

***N. KRAVCHENKO***

***Brief Historical Sketch of Ukrainian  
Statehood: XX-XXI centuries.***

***LAB Lambert Academic Publishing***

***2018***

**UDK 93/94 (477)**  
**BBK: 63.3 (4 Укр)**  
**К 77**

**Reviewers:**

**Kostylyeva Svitlana Oleksandrivna**, Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor, Head of the Department of History of the National Technical University of Ukraine «Kyiv Polytechnic Institute»;

**Vyhovskyi Mykola Yuriiovych**, Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor of the Faculty of Historical Education of the National Pedagogical Drahomanov University

**Bilan Serhii Oleksiiovych**, Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor, Head of the Department of International Relations and Social Sciences of the National University of Life and Environmental Science of Ukraine.

**Author:** PhD, Associate Professor **Nataliia Borysivna Kravchenko**

**Kravchenko N. B. Breat Historical Sketch of Ukrainian Statehood: XX-XXI centuries / Kravchenko N. B. – LAB Lambert Academic Publishing, 2018 - 200p.**

The Breat Historical Sketch covers the historical development of Ukraine Statehood in the XX - at the beginning of the XXI century.

© N. Kravchenko, 2018

© LAB Lambert Academic Publishing, 2018

## CONTENTS

PREFACE	4
Part I. THE UKRAINIAN ISSUE AT THE BEGINNING OF XX CENTURY	5
CHAPTER 1. New trends in socio-political life of Ukraine at the beginning of XX century	5
CHAPTER 2. Ukrainian question in the context of the revolutionary events in the Russian Empire at the beginning of XX century	17
CHAPTER 3. The Ukrainian issue during the First World War	31
Part II. ON THE WAY TO REVIVAL OF STATE (XX-XXI CEN.).	43
CHAPTER 1. Evolution Ukrainian state in 1917-1920	43
CHAPTER 2. The Soviet form of statehood (1921-1939)	79
CHAPTER 3. Ukraine and the Second World War: A New Paradigm	99
CHAPTER 4. Changes in the political life of Ukraine (40-80 years of the XX century)	117
CHAPTER 5. Historical features of state processes in independent Ukraine (since 1991)	142
CHAPTER 6. Agroindustrial Complex of Ukraine	170
CHAPTER 7. Ukraine and the World: geopolitical factor in a historical retrospective	183
CHAPTER 8. Prospects of Ukrainian state in the XXI century	187

## **PREFACE**

The twentieth century has opened a new chapter not only in the history of Ukraine the, but also in the history of world. These decades have become a history lesson convincing Ukrainian student that only expression of the will of people is able to engender values that could not be destroyed by any invaders or occupiers.

The Ukrainian were fighting against outlanders «not because they are outlanders, but because they are exploiters» and created own history, because «nobody will not build a state for us if we do not build it by ourselves, and none of us would make a nation, if we don't want to be the nation». And they were convinced that an independent Ukrainian state is a historical necessity «for comprehension and prolongation of European balance».

Breif Historical Sketch covers the historical development of Ukraine statehood in the XX – at the beginning XXI century and includes the following main problems: 1) New trends in socio-political life of Ukraine at the beginning of XX century; 2) Ukrainian question in the context of the revolutionary events in the Russian Empire at the beginning of XX century; 3) The Ukrainian issue during the First World War; 4) Evolution Ukrainian state in 1917-1920; 5) The Soviet form of statehood (1921-1939); 6) Ukraine and the Second World War: A New Paradigm; 7) Changes in the political life of Ukraine (40-80 years of the XX century); 8) Historical features of state processes in independent Ukraine (since 1991); 9) Agroindustrial complex of Ukraine; 10) Ukraine and the World: geopolitical factor in a historical retrospective; 11) Prospects of Ukrainian state in the XXI century.

The material is represented relying on historical sources, and contemporary scientific research of domestic and foreign historiography, latest scientific and methodical achievements.

The manual discusses various aspects and perspectives of society in socio-economic relations and national development of Ukraine.

## Part I. THE UKRAINIAN ISSUE AT THE BEGINNING OF XX CENTURY

### CHAPTER 1. NEW TRENDS IN SOCIO-POLITICAL LIFE OF UKRAINE AT THE BEGINNING OF XX CENTURY

Ukrainian lands at the beginning of the XX century were divided between two empires - the Austro-Hungarian - **Eastern Halychyna, Transcarpathia, Northern Bukovina** (about 15%) and Russian - **Sloboda, Left Bank, Right Bank, Volyn, South** (85%). If we compare the situation of the Ukrainian people as a part this empire, we could conclude that life of Ukrainian in the socio-economic sector was relatively easier in the Russian Empire, because there, especially in the Donbas and the Dnieper, after the reforms of the 60's and 70's of the nineteenth century, rapid industrial development took place, large areas of land (southern Ukraine) were available etc. In the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the economic development of Western Ukraine has been greatly slowed.

As for spiritual, cultural and national development, it should be emphasized that, on the contrary, in the **Russian Empire**, the majority of expressions of national life were fully suppressed, it is enough to recall the notorious Valuev (1863) and Ems (1876) decrees (the prohibition Ukrainian language). In the Austro-Hungarian Empire Ukrainian had some rights (though of course also limited), including: studying in primary schools was conducted in the native language, Ukrainian newspapers and journals were published, Ukrainian Associations such as "Enlightenment" NTSh were acting, etc.

The repressive policy of the tsarist autocracy concerning Ukrainian forced national figures of Naddniprianshchyna pay attention to the use of legal conditions of **Galicja** to spread ideas of national rebirth of Ukraine. Gradually the concept of Galicja as "Piedmont National Revival" is creating (recall that northern Italian Piedmont in the second part of nineteenth century played the role of national center of unification of Italy). Contributed to its implementation also figures from Naddniprianshchyna - Drahomanov, W. A., A. Rodin, M. Hrushevsky etc. In the late nineteenth century, there was a politicization of the Ukrainian national movement - Ukrainian political parties emerged.

**Development of capitalism in industry and agriculture, its peculiarities.** Economic development of Ukrainian lands at the beginning of twentieth century was happening in the mainstream of imperial general economic trends, while it was different, which was due to: 1) favorable geographical location; 2) natural resources; 3) cheap skilled labor force and so on.

General features of economic development of Ukrainian lands of early XX century were:

1. Conversion of Donbas and Dnieper to the main fuel and metallurgical base of the Russian Empire (70% coal mining of the empire).
2. Faster comparing to general growth rates of industry in empire.
3. A high level of concentration of manufacturing.
4. Considerable share of foreign capital (eg, in mining 80-90%).
5. Structural and territorial disproportionality (exaggerated increase of production means of production by reducing the production of consumer goods, industrial potential was concentrated mainly in the Donets Basin, the Dnieper, and at the same time poorly developed Right Bank, North Ukraine, etc.).
6. Economics of Ukrainian lands was developing, not as self-sufficient, but as an integral part of the Russian Empire Economic Area (artificially inhibited the industries that compete with similar production of Russian regions; the rail network was built mainly for the sake of military and economic interests of the empire without much consideration of the interests of Ukraine; construction of enterprises of unfinished production cycle, etc.).

**Consequently,** the economic development of Ukrainian lands was happening contradictory and ambiguous. However, quantitative and qualitative changes have significantly changed the role and place of the Ukrainian economy in the Russian Empire.

For agricultural development in **Western lands within the Austro-Hungarian Empire** at the beginning of twentieth century, as well as for the economy as a whole, gradual transition to bourgeois-capitalist way was typical: 1) the marketability of agriculture is increasing; 2) hired labor is widely used; 3) economic specialization of certain areas are emerging and so on.

However, these positive developments were usually local, fragmented, agriculture in general developed in an extensive manner. Acute was the problem of agrarian overpopulation and convincing evidence of which was labor emigration of Western peasants overseas - to Canada, USA, Argentina, Australia, Brazil and so on. More than 250 million people emigrated in the late nineteenth century from Eastern Galicia and North Bukovina.

Economics of Western Ukraine had a distinctly colonial character, manifested in:

1) inhibition of Industrial Development (higher taxes compared with the central lands of the empire; lack of the state financial support; protectionist policies of the Austrian industry);

2) preservation of handicraft nature of industrial production (in 1902 - over 94% of industry of enterprises in Galicia numbered to 5 employees, and they were more than 50% of the population employed in industry);

3) deformation of patterns of industrial development (focus on the extraction and primary processing of raw materials, it is typical that the majority of oil extracted in Galicia, was taken from the land in a raw, unprocessed form);

4) Total depending of industrial development on foreign capital;

5) The predatory exploitation of natural resources of the land (deforestation, depletion of deposits, etc.);

6) transforming of Western lands to markets and raw material appendage of the Empire (90% of total exports was raw and needs of land in factory production was satisfied by import).

**Thus**, at the end of XIX – at the beginning of XX century in West Ukrainian lands as the part of Austro-Hungarian Empire, a gradual transition to bourgeois-capitalist forms of economic is occurring, but the colonial situation of the regional economy led to rather contradictory nature of economic development of that time.

**Social-political and national movement in Ukraine at the turn of XX cen.** Beginning of XX century in the history of Ukraine is characterized by a total revolutionary upsurge that was caused by sharp class contradictions, national oppression, political disenfranchisement of the population.

The situation was exacerbated by general economic world crisis, 1900-1903, and in the Russian Empire - its defeat in the war of 1904-1905 with Japan.

As in the Dnieper and Western Ukraine revolutionary mood has gripped all range of society:

- labor movement intensified, moving from economic to political struggle;
- peasant movement increased, for its suppression troops were often used;
- student activity increased and students who protested against the restrictions of the rights advocated for social justice. In 1901, the tsarist government delivered into the army 183 students of the University of Kiev for participating in the student movement. In the same year the students of the Lviv University advocated, requiring the opening of Ukrainian university;
- opposition movement the liberal bourgeoisie, landowners, intelligentsia for reform increased.

**Zemstva** - local self-government - became the center of opposition activity towards to the Tsars in Dnieper Ukraine. The zemstvo people - the liberals - demanded for giving them political freedoms, for the elimination of feudal vestiges, for the convening Constituent Assembly to produce a constitution.

The national liberation movement was intensified in more favorable conditions - in the general revolutionary movement.

National movement in Western Ukraine was developing, and it had significantly greater achievements than that in the Dnieper:

the activity of political parties are intensified, their main slogan was the slogan of the political independence of Ukraine. Western Ukraine was the basis of the organizational activities of political parties of Dnieper Ukraine. Thus, party typography of the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party was situated in Lviv, the work by M. Mihnovskiy «Independent Ukraine» was published;

Ukrainian schools were working, cultural and educational organizations, published literature and Ukrainian press. In 1914 the association "Enlightenment" had 78 branches, 2944 reading rooms, courses for illiterates. The best works of Ukrainian literature was published in the pages of "Literature and Science Bulletin" edited by M. Hrushevsky and I. Franko. During 1899-1917 over 300 publications were issued by



Ukrainian-Ruthenian Publishing Association, popularizing both the global and Ukrainian literature;

the quantity of Ukrainian representatives in the central parliament and regional Sejm is growing;

mass youth sports organizations "Falcon", "Sich" were acting, which developed patriotism, susceptibility to discipline and knowledge in the Ukrainian youth;

cooperative movement became widespread, which was aimed at economic recovery of peasantry, at upbringing its national identity. "Enlightenment" and the Uniate Church contributed to the development of the cooperative movement.

Various cooperative organizations taught the peasants to modern methods of homekeeping, turned them into masters of their own fate, contributed to the development of close relations between the peasantry and the intelligentsia, which process was absent in Dnieper Ukraine.

### **Creation of the Ukrainian political parties.**

**In the Dnieper Ukraine**, national liberation movement appeared in:

A) the process of politicization of the Ukrainian movement, increasing the number of national parties.

The first national party in Dnieper Ukraine (ie central, southern and eastern states of Ukraine) was **Revolutionary Ukrainian Party (RUP)**, it was founded January 29, 1900 in Kharkiv by student community leaders D. Antonovich, M. Rusov, G. Andriievsky, L. Matsievich and other. Political program of RUP in 1900-1903, was the pamphlet M. Mikhnovsky "Independent Ukraine." M. Mikhnovsky, in due time a member of the "Brotherhood of Tarasivtsi" active participant of the Ukrainian liberation movement, a lawyer by profession, was one of the ideological inspirer of RUP at the beginning of its existence. This outstanding political figure of Ukraine first on the Dnieper Ukraine raised the slogan of national independence. He considered that the main purpose is the creation of independent Ukraine "from the Carpathians to the Caucasus." The basis of the Ukrainian nation RUP considered the peasantry.

RUP subsequently has split and gave rise to three parties:

**National Ukrainian Party (NUP, 1902)** headed M. Mikhnovsky.

"10 Commandments" was the main policy document proclaimed the establishment of an independent democratic republic with the slogan

"Ukraine for the Ukrainian." Focused on the national intelligentsia;

**Ukrainian Social Democratic Union ("Union", 1904)**, led by the students of Melenevskyi-Basques and A. Scoropis-Yoltuhovskyi. **Union** held Marxist position, wanted to represent the interests of all workers of Ukraine regardless of their nationality. Union was quite numerous at that time (about 6 thousand of members).

Union encouraged proletarians from towns and villages to expand the strike movement. Armed insurrection as a form of revolutionary struggle was discountenanced. Union proposed to resolve the land issue through democratic means: by resolution of specially convened for this purpose a nationwide Constitutional Council. In 1905 it joined in the Menshevik faction of the RSDLP;

**Ukrainian Social-Democratic Labour Party (USDLP, 1905)** led by V. Vynnychenko and S. Petliura. Sought to combine marxism with nationalism. Focused on farmers and workers, demanded autonomy for Ukraine;

In 1904 two **liberal parties** were formed - **Ukrainian Radical Party** (B.Grinchenko, S.Yefremov) and **Ukrainian Democratic Party** (A.Lototsky, E.Chykalenko). Their main demands were a constitutional monarchy, land reform, autonomy of Ukraine as a part of Russia;

In late 1905, after several months of independent existence URP merged with UDP, creating **Ukrainian Democratic Radical Party / UDRP /**, had been existing until 1908, before the foundation on its basis non-party Society of Ukrainian progressives / SUP /. Purpose: liberal transformation, destruction of the exploitation of man by man, the socialist system, the autonomy of all nations at their territory, the creation of "Enlightenment." It participated almost in all publications in Ukrainian newspapers;

**Ukrainian Party of Socialist Revolutionaries / UPSR /** originated in the 1903/1904, when the first Ukrainian Socialist groups appeared, which in early 1906 were united in UPSR. But soon the party was defeated, its formation was completed in April 1917 at the founding congress. In autumn 1917 it was the most mass party - there were 75 thousand people there. UPSR relied on farmers and national intelligentsia. Leaders: Kovalevsky, P. Khrystyuk, M. Hrushevskyy. Purpose: "to adapt socialist ideas to specific forms of life of Ukrainian democracy." There was special

emphasis on agrarian reforms, which provided a significant impact on the Ukrainian village. The autonomy of Ukraine;

**Ukrainian Party of Socialist Federalists / UPSF** / From 1907 to 1917 Ukrainian Democratic Radical Party, as a component of the SUP, was providing mainly a cultural work. In June 1917, the conference was renamed the UDRP to UPSF. Leaders: S. Efremov, D. Doroshenko, F. Matushevskiy, A. Nikovsky. Purpose: Socialism and Federation;

**Ukrainian democratic grain-growing party / UDGP** /. Established in June 1917 Leaders: Dontsov, W. Lipinski, W. and S. Sheremet.

Purpose: "the struggle for national sovereignty of the whole Ukrainian people throughout Ukraine we set as the most important and the starting point of our political program"; " Ukrainian national idea is valid to revive a Ukrainian ethnographic mass only if it comes close to the idea of the sovereignty of the Ukrainian people, only if it calls to complete national liberation."

**Ukrainian Party of Self-Socialists / UPSS** /. Originated from UNP by M. Mikhnovsky in December 1917. Leaders: I Lutsenko, A. and P. Makarenko, A. Stepenenko, M. Mikhnovskyy. Goal: "Independent Ukrainian People's Republic and the President of the Parliament," "nationalization of the land and so."

**Ukrainian Labour Party / ULP** /. Occurred in October 1917. Leaders: F. Kryzhanivsky and other leaders of the cooperative movement. Goal: preservation of private property; autonomy of Ukraine.

**Thus**, in the early twentieth century, the process of creation of Ukrainian political parties has started. Most of them advocated the idea of the autonomy of Ukraine as the part of a federal democratic Russia. The rubicon of autonomy has passed only the UNP, led by Mikhnovskyy. After the defeat of the revolution 1905/1907 years most Ukrainian parties practically suspended their activities or have reduced it to the level because of severe persecution from the Russian autocracy. The revival of the old and new Ukrainian party was held in 1917 after the fall of the Russian monarchy. The largest and most influential among them were UPSR, USDRP, UPSF.

**B)** in the process of activation of cultural and educational activities of progressive Ukrainian intelligentsia. The most massive of its actions at the beginning of XX century was the opening of the monument of

Kotlyarevskyi in Poltava in 1903, which brought together thousands of representatives, including western Ukraine, and where, in spite of the ban, the Ukrainian language was heard, and in this year the celebration of composer Lysenko's 35 years of musical activity was performed.

But the national movement in Dnieper Ukraine in general has not become widespread. Liberal and democratic intelligentsia participated in this, while workers and peasants fought first of all about their class interests.

Ukrainian parties were few in number, not united and organized.

In the national question all of them, except NUP, went no further demands of autonomy of Ukraine within Russia.

**Activity of the All-Russian parties in Ukraine.** In the Dnieper Ukraine, which at this time is much russified, more widespread and influential were all-Russian parties:

**Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP)** - originated in 1898, in 1903 was split into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. It was on the positions of orthodox Marxism, recognition of the leading role of the proletariat in the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Party was acting among Russian and Russified Ukrainian workers;

In the Dnieper were acting also centers of party of national type - General Jewish Workers' Union in Lithuania, Poland and Russia (**the Bund**), established in 1897. By the year of 1903 the Bund was a member of RSDLP as an autonomous organization in matters concerning the Jewish proletariat. Its leaders offered to build RSDLP based on their nationality, but did not receive support. In Ukraine the Bund was active in Kiev, Podolia and Volyn provinces and in big industrial cities.

**Party of Socialist Revolutionaries (SRs)** - formed at the turn of 1899-1900 years based on the combination of populist ideas of Marxism. Social base of the party was the peasantry;

Constitutional Democratic Party (Cadets) - was formed in 1905, stood for the constitutional monarchy with bicameral parliament, for freedom of cultural development for all nations;

**"Union of October 17" (Octobrists)** - was formed in October 1905, was in favor of maintaining the royal authority, one and indivisible Russia;

**"Union of the Russian People"** - The Black Hundred organization that originated in 1905, was on the positions of national chauvinism, declared the fight against the Jews and other ethnic minorities.

The All-Russian Party did not seek to resolve the national problem, except Cadets, who demanded cultural autonomy for the borderlands of the empire.

RSDLP, "Union of October 17" acted mostly in the major cities of Central and Eastern Ukraine, as well as in the South. SRs as the monarchist organization had a significant impact in rural areas. Congress during its greatest impact in the spring of 1907, counted in Ukraine more than 18 thousand of members, SRs - up to 10 thousand.

Octobers had in their ranks 7-8 thousand members, while in the monarchist organizations were more than 200 million people, representing 50% of all-russian number.

Revolutionary events gave impulse to the expansion of anarchism among the various layers of Ukrainian society. The main centers of this movement were Katerynoslav and Odessa.

**Students' movement.** Youth Society were acting in Western Ukraine lands. Relevant socio-economic, political and ideological conditions that were formed during centuries of enslavement of the Ukrainian people have contributed to their occurrence. "Falcon" association was the beginning of organized youth movement (Lviv, 1894). Objective: To nurture conscious, physically healthy Ukraine patriot, a fighter for independence. The moral basis of the "Falcon" was the law of God, and on this basis Falcon law was produced - the 10 commandments. The Falcons had their flag - crimson, a hymn was "Falcons, falcons". In small towns it was working in sportive gymnastics way, and in rural areas it had Fire and sporty character. Falcon holidays had great educational value.

Society "Sich" appeared in 1900 (c. Zavallya, Snyatyn district on Stanislav). The main objective of "Sich" except gymnastics and fire was educational, cultural and educational. If the activity of the "Falcon" had more the character of Common Slavonic, the "Host" was purely national. Organizational structure of "Sich" reminiscent of Zaporizhzhya Sich. Sich Squadrons (flag) was firstly crimson, and from 1910 - blue and yellow.

The popularity of "Hosts" between the population of Eastern Galicia (especially rural) was great. In 1914 there were 916 branches, which were bringing together more than 30 thousand of members. In the Polish gentry is the process of prosecution of Sich' members, so this move is weakening. Most of Sich' members moved into a new youth organization "Meadow"

(1925), which was similar in nature of Hosts.

Plast movement in Galicia was launched in late 1911 in Lviv. In contrast to the "Sokol", "Sich", "Meadows", which worked primarily with mature youth, "Plast" began to form their own national personality traits from preschool and school age.

Thus, due to different forms of youth society "Falcon", "Sich", "Meadow", "Plast" educated conscious, physically healthy patriot of Ukraine, contributed to the protection of the Ukrainian language, history and culture from the assimilation policy of the Austrian and Polish governments, were preparing Ukrainian youth for the struggle for national independence.

**Cooperative movement.** At the end of XIX – at the beginning of XX century in Ukraine widespread was the organization of various kinds of cooperatives as a tool raising of the economic level of the population. The first consumer cooperative was founded in 1866 in Gadyach in Poltava, but the Russian government, fearing of any organization of social forces, treated hostile to the cooperation for a long time and hampered its development in the countryside. To organize the village cooperative, it was necessary to have permission from the Ministry in St. Petersburg, which gave it not very willingly. Because of this up to half of 1890 in the cities of Ukraine barely lived about 50 consumer cooperatives. The first consumer society in rural areas arose in 1888 in the Bakhmutsky county of Katerynoslav Region.

In 1894, Nikolai Levitsky (1859-1934), graduated from the law faculty of Moscow University, began to organize grain-growing unions - artels, mainly in the Kherson province. According to his initiative, Domanytskyy Basil, Basil Nagorniy and other were new organizers of unions. The cooperative movement in all nine Ukrainian provinces has expanded. However, soon after the Revolution of 1905 active organization of cooperatives began (on average 300 cooperatives per year).

In Ukraine already was 572 consumer society in 1908, and in 1914 there were 3052 of them. Cooperative movement in Ukraine with its 30 million population ranked first place in the Russian Empire, where were approx. 10 500 cooperatives. To coordinate work and mutual assistance in Kyiv in 1908 the Union of Consumer Cooperatives was founded, and the other at Vinnytsia in 1910. In contrast to Ukrainian Union and to compete

with them, Russians established their in Kharkov - "Consumer Society of South Russia" (CSSR).

Large scale of cooperative movement was in Ukraine in 1910 p., however Ukrainian cooperation lacked the nationwide center and because of that it was dependent on two Moscow centrals. Between the hubernian centers of Ukraine were held negotiations about this matter and the initiative to establish Ukrainian cooperation center took over Kyiv Soyuzbank led by Christians Baranovsky. However, when Kiev began to organize the Ukrainian central bank, which had become the financial center of Ukrainian cooperation, Moscow Center opposed to the Ukrainian unifying center in Kiev.

Leaders of Russian cooperation were conducting sharp struggle against the "unprecedented chauvinism" of Ukrainian cooperators who did not agree to face the fact that the Moscow National Bank was considered to be the center of Ukrainian cooperation, and created their own center in Kiev. The measures did not work, because the Russian administration did not give the permission.

Under the pressure of competition from the Moscow Union, Kyiv Union was in financial difficulties. Moscow Union agreed to give a loan in 1911 to require that Kyiv Union eliminated trading operations to cover its losses. It existed for two years, but only as an organizing center, and in 1913 had to completely liquidate. Because of the same reasons Vinnitsa Union had to liquidate and Ukrainian consumer cooperatives was subordinated to the Russian Union of Kharkiv.

Credit Cooperatives was not left behind, whose growth after 1905 was no less prominent. The first "Union credit cooperatives" appeared in Berdyansk in 1901 . On January 1, 1915 in Ukraine was 794 savings and loan, and 1792 credit unions, ie 2772 at all. When Kuban and Bessarabia, where lived many Ukrainian, also attached to it, their number together endured 3412, who owned property worth about 150 million rubles.

But against this movement oppose the representatives of the government, as well as the Russian intelligentsia, including socialists. They found economic and political Ukrainian separatism in the independent cooperative movement. Left Russian intelligentsia, taking leading positions in the Russian cooperative centers tried to prevent the development of Ukrainian cooperation through competition, or even by deficit operations,

bringing to cooperative conventions slogan "All-Russian cooperative unity." Government and local administration stopped this development through various administrative punishments and brutal repression.



## **CHAPTER 2. UKRAINIAN QUESTION IN THE CONTEXT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY EVENTS IN THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE AT THE BEGINNING OF XX CENTURY**

**Strategy and tactics of different political forces.** Sharp aggravation of the economic, political, social and national problems, increased by the defeat of tsarism in the Russian-Japanese War of 1904-1905 pp., led to the spontaneous explosion of popular discontent - the first Russian revolution, in which the population of Ukraine has taken an active part.

The beginning of the revolution became the events of Sunday January 9, 1905 in St. Petersburg, where by the orders of the government was shot 150-thousand workers a peaceful demonstration led by the priest Gapon, whose members are trying to convey to the king a petition on their needs. The news of the death of 1200 workers and injures of five thousand spread quickly through the country and caused a wave of indignation and crystallized in the threatening for tsarist regime slogan "Down with autocracy!"

A specific feature of social and political life during the period of revolution was the formation of anti-autocratic front represented by workers, peasants and national liberation movements, characterized by a large scale and mutual weave of popular uprisings by mass, territorial prevalence, duration, involvement of different social strata.

Numerous natural appearances on Ukrainian territory became the response to "Bloody Sunday". In particular, strike of 600 workers on the South-machine factory and on the plant Grether and Kryvanek in Kiev January 12, 1905. In January, the workers went on strike in Kharkiv, Katerynoslav, Odessa, Gorlovki, Yuzovka, Mariupol, Zhytomyr, and other cities. During February and March the strike movement grew, as from incomplete data in the Ukrainian provinces about 170 thousand people were striking.

In February and March 1905, the peasants' demonstrations are unfolding in the Left Bank and other areas. Farmers mostly looted possessions of the rich landowners and businessmen. For example, in March 3 thousand of peasants of Glukhovski County of Chernigov province crushed sugar factory in Michael's Farm, which was owned by Ukrainian entrepreneurs Tereshchenko.

Active participation in the revolutionary events had the Ukrainian students, who have created Primary Student Council in St. Petersburg.

Ukrainian and all-russian political parties tried to influence the mass movement of people and lead spontaneous speech:

- Bolshevik party numbering about 4.5 thousand members had influence among unskilled russified workers from Odessa, Nikolaev, Katerynoslav;

- The Mensheviks and the organization of Ukrainian skilled workers' «Union» numbering about 6 thousand members maintained by skilled workers of Donbas and Kharkov;

- RUP-USDRP (from December 1905), which consisted of 3000 members linked solving of social and political problems with the resolution of national problems. It had influence among Ukrainian workers from Kyiv and Krivoy Rog.

During April-August 1905 in Ukraine there were more than 300 workers' strikes, which was attended by over 110 million people. Only the October political strike raised nearly 2 million people in the Russian Empire, from Ukraine among them were 120 thousand performances. The June 1905 Ukrainian villagers' demonstrations have covered 64 of the 94 counties. By the scale of the peasant movement Ukraine had one of the highest places in the Russian Empire.

The uprising on the battleship "Potemkin" (June 1905 p.), armed uprisings in Sevastopol under the leadership of Schmidt (November 1905 p.), in Kiev, headed by B. Zhadanivsky (November 1905) and elsewhere showed the spread of revolutionary moods among soldiers and sailors.

**The Manifest of October 17, 1905 and its consequences.** Tsarism failed to quell revolutionary wave in October 1905 by violence, and it was forced to make concessions. The consequence of widespread October political strike was signed on October 17, Nicholas II **Manifesto**, which promised civil liberties for people (personal integrity, freedom of conscience, press, assembly, association), declared the convocation of the Russian parliament, legislative State Duma involving the election of all layers of society. This document has extremely important implications.

First, it greatly expanded the boundaries of legitimate political and cultural activities, notably revived and diversified it. In 1905 in Lubnah

occurs first in **Empire Ukrainian-language newspaper** " The Khliborob". Soon newspapers began to publish in Ukrainian in Yekaterynoslav, Odessa, Poltava, Kharkiv and in other cities. Established the first Ukrainian social and political magazines, "Bell", "Ukrainian House", "The Homeland", "The Planting," "The Village" and so on. Total during 1905-1907 years 24 Ukrainian edition came out.

In Kiev, Katerynoslav, Odesa, Chernihiv, Nighin and in other cities, centers of cultural and educational organization «**Prosvita**» - "Enlightenment" are emerging. By mid-1907 there were 35 of them. Concentrating in their ranks all cream of Ukrainian elite (M. Kotsyubyns'kyi, B. Hrinchenko, P. Murnuy, D. Yavornytsky et al.), These associations were active in cultural work they founded libraries, spent their evenings, published Ukrainian literature.

Secondly, a new impulse was given to the process of mass self-organization of society, ie the formation of political parties, councils, trade unions and other social organizations. From this period is processing the formation and establishment of leading political forces that determined the nature and dynamics of social and political events in Ukraine 1917-1920 pp. During the revolution the numerosity of Russian Socialist Party, the Bolshevik and Menshevik factions of Congress is increasing.

However, based on previous associations new Ukrainian parties are emerging and are gaining strength and experience, they will be dominant in Central Council in 1917: in 1905 with parts of the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party (RUP), which was transformed into a Marxist platform Ukrainian Social-Democratic Labour Party (USDLP) is forming; in 1907 from the SR groups that have emerged from RUP in 1903-1904 pp., grows Ukrainian Party of Socialist Revolutionaries (UPSR).

Weakness and immaturity of the parliamentary form of government, on the one hand, and the need to consolidate the opposition - on the other led to the emergence of a new alternative model of governance - the Council of Workers' Deputies. During October-December 1905 Councils emerged in 50 cities and towns of the Russian Empire. In Ukraine, they were Yekaterynoslav, Kiev, Odessa, Nikolaev, Yenakievo, Mariupol, Kremenchug and Yuzovka. And if during the first Russian revolution period Councils were considered as authority only by the Bolsheviks, later - after October 1917 exactly this management model formed the basis of

the development of the proletarian state.

Evidence of active mass self-organization of society was the formation of trade unions. One of the first railroad union was the South-Western Railway. During the Revolution Mykolayiv, Odesa, Kyiv, Ekaterinoslav, Kharkiv and other cities became centers of trade union movement. At the end of 1905 in Ukraine were nearly 80 professional associations.

The growth of political consciousness, the concentration of power, organization are arising the characteristics of the peasant movement in this period. In the summer of 1905 locals of the All-Peasant Union are arising. The most widespread these associations were at the Left Bank and South. 120 peasant organizations and district unions, 12 districts and 7 provincial committees were created in Ukrainian lands at all.

During the years of the revolution cooperative movement is unfolding. While in Kiev province in 1904, was only 3 cooperatives, in the 1907 – was already 193 in Kharkov 1905 - 2 and 1907 - was 50 cooperatives. Similar processes occurred in other regions of Ukraine.

The revolutionary events found their respond in eastern Galicia, northern Bukovina, Transcarpathia Ukraine, where were a wave of mass demonstrations against social and political and national oppression of government of Polish, Romanian and Hungarian officials. To guide the national movement in November 1905 was established "People's Committee", headed by J. Romanchuk and K. Levytskyi.

Meeting with the requirements of public education reform and opening new schools with Ukrainian language took place in Lviv, Drohobych, Bortnychi Tovmatskiy County and other cities and villages in 1905. Long, though unsuccessful, was fighting for opening The Ukrainian University in Lviv. Democratic public was protesting against purely German character of Chernivtsi University, they demanded the right to use their native language and to open Ukraine's history department.

**The rise of the revolution.** Revolutionary movement reached its peak in October - December 1905 **In October**, the workers organized all-Russian strike. In the Dnieper Ukraine it was attended by more than 120 million people. Strikers slogans were: "Down with the tsarist government," "Long live the national uprising!". Protest actions by workers escalated into armed clashes and barricade fighting against tsarist troops (Katerinoslav,

Kharkov, Odessa).

During the strikes in October and November in Kyiv, Katerynoslav, Lugansk, Kamensky, Uzhgorod, Yenakievo (more than 50 cities and workers' settlements) Workers' Council are arising \*. They introduced an 8-hour day in enterprises, set prices for products at factory stores, controlled release of governmental and regional newspapers, organized the protection of the population against the rioters and looters. However, trade unions were formed to protect the interests of workers. At the end of the revolution in the Russian Ukraine operated 284 unions.

In the autumn of 1905 peasant movement increased. In the Dnieper Ukraine, there were about 300 cases of destruction of the landed estates. Events in the village Vyhvostovo in Chernihiv region gained much publicity, reflected in the work of Kotsiubynsky «Fata morgana», when in October 1905 the peasants landlord and factory. In response, the rich peasants - "kulaks" scored 15 poor villagers.

All-Russian political strike paralyzed the country and forced the king to issue 17 October 1905 manifesto of "civil rights and political freedom," who "gave" to subjects personal inviolability, freedom of speech, conscience, assembly and association. Proclaiming the convening of legislative Duma involving all segments of the population into elections. With the proclamation of the manifesto of political parties that supported it, have created their own political party to participate in the activities of Council: industrialists, merchants and landowners - "Union of October 17" (Octobrists), middle class and intellectuals - Constitutional Democratic Party (Cadets).

The Mensheviks and SRs began to prepare for elections. The Bolsheviks called for a boycott of elections and escalating of strikes in armed insurrection to seize power and establish the "dictatorship of the proletariat", and in fact the absolute power of their own party.

Part of the large landowners, businessmen, bureaucratic, police officials and other monarchist-minded representatives of various sectors of the population thought manifest as a sign of weakness of royal authority and demanded its immediate withdrawal and suppression of the revolution by force. With the support of the Government with the supporters of the monarchy created political organization "Union of Russian people", "Union of the Archangel Gabriel", "Russian monarch party" and others, who

organized the formation of "black hundreds" for the physical violence against members of protests and "aliens." Black Hundreds accused Jews of riots in the country and started pogroms that swept in Odessa, Katerynoslav, Kharkiv, Mykolaiv cities Donbass. Only in Kiev during the pogrom 23 people died and 223 were injured.

Compared to the influence of all-russian parties and the number of Ukrainian political organizations at the fall of 1905 were much smaller. At the end of 1905 RUP changed its name to USDLP and strengthened its cooperation with RSDRP, which ended its accession with the rights of individual national organization. UDP and URP merged into one party - the Ukrainian Democratic Radical Party (UDRP), demanding cultural and national autonomy, stood on its positions very close to the Cadet Party with which worked. At the position of independence remained UNP, encouraging all parties to the establishment of inter-block for strengthening the national character of the revolution.

**In November 1905** in Sevastopol new uprising occurred between the Black Sea Fleet sailors on the cruiser "Ochakov", which was supported by 12 other ships. It was led by his lieutenant P. Schmidt, who in a telegram to Nicholas II wrote: "O king, the Black Sea Fleet came out of submission by your irresponsible ministers, cut Crimea peninsula, announces a federal republic of the Crimea, requires a full amnesty for political prisoners and the early convening of the Constituent Assembly." After a 13-hour battle with insurgents of troops loyal to the tsarist they were defeated. P. Schmidt and his accomplices were arrested and executed by the sentence of a military tribunal.

**November 18** of that year in Kiev rose 800 soldiers Brigade of Engineers led by lieutenant B. Zhadanivsky. The soldiers, together with South-plant workers, went to the barracks Azov Regiment. After a short battle with rebels the uprising was suppressed by the troops loyal to the government. **In november 23** it was the offensive of soldiers of Kharkiv garrison and workers, which was attended about by 15 million people.

**In December** 1905 in Veliki Sorochinci in Poltava farmers arrested police officer and sergeant. Assistant police officer, who arrived with a detachment of Cossacks to liberate the prisoners, was met with pitchforks and sticks. Subsequently, the rebellion was suppressed. Villagers forced more than four hours to kneel in the snow near the house of the parish

government, then they were beaten and many were sent to prison of Poltava.

During political strike **in December 1905**, armed struggle has reached the highest elevation. The Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks and SRs partly encouraged workers to armed insurrection. They gave them training and led them directly fighting. In Ukraine the armed uprising erupted workers in Kharkiv Ekaterinoslavle, Alexandrivsk (Zaporizhzhya), and other cities and Donbass. In these events the king's troops resisted special armed combat teams (drughins) workers.

One of the largest by the number of participants was an armed uprising of workers in the Donbass. The first fighting of militant group with tsarist troops was on 13 December in Yasynuvata and Avdiivka. Then the center of events became Gorlivka. There on December 16 the king's troops staged a massacre of local factory workers. To help the rebels fighting squads from neighboring towns and other plants arrived - 4 million people. From them 800 warriors were armed with firearms, and the rest with mugs, iron bars and axes. December 17 rebels after 8-hour combat drove out troops from town and forced them to retreat in the desert. The rebels were defeated after the reinforcements came to rescue the king's army. Since 1906, revolutionary movement of the population began to decline.

**"Ukrainian question" in the State Duma.** Important for the development of social and political life was the emergence of a legitimate official channel of influence on government - Duma rostrum in opposition. Although the practical effectiveness of the parliamentary activities of Ukrainian deputies was insignificant, political importance had the opportunity to make a proclamation of national and social demands and interests of the Ukrainian people.

**In the Duma of the first convocation** (April 27, 1906-July 8, 1906) 45 delegates formed their own fraction, that was called the Ukrainian Duma community. Its chairman was a lawyer and activist from Chernigov Elijah Schrag; the members were: Vladimir Shemet and Paul Czyzewski - from Poltava, Nicholas Bilyashevsky and Baron Theodore Steinheil - from Kyiv, Andriy V'yazlov - from Volyn. Ukrainian parliamentary community had its own publishing organ - "Ukrainian Journal", edited by Maxim Slavynsky, Secretary was Dmytro Doroshenko. The best scientific potential

of Ukraine: M. Tugan-Baranovsky, A. Lototsky, M.Hrushevsky, I.Franko, A. Russov and others participated in the publication of the magazine.

Autonomy of Ukraine was the political platform of Ukrainian parliamentary community, which pronounced from the Duma rostrum its chairman Ilya Shrah. Farmer from the Koshelivka Nijinsky County Chernigov province V. Chvist declared in 1906 in the walls of the Duma that Ukraine urgently needs land reform and political autonomy. M.Hrushevsky signed a declaration of Ukrainian Parliamentary Community about the autonomy of Ukraine, which was to be delivered from the Duma rostrum by the chairman of fraction Elijah Shrugs. But that never came because in July 8, 1906 Duma was dissolved.

**In the Second Duma** (February 20 to June 2, 1907) there was also a Ukrainian parliamentary group - Ukrainian labor community, which consisted of 47 members and published magazine - "Ridna sprava - Duma news." It published speeches of members, statements of Community. Ukrainian group sought autonomy of Ukraine, local government, teaching the Ukrainian language in schools, promotion of the Ukrainian language in the courts, the church. In order to have trained teachers, the community demanded the creation of Ukrainian language departments, literature and history departments at the universities of Kyiv, Kharkiv and Odessa, the introduction of learning the Ukrainian language in seminary.

In the forum of the Second Duma emerged issues about allocation Holm and Podlasie in a separate Ukrainian (official - malorussian) province, to release Ukrainian from permanent Polish offensive. Unfortunately, Ukrainian deputies SRs and SDs (in the Duma they stood for party affiliation) believed that they should go hand in hand with the Polish Socialists, and in case the Kholmok bill they not only did not express any interest, but were against of it.

The project was undertaken to implement by the rights of Russian circles - monarchists, nationalists, to which group belonged Bishop Eulogius Khrapovitsky that was a deputy from the Holm. In fact, from right the official speaker about the case of Kholmok Project was Vladimir Chikhachev - member of skirts, but votes lacked to approve it.

Changing the electoral law after the dissolution of the Second Duma was the main reason for the absence the representatives of Ukrainian national movement and, consequently, the Ukrainian parliamentary groups



in the Parliament of the third and fourth convocation.

Ukrainian question remains relevant in the **Third Duma** as well (November 1, 1907-June 9, 1912). The first question about the subject the Duma was forced to pay attention, was the Ukrainian education. In 1908, 37 deputies submitted to the parliament the project of the introduction of Ukrainian language teaching in primary schools. This project has aroused protests from ambassadors of the Black Hundreds and "Russian nationalists Club ", and it was not allowed. Professor of Kiev University, Ivan Luchytsky in 1909 raised the issue about the use of the Ukrainian language in the courts of Ukraine. This issue also caused protest and was buried.

However, the third Duma had approved a bill about allocation of Holm and Podlasie in a separate Ukrainian (official - malorussian) province, when the number of right-wing deputies increased, and in addition, a bill was supported by Members of Parliament from the " Octobrists" party. The Poles tried to torpedo a bill, calling it "the fourth division of Poland", explaining it by the fact that Duma had no right to solve the Holm case because those lands were recognized by Polish Congress of Vienna. The final voting for the bill was processed May 9, 1912. Poles and socialists, including the Ukrainian socialists voted against the bill. The bill, approved June 23, 1912 with a large majority of votes, was signed by the king and became law on the basis of which Chelm province. was allocated The borders of the province were identified on the basis of strictly ethnographic basis and Ukrainian Orthodox population was an absolute majority of its population.

In **IV State Duma** (November 15, 1912-February 25 1917year) Ukrainian question raised mainly during the discussion by deputies of the ban of celebration of 100 anniversary of the birth of poet Taras Shevchenko.

End of the Revolution of 1905 – 1907. After the defeat of the armed rebellion in December 1905 the wave of revolutionary action began to subside. However, workers of Kyiv and Kharkiv made another strike in 1906 on the anniversary of "Bloody Sunday». May Day strikes and rallies were held also in enterprises of Kharkov and Donbas mines and factories.

In the summer of 1906 in factories and mines of Donbass mass meetings and demonstrations were held, during which workers were

carrying red flags, sang revolutionary songs. Factory workers of Kharkov and Odessa as well. According to official data, in Ukraine in 1906, about 100 thousand workers were striking, and in 1907 were striking 63 thousand workers.

In the spring of 1906 in 57, and in the summer, in 75 of the 99 counties in the provinces demonstrations was held by Ukrainian peasants. A new phenomenon in the peasant movement was in some cases its combination with workers' demonstrations, and some raising of political consciousness between farmers as well. Thus, through representatives of Nikolayev Workers' Council, farmers organized food aid for strikers and the unemployed. Peasant delegates participated in the Katerynoslav Workers' Council. In some villages the revolutionary peasant committees took over the functions of government. Sometimes the villagers had even resorted to rallies and demonstrations.

In Lviv, a group of activists of the democratic and national liberation movement led by I. Franko established newspaper "Public voice" that supported the fight of the population in the Dnieper. In Galicia was even created an organized group of Social Democrats of the Russian Ukraine numbered around 2500 people. In the 1906-1907 mass strike movement was turned, in which in January 1906 was about 300 meetings with nearly 500 thousand people. He covered peasants also, gaining the largest scale in the summer of 1906, when it was spread to 380 villages. The strikers refused to harvest on the landed estates, demanded higher wages, the transfer of land to the peasants, the introduction of universal suffrage in the highest legislative body of the Austro-Hungarian Empire - in the Reichstag. Rallies organized farmers from border with Russia counties, threatening of seizure of landed estates. In response to this, the Russian border three additional corps of the Austrian army was displayed. However, the government was forced to make some concessions, including abolish restrictions in parliamentary elections and give more rights to Ukrainian culture.

Active public demonstrations in Dnieper Ukraine continued until mid-1907.

Meanwhile, authorities were preparing a counterattack. June 3, 1907 the king signed a manifesto dissolving the Duma II, which was more "left" than the first, and signed a new electoral law. Adoption of the law

law without the Duma was a violation of the Manifesto of 17 October and the "Basic Law of the Russian Empire". In addition, the tsarist government violated the parliamentary immunity of deputies arresting several dozens of them and sending into exile. That is why the event of **June 3, 1907** is considered to be the completion of the Russian Revolution. The same day, the head of government P. Stolypin sent encrypted telegram to Kiev governor demanding to bring order in the city and province. June 4, 1907 to Kiev prison were sent nearly 100 people, in Odessa about 70 active members of the revolutionary events were arrested.

**Revolution of the 3-rd of June in Russia.** Since **June 1907** were published both manifestos II to dissolve the State Duma and the new law of elections to the Duma III, according to which 80% of the population of the Russian Empire were deprived of voting rights. In fact, a coup was made, which not only opened a new period - the period of reaction, but let an end to the revolutionary competition of 1905-1907 pp.: The first Russian revolution failed.

Third electoral law provided absolute advantage to the landlords and big bourgeoisie, the announced 1905 democracy was practically nullified. However, the new electoral law was only the first step in a large-scale offensive reaction.

In many parts of the Russian Empire was introduced "war" or "special" status. Ekaterinoslav, Poltava, Tauris, Kharkiv, Chernihiv and Kherson province had been for a long time in a state of enhanced security. In these regions any meetings were banned, to meet several persons in private homes was not even allowed.

Period of reaction - is the "extraordinary measures" time, in the fight against the revolutionary movement, the increasing number of arrests, arbitrary military craft with a simplified form of justice, mass exiles without trial, riots unions, prohibition of democratic media and more.

After the revolution, repressive apparatus was actively working. On charges of "political crimes" for period 1907-1909 26 million people was convicted, including 5 thousand sentenced to death. In the overcrowded prisons of the country in 1909 were about 180 million people.

Quite noticeable was the next reaction in the cultural sphere. Shortly after the Third June electoral law tsar adopted resolution of Council of

Ministers about the student organizations and the rules for convocation of meetings within the walls of schools. Its bottom line was to prohibit students to participate in any meetings and the elimination of the autonomy of higher education institutions.

The logical consequence of the onset of reaction was to strengthen national oppression. The government banned the teaching in Ukrainian in schools where it was illegally introduced in the Revolution. Even circular of Ministry of Education 1906 was abolished, which at that time allowed teachers to "use Malorussian language to explain the facts that students do not understand." Instead, a new circular forbade teachers to talk with students in Ukrainian even in their spare time outside of school. Chauvinistic educational policy did not allow schools to sing Ukrainian songs, recite poems in Ukrainian, perform national tunes.

The rise of reaction resulted in a total closure of Ukrainian clubs, academic societies, cultural and educational organizations. In particular, under pressure from the authorities ceased to function Kyiv, Odesa, Chernihiv, Poltava, Nijinsky and other "Enlightenments".

In 1910 Circular of P.Stolypin was released, in which the "natives" (to whom belonged the Ukrainian and other oppressed peoples) generally were forbidden to create any partnership, clubs, to publish newspapers in their native language. At this time, the State Committee for Publishing forbidden to use the term "Ukraine", "Ukrainian people on the pages of press or in any other publications".

### **The Stolypin agrarian reform and its carrying out in Ukraine.**

Important role in the strategic calculations of the Prime Minister had the **agrarian reform**. Being a remnant of feudalism, monarchy for a long time preserved their resistance: landlordism and peasant communities. At the beginning of XX century. degradation of landlordism became quite apparent, and community showed not only its inability to effectively manage the economy, but also properly control the mood of the peasants. That is why even during the revolution Prime Minister PA Stolypin proclaimed a course to reform the agricultural sector.

Complex of reforms initiated by decree of November 9, 1906, Was a logical continuation of modernization processes in the mid of XIX century. It was based on three main ideas: the destruction of peasant communities, to permit the farmer to get the land into private property (farm or cut),

relocation of villagers in sparsely populated areas of Siberia, Central Asia and the Northern Caucasus. The core of the Stolypin agrarian reform was reliance on personal initiative and competition which were contrasted with traditional communal equality in poverty.

P. Stolypin agrarian reforms were supposed to solve a number of important objectives: to raise the efficiency of agricultural production, to improve the marketability of the peasant economy, to strengthen social support autocracy in the country, to solve the problem of agrarian overpopulation. Although the implementation of the Stolypin's plans promised improvements in society in the future, they were met really hostile.

"It is significant that against them were both the right and left-wing political forces. Right did not appreciate the destruction of traditional rural way of life, and the left did not want the mitigation of the contradictions in rural areas that were activators of revolutionary activity of the peasantry. It is interesting that farmers of Empire in the mass, met the reform ideas if not hostile but in very cautious way. Here the role played a set of factors: natural conservatism of the peasants, leveling psychology, formed by a communal land, and disbelief in their own abilities.

The greatest success of Stolypin's reforms were in Ukraine. This is due to the peculiarities of Ukrainian mentality that was stronger than Russian, the desire for individual entities, relatively lower prevalence of peasant communities in Ukraine. During 1907-1915 pp. on the Right bank came out from the community 48% of peasants, in the South - 42%, in the Left bank - 16.5%. In 1916 440 thousand farms were formed, accounting for 14% of peasant households. These rates were significantly higher than in European Russia, where from the community separated 24% of peasant farms, and moved to the farm 10.3%. But ultimately destroy the peasant commune failed.

Reform was not able to eliminate and to reform landholdings too, although attempts to redistribute the landed estates by sale through a Peasant Land Bank were made vigorously by the authorities.

To some extent, immigration policy of Stolypin collapsed. During 1906-1912 nearly 1 million people moved from Ukraine to the new land. Unfortunately, the poor organization of the resettlement process has meant that only 68.5% of immigrants returned home in 1911.

So, after the defeat of the revolution 1905-1907 a large-scale reaction attack began, part of which was the introduction the status of enhanced security in large parts of Ukraine, mass arrests, arbitrary justice, pogroms of progressive social organizations, the prohibition of democratic media, strengthening of national oppression, the sharp narrowing of the sphere of use of the Ukrainian language and so on.

In a number of reasons (opposition of peasants, lack of funding and poor organization of the Reform, the lack of broad social base, the death of the main ideologue of P. Stolypin's reforms) agrarian reforms of the early XX century did not realize its full potential and have not reached the goal. At the same time, paving the way for private peasant land tenure, encouraging the development of agriculture, betting on personal initiative and competition, they have accelerated the transition of Ukrainian village to the industrial base. Thus, the revolution had several phases: "the rise - the culmination - the decline", which correspond to the dramatic changes and shifts in public life. It was defeated and did not achieve its main objectives. However, during process of development of the revolutionary events, new socio-political events and trends that significantly impacted on the historical fate of Ukraine emerged:

- interweaving and mutual impact of workers, peasants and national liberation movements;
- awareness of the masses of efficiency and effectiveness of the joint pressure on the monarchy;
- the emergence of large-scale popular demonstrations;
- expansion due to proclamation of the manifesto of boundaries of legal political and cultural activities, it marked a significant revitalization and diversification;
- activation of the process of the mass self-organization of society (the formation of political parties, councils, trade unions, etc.);
- appearance of official legal channels of influence on government - Duma rostrum in opposition

However, there was no solved agricultural or domestic issues, workers did not achieve an 8-hour workday. Democratic rights and freedoms gradually reduced.

### **CHAPTER 3. THE UKRAINIAN ISSUE DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR**

**Ukraine as viewed by foreign states.** The First World War began in the August 1, 1914 between the two blocs - Quarter Union (Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria) and the Entente (Britain, France, Russia) and slowly dragged into its orbit 38 of the 59 existing states of the world, 3/4 of the world population.

1. Against its own will of the Ukrainian people were engrossed in war.

2. Ukrainian lands were subject of the expansion of the warring countries and the scene of bloody battles. Russian tsarist government sought to capture the lands of Galicia, Bukovina, Transcarpathia, Austria claimed Podilla and Volin, Imperial Germany would include all Ukrainian lands to their empire of the world.

3. Ukrainian were forced not only to fight for other people's national interests, but also to shoot each other in fratricidal confrontation, because the Russian army mobilized about 4.5 million people, and the Austro-Hungarian mobilized approximately 250 million (The absurdity of the situation was proving when in the moments of calm in front on both sides of the front from the trenches sounded Ukrainian song. Involuntarily the question arises: "For what purpose one Ukrainian shoot other?").

4. War led to a deep split in the Ukrainian national movement supporters and opponents of a victorious war of Austria-Hungary and Russia.

5. The legal possibility of political activity was negated, tough and repressive actions of both empires was enhanced (thus were closed democratic Ukrainian edition of "The Council", "The Bell", "The Ukraine", "Literary and Scientific Bulletin" in Dnieper Ukraine. M. Grushevsky was arrested and sent in exile, who until 1917 was in Simbirsk, Kazan and Moscow, etc.).

6. Population of Galicia, accused Russophilia (being friendly to Russia), suffered from mass arrests on suspicion of disloyalty, and was sent to special camp in deep Austria - Talerhof, Tereziyentshtadt, Gnav etc.

7. Extremely brutal policy of the Russian occupation authorities (from autumn 1914 to summer 1915) in Galicia aimed to the destruction of

national consciousness (Closed "Enlightenment", libraries, schools, mass deportation of the population (about 12 million people were deported to Russia, among them were Metropolitan A.Sheptytskiy and a lot of members of the Ukrainian intelligentsia), forced Russification, etc.).

**Thus**, the First World War was a tragedy for the Ukrainian people as bare problems (above) and launched a number of negative trends in the socio-economic, political and social development. However, exacerbating of the contradictions in society, it led to the gradual crystallization of Ukrainian national movement, making its own political agenda, and acquiring of certain political experience.

**The attitude to war of different classes and parties. Formation of "The Union of liberation of Ukraine". The Main Ukrainian Rada (Council).** At the beginning of the war there was a split in the Ukrainian national movement.

In August 1914, was founded **Ukrainian parliament** in Lviv - inter-bloc, which included representatives of radical, social-democratic and national-democratic party (leader K. Levitsky).

Objective: straightforward **pro-Austrian position**, protecting the Austro-Hungarian state. Goal: To provide to western land status of autonomous region, although there were representatives calling to go further, to reunite with the Great Ukraine.

In Dnieper Ukraine, part of the national movement that expressed the line of **Society of Ukrainian Progressives**, was on **pro-Russian positions**, on which were mostly USDRP (S.Petliura, D. Doroshenko, A.V'yazlov, A.Nikovsky). The bottom line: for their loyalty in the war it would reward Ukrainian by granting them political autonomy. No doubt, it was a naive belief in the possibility of rebirth of Empire. Regarding the national question was expressed cautious hope that the conscious Russian society understands and accepts the needs of other nationalities living in the Russian Empire.

The second part of the Ukrainian movement - a group of immigrants from Eastern Ukraine (V. Doroshenko, M. Melenevskyi-Basok, A. Scoropis-Yoltuhovskyy, O. Dontsov. A. Zhuk) in Vienna created a public organization - the **Union of Liberation of Ukraine (ULU)**. First chairman ULU became D. Dontsov.

Program Requirements: defeat in the war; creation of an



independent Ukrainian state with a constitutional monarch, democratic system, equality and freedom for all nations, an independent Ukrainian church. ULU acted for support of Germany in the war and hoped that **victory of German** would create conditions for achieving this goal. New in the statement of ULU was to determine the question of an independent Ukrainian state as a vital necessity not only for Ukrainian, but also for Europe. Ukraine would perform the role of a barrier between Europe and Russia, limiting Russia's imperial ambitions.

A group of "Left" Ukrainian Social Democrats such as L. Yurkevych, O. Lola, P. Dyatlov took **Centrist opposition**. They were oriented towards both personal strength and Ukrainian national interests of Ukraine. They criticized "Russophile" from "Ukrainian life" and "hermanofiles" - Ukrainian socialists operating in Austria-Hungary and Germany as well. Nevertheless, even L. Jurkiewicz did not believe that an independent Ukraine can be created as a result of World War, and believed that the Ukrainian people had not grown to independence and a real fight for the autonomy of Ukraine could be only within Russia.

Western Ukraine **Muscophiles** was founded in exile in Kiev "Carpatho-Russian liberation committee," which addressed to the Galicians with the appeal to meet the Russian army as liberation. In support of the war was created the Committee of the Southwestern Front of All-Russian union of zemstvo and towns (A. Nikovsky, D. Doroshenko etc).

It should be noted that part of the public, political parties, especially from USDRP, supported **the Bolshevik tactics of struggle: the transformation of the imperialist war into a civil.**

During the war, some changes occurred in tactical operations of different political parties.

**Evolutions of political orientation of "TUP" in the course of war.** TUP did not know which position to adhere, moreover, in summer of 1914 the majority of progressives dispersed. At this time, the Council of the Society of Ukrainian Progressives were E.Chykalenko, S. Yefremov, F. Matushevskiy, V. Prokopovych A.Nikovsky, D. Doroshenko and others.

Even before the official declaration of war, Chykalenko tried to gather those who were at that time in Kiev. Came only a few people, the answers to the main question - "how to deal with war?" – were different. E.Chykalenko and A. Nikovsky inclined to the idea of defeatism, A.

V'yazlov and L.Yanovska called for the support of Russia. The victory of it, they argued, could mean joining of Galicia - and then it will be easier "together to serve the evil." They decided to take a neutral position for that time.

After declaring a war, a wave of patriotic demonstrations under tsarist's tricolor flags passed through. Position of TUP members changed. The pro-Russian position have taken leaders - D. Doroshenko, S. Petljura, A. V'yazlov, A. Nikovsky. They were members of the Russian Union of zemstvo and towns, which together with other public organizations helped to strengthen the defense power of the Russian army.

July 30, 1914, they issued a declaration of "War and Ukrainian" signed by S. Petliura - editor of "Ukrainian life." The declaration was published in Moscow! It said that the Ukrainian honestly fulfill their obligation to the state, supporting the cause of Russian citizens. Petliura wrote: "In the ideals of Ukrainian and practical postulates Ukrainian society ... the national development of that part of the Ukrainian people, which was a Russian, always considered within the Russia, and in close alliance with the people that inhabit it ..."

In December 1916, TUP published declaration of the council called "Our position," which published the contemporary understanding of the situation from the perspective of solving the Ukrainian question. Defining its objectives, progressives, emphasized that fought and fight for "federal principle as the foundation of the future dispensation of political and ethnic relations, and always carried it since the so-called Cyril and Mifodiy brotherhood, we recognize the federal form as the most perfect way of combining the state union with the interests of a free and unfettered development of national and social life, but in the present we insist on implementing of principle of national-territorial autonomy, as one of the basis of the new government. According to this position the territory with a predominantly Ukrainian population gets common institutions and regional self-government legislation, led by the people's representatives in the form of Ukrainian Seim ... "

According to V. Vynnychenko, TUP "oriented towards good big heart of Russian democracy, in thunder of victory which would soften cool heart of tsarizm right up to up democracy, to the parliamentary system and to the will of the nation, that was silent in all its vast expanses ... It was

those Ukrainian who rooted their personal life too deeply fused with the life of Rus.

Political orientation of TUP changed depending on how the Russian army suffered one defeat after another. From the position of active neutrality to strong opposition to the war itself, which destroys the Ukrainian lands.

**Thus,** World War I led to negative trends in the Ukrainian national movement, which led to split in its tactics in relation to war, to almost complete scarcity of legal possibilities of political and cultural activities. Uncoordinated, various Ukrainian position of political parties about the war had a negative impact on the development of the strategy and tactics of the national liberation movement, not only during the war, but after the overthrow of the Tsarist regime, when it was necessary to lead the Ukrainian masses in the political struggle.

**Ukrainian “Sichovi Striltsi” regiment.** On the first day of World War I, August 1, 1914, the leaders of three major parties formed a main Galician Ukrainian Rada (GUR head - K. Levitsky). Third of August, GUR issued a manifesto to the Ukrainian people in Galicia, calling to fight for the liberation of Ukraine.

One of the first cases, which took GUR, was the creation of Ukrainian military council (headed by K. Tryl'ovs'ky), and which, in turn, directed its activities in the organization of the Austrian army separate Ukrainian forming what would become the embryo of Ukrainian National Army.

Austrian commanders gave the consent about the forming of the Ukrainian Legion called "Ukrainian Sich Riflemen"- Ukrainian “Sichovi Striltsi” (USS). Not being sure of its loyalty, the government limited the number of Legion USS to 2.5 thousand, while the volunteers became about 28 million (for the arming of the Legion Austrians gave 7 thousand heavy singly charged chrisers, which in 1888 were withdrawn from armament). To form the Legion in early September it was transferred to the Carpathians, near the town of Mukachevo. It was formed by three infantry tents. Commander of the Legion was the director of Rogatyn private Ukrainian Gymnasium M.Haluschynskyy. The first hut was headed pidstarshyna D. Vitovsky, the future leader of an armed rebellion November 1, 1918 in Lviv. The core members of the Legion were prewar Sich, Falcon formation

and Plast movement.

In the first battle the legion of USS entered in September 25, 1914 in the area Užocký pass the Carpathian Mountains. At the end of 1914 - the beginning. 1915 archers were guarding the Carpathian passes. "Ususy" showed exemplary heroism in battle with Russian parts in the Makivka mountain in the Carpathians in May 1915 (in fierce battles 42 men was killed ); in Galich in June 1915, and above the Stripa summer - autumn 1915 (about 1 thousand shooters were captivited, later from them were formed Sich Riflemen Regiment led by E. Konovalets - regiment, who was active in the national democratic revolution of 1917-1920), near Berezhany in region of Lysonia mountain in the summer and early autumn of 1916 (during Brusilovsky breakthrough). After heavy losses remains USS of regiment withdrew to the rear to resupply, and then in February 1917 it returned to the front (Regiment headed by M. Tarnavskiy); near the village Konjuchy in summer 1917.

In 1918, as part of the Austrian army regiment USS made a trip to Ukraine under the command of the son of an Austrian former Duke Stephen William Habsburg, who was called Ukrainian Vasyl Vyshyvany (he knew Ukrainian language and even wrote poems in Ukrainian). Later Sich Riflemen played a prominent role in the revolutionary events of 1918 and the creation of ZUNR.

**Thus**, assessing the importance of USS, one need to remember that because of its low number they certainly did not decided the fate of World War I, in front of which were active hostilities millionth army, so there is no reason, and finally, and no need to exaggerate their importance and role in the military events of 1914-1918 but this does not diminish the role and importance of USS, which is summarized as follows:

1. It was the first military units after the destruction by Catherine II of Ukrainian Cossack regiments, they became the embryo of a future army.

2. USS composed of the best representatives of the Ukrainian Galician society - scientists, writers, journalists, artists, students and high school youth and others. Not surprisingly, they left behind a well-documented history of the Legion and the rich literary and song heritage.

3. Ideological and cultural heritage of USS become an integral part of the national consciousness of Galician Ukrainian XX century.

4. Much propaganda and educational work among the population of

the region.

5. Their heroism and self-sacrifice served as an example to future generations of fighters.

6. Active constructive participation of USS in the revolutionary events of 1917-1920 (by the way, in areas that were under the control of USS, not a single fact of violence against civilians, etc.).

**Military operations on the territory of Ukraine and the consequences of war for Ukraine.** The troops of the Southwestern Front, which were in the territory of Ukraine (consisting of four armies) were stretched for 450 miles - from Ivan-City to Kamenetz-Podolsk, four Austro-Hungarian armies opposed them.

Military action in Ukraine began in the early days of August 1914 in Galicia. August 18, 1914 launched a successful attack of the 8th Army of General A. Brusilov. **Galician battle** lasted until 21 September 1914. From the other side of it involved more than 1.5 million 700 thousand Russian troops and 830 thousand Austro-Hungarian army. At the beginning of the Battle military operational environment for Russian troops was adverse, but soon they were able to seize the initiative. A successful offensive of the two Russian armies under General Brusilov and Ruzky ended up by taking 3 September Lviv (Lemberg), and 4 September - Halych. Thus, Russian troops occupied Galicia, northern Bukovina, and came to the Carpathian passes.

Austrian-Hungarian army suffered a crushing defeat: their losses amounted to 400 thousand people, including 100 thousand of prisoners; During the fighting, Russian troops captured 400 canons. Russia's losses amounted to 230 thousand. The plans of the German command to keep the entire Eastern Front with forces only Austro-Hungarian army failed. The initial period of the First World War ended in triumph for the Russia.

Retreating, Austro-Hungarian authorities launched a large-scale repression of the Ukrainian population, assuming that the reason for the defeat was betrayal Ukrainian who allegedly secretly helped the Russians. For example, local authorities reported Transcarpathia in Budapest: "Ukrainian people are marked with a sympathy for the Russians that appears everywhere, their hope on their arrival." Thousands of people were charged of treason were sent to special camps in Austria. Particularly distinguished the brutal regime of camp Talerhof in Styria, which is called

"Ukrainian Golgotha" where only of typhus more than 1,700 prisoners were killed. There were camps in Freistadt, Rashtadt, Vetslyar, Salzwedel, where military tribunals endorsed to the death penalty for the slightest fault and with denunciations of spying. For all the repressions were executed almost 36 thousand civilians.

Cruelty were more Hungarian troops: Przemyśl Hungarian soldiers killed in the street 40 arrested Ukrainian intellectuals and peasants. All in Transcarpathia was imprisoned 800.

In November 1914 the Austro-Hungarian and Russian troops after the grueling battles on the defensive until the end of the year were not proactive.

During the fighting in 1914 showed a well-trained and reliable soldiers in the Austro-Hungarian military units Sich Riflemen. Preliminary plans of Austrian command to use Legionnaires as consumables in order to gradually get rid of it in the battle with the enemy - were changed: Sich began to entrust important sections of the front. Thus, the Austrian command instructed Ukrainian Sich Riflemen the defense **of Užocký pass**, which they bravely defended from 25 to 28 September. It was a baptism of fire for Sich and they withstood it with honor, never missing an enemy.

Developing the offensive in 1915, the troops of the Southwestern Front surrounded and after 194 days of the siege captured well-fortified fortress of **Przemyśl** (February-March 1915). 110 thousand of people were captivated.

During March-April 1915 counterattack of Russian troops in the **Carpathians** continued. **Carpathian operation** consisted of three phases: the first - the Russians attacked the enemy, trying to open a way to the Hungarian plain; the second - the Austrian counteroffensive trying to relieve Przemyśl; third stage - recovery of attack of Russians after taking Przemyśl. It cost a tremendous effort and loss to get Carpathian passes in the hands of the Russians, before they opened the way to Krakow.

Bright page of hostilities at the time were fighting for the strategic heights in the Carpathians - a mountain **Makivka** (March-May 1915). This height several times passed from hand to hand. The culmination of the battle was on May 1. On this day the Russians after heavy shelling took the hill, but the legionaries stormed and recaptured it. Preference was given for Sich not so easy: 42 legionary were killed and 76 wounded. Subsequently,

one of the German generals said about shooters: "My Bavarians fighting like lions and Ukrainian - like hell." Then Austrian command took the riflemen from the front to rest and gave permission to the legionary to hovel a regiment. In addition technical hundred was formed.

In the occupied territory of Western Russia formed a new **Governor-General** (divided into four provinces: Lviv, Przemyśl, Ternopil and Chernivtsi) led by reactionary **H. Bobrinskyy**. To manage counties and cities by Russian officials, and the rural communities were selected the officers of the royal army. In some cases, the administration appointed by local Muscophiles. The main task of the new administration was to fight ukrainfil ("Mazepa"). Chauvinist policy of the new government was aimed to eliminate networks Ukrainian cultural and educational institutions, periodicals in this area, eliminating the Greek Catholic Church and its head, Metropolitan Sheptytskyi was sent to Suzdal, where he was held until the Revolution of 1917. Nearly 200 of Uniate community was transformed into parishes. They conducted mass searches and arrests. More than 12 million people (including many Greek Catholic sanctimonious) were sent to Siberia.

Instead closed Ukrainian schools Russian were introduced. Because of the fact that local teachers did not know the Russian language, in Lviv and other cities opened special Russian language courses for future teachers, textbooks were published in Russian.

It was planned to impose restrictions in the field of higher education: Lviv Polish university moved to Warsaw, and for its place - Warsaw Russian University. These ambitious plans were disrupted by involuntary rapid retreat of the Russians in 1915.

But the departure of the Russians was also accompanied by a mass deportation of the land: left their homes and moved to the Russian Empire more than 100 thousand people at that time.

The policy of Russification of the new administration local leaders of Muscophiles supported: V.Dudykevych, S.Bandasyuk, Y.Yavorsky. By their actions they further aggravated the situation in the province.

However, in the summer of 1915 as a result of the counter-offensive of Austro-German troops, Russian army left Bukovina and most of Galicia: during **Horlitsi breakthrough** (May 2-June 22 1915roku) Russian troops left Przemyśl (June 3), Lviv (June 22) and departed for Dniester (23-27

June). Return of the Austrian government caused a new wave of repression against the Ukrainian, who were suspected of Russophilia.

In autumn 1915, Russian troops entrenched on the line of Kamenetz-Podolsk - Ternopil - Kremenets - Dubno. From that place in the spring of 1916 began the offensive operation of troops of the Southwestern Front with General A.Brusilov what became known as the **Brusilovsky breakthrough** (22 May -31 July 1916). Russian troops launched an offensive May 22, 1916 after a brief artillery barrage moved along the front depth of 80 - 120 km, captured again Chernivtsi, Coloma, Brody, Lutsk, Kovel. The Russian army regained its lost ground in western Ukraine. Because of Brusilovsky breakthrough Austro-Hungarian forces suffered heavy losses: over 1 million dead and wounded, more than 400 thousand of captured. The Russian forces lost about 500 thousand people. As a result, the French managed to defend Verdun and Italy was saved from total defeat.

Upon completion of this offensive, front line remained almost unchanged throughout the year. At the end of 1916 offensive capabilities of the Russian troops were exhausted, and they stood on the line Stokhid - Kyselyn - Zolochiv - Bershad -Halych - Stanislav - Rohatyn. Winter 1916-1917 the fighting took positional character.

In the occupied territories was established **Galicia-Bucovina Governor-General** headed by F.Trepovym. In contrast to the years 1914-1915 the local Ukrainian population was not exposed to significant national and religious oppression, but the attitude to it was quite suspicious. It was believed that the impact of "mazepinschyna" is still visible.

Meanwhile, in February 1917 there was a revolution in Russia. The new Russian government, seeking to strengthen the internal situation of the country in the summer of 1917 began a new offensive, which ended with failure and new victims. Russian troops lost 1.2 million of soldiers who were killed and wounded, captured - more than 2 million. Deserted from the front about 1.5 mln of soldiers. Counterstrike of Austro-German troops forced the Russian troops to leave Galicia, to withdraw even further than in 1915. This front line lasted until the making the Brest Peace (January 1918).

After the overthrow of the autocracy, in March 1917, the interim government approved D. Doroshenko as a boundary commissioner of



Galicia and Bukovina, who was appointing to administrative positions Ukrainian, contributed to the revival of rural and urban self-opening cooperatives: national schools and charitable institutions.

The war has paralyzed transport, industry and agriculture. In Galicia during the war years was destroyed over 40% of commercial and residential buildings, over 1.5 thousand industrial facilities, strategically important oil industry production decreased by 1/3. In Bukovina at this time number of horses and pigs decreased by 60%, sheep - 47%.

Not the best situation was in the Dnieper Ukraine. Industrial output fell by 30-50%. By January 1917 36 blast furnaces extinguished. The seeds were collected for 200 million pounds less than before the war. Nearly two million acres of crop area declined, food supply begun to shortage, inflation increased. Much worse was financial situation of the population. Villagers weary by heavy taxes and levies, refused to perform military transportation, to dig trenches.

However, the degradation of the economy during the war increased its dependence on foreign capital. Only in 1916-1917 74% of foreign contributions to the development of the coal industry of the Russian Empire were done in the enterprises of Donbas.

Sharpened was the socio-political situation. Riots engulfed the population of industrial centers of Ukraine. In 1915 in Ukraine passed 113 strikes. The participants were 50 thousand workers. And in 1916 it were 218 strikes, with the number of participants up to 200 thousand. Strikes and riots followed the slogan "Down with the war!".

Risen all the workers of such cities as Gorlivka (Donbass) Bakhmut, Ekaterinoslav, Kharkiv, Mykolaiv. The most popular among them were the Social Democratic agitators.

Long trench warfare extremely exhausted Ukraine. Were killed or maimed millions of young, strong men. Productivity fell sharply in the factories where men have replaced women and children. Empty tens of thousands of acres of land stood not sown. Cases of epidemics became more often. Everything became tangible of approximation of national disaster. The rise of the national liberation movement, not only in Ukraine but throughout Russian, became indicative of the approach of a new revolution.

Thus, the war turned Ukrainian land into an object of expansion,

scene of hostilities, and their inhabitants - the participants of fratricidal confrontation. In addition the war led to the destruction of the economy, the deformation structure of production, increased dependence on foreign capital. Anti-war sentiments intensified among the working masses and was the rise of the national liberation movement, indicating a maturing of the democratic revolution.

## **Part II. ON THE WAY TO REVIVAL OF STATE (XX-XXI CEN.).**

### **CHAPTER 1. EVOLUTION UKRAINIAN STATE IN 1917-1920.**

#### **1. The Ukrainian Central Council.**

The victory of the February bourgeois-democratic revolution in 1917, the fall of autocracy led to the creation of the former Russian Empire and the new political and social situation in Ukraine was created:

1. The government was formally in the hands of the Provisional Government (executive committee, provincial and district commissioners were appointed by the Provisional Government).

2. Alternative authorities - Workers, Soldiers and Peasants Deputies (till the end of 1917 in Ukraine it was about 300 of them, 70% of which were concentrated in the industrial centers of Donbas and Dnieper. Peculiarity: the Councils did not play at this time any important role in Ukraine because they were relatively small and the main from they were Mensheviks and SRs, not like the Bolsheviks as in Russia).

3. The process of forming a government had its own specifics in Ukraine. Russia had dual power, but in Ukraine **was power of three**. Since neither the interim government led by Cadets and its representatives in Ukraine, nor the SR-Menshevik Council had no clear program to solve the national question (they advocated a unitary form of the Russian state, recognized only by Ukraine the right to national-cultural autonomy) Ukrainian Central Council was formed as the main of Ukrainian political interests in front of the Provisional Government, 4 (17) of March 1917 in Kiev. M. Hrushevsky was elected (in absentia) as Chairman of CC.

Consequently, the Central Council emerged as a social and political association, focal point of Ukrainian nationalism. There were representatives of the Society of Ukrainian Progressives, Ukrainian soldiers, workers, cooperatives, students, Orthodox clergy, Ukrainian Society technicians and agronomists, Ukrainian scientific societies, educational societies, different groups, communities and more. Despite this broad representation, CC had no right to speak on behalf of the Ukrainian people at the time of formation, because it was not chosen by popular vote.

So there was a complex process of organizational and ideological formation of CC in March - April 1917. Three leading Ukrainian parties

played the important role in determining of its strengthening and main activities:

1. Ukrainian Party of Socialist Revolutionaries (M.Kovalevsky, P. Khrystyuk, M.Shapoval, M.Grushevsky).

2. Ukrainian Social-Democratic Labour Party (S. Petliura, V. Vynnycenko, M. Porsch).

3. Ukrainian Party of Socialist Federalists (S. Efremov, D. Doroshenko, A. Nikovsky).

The democratic principle of comprehensive formation of the Central Council, national, social class and territorial principle of representation in its membership, advocacy and pressing close to people ideas of national-territorial autonomy and socio-economic changes contributed to the rapid growth and universal authority and popularity of CC. Evidence of this was 100 thousand Ukrainian demonstration in Kiev in April 1, 1917 under the national blue and yellow flags which supported the resolution of CC on the autonomy of Ukraine as a part of a democratic, federal Russia.

Ukrainian National Congress (19-22 April 1917) in Kiev finally polished political program of CC and completed its organizational structures. It was well represented by delegates from all Ukrainian provinces, various segments of the population, many political parties and social movements. There were representatives of Ukrainian community in Petrograd, Moscow, Kuban and other cities among the delegates to the congress, just over 900 delegates. So reasonably Ukrainian National Congress became the kind of all-Ukrainian Constituent Assembly.

The main problems that had to solve the UCA were:

- A comprehensive discussion of various aspects of national-territorial autonomy of Ukraine;
- Reorganization of the CC.

Delegates heard reports:

1. D. Doroshenko - "State law and federal competitions in Ukraine."
2. A. Shulgin - "Federalism. Claims of the Federal Democratic Republic."

3. F. Matushevsky - " Wide and limited national-territorial and national Autonomy. Claims of broad national-territorial autonomy of Ukraine. Rights of national minorities and their security".

4. F. Kryzhanivsky - "Method and procedure of the actual creation of autonomous relations with Ukraine and the Russian Constituent Assembly."

5. B. Sadowsky - "The geographical and statistical data, which belongs to expect in the making autonomy of Ukraine."

6. S. Colos - "Specific Ukrainian claims to the Provisional Government."

More than 70 speakers were at the congress.

Resolution of UCA was very brief and specific:

- Only broad national-territorial autonomy of Ukraine can meet the needs of all peoples living on its land;

- The only federal democratic republic may be the appropriate form of the government.

Major UCA decisions:

1. The main point of political program of CC - gaining national-territorial autonomy was supported.

2. CC was agreed as the regional authority (CC actually was proclaimed supreme national authorities in Ukraine).

3. CC was reorganized, the principle of representation and the possibility of replenishment by co-option was installed (for example, after the war, peasants, workers' congresses composition of CC supplemented of their representatives in the number of over 100 delegates from each, just until autumn 1917 CC numbered over 800 members).

4. The committee of CC led by Hrushevsky (at the first meeting of the Central Committee of CC was transformed into the Little Council) of 20 members was elected to guide the work of CC.

5. There were many other among the decisions of the congress and, in particular, the decision on the construction of the monument to Taras

Shevchenko in Nikolaev garden in front of the Kiev University on the site of the monument to Tsar Nicholas I, etc.

Thus, the decision of UCA had great importance for the legitimating (legalization) of CC. Despite the fact that it has not gone through the process of popular election, CC, has the support of the UCA, now had the right to speak on behalf of the Ukrainian people. Thus, the beginning of April 1917 can be considered as its second birthday, as the executive body of the joint party and public organizations, which it was at the beginning of the Revolution, was the highest legislative and executive (later executive functions will be transferred to the General Secretariat) body of Ukrainian people; i.e. CC entered into that zone where blurred boundary between two powers - the moral and public law.

The implementation of national-territorial autonomy of Ukraine led by the Central Council was held very carefully with a constant eye on the Provisional Government. Yet under pressure from revolutionary-minded masses (in particular, in May 1917 The First Ukrainian Military Congress called for immediate implementation of the principle of national-territorial autonomy of Ukraine). The delegation of the Central Council, headed by V. Vynnychenko left in the end of May to Petrograd to represent the Provisional Government of the Declaration of the Ukrainian Central Council, which contained the requirements:

1. Provisional Government must detect in one or another act its favorable attitude to the fundamental autonomy of Ukraine.

2. Representatives of the Ukrainian people must be admitted to the future international conferences, as luck Galicia and Western lands will be addressed at this conference.

3. It is necessary to appoint a special commissioner on matters of Ukraine under the Provisional Government.

4. Ukrainian soldiers should allocate specific parts as in the rear, and, if possible, at the front.

5. Ukrainianization of schools recognized by the Provisional Government for public school must extend the middle and high school.

6. Release the captivated Galician Ukrainian etc.

As you can see, quite a reasonable requirement, by the way, expressed in the form of a request, as V. Vynnychenko said: "Just somewhere though remember that you treat Ukraine autonomy supportive. Do not start it now, we are ready to wait as there should be implementation of this postulate, "were rejected by the Provisional Government.

The refusal was motivated by the fact that:

1. Central Council was not elected by nationwide vote. So it cannot express the will of the Ukrainian people (the characteristic that the interim government is also not popularly elected, but it applied to itself and to the Central Council of the double standard).

2. Proclamation of autonomy may cause a number of regional and other misunderstandings.

3. The question of the future administrative structure of the Republic should decide only convened at the end of the year Constituent Assembly etc.

Meanwhile, the illusions and hopes of the leaders of the Central Council for understanding and support of Russian democracy gradually destroyed.

Assessing such developments and anti-Ukrainian policy of the Provisional Government, M. Grushevsky rightly said: "Holy Revolution ended. The terrible time comes!"

Ukrainian Peasant Congress (10-16 June 1917), and especially the Second All-Ukrainian Military Congress (18-23 June 1917) (it is interesting that the minister Alexander Kerensky banned this Congress, but it began its work, and the interim government had little choice but to send a congratulatory telegram to Congress which was met with laughter by delegates) called the Central Council to stop negotiations with the Provisional Government and immediately take up the implementation of the autonomy of Ukraine. Moods of the military convention beautifully conveys of speech soldier Bilyk, a peasant from Cherkasy region, "Children will not forgive us if we not achieve least - the national-territorial autonomy. Unless the word helps, then help sabers. Time came for us to take our time. We will not ask or bow down, because it is our "

Thus, based on the decision of the peasant and military conventions in June 23, 1917, the Central Council adopted its I Decree, which was proclaimed the autonomy of Ukraine ("the singular most will do our lives").

Additionally, there were in the **I Universal**:

1. Appeal to all Ukrainians in hard time of all state disorder to be independently organized and begin to lay the foundations of an immediate independent system.

2. Again stressed the merits of the claims of Ukrainian democracy, the right of self regime of their lives.

3. In summary the requirements of the Central Council to the Provisional Government outlining. Particular emphasis was placed on the hope that from the whole Russia will be selected landowners, state, royal, monastic and other lands in the ownership of the people.

4. Central Council proclaimed itself the spokesman of a people's will and took the brunt of the responsibility.

5. Central Council called Ukrainian citizens to peace and understanding with other nations and democracies eliminate local people and authorities, "hostile to the Ukrainians," but not by violent means, but by their re-election and so on.

Establishment Government - General Secretariat (June 28, 1917) led by V.Vynnychenko (had to be 14 people) was one of the first steps to implement the decisions of the Central Council after the proclamation and wagon. The General Secretariat took over all the former executive functions of the Central Council and Central Council took over the functions of the National Sejm (parliament), that the legislature of the Ukrainian people.

Proclamation and wagon and the formation of the General Secretariat raised concerns in Russia, which experienced yet another political crisis [mass demonstrations, the defeat at the front, decline in the authority of the Provisional Government, etc.]. Therefore, in early July the delegation of the Provisional Government composed of the most influential ministers Alexander Kerensky, M. Tereshchenko and I. Tsereteli came to Kyiv for



the understanding of the Central Council. As a result of negotiations a compromise was reached. Declaration of July 16, 1917 of II Decree Central Council and special resolutions of the Provisional Government of the day were the results of a compromise.

In the **II Universal** was officially announced that the Provisional Government:

1. extends its hand to Ukrainian democracy, calls in agreement with it to create a new life.

2. recognizes General Secretariat as the bearer of the highest regional government in Ukraine, whose membership is approved by the Interim Government in consultation with the CC.

3. admits CC' representatives to the office of Minister of War, General Staff with the mission of Ukrainianization of troops without infringement of Army combat capability.

4. expressed its favorable attitude to the drafting of the national - political status of Ukraine as well as the project of solving the land for their case making the All-Russian Constituent Assembly.

Central Council, for its part:

1. Lays autonomy of Ukraine to the All-Russian Constituent Assembly and rejects any unauthorized steps to achieve it.

2. Enriched "on an equitable basis by the other peoples living in Ukraine" (it should be noted that the percentage of seats available to them (30%) was higher than their percentage among residents of Ukraine (20%) of the General Secretariat was introduced two Russians two Jews and one Pole. Thus, CC and the General Secretariat began a political body not only Ukrainian, but also the entire population of Ukraine). Achieving a compromise (Decree II) did not contribute to the stabilization of the political situation, however, it launched another crisis of Provisional Government (in protest of it came three ministers Cadets; failure attack on the front, armed Bolshevik coup attempt ...).

And in Ukraine radical national forces, led by M. Mikhnovsky who were dissatisfied with the compromising policy of CC tried (17 July 1917)

by Ukrainian regiment named after P. Polubotko (about 5 thousand.) to seize power in Kiev and Ukraine declare independent state.

July 29, 1917 CC adopted a "Charter of senior management Ukraine", which some historians (including T. Hunczak) called "Constitution of Ukraine autonomous system."

According to the document (it contained 21 points):

1. General Secretariat announced the highest boundary authority on the Ukraine.

2. General Secretariat of the Central Council is formed and meets in front of it, and the Provisional Government only approves it.

3. General Secretariat carries its power through all the government authorities in Ukraine, and all of them under the authority of the General Secretariat.

4. All government offices in Ukraine, if they are not elected, are replaced by the General Secretariat.

5. With the Provisional Government should be Secretary of State for Affairs of Ukraine appointed by the Provisional Government with the consent of the Central Council.

6. All the laws of the Provisional Government have the power to Ukraine after the proclamation of the "Boundary Government Bulletin» in Ukrainian language and so on.

However, the Provisional Government did not approve the document, and in the August 17 issued a "Temporary user for the General Secretariat," which was a direct negation of the Charter and significantly limited the rights of Ukraine:

1. General Secretariat had become a local authority of the Provisional Government, ie the usual administration, which differed little from the provincial commissariat. About signs of the General Secretariat as the supreme executive body of the autonomous Ukraine was not a single word, it became an intermediate authority between Petrograd and local governments, and even then not in all cases.

2. Central Council deprived of legal rights.

3. All government positions not approved General Secretariat (it only recommended candidates) and the Provisional Government.

4. The General Secretariat had included not 14, but only 9 Secretaries, besides 4 of them were to be representatives of national minorities. General Secretariat Secretariat lost the military, food, litigation, Railways, Posts and Telegraphs.

5. Almost all democratic provisions of the Statute discarded, but most cruelly Ukraine was to reduce the spread area of competence of the General Secretariat of the 9 provinces to 5 (beyond it, that was directly subordinate to Petrograd, was most of the Ukrainian lands: Kharkiv, Ekaterinoslav, Kherson and Taurian province).

6. Was not even mentioned the autonomy of Ukraine and that this issue will consider All-Russian Constituent Assembly of others.

Thus, although V. Vynnychenko called the " Guidelines " as "puny piece of paper" and CC, according to its own resolution was not going to do it, but only took note, the publication "Guidelines" Provisional Government was "cynical, shameless destruction of the agreements, real intent tear from its hands all Ukrainians Resolutions achievements "(V. Vynnychenko). It rejected the regimentation of relations between Ukraine and Russia in the legal field and opened up space for the arbitrariness of the Provisional Government. Thus, between Central Council and the Provisional Government exacerbated the contradictions brewing conflict. There was a specific situation where the Central Council had no real power to categorically reject, denounce the user, and the Provisional Government was unable to implement it in practice.

Another conflict between CR and the Provisional Government came in autumn 1917 on the application for the convening of a constituent assembly nationwide. Provisional Government threatened to dissolve the CC and called for an explanation to Petrograd V.Vynnychenko (was ordered to begin the investigation and, if necessary, to arrest and bring to trial a number of secretaries). Cooperation of Kyiv and Petrograd was almost impossible, but this confrontation was interrupted by the Bolshevik armed uprising, during which the Provisional Government was overthrown

(V. Vynnychenko, who at that time came to Petrograd, no longer had to give explanations).

So, peaceful period of the Ukrainian revolution, reached the end.

Bolshevik uprising and the fall of the Provisional Government partially solved old problems, but at the same time created new. One of the main - how to treat seizure of power in Petrograd Communist party led by Lenin?

CC initiated in Kiev "National Committee for the Protection of the Revolution in Ukraine", which included representatives of various political forces in the day of armed revolution. The situation was rather complicated, characterized by contradictions three political parties:

1. Supporters of the Provisional Government, which was a base headquarters KVO.
2. The Bolsheviks, who, backed by the Soviets of Workers, Peasants and Soldiers' Deputies attempted to seize power in Ukraine.
3. Ukrainian national forces grouped around CC.

Fierce fighting between the first two political parties continued at the end of October in Kiev. Central Council failed at this critical time to master the situation, to disarm the Bolshevik troops.

Central Council adopted a resolution on power in the country two days after the Bolshevik coup in Petrograd, which emphasized the need for the transfer of power "in the hands of all revolutionary democracy" and not to the council, which "are a part of the revolutionary democracy." Conclusion Central Council resolution was as follows: "Ukrainian Central Council opposes the uprising in Petrograd and vigorously fight with all sorts of efforts to support the rebellion in Ukraine."

Consequently, the Central Council opposed the monopoly of power of the Bolshevik Party, which she established in Russia.

In these difficult political environment Central Council shall adopt its the **III Universal** (November 20, 1917), which proclaimed the formation UNR within 9 provinces (Kyiv, Volyn, Chernihiv, Poltava, Kharkiv, Katerynoslav, Kherson, Tauride / without Crimea /). Joining other

lands: Holm, Kursk, Voronezh provinces, where most of the population was Ukrainian, was to take place according to the will of their inhabitants.

In addition, the Third **Universal** announced:

1. All power in Ukraine belonged to the Central Council and its General Secretariat of the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly (Decree Elections appointed to them on December 27, and convocation - January 9).

2. Private property abolished by the landlord, unit, monastery, and to the Church proclaimed ownership of land and all working people.

3. 8-hour workday Installed.

4. State control on production industry Introduce.

5. Push speedy peace.

6. The death penalty abolished and amnesty for political prisoners proclaimed

7. Rights of local governments strengthened and spread.

8. Universal democratic freedoms: speech, press, religion, assembly, unions, strikes, personal integrity and lodging possibilities of local languages in relations with all agencies were fixed.

9. Rights of Russians, Jews, Poles right to national personal autonomy and the free development of all other nations living in Ukraine are granted.

10. The obligation to save from starvation not only Ukrainian people, but the front and large parts of the Republic of others.

Thus, the Third Decree was an act of great historical importance: Ukrainian people officially declared the revival of their own country. His program was declared a total restructuring of Ukraine on a new basis, with new laws and economy. M.Hrushevsky in a number of scientific papers ("What we want autonomy and federation?", "Free Ukraine", etc.). Repeatedly pointed out that the road to independence Ukraine goes through the national-territorial autonomy within the Russian Federation Assessing given historical period.

Ukrainian People's Republic proclaimed by the III Decree was an important historical event that marked the revival of the statehood of Ukraine in the twentieth century. However, this did not happen because the Central Council proclaimed the establishment of the Federal People's Republic of communication with the Russian state. According to historian D. Doroshenko, Ukraine in November 1917 would "... completely separate from Russia to become a separate and independent state." However, the main cause of drama UCR, as indicated historian V. Smoliy resins, has been the political nature of the Central Council with its ideas of autonomy and federalism.

The Bolsheviks in Ukraine could hope to win only by external aggression because they did not have adequate support among the Ukrainian people. A clear indication of this is the result of contemporary democratic elections to the All-Russian Constituent Assembly - the Communists in Ukraine voted only 10% of voters (mostly industrial centers Donbass, Katerynoslav, Kharkov, etc.), and for the Ukrainian party - 75%.

The Bolshevik coup attempt in Kiev December 12, 1917 failed. Kyiv Military Revolutionary Committee headed by L. Piatakov was dissolved and the faithful of the Bolsheviks disarmed and shipped outside the UNR.

On 17th of December local Bolsheviks made an attempt to seize power of Ukraine, this time they were acting by using legal methods. In this situation they were planning to gain majority and proclaim Soviet power in Ukraine. However, this attempt failed as well, among 2500 delegates only 124 supported Bolsheviks. Congress approved resolution concerning support of the Central Council, and decided that it is inappropriate to re-elect its membership, since on 9th of January a nationwide constituent assembly have planned to be held, according to which Central Council should transmit power.

On decision to support Central Council also has influenced fact that on eve of 17th of December Russian RNK sent to Ukrainian authority ultimatum that was signed by Lenin and Trotsky, which , on the one hand, was recognized by UPR and , on the other hand, made a gross interference in its internal affairs. "We blame Council- was mentioned in ultimatum.- Under the guise of national phrases, uncertain bourgeois politics was held, which was defined as non-recognition of "Soviets" Council and Soviet

authority in Ukraine for the long time. The ultimatum contained four requirements for the UPR:

1. To refuse from the disorganization of the front, the resulted in recall and relocation of parts and destruction of the front without understanding with Russia.

2. To stop disarmament of Bolsheviks units in Ukraine.

3. Do not let Cossacks' formation to Don to pass through Ukrainian territories [chieftain Kaledin did not recognize Lenin's Sovnarkom]

4. To permit Bolsheviks troops to pass through the Ukrainian territories to the Southern Front.

Russian RNA demanded to achieve positive respond in 48 hours and in case respond would not sent, Russia threatened that it will maintain Congress in state of war against soviet authority on Russia and Ukraine.

Central Council gained support of gathering of Congresses in Kiev, which qualified the ultimatum as an aggression against the UNR have rejected harassment of Russia, notifying that it is impossible to recognize a rights of self-determination "up to separation" and make a rude attempt on this right by imposing their own forms of political order within the state, which defined itself : 'Until there are, in Velykorosii, growing of anarchy and devastation of economy, politics and household, since there is a domination of gross tyranny and destruction of all freedoms, which revolution had wrested from tsarist, General Secretariat does not recognize need to repeat this sad attempt on the territory of Ukrainian people". As it could be seen, a worthy respond in very calm tone, which aimed on the establishing of compromise.

It was obvious that the Russian Bolsheviks authority was looking for a reason for the start of war with Ukraine by using demagogic and unacceptable demands. (Interesting fact that among accusations of Central Council was one that stated that Central Council refused to convene the Congress of Soviets - when there could not be obvious that it was opened in day of ad of ultimatum to Ukraine. Thus, 5th of December, 1917 the UNR, actually, was in state of war with soviet Russia

Meanwhile, the Bolshevik Congress of Soviets in Kiev (124 pers.), leaving it moved to Kharkov, where the protection of Soviet troops alternative Congress of Soviets was hastily organized. It was about 200 delegates representing 89 Councils (with more than 300 existing in Ukraine). Despite the fact that Congress was incompetent, he was a Bolshevik scenario December 25, 1917 took the following decisions:

1. To approve the October armed uprising in Petrograd and policies of People's Commissars.
2. To declare the establishment of Soviet power in the UPR.
3. Choose the Central Executive Committee of Soviets in Ukraine.

Central Executive Committee formed People's secretariat - the Soviet government (it is characteristic that, conscious of its weakness, the Bolsheviks in Ukraine tried to Soviets national traits. Imitating the Central Council, they are still called socialist state not as Ukrainian People's Republic and the government - not "Council of People's Commissars, "and" People's secretariat. "Chairman of the Central Executive Committee appointed not Bolshevik Russophile G. Pyatakov and left social democrat Y. Medvedev, etc.).

Therefore, the proclamation of Soviet power in Ukraine, despite its illegitimacy, enabled the Soviet Russia to cover aggressive military action against the UPR as an aid in the fight against Soviet power on the Central Council. The main reason for aggression against the Soviet of Ukraine - it does not give the UPR sovereignty, independence.

Beginning of January 1918 was characterized by very complex political situation in Ukraine. Soviet Russian Army under the command of Antonov-Ovseenko launched a general offensive of the UPR. Its population, according to various estimates, was between 35 and 60 thousand people. This attack had all the signs of aggression and occupation. Rather listen to the notorious order №14 one of the Bolshevik commanders Murav'ev: "This power we are in the far north on the blades of their bayonets, and where it is set, in every way support it by force of bayonets." Bolshevik attack supported the Red Guards (about 100 thousand). In many cities there were uprising soldiers who were Bolsheviks and Red Guards



[Odessa, Ekaterinoslav, Nikolaev, Kherson and others]. During January Bolsheviks forces occupied almost the entire Left Bank Ukraine.

In these difficult circumstances that ruined all the plans of the UPR, including convening on January 9 Ukrainian Constituent Assembly before the Central Council was facing three main challenges:

1. To mobilize and to organize the Ukrainian people for ontime aggressor.
2. Formally distance themselves from the Bolshevik regime.
3. Create conditions for independent negotiations with Germany and its allies.

The the **IV Universal**, adopted during the meeting of the Small Council by roll-call vote after a three-day debate on January 22, 1918, became an attempt to implement these tasks.

In the **IV Universal** was stated the full breakdown of Ukraine by four years of war. The Bolshevik army was blamed for robbery and violence. On the instruction of Petrograd it intruded Ukraine and “wages bloody struggle with our nation and the Republic” and so on.

According to this the Central Rada in the **IV Universal**:

1. Proclaimed the UNR independent, free and sovereign state of Ukraine nation that wants to live in harmony and friendliness with all neighbors.
2. Laid on the higher executive board named the Rada of People’s Ministers to lead peace negotiations in Brest-Litovsk quite independently and settle amicably for UNR to start its economics in peace and consent, to disband army and on its place to create people’s militia.
3. Proclaimed firmly and resolute struggle against Bolsheviks.
4. Promised after return of the soldiers from fronts to re-elect county and district soviets, town council, and before it to implement such a power to which all revolutionary-democratic sections of the population can entrust.
5. Stressed that the law about socialization and transferring of the land to work people without redemption fee is already developed and it would be studied at the IX sitting of Ukrainian Central Rada in a few days,

and the transfer of land would be made at the beginning of spring-field works. Forests, waters and minerals had to pass into the ownership of UNR.

6. Gave instruction to the Rada of People's Ministers to start immediately the transferring of all factories and plants from martial to peaceful law, for manufacturing products necessary for people, for taking in hands the most important spheres of trade, monopolization of iron, coal and tobacco industry, implementation of state control of all banks.

7. Proclaimed the struggle with unemployment and policy for social support of all invalids and victims of war.

8. Recognized valid all freedoms proclaimed by the Decree III and the rights of all nations in UNR for nationally personal autonomy.

9. Call people for the most attentive holding of the election to the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly that could undertake the function of liberty, the order and welfare of the nation etc.

Therefore, the proclamation of the IV Universal signified the ending of the evolution of Ukrainian national movement from autonomism-federalism to independence and to the total rupture with imperial centre.

In general the proclamation of the independence of Ukraine by the Decree IV just at the beginning of 1918 in a certain degree is logical, because exactly then profiting by the weakening of Russian imperial center their independence proclaimed Lithuania (December, 1918), Estonia and Latvia (February, 1918), Byelorussia (March, 1918), Armenia and Georgia (May, 1918) and other.

The adoption of the IV Universal, of course, was dictated by the necessity of making peace with the Quarter Alliance and also it was an evidence that the leaders of Ukrainian National Movement burned-out in opportunity of mutual understanding with Russian socialist forces concerning the satisfying of requirements of Ukrainian national rights. According to the words of M. Hrushevsky "Our orientation to Moscow, to Russia" burned in the flames of fires caused by Bolsheviks bombardment of Kyiv.

In December 15th of 1917 year Soviet Russia and countries of Quadruple Alliance (Germany, Austro-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria) was signed a truce. Being in attempt to strengthen proper internal position

and not to lose the chance of legalization and recognition of Ukrainian national identity on international stage, Secretary General's Office in December 24th addressed a note to all belligerent powers, which claimed that as far as the regime of Soviet People's Commissar does not spread on Ukrainian territory, any manifestation claimed by Soviet Russia will not be legal for Ukraine without recognition of UNR's authority. In such a way it was claimed that UNR "starts its proper way to independent international relations before the time when Russia create nation-wide federal authority" In response to that claim authorized representatives of German bloc agreed to participate in negotiation of UNR's delegation.

In January of 1918 the negotiations of UNR's delegation started. Ukrainian delegation was headed by V. Golubovych (the head of new government, which was formed after proclamation of the **IV Universal** act). The head of Soviet Russia delegation L. Trotsky was forced to recognize the independent state of UNR's representatives in negotiations, while the representatives of Kharkov "People's Secretariat" has entered Russian delegation.

Later UNR's delegation in Brest was headed by O. Sevryuk. In February 9th of 1918 year UNR and countries of German block signed an Agreement (As it was a lack of time to prepare a good quality document, Austro-Hungary representatives proposed to sign a short agreement in general terms with Appendix, which should be improved by commissions. UNR's delegation has denied such a proposal at the first time. But as a result of occupation of Kyiv by Bolsheviks Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was officially signed in quite nervous, tense atmosphere in the night of February 9th in 2 a.m. even without Ukrainian translation. Such a work in such unconventional situation couldn't make any impact on Agreement's text. Legally speaking it worth to be criticized. Many of its articles were full of nebulosity and varia leclio, juridical and actual inaccuracy. Ukrainian translation had been making in a hurry already after agreement ratification and wasn't perfect too.

**The main points of Brest-Litovsk Treaty were:**

1. In introductory passage the independency of UNR was recognized.
2. In capacity of the borders between Austro-Hungary and UNR were proclaimed the same borders which existed between Russian and

Austro-Hungarian empires before the year of 1914th, i.e. all the territory of Galicia, Transcarpathian, Northern Bukovina belonged to Austro-Hungary, but all the territory of Chelm Land and Podlachia was back to Ukraine.

3. Rehabilitated diplomatic and consular relations.
4. It was scheduled exchange of prisoners of war.
5. Rejected any damages compensation.
6. Pointed out the duty of parties to develop business relationships, to conduct interchange residues of agricultural and industrial goods on the basis of the state.
7. Small exchanges of goods within the 15-kilometer border zone were permitted. Provision customs privileges.

The same day, the 9th of February, was signed Ukraine-German agreement. Three days later concluded similar bilateral agreements between additional UPR and Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and the UPR, the UPR and Turkey. In a secret annex to the peace agreement between the UPR and Austria-Hungary were recorded division Galicia in Ukrainian and Polish parts and be united with Eastern Galicia Bukovina in one continuous "crown land" of the Austrian Empire. (But then Austria revoked the treaty). Under these agreements UPR undertook obligations during the first half of 1918 put Germany and Austria-Hungary 60 million tons of grain, 2750 thousand tons of meat, 400 million of eggs and other agricultural and industrial raw materials. February 17 the delegation of UPR with M. Lyubinsky on behalf of the Central Council requested the German side to "help the Ukrainian people in the hard struggle for existence." Central Council hoped that this assistance will be given to the introduction of two divisions in Ukraine (about 30 thousand). Formed of Ukrainian prisoners of war, but Germany and Austria-Hungary launched a large-scale attack by 450,000th army.

In early March 1918 the Central Council returned together with the German and Austrian troops in Kyiv. Ukraine was liberated from the Bolsheviks. But it was a so-called "Pyrrhic victory."

Consequently, another tragic page in the history of Ukraine has opened - "independent" life under occupation regime (Germans uncontrolled sway in Ukraine, given its own regulations that were binding in Ukraine). Gradually losing power remains, the Central Council has

lasted until April 29, 1918, when Ukraine held Hetman coup and came to power Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky.

## **2. Hetmanate of Skoropadsky.**

April 29, 1918 the All-Ukrainian Congress of grain growers (about 8 thousand of people) the honorary ataman of Free Cossacks General Paul Skoropadsky was declared the Hetman of Ukraine. Central Council was dissolved and Ukraine launched a new state formation - Hetmanate "Ukrainian state."

The revolution occurred almost in bloodless way (several officers of the Hetman's squad were killed in the short firefight with Sich Riflemen, who soon went over to the Skoropadsky).

What provided a bloodless nature of Hetman revolution?

1. Significant errors made by the Central Council, deprived the support of the masses:

- a) hesitation in strategic political orientations;
- b) inconsistency of tactical actions;
- c) unjustified concessions and compromises;
- d) delays in solving urgent social and economic problems;
- e) ignoring and disregard for the representatives of the propertied classes;
- f) not very favorable attitude toward the church and clergy;
- g) not full awareness of the need of creation of efficient national army, etc..

2. Support of P. Skoropadsky German-Austrian army numbering 450,000 people, because Central Rada did not follow commitments of Brest-Litovsk for the supply of food and raw materials Germany and its allies.

3. The difficult economic situation in Ukraine (after 4 years of World War I, 8 months of "cold war" of the Central Council with the Provisional Government and more than 60 day of "hot war" against the Bolsheviks, the result was the impoverishment of the peasants, the fall in industrial

production, destruction of transport, communications etc. One can agree with the conclusion of the P. Skoropadsky: "Fights and anarchy continues in Ukraine, economic collapse and unemployment are increasing and spreading with each passing day and finally for the rich Ukraine terrible ghost of hunger is rising").

4. The split in the political forces of Ukraine, which had a majority in the Central Council. In spring of 1918 the most numerous party of Ukrainian Social Revolutionaries was close to collapse, which happened in May 1918. Almost the same fate befell the USDRP - "Ukrainian Bolsheviks" came from it and left Social Democrats, later Independents and others.

5. At the same time due to the coincidence of the objective and subjective circumstances, rapidly rising the role of Ukrainian democratic grain growing party, which became the mainstay of P. Skoropadsky, etc.

The purpose of the Hetman revolution:

1. To stop the process of government paralysis, which was rapidly gaining pace (power of the Central Council was limited to Kyiv and neighborhood).

2. To prevent disorganization and degradation of society, which inevitably led to social disaster.

3. To end with radical transformations, including case about the private property and so on.

4. To establish state authority that is able to "ensure the public peace, law, and possibility of creative work" (P. Skoropadsky).

To generalize forces relied on Hetmanate of P. Skoropadsky, we can distinguish:

1. Everyone who had private property, who had something to lose (landowners, the bourgeoisie, prosperous peasants, etc.).

2. Free Cossacks.

3. Pro-Russian imperial forces that saw in the mode of P. Skoropadsky hope for the revival of "one and indivisible Russian Empire".

4. The old bureaucracy, mostly Russified, which sought stability and to return old norms of life etc.

Thus, if the Central Council relied in its activities to left-wing forces (in its composition were mainly party of socialist direction), the Hetmanate of P. Skoropadsky was based on the support of right-wing forces. The ideological platform of the forces that led to power P. Skoropadsky was summarized in the "Letter to the entire Ukrainian people", signed on 29 April. Prerogatives of its power were assigned in the "Law about temporary state system", also released April 29, 1918:

1. Hetman appointed ataman (Council of Ministers Chairman).
2. Approved and canceled the coalition government.
3. He performed the highest official in foreign affairs.
4. He was the supreme commander.
5. Announced an amnesty, and war or emergency.

The foregoing shows that the essence of state regime of Hetmanate was to modify democratic parliamentary form of government to an authoritarian, that was the transition of supreme power, both legislative and executive, in the hands of one person - the Hetman Skoropadsky.

So the Hetman revolution was an attempt of conservative political forces to extinguish the flames of revolution, to put an end to radical social mood, with the strength of the government and with the moderate reforms to direct social life on the rails of law, first of all to provide the right of private ownership "as the foundation of culture and civilization."

The achievements of the Hetmanate of P. Skoropadsky were:

1. Restoration of the right of private property and free enterprise.
2. Setting the current administration, to gain experience of the civil service. Reforming higher judicial authorities through the State Senate. Creating a new law enforcement bodies - the State Guard, which combined police and gendarmerie functions.
3. Strict government regulation of industry, transport, trade and communication in conditions of acute economic crisis, the fight against local anarchy and disorganization of production.

4. Establishing of normal monetary circulation, improving the monetary system (Ukrainian currency has been provided with natural resources and mainly sugar); formation of the state budget, opening of Ukrainian banks, joint-stock companies, Exchange Commission and more.

5. Organization of accurate Border and customs.

6. Attempts to establish a strong middle class of peasant proprietors as social support of Hetmanate.

7. The Law about the general military duty was adopted and developed a plan of organization of the army, which had to be numbered over 300 thousand of pers. (8 of the Army Corps). Creation of training center for the Army (Military Academy 4 cadet school: 2 military schools for officers of infantry and one for cavalry, artillery and technical services). Initiation of development of the Ukrainian Navy. Guards convivial Division of serduks (National Guard) was formed with boys from wealthy families of grain-growers from Poltava as exemplary units. Practical steps to restore Cossack traditions, formation of free Ukrainian Cossacks who had to be a kind of military reserve

8. The recognition de jure and de facto sovereignty of the Ukrainian state from nearly two dozens of countries. Signing preliminary (previous) peace treaty with Russia, under which Soviet Russia officially recognized the Ukrainian state.

Demarcation line was set, developed trade relations. Negotiating with the Crimea, which had become an autonomous part of Ukraine, and Romania regarding Bessarabia. Creation of quite wide network of Ukrainian embassies. General Consulate, consulates and consular agencies in more than 20 countries.

9. Further steps to Ukrainianization of public education and increasing the authority of the state Ukrainian language (courses of Ukrainian studies for teachers was open Ukrainian elementary schools was established, 50 new Ukrainian state secondary schools was open, 150 Ukrainian gymnasiums (not instead of Russian, but next to them), a broad program of textbook and other books in Ukrainian). The concern about the development of science, the foundation of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and Ukrainian scientific publications. Significant expansion of the



network of national higher education: Ukrainian Kyiv State University, Odessa Polytechnic, Kyiv Architectural, Kyiv Clinical, Kyiv Higher Technical, Odessa Agricultural Institute and others were opened.

10. Giving impetus to theatrical life in Ukraine, a State National Theatre, the State Drama Theater, Youth Drama Theater, Railway Theater, Kherson Ukrainian Drama Theater, Drama Conservatory, State Drama School, directing-instructor courses were founded. Significant contribution to the development of national musical culture, Music Drama Institute of M.V. Lysenko, the first national opera in Kharkiv., The first children's opera, The First Ukrainian National Choir, State Symphony Orchestra of M.V. Lysenko, State Capella of bandurists, Kiev concert bureau were created. New library and museums were established - the National Library, Cherkassy Museum, Museum of Church history and the archaeological community.

11. Increased authority of the Orthodox Church, giving it the status of the Exarchate and autonomy within the RPU; the beginning of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church.

As for failures of Hetmanate Skoropadsky, they were as follows:

1. Return of landlords to their estates and "knock-out" the compensation from farmers for the damage caused to the estate. Punitive expeditions to the village to get the desired amount of food to pay Germany for military assistance.

2. The Law on facilities of fight against disruption of agriculture, which allowed to use implements of peasants by force in estates . Unresolved agrarian question in practice.

3. Lockouts Act (Recovery Act 1905 the Russian Empire), i.e. the prohibition of strikes, leading to significant limitation of democracy. The increase in working hours to 12 hours.

4. Occupation of bureaucratic positions by Russians (mostly), most of them were members of the government of the Russian Cadet Party. Restoration of pre-administrative system that existed in tsarist regime: Return to the provinces, districts and counties, the abolition of urban and rural authorities.

5. Erroneous reliance only on rich and wealthy people, the lack of political flexibility.

6. Failed to hold mobilize. Failed to implement their own plans to create a sufficiently efficient army (managed to create only 60 thousandth army).

7. Blocking of the constitutional process.

8. High dependence on the German-Austrian military administration. Targeting only on the state of the German unit. The failed attempt to start relations with the Entente.

9. Dominance in Ukraine of monarchist-minded Russians who had negative attitude to the independence of the Ukrainian state, acting with intent of restoration "one and indivisible" Russia.

10. The actual lack of effective counteraction to destructive actions and promotion of Bolshevik forces in Ukraine.

11. The adoption of the Act of Federation with future non-Bolshevik Russia

Thus, the Hetmanate of P. Skoropadsky, as we see, had the achievements and failures. Emphasize that with "Act of federation with Bolshevik Russia" Hetman negated the main achievements towards nation-building, because this "act" actually meant canceling the formal independence of Ukraine.

### **3. Directory.**

In May 1918 the party of socialist orientation formed opposition to Hetman Skoropadsky - Ukrainian national state union (from August - Ukrainian National Union, in September led by V. Vynnychenko). November 13 at the secret meeting of UNS was decided to prepare an armed revolt against Skoropadsky and for guidance of uprising was established temporary body - Directory (named by analogy with the Great French Revolution, in which in 1795 after the overthrow of the Jacobin dictatorship was established directory numbering 5 person). A Directory included 5 persons: B. Vynnychenko, social democrat, chairman; S. Petliura, the social democrat; F. Shvets, socialist revolutionary; P. Andrievsky, socialist-independentist; A. Makarenko, non-partisan.

The main center of concentration of antyhetman forces became Bila Cerkva. The largest battle was held under Motovylivka November 18, 1918, where troops of Hetman suffered a crushing defeat and the question of power was almost resolved. December 14, 1918 Hetman P. Skoropadsky renounces power, and it passes completely into the hands of the Directory, which is December 19 arranges triumphal parade of winners at St. Sophia square in Kyiv.

Thus, after the victory of antyhetman rebellion Directory was formally to resign. However, restoring the UNR, it did not regain the Central Council, because it lost its popularity among the masses. December 26, 1918 Directory announced very important document, which some researchers call "the Interim Constitution of Ukraine", the Declaration, in which:

1. For the first time after its formation clear announced its key program goals and factors for their implementation.

2. The attempt of identity was made - Directory declared itself "the supreme authority of the revolutionary time", though (functions and powers were not clearly defined), noting its temporality and willingness to transfer its rights and powers to working people of independent UNR.

3. It was officially notified of the convening of the Congress of the working people of Ukraine which was a "revolutionary representation of organized working masses" and regarded as a temporary preparliament.

4. Proclaimed a number of "standard" socio-economic slogans, including: a) working control; b) the fight against speculation;

- c) "the best form of social reform, which reached the Western European labor democracy; g) "national harmony and friendly combination of working democracy of all nations that inhabit the Ukrainian land," and so on.

5. Abolished all laws and regulations of the Hetman government's in the sphere of working policy : recycled 8-hour day, collective agreements, right of strikes and coalition.

6. Small peasant land tenure remained immutable and the rest of land had to go in the use of landless and smallholder farmers.

7. Restored national personal autonomy.

8. Deprived of the right to vote "classes unearned" (a problem with whether to count labor class representatives of the intelligentsia, including lawyers, doctors, journalists, etc.).

For socialist phrases and journalistic form of Declaration hint figure of its author V.Vynnychenko.

December 26, 1918 was formed the first government of the Directory, which was led by the Social Democrat V. Chekhivsky. In the government was 6 Ukrainian Social Democrats, 4 Ukrainian Social-Revolutionaries and the Social independentist, 3 Social Federalists, a Jewish Social Democrat and one non-party.

According to instructions of January 5, 1919, elections to Congress of Working People of Ukraine (KTNU) were held. 593 delegates, including 65 from ZUNR were selected. Delegates elected on the basis of curial system, from farmers - 377, from the workers - 118, from the labor intelligentsia - 33 and others. It should be noted that, unlike the Bolsheviks, who in the Constitution (July 1918) enshrined the principle: one vote worker is five voices farmers, leaders of the Directorate considered all voices equal.

January 22, 1919 at St. Sophia's Square was solemnly proclaimed the Act of Unification of Ukraine (Unification of UNR and ZUNR). KTNU adopted "Law on the form of government in Ukraine", which was too imperfect (hastily prepared during the meetings of the Congress on the basis of fractional resolutions) and contained a lot of declarative rules. This law confirmed the status of the Directory as a supreme power (temporary) up to the convening of "following" sessions of Labor Congress and its powers to make laws that were subject to approval by the session of Congress. KTNU became public body of young Ukrainian parliamentarism, the last attempt of Democratic Choice.

The first week of stay in power Directory were also period of its highest triumph, and then its strength was steadily deteriorating. Intervention of Bolshevik army in Ukraine started (November 17, 1918 in Kursk was created Ukrainian military revolutionary council, and November 20 - Temporary Workers and Peasants Government of Ukraine). January 3,

1919 the Red Army occupied Kharkiv Bolshevik republic was formally named - Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR), head of the Soviet government January 29, 1919 became the Bulgarian H.Rakovsky.

Soviet puppet the government of Ukraine headed by Rakovsky pursued the same policy as the Russian government - a policy of "war communism":

- dictatorship of the Communist Party, the formation of extraordinary authorities - the revolutionary committees and committees of the poor;
- nationalization of industry, finance, communications;
- strict centralization of production and distribution of goods;
- state monopoly on industrial goods, prohibition of private trade and the transition to the direct exchange of goods;
- general labor service;
- card system, the distribution of products due to class lines (more for workers);
- introduction of requisitioning, which meant the transition to forced removal of necessary to the state food from peasants . For the grain requisitions created food groups that operated with punitive methods;
- "Red Terror" against real and potential opponents of Bolshevism.

The policy of "war communism" was caused not only by extremely difficult circumstances that have arisen during the Civil War, but by the plans of the Bolsheviks to make easily the world revolution and to move from commodity and money relations in the economy without a market and money.

Bolshevik policy caused widespread public discontent in Ukraine, wide peasant resistance movement unfolded, in the Red Army is growing discontent .

Chairman of the Ukrainian government B. Chekhivsky sent three notes (31 December, 3 and 4 January) to the Council of People's Commissars with question: "What are the reasons for the Russian Soviet army to attack the territory of the UNR?". In response January 6, 1919 in Kyiv came radiotelehrama signed by People's Commissar for Foreign

Affairs G.Chicherin, which demagogic stated: "There is no Soviet troops in Ukraine. Military action in Ukrainian territory held between the troops of the Directorate and the troops of the Soviet Ukrainian government, which is completely independent. " Ukrainian delegation headed by S. Masurenko went to Moscow to negotiate. While negotiations were lasted Bolshevik forces attacked. Only at the forty second day of undeclared aggression - January 16, Directorate formally declared war with the RSFSR. But the forces were unequal, and February 2, Directorate moved to the Vinnitsa, and on February 5, Soviet troops occupied Kyiv (held till August 30, 1919).

Unsuccessful search for a reliable foreign policy support is continuing. State Conference in Vinnitsa decided to negotiate with the Entente. Upon request of Entente to withdraw from Directorate V. Vynnychenko, S. Petliura as the main leaders of the Bolshevik course, February 9 V. Vynnychenko comes out from the Directorate, S. Petliura - from the Social Democratic Party and the government of V. Chekhov resigns. Since that time period begins so-called "derivative rooms", which was led in turn by S. Ostapenko, B. Martos, Ivan Mazepa, V. Prokopovich, and place of location of government were Vinnitsa, Proskuriv, Kamenets Podolsky, Rivne.

November 15 1919, Directorate transferred its authority to S. Petliura, who actually became a dictator (May 9 he had been elected chairman of the Directorate). Denikin threatened Kamenetz-Podolsk, so the government of the UNR went north to Chortoryia. It was agreed that continuing regular war was impossible. Condition of Army, which was in the triangle of death (the White, Bolshevik and Polish army) was awful: soldiers, weakened by heavy fighting, extremely early frost, emaciated, naked, hungry, were victims of epidemics, especially typhus. UGA has turned into a real hospital.

This catastrophe intensified the contradictions between the leaders of the UNR and ZUNR. One of the generals of UGA General M. Tarnavsky signed with Denikin an agreement about the transition of Galician Army at the disposal of armed forces in Southern Russia (the White Army). This contract canceled Galician front. A few days after that to give up autonomy and seeking refuge in union with Poland or Denikin announced E.Petrushevycha.

In such circumstances, it was decided to move to the only possible form of continued support - to partisan warfare.

December 4, 1919 S. Petliura announced transition to partisan methods of warfare which was the final stage of the national liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people (Winter campaign of UNR troops, first - from December 1919 to May 1920, 2nd-November 1921).

The first winter campaign. The main objective of the Winter campaign was to preserve the Army on Ukrainian territory in the enemy rear, through guerrilla warfare. December 6, 1919 part of UNR army under the leadership of Omelianovych-Pavlenko and his assistant General J. Tyutyunnyk went to the rear of the Bolsheviks and Denikin's army, moving to South Ukraine. Quite a long time, the Army was on Yelysavethradschyna (now Kirovohrad), then moved close to the Dnieper, crossed in February 1920 on the left bank and came to Pereyaslav. Here it received orders from Petliura to return to the west 5 thousandth UNR army passed rear Whites and Reds about 2.5 thousand mile. Ukrainian population, overwhelmingly tuned it nicely, provided the army with all necessary because help from the front lines almost did not act.

S. Petliura, who faced a dilemma either lose all or to sacrifice the part, and through union with Poland 1) to win for Ukraine's independence; 2) to get the support of the Entente; 3) join forces of UNR and Poland to fight against the main threat - Bolshevik expansion, went to sign the intergovernmental agreement of Poland and the Ukrainian People's Republic (the Warsaw Pact or agreement Petliura-Pilsudsky).

According to the agreement in exchange for recognition of the independence of the UNR and military assistance, S.Petliura agreed to recognize the Ukrainian-Polish border by the river Zbruch and further to Pripyat to its mouth. According to the agreement Polish government of Pilsudsky refused intentions to expand the borders of Poland according to the borders of the Polish Pospolytoyi1772, and recognized the UNR. Poland got Eastern Galicia and 5 counties of Volyn , i.e. the territory that belonged to Austria-Hungary and Russia.

This agreement was symbolic meaning for UNR. Despite this, the government of Symon Petliura had to go to great concessions, because

already de facto boundaries set limits on location of Polish troops in Ukraine on River Zbruch. This meant a temporary renunciation of large ethnic Ukrainian territories of Galicia and Western Volhynia, of Woodlands, Lemko, Podlasie, Posyannya and Holm. This government decision Symon Petliura rated negatively some Ukrainian politicians of the time and most of the occupied Polish territories.

Under this treaty, Poland undertook obligations not to conclude international agreements against Ukraine. Guaranteed national and cultural rights of the Ukrainian population in Poland and Polish in Ukraine. The agreement concluded secretly, in fact, S.Petliura acknowledged the issue of Eastern Galicia as the Internal Affairs of Poland, and leveled union agreement between the UNR and ZUNR (1919). An integral part of the agreement was a military convention signed on April 24, 1920 by the Ukrainian General Vladimir Sinclair and representative of Polish military establishment Slavek, which included the beginning of Polish-Ukrainian military operations against Bolshevik forces in Ukraine. Their first winter campaign army of Omelianovych-Pavlenko finished on May 6, 1920, coming to areas controlled by the Poles. Here it merged with the regular troops of the UNR that participated in the Soviet-Polish war on the side of Poland.

Despite a number of setbacks, this campaign had a great significance. Even the fact of stay 5 thousandth Army behind enemy lines during the five months had great propaganda value: it testified that the liberation struggle does not stop, gave hope for a victory over the Bolsheviks and helped expand the network of uprisings.

According to military historians first winter campaign of UNR Army is the most heroic page of military art of the national liberation movement in Ukraine in 1917 - 1921 years, during which the Ukrainian army for the first time successfully applied partisan methods against numerous enemies. The most important goal was realized- UPR army was saved . Winter campaign gave examples of typical partisan war.

All participants of Winter campaign, who returned, were awarded with the Order of the Iron Cross, which in the system of commemorations Ukrainian troops occupied "categorically first place."



Desperate attempt to continue the armed struggle was made in November 1921 when the Government of UNR and its disarmed army was already in Poland. This attempt (Second Winter campaign or the November raid) made about 2 thousand volunteers - soldiers and officers of the UNR army led by general J.Tyutyunnik and J.Otmarshteyn. The strategic task of the operation was to raise a national uprising and to overthrow the Bolshevik regime in Ukraine. They crossed the Soviet-Polish border and headed deep into the Ukraine to raise massive anti-Bolshevik uprising.

Despite the fact that wide partisan peasant movement took place in Ukraine, general uprising, which Tyutyunnik hoped did not happen: under the influence of the NEP peasants leave the rebel groups and returned to their own land. A raid members, getting Korosten, Zhytomyr Region, were surrounded by the town Bazar and there on November 21 more than 350 people were shot dead. Escaped from the environment and got to the Polish border only 120 people. Thus tragically ended second winter campaign of UNR troops. It was the last armed intervention of UNR Army against Soviet power in Ukraine.

In October 1920, after the end of the Polish-Soviet war, the Polish government recognized the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and made with it the Riga Treaty of March 18, 1921 that actually canceled the Warsaw Pact. This Soviet-Polish agreement was signed against the UNR and against S. Petliura.

Behind it the border was set on the so-called Curzon Line, which in the 1919-1920 years Entente recognized as Poland's eastern border. The essence of the intentions of the parties good gave one of the leaders of the Soviet delegation, A. Joffe, who said to the head of the Polish delegation J. Dombovsky: "Russia realizes that Poland needs Galician oil, but for Russia Ukrainian grain is necessary».

Thus, the Peace of Riga completely buried an independence plan of Directory and "legalized" control of Soviet Russia over most of the territory of Ukraine and territory of Western Ukraine passed under Polish rule.

#### **4. Revolutionary developments of 1918 on West-Ukrainian lands.**

In the autumn of 1918 as the result of socio-economic, political and national conflicts, sharpened for the edge by the loss in World War I, the Austro-Hungarian Empire collapsed. On the political map of Europe, new sovereign states appeared: the Republic of Austria (12 November), the Western Ukrainian People's Republic (13 November), Czech Republic (November 14), Hungary (16 November), the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (1 December, 1929 Yugoslavia) and others. Thus, ZUNR was one of the first state formations that have arisen on the ruins of the so-called "patchwork" of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. This was preceded by important events that require at least a brief analysis.

October 18, 1918 in Lviv gathered representatives of all political forces of Ukrainian land, the so-called Ukrainian Konstytuanta (Constituent Assembly). By implementing the right of people to self-determination, Konstytuanta proclaimed itself a Ukrainian National Council of Parliament. It included 33 Ukrainian ambassadors to the Austrian Parliament, 34 deputies to Galician and 16 - to Bukovina boundary Sejm and 3 representatives from national - democratic, Christian-social and social-democratic parties and students. President of the National Council was elected Petrushevycha. October 19 was declared the creation of Ukrainian territories of the Austro-Hungarian Empire of Ukrainian state, however, as part of the monarchy, with which the older generation Galician politicians did not dare to break ties. The Great Illusion leading of Galician politicians was that the fate of the Western states decided in Vienna, to which the Ukrainian National Council delegation left. They hoped for a legitimate transfer of power by the grace of the emperor. Meanwhile in Krakow was established Polish liquidation committee, which had come to the Lviv on November 1, to take over power in the hands of Polish Galicia. Under these conditions delay of time from Ukrainian could be a disaster. So on the night of October 31 to November 1, led by Captain of USS D. Vitovsky authorities in Lviv was taken. Operation carried out instantly and without bloodshed. Was arrested the governor and city commandant, take control of all state institutions, barracks and other important items on Hall hoisted a blue-yellow flag. As part of Ukrainian military, which took power over two hundred thousandth of Lviv, was only about 2.5 thousand of people.

On the morning of 1 November Ukrainian National Council took power into their own hands. It issued a proclamation "Ukrainian people", which talked about the creation of an independent Ukrainian state in which "people are now ... master of his land."

November 9 meeting of the Ukrainian National Council was defined name of the state of the West Ukrainian People's Republic (ZUNR). It covers around 70 thousand km<sup>2</sup> from 6 million of Population (71% Ukrainian, 14% of Poles, 13% Jews and others). However, soon captured the Northern Bukovina by Romania and Transcarpathia by Czechoslovakia. Thus, ZUNR covers only the territory of Eastern Galicia with 4 million population.

On the same day (November 9) government was formed - the State Secretariat, which consisted of 14 state Secretariat (ministry). Chairman (Prime Minister) was elected K. Levitsky.

November 13 UN Rada adopted the "Provisional Basic Law of the Ukrainian state independence of former Austro-Hungarian Empire", which consisted of the following articles: title, borders, state sovereignty, state patronage, coat of arms and flag. This Act were assigned supremacy and sovereignty of the people, who had to carry them through their representative bodies elected by universal, equal, direct, secret voting by proportional representation. Emblem of ZUNR became golden lion on a blue field, flag - blue and yellow, anthem - the song "Already has risen Ukraine" ("Ukraine Has Not Yet Perished").

Power appeared easier to conquer than to keep. Polish ruling circles did not resigned with the formation of ZUNR. Already in the first days of November in the streets of the city ensued armed clashes between Ukrainian and Polish troops. The fighting took place with varying success, and on the night of November 22 Ukrainian units were forced to leave the Lviv. Government of ZUNR moved to Ternopil, and from January 1919 to Stanislaus. January 22, 1919 in Kyiv on St. Sophia's Square was solemnly proclaimed the Act of union of ZUNR and UNR. But the Unification Act was not implemented - both through complex military and international situation of the two republics, and through significant contradictions between governments of ZUNR and UNR on internal and external policies. And when the directory has chosen an alliance with Poland with which

ZUNR was at war, Y.Petrushevych December 4, 1919 denounced the act of Unification.

In July 1919 the Polish troops occupied Eastern Galicia. Government of ZUNR moved to Kamenetz-Podolsk in November - emigrated to Vienna. UGA moved into territory controlled by the Directory and joined the army of the UNR.

Persistent activity of ZUNR government in exile western for resolution question of West Ukraine question had not found international support. March 15, 1923 Entente Ambassadors Conference adopted a final decision on membership of Eastern Galicia of Poland, stopping, thus, the legal existence of ZUNR.

So heroic attempt Ukrainian of the people to gain freedom, to build their own state failed. However, the struggle was not in vain. Under conditions of permanent war devastation Government of ZUNR managed to establish land administration, to ensure the functioning of schools, post offices, telegraph, railway and take a number of laws: "About temporary administration and organization of the courts" (November 16, 1918), "About the state language" (15 November 1918), "About the implementation of civil rights and obligations" (April 8, 1919), "About land Reform" (April 14, 1919), "Law on Elections to the Seimas thirty unicameral People's Republic" (April 16, 1919), "About the eight-hour day" (April 12, 1919) and others. We should agree with the opinion of historian Ivan Lysiak-Rudnytsky that the value ZUNR is that "Galicia in 1918-1919 - is the only example in recent history of Ukrainian state law enforcement."

## **5. Reasons behind the defeat and the main lessons of the Ukrainian national-democratic revolution of 1917-1920.**

It should identify the main reasons for the defeat of the Ukrainian revolution of 1917-1920:

1. Weak social base of Ukrainian national movement as a result of incomplete social structure of the Ukrainian nation (no middle class, the industrial bourgeoisie, urban elements, etc.). From all social groups most nationally conscious was intelligentsia , but it was only 2-3% of the population.

2. Cities were not predominantly Ukrainian community because they were Russified and became the basis of influence of the Bolsheviks.

3. Ukrainian movement during the revolution was based on the two most changeable and fickle in political terms, social groups - soldiers and peasants. They were not politically mature enough, not grasped the idea of national independence in full and were easy to demagogic slogans of the Bolsheviks.

4. Leaders of the Ukrainian revolution failed to resolve the dilemma, what problems require urgent solutions: social (land, 8-hour day, etc..) or national liberation with that the Bolsheviks made use of.

5. Indecision on the issue of national independence, domination ideas of federalism and autonomy also hindered offensive tempo of Ukrainian revolution.

6. The lack of effective administrative apparatus in the field, a lack of trained personnel. Ukrainian leaders paid very little attention to the construction of their own government structures, expecting that in Russia come to power the moderate, democratic and federalist-minded forces.

7. Incomplete awareness of necessity to create efficient national army (especially the Central Council).

8. Social maximalism of leaders of the Ukrainian movement (particularly Directory) pushed away the revolution most of the potential accomplices which treated with caution socialist experiments.

9. In Ukraine, there was no strong centrist power, which would unite the political forces in the struggle for national independence (for example, the Central Council and the Directorate relied on left-wing forces, Hetman P. Skoropadsky - only on the right).

10. The lack of clear, not too difficult to understand, attractive and simple slogans; underestimation of the importance of propaganda and explanation of purposes of Ukrainian revolution among the people.

11. Ukrainian leaders were not taken over by the spirit of pragmatism and realism, but were in captivity of revolutionary romanticism and social utopianism.

12. The lack of unity among the leaders of the national movement (think of antagonism between the leaders of the Directory V. Vynnychenko and S. Petliura). Although the role of personality in the defeat of Ukrainian revolution should not be overestimated. We agree with the opinion V. Vynnychenko that "if (spring 1918) Alexander Macedonian or Napoleon revived and wanted to help the Central Council and the General Secretariat, it would not help."

13. State building, an attempt to self-determinate Ukraine took place not in a stable, peaceful atmosphere, but in terms of endless wars (enough to say that only in Kyiv government passed from hand to hand 14 times!). Ukraine was surrounded by hostile forces, without a single ally on the international arena, which would support its national competition.

14. The tragedy of the situation was and the fact that Entente refused to extend the principle of the right of nations to self-determination (14 points of American President W. Wilson are known) to the Ukrainian. Having declared its independence from Russia and concluding a separate peace with Germany and other countries of Quarter Union, Ukraine has automatically entered in the enemy camp of the victorious Entente others.

Consequently, the defeat of the Ukrainian revolution of 1917-1920. caused a variety of sources both internal and external nature. But speaking of the causes of the defeat, we should agree with pretty plausible opinion of Ukrainian diaspora historian Ivan Lysiak-Rudnytsky that "it would be wrong to speak about absolute failure of the Ukrainian revolution. It did not reach its ultimate goal, but it is internally reborn Ukraine society ..." and that "... there is no shame to be defeated in the fight for freedom. Conversely, failure would be a source of spiritual renewal from that could draw strength next generation, successors of the same struggle in the new historical stage."

## **CHAPTER 2. THE SOVIET FORM OF STATEHOOD (1921-1939).**

### **1. Social and political life in Ukraine in 20th years of XX cen.**

The liberalization of economic life was not accompanied by the restructuring of social and political relations. Political order in the country had little changed. The dictatorship of the proletariat, the Bolsheviks proclaimed, was actually a dictatorship of the party-state elite of the Bolshevik Party (CPSU (b)). CP (b) U as a state organization operated at the beginning of the 1920s and turned into the only legal political organization. All other parties were eliminated. This had negative consequences. In terms of the one-party system were essentially eliminated the possibility for alternative competition to develop the most efficient policy. Party monopoly generated peace, dogmatism. After the death of Vladimir Lenin (1924) position of General Secretary Joseph Stalin in the CPSU (b) decreased over the role of the party masses, gained unprecedented power party apparatus, and the Bolsheviks Party became the kernel of command-administrative system.

At the same time in the 1920's the role and authority of the Soviets was decreasing. Power concentrated mainly in the executive committee in the councils, and the last lost any independence and was completely under the control of party organs.

In 1920-ies Ukraine has about 60 voluntary social and mass organizations, but they were also under the control of the party, besides their number decreased.

Bureaucratic command system took precautions to protect themselves. All-Russian Extraordinary Commission of 1922 GPU (State Political Administration), vested with extraordinary powers and was also used to remove and eliminate all unwanted party-state system.

Simultaneously apparatus of administrative-command system, which was increasingly growing numerically, provided the extension not only of their powers, but also moral and material benefits. In 1920-ies were adopted specific regulations of central party responsible for improving the welfare of the party, government and commercial workers, increasing their salaries. Moreover, these categories and persons equated to them, their

families began to receive special rations, free housing, personal transport and so on.

2. Transition to the NEP and features of its implementation in Ukraine.

**Reasons for the transition to the NEP.** In late 1920 - early 1921 Bolshevik Russia and Ukraine appeared in a situation of deep economic, social and political crisis caused by:

hostilities that took place almost continuously for seven years;

policy of "war communism" that destroyed the foundations of the economy, paralyzed agriculture and resistance caused by the vast majority of people, especially the peasantry.

The economic crisis was reflected in the fact that:

industry was in a state of ruin. In 1921 industrial production in Ukraine was 1/10 of the pre-war level, metal - 5%, coal - 30% etc. ;

agriculture also was in a catastrophic state: compared to 1913 the sown area in Ukraine declined by a quarter, grain - a third. The situation was complicated by catastrophic drought in 1921 and the famine 1921-1923rr., which killed about 1 million of persons. Mass famine victims explain not only by drought but also by policies of the Bolsheviks, which indicates a first in the soviet history famine;

in Finance - complete inflation of money.

**The socio-political crisis was appeared in:**

the revolt of the peasantry against the policy of "war communism" began and, in particular, against the surplus. Rebel movement was covered almost all of Ukraine. Against the Soviets was the army of Makhno (about 15 thousand). In the rebel forces were about 40 thousand people at all;

difficult economic situation, food deprivation caused dissatisfaction with Soviet power by the workers which poured in various forms of protest, including strikes. Along with economic demands were put forward politic, including - "Soviets without Bolsheviks";

prevailing of crisis in the Bolsheviks party, which intensified debate on ways of further development.



Thus, the general crisis in the country forced the Bolsheviks in 1921 to move from the policy of "war communism" to the New Economic Policy (NEP).

The essence of the NEP. NEP provided for a partial return to a market economy, various forms of ownership, economic management of the economy.

However, the Bolsheviks saw the NEP as a necessary measure by which they could overcome the current difficulties and to achieve the ultimate goal - the building of communism.

Major changes in the NEP period:

1. In agriculture:

replacement of the surplus with tax in kind (was less than about 2 times and peasants known in advance);

permit of free trade with surpluses of agricultural products;

permission to lease land and to use hired labor.

In Ukraine this process was contradictory. The transition from surplus to tax in kind was almost not felt: tax in kind collected from the harvest of 1921, and it was not there, it was necessary to pass from the harvest in 1920 under the law of surplus. However, freedom of trade and refusal to requisition of peasant grain aroused interest in a more efficient conduct of its economy. NEP contributed to the development of agriculture: in 1925 agricultural output reached pre-war levels.

2. In industry:

sale by private owners and lease of small and medium enterprises. In the village were commissioned tens of thousands of dairies, different types of mills (steam, water, wind turbines), enterprises for the production of sausages, smoked meats, various pickles. In Ukraine were leased 5,200 companies - almost half of existing stock;

decentralization of industrial management. Many businesses were combined into trusts and transferred to cost accounting. The first trusts appeared in the autumn of 1921 both in heavy industry ("Donvuhillya", "Pivdenstal", "Pivdennorudnyy Trust"), and in the light ("Tekstyltrest", "Shkirtrest", "Himvuhillya", "Tsukortrest"). At the beginning of 1922

Ukrainian Council of national economy were subordinate of 24 trusts, which brought together about 450 all industries. To make a trade, procurement of raw materials, marketing of similar products were formed syndicates.

- elimination of general labor duties and leveling of wages;

- attracting of foreign capital in the form of concessions (in Ukraine was not concluded any concession agreement), mixed joint stock companies and others.

NEP stimulated the development of industry, the growth of labor productivity. In 1926 the main indicators of the level of light and food industry, which was largely in the hands of small businesses, were higher than pre-war. Instead, pace of development of heavy, which has been under state control industry become slower.

In the years 1925-1926 the volume of industrial production in Ukraine reached 99% of level in 1913.

### 3. In the field of trade and finance:

- rejection of the product distribution on cards from direct exchange of products and the transition to free sale. Develop three shops: cooperative, private, state,

- in large cities opened trade exchange;

- in the years 1922-1924 monetary reform was carried out: were issued convertible notes for ten rubles - banknotes and treasury notes worth 1, 2, and 5 rubles. It quickly strengthened monetary system, inflation subsided. Living standards increased.

Like any transition model, the NEP could not eventually stabilize economic development. Transformation of Reformation had positive consequences and manifestations of the crisis: the deepening stratification in society, the emergence of unemployment, growing social tensions, 1922-financial crisis, 1923 - sales crisis, 1924 - product hunger, 1925 - rising inflation and commodity famine, 1921-1923 - famine in Ukraine related to drought and policy grain.

The causes of coagulation of the NEP. NEP could not be long, because:

Communist Party initially considered the NEP as an emergency and temporary concession to capitalism, its strategic goal has remained unchanged - to build a communist society;

it was inconsistent with the policies of Stalin aimed to establish the country's totalitarian regime.

In the late 20's Stalinist leadership abandoned the NEP and passed to the command economy.

### **3. Industrialization in Ukraine**

1/ In December 1925 - embarked [im'ba:kt] on industrialization.

2/ Stages of industrialization:

I. (1926-1928, October)

- capital growth by 3-4 times compared to the years 1924-25;
- reconstruction of old assets;
- construction of small and medium enterprises ['entəpraiz];
- laying new power plants.

II. (1928, October -1932) - The First Five-Year Plan

•starting plan is not accepted (18% - annual growth of industrial production);

optimal plan adopted (20 - 22%);

the first year of The First Five-Year Plan – 32%;

the second year of The First Five-Year Plan – 45%.

•The main results:

established agricultural machinery (Kharkiv Tractor Plant, Zaporozhye factory "Communard" - produced grain harvesters, Kharkov factory "Hammer ['hæmə] and Sickle" - produced complex thresher);

expanded and upgraded metallurgical base (factories were built: "Zaporizhstal", "Steel Works", "Kryvorizhstal");

enhanced energy base of the country (Dnieper Hydroelectric Station – DniproHES);

unemployment was eliminated [i'limineit].

III. (1933 – 1937) - The Second Five-Year Plan

•16,5% - annual growth of industrial production;

•New buildings: steel plants in Mariupol, Krivoy Rog, Zaporozhye; Novokramatorsky Engineering Works; Kharkov pipe plant);

•rapidly growing light and food industries

#### IV. (1938-1941) –The Third Five-Year Plan

- decline in production;
- increase the allocation for defense;
- solving economic problems at the expense of social sector;
- Socialist competition.

#### **4. Collectivization in Ukraine**

1. In November 1929 - embarked on collectivization.

2. Stages of collectivization:

I. (November 1929-March 1930) – offensive.

•Comprehensive, accelerated, solid, with a maximum level of socialization;

•November 1929: Begins mobilization of workers - the 25000;

•December 27, 1929: Stalin declared policy of "liquidation of the kulaks as a class";

•peasant uprising;

•1500 terrorist attacks against representatives of Soviet power.

•January 5, 1930: Resolution of the Central Committee of the pace of collectivization and dispossession;

•on January 20, 1930 - 15.4% farms were collectivized in Ukraine;

•on March 1, 1930 – 62,8% farms were collectivized in Ukraine;

•increased tension in the relations between peasants and government;

•complaints in central government.

II. (March-September 1930) - backdown.

•March 1, 1930: Stalin's article "Dizzy with success" in the newspaper Pravda

•CPSU (b) adopted a resolution "On combating distortions of the Party line in the collective farm movement" on March 10, 1930, in which the entry of peasants into collective farms called entirely voluntary matter. Anyone who did not want to be farmers, could leave the farm.

•almost half of the farmers used the resolution to go with them.

- The level of collectivization, calculated on cropland declined from 70.9% to 34.1%.

- Share collectivized farms all farms decreased from 64.4% on March 10 to 28.7% on 1 October.

- Virtually all peasant proprietors, the Soviet terminology - middle, left the farms.

- They were poor farmer.

- In autumn 1930 the Stalinist state was faced with the need to conduct re-collectivization of agriculture.

III. (The second half 1930 – 1933) - new spiral of complete collectivization.

- This new offensive began with a directive "On collectivization", sent in September 1930, the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) all regional, Regional Committee and the Central Committee of the Communist republics.

- Ukraine received the task to double the level of socialization and during 1931 mainly finish complete collectivization critical agricultural areas.

- at the end of 1932 collective farms combined 70% of farms and 80% of acreage Ukraine.

- created MTS;

- August 7, 1932: The Law on the Protection of Socialist Property August 7, 1932: The Law on the Protection of Socialist Property (Law 5 ears of wheat);

- The Holodomor 1932-1933

IV. (1934-1937) - the final stage

- the autumn 1936: crop failures in many regions, leading to the famine in the winter and spring of 1937

- July 1937: Classified Stalin, who ordered to round up the kulaks and criminals who returned from exile.

- autumn 1937: Demonstration trials rural district leaders who have been accused of abuse of collective farmers, agricultural artel ordinance violation and sabotage

- at the end of 1937 collective farms combined 96,1% of farms and 99,7 % of acreage Ukraine (27,300 farms).

## **5. Formation of the USSR as new form of the Soviet statehood.**

According to the Constitution of 1919 Ukraine was considered formally independent state, was not part of any of the neighbors, had its organs of state power and administration, issued its laws, watched their performance. But its state sovereignty was extremely narrow. Ukraine implemented strict control of center in Moscow, which was provided by three forces - the RCP (b), part of which was the Communist Party (Bolsheviks), the Red Army and the Cheka executioners. Important attributes of sovereignty USSR lost during the Civil War with the conclusion of the military-political alliance, when military forces and control of commanding heights of the economy of the Soviet republics were united. Created Commissars combined military and naval forces, foreign trade, finance, labor, transport, post and telegraphs that were in direct subordination of SNK RSFSR. Similar agreements were concluded with Soviet Russia and other Soviet republics. This was a decisive step towards creating a single centralized state of Bolsheviks.

As the ruling party was the RCP (B) and CP (b) U was an integral part of it, so political leadership was shared. This made Ukraine completely dependent on the prevailing sentiment in the center.

Stages of Ukraine's accession to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This process has passed several stages:

June 1919 - December 1920;

December 1920 - December 1922;

December 1922 - May 1925.

**First stage:** the entry of Ukraine together with Russia, Belarus, Latvia, Lithuania to the military and political alliance (June 1919). With this alliance was formed general army, combined major Commissariat, developed during the war, only the financial system, the most important

laws of the RSFSR operated in Ukraine, although the status of independence states remained. Since these phenomena were not constitutionally designed, military-political alliance was the personification of the actual (rather than legal) forming of a single state.

There was a search for a model of the future Union during 1919-1920 pp. there were two commissions whose members could not give definitive answer to this question.

**Second round** of Ukraine's accession to the Union covers a two-year period, during which there was "negotiated federation" that started with the treaty between the RSFSR and USSR for military and economic alliance (end of Dec. 1920). Formally declared the independence and sovereignty of both countries, and in fact embarked on centralization: united and ruled from the Centre were not 5 as in the previous period, but 7 Commissariat. There were serious tensions in relations between the center and Ukraine on economic grounds. The situation required new qualitative changes in the consolidation process, a clear idea about the shape of association. During discussion of this issue at meetings specially created committee and in the negotiations between Russia and Ukraine, Russia and other republics was made a number of proposals, which crystallized three possible future union republics:

Stalin's plan of "autonomy", which replaced the fictitious independent republics status of autonomy within the RSFSR;

Lenin's plan of union formation, which was based on the principle of federation: Russia in this Union was to enter together and along with the other republics;

Suggestions of X. Rakowski (head of Ukrainian RNA), to protect the sovereignty of the republics to the center, he proposed leaving only military and political issues.

The authority of the leader of the revolution, although he was ill and actually was removed from the cases, the party and the state was undisputed and so the October (1922) Plenum of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) took the form of a state formation as Lenin insisted.

**Third stage** of Ukraine's entry into the USSR begins with the 1st Congress of Soviets of the USSR (30 of December 1922) which legalized

this union, and ends in May of 1925. Congress had approved the Declaration on the establishment of the USSR and Union Treaty. To the Union entered four republics: the RSFSR, USSR, and BSRR ZSFSR (Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia). Were selected USSR Central and 4 heads (from Ukraine - head of VUTSVK G. Petrovsky).

The process of Ukraine's accession to the Soviet Union completed by the adoption of the Constitution of the USSR in January 1924 at the II Congress of Soviets of the USSR. This Constitution defines the status of Ukraine as a part of the Union. It was clearly identified the issues that were within the competence of the higher power organs of USSR foreign policy, borders, military, transportation, communications, economic planning, signing a declaration of war and peace. In the republic remained competence: home affairs, agriculture, law, education, health and social security. Formally, each republic had the right to leave the Soviet Union, but the mechanism of this release has not been developed. So, without changing its external form, "union republics" actually turned into a highly centralized, unitary state.

In May 1925 toward integrating Ukraine into the USSR ends completely. The final step was the adoption of new Constitution by the IX All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets of USSR, which was fixed by law Soviet Ukraine's accession to the USSR. The actual celebration of Stalin's plan "autonomy" was, Republic finally lost its independence. The Soviet Union essentially became a state of pseudo federations.

However, the proclamation of the Soviet Union consolidated some gains Ukrainian people, was recognized the territorial integrity of Ukraine; there was its own administration. The population of 28 million persons was in Ukraine, of which 22 million were Ukrainians, 6 millions - Russians, Jews, Poles, Greeks, Moldovans, representatives of other nationalities in areas where ethnic groups were established 13 national areas; the processes of Ukrainianization and meet national and cultural needs of minorities were in the spiritual life.

Centralizing policy of the newly created multinational state from the very beginning caused dissatisfaction in republics, including Ukraine: it expressed, arguing concrete examples O. Shumsky, USSR People's Commissar of Education, Chairman RNA of Ukraine Vlas Chubar



(replacing the X. Rakowski «unwanted» for Stalin), economist M.Volobuyev and others. These performances were condemned and centralist, anti-Ukrainian course of the CPSU (b) will remain unchanged. Nearly 7 decades, this course put the fate of the Ukrainian nation dependent on the policy of center that was controlled by CPSU (b), the Federal Government, the Federal agencies.

## **6. Ukrainianization.**

In April 1923 XII Congress of the RCP (b) amended the national policy of the Bolsheviks. It was decided to strengthen the party's influence among the indigenous population of the Union republics and to lead and to control the process of national revival margins. The new national policy included involvement of local staff to Republican party and state apparatus. In Ukraine the policy known as "Ukrainianization."

54% were Russians among 55 thousand Communists, 23% - Ukrainian and 14% - of the Jews in 1922 in Ukraine.

Ukrainians amount does not exceed 35% In the state apparatus of Republic. The Bolsheviks felt the need to provide party and government more national character. In addition, extensive involvement in Ukrainian leadership positions should demonstrate to Western Ukrainian that the Soviet Ukraine may well satisfy their national interests. This also required formation in the international arena of attractive image of the USSR as a state in which allegedly provided free and harmonious development of the Soviet republics and guarantee the free development of national minorities as it was required.

Commissariat of Education of Ukraine, which in the 20's led by supporters of national revival H. Hrynko, O. Shumskyy, M. Skrypnyk became the driving force in the case of Ukrainianization. Ukrainianization carried out on several key areas: attracting Ukrainians to the party and to provide them with important positions in the party and state apparatus; widespread of Ukrainian language; encourage the development of Ukrainian culture and science; creating appropriate conditions for the cultural development of national minorities living in Ukraine.

As a result of the work done in the fraction of Ukrainian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) increased to 54%. Some of the Ukrainian Communists

received high public office. There were important structural changes for quantitative growth. One of these was the emergence of a new public-political, economic and cultural elite, the backbone of which was the so-called national-communists, immigrants from the former Ukrainian left-wing parties.

The scope of use of the Ukrainian language in public life was expanded. Ukrainian language courses were organized from August 1923 to government officials and party functionaries. Those who did not pass their exam risked losing his position. Since 1925 has been entered compulsory use of the Ukrainian language in public office. Since 1927 the party documents translated into Ukrainian.

Ukrainianization achieved in education particularly impressive results. By 1929 Ukraine had 80% of schools, 60% technical, 30% of institutions with Ukrainian language. In 1927 - 97% of children enrolled Ukrainian language. This figure was not surpassed during the Soviet period (in 1990 it was only 47.9%). The growth of the network of Ukrainian educational institutions paralleled the development of scientific research in various fields of Ukrainian Studies. 426 newspapers, including Ukrainian language – 373 turned out in the country. Outstanding historian and public figure M. Hrushevsky, who led the historical and philosophical Branch of the Academy of Science of USSR, returned from exile to Ukraine.

Ukrainian-stationary theaters accounted for  $\frac{3}{4}$  of all theaters in Ukraine in 1931; Kiev built Europe's largest film studio at the time in 1927/29 years.

The city began to lose ground of citadel of Russian identity.

Diverse cultural and educational work conducted among Ukrainians compact living outside Ukraine (in 1925 lived outside Ukraine 6.5 millions of Ukrainian).

Much attention was paid to the development of national minorities in Ukraine. Thus, in 1925 was created 7 German, 4 Bulgarian, one Polish and one Jewish district and 954 village councils of national minorities, 100 municipal councils. At this time in Ukraine there were 966 schools with German study, 342 - Jewish, 31 - Tatar, etc., and all initial universal education was carried out over 20 languages.

It should be said that none of the Republican rooting ("korenizatsiya") went as far as Ukrainian. Ukrainians become structurally complete nation for ten years of "Ukrainianization" (1923-1933).

Moscow closely followed the process of cultural revival of Ukraine, and fearing of strengthen of tendencies toward becoming independent, started to inhibit Ukrainianization on its very beginnings. Letter of Stalin to Kaganovich in 1926 with warning against bias of Khvylovy M., who threw the slogan "Away from Moscow" and longed for full Ukrainianization of proletariat; Moreover, the elimination of A. Shumsky of Ukraine; in 1928-1929 elimination of literary organizations VAPLITE and Lanka-Mars and later magazine "Literary Fair" and "Prolitfront" neoclassic persecution; elimination Autocephalous Orthodox Church, Ukrainian Academy of Sciences defeat; exile of M. Grushevsky to Moscow (1931) and others. Officially Ukrainianization was phased out with the appointment in January 1933 of Postyshev as secretary of the CC CP(B)U. Most leaders of ukrainianization have been eliminated or caused a death (Khvylovy M. (1933), M. Skrypnyck (1933)) during 1933-1934 in Postyshev's terror, and since then Russification started. In 1938 Sovnarkom USSR issued a decree on compulsory teaching of Russian in all non-Russian schools, which facilitated the process of Russification, and the ruling of Politburo of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of the elimination of national political subdivisions and others.

## **7. Repressions and their consequences for Ukraine.**

The term "repression" is used to determine the method of punishment of people who were considered as anti-revolutionary elements and enemies. An integral part of a totalitarian system of government was repressive apparatus, which was to keep the social processes under tight control, destroying any opposition to Stalinist regime, any expression of dissent. Apparatus of GPU-NKVD launched massive repression against all groups of population.

The main directions of Stalinist repression were:

1. Searching of "counterrevolutionaries" in agriculture. Different terms and forms of punishment were subjected to 30 people of Commissariat USSR, 20 of them were shot. On the Ukrainian farms were

liquidated 85 so-called "kulaks" - counter-revolutionary groups - arrested about 400 people, most of whom died. The policy of eliminating the kulaks as a class led to the destruction of a huge number of real masters on Ukrainian soil.

2. Struggle with «pests» and "saboteurs" in the pro-industry. In terms of curtailing the NEP (20s) signal for the attack was "Shakhty case": in the dock were industry leaders of Ukraine, which was attributed to the creation of "Kharkiv Center" to lead "sabotage." Started purposeful, versatile struggle against personnel of Ukrainian national intelligentsia. "Exposing of the enemies" grew like a snowball. Over 100 of various "centers", "blocks", "nationalist organizations» were «discovered" during 1930-1940 in Ukraine

3. Struggle with the national Ukrainian elite. Only in the case of "liberation Ukraine Union" and "Industrial Party" were repressed 45 leading scientists, writers and other intellectuals led by S. Yefremov, famous Ukrainian literary critic, academician, vice-president of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, one of the former leaders of the Central Council who did not hide critical attitude to Soviet power. "Judge" on "SVU" were S. Kosior, V. Balitsky, P. Lubchenko, which in the second half of the 30's themselves became a victim of Stalin's terror.

It was "uncovered" another mythical "Ukrainian National Center" in 1931 and its components - the so-called Galician "Ukrainian Military Organization" ("UVO"). Its members were accused in intend of "armed insurrection by kulaks" overthrow Soviet power in Ukraine, to separate it from the Soviet Union to establish the capitalist system in the form of the bourgeois-democratic Ukrainian People's Republic. In the "UNC" case were involved two prominent figures of Ukrainian science - academics M. Grushevsky and M. Jaworski, the second after serving a six-year term on Solovki in 1937 was shot. Historical Section of AN, headed by Hrushevsky was dissolved, he himself was accused of "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" was sent to Russia, where he died in "mysterious" circumstances while vacationing in 1934 in Kislovodsk.

"Counterrevolutionaries" and "spies" were announced dozens of academics and VUAMLIN current members, Professors Institute of Red Professors, the People's Commissariat of Education of Ukraine. Arrests

among educators and writers, especially intensified after suicide Skrypnyk M. (1933), and M. Khvylovy (1933 p.). From the 500 repressed writers disappeared more than 200, from 80 scientists, philosophers, eliminated 62 to the Ukrainian national martyrology due to enhanced repression were: Yevhen Pluzhnyk, Mykola Kulish, Mykola Zerov, Gregory Kosinka, Alexander Dosvitniy, Kost Bureviy, Dmitry Falkivskyy Les Kurbas, founder and director of the theater "Berezil". Solovki were completely "ukrainian". Hundreds of writers have been forced to shut up, to come to terms with the system, more than 80 people emigrated. Rental movies baned films of Dovzhenko and filmmaker himself forced to move to Moscow. Ukrainian literature Stalinist terror inflicted a terrible blow.

4 Repressions against the party and state leaders. Mass repressions began in 1933. Stalin dealt with any manifestation of opposition, attempts to power and authority. Expulsion from the party at this time with the phrase "ideological mistakes and errors" meant further physical violence. The Secretary General not only lost potential competitors after the assassination of Kirov (December 1934), but also received a convincing excuse to deploy wave of terror against party and government officials in particular.

Stalin envoy Postyshev especially raged In Ukraine. More than 15 thousand of leaders were accused of "fascism", "Trotskyism", "nationalism". Yury Kotsyubinsky was recognized head of the "opposition" in Ukraine (shot in January 1937). "Parental" Stalins care about housing of staff Ukraine ended very tragically: were expelled and then disappeared "Petliura nationalist elements", while stronger Ukrainian party ranks by Moscow reliable staff. Because of this "cleansing" of the composition of the CP (B) from 1933 to 1938 pp. reduced by half, especially victims of its leaders. Thus, of the 11 members of the Politburo elected in June 1937 p. XIII Congress of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks), 10 died (only remained alive G. Peter), with 5 candidates for the BOP killed 4 of 102 members of Central Committee and alternate members of the Central Committee of repressed 100 without exception, all members of the audit committee destroyed. During these years V. Zatonsky, M. Hataevych, E. Quiring, X. Rakowski, H. Grynko, J. Anchor others died. Almost the entire leadership of CPWU all secretaries of the Central Committee LKSMU headed by the First Secretary S. Usenko, the

entire leadership of Trade Unions of Ukraine also went under tohior of Stalinist repression. Due to the anti-Soviet organization «borotbists» was charged heads of government of Ukraine P. Lyubchenko that during the meeting of the plenum of the CC CP (b) U, which made such an accusation, shot (August 1937 p.).

In August 1937 in Kyiv came three personal representatives of Stalin - Molotov, Yezhov, Khrushchev. It is estimated that reprisals were subjected to 37% of the members KS(b) U, about 170 people. Nikita Khrushchev, who led CC CP (b) U after S. Kosior in his memoirs, recalled: "Ukraine Party leadership was almost completely destroyed. We had to start from scratch. "

5. Repressions against commanders of the Workers 'and Peasants' Red Army. Repressions began in Ukraine in 1936 against the command of the Kiev military district, who led the J. Jakir. At the same time they touched Kharkov military district, who led I. Duboviy. 45 commanders of infantry units, including 17 schnaymenshe commanders of divisions and 18 brigade commanders were repressed only half a year. commanders killed all fortified districts - special connections located in Ukraine during the repressions of 1937-1938. In early March 1938 p. Khrushchev and the commander of the Kiev military district. Timoshenko in Moscow gave a report that of the district "wiped out" of about 3 thousand per year. Persons, including more than one thousand arrested, "updated" almost all corps and divisions.

The tragic consequences of this repression was particularly significant during the catastrophic defeats of the initial period of the Great Patriotic War.

6. Destruction and most leaders of the NKVD (People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs). There were more than 1200 people, Including M. Latsis, B. Mantsev and others among the dead KGBists in Ukraine. The victims of repression and become leaders who headed the NKVD in Ukraine 30 years: V. Balitsky, I. Leplevskyy and inspivavtory Stalin's "Great Terror".

## **8. The West-Ukrainian lands in 1920-1930th.**

Western areas during the period from 1919 to 1939 were of three countries: Poland, Romania and Czechoslovakia. Ukrainian national

minority were in each of these states. It is difficult to give an exact number of Ukrainian residing in interwar period in Western Ukraine: official statistics of the time marked by extreme unreliability. Number of Ukrainian in Poland in the early 30s ranged between 5.2 and 6 million persons. 2/3 of Ukrainian population lived in Galicia and the rest - in Volhynia, Polesie Kholmshchyna and Lemko. Ukrainians were the largest ethnic minority in the Commonwealth (about 14-16%).

**In Romania,** among the Ukrainian minority in numbers yielded to Hungarians, Germans, Jews. According to official statistics show that the total number was 582 000 people (approximately 3% of the population), while Ukrainian demographers argue that in fact it was approaching 1 million. The main areas inhabited by Ukrainian Bukovina was smaller inhabited the territory of Bessarabia near Khotin and Ackerman.

**In Czechoslovakia,** Ukrainian population were 549 000 people according to statistics (38% of the total population). About 80% lived in Ukrainian Transcarpathia, another 15% - in the Presov Region, in addition, numerous Ukrainian communities lived in Prague. Thus, population were of 6 to 7 million only in the interwar period at Western that is 4-5 times less than the number of Ukrainian, who lived in the USSR in the late 20's.

The position of the western Ukrainian of three states was not the same. Generally, it reflects the features of the socio-economic and political life of these countries.

**The position of Ukrainians in Poland.** The Paris peace conference in 1919 commissioned Poland to occupy Galicia only temporarily, until the final decision of the victorious powers. Poland introduced a brutal occupation regime. Was cancelled the Galician provincial Sejm, liquidated all governments. It was forbidden to use the name «Western Ukraine» and «Eastern Galicia». Instead was used the term “Malopolska Wshodnia”. To secure these lands for themselves, Poland held in the 1921 census of population, in 1922 - parliamentary elections, including the occupied lands. Ukrainians, in protest boycotted these activities. The protest, sabotage and terror led by UMO (Ukrainian military organization) was founded in Vienna in 1920 (led by E. Konovalets). Until 1923 in Vienna there was emigration ZUNR government led by E. Petrushevyh. The States of the Entente needed a strong barrier against Bolshevik Russia, which was to be

Poland. Therefore March 14, 1923, the Council of ambassadors of the great powers recognized the Eastern Galicia part of Polish Republic. Poland promised to provide national minorities with all rights and opportunities for free development and to provide Galicia autonomy.

The Polish Constitution of 1921 and 1935 confirmed the legal status of national minorities, but it was just demagogic promises. In 1923, the Ministry of education banned the use of the words «Ukrainian», «Ukrainian». Instead, the terms «Rusin», «Ruskiy». Moreover, Rusins were treated not as separate nation but as ethnographic material for the development of the Polish nation. But Education Minister S. Grabsky held in the Sejm Law, which transformed most of Ukrainian schools on bilingual («utrakvistychni») with prevalence, the Polish language. Over 20 years of Polish domination number of Ukrainian schools declined from 3662 to 144. Act 1924 forbade to use the Ukrainian language in all state and municipal institutions. In 1924, the law on military colonization of edge (soldiers and officers of the Polish army, who took part in the war with the Bolsheviki, in Galicia received free land holdings to 45 hectares, the so-called colonists). The result was distributed to 800 thousand hectares of land, and as a result of this action moved about 200 thousand Polish colonists. Orthodox Church also was repressed, especially in Volyn. In the late 30's there was a violent action of «revindykation» (forced conversion to the Catholic faith), during which it was destroyed almost 200 Orthodox churches, and another 150 were transferred to Roman Catholics. As a result of operating in 1914, 389 Orthodox churches in 1939 only 51 remained.

The worst violation of the rights of Ukrainians was «pacification» (appeasement), which covered about 500 villages. Army troops and police destroyed the Ukrainian community centers, libraries, confiscated property, brutally punished peasants for arson of property of Polish mayor, the application of the principle of collective responsibility of the entire Ukrainian community for the actions of its individual members. In 1934 created a special concentration camp Birch Kartuzskaya (now, the Birch in Belarus). Right was historian I. Lysiak-Rudnytsky, when he described policies of interwar Poland against Ukrainians with words of Palaran: «This is worse than a crime, it is foolishness». And yet, it should be noted that Poland's political system is based on a constitutional basis.



This gave the opportunity to Ukrainians, despite the discrimination, to defend their interests through legal, official institutions of state power. Probably that is why already in 1925, the Ukrainians had 12 of their political parties representing a wide political spectrum (from pro-Polish to pro-Soviet and independence orientation). In the economy counteraction of the Polish official course was carried through the Ukrainian cooperative movement. As rightly said O. Subtelny, «the cooperative movement began to examine as an instrument of self-government and economic self-defense». So, in 1939, in Galicia were already 4,000 cooperatives.

When the Polish power pressure became unbearable, the reaction of Ukrainian population started to retreat from the legal, peaceful forms more and more, to become revolutionary and sometimes extremist. Ukrainian Nationalist Organization, which was established in January 1929 in Vienna (headed by E. Konovalts) headed this fight.

**Ukrainian situation in Romania.** The Romanian government policy was similar to the Polish one. The Ukrainian were removed from administrative posts, Ukrainian department of the Chernivtsi University was closed, the Orthodox Church in Bukovina renamed into "Romanian Orthodox" and placed under the Romanian Patriarchate. Law of the school system from December 26, 1924 interpreted the Ukrainian as the Romanian, who have forgotten their mother tongue. By 1928 in Bukovina was cancelled effect of the Constitution in 1923 and installed outdoor reactionary regime.

**Ukrainian lands in Czechoslovakia.** From the three successor states of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, inherited from her western lands, only Czechoslovakia ensured more or less democratic system, which although was not perfect, but still gave some real opportunities to the Ukrainian. It at least recognized by the Ukrainian population the right to live within the borders of a single administrative unit of Carpathian Rus (since 1928 the official name - Subcarpathian Rusland), however, autonomy was delayed until 1938. Czechoslovakia gave shelter and grant-in-aid to several Ukrainian educational institutions - Ukrainian Free University, M. Dragomanov High Pedagogical Institute, Ukrainian Agrarian Academy in Podebrady so on.

So despite of the constant fluctuations of rate, Polish and Romanian politics(Czechoslovakia ones largely made an exception here) to the Ukrainian generally differed little and strategic goal was to assimilate the Ukrainian. The answer on the assimilatory rate of Ukrainian population of Western lands became active opposition, which appeared in various forms of struggle - both legal and illegal.

### **CHAPTER 3. UKRAINE AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR: A NEW PARADIGM**

#### **1. Ukrainian issue in international politics before and at the beginning of World War II. The reunification of Ukrainian lands into a single state.**

On the eve of World War II Ukrainian ethnic territory belonged to four states: most of the eastern part called the Ukrainian SRSR was part of the Soviet Union; Eastern Galicia, Western Volyn, Zakerzonnya (Lemkivshyna, Podlasie, Kholmshchyna) - in Poland; Transcarpathian - in Czechoslovakia (since March 1939 was occupied by Hungary), Northern Bukovina, Bessarabia and northern South Bessarabia - in Romania. All four states have different socio-economic system, which was an important factor in destabilizing the political life of Europe. This made the Ukrainian question tangle of serious contradictions.

Germany saw in Ukraine profitable springboard for aggressive East Asian politics: captured Ukraine opened the shortest route from Europe to India.

The governments of Britain and France 29-30 September 1938 went to the so-called Munich Agreement, which marked the beginning of the destruction of the Czechoslovak state for the removal of a threat of aggression and directing it to the east, with the aim of pushing the Nazis against Bolshevism. Czechoslovakia at that time was the center of political events and issues of the future of Transcarpathian - a main component of the problem.

Trans Carpathian is pushing to the forefront of political intrigues, and performer of Hitler plans become Hungary.

Foreign ministers of Germany and Italy gave Hungary a significant part of Transcarpathian with the cities of Uzhgorod, Mukachevo, Berehove, rejected them from Czechoslovakia on November 2, 1938 on the basis of making the so-called Vienna Award.

At the same time the Czechoslovak government officially granted autonomy of Carpathian Ukraine and recognized its government. Hust became the capital of Carpathian Ukraine. Armed Forces of Carpathian

Ukraine - Carpathian Sich were established to protect national independence.

The Seim of Carpathian Ukraine started working at 15 o'clock of March 15. The Seim officially proclaimed the independence of Carpathian Ukraine, elected president A. Voloshin, took Constitutional Law of eight articles, which were legally enshrined blue and yellow flag, coat of arms featuring the trident, the national anthem "Ukraine has not yet perished." Ukrainian language was declared official.

Hungarians intensified their offensive on evening of March 15, 1939 the same day Nazi Germany invaded the Czech Republic. Three days later, Hungary occupied the Carpathian Ukraine. Slovakia became an independent state under the protection of Nazi Germany.

Negotiations between the USSR, Britain and France on the establishment of a collective security system in Europe against the aggressor countries - Germany, were held on March 1939 in Moscow.

Knowing about these negotiations, Hitler decided on any price to prevent Soviet rapprochement with Western powers. He declared the Soviet significant territorial concessions, also by the Ukrainian ethnic lands. The Baltic, Bessarabia, Eastern Poland and of the Ukrainian ethnic lands were passed to the Soviet Union.

German Foreign Minister Ribbentrop arrived in Moscow on August 23, 1939. On the same day signed the Soviet-German non-aggression pact for 10 years (the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact). This document consisted of seven articles predicted commitment of the two parties to refrain from aggressive actions in relation to each other or any other actions of cooperation with third countries that would threaten the interests of one of the parties that agreed. To contract a secret protocol attached to the division of spheres of influence in Eastern Europe. In the Soviet sphere of influence were Estonia, Latvia, Finland, Bessarabia, in German - Lithuania. As for Poland, noted that the Soviet Union is interested in its Belarusian and Ukrainian lands, and in Lublin and Warsaw parts and provinces.

Germany invaded Poland on September 1, 1939, and the Second World War began. This event radically changed the political relations in Europe.

The Red Army crossed the Soviet-Polish border and entered the territory of south-eastern Poland - Western Ukraine on September 17, 1939. It was officially announced that Soviet troops have prevented the Nazi occupation, the brothers help Ukrainian and Belarus. Brest, Grodno, Pinsk, Przemyśl held a joint parade of Soviet and German troops after the victory over Poland on September 22.

J. von Ribbentrop arrived in Moscow for the second time on September 28, 1939 signed the "Agreement on Friendship and frontier" and two secret protocols to it that fixed territorial division of Poland between Germany and the USSR. They meant agreement of Germany Government to join to the Soviet Union the Polish part of the Western Ukraine and Western Belarus and Bessarabia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia. Kholmshchyna, left bank of Nadsyannya, Lemkivschyna and Podlasie (called Zakerzonnya) together with the occupied Polish territories became part of the Reich. Germany got a free hand in Europe and secured a supply of Soviet military-strategic materials and foodstuffs.

Recent events created favorable conditions for joining the people of Western and Eastern Ukraine.

Parliament of SRSR November 1, 1939 p. adopted the Law on the inclusion of Western Ukraine into the USSR and its reunification with the USSR. November 14, 1939 the Supreme Council of USSR adopted the law on the acceptance of Western Ukraine in the USSR.

August 2, 1940 the seventh session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR included mostly Ukrainian populated northern Bukovina and Bessarabia South of the USSR.

The essence of the socio-economic transformation in the western regions of Ukraine was Sovietization. In general, the changes that took place were contradictory.

## **2. Sovietization of Western Ukraine.**

At the end of 1939 in Western Ukraine were abolished old administrative divisions. Instead, it was created six new regions - Volyn, Drohobych, Lviv, Rivne, Ternopil and Stanislavsky. In general, the changes taking place in Western Ukraine were controversial.

On the one hand:

1. The expropriation of Polish landowners' estates carried out.

2. A land reform (land tenure landlords confiscated, monasteries and government officials). The land was transferred to farmer committees, who were to divide it among the landless and land-poor peasants; by the end of 1939 were confiscated 2.753 billion hectares - almost a third of all agricultural land, but about half of this area was distributed to the peasants, the rest was the basis for the creation of collective and state farms, etc..

3. The industry, commerce and banks were nationalized. Put an 8-hour workday. Unemployment reduced.

4. Government agencies and the judiciary became Ukrainian. Network of Ukrainian schools (if in 1939 these schools were only 139, in 1940 - 6000) was greatly expanded. Teaching schools and teachers' institutes open to prepare teachers; study conducted in Ukrainian at Lviv University. Held elimination of illiteracy among the adult population.

5. Medical care, especially in rural areas (open new hospitals, dispensaries, clinics, maternity homes, etc.) improved. Many medical professionals came here from the eastern regions of Ukraine.

6. Network of cultural institutions, etc. expanded.

Unfortunately, these improvements darkened oppressive tyranny, command and control, totalitarian methods, which broke centuries formed lifestyle. In particular:

1. There was a collapse of political and cultural infrastructure created by Ukrainian intellectuals:

- a) All Ukrainian parties ceased to operate;
- b) "Enlightenment" (Prosvita) closed;
- c) Shevchenko Scientific Society and others liquidated.

2. Even small businesses were forced nationalized; destroyed by an extensive network of consumer cooperatives and associations.

In addition to confiscation of landed estates, held «cannibalization» of rich peasants.

3. Checked residents of Eastern Ukraine or Russia, mostly Russians poorly oriented to local conditions were appointed to senior positions and had insufficient training.

4. There were pervasive repressions of nationally conscious members of Western society.

5. Mass deportations of the population (on February 13, 1940 in Western Ukraine were deported 17206 families or 89,062 persons). And all of Western Ukraine and Western Belarus for the years 1939-40 were deported 1,173,170 persons or 312,800 families. This is almost 10% of the land. According to Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, with only one in Eastern Galicia Soviet authorities deported 400 thousand. Ukrainian (most were deported Ukrainian).

6. Great offense was reprisals against the church - were closed theological academy, seminary, religious schools, monasteries, ceased publication of religious literature and more.

Thus giving an assessment of the accession of the Western Ukraine into the Ukrainian SSR, it is reasonable to say that, despite the crimes of totalitarian regimes, which, of course, nothing can justify the fact of association after nearly 600 years of separation Ukrainian lands commendable but methods which performed this act Bolsheviks were undemocratic, criminal and anti-national.

### **3. The beginning of Great Patriotic War.**

Nazi Germany attacked the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. Its allies were Finland, Hungary, Romania, Italy, Slovakia. The German army was advancing in three main areas: the west - to Leningrad, central - to Moscow, the south - to Kyiv. Under the plan anticipated occupation of Ukraine in the first weeks of the war and the creation of a springboard for a breakthrough in the Caucasus and Transcaucasia.

Germans were going for 30 years in Ukraine evict millions of people by the plan «Ost» and to populate it by German colonists. Ukraine had to become an agricultural colony forever. Some Ukrainian lands under the plan of economic plunder Ukraine ("Green Folder") decided to transfer satellites of Nazi Germany.

Group of German Army Group "South" led by Field Marshal Rundstedt offensive carried out in Ukraine. Southwestern Front led by General M.Kyrponos and Southern Front led by General Y.Cherevichenko created for Defense of Ukraine.

The largest tank battle the initial phase of the war lasted from 23 to 29 June in the city of Lutsk-Rovno-Brody. The South-Western Front was forced to retreat, leaving the Western Ukraine. Germans occupied Lvov on June 30. They advanced deep into the Ukraine to 300-350 km at the end of the third week of the war.

The main military-political event of the summer-autumn campaign in 1941 was a 72-day defense of Kyiv, which lasted from July 7 to September 26, 1941 and attracted large enemy forces. Nevertheless German army managed to surround a large group of defenders of Kyiv: 665 thousand of soldiers and officers were captivated, were killed command of the Southwestern Front. The cause of the tragedy was failures of senior military commanders, including the fact that Stalin did not consent to the withdrawal of troops from the Kyiv.

For biggest defensive battles in Ukraine also relates 73-day defense of Odessa (August 5 - October 16, 1941), and defense of Sevastopol, which lasted 250 days (October 30, 1941 - July 4, 1942)

German Army Group «South» occupied almost the whole of Ukraine the end of 1941, however, at great sacrifice, the heroic resistance of the people plan "Blitzkrieg" was foiled.

Supreme Command led by Marshal S.Tymoshenko (later renamed the Supreme Command, headed by Stalin) created on 22 June; Directive adopted on June 29 by Party and government organizations frontline areas, which included the defense and evacuation plan; State Defense Committee headed by Stalin created on June 30, Committee united in the hands of all state, economic and military power in the country; the formation of the divisions of the national militia assault battalions, mobilize people to build defensive structures; restructuring of the economy started on a war footing. The slogan "Everything for the front, everything for victory!" which appeared in the early days of the war, determined the henceforth the whole point of the life and work of Soviet society.



Stalin's regime managed the country with its repressive, totalitarian methods in terms of military and political crisis. These were extremely cruel orders of Stalin №270 on August 16, 1941 and №227 on July 28, 1942 «Not one step back», which are often doomed to destruction of objectives connection.

The need to evacuate the materials and human resources to the east of the USSR appeared at the beginning of the war. Lack of timely evacuation plans drawn up (after going to fight «foreign territory») made, especially in the first weeks of the war, disruption in the recovery process. There were relocated from Ukraine to the East: more than 550 companies, property farms, collective farms (including more than 5 million of cattle), Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, cultural and educational institutions, more than 3.5 million workers, peasants and servants. Everything that could not be evacuated was as subject to destruction (scorched earth policy).

Note the Soviet leadership to conduct offensive operations in the initial phase of the war was poorly thought out and poorly equipped in logistical terms, because they all have failed. The tragic consequences were offensive at Kharkov by troops of the Southwestern Front, led by S.Tymoshenko and N. Khrushchev in May 1942: three armies were killed and 240 000 soldiers and officer became prisoners. Tragically ended and attempt to defeat the Nazis in Yalta. Sevastopol was captured by German troops after a 250-day defense on July 4, 1942.

Loss in Ukraine dramatically changed the military-strategic situation, the initiative again passed into the hands of the enemy. After the capture of Sverdlovsk town (Voroshilovgrad (Luhansk) region) the Germans finally occupied the whole territory of Ukrainian RSR on July 22, 1942.

#### **4. Nazi occupational regime in Ukraine.**

All Ukraine was seen as "Lebensraum» (living space) for the German people.

It destroyed the territorial integrity of Ukraine:

1. Lviv, Drohobytch, Stanislaw, Ternopil regions – on the rights of the individual district (county) "Galicia" were included in Cracow General Government.

2. Chernivtsi and Izmail region included in Romania.

3. Odessa, southern parts of Vinnitsa regions, western regions of Mykolayiv, left-bank areas of Moldaviya were merged into Governor "Transnistria" (Zadnestrovya) and declared part of Romania.

4. Chernihiv, Sumy, Kharkiv and Donbas subjected wartime command (as frontline region).

5. All other Ukrainian lands (12 areas - Right Bank, Poltava and Zaporizhia) joined the Reich Commissariat «Ukraine» with the center of the city Rivne exactly headed by Erich Koch. Reichskommissariat divided into six generals' districts with centers in Odessa, Melitopol, Nikolaev, Kiev, Zhytomyr, Rivne. This administrative entitie included 63.6% of the territory of Ukraine.

6. Fuhrer gave Transcarpathian to hortyst Hungary (1939) as a separate administrative unit "Carpathian area" .

All administrative units headed by German commissioners, who relied on the security police and the Gestapo. All political activities were banned for Ukrainians. Only general's governor with the consent of the authorities there Ukrainian Central Committee (UCC) in Krakow, headed by Vladimir Kubyovych, his activities spread mainly for public care and educational work.

Brutal occupation regime was established in Ukraine everywhere. "New Order" deprives people of any civil rights. Cynically stated that the purpose of the Germans is to make Ukrainian working in Germany.

The largest enterprises of Ukraine were divided between German magnates. The invaders ruthlessly plundered the city and villages, collective and state farms turned into "communal services" , introduced in their fortress mode. Under pain of severe punishment was introduced compulsory labor service. Occupants were allowed to open in Ukraine only primary schools.

Material resources and cultural values of our people were looted and destroyed. Equipment of factories, railway rolling stock, raw materials, grain and cattle were exported. Echelons with Ukrainian black soil and plants went to Germany. 40 thousand most valuable works of art,

collections, and weapon times of Zaporizhzhya Sich were taken from museums. 2.8 million of persons trafficked for forced labor in Germany, 2.4 million were removed from Ukraine.

According to the "theory of racial exclusiveness of the German nation" Ukrainians must be destroyed en masse. The real genocide carried out against the Jewish people. Ukraine was covered with concentration camps, prisons, ghetto. Almost every Ukrainian city was his "Babi Yar": during the years of occupation at Babi Yar in Kiev killed more than 220 thousand in Drobytsky Yar in Kyiv - more than 60 thousand in Yaniv concentration camp in Ukraine - more than 160 thousand people. These were predominantly Ukrainian citizens of Jewish nationality. And just in the Ukraine during the occupation were killed 3.9 million civilians and 1.3 million POWs (prisoners of war).

The result of the occupation of Ukraine during the period of 1941 – 1945 was a reduction in its population to 14 million. Persons (including 8 million died). Cruelty of enemies spawned unprecedented in strength resistance movement that unfolded in proportion to the strengthening of the Nazi terror.

## **5. The Resistance Movement in Ukraine.**

In the Ukrainian anti-fascist resistance movement existed two trends: Soviet resistance movement (partisans and underground fighters) and nationalist resistance movement led by OUN.

**Soviet resistance movement.** It sought to restore the status of Ukraine within the USSR. At the end of 1942 there were 800 guerrilla groups in Ukraine. Their actions were coordinated by Ukrainian Partisan Movement Headquarters headed by T. Strokach. There were great guerrilla units and connections led by S. Kovpak, M. Popudrenko, Saburov, Fedorov, I.Borovyk, P.Vershyhora, M. Naumov and others.

Forms of struggle partisans were: sabotage of the enemy communications, destruction of communication lines, roads, bridges; defeat of the enemy headquarters; sabotage on the railways. In the summer of 1943 operation "rail war» launched; raids into the enemy lines (the most famous Carpathian C. Kovpak raid was).

In Ukraine, there were 23 underground regional committee of the CP(b)U; 9 underground Komsomol regional committees which organized sabotage, carried out intelligence operations.

The total number of partisans and underground fighters in Ukraine during the war amounted by various sources from 500 thousand to 180-220 thousands of people. The most massive part of the population, which unfailingly followed the Soviet regime, was young.

Creation of Ukrainian Partisan Movement Headquarters, coordination of actions, financial support from the mainland, the use of Soviet partisans effective methods of struggle against the invaders, turned the Soviet partisan movement into an important factor of war, in fact, to the 'second front'.

**National Liberation Movement of Resistance.** Ukrainian national forces early in the war were grouped into three independent organizations: «Polissa Sich» led by Taras Bulba-Borovets and two branches of Ukrainian nationalists, one led by Stepan Bandera, a friend - Andrew Melnik.

Interfactional conflicts in the national liberation movement accelerated after the assassination of OUN leader Eugene Konovalets in 1938. Their point was that the veterans of Ukrainian Nationalists (PUN) - A. Melnyk Y.Borovykovskyy, M. Stsiborsky et al., who were in exile tended to a more moderate action relied on the gradual «creeping» installation of Ukrainian statehood, defended the pro-German orientation. The young radicals who led the underground struggle on West Ukrainian lands - S. Bandera, J. Stets'ko, R. Shuhevich et al. demanded that the leaders of PUN to concentrate all efforts on actually in Ukraine, to deploy independent revolutionary activity, despite the loss of repression. In February 1940 the young radicals gathered in Krakow their own conference which formed the revolutionary leadership of the OUN led by Stepan Bandera.

Thus began the parallel existence of two Ukrainian nationalist organizations: OUN-B - revolutionary or Bandera and the OUN-M - Melnyk, moderate.

The goal they had one - the independence of Ukraine, the way to achieve it distinguished depending on the specific historical conditions and situations.

With the approach of the Soviet-German war, both current of OUN oriented to Germany, hoping that this event will accelerate the formation of Ukrainian statehood.

In order to create their own branch of armed forces, OUN-B concludes an agreement with the German military command about a military formation of the Legion of Ukrainian Nationalists, which consisted of two divisions – "Nachtigall" and "Roland" (600 soldiers). Of course, each side tried to use another in their own, frequently conflicting goals.

With the beginning of hostilities in Germany against the USSR OUN-B moved to implement its goal: June 30, 1941 in Lviv, captured by the Germans Banderites conducted Ukrainian National Assembly (constituent), which adopted a "Statement of the Ukrainian state." Ukrainian state board was chosen and headed by J. Stetsko. Reaction of Berlin for restoration of Ukrainian statehood was swift, harsh and negative. Soon S.Bandera, J. Stetsko and other leaders of OUN was arrested and imprisoned in a concentration camp of Sachsenhausen.

Ended in failure all attempts of OUN-Melnyk, aimed at "creeping" reborn of the Ukrainian state because of loyalty to the German occupation authorities, but even such actions were contrary to the plans of the Nazis.

OUN-M managed to create in occupied Kiev Ukrainian National Council, to affect the city administration and public life. In late 1941 Reichscommissariat Ukraine banned the activities of the Council, but it existed underground more than one year. Major leaders of the Ukrainian movement were arrested in Kiev, and soon were shot.

In July 1941 in Lviv with efforts of OUN also was created the Ukrainian National Council. The organization was conceived as an auxiliary cord «Ukrainian people in Galicia, Volhynia and Holm» and its broker before the German authorities. Council tried to cover with its activities all public areas of Western Ukraine, representatives of various sections of the population and land areas. Pattern and honorary president of the Ukrainian National Council the Greek Catholic Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky was chosen. But this form of Ukrainian government did not satisfy the occupiers, and in March 1942 the Council banned.

In the spring of 1942 remained the only Ukrainian legal socio-political institution - Ukrainian Central Committee with headquarters in Krakow. Committee was headed by Vladimir Kubiyovych. Powers of the

Committee restricted to purely humanitarian issues, and activities were strictly controlled by the occupation authorities.

Commander of "Polesie Sich" Bulba-Borovets, was focusing on the government of the Ukrainian People's Republic in exile. Activity of the organization was developing in Volyn, Polesie and was directed against the Soviet military units hiding in the woods. The aim of the struggle of Bulba-Borovets was the revival of the UNR. And when in November 1941 the occupation authorities proposed for Sich voluntarily lay down their weapons, they temporarily curtailed their activity.

The formation of OUN underground guerrilla movement began in mid-1942, the rebels acted as defense of the local population from the occupying authorities, disrupted actions of the export of young people in Germany. During 1942 OUN created its own guerrilla army, and it joined forces of Bandera, Melnyk and soldiers of the former "Polish Sich". It was called the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). The official date of birth of the UPA day October 14, 1942, dedicated to the day of patron of the Zaporozhian Host Intercession of the Holy Virgin. The first commander of the UPA was Dmitry Klyachkovskyy (Klim Saur), and in the autumn of 1943 UPA was led by Roman Shukhevych (Taras Chuprynka). Since August 1943 divided Ukrainian military units (detachments of Borovets M., A. Melnik and R. Shukhevych) were combined into a single military force, whose numbers increased to 20 thousand of fighters.

UPA led active forms of fighting on three fronts - against the German occupation, Soviet partisans (often occurred joint, coordinated actions), and the Polish Armia Krajowa units.

The main objects of guerrilla warfare by the UPA were Germans and their allies; formation of the Armia Krajowa and the Polish population; Soviet partisan units and then - detachments of the Red Army.

UPA counted only on their own strength and support of the local population. Trying to establish itself in the western regions of Ukraine as the "third force", UPA only in the October-November 1943 conducted 47 battles against the Germans and 54 battles against Soviet partisans.

Network of OUN underground involve not only Western but also central, eastern, southern areas of Ukraine, where OUN operated under the slogan: "Death to Hitler", "Death to Stalin", "Soviet power - without the Bolsheviks".

In the 1942-1944 years UPA had all the signs of Ukrainian national armed forces, without their own state, but being supported by its own people. The number of UPA according to various sources ranged from 30-40 thousand to 100 thousand of fighters. Documents confirm that in its ranks were fighting everyone who defended an independent Ukrainian state, regardless of political views, beliefs, party affiliation and nationality (20% of fighters accounted of non-Ukrainians). According to scientists-historians UPA detachments in 1942-1943 years made 2 thousand combat operations against the German occupation; they performed a successful attack on the German garrison, trains, with which the Nazis took out the population in Germany, stripped punitive operations against the local population and even completely controlled some areas of Volhyn, Polesie and Galicia.

Thus, in spite of all, Ukrainian national liberation movement (OUN-UPA) defended the interests of the Ukrainian people, have contributed to the fight against the invaders, despite the fact that it did not support any of the states.

Thus, Ukraine has been gripped by a mass movement of resistance, but because of deep ideological contradictions between its currents, there was a fierce struggle.

Thus, the Carpathian raid of the partisan unit of S. Kovpak in the summer of 1943 led to bloody battles among the OUN and Soviet partisans. And in the spring 1944 near Rivne UPA broke convoy of the Staff of commander of 1st Ukrainian Front, General M. Vatutin, general himself was badly wounded and died.

With the arrival of the Red Army in Western Ukraine OUN, remaining on the platform of independence, declared war against Stalinist regime. The Soviet command to fight the UPA created separate Army NKVD. Fighting of the parties continued until the mid 50's and was extremely brutal, bloody.

## **6. Ukraine liberation from nazi invaders.**

The liberation of Ukraine has begun at the time of Stalingrad battle (November 1942 – February 1943), which made a beginning of radical change in the war in favour of the USSR.

The first settlements of Ukraine in eastern Donbass were freed in December 1942.

Mass liberation of Ukrainian lands began during the Battle of Kursk (July 5 - August 23, 1943). On August 23 the Steppe Front troops liberated Kharkov.

Developing success, Soviet troops went to the Dnipro in September 1943. In September - October 1943 heroic Battle for the Dnipro, where the Germans were trying to create an impenetrable line of strategic defense (East shaft), began.

The culmination of the Battle for the Dnipro was liberation from Kyiv invaders. Stalin, ignoring the real balance of forces, commanded to release Kyiv until the "Great October" by any price.

At the cost of enormous human losses Soviet troops liberated the city on November 6, 1943. For the liberation of the capital of Ukraine more than 1,000 soldiers and officers were awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union.

In 1944 the Soviet High Command by four Ukrainian Fronts carried out a series of offensive operations, finally liberated territory of Ukraine:

Zhitomir-Berdichev operation (December 1943 - January 1944);

Korsun-Shevchenko Operation (January-February 1944);

In Rivne- Lutsk operation (January-February 1944);

Krivoy Rog's operation (January-February 1944);

The attack in the south. The Liberation of Odessa, Nikolayev (March-April 1944);

The Liberation of the Crimea (April-May 1944);

Lvov-Sandomierz Operation (July-August 1944). July 27, 1944 Lviv was released;

East Carpathian Operation (September-October 1944);

On October 28, 1944, Ukraine had been completely liberated from the invaders.



During the liberation operations in 1944 in Ukraine more than 3.5 million warriors were killed! Soviet partisans and underground fighters, local people and rear workers provided invaluable assistance to soldiers. Active operations against the German invaders were conducted by detachments of the UPA. When the front line has moved to areas of UPA's parts dislocation commanders gave the order not to interfere in the fighting and to take measures to save and strength their forces.

May 8, 1945 the German-Soviet war ended by the surrender of Germany.

2 September 1945 World War II ended by the Japanese surrender.

Ukrainian human losses in the war amounted to more than 14 million military and civilians.

Losses of Ukraine reached 1.5 trillion rubles. It was destroyed: 714 cities and towns, 28 thousand villages, 16 150 industrial enterprises, 18 thousand hospitals, 33 thousand educational establishments.

## **7. The main results and lessons of the Second World War.**

The first and final result of the Second World War is the world-historical victory over Nazism. The countries and peoples who were threatened by Nazism defended their independence and democratic freedoms.

Secondly, the Second World War was the most brutal and bloodiest in the history of mankind. During the war, about 60 million people died, including more than 27 million Soviet people. Tens of millions of people were injured and disabled. The war devastated entire countries, turned the ruins of many cities and villages. In the case of Ukraine, the latter gave 7 million people to the current army. Half of them died. Of those who remained alive, half are disabled. In the concentration camps during the war years, 18 million people were visited, of which 11 million were destroyed.

Thirdly, the war showed the ability of the Democratic forces of the Earth to rally in front of a general mortal danger. In the course of the war, an anti-Hitler coalition was created, which in the beginning of 1942 consisted of 25 states, and at the end of the war - 56. The victory in the war is a common merit and the total capital of all states and peoples. It is

appropriate to recall here that many of the states of the anti-Hitler coalition were armed with many Ukrainians, and they contributed to the victory. According to well-known historians I. Mukovsky and I.O. Lysenko in the book, "Sweat and Sacrifice: Ukrainians on the Fronts of the Second World War", only from the Canadian Army at the time of the war served from 35 to 50 thousand Ukrainians, with 11,4% of them wore a military form voluntarily. About 40,000 Americans of Ukrainian descent fought in the Pacific, Asia Minor, North Africa, Europe, helped deliver supplies to the USSR through the Lend-Lease, participated in Operation Overlord, and finally met with their fellow countrymen, Red Army soldiers on Elbe in 1945

Fourthly, the victory outlined the main trends of post-war development. A new international organization - the United Nations - has laid the foundations for the democratic development of the modern world. The UN Charter also signed a delegation of the Ukrainian PCP - as a country - the founder of a new organization.

Fifth, during the Second World War the process of collapse of the colonial system began, continued in the post-war world and ended in a complete collapse of the colonial system.

Sixth, one of the most important outcome of the war affecting Ukraine was the completion of the reunification of Ukrainian lands. Let's recall that at the Crimean Conference there was an attempt to tear off the Lviv province (Lviv, Drohobych, Stanislavsky, as well as part of the Ternopil region) and to include in Poland, an emigrant government that was counting on the return of Western Ukrainian lands. But the principled position of the Soviet delegation forced the representatives of the Western powers to agree that historical changes are irreversible. On August 16, 1945, the Soviet-Polish agreement on friendship, mutual assistance and post-war cooperation was supplemented by an agreement on the state border between the two countries. True, Ukrainian Zasynye with Lemkivshchina, Kholmshchyna and Podlyashchii were lost forever for Ukraine.

There was still a great Ukrainian territory, separated from Ukraine - Transcarpathia, which the creators of the Versailles system of treaties handed over to Czechoslovakia on September 10, 1919, and Hungary was seized in 1939. In October 1944, the Red Army liberated Transcarpathia

from the German and Hungarian occupiers. Somewhat later, the Czechoslovak government of Benesch was forced to agree to the transfer of Transcarpathia from Czechoslovakia to the USSR. The talks ended in Moscow on June 29, 1945, with the signing of a treaty on Transcarpathian Ukraine. Thus, the historical process of the reunification of Ukrainian lands in a single state was largely completed.

Seventh, cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Soviet Union, as well as the international phenomenon, has a number of peculiarities. In total in the German armed forces served up 1 million Soviet citizens, mainly from prisoners of war. In addition, from 200 to 300 thousand served in police forces and in the occupied territories in the bodies of local administration.

In addition to the general, typical for the whole world, the USSR had its reasons: the presence of a large number of people in the country, dissatisfied with red terror in the years of the civil war, Stalin's repression in the 1930's, forced collectivization and exile, etc. And many of these people, being in captivity or in the occupied territory, joined the enemy. Obviously, many prisoners of war moved to service the Germans because of the threat of physical death in concentration camps, the desire to simply survive and return to their homeland.

In the USSR and during the war, the Gulag system continued to operate. Prisons and camps were constantly replenished by people who returned from captivity, as well as those who lived in the occupied territories or arrested for "anti-Soviet sentiment and conversation" at the front and rear, massively deported peoples of the North Caucasus and Crimea, the Germans of the Volga region and Ukraine etc.

As for Ukrainians, only about 250,000 (coming from the USSR) served on the Wehrmacht for a variety of reasons: from political considerations (the dream of a sovereign Ukraine, hatred of Stalinism); from hopelessness (German captivity, fear of the NKVD and inevitable camps); as a sign of revenge for the past inflicted injustice (famine, deportation, oppression on religious-ideological grounds), etc.

From the outcomes and consequences of the war follow the lessons that need to be guided, so that the tragedy does not repeat itself in the future.

The first and main lesson of the Second World War is that the Third World War should not happen, because there will be no winners in it, leaving only the ruins of human civilization.

The second lesson - under another pre-war policy of war could be avoided. And if this did not happen, then first of all as a result of the crisis of confidence between the states, especially between the USSR and Western democracies. Unable to create a system of collective security, which gave rise to a situation of gradual involvement of mankind in the war.

The third lesson - the experience of the war shows that the Munich policy, that is, the "appeasement" of the aggressor does not lead to anything good. On the contrary - it creates conditions for the emergence of war.

The fourth lesson - you cannot guarantee your safety at the expense of other countries. It is necessary to keep in mind the connection between politics and morality.

The fifth lesson - the existence of totalitarian regimes with their ideology and practice and militarism, imperial ambitions, the formation of aggressive military blocs can lead to a major global fire, as happened in 1939-1945. The war is a continuation of only the policy aimed at its training.

Humanity can no longer tolerate such collective suicide as a world war. The tragic experience of world wars is convincing: the global problems of mankind, including the preservation of peace, can only be solved by united efforts, even if there are serious contradictions that still exist in the modern world.

## **CHAPTER 4. CHANGES IN THE POLITICAL LIFE OF UKRAINE (40-80 YEARS OF THE XX CENTURY).**

The most significant territorial and geopolitical changes that have occurred in the postwar period were the completion of the integration of the Ukrainian lands and the formation of the modern territory of Ukraine, activation foreign policy of the USSR.

Among the post-war administrative and territorial changes include: First, the settlement of the territorial issue with Poland. In September 1944, under an agreement between Poland and the USSR native Ukrainian land, 17 counties of Podlasie, Posyannya and Lemko region with the population of almost 800 thousand Ukrainians, transferred to Poland. Between the USSR and the Republic of Poland signed an agreement on the Soviet-Polish border in August 16, 1945, which fixed the border mainly on the "Curzon Line", although there Moscow concessions pro-Soviet policies of the Polish government - in some areas to the east deviation (for Poland) 30 km were. Finally, the process of Polish-Ukrainian distinction ended in 1951, when border areas exchanged at the request of Poland, almost equal in size.

Second, I Congress of People's Committees delegates Transcarpathian Ukraine Mukachevo adopted a manifesto on reunion Transcarpathian Ukraine with the USSR in November 1944, and in June 1945 an agreement between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union legislate that decision.

Thirdly, the final point in determining the post-war borders Ukraine was delivered February 10, 1947 during the signing of the Soviet-Romanian treaty, which recognized the rights of USSR Romania in Northern Bukovina, Khotyn and Izmayil districts, that is legally recognized boundaries established in June 1940.

Fourth, the transfer of Crimea from the RSFSR to URSR. The USSR Supreme agreed to the inclusion of the Crimean Peninsula Soviet to mark the 300th anniversary of the accession of Ukraine to Russia in the USSR in 19 February 1954. Thus, the process of formation of the modern territory of Ukraine has finished. The legal act of entering of the Crimea to the Ukrainian SSR in fact only confirmed the existing situation.

**Ukraine in the international arena.** April 25, 1945 Conference on the anti-Hitler coalition in San Francisco decided to create

of the United Nations (UN), and its Charter was ratified in October 24, 1945 (this day is celebrated as UN Day). Ukraine was among the countries of the founders of the UN.

The first session of the General Assembly UN in 1946 elected UkrSSR as a member of Economic and Social Council of the International Organization for the term on the one year. UkrSSR was the member of the Economic Commission for Europe UN from the March 1947. During the second half of the 40's - early 50's the Ukrainian SSR entered to such international organizations as the World Health Organization, International Telecommunication Union, World Meteorological Organization, World Postal Union, UNESCO - UN organization for education, science and culture. Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic became a member of 20 international organizations in 1950, and from 1950 to 1956 another 16 institutions. Supreme Soviet in 1944 expanded the rights of Union Republics in the field of external relations, in particular allowed them to enter into contracts and exchange diplomatic and consular representatives of foreign states. But all these rights remained on paper. The Soviet leaders decide when and in what form the Ukrainian SSR can act in the international arena. Thus, an agreement on the Transcarpathian Ukraine (June 1945) and the Treaty on the Soviet-Polish border (August 1945) were signed on behalf of the Soviet Union, not of the USSR. At the same time, the Ukrainian SSR signed the Paris Peace Treaty in 1947 with Bulgaria, Italy, Romania, Hungary, Finland, who were enemies of the USSR in World War II. The selectivity of the form and content of international treaties, which the Ukrainian SSR performed as a separate party, were motivated by the interests and tactics of Soviet policy as in other states, and attitudes towards Ukraine. This policy of the Soviet government sought to quantify the strengthen of the Soviet presence in international diplomatic relations and simultaneously maintain the fiction of international legal sovereignty of the USSR. In fact, Ukraine was deprived of initiative and free of diplomatic negotiations and, most importantly, critical as at the conclusion and execution of international treaties it has signed.

**Reconstruction of Ukraine** has started since 1943, after the beginning of the liberation of the territory from Nazi occupation. She had a number of features that distinguish it from the post-war situation in other areas of the USSR and the Western powers:

1. The war has caused enormous human and material losses. One in five was killed and a one in third citizen of the republic was injured. About 4 million of civilians killed by the Nazis during the occupation. 2.3 million of citizens were taken to Germany, 5 million of soldiers were killed on the front. The capital of Ukraine - Kyiv lost 300 thousand persons, the same for the entire United States lost in the Second World War.

Almost the half (48%) of pre-war economic potential of Ukraine was destroyed, 714 cities and over 28 thousand villages (250 burned completely) converted to the ruins. Left intact only 19% of pre-war industry, while Italy was destroyed only 20%. On the Ukrainian SSR accounted for 42% of industrial facilities destroyed the USSR.

2. The process of rebuilding the economy of the republic complicated by famine of 1946-1947. The threat of famine caused by drought and post-war devastation, was not timely warnings neutralized state, but rather reinforced negative subjective factors. State grain procurements not decreased, but increased (in July 1946 grain requisition quotas increased from 340 million tons to 360 million pounds). Exports of grain and food products abroad increased (the so-called "fraternal states" exported 1.7 million tons of grain). At the same time intensified prosecutions-of "looting bread" that are labeled "enemies of the people". The government loans of grain stocks were minimal. Thus, the scenario of 1933 was repeated. More than 800 thousand people were died of starvation in the 1946-1947.

The USSR Supreme Soviet adopted a fourth five-year plan (1946-1950 of the building of the economy) in March 1946, which included exceeding its pre-war level. In Ukraine planned the proof at the end of five-year the gross of industrial productions to 113% compared to 1940.

**Features rebuilding industry.** Investments were the important problem of reconstruction. United States refused to grant loans to the Soviet Union, which was not party to the Marshall Plan (loans granted by the exit Communists from the government).

Deliveries as reparations from Germany and assistance from abroad were insignificant. Internal reserves were the main source of investment. Rebuilding the economy began with heavy industry. The Government was guided by political motives: to create a military-industrial complex that

would serve the guarantor of the country's defense and base the victory of world socialism over capitalism.

Ukraine has restored mines of Donbass for several years, Dnieper and large thermal power plants, steel mills. In 1948 engineering plants employed more than before the war.

The development of heavy industry occurred at the expense of light industry, agriculture, science and culture, which was funded by a residual. Thus, investment in light industry accounted for **12-15%** of all industrial investment.

Disparities in the development of industry sectors were intensified in favor of the military-industrial complex.

In the West and in Japan post-war reconstruction was carried out on the basis of industry of advanced technology and science, but the Soviet scientific and technological progress have been implemented slowly. Companies working on extremely high energy and material products old technologies. This was due to technical backwardness of the Soviet Union and the West.

Important reconstruction source was heroic enthusiasm of the people. 90% of employees were covered by various forms of socialist competition. As a result, in 1950 surpassed heavy industry and light - barely reached 80% of the prewar level. Ukraine has taken over the traditional place of fuel and metallurgical base of the Soviet Union.

**Agriculture rebuilding features.** Agriculture rebuilding held in extremely difficult conditions: crop area was reduced, quantity of manpower, equipment and horses were not enough; the situation of peasants was difficult: tiny wages, high taxes on farms, farmers did not have passports, they did not take pensions, benefits for temporary disability. A situation complicated by drought in 1946 and the famine in winter of 1946-1947. Investment in agriculture were inadequate. They were no more than 7% of total appropriations. Carried out the policy of "price scissors" for agriculture. State procurement prices were at level of 1928, while prices for industrial products increased for 20 times.

As a result, by the end of 1950 agriculture did not reach the pre-war level, as evidenced by the following: gross **grain** production was 77%, grain yield - 82% of the 1940.



**Finance.** In order to strengthen the finance (monetary contraction, produced during the war) in December 1947 was carried out monetary reform. It spent confiscatory methods. Old money that was in circulation, were exchanged for new at a ratio of 1:10. Deposits up to 3000 rubles revalued the ruble per ruble of 3 to 10 000 - a rate of 3 to 2, and more than 10 000 rubles - decreased by half.

Stalin's totalitarian system after the war continued to operate, it caused great damage to the whole society and culture. Creative activities came to a standstill, prospered so-called socialist realism. Stalin and his associates were preparing a new cleaning, new offensive against its own people.

**Days of late Stalinism in Ukraine** has found its expression in mass evictions from their homes entire nations, charges of treason and complicity.

In a USSR NKVD on January 7, 1944 stated: "... all identified supporters in Ukraine must be arrested with confiscation of property and be sent to Chernogorsk concentration camp" (Krasnoyarsk region). Western Ukrainians, half of which were deported only in 1946-1948 years felt the repression more likely. Significant portion of the Ukrainian population was forcibly relocated to the area Zakerzonnya (Lemkivschyna, Posyannya, Podlasie, Kholmshchyna) of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic or in remote regions of Poland as a result of the operation "Wisla" in 1944-1947, respectively.

Stalinism especially proved in the postwar years in the spiritual, ideological sphere to the final approval of Stalin and the Bolshevik ideological doctrine. Rude, incompetent intervention of the party in the spiritual sphere, denial of artistic freedom, authoritarian imposition of opinions, accusations of "bourgeois nationalism", "cosmopolitanism", "kowtowing to the West" and so on became the Manifestation of Stalinism. In the second half of the 40's 12 party resolutions on the so-called errors and distortions in the ideological sphere were passed. Three theses there tend to be dominated:

- Criticism of "manifestations of bourgeois nationalism" in the fields of literature, art and science;

- Lack of lighting in art of problems of Soviet reality, socialist realism" and their advantages over Western;

- Calls for the deployment of "Bolshevist criticism and self-criticism, detect enemies, the class struggle."

From 1946-1947 he was. Secretary under the direction of the CPSU (b) Zhdanov started an ideological campaign to "restore order" in science, culture, literature and art.

After the September (1947) plenum of the Union of Writers of Ukraine the frank public harassment and direct accusation of "nationalism» of M. Rylsky, Y. Yanovsky, I. Senchenko, O. Dovzhenko intensified.

A large group of scientists of the republic, including historians M. Petrovsky, K. Huslysty, M. Suprunenko, geneticists M. Gryshko, S. Hershynzon, I. Polyakov et al. were accused of departure from the principles of the Bolshevik party affiliation. Historians accused in the revival of "reactionary flames" V. Antonovych and Grushevkiy. In genetics, the most serious importance was dispelled "reaction veysmanizm-mendelism-morhanizm" campaign, its founder and inspirer was Academician Lysenko T., which is used in direct support of Stalin.

In the socio-political life of Ukraine took place the same processes that also took place in the Soviet Union. Regime one-man rule of Stalin established, his personality cult reached its peak. Ukraine had no right to pursue an independent policy. And regardless of who was at the head of Ukraine's authorities (First Secretary of the CC CP (b)U was Nikita Khrushchev (1943-1946 and 1948-1949), Lazar Kaganovich (1947), A. Melnykov (1950-1953), Kirichenko (1953-1957), all of them dutifully pursued a center policy, and any attempt to deviate from this course ended permutation frames or represiyamy. In Ukraine the peak of repression came in 1947, when the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) led the closest ally of Stalin - Lazar Kaganovich. Recent episode of Stalinist terror was the so-called right of doctors.

One of the characteristic manifestations of Stalinist terror of the postwar era were also repression of church leaders. In 1946 Greek Catholic Church was eliminated.

The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (it was revived during the occupation) also was eliminated. Hierarchs of UAOC sent into exile by the standard charges of aiding the Nazis. The priests of the Roman

Catholic Church were also repressed a man, so that believers have lost opportunities to perform religious rituals.

From the second half of 1948 renewed attack on the Russian Orthodox Church. Now not satisfied none believers petition the opening of the temple. Services outside churches were prohibited, canceled processions, except Easter. Were removed from registering churches where the priest due to lack of long-term services not performed. In Eastern regions of Ukraine was closed over 500 temples in the 1948-1950. Often, as a motive for closing the request inspires of believers put forward.

In modern historical literature general nature of the changes that have occurred in **the process of reconstruction and consolidation of Soviet power in Western Ukraine** is estimated as contradictory and ambiguous, especially in the socio-economic sphere.

**The positive changes and outcomes** include the development and modernization of the economic potential of the region, including:

- was made reconstruction of the old factories, rebuilt and built more than 2500 large and medium enterprises. The volume of gross output in the postwar five-year period increased by 3.2 times;
- the pace of industrial development is much higher than in the eastern regions of the UkrSSR, (more than 2 times);
- qualitative changes in the traditional sectors of the economy of Western regions there have been;
- processing of wood raw material and the development of local industries - wood, paper, chemical, new industries: machine building, instrument, light, etc.;
- discovery and development in the region of significant mineral deposits not only Republican, but union values.

However, it was accompanied by **negative factors and consequences**:

- Stalinist model of industrialization was here the same: gap light and food industries, total domination, quantitative indicators, the absence of a complete production cycle, complete dependence on the Federal Center and so on.
- natural resources of the land have confined in 40-50 years irrationally, especially forest and oil;

- the long traditions of farming land were initiating, industrialization carried out ill-conceived, volitionally, artificially;

- financial assistance provided from the East, served two functions: on the one hand, it really was the source of reconstruction and recovery of the economy, and on the other hand, is done for the purpose of planting and establishment of the Soviet system in all spheres of life, assimilation, Russification and re-population;

- collectivization process , which was accompanied by violence, terror, mass repressions, deportations of population restored forced in 1944.

The population of Western Ukraine reacted to communist regime in general hostile and was fighting against it. This struggle led by two forces: the Greek Catholic Church and the UPA. The Greek Catholic Church was abolished by the Bolsheviks in 1946 as a struggle against the UPA was extremely bloody and lasted until the mid 50's. NKVD Apparatus launched massive retaliatory action. "Only for the period 1946-1948 years «for the relationship with the UPA" over 500 thousand Western Ukrainians, mostly peasants, were sent to Siberia. UPA activity began to decline after the death in 1950 of its chief R. Shushkevich. Individual units of the rebels were in the middle of 50's.

A new period in history began with the death of Stalin, the essence of which was to liberalize the political life. This period, from the mid-1950s to mid-1960s, with a light hand of Russian writer Ehrenburg, called **"thaw."**

G. Malenkov - the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of USSR was elected, and in 1955 - M. Bulganin. Nikita Khrushchev was the First Secretary of the Central Committee. Beria declared as «enemy of the people» and the British spy, he was arrested and shot. There have been significant changes in the USSR In the summer of 1953. The plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine In June of 1953 dismissed Leonid Melnikov from the post of Secretary. First Secretary of the Central Committee was Olexander Kirichenko - the first Ukrainian in that position since the founding of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) in 1918. Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine on 29-30 July 1953, which was chaired by A. Kirichenko,

approved measures CPSU on Beria. Beria staff - Minister of Internal Affairs of the USSR AP Meshik and his deputy - C. Milstein were arrested and later executed in Kyiv. The number of heads of regional departments of the Interior Ministry were removed from their posts and carried out, cleansing the security organs and their significant reduction.

The question about the need to stop the "cult of personality politics" was raised. In the spring of 1953, though very cautiously. "Cult of personality" without mentioning that name until Stalin was hailed as "harmful and anti-Marxist". In the second half of 1953 earned commissions that started the rehabilitation of innocent prisoners: Live produced at will, dead ended reputation. Although this concerned a limited number of victims of Stalin's regime - only a few thousand people, and the start was made. Terrible Gulag prisoners gave voice. All require immediate review of their cases and release. In several camps near Vorkuta, Norilsk, Karaganda, Konhur rebellion broke out. Among the rebels were many Ukrainians, mostly former members of the UPA. The uprising was violently suppressed, but the rehabilitation process gaining strength. The organs of mass purges - military tribunals Troops and Special meeting of the Interior Ministry, which had the right to apply an administrative order expulsion, exile and imprisonment were eliminated In the autumn of 1953. The Commission of the Presidium of the CPSU Central Committee which must investigate cases during the "Great Terror" (1936-1939.) was found in 1954 and in 1955 issued position position of procurator supervision.

At the beginning of 1956 the CEC of the USSR act from December 1, 1934 abolished on the order of doing things "to prepare and carry out terrorist acts" and the Resolution dated December 1, 1934 and September 14, 1937 on changes in the criminal procedure codes, which not allowed to file appeals in cases of sabotage, terrorism and sabotage. In April, 1954 the KGB have identified from the Interior Ministry. It was headed by Ivan Serov, and T. Strokach became at the head of the KGB in Ukraine - both supporters of Nikita Khrushchev. Whereby the KGB staff significantly reduced. Already the initial period of de-Stalinization in the years 1953-1956 led to major changes in Ukraine. In particular, ideological campaign against intellectuals stopped, the process of Russification in leadership positions at various levels slowed down, local talent, especially in the

western regions of Ukraine, nominated them. Process of empowerment Soviet republics started in these years. In particular, the union of Ukraine in the Republican subordination passed several thousand companies and organizations. As a result, the budget of the republic rose from 18 billion rubles to 43.7 billion.

Consequently, financial and budgetary powers of the republic increased. However, these nation-building trends have not received further development and does not send at very moderate and narrow frame. USSR continued to be, in fact, a unitary state and the most important issues addressed in Moscow. From this angle you need to examine the first secretaries of the Communist Party of Ukraine, which was actually the first persons in republic: A. Kirichenko (1953-1957), M. Podgorny (1957-1963), P. Shelest (1963-1972), V. Shcherbytsky (1972-1989).

The most important thing was Khrushchev's criticism of Stalin's personality cult. Of particular importance in this criticism holds secret report of Khrushchev at the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU "On the Personality Cult and its Consequences".

There Stalin's policy was defined as false, in some ambush points – as criminal. This applies to mass arrests, of provocation, the use of torture during the investigation and so on. Although the criticism of Stalin in the report were fairly sharp, but not deep, because there were forgotten system principles and fundamental causes of the Stalinist regime. Causes of worship explained as hostile capitalist encirclement, sharp class struggle and especially negative traits of Stalin. Stalin's personality was separated from the system that spawned a cult of personality. The report did not put into question any of the stages of the policy of the Communist Party after 1917.

The very beginning of Stalin's terror was determined in 1934 that automatically excluded from the list of crimes regime forced collectivization, famine 1932-1933 etc. The names of victims of the cult of personality were too selective.

There Khrushchev took only communists who clearly followed the official line, but he mentioned neither opposition no ordinary citizens. Thus, the report was ignored questions of responsibility for crimes committed while the entire ruling elite. Report presented Lenin, party and the existing system as opposed to Stalin. Khrushchev's report "On the

Personality Cult and its Consequences" in the Soviet Union remained classified until 1989. Key provisions of the report in a much attenuated form became the basis of the CC CPSU on June 30, 1956 "On overcoming the cult of personality and its consequences». However, the criticism that was made, had an enormous influence on the political and moral-psychological atmosphere in the country.

Party leadership in the USSR at the direction of Moscow started condemning the cult of personality campaign at party meetings and in the press. Rehabilitation of victims of Stalinist repression accelerated. However, accurate data on the number of victims has not been rehabilitated. According to recent data, provided in the literature, at the end of the 50s by the KGB and the Prosecutor's Office of the Republic has been viewed nearly 5.5 million persons, 3.2 million of which were rehabilitated. Majority of victims of the repressions of the 20's - early 30's and almost everyone who somehow was accused of nationalism, left out rehabilitation. However, even dosed Khrushchev 's criticism of cult of personality stir of Stalinists. They feared punishment for their crimes. Therefore, members of the Presidium of the CC CPSU Molotov, Malenkov, Kaganovich, Voroshilov, Bulganin and others conspired together in the first polovyni1957 year. they suddenly raised the question of Khrushchev June 18, 1957 at a meeting of the Presidium. But the extraordinary June (1957) Plenum supported Khrushchev and excluded of Molotov, Malenkov, Kaganovich and joined them Shepilov, from the Presidium of the Central Committee. The structure of the Presidium of the Central Committee included people who supported Khrushchev, Leonid Brezhnev in particular. Khrushchev duly appreciated commitment both originally from Ukraine - Olexander Kirichenko. The December (1957) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee chose O. Kirichenko Secretary of the CPSU. M. Podgorny supported by Khrushchev to the post of first secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine in December 1957 was elected , also from among those who supported Khrushchev in June (1957) Plenum of the Central Committee. In March 1958.

Khrushchev made the shift of Bulganin of the chairperson of the Council of Ministers in March 1958, he having taken this position himself. At the same time, he remained first secretary of the Communist Party. Now in top management no one bothered him conduct the planned reforms and

responsible for their halfness, crude and failure from now fell to Khrushchev.

Especially in social and political life, Khrushchev decided to deepen the liberalization rate regime and criticized the cult of personality. Outstanding role there was played by the XXII Congress of the CPSU, held in October 1961. The thesis that the originator and organizer of mass repression was not only Stalin, as noted earlier, but also a certain group of people around Stalin, was put forward at this congress. Specific individuals - Molotov, Kaganovich, Malenkov and others were identified. The body was carry out of Stalin Mausoleum, its numerous monuments in different parts of the country have destroyed, his name disappeared from the names of streets, farms, cities, his works were removed from public libraries. XXII Party Congress confirmed the expansion rate of the so-called "socialist democracy." It was extended position of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the transformation of public power.

Some changes in the functioning of the political system only supposed. More attention, particularly in Ukraine, have drawn attention to the role of representative state authorities, empowerment Soviets. Their work has become more sophisticated and active. Supreme Council of UkrSSR adopted on the basis of union legislation a number of important laws: the budgetary powers of the UkrSSR and local councils, the Judiciary and others; adopted codes: criminal and criminal procedure, civil and civil procedure. In practice public discussion of draft laws and other issues of life of the republic and the country began to include. Slightly increased opportunities for trade unions, who were given the right of legislative initiative and transferred certain functions that formerly belonged to the public. Canatoriums and resthouses were transferred to Unions, and since 1962 expanded trade union activities in the field of social security. However, the general mechanism of public-political administration acted before, keeping the totalitarian nature, open criticism of the political regime is permitted, elections to the councils at all levels were formal. Councils had no real power. Trade unions, the Komsomol, creative unions remained as actually part of government agencies.

But the main thing was that not only maintained, but also intensified comprehensive dictates of the party apparatus. Khrushchev could not change the old system, although intuitively it took steps in this direction.



XXII Congress of the CPSU (1961) included in the charter party clause on the update at each regular election of the Central Committee and its Bureau at least a quarter and the election of members of the governing party of the Presidium of the primary of only three successive terms. But if other Khrushchev's innovations was taken to the execution unit, then he touched a chord nomenclature. Among the party leadership from the district level to the Presidium of the Central Committee began to grow dull discontent. Anger and resentment aroused range of statutes, which deprived it of many privileges granted during the Stalinist era. In particular, the elimination of so-called "packages" - which are not declared and not taxed extra monthly cash payments from the state treasury to certain categories of apparatus workers. Then came the order to drastically reduce the amount of personal service machines, there were proposals to liquidate closed distributors etc. A new group of conspirators began to take shape against Khrushchev. This led to the events of October 1964 and his removal him from the power. The ruling elite understood that in a critique of the cult of personality and some liberalization of the people should be given some kind of ideological orientation, something to capture a new generation of people in a "thaw". In the XXI Congress of the CPSU (January-February 1959) it was stated that at the turn of 1950-60's socialism in the USSR defeated completely and permanently. It was concluded that the second program of the Communist Party (1919), which set the task of socialism building, fully implemented and faced the need to adopt a third program. The new program of the Communist Party - the program of communism building adopted at the XXII Congress of the CPSU in 1961, declared that the transition to communism requires the simultaneous solution of three interrelated tasks: creating the material and technical base of communism, the development of communist social relations and education new man. The defining of these tasks has been called creating the material and technical base of communism. And since the program was introduced specific tasks to create this database in the next 10 - 20 years. The program assumed that by 1980 the Soviet society should be "mostly" communist and access to distribution "according to his needs."

**Generation of the sixties.** Weakening of ideological pressure in the second half of the 1950s - early 1960s was corresponding result: during the "thaw" the beginnings of a generation that questioned the officially

declared values. "Thaw" brought a new moral and psychological atmosphere in society, has created a different political climate and thereby expanded the opportunities for creative scientific, cultural activities. These phenomena are taking the country particularly acutely felt intelligentsia. Gradually began to emerge in major changes in its values Generations of intellectuals that inspired faith in the renewal of society, the triumph of freedom and democracy became known as the "sixties generation" because the top of their work took place at the beginning of the 60's. And this meaning of the word was then appeared. This generation sought a new, fresh, progressive, not stiff clamped in the framework of "socialist realism." His creative work sixties made a breakthrough in the formal Soviet culture, started a new Ukrainian national revival.

The first among them were poets. In Ukraine, in a loud voice sounded poems of V. Symonenko, L. Kostenko, Vasyl Stus, V. Vingranovskiy, D. Pavlychko, Ivan Drach et al. In prose declared themselves: E. Gutsalo, Gr. Tyutyunnik, V. Shevchuk, J. Drozd. Appeared talented literary critics - Ivan Dziuba, J. Svitlychny, E. Sverstyuk. His talent revealed in the fine arts P. Zalyvakha, A. Gorska, V. Zaretsky, Yu. Yakutovych, G. Sverstyuk, in film - S. Paradjanov, Y. Illyenko, G. Aspen.

The movement of the sixties clearly lasted nearly a decade. Already 17 December 1962 at a specially convened meeting of intellectuals' meetings with the leadership of the state sharply criticized. Following internal upheaval in the Communist Party and the resignation of Khrushchev's fall 1964 state censorship pressure on intellectuals sharply increased. After resolution of the CPSU Central Committee "On Censorship" (Spring 1965), especially after entering Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia (late "Prague Spring") (summer 1968) CPSU is working towards the restoration of totalitarianism. From the "thaw" in the cultural and political liberalization was finished. Country's ruling party (CPSU) which she ruled the country, rightly saw in a creative, liberal and democratic intellectuals' main threat to his dictatorship, monopoly of power since the Prague events. Movement "Sixties" was destroyed or driven into the inner "spiritual underground" by arrests of 1965-1972 pp. In the process of the sixties without much resistance switched to official positions (V. Korotych, I. Drach, V. Drozd, Ye. Hutsalo etc.), some for a

long time (L. Kostenko) and other general ceased to print (B. Mamaysur, V. Holoborodko, Ya. Stupak).

Even some that did not stop the resistance and the Russification of national discrimination, arrested and punished by imprisonment of many years (I. Svitlichny, Y. Sverstjuk, V. Stus, I. Kalynets, V. Marchenko et al.), which they either died (V. Stus, V. Marchenko), or after the release of their completely banned participation in literature. With the latter, who were arrested, only Ivan Dziuba officially surrendered and was released from prison and allowed to literary work, but entirely in the wake of socialist realism.

In the outcome of these processes in the early 1970s literary movement of the sixties had disappeared entirely, only in the works of several poets and writers (Lina Kostenko, Valery Shevchuk) preserved signs of literary update them started.

In addition, the movement of the sixties, played a significant role in the spread of samizdat literature and most importantly - to strengthen the resistance movement in Ukraine against Russian chauvinism and Russification (book of I. Dziuba "Internationalism or Russification?" Essay of Y. Sverstyuk, self-published poetry of many authors, including V. Symonenko, N.Vavilov - protest the works of these two young poets most multiplied and spread, and other incriminating pamphlets and letters of protest literature Vasyl Stus, V. Marchenko, etc.).

**Dissidents.** Dysyidents 's movement emerged in Ukraine in the middle of 50 years and was the general Ukrainian phenomenon: covering various social segments of the population all regions of republic. Dysyident 's movement aimed to free development of Ukrainian culture and language, ensuring civil rights and was a manifestation of national liberation movement. It should be emphasized that most dissidents opposed the Soviet regime and sought peaceful forms of activity. Ukrainian dissidents were reformists, not revolutionaries. The core of Ukrainian dissident movement were already known "Sixties" - poets L. Kostenko, V. Symonenko, M. Vinhranovskyy, Dziuba, I. Svitlichny, Y. Sverstyuk, Christina A. Horska, L.Lukash. Later there joined V. Stus, V. Holoborodko, Igor and Irina Kalynets, Horyn brothers, General P. Grigorenko and others.

Stages of the dissident movement:

**I. Mid. 50's - 1968 - the birth of dissent, its ideological and organizational design.** At this stage, the main manifestation of dissent began to protest, appeal to the leaders of the country, concerning national issues of repression against dissidents, democratization issues. Spread uncensored literature - "samizdat" and "tamvydav". In "samizdat" circulating such outstanding works as "Internationalism or Russification « by I. Dziuba, "Joining or reunion" by M. Braychevsky, "Temple scaffold" Y. Sverstyuk, "Report of the Reserve University. Beri" by V. Moroz. Uncensored literature (literature issued independently) was the main source of information dissident movement, awakened patriotism, national consciousness.

With a view to combating organized forms of legal form of dissidents. In 1959 in Lviv Ukrainian Workers 'and Peasants' Union, led by Lukyanenko emerged, demanding withdrawal of Ukraine from the Soviet Union under the Constitution.

Ukraine had "become quite completely independent state with well-developed socialist political system."

The denounced group was arrested. Lukyanenko was sentenced to death, and after 73 days of the sentence was replaced 15 years imprisonment.

In 1967 by the KGB was exposed underground organization "Ukrainian National Front", which operated from 1964 to Western. UNF participants aimed to establishment of an independent Ukrainian state developed a program of reconstruction of society on a democratic basis.

**II. 1968-1976 years - the rise of the dissident movement and his temporary exit from underground.**

Contributed to the revitalization of dissidents: the intervention of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia in 1968, which sparked a wave of protests and disturbances; publication during 1970-1974 years of Lviv uncensored «Ukrainian Herald", V. Chornovil was its editor. Herald contributed to the organization and consolidation of the dissident movement; Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in 1975 the Soviet Union signed the Helsinki Final Act, which provided a guarantee of civil rights and freedoms in the member countries of the meeting.

In 1976 in Ukraine to promote and monitor the implementation of the Helsinki Act Ukrainian Helsinki Group, headed by writer M. Rudenko

was established. It was the first legal dissident organization. 37 people became its members - all most active dissidents of the time: V. Chornovil, L. Lukyanenko, V. Stus, I. Kandyba, Yu. Shuhevych et al. Authorities vandalized group. 23 men were arrested and imprisoned. In captivity V. Stus, O. Tyhyy, Yu. Lytvyn were killed. The defeat of repression and led to a decline in the dissident movement.

**III. Since the mid 80's. - from the beginning of perestroika** - the activities of dissidents is activated, the conditions for the revival of the nation-state.

**The dissident movement consisted of three main trends that is scattered, it is merged.**

**1. Human rights or democratic dissent**, represented in Russia by Sakharov, Solzhenitsyn, and their associates, and in our country - Ukrainian Helsinki Group (UHG) - that is, to promote the implementation of the Helsinki agreements on human rights and the USSR signed in 1975 (UGG) was founded in November 1976 in Kyiv. It was led by writer M. Rudenko. The group consisted of A. Berdnik, I. Grigorenko, L. Lukyanenko, I. Kandyba, M. Marinovich et al., around 37 people. UGG liaised with Sakharov, Yu. Orlov - the Moscow rights defenders. UGG was intended: to familiarize the Ukrainian society of the UN Declaration of Human Rights; gather evidence of abuse of power of human rights, national rights in Ukraine, the use of ethnic politics - and linguocide and forced Russification; force the direct contact between Ukraine and other countries of accreditation in the country representatives of the foreign press, free exchange of information and ideas.

However, no definite moderation UGG or legal forms of work, nor the international public opinion prevented the Soviet authorities to launch a crackdown. By 1980 about 75% of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group were imprisoned for a term of 10 to 15 years. The rest emigrated.

**2. Religious dissent** that was intended for actual fighting, not declarative recognition of freedom of conscience. In Ukraine, in particular, it was fighting for the restoration of Ukrainian Greek Catholic and Orthodox autocephalous churches, freedom of Protestant sects. The most outstanding representatives of this movement were G. Vinc, I. Gel, B. Romaniuk, J. Terelya.

**3. Nationally oriented dissent**, which strongly condemned chauvinism, imperial policy center, forced Russification, acted to protect the rights and freedoms of all peoples and their cooperation in the fight for the living conditions worthy of a civilized world. Some part of this movement advocated the idea of separation of Ukraine from the Soviet Union peacefully. To this direction belonged I. Dziuba, C. Karavansky, V. Moroz, V. Chornovil, Igor and Irina Kalynets, M. Kosiv et al.

A characteristic feature of all three areas of dissent - Ukrainian national interest of the people, namely organic inclusion in the scope of the national factor. The specificity of the dissident movement is that it, being a real opposition force, actually had no own organizational structures (parties, unions), no coherent overall program. The ideological spectrum of the dissident movement in Ukraine was a national-communist (I. Dziuba), and from there up to the platform close integral nationalism Dontsov and OUN (V. Moroz).

How many were dissidents in Ukraine? In the list of dissidents of 1960-1972 years renowned Canadian researcher Ukrainian history B. Kravchenko there were 975 people.

**Khrushchev's reforms.** Having set the task to "catch up and overtake America" and promised for 20 years to build communism in the Soviet Union, Nikita Khrushchev launched a broad program of economic reforms.

The economic reforms carried out in the 50s, radically changed the conditions for the development of industry and agriculture.

Positive effects have, including decentralization of economic management, introduced in 1957. Industry management was handed the Agricultural enterprises (economic councils) economic areas that are managed by industry in its territory, regardless of type. There were 11 economic regions In Ukraine; increase in appropriations for the support of scientific and technological progress; increasing the autonomy of collective and state farms; elimination of machine-tractor stations and the transfer of their property collective and state farms; increase in purchasing prices for grain (7 times), potatoes (8 times), animal products (5.5 times).

The second half of the 50s was a period of significant economic growth, agriculture first became profitable.

Economic growth of the second half of 50's proved unstable, because the reforms were half-hearted (not touched bases command economy) is not properly grounded.

Agriculture was a real testing ground for all sorts of ill reorganizations and innovations unrealistic programs (virgin epic, unprecedented increase in acreage under maize and sugar beet, development of ahrocities etc.) that adversely affected agricultural production.

Economic growth began falling in the late 50's - early 60's. If the in the 1951-1958 annual industrial output grew by 12.3%, over the 1959-1965 - 8.8%. From 1950 to 1958, the gross of Republic agricultural output increased by 65%, and in the 1958-1964 biennium – on 3%.

**Social programs of M.S. Khrushchev.** Pension reform in 1956 increased the pension age average more than 2 times, disability - 1.5 times. Farmers began to receive pensions. Increased allocations for health, education, abolished tuition fees in upper secondary schools, specialized secondary and higher educational institutions.

Investment in housing increased, it was reduced to an unprecedented pace. For the 1950-1960 amount of apartments built in the city increased by 17 times, and in rural areas - 14 times. The working day was reduced to 7 h, and for workers in the coal and mining industry - up to 6 hours. Welfare increased, income of the working people for the years 1951-1958 increased to 230%. In general, the standard of living in Ukraine increased slowly. Production of consumer goods, services, catering behind the needs of the population.

At the beginning of 60's the situation has deteriorated dramatically in the USSR and carried out in 1961 currency reform had a negative impact on living standards has led to higher prices. After a wave of protest, and in 1962 in Novocherkassk held strikes, which were shot by troops.

After the drought in 1963 there was a food crisis, the population was on the brink of starvation. Since that time, the Soviet Union began to buy the grain abroad were put on bread cards. The dissatisfaction of the people grew.

In these circumstances, the initiative of entourage M.Khrushchev, including M. Podgorny and P. Shelest, Plenum (October 1964) Khrushchev was dismissed from the post of first secretary of the CPSU Central

Committee and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. L.I.Brezhnev was elected as First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Khrushchev reforms had many positive aspects, but because of their inconsistency and fundamental changes in the economy and other spheres of public life did not happen. A series of social and economic programs has been scientifically unsubstantiated and often bordering on adventurism.

Most historians have the opinion that the transformation of Khrushchev's period is not affected from an existing system under Stalin.

Removal of Khrushchev actually meant the rejection of reform and liberalization. In Ukraine, as in the Soviet Union as a whole, came two decades dominance of conservative forces.

**"Stagnation".** "Stagnation" is the period of life from the mid-1960s to mid-1980s called in journalism and scientific literature. The country does not stand still - the development was, but the pace of progress slowed down and did not meet the growing needs of society. Brezhnev expressed interests party apparatus first of all.

Check out from liberalization and strengthening of conservatism required and appropriate personnel changes on the ground. From 1963 to 1972 the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine was P.Shelest - promoted by Khrushchev, who took an active part in Khrushchev's removal from power. But Shelest was not quite a typical representative of the Higher Party nomenklatura (appointees). In the historical literature, there is a view of the involvement of the Shelest's Ukrainian autonomy ideas, national communism and so on. He is sympathetic to expand formal framework for the use of the Ukrainian language. Decision to transfer high schools in the Ukrainian language teaching was accepted in the summer of 1965 at a meeting of rectors of USSR universities. Shelest constantly in official speeches, including at party conventions, used Ukrainian language. He escaped from persecution of O.Gonchar writer for his novel "The Cathedral" in the 1968-1969, which O.Vatchenko - the first secretary of the Dnepropetrovsk regional party was began. Therefore, it would be wrong to ignore the continuation of some liberalization in the field of cultural policy in the USSR at Shelest. However, arrests of dissidents in the country in 1965-1972 years could occur without the Shelest's apprehension. He actively supported the invasion of Warsaw Pact troops in



August 1968 in Czechoslovakia. Shelest led authoritarian the line of Party organization, do not hesitate to remove the heads, he protested. Independent style of leadership of the republic, prone Shelest perform to detail all instructions from Moscow, unwillingness to glatter the Secretary General, collisions in the Politburo of M. Suslov, strong-willed character Shelest tired Brezhnev. He decided to remove and replace it Shelest by native comes from Dnipropetrovsk.

Shelest was fired from the post of first secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine under the pretext of transferring him to the position of Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers in May 1972.

Shcherbytskyi (1972-1989 ) became the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine. Sharply negative review of a book Shelest "Our Soviet Ukraine" was In April 1973 in the magazine "Communist of Ukraine". In his review of the matter seriously flawed and erroneous assessment of important historical events, the absence of clear party-class criteria in the analysis of specific historical events and facts about the coverage of the Soviet economy from Ukraine bad position of economic autarky and more. While such accusations meant the end of his political career. The review was not objective because Shelest's book actually has no different from the similar publications it that time. But Brezhnev, Suslov and Shcherbytsky Shelest had to discredited in the public eye and have a reason for his removal from the political arena. Indeed: Shelest brought from the Politburo and sent to retirement in spring of 1973. Shcherbytsky became he first figure in Ukraine, who, unlike his predecessor, did not back a step from the rate specified in Moscow. Ukraine has sharply intensified Russification, conducted especially merciless fight against any dissent, the economic interests of the republic were completely subordinated to the interests of the center. Shcherbytsky pointly spoke only Russian. In 1970-1980's party congresses, plenary session councils, conferences, meetings, seminars were held in the country only in Russian. The new secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine ideology V. Malanchuk under Shcherbytsky's protégé launched shameful campaign of harassment of Ukrainian intelligentsia. For several years Shcherbytsky lost Shelest's supporters and nominees, set up in key positions his loyal people. Thus, by 1976 the 10 members of the Politburo of the Communist Party of Ukraine, elected in 1971, only five left and of five alternate members of the

Politburo left only one. The same was done at the level of secretaries of regional committees of the party and ministers. The new head of the KGB of USSR V.Fedorchuk became performed Shcherbytsky's wills. His successor as Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers insisted Shcherbytsky assign O. Lyashko (1972-1987), Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR was a native of Dnipropetrovsk region A. Vatchenko (1976-1984), and after his death - V. Shevchenko (1985-1990). All what happened under the leadership of Brezhnev across the Union was led Shcherbytsky and within the UkrSSR.

**Constitution of the USSR 1978.** The new Constitution of the USSR, developed from the Soviet Constitution of 7 October 1977 was adopted in April 20, 1978. Its main provisions:

- USSR is a sovereign state in the voluntary union of Soviet republics;

- The Ukrainian SSR reserves the right freely to secede from the USSR (the mechanism of realization of this right was not discussed);

- In the USSR a developed socialist society have built, which created the powerful productive forces steadily increased prosperity and culture of the people;

- the power in the USSR belongs to the people, who exercise it through the council elections;

- the CPSU is the leading and guiding force of Soviet society, the nucleus of its political system (the infamous 6th article);

- Economy of USSR is an integral part of one national and economic system of the USSR;

- A guarantee of rights (to work, housing, free education, medicine, etc.) and freedoms (speech, assembly, religion, etc.) of citizens is declared;

The Constitution of 1978, reinforcing the subordinate position of the USSR, many of its articles were declaratory in nature and did not correspond to the realities of social life.

### **Economic Kosygin's reform of 1965**

#### **Positive factors:**

- Expanding of economic independence of enterprises (self-financing).

- Incentives to work, depending on the results strengthen;

- Funds material incentives to enterprises provide;

- Evaluation of enterprises not on gross, and for sales.

### **Negative factors:**

- The elimination of economic councils, line ministries renovation;
- Centralization (distribution center was the prerogative of production, development and distribution of production, etc.) increased;
- The lack of competition, increase sales is due to the quality and cheapness of goods, and by false or reduction plan.

The reform was an attempt to incorporate elements of economic incentives in the current system, the administrative-command management of the economy, it was doomed to failure.

### **Industrial development**

#### **Achievements:**

- High rate of electricity (enacted a large number of plants - Dnieper, Burshtyn, Zmiev, Zaporizhzhya, the Chernobyl nuclear power plant, etc).
- Rapid development of coal, oil, gas, chemical pro-industry, metallurgy, mechanical engineering;
- Construction of new large enterprises complexes, shops;
- An increase of quantitative indicators of industrial production.

#### **Crisis facts:**

- The predominance of production of labor over the production of consumer goods;
- Low quality products;
- Gradual slowdown;
- Reduce profitability;
- Lack of mechanization and automation of production;
- Harmony means of production, exhausting labor and material resources;

- Center did not realize the economic opportunities in Ukraine, irresponsible attitude to its environment (building a huge number of chemicals and other hazardous enterprise populated areas, creating "artificial seas" on the Dnieper River, resulting in fertile black soil found themselves at the bottom, and so on.).

### **Development of agriculture**

#### **Achievements:**

- Increase investment in the agricultural sector;

- Rising prices of agricultural products in public procurement;
- Setting fixed prices for government purchases of 6 years and 50% premium to the purchase price for unscheduled products;
- The introduction of guaranteed pay farmers at tariff rates;
- Reducing the tax on farms;
- Mechanization of agricultural production (crop and harvesting machines, automatic milking machines etc.);
- Reduction of prices of agricultural machinery and spare parts;
- Complete electrification of collective farms and state farms, reduction of electricity tariffs for industrial purposes of villages;
- Reduce administrative action against farms and so on.

**Crisis:**

- Proliferation of management personnel in agriculture;
- Rigid centralization of management, incompetent intervention center in local affairs;
- Inefficient use of capital; low returns on investment (in the beginning. 1980s pp.% 40 collective farms and state farms of the Ukrainian SSR were unprofitable or loss);
- Insufficient quantity and poor quality of agricultural machinery; lack of fertilizers, plant protection chemicals, etc.;
- Low level of the agricultural sector of new scientific developments;
- Inefficient use of land resources (piecemeal reclamation, the return of the best black soil for construction, laying on the fertile lands of ways, the creation of reservoirs, etc.); reduction in acreage;
- Careless processing and storage of crops; the result was an annual loss of one third of fruits and vegetables, 10% grains;
- Lack of social development of the village, the outflow of young people in the city; unpromising appearance "dying" villages (from 1966 to 1985 with a map of USSR disappeared over 1.5 thousand. villages);
- Generally low financial incentives for agricultural labor;
- Decline in production (in 1985 growth of agricultural production in the USSR was only 0.5%, which is less than the population growth).

The government tried to stop dangerous trends in the economy (the resolution of numerous plenary sessions on improving the efficiency of industry and agriculture, new slogans like "The economy must be economical" decision-Food Program, etc.), but the collective farm system

and Sovyet management and administrative-command methods of economic management exhausted. Radical social and economic changes required.

## **CHAPTER 5. HISTORICAL FEATURES OF STATE PROCESSES IN INDEPENDENT UKRAINE (SINCE 1991).**

In the early 80s the Soviet party system reached a deadlock, impossibility of preserving existing course without significant changes in the Soviet Union became more evident. The symbol of the dying empire became funeral processions - 1982 (L. Brezhnev), 1984 (V. Andropov), 1985 (K. Chernenko).

Since April 1985 the Soviet totalitarian system temporarily was saved again by the new party leadership headed by Mikhail Gorbachev, who declares reforms and policy of accelerating of socio-economic development. Launched at this time process of updating later received the name "perestroika", although its nature, content and purpose were never clearly defined.

Starting regular reforms, CPSU management considered that it will be enough only to fix some of the negative features of the Soviet system, and "socialism with a human face" will be the future.

Perestroika in Ukraine had its own characteristics that distinguished it from other Soviet republics:

1. The Communist Party of Ukraine remained the most orthodox, loyal Communist Party.
2. Here was a strong opposition party and the longest resistance of conservative forces led by V. Shcherbytsky.
3. Soviet Ukraine remained "nature reserve of stagnation" without a basic sovereignty and independence from the center.

However, the period of Perestroika cannot be underestimated, it opened last line of the struggle towards statehood, facilitated, reduced, accelerated this way.

Would be the independence of Ukraine without Perestroika of 1985-1991 years? The answer is simple - yes, but the way it would be longer, heavier and more sacrificial.

The process of adjustment passed several stages from April 1985 to August 1991:

**Stage I** - April 1985 - January 1987, the time maturation of policy adjustment.

In April 1985, the new party leadership headed by Mikhail Gorbachev put forward the strategic goal: course on accelerating of socio-

economic development, restore of basic order, strengthening of labor and technological discipline, increase in responsibility of staff and others.

First results were quite encouraging: in the 1985-1986 years the growth rate of industrial production in Ukraine accounted 4.3% in agriculture - 3.5% (in the previous year, respectively 3.5% and 0.5%). Positive changes took place in foreign policy - "new thinking", the deployment and strengthening public.

But alongside with it appeared new utopian program: residential to its decision until 2000, anti-alcohol campaign, much time spent on organizational and promotional activities.

**Stage II** - January 1987 - summer 1988 – understanding of the main tasks of reconstruction, creation and expansion of its social base.

At the January (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee initiated a new stage of perestroika to the forefront put forward no longer accelerating, and the task of democratization of public life.

During this period there is a reorganization of personnel policy, the first secretary of the Dnepropetrovsk, Voroshylovhrad, Lviv oblast are exempt, a lot of secretaries of regional committees of the Communist Party too.

At this stage defined strategic task of remodeling: the new political thinking; radical economic reform (June 1987 Plenum of the CPSU) democratization of the entire political structure.

Just at this time formed the social base of perestroika – occur, become stronger and gain credibility in the community informal organization.

**Stage III** - Summer 1988 - May 1989 - displacement of the center of driving forces of perestroika from top to bottom.

For the first time during the Soviet period raised the question of the need for fundamental reform of the political system, the rule of law, parliamentary system, division of power.

In the economic sphere, is observed increase of autonomy of public enterprises and the expansion of the private sector.

The CPSU more and more "do not fit" in the process of rebuilding, not "time" the course of events appears massive free-thinking, forming new political structure, began a process of establishment of multiparty in Ukraine.

**Stage IV** - May 1989 - February 1990 - separation of polar and consolidation of political forces in society, their open confrontation.

This phase is characterized by active stimulation, deepening of the restructuring process. At this time, intensive formation of Popular Front is gaining strength - the first independent organizations that were widespread.

At that time in Ukraine occurs People's Movement of Ukraine for Perestroika (September 1989), an independent mass working-class movement (July 1989).

The monopoly of the CPSU in the political sphere is gradually replaced by real pluralism. Finally, under pressure of circumstances in February (1990) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee voted for the abolition of the 6th article of the Constitution of the USSR, calling the CPSU core of the political system.

**Stage V** - February - December 1990 - a gradual shift of the political leadership of the USSR from formal and "revolutionary" changes and simultaneously radicalization of the masses.

During this period situation in the country was particularly exacerbated. The decline in the economy became a reality. In 1990, Ukraine's gross social product fell by 2.4% compared to 1989; national income respectively decreased by 3.6%. Fall in industrial development of the republic amounted to 0.1%, agriculture - 3.7%.

"Revolution from above" (the planned restructuring) increasingly acquired features of chaotic, uncontrolled process in which shocks "from below" became stronger and often was ahead of the reaction "initiators of perestroika" in the course of events.

Political life in Ukraine at this stage of perestroika was marked by activity and the intensity, the state of crisis in the CPU increasingly grew more. Thus, if in 1989 the number of members of the Communist Party declined by 0.25%, in 1990 - 10%.

**Stage VI** - December 1990 - August 1991 - aggravation of economic and political crisis in the USSR, attempt of conservative forces to save the empire; the end of the restructuring, the victory of democratic forces

The decline in production grew dramatically, in 1991 the gross social product in Ukraine was 11.3% lower than in 1990, the national income declined by 11.2% drop in industry was 4.8%, agriculture - 13, 2%.



A milestone of this phase became the March (1991) referendum, the essence of which was the issue of preserving the existing Soviet Union.

Trying of conservative camp move in active actions, the power to take revenge embodied in the implementation of 19-21 August 1991 coup. But the democratic forces managed not only to survive but also to defeat the coup, and August 24, 1991. Ukrainian parliament adopted the Act of Independence of Ukraine.

December 1, 1991 there were two events of historic importance - more than 90% of people who participated in the nationwide referendum, supported the independence of Ukraine, at the same time was elected the President - Leonid Kravchuk (more than 61% of the vote).

**Nation-building.** After independence, one of the first steps of state building was the introduction attributes of statehood.

November 4, 1991, the Verkhovna Rada adopted the Law "On the State Border of Ukraine," which proclaimed the inviolability of borders, determined the order their protection and transition rules.

December 12, 1991 the President of Ukraine signed the Decree "On establishment of the State Customs Committee of Ukraine", although by special arrangement between the CIS countries borders acknowledged as "transparent" - without customs control.

August 24, 1991 extraordinary session of parliament adopted a resolution "On military forces in Ukraine", was created a Ministry of Defence of Ukraine, headed by General K. Morozov.

December 6, 1991 was adopted the Law "On the Armed Forces of Ukraine."

November 4, 1991 was adopted the Law "On the National Guard of Ukraine."

September 20, 1991 by the Supreme Council was founded the National Security Service (since March 1992 SBU).

November 5, 1991, the Verkhovna Rada adopted the Law "On Prosecutor's Office".

October 8, 1991, the Verkhovna Rada adopted the Law "On Citizenship of Ukraine". Citizenship was granted to all who at the time of entry into force of the Law were living in Ukraine and were not citizens of other countries, did not object to citizenship of Ukraine.

Special places in the state attributes occupy anthem, emblem and flag.

January 15, 1992 The Verkhovna Rada adopted the musical version of the National Anthem "Ukraine has not perished."

September 4, 1991 After three voting blue and yellow national flag ceremoniously raised over the house of parliament.

January 28, 1992 by the resolution of Verkhovna Rada it was approved as the national flag.

February 19, 1992 the Supreme Council adopted the trident as a small coat of arms of Ukraine.

Introduction of own currency.

November 1990 - Introduction of the consumer card, goods were sold under the condition of the simultaneous payment not only with rubles, but with the disposable coupons. Instauration of market with goods, insecurity of coupons did not give the desired result.

From January 10th 1992 the role of of currency with rampant inflation performed new coupons reusable with a certain protection (made in France).

September 2, 1996 according to the Decree of President Leonid Kuchma to replace the coupon come true national currency - the hryvnia.

Reorganization of authority:

February 25, 1992 signed the Presidential Decree "On changes in the central bodies of executive power in Ukraine."

February 28, 1992 Presidential Decree "On State Duma Ukraine" was founded permanent body, headed by the President. The State Duma lasted until the end of the year and did not become effective governing body.

March 5, 1992 was established Institute of representatives of the President as the highest officials of the executive powers. However, in 1994 Parliament eliminated the institution of government.

Assessing the reorganization of government, we must say that until now it is ineffective, its reform and reorganization is not completed. At the heart state system of the republic occurred, in fact, a combination of mechanical elements of parliamentary republic, presidential rule and Soviet power, which leads to many internal contradictions and struggles even of different branches of government.

**The constitutional process.** "Declaration of State Sovereignty of Ukraine" adopted on July 16, 1990, became the legal basis for the concept of the new Constitution of Ukraine, but the events of August 24, 1991 brought major adjustments to the development of the constitutional process.

However, imposition to the public discussion in 1992-1993 of two versions of the draft of the Constitution of Ukraine ended in failure. Verkhovna Rada did not approve any of them, remained valid Constitution of the USSR 1978 to which was introduced more than 200 amendments.

Once Leonid Kuchma became President of Ukraine, a new constitutional commission was created, but because of opposition of powers and the struggle of political forces, it was not effective too.

A compromise became the Constitutional Agreement, Supreme Council approved June 8, 1995, which created the conditions for activation of the constitutional process.

In June 1996 Verkhovna Rada considered the draft of Constitution in the second reading. The most disputed issues were:

status of the Republic of Crimea; official language; national symbols; private property; division of powers.

President Kuchma already prepared a decree on holding a referendum to approve the constitution.

Finally, the fifth matching commission gave its effects - on the night of 27 to 28 June 1996 the main provisions were agreed and approved in the morning June 28, 1996 The Constitution of Ukraine adopted.

In the Constitution of Ukraine (XV sections) were defined the basic principles of the supreme bodies of state and local governments, their relationships and competencies, rights, freedom and duties of citizens, enshrined the territorial structure of Ukraine, was determined the procedure making amendments and transitional provisions.

Adoption of the basic law of the state created a legal basis for the further development of the constitutional process and the establishment of legal, democratic sovereign Ukraine.

Since the constitutional reform of 2004, Ukraine became a parliamentary-presidential republic. In the parliament majority was formed. Its status designed the amendments to the Constitution of Ukraine in 1996

and the Resolution "On the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine" in 2006 and the parliamentary opposition (opposition the status of, the order of distribution of Parliamentary Committees, formation Shadow cabinet just like in the UK supposed to accept the law of Ukraine "on the parliamentary opposition "). The parliamentary majority determined the identity of the Prime Minister and submitted to the President of Ukraine, and that in turn once again brought the candidacy of the Prime Minister for approval in parliament. The president has not made to the parliamentary candidacy of Ministers, instead it was done a certain parliamentary majority, Prime Minister (with the exception of the Minister of Defense, Minister of Foreign Affairs). President left brought right to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine nominations Attorney General and the President of the Security Service, but because of the conflict then President and Prime Minister, the President of the Security Service of Ukraine took a long time performing duties, and about the Attorney General there were 'hot' debate . Although the President has right to veto the Parliament of Ukraine adopted laws and pro-government majority in the behind-the Communist faction and regions in matters of principle two-thirds of its overcome, such as the Law "On the Cabinet of Ministers" from 2007 which was adopted to implement changes to constitution and powers of the President of Ukraine narrowed.

With the abolition of the constitutional reform of 2004 the value and weight of the President of Ukraine intensified, and the value and weight of Parliament fallen significantly.

February 22, 2014 the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine regained the Constitution of 2004, thereby abolishing the new powers of the President. The same day, the then President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich was declared to withdrew from performing his duties. Acting President became the Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine Oleksandr Turchynov. June 7, 2014, was elected the new president Petro Poroshenko.

**Institute for the presidency.** In July 1991 the Supreme Soviet of the USSR adopted a set of laws to introduce post of president in the republic; from September 1991 began the nomination.

Defined by law milestone of one hundred thousand signatures were able to overcome only seven (out of 45 candidates who received the signature sheets): V. Greenev, L. Kravchuk, L. Lukyanenko, O. Moroz, L. Taburyanskyy O. Tkachenko, V. Chernovil, I. Yukhnovsky. (In the course

of the election campaign O. Tkachenko withdrew his candidacy in favor of Leonid Kravchuk).

December 1, 1991 32 million. Citizens (84% listed in voter lists) took part in the vote.

Kravchuk received 20 million of votes (62%) and became the first popularly elected President of Ukraine.

V. Chernovil was in second place and received 7.4 million of votes (23.3%).

The program L. Kravchuk had 5 "D" - statehood, democracy, prosperity, spiritual, trust, but managed to partially implement only one - statehood. Indeed, the foundations of statehood in 1991-1994 was laid. However, a number of economic, political, and spiritual problems have not been resolved, they were even more aggravated and led to economic, political and spiritual crisis.

The government's first prime minister of independent Ukraine V. Fokin (November 1990 - October 1992) committed a number of serious mistakes:

- Agreed with the assessment imposed by Russia of Ukraine contribution to the economy of the USSR - 16.37%, while most economists estimate 21-23%, although the agreed parts of Ukraine did not receive;

- Allowed two weeks (from 2 to 16 January 1992) mass and uncontrolled plunder of Ukraine Russia);

- Russia transition to world prices for energy resources has led to a large public debt, Ukraine's dependence on fuel supplies from Russia; withdrawal from market reforms led to a decline in production, reducing life unmanageable economy.

The government of Leonid Kuchma (November 1992 - October 1993) had extraordinary powers, but Ukraine's economy has continued to fall apart. During the first 9 months of 1993 industrial production fell by 21%.

In October 1993 the President of Ukraine himself led the Cabinet of Ministers (the acting was Zviahilsky Y.), but failed to stabilize the economy and government Kravchuk-Zviahilsky. In the first quarter of 1994, the national income declined compared to the same period in 1993 by 36%, the volume of industrial production by 38.4%.

By the presidential and parliamentary elections in 1994 Ukraine went into a deep crisis.

The process of changing of political power in Ukraine completed the second presidential election held in June - July 1994

For president were registered seven candidates: W. Babich, L. Kravchuk, Kuchma, V. Lanovyy, O. Moroz, I. Ivy, P. Talanchuk.

June 27 in first round of elections gained the most votes L. Kravchuk (37.68%) and L. Kuchma (31.25%), which came out in second round.

In the second round July 10, 1994 L.Kuchma gained 52.14% of votes, L.Kravchuk - 45.06%.

L. Kuchma led the election campaign under the slogan:

- The restoration of relations with Russia and other CIS countries;
- The Russian has language official status;
- The fight against corruption and organized crime;
- To stop the decline and stabilize the economic situation in the

country.

L. Kuchma relied on the support of industrial Directorate of Civil nomenclature and leftist political forces (including Communists). The national-democratic forces supported L. Kravchuk.

After the election was an attempt to move to the implementation of socio-economic reforms. Newly elected President moved the focus on ideological economic, took a centrist position to unite all the forces of society.

However, at this stage of development Ukrainian state failed to achieve significant progress, felt serious contradictions between the branches of government, economic and political crisis deepened.

Cabinet remained the most unstable - resigned governments of: V. Masol - June 1994 - March 1995 .; E. Marchuk - March 1995 - May 1996 .; Lazarenko - May 1996 - July 1997 .; Pustovoitenko - July 1997 - December 1999 .; V. Yushchenko - December 1999 - June 2001

From June 2001 to November 2002 the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine headed A.Kinah. In November 2002, the Prime Minister of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovych was elected.

Since June 1999 started the campaign for the election of the third President of independent Ukraine October 31, 1999

Candidates for President of Ukraine registered 15 people: O. Bazyliuk, N. Vitrenko, M. Haber, V. Kononov, Yu Kostenko, Yu Karmazin, L. Kuchma, Y. Marchuk, O. Moroz, V. Onopenko, P. Oleinik, O. Rzhavsky, G. Udovenko, P. Symonenko, O. Tkachenko. In first round of elections majority gained L. Kuchma - 36.38% and P. Symonenko - 22.38%.

November 14, 1999 the second round of elections. President of Ukraine for the next five years selected (56% of the vote) L. D. Kuchma.

In 2004, began active preparations for the next elections of the President of Ukraine.

Presidential elections in Ukraine in 2004 were held 31 October, 21 November and 26 December 2004 and were the fourth election that took place in Ukraine following independence from the Soviet Union. At the last stage the results were contested between opposition leader Viktor Yushchenko and then-Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich of the Party of Regions. The elections were held in a very tense political atmosphere, with accusations of media bias, intimidation of voters and the candidate Yushchenko's poisoning.

According to the electoral law of Ukraine for electing the president used the system in two rounds, in which a candidate must receive a majority (50% or more) of the votes of all ballots cast. The first round of voting took place on October 31, 2004. Since none of the candidates receives 50% (or more) of the votes, a second round of voting between two candidates leading the presidential race, Viktor Yushchenko and Viktor Yanukovich, on 21 November. The Central Election Commission announced the results of the 23 November runoff election won by Viktor Yanukovich. The election results were contested, Viktor Yushchenko and his supporters with many international observers claimed that the elections were falsified.

Subsequent events led to the political crisis in Ukraine with a wide peaceful demonstrations, dubbed the "Orange Revolution." Ukraine's Supreme Court invalidated the official results and ordered to repeat second round.

The final re-vote was held on 26 December. Viktor Yushchenko was declared the winner from 51.99% and 44.21% from Yanukovich.

International observers reported that the rerun is considered fairer than the previous one.

Presidential elections in Ukraine in 2010 were regular. Originally designed by Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on October 25, 2009, but this date was challenged by the current President of Ukraine Viktor Yushchenko at the Constitutional Court. After the Constitutional Court declared the decision illegal, Parliament appointed elections on 17 January 2010.

In the election was used system of absolute majority. In case of absence candidate won an absolute majority of the number of those who took part in the elections, anticipated 2nd round in which two were competing who gained the most votes. In the 2nd round to win was enough to gain more votes than the opponent.

Central Election Commission of Ukraine registered 18 candidates: Inna Bohoslovska - leader of the party "Veche"; Mikhail Brodsky - Party of Free Democrats; Gritsenko, Anatoliy Stepanovich - member of the NUNS; Yuriy Kostenko - the leader of the Ukrainian People's Party, Volodymyr Lytvyn - the leader of the National Party; Alexander Moroz - the leader of the Socialist Party, Oleksandr Pabat - leader of the "Civil asset Kyiv"; Protyvsikh Vasily - a self; Serhiy Ratushniak - Mayor of Uzhgorod, self-nominated; Oleg Riabokon - lawyer, was formerly managing partner of the law firm «Magisters»; Petro Symonenko - the leader of the Communist Party of Ukraine; Liudmyla Suprun - the leader of the National Democratic Party; Yulia Tymoshenko - Prime Minister of Ukraine, head of the party "Fatherland"; Serhiy Tihipko - the leader of the party "Strong Ukraine"; Oleh Tyahnybok - the leader of a political Union "Freedom"; Viktor Yushchenko - the current President of Ukraine, a self-leader of the party "Our Ukraine"; Yanukovych Viktor Yanukovych - the leader of the Party of Regions; Arseniy Yatsenyuk - leader of the "Front of Changes".

In the first round majority scored two candidates: VF Yanukovych - 35.32% And Y. Tymoshenko - 25.05%.

In the second round wins opposition leader Viktor Yanukovych - 48.95% (12,481,268 votes); Yulia Tymoshenko lags behind at 3.48 percent - 45.47% (11,593,340 votes). Against both candidates voted for 4.36% of the population. Declared invalid ballots - 1.19%. Increased in comparison to the first round the activity of voters - 69.15% (66.76% in the first round).



Tymoshenko did not recognize her defeat, announced massive fraud "in the whole Ukraine for more than 1 million votes on different technologies" and said that she will dispute the result in court.

February 14, 2010, the CEC announced the official results of the presidential elections in Ukraine, according to which the Party of Regions leader Viktor Yanukovych won and became the next president.

Presidential elections in Ukraine in 2014 were anticipatory because of a political crisis caused by the refusal of the Ukrainian authorities of the course of European integration and the presidential elections in Ukraine were appointed on May 25, 2014. They were originally planned as an alternate for 2015, but scheduled for an earlier period in connection with the removal Viktor Yanukovych from Verkhovna Rada office February 22, 2014. February 22, after the departure of Viktor Yanukovych in Kyiv in an unknown direction, Parliament decided that the President of Ukraine in an unconstitutional manner withdrew from the implementation of constitutional powers and is one that does not perform his duties and appointed presidential elections on May 25, 2014 .

Elections were held in one round. According to official data, after processing 100,00% of protocols: Poroshenko gained 54.70% of those who took part in the vote, Tymoshenko gained 12.81%, Oleg Lyashko - 8,32%, Anatoly Gritsenko - 5.48 .

After the annexation of Crimea and Sevastopol by Russia holding of elections in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and Sevastopol city was not possible. However, around 6000 of Crimeans were able to vote in other regions of Ukraine.

In the Donetsk and Lugansk regions was open a limited number of polling stations because of the threats of terrorists, the turnout for the vote here was the lowest in Ukraine - in Donetsk (15.4%), Luhansk (38.9%).

**Parliamentarism.** The first relatively democratic elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR was held in March 1990

On the 450 seats claimed about 3 thousand of candidates, on average, six or seven people in one place.

Although elections were held in the Communist Party monopoly on the media, the Democratic bloc has made significant progress: from 442 elected deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR used its support 111.

Democratic Bloc won a victory in five regions: Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Ternopil, Volyn and Kyiv, and in Lviv Oblast all 24 candidates received the credentials from the Movement.

In the Verkhovna Rada was formed parliamentary majority of the the Communists and conservatives ("Group 239") and the parliamentary opposition. People's council, which included 125 people, led by the People's Council Deputy Academician I. Yukhnovsky.

In early June, the election of Verkhovna Rada Chairman, this post claimed 10 candidates. The Communist majority elected Parliament Speaker Vladimir Ivashka, who also was the leader of of the Communists republic. Deputy was J. Plyush, deputy - B. Grinyov. Since July 1990 the chairman of Supreme Soviet was elected Leonid Kravchuk, and on December 5, 1991 - J. Plyush.

From the earliest days of the Supreme Council of the opposition played a prominent role. Its representatives (J. Yukhnovsky O. Yemets, D. Pavlychko, L. Tanyuk, V. Yavorivskyi et al.) led by 7 of 23 permanent commissions the Ukrainian parliament.

The historical merit of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, elected in March 1990, was its adoption of the Declaration of State Sovereignty of Ukraine and the Act of Independence of Ukraine.

The second (early) elections to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine took place in March 1994 in 450 mandate constituencies district commissions were registered 5833 candidates for people's deputies of Ukraine, an average of 13 people at one mandates.

In the elections, held in two rounds, from 27 March to 10 April, was elected 338 deputies, half of them - members of political parties. Most of places won in parliament Communist Party - 101. The allies of the Communists and Socialists won Sel PU in accordance 14 and 18 seats. The movement had its 20 parliament members (6%). The rest of the parties managed to hold in the Verkhovna Rada from one to nine representatives.

In the elections, held in two rounds, from 27 March to 10 April, was elected 338 deputies, half of them - members of political parties. Most of places won in parliament Communist Party - 101. The allies of the Communists and Socialists won PU Sel in accordance 14 and 18 seats. The movement had its 20 parliament members (6%). The rest of the parties managed to hold in the Verkhovna Rada from one to nine representatives.

Thus, the greatest success achieved leftist parties, who controlled more than a third of seats: CPU - 25%, SPU - 5%, Sal PU - 6%.

The success of the Communists in the East, and radical nationalists in the West reflected the deep discontent of voters policies of the ruling elite and the crisis of the democratic bloc for failing to offer a real alternative to the difficult economic situation.

May 18, 1994 as chairman of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine was elected Socialist Party leader Oleksandr Moroz, the first deputy - Alexander Tkachenko, deputy - Alexander Demin (later V.Musiyaka).

The modifications of the second Ukrainian parliament was a significant expansion of the legal framework reform (passed 753 laws), the adoption of the new Constitution of Ukraine, strengthening the supervisory functions of the supreme legislative body (initiated parliamentary hearings, the days of the government).

However, continued serious contradictions between the branches of power imbalance of powers, political opposition, acceptance of inactive politicized laws.

The third elections to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine took place March 29, 1998 under the new electoral law - a mixed majoritarian-proportional system (from 225 political parties and coalitions that passed the 4% threshold and 225 - from single-member districts).

The election was attended by 30 parties and blocs four percentage barrier 8:

1. The Communist Party of Ukraine - 24.7%, total 121 seats.
2. The People's Movement of Ukraine - 9.4%, a total of 40 seats.
3. Socialist and Peasant Party - 8.6% and 34 seats.
4. The Green Party of Ukraine - 5.4% and 19 seats.
5. People's Democratic Party - 5%, 30 seats.
6. Association "Community" - 4.7%, 22 seats.
7. Progressive Socialist Party - 4.04%, 16 seats.
8. Social Democratic Party of Ukraine (united) - 4.02%, 16 seats.

May 12, 1998 XIV session of Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine began its work. Opened the session and read out the text of the oath eldest deputy from Ivano-Frankivsk Slava Stetsko.

For the post of Head of Verkhovna Rada claimed more than 50 members (only candidature Symonenko was offered four times). Finally,

after many attempts for the post of Chairman of Verkhovna Rada was elected representative of Peasant Party A. Tkachenko, Deputy - A. Martyniuk and V. Medvedchuk.

The next elections to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on March 31, 2002 with mixed mazhyrotarno-proportional system. The elections was attended by 33 parties and blocs, the four percentage barrier overcame six. The greatest trust of the people got the block "Our Ukraine" - 23.6%, in the Ivano-Frankivsk region - 74.6%., In second place was the Communist Party - 21.8%, in only 2.2% / to previous elections, the Communists had 24.7% of the vote /. The political bloc "Our Ukraine" received the most support from voters in 17 regions of Ukraine. Bloc "For a United Ukraine" received the the support of 11.8% of voters / in -2.5% /, though mazhyrotarnyh districts representatives from the government received the most seats - 66. / "Our Ukraine - 42 / Under the proportional system / gained more than 4% of the vote / logged in composition of parliament - SPU / 7.3% / BYT / 7.3% / SDPU/ o / -6,3%.

In May 2002 was elected leadership of parliament - the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine - Volodymyr Lytvyn, deputies - Gennady Vasiliev and Alexander Zinchenko, after the election in 2003, the General Prosecutor of Ukraine Gennadiy Vasilyev first Deputy Speaker was elected Adam Martyniuk.

Since 2000, in the Ukrainian parliament was conducted complicated and intensive work to reform the political system of power and amending the Constitution of Ukraine.

Its essence boils down to: from transition to parliamentary - presidential form of government; - The redistribution of power and responsibilities between the Parliament, President and Government of Ukraine; reorganization in the electoral system - the transition to proportional electoral system and so on.

In the election of 2006 participated 45 parties and blocs. However, the 3% barrier overtook only 5 parties. Largest number of votes won the Party of Regions (32.14%), Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc (22,29%) took second place, the next was the block "Our Ukraine" (less than 14%), the Socialist Party (5.6%), the Communist Party (3.6%). Elections in 2006 for the first time took place on a proportional basis. However, the main role in the choice had no party programs but authority of leaders.

Parliamentary company actually was a continuation of the presidential election in 2004, and the victory of the Party of Regions was seen as revenge for a previous defeat. However votes for the Party of Regions was not enough to form an independent parliamentary majority. In addition, the Orange forces together had more votes. This situation led to prolonged negotiations and fierce fighting around the creation of a parliamentary majority.

July 6, 2006 Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine Oleksandr Moroz was elected. This was the evidence of an agreement on the establishment of the Anti-Crisis coalition between the Party of Regions, the Communist Party and the Socialist Party. Thus, as a result of the transition of SPU to the state anti-Orange forces, orange were defeated. In addition entering into force of the amendment to the Constitution of Ukraine which considerably reduced the powers of the President of Ukraine.

In such circumstances, V.Yushchenko made an attempt to save the situation by signing by all political forces of the Universal unity after conducting relevant Roundtable. Although this document was signed but it had not acquired any legal effect. Y.Tymoshenko did not sign the document and insisted on the dissolution of parliament and new elections.

V. Yushchenko did not dare to dissolve parliament and submitted to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovych candidacy for the post of prime minister. It was supposed to build a broad coalition between the Party of Regions and "Our Ukraine!", but failed to collaboration: Our Ukrainian ministers were one by one fired. . The battle for the powers of the president which were not fully separated by changes to the Constitution (2004). In addition, some deputies of "Our Ukraine!" And the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc moved into the Anti-Crisis Coalition, which declared itself the Coalition of National Unity. The threat of establishing a parliamentary constitutional majority of 300 deputies under the leadership of the Party of Regions was created. This would leveled the will of voters, most of whom voted for the "orange" parties. Besides such majority would at any time change the constitutional principles of Ukraine. In this situation, President of Ukraine V.Yushchenko April 2, 2007 issued the Decree "On the dissolution of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine and calling for early elections on May 27, 2007".

The majority of Verkhovna Rada deputies (Coalition of National Unity) did not recognize the decree of the President of Ukraine, considering it unconstitutional. They were supported by Prime Minister V. Yanukovych and members of Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, who also refused to recognize this decree and called on its supporters to identify the protest.

The country broke out acute political crisis, which was accompanied by confrontation of protesters on the streets of Kyiv (coalition supporters gathered at Independence Square, and the opposition - on European Square), the struggle of the Constitutional Court of Ukraine and the Prosecutor General's Office, the new decrees, resolutions of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine. After May 27, 2007, when both sides realized that the strengthening of the conflict is not promising, as a result of the negotiations was reached political agreements. Parties to the conflict have declared the political crisis. The agreement included the resignation of 150 opposition deputies, to provide the legal basis for the dissolution of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine and calling of early elections. The fourth decree of the President of Ukraine from July 31, 2007 election was scheduled for 30 September.

In the elections 3% barrier overcame three parties: the Party of Regions (34.37%), the Bloc of Yulia Tymoshenko (30.71%), Bloc "Our Ukraine - People's Self-Defence" (14,15%), Communist Party of Ukraine (5 39%), "Lytvyn Bloc" (3.96%). Socialist Party of Ukraine gained 2.86% and to the Parliament was not included.

In the new composition of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine Yulia Tymoshenko' Bloc and "Our Ukraine - People's Self-Defense" formed the parliamentary majority consisting of 227 deputies. Speaker of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine was elected A.Yatsenyuk and Prime Minister of Ukraine - Yulia Tymoshenko. But the Democratic coalition appeared unsustainable. Constantly there were conflicts between Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko and President V.Yushchenko administration. In September 2008 a coalition of virtually ceased to exist.

In September 2008 a coalition virtually ceased to exist.

In the autumn of 2008 Ukraine was struck by the global economic crisis. The decline in production in key sectors amounted to 50-60%. Damaging was the financial crisis. But the crisis did not consolidate

Ukrainian politics: political confrontation intensified. In such an atmosphere started election campaign for the election of the President of Ukraine in January 2010.

In the elections of people's deputies of Ukraine, held on October 28, 2012 under the majority system, to the Verkhovna Rada of the seventh convocation passed the five political parties - the Party of Regions won 30%, Union "Fatherland" - 25.54%, party «Udar» - 13.96%<sup>6</sup> Communist Party of Ukraine 13.18% and VO "Freedom" - 10.44%.

On the eve of the election threshold was increased from 3% to 5%, which according to experts was done to prevent entry to the Parliament many disparate opposition parties.

On October 26, 2014 were appointed extraordinary elections of people's deputies of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, in accordance with art. 90 of the Constitution of Ukraine.

Law "On Elections of People's Deputies of Ukraine" is now established the five percent threshold and a mixed system, with 225 elected in multi-district of the electoral lists of political parties, and the other 225 - the majority system in single-member constituencies.

Participate in elections only political parties; participation of units, from which consist parties is not provided. This law can be reviewed in connection with the temporary occupation of the Crimea and Sevastopol, so Ukraine does not control 12 single-member constituencies in the area.

**Formation of a multiparty system.** History multiparty system in Ukraine is rooted in the second half of the XX century. When the wake of revolutionary upsurge and national revival began to form the first political organization. Important landmarks of history were the Ukrainian revolution, during deployment of the dissident movement, era of "perestroika". Recent history of multiparty system in Ukraine is already held in its development stages, during which the unfolding dynamics and acquired certain socio-political processes and trends:

Stage I - «multiparty-origin» (mid-1988 - March 1990 p.):

- the emergence of informal organizations, legal formation of organized opposition;
- revitalization of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, access to the political arena People's Movement of Ukraine;

- separation and differentiation within the ruling Communist Party, organizational consolidation supporters of the Democratic platform;
- the nascence of the first formally declared the party - Ukrainian National Party.

Stage II - "multi output at the state level" (May 1990 - August 1991 p.):

- the nascence of parliamentary opposition;
- initiation by the democratic bloc important government decisions, including the most important - the Declaration of State Sovereignty of Ukraine;
- increasing of the number of political parties (from 1989 to August 1991 was formed more than 20 political parties and associations).

Stage III - "multi-establishment" (since August 1991 p.):

- range expanding of multi (now there are more than 100 political parties);
- strengthening of splits and fragmentation of political forces;
- establishment accelerating of local party branches and divisions;
- put the multi-functioning legal framework;
- strengthening of ties with influential business parties and legal circles;
- periodic regrouping, creating political blocs to fight for power (the trend was particularly evident during the election campaigns of 1994, 1999 pp.).

April 28, 2001 came into force the law "On political parties in Ukraine". The law is not yet fully meets the needs of political structuring of society, to stimulate the process of strengthening political parties and their consolidation. And yet, it will strengthen the democratic foundations of the political system in Ukraine, the establishment of our state of civil society.

**Socio-economic transformation.** Ukraine's economy had not a devastating impact general economic crisis that has engulfed the USSR disintegration Union economic complex. At the time of independence Ukraine was weak and deformed in economic terms: 95% of enterprises subordinate to Moscow, almost 80% of total production had completed work cycle, only 28% were industry group "B" extensive road development, scientific and technological backwardness (urgent



replacement required 40% of machinery and equipment), low competitiveness and more.

What happened with the economy of Ukraine has no historical analogues: from 1990 to 1994, gross domestic product fell by 44%, industrial output - by 41%, national income - 54%. In 1994 decline in industrial production peaked Ukraine - 27.7%.

During the "Great Depression" in the US output gap does not exceed 25%. In the former Soviet Union during the Second World War, its lowest point decline in industrial production was 30%. According to the World Bank in the second half of 1993 inflation in Ukraine was the highest in the world and exceed performance world wars.

There was an unprecedented peacetime decline in living standards of most people (about 64% of its appeared below the poverty line).

This situation required drastic measures to seamlessly combine immediate crisis action with the implementation of the new socio-economic strategy. They were outlined in the Address of the President of Ukraine Leonid Kuchma to Parliament "by a radical economic reforms" in October 1994, which was a priority - financial stabilization, creating a market economy, and social protection.

The main results of economic and social change were:

in 1999 for the first time in the last decade have revealed themselves signs of economic stabilization. The decline in GDP most had overcome. If the decline in GDP in 1996 was 10%, in 1997 – it was 3.3%. In October 1999 the first time in the last decade, GDP growth was obtained compared with October 1998 by 2.8%;

industrial production grew by 4.3%. The growth of industrial production was recorded in 21 regions;

low inflation achieved relatively and implemented to overcome artificially held during 1996-1997 excessive appreciation of exchange rate appreciation, dismantle of Ponzi scheme, improvement of foreign economic activity;

virtually all industries formed "growth points". This is the company that produced the desired market competitive products. An example of this - the food and the timber industry, where production for 1999 increased by 7.8% and 23.6%. The same "growth points" emerged in certain sectors of

engineering, t. H. And those related to the production of high-tech products;

formed the main attributes of the national economy: monetary, financial, billing, tax, customs, banking and other systems that together determine its economic infrastructure of our country. A significant achievement was held in 1996 currency reform, ensuring relative exchange rate stability;

the basic principles of a mixed economy had formed. There was a turning point in the reform of property relations, promoting mechanisms of private property, the expansion of the corporate and private sectors. As of January 1, 2000 changed the form of ownership of 66.7 thousand. Facilities, particularly from 1994 to 1999 - 63.1 thousand. More than 70% of total industrial output produced in non-state enterprises;

land reform tasks had implemented. Nearly 6.1 million of citizens received parcels of land, which totaled more than half the country's land. Basically privatization was completed gardens; their owners are about 11 million of citizens;

foundations of market infrastructure entrenched in the economy. At the end of 1999 in Ukraine there were 203 commercial banks, investment firms and 1330 funds 2250 audit companies, 262 insurance companies, stock exchanges 340, 390 credit unions. There was becoming stock, commodity, currency and foreign exchange markets.

One of the most progressive in the Ukrainian economy was in foreign economic activity: from 1993 to 1999 the share of exports of goods and services in GDP increased from 26% to 53%.

The figures are proof that Ukraine has made a real step out of the protracted crisis, which in practice implemented model of an open competitive economy. However, despite some positive trends, socio-economic situation in Ukraine remains difficult and controversial.

Governments in different locations, which led V.Masol (June 1994 - March 1995), Ye.Marchuk (March 1995 - May 1996), P.Lazarenko (May 1996 - July 1997) V.Pustovoytenko (July 1997 - December 1999) were able to drastically improve the overall economic situation. Since December 1999 the government headed by Viktor Yushchenko.

Strategy reforms in Ukraine for the next five years are reflected in the Address of the President of Ukraine to the Parliament in February 2000

- "Ukraine: Towards the XXI century. Strategy for Economic and Social Development for 2000-2004".

Its pivotal position - identify ways of bringing the Ukrainian economy on the path of sustainable development, a close structural changes of policy and economic growth with an active and strong social policy. It was expected, formation of the effective critical mass of market relations, further economic development in a self-contained market basis; further acceleration of economic growth on its own being played (investment) basis and preferably an adequate market basis.

One of the important prerequisites for rapid and comprehensive solution to these problems as soon as possible was considered the formation of a parliamentary majority.

Highlights of Ukraine in 2000: gross domestic product increased by 5.8%; Industrial output increased by 12.9%, consumer goods - 24.5%; first recorded output growth in agriculture - 9.2%. At the same time, the processes of economic growth is not accompanied by a noticeable qualitative transformation of the national economy, positive structural changes, overcoming accumulated in recent years playback deformations and strains in the social sphere.

Thus, the transformation is a complex socio-economic process. Each country taking into account climatic conditions, the economic basis and socio-cultural traditions seeks to define its own model of development, which has enabled most effectively using existing potential to achieve sustainable development of the national economy and take pride of place in the international structure of national economies as well competitive.

The essence of the socio-economic transformation is to change the existing economic system: 1991-1994. Ukraine can be characterized as a transition from the administrative-command economic system to a market economy; 1994 -1999 - the period of consolidation model of a social market economy; from 2000 to the present time - during the formation of market integration model of the national economy, which requires global institutional reforms, restructuring of the national economy, stimulate investment towards updating technology and the formation of competitive industries.

Regarding international integration strategy, it should be noted that today:

1. Ukraine for the achieved level of economic development cannot be an active participant in the international integration processes in the most advanced geo-economic segments - the European Union.

2. Unwillingness to large-scale international integration not aborts the course of integration with the West, and provides for the continuation of effective connections in all directions.

3. Ukraine could accelerate the creation of conditions for effective international integration of the economy by focusing resources on priority areas of the world economy, the formation mechanisms of rapid development in the field of science and technology, innovation, information, and educational activities.

4. It is necessary to make a reorientation of public administration, monetary stabilization in institutional development, the creation of state and market institutions of the generation and dissemination of innovation, human capital and equal conditions for competition in an open competitive environment.

5. Lack of resources prevents sharp economic competitiveness of the national economy. Therefore, we must focus on priority areas, areas for successful functioning in the country which created the best conditions - aerospace, electronic, electrical, pharmaceutical, manufacturing, new materials, etc., and which today demonstrate a high level of technology and capacity for international competition.

6. Effective international integration is possible for harmonization of Ukrainian legislation with the EU legal system and the rules of economic regulation and social development. It is quite difficult tasks that can be carried gradual evolutionary adaptation of national legislation, regulations and standards of the international rules and regulations.

The problem of forming Ukrainian models of socio-economic development at present the subject of analysis of local scientists. In particular, S. Mocherny identifies six basic models: 1) market economy with its historical forms and modifications; 2) a mixed economy, which is the most advanced model of modern capitalism; 3) post-industrial society; 4) the national economy; 5) the capitalist economy; 6) national economy. Most optimal model for Ukraine author considers a model of national economy, which provides for the operation of all forms of property

(dominance labor collective ownership), a comprehensive social protection and national democratic economic planning.

A. Filippenko, Ukrainian economist, analyzing the evolution of models of economic development in relation to the countries liberated from colonial rule, the newly independent states or developing countries, said that modern science provides such basic model of economic development: a model of linear stages; model of structural reforms; neoclassical model of free market; external dependence theory; dual theory development; concept of endogenous growth, innovative theory of economic development; model of sustainable development. The most acceptable for Ukraine author considers "integrated model of economic development that allows fully realize national interests in the global economy".

The Ukrainian domestic political scientist M. Mihalchenko identifies four possible models-scripts of future of Ukraine, each of which has an economic basis: 1) "retro-idyllic" which is based on directive-planned, non-competitive economy; 2) "mono-ethnic", which is based on the idea of creating a "closed population" racially pure nation and "closed national economy"; 3) "liberal" based on liberal values of the market economy; 4) "convergence" in a combination of the best achievements of the market economy mechanism of non-market forms of redistribution of income, creating a socially oriented market economy methods. The latter scenario is the author considers the most viable in the Ukrainian environment.

Thus, domestic researchers: 1) try to explore the western model of economic development and adapt some of them to the Ukrainian realities; 2) justifying the need for Ukraine mixed model of economic development, focusing on the interests of the state and financial monopoly groups, and small and medium enterprises; 3) insist on implementation in Ukraine an economic model that would provide a combination of state regulation of market competitive economy; 4) determining what should be the state's share in the economy, based mainly on experience of, as evidenced by the number of links to Russian sources used for analysis; 5) recognize the need for an optimal model of economic development for Ukraine, but do not conduct thorough and of a comprehensive development of this model.

Experience shows that the strategy of socio-economic development of Ukraine, which were introduced in the process of reform and

transformation in 1992 proved unfulfilled, although the basic paradigm of the transition from a command to a market economy is quite correct.

According to leading national economist O.Soskin main causes false reform in the Ukrainian version are: 1) lack of well-formed national economic interests, the realization of which should target economic model implemented in the country; 2) false Theoretical foundations of economic development model in the form of liberal cosmopolitan conceptions purely monetarist direction and automatic compliance advice and uncritical perception of media experience; 3) the selection and application of the general mechanism failed reform strategy tools which were mass voucher privatization lion's share of state ownership, introduction of natural pricing, cross-sectional opening the economy to non-state exports and imports, changes in legislation, social and economic institutions that led to the creation of the country corrupt environment, the formation of clan-corporate groups and their fusion with state-bureaucratic nomenclature.

The current economic model is a triad- integrated, as it consists of three models - models of the socialist model of state-monopoly capitalism model of capitalism that does not share a common property and each reflects a variety of public interests and has its own attributes: type property; targeting; ideological basis; internal and external dimensions; certain model of government; motivation; type of socio-economic environment; the functioning; methods, mechanisms and instruments; role of the state; governmental institutions; media and supporters and more.

According to the Ukrainian reality, a triad-integrated configuration of Ukrainian economic model is now demonstrates its inefficiency, it does not target the development of the middle class, and to strengthen the industrial and financial oligarchic groups. Considering this is an urgent need to transform the current economic model, which is implemented in Ukraine.

Approaches of reputable Ukrainian scientists and economists made in Institute of Society Transformation for the development of the economic model Ukraine gives grounds to distinguish common in their scientific work, namely:

- 1) all domestic scientists tend to believe that the economic model that is now being implemented in Ukraine, many inherent flaws and therefore must make its transformation;

2) current needs of socio-economic development of Ukraine and the challenges global civilizational nature require formation of a qualitatively new economic model;

3) in the center of a new economic model should be cost-free, productive person (private owner);

4) a new economic model Ukraine should focus on the third millennium civilization values, increased market orientation of economic relations, investment and distribution of innovative component of the production process, tend to develop the knowledge economy;

5) A new economic model Ukraine has become a reliable basis for sustainable economic growth and welfare of its citizens.

Institute of Society Transformation seeks strategic goal - formation and rooting in the world to build a society in Ukraine market environment based on private property, free enterprise, limited government role, a middle class, strengthening individual freedom and traditional national values.

According to scientists of the Institute of Strategic Studies formation of a new development model for Ukraine should be influenced by a number of imperatives:

First, the imperative of economic development in Ukraine next decade will restore high rates of economic growth, which relies primarily on a positive trend in the real economy.

Second, the model can be legitimate only tangible social impact of its implementation.

Thirdly, the implementation of the principles of the new model should be in a stable financial and economic environment and the maintenance of stability - one of the key functions of the state.

Fourth, we need territorial reconsolidation through Ukraine "reset" the economic powers of the regions.

Fifthly, restoring confidence in the state and partnership of the state and society are needed. Because of the critical gap between the declared objectives and results to achieve them extremely low level of trust in government and its proposed upgrading formed.

Reform conversion at this stage accompanied by the growth of a sense of dissatisfaction and distrust in society, as evidenced by the inefficiency of reforms and lack of positive prospects for socio-economic

and socio-political development. The period 2013-2014 is a period of strengthening dissent in society. Citizens believe that the state does not ensure their right to a decent standard of living, the right to vote and the power to influence its decision, the right to a fair trial, the right to be protected from arbitrary government officials and crime. Social well-being of moderately negative changes to very negative. At the forefront of the social sphere depletion problem facing most of the population, fear of losing social status and survival problem, which leads to massive disruption and anxiety in Ukraine.

The existing model of social development does not ensure social and political stability, a fair redistribution of social wealth, the country's competitiveness in the international market by improving the quality of human capital, consolidation and public safety.

Based on the national priorities for social development and social reform, strategic goals of social development should be the following:

1. Social inequalities reducing. Creating equal and fair opportunities for all.
2. Eliminating disparities of social income distribution, poverty reduction and the formation of a progressive social structure.
3. Drastic increase of the role of decent and productive work in social development.
4. Creating of effective (according to the criteria of accessibility, transparency, targeting, adequacy and quality of social services) social support for families, youth and children, especially those who find themselves in difficult circumstances.
5. Further reform of pensions.
6. Ensure the protection and strengthening of public health.

Thus, the strategy for socio-economic development of independent Ukraine appeared unfulfilled, leading to rising social tensions in the country and the formation of public demand for the transformation of the country. However, opportunities for practical modernization limited. The task finding the optimal model of socio-economic development of Ukraine, which would ensure the sustainable growth of the national economy and competitiveness internationally.

Ukrainian society has undergone significant changes in the social sector during the transition period: 1. Deepening social polarization. 2.



"Blur" middle class. 3. The growth of poverty. 4. Unregistered employment. 5. The emergence of marginal layer. 6. Society marginalization.

## **CHAPTER 6. AGROINDUSTRIAL COMPLEX OF UKRAINE.**

Agriculture occupies an important place in the economic structure of Ukraine, the need for revival which led to the adoption of reform decisions that involved the elimination of the state monopoly of land ownership and establishment of its various forms, and in the future - the transformational conversion priority to the provision of private property rights.

An important landmark was the adoption of the USSR "Declaration of State Sovereignty of Ukraine" (16 July 1990), which declared the exclusive right of the people of Ukraine for the possession, use and disposal of its national wealth. The property of the people of Ukraine proclaimed land, subsoil, air space, water and other natural resources located within the territory of the Ukrainian SSR, the natural resources of its continental shelf and exclusive (maritime) economic zone, all the economic and technological potential created on Ukraine. For the first time in a legislative act adopted by the VR, indicated that the state protects all forms of ownership.

This provision has acquired a certain degree of specificity in the Law "On economic independence Ukrainian SSR" (3 August 1990). It literally saved these provisions of the "Declaration of State Sovereignty of Ukraine." This accentuated that the people of Ukraine are property of fixed assets in industry, construction, agriculture, communications, transport, banks, credit institutions, commercial property, utilities and other businesses as well as housing and other property in the territory Ukraine. Fundamentally important is the situation: a) "property in the Ukrainian SSR appears in the following forms: state, collective, individual (personal and private ownership of labor) and other lawful form of property"; b) "Ukrainian SSR guarantees the equality of all forms of ownership. The ownership is protected by law."

The Law "On social priority for rural development and agriculture in the economy of Ukraine" on October 17, 1990 property problems were appeared in two articles. In the third article mentioned the right of employees and each of its members to determine ownership and organization of production in the manner prescribed by applicable law. In the fourth article was legalized equality of all forms of management in

agriculture, both in production and in possession of their products. This was given a list of these forms: a) peasant (farmer) economy; b) farms; c) farms; d) subsidiary agriculture enterprises and organizations; e) processing and other enterprises; e) cooperatives; g) joint stock companies; i) lease groups; j) private land owners citizens.

The Supreme Soviet of the USSR December 18, 1990 adopts the Land Code, which was declared the basic provisions of agrarian relations, in particular, recognized the right of private ownership of land. Resolution of the Ukrainian Parliament (Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine) "On Land Reform" was adopted at the same time, which proclaimed that all state land March 15, 1991 is subject of land reform. This was noted that land reform is part of the economic reforms carried out in Ukraine in the transition state to a market economy. "The objective of this reform, - stated in the Resolution - is the redistribution of land with simultaneous in their private or collective ownership and usage in enterprises, institutions and organizations in order to create conditions for equal development of various forms of the earth, the formation of a mixed economy, rational use and protection of land. "According to the above-mentioned documents held inventory and redistribution of land allocated reserve land. Parallel projects developed formation and establishment of the boundaries of territories of rural councils, including land use.

These provisions were recorded and specified in the Law "On Property" (7 February 1991). However, here formulated new fundamentally important basis: a) every citizen of Ukraine has the right to possess, use and dispose of property individually or jointly with others; b) the owner has the right to use property belonging to it for business; c) the basis for the creation and enhancement of property is the work of citizens; d) citizen acquires ownership of the income from participation in social production, individual work, entrepreneurship, investing in credit institutions, corporations, and property obtained as a result of inheritance or the conclusion of other agreements that are not prohibited by law. Reaffirming the right individual and collective property law defined the right of citizens to life inheritable possession land for peasant (farmer) and subsidiary farming, gardening, construction and maintenance of residential buildings and other needs required by law.

Problems of ownership reflected in the new Law "On Enterprises in Ukrainian SSR" (27 March 1991). Its second paper is targeted that Ukraine can do these types of businesses: - sole proprietorship, based on the personal property of an individual and his labor only; - A family business, based on ownership and employment of citizens of Ukraine - members of one family living together; - Private enterprise founded on the property of an individual Ukraine, with the right hiring labor; - Collective enterprise based on ownership of the labor collective, cooperative, other authorized companies, public and religious organizations; - A public utility, based on ownership of administrative - territorial units; - State-owned enterprises, based on the national (Republican) property; - Joint venture established on the basis of different owners (mixed ownership), the founders of the joint venture in accordance with the laws of Ukraine are legal entities and citizens of Ukraine and other countries; - Enterprise based on ownership of legal entities and citizens of other countries (explained that the creation of such companies is governed by separate legislation Ukraine). The third article of the law fixed the right of enterprises to voluntarily integrate the industrial, scientific, commercial and other activities, if not contrary to antitrust legislation of Ukraine. The paper was given characteristic forms of business combination. These are: a) associations; b) the corporation; c) consortia; d) concerns.

Associations are contractual union set up for the purpose of permanent coordination of economic activity. They have no right to interfere in the production and commercial activities of any of its members. Corporations are created by agreement. However, they are based on a combination of industrial, scientific and commercial interests of the delegation of certain powers of centralized control of each participant. Consortia - a temporary statutory merger of industrial and banking capital to achieve a common goal. Concerns are authorized union industrial, scientific organizations, transport, banking, trade and so on the basis of complete financial dependence on one or a group of entrepreneurs. These associations are based on contract or statute, approved by their founders or owners. Companies that are part of these organizational structures retain legal entity and retain legal entity.

The essence of the new ownership and management in the transition to a market economy are revealed in the Law "On Business Associations"

(September 1991). In his first article stipulates that the commercial companies established on the basis of an agreement by legal entities and citizens by pooling their assets and business for profit, include: a) the company; b) a limited liability company; c) additional liability; d) partnerships; e) general partnerships. 12 Article legalized that the company owns, property transferred to it by the founders and participants in the property; products manufactured by the company as a result of economic activity; received income; other property on grounds not prohibited by law.

Ukrainian Parliament (Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine) adopted a law in December 1991 "On the peasant (farmer) facilities", which was established to develop a package of legislation aimed at developing a conceptual framework of land reform. The documents defined framework for a new form in the agricultural sector as an alternative to state: to create voluntary, self-management, equality with other forms of management employed in agriculture and other sectors of the economy.

The Act stipulates that the peasant (farmer) facilities a) is a form of business citizens of Ukraine who wish to develop their own labor marketable agricultural products, engage in its processing and marketing; b) there is an equal form of farming, along with state, collective, lease and other enterprises and organizations, business partnerships; c) has the right to be a founder or member associations, consortia, corporations, joint stock companies and other associations, cooperatives, joint ventures for the production, processing and marketing of agricultural products, serving agribusiness and non-agricultural enterprises and organizations, including with foreign partners to participate in the creation or become a member commercial banks. The law stipulates that the peasant (farmer) facilities operating under conditions of self-sufficiency, farmers are granted the right to sell their products on the foreign and domestic markets. The law also provides assistance in setting up peasant (farm), their logistics, training, retraining, skills development, as well as scientific support by conducting research and making recommendations regarding the organization of production, development of scientific and technological progress, implementing compact equipment based on the latest energy-saving technologies provided by a network of research institutions from the state budget, state fund to support Ukrainian peasant (farm).

Ukrainian Parliament (Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine) on January 30, 1992 adopted the law "On the ownership of the land," which establishes the possible existence along with the state, collective and private ownership of land was said and their equality.

Law of Ukraine "On the collective agricultural enterprise" (14 February 1992) defined the legal, economic, social and institutional conditions of the collective agricultural enterprises (CAE). This is stated in the first article of the law, is a voluntary association of citizens in an independent company for the joint production of agricultural products and operates on the principles of business and government. It was established that the object of the right of collective ownership CAE is land and other fixed assets and working capital goods, money and new contributions of its members, their products derived income property acquired legally. Property of the company recognized as a share of the assets and profits of inter-farm enterprises and associations to which an enterprise. For the first time in the legislation described the essence of mutual fund assets CAE members' mutual fund assets to members of the company - written 9 articles - include the value of fixed and circulating capital created by the enterprise, securities, stocks, cash and their share participation of other companies and organizations.

In the first and fourth part of the 10th article in a new dealt with land use: a) the land may belong to the CAE on the rights of collective ownership, and can be provided on a permanent or temporary use, including a lease; b) members of CAE who wished to withdraw from its membership to the organization of peasant (farmer) farms, land granted to the reserve lands, and in their absence - with CAE land suitable for agricultural production to the extent attributable to one member of the team.

Laws of Ukraine on March 13, 1992 №2196 - XII, May 5, 1993 № 3179 - XII Decree of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on December 26, 1992 № 15-92 "On privatization of land" amends the Land Code, which was laid new concept of reforms was to provide priority right to privatize land to those who work in agriculture.

The Land Code characterized forms of land ownership, the principles of transfer of land ownership and provide their use, the legal basis withdrawal (redemption) of land, lease land, establishing fees for the

purchase of land ownership and land tax. In the third article points to the existence of an equal state, collective and private ownership. In the fourth article stipulates that "in all state-owned land except land transferred to collective and private property." It also stipulates that the subjects of state ownership of land are: a) Parliament of Ukraine - the land generally state property of Ukraine; b) The Parliament of the Republic of Crimea - on land within the territory of the Republic, with the exception of national property. The principal position is that "land that are state-owned, be transferred to the collective or private property, including rent, except as provided by law Ukraine and Crimea."

The fifth article defines the legal subjects of collective land ownership: a) collective farms; b) agricultural cooperatives; c) gardening services; d) agricultural corporations, including established on the basis of state farms and other state agricultural enterprises.

In accordance with the provisions of article six of the citizens of Ukraine are entitled to the ownership of plots for a) conduct a peasant (farmer) economy; b) keeping personal subsidiary plots; c) the construction and maintenance of residential homes and commercial buildings (smallholding); d) gardening; e) and suburban garage construction. Determined that citizens acquire ownership of land if: 1) obtain their inheritance; 2) a share of land in the marital property; 3) sale and purchase, donation and exchange. In this article the eight principles of land lease. Chief among them - the land leased without changing the designation.

The second section is devoted to the definition of areas of land use for agricultural purposes; for specific needs in cities, towns, rural areas (industrial, transport, housing). Specially describes how land use conservation, recreation, historical and cultural significance. Characteristically, the Land Code are referred to as land monitoring system of surveillance of the land fund, including land situated in areas of radioactive contamination in order to timely determine changes their assessment, prevention and elimination of negative processes. Exposed as the appointment of state land cadastre system that contains the necessary information and documents on the legal status of the land, their distribution among land owners and land users, including tenants, by category of land on qualitative characteristics and national economic value of land.

Parliament of Ukraine March 13, 1992 adopts Resolution "On the acceleration of land reform and land privatization", which actually began legal registration of current agricultural policies and where it was found that deregulation and privatization of agricultural enterprises and organizations will be conducted from 15 May 1992.

**Overall, from 1991 n 1993** was adopted a number of laws and regulations, which proclaimed the equality of the various forms of ownership, establish private ownership of agricultural land in anticipation of the transfer of land from state ownership to the collective. The result of these measures was almost 2/3 of privatization of agricultural land that bore only formal, becoming in fact only re-registration of collective farms (farms) in collective farms (CAE).

To speed up land reform and giving it a more effective form of Ukraine's President from November **1994 to August 1995 issue** several decrees. In particular, the Decree of the President of Ukraine on November 10, 1994 "On urgent measures to accelerate land reform in agricultural production" determined that an urgent priority measure in the implementation of land reform in Ukraine is the privatization of lands that are used by agricultural enterprises and organizations and proposed a new mechanism for land reform. It provided for the distribution of land, transferred to collective ownership of land shares (shares) without releasing them in situ (on the ground) and issue to each member of the CAE right to land (share).

An important normative document of this period was the Decree of the President of Ukraine "On the procedure for sharing land transferred to collective ownership of agricultural enterprises and organizations" of August 8, 1995, which stated that "the right to land (share) are members of the collective farms, agricultural cooperative, agricultural company, including pensioners who used to work there and are members of the enterprise. "Were identified several other principles privatization of state farms and other state agricultural enterprises, land sharing which is carried out after turning them into collective farms. Created during the transfer of land to collective ownership of the reserve fund was used to transfer to private ownership or use of land mainly nationals employed in the social sector in the country, as well as others, are taking in members of



agricultural enterprises or have migrated to rural areas for permanent residence.

Essential in the development of legislation on land reform and their use in practice was the development of organizational guidelines. Especially important regulatory basis were sharing process Guidelines on sharing the land transferred to collective ownership of agricultural enterprises and organizations, approved by the State Committee for Land Resources of Ukraine on 20 February 1996.

During 1996, it was actually almost completed the first phase of land reform - privatization of land and transfer its ownership of businesses and individuals. 38.6% of all land in Ukraine has been transferred to the ownership of farmers - members of private farms as of 1 January 1997. It was reformed 9.5 thousand farms, or 98% of the total, by sharing property and create sustainable production structures, such as collective farms, farmers associations and cooperatives, joint stock companies, farmers and others. Based on the Performance of 1.2 thousand farms (67% of the total) created collective agricultural enterprises (75%) or corporations. There were about 38 thousand peasants (farm). However, sharing in collective agricultural enterprises in general was slow. Only about 2 million 600 thousand people received certificates for land share as of 1 January 1997. At the same time, more than half of the land given to people for doing farms, not privatized. And the land is actually a long time in their property, which had only legitimized.

The second stage of reform - the formation of the real owner of land by setting up mechanisms priority of private property in the agricultural sector. Decisive in this respect was the adoption of the Constitution of Ukraine (1996), which expressly provides that the land and its mineral wealth is the property of the Ukrainian people on whose behalf the rights of the owner engaged state and local authorities within the limits defined by the Constitution. Ownership of land is guaranteed. It is acquired and realized by citizens, legal persons and the state only in accordance with the law. Land may be in the communal property of territorial communities of villages, towns, cities, districts in cities. Citizens to meet their needs may use the objects of state and municipal property according to law.

Thus, the Constitution of Ukraine established state, municipal and private ownership of land. The concept of "collective ownership" in the

Basic Law of Ukraine is absent, actually meant a shift from land ownership to private ownership CAE legal and natural persons and the right of priority in the last transformation transformations in the agricultural sector.

The real focus of development of new economic relations in the agricultural sector was the adoption of the Law of Ukraine "On Agricultural Cooperation" (17 July 1997), which defined the legal, organizational, economic and social conditions of cooperatives and associations in agriculture.

In the second article stipulates that for the goals, objectives and nature of cooperatives are divided into: a) production, doing business on the principles of entrepreneurship to generate income; b) serving (processing, storage - sales, supply, service, etc.), which seeks to service agricultural and other production cooperatives and members not aim to make a profit; c) multifunction, combining several activities. In addition, noted that cooperatives may voluntarily form associations for the industry or area of destination.

The law stated that the cooperative is created voluntarily by individuals and legal entities that form the property (indivisible and mutual) funds and financial resources by combining: a) entrance fees in cash; b) property (shares) contributions by members of the cooperative transmission cooperative property, including money, property, and land; c) additional contributions over mandatory share; d) proceeds from the sale of goods (works, services), loans and other income not prohibited by law. In case of cooperative physical or legal person is entitled to a share of property in kind, cash or securities, land in kind. Ownership cooperative members - individuals to share is hereditary.

Important for the formation of a responsible owner interested in the results of their work and efficiency are the provisions of Article 24 of the cooperative payments and payments particle yields, which states that "cooperative payments - is part of the income of the cooperative, which is shared between the members according to the scope of work services, funds received by the cooperative in the form of allowances to prices during sales and result in lower prices when purchasing goods in procurement cooperatives and subject to labor and other cooperative members participate in its activities. "Payment particle yields can be made

in cash, goods, securities, and an increase in the unit on the basis of the fiscal year of income, retained by the cooperative.

Practical implementation of the above provisions of the law will promote business development, the formation of the real owner interested in upgrading and rehabilitation of production, establishment of sufficient critical mass of market reforms.

Another important organization - legal framework that actually contributes to the transformation of the agricultural sector based on private ownership of land and property is private and rental companies. With the completion of land titling and certification units were created conditions for the development of rental relations to a new level. Right to lease land to 90 years granted only to farmers, the landlord was not an individual, and the local government. In the process of agrarian reform, changes in management were a question of defining the principles of land lease under the new conditions. In 1997 issued a decree of the President of Ukraine "On Land Lease" and in 1998 - made the appropriate law. Legal and legal importance is given in the document definition essentially a land lease contract term based; pay-possession and use land needed tenant for business. Objects lease include: 1) land plots owned by citizens and legal entities Ukraine, local villages, towns, cities (municipal property), the state; 2) land with vegetation, buildings, structures, ponds, located on them, if required by the lease agreement; 3) public land who have the right to land (share) in non-agricultural enterprise. More clearly than in previous laws and regulations, described landlords and tenants land. Landlords defined three categories: 1) individuals and legal entities of Ukraine, a part of which are land; 2) local governments; village, town and city councils (land that are owned); 3) district, regional, Kyiv, Sevastopol city state administrations, Council of Ministers of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine (land that the state-owned; prior approval of the sessions on relevant councils). Renting the land are legal and natural persons who under the lease shall be entitled to possession and use land. The lessee of land may be: 1) district, regional, Kyiv, Sevastopol city state administrations, Council of Ministers of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine; 2) local governments; village, town and city councils; 3) citizens of Ukraine, legal entities, religious, civic organizations, international

associations and organizations, and foreign governments, foreign legal and natural persons, stateless.

Law of Ukraine "On Land Lease" is aimed primarily at solving urgent problems of agro-business - search more efficient land owner (by rent). On the other hand, it allows more than 6 millions of farmers who have become owners of certificates exercise their right to land share and its cost. This is especially important for seniors' shareholders. Having transferred their land shares lease, they have a legal right to a fee, not as before, act as applicants for assistance. Among the members of the working farms only a small portion can effectively self-manage, with relevant knowledge and experience. Development of leasing relations promotes capacity farms, especially those who have an average of less than 30 hectares.

The law has become a new impetus for the further development of rental-land relations, promoted the formation of host-with the help of agrarian market instruments.

1972,2 thousands of hectares of land were leased, including citizens - the owners were commissioned - 27.8%; farms with land in collective ownership - put 37.8%; local authorities in state-owned land - put 34.4% - as of July 1, 1999. Of the total area of 99.3% of agricultural land has been leased.

According to the Decree of the President of Ukraine "On Urgent Measures to Accelerate reform of the agricultural sector" (1999) expanded opportunities of leasing relations by creating private-rental companies and the right to lease land shares (stocks) property on the basis of the certificate certifying the right to own, use and dispose of property as specified share. The category of "private-rental company" is not a separate legal form, and reflects the essence of economic relations based on private property under a lease and can act as such organizational structures as business partnerships, agricultural cooperatives, farms etc.

One of the important legal results for the implementation of the Decree of the President of Ukraine is the termination of the CAE and creation on their base business market type. There has been reorganization of almost all 10833 collective farms as of 1 September 2000. There were created 13,723 new agricultural enterprises on their base, including

1030 registered peasant (farm) (8%), 2840 private companies (20%) and 6402 agricultural companies (47%), agricultural cooperatives 3312 (24%).

In turn the termination of membership of CAE means stopping the membership for people in the CAE, which were its members to the restructuring and the allocation of their land and property shares in kind.

As of September 1, 2000, 6.3 mln of citizens received a certificate for the right to land (share), and more than 339,000 citizens - the state acts on the right of private ownership of land. The lease of land shares concluded with more than 5 million. Citizens, representing 88% of the total number of issued certificates, contracts rental property - with 4.1 million of citizens. Expanded their farms by land allotted a land-based CAE land (share) 259 thousand of people.

The Address of the President of Ukraine to the Ukrainian Parliament (Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine) «Ukraine: Towards the XXI Century" (2000) is expected to transition to solid land leases between the owners of the land (land units) and entities.

In order to create favorable conditions for business development and lease relations in rural President of Ukraine issued a decree "On measures to protect the property rights of farmers in the reform of the agricultural sector" (January 29, 2001), which provides: a) ensure the free exercise of the right ownership of shares, including the transfer of shares in the payment of lease rent of at least 1% of the unit, - the sale, gift, exchange, transfer by inheritance; b) identification of a group of people or individuals who own shares individually specified objects from the property reorganized farms or their successors in respect of the property; c) ensure the management of state property that were in use collective farms and the preservation and intended use for transfer to municipal ownership of social infrastructure owned listed companies; d) clarify the composition and value of mutual funds reformed CAE size units of former members of these companies and registration of shares certificates of standard pattern.

Implementing Decree will provide each farmer to dispose of his share without extracting it in kind, including pass it out and get an annual rent. If desired, owners can sell or donate his share, get some property objects for individual or group management. Encourage business development and expansion of private farms through the full realization of the rights of collective members of the SPC property of agricultural

enterprises. The certificate will allow farmers to confirm the right to a share of the property of former collective farms and can be used in the design of the lease.

Completed the most important stage of agrarian reform - reform PCB based on private ownership of land and property. 14.9 thousand new agricultural units were created. Enclosed 5.6 million of land leases (share), which is an area of 22 million ha. Farmers- landlords receive about 1.7 billion hryvnia rent.

## **CHAPTER 7. UKRAINE AND THE WORLD: GEOPOLITICAL FACTOR IN A HISTORICAL RETROSPECTIVE.**

**Ukraine's foreign policy.** After 1991, Ukraine established diplomatic relations with most countries. As the Russian Federation in exchange for debts of the USSR took him all former foreign embassies, Ukraine was left with virtually no buildings embassies or consulates abroad, except in the US embassy. Together with Russia and Belarus, Ukraine was the founder of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). May 31, 1997 President of the Russian Federation and Ukraine signed the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Partnership, which was ratified by the Parliament and the State Duma. Kuchma said that Ukraine will "European orientation" and will establish close links with the EU May 14-15, 1999 meeting of the presidents of Central Europe in Lviv.

Delegation of the European Commission to Ukraine opened in Kyiv downtown in September 1993. On December 1, 2009 (after the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty) The European Commission has turned to the Delegation of the European Union in Ukraine. As a result of the enlargement policy, the EU was a common border with Ukraine on 1 May 2004, when ten countries joined the Union, including Poland, Hungary, and Slovakia. At present, the common length of the border Ukraine and the EU is near 1390.742 km.

Over the years, the legal basis of relations between Ukraine and the EU is the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement of 14 June 1994 (entered into force on March 1, 1998). This agreement establishes cooperation on a wide range of political, trade-economic and humanitarian issues. In addition, concluded a number of sectoral agreements and documents of international law, according to which there is cooperation between Ukraine and the EU. EU-Ukraine cooperation in the framework of the "Eastern Partnership", one of whose tasks is to prepare for Ukraine's accession to the European Union.

Association Agreement between Ukraine and the EU was expected in November 2013 at the summit in Vilnius. However, on November 9 in there was a secret meeting President Yanukovich with Putin, whose meaning is unknown. Then Ukrainian authorities drastically changed rhetoric and November 21, 2013 the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine

decided to suspend the process of preparing to sign an agreement with the EU. Consequently, throughout Ukraine saw protests in support of signing association with the EU and Ukraine in the future acceptance as a full member. Association Agreement between the European Union and Ukraine scheduled November 28, 2013, but did not happen. Instead, at the 3rd EU summit "Eastern Partnership" in Vilnius 28 November 2013 the EU initialed similar agreements with Moldova and Georgia. New political authority of the Association Agreement between the European Union and Ukraine was signed March 21, 2014. The economic part of the agreement was signed on June 27, 2014. Prime Minister of Ukraine Arseniy Yatsenyuk at the meetings of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine said that Ukraine should as soon as possible implement association agreement with the European Union that already in 2017, our country became a full member of the EU.

Ukraine was a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council in 1999-2001. Ukraine has consistently supported the settlement of various conflicts through peaceful negotiations. Ukraine participated in the quadripartite talks on the conflict in Moldova and promoted a peaceful settlement of the conflict in the post-Soviet Georgia. Ukraine has made a significant contribution to UN peacekeeping operations since 1992.

Ukraine currently considers European integration as its main goal in foreign policy, but in practice maintains balance its relations between the European Union and the United States and Russia.

Partnership and Cooperation Agreement between the European Union with Ukraine entered into force on 1 March 1998. Ukraine joined the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe January 31, 1992 and became a member of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council March 10, 1992. Ukraine has close relations with NATO, albeit with the election of Viktor Yanukovich as president in 2010, this rate closer to the prospect of NATO membership was stopped. Ukraine - the most active member of the Partnership for Peace (PfP).

Ukraine is a member of organizations such as the United Nations (from 1945), WHO (from 1948), UNESCO (1954), the OSCE (1992), the BSEC (1992), the Council of Europe (1995), CEI (1996) GUAM (1997), CDC (2005), WTO (2008). Ukraine is also beneficial CIS member (since



1991) and has observer status in such organizations as: RKBM (1999), the Eurasian Economic Community (2002), La Francophonie (since 2006).

In 2012, Ukraine led the Central European Initiative (CEI), and in 2013 led the OSCE.

#### **Bilateral relations.**

**Poland.** Ukraine has friendly relations with Poland. Since 2004 Poland supports Ukraine's European integration course. Both sides recognize international borders established after World War II.

**Russia.** After independence, Ukraine has strained relations with Russia. Ukraine and Russia was a co-founder of the CIS, but between them there was a conflict of financial and property inheritance USSR. 1997 both governments signed an agreement on "strategic partnership", in which the Russian Black Sea Fleet base in Sevastopol received. 2003 between Ukraine and Russia border conflict erupted on the island of Tuzla, which finally decided was not. After the Orange Revolution in Ukraine relations between the two countries deteriorated. This resulted in an information counter and gas wars 2005-2006 and 2008-2009. Ukraine refused to support Russia in the Russo-Georgian conflict. 2010, after a rematch in the presidential elections in Ukraine pro-Russian forces between Ukraine and Russia happened thaw in relations. Kharkiv agreement was signed that extended the agreement in 1997. However, next year 2011 has emerged gas conflict. The main problem of Ukrainian-Russian relations remains unresolved delimitation between the two countries. Relations with Russia are complicated by energy dependence and payment arrears Ukraine. In 2014, after Euromaidan where Russia supported the former regime of President Yanukovych relationship completely destroyed by years. In March, Russian troops annex the Crimea and Russia in May as an aggressor begins hybrid war in eastern Ukraine, which continues to this day.

**Romania.** Since independence, Ukraine has strained relations with Romania, seeking to redefine the borders. Problem area is the Chernivtsi region, the Danube delta, Snake Island. February 3, 2009, by the decision of the International Court in The Hague, Ukraine asserted sovereignty over Serpents, but lost the continental shelf rich in oil and gas went Romania. After the trial Romania sabotaging the work of Ukrainian channel "Danube-Black Sea", which is a competitor Romanian channels in the

Danube Delta. Contrary to Ukrainian legislation, the Romanian diplomatic service issue Romanian passports to Ukrainian citizens in Chernivtsi region.

**Canada.** Canada was the first Western country to recognize the independence of Ukraine 2 December 1991. Canada and Ukraine have established diplomatic relations 27 January 1992.

Canada and Ukraine enjoy close bilateral relations. Ukraine in Canada represented by the Embassy in Ottawa and the Consulate General in Toronto, with offices in Pickering and Vancouver. Historical ties of friendship, cherished by generations of Ukrainian immigrants to Canada. Declaration "Special Partnership", signed in 1994 and renewed in 2001 and in 2008, said Canada's support of Ukraine and the importance of bilateral cooperation to ensure stability and prosperity. Countries signed a series of agreements and memoranda of understanding in areas such as trade, technical cooperation, defense and mutual legal assistance. However, there are still opportunities for cooperation. In September 2009, the Minister of Foreign Affairs Lawrence Cannon signed with Ukraine "Roadmap", which was a defined priority area for bilateral cooperation. In 2014, Canada strongly supports internationally Ukraine, and condemns Russian aggression.

Regarding Defence, the Canada supports a special partnership between Ukraine and NATO, organizing language courses, training programs on leadership and Ukrainian peacekeeping operations for military and civilian personnel. Ukraine is the third largest member of the Canadian Military Training Program and cooperation. Technical Cooperation Program of Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) is currently the only program of CIDA in Europe. Ukraine is one of 20 countries where CIDA programs focused.

Also, Canada and Ukraine have positive commercial relations.

## **CHAPTER 8. PROSPECTS OF UKRAINIAN STATE IN THE XXI CENTURY.**

The whole range of global issues facing Ukraine as part of the globalized world. And not only Ukraine, but even the most powerful country in the world cannot solve them alone. Humanity brings together the efforts and resources to overcome these problems and risks. This globalization is a positive for Ukraine and some negatives.

By positives include the rapidly spreading information technology, more search capabilities of partners around the world, not only among the nearest neighbors, the free movement of Ukrainian citizens in the world, educational opportunities and work abroad. Among the negatives that come from Ukraine globalization, it is - to strengthen the economic, political and cultural dependence on the superpowers, the gradual loss of national identity and cultural identity and even national sovereignty through voluntary delegation of some state functions such international associations such as the UN, the EU, OSCE, CIS.

Often equated with Americanization globalization, due to the growth of US influence in international affairs in the XX and XXI centuries.

Strengthening US influence manifests itself in the promotion of so-called "western lifestyle" in all countries.

As for the main vector of civilization development of our country, it must be European integration. The geographical center of the continent, according to some estimates, is located near the town of Rakhiv of Zakarpattia Oblast, Ukraine has old historical, economic, political and cultural relations with European nations and their time (to Peter) acted as a guide European cultural influence on Muscovy, in Ukraine the time saved Europe from the Mongol invasion and liberated Europe from fascism.

The potential of Ukraine to participate in global processes as a valuable partner is still high. The content of the positive factors that make social and economic life of the country, can be defined as:

- Ukraine's geographic location on the map transnational transport and communication corridors in which they intersect two main areas: "North-South" and "Europe-Asia-Pacific region" through the Caucasus and Central Asia;

- Appropriate for the initial phase of entry into the global economy transport and communication infrastructure;

- The presence of a significant number of highly skilled workers, engineers and scientists are able to provide high-tech production technology and technical sectors of modern economies.

Current research national scientists determine such basic geopolitical priorities of state:

- Survival of Ukraine as an independent state (the increasing role of fundamental values and strengthening of institutions guaranteeing prosperity, security and socio-cultural progress);

- The return of Ukraine to European cultural space (comprehensive integration into European and Euro-Atlantic political and social structures and security structures);

- Strengthening of the "capacity of Ukraine" in the broad sense of the term (economic and political development potential by accelerating domestic development, participation in European security structures, concluding bilateral or multilateral agreements, obtaining appropriate security guarantees);

- Strengthening of the strategic partnership with the US and relations with the countries of Western Europe;

- Support and development of equal and mutually beneficial economic, political and cultural relations with Russia;

- Strengthening and consolidating the special relations with strategically important neighbors (Poland, the Baltic states, Turkey, Georgia, Azerbaijan and Visegrad countries);

- Fostering a "girdle stability" and regional security structures (the Baltic and the Black Sea to the Caucasus and Central Asia);

- Active participation in the creation and use of European and Eurasian transport corridors (setting reliable many -alternative system of energy supply and strategically important raw materials);

- Counteracting uncontrolled foreign economic penetration and comprehensive protection of economic sovereignty (preventing the establishment of any form of economic and political dependence);

- Blocking of current attempts unilateral foreign socio-cultural and information expansion and domination;

- Purposeful formation in the mass consciousness of universal European and Euro-Atlantic values and cultural orientations.

Thus, the main risk is the establishment of modern globalization general principles of standardization and unification of social life, which is accompanied by a loss of national specificities and affects the relationship between people, organizations and countries on their forms, methods and ethics of relationships. Ukraine still have to do a lot of the Reformation, and transformations in the social and economic, social and political life, spiritually evolve to exit the international arena Ukraine economically and strategically able influential player. Since today is the biggest foreign policy orientation controversial moment in relations between Ukraine between East and West, the focus on the problem of "building Europe in Ukraine" can become that idea that will help the Ukrainian nation and strengthening the position of Ukraine according to the international arena.

As a large European country situated in the center of the continent, Ukraine can and should be an important factor of peace and stability in Europe. Given the new geopolitical reality that emerged in the world and Europe after the "Cold War", Ukraine provides a balanced foreign policy, seeking the one hand, to develop relations with Western countries and international organizations in Europe, on the other - to develop good relations with equal neighboring countries.

**Civil society in Ukrainian lands.** One of the prerequisites for Ukraine's entry into the European space of civil society is a permanent process of improving citizen, society, government, politics, economics, law, social services, culture, initiating changes in all spheres of public life, preferring personal freedom, human rights, own needs for change and responsibility for the results of their actions and, thus, contributes to the solution of many pressing issues of our time. Therefore, the research capacity of civil society, its practical implementation, and enforcement actions in the human being is of considerable scientific interest.

In contemporary Ukraine civil society is formed due to the historical heritage, national traditions and international experience, and the new historical reality creates conditions for its formation. But not by Western standards because of the original attraction to Eastern cultural traditions. And not for the East, because of their national traditions and historical practice, which is given to the characters and sets its possible

scope. Balancing between East and West, given their national traditions and historical practice, given the signs and ask their extent possible, the process of formation of the Ukrainian model of civil society.

Despite the diversity of the process Ukraine goes to the nation-building through civil society, national self-awareness and self-understanding, moral and ethical rise of the nation, and only here - to understand civil society as a universal value.

At various times it existed in the forms inherent in a given period of time, and its interpretation fit different meaning. Archaeological, chronicle, linguistic, ethnological, historical sources allow reconstructing the process of formation and functioning elements of civil society on Ukrainian territory.

The origin of its components belonged to the pre-state era and was made possible by the ability of society to self-actualization. Forming self-governing institutions, legal space (common law), ethical values and organizational implementation mechanisms, which later become components of government. At the initial stage of the degeneration of civil society advocates dominate society subjugates and controls its state by implementing the principles of popular sovereignty, the election, the presence of ideological pluralism in general and the existence of alternative views of participants in the electoral process, the real enjoyment of rights and freedoms.

Before turning to the contents of the main stages of the formation of the Ukrainian model of civil society, find out the main factors of the overall plan that defined the essence of the process of appearance of man on Ukrainian territory until today. On the one hand, they are universal, inherent nature of other nations, on the other - unique characteristics.

With the advent of humans about 1 million years ago the Ukrainian lands along with adaptation to natural and geographical conditions in certain areas of a given specific area, unfolded the formation of various elements of social self-organization that dictated the need to meet the material and spiritual needs. Its main features are collective extraction and consumption, and the basis for the operation - sharing a territory that solidified the existence of family, community and democracies. Socio-economic background of primitive societies was appropriating Agriculture and primitive human communities of hunters, collectors and fishermen.

At night Mesolithic tribal community, being the basic unit of social self-organization in certain seasons to rent a compact business group led dispersion blood relatives various business groups expanded the boundaries of communication between people and thus contributed to their self relationship. Based on the totality of tribal communities formed by a notch higher form of self-organization of human society - a tribe that unites the human community territory, dialect, and awareness of their own identity and differences from other communities.

A significant step in the development of civic cultural tradition has been made in the Neolithic, Eneolithic period when the territory of Ukraine were separated two economic-cultural society. Forest-steppe, dominated by agricultural social self-organization of a sedentary lifestyle and attraction to European civilization and steppe, with pastoral social self-nomadic way of life and attraction to Eurasian culture. Mosaic process of making diverse mix of media workers developed agricultural or pastoral societies together, with the local population or preserving their separateness certain period and the parallel existence of communities of awarding type of business.

The basis of human association is a family that fosters the kind of institution and the transition from tribal communities to the neighborhood, but retaining the original traditions and customs and thereupon begins counting genealogical kinship and genetic memory formation.

An important factor in the development of civic cultural tradition became migration and ethnic processes. This led to the mixing of local people with a number of ethnic communities one after another endless stream appeared on Ukrainian territory, thereby influencing civic Ukrainian genesis. Agricultural colonization Balkan, Baltic hunting migration, media Neolithic-Eneolithic cultures Indo-European group, Iranian (Cimmerians, Scythians, Sarmatians), Thracian, Germanic, Turkic tribes and many other communities did not disappear without a trace, and superimposed one on the second, laid the basis for the formation of these, thus ensuring continuity, length, enriching and very unique specificity civil cultural traditions of Ukrainian lands.

Thus, the Ukrainian territory in VII century BC in the Northern Black Sea appears Greek city-states. First, there Emporia, which subsequently grow into settlements with fortifications, and behind them -

and places, forming agricultural district - the choir. Crafts, agriculture, trade and fishing were the main occupations of immigrants, and in his spare time - politics.

Antique ownership serves as co-ownership of the citizen and the community, and the ancient form of community - a combination of public freedoms and public sovereignty. Over the entity and its ownership is the supreme authority - property, but not monopolized by the state bureaucracy and the sending State and community governments. What gives rise to the formation of state policy in terms of caste and class civil society as union owners - the heads of individual farms whose duty was to take part in political life on the Rights of the Citizen of the principles of equality, rather than vertically as in Eastern societies.

On this basis, in the first half of the first millennium began to emerge and develop Slavic groups that inhabited the border zone between steppe and steppe. Laid communities living before Slavs to the basic principles of civic culture in symbiosis with Slavic culture resulted in the emergence of unique genetic Ukrainian civic culture, the formation of which, due to historical circumstances, and continues to this day.

The forms of social degeneration of the Slavs were family, lineage, large patriarchal family, chiefdoms with conical clan that does not distinguishes them from similar structures in other European nations and created favorable conditions for the formation of the East-Slavic society higher order groups.

During the genesis of the Slavic community confirmed civic cultural tradition. Its main manifestations are territorial (rural and Horodyshe) community, which later transformed into the parish, and later in the ground-states; free yard management; People's Assembly; free meeting of owners; Council heads of family yard households that gives grounds to confirm the formation of territorial and social civil society in the Eastern Slavs.

In the development of East Slav society followed the establishment of private property in its various forms, representing the economic foundation of civil society. In parallel with the property of the community on a portion of land ownership existed yard farms. Commodity production was carried out not only for sharing but also for placing on the market for



the money. The Slavs within 4 - 5 centuries originated new economic relations: commodity-money-commodity, i.e. market relations.

Civil society development is closely linked to the development of free will. According to written testimony of Mauritian, Slavic population "similar in lifestyle, as usual, his love of liberty". The establishment of private property, territorial and social system created the necessary conditions for self-realization and, in general - preserving identity through the expression of their own free will, which substantially affect the development of civil society in different stages.

Elements of civil society clearly traced in the Council (Veche) of local government that evolved from the old Slavic tribal stairs to the public and government agencies. The Chamber was a form of self-fulfillment as individuals and groups of people. In Council (Veche) meetings attended by all free population, which had their own farm and thus lacked the right to direct participation in public affairs through collective management, important issues, and often direct execution Council (Veche) regulations.

The Chamber could convene Prince or on behalf of Prince Ambassadors, the people as a whole and individuals, with the participation in the meeting was not a duty, but only right that every citizen could use freely. Voting belonged equally to all citizens; everything depended on the will of the people, the majority sentiment. Council shall have the right to elect the prince, dismiss it determines the extent to which he could exercise their rights.

Were ambiguous relationships of Prince with Prince warriors: they had been not command, they had been to convince, because the making of Ancient States should speak of the retinue form of government.

Great influence on Council (Veche) assembly had different parties and groups. There were no parties understanding our times, but the meaning of certain events and their tactics may well be described as a party. Typically, these parties were «among princes» and international orientation.

Features civic self clearly appear in the work of local peasant self - Verves, societies that emerged first as a generic, and later - territorial rural communities, uniting independent owners of one or more villages and jointly owned indivisible land, forests, grazing and other parkland and were linked mutual responsibility and mutual responsibility for carrying tribute

committed crimes in the community. Management functions performed in verve Copa 's meetings and Verva 's court acted on the basis of common law.

An important form of expression of civil society was the Church as the spiritual foundation of medieval Slavic world, regulating private lives of individuals within the church given legal rights.

The next step active self Ukrainian society outside the state were the Lithuanian-Polish and Cossack hetman era where basic self-governing bodies were sejmiks of lands and provinces; territorial self-governing structure; merchant guilds and fraternities; spiritual and educational fraternity; dig and Cossack courts; camp and pledge that later transformed into Zaporizhzhya Sich as a form of state; shelves and hundreds that were the basis of the administrative-territorial structure of Ukrainian Cossack state.

Since the end of XVI century in Ukraine there is intensive growth of small towns and fortresses, based on the Magdeburg law. Just three communities - Ukrainian, Polish, and Armenian coexisted in some cities. In Ukraine the end of XVIII - a process of spiritual and socio-political revival marked beginning of XX century. The beginnings of the civil society in Ukraine appeared in a Masonic lodges, the Decembrists and many Ukrainian companies, associations, groups, communities, movements, and ultimately - political parties that contributed to the awakening of national consciousness Ukrainian revival of socio-economic, social -political and public life.

During the Soviet totalitarian era there were only shoots civil society could not exist legally, or were his surrogate.

An important factor in the development of civil society in modern Ukraine began mid 80s - early 90s of the twentieth century Gorbachev revolution from above. It was a period of transition from totalitarianism to democracy and created an environment for its revival. In the first years of independence of civil society had its rise, there is a large number of public organizations and voluntary associations, independent media, changing economic system that finds its expression in the formation of diversity of ownership and management. The next step in the formation of new and enhance existing civil society was the process of development and adoption of the new Constitution of Ukraine. Sophistication of civil society today

depends on the ability to self-realization as individuals and groups of people. At this stage, we can state formation environment of civil society, the establishment of appropriate legal and political, economic, social, mental and spiritual foundations, and the totality of which form its foundation.

Unlike Western Europe, where civil society was formed as a result of prolonged permanent evolution and is in the process of modernization today in Ukraine at different stages of historical development, there were only the sprouts that are not yet completed the system structure. This is conditioned by another feature of civil society in modern Ukraine - the primary role of the state and the initiation of this process is usually a revolutionary way over the top. Building Ukrainian state and civil society coincidence as opposed to post-socialist countries of Eastern Europe (Poland, Hungary), at the time of the collapse of the existing system had all the attributes of statehood. Therefore, we more than ever, it is important to build a strong sovereign, independent, democratic and constitutional state with clear public policy mechanisms and civilized interaction with civil society, because, according to Thomas Carothers, nothing does more harm his development as a weak lethargic state .

The largest contribution was made to the establishment of political and legal foundations of civil society. The first step in this direction was the adoption of the "Declaration of State Sovereignty of Ukraine", which provided conditions for the adoption of a number of legislative acts - "On Property" (1991), "On Enterprises in Ukrainian SSR" (1991), "On Business Associations" (1991), "On the peasant (farmer) facilities" (1991), "On Freedom of conscience and Religious Organizations" (1991), "On citizenship" (1991), "On the local councils of deputies and local regional governments" (1992) "On Public Associations" (1992), "On agricultural Cooperation" (1997), "On Land Lease" (1998), "On political parties in Ukraine" (2001) and several others. In 1996 he was constitutionally enshrined principles of sovereignty and state, the rule of law, the universality of law, human rights priority over the law, separation of powers, economic, and political pluralism.

This is also the diversity of political parties, public organizations, associations and movements, local authorities, non-governmental media.

Ministry of Justice of Ukraine on January 1, 2000 has registered 107 political parties in Ukraine. According to the Center of Innovation Development, there were about 30 000 registered public organizations in 1999 in Ukraine, including more than 800 (4%) had an all-status. This is a fairly high figure, especially when you consider that two years before Ukraine had 20 000 thousands of organizations, and even two years earlier (in 1995) there were 4000. However, public associations employing only 15% of the population of Ukraine.

Local governments today, within which the management of local affairs in grassroots administrative units (communities), is a clear continuation and further consolidation of territorial and social traditions of civil society Slavic world. Under the new Constitution of Ukraine is the right of local self-government territorial community - residents of a village or a voluntary association in the rural community of several villages, towns and cities - to solve local issues within the Constitution and laws of Ukraine.

At the initiative of residents may be set up house, street, block and other self-organizing organs. Local governments to improve the implementation of its appointment to meet protect interests of local communities form associations with nationwide, regional, or local status are relevant international associations. Today in Ukraine has more than 50 associations of local governments, which are aimed at finding optimal solutions to current local and regional development.

The formation of the economic foundation of civil society is manifested in the formation of diversity of ownership and management. In total, between 1994-2000 found the important task of solving the transformation period, formed the basic principles of a mixed economy. As of January 1, 2001 non-state sector accounted for 75.7% of total industrial production, while their share by the number-85.3%. In the private sector the number and volume of production dominated by corporations, respectively, 57.1% ta79,7% share of limited liability companies was, respectively, 13.4% and 52% of companies repurchased under the ownership of teams - 7.6 % and 1.2%.

The number of enterprises operating under conditions of reduced rent. 14.7% of industrial enterprises, which in 2000 produced almost a quarter of total industrial output, left the state.

The reorganization of almost all 10833 collective farms were held on 1 September 2000. On the base for 13,723 new agricultural enterprises, including 1030 registered peasant (farm) (8%), 2840 private companies (20%) and 6402 agricultural companies (47%), agricultural cooperatives 3312 (24%).

According to the changes of ownership and management of the fundamental changes taking place in the social structure that promotes the formation of the social basis of civil society. Consider this example agriculture worker. In industrial areas of agro-industrial complex (first and third blocks) dominant position left by workers. But among them were defined five categories: a) workers of state enterprises; b) workers of undertakings; c) working corporations; d) workers of private companies; e) working joint Ukrainian-foreign enterprises.

Almost two-thirds of workers in the first block in state enterprises working in the company - 23%, and the Ukrainian-foreign enterprises - only 9% of mid-90s of the twentieth century. The enterprises of the third block respectively 19%, 58% and 14%. In industrial areas of agribusiness production decreased number of intellectuals. However, the vast majority worked on corporate and government enterprises. Among the employees first and third blocks agro-industrial complex (AIC) new social strata emerged - entrepreneurs, businessmen. There were more than 100 thousand, and the first business unit - less than 9000 in the processing industry and trade.

In terms of ownership of the means of production are the following business groups: businessman, who owns all the means of production, or all of the issued shares; entrepreneur who owns and operates now with the help of a majority stake, providing it the status of a real master production; entrepreneur who controls the production with the help of other people's actions, which he entrusted to certain conditions shareholders.

Major changes have taken place in the social structure of agriculture workers. Among them is no longer dominated by farmers and workers of state farms. The number of first decreased due to the reform of the farms in the collective farms based on sharing land and property (and eventually eliminate them), and the second - the transformation of a significant number of farms in the collective farms through auctioning.

As of 1 January 1996 in Ukraine among farmers there are main categories: a) farmers (members of the collective farms that continue to operate under the statute of agricultural cooperatives) - 478 thousand (12.4% of employment in the agricultural sector); b) Agricultural detachment of the working class (mainly employees of state farms and enterprises logistics service agricultural) - 390 thousand (9.1%); c) members of collective farms on the property based on a new (joint stock companies, shareholders associations, associations, cooperatives, peasant associations, agricultural firms) - 2 million 370 thousand (52.8%); d) tenants - 479 900 (12.6%), e) farmers - 160 thousand (of family members - 12.9%); f) employees of small farms (mainly processing) - 4300 (1.1%); i) agricultural production intelligentsia - 390 thousand (9.1%). [3] That is, workers of the agricultural sector have been performing as agricultural producers with categories defined by ownership and management.

However, along with an extensive presence in the community of social structure, not least for the promotion of civil society is the existence of the middle class status, material and spiritual level, which should be the majority of the population. State of Civil Society in Ukraine today is characterized by significant social stratification and underdeveloped middle class, which is 12% of the population.

The basis of the middle class is the development of small business. In 1996, the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine approved the Concept of state policy for small business. In January 1997, was adopted by the State Program of small business in Ukraine in 1997-1998. July 29, 1997 President of Ukraine issued a decree "On establishment of the State Committee for Entrepreneurship" and September 11, 1997 - Ukraine Business Council was established. The number of operating small businesses Ukraine increased from 19 600 in 1991 to 300 thousand in 2000, which actually has about 60-70 thousand.

With the accumulation of quantitative indicators, civil society remains underdeveloped quality. State of Civil Society in Ukraine caused by inertia of Ukrainian society - 24% according to respondents; corrupt government and strict control of the media - 33%; absence of real economic reforms - 23%; linguistic and cultural diversity of the population - 5%; state paternalism - 6%; mature market - 8%; other - 1%.

At this stage, we can state the formation environment of civil society by solving the above problems by respondents. Recent events and the orange revolution in Ukraine dignity was an important step in this direction as a manifestation of active public forms of implementation of direct democracy, which is the very first condition of civil society.

As a result, defend democracy and freedom, and the historical arena Ukraine formed a government team with the political will to implement socio-economic and socio-political changes that would facilitate a gradual and complete development.

Historical origins of civil society in Ukraine reach antiquity. At various times it existed in the forms inherent in a given period of time, and its interpretation fit different meaning. On the Ukrainian territory is not a permanent process, because until now the civil society did not become final system structure, and is in the process of formation.

Its formation is due to the historical heritage, national traditions, and international experience and with the new historical realities. At this stage, we can state formation environment for civil society development, establishment of appropriate legal and political, economic, social, mental and spiritual foundations, and the totality of which form its foundation.

The main factors of the overall plan affecting the nature of the various elements of social self-organization of the appearance of man on Ukrainian territory to the territory of today is natural and geographical environment, and immigration and ethnic processes (and nowadays increasingly important geopolitical space and environmental sphere). They determine the existence unique to Ukraine and type of citizenship formation in its territory of single transmission systems civic cultural information. Mixing local population with a number of ethnic communities one after another endless stream appeared on Ukrainian territory and disappeared without a trace, and superimposed on the second one, laying the basis for the formation of these, thus ensuring continuity, length, enriching and very unique specificity civil of Ukrainian origin. Staying Ukraine in the various countries and contributed to the deepening of the manifestations of civil regionalism. The satisfaction of material and spiritual needs of man determined the need for human self-actualization. Civil society development is closely linked to the development of free will, the legal space of democracy.

**Kravchenko Nataliia Borysivna**

**Brief Historical Sketch of Ukrainian Statehood:  
XX-XXI centuries**

Signed for printing 25.11.2018  
Conventionally printed pages 12,5  
Edition 100

Format 60x84 1/16  
Acc. and publishing pages 12,5  
Order № 12345