity, plunged into minor disputes, began to use military force to resolve them.

The weakening of the state led to the fact that the Polovets attacks became a constant phenomenon. The Southern part of Kyiv region was devastated.

Along with constant problems existed, the economic problems existed too. Foreign trade, which was one of the foundations of the state economic prosperity, declined not only as a result of capturing steppes by nomadic tribes, but also because the Crusades directed the trade routes to the Mediterranean Sea. They opened the sea routes and the East, directly linking the Western Europe with Asia, Byzantium for Italian, French, and German cities. And Kievan Rus was left aside the established trade routes. This led to the impoverishment of the main center of the state, namely Kyiv region, and became one of the reasons for the decline of Kievan Rus, but internal problems would not lead to the death of the state. The Tatar Mongol invasion led to its final destruction.

SUMMARY

The article deals with the historical events associated with the emergence of the state of Kievan Rus, its appearance on the world stage as well as the activity of the Grand princes to expand the boundaries of the state, conquer the neighboring tribes, unite them around Kiev and integrate them into the Kievan state. The processes of state power formation, its structure, meaningful activity of the authorities are highlighted. The role and place of local self-government in the life of Kyiv state, "veche" in cities and "verv" in villages, are shown. Conditions of prosperity and causes of decline of Kievan Rus are revealed.

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14. Субтельний Орест., Історія України. – К., Либідь, 1993 – 717 с.
15. Татищев В.Н., История России с самих древних времен, т. I. – М., 1968. – 472 с.
16. Тихомиров Я.Н. Древнерусские города, – М., – 1956. – 472 с.

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SECURITY OF URBAN POPULATION SAFETY
IN THE CONDITIONS OF CRISIS OF THE LAW
ENFORCEMENT SYSTEM IN UKRAINE IN 1917-1920

Popov V. Z.

INTRODUCTION

Life safety is one of the basic human needs. Ensuring this security has always been one of the most important functions of the state. Protection by any means of oneself, one's loved ones, one's property against unlawful encroachments by any criminal law is not considered a crime. The ability of a person, society, state to guarantee order and peace in any conditions is relevant before and today. But order and peace are especially important in conditions of wars and revolutions, when the foundations of statehood are undermined, legal norms lose their force, and law enforcement structures broken up.

Any social transformation leads, among other changes, either to the restructuring of the administrative apparatus, or to its resolute breakdown and replacement of the previous authorities. In this case, the qualitative composition of the state apparatus inevitably deteriorates, and as a result, its professional level is reduced. The society reacts to the incompetence of the new government with a surge of initiative measures, which are expressed in the organization of structures that take on many of the state functions, especially necessity to provide the vital social needs. These include the need for security.

In the conditions of a permanent crisis of power that occurred in Russia since February 1917, an administrative and legal vacuum was formed, and various antisocial elements tried to take advantage of. Even the presence of certain state structures did not relieve the population of the need to independently solve management tasks. In the period of the Ukrainian national democratic revolution of 1917-1920 active hostilities and frequent changes of government took place on the territory of our country, numerous illegal armed groups arose, and the threat for ordinary citizens was greater than ever.

If we take a look at the physical threat to ordinary citizens, under the conditions of revolution and civil war, it consisted primarily in periodically renewed battles in each city, accompanied by artillery shelling and rifle-and-machine-gun fire. Secondly, each new government sought out among the urban population real or imaginary enemies, who were often threatened with immediate punishments. In the initial period of the revolution the crowds of soldiers – deserters or demobilized- were posing a grave danger. Third, the usual, traditional criminality continued antisocial actions. This process began in between the summer and autumn of 1917, when the official law enforcement authorities lost the ability to fully realize their functions. The state function to control the law and order enforcement was significantly weakened. Part of the antisocial elements was united in groups, and started almost uncontrolled robberies and looting.

So the period of revolution and civil war set the task before the residents of cities and villages of Ukraine – as much as possible to protect themselves from anarchy, which was accompanied by hooliganism, banditry, looting and murder. In this situation, the only opportunity to stabilize the situation often was the initiative of individual citizens and their voluntary associations to create self-organized groups, whose main task was to stop anyone's encroachment on the life and property of a certain kind of people. This task was accomplished through self-protection, which was called differently, but performed almost identical work.

1. Individual Protection Organization

"Kievskaya Mysl" newspaper in November 1917 informed its readers of the increased danger of being a victim of a criminal offense, it also posted about the dozens of daily robberies, attacks and raids. The danger of being robbed lurked everywhere. For example, a doctor returning from a visit to the patient was undressed at the main entrance near to his apartment[1].

According to one of the contemporaries of the events, D.I. Doroshenko, in the autumn of 1917, the police in Chernigov was bad, the population was not protected by anyone[2]. In other cities, the situation was not better. Many random unprofessional people got into the ranks of

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[1] Киевская мысль. № 156. 29 ноября 1917 г.
[2] Революция на Украине по мемуарам белых. Киев, Политиздат, 1990 г. – С. 73.

the police, allowing lawless actions even with the Reds, even with the Whites. In addition to the systemic crisis of law enforcement agencies, two factors led to the rise in crime. First, it was more and more widespread alcoholism. "The nightmare of impending drunkenness, drunken bacchanalias, robberies and shooting on the city's streets and in the vicinity has been growing more and more"[3]. Secondly, the population had a huge amount of weapons. Thirdly, the criminal situation was exacerbated by the returns of deserters from the front, and the demobilization of the army in the autumn of 1917. Peasants with horror were awaiting the invasion of soldiers gangs. The trains were not able to transport the whole mass of disorganized soldiers, and many of them walked crowded along the snow-covered fields, stopping for the night in villages, plundering peasants and landowners, were drinking and starting indiscriminate shooting in the air[4]. Crimes were committed at any time of the day, establishments and individuals also were robbed.

The social identity of the robbers could be noticed clearly. Their main sign, and at the same time disguise, was a military uniform. The reality of the revolutionary days was open looting from those who, it would seem, should ensure order. Shops in the winter of 1917-1918 subjected to robbery under the guise of confiscation, with the presentation of orders from the military revolutionary committees.

Unauthorized searches, looked more like ordinary robberies, were so massive that there were issued a special order from the General Secretary of the Interior of the Central Rada: "In recent days, unknown persons, without any authority, are illegally affording themselves to stop citizens on the streets to check their documents, are conducting searches and arrests. Those who illegitimately conduct searches should be detained and held accountable to the fullest extent of the law"[5].

Before the coming of the Germans, "gangs of robbers" were organized, performing night robberies in the townsfolk, attacking houses and their inhabitants with weapons. "The unfortunate man in the street, disarmed by the Bolsheviks, was deprived of the most elementary means of self-defense"[6]. Under the hetman, when refugees ran into Ukraine,

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[3] Вольный Юг (Севастополь). № 31. 4 января 1918 г.

[4] Державний архів Російської Федерації (ДАРФ), ф. 5881, оп. 2, спр. 296, арк. 4.

[5] Українська Центральна Рада. Документи і матеріали у двох томах. Том 1. 4 березня – 9 грудня 1917 р. К.: Наукова думка, 1996. – С. 384.

[6] 1918 год на Украине. Серия «Россия забытая и неизвестная. Белое движение». М.: Центрполиграф, 2001. – С. 35.

gangs of robbers appeared in the border forests[7]. The activity of the criminal element got extremely strengthened in Odessa during the interventionists. "The night did not pass without a few murders and dozens of robberies"[8]. In December 1918, a gunfire began in the city between unknown gangsters who were shooting at one of the city hotels from two sides, and the hotel itself, which "responded with a machine gun"[9]. In the spring 1919, night robbing and killing of passersby were taking place even on central streets. In the middle of the day, so-called "raids" were made on banks and jewelry stores. The gangsters drove up to a bank or a shop, entered there, and after threatening with weapons and firing at those who resisted, quickly took away the valuables, and just as quickly escaped[10].

In August 1919, the Reds, volunteers, and the army of the UPR appeared at the same time in the vicinity of Kiev. Opposers stayed on the outskirts of Kiev, there was no one in the center, and "the criminal elements rushed to rob". There were shouts in the streets calling for help[11]. At the beginning of 1920, when the Red Army was approaching, robbery gangs, that were attacking passersby, became active again in Odessa[12]. However, the arrival of the Reds did not mean an immediate establishment of the order and calm. In the spring of 1920, gangs of robbers "flew into the houses under the guise of working patrols checking the activities of the house committees", or were hiding behind the name of the emergency commission (Cheka). "Often it was impossible to make out who had committed the robbery: the Cheka disguised as workers or raiders, the raiders disguised as the Cheka or workers, or the workers themselves, tempted by a large profit"[13].

The population was almost accustomed to the frequent robberies, but "it was quivering and afraid of the Cheka". The robbers thanked God that "fortunately, they were ordinary robbers, and not messengers

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[7] Из путевых заметок беженца. Кн. Е.Н. Трубецкого // Архив русской революции. Том 18. Берлин, издательство «Слово», 1926 г. – С. 139.

[8] Якушкин Е. Французская интервенция на Юге. 1918-1919. М.-Л.: Государственное издательство, 1929. – С. 37.

[9] Центральний державний військовий архів Російської Федерації (ЦДВА), ф. 1410, оп. 1, спр. 13, арк. 9 зв.

[10] ДАРФ, ф. 5881, оп. 2, спр. 435, арк. 8.

[11] Красная смута: сб. ист. лит. произв. М.: Содружество «Посев», 2011. – С. 188.

[12] Тэффи Н.А. Житье-бытье: Рассказы. Воспоминания. – М.: Политиздат, 1991. – С. 331.

[13] ДАРФ, ф. 5881, оп. 1, спр. 704, арк. 11.

from an emergency commission"[14]. V.I. Vernadsky wrote in his diary at the beginning of March 1918 that the population of Poltava expects that "they will soon kill the bourgeoisie class, and the servants too, as they are for the "bourgeoisie"[15]. "Decently dressed" men and women were insulted on the streets, had been taken off their hats and broken their umbrellas snatched from their hands[16]. In August of the same year, Vernadsky reported that "armed gangs, either Bolsheviks or rebels against Germans, were robbing villages and landowner houses"[17].

In Kharkov, in the night time, the shooting was usual. "Through the rare gaps between the gusts of wind, the close and distant shots from rifles slam." Everyone who had a weapon is shooting – guards shot to encourage themselves, and robbers "fired because of their criminal trade"[18].

The first reaction of the inhabitants to the threat of their life was the desire to have a personal weapons. "Just imagine – the most lousy revolver costs two hundred rubles! Cartridges for it – a half ruble! And the Browning or the Parabellums – those are unreachable – not less than four hundreds! What a poor person can do?" – "Why does a poor person need a revolver?" – "Well, how can ... Whose life is not precious! Yes, and it is desirable to save money too"[19].

The tool of rescue for casual witnesses of street fights, of course, was not the use of weapons, but usual getaway. The standard way to protect themselves was hiding in the basements of high-rise buildings. For example, in Odessa, the inhabitants of the upper floors went down, many were hiding in the cellars[20]. With the approach of the Bolsheviks to Kiev in January 1918, when systematic shelling began, the frightened population rushed into the basements, and only a few, "maintaining

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[14] Там само, арк. 13.

[15] Вибрані наукові праці академіка В.І. Вернадського. Том 9. В.І. Вернадський. Щоденники (1917-1921). К.: НАНУ, 2011. – С. 54.

[16] Центральний державний архів громадських об'єднань України (ЦДАГО), ф. 5, оп. 1, спр. 21, арк. 28.

[17] Вернадський В.І. Вказ. тв. – С. 119.

[18] Слободской А. Это было… (на Украине и в Крыму в 1918-1920 гг.). Харьков, «Пролетарий», 1926. – С. 24.

[19] Киевская мысль. № 104, 26 сентября 1917 г.

[20] Російський державний архів соціально-політичної історії (РДАСПІ), ф. 71, оп. 34, спр. 102а, арк. 44.

complete self-control", did not move from their places[21]. Some citizens of Kiev used to cover the windows with a mattresses[22].

Yekaterinoslav teacher G. Igrenev recalled that with the approach of the Makhnovists in the winter of 1918-1919 all the inhabitants of the house, in the absence of a basement, gathered in a seemingly safer entrance of the ground floor. When the Makhnovists settled in his apartment, at night they allowed to lock the door between the dining room to the back rooms[23].

In Kharkov, when White army soldiers were on the deserted streets, sometimes there appeared a "lonely figure of a belated philistine", who hastily made his way to his home. "Through the rare gaps between the gusts of wind", there were slamming close and distant rifle shots. After each close shot, the belated pedestrian, "running without looking back", overcame some distance "to the nearest impressive object to hide". Having stopped, the pedestrian took a breath, and, having waited a moment, he darted off and ran on[24].

It was possible to hide not only in homes and apartments. Familiar with V.I. Vernadsky, G.Y. Zhukovsky, with his wife and children escaped to the forest where they were hiding during six days, "as officers and bourgeois men were beaten between the leaving of the Red Army and the coming of the Germans"[25].

In desperation, people found absolutely exotic places for salvation. One of the former generals, being already old age, was struggling with the bandits who attacked his house, first he tried to shoot back through the door, then he hid in a crypt located near to the house, where he lay down in one of the coffins right on the skeleton, being dressed only in his underwear. The gangsters did not want to give up, and began to look for a general with flashlights. Entered the crypt, they opened the lid of the coffin. When the general, all in white, got up, the gangsters fled in horror[26].

Without waiting for their turn to be arrested, many people in Kiev did not sleep at home, others did not come home at all. One of Kiev

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[21] 1918 год на Украине. – С. 30.

[22] Очерки жизни в Киеве в 1919-1920 гг. Л. Л-ой // Архив русской революции. М.: Терра-Политиздат, 1991. т. 3. – С. 219.

[23] Игренев Г. Екатеринославские воспоминания (август 1918-июнь 1919 г.) // Архив русской революции. Изданный Г.В. Гессеном. М.: Терра-Политиздат, 1991. т. 3. – С. 238.

[24] Слободской А. Указ. соч. – С. 24.

[25] Вернадский В.И. Указ. соч. – С. 94.

[26] ГАРФ, ф. 5881, оп. 2, д. 296, л. 9.

student's acquaintances, when returning home, was getting off the cab behind his house's corner, then, looking around, was moving to his own door. He was afraid of an ambush. Another friend, a relative of the hetman, was hiding in different houses and apartments during four months. When she caught a cold and soon died, she was even buried under an assumed name. Anyway, there were several acquaintances attended her funeral[27].

In Sevastopol, during Wrangel's ruling, the streets were empty, despite not yet late time. "It seems like an usual man imposed martial law on himself", people did not leave the house after nine o'clock in the evening, fearing to be robbed or killed[28].

Under the conditions of social confrontation, disguise was a characteristic way for previously privileged strata of society to protect themselves from reprisals. In 1917, officer Vladimirov, getting to his home on the roof of the train, noticed that there was no a single officer among the mass of soldiers. Apparently, all the officers, like him, dressed on soldier's overcoats, and for a while became "comrades"[29].

The word "bourgeois" meant "any intelligent person who wore a decent dress". It was dangerous to walk outside wearing on a bowler hat or hat. The audience had redressed "in an inconspicuous dress and was disgusted". People from the society "took out terrible worn coats from somewhere, and put on their heads caps". To stay dressed as a commoner was considered necessary for personal safety[30]. In 1919 in Kiev, under the Bolsheviks, all the men were dressed uniformly. "high boots and protective color were prevailed". The people's look has became new and unusual. "Something happened that changed everything"[31]. This fact was confirmed by a Kiev student. The streets of the city, according to her observation, have changed a lot that days. "Most were wearing on a soldier overcoats, or leather jackets and black caps. Many ladies stopped wearing on hats. Everyone tried to have a "democratic look". An acquaintance of one student, a resident of Kiev R., "ordered a kosovorotka (a simple shirt) for himself in a sewing workshop". Although he had ten

[27] Дневник и воспоминания киевской студентки (1919–1920 гг.) // Архив русской революции. Том 15. Берлин, издательство «Слово», 1924 г. – С. 217.

[28] Слободской А. Указ. соч. – С. 70.

[29] ДАРФ, ф. 5881, оп. 2, спр. 296, арк. 6.

[30] ЦГАОО, ф. 5, оп. 1, д. 21, л. 28.

[31] Красная смута. – С. 145.

suits at home, he was forced to order this satin shirt for himself. At work, he was made a reference for being "too elegant"[32].

A special art was the ability to hide valuables so that they would not be found during a search or robbery. The owners of the house where lived the first head of the government of the Ukrainian People's Republic, V.K. Vinnichenko, in March 1918, were constantly waiting for Soviet visitors: "During the whole days has been invented ways to hide money and valuables. In pots with flowers, in a piano, in a sink tube, in a door handle, in thousands of places which were found by a tense, frightened, feverish fantasy of people who were busy only with it"[33]. In February 1919, in one of the private letters abroad, an attack of robbers on the apartment of one of Kiev's families was mentioned. During the invasion, the owner of the house and her daughter were beaten, but "fortunately, not fur coats, nor Elizabeth Romanovna's diamonds were found". That means, that the most valuable objects in the apartment were hidden very safely[34].

Finally, each person could and should have maximally strengthen own house. In June 1918 in Kanev V.K. Vinnichenko slowly turned his house into a "miniature fortress". The wooden boards were nailed on the windows. Vladimir Kirillovich adapted a prop to the door. The suggestion was that, if a gang of three to five people attacks, the siege can be sustained. If eight or ten people came, the only hope was "help from above, from the neighbor house". In any case, it was decided to fight to the last: "There was no point in letting gangsters come into the house without a fight, owners would be killed anyway. Now the robbery has taken a complete and decisive form: everyone is killed, whether money is found or not, all the same. Under such a condition, it was the height of frivolity to do not try at least one or two chances of salvation"[35].

It was believed that living in large houses is always safer, but it could only be about the lesser degree of probability of an attack on your apartment. Kiev residents in May 1920, before the arrival of the Poles, were sitting at home, setting up duties in order at each entrance. Only the braves could decide to leave far to the center of the city. In the afternoon, groups of curious people were crowding at the doors, at the entrances. At

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[32] Дневник и воспоминания киевской студентки. – С. 227.
[33] Винниченко В.К. Щоденник. Том перший. 1911–1920. Едмонтон – Нью-Йорк, 1980. – С. 313.
[34] Центральний архів вищих органів влади та управління України (ЦДАВОВУ), ф. Р-2, оп. 1, спр. 343, арк. 11, 11 зв.
[35] Винниченко В.К. Вказ. тв. – С. 287.

night there was absolute silence, the city seemed extinct. "The outer doors were closed tightly, and in each staircase there were such devices as logs for support, iron bars, hooks that made the house an impregnable fortress for robbers". All night inside the house behind the door were the duties, who were supposed to beat the gong in case of alarm. The night attacks usually did not happen, however, "if the robbers had taken into their minds to attack the big house, and they managed to break in, they could cut out all the inhabitants of the house with impunity. Shouts and cries would not help, lurking in hare-fear adults would sit and wait submissively for their fate"[36].

When the Bolsheviks finally occupied Kiev, it seemed to the townsfolk "strange and incomprehensible" how a bunch of ragged and hungry people took the city, "where there are so many healthy, strong men, where everyone is so eagerly seeking freedom, and do not want to do anything. Power is organized, an order after order is issued. We are ready to wait, wait indefinitely, until someone – who cares – not us, will free us"[37].

2. Creating a self-guard

The organization of self-defense was an attempt by peaceful urban inhabitants to protect themselves from the many dangers of that time. The composition of its groups and detachments was a cross-section of society, they consisted of representatives of all social groups.

By decision of the pedagogical councils, squads of high school students were organized at educational institutions if they voluntarily expressed a desire to take part in the internal security of the city. Along with the principle of voluntariness, the appropriate age and state of health were taken into account. Parental consent was also required[38].

It was a characteristic that in the majority of gymnasiums and schools an indispensable condition for the creation of a squad of students was the obligatory presence in the classrooms and studying of squad members. In connection with the end of world war for Russia and Ukraine and the demobilization of the army, the opportunity arose for organizing the protection groups of professional soldiers. In Kharkov in January 1918,

[36] Заславский Д.О. Поляки в Киеве в 1920 году. – Петроград: изд-во «Былое», 1922. – С. 11.
[37] Очерки жизни в Киеве в 1919–1920 гг. – С. 226.
[38] Вольный Юг. № 41. 17 января 1918 г.

according to the labor bureau, 294 representatives of such a category of citizens as former officers were looking for a work[39].

The personnel base of the self-guard detachments in the settlements and industrial enterprises of the Donetsk region and in the proletarian districts of large cities were former front-line soldiers, Red Army soldiers, mine workers, and peasant laborers. The personnel of the privately owned detachments under the hetman was very varicolored. They were students, officers, soldiers, volunteers, junkers, cadets, and even high school students[40].

Officer R.B. Gul, who was in Kiev during the Hetman Skoropadsky period, joined the officer corps. The following conditions were announced: "the service is only for the protection of the city, the salary is five hundred rubles per month, there will be a hostel, food, daily allowances, and admission to the squad exempts from the general mobilization"[41]. When the Germans left, the solution to the security problem was shifted to the locals. Adjutant General Grishin-Almazov, while being in November 1918 in Yalta, noted that the city is guarded by Tatar and officer detachments[42].

In between 1918 and 1919, when the Volunteer Army occupied Mariupol, "a more prosperous part of the population had a desire for order and law". The city government formed a detachment of not conscripted officers to protect the order in the city. But not everywhere were involved only retired enforcement officers. According to volunteers, a "mass of a dark element spoiled in the past, under all political regimes", poured into the guard[43].

To avoid aggravating the criminal situation, the volunteers tried to disarm the population, but "the guards did not take any measures to follow the order"[44]. In January 1919, students and Jewish teams were operating in Odessa, they were created exclusively for public protection[45]. Moreover, among those who signed up for those combat squads, according to white agents, "there were many names that are well known to

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[39] Южное слово (Харьков). № 1. 29 января 1918 г.
[40] ДАРФ, ф. 5881, оп. 2, спр. 315, арк. 81.
[41] Гуль Р.Б. Киевская эпопея. // Архив русской революции. Т. 2. – М.: Современник, 1991. – С. 76.
[42] ЦДВА, ф. 1410, оп. 1, спр. 13, арк. 5.
[43] Там само, ф. 40238, оп. 1, спр. 24, арк. 45, 46.
[44] Там само.
[45] Гражданская война на Украине 1918-1920. Том первый, книга вторая. – С. 96.

Odessa, and are known to the criminal department as robbers". The existence of such a squad could not provide peace and order[46].

In September 1919, in Kiev, according to the Soviet information, the guard of the city was carried out by "White Guard squads recruited from students, officers and sons of the bourgeoisie". The activity of these detachments was characterized as follows: "The guardians of order, often completely drunk, are scouring the city for a whole day and, especially, in the work districts, carrying out massive searches and executions"[47]. The White Guards considered that the involvement of only wealthy citizens in the service of protection, is justified.

On the one hand, the officials understood well who exactly would be able to actually contribute to strengthening their power, without representing a potential threat. On the other hand, the authorities were afraid of revenge from sympathizing with the Bolsheviks, including members of guerrilla groups.

There were detachments of self-organized guards on the initiative of local governments and public organizations, first of all, trade unions. In Simferopol, this issue was attended by the local city council, which, at the meeting on January 1918, discussed the issue of "introducing general duty for the protection of the city". The need for such a decision was dictated by the fact that "the external police would be abolished", the military guards were temporarily replaced by the working squads, and urgently needed to work out "a way to protect the city"[48]. Since in the cities of Crimea there were no multi-story buildings with dozens of apartments, where 30-40 people could be in the house guard, it was proposed "to unite neighboring houses into unions, and to establish not home but city quarters guards". To enhance the responsiveness to the threats that increased, it was planned to connect the houses with electrical signaling and, with its help, to provide communication with the nearest commissariats[49].

In Kiev, self-protection was created everywhere in 1918, in the days of the Bolsheviks. A.A. Goldenweiser noted: "Security guards of tenants

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[46] Гражданская война на Украине 1918-1920. Том первый, книга вторая. С. 160.
[47] Гражданская война на Украине. Том второй. – С. 354, 355.
[48] Вольный Юг. № 33. 6 января 1918 г.
[49] Там же. № 40. 16 января 1918 г.

who have been organized by house committees, were on duty in all houses"[50].

In Kharkov, the deputy mayor turned to the residents with an appeal. Residents of each household were invited to immediately make the election of commissioners for protection, one from each household. "In view of the haste of the implementation of protection", general meetings were to be considered valid despite the number of tenants who appeared. The official expressed the conviction that citizens, "are completely understanding the importance of self-defense against banditry," would immediately implement "all Duma decrees aimed at protecting the city"[51].

In February 1919, in the Crimea, a self-protection groups were created by the decision of meetings of local residents, although the Bolsheviks campaigned against those groups[52]. The residents during assemblies expressed full confidence in the self-protection organizations that were introduced by the Volunteer Army, "and decided to provide funds for its maintenance"[53]. A squad to maintain an order was also established in Yekaterinoslav, initiated by the City Duma. When the Duma inquired about the position of the squad in political matters, its leadership stated that "the function of a squad is not coups, but maintenance of order and prevention of violence against whom it should not be made – whether it is a wealthy or working class"[54].

The Mariupol City Government, which, under the White Guards, replaced the City Duma, at a meeting on August 7, 1919, decided to appeal to the military authorities with a request to allow "to establish a special levy on residents of the city, to keep an additional staff of the city guard"[55].

When in August 1919, white, red and UPR army were on the outskirts of Kiev, taking the fact that nobody was in the center, the criminal element rushed to rob. This time again, the chairmen of the house committees initiated to organize security. Each house has concluded an alliance with neighboring houses "in case of an attack by hooligans"[56].

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[50] Революция на Украине по мемуарам белых. – С. 37.
[51] Южный край. 26 декабря 1918 г., № 188.
[52] . ЦДВА, ф. 39540, оп. 1, спр. 158, арк. 23.
[53] Там само, арк. 94.
[54] Там само, ф. 40238, оп. 1, спр. 48, арк. 85.
[55] Державний архів Донецької області (ДАДО), ф. 2568, оп. 1, спр. 4, арк. 4зв.
[56] Красная смута. – С. 188.

In October 1919, a small detachment of civilian militia hastily organized by the city council, acted in Kiev[57].

During the period of the White army staying in Ukraine, homeowners in the cities paid a fee, including payment for the night guards[58]. There were facts of the spontaneous formation of self-defense detachments and partisan detachments initiated by individual citizens.

The self-activity of citizens in the field of law enforcement was repeatedly manifested in Odessa. At the turn of 1918-1919, during the interventionists ruling, even special armed squads arose, which were hired "to escort the bourgeoisie from the dens to their homes at night"[59]. In the same place, in the beginning of 1920, when the Red Army approached, the citizens nevertheless stayed visiting clubs and theaters at night, and for returning home, they usually were gathering in groups and inviting guards, "five armed students"[60].

Weapons for self-organized defense groups were a separate problem, although it would seem that such problems should not have existed in the country full of weapons from the front. Nevertheless, the question of the weapon supply of self-organized protective structures was decided in each case individually, based on the desired and possible. The presence in early 1918 of large number of uncontrolled weapons owned by citizens is confirmed by the fact that the authorities, with a special decision, prohibited "provocative shots to divert guards"[61].

The members of self-protection squads, during the Bolsheviks period, received weapons which had been requisitioned from the bourgeois elements, and with the issuance of proper permits. On the eve of the arrival of the Germans, when the Bolsheviks already left Kiev, the weapons appeared, which the townspeople were supplied by. N.M. Mogilyansky declared: "I didn't find out who, where and why distributed it", he said. He personally saw only high school students who "ran mysteriously to Pechersk, and were dragging out new rifles, ammunition, and all kinds of military equipment". their mothers were in despair that "boys of 12-15 years of age turned their rooms either into museums or into arsenals; but the excitement of young people had no

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[57] Революция на Украине по мемуарам белых. – С. 54.
[58] ДАРФ, ф. Р-439, оп. 1, спр. 32, арк. 24.
[59] Якушкин Е. Указ. соч. – С. 37.
[60] Тэффи Н.А. Указ. соч. – С. 331.
[61] Вестник Енакиево. 23(10) апреля 1918 г.

bounds – everyone felt like a warrior, ready to withstand any attack, and to defend their work and their loved ones". Obviously, "they stole some armories left unguarded and unsupervised"[62].

Under the hetman, the processes of disarming the population[63] and the arming of the "trustworthy population" took place at the same time with the process of successful formation of a "privately owned guard"[64]. In Kharkov, after Petliurists left, the energetic measures were taken to preserve some of the weapons left by the entire guard force in the abandoned sections[65].

After the end of fightings on the territory of Ukraine began the disarmament of the population. To stimulate this process, the authorities offered money. For a serviceable trilinear, it was supposed to be payed eight hundred rubles, for those in need of repair, or a foreign one – five hundred. No documents were required[66]. Many partisans themselves came to the police handing over their weapons[67].

3. Self-protection activities

Contradictory opinions were expressed about its effectiveness, mostly skeptical at the beginning of the revolution. The first doubts appeared during the process of replacing the old police with the militia. The correspondent of the "Odessa leaflet" ironically asked in March 1917: "Is it possible to compare a police officer who can give a certain resistance to all sorts of suspicious elements, with some skinny policeman, student or worker, without any experience, skill, etc."[68].

Law enforcement professionals were wary of amateur assistants. In September 1917, the head of the Kiev police considered it inappropriate to create "order of guards", preferring to him the formation of an additional police force, "especially equestrian". The chief recklessly declared: "There is no any expectations of great disturbances in the city now, there is no reason for them"[69].

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[62] 1918 год на Украине. – С. 35.
[63] ЦДАВОВУ, ф. 1216, оп. 1, спр. 2, арк. 54зв.
[64] Там само, арк. 74.
[65] Южный край. 2 января 1919 г., № 2.
[66] Гражданская война на Украине. Том третий. – С. 441.
[67] Державний архів Харківської області, ф. Р-202, оп. 2, спр. 6с, арк. 45.
[68] Одесский листок, 4 (17) марта 1917 г.
[69] Киевская мысль. № 105. 27 сентября 1917 г.

Life forced the most peaceful citizens to organize. S. Sumsky recalled the events in Kiev in January 1918: "The night duty took place in the courtyard. Four men were going down every three hours. Silently, the attendants walked around the yard and listened to a rare shot or a break"[70]. But, in general, such duty helped a little. A. Goldenweiser noted: "The last nights, as usual before the change of power, were quite disturbing. The number of raids happened"[71]. During the short stay of the Bolsheviks, under the pretext of searching private houses, the usual thieves were coming in to steal. "In order to distinguish pseudo detective agents from real ones", the bourgeoisie, with the help of the already existing house committees, organized a night duties, in which women participated on an equal basis with men, and often thieves who had been caught on time, fled without causing any harm. "Sometimes they even managed to arrest thieves with the help of the militia, who were called up on time by telephone. Thus, the bourgeoisie actually learned the benefits of organization, the unity". Representatives of the lower strata almost never took part in the duties. "It seemed that they found some malicious pleasure to see the girls and ladies from high class walking in the frosty snow all night". Small traders and craftsmen were also suffered from these nightly attacks, and many shops and workshops had been robbed at that time[72].

V.I. Vernadsky pointed out that during the Bolsheviks, self-protection was disarmed, which made the residents nervous. He felt that he was captured by the "disgusting feeling of complete powerlessness and complete insecurity in the future, not for himself, but for his relatives – there were possibilities of the most terrible tests for them due to preventing the organization of self-defense"[73]. According to the testimony of the museum worker N.M. Mogilyansky, before the arrival of the Germans, only when the Bolsheviks left the city, the organization of self-defense began.

This time was remembered by the citizens of Kiev as "absolutely horrible". In one of the last nights before the Germans arrived to Kiev, there were 176 attacks on the inhabitants' apartments. It was difficult to

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[70] Революция на Украине по мемуарам белых. – С. 104.
[71] Революция на Украине по мемуарам белых. – С. 37.
[72] Лейхтенбергский Г.Н. Воспоминания об «Украине». 1917-1918. Берлин: к-во «Детинец», 1921. – С. 23.
[73] Вернадський В.И. Указ. тв. – С. 54.

organize the protection. Were elected the House committees, who started the organization of self-defense. "And now people, who did not carry guns in their lives, sometimes honored, gray-haired Kievans, began to clean and repair guns, and to discuss strategic methods to protect houses and estates from the attacks of robbers". In some places, officers appeared who were responsible for the organization of defense and to order over the home military brigades. House number 22, which was commanded by a personnel officer, became the center for protection of several houses on its site. A field telephone appeared here, uniting six neighboring detachments, obliged to appear to a threatened place on the first call[74].

In March 1918, the home security in Kharkov was organized almost everywhere, and at night guards were on duty at the gates and porches of houses. House security was characterized by poor organization and the absence of weapons, which did not allow the real resistance to robbery attempts. In most cases, house guards were a kind of "a self-consolation, or even a home entertainment, it was good that leaving the house at night was forbidden". So, in order to not waist their time, guards were putting the table on the stairs and the card game began. Young people had fun by flirting. In the areas where the Red Army soldiers lived, the self-defense guards managed to prevent looting by alarming on time, and soldiers resorted to the raised alarm with riffles[75]. Thus, even in this case, we are not talking about clashes with criminals, but rather about the psychological impact.

The establishment of the regime of Hetman Skoropadsky led to a reduction in crime, but did not rule out the existence of self-organized law enforcement agencies. Thus, an order was established everywhere in one of the districts of Kharkov, which was maintained by the population itself, who were transferring its violators to the hands of justice[76]. The Odessans in May 1918 optimistically believed that "the Bolshevik's horrors has been left in the past". On the central streets were "brave militiamen"[77]. Nevertheless, the criminal elements were far from being neutralized; disarmament was not carried out fast enough. "There have been cases when the Austrians themselves advised to hide the weapon, saying that it may be needed soon". Along with it, the weapon supply to the trustworthy

[74] 1918 год на Украине. – С. 36.
[75] Южное слово (Харьков). № 4. 17 марта 1918 г.
[76] Возрождение (Харьков). № 58. 30 мая 1918 г.
[77] Южная заря (Екатеринослав). № 2. 10 мая 1918 г.

part of the population was difficult[78]. For the protection of the order, besides the guards, volunteer squads were organized, but, "hastily formed, poorly armed and trained, they did not represent a serious force"[79]. Even representatives of the Volunteer Army recognized, that the order of public life in Ukraine after arrival of the Germans and their providing of guarantees of personal and property safety, was adjusted[80].

One privately owned detachment's commander, who had documents of the lieutenant, with the aim of forcing the owner to increase his salary, repeatedly filed various protests. One time it was about a bad accommodation, another- about an unsatisfactory food. To show the particular danger of his service, the lieutenant even twice faked with an attack by his own people on the estate, which, of course, fought off with complete success[81].

Towns on the border were engaged in the transportation of refugees across the border. There were many private houses that turned into inns. The owners were taking high prices from guests, and could recommend carters who knew how to get past the Bolsheviks. There were professionals who were organizing the moving under the protection of sailors who accompanied the wagons[82].

In Kiev, before the arrival of the Petliurists, there was an anarchy. This period lasted a whole week. "The guards of the tenants were functioning in all the houses, but, as always, they were completely powerless"[83].

In 1919, while the White Guard troops were staying in the region, the local administration used employees of the city and industrial county guards to try to resist Bolshevik's agitation, and to detain the Bolsheviks[84]. It is characteristic that the actions of the partisan detachments did not create particular problems for law enforcement agencies. Thus, in one of the circulars, it was noted that in some areas "armed gangs are hiding", and officers related to this fact "absolutely indifferent"[85]. However, "illegal armed groups" posed a constant threat to

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[78] ДАРФ, ф. Р-446, оп. 1, спр. 15, арк. 2зв.

[79] Там само, арк. 3.

[80] ДАРФ, ф. Р-439, оп. 1, спр. 108, арк. 29.

[81] Там само, ф. 5881, оп. 2, спр. 315, арк. 83.

[82] Из путевых заметок беженца. Кн. Е.Н. Трубецкого // Архив русской революции. Том 18. Берлин, издательство «Слово», 1926 г. – С. 139.

[83] Революция на Украине по мемуарам белых. – С. 51.

[84] ДАДО, ф. 2559, оп. 1, спр. 1, арк. 15.

[85] Там само, арк. 19.

financial institutions. It can be assumed that on the eve of the days of salary payment, the activity of illegal associations were increasing markedly. To prevent the attempts of robberies, the bailiffs of the respective areas were ordered to have a sufficient guard for 24 hours at all mine and factory cash desks[86].

Under the rule of Denikin, only proprietors and students were taken into self-protection, but usually they didn't want to take up weapons, "preferring to pay off". The state guard did not represent real strength; they were running away after first shot[87]. There were quite a lot of partisan detachments, but they had no definite goals, "except for looting"[88]. The local self-defense of Kiev, organized by "someone from Kiev socialists to protect residents from robberies", were wearing a white band on their sleeves as a distinguishing mark[89]. Sometimes self-protection was quite successful. The head of one of the counties reported to the Yekaterinoslav governor in November 1919 that a group of bandits was arrested with the help of the self-guard detachment. "One of the leaders has been wounded and sent to the district hospital. weapons and bombs has been found"[90].

One of the most common methods of protection for individual houses was to place several armed people there. So, the owner of one of the Kiev hotels, "very good and large", gave a room for the guardians and, moreover, provided them tea and bread. "Thanks to such cooperation, the owner was somehow and for some time protected from the robbery"[91].

In the spring of 1920 in Odessa, in addition to military units, workers' detachments were scattered throughout the city. By that time, workers' squads, which were located at the police stations, were organized. At night there were patrols, bypassing the neighborhoods entrusted to their guard[92].

Kiev before the arrival of the Poles once again found itself without ruling power. As always in such cases, some unknown young people with arm bands appeared on the city streets. Whether they were robbing, or defending from robbers, nobody knew exactly. People said that "there are

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[86] ДАДО, ф. 2559, оп. 1, спр. 1, арк. 17.
[87] РДАСПІ, ф. 71, оп. 34, спр. 1285, арк. 19.
[88] Там само, арк. 20.
[89] Красная смута. – С. 190.
[90] ДАДО, ф. 2559, оп. 1, спр. 2, арк. 24.
[91] Красная смута. – С. 275.
[92] ДАРФ, ф. 5881, оп. 1, спр. 704, арк. 11.

real guards who protect, and fake ones who rob". It was possible to get help on this issue "calling on the not-working phone in some institution", which also sometimes turned out to be fake. The best way out was to stay away from "young people with bands"[93]. This time, the Georgian squad appeared "unchangeable with all changes of power". There were about twenty of them – "seems all students". During the previous coups, Jewish self-defense group has been organized, but this time "there was no aspiration and no strength to repeat such an experience"[94].

When Yekaterinoslav was occupied by the Reds, they made an unusually disciplined impression on the inhabitants. After several very quiet days, the population "began to bless the Soviet regime, which put the end to its natural state"[95].

The end of fights on the main territory of Ukraine set before the Soviets the task of restoring order after years of war. The organization of the militia, either for hire or on a voluntary basis, took place[96]. The fight against robberies, extortion, requisitions, confiscations and other things began again. Such an actions, as well as searches and arrests, were forbidden to be performed only if it was done without the knowledge of the revolutionary committees, however with their permission the same actions became quite common[97].

CONCLUSIONS

Thus, the provision of the public order in the cities of Ukraine in 1917-1920 was one of the most important tasks that were solved at this period at different levels. All governments that exercised their authority on the territory of Ukraine, by all means, tried to restore order, prohibited robberies camouflaged under requisition.

The history of self-organized protection in Ukraine has a clear chronological framework. It began in the summer and autumn of 1917, when the weakness of the Provisional Government led, among other things, to a deterioration in the criminal situation in the country. In 1917 and early 1918, self-protection was often an auxiliary force to assist law enforcement agencies during deep crisis. In 1918, with the strengthening

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[93] Очерки жизни в Киеве в 1919-1920 гг. – С. 226.
[94] Заславский Д.О. Указ. соч. – С. 12.
[95] Революция на Украине по мемуарам белых. – С. 194.
[96] Державний архів Луганської області (ДАЛО), ф. Р-1173, оп. 1, спр. 3, арк. 8.
[97] Там само, арк. 4зв.

of Ukrainian statehood, law enforcement agencies established a relative order in the country, however, self-protection groups continued to perform their functions as an additional organizations to ensure stability. In 1919 – the beginning of 1920, self-protection repeatedly became the only opportunity for ordinary citizens to defend themselves against the vicissitudes of civil war. The activities of self-defense groups were stopped in the late 1920s and early 1921, at the same time with the strengthening of the official law enforcement structures – the militia, the Cheka, etc. In most parts of Ukraine, Soviet power was finally established, and self-protection gradually lost its meaning.

During the mentioned time, the self-defense units either operated in parallel with the bodies that were considered state bodies at that time, or functioned independently in some regions. The emergence and activity of overlapping law enforcement structures created a certain tension between them, sometimes leading to direct clashes. The local population was ready to bear the material costs to have at least a relative safety. Practically with any authority, self-protection was self-financing, that is, it was operated at the expense of citizens. Acquisition of security was carried out in various ways. First, security functions were performed in turn by residents of houses. Secondly, labor collectives were nominating their most reputable representatives to protect. Thirdly, periodic mobilizations has been carried out, either by the authorities or by self-appointed initiators. Finally, there were squads that formed on the principle of voluntariness.

The composition of guards depended on the kind of power. The Soviet institutions preferred to involve former front-line soldiers, workers – most of all miners and metallurgists, and the poorest farm laborers who had previously worked for hire. The White Guards sought to rely on small and medium-sized owners living in the cities or villages – homeowners, merchants, wealthy peasants. Groups and detachments of law enforcement also included retired officers, students, high-school students, intellectuals, declassed elements, and former prisoners. Central authorities, local governments, political and public organizations, and house committees were creating a security. On the territories, where the population was mainly engaged in industrial work, self-protection was created at mines and factories, in the countryside – by a common peasant meetings.

When the authorities changed, the previous guards never continued official activities. It either voluntarily diverged, and the former guards

replenished regular military units, or switched to the illegal status as a partisan struggle.

Methods of weapons supply were also very diverse. Local councils or army units could help with weapons, or it was confiscated from social enemies or invaders. Usual hunting rifles were used. The documents do not contain information about the usage of weapons brought by former soldiers. Indirectly, people had an evidence of its presence, and authorities were simultaneously trying to fight with uncontrolled possession of weapons with very tough methods, at the same time arming the guards.

Self-defense organizations performed numerous functions, which included the fights against speculation, ensuring discipline at public events, protecting their living places from thugs (whether reds, or whites, or even greens), detaining opponents of existing power, suppressing social unrest and crashes, etc.

Security was provided at the level of the city, district, quarter, separate house. The security was hired by both homeowners and ordinary citizens. Security was always created in response to the heightened threat of criminal encroachment, but never in advance. The effectiveness of "homegrown" security, was rather low due to the lack of weapons, lack of training, and lack of relevant experience. Her actual weakness in the face of real danger was emphasized by most witnesses. The only exceptions were the Red Guard units in the workers' districts. The low fighting qualities of protection were explained by the fact that both robbing and protection of the population were performed by the representatives of the same social groups, and sometimes by the same people. In general, the organization of self-protection, supported both from the top and from the bottom, became a natural, expected reaction of society to the growth of anarchy and, despite numerous costs, brought serious positive results.

Such a social phenomenon as the creation of protection by residents of individual houses, workers' enterprises and residents of settlements, which took place in different regions of Ukraine during the revolution and civil war of 1917-1920, served as a vivid evidence of the ability of society to organize itself under extreme conditions.

SUMMARY
The beginning of history of self-protection in Ukraine falls on the summer-autumn of 1917, when the criminal situation in the country worsened. In 1919 – the beginning of 1920, self-protection was often the

only way for ordinary citizens to defend themselves against the vicissitudes of the Civil War.

Self-defense detachments either operated in parallel with the bodies that were considered state authorities at the time, or functioned autonomously in some regions. Practically with any authority, self-protection was self-financed, i.e. it operated at the expense of citizens. Formation of guard detachments was carried out in various ways, its composition depended on the nature of power, the ways of arming were also varied.

Self-defense performed numerous functions, which include the fight against speculation, ensuring discipline at public events, protecting their localities from bandits, detaining opponents of the existing government, riot control, suppressing pogroms. This social phenomenon served as vivid evidence of the ability of society to self-organize in extreme conditions.

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SURREALISM AT THE SERVICE OF REVOLUTION – ? REVOLUTION AS A SCANDAL OF EXPOSURE

Predeina M. Yu.

INTRODUCTION

Article Mic. Lifshits "Why am I not a modernist?" was published in 1963 in Estetika Prague and three years later reprinted in Russian in the Literary Gazette. The matter is long-standing, but the questions posed by the article or that rise after reading of the article are not yet resolved. First of all, what are these questions? – The question can be formulated historically, how did it happen that such an educated and even honest aestheticist as Mikhail Lifshits took a position against the avant-garde? Rather, along these lines, the spring exhibition of last year, devoted to M. Lifshits and held by the Moscow Museum of Modern Art Garage, poses the question. It is responsible for this question, because the position of Mic. Lifshits is Marxist position itself. The organizers of the exhibition, in essence, agree with Lifshits that Marxism is hostile to the avant-garde, and if this conclusion does not sound like a verdict to the avant-garde, it is only because they are not Marxists, i.e. because the question of the relation of Marxism to the avant-garde (and vice versa) they are no longer interested, or rather, interested in terms of what was passed. It is precisely this lack of interest that allows them to say ordinary enough: while the majority of the Soviet intelligentsia turned away from Marxism, this very majority condemned Lifshitz's article as apostasy (apostasy from what?), Lifshits remained his firm supporter[1]. But why should we assume that the majority is already alienated and one Lifshits remained firm? This explanation hides from us the fact that the vanguard did not perceive itself as something anti-Marxist, rather, on the contrary. – Of course, not all avant-garde declared its Marxist sympathies, but, for example, Andre Breton stated and even was friends with Leon Trotsky, of course, even in the 60s the fact of such friendship could be regarded as evidence of the opposite of what I intend to prove. In other words the proof of the fascist

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[1] See: «Если бы наша консервная банка заговорила… Михаил Лифшиц и советские шестидесятые» 7 марта – 13 мая 2018. М.: Музей современного искусства «Гараж», 2018, с. 3.

character of avant-garde art. It certainly could be regarded like this but not by Lifshits. We must pay tribute to Lifshits he does not use such simple arguments, otherwise the case of the avant-garde could be closed by pinning Marinetti, who did not hide his love for Mussolini. That is, Lifshits would probably agree to recognize Andre Breton's subjective honesty just as he recognized Pablo Picasso's subjective honesty before. Oddly enough, in his article it was Picasso who is to blame. Although it may not be strange: Lifshits didn`t look for easy ways, and Picasso's subjective honesty was beyond doubt. How Marx loved to write: "Here Rhodes is here and jump!", that is, "Here is Picasso – prove that his art leads logically (!) To fascism". – But what if not "Guernica" by Picasso, is a better accusation against fascism, presented by means of art? "All things are considered , the question that I intend to reveal will not sound in the past, but in the present tense: how can a Marxist perceive the avant-garde?" Because this is precisely the problem and the difference in the answers to this question at some even sensual level divorces us, first of all, with the French "left" – we are too correct.

The question "how a Marxist should perceive the avant-garde?" Is not an illegitimate mixture of the political and the aesthetic, since it is legitimate or not the political and aesthetic were mixed long ago (or maybe they were always mixed?). – Jean Baudrillard called such a situation that the aesthetic goes beyond its borders, mixing the aesthetic with the political called "trans-aesthetic". – When Lifshits charges the avant-garde art with fascism, he, among other things (besides political assessments), seeks to arouse a feeling of disgust in us, as in political animals, or rather, as in people equipped with specific political sensuality. And this is not an inappropriate attack against the avant-garde, since the avant-garde itself appeals precisely to our political sensuality. When you look at the crumpled drums from under the chemicals of Joseph Beuys (exposition "Room of 90 thousand German marks"), you can enjoy anything, but not beauty. And who said that art should give you the pleasure of beauty? – What is it? Is exposed sale price of barrels economic or political? What if we are these barrels also crumpled and also sold? In order to see something, we must look politically, otherwise ... Otherwise, we get all these jokes like you can go to the dump instead of a museum.

Lifshits, if we agree with him, will not only arouse in us a feeling of disgust for the avant-garde, but also deprive us of the ability to see the

avant-garde, because seeing the avant-garde can only be politically, and seeing politically associates with Marx. The paradox is that while Soviet aesthetics exposes the avant-garde as anti-Marxist, Western aesthetics reveals Marx's Capital through avant-garde, says Avant-garde language in Capital, for example, Thierry de Duv's The Slaves of Marx. – Strictly speaking, de Duve`s "Capital" is made with the help of conscious Joseph Beuys and irresponsible Marcel Duchamp. The logic of "Capital" can be traced in the works of each of them, wittingly or unwittingly.

As I have already had occasion to notice, I take surrealism because firstly, it is impossible to embrace the whole avant-garde in one article, secondly, Andre Breton, the founder of surrealism, clearly stated his political position and began to publish the magazine, which is as suitable as possible for the purposes of my article – "Surrealism in the service of the revolution." But just like de Duve, I will not limit myself to a conscious Breton, but I will also attract the unconscious Marcel Duchamp. The division is not a simple thing, especially since the conscious and the non-conscious can work together, as was the case with Luis Bunuel and Salvador Dali. – Finally, I will not investigate the question of Marx`s opinion about Wagner, because no matter what anyone thinks about Wagner, Wagner is pretty far from our subject. I will be much more interested in the manifestation of Marx's logic in surrealistic art.

I. Machine

The film by Salvador Dali and Luis Bunuel "Andalusian Dog" begins with disgusting shots: someone opens the eye of a young woman with a razor. But the woman continues to see. The film shows what this woman sees, and what she sees is unlike anything. What is it?[2] What if this reality opens our eyes with a razor? Suppose that after the autopsy our vision has become perverted – really perverted or perverted in the opinion? But what if our vision came into conformity with what it should be by that means? Has it come into compliance with its subject? The one who came out of the Platonic cave, does not see like the one who remained in the cave. Whose look is perverted? "What if this look allows you to see the truth of the perverted world?" – To understand is not enough, you need to see. – Celine`s hero ("Journey to the End of the Night") realizes that a nation is

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[2] Luis Bunuel forbade the search for any rational explanation of the images used in the film. See: Капричос. Гойя. Дали. М.: РИП-Холдинг, 2017, с. 27.

a chimera, after a second he sees a marching regiment being thrown by ladies and flowers. And he has been recorded as a volunteer as soon as possible. He becomes a volunteer of the First World War not from the inability to understand, but from the inability to see. – Surrealism sees more than reality, – super-reality. The eye of the surrealist, in his perversion, sees that which is more real than reality itself, that which this reality conceals. – Anyone is able to see pink warm ladies throwing a regiment with flowers, and this is really a reality, but this is such a reality that, in fact, is a fraud: there are not ladies throwing a regiment with flowers, but a war machine – or, if you use this concept, like Deleuze and Guattari, the war machine appropriated by the state machine – and the ladies are not ladies, but its tentacles. Seeing what there is means not seeing what there is. To see things which no one can see – the tentacles for instance, we cannot see them, so that means to see things that are here. "The perverted gaze is the only uncorrupted."

In the film "Andalusian Dog," Dali and Bunuel saw cruelty, absurd cruelty in a modern interior, such as a cut off hand on the pavement, carefully placed by the police in a box. Whose hand is this? Who is this woman poking the hand with a cane? The hand is placed in a box. Street traffic restored. – Andalusian dog, a sissy, that in Madrid the same thing, Andalusian dog nickname of a sissy, first in the bib, then holding a pistol in each hand. An Eve of something scary? "Actually, it doesn't matter what Dali and Bunuel wanted, whether they thought that the 20s only seemed "golden", covering something quite different, like painted lips cover the mouth of a toothless old woman. Their feelings could be smarter than them. – Feelings can be more stupid than their owner or vice versa. It would be nice if the feelings were smarter or so that we were as smart as the senses, but ... – As for Dali, as his senses stunned, he became closer and closer to the classical forms, in the form in which they were possible – in the form of a vulgar-glossy "Last Supper".

To socialist realism. – The falsity of the warm pink people of socialist realism is that they are machines, issued as people. I do not want to offend anyone: cars are here and there, but we – socialist realists – do not even feel it, we drown out in ourselves this feeling, the feeling that breaks through in them. – In the Tretyakov Gallery there are a monumental canvas by Vasily Efanov "Unforgettable Meeting." It is a very good work. There are a frenzy of color, a lot of joy – joyful wives,

joyful leaders in this work. What are wives? "The leaders of the Party and Government on the Presidium of the All-Union Conference of the Wives of Business Executives and Engineering and Technical Workers of Heavy Industry in the Kremlin." Full title! Very good title. – Smile and delight under the engine name. – I wonder how advertising agencies call their poster templates? Well, there is no doubt that women with these patterns also smile. – No doubt, Efanov saw what there was. But this is not enough. There is nothing tricky in seeing what Efanov saw, it is more complicated to see what is, but what is not, what is not visible, it is the state's car. We, like people with a perverted gaze, have already seen women throwing flowers, tentacles of a war machine, or if according to Deleuze and Guattari: state machines in the guise of war, now we see tentacles of the state machine in the smiling ladies of the Presidium in the guise of the world.

Strictly speaking, these guises easily transform into each other, they are the same guise. – Smiling ladies confuse us. The state machine needs a suitable face, the face of a smiling lady in order to confuse us.

I 1⁄3 – Woman

Actually, the lady has no face, so her face is suitable for anything, for any advertising. The Truth of a Lady – A Lady Without a Face, Hans Bellmer's Doll.

"An unforgettable meeting" confuses the one who looks, – some woman has already been dreaming of a worker of the heavy industry, but she has doubts: will a worker of the light industry suit? – and confusesthe one who is depicted. They say, Efanov wrote etudes from nature, that is, there were these smiling wives, presumably believing that their partialness is their integrity. Appearance, imagining itself authenticity. – This appearance is not very good in itself, but in our case, the case of "building" a new society, it is not twice as good as a broken clock is not very good in itself, but when you need to catch the train, they are not twice as good . – The wives, or rather, their function, because the wife is only the function of the man's wife, depicts "Doll", and portrays brilliant. Obviously such wives cannot be seen anywhere, neither in the kitchen, nor in the nursery, nor in the presidium – by the way, what were they discussing? Have we got the right to ask about it? Bellmer casts in the metal the things without which there is no wife, – breast and backside. His

"Doll", like two drops, of water is similar to the Paleolithic Venus. – No, it is not similar, that is, it looks similar in appearance, but in essence it is her direct opposite. The breast and the backside of the Paleolithic Venus is expressed not by the partial, but by the integrity. Earlier, the whole universe exhausted with her breast and her backside; always pregnant and constantly giving birth – Mother Nature. For us, this breast and this backside is not exhausted by anything, for us it is a partial, therefore it is painful for us to see the "Doll". "This is the difference between our view and the Paleolithic view, we, voluntarily or unwittingly, involuntarily, if we succumb to the charm of "primitivism", and this can be put into surrealism, we proceed from a modern point of view, let me say from the point of view of a developed person.

That is why it hurts us to see the "Doll". But we must be hurt! When you see a partial, it must be painful. It is bad not when it hurts, but when it is painfully covered with flowers, sanctioned on behalf of the new society. "From the fact that the" leader "shakes the wife's hand, the wife does not cease to be the breast and the backside. They shake her hand precisely because she agrees to be the breast and the backside. From this point of view, it is better not to have hands, which "Doll" does not have.

"Bourgeois looks at his wife as a mere production tool"[3], Marx and Engels wrote in the Communist Manifesto. – And ... How to portray a bourgeois wife? And the bourgeois with his wife? I won't guess whether Francis Picabia read the Manifesto, but his Love Parade portrays what Marx and Engels write. Of course, Picabia looked at the question with bourgeois eyes, and who looked not bourgeois? – Marx in Capital showed the capitalist use of machines, Picabia in the "Love Parade" showed the capitalist use of women. Wives? Prostitutes? – Never mind.

I 2\3 – A savage

The head of the Dadaist, Hans Arp, is like the head of an ancestor from Oceania. Heads of ancestors from Oceania, often skulls on a wooden stand, with arms and legs. Hans Arpa has a wooden skull. – It makes no sense to ask what the skull of the ancestor means for the aboriginal of Oceania, for us it is self-knowledge, in which super-realism, surrealism is represented by a real skull. Reality is given by reality itself. At last,

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[3] Маркс К., Энгельс Ф. Манифест Коммунистической партии // Сочинения, 2-е изд. М.: Политиздат, 1955, т. 4, с. 444.

surrealism gives us something that can actually be seen. – If you ask about the origins of our need, the need that turns the skull of the savage ancestor into an object of art, I think I will not be mistaken if I point out the First World War, the war of mass armies and the militaristic rear. – In the already mentioned novel of Celine, we are experiencing the disintegration of the flesh – this is one of the few novels about the disintegration of the flesh, the flesh of Celine falls apart virtuously; and war is only the beginning of its collapse, that observation point, looking around from which we can survey all the richness of these putrefactive forms – from trading posts under the equatorial sun of Africa to musty cabinets in a Parisian suburb. Man everywhere is nothing else than decaying flesh, and, perhaps, the most "hygienic" that can still remain from him – his bare skull.

II. – Eye

Marx in the Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844 will not leave his eyes without an eye. If not to bore the reader with popular quotations, then we can formulate like this: we do not see without an eye, but what? And how? The ability to see is determined not by the eye, but by us, we define it as social creatures, and since we are not just social creatures, but also occupying a certain place in society, that is, bearing the curse of the division of labor, partialness, or "professional cretinism". Then we see not everything with the eye, but only something; we see not holistically, but partially. "... the mineral merchant sees only the mercantile value, and not the beauty and the peculiar nature of the mineral; he has no mineralogical feeling."[4] – It may seem, as it seems to the Surrealists, that the savage sees more, deeper, grasps what escapes us. What more accurately shows the essence of the war, our propaganda poster or the Hawaiian idol of the god Ku with his mouth littered with dog`s teeth? – Savage, in fact, is not yet aware of the division into a person and a trader in minerals, when a person exists as a poetic beautiful, alas, not valid, and a trader in minerals – as a prosaic, not beautiful, alas, real. But does it follow from this that the savage sees the mineral, its beauty and its peculiar natural form?

Marx speaks everywhere about developed feelings. "It is only thanks to the objectively developed riches of a human being that the wealth of

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[4] Маркс К. Экономическо-философские рукописи 1844 года // К. Маркс, Ф. Энгельс. Из ранних произведений. М.: Политиздат, 1956, с. 594.

subjective human sensuality is developed and partly generated for the first time: a musical ear that senses the beauty of the shape of the eyes – in short, feelings that are capable of human pleasures and that claim themselves as human essential forces"[5]. – Marx everywhere comes from wealth, and not from poverty; he does not deny the case of the "world history" with its results, but wants this case and these results to be appropriated by us. – Marx does not want back to the savage, but forward to the man! – Today, to return to the savage means to abandon the person, this is the same as with the "Doll" by Hans Bellmer, it returns us to the Paleolithic Venus, but serves not as a statement, but as a negation of the woman; the only purpose of the "Doll" is to hurt us and thereby shake us up, wake us up. In savage art such as the head of God bristling with dog`s teeth, we see our pain.

The savage, precisely because he does not know the split into man and the minerals dealer cannot strive for integrity, he does not know our pain and, ultimately, we cannot vouch that the savage sees the same god as Ku in the god of war Ku. In turn, we cannot see the eyes of a savage. We always see with our eyes, with the eyes of white people. But our view is looking for this time savage god Ku. – What need drives him? Where is it from?

What and how I see cannot remain constant. Especially since my sense of vision is public. – I cannot see the eyes of Raphael! Doesn't the archaic Cora differ from the pre-Hellenistic Bacchae of Skopas? And the point is not that, or in any case, not only that the obscure sculptor Cora was able to convey only static, but Scopas learned to recreate the whirlwind of movement, the obsession with dance – why did Scopas learn? *"Art always can and knows what it wants,"* wrote one Soviet art historian, *"but only what it wants."*[6] These words justify the masters of ancient Sumer, obsessed with huge eyes. Their figurines look at the world prohibitively, eerily, like doors (coffins?), with the eyes wide open. What do they see? What abyss? Or is it just a look of a zealous owner, whose figurine in his absence looks after the slaves? – In short, the things what and how we see always changed, but at the end of the XIXth and in XXth centuries it has changed especially.

[5] Маркс К. Экономическо-философские рукописи 1844 года // К. Маркс, Ф. Энгельс. Из ранних произведений. М.: Политиздат, 1956, с. 593

[6] Quoted by: Искусство Древнего Востока // Малая история искусств. М.; Dresden: Искусство; VEB Verlag der Kunst, 1977, c. 88.

It is even strange that some of the Marxists prefer to be surprised: who, if not Marx, spoke about the distinction between a person and a trader of minerals, a merchant and a citizen of a state, a German and a representative of the human race? But this distinction, the boundary of this distinction is within each person. – Who among us is holistic? – You see, Rafael did not lie, but the one who repeats Raphael today will lie. There is no illusion of a holistic person, which Rafael could be perceived as reality, today. – Favorite artist Andre Breton, Pablo Picasso was able to capture this split, see, for example, "Portrait of Daniel-Henry Kanveyler." However, I prefer "The Portrait of the Artist M.V. Matyushin" by Kazimir Malevich. – Yes, people are split, they will tell me, but does surrealism understand this as a problem?

Not; does not understand. But the Marxist philosopher must also do something. Once there is a division of labor.

III. – Market

Marcel Duchamp, writing a check from a non-existent bank to his dentist, opened or rediscovered financial fraud as an art. The point, of course, is not that Duchamp was a virtuoso of fraud, in truth, he was not even a fraud, his dentist knew perfectly well what kind of check he had received and was not going to cash it, then what did Duchamp discover? Duchamp imitated financial, or as he said: "phenansoviy" operations. Phenansy is not finance; it is an imitation of finance and at the same time something more real than finance. – Plato once blamed Homer for writing Homer about the war, but he wasn't a warrior, Homer spoke about the kings, and did not reign, you can add: he writes about the gods, but he is not God himself. He only imitates, but does not. Duchamp does, but imitates (therefore does not get in the criminal chronicle) and imitates, but does. He makes the program, so – not in the criminal chronicle, his program is the truth of finance, therefore – in the scandalous chronicle. After a couple of decades, Yves Klein, having appropriated the air for himself, will start selling them, and the newspapers will come out with headlines: "Klein is selling air!". – In neither case, nothing is created that could deliver sensual satisfaction, it does not create an object of sensual satisfaction, things, instead, the relation is recreated in its pure form. You see, in the "normal" economic case, the attitude is often hidden, as Marx liked to repeat: it seems that use values, useful things are produced, but

capital produces value. Another thing is that capital cannot produce value without producing goods, things that ultimately should be useful for someone. Oil or guns are useful to someone, but for the capital that produces them, they are the essence of value. When Yves Klein trades in the air, and Marcel Duchamp offers to sell the air long before him, then ... – Again, since capital produces value, production time, mediating turning Money into Money', is almost annoying inevitability for him; he disdains speculation to reduce turnover to M – M' (I don't touch bank capital for which M – M is a "normal" turn), and the miracle of M' birth out of thin air happens ... This common phrase "make money out of thin air", understood, of course, metaphor In all cases, except in the case of Yves Klein. Klein makes money out of thin air. – Capital would like to do as Yves Klein does, but it is Yves Klein who does it. Duchamp, by the way, although he did not become an air seller, but he became – almost said: its producer, not its producer but a producer of carbon dioxide. "I am a man," said Duchamp, "whose work consists in the fact that he breathes."[7]

A black or red-figured amphora is both a useful thing and a work of art; through it, the painter and his viewer asserted themselves in being. "Euphimis, the son of Polii, painted, as Euphronius could never have done." Written on one of the bottoms. Over time, the amphoras turned into exchange values, and euphimides and euphronias became slaves, that is, also exchange values. Centuries later, a cult of genius, a "free artist", was born, free also because it does not create anything useful, nothing that could be sold, that is, it creates art for the sake of art. To the extent that Duchamp disposes of something useful – a bottle dryer or a urinal – he does not create it; to the extent that he creates something – like a signature on a fake check – it is completely useless. But this, and the other, is the essence of value, and Duchamp creates them. – Duchamp bought a urinal and sent it to the exhibition. Urinal slid far away. A friend of Duchamp came under the guise of a millionaire, wrote a check for a couple of millions in the name of Duchamp, bought a urinal. I imagine how the curator of the exhibition shouted: "Where is the urinal? Bring him to the main hall! Put in the center! This is the high spot of the exhibition!" The millionaire's check makes the urinal an art. – They say the urinal is lost. If

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[7] Quoted by: де Дюв Т. Невольники Маркса: Бойс, Уорхол, Кляйн, Дюшан. М.: Ад Маргинем Пресс, 2016, с. 82.

he had been, there would have been a millionaire who would have written a real check. That the urinal is an art makes it worth. A split urinal would be good too.

Duchamp does nothing useful, he, like capital, produces value. – If capital produces value, why does Duchampn not demand money, price as such, for breathing?

IV. – Desire

Why desire? – Desire makes its demand directly. An indirect way to satisfy the desire is the institution. In this distinction, I repelled from the Deleuze distinction of instincts and institutions[8], but I am not talking about instincts, but about desires, as a human and socially conditioned. – Since my examples are from "Journey to the End of the Night", I'll continue the tradition: one of the travelers to this region, Robinson, serving as a delivery man, desired a client, and he desired her because of her silks and lace, her perfume, and the furnishings of the apartment. He desired as a delivery man, that is, he wanted in a specific way for the delivery man. And at the same time, he did not want to satisfy his desire through the institution of marriage, because the institute promised him not a client, but the woman the same as he, smelly and badly dressed, and in addition it promised another smell, the smell of poverty in a stale kennel, that is, a family hearth. – The Institute restrains desire. But this function of the institution still says nothing about what is better – desire or institution? In his articles, Lifshits links desire with fascism. – Indeed, Hitler said: "The great disasters of our people raised us to fight, joined our forces and elevated us. We will never understand those nations that have not experienced such deprivations. It seems mysterious and even incomprehensible to them that hundreds of thousands of people are able to unite in the face of the greatest misfortunes and sufferings. It is not possible for others to understand that this is not happening by order of the state. It's not the state that gives us orders, it's we who are in charge of the state. It was not the state that created our movement, we ourselves created our own state."[9] Not the institution, but desire. It turns out that it is regrettable that the state institution was too weak to neutralize the fascist

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[8] See: Делёз Ж. Инстинкты и институты // Ж. Делёз. Мая 68-го не было. М.: Ад Маргинем Пресс, 2016, с. 18-23.

[9] Hitler's speech at the bottom of the Nazi Party in 1934; cit. according to: «Триумф воли» (Triumph des Willens, реж. Лени Рифеншталь, 1935), 58-ая-62-ая минуты.

desire. Bismarck's institute is better than Hitler's desire. But the Bismarck Institute in the person of Hindenburg itself gave way to Hitler's desire, because ... served all the same desire. – Not desire, not an institution in itself does not guarantee against fascism. From Hitler's desire, it does not follow that every desire is fascist. By this logic, any vegetarian is a fascist.

Duchamp is a disgrace, but not a fascist, because his desire is confusing. Fascist desire restores certainty: the German is German, the Jew is Jewish, the man is man, the woman is woman. A reproduction of "Mona Lisa", corrected by Duchamp's pencil, confuses: you are waiting for a woman, but Mona Lisa with a painted beard and mustaches is already a man. – Is Gleb Ouspensky doing the same with Venus de Milo, declaring that her face is masculine? – This game reveals that not only a woman can cause lust, and not only a man can think. In Mona Lisa, with the mustache of sexuality no more than in Venus, Gleb Ouspensky, although Duchamp refers to sexuality through the signature "L. H. O. O. Q. ", that is, the phonetic anagram of sexual attraction in French. "Mona Lisa" is rather pensive, probably she is already pensive in Leonardo`s painting too: just like Venus de Milo, Mona Lisa does not shine with female (in the traditional sense) charms, but the fact that she is a woman prevents her from being thoughtful. When I read the description of the feminine traits of Baron Charlis with Proust, I understood that there are no longer any grounds for excluding women from among men, men and women are interchangeable. – Is it necessary to approach this through Baron Charles or Rroz Selyavi, she is: Marcel Duchamp in a woman's dress? No, it is not necessary, but for the time being I am interested in the question: is this desire fascist? – No, it's not.

V.

In short, a "wishing machine" can be blamed for the fact that, shaking the existing one, thanks to the revolutionary nature of its desire, it is nonetheless unable to overcome its grip. To do this, you need to take a fundamentally different position to the existing one – not the automatic recorder, but the author. – The author's denial is what unites Breton, on the one hand, Deleuze and Guattari, on the other; and the latter give the author's negation a political meaning. After fascism there cannot be the author. – I think that this is as (not) true as the Lifshitz logic: after fascism there can be no desire. From the fact that Hitler is the author (if he is the

author), it does not follow that every author is Hitler. – If you put the question politically, the risk of fascism is not in the position of the author, but in the position of the automatic recorder. Even if fascism comes from the author, then it comes from a certain (one) author and, in order to spread, needs no other authors, but automatic recorders. In other words, the risk of fascism is the less, when there are more authors. Actually, Deleuze and Guattari themselves distinguish protest, revolutionary desire "no, I am not yours" and conformist, fascist desire "yes, I am yours", in my opinion, it is not difficult to understand which of the two corresponds to the position of the author, and which automat.

VI. – To slip!

Andre Breton's manner of combining fragments of words with fragments of objects is not original; it was in this manner that Carlo Carra, the Italian futurist, responded to the First World War, alas, responded in a fascist manner – his invasion appearance collage was published under the heading "Patriotic feast". – Perhaps, right now I come to criticism of the recorder's manner. – Andre Breton is not a patriot, Carlo Carra was not a patriot either. – Carlo Carra enters the pictorial art with the painting "The Funeral of the Anarchist Galli", written sympathetically to the anarchists, to Galli, the anarchist who was killed during the Milan strike of 1904. And the picture cannot be called an accident, Carra hatched her from 1904 to 1911th. How did Carra become an adherent of war? Very simple: he listened. "I expelled every image of a person," he said, "in order to portray the pictorial abstraction of the urban bustle."[10] The city hustle shouted about the war, and Carra shouted about the war. Carra read Marx, but turned out to be no smarter than the hustle. – It is not enough to listen to the commotion to keep pace with the times. To keep up with the times, you need to run forward – to slip away from the hustle.

It is difficult to say what prompts to escape, perhaps, desire, the most protest one: "no, I am not one of yours". Although futurism unites F.T. Marinetti and Vladimir Mayakovsky, desire separates them. I think that it is because of the difference in desire that the difference in their political positions results. Marinetti wants to listen to the roar of automobile engines under the windows and listens with ecstasy to a provincial who wants to pass for the capital's inhabitant. – Italy – a

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[10] Quoted by: Мартин С. Футуризм. GmbH; М.: Taschen; Арт-Родник, 2010, с. 66.

province of Europe, Marinetti – a diligent provincial. – Mayakovsky also listens, but maybe even unconsciously takes a different position for himself: already in the "Adishche of the city" ... It seems to me that the old man, brought down by the tram, is still pitiful, and then for some reason, after all – an awesome! – The old man began to cry. And, in my opinion, we see these tears. – Then "Good attitude to horses." The street hustle is expressed perfectly. Mushroom! Rob! Coffin! Rude! But Mayakovsky somehow escapes the hustle: when everyone laughs at a fallen horse, he sees horse`s tears. – Again the tears. – Horse`s anguish spilled on him.

Slipping, drawing a line of escape is what Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari love to write about. Only their line – turning into an animal, a plant, a stone. – Is not this a recognition of his defeat? What is tricky to turn into an animal? Or, in other words, is not the non-transformation into an animal not worth us much more effort? – It seems that Mayakovsky escapes under their scenario. – Each of us is a horse of his own. But what if a horse becomes a man here? – Everything seemed to her, she was a foal, and it was worth living and working was worth it. – To live and work in a horse or human way? If the horse were to work in a horse-like manner, a verse would hardly have made on us that renewing effect that it produces. We are all horses, we are all driven horses. – What if a horse becomes a man? Even a better person than laughing faces at Kuznetsky – a participant in the revolution. Still, the 18th year! Hence its update. "She thought she was a foal, and it was worth living and working."

Then the horse slipped away from its share of the horse due to the fact that it did not listen to the commotion, but surpassed it, overcame it, because it saw what it was worth living and working for. – Marinetti gives the futurism formula: "art + action + life = futurism". But does he follow this formula? Listening to the roar of car engines does not mean acting, it means just listening. You can listen to grasshoppers, you can listen to motors, it is a matter of taste and opportunity: if there is no possibility to leave the city for the summer, then listen to the motors. – Action is in another thing, and it means that Marinetti is not a futurist, but only a pastoralist in a new way.

VII. – About imagination

It would be wrong to end the conversation without saying about Guillaume Apollinaire, the author of the word "surrealism." At Apollinaire, as well as at Breton, the children's dream and adult everyday life, the dream of something worth living and working, and the hustle of the gray Parisian streets cannot come together. – It should be noted that Apolliner's perception of Paris is not at all romantic, in his second compilation published during his lifetime, "Alcohol", he introduces us to Paris from the backyard, from the Zone, or the working outskirts. The same Zone is the scene of Parisian action in Celine's novel, "Journey to the End of Night". – A sultry modern world, cars, horns, brutal sun, dust, gasoline stench, a crowd in which everyone is in a hurry on a business, a very important business, their business, eliminates the dream, makes it silly and shameful. There is nothing to breathe from rushing cars – it is not so easy to work as Duchamp, – but what else is left? What is not stupid? What is not ashamed? – "You're in Paris. You are completely alone in the crowd, and you wander without knowing where. Immediately, next to you, there appear a lot of mooing buses. Her throat gripped her longing with her sharp hoop, as if you would never be loved again. If you had lived in another era, it would probably have been tonsured as a monk, and now you are ashamed to pray when your soul is bad. You laugh at yourself and in your laughter – sparks of hell. With gold they cover the canvas of your life. This canvas was hung in a sad museum. There you come to look at him sometimes."[11] – By the way, about canvases, – canvases, if they express something, they express pain, and Apollinaire was friendly with Picasso, there is even a roll between the "Girl on the ball" of the second and the "Cloudy ghost" of the first. – "You're in Paris. Here women are spattered with blood scarlet. It was (oh, I don't want to remember!) It was at a time when beauty was dying."[12] – Where is the blood from? In Celine, blood flows from the uterus torn by an abortion; this is his medical practice. And since I'm following Celine as my shadow, and he really is a shadow, a shadow of fascism, doesn't it pose the question that in this decaying, bleeding uterine blood can prevent you from becoming a fascist? Celine has become. I don't want to give a "schematic" answer, strictly speaking, nothing but ... Celine doesn't have

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[11] Аполлинер Г. Зона // Гийом Аполлинер. Стихи. М.: Наука, 1967, с. 26.
[12] Ibidem, с. 26.

a dream or, in any case, he's part with it quite easily. A childhood dream is shameful because adults have finished it long ago, but the most humane, in any case, as long as childhood remains for us the only time when we are driven by a variety of feelings, from kind curiosity to proud ambition (when, if not in childhood, read the history of the Roman Republic?), but our feelings, not alienated, are of interest, but not from the English *interest*, a percentage of capital.

No matter how we are crippled by the cares of various trainers, childhood does not lose its charm for us. Andre Breton writes in "The First Manifesto". – Maybe the simplest surrealist act is not the one that Breton declared with a completely childish provocation in "the Second Manifesto" – go out and shoot a pistol – and admit to yourself and others in your childhood dream? – By the way, I take Breton's statement as a child's provocation; you accuse me, God knows what, I confess to you! Take it! I'm worse than you thought! You can be happy! "Didn't it happen to us to do the same?" "You have no shame, no conscience!" – It does not matter here whether they are (maybe they are), the rules of the game require their denial. – Maybe even the most conscientious would rather recognize the lack of conscience? – How infantile it turns out! And what prevents us to prove that Hitler carried out the simplest surrealist act, and for me, and for Breton? Frankly, I would prefer to leave Hitler alone now, especially since he has become a baton, used, depending on the case, against desire, now against the author, then against anything – let's agree that man is a being entered to sin, to fascism, to anything, and let`s go on. – Presumption of innocence.

"Here is a familiar street, again it is young, and you are just a child. Mother dresses you in blue and white. You are very inspired and delighted with the pomp of the service. Your friend Delize shares your admiration."[13] – Now the sky is for airplanes, Christ is competing with them. – What torments Apollinaire? The very thing that tormented Mayakovsky's horse. What should we live and work for? A very non-bourgeois (possibly reactionary) question, which is based on the assumption that there is something, something more worthwhile than interest on capital. – Feudal socialism? I hold the opinion that without this strange thought, Marxism would not have been born, perhaps the"

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[13] Аполлинер Г. Зона // Гийом Аполлинер. Стихи. М.: Наука, 1967, с. 24.

immaturity "of the Germans, as compared with the efficiency of the British, also played a role here ...

> "All the gods were waiting for these graveyards,
> Waited tears of weeping willow.
> Pan Great, Love and Christ
> Now they are dead, and the cats mew,
> I brought my grief to Paris."[14]

I brought my grief to Paris, on Cristin Street, on Monday, "Monday on Christin Street", a completely surrealistic verse, more real than reality, made up of fragments of street phrases, – Christin Street absorbs me like Carr's – headlines of patriotic newspapers. If I can slip away, it is only because I have a different perception, another – because I came to this street with different memories:

> "I, in whose memory Le and Rondeli,
> Queens of pleasure,
> Song of the siren about rocks and shoals
> The anthem of the slaves and the sad tune
> Those who did not have happiness in love."[15]

The dream does not make over Christin Street. But it is enough that it allows not only to slip away to Apollinaire himself, but also gives him the capacity for sympathy; the special purpose of the bohemian, when the poet takes upon himself the pain of the outcasts, appears in his poetry more than clearly: as Proteus, Apollinaire changes appearances – either an emigrant, a Jew, or a prostitute. We have already heard that beauty is dead, the snow-white Beauty Mallarmé died, and what was left? The one that remains cannot be called beauty, but it also throws a reflection on it, or rather, say, and the echo of le and rondela is heard in it. – "These women are not angry, but they have a lot of worries. Even the one that is not at all beautiful bears grief to the lover. She is the daughter of the policeman which serves on the island of Jersey. Her hands – I had never seen them – hardened, the skin cracked from the cold. The scar on her body causes great pity in me. I now defile my lips for the sake of a poor girl with a terrible laugh."[16] – Do we not fall into the trap of idealizing the lumpen-proletariat? Very likely; nonetheless – sympathy. – Sympathy is what distinguishes Apolliner from Celine. Celine has a decay of flesh, but

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[14] Аполлинер Г. «Всех богов этих ждал погост…» // Гийом Аполлинер. Стихи. М.: Наука, 1967, с. 37.

[15] Ibidem, с. 37.

[16] Аполлинер Г. Зона // Гийом Аполлинер. Стихи. М.: Наука, 1967, с. 30.

no sympathy; Celine quite frankly says that as a doctor he lost the ability to sympathize, the only thing left for him is fear for himself, what will it turn out for me? – On the other hand, Apollinaire looks at the Zone as a slacker poet, Celine as a medical practitioner. – I now remembered Celine only for the sake of comparison. The ability to dream gives Apollinaire sympathy ... Having desecrated his lips with the kiss of the terrible girl, he goes home, where idols from the islands of Oceania are waiting for him, and every idol is Christ. – It turns out, Christ links all parts of the "Zone", Christ in the clouds of a child's dream, Christ in a terrible girl, Christ in idols from the islands of Oceania, Christ in the Zone. – If we accept Christ as a longing for something human, and accept that this longing lives in the Zone, then Apollinaire's wandering dream can be "tied" to a new earth, to the Zone. And…

"Sun with a cut throat."[17]

If the sun rises in the Zone, it should rise with a throat cut.

VIII.

To the extent that we belong to the commotion of the streets, surrealism gives us a sense of anxiety; to the extent that we escape the hustle and bustle of the streets, surrealism animates our dream. These two, in general, opposing moments are brought together in Breton's "automatic writing" – I write down both that and that, I am not fenced off either from imagination or from the street. – Maybe not enough effort – the efforts of the mind? – to empower the imagination, to change the street. At the same time, we should not forget that we are talking about a certain form of sensuality, and the political meaning here is not the thesis – to change the world – but the feeling of pain, the feeling of insufferable something. – I cannot, I'm choking! – Feeling absurd.

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In Apollinaire, all these feelings are ennobled by a dream. – Where the hustle of the streets is a modernist form, where the dream is almost a classical form. However, both that, and that – interlacing threads of one cloth. – Interlacing threads ... Much is intertwined in surrealism, it is not so easy to intertwine Apollinaire and, say, Duchamp, with each other – from that I wonder if my article has not been dispersed in different directions? – Is it possible to catch the feeling that all this will

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[17] Аполлинер Г. Зона // Гийом Аполлинер. Стихи. М.: Наука, 1967, с. 31.

intertwine? – Andre Breton intertwines everything with a political gesture: "Le Surrealisme au service de la revolution". He puts all parts of surrealism on the revolution, as if on a rod, and thereby gives them meaning. In the service of what? In the service of the revolution. – What is the result of the revolution from surrealism?

IX.

My first acquaintance with Lorelei took place thanks to the Mandelstam line: "Russia, Leta, Lorelei." The beauty Lorelei was accepted by me, I repent, for the dadaist set of sounds that are consonant with Lethe, for such a *le, rondel, riturnel.* Apolliner enlightened me. And I felt the connection. – Lorelei is the name of a dream, and when you consider that Mandelstam ends his verse "Decembrist" with this line, it is not just the name of a dream – dream of revolution.

"To the blonde witch from the Rhineland
Men were walking in a crowd, dying of love."[18]

They, we go, we go to Lorelei, Lethe absorbs us and them, and again, and again ... They go and we go. – Beauty Lorelei, wanting to stop the flow of people, rushes into the Rhine stream. – Where to go now? – The beautiful Lorelei does not realize that it is better to go to her than not to go anywhere. We, feeling (understanding?) It, do not pass judgment on her. – The bishop, called to judge, cannot judge.

"O Bishop, in my eyes the flames of fire,
So give this terrible spell to fire! "
"Lorelei! Your fire is omnipotent: I'm
bewitched by you not a judge to you."[19]

The one who is seized by desire cannot judge him, but also the one who is not already seized does not have the right to judge him. Desire is not subject to jurisdiction. When the Rhine's waters close over Loreley, the object of desire will disappear, but not the desire itself. Peace will not come. Now the possibility of peace is even less than it was before, since the desire can no longer be satisfied under any circumstances. Desire is doomed to remain unfulfilled. – Socialist realism chooses to quench desire by portraying Lorelei in legal marriage, surrealism leaves desire unsatisfied. – Social Realism chooses to see the revolution complete, surrealism lasting. Strictly speaking, Social Realism is also not realism,

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[18] Аполлинер Г. Лорелея // Гийом Аполлинер. Стихи. М.: Наука, 1967, с. 70.
[19] Ibidem, с. 70.

and the question is, what serves revolution, satisfied desire or an unsatisfied desire? – The bourgeois knight, still remembering that he is a knight, reluctantly going to go to Lorelei – where else to go? He hears Lorelei drowned: "Thank God!" He is quite satisfied. – My claim to socialist realism is that it is satisfied. A milkmaid is a milkmaid; a pig-woman is a pig-woman. All certainties are restored – very good! – The surrealism of certainty destroys, it is dissatisfied and this serves the revolution. – On the one hand, the attempts of Andre Breton to link surrealism with the revolution seem to be his personal predilection, on the other, ... Andre Breton is not so stupid as not to catch the connection between unremitting desire. Strictly speaking, desire can only be unremitting, and a lasting revolution – desire, that wishes, and a revolution that lasts.

CONCLUSION

Marxist aesthetics sees rather, the enemy in surrealism, surrealism – in Marxism, rather, an ally. Curious mismatch. – It seems that Marxism like surrealism is stretched between the objective and the subjective, the objective that a Marxist should learn under the name of objective laws while the surrealist should record it automatically under the name of the hustle of the streets, and by the subjective that exists, but does it exist? The problem is in the subjective, in its disappearance in the objectified machine mechanism, not at all created by nature and being in this sense the objectification of the subjective, but excluding the subjective, as its mechanism, movement is determined by its own laws. – There is no place for the subjective in the machine assembly. – When Francis Picabia represents the feeling of love through a "love parade", that is, the mechanical movement of the cylinders and pistons, the feeling, like the subjective , disappears and the objective mechanics of the bodies remain; the mechanics of their movement, something like an internal combustion engine. – The scandal that such constructions produce in Marxist aesthetics is rather intended to cover up that it is not enough to cover the car with leather and draw a blush on it in order for it to become a man. In other words, it is called upon to cover up doubts that social realism (another realism with a prefix) gives us people.

The paradox in the combination of decisive revolutionism, "Surrealism at the service of the revolution" is the name of Andre Breton's organ, a rejection of the subjective, in which even desire is understood as something objective, some objective movement of cylinders

and pistons under the influence of incoming flows, for example, hot steam flows. – At the same time, the spectator perception of surrealism is much more subjective, more scandalous than the perception of the social realism. Maybe the scandal here is something more than just attracting attention (although this too), it is a blow, a shake that makes you think. Maybe it is through the scandal that our subjectivity is introduced into the game. – The scandal produced by surrealism is the same scandal as the scandal made by Capital, the outcry scandal. This is the first thing; and the second one is that through the scandal, the subjective is introduced into surrealism. And it must be entered as in Marxism, since it is possible to learn the objective or record the hustle of the streets, but the objective one cannot change the hustle and bustle of the streets without the subjective. The scandal of exposure requires our reaction, I of course do not speak of epigone scandals that do not aspire to anything else but to tickle nerves. But how to distinguish the one from the other? It is not so difficult, it is our political sensuality that gives us the cue about the scandal. It distinguishes and it constructs the scandal as political. The scandal of exposure cannot take place without it. In other words, in order for the surrealist actions to be more than disgraceful, it must be assumed that, while behaving disgracefully, they serve the revolution. "At the service of the revolution" is the key to their disgrace.

SUMMARY

Mikhail Lifshits, one of the few original Soviet aesthetics, made a non-original statement: the avant-garde logically (!) leads to fascism. Since it is impossible to embrace the entire avant-garde in one article, I focus on one thing, on surrealism. Why surrealism? Because its founder Andre Breton unambiguously declared his political position, strictly speaking, this position is already read in the name of the Breton magazine – "Surrealism in the service of the revolution". Of course, you shouldn't take Breton for a word. Therefore, the aim of the article is not to clash two statements with each other – Lifshits and Breton – but to trace again the logical (!) connection between surrealism and revolution. First of all, a revolution, whether political or surreal, is not at all obligated to be chaste, as Miche Lifshits probably believes. Although it is not limited to this, it does not exist without it, without an exposure scandal. It is interesting to note that it is not worth the trouble to give the statements of Marx interpreting the revolution precisely as an exposure, however, an exposure produced by political means. Surrealism does the same work. It

also exposes bourgeois reality from ideological veils that hide it, but by means of art. It is this nudity, desire and ability to see more of what reality wants to show us in which consists a positive answer to the question "does the surrealism of the revolution serve?"

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REVOLUTION ON THE WESTERN BORDER
OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE
(IN WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN
"THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. VOLS. 1-2")

Anatolii Rusnachenko

In this article I try to analyze the depiction of the revolutionary events in the national, Western parts of former Russian empire in the 2-volume scholarly study of one of the first historian of the Russian revolution William Chamberlin (1897-1969). He was American historian and journalist, author of some books on the Soviet Russia. From 1922 to 1934 he was correspondent of the newspapers *The Christian Science Monitor* (Boston)*, Manchester Guardian.* I may admit that he thrown light mostly on Ukraine among other national revolutions. The term "national revolution", of course, was absent in the vocabulary of the author. His book received widespread acclaim in the West, but practically unknowing for the Ukrainian historians, readers, jet ideas of his research were used in the next scientific literature. He had communist sympathies until he lived in the Soviet Union. Then, gradually he turned anti-communist. He visited Ukraine and North Caucasus in 1932 and 1933 and witnessed *Holodomor* famines. The above-mentioned monograph was written when he was in the USSR and published first time in 1935. Returning to the USA in 1940, W.Chamberlin taught in some universities.

Concerning the saucers of his study of the revolutionary Ukraine, Baltic republics William Chamberlin used accessible to him well-known memoirs of V.A. Antonov-Ovsienko, E.Bosh, A.I. Denikin, monograph of N.R. Kakurin "Kak srajalas' revolucia", some other Soviet participants of revolution from Bolsheviks and the White sides, N.Popov including, Russian newspapers (*Izvestia* first of all), but he omitted resolutely all Ukrainians non-communist authors on the topic. The only 2 exceptions were 3 voluems of Volodymyr Vynnychenko' "Vidrodjennia natsii" and Arnold Margolin' "Ukraina i polityka Antanty". The main reasons of it seems to me simple- Chamberlin did not master Ukrainian, and other languages of the national minorities of the empire, was close to

communist views at that time. Though, he visited Ukraine, have had some talks with different persons and used these tales and his own impressions into monograph. By the way he mentioned the archives of the Hetman regime with complaints of the local officials[1], but he never cited it. Later, in 1944, he published other book on Ukrainian topic: *The Ukraine: A Submerged Nation.*

Author began his study with preparatory steps in the revolution: social forces in the Russian history, pioneers of the revolution. He shifted to the previous Russian revolution of 1905, impacts and results the WWI on the population. These factors eased by Bolsheviks to take power in the country, to reveal first steps of the new regime. And then the Civil war began. The historian used chronological approach in its narrative.

For W. Chamberlin the power of Central Rada in Kiev was shaky, and "was restricted to the Western part of Ukraina, where nationalist feeling was strongest, and where the industrial working class was relatively weak".[2] But Rada became the master in Kyiv, disarming the Bolshevik forces in the city. Chamberlin overestimated Bolshevik influence in Kharkov and Donetsk in 1918.[3] His definition of Galicians from Eastern Galicia as "very close to the Ukrainian in race and language"[4] is strange. However, they are ethnographical parts of the united Ukrainian people.

Next pages of the chapter "Revolution in the country" devoted to events which later historians would name as "the first Russian-Ukrainian war in time of the Ukrainian revolution of the 1914-1923".[5]

Concerning the troops of the Soviet Russia, its commander Antonov-Ovsienko (W.Ch. use the first half of family name of the former) *established headquarters in Kharkov. His army was the partisan detachments of the il-disciplined force of 6-7 troops. However, author did not recognized Central Rada as such, he named it as "Ukrainian Rada", (or "Rada' simply) to which Radnarkom had sent its demands and proclaimed "if no satisfactory reply was received within 48 hours, Radnarkom will regard the Rada as in a condition of open war against the Soviet power in Russia and Ukraine." General Sekretariat –executive*

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[1] William Henri Chamberlin, *The Russian Revolution. Vol. 1. 1917-1918.* 2nd ed. Crosset @Danlap, New York, 1965. – Vol. 2. – P. 128.

[2] Ibidem. – Vol. 1. – P. 349

[3] Ibidem.

[4] Ibidem. – Vol. 2. – 129.

[5] See my "Narysy novitnioi istorii Ukrainy". – Kyiv, 2014.

body of Rada declared to Radnarkom, that "it was dishonest or contradictory for the Council of People's Commissars simultaneously to recognize Ukraina's right to self-determination and to impose its own form of political organization upon Ukraina."[6]

The reply of the Ukrainian General Secretariat did not satisfy the Russian Soviet demands. Ukrainian Soviet Government was organized on December 27 in Kharkov and the Council of People's Commissars in Moscow recognized it two day later. Rada possessed a considerable appeal the Ukrainian middle classes and to more educated peasants, but the social upheaval in revolution was stronger. For Chamberlin Kruti- is only railroad station where Rada drived back Muraviev, but was defeated after two-day battle. He mentioned also the mutiny of the pro-Soviet workers at the Arsenal. Author pictured the situation in conquered capital of Ukraine -Kyiv: shooting without trials and pillaging were common.[7] Ukrainian historians added that to be killed was everybody who speak Ukrainian or was dressed nationally. Chamberlin had used term "excesses" on the brutality of invading troops, but in result of it nearly 2600 citizens were shooting. The Soviet Government ordered the requisition of all surplus food products under pretext of speculation.

Chamberlin wrote that it was no possibility to defend Kyiv by the Soviets, because they have small number of them, poorly armed and disciplined. So, in Kyiv was a panicky in the Soviets organizations. They ruled in capital three weeks only. Author did not mention the role of Ukrainian army in the liberation of Ukraine from Bolsheviks.

In the same chapter of the monograph Chamberlin wrote about attempts of introduction of the Soviet power on Kuban and Don, he referred about pro-Ukrainian Kuban Popular Rada in next volume.

Ukrainian question reappeared in the chapter "Brest-Litovsk: the struggle for peace". W. Chamberlin indicated that representatives of the Central Rada were participants in the negotiations. German and Austrian diplomats now rejected the right of Trotzky to speak for all former Russian lands. Germans and Austrians were ready for separate peace with Ukraine. Historian admitted that the Ukrainian delegates put forward some territorial demands: Austro-Hungary should cede to Ukraine East Galicia and Bukovina, because Ukrainian population was dominating

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[6] William Henri Chamberlin, *The Russian Revolution. Vol. 1.* – P. 374.
[7] Ibidem. Pp. 375.

here, Kholm *gubernia*, now in Poland should be in Ukraine too. Germans and Austrians refused to any cession of the Austrian territory, but trying to weak of Poland, compromised for Kholm. In Austria Crown Land was to be created out of East Galicia and Bukovina.[8]

The problems of the Baltic nations were mentioned at the Brest-Litovks negotiation in this chapter too, but shortly. Author wrote about speech of general Hoffman, who referred 1918, January 12 to the acts of Curland Popular Assembly, the Lithuanian landrat, the municipal administration of Riga and others which "repudiated all connection with Russia and appeared to Germany for defense". But these bodies could not be regarded as nationally representative, Chamberlin remarked. They were delegates elected as a rule by "the German racial minority in the Baltic States".[9] I may point out that by the time of these peace talks the independence of Estonia and Latvia yet was not proclaimed.

With resume of the Brest-Litovsk peace negotiations Soviet delegation included two representatives of the Soviet Ukraine- Medvedev and Shakhrai. The government of the Ukrainian People's Republic (UPR) was in danger, but Central Powers on February 1 announced the recognition of the UPR. They were sure in their military potential to overthrow the Soviets in Ukraine.[10] Trotzky sarcasm about "non-existence of Ukrainian Republic" passed without visible result. The peace treaty of Ukraine with Central Powers was signed on February 9. It meant the German and Austrian assistance in the struggle with Bolshevik Russia in exchange for foods from Ukraine.[11]

Trotzky refused to sign peace agreement with Central Powers and left Brest-Litovsk February 10. Three days later Germans after a council of chief military and civilian authorities decided "to strike a brief hard blow… by advancing the line of occupation to the eastern boundaries of Latvia and Estonia"[12]. German advance to East began in February 18.

Vladimir Lenin position at the meeting of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik party was clear: if Estonia, Latvia and Finland were giving up the Revolution was still not lost. We may remember that Bolsheviks had great successes in these provinces, but Lenin wanted to preserve

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[8] William Henri Chamberlin, *The Russian Revolution. Vol. 1*. – P. 393.
[9] Ibidem. – P. 395.
[10] Ibidem. – P. 399.
[11] Ibidem. – P. 400.
[12] Ibidem. – P. 401.

revolution in real Russia. For the resuming of peace talks Germans demanded: "evacuation of Latvia and Estonia by Russian troops and Red Guards; the immediate conclusion of peace between Russia and Ukrainian people's Republic and the withdrawal of Russian troops and Red Guards from Ukraina and Finland". Chamberlin wrote that meant a protectorate over Ukraine and Finland and annexation of Baltic Provinces.[13]

In passing, author recalled separate regions in Ukraine that created its own Soviet Governments, but did not name them, he did not write about reasons which brought these governments to existence.

William Chamberlin scrutinize the regime Pavlo Skoropadsky in Ukraine after the *coup d' etat* in April 1918. His main argument of its necessity for the Germans was that they found out the Rada not sufficiently subservient. Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky completely dependent upon support of German army and was popular with landlords and the well-to-do classes of the towns. His conservative regime was greeted well by the numerous refugees from Soviet Russia also.[14] In the next volume Chamberlin took more attention to general Skoropadsky as a leader of the state and the state which he represented. For historian Hetman was no in any sense a nationalist, but he imparted of his regime a skin-deep Ukrainian coloring. For Ukrainian nationalists (and for Chamberlin himself) Skoropadsky was the puppet ruler who has been installed by Germans. He was unpopular, because of his social policy.[15] In result of it were general strike of the Ukrainian railroad workers, terrorism and sabotages in the towns. In countryside there "was an intermittent guerilla war", in form of local uprisings, or more often in form in killing, robberies, burning of manour-houses.[16]

Historian try to explain the reasons of the "peasant guerilla bands" that cut off small part of foreign soldiers, raiding landlords' estates and killing their owners. First explanation: Skoropadsky endeavored to return land seized by peasant to its former owner; second- too much foodstuffs was delivered from Ukraine to Germany according to peace agreement between both sides. But Chamberlin said nothing about proposed land reform of Hetman P.Skoropadsky according to what all the landlords' lands must be redeemed by the state, every holder of the land may own no more than

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[13] William Henri Chamberlin, *The Russian Revolution. Vol. 1.* – P. 403.
[14] Ibidem. – P. 409.
[15] Ibidem. – Vol. 2. – P. 125.
[16] Ibidem. – P. 126.

25 ha.[17] He made mistake, writing about lively communications of the Ukrainian communists, who took refuge in Moscow, with insurgents in border zone of Ukraine. Communists attempted to organize one big peasant uprising in Chernigov gubernia (Mykola Kropyvianskiy-A.R.).

Chamberlin was well informed about running of the first congress of the Communist party of Ukraine in July of 1918, division between delegates on a left-wing group headed by Bubnov and Pyatakov and moderate group headed by Kviring. When regime of occupation was crumbling, the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Worker's party decided to organize the government for the Soviet Ukraine.[18] Was or not the German presence in Ukraine an occupation in 1918 is an item for discussions of the professional historians now.[19] The Hetman tried to save its power after the beginning of the revolution in Germany, dropped with idea of "independent Ukraine".

Historian estimated Directory as a feeble improvisation of a government. For him the army of restored UPR was "a disorderly horde, definitely inferior to the newly organized Red Army in discipline and in staffing with trained officers". But he wrote that many of these troops of Directory were close to Bolshevism, and in the same time wrote about conservative military practice of some of the atamans.[20] He explained sympathy of the peasants to Bolshevik in the days of Red Army offensive on Ukraine by such reason: they knew the Bolsheviks only as the people who gave them the land, not as those who should confiscate their grain. We may admit that Ukrainian population had small information on Bolsheviks aspiration during their first occupation of Ukraine.

Detailed information author presented on Finland. It was drawn into the German influence. In Finnish Diet was created non-Socialist majority, and Soviet Russia recognized Finnish independence on December 31 of 1917. But January 26 of the next year the government was overthrown and Red regime established in the south and southwest. Civil war between the Reds and the Whites continued some weeks. Concluding the peace with Germany, the "White" Finnish government received military support

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[17] Doroshenko Dmytro. Istoria Ukrainy. – Kyiv, 2002. – T. 2. – S.s. 199-200. The former owner of the land should left with building and 25 ha too.

[18] Ibidem. – P. 128.

[19] See: Dornik Wolfram, Kasianov Georgii, Leeb Peter, Liadinger Gannes, Miller Alexiy, Musial Bohdan, Rasevych Vasyl'. Ukraina: mij samovyznachenniam I okkupacieyu: 1917-1921 roky. – K., 2015 (transl. from German).

[20] William Chamberlin. *The Russian Revolution. Vol.1. 1917-1918.* 2nd ed. – Vol. 2. – P. 130.

of the former: expeditionary force under general von der Goltz. This corps determined the victory of the "Whites" in the war. Russian troops, that supported "Finnish Socialist Republic" were withdrawn from Finland according to the Brest-Litovsk treaty.

W.Chamberlin made very interesting note concerning the German possibility of preventing of Bolshevism in Russia, if she would not lost the war:

"For the subsequent Allied intervention in Russia, feeble and halfhearted, intermittent and constantly thwarted by the cross-purposes and conflict interests of its initiators, was a less serious threat to the Soviet existence than intervention of the type which Ludendorff and Hoffmann would probably have sponsored, if their system had survived the shock of military defeat."[21]

The new revolutionary Red offensive toward the West (and South) was set after Germany's defeat in WWI. Chamberlin thought that the Bolsheviks in their race with the Allies for establishment of their supremacy had some advantages. They had available troops for it and were better acquainted with local situation than were Allies powers.[22] In its drive for Baltic provinces Bolsheviks had armies recruited from the natives Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians. The Latvian fought in 9 regiments. So, in December-January of 1918-19 Red army was successful in establishment of the Soviet republics on the Baltic. It worth to underline that all these new Soviet republics imaged firstly themselves autonomous parts of the Soviet Russian Federation only, but not as independent states. Only under strong recommendation from V. Lenin their leaderships agreed to be "independent". By then, revolutionary spirit of these native Red soldiers evaporated mainly.

By February 1919 Estonian territory was cleared from invaders. Northwestern White Army used Estonia as a base for attacks on Soviet territory. In Latvia, the Reds were masters of nearly all territory by the end of March. Here was formed Iron Division of Count von der Goltz which was composed from the volunteers of the German occupation army and the recruits from the local German aristocracy. The division captured Riga by end of the May. White terror changed Red one. Author wrote

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[21] William Chamberlin. *The Russian Revolution. Vol.1. 1917-1918.* 2nd ed. – Vol. 1. – P. 412.
[22] Ibidem. – Vol. 2. – P. 206.

about "nationalistic spirit of the Baltic peoples, desired to severe all connection with Russia, were abandoned".[23]

It looks, as author of the 2nd volume knew nothing about national revolution in Belorussia. She was mentioned as the place of Soviet-Polish armed conflict only.

Chamberlin stated, that the second occupation of Ukraine by the Soviets was attributable to political and social rather to military causes. It is difficult not agree with this statement. The Soviets used the fall of Hetman P.Skoropadsky and disappearance of the German and Austrian forces of occupation, and run on Ukraine. Author was absolutely true when writing that "Ukrainian peasants did not know from personal experience of some features of Communist policy as institution of Committees of the Poor, "the requisition at the point of the bayonet". For peasants, Bolsheviks were people who told them to seize the land, property of the rich.[24]

I do not support Chamberlin statement, that Directory which came to power in result of overthrowing of Hetman was somewhat discredited because it was successor of the Central Rada which has invited Germans. Certainly, Volodymyr Vynnychenko, one of members of Directory, a writer, had communist inclinations. Worker's Congress, from which the propertied classes were expelled, as from the Soviets, was convoked to legitimize the Directory of Ukrainian People' Republic. But Congress represented mostly to the peasants and to the village teachers, doctors, agronomists, cooperative store employees, and city workers too, as pointed out Chambelin. It is necessary remember that almost all represents of bourgeoisie, landlord in Ukraine as in Baltic provinces were not natives but Russians, Poles, Jews, Germans and other non-Ukrainians.

Why the Directory revealed unable to stand firmly in Ukraine? Chamberlin try to answer on the question, he put forward some explanations: the actions of the "atamans" – military leaders of Ukrainian troops did not agree with the words of the civilian leaders; small pogroms of Jews alienated numerous and active Jewish socialists groups in the cities; rumors circulated by the Communists that Directory had concluded a secret treaty with the Allied military authorities in Odessa. Additional factor of weakness of the Directory were their military forces, consisting largely of peasant levies, which obeyed only their atamans with low

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[23] Ibidem. – P. 208.
[24] William Chamberlin. *The Russian Revolution. Vol.1. 1917-1918.* 2nd ed. – Vol. 2. – P. 212.

discipline, lack of officers and ammunitions. Only Galicians have maintained good discipline, Chamberlin admitted.[25] I may add to these points yet some of former insurgent detachments turn to the Soviet side in decisive moment, for some time- Grigoriev, Zelenyi. The Soviet leaders determinately strived restore the Soviet power in Ukraine and reunite it with the Soviet Russia, as the first step to the World revolution (L.Kamenev), many Russian political statesmen, leading figures in the Communist party simply did not see Ukraine, but "south of Russia".[26] They need Ukrainian grain, coal, metal and so on, but not the independent Ukraine. So, they immediately moved against army of the UPR.

The interventionist forces of the Allies were unable to undertake large-scale offensive operations on the Ukrainian south. Ataman Grigoriev dislodged French and Greek troops, occupying Kherson, Mykolaiv (March 10,12 of 1919), French troops evacuated Odessa in early April, Soviet troops occupied Crimean peninsula.

Ukrainian forces after long retreat found themselves at the small territory of the west border of republic in April 1919. Soviets tried to pass through Ukraine to Hungary after establishing there a Soviet Republic. In January 1919 the mutiny against Romanian rule outbreak in Bessarabia. It was suppressed, but fugitives crossed the border and had taken refuge in the Soviet territory.

Uprising of the troops of ataman Grigoriev and advance of Anton Denikin's troops prevented Soviet raid to Hungary and spread of the revolution to Europe. Chamberlin underlined that Grigoriev's uprising was biggest, but not the only. Many anti-Soviet bands composed mostly from peasants appeared in Ukraine and attacked Soviet administrations, Red patrols, wrecking trains. On April 10 these guerillas detachments (Zelenyi and Struk-A.R.) dashed into Kyiv.[27]

W.Chamberlin especially elucidated the mutiny of ataman Grigoriev, its reasons and results. He cited V.Antonov-Ovsienko memoires about causes of the revolt, and among them:

"1.Local government authority is completely unorganized and to a certain degree is imposed on the majority of the population.

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[25] Ibidem. – P. 213.
[26] Vtoroi s'ezd Kommunisteecheskoi partii (bolshevikov) Ukrainy 17-22 oktiabria 1918 g. Protokoly. – Kyiv, 1991. – S. 91, 115. Nestor Makhno.Vospominania. -Kharkov, 1999. – Kn. 2. – S. 97. 121-122, 134, 135.
[27] William Henri Chamberlin, " The Russian revolution". – Vol. 2. – P. 215.

2. Food officials who are not appointed from among local people acting without knowledge of the situation, have aroused the village very much against the central Soviet Government.

3. The Chekas , which become state within the state, are almost universally hated and almost everywhere create complication for the Soviet regime.

…5. The population after the arrival of the Soviet regime, received almost nothing, except an increase in the cost of and a lack of products.

…9. Tactless attitude of the central authorities toward the national feeling of Ukraine…"[28]

So, Chamberlin concluded that Ukrainian village experienced the same disillusionment with Soviet agrarian policy that the Russian village experienced a year early. Grigoriev troops were peasantry mostly. To the last moment Antonov-Ovsienko hoped that it would be possible to use these troops against Romania. But on May 7 of 1919, Nykyfir Grigoriev revolted, seizing the town of Elizavetgrad. He issued a manifesto (*Univesal,* according to Cossack traditions-A.R.). Grigoriev called on the peasants to mach on Kyiv and Kharkov with arms, or pitchforks and to overthrow the government of the "adventurer Rakovsky". The latter was a chair of the government of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic. For Ukrainian reader everything was understandable: pitchfork- was the peasant weapon in time of the last big peasant uprising named *Koliivschyna* (XVIII cent.), Kyiv was an ancient capital of Ukraine, Kharkov- capital of the communist Ukrainian SSR. It looks as the Chamberlin did not know these details. But historian set forth proposals of the *Univesal* which show its national character: to call a freely elected Congress of Soviets, where 80% of the place would be for Ukrainians, 5%- for Jews, the rest- for other nationalities.[29] Chamberlin did not comment these proposals, though they speak for themselves, about real character of the Soviet power in Ukraine. He wrote that Grigoriev was confident he can smash the Communist power in Ukraine and acted accordingly, sent small detachments across Ukraine. His soldiers made pogroms too. So, the Soviet proclaimed Grigoriev outlaw and forced out off main centers and railroads. In result of the mutiny which Red army suppressed later, the rear of this army against Denikin was destroyed, the number of the Soviet forces at the front was reduced. Ukrainian peasants

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[28] William Henri Chamberlin, " The Russian revolution". – Vol. 2. – P. 216.
[29] Ibidem. – P. 218.

as recruits, Chamberlin noted, revealed unreliable against insurgents. In these revolts author noticed absolute absence of monarchist appeals or aspirations to restore the previous order.[30]

Summing up the mass protests in Ukraine (partly-Russia) Chamberlin make interesting conclusions that these mutinies, uprisings "quite unconsciously, combating the spread of Communism in Europe much more effectively than the war-weary Allied troops".

Special chapter (vol.2.) historian spared to the only Ukrainian problems, or more accurately, to the some events in Ukraine. He named it: "Ukraina, whirlpool of peasant anarchism". In the chapter author tried to understand spirit and motives of majority of Ukrainian population. Firstly he tried to conceive the logic and reasons of acting peasant "guerrilla bands". W.Chamberlin stated that peasants' desires were equally far from communism and the restoration of the old imperial regime. They were determined to keep the seized land, resentful of demands for food and army recruits of Reds and Whites, hated the state farms and communes introducing by Bolsheviks.[31] Former and latter could not give the peasants any manufactured goods in time of wars, but big inflation, rise of prices only.

Chamberlin explained far more conscious of their own interest in Ukrainian peasantry than in Russia by next factors. On the national character strongly influenced Zaporozhian Cossak Republic, serfdom had not such a long tradition in Ukraine as in Russia. Even standard of living in Ukraine was higher than in Northern and Central Russia. Here was a larger class of peasants with a sense of property.

Historian noticed direct link between this "peasant anarchism" and national composition of population in the villages, the cities and towns of Ukraine. In the northern, western provinces villages were almost Ukrainian, but in the towns Russians and Jews were majority. Communist Party of Ukraine was recruited its members from towns. That is why the catchwords "All Jews are Communists" and "Kill the Jews and Communists" were popular of the time. National feeling strengthened the antipathy of Ukrainians to regime of Denikin who could not recognize neither Ukrainian language, nor culture, Ukraine did not exist simply for him, (as for many Russian communists too-*A.R.*).[32] Chamberlin wrote that many, swift changes of governments in these years explained also this

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[30] William Henri Chamberlin, " The Russian revolution". – Vol. 2. – P. 219.
[31] Ibidem. – P. 221.
[32] Ibidem. – P. 223.

"anarchism". He did not know anybody of the Ukrainian military persons of the time, but Petlura only.

For him, Symon Petlura was unable to make military victory against Reds or Whites. So, "consequently the Ukrainian nationalistic movement took the form of guerilla bands" activity headed by a host of atamans. Chamberlin even did not try to find out the real good excuses of the problems of *Dievoi armii* (Acting army) of the UPR. He did not notice that Ukrainians were forced to wage war with Red and White Russia, Poland, Romania, Hungary, Allies and Central Powers, partly against some of them simultaneously. But he acknowledged that these Petlurists distributed in small bands might deliver far more damages to their enemies than the same number of regular troops.[33]

W. Chamberlin analyzed appeals, manifestos of some atamans: Volynetz, Zeleny, Angel, Bozhko, Struck. In the words of the historian, the peasants were called on to rise against the requisitions, cruelty of the military detachments which carry them out, under slogans: "Down with the communists, Chekas, commissar-tyrants" also. He noticed that these insurgents might support and supported idea of Ukrainian independent Soviet republic. The meaning of the last expression maybe was understandable for contemporaries and author himself, but needs clear explanation for future readers. He continued, that such appeals to peasants many times found responses even in "the Ukrainian Red troops". Again, historian used last term and "Ukrainian Red Army" but never tried to find out of their meanings.

Chamberlin explained reasons for pogroms in Ukraine by the disappearance of any effective authority in the country, brutality of long war and civil strife. The revolution gave right to any kind of pillage or violence directed against "boorzhui". Pogroms against Jews, he wrote, was rooted in Ukrainian and the Russian imperial history. In time of revolution the pogroms against town middle class- traders became anti-Jewish, because the latter consisted majority of this class.[34]

A very important cause for pogroms at this stage of revolutionary war was the identification in the popular mind of the Soviet regime, the Communists with Jews. Chamberlin noted, that Jews played prominent role both in the Communist party and in the Russian revolutionary movement, it is obvious and understandable. A considerable number of

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[33] William Henri Chamberlin, " The Russian revolution". – Vol. 2. – P. 224.
[34] Ibidem. – P. 226.

them were the leading figures in the Communist Party and in the Soviet government. Many younger Jews were in the Soviet administration, it had fatal consequences for others Jews when the towns left the Red troops.

W.Chamberlin accused the Ukrainian troops as the main perpetrators of pogroms, the various atamans and the Denikin forces, some units of "Ukrainian Red Army" too. The Soviets strictly forbade the pogroms, expression of anti-Semitism in literature. Makhno insurgents did not make pogroms also. Historian admitted that V.Vynnychenko was not anti-Semite, and Petlura regime officially was not anti-Semitic too. Ukrainian government organized a Ministry of Jewish Affaires headed by Jew, Petlura issued orders to forbade any pogrom agitation.[35] The problem was to control fulfillment that order in troops, with individual atamans.

The pogroms accomplished troops of the Whites too. Denikin himself denied that he desired or encouraged pogroms by his army. Chamberlin cited a result of investigation of pogroms carried out by the Whites and its traits: they were purely military by character, with the mass violation of the women, the special cruelty and tortures, and the rooting out of the whole communities.[36]

Bands of red partisans often made atrocities against propertied classes also. The Chekas murdered thousands of victims too.

Among the leaders of revolutionary times W.Chamberlin distinguished of Nestor Makhno, presented his biography, first steps as an anarchist and his close cooperation with Bolsheviks in the beginning of its leadership of small partisan army and some months later in the Ukrainian South. Author stressed, that Makhno was a theoretical anarchist, was not an Ukrainian nationalist. Jewish anarchists were prominent in his entourage, including the head of its private cheka. Often author named Makhno as an anarchist chieftain.[37]

Chamberlin wrote that difficulties between Makhno and the Red Command soon began to develop. These difficulties, author noted, were rooted in different attitude to the ideological and political problems of future society and power. At the congresses of insurgent peasants the critic of the Soviet power was free and outspoken. Makhno refused to cooperate with Grigoriev, but emphasized that he fight for freedom of the

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[35] William Henri Chamberlin, " The Russian revolution". – Vol. 2. – P. 229. See also: Volodymyr Sergiichuk. Pogromy v Ukraini 191401920. – K., 1998. – S.s. 198, 199, 245, 250, 265-268, 271, 300, 304-306 and so on.
[36] William Henri Chamberlin, " The Russian revolution". – Vol. 2. – P. 231.
[37] Ibidem. – P. 233.

people but not for the government power. His lieutenant killed Grigoriev, some his closest commanders.

The most extreme enemy of the Makhno movement was Lev Trotzky. So, the former was dismissed from his post as a Commander of his army. For Chamberlin, during of the summer of 1919 Makhno led the life of insurgent ataman. By autumn of 1919 Makhno movement reached its peak.[38] This movement played most decisive role in undermining of Denikin rear. Makhno troops had taken important ports Berdiansk, Mariupol, towns Alexandrovsk, Nikopol, seized important railroad junctions, Lozovata and Sinelnikovo. By this last action the insurgent troops cut off the Whites from their bases of supply. Late in October 1919 Makhno took Ekaterinoslav, the most industrial center of the region. It is necessary to add that Makhno never stopped for long time in the towns, because their inhabitants were alien for him. And any power –the Soviet or former imperial for his soldiers was evil by their definition. Chamberlin stressed:

"Profound hatred and distrust of the state, as an organ of power and for political parties characterized all Makhno's of public proclamations."[39]

In these proclamations, Chamberlin admitted, was clear influence of the anarchist "Nabat" group. These persons tried and with success (to some degree as for me) to transform of this peasant uprising into the anarchist revolutionary movement.

Author depicted systems of Makhno army, its election of commanders, its discipline in the conquered towns. Chamberlin left for us some individual traits of the peasant leader. He stressed of Makhno' rare daring, shrewdness and resourcefulness. Makhno was a master of the tricks which were effective in time of guerilla war and turmoil.

Makhno troops retreated after big victories in autumn of 1919 under pressure of retreating Denikin. The big enemy of all armies waged this war- typhus thinned Makhno's forces too. When Red Army returned into Ukraine Makhno waged war against Soviet administration, especially food collectors. He refused to go with Red Army to the Polish front and was declared outlaw.[40] Such declaration took place second time, with Trotzky' initiative. Makhno moved about Ukraine, making long raids during 1920. Chamberlin wrote, that "Makhno was popular with a

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[38] William Henri Chamberlin, " The Russian revolution". – Vol. 2. – P. 234.
[39] Ibidem. –P. 236.
[40] Ibidem. – P. 237.

considerable part of the peasants; and their sympathy probably explains his "continual success in evading pursuit".

P. Wrangel' advance in September 1920 determined position of Makhno army as an ally of the Soviet Southern front by signing of a military-political agreement. It provided participation of Makhno troops in war against Wrangel, though as independent and with its internal organization of military units. These troops stormed and passed Sivash bay. After the victory, Communists found pretext alleging that Makhno had broken agreement. November 6, 1920 Makhno and its army were proclaimed as the enemy of revolution.[41] So, the Red troops launched an offensive against Makhno partisans in its center Gulai Pole and in Crimea. Many those who were battled against Whites in Crimea suffered heavy losses from the Reds, including commander of the unit Simon Karetnik (Karetnikov). Makhno escaped himself, but three members of his delegation were arrested in Kharkov and shot by Cheka later. Nearly half a year Makhno raided about Ukraine and even some parts of Russia, but did not find previous support. Soviet regime consolidated and might liquidate even big peasant armies.

Makhno finished its struggle in August of 1921. With small detachment he crossed the Dniester River into Rumania.

Chamberlin estimated his activity in such words:

"He carried out in practice, in primitive, effective fashion, what the Socialist Revolutionary intellectuals had advocated in theory; he had fought on two fronts, against Red and Whites alike, in the name of what he and the peasants who followed him believed was freedom."[42]

Ukraine appeared on the pages of the 2nd volume of the Chamberlin work in the next chapter. Author wrote here on the fate of the Armed Forces of South Russia and his head general Anton Denikin. In this chapter Ukraine is a field of struggle between the Whites and the Reds rather than object of sovereign activity. So, the former entered Kharkov on June 25 of 1919. Big part of Eastern Ukraine was occupied by the Whites. Shkuro troops had overrun Gulai Pole, took Ekaterynoslav. But the innumerable partisan groups (bands) began its actions against the Whites.[43] Combined attack from land and sea coordinated from the officer's underground organization in Odessa placed city to the hands of

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[41] Savchenko A.A. Izmena "bat'ki" Makhno I "jeleznai metla" L.D.Trotzky // Istoria SSSR, 1990. – № 2. – S. 87.

[42] William H. Chemberlin, *The Russian Revolution.* – Vol. 2. – P. 239.

[43] Ibidem. – P. 245.

the Whites in late August, while Kherson and Nikolaev were taking some early. Kyiv was taken by them on August 31.[44] It is necessary correct the author which wrote that Whites were pushing out the Petlurist troops which had entered Kyiv the day before. The city was taken by military formations of the Ukrainian Galycian Army under command of general Antin Kravs after the brutal combats with Reds. But approaching Whites run in the liberated city too, from the left bank of the Dnieper. Kravs, having an order from Petlura do not fight against Denikin troops, did not overcome the situation and Ukrainian troops were forced to withdraw to demarcation line.

In the Denikin rear peasants were certainly dissatisfied with the Whites and many of the workers were sympathetic with Bolshevism, Chamberlin continued. For him, peak of Denikin's success occurred on October 12, when the Whites occupied Chernigov. In the same time southern Ukraine was falling into the partisans bands of Makhno which led fierce insurrection into the Whites' rear. So, a part of troops were diverted from front to combat Makhno.[45] Denikin was defeated, because he was nationalist, devoted to idea "Russia shall be great, united, undivided". Even more, stated Chamberlin:

"The practice of Denikin's military officers and civil administrators was almost invariably much more restorationist than the vague generalized official declarations about aims of the movement." [46]

Denikin army took advantage on the territory where Ukrainian peasantry felt of the bitter resentment against the Bolsheviks. To win in native Russia, Chamberlin continued, was only possible if the Ukrainian peasants could be convinced that Denikin system was more compatible with their interests that was the Soviet regime. This political and social test Denikin failed to pass.[47] Though, some times, in Odessa and Kyiv workers greeted him with the traditional Russian 'bread and salt". But generally, workers remained hostile to his affairs, even more- the Ukrainian peasants.

But the main mistake of Denikin, Chamberlin admitted, was his nationality policy. Under his control was the predominantly non-Russian population and victory depended on the ability to unite these nationalities around its slogans. This revealed impossible: general was unfitted to this "by

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[44] William H. Chemberlin, *The Russian Revolution.* – P. 246.
[45] Sbidem. – P. 249.
[46] Ibidem. – P. 251.
[47] Ibidem. – P. 255.

his blunt, direct, soldiery mentality and his strong Russian nationalism". Especially in Ukraine, Chamberlin write, everything in Ukrainian language was forbidden. For Denikin and his lieutenants Ukraine did not exist, only "Little Russia". With Petlura troops Denikin waged war, thereby diverting still more troops from its general direction toward Moscow.[48] Denikin ignored the pretension on autonomy of the Kuban Cossack Rada too. His administration in Ukraine was weak and could be supported the landlords, former pre-War Russian ruling class. The similar situation was in occupied by its troops non-Ukrainian regions too.

CONCLUSIONS

Writing the history of Russian revolution on the Western border of the former Romanov empire W.Chamberlin used mainly, and in some chapters- nearly exclusively papers, books published by Soviet side only. But it not prevented this monograph from trustful explanations of the revolutionary events in its some general traits. His main object of research is Great Russia, all other events are depicted as a secondary. Revolution in Ukraine is a good exception. He tried to speak about it honestly, but big concentration on the Russian reality first of all, absence of knowledge of the Ukrainian language and literature limited his narrative. His conceiving of the Western/Eastern Ukraine was erroneously, the events in the true Western Ukraine are absent in the research. His attention was more to N. Makhno than to other leading figures of Ukrainian revolution. The letter definition did not exist in his text. Chamberlin did not make any remarks about the Russian nationalism of the Soviet leaders and creation the Soviet empire instead of the Romanov' one in his monograph. Contemporary Ukrainian historians may to accept the Chamberlin estimation of the revolution in the Western part of empire with certain limitations only.

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[48] William H. Chemberlin, *The Russian Revolution.* – P. 259.

PHILOSOPHIC UNDERSTANDING
OF CULTURE AS INTEGRITY

Tarasiuk L. S.

INTRODUCTION

Peculiarities of philosophy of culture are based on the peculiarities of philosophic knowledge and cognition. Thus, philosophical thinking is able to reflect that is to turn to itself as an object of cognition. Reflection is self-awareness, self-cognition. We can say that reflection is thought about thinking. The philosophy of culture deals with the reflection on culture and, thus, it is self-awareness of culture. Philosophic reflection on culture foresees retrospective view, theoretic forms of cognition unlike experiment-practical, distancing a philosopher of culture as a reflection subject – from culture as its object. Philosophic comprehension of culture represents it as a complex integrity. Certain forms of culture such as art, moral, education, religion, science are cognized as peculiarities within the context of culture as a complex integral system. The philosophy of culture is trying to comprehend a sense of culture and at the same time, the sense of different forms of culture.

Studying the problem of personality's integrity, we can not ignore the field of philosophy of culture. Culture as *the whole*, as well as when expressed through various forms, is distinct in its traditionalism. Philosophic understanding of culture makes it closer to existence of human existence, namely, direct, personal and unique experience of personal existence. Moreover, philosophic understanding of a person is not possible outside the philosophic understanding of culture. It allows revealing the ways of person's attitude to the world, making sense of values inherent in a person as well as peculiarities of their inner world. Therefore, the philosophy of culture covers something that is essential for philosophic cognition of a person. That is exactly why the philosophy of culture is closely associated with hermeneutics, phenomenology, existential philosophy, philosophic anthropology. Therefore, the philosophy of culture is the area of humanitarian knowledge, and respectively, it is a component of the system of culture itself.

1. The World of Culture in Historical Context

Starting with antiquity, it is philosophy that becomes awareness of culture for a person. In relation to this, the philosophy of culture is a cultural self-awareness of European culture. For the ancient and medieval philosophy the existence carried valuable meaning in itself. Therefore, it was essential for a person not only because it existed, but also what it should be. So, philosophy neither divided the world of existence and the world of culture nor identified them. The cosmos of the Greeks is well-organized and beautiful existence. God of the Middle Ages is an absolute existence that focuses on truth, goodness, beauty.

It is the emergence of the philosophy of culture that is associated with the demythologization of the culture of antiquity and its separation from religion (secularization) in the New Age. In the philosophy of the Modern Age, the existence as such is deprived from value characteristics. Thus, according to R. Descartes, it becomes an extensive substance (res extensa), and according to I. Kant – "the thing in itself", the laws of nature revealed by science[1]. It is at this time that the idea about the human world which is different from the natural world appears. This is also stipulated in the concept of "culture" as the opposite of the concept of "nature". So, I. Kant divided these two worlds according to this principle. The world of nature is the world of causes and consequences, and the world of culture is the world of a freely acting person, with their intelligence and the aspiration for cognition of truth.

So, beginning with the philosophy of the Modern Age, the concept of culture goes beyond the limits of everyday consciousness and becomes a philosophical category. During the age of the Enlightenment, the concept of culture is used by J. Adelung, J. Herder, I. Kant to explain the history of the spiritual development of mankind. Culture characterized the intellectual, moral, aesthetic development and improvement of a person in the process of historical development.

A new angle of understanding of culture was proposed in the second half of the 19th century by Neo-Kantians. They formulated the axiological understanding of culture, which has been acknowledged and influential to the present day.

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[1] Кант, И.: Из «Лекций по этике» (1780-1782 гг.). Этическая мысль. Научно-публицистические чтения. Политиздат, Москва (1988), С. 98; 116.

Analyzing the development of theoretic and philosophic views on culture, such well-known figures as W. Wildenband, H. Rickert and E. Cassirer should be mentioned.

The founder of the Freiborg (Baden) school of Neo-Kantianism W. Windelband expressed deep thoughts on the nature of culture. Culture is the world of transcendental essences, along with the world of existence and the field of consciousness. W. Windelband interprets culture as a collection of all things that human consciousness produces through their own intelligence from the material provided. W. Windelband understands the culture as a spiritual phenomenon. It is based on a deep essence that justifies the intellectual life of people. In culture, such historical ideals as truth, good, beauty, holiness are presented. Therefore, according to W. Windelband, the culture becomes the main object of philosophical cognition. In his opinion, transcendental idealism is a philosophy of culture. H. Rickert, an outstanding representative of the same school Neo-Kantianism, made a significant contribution to the philosophical theory of culture. Based on his own theory of values, he gave a new definition of culture, which became classical in the future. According to H. Rickert, culture is a collection of objects associated with common values. The researcher deduces the specificity of culture from its comparison with nature. Nature is a set of things that appeared independently. Culture is the opposite of nature. In all phenomena of culture there is embodiment of a certain recognized human value, for the benefit of which these phenomena are created or distinguished by a person.

Another approach to the concept of the culture essence is given in the works of an outstanding representative of Neo-Kantianism Marburg School E. Cassirer. Consideration of culture in the historical aspect gave a new dimension to Neo-Kantian cultural science. His main work "Philosophy of Symbolic Forms" represents his theory of culture. It is based on the analysis of problems of language, myth, religion, art, history, and philosophical anthropology. E. Cassirer shows that the myth as a specific form of culture lives in the depths of consciousness, runs through other forms of culture, affects them, and they, in turn, influences it, too. So there is a complex differentiated system of symbols, through which the relationship between a person and the world is realized.

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Thus, the essence of culture, according to the researcher, appears in symbols. E. Cassirer defines culture as "symbolic universe"[2]. In general, philosophy presented culture as a general idea that made it possible to explain the sense and direction of history. As it was about European history, its peculiarities and features were stipulated. However, they were given commonality and universality. In this way, European culture was considered as an example for other cultures and people. Thus, the classical philosophy in the meaning of culture held the position of Eurocentrism. That means that the superiority of European culture was recognized over all others. The classic philosophy of culture reflected the flowering of European culture, which started during the Renaissance. The culture of that historical time carried optimism, belief in progress, freedom and power of mind. The philosophy of the Enlightenment argued for a view of culture as a higher achievement of a person, which had a worldwide significance. So, it was the very culture that was presented by the classical philosophy of culture as a "reference pattern", which revealed the essence of human culture in general and which had to be embodied in other cultures.

In time, human history has begun to open up the imperfection of European culture and causes disappointment in the achievements of Western civilization. As a result of this a classical philosophy of culture based in many respects on the philosophy of the Enlightenment, begins to be perceived quite critically. European culture is not so convincingly perceived as a reference for all people. At the same time, interest in cultures of other regions of the world increases.

The philosophy of life represents a special layer of cultures of philosophical ideas and thoughts. The thinkers of this filed considered life itself as the initial principle of the entire structure of culture. W. Dilthey justifies the methodology of cognition of culture. It differs significantly from the cognition process in the sciences of nature. Since life can be comprehended only by instincts and senses, the cognition of culture should be based on hermeneutics.

It is about the interpretation of the phenomena of cultural reality as elements of a holistic spiritual life. W. Dilthey considers history of culture as a series of closed cultural systems that are not related to each other. The

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[2] Гегель, Г.В.Ф.: Энциклопедия философских наук : в 3 т. Т.1. Наука логики. Просвещение, Москва (1974).

interpretation of cultural phenomena must be accomplished through the reconstruction of a worldview that creates their meaningful core and is the basis of the *integrity* of cultural systems. The world of the personality of the integrity manifests itself in the socio-cultural space. *A personality of integrity can create their reality, in which there is an opportunity for ever greater self-revealing of spiritual essence. Without the creation of own socio-cultural reality, the world of the personality of integrity is false and illusory.*

G. Simmel continues the line of "philosophy of life" in understanding the phenomenon of culture. In his view, culture is inextricably linked with the deep dualism of the world, manifested in opposition to the objective world of nature and the world of human culture. As G. Simmel points out, a person is not attracted definitely, like an animal, to a natural world assignment, but separates from it, contrasting themselves to it. The idea of culture is in the middle of this dualism. It is rather difficult to provide a precise definition of culture. However, G. Simmel believes that it is possible to express it as "the path of the soul to itself" symbolically – from its natural state to the cultural one. Culture exists where the soul of an individual and the spirit in the form of objectivity or a creative work meet, which is the embodiment of the spiritual powers and capabilities of the person who created it. Such works – works of art, moral values, science, technology, religion, law, etc. – lead the individual to a more complete self. This indicates the acquisition of human integrity. It was noted above that the acquisition of integrity is a return to spiritual "I", bringing it into conformity with all the plans of human existence. Therefore, one can define the integrity as the acquisition of true self and liberation from all that is extraneous, which does not correspond to the personal ontological core of the spiritual essence. Consequently, the culture, according to G. Simmel, is a complex, subtle, filled form of life, where the synthesis of the development of the individual and spiritual values takes place. The history of culture appears to be an endless process of increasing the value of life, since any work enriches life spiritually. An extremely essential element of the spiritual life of society, along with social consciousness, is the spiritual culture. There are many definitions of the essence of culture (the term "culture" is originated from the Latin *cultura* – processing, upbringing, education). The general definition of culture is all that is created by a person. Therefore, culture is regarded as a

set of human activity results in a broad aspect. In literature, culture is defined as a set of material and spiritual values, produced by mankind; a specific way of human life development, represented in the products of material and spiritual labor; way of human life to discover the world; degree of the person's attitude to themselves, society and nature; the area of formation, development of human sociology in the natural and social environment. Western cultural science scholars, in spite of their different understanding of the essence of culture, perceive the primacy of the spiritual over material in it. They understand culture as a set of spiritual symbols (M. Weber), the form of mental activity (E. Cassirer), the system of signs, communication (C. Levi-Strauss), and the intellectual aspect of the artificial environment (Ts. Lyun).

1.2. The Culture of Freedom and the Philosophy of Education

Kultaeva M. D. mentions that such potential as the philosophy of education is reflected in developing of the culture of freedom[3]. The philosophy of freedom imposes a prohibition on self-destruction and self-annihilation of mankind[3]. A person can not comprehend the necessity of acquiring their integrity without educational implications as well as enlightenment. The human integrity can unite all aspects and sides of existence in the whole. The culture is the plane where all sides of social life are united. The philosophy of culture emphasizes and studies this peculiarity expressed in continuity of culture development, in succession of cultural phenomena development.

Therefore, in terms of cultural processes, revolutions, establishment of any cultural dimensions are not possible by force. New things in culture are not proclaimed, but appear. If new cultural traditions are established, it is done step by step. The philosophy of culture is the area of philosophical knowledge, where studying culture is the subject. The philosophy of culture (cultural philosophy) is a section of philosophic knowledge, related to the analysis of culture, its essence and meaning in the human life and society. The philosophical cognition of culture is based on its connection with the spiritual world of a person. Culture illustrates existential situations quite vividly. The works of culture such as literature, painting, architecture, music, theater represent the human life as a fact of

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[3] Култаєва, М.Д.: Філософсько-антропологічне обґрунтування культури свободи та його освітні імплікації (теоретичний досвід сучасної німецької філософської думки). Філософія освіти. 1-2(8), 80-98 (2009), С. 80-98.

life in original forms, in particular, situations of moral choice, which actually reveal the depths of the human.

Domestic researcher Boyko O.P. in the context of philosophical anthropology substantiates the culture of leisure. She proves that culture in the age of globalization has an extended field of anthropo-cultural influence. At the same time, it conceals ambivalent human reproductive opportunities: on the one hand, it constitutes a space for testing new strategies for life-creation, exponentiation of the creative forces of mankind, and on the other, it accumulates the risks and experience of self-destruction of a person, being the cultural legitimization of harmful habits[4].

1.3. The Culture as a Way of Conscious Organization

Culture is a coherent unity of the material and the spiritual. In literature it is accepted to distinguish material and spiritual culture. Material culture covers the entire area of material activity of people and its results. These include means of production and products of labor, forms of social organization of human labor activities. Spiritual culture, first of all, covers the area of spiritual production, namely, it is a set of forms of social consciousness, ways of creating and using spiritual values, forms of communication between people.

Any absolutization or underestimation of the material or spiritual side of culture impoverishes it as an extremely diverse, holistic phenomenon. Spiritual culture is a diverse experience of the life of social actors, which includes the most significant results of the social experience of people in relation to the development of social life, society as a whole, as well as various spiritual values. Such experience has a general and universal nature. In the narrow sense, the spiritual culture is a way of interaction, mutual influence of the activity forms of social actors carried out in the process of spiritual production; it is a system of social and spiritual values aimed at the formation and reproduction of diverse, versatile spiritual bonds and relationship between people in order to enrich the spiritual life of society, its general progress. Finally, the spiritual culture is a way of conscious organization of the personality of their individual sense of life activities in the field of spiritual and material production, providing them

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[4] Бойко О.П. Культура дозвілля у суспільстві ризику. Монографія. ДВНЗ «УАБС НБУ», Суми (2011), С. 4-7.

with a comprehensive self-realization, self-fulfillment of their essential forces, various manifestations of life.

Spiritual culture as an element of spiritual life, as well as social, spiritual relationship includes a certain system of values, knowledge, beliefs, ideological orientations, norms, and traditions in coherent unity with the social humanistic activity of people in the development, creation of existence. Spiritual culture is created by the activity of social subjects and is aimed at transforming social life, the development of the essential forces of a person, in particular their spirituality, their comprehensive self-fulfillment; it is not only consciousness, but also social activity, transformational activity of the personality measured by the scope of spiritual, socio-humanistic values created by them. Such culture proves the ability of each personality to perceive advanced, progressive in social existence, as well as to distribute it, the ability for creation in accordance with the creative powers and abilities of each individuality; the readiness of the personality to dedication, self-development of their spirituality either personal or universal and public.

The values of spiritual culture are the dialectical unity of the national and universal. It is impossible without the values of a specific national culture, as well as without national values, produced by mankind. Value-based meaning of spiritual culture can become the driving force of social progress only when the creative potential of such culture is based on a common system of values produced by mankind throughout their history.

At the same time, the values of spiritual culture have a clearly expressed national-specific, individual coloring. Thus, the values of culture, formed under the conditions of our Ukrainian reality, should become the norm of practical everyday activity, orientation of its citizens, an element of the value of each individuality, an integral part of humanistic creativity of its people, which is the result of the long-term development of Ukraine. Ukraine has its own special destiny caused by the whole course of its formation as a historical individuality; this component of the processes of social existence is determined by the diverse factors of the universal, planetary and national-specific, special for Ukraine only, for its people, its ethno-culture, traditions, and mentality, that is, for its individuality. In such individuality of Ukraine, the spirit of its people, its national identity, originality and uniqueness of its own

complex, contradictory, bright and tragic social and spiritual experience are embodied.

Spiritual culture is a complex socio-dynamic process of development and functioning of diverse processes and phenomena of social life that directly or indirectly influence its establishment and formation. Socio-dynamics of such culture primarily involves the liberation of personality, individuality from the forms of social, spiritual relationship canceling it. It means the transition from the static existence of the personality to the dynamic one, and it also provides for its autonomy, the transition from total regulation to the freedom in all areas of life activity of individuality, as well as spiritual, social pluralism. It means the transition from one-dimensionality to multidimensionality, a multiplicity, an alternativeness of economic, social, political, spiritual processes that predetermine the development of human freedom, the organized self-fulfillment of individuality and spirituality. After all, the socio-dynamics of spiritual culture involves the transition from totalitarian or primitive institutional forms of its organization, formation, education to civilized forms, based, first of all, on self-organization, self-fulfillment of the personality, individuality of values that form the essence of such culture.

The development degree of spiritual culture is determined by the development degree of essential human values, by the versatility and variability of the forms of self-fulfillment of their spiritual potential and individual self-assertion. Increasing the efficiency and effectiveness of the spiritual culture formation process involves creating conditions for the self-fulfillment of human spirituality richness, as the main meaning of such culture values is their self-expression and reproduction. The spiritual culture development is impossible without the establishment of its values, in particular at the personal level, which makes it possible to realize the potential of uniqueness, uniqueness of the individuality, its spirituality, which significance is constantly increasing in the progress of social existence. The implementation of this is connected with overcoming spiritual de-individualization that was widespread in the past and still exists, collective surrogates, which establish the spirit of monotony, uniformity, the general mass, the imposition of a standardized position on the individual, and foresees the refusal of social restrictions of their spiritual orientations. The implementation of the spiritual potential of a person, unnecessary in practice, is naturally interconnected with the

creation of diverse conditions for ensuring the spiritual freedom of people in society, in particular, the freedom of their spiritual actions as a necessary condition for the implementation of objectively determined difference of creative possibilities of each person, strengthening of the lost self-worth of the personality in the past, ethnic identity, which is the basis of dynamic self-development, self-regulation of spiritual culture values.

Extremely significant factor of purposeful activity optimization in relation to spiritual individual self-affirmation as the main feature of personality, their life-creation is the creation of conditions for self-fulfillment of the individual style of creative spiritual activity, communicative culture of the personality. Improving the effectiveness of the process of spiritual culture formation is the process of moving towards the most universal and versatile forms of individual self-fulfillment of its values, in which individual-style self-fulfillment with a focus on socially important things occupies a special place. The discovery and implementation of the creative potential of the identity of a personality, their national-specific features, the life-purposeful moments of their subjective-personal worldview, world perception is the basis of the individual style of spiritual self-fulfillment. At the same time, however, it is essential that the individual-style self-fulfillment of the spiritual culture values takes place in coherent unity with the process of expanding the horizons of personal philosophic worldview to the level of social, spiritually significant, universal, planetary consciousness. Among the various factors associated with individual spiritual self-affirmation, a special place belongs to the completeness of the emotional perception of the world, without which manifestations of personality in the area of spiritual life, the formation of a morally unselfish attitude to the world, to the people, inhabiting it, are impossible. After all, the deeper the individual perceived and experienced the values of spiritual culture, the more they spent their mental and intellectual efforts on it, the more they sympathized and cared, the more they are capable not only to assimilate, but to develop, create such culture as meaningful, socially important activity in the field of public relationship. The effectiveness of the process of establishing the spiritual culture, realizing the potential of the personality and society is primarily caused by external circumstances, mainly by the internal active activity of a person, by the work of their soul, feelings and experiences of each individuality.

1.4. Integrity and Creation as a Basis for Cultural Artifacts

Integrity requires continuous necessity for creation. The basis for new cultural artifacts emergence is creative work. The main talent of a person of integrity is their ability to make, to create. One can say that creative work is the second "I" of integrity. Creative work is the basis for gaining a human integrity. Analyzing the works of M. Berdyaev, it can be noted that to consider a human problem means to consider the problem of creativity, personality, spirit and history at the same time.

Human memory keeps and transfers through times and centuries only such social and spiritual values, without which people can not have their mentality, uniqueness, the possibility of raising to the highest peaks of progress. Among them are such phenomena of modern times as freedom, humanism, peace, truth, goodness, justice. One can truly include the phenomenon of creativity, too. It contains a life-affirming, future-oriented energy. After all, social, scientific and spiritual progress is generated by the activity of thousands and millions of creative personalities. People of creative rise violate the inertia of society, carry out reformation, and even the evil, which society has accepted, which has become habitual, common. The reformers are personalities of creative style; prophets see new ways of development of society, science, culture, advocating the implementation of their ideas and plans. Every subsequent spiral of human progress is a cluster of energy, mind, feeling, the will of creative personalities[5].

In the modern world having entered the edge of third millennium, there are complex, diverse processes in the social, economic and spiritual life of countries, nations, ethnic groups, and people.

Mankind faces more and more urgent tasks of comprehending the mysteries of the world, nature, existence, solving global problems such as war, nuclear safety, ecology, struggle with diseases of the century (cancer, AIDS), formation of a united information field, reaching the level of modern achievement of civilization and culture. The objective processes mentioned predetermine acutely the need for profound transformations of style and forms of thinking, the transition from the corporate, blocked consciousness of mankind to the understanding of the unity of life on Earth, the systematic, integration-synthetic analysis of social and spiritual

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[5] Надольний, І.Ф., Андрущенко В.П., Губерський Л.В.: Філософія: Навч. посібник. Вікар, Київ (2006), С. 426.

and cultural practices, and forecasting and creating the future on its basis. The creative work should be the methodological paradigm of modern human activity. The very place of creative work in the structure of activity will grow with the transformation of the human environment from the natural to the created, technological one. One can confidently state that the formation of a new socio- economic and politico-ideological reality is in direct dependence on the extent to which these processes will be steeped in the strategy of *creatively synthesizing activity*, to what degree they will be governed by the principles of humanism, healthy criticism, social freedom, pluralism thoughts, and high moral responsibility[6]. A personality of integrity is capable of strategies of creatively synthesizing activity and the implementation of their ideas and values in real life. Today, the need for active development of creative, intellectual potential of each person, nation and society as a whole is particularly urgent. The leading role belongs to upbringing and education in implementing this task. However, practice proves that the process of teaching creative work has not become the norm in educational institutions yet. It means that the human aspect of education and upbringing has not always been given a proper significance. There are still quite a lot of totalitarian systems with the disguise of democracy, which have a detrimental effect on the sprouts of a new consciousness in the modern world.

A person must clear and transform their consciousness into a new quality, without which it is impossible to acquire their integrity. Creative work is one of the mechanisms of gaining integrity and a kind of protection from manipulation and use.

Creative work is intertwined by its essence, internal logic with such problems as consciousness, thinking, cognition, criticism, practice, prediction, social ideal. The mystery of the creativity phenomenon of traces its origin in the ancient times of the formation and development of human knowledge, culture, and civilization.

The first approaches, attempts to comprehend the problem of creative work by the power of mind we have already found in the philosophy of Ancient Greece. Plato (427-347 BC) believed that the basis of creative work is the universal Soul. He noted that creative is a broad concept.

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[6] Надольний, І.Ф., Андрущенко В.П., Губерський Л.В.: Філософія: Навч. посібник. Вікар, Київ (2006), С. 425.

A creative work is all that causes the transition from non-existence to existence, and, thus, the creation of any works of art and crafts can be called creative work, and all the workers are the creators. According to Plato, there are two "kinds" of creative work: human and God. God's creative work creates eternal values. Creative work of a person depends on God's spark, it is determined and limited by time, manifested in the creative affairs of a philosopher, king-ruler, statesman, doctor, prophet, poet, craftsman or farmer, etc.[7].

Deep awareness of cognitive processes, that is, everything that happens in the area of the ideal, is found in the theoretical heritage of Aristotle. In "Metaphysics" he expressed the following thoughts on knowledge: any thinking is directed either to activity and creativity, or it has theoretical nature. Thinking, directly related to the activity, is "empire" (experience), "praxis" (act), "phronesis" (prudence). This is primarily the knowledge of craftsmen on the basis of material and production activities, which Aristotle did not highly value. The higher type of knowledge, according to Aristotle, is "techne" (art, skill); the knowledge of the whole appears after the research and it is aimed at creative work. This is knowledge although something general, but necessary, so, there is no apodictic knowledge in "techne", but only "dialectical" knowledge. "Techne" though approaches the theory, but does not reach the higher theoretical level[7]. In Antiquity, creative work is seen as inheritance of nature. Creative work was interwoven directly in the subject-practical activity. The work of the craftsmen rose to the level of creative work.

In medieval philosophy, two diametrically opposed approaches were found in the creative work: theological and logical-gnoseological ones. In the first approach the creative work is the prerogative of God, who creates the world from non-existence. A. Blazhenny interpreted the divine creation in the following way: "The will of God, inherent in God, is ahead of any creation. Not any creation could have been if it had not been preceded by the eternal will of the Creator. Thanks to God's radiance (which "sparks" in the souls of people), the cognition of the world is realized, God is the intelligent light, in whom, from whom and through whom all that the minds observe reasonably shines.

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[7] Надольний, І.Ф., Андрущенко В.П., Губерський Л.В.: Філософія: Навч. посібник. Вікар, Київ (2006), С. 419.

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The function of the convergence of the sublime feelings of a person appealed to the supposed creation of God and his mind was assigned to philosophic cognition and creative work. The second logical-gnoseological approach is represented by such thinkers as A. of Canterbury, P. Abelard, R. Lully, R. Bacon. The representatives of this approach put forward many fruitful ideas about creative work, among them are the logic of evaluating the arguments for their truth and inaccuracy, as well as the first, although vague, predictions of the possibility of mathematical logic (well-known "Logic Machine" by R. Lully), the distinguishing of ways for cognition through proof and experience (R. Bacon).

The breakthrough in the field of scientific research of thinking mechanisms is connected with the science and philosophy of the New Age, and above all with the activities of M. Montaigne, F. Bacon, R. Descartes, G. W. Leibniz, T. Hobbes, J. Locke. In the philosophy of Descartes, in particular, he advocated the idea of the need to revise the traditions of the past; his method of doubt had to play an important role in the preparation of ground for a rational culture.

G. Leibniz proposed the original ideas about the formation of the logic of discovery, the concept of symbolic science (language), universal analysis and synthesis, and others like that.

Outstanding ideas on the problem of creative work are found in the German classical philosophy of I. Kant, J. Fichte, F. Schelling, G. Hegel, L. Feuerbach. I. Kant begins a new page not only in philosophy, but also in approaches to the problem of creative work. The main ideas about cognition, creative work and development of science are presented by the thinker in "The Critique of Pure Mind", "Criticism of Practical Mind", "Criticism of the Ability of Judgments", "Transcendental Analysis", and others. I. Kant first understood the failure of the approach, which saw the correspondence between imagination and thing that is beyond imagination. He sought to reveal the nature of knowledge through reconciliation, association of subject and object (although this approach has a halved nature). In the theory of knowledge, he proceeded from the idea that cognition begins with experience. In his philosophy I. Kant poses and solves the problem of the transition from feeling to mind the most clearly. Based on an analysis of sensual contemplation, intelligence, abilities, judgment and mind, I. Kant reveals creative self-action through

productive imagination and transcendental apperception; those are the connecting links between sensory and rational degrees of cognition[8]. Kant reveals the subordination between such cognitive abilities as sense, judgment, and mind, showing the role of mind in obtaining general concepts, its ability to creative productive imagination. He makes a conclusion that new knowledge arises on the basis of the universal attitude of activity and spiritual culture of mankind. Despite the fact that the creative process, according to I. Kant, is the synthesis of a priori given categorical structures and sensual contemplation, he gave a significant impulse by his philosophy to the development of philosophical thought. Kant's ideas were developed in the philosophy of J. Fichte, F. Schelling and, especially, G. Hegel[9].

One can find the most profound development of creativity problems in the works of G. Hegel. The problem of creative work is in the focus of G. Hegel in his lectures on aesthetics. They include, in particular, such problems as freedom of artistic creative work, social functions of art, stimulating factors of art; the need for creative activity both in the field of art and in the field of any action and knowledge arises from the person's aspiration to realize spiritually the inner and outer world, to imagine it as an object in which they recognize their own "Self". G. Hegel shares the views of his predecessors F. Schelling, F. Schlegel and others on the nature of genius, talent. A creative fantasy having the nature of instinct-like activity is the determining characteristic of talent. G. Hegel denies the natural talent for scientific activity, arguing that there is no specific scientific talent. Along with valuable ideas as well as provisions on the creative activity, G. Hegel's philosophy also has fundamental disadvantages, as some thinkers point out. G. Hegel did not distinguish the basis through which certain systems, ideas appeared, due to which the ideas were given one or another social colouring.

By ignoring economic, social, and political factors, G. Hegel wanted to reveal creative work as an inherent property of human existence[10].

The anthropological philosophy of L. Feuerbach differs completely from the philosophy of I. Kant, J. Fichte, F. Schelling, and G. Hegel in the approach to the problems of creative work. The most important point in

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[8] Кант, И.: Критика чистого розуму. Юниверс, Киев (2000), С.

[9] Гегель, Г.В.Ф.: Энциклопедия философских наук : в 3 т. Т.1. Наука логики. Просвещение, Москва (1974).

[10] Гегель, Г.В.Ф.: Феноменологія духу. Вид-во Соломії Павличко «Основи», Київ (2004).

concept of L. Feuerbach is the orientation of creative work on the real everyday human life. In the process of creative work L. Feuerbach distinguishes two interrelated lines: the subject-sensual human existence and communication between people. In general, in L. Feuerbach's concept of creative work the problem of dialogue occupies a prominent place. Only through the dialogue "I" and "You", by human communication, through joint creative work a certain development and revelation of person's talents, creative powers are carried out.

L. Feuerbach focused the principles of human communication on the need to revise the concept of creative work in general. Pointing to the productivity, fruitfulness of ideas about communication between people, it is appropriate to note that it was precisely in this issue that L. Feuerbach remained at the level of an idealistic understanding of social relations and psycho-individual-sensual relationship between people. L. Feuerbach attached special importance to the development of individual human creative forces, created the concept of the human essential forces. In accordance with the concept, L. Feuerbach saw the process of human self-fulfillment in their universal, holistic development, in their comprehensive revealing of all essential forces. Thus, L. Feuerbach applied a new approach to the problem of creative work, making a special emphasis on the idea of universality of human essential forces, advocated the idea of a coherent connection of creative work with the dialogue form of relationship between people.

The creative work theory issues were further developed in the dialectical materialist philosophy[11].

The representatives of Ukrainian philosophy have left fruitful ideas in the history of theoretical thought, covering the study of creative work issues. It is enough to look at least to the philosophical and literary heritage of G. S. Skovoroda and I. Y. Frank. G. Skovoroda defended the boundless opportunities of human cognition, the power of human mind, self-cognition. Self-cognition is the path to "verity" and "truth". What ways should intelligence develop? According to the humanist philosopher, the source of human thinking is real reality. In the letters to M. Kovalinsky, he gives advice not to leave a mind without a business; our mind never remains idle; if it does not have good things, something it could do, it turns

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[11] Надольний, І.Ф., Андрущенко В.П., Губерський Л.В.: Філософія: Навч. посібник. Вікар, Київ (2006), С. 422.

to the bad one. Give it something on what it could work well, but something beautiful and not too much. G. Skovoroda appeals to self-improvement, self-education, for the upbringing of the mind and for the appreciation of time, because the time that is not used for learning is lost.

Great creative opportunities are in the person's nature. It is necessary to create conditions for their flowering. Science should be accessible to everyone. In the framework of the concept of education G. Skovoroda is the principle of "kinship". The task is to discover "kinship", to provide conditions for the development of human internal abilities, their creative self-fulfillment in any work. Labor is a major factor in the development of mind[12]. I. Y. Franko has a special role in the formation and solving the problem of creative work. In particular, he concentrates his research on the issues of the psychology of discovery, the role of conscious and unconscious in the creative process, associative activity as creativity, the place of scientific criticism in artistic processes. The concept of creativity in his treatise "From the Secrets of Poetic Creative Work" is solved originally. I. Franko draws attention to the role of the subjective factor in the development of creative talent. Sincere, sympathetic support, professional approach, inflammation of the fire of creative inspiration in the heart and soul of the beginners are the factors that reduce the time of the formation of creative individualities. In his creation the writer should go up to a deep generalization, synthesis in the highest sense of the word. I. Franko's ideas about the role of intuition, the correlation between conscious and unconscious mental in the creative act have been underestimated until recently, they did not find scientific coverage. This was a peculiar reaction from domestic psychologists, philosophers, and writers to Freudianism. The synthesizing nature of creative work is inherent in integrity. The basic elements for the definition of creativity can be: subject, result, process, subject, method of creative work. It is the fact that explains the variety of definitions of creative work. However, most definitions refer to creative work as the activity of producing, developing, inventing, implementing artistic and aesthetic ideas, plans, solving social and theoretical problems, as scientific discovering, etc.

Creative work is the dialectic of change, the way out beyond the separate objective world and the establishment of unity, the synthesis of

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[12] Надольний, І.Ф., Андрущенко В.П., Губерський Л.В.: Філософія: Навч. посібник. Вікар, Київ (2006), С. 423.

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activity forms for a new level of separate objectification. Creative synthesis is aimed at solving a set of tasks. In particular, it appears as an impulse for creative work, and is also a direct process of creative activity, that is, self-creation. We emphasize that creative work is aimed at the synthesis of various forms of activity in the social, natural and spiritual areas. Creative work is a synthesis of various forms of activity for the creation of new qualities of material and spiritual existence.

First of all, social creative work is creation of new social relationship within ideals accepted. It is inextricably linked with establishment of social progress idea. It is even possible to affirm that the progress is the very function of social creative work connected with the issue of freedom. Obtaining the freedom, fighting for it is an essential condition of social creative work and its implementation. However, the freedom has two dimensions: the freedom from something and the freedom for something. Consciousness directly creates an ideal goal, which can be realistic or utopian. Therefore, social creative work is always associated with risk, because even for the implementation of the life-real purpose one can choose inadequate means that deform the ideal itself; it is even more dangerous if the goal was clearly utopian. Utopianism is a constant and inevitable temptation of human thought, its negative pole, charged with extraordinary great energy. The main collision of social creative work is that it is impossible without the ideal project of the future and the activity of the subject.

An important feature of scientific synthesis is its connection with the laws as a form of universality in nature. Scientific creative work is associated with the creation of laws having a synthetic and dynamic nature. Scientific ideas are a kind of integrative action, which is the quintessence, a synthetic beginning of the previous, not integrated knowledge. The idea serves as a phenomenon contributing to the development of theoretical synthesis into a clearly oriented system.

Philosophy, this peculiar form of synthesis, has subjective and objective principles. On the one hand, it reflects the world as a whole, on the other – the human place in the world and the meaning of their existence. The first layer of philosophic knowledge is a theoretical, rational form of worldview. The second layer proves that not all areas of practical human activity belong to the theoretical or rational field. Philosophy reflects the synthetic attitude of a person to the world; it is a

reflection of the worldview. Freedom, value, responsibility, absolute, intellect and other ideas arose as a synthetic generalization of the possible existence of a person and acquire the status of worldview principles, oriented on a certain way of life.

CONCLUSIONS

Therefore, in understanding the culture in a philosophic way, it appears in front of us as a peculiar integrity and manifests itself through various forms of creative work. Classification of creative work forms is based on a certain synthesis of types of reality discovering (subject-practical, spiritual-practical and spiritual-theoretical ones). The main type of activity serves as a criterion for attributing the creative work to one or another from. Heterogeneity of forms of creative synthesis is specified by methods, subjects, results, stages (structure), and subjects of creative work. As if spiritual-theoretical synthesis which is the latest phenomenon genetically, completes the pyramid of creative work forms, and it is the expression of the most abstract senses functionally. Spiritual-theoretical synthesis is carried out on the basis of not empirical but idealized (abstract) objects, existing as senses of concepts (categories) of theoretical language, but not as concrete, substantive reality.

Spiritual life of society is significant element of its daily life activity, which optimal developmental process influences its general progress. The diversity of society spiritual life involves spiritual cooperation, social consciousness and spiritual culture. Each element of society spiritual life has its structure, meaning, forms of development. The spiritual production which, first of all, appears as production of consciousness, is the basis for the development of society spiritual life. Spiritual culture having a complex structure and functioning as integral unity is the essential element of society spiritual life and a complex socio-spiritual phenomenon. A person, a personality is a main, direct subject of society spiritual life, spiritual culture in particular. The whole system of purposeful activity of social subjects has to be governed to the creation of universal conditions for self-fulfillment of human spiritual potential, creative self-implementation of their essential powers, diverse life manifestations, and production of new spiritual orientations. A person of integrity has all aspects of existence and more than that, they are capable

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of moving to the highest level of development exactly through the *strategies of creatively synthesizing activity.*

SUMMARY

In the study the philosophic justification of culture as integrity is carried out. Analyzing the achievements of thinkers of various historical periods, the culture is revealed in front of us as a conscious way of organization. Creation of artifacts, which is the condition and development of culture, is not possible without activity and creative work. The article analyzes various theories and concepts concerning creative work issue. The creative work interweaves by its essence, internal logics with such issues as consciousness, thinking, cognition, criticism, practice, prediction, and social ideal. Thinking about culture in a philosophic way, it appears as peculiar integrity and manifests itself through diverse forms of creative work. A personality of integrity has all aspects of existence and even more, they are capable of moving to the highest level of development exactly through the strategies of creatively synthesizing activity.

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THE HISTORICAL DETERMINACY OF MORALITY

Tymoshenko T. S.

The historical determinacy of morality is revealed in a historic retrospective, namely, during consideration of ancient ethics from Socrates and Plato as such, that did not distinguish the morality as an individual domain but it was a teaching about a certain person's attitude to things, diverse changes in destiny and, fist of all, to the own self. Later on, Democritus saw a person in their activity aimed at state interests and public justice. Plato and Aristotle consider social nature and the purpose of human morality and moral activity as a means of public and political phenomena, since it is such approach that was required by their epoch. Middle Ages, the Renaissance, the Enlightenment, and the Modern era requires new approaches to the interaction between morality and politics, associated with the requirements of the time as well as appropriate moral-political reference points as a stabilizing paradigm of organization of public-political life, first of all, determined by the human activity.

In the process of development and formation of philosophic knowledge, ambiguity of morality interpretation in the regulation of relations and connections in the society, in spiritual and political domain of personality activity has been determined. The problem is not only in the fact that there are some differences in methodological and worldview approaches to the morality analysis, but in fundamental peculiarities of theoretical human cognition of socio-political processes being the key factor when considering the morality essence and functions. Such processes may be stated by an objective way only in case of their subject embodiment, as certain content, genetically correlated with the subject. For example, if we speak about the process of material production cognition, the procedure of activity is rather formalized and thus it is remote from the executor. The product gains a single and practically verified function, and there are no difficulties in this case. In the case of morality, the conditions of activity acts and functional identity of activity outcomes are not followed. Firstly, it is determined by the fact that morality is, first of all, a creative domain, but not reproductive activity

and therefore, the development of a formalized program for production of a certain behavior has no essential meaning. Secondly, objective embodiment of moralistic activity products in the most part of functional specialization is focused on sensual contemplation; the so-called internal work of "consumption" of moral norm, principle, regulations etc. in public life and public-political activity is carried out. The formal qualities of moralistic norms are getting connected meaningfully neither with one nor with another external necessity established, but with the whole world of the person and a set of their life endeavors.

Therefore, a human ability of moralistic regulation of their behavior is in the basis of moralistic activity as well as its satisfying need, hidden in the depth of internal human world and unlike the class of functional needs it is not revealed itself literally. The necessity in need and interest will be the line of determination originated from the subjects' nature and their interaction with social environment.

The needs play a decisive rope in the general system of social regulation of human behavior; they have sole general methodological meaning for revealing the complicated mechanism of mechanistic regulation of human behavior. The need is the form of transformation of objective necessity into subjective stimuli. Traditionally, objective necessity is considered as something externally relative to subjectivity and freedom, or as a boundary, limiting the relative freedom. Such type of necessity appears external and coercive condition of human activity and is, in essence, aimed at neutralizing, using or adapting to it. In relation to such necessities, the human needs act as externally opposite. There is also another type of opposition. The necessity is intrinsic for the life activity of society, a person, determined by their biological and socio-historical nature. Therefore, it reveals the need of a person, society, existence of certain phenomena, principles and transformations. Such necessity manifests itself as the need of the subject.

Comparing cognition need with objective ability and personal skills, the subject makes a decision themselves which subject or relations exactly satisfy their needs. The diversity of human needs determines a variety of meaningful interests and activities aimed at their satisfaction. Any life meaning of interests and human needs reflected in them, as well as awareness this significance is laid by the subjects before the foundation of moral values foundation that is in mind. Such spiritual institution plays a

role of a life guideline, a spiritual basis for choice of practical and cognitive activity directions and goal subordination.

Philosophical ideas about the world have never been a simple description, indifferent representation of external reality picture. It had a certain attitude of contemplating the world subject in itself; it revealed one or another human attitude to everything that existed, thus, the philosophy put a question on relation of a subject to an object, consciousness to human existence as a thinking and acting subject to the world in general. The problem of the person's place in the world and public reality is understood as holistic-universal interdependence and interaction, its active-subjective attitude to the world in material and spiritual practice. Under the "person's place" we understand not only the material influences and transformations that a person can make in surrounding reality, but, first of all, a human ability to be the subject in their material and spiritual actions, in the historical process of the world cognition.

The subjectivity of a person was considered differently in the history of philosophy, in particular, in the form of space exploration by the person that in the ancient Greek lexis is expressed by the concept of "logos"; involvement of a person in the logic of absolute idea that can be seen in Hegel. By one way or another, general-philosophic concepts and ideas about universum were a means of human consciousness, perception own self in the world and the meaning of the world to themselves at the same time, and thus any philosophic system unlike certain science was the representation of a certain life attitude. Word perception in philosophy is not only one or another angle or perspective of view; it is most probably active-subjective practical guidelines and orientations.

It is this circumstance that differentiates philosophic worldview from moral idea. Finally, any form of the concept: good, evil, justice, ideal expresses human attitude to perception or objection of the reality. Both practical nature of moral consciousness and philosophic attitude have a difference. Dual connection of one with another is manifested externally in the very speech of philosophy and morality. Normative modality, value-provisional justifications about activity and action is typical of the moral idea. Philosophy, in turn, deals with the concepts of substance and essence, objective law and the necessity. However, it is that difference with all absoluteness of law that formed a problem in philosophic history

that it was necessary to put and solve in order to establish own sovereignty in the world of the human spirit.

Just like morality, religion is striving to give (and it gives) an evaluation for human relationships and behavior in the controversial interlacement of good and evil. Just like art, religion widely uses the right to aesthetic covering and determining the reality, it involves artistic activity in its area. It seems that such situation washes out the subject of religion consciousness. However, in reality, it interprets the latter. According to manifestations of the natural and human world the religion sees their creator or God as fundamental principle and fundamental cause of existence. The subject of religion spirituality is God and all his manifestations. There is the first specific distinction of religion from other ways of spiritual-practical world exploration.

The ways of spiritual-practical exploration of reality perform various functions, a social role in public daily activity of people. So, the science is called for life by human endeavor to the objective truth. The main purpose of morality is regulation of public relations. Art awakes a person to creative work, lifts their spirit, and ennobles sensuality. Religion calms a person down, bringing them to contemplation of eternal, divine things.

Belief released the activity, motivated a person to act under the conditions when a present knowledge did not cover more than adequate awareness of the environment. "Belief, – P. Kopnin says in connection with it, – is an ability of a person to go beyond the limits of something that exists, to acknowledge the presence of something that is difficult to achieve. Belief, assurance does not only contradict the truth of science but also originates from it; it is also the exit of a person beyond immediately given in knowledge, but such exit that has a real basis in the knowledge itself"[1]. Limitedness of knowledge restrained practical activity; belief (in a real possibility of the desired) released, stimulated, activated it. Belief gave a person confidence in the truth of idea that they were trying to transfer into reality. Confidence awakened the will, purposefulness, emotional energy, and excitement. It was the latter that appeared to be the drop that overfilled a cup and motivated to pass from spirit to action, from thought (idea) of reality to active practical activity. As V. Shynkaruk emphasizes, the positive quality of belief manifests itself precisely in its ability to detect and realize the hidden ability in a person to do something

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[1] Копнин П.*В*. Гносеологические и логические основы науки. – М.: Мысль, 1974. – 565 с.

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that seems to be impossible. It inspires a person, lifting them over the circumstances. Belief appears as a psychological orientation, as the perception of probable knowledge as authentically true. It is "genetically connected with goal-based creative activity, includes vision and prediction of the future, but as an assumption."[2].

In contrast to the value worldview, philosophy must explain the existence of evil, and then reconcile the fact of its existence with the "reasonableness" of the world order. So there are many attempts to justify the need for evil: a) an explanation of the differences between reasonableness of "logos" as all-permeating necessity of the world order and the presence of unhappiness, evil and drawbacks in the world, in the Stoics; b) the concept of evil fate, as the test sent to people, in the Roman stoics; c) tradition of combining the idea of omnipotent and good God with the presence of evil in human life in Christian theology, in a temporal philosophy of Leibniz; d) the ratio of good and reasonable results of history with a positive and creative role of evil origin in the very historical movement – Kant considers this problem in the "Ideas of universal history"; e) Hegel interprets the coincidence of final results of personally selfish will with the reasonableness of prediction as a manifestation of "tricks of the world spirit". Life is complex, multi-factorial, and unique. History can not be turned back too. Hence, there is the responsibility for the choice, activity, for own destiny. A person chooses due to the mind that has realized the necessity one or another option of the activity. The need that has "entered" the activity loses its eternal determinacy. It turns into another quality and appears as freedom. People possess freedom when external circumstances do not force them to give up their own interests, needs and feelings. Thus, freedom is affirmed in the area of social necessity, but as a result it ceases to be freedom. Knowing the necessity and knowledge of the case is a rather narrow boundary for freedom. Freedom is a wider phenomenon than the cognitive and realized objective circumstances surrounding the person by means of action. The phenomenon of freedom is determined not only by a reasonable active participation in existing forms of human existence, but also by a peculiar creative exit beyond its limits. Since the choice passes through all human existence in society and reveals four domains of public

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[2] Шинкарук В.І., Яценко О.І. Гуманизм диалектико-материалистического мировоззрения. Киев: Политиздат Украины, 1984. – 255 с. – Ст. 33.

life activity, it is logical to conditionally classify the following fields of life choice:

– Material – a person chooses profession, where to work, searches a personal career of the entire life. There are people who can do any work for living. However, there are other people: they are persistently searching for something that matches their abilities, skills, background. As V. Shubkin emphasizes, "a social person chooses the profession, a spiritual person looks for sense of life[3];

– Social – a person is determined in the system of socio-political relations, chooses own life position, defends both own and certain social group interests, joins or does not join various political parties and public unions, associations, movements, is engaged in active public-political activity or is separated from it;

– Spiritual – is the most complicated and comprehensive one. This is the choice of education, artistic and moral values, a subject of belief, sense of life etc. The choice of spiritual values is the most complicated because it is the most responsible because a person is governed by own spirituality in life, namely, mind, feelings, and will. The choice has a contradictory nature, because the field of spirituality does not actually have borders, because it includes both fantasy, and dream, and utopia, and belief, and the real spiritual principles of human daily activity. Spiritual choice of personality is boundless. However, there is always one option of choice – good and evil, the truth and lies, the beautiful and the ugly.

These issues are covered by the problem of freedom of conscience, freedom of choice of spiritual and cultural values. These freedoms mentioned are definitely determined by mankind as the original right of personality, to which access of strangers is prohibited. However, how many more martyrs of conscience are in the camps, how many people were burned in the flames of the Inquisition, how many of them were proclaimed state criminals, dissidents, mentally ill. The right to choose spiritual values is affirmed through pain and suffering. However, as it seems to us, mankind will never cede the acquired rights of freedom of spirit self-determination, because it is precisely in this the germ of future, creativity, socio-historical progress takes it origins.

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[3] Шубкин В. Начало пути. Проблемы молодежи в зеркале социологии. – М.: Молодая гвардия, 1979. – 224 с.

The latter does not mean that the choice of a system of values does not have determinant factors. A person lives in society, along with them other people exist, live, act, give birth and bring up children possessing the sovereign right to choose spiritual values as well. The situations often arise when one choice encounters the other, one will contradicts another, and one freedom requires realization only through conquest of the other. To overcome and prevent such situation the mankind has invented and formed relevant regulatory mechanisms. The morality is one of the most effective ones.

Morality prompts a person the option of choosing spiritual values and appropriate behavior because it is exactly based on conscience – a moral feeling, in which a person's self-esteem is manifested as correspondence of their actions taken in society in the converted into the conviction of morality norms. In compromising of conscience, a person loses humanity, personality, social significance. Conscience represents all human feelings; it is their "voice" and their "pangs". "Pangs of conscience" turn people into humanity, predetermine the preventing of a wrong choice.

And yet, even conscientiousness is sometimes not enough for the proper choice of sensual life values. J.-P. Sartre describes the situation of choice, when a young man, on the one hand, has to go to protect his homeland from enemies, and on the other – to take care of an old, sick, weak mother who dies without his help. J.-P. Sartre says that each option has the right to exist as the option that is done in conscience. However, having chosen one option, how to act with another? The life experience, folk wisdom, high level of mind, and finally, determination, will and many other things are necessary. As V. Bakshtanovsky writes, in a conflict situation, only moral wisdom, the union of conscience and reason, the unity of requirements of morality and social reasonableness can resist and win[4].

Personality, their inner world and consciousness do not exist and can not exist outside a specific system of public relations, way of life, situation, coincidence of circumstances, where in combination of contradictory interlacement a person makes one or another choice. The situation of human confrontation and circumstances created by it as hostile to each other manifests itself in "alienation".

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[4] Бакштановский В.И. Этика как «практичная философия»: традиционные образы и современные подходы. – М.: Политиздат, 1983. – 186 с. – Ст. 15.

Earlier Socrates philosophy did not distinguish morality as a special field, as well as the world order. Space merged into one with the world of the ancient polis, "logos", ruling in it, expressed the idea of the ancient traditional polis relations. But gradually space is beginning to significantly expand the social and spiritual connections that made the Greek a personality relatively independent of local limitations. His self-consciousness was no longer tied to traditional guidelines; he became capable of judging the laws of human relations and entering into a new worldview by his own mind, but this worldview was rather limited, bearing a personal distinction of the chosen, and, at first, it was happening not so much in everyday consciousness but in philosophical thought. At the same time, philosophy acted not as an esoteric branch of knowledge, but as a vital wisdom, an ideal of social world understanding, where life is in harmony with nature and logos. Philosophy is a part of general education of a spiritually developed personality and on this basis it has come into conflict with the archaic, mythological and traditional worldview. Ancient ethics before Socrates and Plato was a kind of vital guidance in life prudence, teaching about a certain attitude to things, various changes in personal destiny and above all to oneself.

It is these two circumstances, the merger of problems of meaningful life and personal-behavioral in philosophy with the cosmological teachings, on the one hand, and on the other – non-specific widening of the moral problem, as understanding the "virtue" of human benefit in general, matching the moral problem with the universal life teaching, predetermined the coincidence of tasks of a new philosophical worldview and moral formation of personality in early ancient thinking. It is determined by two circumstances: on the one hand, the merger of personality-behavioral problems in the philosophy with cosmological teaching, and on the other – the understanding of "virtue" as a human benefit in general, as well as the development of moral problem in general life teaching. In Democritus, for example, a wise man is an ideal of goodness, acquiring a certain degree and lives accordingly to this degree. A wise philosopher is a man who has not only comprehended the laws of the universe and human life, but has also learned to understand everything that is happening to him, which is the spiritual guideline of the

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philosopher. This is exactly the guarantee of true morality, which makes him strive for "just and legitimate matters".[5]

In early ancient culture, not only ethics merges with philosophy, but also the theory of morality coincides with moral considerations and moral preaching. The philosopher does not consider moral ideas from theorist's side, but he thinks on the logic of moral consciousness as a moral personality, justifying for himself and another people the program of public and political life. And this is a fundamental coincidence of normative and theoretical consideration about what should be and what exists. Democritus deliberately implements the principle of naturalistic interpretation of a person: all that they strive to achieve and what they must strive to achieve is determined by the nature of all living things. Perfect, fair, virtuous – it's just another name of something natural, useful for life that brings health and pleasure. And if so, then preaching goodness is the same as uncovering the nature of space and a person as part of it to people. The philosopher is a real holder of morality; his teaching is nothing more than a moral doctrine of life.

Social philosophy has always faced an ethical problem and the task of justifying evil, an explanation of imperfection of the empirical world, arose from an ideally-perfect beginning. In the very moral consciousness this problem is solved rather easy because a value view on the world mandatory splits the reality in the mutually opposite: good and evil, the beautiful and the ugly, and the determinacy of goodness as a positive value requires its antipode, anti-value. Even Heraclitus and the Stoics clearly emphasized this logic of value consciousness – there would be no goodness without drawbacks, no beauty without ugliness, both are mutually acceptable.

Such understanding of the problem of public and individual life in philosophy and morality allows distinguishing three sides and, accordingly, three different paths, according to which this organically integral, syncretic teaching subsequently developed or split.

First of all, one should note an individualist trend in the Democritus ethics, namely the trend inherent in a number of schools in ancient philosophy. The teaching of life focuses on the personality and is essentially a program of personal self-existence, self-affirmation and

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[5] Аболина Т.Г. Исторические судьбы нравственности (философский анализ нравственной культуры). – К., 1992. – 196 с. – Ст. 211.

salvation of an individual. And if Democritus still puts the interests of the state and social justice above all, the Socratics and Stoics completely refuse from the task of organizing and ordering public life, they govern a person only to personal salvation. Ethics is distinguished by Aristotle in a special branch, who constructs it as a teaching of goodness of personality's moralistic qualities. From the Stoics a traditional division of philosophy into three branches is originated: logic, physics and ethics. Such division is also accepted by Kant, who justifies it only as a division between the teachings of method, nature, and freedom of morality. After all, even up to the Modern time, ethics is more often understood as a science about human nature, their principles, and action goals in general. Such a broadening of the subject of ethics derives from interpretation of its tasks. The task of ethics was to teach a person certain rules of life, based on their own natural or divine nature. That is why ethics combined the theory of human existence: ontological, naturalistic or religious-eschatological, the study of emotions of psyche affects and, at the same time, the teaching about ways to achieve a good life: a common benefit, happiness, and salvation. Thus, the pre-Kantian ethics of unity of the being and the proper solved a double problem: an explanation of the real human state in the world, the causes of human actions and the justification of moral principles, guidelines on how to act, that is, united the theoretical and practical philosophy in it.

In German philosophy, the solution of the ethical theory issue has started. The problem was that the morality had not been reduced to psychology or "mechanics", as well as to prudence and "mathematical calculation". That is, morality should reflect a somewhat more perfect and elevated, but not a pressure of natural feelings or practical prediction. It is to this that the moral experience of a person who, in the name of morality, refuses personal interests for the sake of someone's benefit, leads. It is resulted in the fact that morality, due to its uniqueness, is both a domain of primary feelings and norms, because they are given from above and as a result are the essence of a person. Morality is essentially universal, comprehensive in comparison with the empirical determinacy of a person as an individual. Since it is non-natural and does not obey the impulsivity of natural aptitudes, it is necessary to put a question of a definitely specific, other way of moral determination of a person – an essential, but not spiritual-internal and external- material one. Such problems, in its

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essence, are the most difficult points of ethical understanding of morality specificity and they are relevant today.

Among classicists of German philosophy, Kant paid much attention to morality and its specifics; his ethical concept was the most developed and systematic. At the same time he was the most consistent opponent of morality concepts – theories of moral feeling.

The specificity of Kant's morality is in the fact that he sees it, first of all, in the external morality of an ordinary person, if people are taken as they are, in fact, by virtue of their personal deeds and motives by which they are truly governed. It is necessary to approach this matter empirically, take a closer look at the thoughts and desires of people, it is not necessary to be an enemy of goodness, but simply an impartial observer, do not doubt "whether a true goodness exists in the world", although it may be that "there have almost never been actions, truly moral motives implemented, an example of which the world may not have given until now."[6]. Morality can not be a thing that excites a person psychologically by something that creates an internal mechanism of person's natural aptitudes and aspirations. On the contrary, it provides something for a person, requires something from the latter, restricts spontaneously mediated impulses and binds. Therefore, morality is binding, appealing to a person, and not the aspirations or feelings laid down in a person by nature.

Thus, a moralistic premise in nature, a skeptical evaluation of actual human existence from the point of advanced requirements to a person, allows sharpening theoretically the normative, externally psychological nature of morality, distinguishing it from the mechanism of spontaneous spiritual movements given to a person from nature, inherent in empirical, indirectly essential individual.

Problems of morality specific nature in the intuitivism are considered as not related to the nature of everything that exists. Neo-positivists, comparing facts and values, come to the conclusion that it is impossible to justify moralistic judgments. Representatives of existentialism believe that human essence has no general definitions and therefore can not provide a basis for formulating any particular moralistic principles. The issue of morality specific nature in the history of ethical thought sometimes acquired another form: whether the moral activity in its essence is

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[6] Кант И. Антропология с прагматической точки зрения. – СПб.: Наука, 1999. – 472 с. – Ст. 244-245.

reasonable, serving the implementation of any practical goals and achievement of certain results, whether it is completely unreasonable and appears only as a fulfillment of law, the requirements of a certain absolute existence, preceding any need and goal. This alternative existed in the form of the issue about correlation in morality between the concepts of non-moral and morally appropriate benefit, where it is necessary to determine and justify the concept of benefit. Such approach led to the conception of consequential ethics where moral actions must be chosen and evaluated depending on such practical outcomes to which they led (hedonism, eudemonism, utilitarianism, etc.). This simplified moralistic problem, the motives of action and observance of general principles have become inessential.

Emphasizing the social nature and the purpose of morality, Plato and Aristotle consider it, first of all, as a means of organizing public-political life, but not merely the achievement of personal perfection and bliss. That is why moral teaching and political orientation occupy here a special place and does not cover the whole field of philosophical issues. A human soul, according to Plato, reflects the primary source of matter, the realm of ideas and the conflict between them, but at the same time, this soul with its qualities such as reason, sensuality and will is projected on the construction of a state that generating the state of wise men and rulers, guards-warriors, peasants , craftsmen and slaves. That is why Plato has still no ethics as an especially distinguished discipline, and there is no own theoretical study of what morality is. Wisdom, courage, moderation, justice are not just virtues, moral qualities educating people, but the necessary factors creating natural harmony between people and must be personified in a certain order that will be necessary for the future in order to build society. Plato remains a moralist in philosophy. He anthologizes moralistic qualities and thus defends the point of view of the very moral consciousness, absolutizing and fetishizing his concepts. For him there is no clear line between the philosophical study of the existing and the moral justification of such ideal that he defends. In the future, this is a typical feature of medieval consciousness.

Aristotle had another approach to the study of morality, whose ethics is rather separated field of study. He was the first who mentioned the subject of ethics – the study of goodness, goals and benefits of a person; considered this subject as a theoretical task, that is, he approached

morality not as a moralist, but as a scientist and researcher. The historical split of two ways of thinking about the world of moral and philosophical vision has begun from him. In ethical teaching Aristotle is the first who theoretically distinguishes a person from the realm of nature and insists that a person has a specific, public nature. And then he clearly divides two functions of thinking – theoretical and practical, namely, moral and ethical, and this proves that ethics – the science about the practical action of a social person – can not coincide with the general ontology, cosmology, or metaphysics.

Aristotle emphasizes that the very concept of goodness is normative; goodness is socially acquired and approved "acquired qualities of the soul"[7].

He argues that goodness is not given to a person from nature, but is cultivated in it by purposeful action and exercises, therefore, ethics can not be just a teaching of the human nature, but is a science about the normative, the educated and the appropriate in human behavior. Aristotle sometimes defines the freedom of person's will, such a mental and anthropological ability, provided by nature through the moral concepts of responsibility, approval, and guilt. He, for example, indicates that a human act is voluntary or involuntary, depending on whether the act is punishable or not. In other words, he seems to introduce the concept of "free will" in the limit of morality itself, thus he excludes the possibility of direct derivation of morality from the very general concept of "a person", which is urgent to modern researchers of the theory of morality as well. Philosophers of later eras considered freedom of will as a natural or supernatural precondition of morality.

Aristotle is the first in ethics who raises the problem of freedom of choice, distinguishing morality from other ways of social regulation. It is also typical how he poses and solves this problem. It seems that the freedom of will is, first of all, the ability inherent in people as they are, they anthropological and psychological feature. Only in such a way the question of freedom of will is further resolved by many philosophers. Aristotle begins his reflections from the other side. Whether a person is free or not free in choosing one or another action depends on how society treats such actions. If it approves or blames such actions, then, accordingly, they are in person's responsibility, considered as person's

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[7] Аристотель. Політика. – К.: Основи, 2003. – 239 с. – Ст. 88.

merit or guilt, that is why these actions are voluntary, free. Thus, he is the first who posed the very problem of freedom of choice and, at the same time, the first who solves the issue on the specificity of morality as social relations. Freedom of will is not a person's ability, although in a new time the majority of philosophers will solve the issues this way, seeing in freedom of will a certain natural or supernatural precondition of morality, and a phenomenon arising within the limits of morality as a means of regulating human activity.

Thus, Aristotle has already rather clearly defined specific features of morality, distinguished the most typical and peculiar features, the most significant moments, which makes it possible to distinguish ethics in a specific theoretical discipline. All these moments mentioned in Aristotle's ethics, expressed with a different share of consistency and precision, allow making a conclusion about the beginning in the division of general philosophical and moral views; the morality are now perceived as a specific field of human thought.

In ancient times, from Democritus to the Stoics, philosophy was a direct coincidence with the personal life program and the attitude of a person- philosopher. Starting from Aristotle and Plato, ancient philosophy became like a professional, special mental activity, different from the human way of life and feelings. The personalities of Democritus, Socrates, Aristippos of Cyrene, Diogenes of Synod, Crates and Hipparchia, Epictetus and Epicurus, and many others in all their specificity of life manifestations served as a living reflection of the relevant philosophical theses. For a "wise man" there was no difference between his teaching and personal existence. And it is not about archaic syncretism and inseparability of ideas and actions inherent in ancient culture at all.

During the Enlightenment there was a criticism of morality in the practical field of activity and religious morality. It was accused of replacing such a moral vision, not capable of self-evidence and holiness, with explanation of the world as a whole, based on a natural basis and subordinated to the naturalistic worldview. There was a modification of the priority of religious and moral world perception, moral significance of phenomena received status only from the point of view, which was reduced to the natural substance and originated from it. Hence it appears that philosophy should consider the world not from the point of view of the categories of good and evil, but to bring moral concepts to the

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corresponding natural science dogma. While philosophy is a true worldview, morality is the same in a relative measure. Morality is a worldview when it agrees with scientific philosophy, although, recognizes the lack of absolute truth and independence.

For the ethics of the 17th century, the consolidation of concepts of good and evil to anthropology and psychology is typical. It came from the fact that the idea of goodness and drawbacks, relevant motives and stimuli are inherent in the very essence of human nature, as well as the spiritual level of a person. Such a point of view is expressed in Descartes' reflections on the specifics of morality in the clearest way, in particular, in the work "Passions of the Soul". Conscience, repentance, love and respect, shame and pride, courage and cowardice, badness and nobility, goodness and drawbacks are defined as the properties and manifestations of the universal mental structure of a person, as the expression of primary emotional impulses, as the result of correlation and measure in each individual.

Descartes does not go further than natural and scientific explanation of the traditional content of morality specificity concept; he conducts such reduction of morality to the psycho-anatomical, natural phenomenon, resulted in impossibility of solving the issue of the morality specificity, its non-reduction to other person's attributes. Spinoza goes further than Descartes in this breaking of illusion about the uniqueness and self-probability of moralistic concepts.

Feeling himself as a monistic materialist, he put the question of the status of moral concepts and characteristics in a purely metaphysical plane of consideration at the very beginning, although the analysis of human affects and relevant withdrawal of moral phenomena from the psyche also occupies an important place. Yet in his early work, "Short Treatise on God, Man and His Well-Being", Spinoza claims that good and evil are only the essence of human thinking that they are absent in nature, in which everything exists and occurs by the necessity only. In this regard, he even rejects some traditional ideas of a virtuous person. Repentance of conscience, confession, honor and shame, affection and gratitude are all the manifestations of people's imperfection. A truly intelligent person should be guided only by the cognition of necessity and love for the truth, and never by sadness and other affects. Specifying his attitude to moral ideas, Spinoza demonstrates a clear criticism of morality, and at the same time the aestheticization of nature in "Ethics". Spinoza describes as ideas

the means for the interpretation of natural phenomena, the concept of good and evil, sin and merit, the perfect and the imperfect, the beautiful and the ugly. "All the ways, which usually explain the nature, are only different kinds of ideas and do not show the nature of any thing, but only the state of ability of ideas.[8]

Englishman Thomas Hobbes, contemporary of Descartes and Spinoza, considers the specificity of morality from the point of habits and aptitudes of human behavior and the arrangement of public life. This understanding takes place in three distinct levels, resulting in three different concepts of morality. In the first case, goodness is inherent in people in their natural state or in every person in relation to their individuality, directly inherent in their nature only. Customs, from this point of view, are determined by firmly rooted habits of behavior. "If the customs are virtuous, they are called goodness, but if they are bad, they are with drawbacks"[9]. Good and evil are just "names given to things", which are essential for people in their receptivity or non-receptivity in the evaluation of objects. Due to the differences in temperaments, habits and attitudes of people, the concepts of good and evil are relative, individually distinct and enter into arguments with each other. In the natural state there can be no general derivation of a single evaluation of goodness and drawbacks as well as there can be no "science about morality". In the perception of goodness only personal individual benefit is expressed, such concepts as courage, moderation, prudence create the basis, first of all, for the interest of an individual, but not the public whole.

Due to the fact that people "measure good and evil by different measures, the state of war appears between them"[10]. The only scale of measure of goodness and drawbacks is established only in the state due to the laws established in it.

Goodness in this case is an expression of personal aspirations and usefulness, determined by the usefulness of state and thus gets the status of justice. "Good customs, that is, moral goodness, are such customs, through which the state organization once established can be preserved in the best way."[11]. It serves as the basis for creating another concept of

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[8] Філософський словник соціальних термінів / Склад. та упоряд.: В.П. Андрущенко, М.І. Бойченко, М.І. Михальченко; під заг. ред. В.П. Андрущенка. – Київ, 2002. – 672 с. – Ст. 400.

[9] Гоббс Т. Избранные произведения в 2 т. – М.: Мысль, 1964. – 748 с. – Ст. 260.

[10] Там же. – Ст. 261-262, 338-339.

[11] Там же. – 748 с. – Ст. 262.

morals and morality as a specific public institution. But Hobbes understands human sociality through the concept of a social agreement and, therefore, it is identified with statehood. As a result, morality in its essence is reduced to a legal law, and the grounds and formation of moralistic demands for an act of legislation, goodness in turn to subordination to the law. Morality from this point of view has no own field of activity, it has a place only in institutional, official statutory establishments. However, the laws of state, established by the will of a legislator, are nevertheless relative and may have various meaning in different states. From this point of view, "whatever those laws would be, it is the obedience to them that is goodness, and violation of them is a drawback. And even if the actions provided by laws can be very different, justice is obedience to the laws, unchanged and it stays the same."[12]. That is, only the fact of obedience to the law is important, regardless of the meaning of relevant actions. Thus, the laws of the state and society are not imagined at all, but derive from the natural needs of public life and interrelations. "Natural laws are not laws provided by the state; they exist before the state will, because they are originated from the nature itself."[13]. Such laws are revealed not only to the state mind, but to the "Mind which is a natural law, directly given to any person by God as a measure of their actions"[14]. Natural laws but not the laws proclaimed by the state "create the essence of moral philosophy".[15]

The transition from socio-state integration of morality to its naturalistic understanding allows Hobbes to define moral laws as general, such laws that have a fundamental basis that is the origins from the very nature of things. But these laws acquire abstract, not purely moral content. But these laws acquire abstract, not purely moral content. Natural laws include everything attributed by mind – "what should be done and from what is necessary to keep away".[14] It is possible to attribute the useful and purely moral to them, that is, those moralistic provisions, as well as those imperatives that restrict personal interest.

So, Hobbs has three different concepts of morality. The fist one reduces morality to psychology of individuals and explains why people exactly tend to act in one or another way, explaining this by their

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[12] Гоббс Т. Избранные произведения в 2 т. – М.: Мысль, 1964. – 748 с. – Ст. 261.
[13] Там же. – Ст 340.
[14] Там же. – Ст 341.
[15] Там же. – Ст 338.

temperament peculiarities, natural aptitudes and aspirations. The second one reduces morality to the state organization needs and explains why it is necessary, in general, for people to agree their actions in the field of public life. Here morality serves as a set of "technological" rules in relation to the purposeful order of society. The third concept of specificity of morality emphasizes the "normative and provisional nature of moral requirements: that is something to what an intelligent nature binds a person"[15] . However, these requirements are not social any more, they are united with the nature of the world order. In any case the sufficient understanding of specificity of morality has not achieved. Later on, all three different level concepts of morality, namely moral as a psychological mechanism of behavior, as social purposefulness and as manifestation of universal nature merge in a single whole creating synthetic morality institution as something identical with anthropology. Much later, when the philosophy of modern times was separated in an individual field from the everyday life, the idealist thinker Soeren Kierkegaard strongly criticized a way of philosophizing "liberated" from the life and personal existence and opposed it with existential, personal-arranged thinking, as an example of a truly philosophical consciousness. On the one hand, Ludwig Feuerbach raised the same problem in philosophy, maximizing its ascending and final results to the activity and sensibility of an empirical person. Thus, the remoteness of philosophical thinking from the field of practical action repeatedly was denied and defended from the very positions in the history of philosophy itself.

On the other hand, moral form of consciousness was reduced to indirect practical guideline not in all manifestations requiring certain actions from a person in life situations. Of course, the social function of morality, first of all, is in the regulation of human actions and relationships. But it is the practical-regulatory purpose of morality that increases to the general worldview function, to the image of general picture of the human world not only within its ideal boundary, but also in the real general historical movement, in the struggle of good and evil, or in the process of approaching the ideal. And the point here is not only that moral principles and norms due to their general nature should have a qualitative foundation, such as the postulate of person's "purpose". And not even because the order of proper things required the creation of an idea of a certain essential beginning from which they arise, because they

have an objective will of a person, independent of the subjective. The point is also that moral truths do not match with simple commandments: do not kill, do not steal, tell the truth, and come into conflict with the existing conditions and the limited possibilities of social organization of society. The unconditional and complete fulfillment of these commandments in the moral consciousness of people was more often postponed to the future or transferred to another, ideal world, and moral truths acted as a means of thinking of a moral personality who is in conflict with the world and never with oneself, with something that forces and gets interested an individual to do every day for self-protection. Under these conditions, some moral ideas keep their normative-mandatory meaning to serve not only to the definite instructions for action. The ideals of moral consciousness were moving away from direct life practices, because their performance deviated from the real possibilities and specific-situational needs of social reality. Due to this conflict between the proper and the existing there are ideas of absolute good, universal justice, the idea of a moral ideal as something far from a reality of life.

The founder of philosophical hermeneutics W. Dilthey proceeds from the fact that consciousness includes three relatively independent layers: objective (reproduces reality), emotional (reflects the attitude of a person to this picture) and the will, in which emotional evaluations acquire the form of impulses, aimed at transformation of reality. The emotional layer of consciousness forms the basis of human activity. Today, scientists are increasingly experiencing the insufficiency of past approaches and the necessity for research of internal psychological, worldview, ethical and moral orientations and motivations of individuals, social groups and layers.

Therefore, the problem of universal basis arises in the moral consciousness not only as a reflection of necessity for generalization of personal norms, their reduction to a single denominator, to something objectively substantive, but as a practical issue of possibility of implementing these norms. It is due to the conflict and contradictory nature of this issue that the universal postulates of morality are detached from those real conditions and public relations, being their expressions in the minds of moral subjects.

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EVOLUTION OF THE CONCEPTIONS OF SPACE
AND TIME STRUCTURES' REFLECTION IN THE EUROPEAN
TRADITION OF HISTORIOGRAPHY

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INTRODUCTION

The historical science of modern times functions over 80 years already in the shade of French "Ècole des Annales". Since 1929 it was considered an avant-garde of the most progressive trends in it, and never lost this status. This school is highly appreciated and regarded not only for its groundbreaking penetration into the research fields previously neglected by historians but also for its creation of generalizing conceptions of the past helping mankind to orientate itself in the space and time of the past[1].

The philosophical approach of the school wasn't anything totally unpredictable but mainly continuing and developing the way of research outlined by Dutch historian Johann Huizinga in his work "The Autumn of the Middle Ages" (1919)[2]. From the very start it was threw in the field of cultural history and historiosophy never tied with historical science so tightly as from that time. In the period before history dared seldom to speak so freely about common trends of European civilization.

Previously patriotically motivated and only partly belonging to the human race on whole, the historical science gradually moves since then up to the phase where just general history ("world history") exists. The starting point was the ambitious attempt to prove the truly scientific character of history in the times when positivistic approach dominated and natural sciences were appreciated the highest. They provided the most important advancements during the period of arms race, and, of course, there was no idea that new ways of mankind's self-identification towards the past would ever be of the same meaning.

However the things have changed dramatically after the world wars' period was over in the mid XX century. Since that time the significance of

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[1] Февр Люсьен. Бои за историю, Р. 25-38.
[2] Хёйзинга Йохан. Осень Средневековья. Р. 5, 8-10, 344-345, 575.

"Ècole des Annales" spreads not just fulfilling the need for research methods in medievistics; now the totality of its methodology helps historians to find themselves in the entire system of the world and of knowledge in the widest meaning of the world[3].

The prominent scientists of the school were quite aware of it and never negated these ambitions as non-realistic. We think that the cornerstone is here the combination of history and historiography; patriotically motivated history never accepted fully the idea of its dependence upon the ways of representation of the past. Nationally oriented historiography is always out of doubt providing the picture where all the parts remain still. The meaning of it is just to make us know "more" about the things we cannot misunderstand; the new science doubts this approach stating we are in the space and time of entirely unknown meaning. To get strictly to the point is to find common parameters for the mankind on whole.

For instance, some research subjects like wars or revolutions still exist in the public consciousness of different nations represented there in different ways: sometimes as "revolutions", sometimes as "rebellions" (depending upon the social order behind these formulas). This kind of representation is heavily backed by non-historical reasons and hardly deserves to be considered scientific. Its correct re-consideration is possible only if non-historical motivation changes after some crucial moves in policy or if truly scientific view point surpasses previous ways of representation. The tradition commonplace in Russia – to give the defend wars on its territory title "patriotic" – is good example here. The war of 1812 is from the global view point an integral part of war of 6th anti-Napoleonic coalition against imperial France, and the war of 1941–1945 is part of World War II.

Other subjects like revolutions change their meaning even more often, when the uprisings first hailed as "revolutions" then turn into "rebellions" and "coups d'ètat". It happens partly due to the dominance of opposite political tendencies but sometimes because the true size of events becomes visible from some impartial position which is ought to be the position of scientific research. The gradually increasing role of this position marks the most important trend in modern historiography; this

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[3] Февр Люсьен. Op. cit., P. 17-23.

process is possible due to the incorporation of the principles of "Ècole des Annales" in humanities.

Last but not least is to underline here that it is possible through historiography only because it never negates any patriotic motivation of research but opposes them on the methodological level where they make stand like modern item against outdated ones.

The significant feature is the actualization of historical research. It is possible via public request only and this request creates the shape of historical subjects as they are represented. Before "Ècole des Annales" there was no chance to actualize any research subject apart from public request. Several experiences like works by Leopold von Ranke about history of Papacy didn't shape a new trend before 1920s. But XX century for the first time provided us with the new approach where social order doesn't play significant role. Partly it's because the "New historical science" (the self-entitled methodology by "Ècole des Annales") was created on the joint of various humanitarian studies where standard motivations weren't as important as in history itself: for example, it is impossible to be guided by public request in psychology or sociology. These branches of science deal with actual reality and by default have to keep up to the impartiality.

For the decades and centuries history belonged to the ruling political forces formulating "policy of memory" in each country, and thus shaping the patriotic motivation to ground the publically requested interpretation of the past events.

But what is more important, the influence of "Ècole des Annales" created for the first time discrepancy between public perception of historical events and their correspondence to the past reality reconstructed thoroughly by scientists. For upcoming generations this discrepancy is vital, although not significant for modern historians imbued with the ideas to revive the past, influenced by "Ècole des Annales".

1. The first close-up and formulation of the problem

The first obstacle historian encounters is the impossibility to get out of coordinate system including historical events as the ones to influence the future. In this system they are allocated according to their relative significance proved with the further current events. Note that in our everyday life the events are allocated in both public and personal

perception along the axis which Stephen Hawking called "arrow of time". We never have a full picture of mutual relationship of simultaneous events; we just see the succession. In the science of history we see the subjects of our research differently: some of them have proved their significance for future already and we perceive them as bigger ones. These subjects are called "historical events" and play greater role in shaping down the whole picture of the past.

The scale of historical events makes it necessary to call them in a certain way: to give them identifying name. Some of these subjects historians start to call "wars", although it isn't obligatory coincide with the everyday perception of the event: for instance, Centenary War of 1337–1453 never was a fact for its contemporaries[4]. In their perception it was divided into several military conflicts separated with the periods of peace. Later these periods (evidently important for contemporaries) have been reconsidered non-significant, thus the whole identifying name for the period became "war".

Some of them become "revolutions", although sometimes the usage of this term is anachronistic (Marxist historiography of English history of 1640 – 1660 entitled the events "bourgeois revolution" using the meaning of the term evidently belonging not to XVII but to XVIII century). So, the prominent events in history are never given as themselves but as points on a map which are easy to decipher due to their correspondence to the legend of the map: they are "wars" and "revolutions" to ease our understanding their role for future.

The importance of allocation of historical events plays even greater role. During XX century some concepts of the earlier historiography have been doubted as hardly correspondent to the past reality. For example, the opposition between "Middle Ages" ("Dark Ages") and "Renaissance" (going back to Francesco Petrarch of XIV century) commonplace for European science in XIX century was later negated because of its non-correspondence to the true events[5]. In spite of it both terms are still in full-fledged usage for they meet fully the needs of historical science to explain the past (although not to revive it).

We would look at the abovementioned structures ("historical events", "historical facts") as at the ones allocated in time but in fact the past

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[4] Басовская Наталия. Леопард против лилии, P. 3.
[5] Делюмо Жан. Цивилищация Возрождения, P. 7-8.

reality goes out of hands of historians not only as "time" but also as "space". History by historians is not just a succession of the events; their mutual disposal is more complicated. History for mass consumption and for patriotic usage is much more upright and simplified than for providing further scientific reconstruction. That comes from the fact that patriotic usage doesn't aim to reconstruct the past reality veritably; non-realistic although convincing picture of the past is enough to meet the needs of the society. The source of difference here is that both needs are fulfilled via different exploring procedures: research (in case of scientific usage) and cognition (in case of meeting public request). Only cognition provides the fixation of the events in terms suitable for further usage not only in science but also in the whole sphere of public life (policy, education etc.)

The research deals with *subjects*; fully explored, they may turn into historical *facts* (the knowledge of proven and non-disputed verity) ready to live public life even out of history as a science; they start to influence publicity realm. So the interpretative element in the *fact* isn't important anymore or it may fulfill its role and produces no discussion anymore. The nature of *subjects* is different; they go on to produce controversy around themselves and thus are not fully prepared to become historical facts.

Saying "subject" we mean historiography because we keep in mind notions like "subject of exploration" or "subject of discussion". Within public life historical facts are required but research subjects aren't; within history as a science both elements are in use for there's no chance to separate correctly "known" facts from subjects still under research. Subject is taken in its totality via look from several points we're going to identify.

Our purpose here is to provide the entire map of structures used by historians in different ways aiming different tasks. We divide them into structures of space and time because all of them get their significance only after their allocation on the scale designed by scientists.

2. The movability of research subjects in history: chronological and geographical aspects

The very special feature of historical subjects is their fluent nature. It is represented with their ability to change their limits from time to time due to non-historical influences. The influences usually coming from public request towards history change because of social, cultural, ethnic

and political matters. French Revolution of XVIII century is a perfect example here. For the French historians the chronological limits of it are between 1789 and 1815 because Napoleonic rule in France dating 1799–1815 is considered direct continuation of Revolution mostly keeping its influences up; in the USSR Marxist historiography defined chronological limits differently: 1789 – 1794 for Revolution itself and 1799–1815 for Napoleonic rule. Period in between is interpreted as "reaction". The difference derived from the exaggeration of factor of "counter-revolution": Soviet historians didn't discern monarchist counter-revolution in emigration from non-radical revolutionary groups in France. So, here we can see the subject with movable frame and thus with changeable nature perceived in different ways in different national scientific schools.

Some subjects aren't changeable; they are static by their nature. The ones exemplified above are dynamic subjects highly vulnerable to any turns of "policy of memory" and, as a result, changing their limits and nature. Some subjects do not change neither time nor space limits but just their nature. In history of the USA the Civil War of 1861–1865 was considered "rebellion" first; in XX century it became "civil war" finally. The nature of it was interpreted differently too: from the struggle for independence of "nation of Dixie" against "Yanks" to economical fight between highly developed North with growing capitalism and obsolete slave-owning South. Some subjects change chronological limits but territorial ones remain intact. For example, the war for independence of Netherlands against Spain in the late XVI – early XVII century never changed territorial limits as a research subject; however, national historiography defined time frame as 1568–1648 incorporating the events of The Thirty Years War (1618–1648) but excluding the Iconoclastic Uprising of 1566; Marxist historiography included the Iconoclastic Uprising but totally excluded the events of The Thirty Years War making the subject substantially shorter in these limits[6].

The abovementioned features let us to define the nature of static subjects by commissioning several parameters to verify their changeability:

1) Identifying name;
2) Contents;

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[6] Чеканов В.Ю. Статичні і динамічні об'єкти в науково-історичному дослідженні, p. 524.

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3) Character;
4) Driving forces;
5) Causes;
6) Effects;
7) Meaning.
8) Scale;
9) Chronological limits.

Each of the research subjects may be explored by defining every of these 9 parameters according to the certain historiographical tradition. Then it is possible to discern non-changeable parameters by comparing the appropriate entries of two or more traditions. If so, they may be considered not the intrusions of historiography but the results of true scientific research.

Going back to the Great French Revolution we may try to exercise this research procedure. So, according to the Marxist historiography this revolution is measured in following parameters:

1) Identifying name – the Great French Revolution;
2) Contents – social revolution;
3) Character – bourgeois;
4) Driving forces – bourgeoisie ("the third estate");
5) Causes – crisis of feudalism;
6) Effects – the fall of absolute monarchy, the establishment of capitalism;
7) Meaning – the creation of conditions to promote capitalism;
8) Scale – global;
9) Chronological limits – 1789–1794.

The next task in our analysis is to discern changeable and non-changeable parameters. The same options should be identified according to non-Marxist historiography where some of them are defined in different way. If any coincide, that means that static parameter is found.

1) Identifying name – the Great French Revolution;
2) Contents – social revolution;
3) Character – bourgeois;
4) Driving forces – bourgeoisie ("the third estate");
5) Causes – crisis of feudalism;
6) Effects – the fall of absolute monarchy, the establishment of capitalism;

7) Meaning – the creation of conditions to promote capitalism, the establishment of democratic institutions to protect human rights;

8) Scale – global;

9) Chronological limits – 1789–1799 or 1804 or 1815[7].

As we can see, parameter 7 is widened in non-Marxist historiography; because the important tool to establish democratic institutions was the Napoleon's Code worked out from 1804 to 1811, that leads to changes in parameter 9 (although various scientists define the end of revolution differently: from 1799 to 1815).

The following conclusion may be done: the Great French Revolution as a research subject reveals stability of 7 out of 9 parameters proving it static subject with non-changeable parameters dominating. The inviolable position of the Great French Revolution in history is the cornerstone of the modern epoch and its perception.

Other subjects are more controversial; let's take one entitled "Netherlands bourgeois revolution" in Soviet historiography. According to our algorithm its description will have the next structure:

1) Identifying name – the Netherlands bourgeois revolution;

2) Contents – struggle for national liberation;

3) Character – war for independence, underdeveloped bourgeois revolution;

4) Driving forces – bourgeoisie with national gentry;

5) Causes – braking of Dutch capitalism development by absolutist Spain;

6) Effects – the creation of independent state in the North of Netherlands;

7) Meaning – the acceleration of capitalism development in the North;

8) Scale – local;

9) Chronological limits – 1566–1609[8].

According to this scheme we can trace down some logical contradictions in it: the identification of the process is "bourgeois revolution" although its contents, character and effects (parameters 2, 3, 6) lead us to conclusion that majority of parameters belong to the war for

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[7] Чеканов В.Ю. Статичні і динамічні об'єкти в науково-історичному дослідженні, p. 522.

[8] Ibid., P. 523-524.

independence. Even if the event is identified as "bourgeois revolution" the social constituent of it is weak however the national one dominates.

The next step is to describe the subject according to contemporary Western historiography. The result will show the following:

1) Identifying name – the Eighty Years War;
2) Contents – struggle for national liberation and Calvinist reformation;
3) Character – war for independence, Calvinist reformation;
4) Driving forces – bourgeoisie, national gentry, Calvinists;
5) Causes – braking of Dutch capitalism development by absolutist Spain, oppression of reformats in Netherlands;
6) Effects – the creation of independent state in the North of Netherlands;
7) Meaning – the acceleration of capitalism development in the North, the victory of Reformation;
8) Scale – local;
9) Chronological limits – 1568–1648[9].

The discrepancy of two research tradition is obvious: the Marxists were prone to underestimate the role of religious factor and to combine the struggle for national liberation with the struggle for freedom to develop local capitalism in Netherlands. The subject is represented differently in two research traditions. It is dynamized by the ideological contradictions. That led to withdrawal of subject from wider contexts (like Reformation and The Thirty Years War) and to the exaggeration of economic factors.

The direct outcome was the drastic re-shaping of chronological limits. The subject changes in Soviet historiography visually: its size decreases but it gets qualitative characteristics of social revolutions (privileged research subjects for historical science in the USSR). At the same time subject's characteristics in Western historiography feature hypertrophying of religious factor and of dynastic and diplomatic fight around the issue of Netherlands independence. This last issue makes it less outstanding in the context of the epoch (the one and only bourgeois revolution in the century) but more involved into usual current of dynastic wars in Europe. The direct result of these processes was instability of the

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[9] Чеканов В.Ю. Статичні і динамічні об'єкти в науково-історичному дослідженні. P. 523-524.

subject and finally non-constituting of "Netherlands bourgeois revolution" as historical fact.

3. Where it came from: the fundamentals too obvious to be spotted at once

We could trace down the re-shape of research subjects in history while becoming historical facts: they may change not only their nature but also chronological limits. It's quite possible because they didn't exist in the past in the shape we know now: it belongs to historiography fully. The subjects like the row of military conflicts between England and France during XIV – XV centuries weren't perceived by contemporaries as a whole thing; their re-shape into "Centenary war" was made by historiography later. The reason behind this re-shape was the discovery of latent factors behind the events perceived as a succession of wars and truces; pending diplomatic war backing them was never known to the eyewitnesses but for upcoming generations thanks to historians who dismantled the hidden background. The instrument for orientation in the events was the identifying name "Centenary War" to make ready the use of newly identified historical fact for public request.

Such identifying names like "Centenary War" or "Napoleonic Wars" didn't correspond to the perception of humble people of the period; people usually hope to live in peace and think of each pause in the war as of its ending[10]. That is why historical facts hardly correspond to the feeling of contemporaries but they meet the requests of upcoming generations continuing their dialog with the past to fulfill their needs.

The tendentious usage of newly assigned historical facts lets historians format the past according to their convenience or to the public requests historians are urged to meet. The loss of actuality may destroy non-actual identification and lead to the new re-shape of the subject. For example, "Netherlands bourgeois revolution" lost its actuality after decline of communism in the late XX century; the Western identification of the subject – "Eighty Years War" – thusly started to spread all over post-Soviet intellectual space[11].

All the above mentioned deeds are the expressions of subjective relation to the material of the past; another kind of it is re-location of the

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[10] Манфред А.З. Наполеон Бонапарт. P. 357, 373.
[11] Чеканов В.Ю. Op. cit., p. 525.

events in space and time. The question here is whether any action of historian should cause consequence of such a re-location or it is a result of some subjective attitude of researcher. To get to the point we consider expedient to turn to the oldest historical works of the mankind – to the works of Herodotus (490–425 BC) and Thucydides (460–400 BC).

The "History in nine books" by Herodotus gave the name for a newborn science although the creative approach of its writer hardly looks well acquainted for us. From the very start he drives the reader into wide space and time context including number of foreign countries; the presentation never concentrates just on the past events but involves constantly material from the branches assigned later to ethnology, mythology, cultural history etc. Examining the background of hostility between Greeks and Persians Herodotus discusses it in a context of mutual relationship of Middle East peoples from Lydians to Egyptians[12]. It is understandable as a trick to make the Greek audience more oriented in the entire situation abroad but didn't survive as a research method. The practical use of this method depends upon the level of awareness of audience; the more well-informed is it, the less is the need to provide these "excursions". So the method of Herodotus was perfect for the earliest phase of development of history and that is why it didn't survive upcoming centuries. It still looks unique because it doesn't correspond to the requirements of neither exterior nor interior history constructed later according other models.

Herodotus had to provide certain formatting of his material; his subject was the war between Greeks and Persians; but he couldn't start directly with it omitting the necessity to make his readers know the background. It caused this unique way of story-telling to provide enough introductory information. Later turn directly to the Greek-Persian War resulted into the change of presentation into more upright way.

Because of all these reasons, Greece in Herodotus's work was put into the wide space with number of nations co-existing and fighting. It wasn't an exterior history yet for accent in presentation wasn't made on diplomatic affaires. The features of representation of Greece in "History" by Herodotus are: its functioning in the space of different countries and absence of binary opposition "us – them" in the text. This opposition appeared later when the Greek-Persian War turned out to become the

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[12] Геродот. История. Р. 3-4.

main topic of the second half of the work. This space allocation of Greece is definitely the result of subjective attitude of the researcher.

The "History" by Thucydides entirely dedicated to the current of all-Greek Peloponnesian war (431–404 BC) which greatly impressed Greek society and influenced the further evolution of it. So Thucydides had to deal with the material completely different to the one Herodotus had before his eyes: there was no need to get his audience acquainted with some unknown matters but the public requirement was to make it understand "how it all happened". The events of Peloponnesian war were known to everyone in Greece but the motifs in background of it remained undiscovered. Herodotus had to provide his readers with information; Thucydides had to provide them with understanding.

This difference resulted into more complicated task for Thucydides. To solve it he had to work out the new pattern of story-telling, and it was done. Although the outer influences onto the participants of Peloponnesian war were real the author had to omit them and to concentrate exclusively on interior topics[13]. That led to the change of Greece's representation in space: in Thucydides' work it looks much less involved into international affairs than in "History" by Herodotus. The foreigners arrive into the text of Thucydides not only from abroad but also from the limits of author's vision. That leads to the strong perception that their actions mentioned in the text are voluntary; they are never urged to intrude into the situation unlike Greeks who are fully dependent on causes and consequences of their previous actions. This difference makes binary opposition "us – them" in the text vital; Thucydides even reworks some by-plots surrounding his main topic to make them sound more fitting to the style of entire work. For instance, Trojan War mentioned at the beginning is characterized as the war between Greeks; Thucydides didn't mention the participation of non-Greek peoples in this war on the side of Trojans[14]. It's understandable because Thucydides had to reduce his sources to domestic ones. If Herodotus corrected often his data with foreign versions of events (even in case of Trojan War)[15], Thucydides never does it strengthening opposition between Greece as the subject of his work and "the whole world" looking at it to intrude in self-serving interest harmful by default.

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[13] Фукидид. История. Р. 50, 68, 359, 366, 372
[14] Ibid. P. 7-10.
[15] Геродот. Op. cit. P. 104-105.

We would say that "History" by Thucydides becomes interior history because it is more patriotic history. The events inside and outside of Greece exist for Thucydides on different levels of perception; this feature influences considerably not only the way of representation of historical material but also the specifics of subjects' allocation in space.

This feature is for the first time put into the center of attention. Up to now we can assert the presence of subjective attitude behind the different types of historical facts' representation. The purpose of it is to equal the levels of representation to some medium one. It enables historical text to perform its mission of information source. In Herodotus's work the task is to put on this level the basic knowledge about Greeks and non-Greek peoples of the East; in case of Thucydides the task is to create the balance between exterior and interior policies' representation saving the atmosphere of all-Greek war influencing every little bit of perception and totally occupying the feelings and attention of Greeks. That is why Thucydides never forgets to underline the political positions of participants of the events[16].

Another historian to be mentioned here is Polybius hailed for creation of model of description of diplomatic history. His "General history" contains foreword where the writer declares his purpose to depict the story of how Romans managed to take full control over Mediterranean during 53 years only. For Polybius this achievement wasn't preceded by anyone; he calls it "spectacle" underlining impressive side of the process. Polybius interpreted the story of it as "general history" due to the evident outcome: the unification of all known world under one rule[17].

Polybius was the first history writer to understand the role of composition of the material to strengthen the impression. He got to the point that the presentation part by part causes the loss of the Whole which shouldn't disappear behind the details. To provide this he used the re-writing in short the brief contents of material presented before[18]. The perception of the whole world was strengthened.

So we can discern within the subjective attitude of historian the different purposes: in case of Thucydides they are motivated by political tendency, in case of Herodotus and Polybius they derived from the need to support additionally the representation of material from overseas barely

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[16] Фукидид. Op. cit., p. 12-13.
[17] Полибий. Всеобщая история. Т. 1. Р. 148.
[18] Ibid., p. 149-150.

known to the audience. However, the need to harmonize the representation of the hard material is traceable in all three works as a prominent feature. It works as a motif driving to choose the certain way of representing the space and time structures. What is also important here is that all three examples of presentation of the material are based upon the feel of space (not time) influencing either virtuoso composition by Herodotus (nearing round by round to the main subject of his work) or kaleidoscopic panoraming of Mediterranean by Polybius or Thucydides' balancing between exterior and interior in his *opus magnum*.

4. Medieval developments

Another obvious subject for analysis belongs to the next epoch usually never praised for its intellectual achievements; medieval period of European history gets a sort of recognition for the narrow chance given to the ancient gems to survive. Only some personalities of the Middle Ages match to the level of the previous period. None of them belongs to historians, what is absolutely understandable: the new generation of historians has chosen the other way of history writing by no means anticipated in ancient period. In short words, the Middle Ages presented the new genre of historical literature: chronicles.

Medieval historians (chroniclers) are numerous and prolific in their output vital for the new (by that time) European nations then and still important for self-identification of these nations. For example, Nestor the Chronicler with his "Tale of Bygone Years" is obligatory to get into history of Kyiv Rus. He is appreciated as founder of national historiography of Ukraine, or at least as its earliest representative.

What are the peculiarities of their style? By its name it is clear that the cornerstone of their writing was principle of time not space. The attention to time is inherent to the medieval Weltanschauung on whole[19]. It comes from St. Augustine of Hippo whose ideas of ratio between time and eternity penetrated the religious texts of late Roman Christianity. The European chroniclers hardly matched the refinement of his concept but they inherited uprightly the principle of history telling developed in the coordinates of time.

The parallel effect of losing the space feeling is less known although still evident, for instance, in "Chronograph" by Theophanes the Confessor

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[19] Савельева И. М., Полетаев А. В. История и время в поисках утраченого. Р. 76, 192-196.

(IX century), the famous source of Byzantine history of VIII century. Analyzing his work we can see at once the key features of it. First of all, the typical ancient way of composition of the material (division into "books") is gone; instead, the material is rubricated into sections by years Anno Domini. The events inside each rubric are allocated according to their comparative importance but not according to logic demanding not to interrupt the presentation of certain subject. If Theophanes tells about war with Arabs he never hesitates to interrupt it with the inversion of another subject (if this one would become more important the next year). After having finished this inversion he might return to the previous subject (war with Arabs). The explanation here is that the importance backing these voluntary interruptions inside the whole subject comes from perception of time (not space).

The feel of "importance" of event lying behind this way of composition demands the allocation in time because the comparative significance of the events may be seen from some distance. This distance corresponds fully to the conditions of monastery life (distant by default from any kind of social life) but destroys the logic within events' succession where more and less important events go one by one.

The distant look resulted into the phenomenon of space distortion absolutely "normal" for monks living hermit life and never leaving the walls of monastery. The authors of chronicles feel the time perfectly but lack the adequate feel of space. For example, telling the story about the uprising against emperor Justinian II (705–711) Theophanes describes his military preparations made in Constantinople and his expedition to Sinop (on the southern shore of the Black Sea). By that time the troops of usurper concentrated in Chersoneses (in Crimea, on the northern shore). Being in Sinop the emperor suddenly saw the usurper's fleet going out of Chersoneses to attack Constantinople[20]. This treatment of facts reveals the lack of natural feel of space making the chronicler believe that the look from the southern to the northern shore of the Black Sea (over 500 kilometers) is possible. Theophanes didn't feel the influence of space on the comparative velocity of the events.

Some examples show more complicated way of chronicle composition combining typically medieval approach to time with the feel of space inherited from ancient literature. This can be seen in the oldest

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[20] Феофан Сигрианский, Исповедник. Хронография.

manuscript of French national historiography "History of the Franks" by Gregory of Tours (VI century). Although Gregory belonged to the same tradition as Theophanes he sounded in his work far more versatile revealing number of influences and tricky combination of it letting him harmonize the presentation. First of all, Gregory uses the foreword – technique inherited from Polybius evidently. He uses it to explain the reasons behind his writing and names the decline of "noble sciences" in Gallia as well as desire to bring the memory of past events to the descendants the most important of it[21].

The foreword is not just offering to ancient tradition but mostly the occasion to declare himself true Catholic not Arian or Heretic (what was important in the context of epoch). According to this declaration Gregory goes on telling the Holy Story fully in its canonic version (the 1st book of his work covers 5596 years of Biblical history and doesn't come even close to Franks).

The history itself starts from the 2nd book. Gregory expresses openly his writing technique as depending on time. The research purposes sound primitive: to tell about the most important events like people's sufferings and the deeds of the saints[22]. However Gregory uses typically ancient techniques here: he quotes the correspondence between personalities of his chronicle, inserts their speeches etc. The composition of the material recalls ancient approaches: Gregory never drops unfinished subject to turn to another one "of greater importance" and basically observes the plan of each book given at its beginning (what is taken from Polybius again)[23].

The events never jump from one to another (as in the work by Theophanes), they are united partly by their internal logic, partly by geographical location of them. The observance of logic makes Gregory neglect the chronology of events what is not typical for medieval chroniclers in general. Instead of it Gregory deals perfectly with synchronicity of the events and expresses the tension of it masterfully.

The tendency of the period was contradictory to his manner; the simplified history writing in the style of Theophanes dominated the upcoming centuries. Synchronicity gave in to the diachronic requiring presentation of the material simply year by year. No developments in ideology from VI to IX century happen; the explanation is that changes in

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[21] Григорий Турский. История франков. P. 3.
[22] Ibid., p. 24.
[23] Ibid., p. 31.

composition came with the loss of ancient literary culture and corresponded to overall simplicity of "Dark Ages". The intellectual life declined, concentrated exclusively behind the walls of monasteries and it led to the loss of space feel (what has been described before).

5. The progress of space and time structures' reflection up to date

The Age of Enlightenment added even more troubles to the historiography. The hypertrophic attention to the subjects of "progressive" meaning caused the perception of their importance a priory and positivity for mankind on whole. If the historians of previous epochs just explored history taking it as a monotonous matter of past (on whole), this situation for the upcoming generation has changed dramatically since then.

The Age of Enlightenment destroyed the integrity of history as a whole thing. If the previous look of the past depended heavily upon the sources and repeated more or less their model of it, new look suggested the possibility of editing past: for instance, to concentrate not on the personality of Julius Caesar (because this concentration is present in all the sources) but on personalities of Brutus and Cassius (because they opposed the dictatorship of Caesar and fought for freedom; this was in trend in the epoch of revolutions).

The past became the material for cuts made by any historian able to justify his own approach; history as science for the first time went out of the field of literature and started to be more creative daring to format the matter of past in the vital interest of present time.

The trend stated above resulted into the situation depicted above: subjects of historical research become movable and dynamic; the title "revolution" has been assigned to the number of them (sometimes reaching up to absurdum like with re-titling the fall of Roman Empire into the "revolution of the slaves" (made by historiography in the USSR)[24]). The abovementioned example of Eighty Years War re-titled into "Netherlands bourgeois revolution" is very suitable here too[25]. Eighty Years War pulled a number of European states in; later it became a part of all-European Thirty Years War (1618 – 1648). Formatting of research subjects caused the number of outcomes never anticipated by historians. For example, the re-titling "war" into "revolution" leads to changing

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[24] Всемирная история. В десяти томах. Т. 3. P. 73.
[25] Чеканов В.Ю. Статичні і динамічні об'єкти в науково-історичному дослідженні.

research strategy: the war is always double sided matter and involvement of neighboring states is equal. So we should choose the pattern of Polybius to tell the story of war; researching "revolution" we should choose the pattern of Thucydides due to its nature: revolution is national affair and the involvement of neighboring states was never equal.

The subjects like civil wars start to be perceived as integral parts of pairs "revolution – war"; the concept of "revolutionary war" has been worked out recently[26]. Civil wars start to be interpreted as the armed opposition of reactionary classes to the progressive movements embodied in the concept of "driving forces of revolution". Not being put into pair with revolution some wars have been described before just as international military conflicts; from now on the concept of "foreign intervention" becomes actual depiction of situation inside the pair "war – revolution". The fact that some international wars of modern times like wars of anti-Napoleonic coalitions against France and war between Austria and Italian states in 1849 have been started under the direct influence of revolutionary events is the irrefutable fact; but this fact became gradually the pattern for historical research of the past times where the usage of it is anachronism. For instance, we call some wars of ancient times "patriotic" or aiming national liberation but we never keep in mind the fact of our being under subconscious influence of modern time's research models: both concepts of "patriotism" and "national liberation" are the brainchildren of modern times. And we say "the uprising of Spartacus" forgetting that Romans called it "the war of Spartacus": concept of "uprising" belongs to our time too and its usage isn't correct concerning previous epochs. However, trying to change it we contradict the needs and understanding of our contemporaries. Here our scientific correctness opposes the viewpoints of society. This situation became actual in XX century because of activity of French "Ècole des Annales".

CONCLUSIONS

So the research made above provides us with a number of conclusions enabling to outline in general the features of gradual development of evolution of space and time structures' reflection in the European tradition of historiography:

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[26] Чеканов В.Ю. Суб'єктивне розташування війн та революцій в історичному часі. P. 76.

1) The reflection of space and time structures is immanent to the historiography from the very start of European tradition of history writing. It is present in the earliest examples of it represented in the works by Herodotus, Thucydides and Polybius;

2) The reasons of it are linked with the needs either to correspond to the special requirements of the material or to meet the public requests and expectations from the history writers;

3) The crucial changes in the European tradition of historiography occur in the Age of Enlightenment; they are connected with the inception of the new research subjects like revolutions and revolutionary wars. Since then the tradition to re-shape the entire picture of the certain epochs or historical process in general has been put into practice widely;

4) Depending upon the correspondence to public requests the research subjects in history may show out abilities to change their meaning while re-shaping their chronological and geographical limits (in other words, their space and time characteristics); the ones demonstrating high instability may be considered dynamic subjects, and the ones more stable and resistible to these requests may be considered static.

5) The reflection of space and time structures in historiography is thusly the inherent feature of historiographical rework on the past reality; it is versatile motivated and expressed procedure absolutely necessary to represent past reality in scientific activity of historians.

SUMMARY

The article deals with rarely touched issue of basic backgrounds of historical science: the reflection of space and time structures in historiography affecting the composition, character and possibly the message put into the research work. Explored on examples of ancient and medieval authors – contemporaries of the first attempts to work out the standard of space and time structures' reflection – the article shows how the various approaches to the issue developed enriching each other and gradually drove to the formation of basic genres of scientific historiography. The connections between historiography and historiosophy are explored as well. The article is devoted to the yet undiscovered problem, so the conclusions are to be continued in further exploration.

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ETHNIC PROCESSES IN UKRAINE IN THE CONTEXT OF STALIN REPRESSIONS

Chirko B.

INTRODUCTION

Repressions of Stalin totalitarian regime concerning the German ethnic group in Ukraine in the 1920th – the 1930th found significant reflection in works of the Ukrainian and foreign researchers. The specified problems are investigated in scientific works of V.V. Chentsova, M.M. Shityuk, M.I. Panchuka, V.B. Evtukh, A.S. Rublyov, V.M. Nikolsky, A.I. Savin, Alfred Aysfeld and also other researchers of the history of the German ethnic minority in Ukraine. The author of the offered publication continues researches of features of the position of ethnic Germans of Ukraine in the context of repressive actions of the Stalin mode.

Socio-political interests of Soviet party structures and intelligence agencies of the mode of the German "fifth column" in the USSR

In the late 1920-s the Stalin totalitarian regime was finally formed in the USSR. The fundamental changes took place in the field of national policy. Ukrainianization seemed to be fold and a state policy on national minorities was changed too. It's important that chauvinistic tendencies should be intensified in the republic after appointment of the protagonists of J. Stalin – P. Postisheva, M. Popov, V. Balitsky to work in Ukraine. It was the period (1933-1934) when a new wave of anti-Ukrainian campaign was begun – the "revelation" of Ukrainian "nationalism" (in particular, the so-called "Skrypnyk area"). Along with allegations of Ukrainian "nationalism" there were declared statements about "fascists" from the national minorities. In the resolution of November (1933) to the joint Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Committee of the CP (b) U "Results an the immediate tasks of national politics in Ukraine" in the section "Work among national minorities" it was noted: "... The weakening of the Bolshevik vigilance of party organizations in work among the working people of national

minorities, especially among the Polish and German people which led to the clogging of collective farms, schools, clubs, institutes, etc. Polish and German fascist elements, some of which even fled to the party"[1.]

The Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Committee of the CP (b) U has demanded the adoption of appropriate measures to combat "nationalists" and "hostile elements".

It must be said that the search for "nationalists" and "fascists", as well as general repressive actions against "enemies of the people" (including those of the national minorities), were closely connected with the administrative and prescriptive methods of implementing domestic policy, militarization of the economy, collectivization of the village, forced grain procurement, anti-religious campaigns, etc. Repressions against "nationalists" (German, Polish, and others) were also defined by an international factor as the aggravation of the situation in the world. The deterioration of relations between the USSR and Germany and Poland and the corresponding intensification of the anti-German and anti-Polish propaganda campaigns led in particular to the special bias of the Soviet authorities against the German and Polish populations. It was considered as a potential basis for "fascist" activities in the country.

It should be mentioned that targeted advocacy campaigns and repressive actions of the punitive bodies of the regime according to ethnic Germans in the USSR took place in the early 1930-s. This fact was covered in the publications of Dr. V. Hodeler and researcher of the history of the Germans of the USSR, Andrew Savin. In studying recent archival documents A. Savin concludes that before the arrival of Nazis in Germany and the emergence of military danger the leadership of the Soviet intelligence agencies began to formulate the concept of the German iaspora as "a spy and sabotage base" in the USSR[2.] A. Savin proves new approaches to the history of the emergence and an intensification of the anti-German campaigns in the USSR based on the archival documents published by the author in work "Ethnic confession in Soviet the state. Mennonites of Siberia in the 1920-1930th years: emigration and

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[1] Партробітник України. Орган Центрального комітету та Харківського обласного Комітету Комуністичної партії (більшовиків) України. – 1933. – № 16. – С. 35.

[2] Этноконфессия в советском государстве. Меннониты Сибири в 1920–1930-е годы: эмиграция и репрессии. Документы и материалы / [составитель и научный редактор А. И. Савин] / Андрей Іванович Савин. – Новосибирск: «Посох», 2009. – С. 215–217.

repressions. Documents and materials" (Novosibirsk, 2009)[3]. First of all documents mean: The circular letter of OGPU USSR No. 7/37 "On the German intelligence and fight against it" (on July 9, 1924) and the Reference of KRO OGPU "The German Counter-revolutionary Work in the USSR" (no later than July 14, 1925.)[4].

Analyzing the specified documents we will pay attention to a special nature of the relations between Soviet Russia and Germany which developed in the early twenties. On May 6, 1921, in Berlin, the interim agreement on the renewal of trade and economic cooperation between RSFSR and Germany was signed. The special role in the Soviet-German relations played the Rappalsky contract from 1922 which restored the diplomatic and consular relations between Russia and Germany. In the early twenties as a result of the activation of the Soviet-German relations a significant amount of the German engineers arrived in the Soviet Russia for work on industrial and other facilities. Within diplomatic relations between the countries the German consulates were opened in Leningrad, Tiflis, Novosibirsk, Vladivostok and also Kharkiv, Odesa and Kyiv. It should be noted that the activity of representatives of diplomatic services, the German engineers, representatives of commercial firms and other citizens of Germany which were in the country and also their possible contacts with inhabitants of the German colonies were monitored by intelligence agencies of the mode. It is important that existence of honeycombs of thousands of ethnic Germans living in the German and Mennonite colonies of the country was considered by the State Political Directorate as the base for implementation of large-scale intelligence and anti-Soviet activities from Germany is possible. In the circular letter of OGPU USSR No. 7/37 "On the German intelligence and fight against it" (on July 9, 1924) behind signatures of the vice-chairman of OGPU USSR G. Berries and the chief of counter prospecting department of OGPU A. Artuzov, it was noted: "After the conclusion of the Rappalsky contract, the German industry and trade had an opportunity to develop the activity in the territory of our republic. A huge influx of German businessmen concessionaires, industrialists and any businessmen who establish the commerce and industry enterprises, transport associations, tourist offices

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[3] Этноконфессия в советском государстве. Меннониты Сибири в 1920–1930-е годы: эмиграция и репрессии. Документы и материалы / [составитель и научный редактор А. И. Савин] / Андрей Іванович Савин. – Новосибирск: «Посох», 2009. – 752 с.

[4] Этноконфессия в советском государстве. Вказана праця. – С. 8.

and concessions are from this point observed"[5]. In the document, it was claimed: "The vast majority of these enterprises are engaged in investigation. Quite often these enterprises and any offices are exclusively prospecting bureaus for which the sign and usually exaggerated commercial combinations it is necessary masking"[6]. Let's pay attention that as it was emphasized in the circular of OGPU, "the multimillion population of the German origin is the soil for the German intelligence in Russia (kulak and "intellectual" elements it is mute colonies in villages and the cities), which is the main source of receiving and collecting by the German intelligence of data, on what from Germans special attention is paid"[7.] As the centers of intelligence activities the organizations of the German Red Cross and also the unions of the German colonists or as they were called in the document, "kulturfereyna" were called.

In another document known as the research opinion counter prospecting department of OGPU "The German Counter-revolutionary Work in the USSR" (no later than July 14, 1925) it was also talked of participation of the German population in implementation of Counter-revolutionary and intelligence activities for the benefit of Germany. The research opinion, as well as the circular letter of July 9, 1924, was developed with the assistance of the head of control and auditing department [counter-prospecting department – author] by A. Artuzov's OGPU. Let's pay attention that in the research opinion considerable attention is paid to the analysis of the situation in the German colonies of Ukraine. A. Artuzov noted: "Inspection, the carried-out KRO [counter-prospecting department – author] OGPU at the end of 1924 in Ukraine, Youzhny East, and the Volga region yielded the following results: in Ukraine more than 300 German colonies, numbering more than 100.000 souls [the number not exact because on materials of a population census 1926 nearly 400,000 citizens of the German nationality lived in Ukraine], organized in various colonists unions are given. Accounting of Germans till.

Showed to Kharkiv what from the available three hundred Germans the unemployed is not present, – each of them holds a good position. They so strongly sat down at our industry, in some industries have it in the hands of the management. Among themselves, Germans represent the

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[5] Этноконфессия в советском государстве. Вказана праця. – С. 123.
[6] Этноконфессия в советском государстве. Вказана праця. – С. 123.
[7] Этноконфессия в советском государстве. Вказана праця. – С. 124.

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special national group which is directly connected with colonies"[8.] Analyzing a condition of the German colonies in Ukraine A. Artuzov noted that a considerable part of the German population is located in Ekaterinoslavsky and Odesa provinces. Rather German colonies of the Odessa province in the document it was noted: "The German colonists located in all territory of the province, but especially along the Romanian border. The number exceeds them colonists of the Ekaterinoslavsky province. In Odesa the German consulate was the ideological center of national and anti-Soviet work among Germans, extending the influence and on the Ekaterinoslavsky province, to the southern coast of the Black Sea to Novorossiysk, including the Crimea"[9.] Apparently, from the provided document, a special attention to the staff of the counter prospecting department of GPU inGerman colonies of the Odesa province was explained by the fact that they were disposed of close to Bessarabia and the Romanian border which was considered as strategically important in the military and political relation. Besides a part of the German colonies of the Ekaterinoslavsky province was in another strategically important region – the Crimea and the southern coast of the Black Sea. According to the logic of GPU they, residents of the German regions of a borderland, could become an object of influence of the German and Romanian intelligence and participate in the Counter-revolutionary and anti-Soviet activity. In the conclusions, the counter-prospecting department of OGPU claimed: "1. Germans inhabit large industrial districts, a border area and strategically important areas and salutary [so in the document – author] Agricultural areas.

The German colonists were a special category of the kulaks. [so in the document – author]. Religious and cultural features made them be hostilely to communism and the Soviet power. The German colonies were base of an anti-Soviet policy of Germans and policy of blasting from within". And further: "All German colonies and their heads are widely used as an information, and in case of war – harmful base"[10.]

These documents demonstrate that from the middle of the 1920th years, long before mass repressions at the time of "Big terror" of 1937-1938, the German population of the country was considered by intelligence agencies of the mode as base for expansion of mass anti-

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[8] Этноконфессия в советском государстве. Вказана праця. – С. 153.
[9] Этноконфессия в советском государстве. Вказана праця. – С. 155.
[10] Этноконфессия в советском государстве. Вказана праця. – С. 156.

Soviet, nationalist and monarchic promotion and also implementation of intelligence activities for the benefit of Germany and other foreign countries. Statements about the German, Polish and other "nationalists" and "fascists" became a signal for the strengthening of a chauvinistic campaign in which first echelons there were Soviet and party leaders of the republic. The politburo, Organizational Bureau and the Secretariat of the Central Committee of RC (b) were accepted by tens of resolutions based on which were purged, and then and liquidation of educational institutions which carried out work languages of ethnic minorities. On April 19, ased1934 the Organizational Bureau of the Central Committee of RC (b) at made the decision "On implementation of the resolution of a November Plenum of the Central Committee and TsKK of RC (b) Wu Yi of the Politburo of the Central Committee of RC (b) at of 13.12.1933. "About a personnel of schools of ethnic minorities" in which it was noted that "regional party committees, especially Kyiv and Vinnytsia... did not understand what place in plans of counterrevolutionary work of the enemy in Ukraine is taken by a rate on education at the Polish and German schools of the younger generation in anti-Soviet spirit, and from here and organized arrangement by the enemy of the shots – the teachers managing schools, students of teacher's colleges, teachers opedagogical educational institutions"[11] In this regard the Central Committee of RC (b) at suggested to carry out on areas "a comprehensive inspection of all Polish and German schools, to look at shots of teachers and managers of these schools, shots of Pioneer leaders, to check a condition of teaching at these schools of social science, history and geography and to look at book fund of school libraries"[12] Implementation of checks was assigned to the special commissions for which the task was set "to reconsider the area behind the area, school behind the school" and in case of establishment of "the contamination facts" of schools "anti-Soviet elements" to take concrete measures"[13]. It is clear, that among these actions there could be dismissals, arrests and other actions on "enemies of the people" and "anti-Soviet elements".

On April 7, 1935 the Secretariat of the Central Committee of RC (b) at adopted the resolution "About Contamination Class and Hostile Elements of Hortitsky German Machine-building Technical School" in

[11] ЦДАГО України, ф. 1, оп. 7, спр. 375, арк. 36.
[12] ЦДАГО України, ф. 1, оп. 7, спр. 375, арк. 36.
[13] ЦДАГО України, ф. 1, оп. 7, спр. 375, арк. 36.

which it was noted that "as a result of full or inattention of a gorpartkom" [Hortitsky city party committee – author] To work of technical school its teaching and student's structure was "weed class and hostile elements which with impunity [so in the document – Buses] carried out in technical school for a long-time fascist promotion"[14.] It is important that criteria should take place according to closing of Hortitsky technical school. The secretariat of the Central Committee at instructed RC (b): "In view of the fact that in existence of special German technical school in Hortitsa there is no need and also considering that the technical school is not provided with educational structure at all, rooms and laboratories, – technical school to liquidate"[15.]

In this regard the Central Committee of RC (b) at obliged the Dnipropetrovsk regional committee of the party "after fixed of check of student's structure place students of this technical school" in other machine-building technical schools of the area[16.] In this document it was emphasized that there was not the cause of elimination "fascist promotion" and "contamination class and hostile elements". The fact that in its existence "there is no need".

Sharper charges in "class and hostile elements" which allegedly worked in national educational institutions contained in the resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of RC (b) at "About the Odessa German teacher training college" (on December 4, 1937) in which it is groundless was claimed: "By check it is established that the institute is incredibly littered by class and hostile people. So, for example, by the number of 254 students in the 89th relatives are arrested as enemies of the people, from teachers 4 fascists are exposed and arrested who worked for Bolsheviks and cadets are expelled from the Party. As a result of big contamination hostile elements at all of the unsatisfactory Party and mass work, at institute enemies nationalists, fascists built to themselves a nest, extended fascist literature there and carried out counter-revolutionary work"[17.] In another document "The Report. Results of the inspection of the Odessa German teacher's college" (on December 4, 1937), it was also talked of "fascist" activity of ethnic Germans in an educational institution. These ridiculous charges became "reason" of cleaning student's and

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[14] ЦДАГО України, ф. 1, оп. 7, спр. 382, арк. 125.
[15] ЦДАГО України, ф. 1, оп. 7, спр. 382, арк. 125.
[16] ЦДАГО України, ф. 1, оп. 7, спр. 382, арк. 125.
[17] ЦДАГО України, ф. 1, оп. 7, спр. 382, арк. 125.

teachers of the institute. "Enemies of the people" were exposed discharged from office, and part of them was repressed.

The German educational institutions based on other resolutions of "forbidden" characters were closed. Among them there was the resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of RC (b) at "Reorganization of national schools in Ukraine" (on April 10, 1938)[18] and "Reorganization of special national schools, technical schools, the Odesa German teacher training college and special national departments and classes at schools, technical schools and higher education institutions of USSR" (on July 7, 1938)[19] based on which national educational institutions were disbanded, or were translated into Ukrainian or Russian of training. Along with the liquidation of national educational institutions and other cultural-educational institutions reorganization of national administrative and territorial units was carried out. As it was stated above, instructions on carrying out reorganization and any punitive actions arrived from Moscow. On December 9, 1934, the Politburo of the Central Committee of RC (b) at adopted the resolution "About the German Areas (the Telegram of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) No. 513sh)". In the document it was noted: "The Soviet power will not suffer any attempts of the anti-Soviet activity or propaganda and will not stop refusing a residence right in the USSR or will send all persons, treat disloyally the Soviet power, to the remote places of the USSR"[20].

In fact in this resolution the mainline of power structures on German and the Polish population as mass cleanings and other punitive actions were defined before deportation for "to the remote places of the USSR". Disbandment of national areas and village councils became one more of fight "forms" from "anti-Soviet" activity. On August 17, 1935, the Politburo of the Central Committee of RC (b) at adopted the resolution "About Markhlevsky and Pulinsky Rayni" [Pulinsky – the German national area] based on which these national administrative and territorial units which were in Kyiv region were disbanded. Such decision was explained to them by "economic weakness", "inconvenience of service of MTS of collective farms" and also "an administrative strip farming"[21].

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[18] ЦДАГО України, ф. 1, оп. 6, спр. 463, арк. 2–3.
[19] ЦДАГО України, ф. 1, оп. 6, спр. 465, арк. 9.
[20] ЦДАГО України, ф. 1, оп. 16, спр. 11, арк. 294, 295.
[21] ЦДАГО України, ф. 1, оп. 6, спр. 375, арк. 132.

Final disbandment of national administrative and territorial units happened to be in 1938-1939. The politburo of the Central Committee of RC (b) at adopted two resolutions on this matter: "About reorganization of national areas and the Village Councils of USSR to ordinary areas and the Village Councils" (on February 16, 1938)[22] and "About elimination and transformations of artificially educated national areas and the Village Councils" (on April 7, 1939)[23] based on which national areas were disbanded, and the Village Council were transferred to other areas of the republic. It should be noted that reorganization was carried out without due differentiations, however, and during administrative-territorial changes of 1938-1939. The defined "national policy" was traced, namely dispersion of ethnic minorities among the Ukrainian or Russian population. Formation of the reorganized areas happened to be as a part of their population as Germans, Poles, Bulgarians, as well as other national groups, made minority, or, at least, had no essential superiority in strength.

Since 1933 and also later – in 1935-1937 with liquidation of institutes of national and cultural development arrests and exiles of those who were connected to the forged case of the "counter-revolutionary" and "nationalist" organizations continued. The mass character was gained by deportations of ethnic minorities from places of their historical residence in Ukraine. As well as in previous years, repressive actions were followed by an intensive promotional campaign. A Soviet asset of the party, "propagandists" with maniacal persistence tried to create an image of "enemy" from People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs. On meetings and meetings, from stands of party forums appeals to punishment of German and Polish "fascists" sounded. "In Ukraine, we, first of all, meet fascism Polish and German", – with full knowledge of business V. Balitskii on a January (1936) Plenum of the Central Committee of RC (b) at[24.] The similar position on "fascist activity" of ethnic Germans expressed also at the XIII Congress of RC (b) at (May – June 1937). And at a congress, it was talked already not only of "fascist" and "nationalist" activity, and about "wrecking of various nations".

The further works which are carried out Ukrainian by the department of Soyuzneft and Ukrgeologtrest on the investigation of industrial oil

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[22] ЦДАГО України, ф. 1, оп. 6, спр. 462, арк. 55, 62–65.
[23] ЦДАГО України, ф. 1, оп. 6, спр. 509, арк. 18, 81–84.
[24] ЦДАГО України, ф. 1, оп. 1, спр. 472, арк. 69.

cannot be considered as satisfactory and with a quite simple reason. Of course, "wrecking of various nations" could not disregard, without a fight of such an episode of the transformation of Ukraine. Wrecking went from the very beginning"[25] Statements about "wrecking" Stalin henchmen tried to impose public consciousness idea that Germans, Poles, and representatives of other ethnic groups are potential traitors, spies, saboteurs whose harmful activity should be eradicated in any way.

Certain concrete measures which forms of application depended not so much on the availability of the collected "the compromising material", how many on imagination, to be exact a whim of off-takers of repressions became the "logical" investigation of such social mental set concerning Germans and Poles also. As it was stated above, the range of repressive actions was huge. There were actions of dismissal from work of people in connection with their national identity to arrests of members of the nonexistent counter-revolutionary organizations and deportations from the places of residence. Certain concrete measures which forms of application depended not so much on the availability of the collected "the compromising material", how many on imagination, to be exact a whim of off-takers of repressions became the "logical" investigation of such social mental set concerning Germans and Poles also.

Fabrication intelligence agencies of the mode of affairs of mythical Ukrainian, German, Polish and other fascist and nationalist organizations. The affairs of the espionage, diversionary and insurgent organizations consisting of Ukrainian, German, Polish, Greek and other "nationalists" were fabricated. And most the unions, organizations, the centers passing across the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs line if existed, then only in the imagination of organizers of repressive actions. In 1930-1934 the State Political Directorate of USSR "exposed" a number of the "counter-revolutionary" organizations – "Union of Liberation of Ukraine" (SVU) "Ukrainian national center" and its structural division of "Ukrainian Military Organization" (UMO) "Block of the Ukrainian nationalist parties" (UKP, borotbist, Social Revolutionaries, esdek, etc.). It should be pointed out interesting characteristic detail as retaliatory bodies destroy "Ukrainian anti-Soviet" the organization In investigating it "becomes clear" that it is closely connected with "the international counter-revolution", first of all with the German and Polish fascism.

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[25] ЦДАГО України, ф. 1, оп. 1, спр. 489, арк. 74.

In 1937 People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs USSR "exposed" one more mythical espionage organization known as "The National Union of Germans in Ukraine". On March 16, 1937 Narkomat justices of the USSR sent to the secretary of the Central Committee of RC (b) at S. Kosior, the chairman of SNK USSR P. Lyubchenko and the People's commissar of justice of the USSR V. Krylenko "Spetsinformation" "About to counter-revolutionary] organization in the Hortitsky German college". In the document it was noted: "Special board of the Dnipropetrovsk regional court on February 19-22 of this year [y] p to [eye] are heard business of group of participants of the counter-revolutionary, fascist organization "The National Union of Germans in Ukraine" which organized the counter-revolutionary activity in Hortitsky German Pedagogical Technical school.It is established that the specified group was headed to [Olishna] by the director of the specified technical school Bilyk Martin and to [Olishna] the director of machine-building technical school Goyer"[26]. In Spetsinformation it was claimed that M. Bilyk received from "prospecting department" of the Berlin police of a problem of the following character:

"1. To develop in the territory of the Soviet Union work on the creation of the counterrevolutionary organizations from among the German population, having strengthened nationalist promotion among Germans.

2. To have a close connection with the German consulates in Odesa and Kharkiv, where to receive tasks on counter-revolutionary work.

3. To prepare shots for diversionary work from among members of the organization and in the first days of war of the Soviet Union with Germany – to pass to opened acts of sabotage (damages of page D. [Railway – author] Lines, bridges application of bacteria of infectious diseases, infection of water and t. other)"[27].

Direct "counter-revolutionary" activity of "directors-wreckers" was that they artificially created heavy material living conditions (squandering of the food intended for students, etc.) in educational institutions, and then hired them in "the espionage organization".

Other concrete manifestations of "harmful" activity of the management of the technical school in "Spetsinformation" were not

[26] Німці в Україні. 20–30-ті рр. XX ст. [зб. док. держ. архівів України / упоряд.: Яковлева Л. В., Чирко Б. В., Пишко Л. П.]. – К.: НАН України, Ін-т історії України, 1994. – С. 191.
[27] Німці в Україні. 20–30-ті рр. XX ст. Вказана праця. – С. 192.

given. For "spies", "saboteurs" and "counter-revolutionaries" who for many years allegedly acted for the benefit of the German prospecting bodies such practice looks somehow not serious and can raise only a smile. Another opinion there were those that were engaged in the business of "The National Union of Germans in Ukraine". From repressive bodies "wrecking" M. Bilyk, K. Goyera and other heads of "Union" was so dangerous to the Soviet power that they were made responsible separately "in the matter of the central administration of the counter-revolutionary organization". Rather ordinary participants of "the National Union" who generally were students in Spetsinformation it was noted: "... Only are accused of Yantsen, Kreft, Shteyninger, Dick, and Girsh knew about the final problems of a diversionary order of the organization which members they were. Other defendants did not know about these tasks because they were shown only the ropes of tasks inpeacetime".

"Considering this case, – proceeded further in the document, – the Special board considered that the main organizers and heads of this counter-revolutionary Union pass separately that from the defendants who are connected to this case nobody made concrete measures to the commission of acts of sabotage. The special board finds it possible not to apply to these enlisted persons to the highest measure, having limited to long imprisonment, in particular, Yantsen, Kreft, Geydik are sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment everyone in the remote places of the Union, Dick, Shteyninger, Girsh – for 7 (seven) years of imprisonment everyone, Groyman, Klassen, Kopp – for 6 (six) years of imprisonment everyone, Pauls, Vince and Schultz – for 5 (five) years of imprisonment everyone"[28.] Big "humanity" was shown by the power: 15 members of the organization for the fact that they "did not arrive" specific actions, were sentenced to imprisonment in "the remote places of the Union" for a period of 5 up to 10 years.

The tonality and the text of this document demonstrates to the artificiality of charges concerning the "espionage" activity of members of the organization and also that "business" was forged by retaliatory services of the mode. At the same time, scientists continued to research the questions connected with the business of this "espionage" organization.

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[28] Німці в Україні. 20–30-ті рр. XX ст. Вказана праця. – С. 193–194.

At the initiative of the author of the offered research the management of Institute of the National Relations and Political Science of NAN of Ukraine appealed to the Security Service of Ukraine to make the observations concerning objectivity of a sentence to participants of "The National Union of Germans in Ukraine" and also access the staff of institute with case papers of the specified organization.

By results of additional studying of case papers of "The National Union of Germans in Ukraine" to the Institute of the National Relations and Political Science of NAN of Ukraine, it was directed the answer. In the document, it was noted that the director of Hortitsky German machine-building technical school Karl Karlovic Goyer and the director of Hortitsky German pedagogical technical school Martin Gugovich Bilyk and also Yantsen Heinrich Petrovich, Klassen Heinrich Ivanovich, Shteyninger Nikolay Ottovich and other participants of "the counter-revolutionary fascist organization" were shot in August 1937 .

In June 1959 the Military Board of the Supreme Court of the USSR closed criminal case Goyer K. K., Bilyk M. G. and other "counter-revolutionaries" behind lack of evidence. On August 3, 1962, the Zaporizhia regional court was rehabilitated by Yantsen G.P., Klassen G.I., Shteyningera N.A. and also other participants of "Union". In the resolution of Presidium of the Zaporizhia regional court of August 3, 1962, on rehabilitation of the persons of the German nationality repressed in 1937 it was noted: "By additional check it is established that in business there are no proofs of anti-Soviet activity of the persons stated above, and case papers concerning them, in fact, it is fabricated. In the judicial session, a part of the defendants refused the indications, and in writs of appeal referred to application concerning the illegal methods of investigation"[29]. In the judicial session, a part of the defendants refused the indications, and in writs of appeal referred to application concerning the illegal methods of investigation"[30].

To sum it up we can say that t Institute of the National Relations and Political Science of NAN of Ukraine the staff of Management of the Security Service of Ukraine across the Zaporozhye region wrote in the letter: "Considering stated we consider that the persons specified by you, it is impossible to consider members of "The national union of Germans

[29] Чирко Б. В. Національні меншини в Україні (20–30 роки XX століття). – К.: Асоціація «Україно», 1995. – С. 209–210.

[30] Чирко Б. В. Національні меншини в Україні . Вказана праця. – С. 209–210.

to Ukraine" as it actually did not exist". As we see, the case of "The National Union of Germans in Ukraine" was framed up by retaliatory services of the mode. So, in August 1937 blood of innocent people was shed. There was no "espionage" activity, there was no "nationalist" promotion, there was no preparation for conducting biological warfare by "Union" in the territory of Ukraine. There was another fact that participants of nonexistent "Union" and those in which the Special board of the Dnipropetrovsk regional court was engaged and those which were connected to the case of the central administration and to which the capital punishment was applied were the repressed fault.

Summarizing told, it should be noted on materials of adjudications for 'The union of liberation of Ukraine", "The Ukrainian military organization", "The Polish organization military", "The National Union of Germans in Ukraine" as well as other "espionage" and "nationalist" organizations hundreds of citizens of Ukraine – Ukrainian, Poles, Germans, Jews were repressed, it is groundless accused of subversive and anti-Soviet activities.

Naturally, there is a question of quantitative indices of victims of political repression as a result of the criminal activity of Stalin totalitarian regime.

Information on the matter adequately contains documents of the Public Records Office of the Security Service of Ukraine (Kiev) and also the Public Records Offices of the SSU on Donetsk, Zaporizhia and other areas. Characterizing quantitative indices of losses as a result of repressions we will note that in August 1937 – November 1938 of People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs of the USSR carried out large-scale repressive actions which became known under the generalizing name "Big Terror" later[31]. On number passed the greatest number of victims of political repression within the so-called "kulak operation" which was carried out in compliance with the order of People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs of the USSR for No. 00447 of July 30, 1937[32]. Along with it during the so-called "big cleaning" or "mass operation" of People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs of the USSR adopted also several orders on holding repressive actions to "counter-revolutionary" national groups. Operations concerning representatives of

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[31] Этноконфессия в советском государстве. Вказана праця. – С. 30.
[32] Этноконфессия в советском государстве. Вказана праця. – С. 30.

certain ethnic groups in documents of People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs were called "linear". For example – "the German line", "the Polish line", "Greek", "Romanian" so on. [33.]

On July 25, 1937 People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs of the USSR adopted order No. 00439 on the repressions concerning the German citizens suspected of espionage activity against the USSR; On August 11 the same year it was accepted operational order No. 00485 "About operation on the repression of members of "POV", prisoners of war of the Polesia army, deserters from Poland, political emigrants of Poland, the former members of PPS [Sets Polish socialist are – author] And other Polish political parties"[34.] Adoption of orders of People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs on carrying out "linear operations" was usually preceded by the relevant decisions of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (bolsheviks) on July 20, 1937 the Politburo of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (bolsheviks) makes the decision on arrest of all Germans working at the defense enterprises; On August 9 1937bylo the decision of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (bolsheviks) on the adoption of the order of People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs of the USSR on elimination of the Polish diversionary and espionage groups and the organizations of the Polish organization military[35.]

It is important to pay attention to content of the special order of People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs on implementation of repressive actions "on the German line" which was not accepted. As A. Savin, in reports of UNKVD on Ukrainian areas where it was talked of carrying out all mass operations including on "national" lines, it was noted that within the operation to ethnic Germans (the "German" operation) of repression were carried out "as order No. 00485, that is the order on carrying out repressions with Poles, but not according to order 00439 notes[36]. As for order No. 00439 of July 25, 1937, about operational accounting and arrest of all Germans who were not citizens of the USSR we will note, on V. Nikolsky's materials in 1937. Across Ukraine for "counter-revolutionary", "espionage" and other forms of "anti-Soviet" activity were repressed 159,632 persons, ethnic Germans made of them

[33] Этноконфессия в советском государстве. Вказана праця. – С. 45.
[34] Этноконфессия в советском государстве. Вказана праця. – С. 45.
[35] Этноконфессия в советском государстве. Вказана праця. – С. 45.
[36] Этноконфессия в советском государстве. Вказана праця. – С. 30.

16,228. The author concludes that as such number (nearly 20,000 people) of German foreigners in Ukraine could not be, the prevailing most of the victims of political repression retaliatory services of the mode was made by German citizens of the USSR. There was mass deportations of the German population from places of their traditional resettlement in Ukraine Mass Deportations of the German Population from the Places of their Traditional Settlement of Ukraine.

In 1937 mass punitive operations fell upon the German population of Odessa region in the territory of which 120,000 Germans at that time lived, from them 50,000 lived in three German national areas – Spartak, to Zeltsky and Karl-Libknekhtivsky. The Odessa regional committee of RC (b) at, "experts" from People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs claimed that the population of these areas is captured by "counterrevolutionary fascist activity". In this regard to the Central Committee of RC (b) at "The reference to the report on a political condition of the German areas of Odessa region" was directed (September 1937). In the "Reference" prepared by the staff of People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs it was noted: "... The German population of Ukraine is considered by fascist prospecting bodies as Wednesday from where force and an asset of its subversive activities in Soviet Ukraine undertakes". And further: "This circumstance is confirmed with all materials on caught by us fascist formations. It is enough to tell that since 1933, in these three areas it was (generally) exposed and liquidated 124 fascist, espionage diversionary and insurgent organizations. 6. Only for the last three months: June – August, in area 49 fascist, diversionary and insurgent organizations in which it is arrested more 800th persons [age], and from this quantity – 580 after these three national areas are exposed"[37.] The fact that in three summer months 1937 a third of the "fascist" organizations in comparison with the previous four years was exposed draws attention. It is easy to find an explanation for it. Increase of intensity in the identification of various "counter-revolutionary" and "espionage" organizations for Odessa region happened after sadly February-March (1937) Plenum of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) which decision was led to a bacchanalia of repressions when the country was covered with the blood of the innocent victims. For providing bigger efficiency of People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs offered to repressions: "Without

[37] Німці в Україні. 20–30-ті рр. XX ст. Вказана праця. – С. 195.

weakening expeditious blow of People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs to defeat of an underground in the German villages... to immediately develop party and mass work in the German areas; to strengthen the specific management through the Soviet work all these measures provided first of all expeditious blow". A separate point in the document set a task: "To move counter-revolutionary elements from the German districts of the area – up to 5,000 families..."[38].

If to assume that each family consisted of 3-4 people, then provided People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs to move in 20000 Germans or every second resident of the German national areas of Odessa region.

That's no doubt that mass deportations of the German and Polish population from places of their traditional settlement officially were explained not only by participation in "counter-revolutionary" activity of "anti-Soviet" elements but also the reasons of economic and military-political character, in particular introduction of measures for strengthening of a borderland. These measures first of all in strategically important regions to which, as is well-known also Ukraine belonged were carried out. Such special attention of the Moscow authorities concerning Ukraine was defined also by scale of the resettlements which were carried out in its different areas including in a border strip. In 1935–1936. The politburo of the Central Committee of RC (b) it adopts a number of resolutions – "About Resettlement from a Borderland of 8,300 Farms in connection with Defensive Reasons and about Resettlement to Border Areas 4,000 of the Best Collective Farmers of the Kiev and Chernihiv Regions" (on January 23, 1935)[39.] "About resettlement of the Polish and German farms from a borderland" (on November 25, 1935)[40;] "On resettlements to Kazakhstan (the Resolution of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of 17.01.36.)" (on March 15, 1936)[41]; "About resettlement of 15,000 farms of the Kiev and Vinnytsia regions to Kazakhstan" (on April 9, 1936)" "About resettlement of inhabitants kilometer a borderland throughout frontier in Kiev region" (on August 7, 1936). On the basis of the specified documents tens of thousands of inhabitants of a border area, Ukrainian, Germans, Poles, as well as representatives of other ethnic groups, were moved in east and southern

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[38] Німці в Україні. 20–30-ті рр. XX ст. Вказана праця. – С. 200.

[39] Євтух В. Б. Німці в Україні (1920-і–1990-і роки) / В. Б. Євтух, Б. В. Чирко. – К.: ІНТЕЛ, 1994. – С. 75.

[40] Євтух В. Б. Німці в Україні (1920-і–1990-і роки) / В. Б. Євтух, Б. В. Чирко. – К.: ІНТЕЛ, 1994. – С. 76.

[41] Євтух В. Б. Німці в Україні (1920-і–1990-і роки) / В. Б. Євтух, Б. В. Чирко. – К.: ІНТЕЛ, 1994. – С. 77.

parts of the republic (Kharkiv, Donetsk, Dnipropetrovsk, southern частик Kiev region) and also "out of borders of Ukraine", in particular, Kazakhstan.

Later also those German colonists who lived in the territory of Western Ukraine were subject to deportations. It is known that according to the Soviet-German contract of August 28, 1939 (Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact) there was a division of "spheres of influence" of the USSR and Germany in Eastern Europe. Under the observation of the mixed Soviet-German commission, most of the German population living in the West Ukrainian lands moved to Germany or zones of its influence. Those Germans who wanted to leave to new areas of the Soviet Union but were not accepted by the German authorities were sent to eastern regions of the country. In this regard it should be emphasized that Germans, Poles, as well as representatives of some other ethnic groups were considered by authorities of Ukraine as "the harmful nations". It is clear, that a similar relation was also concerning ethnic Germans who appeared in zones of control of the Soviet Union. Moreover, Germans, lived in the territory of Poland dismembered in September 1939 by the totalitarian modes earlier were considered by the Soviet power not only as "the German population", but also as the former citizens of the country, belonged to "bourgeois", the "imperialistic" world. Similar "circumstances" caused in representatives of the Soviet and party device, People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs and other government institutions special attention, concern, and aspiration in any stop methods possible, hypothetically representations a possibility of implementation from ethnic Germans of "anti-Soviet" and "espionage" activity. As a result concerning this category of citizens of the German nationality, as well as in general to the German population of the country, mass arrests, deportations and other forms of repressive actions continued to be carried out. Moreover, Germans, lived in the territory of Poland dismembered in September 1939 by the totalitarian modes earlier were considered by the Soviet power not only as "the German population", but also as the former citizens of the country, belonged to "bourgeois", the "imperialistic" world. Similar "circumstances" caused in representatives of the Soviet and party device, People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs and other government institutions special attention, concern, and aspiration in any stop methods possible, hypothetically representations a possibility of implementation

from ethnic Germans of "anti-Soviet" and "espionage" activity. As a result of the study it was possible to come to a blind conclusion that in the late twenties, Stalin totalitarian regime was finally created. Cardinal changes happened to be in the field of national policy – the Ukrainisation began to be displaced, state policy on ethnic minorities was changed. A special scope acquires repressive shares on "nationalists" and "fascists" including from the circle of ethnic minorities. Prosecution of "nationalists" and "fascists" was caused and closely connected with administrative and imperative methods of implementation of domestic policy, strengthening of the repressive policy of the totalitarian regime. Repressions concerning "nationalists" (German, Polish others) were connected also with the international factor – aggravation of the situation in the world. Deterioration in the relations of the USSR with Germany and Poland and the corresponding strengthening of the anti-German and anti-Polish promotional campaigns caused, in particular, a special bias of the Soviet power structures concerning German and the Polish population, was considered to be as a potential base of "fascist" activity in the country. However purposeful promotional campaigns and repressive actions of retaliatory bodies of the mode in which aim objects were ethnic Germans in the USSR began aggravation of the Soviet-German relations in the early thirties much earlier.

On the basis of found and investigated archival documents foreign and domestic researchers came to a conclusion that else long before arrival in Germany to the power of Nazis and also emergence of military danger, the management of the Soviet intelligence agencies began to form the concept of the German diaspora as "espionage and diversionary" bases in the USSR. Documents convincingly demonstrate it. They cover the participation of the management of OGPU in the mid-twenties. It should be pointed out the next documents to have been studied as "Circular letter of OGPU USSR No. 7/37 "On the German intelligence and fight against it" and "Reference counter prospecting department of OGPU "The German Counterrevolutionary Work in the USSR".

In the forefront of a chauvinistic campaign being orientated against the German, Polish "nationalists" and "fascists" there were Soviet and Party leaders of the Republic. The politburo, Organizational Bureau and the Secretariat of the Central Committee of RC (b) were accepted by tens of resolutions based on which were purged, and then liquidation of

educational institutions that carried out work languages of ethnic minorities. Along with the liquidation of national educational institutions and cultural-educational institutions reorganization of the German and other national administrative and territorial units were carried out. Moreover, the Soviet and Party leadership of Ukraine began to consider certain ethnic communities, first of all, Germans and Poles as representatives of "the harmful nations".

Large-scale punitive actions which range of application was huge became the investigation of such social mental set in relation to Germans and Poles. There were different forms as dismissal of people from work for their ethnic origin to arrests of members nonexistent "counter-revolutionary" and "the espionage organizations and also mass deportations of the German and Polish population from places of their traditional accommodation.

CONCLUSIONS

In the late twenties, Stalin totalitarian regime was finally created. Cardinal changes happened to be in the field of national policy. The "Ukrainisation" began to be displaced. A state policy on ethnic minorities was changed too. A special scope acquired repressive shares on "nationalists" and "fascists" including from the circle of ethnic minorities. The prosecution of "nationalists" and "fascists" was caused and closely connected with administrative and imperative methods of implementation of domestic policy, strengthening of the repressive policy of the totalitarian regime.

Repressions concerning "nationalists" (German, Polish and others) were connected with the international factor. It was an aggravation of the situation in the world. Deterioration in the relations of the USSR with Germany and Poland and the corresponding strengthening of the anti-German and anti-Polish promotional campaigns caused, in particular, a special bias of the Soviet power structures with German and the Polish population. It was considered as a potential base of "fascist" activity in the country. However purposeful promotional campaigns and repressive actions of retaliatory bodies of the mode in which aim objects were ethnic Germans in the USSR began aggravation of the Soviet-German relations in the early thirties much earlier.

On the basis of archival documents which recently have been found by foreign and domestic researchers it was possible to conclude that else long before arrival to the power of Nazis and also emergence of military danger in Germany the management of the Soviet intelligence agencies began to form the concept of the German diaspora as "espionage and diversionary" bases in the USSR. Documents convincingly demonstrate it. They cover the participation of the management of OGPU in the mid-twenties. It should be pointed out the next documents to have been studied as "Circular letter of OGPU USSR No. 7/37 "On the German intelligence and fight against it" and "Reference counter prospecting department of OGPU "The German Counterrevolutionary Work in the USSR". They testify to main results represented scientific study.

In the in the forefront of a chauvinistic campaign being orientated against the German, Polish "nationalists" and "fascists" there were Soviet and party leaders of the Republic. The politburo, Organizational Bureau and the Secretariat of the Central Committee of RC (b) were accepted by tens of resolutions based on which were purged, and then a liquidation of educational institutions which carried out work languages of ethnic minorities. Along with the liquidation of national educational institutions and cultural-educational institutions reorganization of the German and other national administrative and territorial units were carried out.

Moreover the Soviet and party leadership of Ukraine began to consider certain ethnic communities, first of all, Germans and Poles as representatives of "the harmful nations". Large-scale punitive actions which range of application was huge became the investigation of such social mental set in relation to Germans and Poles: from dismissal of people from work for their ethnic origin to arrests of members nonexistent "counter-revolutionary" and "the espionage organizations and also mass deportations of the German and Polish population from places of their traditional accommodation.

A special attention should be paid to the results of the Stalin mode repressions (mass deportations, etc.) So the number of repressed German ethnic minority was reduced with 395,000 (by results of a population census in 1926) to 37,000 people (for 1987). Essentially what was in Ukraine in the 1920th – the 1930th. is genocide.

In this regard it should be noted that the International convention of 1948 "Prevention of Genocide and Punishment for it" defined genocide as

actions that are committed to the destruction in whole or in part of any national, racial or religious group, including extermination of members of such group, drawing heavy bodily harms by it, deliberately formations of the vital conditions calculated on their full or partial physical destruction.

Without exaggeration, it is possible to tell that repressive actions of the Stalin mode had the genocide form concerning the German ethnic group of Ukraine.

SUMMARY

In this regard it should be noted that the International convention of 1948 "Prevention of Genocide and Punishment for it" defined genocide as actions that are committed to the destruction in whole or in part of any national, racial or religious group, including extermination of members of such group, drawing heavy bodily harms by it, deliberately formations of the vital conditions calculated on their full or partial physical destruction.

Without exaggeration, it is possible to tell that repressive actions of the Stalin mode had the genocide form concerning the German ethnic group of Ukraine.

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4. ЦДАГО України, ф. 1, оп. 7, спр. 375, арк. 36.

5. ЦДАГО України, ф. 1, оп. 7, спр. 382, арк. 125.

6. ЦДАГО України, ф. 1, оп. 6, спр. 459, арк. 135.

7. ЦДАГО України, ф. 1, оп. 6, спр. 463, арк. 2–3.

8. ЦДАГО України, ф. 1, оп. 6, спр. 465, арк. 9.

9. ЦДАГО України, ф. 1, оп. 16, спр. 11, арк. 294, 295.

10. ЦДАГО України, ф. 1, оп. 6, спр. 375, арк. 132.

11. ЦДАГО України, ф. 1, оп. 6, спр. 462, арк. 55, 62–65.

12. ЦДАГО України, ф. 1, оп. 6, спр. 509, арк. 18, 81–84.

13. ЦДАГО України, ф. 1, оп. 1, спр. 472, арк. 69.

14. ЦДАГО України, ф. 1, оп. 1, спр. 489, арк. 74.

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THE CRIMEA WITHIN UKRAINE: THE SOCIO-POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE 50'S-70'S OF THE XX CENTURY

Vasyl Chumak

INTRODUCTION

Today the relevance of the research topic is beyond any doubt. Since, without any exaggeration, a thousand-year-old history of their coexistence, the historical destiny of Ukraine and the Crimea has been too closely intertwined. Significant content of history of both Ukraine and the Crimea has been embraced due to their common and instructive development. This equally concerns the period of the 50's and 70's of the last century. Like it was during that time, today the issue of the Crimea is of the utmost importance, given the current situation on the peninsula. The current ethnic-political situation in the region is historically closely connected to a criminal deportation of the Crimean Tatars and other peoples and national groups more than 70 years ago, continuous struggle of the indigenous Crimean Tatar people for their return to their homeland, as well as further forming of appropriate socio-political and socio-economic conditions. Among them last but not least – to solve the issue of the Crimean Tatar autonomy in the Crimea.

A proper solution of these and other important problems was interrupted by the treacherous aggression of Russia against Ukraine, the annexation of the Crimea and the war in Donbass. The latter, along with an insidious propaganda, are explicit elements of the current Russia's aggressive policy and criminal deeds of its President Putin. The Crimea has been declared "originally Russian land" with a "sacral" significance for Russia. The situation was also escalated by the hazardous, crisis condition of our state, permanently facing a threat of Russia's larger-scale war against Ukraine, as well as the risk of a war in Europe or even the new world war. The situation on the peninsula itself stays also very complicated: ethnic-political cleansing campaigns against the Crimean Tatars and the Ukrainians, unveiled brutal extermination of the Ukrainian language and Ukrainianness as a whole, persecution of the Ukrainian

Orthodox Church both in the Crimea and in the so-called Donetsk and Luhansk people republics.

The realities in the Crimea nowadays actualize again the task to analyze circumstances of the 50's–70's of the XX century, as well as to comprehend the reasons why the administrative handover of the Crimean region from the Russian Soviet Federative Republic to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic took place, what a socio-political situation at that time was, and how the indigenous Crimean Tatar people struggled for returning to their native land.

1. Integration of the Crimean region into the Ukrainian SSR

Ethnic-political and social processes among the Crimean Tatar people nowadays have some historical and political roots. The first among them is a political decision, taken by the former Soviet and Communist party leadership to hand over the Crimea to the Ukrainian SSR. The decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to hand over the Crimea Region (Oblast) from the Russian SFSR to the Ukrainian SSR in 1954 had, of course, a great historical impact not only on the Crimean Tatars, Crimean Karaites, Krymchaks, German, Bulgarian, Ukrainian, Russian and other ethnic groups living on its territory, but on the entire Ukrainian society.

In order to understand the contemporary ethno-political processes in the Crimea, it is necessary to determine what political, social and socio-economic processes preceded the decision made by the highest leadership of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR authorities. The legal norms of the handover of the Crimea to Ukraine should be named and analyzed in detail. Consideration of these norms, which totally corresponded not only to the legislation of the USSR of that time, but also to the norms of international law, is very essential within today's ethno-political situation on the peninsula and on the background of Kremlin's attempts to justify the "legitimacy" of the annexation of the Crimea and its "entry" into the Russian Federation.

The origins of the current ethno-political processes in the Crimea are largely associated with the tragic events that occurred in May-June of 1944, when Tatars, Greeks, Bulgarians and Armenians, in a result of the absurd accusations of treason, were deported from the Crimean peninsula. 45 384 Tartar families (194 303 people) were deported to the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan, namely: 3 088 from the Dzhankoy area,

5 264 from the Yevpatoriya area (22 638), the Kerch peninsula – 2 415 (11 218), Sevastopol area (including Bakhchisaray district) – 12 242 (51 273), Simferopol – 400 (10 905), Simferopol district – 5 308 (23 889), Feodosiya area – 5 319 (25 050), Yalta area – 7 020 (26 683)[1].

The tragedy of the Crimean Tatar people and other deported ethnic groups can never be justified by anyone. A total deportation of the whole people from its historical homeland was a crime against humanity, a complete neglect of the basic human rights. After all, the Tatars, like all peoples, were fighting against Nazi Germany in a regular army at fronts, in partisan units, in an anti-fascist underground, many of them marked by high government awards. For example, a native of Alupka city, Ametkhan Sultan has been twice awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union, Detislam Abilov has become a Full Cavalier of the Order of Glory. The heroes of the Soviet Union were: A. Reshydov, S. Seitleviyev, A. Teifuk. The number of awardees among the Crimean Tatars was the highest in relation to the population.[2]

After the forced eviction of the Tatars, the Greeks, the Bulgarians and representatives of other ethnic groups, the Crimean peninsula became empty. The local economy has collapsed. The deserted land of the peninsula started to be recruited by the Russians. However, the resurgence of life, in the countryside especially, went very slowly. O. Adzhubey, in his memoirs about a trip to the steppe zone of the Crimea with M. Khrushchov in the autumn of 1953, provides information, which is rather interesting from a scientific point of view. It sheds light on some aspects of this problem[3]. In particular, Adzhubey's memoirs confirm that Khrushchov knew about the current situation in the Crimea and it is just for this reason he requested the party leaders of the Ukrainian SSR for their assistance with the region's recovery. Therefore the claims that Khrushchov "decided to hand over the Crimea to Ukraine because of "the tercentenary of reunification" or "under pressure from the Ukrainians among the tops of the Communist Party of Soviet Union", as has been stated by the Deputy Chairman of the Committee on International Affairs of the Supreme Council of Russian Federation at that time, has no reason behind[4].

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[1] V. Chumak, Ukraine and the Crimea: Common Historical Destiny: Monograph / V.Chumak, 2nd edition, amended and supplemented – Kyiv: VPTSAMU. 2013, p. 65.
[2] V. Chumak The above mentioned labor, p. 178.
[3] A. Adzhubey "How Khrushchov Gave the Crimea to Ukraine. Memoirs on the given subject" // Novoe vremia. – 1992. – №6. – P. 23-24.
[4] E. Ambartsumov Peninsula of Discord // Novoye vremya. – 1992. – № 6. – P. 18-19.

These and other myths about the handover of the Crimea to Ukraine, being still willingly uttered by various Russian politicians of versatile political spectrum, are massively distributed in the mass media. The only difference – some of them do that due to their total ignorance of the issue, not at all bothering themselves to search for a truth, the others who know – just distort and falsify facts deliberately for certain reasons.

Let us have a look at what was happening in the time associated with the handover of the Crimean region to Ukrainian SSR. An important question which is surely worth to be answered is what role M. Khrushchov played in this extremely subtle and delicate matter? The fact is, that Khrushchov was elected First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU in September 1953 after Beria's exposure. At that time his situation was very complex and uncertain, so stirring of such a "slippery" and difficult issue was quite dangerous.

Proceeding from this, a question arises – what exactly did force the government to solve the Crimean problem in this very way? As highlighted in fundamental scientific works, despite different historical aspects the Crimea since ancient times was closely connected with Ukraine in terms of not only economic and cultural, but also political relations. A direct common border and traditional economic ties facilitated such relations primarily. The artificial rupture of them became harmful to both of peoples, and first of all to the Crimea as the latter had poor raw materials, energy and industrial base. This clearly proved during the crisis which the Crimea experienced since World War II, when the regional economy had suffered terrible losses. Almost everything here turned into ruins, but the biggest were human losses. Population decreased drastically to only 351 thousands[5]. Instead of rapid rebuilding of the region, the totalitarian Stalinist regime caused another blow, which may be considered as an genocide based on the international law – the indigenous population was deported from the Crimea and the number of citizens decreased again by 228,5 thousands.[6]

It is also worth analyzing the very procedure of handover of the Crimea region from the RSFSR to the Ukrainian SSR. Initially, the issue was considered at the republican level, where the Council of Ministers of

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[5] The Crimea Multinational. Questions-Answers. Edition 1.- Simferopol, 1988, p. 88-89.

[6] The Crimea: The Way Through The War. The History in Questions and Answers / NAS of Ukraine. Institute of History of Ukraine. Amended addition V.A Smaliy. – Kyiv, Institute of History of NAS of Ukraine 2014. – P. 344.

the Russian SFSR, upon examining of all relevant proposals, arguments and local authorities' requests, supported them and advocated the expediency of a handover of the Crimea region to the Ukrainian SSR, having preliminary got familiar with Ukraine's position on this issue. In the aftermath the issue was forwarded to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR. The Presidium, having received the principal confirmation from the authorities of the Ukrainian SSR, in accordance with the current legislation, considered the problem and adopted the Decree: "The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR, with the participation of representatives of the Executive Committees of the Crimean region, Sevastopol City, and the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR, on the handover of the Crimea Region to the Ukrainian SSR" with the following resolution: "Taking into account the community and integrity of the economy, proximity and close economic and cultural ties between the Crimea region and the Ukrainian SSR, as well as taking into consideration the consent of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR consider it appropriate to hand over the Crimea region to the Ukrainian SSR.[7]

After this, on February 13, 1954 the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR adopted its Decree "On Submission to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR of the Issue of the Crimea Region' Handover to the Ukrainian SSR". In this

Decree, in particular, was noted that the submission of the Presidium of the RSFSR's Supreme Soviet, submitted to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, was considered, and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR expressed grateful thanks to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic for this generous, noble act of the brotherhood from Russian people, as well as will take care of the further development and prosperity of the Crimean economy.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, in accordance with the submission of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, decides: "To request the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to handover the Crimea Region from the Russian SFSR to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.[8]

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[7] Grochenko S.V. #KrymNash. A History of the Russian Myth / S.V. Grochenko – K., 2017. – P. 224.
[8] V. Chumak Ukraine and the Crimea, Common Historical Destiny. – P. 73. The above mentioned work.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR sent the above-mentioned decree to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. Thus, the necessary legal basis was made for the decision of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

It should be emphasized that, in the full accordance with the Constitution of the USSR of that time, all interested parties were present at the meeting of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on February 19, 1954. In particular, the representative of Russia – the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR, M. Tarasov stated: "The Crimea region, as known, occupies the entire Crimean peninsula and is territorially adjacent to the Ukrainian Republic, as if it were a natural continuation of the southern steppes of Ukraine. The economy of the Crimea region is closely linked to the economy of the Ukrainian Republic. For geographical and economic reasons, the handover of the Crimea region to the fraternal Ukrainian Republic is appropriate and consistent with the common interests of the Soviet state."[9]. Concluding his statement, M. Tarasov appealed to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to approve the submission of the Russian SFSR on this issue. Afterwards, the representative of Ukraine, the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, assured in his speech that the Ukrainian government will pay due attention to further develop the economy in the Crimea and increase the material and cultural welfare of the working people of the Crimea region. While discussing this issue, the members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and its chairman K. Voroshilov also spoke.[10]

Remarkably, after the discussion, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR unanimously approved the Decree "On the Handover of the Crimea Region From the RSFSR to the Ukrainian SSR" on February 19, 1954. The document stated: "Taking into account the community and integrity of the economy, territorial proximity and close economic and cultural ties between the Crimea region (oblast) and the Ukrainian SSR, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics decides: To approve the joint submission of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR on the handover of the Crimea

[9] V. Chumak Ukraine and the Crimea, Common Historical Destiny. – P. 74. The above mentioned work.

[10] V. Chumak Ukraine and the Crimea, Common Historical Destiny. – P. 74. The above mentioned work.

Region from the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.[11]

The final decision on the issue resulted in the law passed by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on April 26, 1954[12]. After all, any change of the existing borders between the Soviet republics, even with their prior consent, could only the approved by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. The law stated that "The Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics decides: 1. To approve the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR as of February 19 1954 concerning the handover of the Crimea Region from the RSFSR to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. 2. Make appropriate amendments to Articles 22 and 23 of the Constitution of the USSR.[13]

It should be noted that in legal terms the decision taken was fully in accordance with the law of the RSFSR, the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR, as well as within the relevant rules of international law.

While it does not look appropriate to focus on the economic development of the Crimea after 1954 in more detail, one can come to a general conclusion: the post-war poverty was over in a few years. And although the "socialist choice" imposed upon all the peoples of the former USSR, ruled out a possibility of true prosperity, the Crimeans, especially those who could compare the state of the Crimea with the state of various regions of Russia, consistently stated their much better position.[14]

The handover of the Crimea to the Ukrainian SSR was important also because the Crimean Tatar people, Karaites, Krymchaks, ethnic Russians, Armenians, Jews, Germans, Bulgarians, Greeks, as well as representatives of other ethno-ethnic groups who had previously lived in Russian Federation, have since then lived on territory of Ukraine.

2. Development of the ethno-political situation in the Crimea in the 50's -70's

The processes related to the de-Stalinization of the Soviet political system, including the rehabilitation of Crimean Tatars and representatives of other ethno-national groups, who were

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[11] The Bulletin of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. – 1954. – №4. – P. 147.
[12] The Bulletin of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. – 1954. – №10. – P. 343.
[13] Ibid.
[14] V. Chumak Ukraine and the Crimea, Common Historical Destinies. – P. 76. The above mentioned work.

indiscriminately accused of collaboration and cooperation with the Nazis during the WWII, played a significant role in the further development of the ethno-political situation.

As mentioned earlier, based on similar allegations in 1944, tens of thousands of people were subjected to repression and deported from the Crimea to the "remote places of the Union". Changes in the social status of many ethnic groups, as well as in the overall ethno-political situation in the Crimea, were triggered mainly by legislative acts, adopted by the party political leadership of the country in the mid of 1950s -1960s. Within 1950s-1957s a solid legal framework was created aiming to justify repression against deported peoples.Among the first such documents were the Decrees of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR regarding the Germans (dated December 13, 1955), the Kalmyks (March 17, 1956), the Greeks, the Armenians, the Bulgarians (March 26, 1956), the Chechens, the Ingushs, the Karachayites (June 16, 1956). According to them, the citizens of these ethnic groups were released from the administrative supervision of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR and were allowed to leave special settlements. However, they were deprived of the right to return to their homeland and claim any reimbursement for confiscated property.[15]

A decision in the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR as of April 28, 1956 "On liberation from the administrative supervision of the Crimean Tatars, the Balkars, the Turks – the citizens of the USSR, the Kurds, the Hamshilies and their family members, who were evicted during the Great Patriotic War" greatly influenced the further destiny of the repressed peoples of the Crimea. The document stated: "1. To release from a special settlements' register and to dismiss the Crimean Tatars, the Balkarians, the Turks – citizens of the USSR, the Kurds, the Hamshilies and their families, deported to special settlements during the Great Patriotic War from the administrative supervision of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR".[16]

This Decree stressed the fact that removal of restrictions on special settlements for persons listed in Article 1 of the Decree does not entail any return of property confiscated upon eviction and that they are not

[15] The Crimea in the Ethnic and Political Dimension. – K., Svitohliad, 2005, p. 329.

[16] National Relations in Ukraine in the Twentieth Century. Collection of documents and materials / Editorial collegium. I.F. Kuras (Chairman), M.I. Panchuk, R.Y. Pyrig, L.P. Poliovyy and others. – K.: Editorial Collection of historical and and cultural heritage of Ukraine, 1994, p. 335.

entitled to return to the places from which they were evicted"[17]. Resettlement of representatives of previously repressed peoples in some other regions of Ukraine was considered also "impractical". In the Decree of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR "On Resettlement of Citizens Who Before Lived in the Crimea" (December 15, 1956) was stipulated in detail: "1. To recognize as inappropriate any resettlement of the Tatars, the Germans, the Greeks, the Bulgarians, the Armenians and other persons who had previously lived in the Crimea region and who now return from the places of special settlements, on the territories of Kherson, Zaporozhia, Mykolayiv and Odessa regions (oblasts). To oblige executive committees of regional, city and district Soviets of workers' deputies of these regions: a) to cease granting a residence permission for the Tatars, the Germans, the Greeks, the Bulgarians, the Armenians and other persons who were previously living in the Crimea region, and who now return from the places of special settlements, and provide them with all necessary assistance in traveling outside these areas, as well as beyond the borders of the Ukrainian SSR; b) consider that the families of former special settlers who are already living in the above specified areas, are resettled into other regions of the republic, as well as outside of the Ukrainian SSR, including those who have not yet returned but plan to return".[18]

However, only in the second half of the 1960s, the authorities formally withdrew indiscriminate allegations in betrayal against the Crimean Tatar people and stated that previously repressed representatives of this people should be provided with all the conditions necessary for the same full life as citizens of other ethnic groups of the USSR have. In the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR "On Citizens of Tatar Nationality Living in the Crimea" as of September 5, 1967 it was noted that after the liberation of the Crimea from Nazi occupation in 1944, some facts of active cooperation of a certain part of the Crimean Tatars with the Germans were unjustifiably attributed to the entire Crimean Tatar population of the Crimea. These sweeping accusations in respect of all citizens of Tatar nationality who

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[17] National Relations in Ukraine in the Twentieth Century. Collection of documents and materials / Editorial collegium. I.F. Kuras (Chairman), M.I. Panchuk, R.Y. Pyrig, L.P. Poliovyy and others. – K.: Editorial Collection of historical and and cultural heritage of Ukraine, 1994, p. 335.

[18] Statements of the Supreme Council of the Union of Soviet Socialist Respublik. – 1967. – № 38. – P. 531-532.

lived in the Crimea should be removed, especially given the fact a new generation has entered in the labor and political society. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet decided to cancel the relevant decisions of state bodies in the part of sweeping accusations against citizens of the Tatar nationality who lived in the Crimea, while for further development of areas with the Tatar population to "instruct the councils of ministers of the Union republics continue to assist and help citizens of the Tatar nationality in the economic and cultural development, taking into account their national interests and characteristics."[19]

Let's pay attention to the fact that as soon as process of the previously deported citizens started, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Central Committee of the CPSU started to receive letters requesting the restoration of autonomy. Perhaps this might facilitate that new documents, regulating the lives of deported citizens, were promptly elaborated by the Soviet authorities. In May 1956, a document was prepared that regulated possible measures to resolve this issue. In the draft resolution addressed to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR it was suggested that autonomy for citizens of German, Kalmyk, Karachay, Balkar, Chechen, Ingush nationalities and the Crimean Tatars should be considered in the form of national districts in the areas of their new settlements. A few months later in June 1956, another bill was prepared. It contained, however, rather different approaches regarding the return of the repressed to their former places of residence. In the "Reference on requests of the Chechens, the Karachayites, the Balkars, the Kalmyks and the Germans to establish their autonomy", only te Karachayites, the Balkars and the Kalmyks were considered to be allowed to return to their historic homeland, given a small number of these peoples and the insufficient population of territories they left.

At the same time, it was considered inappropriate to restore autonomy for the Chechens and the Ingushs "because of a number of undesirable consequences", which such a return "will inevitably cause". As for the Germans and the Crimean Tatars, the document categorically stated that they were denied to return to their native places.[20]

It is remarkable that the state politics of the 1970s – the first half of the 1980s towards ethnic groups did not undergo any qualitative changes

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[19] Statements of the Supreme Council of the Union of Soviet Socialist Respublik. – 1967. – №38. – P. 532.
[20] The Crimea in the Ethnic and Political Dimension. – K.: Svitohliad, 2005, p. 330.

in regard to the Crimean Tatar people. Though new legislative acts, which formally appeared to contribute to the problem's solving and declared a democratic solution, were adopted during the mentioned period, in reality they aimed to steer the Crimean Tatars' issue in such a way as to solely prevent their compact settlement in the Crimea and to create such a political environment, within which even any mentioning on the necessity to build a national autonomy of the Crimean Tatar people was not possible.

On November 3, 1972, the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR "On the Removal of Restrictions on the Choice of Place of Residence, Foreseen in the Past for Certain Categories of People" was issued. In February 1973, the relevant Resolution of the Crimean Regional Committee of the Communist Party was adopted.[21]

According to these documents, it were the Communist party and the Soviet administrative bodies of the Crimea region who actively prevented the Crimean Tatars from returning to the Crimea. It is exactly from these bodies requests to the highest party bodies of Ukraine and the USSR were sent, demanding a need to strengthen the passport regime in the Crimea.

Thus, in his memorandum to the Central Committee of the CPSU as of November 1, 1973, the secretary of the Crimean Regional Party Committee M. Kyrychenko emphasized that "the Crimea has an important military-strategic significance and is a frontier", and therefore considered "as expedient ... to extend to the Crimean Region the power of the Resolution taken by the Council of Ministers of the USSR № 700 as of September 8, 1969 "On Measures to Strengthen the Passport Regime and Limit the Registration of Citizens in Sevastopol", as well as "to provide administrative authorities with the administrative rights, where necessary, to deport offenders of passport rules and their family members to their former place of residence"[22]. That meant, that despite the law, the reality did not comply with the norm where the Crimean Tatars like other citizens should not have any restrictions on the right to choose a place of residence.

In the Decree of the Crimean Regional Committee of the Party (February 1974), the issue to remove restrictions on the choice of

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[21] The Crimea in the Ethnic and Political Dimension. – P. 333. The above mentioned work.

[22] Bekirova Gulnara. Crimean Tatar problem in the USSR (1944-1991) // Crimean studios. – 2004. – № 1-2. – P. 101-102.

residence of the Crimean Tatars and other "citizens of certain nationalities who were relocated from their places of residence to other regions of the USSR" arised again. However, in the document, as previously, it was stated that "...the Tatars who lived earlier in the Crimea were firmly rooted in new places of residence"[23]. As a result, the party leadership concluded that the issue of returning of the Crimean Tatars must be carried out through the bodies, which would organize a structured selection, in accordance with the current legislation on the passport regime, provided there are certain opportunities for their housing and home improvement.[24]

The party leadership of the Crimea region was forced to continue an organized resettling of a number of selected citizens of the Tatar nationality in between of 1974-1975, but just considering it as an effective measure to "split the ranks of the Tatar extremists"[25]. However, in the second half of the 1970s, the administrative bodies of the Crimea region informed the Central Committee of the CPSU on the increase of facts of the Crimean Tatar citizens' migration into the region. Namely, M. Kyrychenko and the head of the Crimean regional executive committee T. Chemodurov in their common memorandum as of January 5, 1977, stressed again on the escalation of "unorganized arrival" of the Crimean Tatars into the region. In this regard, data were provided that in 1973 only 32 people arrived to the Crimea in an "unorganized" way, while in 1974 – 128, in 1975 – 605, and in 1976 – already 901.

As a precautionary measure against the unauthorized resettlement of the Crimean Tatars, the local authorities proposed "improving" of the legislation and introducing more stringent rules and administrative sanctions.1 The reaction of the central government was not delayed. The decision of the Council of Ministers of the USSR No. 700 "On Additional Measures to Strengthen the Passport Regime in the Crimea Region" of August 15, 1978 appears. Adoption of this document allowed the local authorities to apply tough actions on the eviction of the Crimean Tatars who lived without registration, and though the resolution itself did not specified the Crimean Tatars at all, its action was directed against them. Thus, the situation with regard to the solution of the

[23] The Crimea in the Ethnopolitical Dimension. – C. 333. The above mentioned work.
[24] Bekirova Gulnara. The Crimean Tatar problem in the USSR (1944-1991). – P. 102. The above mentioned work.
[25] The Crimea in the Ethnopolitical Dimension. – C. 333. The above mentioned work.

Crimean Tatar issue was drastically exacerbated. So, at the beginning of 1980 only 60 families of the Crimean Tatars without a residence permit remained in the Crimea. Besides, new resettlements practically ceased, while they were hindered by a legislative paperwork that essentially blocked the movement of the Crimean Tatars from Uzbekistan and stopped their resettlement to their homeland in the Crimea.[26]

Researchers distinguish three main stages in the development of the Crimean Tatar national movement, namely: 1) 1956-1964 – its formation; 2) 1964-1969 – the period of its greatest activity; 3) 1970-1990 – temporary decline and further movement's activation as well as a further change in the form of struggle within 1980-1990s.[27]. The oppression of the Crimean Tatar national movement through authorities in in the 70's resulted in an appropriate reaction. This protest expands already to the international arena and obtains support of the international community. A petition to the UN to create an international commission to investigate the situation of the Crimean Tatars in the Crimea has been signed by 890 people.

The party and the state bodies at all costs tried to break the ever-increasing links of the Crimean Tatar national movement with the outer world (both with the West and the East)[28]. Relations with quite a big Diaspora of the Crimean Tatar in Turkey and other countries are being established, what had a significant input. The most prominent activists of the movement (like Ayshe Seytmuratova and others) are expelled from the country and any contacts with their compatriots are not allowed. However, the Crimean Tatar national movement in the 1970s and 1980s is already breaking through the "Iron Curtain", finds moral and ideological support abroad, primarily in the United States, Britain, Holland and Turkey. At the same time the Crimean Tatar national movement relied on international legal acts. The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights adopted by the General Assembly of the UN in 1966 also served to be a direct protection of their national rights. The Covenant first of all confirmed the legitimization of the potential of structural expansion of the international system, introduced by W. Wilson, and thus automatically confirmed the

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[26] Crimean Tatar National Movement. B2 Documents, Materials, Chronicles / M.N. Huboglo, S.M. Chervonnaya. – T. 1. – P. 125.

[27] Alekseeva L. History of Dissent in the USSR. The Newest Period. – Vilnius-Moscow. – 1992. – P. 94.

[28] The Crimean Tatar national movement. – T. 1. – P. 125-126.

legitimacy of the structure as a result of decolonization. The legal subjectivity of the new elements of the structure was clearly understood as inseparate from their ethno-historical rights: "All peoples have the right for self-determination. On the basis of this right, they freely establish their political status and freely ensure their economic, social and cultural development" (Article 1). The individual level of rights is confirmed by the article 2:

"The States Parties to the present Covenant undertake to guarantee that the rights proclaimed in this Covenant will be exercised without any discrimination whatsoever with regard to race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other beliefs, national or social origin, property status, birth or other circumstances"[29], which almost literally repeats the Universal Declaration of Human Rights[30].

M. Huboglo and S. Chervonnaya analyzed the typical behavior of the Crimean Tatars during the period of deportation. They emphasized that from the very beginning it was focused on the struggle for self-preservation, for returning to the Crimea, for restoration of the destroyed foundations of the national lifestyle. The historical memory of the Crimean Tatar people, deprived not only of its historical homeland, but also of the possibilities of compact settlement in another territory, on the one hand, became the forefront of the confrontation between the Crimean Tatar people and a powerful party-punitive state apparatus on the other[31]. Immediately after the deportation and forwarding to special settlements in the new places, the totalitarian regime carried out a massive attack on national self-consciousness, especially on the Crimean Tatar national culture. The Crimean Tatars were denied their own ethnonyms, the word "Crimean" was removed from the self-name of the people, and the idea of the Crimean Tatar people as about "simply" the Tatars was cultivated. National self-consciousness was muffled by the massive allegations of "betrayal of the Motherland". At the same time, the Crimean Tatars' families, who either lost their relatives at the front of the war, or in the partisan

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[29] Human rights in Ukraine. Information and analytical bulletin of the Ukrainian-American Bureau for the Protection of Human Rights. Issue 21: Minority Rights / Rev. Collective: Z. Antoniuk, S. Gluzman, V. Zhmyr, E. Zakharov and others. – K., 1998. – P. 59-60.

[30] Ethnicity in the International System / O.M. Mayboroda. – K., IMIDEND them. IF Kuras, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 2015. – P. 339.

[31] Huboglo M.N., Chervonnaya S.M. The Crimean Tatar National Movement. Volume 1. History. Problems. Perspectives. – M., 1992. – P. 75.

struggle, or even children born after the war, should have to bear this horrible label. Traces of the historical memory of the Crimean Tatars' living in the Crimea were systematically and consistently eroded in a criminal, systematical and consistent way. Monuments of material and spiritual culture were relentlessly destroyed, there were burned not only religious books, but also original works of the Crimean Tatar writers, Muslim cemeteries, mosques destroyed, tombstones used as a building material. At the same time the Crimean Tatar toponyms were exterminated[32]. Officially, on April 26, 1954 the Crimea (at that time the Crimean oblast) became an integral part of Ukraine, and its reconstruction and development fell fully on Ukraine's shoulders. However, in fact, Ukraine herself was dependent on Moscow and had to follow the will of the imperial center. Therefore, as in the previous years, the main efforts were aimed to populate the peninsula.

The main flow of immigrants from the regions to the Crimea was directed from the Ukrainian SSR. The settlers were arranged to move into 24 districts of the Crimea region. In the 1960s-1970s, the Crimean population grew by more than 40%. The mechanical growth was 72% of the total population. In 1976 the planned and organized migration resettlement into the Crimea was terminated. However, an unplanned and spontaneous influx of migrants on the peninsula continued.

It should be noted that the number of the Russians in the Crimea grew at a much faster pace. This meant that among the Russian component of settlers dominated a non-labor emigration, like former servicemen released from reserve or seekers of "easy life". The Russians settled mainly in the south-coast areas and cities, while the Ukrainians mainly in the northern, agricultural regions[33]. Russification has become one of the main and most lasting consequences of the deportation and the ethno-national situation in the Crimea.

On the one hand, a massive russification and sovietization have led to the spread of anti-Ukrainian sentiment also among the Crimean Tatars. The handover of the Crimea region to the Ukrainian SSR contributed and facilitated misinformation about the role of the

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[32] Huboglo M.N., Chervonnaya S.M. The Crimean Tatar National Movement. Volume 1. – P. 77-79. The above mentioned work.

[33] The Crimea: The Way through the Centuries: The History in Questions and Answers. NAS of Ukraine. Institute of History of Ukraine. Edited by V.A. Smoliy. – K.: Institute of the History of Ukraine of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 2014. – P. 363.

Ukrainians in the Crimea. The politically inexperienced leaders of the Crimean Tatars, who did not feel the harmfulness of their political movement's isolation, were subjected to this great-power provocation. This was emphasized by the well-known human rights activist P. Grygorenko. He paid particular attention to the utmost importance for the Crimean Tatar national movement to win new supporters among Soviet people of other nationalities, including Ukrainians[34]. On the other hand, Moscow's great-power leadership in various ways stirred up ethnic hostility towards the Crimean Tatars among the Ukrainians, promoting the most tragic pages of Ukrainian-Crimean-Tatar relations and often falsifying them. In the historical "studies", literature and artworks that captivated Ukraine and the Crimea at that time, the Crimean Tatars were shown in a negative light only, denigrating the history of the Crimean Khanate. In the 1960's, this campaign acquired a special dimension to counteract the idea of removing allegations of betrayal of the Crimean Tatars by the Decree of September 5, 1967.[35]

We would like to emphasize that the direct consequence of deportation for the peoples of Crimea was the politicization of ethnic groups in the Crimea. At the same time, this applies equally to both deported peoples and those who left or arrived here due to the increase of migration. This opinion is shared by the leading Ukrainian historians who studied the Crimean issue. Officially, the Crimean Tatars started to return to their homeland since 1968. A permission to return, however, was given only to a very limited number of them and under the condition of their acceptance of certain restrictions and obligations. Most intensively the Crimean peninsula was occupied, as noted above, by the Russians. At the time of the first post-war census in 1959, they made almost 72% of the total population. There were 268,000 Ukrainians (22%) out of 1 million 200 thousands of the total population[36]. A part of the Germans, the Armenians, the Bulgarians and the Greeks returned from the deportation too. As for the Crimean Tatars, the authorities did their best to prevent them from entering the Crimea. Raids and persecution became normal in the Crimea. This land turned to be a

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[34] The Crimean Tatars: The Way to Return. The Crimean Tatar national movement (the second half of the 1940s – early 1990s), through the eyes of the Soviet special services: a collection of documents and materials. – CH.I. – K. – 2004. – P. 203, 211.

[35] The Crimea in the Ethnopolitical Dimension. – P. 303. The above mentioned work

[36] The Crimea: Road through the Ages. History in Questions and Answers. – P. 363. The above mentioned work

forbidden zone for its indigenous inhabitants of the Tatar origin. There is no such a law, but secret instructions exist, in accordance to which there is an administrative practice – the practice of arbitrariness and lawlessness. They are not registered because they do not have a home, while a housing could not be sold to them, because they had no residence permit. Lack of residence permit does not allow to work, give a child to school, register a marriage and so on.

According to the human rights activists, "one was hunting the Tatars in the Crimea, who did not have a residence permit, like the wild animals"[37]. The eloquent evidence of the situation, in which the Crimean Tatars and their families, who returned to the Crimea, found themselves, was a letter of the Tatar children to the UN's Secretary General K. Waldheim in March-April 1974.

This letter desperately informs, that "... we are free listeners, without even being registered in the class logs, we are neither asked, nor our notebooks are checked, by all means one avoids answering our questions and insults us in the presence of all classmates, reproaching the past."[38]

The Crimean Tatars' national movement did not ignore any cases of lawlessness and arbitrariness. In particular, the forced eviction of three families of the Crimean Tatars – the Gubanov's, the Mazinov's and the Kursyitova's from the villages of Chervonyy Krym and Spokiyne in Simferopol district on November 30, 1972 – caused a very determined demonstration involving 200 Crimean Tatars. In 1978 Musa Mamut resorted desperately to self-immolation due persecution through the local Crimean authorities, which deprived him and his family of settling down in their homeland. The funeral of Musa Mamuta turned into a public protest against the continuation of discrimination against the Crimean Tatars.[39]

The Crimean Tatar National Center founded in the USA (New York) in July 1976, established the Crimea Foundation. The Foundation's task was "to disseminate information on the situation of the Crimean Tatars and other religious-ethnic groups of the Crimean population, to publicize the facts of political and administrative repressions against the members of the Crimean Tatar national

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[37] The Crimean Tatars' national movement. Vol. 2. – P. 201. The above mentioned work
[38] The Crimean Tatars' national movement. Vol. 2. – P. 207-208. The above mentioned work
[39] The Crimean Tatar National Movement. Volume 2. – P. 298. The above mentoned work

movement, to promote preserving and development of the material and spiritual culture of the Crimea".[40]

The activity of the Crimean Tatar national movement in the 1970s-1980s is closely linked to public actions in support of its courageous and independent leader, Mustafa Dzhemilev. Protests with demands to release M. Dzhemilev from detention grew into the bigger protest movement for support and solidarity with all the Crimean Tatar people. Famous political and cultural figures such as A. Sakharov, P. Grygorenko, O. Nekrych, L. Kopelev, and O. Halych took active part these public actions[41]. The issue of its more effective organization in the agenda of the Crimean Tatar national movement became more resolute.

The Central Initiative Group (CIG) – transformed in May 1989 – into the Organization of the Crimean Tatar National Movement – OCTNM.[42]

CONCLUSIONS

Thus, the Crimean people passed through the incredible trials caused by the indiscriminate deportation due to the absurd accusation of the whole people of betrayal and cooperation with the Nazi occupiers. This fact of genocide in relation to the indigenous people of the Crimea clearly reveals the essence of the totalitarian Stalinist system and the specific features of the ethno-national policy of the Communist Party and the Government of the Soviet Union during that period. In the conditions of a special regime which the whole people had to endure on the foreign land of Uzbekistan, the Crimean Tatar people did not lose their ethnic roots, their language, culture and spirituality. Due to the cohesion, unity and their high national consciousness, the Crimean Tatars managed to preserve their ethnic characteristics and not dissolve in another ethnic group. After certain, ambiguous changes in the policy of the CPSU, subject to the condemnation of the cult of personality and Stalin's extreme decisions on ethnonational policy towards many peoples of the USSR, including the Crimean Tatars, the latter have succeeded to cancel criminal ethnopolitical decisions of Stalin's time and, overcoming the resistance of the Stalinists and their supporters both centrally and locally, started in the 1970s to return to their homeland and sometimes even more difficult

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[40] The Crimean Tatar National Movement. Volume 2. – P. 297. The above mentoned work
[41] The Crimea: A Road Through the Ages. History in Questions and Answers. – P. 378. The above mentoned work.
[42] The Crimean Tatar National Movement. Volume 1. – P. 154.

process of social and ethnic adaptation and arrangement in an environment with other ethnic and national groups on the Crimean peninsula.

The above mentioned factors contributed decisively to the ethnopolitical processes in the Crimea, determined their essence and special conditions of further development. This is also true for the Crimean Tatar people as an autochthonous ethnic group living on the Crimean peninsula.

SUMMARY:

The social and ethnographic processes in the Autonomous Republic of the Crimea in the 1950s-1970s are considered. A special focus is given to the analysis of legal issues regarding the handover of the Crimea to the Ukrainian SSR, as well as the processes of political rehabilitation of the Crimean Tatar people.

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CONCLUSIONS

The relevance of a history as a science is expressed in the novelty of the problem statement and the development of new methods and approaches to the historical process. The philosophy of history gives us answers to the questions about objective laws and the meaning of history, it is a theoretical and methodological reflection of the world history.

Researchers complement the understanding of the object of historical research by establishing its dependence on the attitudes of a particular historian. The objects of research become more dynamic, their chronological and geographical frameworks are changing. The presentation of the actual material depends on the goals of the researcher.

One of the definitions of the history of culture is the development of a conscious social organization. Creativity in the sphere of culture is interwoven by its internal logic with such problems as cognition, practice, and social ideal. Social self-organization was a part of the practice of various societies in times of crisis. The confirmation of the ability of social structures to self-rule is provided by the history of everyday life, individual regions, ethnic groups.

The feature of the development of historical science in the postmodern era is the variety of sources introduced into scientific research. Traditional sources - documents of official institutions, statistical reports, materials on the activities of political parties and public organizations, are complemented by personal documents - letters, diaries, memories. The use of literary works, photographic documents, films of the corresponding historical period is promising.

Cinema as a historical source contributes to the understanding of the factors pushing people to commit certain historical actions. It even allows us to feel the illusions that owned its contemporaries, and in this way to become a part of the historical psychology. To some extent, it can be considered a witness of history.

Thus, the monograph which offered to the readers' attention is an attempt to generalize the priorities of modern Ukrainian historical science in its interrelations with world trends of historical research.