

**MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE,  
YOUTH AND SPORTS OF UKRAINE  
KHARKIV NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF ECONOMICS**

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# **THE HISTORY OF UKRAINE**

**Summary of Lectures**

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The book contains the texts of lectures, in which the key political, social and economic aspects of the history of Ukraine are examined. The lectures cover the period of the development of the Ukrainian nation from the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. up to the early 21<sup>st</sup> century.

It is recommended for the students of all training directions.

Вміщено тексти лекцій, у яких розглядаються ключові політичні, соціальні та економічні аспекти історії України. Лекції охоплюють період розвитку української нації від I століття н. е. до початку XXI століття.

Рекомендовано для студентів усіх напрямів підготовки.

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## Preface

What is the history and why do we need to learn it? The questions, which may raise, when we turn to learn this subject. Answering the first question, the History is the science that studies the development of society from the past to the present. Using a historical experience, modern people construct a lot of their environment and daily activities. The History shapes the social memory and the history also shapes social expectations. The history looks at us through literature, architecture, art, oral tradition, rumors (for example, rumors about the Soviet past), music, etc. Other sciences, among which there is the Economics, also examine a historical experience to get their own results. It is no wonder that the successful financier David Rockefeller was indebted to his teachers of History, which taught him to think critically and establish firm conclusions [25, c. 3]. A clear example of the historical influence on economic activities may be those modern business relations, which depend on traditional rules of etiquette and erudition.

Thus, we find one of the possible answers to the second question (why do we need to learn the History?). The History gives a person, who is studying it, erudition and analytical skills, which are needed for the personal success in a competitive environment of today. This is a very important function of the historical science.

**The object** of this summary of lectures is the development of the Ukrainian nation and its state formation, social transformations and economical changes, which took place in the history of the Ukrainian people throughout all historical periods, from the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. up to the early 21<sup>st</sup> century.

**The purpose** of the summary of lectures is to broaden the scientific outlook of the students in the area of the History of Ukraine, presenting it as the part of the History of the Central and Eastern European region.

After working with the summary proposed the students get the following **professional competencies**:

- to think independently basing on the non-fiction data;
- to establish own firm conclusions;

to explain the reasons and tendencies of historical development of the Ukrainian nation;

to analyze critically the historical data.

The lectures concentrate on the conceptual-categorical apparatus and creative tasks, ways of solving them. Students will be able to find cause-and-effect, chronological connections between historical events. It would be useful analyzing historical data relating to the present days and in the context of world historical processes.

The Ukrainian nation has a very long history, from the beginning of the first Slavic settlements on the Ukrainian territory up to the modern Ukraine (appendix A) with its complicated and mingled social relations. Throughout this wide historical period the national consciousness, having once appeared, grew up, despite the constant foreign oppression. Of course, the shaping of national culture and mentality depends on the changes of political and economical conditions. Knowing about that and following the syllabus of the History of Ukraine [25] we may define 16 historical stages and make 16 lectures respectively.

The useful discussion on themes proposed may be grounded on the questions that follow each lecture. In order to help the reader in his learning the history the summary of lecturers includes a short glossary of terms, which are used in the lectures, and a map of the historical and geographical regions of Ukraine.

Working with lectures student must understand that the last word on the Ukrainian history is far from being said. There is need for more research and further discoveries. The best hope of getting more information would seem to be in the field of libraries, museums, archives, historical monuments, conferences, discussion clubs, round-tables, etc.

# **Module 1. The History of Ukraine in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period**

## **Theme 1. The Emergence and Development of the Southern Slavonic Tribes and Establishment of Kyivan Rus between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the 11<sup>th</sup> Centuries**

**The purpose** of this theme is to give an idea of the development of the early Slavic people and the formation of the early Slavic State Kyivan Rus.

The theme covers main **topics** on the first written evidences about the Slavs; hypothesis of Slavs' homeland; the Great Migration of the Slavs; the appearance of the Sclaveni and the Antes; the early Slavic archeological cultures; the living of the early Slavs; the Southern Slavic unions and establishment of Kyivan Rus; the theories of the Slavic State formation; the reigns of the first Kyivan Princes.

**The first written evidences of the Slavs.** The first evidences of the Slavonic tribes were found in the Greek-Roman sources of the 1st and the 2nd centuries A.D. The first, who wrote about the Slavs, seems to be the Roman historian Cornelius Tacitus. Some information of Slavs he put in his work "De origine et situ Germanorum" (Concerning the origin and location of the Germans), commonly called the "Germania" or "Germany". There he named the Slavs *Venethi*. After him the name Venethi was mentioned by the Roman Pliny the Elder (in his work "The Natural History"), and the Greek geographer Ptolemy (in his work "The Geography") [2; 3].

The comparing of the written evidences and archeological data reveals Venethi's artifacts may belong to Zarubintsy culture, the area of which included the territories of modern Ukraine and Belarus. Among Zarubintsy artifacts a lot of Baltic and Germanic ones have been found [2].

**The hypothesis of Slavs' homeland.** Until present-day in the historiography three main hypothesis of Slavs' homeland has been put forward. The oldest hypothesis is grounded on the information of *Nestor the Chronicler* (1056 – 1114), the author of Primary Chronicle, who wrote the Slavs originally inhabited the Danube region, where now Hungary and Bulgaria are. This

hypothesis was warmly supported by the Czech and Slovak historian Pavlo Shafaryk (1765 – 1861) [2].

In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century a Czech Slavist Lubor Niderle proposed the Dnieper-Oder hypothesis that was illustrated with new data of archeology, and was also based on written sources, and linguistics. According to the hypothesis, the Slavs originally settled the area between the Vistula River and the Dnieper River. The key proponents of this point of view were M. Fasmer, N. Shakhmatov, V. Petrov, and F. Filin [2].

In the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the Polish scholars Jozef Kostrzewsky and Tadeusz Lehr-Splawinsky worked out the Vistula-Oder hypothesis. They and other proponents of their point of view suggested the Slavs' homeland was the territory between the Vistula River and the Oder River [2].

**The Great Migration of the Slavs.** During the 5<sup>th</sup> – 7<sup>th</sup> century the so-called *Great Migration of the Slavs* to the Danube, the Balkan Peninsula, the Elbe River and the Baltic coast, the upper reaches of the Don River and the Volga River took place.

The Great Migration caused the forming of three branches of the Slavic peoples (Eastern, Western, and Southern).

Today the Southern Slavs consist of the Montenegrins, the Bulgarians, the Macedonians, the Croats, the Serbs, the Bosnians, and the Slovenes. The branch of the Western Slavs includes the Czechs, the Poles, and the Slovaks. The Ukrainians, the Belarusians, the Russians are considered to be the Eastern Slavs [3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 17].

**The Sclaveni and the Antes.** In the 6<sup>th</sup> century the Byzantine (Greek) author Procopius of Caesarea (the book "Gothic War") and the Gothic chronicler Jordan (the chronicle "Getica"), mentioned the names of large Slavic tribal unions "*Sclaveni*" and "*Antes*". Probably in the 4<sup>th</sup> century the Slavs joined into the two alliances, the Sclaveni and the Antes. The chronicler Jordan affirmed the Antes included nearly 70 tribes. The Antes are considered to be the ancestry of the modern Eastern Slavic peoples. The other modern Slavic modern nations seems to have derived from the Sclaveni [3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 17].

**The early Slavic archeological cultures.** Archeologists dated artifacts, which belong to the archaeological culture named *the Cherniakhivska*, by the 5<sup>th</sup> century. The area of the Cherniakhivska culture covered the most eastern and southern Ukraine. Other than Slavic artifacts, the Cherniakhivska culture

included artifacts of the Goths, the Scythians, the Sarmatians, the Thracians, and the Celts.

Another Slavic archaeological culture of the 5<sup>th</sup> – 7<sup>th</sup> century is suggested to be *the Prague Korchatska* one. Its area originally included the territories of modern Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Ukraine (Volyn region).

The Slavic *Penkivska* archaeological culture (the 5<sup>th</sup> – 7/8<sup>th</sup> centuries) covered the southern and northern territories of the modern Ukraine, the closest to Ukraine regions of Moldova and Russia.

The *Kolochynska* archeological culture (the 5<sup>th</sup> – 7<sup>th</sup> centuries) covered the Upper Dnieper area, the Desna area and the Seym area [2].

**The living of the Slavs.** The data from all the early Slavs' settlements indicates that the Slavs lived in small dug-outs or semi-dug-outs with wooden or wattle walls. The Slavs used farming to provide a steady food supply. They cultivated wheat, rye, barley, oats, flax, hemp, peas, turnips, onions, and garlic.

They also raised livestock (sheeps, goats, cattle and pigs), and were engaged in hunting, fishing, and beekeeping. There were many craftsmen among the Slavs. Such crafts as casting, blacksmithing, weaving, pottery, glass blowing, manufacturing and decoration tools were commonly used.

Being pagans the Slavs believed in many gods, among which they especially honoured Dazhboh or Jari (the sun-god), Stryboh (the wind-god), Perun (the god of thunder and lightning), Veles (the god of stock and wealth), Mokosh (the goddess of fertile lands), and Rod (the god of harvest and family) [3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 17].

**The Slavic unions.** From time to time Slavic tribes united into tribal unions. By the 8<sup>th</sup> century a number of smaller unions of Slavic tribes had appeared, instead of the former large unions the Sclaveni and the Antes, about which we said above.

Seven unions inhabited the territory of Ukraine. There were the *Polians* (deriving from the Slavic word *pole*, or field), the *Derevlians* (from *drevo*, or tree), the *Siverians* (from *siver*, or north), the *Dulibs* (of unclear derivation), the *Uliches*, the *Tyvertses* and the *White Croats*.

The Polians inhabited the middle of the Dnieper area. A closer western neighbours were the Derevlianes, who lived in area between the rivers Sluch and Dnieper, Pripyat and Teterev. Westward, up to the Western Buh River and the Horyn River, the Dulib tribes (also known Buzhans and Volynians)

lived. To the north from the Polians' lands the lands of the Siverians were, at the left feeders of the Dnieper River. In the Southern parts of Ukraine, along the Dnieper, territories of the Ulich and the Tiverts tribes were. The White Croats used to live in Zakarpattia.

By the late 8<sup>th</sup> century these tribal unions had begun evaluating into the tribal principalities and, then, to the state Kyivan Rus. To some degree this process was intensified by an invading of foreigners, the *Varanges* (also known as Vikings, Normans) and the *Khozars* [3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 17].

**The theories of the Slavic state formation.** In the 18<sup>th</sup> century German historians Hotlib Byer, Herhard Miller and August Ludwig, the members of the Petersburg Academy of Sciences, worked out the so-called *Norman theory*. Grounded on the evidences of "The Tale of Bygone Years", they argued that the Varangians (the German-Scandinavian people, also known as the Vikings or the Normans) had founded the Kyivan Rus in the 9<sup>th</sup> century.

The warm opponent of the Norman theory was Mykhailo Lomonosov. He proved Kyivan Rus had been only formed by the Slavs because by the 9<sup>th</sup> century the Slavs already had the social organization – the tribal unions, and the tribal aristocracy. Lomonosov's theory became known as *the anti-Norman conception* (or the Theory of the natural progress). This theory was strongly supported by the prominent Ukrainian historians of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century Mykola Kostomarov, Volodymyr Antonovych and Mykhailo Hrushevskyi.

Later on, the Normanists, debating with the anti-Normanists, offered arguments that the word "Rus" derived from the word "Ruotsi", the old Finish name for the Swedes; the most names of Kyivan envoys, mentioned in the Treaties of the Kyivan Princes and the Byzantine Emperors, are the Scandinavian ones (Karl, Ineheld, Farlof and so on); Muslim travellers and geographers of the 9<sup>th</sup> and the 10<sup>th</sup> century always distinguished the Slavs from the Russes.

In return, the anti-Normanists argued the following: the word "Rus" has the Slavic roots, like the names of rivers Ros, Rusa, Rostavytsia, in the Central Ukraine; in Scandinavia any evidences about the people of Rus had not been found by researchers; the Muslim writer Ibn-Khordadberh (nearly 840 – 880) definitely called the Russes the Slavic tribe; the archeological artefacts, which were excavated from the places of former towns and trade routes, indicate that Varangian culture very little influenced on the Slavic one.



The debates between the Normanists and anti-Normanists continued throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries [5].

**Kyivan Rus and its first rulers.** According to "The Tale of Bygone Years", in 862 two Varangian leaders Askold and Dir with troops sailed from Novgorod, where the Varangian Prince Riuryk was ruling, down by the Dnieper river and seized the town of Kyiv. The news about their success reached Novgorod. By this time Riuryk had died. His son Ihor was young to be at the head of the army. Hence, Oleh, who was a relative of Riuryk, gathered army, took Ihor, and went to Kyiv. Askold and Dir were swindled out of the town and killed under accusation in power usurpation. In 882 Oleh possessed Kyiv and proclaimed it "the Mother of all Rus towns". The 882 is considered to be the first year of Kyivan Rus, the early medieval Slavic state. Kyivan Rus included nearly all the territory of modern Ukraine, Belarus, and a part of the modern Russia [1; 3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 12; 14; 17; 18; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

**The reign of Oleh.** The Prince Oleh (882 – 912) established the Kyivan state in 882. He conducted military expeditions against Byzantine towns. In 907 Oleh, heading a great army of 80 000 men, sacked Constantinople, the capital of Byzantine.

Being defeated the Byzantine Emperor ransomed Constantinople. He gave 12 hryvnas (the silver bars) to each Russian crew of each Russian ship (Oleh had 2 000 ships), as well as he paid goods to Rus town dwellers (Kyiv, Chernihiv, Pereiaslav, Polotsk and some other Rus towns). The Byzantine Empire obliged to pay Oleh an annual tribute, as well as allowed Russian merchants to be dealing in Constantinople without paying a duty. The Emperor was also forced to maintain the Rus merchants at his own expense during the six months in Constantinople, and allow them a free bath. The Russes, in turn, obliged to help Byzantine in its wars against the Arabs and other nomads. The Treaty was endorsed by written agreement, which seems to be the oldest preserved political document of Kyivan Rus. Its text is in "The Tale of Bygone Years". For marking the victory Oleh nailed his shield upon the gates of Constantinople. One modern historian suggests it may be the sign showing the desire to protect the Greek Empire. However, in 911, when the Greeks did not accomplish their obligations, Oleh again besieged Constantinople.

The later fate of Oleh is unclear, but it is known he died in 912 [1; 3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 12; 14; 17; 18; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

**The reign of Ihor.** In 912 Oleh was followed by the Prince Ihor (912 – 945). At the beginning of his rule the tribes of Ulitches (capital is Peresichen) and the Derevlians (capital is Iskorosten) revolted. The Derevlians were quickly subordinated by the large army of Ihor, but the Ulitches continued to resist. According to the legend, the Ulitches were strong enough having 318 towns. For three years Ihor's *druzhyina* (troops) had been besieging the Ulitches' capital Peresichen. After the long war, the Ulitches went out of their native lands to west and got at Danube. In the mean time Byzantine began to set against the Russes the Pechenihs, the eastern nomadic tribes. In 941 Ihor invaded Byzantine at the head of troops on 10 000 ships, but the Greeks burned his fleet with the so-called "Greek fire". In 943 Ihor fought with Byzantine allies at the southern-western coast of the Caspian Sea. During the campaign the Russes robbed towns of Derbent and Berdaa, the capital of Albany. Next year, Ihor made an unfortunate attempt to seize Constantinople. The new agreement was finally endorsed. According to it Rus merchants were deprived their privileges and right of free-duty trade in Constantinople. Besides this, Ihor was obliged to defend the territories of Byzantine in the Crimea.

Because of failure of campaign against Byzantine Ihor's troops were left without any booty. They murmured. In order to calm his troops in 945 Ihor went for extra tribute to the Derevlians, to their capital Iskorosten. The Derevlyans, in return, revolted and put Ihor to death [1; 3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 12; 14; 17; 18; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

**The reign of Olha.** Ihor's wife Olha (945 – 957) avenged Derevlians. Her troops killed Derevlians' envoys, which suited for her marriage with their prince Mal, and then her warriors slaughtered a lot of the Derevlians and burnt their capital Iskorosten.

According to "The Tale of Bygone Years", in 957 Olha with the escort of over 100 persons peaceably visited Constantinople. There she was baptized taking the Christian name Elena, after the reigning Empress Helena Lekapena. Her father-in-law was the Byzantine Emperor named Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Some historians hold an opinion that Olha was baptized in the times of the Emperor Roman, who ruled from 920 to 944. This statement is based on the short account of the one German chronicler. However, the Emperor Constantine VII in his book "*De Ceremoniis*" and the author of "The Tale of Bygone Years" considered Olha was baptized in 957.

The Germanic anonymous author told that in 959 Russian envoys had visited the court of German Emperor Otton the First with the proposition to send to Rus his bishops and other priests for baptizing the Rus people. In 961 the Emperor send to Kyivan Rus the mission under the bishop Adalbert, instead of previously appointed Libuci, who had died shortly before. The mission of Adalbert ended by failure. Germanic envoys were forced to rescue their life, escaping from evil Slavic pagans.

According to the legend, Olha ordered to built the church of Saint Nicholas on the tomb of Askold. However, it is unclear due to lack of evidences.

Later on, after her death Olha was proclaimed a saint, for her efforts to spread the Christian religion in the country. However, she failed to convert into Christianity her son Sviatoslav. The saint relics of Olha's body were lost in 1240 when Mongols seized Kyiv.

Olha implemented first "reforms" in Kyivan Rus. The reforms clearly defined lands, the population of which from time to time had to render tributes to Olha. She also established the definite size of tribute and duties by way of introducing the fixed rates "ustavs", "obroks", and "uroks". The places of tribute rendering were marked along the coastal line of the Dnieper. At the same time these places ("pohosts" or "stanovyshches") became the locations of Princess' officers.

For her wise rule the chronicler called Olha "the wisest of all people". In 964 she established her son Sviatoslav on the throne [1; 3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 12; 14; 17; 18; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

**The reign of Sviatoslav.** Ihor's and Olha's son Sviatoslav ended the heroic period of Kyivan Rus formation (962 – 972). He became the romantic hero of annalistic tradition. He was the brave and easy-to-handle Prince, who did not take in campaign carts and cauldrons. Also he did not hide in tent at night. He just slept with his army in the open air, putting a saddle under the head. Sviatoslav did not attack the enemy unexpectedly, but always threw down a challenge: "Idu na Vy!" (literally "I am going against You!", which was sounded like "Attack you!").

Sviatoslav was non-Christian like his druzhyna, unless his mother was a pagan.

During the period between 964 and 968 years Sviatoslav submitted the Viatices, another Slavic tribal union, and destroyed the Volga Bulgars and the Burtases (today they are known as Mordvinians), the allies of Khazars.

Then his army defeated the Khazars and robbed their capital Itil. Having reached the Northern Caucasus, the Russes under Sviatoslav submitted Finish tribes of Yases and Kasoges.

In 968 Sviatoslav agreed to help the Byzantines in their war against Danube Bulgaria. Soon after, his army captured the Bulgarian capital Pereiaslavets and Sviatoslav made it his residence. Meanwhile, he captured 80 towns along the Danube. The Byzantines wondered when they had heard the following news. Sviatoslav wanted to make Pereiaslavets the capital of Rus. At once the Greeks provoked the Pechenihs against Sviatoslav. When Pechenihs had besieged Kyiv, Sviatoslav returned to defend the town. In Pereiaslavets Sviatoslav left the troops under the voivode (general) Vovk.

Sviatoslav secured Kyivan Rus by way of dividing its lands among his three sons.

The elder son Yaropolk received the capital Kyiv. The second son Oleh possessed the Derevlian land. The smaller son Volodymyr was given Novgorod, the great Northern city. Leaving Kyiv for Novgorod Volodymyr took on the way his uncle Dobrynia, which long after became the hero of *bylinas* (Russian ballads) describing him as the bohatyr (a man of exaggerated power).

In 969s Sviatoslav again invaded Danube Bulgaria. By that time voivode Vovk had retreated to the river Dniester after the lossing of Pereiaslavets, which was taken by the Bulgarians. On arriving, Sviatoslav returned Pereiaslavets' and seized the Bulgarian towns of Great Preslav and Dorostol as well as the Greek city of Philipol. Sviatoslav's army was going to Constantinople, when at Adrianople his way was closed by a Greek army led by the Emperor John Tzimisces.

After hours-long battle Sviatoslav was forced to retreat to Dorostol. In spring of 971 the Greeks besieged the town. For three months the Russes had been defending on the walls. Before the general battle Sviatoslav inspired his warriors: "Won't disgrace the Rus Land, but let's fall in the field of the battle here, because all dead have no sense of shame!" In that fight 16 000 of the Russes were killed. According to the later treaty Sviatoslav was obliged to make no war against Byzantine. He also leaved for Byzantine Danube Bulgaria and Crimea. However, shortly after, when Sviatoslav was on his way to Kyiv, the Byzatines provoked against him Pechenihs. In spring of 972, while Rus druzhyna had been crossing the Dnieper rapids, the Pechenihs led by the Khan Kuria attacked them and killed Sviatoslav.

Commemorating the victory Kuria made out the Sviatoslav's skull a cup for wine [1; 3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 12; 14; 17; 18; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

**The first internecine war.** After Sviatoslav had died Kyivan Rus came to a political crises. The strives between the Rurikids for the state power were broken out. Probably in a clash for the right to gather tributes, Yaropolk killed his middle brother Oleh. Young Volodymyr, the son of Sviatoslav and the key keeper Maklusha, escaped to Scandinavia. In several years he came back at the head of Varangian forces and broke out a war against Yaropolk, in which Yaropolk was murdered by two Varangians. Prince Yaropolk ruled in Kyiv only for two years (972 – 980) [1; 3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 12; 14; 17; 18; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

**The reign of Volodymyr the Great.** Volodymyr the Great ruled Kyivan Rus from 980 to 1015.

Namely in his times the territory formation of Kyivan Rus was entirely completed. The reign of Volodymyr was supported by local nobles. Volodymyr was the first Prince, who formed druzhyna from the Slavs, not from the Varangians. For the service Volodymyr used to give lands.

Another task which Volodymyr decided was the difficult relations with the old tribal nobility, which wanted to make independent policy. Before the ruling of Volodymyr the Great, the Kyivan Princes had to conquer the neighbour tribes once and again. When chronicle says that predecessors of Volodymyr conquered Slavic tribes, it practically means they had only gathered some tributes from these tribes.

Volodymyr removed local tribal Princes and gave their lands to his 12 sons. Vseslav possessed Novgorod, Iziaslav – the town of Polotsk, Sviatoslav – the town of Turov, Yaroslav – the town of Rostov, Hlib – the town of Murom, other Sviatoslav – the town of Iskorosten, Mstyslav – the town of Tmutarakan, etc. In every local centre Volodymyr placed his officials with troops in order to control local nobles. In this way by 988 Volodymyr had controled all the tribes, which Kyivan Rus included. In Volhynia he founded the town of Volodymyr, the great administrative centre and fortress.

Volodymyr also subdued the Slavic tribes of Radimiches and Vytiches and made unfortunat attempt to conquer the White Croats, who lived in Zakarpattia. Volodymyr married his son Sviatoslav to the daughter of the Polish King Boleslaw the Brave. On the whole, during his ruling Volodymyr had established relations with Hungary, Germany and Czech. He had to defend Rus from raids of the Pechenihs, the nomads living in the steppes of the northern Black Sea region. The greatest battles between the Russes and

the Pechenihs were in the 990, 992, 996, 997 and 1001. In 992 in the battle of Pereiaslav the leather-maker Kozhumiaka became famous. His name was saved by bylinas. During the battle he killed the powerful Pechenih. In order to defend the borders from the nomads Volodymyr built so-called "Zmiiv val" (the Serpent rampart), the earth rampart along the left coastal line of the Ros River and the Stugna River, eastward from the Dnieper River.

Volodymyr sought to make a religion reform in order to make Kyiv the religion centre and to consolidate the power in such a way. In 980 Volodymyr established a number of pagan idols in the centre of Kyiv and proclaimed them the main gods of all Rus. There were high wooden idols of Perun, Hors, Dazhboh, Striboh, Simargl and goddess Mokosh. However, that reform was failed because many local tribes continued to worship their local gods and ghosts.

Later on, Volodymyr turned to the monotheism. While choosing the monotheistic religion he sent envoys to Bulgaria, Germany and Byzantine. On returning the envoys reported that they were impressed by the Byzantine Christianity as well as the strong authority of the Byzantine Emperor. Volodymyr, of course, knew about the Christianity of his grandmother Olha. All these factors seems to led him to choose the Christianity. In addition there were favourable conditions in the foreign affairs with Byzantine.

The Emperor Basil II asked Volodymyr for the help against rebels. In turn, Volodymyr requested for the marriage with the Byzantine princess Anne. The Emperor agreed on the condition that Volodymyr accepted the Orthodox Christianity. In 987 Volodymyr was baptized in Chersonese, in Crimea, and then in 988s he forced to Christianity many of Kyivan people. At the same time, when Volodymyr had known that Basil II sought to refuse the agreement on marriage, he captured Chersonese in 989s and forced the Emperor to fulfill the promise and to send Anna into Chersonese for the wedding with Volodymyr.

Later on, Volodymyr started the first coinage of gold and silver. The coins were called "zlatnyky" and "sriblianyky" (the "gold coins" and "silver coins"). On the one side of the coins the portrait of Jesus Christ was depicted. On the opposite side there was a full-face portrait of Volodymyr seating on the throne, with the Cross in his hand. Some of the coins had the picture of the trident – Volodymyr's Coat-of-Arms, today known as the state emblem of Ukraine.

During his ruling Volodymyr founded the new fortifications in the centre of Kyiv, which were called the City of Volodymyr. He ceased the death penalty. The prohibition of such penalty was actual until the time of Mongol conquest in the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

In general, the accepting of the Christianity started the new period in the history of Kyivan Rus, the period of deep transformations in the Slavic culture and mentality. Through the Christianity the alphabet was introduced, and the literature, arts, and stone architecture developed.

Later on, Volodymyr had some problems with his sons. One of them named Yaroslav, being in possession of Novgorod, refused to render tribute to Kyiv. In 1015 while preparing for the campaign against the son Volodymyr died [1; 3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 12; 14; 17; 18; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

**The second internecine war.** The death of Volodymyr caused an internal war between his sons. With the support of the Poles the elder son of Volodymyr Sviatopolk (alias Damned) attacked his younger brothers Borys and Hlib and killed them.

Later on, the war between Sviatopolk and Yaroslav started. Yaroslav defeated Sviatopolk in the battle at the town of Liubech in 1015. In turn, Sviatopolk won Yaroslav at Kyiv in 1018. In 1019 Yaroslav took the victory on a coast of the Alta River and Sviatopolk run away to Poland. Soon after, the war against Yaroslav was proclaimed by his brother Mstyslav the Brave, the ruler of Tmutarakan. Near the hamlet Listven by the town of Chernihiv he defeated the army of Yaroslav. Both brothers resolved to divide lands between themselves. Yaroslav possessed Kyiv and the regions to the west of the Dnieper, Mstyslav took Chernihiv and regions to the east of the river [1; 3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 12; 14; 17; 18; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

**The reign of Yaroslav the Wise.** After the death of Mstyslav in 1036 Yaroslav became the single ruler of Rus. He had been ruling from 1036 to 1054. Later on, Yaroslav was known as the Wise for his cultural and political affairs. The army of Yaroslav retook towns of Cherven, in the western part of Rus, before seized by the Poles led by the King Boleslaw the Brave. In the western part Yaroslav founded the town of Yaroslav, then he turned northward, re-conquering the Finish tribes of Chiuds and Yatviags and founding the city of Yuriev. At the same time he had to defend Rus from the nomads. In 1036 Yaroslav finally defeated the Pechenihs in front of the Kyiv fortifications. On the coasts of the Ros River the new strongholds were built. With due time Kyivan Rus became the largest state in the Medieval Europe.

During his ruling Yaroslav implemented so-called marriage diplomacy through marrying his children to children of European rulers. His own wife was Ingigerda (Irina), the daughter of the Swedish King. One of Yaroslav's sisters was married to the King of Poland, other was the wife of the Prince of the Byzantine Empire. Three of his daughters became the wives of the Kings of Norway, France and Hungary. The Yaroslav's son Iziaslav married to the sister of the Polish King Casimir.

Under a supervision of Yaroslav *Ruska Pravda* (the Rus Justice, the Truth of Yaroslav) – the legal code of Kyivan Rus and the subsequent Russian principalities during the times of the feudal disunity – was composed. The Pravda banned the death penalty and established a ransom as the main punishment. However, its rate varied depending on social status of a victim. For example, the ransom for killing peasant was only 5 hryvnias and the penalty for killing a warrior of the Prince was accounted to be 80 hryvnias – unequally enough.

In times of Yaroslav the Wise a lot of churches and cathedrals were built. Contemporaries numbered more than 40 Christian temples throughout the whole Kyivan Rus. The greatest of them was the Sophia's Cathedral, in Kyiv, the temple built between 1011 and 1037. In 1051 monks Anthony and Theodosius finished the building of the Pecherskyi Monastery (Caves Monastery) in Kyiv [1; 3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 12; 14; 17; 18; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

In 1051 Yaroslav implemented the election of the first Slavic Kyivan Metropolitan Hilarion, who was also blessed by the Patriarch of Constantinople.

After his predecessors, Yaroslav divided the country between his sons in order to avoid the internal war after his death. That is why Yaroslav bequeathed his eldest son Iziaslav the town of Kyiv, the Derevlian land, the land of Turovo-Pinsk and Novgorod; Yaroslav gave the second son Sviatoslav the town of Chernihiv, the lands of the Slavic tribes Radymyches and Viatyches, and the town of Tmutarakan; the third son Vsevolod got Pereiaslav, Rostov, Suzdal, Biloozero and Volga region. Thus, three eldest sons got in their possession large lands from their father. The younger one, Ihor possessed the town of Volodymyr-Volynskyi, the youngest one, Viacheslav got the town of Smolensk. New state strongly ranged from the eldest son down to the youngest one [23].

In addition, Yaroslav mentioned in the Will his grandsons and great grandsons. He gave the towns of Cherven and Halychyna to Rostyslav, the



son of the eldest son Volodymyr, who died in 1053. The town of Polotsk was bequeathed to Vseslav, the grandson of Iziaslav, who became the eldest after the death of Volodymyr.

Later on, above described division of Kyivan Rus became one of the reasons, which led to the collapse and decline of this great medieval state [1; 3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 12; 14; 17; 18; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

## Questions

1. What is the homeland of the Slavs? What hypothesis (conceptions) do you know?
2. What have you learned about the terms "Venethi", "Sclaveni", and "Antes"?
3. Describe the living of the early Slavs.
4. What are the Normanist and anti-Normanist conceptions?
5. Analyse the foreign and domestic policy of the Kyivan Princes. What caused the formation and development of Kyivan Rus?
6. Make a short report about Kyivan Rus.
7. Define the key aspects of the reigns of Volodymyr the Great and Yaroslav the Wise.

## **Theme 2. Appanage Principalities in Ukraine-Rus between the 11<sup>th</sup> and the 13<sup>th</sup> Centuries. The Establishment of Galicia-Volyn State. Roman Mstyslavych**

**The purpose** of this theme is to give a clear understanding of the second stage of history of Kyivan Rus, the feudal disunity, and the role, which Galicia-Volyn State took in the history of Ukraine.

This theme covers the following main **topics**: the Triumvirate of Yaroslavyches; the third internecine war; the Princes Iziaslav and Vsevolod Yaroslavyches; the Princes Rostyslavyches; the Prince dynasties; Volodymyr Monomakh and outcasts; the reign of Sviatopolk Iziaslavych in Kyiv; the Prince Congress of Liubech; the reign of Volodymyr Monomakh in Kyiv; the reign of Mstyslav the Great in Kyiv; the fourth internal war; the five principalities in Ukraine; Galician principality; the reign of Yaroslav Osmomysl in Galician principality; Volodymyr Galician and the Hungarians; Volyn principality and

the Prince Roman Mstyslavych; the association of Volyn and Galician principalities.

**The Triumvirate of Yaroslavyches.** In 1054, when Yaroslav had died, three his elder sons Iziaslav, Sviatoslav and Vsevolod – all known as *Yaroslavyches* – made the Triumvirate (the ruling of three). They imprisoned the Polotsk Prince Vseslav with his sons in Kyiv dungeon for the attempt to revolt against Iziaslav, before proclaimed by Yaroslav's Will the Kyivan Grand Prince. In 1062 the Polovtsians, the new nomads, firstly appeared at the eastern borders of Rus. In 1062 they gained a victory over Vsevolods' troops and plundered Pereiaslav principality. In 1068 in the battle at the Alta River the Polovtsians defeated the joint forces of Yaroslavyches. When the enemies had been approaching to Kyiv one of the townsmen asked Iziaslav to give them arms and horses for the defense. The following refusal provoked the strong revolt, forcing Iziaslav to run away from the city. The rebels released the prisoner Vseslav and proclaimed him the Grand Prince of Kyiv. Meanwhile, the Polovtsians retreated to the southern steppes. In seven months in front of Kyiv's walls the joined forces of Iziaslav and the Polish King Boleslaw the Brave appeared. Vseslav run away to Polotsk. No sooner had Iziaslav entered the city than one of his sons Mstyslav cruelly put to death 70 men of the rebels and blinded many people. Shortly after, Iziaslav reconciled with Vseslav.

In 1072 all brothers took part in the translation of the relics of Saint Borys and Saint Hlib to the new church of the town of Vyshhorod, in the western part of Rus. There they adopted the new collection of laws *Yaroslavychi's Truth* ("*Pravda Yaroslavychiv*"), which was added to the Ruska Pravda. The new Pravda had to strengthen the accordance among the Princes. However, in 1073 the internal war was broken out again [1; 3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 12; 14; 17; 18; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

**The third internecine war.** Sviatoslav and Vsevolod together forced Iziaslav to flee to Poland. When they both were dividing the lands of their eldest brother, the latter unfortunately besought for the help of the new King of Poland Boleslaw II. After the failure at the Polish court Iziaslav went to the court of the German Emperor Henry IV, but the latter also rejected having previously got the large bribe from Sviatoslav. The attempt to get support of the Pope was unsuccessful, too [1; 3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 12; 14; 17; 18; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

**The Princes Iziaslav and Vsevolod Yaroslavyches.** In 1077 Sviatoslav died of a disease and at once Vsevolod proclaimed himself the Grand Prince. Chernihiv was granted by him to his son Volodymyr Monomakh and Volhynia was given to Oleh, the son of Sviatoslav. By this time Iziaslav had got the support of the Polish King Boleslaw II. At the head of Poles Iziaslav had been steering to Kyiv, when Vsevolod with army met him at the coasts of the Buh River. There the brothers reconciled, then Vsevolod refused the title of the Grand Prince in favour of the eldest Iziaslav. Thus, the last ruling of this Yaroslav's son started. Shortly after, the internal war was broken out by Oleh Sviatoslavych and the Prince Borys, the son of the youngest of Yaroslav's sons Viacheslav, who had ruled the town of Smolensk. Having made alliance with the Polovtsians they crushed the army of Vsevolod at the Sozhytsa River (now the Orzhytsa River, in Poltavaska Oblast). Then Vsevolod made alliance with Iziaslav and they both led their armies to Chernihiv region, where the enemies were waiting for them. In 1078 at the place called in the old chronicle "*Nezhatynna Neva*" Iziaslav and Borys fell in the battle. Oleh was forced to flee to Tmutarakan. He became known as one of so-called "outcasts" ("izgoi"). In Rus a lot of Princes were whose lands had been taken away from them by more successful kinsmen. The "outcasts" also were the persons of other social groups (bankrupt merchants, unfrocked monks, and others), whose links with the feudal society had been broken.

Vsevolod became the Grand Kyivan Prince. Kyiv, Chernihiv, Smolensk, Pereiaslav, Volga region were under his authority. He sought to renew the former unity of Kyivan Rus. The authority of Vsevolod did not extend over the Polotsk principality, where Vseslav reigned. In towns of Volodymyr, Turiv and Pinsk Yaropolk Iziaslavych ruled. Novgorod was in possession of Sviatopolk Iziaslavych [1; 3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 12; 14; 17; 18; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

**The Princes Rostyslavyches.** Halychyna was ruled by three Princes Rostyslavyches, the brothers Riuryk (in the town of Peremyshl), Volodar (in the town of Terebovl), Vasylko (in the town of Zvenyhorod). Rostyslavyches often waged wars with Hungary, Poland and the Princes of Volhynia. In 1084 Volodar and Vasylko seized the town of Volodymyr-Volynskiy, which previously had belonged to Yaropolk. Later on, the town was seized by Volodymyr Monomakh, the son of the Kyivan Grand Prince Vsevolod. Monomakh returned the town of Volodymyr to Yaropolk Iziaslavych. In 1087 Yaropolk was killed by the assassin hired by Rostyslavyches. Shortly after, the Kyivan Prince gave the town of Volodymyr to David Ihorovych, one of the

"outcasts", the son of Yaroslav's son Ihor. Meanwhile, Sviatopolk Iziaslavych left Novgorod and possessed Turiv and Pinsk, which before had belonged to his brother Yaropolk Iziaslavych [23].

**The Prince dynasties.** By 1087 the Prince dynasties had been formed. There were Vsevolodovyches (Kyiv, Chernihiv and Pereiaslav), Iziaslavyches (Turiv and Pinsk, in Belarus), Ihorovyches (Volhynia) and Rostyslavyches (Halytska zemlia). The majority of Sviatoslavyches had become outcasts, but only Yaroslav Sviatoslavych ruled the town of Murom [23].

**Volodymyr Monomakh and outcasts.** Often the outcasts used to take support of the nomads Polovtsians, who for booty helped them to retake lands from other Princes. In his memoirs Volodymyr Monomakh recollected that he had fought in nearly 80 battles with outcasts and the Polovtsians. Monomakh defended his possessions in Pereiaslav land. In the meantime these nomads periodically plundered and robbed the whole territory of Rus, the modern Ukraine [6; 7; 23].

**The reign of Sviatopolk Iziaslavych in Kyiv.** The ruling of the Grand Prince Vsevolod ended by his death in 1093. His son Volodymyr Monomakh placed Sviatopolk Iziaslavych on the Kyivan throne and possessed Chernihiv himself. Pereiaslav was taken by his brother Rostyslav Vsevolodovych, but shortly after Rostyslav had drowned in the Dnieper River Volodymyr added Pereiaslav to his own lands.

When Sviatopolk ascended the Kyivan throne as the Grand Prince, the nomads Polovtsians had been robbing the south-eastern Rus. In this period Oleh Sviatoslavych, one of the outcasts, having made alliance with the Polovtsian hordes, captured Chernihiv. In 1095 Sviatopolk and Volodymyr Monomakh joining their armies retook this city and forced Oleh to flee to the town of Starodub. The Polovtsian hordes in turn robbed people near Kyiv [6; 7; 23].

**The Prince Congress of Liubech.** In 1097 in order to defend their lands the Princes under the insisting of Volodymyr Monomakh resolved to gather the *Congress in the town of Liubech*, near Kyiv. The Princes of Polotsk were absent. In Liubech many Princes reconciled with each other, declaring the principle "Everyone let him hold his patrimony". These words meant the Princes were obliged not to fight with one another. They also bound that if one attacked another one all the Princes would be against that one, who had started the war. Sviatopolk was confirmed to rule the town of Kyiv, the region of Turovo-Pinsk, and Novgorod; Volodymyr Monomakh ruled Pereiaslav,

Rostov, Suzdal, Biloozero and the region of Volga; David, Oleh and Yaroslav – they all were of the Olhovyches – ruled Chernihiv and the town of Tmutarakan; David Ihorovych had Volodymyr-Volynskyi; Volodar and Vasylko Rostyslavyches ruled Halychyna.

In 1103 joined forces of seven Princes crushed hordes of 20 Polovtsian khans at the river Samara. In 1107 Sviatopolk and Volodymyr Monomakh defeated the Polovtsians at the town of Lubny and in 1113 – at the river Donets [1; 3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 12; 14; 17; 18; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

**The reign of Volodymyr Monomakh in Kyiv.** After the death of Sviatopolk Volodymyr Monomakh (1113 – 1125) became the Kyivan Grand Prince. He ruled Kyiv, Volhynia land, Turiv and Pinsk, Pereiaslav, Smolensk, Novgorod, Minsk, and Volga region. Volodymyr Monomakh collected  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the Russian lands, actually renewing the unity of Kyivan Rus. Halychyna was under the authority of Rostyslavyches (the Princes Vasylko and Volodar).

The wife of Volodymyr Monomakh was the Princess Hita, the daughter of the King of England Harold II. She gave birth to the Prince Mstyslav. In 1095 Mstyslav married Christina, the daughter of the Swedish King Ingvar. Volodymyr's daughter Yefimiya was married to Koloman, the King of Hungary.

Volodymyr adopted *Ustav* (Statute), which was added to the old Code "Ruska Pravda", which had been implemented by Yaroslav the Wise in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Ustav regulated a range of credits, defining a percentage (no more than 20 per cent a year for one credit). This measure restricted a debt bondage.

Shortly before his death Volodymyr had written the "Instructions", which combined four separate literary works: the "Instructions for Children", the biography of Monomakh, the letter to the Prince Oleh Sviatoslavych (alias Horyslavych) and the Prayer. Today historians suggest the Prayer was written by another author, not Monomakh.

The "Instructions for Children" was the moral guidance for Volodymyr Monomakh's children. He instructed them to look after the poor, to respect old persons, not to kill people etc. The time of Volodymyr Monomakh's death was 1125. On the Kyiv throne Monomakh was succeeded by his son Mstyslav Volodymyrovych [1; 3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 12; 14; 17; 18; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

**The reign of Mstyslav the Great in Kyiv.** By the time Mstyslav reigned, the struggle had been between Rostyslavyches in Halychyna. In 1124 Vasylko and Volodar died. The internal war for the inheritance was broken out

by Volodymyr and Rostyslav, the sons of Volodar. The Grand Kyivan Prince Mstyslav and two sons of Vasylko supported Rostyslav.

In 1130, waging internal war Mstyslav the Great annexed the Polotsk land (the part of Belarus) and exiled into Greece the local Princes (descendants of Vseslav, the grandson of Iziaslav Yaroslavych). He also continued the successful warfare against the nomads Polovtsians.

The four daughters of Mstyslav were married to the European Kings and Princes. The daughter Ingeborga was the wife of the Danish Prince Kanut II, the daughter Malfrid was the wife of the Norwegian King Sigurd II, the daughter Irina was the wife of the Greek Prince Andronik, the daughter Yevfrosinya was the wife of the Hungarian King Geiza II.

Mstyslav's eldest son Iziaslav married the Polish Princess. The youngest son Sviatopolk married a daughter of the German King Otton II. Obviously under the reign of Mstyslav Volodymyrovych Rus was one of the significant states in the system of European ones.

Mstyslav the Great was the last Grand Kyiv Prince, who kept Rus in the unity. He died in 1132 [1; 3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 12; 14; 17; 18; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

**The fourth internal war.** In two days the title of Grand Prince was given by Kyiv people to Mstyslav's brother Yaropolk, who previously ruled in Pereiaslav. Yaropolk had to wage wars defending against Yurii Dolgorukiy (the Prince of Rostov and Suzdal principality) and Iziaslav Mstyslavych (the Prince of Polotsk and Turiv principality), Olhovyches (the Princes of Chernihiv principality). All the Princes used the Polovtsian hordes, which plundered Russian people. Throughout this internal war Polotsk, Minsk and Novgorod separated from Kyiv. After Yaropolk's ruling Viacheslav reigned (in 1139). Having been on the Kyiv throne for only 11 days he yielded it to Vsevolod Olhovych, the Prince of Chernihiv. Vsevolod Olhovych ruled Kyiv from 1139 to 1146. In 1146 he gave Kyiv to his brother Ihor Olhovych. The unpopular policy of Ihor led to the uprising of Kyiv people. Ihor was imprisoned in the same year. The rebels welcomed the Prince Iziaslav Mstyslavych. For the time of his ruling Iziaslav Mstyslavych had been defending Kyiv from the Princes Olhovyches, Volodymyrko of Halychyna and Yurii Dolgorukiy. The latter is known as the founder of the town of Moscow. These enemies of Iziaslav were supported by the Polovtsians. In 1154 Iziaslav died being in the age of 60 years. At once Kyiv was taken by Yurii Dolgorukiy, who would rule there by his own death in 1157 [6; 7; 23].

The historian N. Polonska-Vasylenko calculated that in the period between 1146 and 1246 Kyiv had 47 different rulings of 24 princes of three dynasties. Among them one and the same Prince ruled Kyiv for seven times, five Princes ruled for three times, and eight Princes ruled for two times [23].

**Five principalities in Ukraine.** During the 11<sup>th</sup> – 12<sup>th</sup> centuries five principalities were formed on that territory of Rus, which is now known as Ukraine: Kyiv principality, Pereiaslav principality, Chernihiv-Siversk principality, Galician principality and Volyn principality. The strongest political, economical and cultural centres became the two latter [1; 3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 12; 14; 17; 18; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

**Galician principality.** According to the Will of Yaroslav the Wise, in 1054 the Galician principality was given to his youngest son Rostyslav, then since 1084 the land had belonged to Rostyslav's sons Riuryk, Volodar and Vasylo. Their main financial source was the income from the sales of salt, which was mined in Zakarpattia. For salt they broken out the internecine war, which Volodarko (or Volodymyr) Volodarevych won in 1141. He proclaimed the town of Halych the capital of Galician principality. The great towns of Halychyna also were Zvenyhorod, Terebovlia and Peremyshl. The peculiarity of the Galician principality was the strong positions of local boyars (the descendants of the tribal Princes) and communities of towns. The main opponent of Volodarko was his brother Ivan, who previously was the Prince of Zvenyhorod and then became an outcast. After the unfortunate attempt to take Halych in 1144 Ivan fled to the Danube region, to the town of Berlad, through which he got surname Berladnyk [1; 3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 12; 14; 17; 18; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

**The reign of Yaroslav Osmomysl in Galician principality.** The successor of Volodarko, his son Yaroslav Osmomysl ("osmo" – "eight", "mysl" – "thinking", i. e. who thinks for eight persons) ruled Galician principality from 1151 to 1187. He established colonies along the Dniester River. Yaroslav made good affairs with Hungary and Germany. On the other hand, Yaroslav was known as the powerful Prince among the all Russian Princes. But his reign was strong restricted by the Galician boyars. In 1170 they even accused his mistress Anastasia to be witch and then burnt her [1; 3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 12; 14; 17; 18; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

**Volodymyr Galician and the Hungarians.** When Yaroslav Osmomysl had died in 1187, his son Volodymyr was proclaimed the Prince of Galician principality. After some conflicts with boyars he fled to Hungary to get some

help there. In 1188 the Hungarian King Bela with army took the town of Halych. Then he surprisingly proclaimed himself the King of Halychyna, made his son Andrew the governor, and imprisoned Volodymyr.

In these conditions the Prince Rostyslav Berladnyk, the son of Ivan (the enemy of the Volodymyr's grandfather Volodarko), made an attempt to free the principality, but was hurt in the battle and then poisoned by the Hungarians.

Meanwhile, Volodymyr ran away from the prison and went to Germany, from whence he got to Poland. The Polish king Casimir II agreed to help. In 1188, under the pressure of the Poles, the Hungarians ceded Halychyna to Volodymyr, who would have been ruling there till his death in 1199 [1; 3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 12; 14; 17; 18; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

**Volyn principality and the Prince Roman Mstyslavych.** Volyn principality was the northern neighbour of Galician principality. Among Volyn great towns Volodymyr-Volynskyi, Lutsk, Buzhsk, Dorohobuzh, Belz and Berestia can be called. By 1173 the Prince Iziaslav II had ruled there, and after his death, his son Mstyslav II reigned. In 1173 Roman Mstyslavych became the Prince of Volyn principality. Before it Roman had been the ruler of Novgorod for some years. Roman in his policy was supported by boyars and burghers (town dwellers) [1; 3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 12; 14; 17; 18; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

**The association of Volyn and Galician principalities.** In 1199, after the death of Volodymyr II, the last Prince Rostyslavych, Roman I annexed Galician principality and created the joined Galicia-Volyn principality. Roman I used to wage warfare against the Lithuanian tribes, one of the closest western neighbours of the new state. Although in 1201 Roman I took Kyiv, he stayed in Volodymyr-Volynskyi. Roman I made Rostyslav the Kyiv Prince. The latter was the son of the former Kyivan Prince Riuryk, the father of Roman's former wife Predslava. Riuryk, his wife and daughter had been forced by Roman I to take monastic vows.

The chronicle unclearly evidenced that the Pope Innocent III proposed Roman to take the crown, but Roman rejected this honour. The historian Mykhailo Hrushevskyi suggested it to be the legend.

In 1205 Roman led his army to the West. The purpose of the raid is unclear. In Poland, nearby the town of Zavyhvost, at the Vistula River, Roman I was suddenly shot and killed with an arrow. He left the second wife Anna and two sons Danylo of three years old and Vasylo of one year. Very soon Roman's death led to the struggle for the power between different boyars



parties. This internal war had been waging by boyars for 33 years, from 1205 to 1238 [1; 3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 12; 14; 17; 18; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

### Questions

1. Describe the domestic policy of Yaroslavyches.
2. What were the reasons of feudal disunity of Kyivan Rus?
3. What repercussions did the feudal disunity have?
4. Why is Galician principality considered to be the boyar state?
5. What role did Roman Mstyslavych play in developing Galicia-Volyn State?

### Theme 3. Galicia-Volyn State between the 13<sup>th</sup> and the First Half of the 14<sup>th</sup> Centuries

**The purpose** of the theme is to give understanding of the policy of Galicia-Volyn State and foreign and domestic circumstances due to which this Ukrainian state came to the decline, and in the 14<sup>th</sup> century its territories were annexed by the other states (Hungary, Poland and Lithuania).

This theme covers the following main **topics**: the internal war in Galician and Volyn principalities; the Poles and the Hungarians in Halychyna and Volhynia; Danylo's war for the uniting of Halychyna and Volhynia; the reign of Danylo Galician in the Galicia-Volyn State; the Mongol-Tatar invasion; the Golden Horde; the reign of Danylo in Galician-Volyn State under the Mongols; the reign of Lev I Danylovych in Galician principality; the reign of Volodymyr in Volyn principality; the reign of Mstyslav Danylovych in Volyn principality and restoring Galicia-Volyn State by Lev Danylovych; the reign of Yurii I in Galicia-Volyn State; the reign of Andrii and Lev II in Galicia-Volyn State; the reign of Yurii II Boleslaw in Galicia-Volyn State.

**The internal war in Galician and Volyn principalities.** Anna, the widow of deceased Roman I, got help from the King of Hungary Andrew II. Soon Andrew II proclaimed himself "the king of Galicia and Volodymeria". In turn, Galician boyars welcomed the Princes Ihorovyches of Chernihiv-Siversk principality. Anna fled from Halychyna to Volhynia, where she hoped to find loyal boyars. However, from whence she was forced to run away to the town of Krakow, where the Prince Leszek Biały ruled. Danylo lived at the Court of the Hungarian King [23].

Meanwhile, in Galician principality one of the boyar parties made alliance with the Hungarians. The latter forced Ihorovyches to retreat. However, in 1211 they returned with a large army and sentenced more than 500 boyars. Then some boyars asked the Hungarian King to send them Danylo. The Hungarians led by Danylo captured Halych and hung two Ihorovyches, who were met there. In 1214 with the help of Leszek's army mother of Danylo Anna took possession of Volodymyr-Volynskyi.

However, in 1215 Volyn and Galician boyars revolted and forced Anna and her children to flee. In Halychyna rebels proclaimed the ruling of boyar Vladyslav Kormylchych [23].

**The Poles and the Hungarians in Halychyna and Volhynia.** The Polish Prince Leszek and the King of Hungary Andrew II planned to divide Volhynia and Halychyna between themselves. They agreed to marry Leszek's daughter Solomonia to son of Andrew II and to give them Halychyna. Leszek, in his turn, was going to take most part of Volhynia (southern Pobuzhzhia, Berestia land, the northern part of Cherven land and Western Halychyna) [23].

However, both foreign rulers, Leszek and Andrew, fell in a quarrel. In 1218 Leszek invited his relative Mstyslav the Bold, who at the time was the Prince of Novgorod. Mstyslav easily seized Halych.

Mstyslav the Bold married his daughter to the Hungarian Prince Andrew and gave them the town of Peremyshel. In 1227 Mstyslav abdicated in favour of Andrew, the King of Hungary [23].

**Danylo's war for the uniting of Halychyna and Volhynia.** Meanwhile, Danylo, supported by Volyn boyars and town dwellers, annexed the Berestia, Zbuzhsk (Kholmschyna), Lutsk, and Peresopnytsia. He got almost the whole Volhynia. The Berestia was given by Danylo to his brother Vasylo.

In 1227 Leszek, the Prince of Poland, died. It led to the long internal war in Poland. In this war Danylo supporting the Prince Konrad Mazovian took the town of Liublin in 1243.

In 1220 Danylo made alliance with Lithuania and married his sister Solomia to Sviatopolk, the Prince of Pomorie Slavic tribes. Since 1230 Danylo had waged war against the Hungarians and local boyars for Halychyna. The fortress of Galician boyars was Peremyshl.

After the death of the Hungarian King Andrew II and his son Andrew in 1235 Bela IV became the new King of Hungary. Bela IV supported the Prince Mykhail of Chernihiv, who wanted to possess the throne of Galician princi-

pality. For three years Danylo had been fighting with Mykhail and his son Rostyslav. These enemies were supported by Galician boyars. Danylo was supported by dwellers of Halych and Peremyshl.

Lithuania, the Polish Mazovia, Austria, the Prussian order of crusaders also participated in the war. The foreigners fought on the both sides.

The war finished when in 1238 dwellers of Halych had opened the gates of their town for the army of Danylo. Rostyslav of Chernihiv fled to Hungary. Galicia-Volyn State was renewed under the ruling of Danylo Romanovych. Since he had possessed Halychyna he was known as the Galician [1; 3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 12; 14; 17; 18; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

**The reign of Danylo Galician in Galicia-Volyn State.** In 1239 Danylo Galician possessed Kyiv and left there his representative, the boyar Dmytro Yeikovych. In the meantime Danylo continued war against Rostyslav of Chernihiv, who was supported by the Hungarians. In summer of 1245 at the town of Yaroslav the army of Danylo finally defeated the troops of Rostyslav, some Galician boyars and the Hungarians.

After the battle Danylo turned to punitive actions against those Galician boyars, who were in the opposition to him. Lots of these boyars were put to death and many were left without their lands, which had been given by Danylo to the new owners (so-called "sluzhilye boyare" or "*servitor boyars*"). At the same time Danylo founded the new towns in order to provide himself with more popular support. Danyliv, Lviv and Kholm and near 70 another towns were built there as it is said in the chronicle. Kholm was made the new capital of Galicia-Volyn State. In this town Danylo opened the bishop cathedra, which was occupied by the man named Ivan. In 1242 Danylo also ordered bishops to elect the new Metropolitan in Kyiv and there the man named Kyryl was chosen [1; 3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 12; 14; 17; 18; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

**The Mongol-Tatar invasion.** At the beginning of 1220s at the eastern boards of Rus the new nomad enemies, the Mongols, appeared. By that time Mongols under the ruling of Genghis Khan had conquered northern China, southern Siberia, Caucasus and Central Asia.

In 1222 nearby the borders of Rus they crushed the Polovtsians, which were forced to retreat to the territory of Russian principalities. In the spring of 1223 the Princes assembled in Kyiv and resolved to join their forces in front of the common threat. The point, where troops had to gather, was appointed the island Khortytsia, at the Dnieper rapids. From there the Princes, including Danylo Romanovych, went to the Kalka River and attacked the Mongols. The

battle ended by the defeating of the Russes. Many Princes whether fell in the field of battle or were imprisoned and tortured to death after the battle. Having plundered the outskirts of Kyiv the Mongols went away.

In 1237 the Monogols returned under the leading of Genghis Khan's grandson Batu Khan (Baty-khan). Shortly before, they had conquered the Volga Bulgaria. In 1237 – 1238 in north-eastern Russian principalities the Mongols plundered Ryazan, Vladimir, Suzdal, Moscow, Tver towns, etc.

In 1239 the Mongols seized Pereiaslav and Chernihiv, the main towns of south-western Rus. In 1240 the enemies took Kyiv belonging before to Danylo Galician. The Church of the Tithes (*Desiatynna*), which had been built by Volodymyr the Great in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, was destroyed.

In 1241 the Mongols raided through Western Rus. There they captured such towns as Kolodiazhyn, Kamenetz, Halych and Volodymyr-Volynskyi [1; 3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 12; 14; 17; 18; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

**The Golden Horde.** In 1242, when the Mongols had known about the death of their Grand Khan Ogedei, they returned to the Volga River and established there the new State, the Golden Horde, with the capital Sarai. They forced Russian Princes to come to town Saray for "yarlik", the letter of permission on ruling the principality. The first, who had gone thither in 1242, was Yaroslav, the Prince of Vladimir-Suzdal principality. In 1246 Danylo went to Sarai, too [1; 3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 12; 14; 17; 18; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

**The reign of Danylo in Galicia-Volyn State under the Mongols.** After arriving at home Danylo started the policy for the getting of independence from the Mongols. For this Danylo searched the allies in the Western Europe and built new fortresses.

Meanwhile, he negotiated with the Pope Innocent IV. Fortunately, their correspondence has partly survived. The letters reveal that Danylo desired to organize the anti-Mongolian coalition. Danylo begged the Pope to launch the Crusade against the Mongols, but the Pope only sought to make the defensive front of a number of frontier states, including Galicia-Volyn State. With this purpose in 1246 the Pope proposed Danylo the crown, but, when Danylo had known that the Pope was not going to make the Crusade against Mongols, he rejected Pope's proposition.

There were a lot of problems for Danylo in his domestic politics. In 1250s some people of Volhynia and Kyiv region required for union with the Mongolian Golden Horde. The centre of such separatists (or "Tatar people" as they were called) was town Bakota, in Ponyzzia region. The "Tatar people"

recognized the authority of the Golden Horde and welcomed Khan's baskaks (officers). In return, Danylo's army took Bakota. However, later on Bakota again turned to the Golden Horde.

In 1252 in order to support "Tatar people" the Mongols raided Podillia and Volhynia. The commander of raiders was bekliarbek (governor) Kuremsa [23].

In 1253 the rumours that the Mongols again were going to plunder Galicia-Volyn State were spread. Then Danylo asked the Pope for help. This time the latter agreed to organize the Crusade coalition of Poland, Czech, Moravia, Serbia and Pomerania. In the new conditions Danylo accepted the crown proposed by the Pope and was crowned in the town of Dorohochyn. Thence Danylo led the army against tribes of Yatvyags, who used to live westward. Soon it had been cleared that the Pope did not fulfill his promise to launch the Crusade [1; 3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 12; 14; 17; 18; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

Then Danylo resolved to rely on his own forces in the struggle with "Tatars' people". Lev III, the son of Danylo, raided Mezhybizhzhia, Danylo and his brother Vasylo plundered Bolohiv; another Danylo's son Shvarno seized towns along the rivers Teterev and Slutch. Soon the "Tatars' people" had been subordinated.

Meanwhile Danylo took part in the conflict for the Austrian succession. Danylo's fourth son Roman was married to Gertrude, the daughter of the deceased Duke of Austria Frederick II. Danylo attempted to set Roman on the throne of Austria. But this action failed. The Austrian Duke was proclaimed the Czech King Pshemislav II Ottokar, the husband of Frederick's sister [23].

In 1258 the Mongols army led by commander Burundai invaded Volhynia. Burundai involved Danylo and Vasylo in campaign against the Lithuanian Grand Prince Mindovg. During this war Danylo took a number of Lithuanian towns including the town of Grodno. Mindovg ceded Danylo's son Roman the lands of Chornaya Rus, Novohrudok, Slonim, Volkovyisk. The Mindovg's daughter was married to the youngest Danylo's son Shvarno [23].

The next 1259 Burundai demanded Danylo to destroy ramparts of Kremenets, Luchesk, Danyliv, Stozhek, Lutsk, Lviv and Volodymyr-Volynskiy. Danylo only left for himself the fortification of Kholm. All hopes for the freeing from the Mongols failed. The Mongols led by Burundai invaded Poland, ruined and robbed the towns Liublin, Zavyhvost, Sandomyr, Lisets and Krakow. In such way Burunday showed the Poles the power of the Mongolian army [23].

Although Danylo had failed in his anti-Mongolian policy, he was successful in other foreign affairs. In 1264 after the death of Mindovg, the Danylo's son Shvarno was proclaimed the Grand Prince of Lithuania. However, it was the last Danylo's success. The same year Danylo Galician died, leaving in the social memory as the Great Ukrainian King.

After Danylo's death his brother Vasylo continued to rule the Volhynia, having the residence in the town Volodymyr-Volynskyi. Meanwhile, Danylo's sons had been ruling in Halychyna [1; 3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 12; 14; 17; 18; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

**The reign of Lev I Danylovych in Galician principality.** In 1269 Shvarno died. Perhaps, he was killed by his brother Lev, who soon after became the single Prince of Galician principality. At the same time the new Grand Prince of Lithuania was proclaimed Troyden, who, according to the legend, hated the Russes.

In the foreign policy Lev helped his nephew Boleslaw of Mazovia to set on the throne of Krakow. The attempt was unsuccessful. Krakow was possessed by the Prince Leszek Czarny. However, during the struggle Lev seized the Polish town Liublin. In 1281 Lev annexed from Hungary the part of Zakarpattia with the town of Mukachevo.

Later on, Lev established good relations with Vaclav II, the King of Czech. In 1289 and 1299 Lev even visited his Court. Lev also kept a peace with the Golden Horde and used to pay it the tribute [23].

**The reign of Volodymyr in Volyn principality.** Meanwhile, Volyn principality was ruled by Vasilko's son Volodymyr (1270 – 1289). More part of his own policy he devoted to the foundation of new towns, fortresses, ramparts and churches. Volodymyr was known as "the great scribe and philosopher", because he provided churches with books, which texts he copied himself. Volhynia principality was bequeathed by him to Lev's brother Mstyslav (1289 – 1292) [1; 3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 12; 14; 17; 18; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

**The reign of Mstyslav Danylovich in Volyn principality and restoring Galicia-Volyn State by Lev Danylovych.** Mstyslav took from Lithuania the town of Volkovyisk. During his ruling Mstyslav distributed the towns and villages among his boyars. With such measures he wanted to get their support [23].

When Mstyslav had died, in 1292 his relative Lev Danylovych annexed Volhynia and, hence, restored Galicia-Volyn State. Lev Danylovych governed this State until his own death about 1301 [23].

**The reign of Yurii I in Galicia-Volyn State.** Lev left Galicia-Volyn State for his son Yurii I (1301 – 1315). The next year Yurii lost town Liublin, before seized by his father. The residence Yurii replaced from Kholm to Volodymyr-Volynskyi. On his own seal Yurii was titled in Latin as "the King of Rus, the Prince of Ladimerie" ("Rex Russie princeps Ladimerie"). The term "Ladimerie" is the land, where Volodymyr-Volynskyi is located. Unlike his father bearing the title of Prince, Yurii titled himself the King. The times of Yurii I are often shown by historians as the period of economical stability and prosperity of the State. In 1303 Yurii established the separate Metropolia of the Galicia-Volyn Kingdom.

Yurii I had the closest relations with the Polish Princes of Kujawy ancestral line. He married to Euphimia, the sister of the Kujawy Prince Vladislav Loketok. Also Yurii I made alliance with the Teutonic Order against Lithuania [1; 3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 12; 14; 17; 18; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

**The reign of Andrii and Lev II in Galicia-Volyn State.** The sons of Yurii I Andrii and Lev II came to power in 1308 and had been ruling until 1323. It is unclear whether they governed together like co-rulers or divided the State between themselves. In any case in the letters preserved they are titled "the Princes of the whole Rus". In their policy Andrii and Lev II were supported by the Teutonic Order. During their ruling Zakarpattia was lost, when the Hungarians led by their King Karl-Robert had taken the town Mukachevo. Probably Andrii and Lev II waged war with Mongols and were killed in this war in 1323 [23].

In the period between 1323 – 1325 who was the ruler of Galicia-Volyn State is unclear. There is obscure why the Germans Henry Glogovski and his brother Ian, who were the Princes of Poland, titled themselves the Princes of Galicia and Ladimerie [23].

**The reign of Yurii II Boleslaw in Galicia-Volyn State.** In 1325 the boyars welcomed Boleslaw, the son of the Prince of Mazovia Troyden and the sister of the latest Princes Andrii and Lev Maria. Boleslaw accepted the Orthodox faith and took Orthodox name Yurii.

Yurii II Boleslaw Troidenovych (1325 – 1340) made alliance with Prussia. In this period the Polish Kingdom appeared under the King Casimir the Great. In 1337 joining with Mongol-Tatars Yurii II unsuccessfully attempted to return the town of Liublin. Before, he had married to Euphemia, the daughter of the Lithuanian Duke Gedimin. This marriage shows that Yurii II had been in good relations with Lithuania. Yurii II was favouring the German

colonization of Halychyna and Volhynia. That policy was unpopular among some boyars. However, Yurii II attracted some towns by giving them particular rights, which were similar to German *Magdeburg rights* (town laws). In 1339 such rights were granted to the town of Sandomyr. Yurii allowed the officer Bartko to collect the third of town's taxes and to make own jurisdiction. It is remarkable that Bartko was titled as "viit" like if he was appointed according to the Magdeburg rights. The dwellers of Sandomyr were freed from paying taxes for the Prince throughout fifteen years.

Although Yurii II had been welcomed by boyars to be the Prince, among the latter was a strong group opposite to him. These boyars accused Yurii II because of his favouring the foreigners. They deprecated against the policy of colonizing Halychyna and Volhynia by the Germans. It was rumoured that Yurii II wanted to return into the Catholicism. As a result of all above said the boyars poisoned Yurii II Boleslaw in 1340 [1; 3; 5 – 7; 10; 12; 14; 17; 18; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

### **Questions**

1. Why is Danylo Galician considered to be the Great Prince of Galicia-Volyn State?
2. Define the features of Lev Danylovych's reign.
3. How did boyars and town dwellers influence the politics of Galicia-Volyn State?
4. What relations were between the Rus Princes and the Golden Horde?
5. Describe the relations between Danylo Galician and the Mongol-Tatars.

## **Theme 4. The Ukrainian Lands under the Rule of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Kingdom of Poland (the Second Half of the 14<sup>th</sup> – the First Half of the 16<sup>th</sup> Centuries)**

**The purpose of the theme** lies in the study of the period, when Ukraine was under the foreign authorities. The purpose also is to give understanding of the events due to which the Ukrainian territories were



divided between Poland and Lithuania, to show what differences were between Polish and Lithuanian ruling, and how the autonomy of the Ukrainian principalities folded.

This theme covers the following main **topics**: the reign of Liubard Hedyminovych in Volyn principality; the invasion of foreigners into Halychyna and Volhynia; the possessing Halychyna and Volhynia by the Poles and the Lithuanians; the annexing Ukraine by the Lithuanian Grand Duke Algirdas; the formation of the appanage principalities under the Lithuanian Princes; the reasons of successes of the Lithuanians in Ukraine; the reign of Liubard Hedyminovych in Volhynia; Halychyna under the Polish authority; the ruling of Vladislav Opole in Halychyna; the Ukrainian lands in the Grand Duchy Lithuania; the Krewo Union of 1385; the reign of the Lithuanian Grand Duke Vytautas; the internal war in Ukraine; the liquidation of the Ruthenian appanage principalities; the Muscovite-Lithuanian Wars; the uprising of Mukha in Halychyna; the Crimean Khanate and the Ottoman Empire.

**The reign of Liubard Hedyminovych in Volyn principality.** Having killed Yurii II the boyars welcomed Liubard (1340 – 1385), the son of the Lithuanian Grand Duke Gedymin. Liubard accepted the Orthodoxy Christianity. According to the historian Mykhailo Hrushevskyi, Liubard was a husband of a daughter of Yurii II Boleslaw. However, this point of view is lack of evidences [23].

**The foreigners invided Halychyna and Volhynia.** In 1340 the Polish King Casimir the Great invaded Halychyna under colour of avenging for the killing of Yurii II and other foreign Catholics. He seized the Lviv castle, freed some western merchants and took away the insignias of the former Galician Princes [23].

Meanwhile, the Hungarians and the Lithuanians approached to Halych. Then Galician boyars led by Dmytro Dedko asked the Golden Horde's Tatars for help. Due to supporting of Tatars they made a peace with the Hungarians, Lithuanians and Poles. These enemies allowed the boyars to make their self-governing in Halychyna. Dmytro Dedko was proclaimed the "Headman ("starosta") and Ruler of Rus". His ruling in Halychyna lasted until his death in 1349 [23].

This year Casimir the Great bought from the Tatars the right on Halychyna. The cost was annual taxes. After this Casimir secondly invaded Halychyna, took Lviv and proclaimed himself the "Sir of Rus". Later on, it led

to the Polish-Lithuanian war for the Ukrainian lands. In 1350 Casimir and his nephew Louis, the King of Hungary, arranged that after the death of Casimir Louis would possess Poland and Halychyna.

Liubard with the help of the Lithuanians attacked the Poles in Halychyna. In return, the Poles and Hungarians took Volodymyr-Volynskyi. They left for Liubard only the town Lutsk. For a long time the Poles had been besieging the fortress Belz defended by the garrison under the voivode Drozd [23].

**The Poles and Lithuanians possessed Halychyna and Volhynia.** In 1352 the war ended by the treaty, according to which Halychyna was given to Poland, Volhynia turned to Lithuania. Meanwhile, Liubard was forced to become a vassal of the Polish King. In other words, he offered military support to the King of Poland in exchange for the ruling of Volhynia.

In Halychyna the Polish King Casimir made policy of linking this region to Poland. However, he left the name the "Kingdom of Rus" and the Ukrainian language in administration. Meantime, he granted his officers the Ukrainian lands. Many towns were given Magdeburg rights by him. He maintained the Catholic monasteries and not pursued the Orthodox Christians [1; 3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 12; 14; 17; 18; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

**The Lithuanian Grand Duke Algirdas annexed Ukraine.** At the same time the Lithuanian Grand Prince Algirdas, the son of Gedimin, was waging war against Tatar-Mongols for Kyiv region, Podillia and Chernihiv-Siversk region. While fighting he declared "All Rus must belong to the Lithuanians". By this war the Golden Horde had been weakened by the separatism of its Khans and Mirzas. Having occupied the town of Briansk in 1359 the army of Algirdas approached to Kyiv and Chernihiv. In 1361 – 1362 the Kyivan Prince Fedir, the Metropolitan Roman and local boyars voluntarily recognized the authority of Algirdas. The latter proclaimed his son Volodymyr Algirdasovych the Kyivan Prince. After this the Lithuanians occupied Chernihiv-Siversk region and Pereiaslav region. In 1361 many settlements of the Left-Bank Ukraine were freed from the Mongol-Tatars. The next 1362 the Lithuanians having returned to the Right-Bank Ukraine defeated Tatar-Mongol troops in the general battle of the Syni Vody River. In this battle Tatar-Mongols were led by Kutlubakh-Sultan, Kachibay-Kary and Dimitrii-Sultan – all of them previously had supported Poland in its war for Volhynia. After the battle at the Syni Vody River Podillia was also annexed by Lithuania. There Algirdas

appointed his three nephews the Princes. These were Yurii, Alexandr and Konstantin – all the sons of Algirdas' brother Koriat, the son of Gediminas [1; 3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 12; 14; 17; 18; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

**The formation of the appanage principalities under the Lithuanian Princes.** After conquering Ukraine was divided in the following manner: the land of Berestia was given to Algirdas' brother Keistut; Liubard Hedyminovych got Volhynia; Narymund-Hlib Keistutovych (died in 1348) got Turiv-Pinsk land; Volodymyr Algirdasovych got Kyiv region and Pereiaslav region; Koribut-Dmytro Algirdasovych got Chernihiv land; brothers Koriatovyches got Podillia; Jagiello Algirdasovych got Vitebsk land, Minsk, Mstyslav and Novhorodok.

Thus, by 1370 the largest part of the Ukrainian territory had belonged to Lithuania (almost 90 per cent of that is now Ukraine), Halychyna had been under Poland, Zakarpattia belonged to the Hungarian Kingdom, and Bukovyna was a part of Moldavia [3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 12; 14; 17; 18; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

**The reasons of successes of the Lithuanians in Ukraine.** Ukrainian nobles welcomed the Lithuanians, who saved traditional Russian administration – appanage principalities, and allowed nobles to participate in the governing their country.

The Lithuanian Princes were popular among the Russes, because they accepted the Orthodoxy Christianity and accepted Rus administration, military organization, and architecture. The Lithuanian legal system accepted the "Ruska Pravda" (the Truth of Yaroslav the Wise). The Rus language was recognized as the official one [3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 12; 14; 17; 18; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

**The reign of Liubard Hedyminovych in Volhynia.** After the death of the Polish King Casimir in 1370 Liubard broke out his vassalage and made the Volhynia independent. These Liubard's affairs were supported by his brother the Lithuanian Grand Duke Algirdas (1341 – 1377). It is known that in the domestic policy Liubard welcomed the trade of Volhynia merchants. Also he built the castle of Lutsk, the Orthodox churches and the town of Liubar [23].

**Halychyna under the Polish authority.** The Poles, however, tended to make quite different policy in Halychyna. They spread the Catholicism, which was very unpopular among the local people. Also the official language was the Latin, not the Ruthenian. Many lands were given to Polish nobles.

In 1370 the Polish King Casimir died. His lands according to the agreement of 1350 turned to his nephew Louis, the King of Hungary. Louis also got Poland and Halychyna, with Belz-Kholm land and Kremianets [3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 12; 14; 17; 18; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

**The ruling of Vladyslav Opole in Halychyna.** In 1372 Louis gave Halychyna to the Prince Vladyslav Opole (Polish: Władysław Opolczyk, 1372 – 1378) for a military service. Vladyslav titled himself "By the Grace of God, Sir and Diditch (lord) of the Russian land". He welcomed the German colonization in Ukraine and maintained the Catholicism.

Vladyslav tended to make policy independently from his Seignior, the King of Hungary Louis. That is why in 1378 the King Louis replaced Vladyslav by another vassal [23].

**The Ukrainian lands in the Grand Duchy Lithuania.** Shortly before the events mentioned above the Grand Lithuanian Duke Algirdas had died. In 1377 it led to the internal war among some of his relatives for the ruling. In 1382 the new Grand Duke Jagiello strangled his uncle Keystut in a prison. The son of Keistut Vytautas (Vitovt) fled to Germany.

In the foreign policy Jagiello had to defend against the Teutonic Order and Moscow State. The latter had risen from the former Vladimir-Suzdal principality [23].

**The Krewo Union of 1385.** In 1385 in order to defend the Lithuanian state Jagiello made alliance with Poland by way of his marriage with its Queen Jagwiga. She was 11 years old, he was nearly 23 years old. The Polish nobles found him a more attractive match for their young Queen, than the more powerful Austrian Duke Wilhelm, to whom she had been previously engaged.

In 1385 the Union of Krewo was concluded. In return for becoming the King of Poland Jagiello agreed that he and all Lithuanians would accept the Catholicism. He attached "for all eternity" his Lithuanian and Ruthenian lands to Poland. Besides these, Jagiello obliged to pay the Austrian Duke Wilhelm 200 000 florins for the violation of the latter's marriage contract. In 1386 the wedding of Jagiello and Jagwiga was celebrated.

In 1386 Jagwiga's sister Maria, the Queen of Hungary, restored Vladyslav Opole the ruler of Halychyna. In turn, in 1387 the army of Jagwiga occupied the whole Halychyna, annexing this land to Poland [3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 12; 14; 17; 18; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

**The reign of the Lithuanian Grand Duke Vytautas.** The Lithuanian and Ruthenian opposition of the Krewo Union galvanized around Vytautas, Jagiello's cousin. In addition, this Prince got the support from the Teutonic Order. In 1392 Vytautas forced Jagiello to recognize his de facto control over the Lithuanian and Ruthenian lands. His ruling was proved by the Union of Ostrov (1392). In 1398 Lithuanian and Ruthenian boyars declared the aim to make Vytautas de jure the Duke of the the Grand Duchy Lithuania and the Ruthenia (Ukraine). The declaration of 1398 finally ceased the Union of Krewo (1385) [23].

In the meantime in 1390s Vytautas was making policy aimed at the ceasing of appanage principalities of Ruthenia. In 1393 he took away the Chernihiv principality from the hands of Dmytro-Korybut. Then, Vytautas left the Volhynia without its Prince Fedir Liubardovych. After this, Vytautas banished the Prince Volodymyr Algirdasovych from Kyiv. In 1394 such fate befell Fedir Koriatovych, who was forced to flee from Podillia to Hungarian Zakarpattia [23].

After these affairs of Vytautas, in Ukraine only five little principalities were. Little by little they transformed into the great landlords estates. In the former centres of the great principalities the officers of the Lithuanian Grand Prince Vytautas governed. The result of such policy was the centralization of Ruthenia around the Grand Duke of Lithuania [3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 12; 14; 17; 18; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

Vytautas also got support from Moscow, when he had married his daughter Sophia to the Grand Moscow Prince Vasiliy II. On the other hand, Vytautas took part in the affairs of the Golden Horde. He supported the Khan Tokhtamysh in his internal war against the Khan Yedigei. In the battle of the Vorskla River in 1399 Tatars under the Khan Timur-Kutluk defeated the army of Vytautas. However, he continued to intervene into Tatars' affairs. The letter from one of the Tatar Khans named Mengli-Giray, in which he allowed Vytautas to rule Russian lands, is preserved [23].

At the same time the defeat at the Vorskla River affected the foreign affairs at the Western boards. Teutonic knights activated their raids because of rumours about the weakness of Lithuania. Having taken into account these circumstances, in 1401 Vytautas had to make the new Union with Poland, recognizing himself a vassal of Polish King Jagiello. The Union agreement was signed in Vilnius, the capital of Lithuania [23].

For his ruling Vytautas had been building fortresses in Ukrainian steppes in order to protect these lands from Tatars' raids. New fortresses were Karavul (on the bank of the Dniester River), Dashiv (modern Ochakiv), Bilhorod and Chornohorod (on the bank of the Dnieper), Khadjibey (the modern town of Odesa), and etc. It is remarkable that fort Khadjibey became one of the greatest ports on the Black Sea coast [6; 7].

In 1410 joined forces of Lithuania and Poland, including troops from Ruthenia, defeated the Teutonic Order in the battle of Grunwald. After the victory Poland ceded Lithuania Western Podillia. In 1413 a new Union in Horodel, at the Bug River, was made. By this Union Poland finally recognized the legality of the title of the Grand Lithuanian Duke. However, the election of the Grand Duke had to be controlled and approved by the Polish King. Lithuanian Catholic feudal gained the same rights that Polish ones already had in the State administration. In particular, now Lithuanian Catholic nobles were able to elect both the Lithuanian Grand Prince and the Polish King. In 1430 Vytautas died [3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 12; 14; 17; 18; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

**The internal war in Ukraine.** Very soon magnates of Lithuania and Ruthenia elected the new Grand Lithuanian Duke. It was Svydryhailo, the youngest brother of Jagiello. In his turn, Jagiello as the Polish King recognized the new ruler of Lithuania, but Polish nobles proclaimed the election of the Grand Duke to be illegal, because they had not participated in it. Then the Polish King under the pressure of nobles was forced to proclaim a war against Svydryhailo. During the conflict Poland annexed Podillia and Polish army besieged Lutsk. More than these actions the Poles inspired a revolt of some Lithuanian nobles, which for the most part were the Catholics. The rebels required to give the title of the Grand Duke to Sygizmund, the prince of Starodub and the youngest brother of Vytautas. The King Jagiello endorsed this election in 1432.

The war between Svydryhailo and Sygizmund attracted German knights, the Tatars and the Wallachians, who were robbing the Ruthenia. In 1434 Jagiello died and nobles elected his son Vladislav the Polish King. Shortly after, in 1435, forces of Svydryhailo were defeated by Sygizmund's army at the river Sviata, near town Vilkomyr. Svydryhailo was forced to cede Belarus to the rivals, but at the same time he was saving a foothold in Ukraine. In 1440 having been the Grand Lithuanian Duke Sygizmund was killed by conspirators. The title of the Grand Duke passed to 13 years old

Casimir, the youngest brother of the Polish King Vladislav [3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 12; 14; 17; 18; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

**The liquidation of the Ruthenian appanage principalities.** The Grand Duke Casimir gave Svydryhailo Volhynia. Kyiv was possessed by the Prince Olelko Volodymyrovych. Later on, Kyiv passed to his son Semen Olelkovych. In 1444 Casimir became the King of Poland, saving the title of Grand Lithuanian Duke.

Under the reign of Casimir the rights of the Orthodox Christians were limited. Only Catholics occupied the state offices. After the death of Svydryhailo appanage Volyn principality was converted into a province of the Lithuanian Duchy. Kyiv principality suffered the same fate in 1471. This year instead of deceased Kyivan Prince Semen Olelkovych, a voivode named Martyn Hashtovt was appointed there. To enter Kyiv Hashtovt stormed this town [3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 12; 14; 17; 18; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

**The Muscovite-Lithuanian Wars.** In 1491 the Lithuanian throne was possessed by Alexander. Moscow took part in the border conflicts with Lithuania for Chernihiv and Smolensk. In 1501 Alexander became the King of Poland. He would be on this throne till his death in 1506.

During his ruling Moscow took from Lithuania Chernihiv, Novhorod-Siverskyi, Starodub, and etc. By 1506, 319 towns and villages of Ukraine and Belarus had come under the ruling of the Moscow Duke. Even the Hetman of Lithuania, main commander of the army, Kostiantyn Ivanovych Ostrozkyi fell into a Moscow prison. Later on, he ran away and returned to the fight. This man was the first Ukrainian, who was the Hetman (General) of the Grand Duchy Lithuania.

In 1511, when the King of Poland and the Grand Prince of Lithuania was Sygmunt I the Old (1506 – 1548), the Moscow army seized Smolensk. Shortly before in Belarus the army led by the Ukrainian Prince Michael Hlynskyi had revolted. The revolt was supported by the Moscow Duke Vasillii III, but in 1511 the rebels were beaten by the Lithuanians at the town of Orsha and M. Hlynskyi was forced to flee to Moscow. This revolt is considered to be the last attempt of Ruthenia nobles to free the Ukrainian lands from Lithuania [3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 14; 16; 17; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

**The uprising of Mukha in Halychyna.** In Halychyna other events, which had significance for the history of Ukraine, took place. In the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century the *Hospodar* (the Prince) of Moldova Stephan the Great

(1457 – 1504) annexed Bukovyna land. In 1490 he was one of the supporters of an anti-Polish revolt of the Galician people, the leader of which was the man named Mukha. Nearly 9 000 rebels led by him were defeated by the Polish army at the Dniester River [5; 6; 7].

**The Crimean Khanate and the Ottoman Empire.** In the Southern border and some of the Eastern parts of what is now Ukraine the Golden Horde was. This Tatars' State was splintered by internal wars between the Khans. In 1449 the Khan Haji-Giray finally proclaimed the separation of the Crimean Khanate from the Golden Horde. His son made an alliance with Lithuania, but in 1482 he suddenly took Kyiv which was previously ruled by Lithuanian vicegerent. The Tatars burnt the city-castle, robbed churches and imprisoned a lot of Kyivan people [23].

The reaction of the Lithuanian Grand Duke and the Polish King Casimir, however, was indifferent about that Tatars' action.

Between 1482 and 1497 the successor of Haji-Giray, his son Mengli-Giray often led the Crimean Tatars for plundering Kyiv land, Podillia, Volhynia and even Chernihiv region. Plundering Ukraine the Tatars every year imprisoned from 5 000 to 15 000 Christians [16].

In 1497 the Tatars were defeated by the Ukrainian magnate Kostiantyn Ostrozkyi. In addition to all miseries which fell upon the Ukrainian people, since 1498 the Turks periodically raided the Southern Ukraine. By that time Moldavia, which held Bukovyna, had already been a vassal of the Ottoman Empire (modern Turkey).

The Tatars and the Turks sold their prisoners in the markets of Kapha (Kaaffi) and Kozlov (modern Eupatoria) in Crimea. A lot of these Ukrainians were forced to be slave oarsmen on Turkish galleys [3; 5 – 7; 10; 14; 16; 17; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

## Questions

1. What role did the Krewo Union play in the process of the annexing the Ukrainian lands by the foreign states?
2. How did the Lithuanian Duke Vytautas change Ukraine?
3. Why did the internal war start after the death of Vytautas? What reasons causing this war did become the religious ones?
4. Describe the policy of the Ottoman Empire, the Crimean Khanate, and Lithuania toward Ukraine.



## **Theme 5. The Ukrainian Lands under the Rule of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (the Second Half of the 16<sup>th</sup> – the First Half of the 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries)**

**The purpose** of the theme is to give an idea of Ukraine under the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the role of the Lublin Union and the Brest Union in the history of Ukraine, and the importance of the Cossack Host.

This theme covers the following main **topics**: the Union of Lublin (1569) and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth; Ukraine under Polish authority; the situation of the Orthodox Christians; the Religious Union of Brest (1596); the Orthodox Church brotherhoods; the Ukrainian Cossacks; the Zaporozhian Sich; the Registered Cossacks; the first Cossack uprisings; the Cossack seafaring activities; the Cossacks and the wars of Poland; the Cossack uprising led by Marko Zhmailo; the revolt under the Hetman Taras Triasylo; "The articles for calming of Russian people"; the Cossack revolts of 1635 and 1637; the "Ordinance for Zaporozhian Registered Host that Serves the Commonwealth"; the Cossack revolt of 1638.

**The Union of Liublin (1569) and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.** In 1529 the ruler of Poland and Lithuania Sygmunt the Old inspired Sejm (so was called the meeting of Polish and Lithuanian nobles) to elect his son Sygmunt-August as the King of Poland. In 1548 Sygmunt the Old died and his son actually inherited the throne of Lithuania. However, at the same time Lithuania kept itself independent from Poland. The Lithuanians had their own Law, army, coinage, court and Sejm, which had the right to elect Grand Prince of Lithuania. Also Lithuanian nobles mostly occupied offices of their Principality and had the largest part of lands in Lithuania and Ukraine [3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 14; 16; 17; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

On the contrary, Lithuanian nobles tended to make new Union with Poland because of need to defend their landholdings from Moscow aggression. In turn, Polish *szlachta* (the nobles of Poland) too wanted the Union, desiring to possess the Ukrainian lands.

Thus, on the 1<sup>st</sup> of July of 1596 in Liublin at the meeting of Lithuanian and Polish nobles the Union of the both States was proclaimed. The Polish-

Lithuanian Commonwealth (Polish: *Rzeczpospolita*) was created. According to the Union treaty, nobles of Lithuania and Poland were able to elect the King of Poland, who meantime was the Grand Prince of Lithuania. Parliament (Sejm) had to be gathered from the Lithuanians and the Poles. This Sejm limited the powers of the King.

The Sejm was responsible for making laws, and taxes or armies could not be raised without its assent. To the extent that the Commonwealth had a constitutional government, an elected monarchy, and relatively broad political representation (approximately 10 % of the population could vote for the Sejm), it was a rather progressive system. The Commonwealth was a major force in European politics. It was the largest territorial State in Europe. It included virtually all territories of the modern-day Ukraine, except for the southern regions that were ruled by the Ottomans or their Crimean Tatar allies.

The Liublin Union provided single currency. Single for the both States too was their foreign policy.

The Lithuanians and the Poles got the right to hold lands both in Poland and in Lithuania. The seal, coat-of-arms, finances, administration and army were left separating for each of both States. Also Lithuania kept the Ruthenian language as the official one [3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 14; 16; 17; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

**Ukraine under the Polish authority.** According to the Union of Liublin, all Ukrainian lands were passed under the authority of Poland. The Polish administration established three new Voivodeships there: Volhynia Voivodeship (capital: Lutsk), Bratslav Voivodeship (capital: Bratslav) and Kyivan Voivodeship (capital: Kyiv). There had already been Russian Voivodeship (capital: Lviv), Belz Voivodeship (capital: Belz), Podillia Voivodeship (capital: Kamianets). Ukraine was divided into six administrative territories governed by Polish voivodes. The whole Ukraine was also covered by the Catholic Jesuits schools [3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 14; 16; 17; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

**The situation of the Orthodox Christians.** In Ukraine, probably since the Union of Krevo (1385) Catholic Polish and Lithuanian nobles had owned Orthodox churches and monasteries. The owners often leased these Christian temples. They also bought, sold and gave away the Ukrainian Orthodox churches. For example, the Polish King and the Grand Lithuanian Duke Sigmunt the Old gave some churches of Kyiv to the noble named Dyagilevych in order to repay a debt. Also in the 16<sup>th</sup> century the King often

used to sell the titles of the Orthodox bishops to secular persons. Of course, all the above-mentioned dishonoured the Holy Greek Church.

In addition, Orthodox Christians suffered due to the Polish administration prohibiting them having buildings in every town centre. Only the Catholic could be a master of Guild [3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 14; 16; 17; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

**The Religious Union of Brest (1596).** In the meantime Jesuits propagandized the notion of uniting Orthodox and Catholic Churches. Given the Orthodox Church was in a deep crisis, some Orthodox priests were inclined to support the Jesuits' ideas. In 1595 Orthodox bishops Hypatius Potii (from Volodymyr-Volynskiy) and Kyrylo Terletskiy (from Lutsk) initiated the secret negotiations with the Polish King Zygmunt III (1566 – 1632) and the Pope for the Religious Union. The next year in Brest the Union was declared by the council of Catholics and some Orthodox bishops. The new Church known as the Greek-Catholic (or Uniate) Church was created. It recognized the power of the Pope and dogmas of the Catholic Faith. Meanwhile, it kept the Orthodox ceremonies and the Church-Slavonic language as one of the divine service. Uniate priests had to be freed from paying taxes. Uniate nobles got guarantees, that they would occupy State offices, and Uniate burghers (town dwellers) got the same professional rights, which Catholic burghers had till the moment of the Brest Union (1596). The Old Orthodox Faith was officially prohibited. Orthodox monasteries were converted to the Uniate temples; Orthodox Church hierarchy was replaced by Uniate structures [3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 14; 16; 17; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

**The Orthodox Church brotherhoods.** In Ukraine the so-called Church brotherhoods activated their work having the purpose of defense of the Orthodox. Among them one could define Lviv brotherhood named Uspenske, Lutsk brotherhood named Chesnohresne, Kyiv brotherhood named Bogoiavlenske, etc. For the most part, the members of the brotherhoods were burghers (citizens). The brotherhoods watched for ornaments of the Orthodox temples, carried for sick persons and invalids. The members of brotherhoods used to organize the Orthodox holidays – "Kanoons" (Eves). Due to the time they began to send the petitions to Polish courts and even to the King of Poland. These petitions contained the demands to defend Orthodoxy. On the other hand, the brotherhoods established brother schools. Obviously, the schools of Lviv and Kyiv were the most famous ones. In 1586 the Patriarch of Antioch Joakim allowed Lviv brotherhood to make excommunication of those

Orthodox parishioners and priests, who conduct themselves immorally [3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 14; 16; 17; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

**The Ukrainian Cossacks.** At the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century in the Left-Bank Ukraine the new group of the Ukrainian people, the Cossacks, emerged. The first evidence about them dates back to 1489. In historical sources they are called the Cossacks. The name derived from the Turkic word "qazaq", which seems to be used since 1303 for the defining of a guard. They used to live along the lower reaches of the Dnieper River, in the so-called Wild Field (*dyke pole*) along the periphery of Poland-Lithuania, Moscovy, and the Crimean Khanate. The group of the Cossacks consisted of former serfs, religious refugees, disaffected noblemen and common criminals. These men turned to hunting, fishing, and gathering a honey, horse-trading and some small-scale farming to supplement their livings. For defending from the Tatars the Cossacks joined into informal "vataha" associations. Later on, the Cossacks began to rob the Tatars, which had previously plundered the Ukrainian people [39].

**Zaporozhian Sich.** The formation of the Ukrainian Cossack Host came in 1556, when the marchlord Dmytro Vyshnevetskyi, alias Baida, organized the Cossacks to build *Sich*, or *Kosh* (fort). This fort was located on Khortytsa island on the lower Dnieper. But in 1557 the Tatars ruined this fort. In the 1560s D. Vyshnevetskyi was taken by the the Turks and put to death in Istanbul. After his death the Cossacks founded new *Sich*, on the Dnieper island Tomakivka. This one was until 1593. In 1593 – 1638 *Sich* was on the Dnieper island Bazavluk. Since 1580s the term "*Sichovi*" Cossacks had been used [39].

The Cossacks called their territory the Lands of Army *Zaporozhian* or the Liberties of Army *Zaporozhian* (literally, army located beyond the rapids). The Cossacks abandoned informal vataha association for more uniform organization in decuries (*desiatky*), centuries (*sotni*) and corps (*polky* or *palanky*) of three to five centuries. Each *polk* consisted of 6 – 7 *kurins*. "*Kurin*" is a common term used by the Cossacks for defining their barracks. Actually, Cossack *Kosh* (or *Sich*) could have up to 38 *kurins*. This *Sich* had its own assembly (called a *rada*, the modern Ukrainian term for parliament) and from time to time elected its own ruler, or the *Hetman* (also called *Koshovyi Otaman*). The Cossack assembly also elected officers (*starshyna*): a judge (*suddia*), a clerk (*pysar*), a warden (*osavul*; he was responsible for the fortifi-

cations of *Sich*), the officer (*oboznyi*) was responsible for gunnery and organization of army in a major campaign [39].

The main artifacts-symbols of power were flag (*khoruhva*), mace (*bulava*), seal (*pechatka*), threestick (*bunchuk*), kettle-drum (*lytavry*), small mace (*pyrnach*) [39].

**Registered Cossacks.** The rule of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth tried to restrict number of the Cossacks by implying the registration. Also in this way the State formed the special Cossack corps for the defense of its Southern and Eastern boards. In 1572 Sygmunt II August included into the register 300 Cossacks. In 1582 the King Stefan Batory increased the number of registered Cossacks up to 500, and shortly after – up to 1 000 Cossacks. The registered Cossacks, in contrast to other Cossacks, were considered to be the legal ones, each of whom owned lands and could be engaged in trades on legal basis. They reserved payment, did not pay taxes, elected their own Hetman and Starshyna, had own Court, hospital and arsenal in town Trakhtemyriv, near Kyiv. At the same time the registered Cossacks were subordinated to the royal officers. Since the time the registered Cossacks appeared, other Cossacks had been known as *Nyzovi* (literally, those, who used to live in the lower reaches of the Dnieper area).

During the 16<sup>th</sup> century the Cossack group was differentiated, split into the rich and the poor (*siroma*) [3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 14; 16; 17; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

**The first Cossack uprisings.** In the late 16<sup>th</sup> century the Cossacks and peasants revolted against the authority of the Poles, serfdom and the Catholic Faith. In 1591 the Hetman Kryshtof Kosynsky had a conflict with Yanush Ostrozkyi, the starosta of the town Bila Tserkva. Ostrozkyi seized Kosynsky's manor at the Ross River. In return, Kosynsky with Cossacks took the Bila-Tserkva castle. It was the beginning of the first Cossack rebellion, which lasted from 1591 to 1593. In the revolt, besides Cossacks, burghers and peasants took part. The revolt spread over Kyiv region, Volhynia, Bratslav region and Podillia. The rebels were crushed at Piatka near Zhytomyr. In 1593, K. Kosynsky was killed, when he had been besieging Cherkasy.

Shortly after, the uprising was started under the leading of a centurion of starosta Ostrozkyi. The leader had a name Severyn Nalyvaiko. Between 1594 and 1596 the Cossacks and peasants led by him ruined nobles' manors in Kyiv region, Volhynia, Bratslav region, Podillia and a part of Polissia. After the battle with the Poles in the tract of Hostryi Kamin, near Kyiv, the rebels retreated to Pereiaslav. In 1596 in the tract of Solonytsia, near Lubny, they fell

in surrounding and suffered defeat. Severyn Nalyvaiko was beheaded in Warsaw.

In 1597 the Warsaw Sejm declared that all the Cossacks were "the enemies of the State", that is why they all had to be killed [3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 14; 16; 17; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

**The Cossack seafaring activities.** While rebelling against the Polish authority, the Cossacks defended Ukraine from the Tatars and the Turks. The beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century is the time of the Cossack seafaring activities against Ottoman ports. In the spring and summer of 1589 the Cossacks seized a Turkish merchant vessel nearby the port of Kozlov. Then, 800 – 1500 Cossacks led by the Otaman Zakhar Kulaha robbed Kozlov and freed a lot of Ukrainian prisoners. In 1599 *Zaporozhian* Cossacks elected Samiilo Kishka the Hetman. Between 1603 and 1604 the Cossacks led by him sailed across the Black Sea and ruined three Turkish towns. In 1606 they robbed Akerman, Kiel and Varna. Also there were seized ten Turkish galleys with rich goods. In the sea battle of Ochakiv the Cossacks defeated Turkish patrol. In 1608, 3 000 Cossacks led by the *Koshovyi Otaman* Mykhailo Naimanovych took Perekop, Izmail (Ishmael), Kilia (Kiel) and Akerman. There they freed a lot of Ukrainian captives. In 1614 the Cossacks plundered Sinop, in the coast of the Asia Minor. In 1615 they landed near Istanbul and robbed its outskirts. On their way home, they crushed Turkish squadron near Danube. In this battle Turkish admiral was taken prisoner. In 1616 the Cossacks led by the Hetman Petro Sahaidachnyi seized Kaffa, in Crimea, and freed many Ukrainians. Kaffa was well-known due to its slave markets. In the same year in Asia Minor Trebizond was taken too and its slave-markets were ruined by the Cossacks [6; 8; 16].

**The Cossacks and the wars of Poland.** When in 1618 the Poles were fighting with the Russians for Moscow, Petro Sahaidachnyi led 20 000 Cossacks to Moscow in order to help the Poles. This Polish-Moscow war (1612 – 1619) was successful for Poland. In 1619 the Daulin Treaty was signed. Poland was given Smolensk and Chernihiv-Siversk region. These were the lands, which had been lost by Lithuania at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

In 1621 Turkey proclaimed Poland war due to the sea raids of the Cossacks, who were considered to be the subjects of Poland, and Polish interference into Moldavian affairs. In 1620 in Moldavia, near Lasi, on the fields of Cecora, Turkish army led by Iskander-Pasha crushed Polish forces led by

Polny Koronny Hetman Stanislaw Zhólkiewski. In this battle Zhólkiewski was killed [6; 8].

After the defeat the Polish government asked the Cossacks for help. In return, the Poles promised to increase the Registry and to not persecute the Orthodox Christians. In 1621 Petro Sahaidachnyi gathered nearly 40 000 Cossacks and, joining with Polish army, went to Khotyn fortress, in Bukovyna. There was a greate battle with Turks, after which the Polish-Turkish treaty was signed. The next year Petro Sahaidachnyi died because of wounds he had got in the Khotyn battle [6; 8].

The next after him Olifer Holub was elected the Hetman by the Cossack Rada. Under him Cossacks went by sea to Anatolia and Istanbul to rob its outskirts and free Ukrainian captives. At the same time, O. Holub kept in Registry above 40 000 Cossacks, who had been hired in the previous Khotyn campaign. Holub refused to reduce their number to 2 000 – 3 000, as it was demanded by the Poles. However, in 1623, fulfilling the demands of the Polish government, the Cossack Rada replaced Olifer Holub by Mykhailo Doroshenko. The latter reduced the number of registered Cossacks to 2 000 – 3 000. The rest men were sent by him to *Zaporozhian Sich*, where the Polish administration had not power actually. Under M. Doroshenko the Cossacks continued their seafaring activity against Turks in the Black Sea. This escalated the Polish-Turkish relations because Turks considered the Cossacks as subjects of Poland. Meanwhile, virtually, the Cossacks made their own policy [6; 8].

**The Cossack uprising led by Marko Zhmailo.** In 1625 Polish government sent against *Zaporozhian Sich* Stanislaw Koniecpolski at the head of great army. The Poles demanded Cossacks became peasants. In turn, a lot of Cossacks revolted having been electing Marko Zhmailo their Hetman. The Cossacks had battles with the Poles at Kaniv and, then, at Kurukove Lake, near Kremenchuk. While fighting at Kurukove Lake, The Cossack Rada voted for replacing Marko Zhmailo by Mykhailo Doroshenko. The new Hetman signed the treaty with Poles. This *Kurukiv Treaty* declared that registered Cossacks had to number 6 000, other Cossacks had to become peasants. 1 000 registered Cossacks had to guard Sich and not to let non-Cossacks there. Cossacks also promised to make no enmity against Turks and Tatars. In 1625 six corps of registered Cossacks were created: *Bilotserkivskyi*, *Kanivskyi*, *Korsunskyi*, *Pereiaslavskyi*, *Cherkaskyi* and *Chy-hyrynskyi*. Each of them had 1 000 Cossacks and was divided into 10 centuries. The

registered Hetman had to be elected by the Cossack Rada and approved by the Polish King. In this way Hryhoryi Chornyj was made the Hetman soon after M. Doroshenko had died [3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 14; 16; 17; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

**The revolt under the Hetman Taras Triasylo.** Meanwhile, only a part of starshyna was rejoicing of the Kurukiv Treaty. Many non-registered Cossacks did not want to be peasants as it was prescribed by the Treaty. In 1630 10 000 Cossacks rebelled and elected their own Hetman Taras Fedorovych, alias Triasylo. The rebels took Korsun, Kaniv and some other towns. They entered into Pereiaslav. Soon after Polish army come there too. In this battle the Cossacks were winning when a part of their starshyna elected new Hetman the Cossack named Anton Konashevych-But. He began the negotiations with Poles. During these negotiations he was also replaced by another Hetman Tymosh Orendarenko. This Hetman signed the Treaty with the Poles in Pereiaslav. According to the Pereiaslav Treaty, the number of registered Cossacks increased up to 8 000. Other Cossacks were pardoned and they had to return under ruling of the Poles. The guard in *Sich* increased up to 2 000 registered Cossacks [3; 5; 6; 10; 14; 16; 17; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

**"The articles for calming the Russian people"**. Shortly after the rebellion, in 1633 Polish Sejm accepted "The articles for calming the Russian people", which permitted the Orthodox Church. It was the victory of Cossacks, most of whom always demanded for the Orthodox Faith [3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 14; 16; 17; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

**The Cossack revolts of 1635 and 1637.** In 1635, near the first rapid of the Dnieper, the Poles built the Kodak fortress (architect Frenchman Guillaume Levasseur de Boplan), having purpose to close *Sich* for non-Cossacks. However, in the same year Cossacks led by Ivan Sulyma took the fortress and ruined its part. Later on, Sulyma was taken and put by the Poles to death. In 1637 Cossacks again revolted. Their leader was Pavlo Pavliuk (alias But). The rebels were crushed by Poles at Kumeiky. P. Pavliuk (But) was executed in Warsaw [3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 12; 14; 16; 17; 23; 30; 32; 38].

**"The Ordinance for Zaporozhian Registered Host that Serves the Commonwealth"**. In 1638 the Polish-Lithuanian Sejm voted for "The Ordinance for Zaporozhian Registered Host that Serves the Commonwealth". This Act reduced the number of registered Cossacks to 6 000 men. They could live only in border towns Cherkasy, Chyhyryn and Korsun. The "Ordinance..." banned the Cossack judiciary. The Cossacks also could not elect their starshyna without the permission of a State commissioner. Under



the penalty of death nobody could live at the rapids of the Dnieper. Two corps of registered Cossacks and the Poles had to guard *Zaporozhian Sich* constantly [3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 14; 16; 17; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

**The Cossack revolt of 1638.** Shortly after the voting of "The Coordination...", Cossacks led by Yakiv Ostrianyn, Dmytro Hunia and Karpo Skydan revolted again, defeating the Poles in battle of the Govtva River (Poltava, in Left-Bank Ukraine) and besieging Lubny (Poltava). Unfortunately, the Cossacks were beaten in the battle of Zhovnyn. K. Skydan was taken prisoner and put to death. Y. Ostrianyn with cavalry retreated to Slobozhan-shchyna (the Northern-Eastern Ukrainian region, which included modern Kharkiv region). Other Cossacks led by Dmytro Hunia had hard battle with the Poles in the tract Starets, at the mouth of Sula River (modern Sumaska Oblast). Later on, they retreated to behind the rapids of the Dnieper [3; 5; 6; 7; 10; 14; 16; 17; 23; 28; 30; 32; 38].

### Questions

1. What consequences did the Lublin Union have for the Ukrainian lands?
2. What were the terms of the Religious Union of Brest?
3. What consequences did the Union of Brest have for the Ukrainian people?
4. Why did the Cossack Host appear?
5. Was Zaporozhian Sich a republic or a military settlement? Name the Cossack authorities.
6. What role did Zaporozhian Sich play in the history of Ukraine?
7. Why were the Cossacks' and peasants' uprisings suppressed by the Poles?

### **Theme 6. The Cossack Revolution (1648 – 1657): the Foundation of Hetmanshchyna**

**The purpose** of this theme is connected with studying the Nation Liberation war of the Ukrainian people and the establishment of Hetmanshchyna (the Cossack State) in the middle 17<sup>th</sup> century. There are shown the reasons, events and results of the War.

This theme includes the following main **topics**: the social conditions in Ukraine between 1638 and 1648; the personal injuries of the Cossack

Bohdan Khmelnytskyi; the first stage of the National Liberation War (1648); the Opyshky movement in Zakarpattia; the second stage of the National Liberation War (1649 – 1653) and founding the Cossack State Hetman-shchyna; the third stage of the National Liberation War (1654 – 1657).

**The social conditions in Ukraine between 1638 and 1648.** Between 1638 and 1648 a corvée was hard in the country. Taxes rised. From the begining of 1616 some nobles leased their lands to rich Jews, who seeking gains hardly exploited labour of peasants dwelling in the rented lands. The Magistrate of every town was managed by the Poles. The Orthodox Christians had to dwel in special town areas, pay taxes for keeping the Catholic clergy. Also Orthodox Christians could not build new tamples, make any institute of higer education, occupy any administrative post. Many people were inclined to revolt against the Polish authority. There were a lot of Cossacks among those, who desired the rebellion. The Cossacks, of course, wanted ceasing the "Ordinance..." of 1638, which declared many of them peasants [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 15; 17; 18; 24; 28; 30; 32; 34; 38; 39].

**The personal injuries of the Cossack Bohdan Khmelnytskyi.** Meanwhile, in 1647 a vice-*starosta* of Chyhyryn Daniel Chaplynskyi seized Subotiv farmstead of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi, a captain in Chyhyryn Cossack regiment. D. Chaplinsky killed the son of B. Khmelnytskyi and took away his wife. Then B. Khmelnytskyi took refuge with the Zaporozhian Sich, which was in Mykytynskyi Rih, at the place of modern Nikopol [18; 34; 39].

**The first stage of the National Liberation War (1648).** B. Khmelnytskyi with his troops fortified in the island Tomakivka and, then, attacked and crushed those Poles, who were guarding the Sich. Registered Cossacks joined the Cossacks of B. Khmelnytskyi. Very soon in Sich the Cossacks elected B. Khmelnytskyi the Hetman. He made alliance with the Crimean Tatars led by the Khan Ismail-Hirey III. The Tatars had very strong cavalry B. Khmelnytskyi needed for his purposes. In 1648 he started an uprising against the Polish-Lithuanian nobles. To borrow B. L. Davies' words, "The psychology of religious war was in fact about to turn Khmelnytskyi Cossack rebellion into a general Ukrainian revolution uniting Sich and Settled Lands, Cossacks and Ukrainian petty nobles, and peasants, and townsmen against Polish domination" [34, p. 104]. However, the hard corvée in country was another reason for the revolt, other than the religious war against the Catholicism and the Uniat faith.

In April of 1648 at the river of Zhovti Vody rebels crushed Polish army and killed its commander Stefan Potocki. In May of 1648 the Poles were defeated at Korsun. In this battle the Cossack unit led by Maksym Kryvonis became famous.

The commanders of the Poles Nicholas Potocki and Martin Kalinovski were taken prisoners and given as slaves to the Tatars. In summer of 1648 the rebels freed the whole Left-Bank Ukraine, Bratslav region, Kyiv region, Podillia, and Eastern and Southern parts of Volyn voivodeship, in the Right-Bank Ukraine. In September of 1648 the Poles were beaten at Pyliavtsi. This month insurgent army led by Bohdan Khmelnytskyi besieged Lviv. In October of 1648 the Cossack unit of Maksym Kryvonis seized Lviv Castle. The Magistrate of Lviv was forced to ransom town paying 1 m of golden duckats to the rebels of B. Khmelnytskyi. In November of 1648 the rebels besieged Zamostia. Shortly after the Poles and the Lithuanians elected the new King Jan II Kazimier Waza. He was able to make a peace with Bohdan Khmelnytskyi. Having signed the Peace the Cossack leader came back to Kyiv with the great triumph [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 15; 17; 18; 24; 28; 30; 32; 34; 38; 39].

**The Opyshky movement in Zakarpattia.** While the above-mentioned events were going, in Zakarpattia the revolt of the paupers, who called themselves *Opryshky*, raised against the Hungarian ruling. The leader of the rebels was Semen Vysochan [3].

**The second stage of the National Liberation War (1649 – 1653) and founding the Cossack State – Hetmanshchyna.** In spring of 1649 the Poles began hostilities in Podillia. The Cossacks were defeated by the Lithuanian army at Loiev. In the meantime cossacks besieged Zbarazh. Very soon they surrounded Polish army and the King at Zboriv. In these circumstances the Khan Ismail-Hirey III demanded that Bohdan Khmelnytskyi make peace with the Poles. The Khan desired to make weaker both rival neighbours in order to be the strongest ruler among them.

In 1649 Zboriv Treaty was signed by Bohdan Khmelnytskyi and the King of Poland Jan II Kazimier. According to Zboriv Treaty, the number of registered Cossacks increased up to 40 000. The Cossacks got Kyiv, Chernihiv and Bratslav provinces. These lands were proclaimed territory of new Cossack State, named *Zemli Viiska Zaporizkoho* (literally, the Lands of Cossack Host, which was located on the rapids of the Dnieper). Later on, this State was named by modern historians *Hetmanshchyna*. Jews and Jesuits had to go away from these lands. In *Hetmanshchyna* the serfdom and

folwarks (the economy diversified, which was based on the labour of serfs and targeted to produce corn for sale) was ceased. The new State was structured into 16 regiments; each of them was divided into 11 or 22 centuries. Zaporozhian Sich was considered to have the self-government. The great towns kept the autonomy (according to Magdeburg Rights). Other towns were governed by *otamans* (chieftains), who were appointed by the Hetman [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 15; 17; 18; 24; 28; 30; 32; 34; 38; 39].

In *Hetmanshchyna* the Cossack starshyna (Cossack officers) became privileged stratum, like nobles.

In 1650 the Cossacks led by Bohdan Khmelnytskyi invaded Moldova, an alias of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The Cossacks took Moldavian Capital Iasi. The Moldavian Hospodar Vasilyi Lupul was ordered to marry his daughter Rozanda to Tymish Khmelnytskyi, the son of the Cossacks' Hetman.

In February of 1651 Polish army under Martin Kalinovski took Krasne, in Podillia and, then, steered to the Vinnytsia (Bratslav voivodeship). In the battle of Berestechko, which was between June and July 1651, the Tatars betrayed the Cossacks again.

The Cossack commander Ivan Bohun rescued the Cossacks, when he led out them from surrounding. After the battle the new Polish-Cossack Treaty was signed in the town Bila Tserkva. *The Bilotserkivsk Treaty* restricted the territory of *Hetmanshchyna*, leaving for it only Kyiv voivodeship. The number of registered Cossacks decreased to 20 000 men. The rights of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi on making a foreign policy were banned. His alliance with the Tatars was also broken.

However, in 1652 Tymish Khmelnytskyi joined his army with the Tatars. He led the forces against Moldova, which had become an ally of Poland. In the way they smashed the Poles in the battle of Batih, in Podillia. The Polish Commander Martin Kalinovski was killed in the battle. The next year Tymish Khmelnytskyi fell in the field of battle at the fortress Suceava, that is now the territory of Romania.

In autumn of 1653 the Tatars again betrayed the Cossacks, while they were fighting with the Poles at Zhvanets, near Kamianets-Podilskyi (in modern Khmelnytska Oblast) [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 15; 17; 18; 24; 28; 30; 32; 34; 38; 39].

**The third stage of the National Liberation War (1654 – 1657).** In these circumstances Bohdan Khmelnytskyi decided to make the alliance with the Moscow State. In October of 1653 in Moscow *Zemskoy Sobor* (Congress) voted for the war with Poland. In March of 1654 in Pereiaslav the Cossack-Moscow alliance was proclaimed. The *Pereiaslav Treaty* approved the articles, which had been written by Bohdan Khmelnytskyi. This document is known as "The March articles". According to its text, the Cossacks recognized the superiority of the Moscow Tsar Aleksey Mikhaylovich, who, in turn, recognized the liberties of the Cossacks. The number of registered Cossacks increased up to 60 000 men. The Cossacks obliged they would always report the Tsar about the election of the new Hetman. Hetmanshchyna rejected to make any foreign affairs with Poland and the Ottoman Empire (Turkey). At the borders of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth the Moscow army was located. Moscow obliged to wage war against Poland up to the total victory. In January of 1655 the Great battle of Okhmativ (in modern Cherkaska Oblast) was between the Polish-Tatar forces and the Cossack-Russian army. The Poles and the Tatars made a fighting retreat.

In July of 1655 the Sweden started war against the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Poland asked Moscow for the peace and in September of 1656 these states signed the peace in Vilna. Bohdan Khmelnytskyi being betrayed by Moscow turned to make coalition with Sweden, Transylvania, Brandenburg and Wallachia. In 1657 Bohdan Khmelnytskyi died through apoplexy [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 15; 17; 18; 24; 28; 30; 32; 34; 38; 39].

## Questions

1. What were the reasons of the National Liberation War?
2. Name the main battles between the Cossacks and the Poles.
3. What is the historical significance of the National Liberation War of the middle 17<sup>th</sup> century?
4. What were the terms of Zboriv Treaty?
5. Compare the terms of Zboriv Treaty and Bilotserkivsk Treaty.
6. Describe the relations between the Cossacks and the Russian State during the National Liberation War.
7. Define the foreign policy directions of the Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi.

## **Theme 7. The Ruin of Hetmanshchyna between 1659 and 1687 and the Hetmanate of Ivan Mazepa (1687 – 1709)**

**The purpose** of this theme lies in the study of the Ruin period (the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century), throughout which Ukraine was split into the two parts, the Ukrainians waged war among themselves, and Ukrainian territories were divided between Poland and the Russian State. The features of the foreign politics of the Ukrainian Hetmans are also shown.

The theme covers the following main **topics**: Hetmanshchyna; the Hetmanate of Ivan Vyhovskyi (1657 – 1659); the Hetmanate of Yurii Khmelnytskyi (1659 – 1663); the Ruin of Hetmanshchyna (Ukraine); the Hetmanate of Pavlo Teteria (1663 – 1665); the Hetmanate of Ivan Briukhovetskyi (1663 – 1668); the Russian-Polish Treaty of Andrusiv (1667); the Hetmanate of Petro Doroshenko (1665 – 1669); the Hetmanate of Demian Mnohohrishnyi (1669 – 1672); the Hetmanate of Petro Doroshenko (1669 – 1676); the Hetmanate of Ivan Samoilovych (1672 – 1686); the Eternal Peace of Russia and Poland (1686); the Second Hetmanate of Yurii Khmelnytskyi (1677 – 1681); the Bakhchysarai Peace between the Moscow State and Turkey (1681); the Hetmanate of Ivan Mazepa (1687 – 1709).

**Hetmanshchyna.** Due to the National Liberation War (1648 – 1657) the Great Cossack State was founded in 1649. Later on, this State became known among historians as *Hetmanshchyna*. It included Kiyv voivodship, Chernihiv voivodship and Bratslav voivodship. In this State, peasants were not serfs, the Orthodox Church owned lands, the Cossack community was the group privileged, and the Cossack starshyna was the ruling class [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 15; 17; 18; 24; 28; 30; 32; 34; 38; 39].

**The Hetmanate of Ivan Vyhovskyi (1657 – 1659).** In 1657 the Cossack Rada voted to make Ivan Vyhovskyi the Hetman. He was a small nobleman. In 1657 – 1657 He suppressed the insurgency of Poltava colonel Martin Pushkar and Coshovyi otaman of Zaporozhian Sich Yakiv Barabash.

In 1658 Ivan Vyhovskyi concluded the Agreement with Poland in Hadiach. Hetmanshchyna was declared to be the Grand Duchy Ruthenian (GDR). This Duchy had to be the part of the Polish-Lithuanian Common-

wealth as the state, which had the same rights as the other both states-members had. The Kingdom of Poland, the Grand Duchy Lithuanian and the Grand Duchy Ruthenian (Ukraine) agreed that the legislative power of the GDR (Ukraine) had to be provided by its National Assembly, the executive power in Ukraine had to be in the hands of the Hetman. The Hetman would be always elected by the Cossack Rada and approved by the King of the Commonwealth. The GDR kept its government, Court, Treasury and Army, which included 30 000 registered Cossacks and 10 000 mercenaries. The *starshyna* got the rights of Polish nobles. The Orthodox Church got the same rights, which the Catholic Church had. The Polish landlords returned into the GBR and renewed the serfdom in the country. Unfortunately, the above described *Hadiach Agreement* was never implemented.

Due to the Hadiach Agreement, Moscow proclaimed the war against Poland and the ruling of Ivan Vyhovskyi in Hetmanshchyna. In 1659 the army of Ivan Vyhovskyi crushed the Great Russian forces in the battle of Konotop. After this disastrous defeat Moscow inspired the plot of those Cossacks, who were the enemies of the Catholic Faith, and, hence, the Catholic Poland and Lithuania, the allies of Ivan Vyhovskyi [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 15; 17; 18; 24; 28; 30; 32; 34; 38; 39].

**The Hetmanate of Yurii Khmelnytskyi (1659 – 1663).** The Orthodox Cossacks elected their own Hetman, whose name was Yurii Khmelnytskyi, the son of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi. Ivan Vyhovskyi fled to Poland. Later on, in 1664 he was shot by the Cossacks.

In 1659 Yurii Khmelnytskyi signed *the Treaty with Moscow in Pereiaslav*, allowing to the Russian Army to be located in all the great towns of Hetmanshchyna (Pereiaslav, Nizhyn, Bratslav, Uman and Chernihiv). The Hetman Yurii Khmelnytskyi was obliged to make no foreign policy. The Cossack Rada was obliged not to elect the new Hetman without the permission of the Tsar. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church was subordinated to the Moscow Patriarchate.

In 1660, when the Russian army had been beating by the Poles, Yurii Khmelnytskyi concluded with Poland *the Slobodyshe Treaty*, according to which Ukraine as autonomy was returned under the authority of Poland. Then, pro-Russian starshyna forced Yurii to refuse the title of the Hetman and became a monk. After the Hetmanate of Yurii Hetmanshchyna was split into the Left-Bank (Eastern Part) and the Right-Bank (Western Parts) ones [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 15; 17; 18; 24; 28; 30; 32; 34; 38; 39].

**The Ruin of Hetmanshchyna (Ukraine).** The period after the first Hetmanate of Yuriy Khmelnytskyi is considered by historians to be the beginning of the period known as *Ruin* (1659 – 1687). The Ruin was the period of internal wars, the split of Hetmanshchyna into the Left-Bank one and the Right-Bank one, and the invasions of armies of other states into Ukrainian territories [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 15; 17; 18; 24; 28; 30; 32; 34; 38; 39].

**The Hetmanate of Pavlo Teteria (1663 – 1665).** The Hetman of the Right-Bank was elected Pavlo Teteria (1663 – 1665), who previously was the Cossack Clerk and a Volhynia noble. Between 1663 and 1664 he attempted to possess the Left-Bank Hetmanshchyna, but was defeated by the Russian-Cossack army at Hlukhiv. Shortly after in the Right-Bank the revolts started. It forced P. Teteria to flee to Poland and, then, to Moldavia, where he was poisoned by insurgents [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 15; 17; 18; 24; 28; 30; 32; 34; 38; 39].

**The Hetmanate of Ivan Briukhovetskyi (1663 – 1668).** While P. Teteria had been ruling the Right-Bank, the Hetman of the Left-Bank was Ivan Briukhovetskyi. He was elected by the *Chorna Rada* (the Council of ordinary Cossacks) at Nizhyn under supervision of Moscow officers.

In 1663 he signed the Baturyn articles. According to them, the government of Left-Bank Hetmanshchyna had to make supplies for the Moscow army, which was located in Ukraine. The Ukrainians were forbidden to sell a tobacco and a *horilka* (the Ukrainian vodka) in Russia. Also they were not allowed to sell bread in the Right-Bank Ukraine and the Crimean Khanate. In 1665 Ivan Briukhovetskyi signed *the Moscow articles (also known the Moscow Treaty)*, which allowed Moscow *voivods* (governors) to gather taxes in the large towns. The Cossacks were obliged to elect the new Hetman under the supervision of Tsar's assignee. The Hetman was not allowed to make a foreign policy [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 15; 17; 18; 24; 28; 30; 32; 34; 38; 39].

**The Russian-Polish Treaty of Andrusiv (1667).** In 1667 Russia and Poland signed the Andrusiv Treaty for terms of 13,5 years. According to the Treaty, the Russia got the Left-Bank Ukraine, and Poland possessed the Right-Bank Ukraine. The both states got the right to govern the Zaporozhian Sich, but actually it was in the sphere of influence of Russia [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 15; 17; 18; 24; 28; 30; 32; 34; 38; 39].

**The Hetmanate of Petro Doroshenko (1665 – 1669).** In 1665 the Staro-dubian Polkovnik (Polkovnik meaning the Colonel and Governer) Petro



Doroshenko was elected the Hetman of the Right-Bank Ukraine. In 1668, the next year after the year of the Andrusiv Truce, Petro Doroshenko at the head of the Cossack-Tatar army seized the Left-Bank Ukraine and killed Ivan Briukhovetskyi. In 1669 Petro Doroshenko was forced to return into the Right-Bank Ukraine because there a Cossack rebellion raised. Before he had departed, he appointed Demian Mnohohrishnyi the Hetman of the Left Bank [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 15; 17; 18; 24; 28; 30; 32; 34; 38; 39].

**The Hetmanate of Demian Mnohohrishnyi (1669 – 1672).** In 1669 Demian Mnohohrishnyi started his own policy, betraying P. Doroshenko. He signed the Hlukhiv Articles with Moscow and made Baturyn his own capital. The Moscow Voivods were forbidden by the Articles to gather taxes. The Articles established the Left-Bank Ukrainian army – 30 000 registered Cossacks and 1 000 mercenaries. Demian Mnohohrishnyi was obliged not make foreign policy. In 1672 Demian Mnohohrishnyi was slandered by the Cossack Ivan Samoilovych before the Russian Tsar. Ivan Samoilovych accused Demian Mnohohrishnyi, that he was making the treason against the Tsar. Very soon Demian Mnohohrishnyi was exiled to Siberia. Ivan Samoilovych became the Hetman [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 15; 17; 18; 24; 28; 30; 32; 34; 38; 39].

**The Hetmanate of Petro Doroshenko (1669 – 1676).** Meanwhile, having returned to the Right-Bank Ukraine in 1669, P. Doroshenko suppressed the revolt and started a number of reforms. In particular, he established the regular army manned from mercenaries, who were known as *serdiuks*. He also created the Customs system and started the own coinage. In 1669 P. Doroshenko signed *the Korsun Articles* with Turkey. The Turks agreed that the Hetman should be elected for his lifetime; Hetmanshchyna would annexed Halychyna, on the west, and the Sloboda Ukraine, on the east. The Orthodox Church was proclaimed independent from the Moscow Patriarchate. In turn, the Cossacks were obliged to help Turkey in its wars.

After the signing of the Korsun Articles, P. Doroshenko met a strong opposition among the Cossacks, who hated Islam because of their previous wars with the Muslim Crimean Khanate. The opposition was led by the Uman Colonel Khanenko and the Otaman of Sich Ivan Sirko, the leader of 60 victorious battles against the Turks and the Tatars [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 15; 17; 18; 24; 28; 30; 32; 34; 38; 39].

**The Hetmanate of Ivan Samoilovych (1672 – 1686).** In 1674 Petro Doroshenko had a conflict with Ivan Samoilovych, who had been shortly

before elected by the Cossacks the Hetman of the Left-Bank Ukraine. At the same time Russia and Poland proclaimed the war against P. Doroshenko. In 1676 I. Samoilovych at the head of the Cossack-Russian army invaded the Right-Bank Ukraine and forced P. Doroshenko to refuse the title of the Hetman.

By this time Ivan Samoilovych had signed with Moscow the Konotop Articles (1672). According to them the Hetman had no right to punish starshyna without the consent of the Council of starshyna [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 15; 17; 18; 24; 28; 30; 32; 34; 38; 39].

**The Eternal Peace of Russia and Poland (1686).** In 1686 Russia and Poland made *the Eternal Peace*. These states again divided Ukraine by the border along the Dnieper. Poland got the Right Bank, Russia took the Left Bank, Slobozhanshchyna and Zaporizhzhia, where the Cossack Sich was. Also, Poland and Russia started war against Turkey [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 15; 17; 18; 24; 28; 30; 32; 34; 38; 39].

In 1687 Ivan Samoilovych, leading the Cossacks, took part in the major campaign of Russian army against the Crimean Khanate, a vassal state of the Ottoman Empire (Turkey). The campaign came to failure. Ivan Samoilovych was accused of the treason and exiled to Siberia.

**The Second Hetmanate of Yuriy Khmelnytskyi (1677 – 1681).** In the meantime, in 1677 Turkey, having annexed Podillia, appointed Yurii Khmelnytskyi as the Hetman of Podillia. Shortly before, Yurii Khmelnytskyi had been captured by the Tatars and was forced to serve for the Turkish Sultan. Yurii Khmelnytskyi at the head of the Turkish-Tatar army made two failed attempts to seize Chyhyryn (in 1677 and 1678) [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 15; 17; 18; 24; 28; 30; 32; 34; 38; 39].

**The Bakhchysarai Peace between the Moscow State and Turkey (1681).** In 1681 Turkey and Russia made the Peace. It was signed in Bakhchysarai, the Capital of the Crimean Khanate. Shortly after the making Peace, the Turks executed Yurii Khmelnytskyi, the son of the prominent Ukrainian hero Bohdan Khmelnytskyi [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 15; 17; 18; 24; 28; 30; 32; 34; 38; 39].

**The Hetmanate of Ivan Mazepa (1687 – 1709).** In 1686 in Kolomak the Cossack Rada elected Ivan Mazepa the Hetman. He signed the Kolomak Articles with Moscow. The Kolomak Articles prohibited the Ukraininan merchants to trade with Moscow and Crimea.

Ivan Mazepa was known as the patron of the Ukrainian arts. He sponsored the building of churches and schools in the Baroque Style.

In 1704 Mazepa, having joined his forces with the Poles, suppressed the Cossack uprising in the Right-Bank Ukraine. During this campaign Ivan Mazepa annexed the whole Kyiv region, most part of Volhynia, and Bratslav region. Hence, the most part of Ukraine came under ruling of Ivan Mazepa.

At the beginning of the Great Northern War (1700 – 1721) with Sweden, the Russian Tsar Peter I, wanting to get support of the Polish King August I, promised him some towns of the Left-Bank and the Northern Ukraine. In addition, it is known now that Peter I planned to liquidate the autonomy of Hetmanshchyna and the Cossack order in Ukraine.

Little wonder that in some years of the Northern War, in 1707, the Hetman Ivan Mazepa supported Sweden. In return, the Swedish King Karl XII promised Ivan Mazepa to make Hetmanshchyna independent, as soon as the Russia had been defeated by the Sweden.

After Ivan Mazepa with Zaporozhian Otaman Kost Hordiienko had turned to alliance with Sweden, the Russian Tsar Peter I ordered to ruin Baturyn, the capital of Hetmanshchyna, and the Cossack Sich, which was in the Dnieper Island Chortomlyk.

In 1709 the Swedish forces were crushed by the Russian army in the battle of Poltava, in Ukraine. Ivan Mazepa and nearly 5 000 Cossacks retreated to Moldova. In 1710 Ivan Mazepa died.

The Mazepa's ally Otaman Kost Hordiienko with a lot of the Zaporozhian Cossacks established the Oleshkivska Sich, nearby the modern town of Kherson, on the territory of the Crimean Khanate. This Sich existed until 1734 year, when the Cossacks had left their fortifications and returned into Russian Ukraine [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 15; 17; 18; 24; 28; 30; 32; 34; 38; 39].

## Questions

1. Describe the terms of the Hadiach Agreement.
2. What consequences did the Hetmanate of Yurii Khmelnytskyi have for Ukraine?
3. What significance did the Hetmanate of Petro Doroshenko have?
4. What role did Ivan Mazepa play in the Ukrainian national-liberation movement of the early 18<sup>th</sup> century?
5. What was the "Ruin"?

## **Theme 8. The Liquidation of the Ukrainian Autonomies of Hetmanshchyna, Zaporozhian Host, and Sloboda Regiments by the Government of the Russian Empire in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century**

**The purpose** of the theme is to give an idea of folding the autonomy of Hetmanshchyna by the Russian government. The policy of the last Ukrainian Hetmans and the constitutional development of the Cossack society are presented.

The theme covers the following main **topics**: Pylyp Orlyk, the Hetman in exile; the Hetmanate of Ivan Skoropadskyi (1708 – 1722); the Hetmanate of Pavlo Polubotok (1722 – 1723); the Hetmanate of Danylo Apostol (1727 – 1734); the Board of Hetman's Government (1734 – 1750); the Hetmanate of Kyrylo Rozumovskyi (1750 – 1764); the second Little Russian Collegiate (1764 – 1786); the folding of Sloboda Ukrainian autonomy; the Russian Empire and Zaporozhian Cossacks; the liquidation of Zaporozhian Sich (1775) and the last Cossacks; the folding of Ukrainian autonomy; the movement of Opryshky; the Koliivshchyna uprising (1768).

**Pylyp Orlyk, the Hetman in exile.** In 1710 in Moldavia the Cossacks-refugees elected Pylyp Orlyk their new Hetman. Before this, P. Orlyk was a Cossack Clerk. Being the Hetman P. Orlyk declared the Constitution, the first one in the world. The Act was named *the "Pacts and Constitutions of Rights and Freedoms of Zaporozhian Host"*. Among the historians it is also known as the Constitution of Pylyp Orlyk or the Bender Constitution, after the Moldavian town of Bender, where the Constitution was declared. The Constitution had 16 items. The Constitution restricted the ruling of the Hetman by introducing the General Court. The Treasure had to be managed by the Treasurer (*Pidskarbii*), instead of the Hetman. The important financial deals had to be managed only by the General Rada (the assembly of the Cossacks). The General Rada also might elect the polkovnyks and sotnyks. Hence, the Bender Constitution of 1710 laid down the base for the division of power into legislative (the General Rada), executive (the Hetman) and judicial (the General Court) branches. The official religion was proclaimed the Orthodoxy.

In 1711 Pylyp Orlyk, having the alliance with the Tatars, made unfortunate attempt to free Ukraine [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 15; 17; 24; 28; 30; 32; 34; 38; 39].

**The Hetmanate of Ivan Skoropadskyi (1708 – 1722).** While P. Orlyk was the Hetman of the Cossacks-refugees, sheltering in Moldavia, the pro-Russian Hetman Ivan Skoropadskiy (1708 – 1722) governed Ukraine. In 1709 he replaced the Hetman residence from Baturyn to Hlukhiv. Hetmanshchyna was included into Kyivan *gubernia* (the Russian province). In Ukrainian state record keeping the Russian language was introduced. In 1722 *the Little Russian Collegiate* was established. It managed the Ukrainian finances, gathering taxes [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 15; 17; 24; 28; 30; 32; 34; 38; 39].

**The Hetmanate of Pavlo Polubotok (1722 – 1723).** In 1722, after the death of Ivan Skoropadskyi, the Tsar Peter I appointed Pavlo Polubotok the next Hetman. Before 1722 P. Polubotok was the Chernihiv polkovnyk. Being the Hetman, he made the Collegiate General Court, which consisted of several judges. He also collected a large library and compiled his own chronicle he named "Khronika". The chronicle covers the period from 1452 to 1715. In 1723 P. Polubotok sent the Tsar the so-called *Kolomak petition*, in which he asked for renewing the Cossack liberties and abolishing excessive taxes the Little Russian Collegiate made in Ukraine. Having learned the petition, Peter I imprisoned P. Polubotok in the Peter and Paul Fortress. In 1724 P. Polubotok died in the prison [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 15; 17; 24; 28; 30; 32; 34; 38; 39].

**The Hetmanate of Danylo Apostol (1727 – 1734).** In 1727, given to the growing tensions of the Russian-Turkish relation, the new Russian Tsar Peter II made the policy for appeasing the Cossack starshyna. For this purpose he eliminated the Little Russian Collegiate and allowed starshyna to elect the new Hetman. The Rada elected Danylo Apostol the Hetman. In order to keep Ukraine under the authority of Russia, in 1727 Peter II declared *the "Reshetylni clauses"* (from the name of village Reshetylivka). According to them, Danylo Appostol had no right to make a foreign correspondence, the Russian officers got right to gather customs. Also, the election of the Hetman and starshyna members must be approved by the Tsar only. In 1734 Danylo Apostol established *the New Sich*, at the Pidpilna River (Nova Sich, or *Pipdpilnenska Sich*). On the other hand, he made the State Treasure and

confiscated the lands, which had been illegally seized by starshyna [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 15; 17; 24; 28; 30; 32; 34; 38; 39].

**The Board of Hetman's Government (1734 – 1750).** After the death of Danylo Apostol in 1734, Ukraine was ruled by the so-called Board of Hetman's Government (1734 – 1750), the Council of three Ukrainians and three Russians. This Council was managed by the Count A. Shakhovskiy [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 15; 17; 24; 28; 30; 32; 34; 38; 39]. In the period the Sloboda Cossacks became famous in the battles of the Russian-Turkish war (1735 – 1739). However, the Russian soldiers, who were fighting with the Turks, supplied themselves by commandeering from the Sloboda Ukrainian people food, livestock, forage, and carts in great quantities [31, p. 43].

**The Hetmanate of Kyrylo Rozumovskiy (1750 – 1764).** Between 1750 and 1764 Kyrylo Rozumovskiy was the Hetman. His brother Oleksii Rozumovskiy was a choir singer at the court of the Empress Anna. Later on, he became a favourite of the new Empress Elizabeth. She appointed him the manager of her lands. In March of 1750 Elizabeth ordered to elect Kyrylo Rozumovskiy (1728 – 1803) the new Hetman. He was a brother of Oleksiy. Kyrylo was educated in St. Petersburg, Germany, Italy and France. Being of 17 years old, he got the title of the Count of the Russian Empire.

As soon as he had become the Hetman, Kyrylo Rozumovskiy immediately made Baturyn his residence. He got the right to appoint polkovnyks and distribute lands among his subjects. Kyrylo renewed the tradition of convening the Starshyns' Rada (Congress).

Having taken into account the request of Kyrylo Rozumovskiy, the Empress Elizabeth forbade an enserfment of the Ukrainian people. Kyrylo made that affairs of Ukraine directed not to the Senate, as it had been, but to the Board of Foreign Affairs. Between 1760 and 1763 he had provided the judicial reform, dividing the power into the executive and judicial power branches. The highest judicial instance was the General Court, consisting of two general judges and representatives, each of which was elected by his Cossack regiment. K. Rozumovskiy made some reforms in the army and education system. All the Cossacks got the same weapons (rifle, saber, and spear) and uniform (blue coat with red collar), white trousers and colourful hats. In the each regiment a drilling was introduced. The artillery was improved. The schools were opened only for teaching children of the Cossacks. The Hetman also was going to open Universities in Kyiv and Baturyn. First of all, he updated the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. In 1761 the

Empress Elizabeth died. In 1762 Catherine II ascended the throne of the Russian Empire. She proposed Kyrylo Rozumovskyi to renounce the Hetman mace. When Kyrylo Rozumovskyi had done it, he got the high rank of the Field-Marshal-General and a number of new estates. On November 10, 1764 the royal decree on the liquidation of Hetman's power in Ukraine was issued. The next years, K. Rozumovskyi used to live in the Russian capital or abroad. Only in 1794 he returned to Baturyn, where he died in 1803. His body was buried in the Voskresenska Church, in Baturyn [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 15; 17; 24; 28; 30; 32; 34; 38; 39].

**The second Little Russian Collegiate (1764 – 1786).** After the liquidation of the Hetmanate in 1764 the Crown introduced in Ukraine the second Little Russian Collegiate headed by Earl P. Rumiantsev (1764 – 1786). The Collegiate consisted of four Ukrainians and four Russians. Catherine II strongly recommended P. Rumiantsev to destroy all the remains of Ukrainian autonomy, to enserf peasants in order, to increase the rate of taxes, which were paid by the Ukrainian peasants [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 15; 17; 24; 28; 30; 32; 34; 38; 39].

**The folding of Sloboda Ukrainian autonomy.** In 1765 year the State authorities replaced Cossack regiments by the five regular hussar units of the Russian army in Sumy, Okhtyrka, Kharkiv, Ostrohozhsk and Iziium [32].

In 1765 the Tsarist government created the Slobodian-Ukrainian governorate (province, Russian: *guberniya*). In 1780 it was transformed into Kharkiv vicegerency [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 15; 17; 24; 28; 30; 32; 34; 38; 39].

**The Russian Empire and the Zaporozhian Cossacks.** The Tsarist government forbade Zaporozhian Cossacks to elect the Otaman. However, the Cossacks had elected the Otaman Petro Kalnyshevskyi several times, against the will of the Empress. She was not able to force them to obey because of the strength of Sich, the Cossack fortress at the Dnieper Rapids. In order to weaken the economy and isolate Zaporozhian Cossacks, the Russian ruler surrounded Sich by the administrative-territorial regions and military districts. In 1752, at Zaporozhian lands between the Siniukha River and the Dnieper, the New Serbia was created. The next year in the southern Potava region, Donetsk and Luhansk Slavo-Serbia was established.

The New Serbia and Slavo-Serbia were rented to refugees, who had fled from the Ottoman Empire – the Serbs, the Hungarians, the Moldavians, the Greeks and the Bulgarians. Several thousand of the Russians and the Ukrainians were also settled there. The settlers of new districts used

Zaporozhian fields, forest and fish lands. Sometimes it led to violent clashes between them and the Cossacks.

The traditional trade of the Cossacks with Crimean salt and other southern products was significantly limited. The Tsarist Government surrounded Zaporozhian Sich by five large regiments. They all were prepared for attack.

Only the outbreak of war with Turkey in 1768 saved Sich. In 1769 the Cossacks and the local settlers prevented the invasion of the Turkish army into Ukraine. In summer the Cossacks defeated Turkish-Tatar troops on the Northern Black Sea. The Cossacks, having joined with Russian hussars, also raided the settlements at the mouth of the Danube. The Black Sea Fleet of the Cossacks won the battle with a Turkish squadron at the Dnieper. In 1770 the Cossack fleet led by the colonel Tretiak defeated another Turkish squadron on the Black Sea [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 15; 17; 24; 28; 30; 32; 34; 38; 39].

The Cossacks courageously participated in capturing the town of Bendery, in battles for the town of Zhurzhu, in battles for the towns of Tulcha and Isakchu, and etc. By their courage the Cossacks became such famous in the Russian army that some Russian military officers began to call themselves the Cossacks.

The decisive military actions were in 1774, when army under the command of Alexander Suvorov defeated the enemy in the battle of Bazardzhuk, blocked Silistria fortress and Ruschuk, crossed the Balkans and threatened Constantinople (Istanbul). The Turkish government was forced to capitulate.

According to the Kuchuk-Kaynardzhy Treaty (1774), Turkey and Russia recognized the independence of the Crimean Khanate. Only in religion, the Khanate still was the subject of Turkish Sultan. Russia got the land between the Dnieper and the Southern Buh, but a small coastal strip around Ochakiv. Russia received the right to free trade in the Black Sea and the territorial possessions elsewhere on the Northern Black Sea coast and Azov coast [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 15; 17; 24; 28; 30; 32; 34; 38; 39].

### **The liquidation of Zaporozhian Sich (1775) and the last Cossacks.**

At the last stage of the war with Turkey the Russian government started a policy of complete destruction of Zaporozhian. On April 23, 1775 it was decided to destroy Sich. In 1775 New Sich (Pidpilnenska) was ruined by the Russian army, which was coming from the Khanate.



The Cossack Military Secretary Ivan Hloba was exiled in Tura, and the Cossack Military Judge Pavel Holovatii was sent to Tobolsk Monastery. The last Cossack Otaman Petro Kalnyshevskiy (1691 – 1803) was imprisoned in a cell of the Solovki monastery. There he had been a prisoner till 1801, when the Emperor Alexander I officially forgave him. However, Petro Kalnyshevskiy remained in the monastery, where he died, being 112 years old.

Many Cossacks fled to the Ochakiv territory, a part of Turkey. In 1788 the Russian Government maned the Cossacks into the so-called "Army of the loyal Cossacks" (*Armiya Vernykh Kozakov*), later renamed the Black Sea Cossack Host. The Host kept the old Cossacks' orders: the election of starshyna members, the Host was divided into *kurins* (barracks and army units), the Cossack Rada and so on.

Having the permission of authorities, the Cossacks elected their Otaman Sydir Bilyi, the Military Clerk – Anton Holovatyi.

Some Cossacks went at the mouth of the Danube and there founded the *Zadunaiska Sich*, which internal structure copied system of the Nova Sich plundered in 1775 [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 15; 17; 24; 28; 30; 32; 34; 38; 39].

**The folding of Ukrainian autonomy.** In 1781 Catherine II abolished the regimental system of Hetmanshchyna. In 1783 she declared the royal decree on the enserfment of peasants of the Left-Bank Ukraine and the Sloboda Ukraine. In 1785, Catherine II issued the "Grant Letter for the nobility", which gave the Ukrainian starshyna the same rights as the Russian nobility had [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 15; 17; 24; 28; 30; 32; 34; 38; 39].

**Koliivshchyna uprising (1768).** Meanwhile, in the Polish Right-Bank Ukraine a hard serfdom caused so-called the Haidamak movement that spread over the lands of Volhynia, western Podillia, Kyiv region and Bratslavshchyna.

Polish noblemen called the rebels *Haidamaks* (from the Turkish "haida" – to chase). In 1768 Haidamaks started the uprising known as "*Koliivshchyna*" (from the word *kil* – a stake; *koloty* – to stab). The leaders of the rebels were the Uman sotnyk Ivan Honta and the Cossack Maksym Zalizniak. In June of 1768 Russia began to assist Poland. Very soon Zalizniak and Honta were taken. The Koliivshchyna was suppressed in spring of 1769. Honta was tortured and quartered by the Poles. They nailed his head to the gates of Mohyliv. M. Zalizniak and 250 Haidamaks were exiled by the Russians to Siberia [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 15; 17; 24; 28; 30; 32; 34; 38; 39].

**The movement of Opryshky.** Meanwhile in the Hungarian Carpathians, which were governed by Hungary and in Bukovyna, which was a part of Moldavia, another movement started. The rebels were known as *Opryshky* (from the Latin word "oppressor" – the destroyer). The using of the name *opryshky* dates back to 1529. The most famous leaders of this movement are considered to be Vysochan (1648), Olexa Dovbush (1738 – 1745), Baiurak and Boichuk (the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century) [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 15; 17; 24; 28; 30; 32; 34; 38; 39].

### Questions

1. What were the main political ideas of Pylyp Orlyk?
2. Describe the relations between Hetmanshchyna and the Russian Empire in the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.
3. Why did the Russian Government liquidate the autonomy of Hetmanshchyna?
4. Why did the Russian Government liquidate Zaporozhian Sich?
5. Describe the features of the national-liberation and anti-serfdom movement in Ukraine of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

## Module 2. Ukraine in the Modern and Recent Periods (the 19<sup>th</sup> – the Early 21<sup>st</sup> Centuries)

### Theme 9. The Ukrainian Lands in the First Half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century

**The purpose** of this theme is to give the idea of fate of Ukraine under the two Empires (the Russian one and the Austrian one). The features of economical, social and political life are examined, and the appearance and development of the Ukrainian national revival are studied.

The theme contains the following main **topics**: the annexation of the Crimean Khanate by Russia; three Partitions of Poland; the new administrative division of the Dnieper Ukraine; the Industrial revolution; the Ukrainian national revival; "The History of Russes" and "The History of the Little Russia"; the Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius (1846 – 1847); Western

European, and Russian opposition movements in Ukraine; the Decembrist revolt (1825 – 1826); the uprising of Ustym Karmaliuk; The reforms the Austrian Empress Maria-Theresa and the Emperor Joseph II; the Revival of Ukrainian culture in Western lands.

**The annexation of the Crimean Khanate by Russia.** The Russia occupied the Crimea (in 1771), made the Kuchuk-Kaynardzhy Treaty (in 1774) and declared the Crimean Khanate independent from Turkey. The Khan of Crimea was pro-Russian ruler Shahin Giray. Later on, the Russian Government forced Shahin Giray to retire. In 1783 the Crimea was annexed by the Russia [3; 5; 6; 8; 10].

**Three Partitions of Poland.** According to the Eternal Peace Treaty of 1686, Poland possessed the Right Bank, and Russia possessed the Left-Bank, the Sloboda Ukraine and Zaporizhzhia. Due to the internal quarrels and an inactivity of the Government Poland fell to decay. As a consequence, Russia, Prussia and Austria divided Poland among themselves three times (in 1772, 1793 and 1795). After the second partition in 1793 Russia got the western Kyiv region, the eastern Volhynia, Podillia, and Bratslav region. After the third partition in 1795 Russia annexed the western Volhynia. Thus, Russia took almost 80 per cent of the Ukrainian lands, which, later on, would be known as the Dnieper Ukraine. Other parts of Ukraine came under the control of Austria, which possessed the western Ukrainian regions: Zakarpattia, Halychyna, the small part of Volhynia, and Bukovyna. These Ukrainian regions became known as the Western lands (or the Western Ukraine) [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 15; 17; 21; 24; 28; 30; 38].

### ***The Dnieper Ukraine under the Russian Empire***

**The new administrative division of the Dnieper Ukraine.** At the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Dnieper Ukraine was divided by the Russians into the three Governor-generalship (the large territorial-administrative unit headed by the Governor-General), each of which consisted of three provinces (*gubernii*). *Kiev Governor-generalship* included Kyiv, Volyn and Podillia provinces. *Little-Russian Governor-generalship* was composed of Chernihiv, Poltava and Sloboda-Ukrainian provinces. From 1835 the latter was renamed to Kharkiv province. At last, *Bessarabian-Novorossiysk Governor-generalship* consisted of Yekaterinoslav, Tavria, Nikolayev (from 1805 – Kherson) provinces [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 15; 17; 21; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**The Industrial revolution.** In the mid-1830s in the Russian Empire the so-called industrial revolution began – a transition from the feudal production to the capitalist one. By the mid-1830's major industrial enterprises were peasant crafts, craft shops, manufactories, whose working based on a serf labour and a manual techniques. The industrial revolution began the replacement of the serf manual labour by machine one and civilian labour. In 1825 the share of machine work in gross production was 25 per cent, then in 1861 the proportion was almost 74 per cent. Particularly in Donbas the stone-coal industry, the steel industry and the engineering industry developed. Some Ukrainian plants were specialized in the production of sugar. Due to the industrial revolution classes appeared. There were the working class and the class of bourgeoisie [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 15; 17; 21; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**Ukrainian national revival.** In the late 18<sup>th</sup> – early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries in Ukraine the National revival began. It was the revival of spiritual, cultural, linguistic, national spheres of life of the Ukrainian people. In 1798 the first fiction work, written in Ukrainian, was published – "Eneida", the author Ivan Kotliarevskyi. Lots of people were interested in their history. It was caused by that in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century the Cossack strashyna began to search historical documents proving their noble origins in order to get the titles of the Russian nobility [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 15; 17; 21; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**"The History of Russes" and "The History of Little Russia".** Perhaps, at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the first non-fiction work on the History of Ukraine – "The History of Russes" (Istoriia Russiv) was written by an anonymous author. This work was published only in 1846. By that time another historical study had been published, the four-volume "The History of Little Russia" (Istoriia Malorosii) written by Dmytro Bantysh-Kamenskyi. The first publication of this work was dated by 1822.

The anonymous author of the "History of Russes" suggested that Ukraine was the only one direct heir of the medieval Kyivan Rus and the Ukrainians are the original people. On his part Bantysh-Kamenskyi debated, arguing that the Ukrainians merely is a branch of the Great Russian people [5; 6].

**The Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius (1846 – 1847).** In 1846 in Kyiv the first illegall political organization was created. It was *the Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius (BCM)*. The founders were the journalist Vasyl Bilozerskyi, the lawyer Mykola Hulak, the historian Mykola Kostomarov, the writer Pavlo Kulish, the ethnographer Opanas Markevych

and the great Ukrainian writer and artist Taras Shevchenko. The basic program provisions contained in the "The Book of the Being of the Ukrainian people" (Knyha Buttia Ukrainskoho Narodu), which was written by Vasyl Bilozerskyi, and the "Statute of the Slavic brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius" (Statut Slovianskoho Bratstva Sviatykh Kyryla i Mefodiia) made by Mykola Kostomarov.

The aims of the Brotherhood were the elimination of serfdom, making a confederation of free Slav States with democratic rights and the capital Kyiv, establishing the republic, abolishing estates, and spreading the Christian faith all over the world.

In spring of 1847 a student informed police about the BCM. All the members of the organization were exiled. T. Shevchenko was recruited soldier and exiled for terms of 10 years in Orenburg, without the right to write and to draw [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 15; 17; 21; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**Western European, and Russian opposition movements in Ukraine.** In the early 19<sup>th</sup> century many Ukrainian intellectuals had already participated in the secret Masonic lodges. In the Western Europe the Freemasonry had been known since the Middle Ages. In Ukraine, the first Masonic organization dates back to 1724. In 1817 in Kharkiv the great lodge of the "Dying Sphinx" was, in Kyiv – the "United Slavs" (from 1818), in Poltava – the "Love of Truth" (from 1818), and etc.

The purpose of Freemasonry was a universal, creating of the supra-national fraternity. Some of the lodges care only about self-improvement of its members, others made political struggle. In 1822 Alexander I issued a decree banning all secret societies and organizations, including Masonic lodges [3; 5; 6; 8; 10].

**The Decembrist revolt (1825 – 1826).** The Russian-French War of 1812 – 1814 led to the spread of the Western revolutionary ideas in Russian society, particularly among noble officers. The first noble illegal organizations were "*The Union of Rescue*" (Soiuz Spasenia) and the "*Union of Welfare*" (Soyuz Blagodenstvia, 1816 – 1818).

In 1821 two illegal organizations were launched – the "*Northern Society*" in St. Petersburg and the "*Southern Society*" in Tulchyn, in Ukraine. The leaders of the "Northern Society" were M. Vorobyev and S. Troubetzkoy. The members of this secret group had policy document – the "*Constitution*". They planned to overthrow the autocracy and establish the Constitutional monarchy in Russia.

The "Southern Society" in the Ukrainian town of Tulchyn was headed by P. Pestel and two brothers Muravyev-Apostol. The group made policy according to the document named the "*Truth of Russes*" (Russkaya Pravda). Their views on the future of the Russian Empire were not the same as the "Northern Society" had. In particular, the "Southern Society" wanted to make the Republic.

However, in general, the both groups of nobles had purposes to overthrow the Autocracy in the Russian Empire, to establish the democratic system, to abolish serfdom.

On December 14, 1825 in the centre of St. Petersburg the "Northern Society" made the revolt of an infantry regiment, while the new Tsar had been elected. The revolt was suppressed by Tsar's cavalry and artillery.

On December 28, 1825 at the town of Bila Tserkva, in Ukraine, the Chernihiv regiment led by the "Southern Society" uprising against the Tsar. This action was also stopped by Tsar's army.

Since the actions of these secret groups of nobles were in December, these men were called *Dekabristy* (the Decembrists).

Five their leaders were hanged, many were exiled to Siberia and the Caucasus [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 15; 17; 21; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**The uprising of Ustym Karmaliuk.** In 1812 – 1835 the uprising of peasants was in Podillia, Bessarabia and part of Kyiv region. It was led by Ustym Karmaliuk. He was arrested and exiled to Siberia four times. Karmaliuk fled and again started fighting.

For 23 years 20 000 people had been uprising under his leadership. The rebels carried out more than a thousand attacks on the landlords' estates. In 1835 Karmaliuk was shot from ambush by a Polish nobleman [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 15; 17; 21; 24; 28; 30; 38].

### ***The Western lands***

**The new administrative division of the Dnieper Ukraine.** By the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Austrian Empire had already added Zakarpattia, Halychyna, and Bukovyna. These lands were annexed by Austria in the following way. In 17<sup>th</sup> it captured Hungary, which included Zakarpattia. Then, Austria, having took part in the three partitions of Poland (1772, 1792, 1795), got Halychyna. Meanwhile, the Austrian-Turkish Convention (1775), by which a long war was resulted, gave Austria the Bukovyna.

All Ukrainian lands possessed by Austria are considered to be *the Western lands* (also *the Western Ukraine* or *the Austrian Ukraine*).

Under the Austrian authority Halychyna and Bukovyna were made the administrative unite "*the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria*" (19 districts + Bukovyna, which had the administrative centre in Chernivtsi). The "Kingdom" was managed by a governor. Zakarpattia was a part of the Kingdom of Hungary and was divided into four comitates, also known as *zhupy* [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 15; 17; 21; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**The reforms of the Austrian Empress Maria-Theresa and the Emperor Joseph II.** In 1773 the Austrian Empress Maria-Theresa initiated a number of reforms. For education she established secular schools, having previously closed the Jesuit schools and colleges. She replaced the army hired by the army manned through a conscription.

In 1782, the Emperor Joseph II abolished the personal dependency of peasants.

In 1783 he founded the Lviv Greek-Catholic seminary. In 1784 he provided the right of self-government for rural communities. In the same year he opened in the University of Lviv the national department for the Ukrainians. In 1786 Joseph II introduced three-day serfdom. The Church was subordinated by his order to State Government. In 1808 Joseph II renewed the Orthodox Galician Metropolitan. Also the Uniat Church got the same rights as the Catholic Church had [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 17; 21; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**The Revival of Ukrainian culture in Western lands.** The reforms of Joseph II laid down the ground for the Revival of Ukrainian culture. The first one, who developed the native culture, became the Uniat Church, which progress was allways strongly connected with Ukrainian reality. In 1816 the Uniat preacher Ivan Mohylnytskyi founded *the Cultural and educational organization of the Galician Greek-Catholic priests*.

Later on, between 1833 and 1837 in Lviv the "*Ruska Triitsia*" (*the Ruthenian Triad* or *the Ruska Trinity*), the cultural and educational group of three students, was working. Its members were Markiiian Shashkevych, Ivan Vahylevych and Yakiv Holovatskyi. They studied the history and living of the Ukrainian people. Also they made collections of poetry, historical and journalistic materials. Their compilations were "Syn Rusi" (the Son of Rus, 1833), "Zoria" (Dawn, 1834), "Rusalka Dnistrova" (Mermaid of the Dniester River, 1837) [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 17; 21; 24; 28; 30; 38].

## Questions

1. What was the significance of the Decembrist movement?
2. What role did the Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius play in the national-liberation movement of the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century?
3. Define the role and significance of the "Ruska Triitsia" group?
4. What territorial and political changes were in Ukraine in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and the early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries?
5. What was the Industrial revolution?
6. What are the differences between "The History of Russes" and "The History of Little Russia"?
7. Describe the Western European opposition movements in Ukraine and the Russian ones.
8. Why did the revolts led by Ustym Karmaliuk start?
9. Describe the reforms of the Austrian Empress Maria-Theresa and the Emperor Joseph II.

## **Theme 10. The National Revival and Economic Modernization of the Ukrainian Lands under the Austrian (Austro-Hungarian) Monarchy of Habsburgs and the Russian Empire from the Middle 19<sup>th</sup> to the Early 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries**

**The purpose** of the theme is concerned with the study of the economical, social and political transformation of the Dnieper Ukraine and the Western Ukrainian lands in the middle 19<sup>th</sup> and the early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Cultural and political national movement is examined.

The theme contains the following main **topics**: Holovna Ruska Rada (1848 – 1851); the abolition of serfdom in Halychyna (1848); the actions of Lukian Kobylitsia; the abolition of serfdom (1861) and Tsarist reforms in the Dnieper Ukraine of 1860s and 1870s; the Valuev Circular (1863); the Ems Edict (1876); the Community (Hromada) movement; the Brotherhood Tarasivtsi; the Narodnyky movement; the "Ukrainian Common Organization"; the economy of the Western Ukrainian lands; political and cultural movements in the Western lands; cultural and educational society "Prosvita"; the Fellowship of Taras Shevchenko; the Agreement "New Era"; the first political parties in the Western lands; the economy of the Dnieper Ukraine in the early



20<sup>th</sup> century; the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party; the Dnieper Ukraine political movement in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century; the first Russian Revolution of 1905 – 1907; Russian Parliaments (Dumas); Stolypin's reform; Tsarist reaction and folding the Revolutionary gains; political campaign for the equal suffrage for all the Ukrainians; the Uniat Metropolitan Andrii Sheptytskyi.

### ***The Western lands***

**Holovna Ruska Rada (1848 – 1851).** When through the Austrian Empire the pan-democratic revolution had been going against remnants of feudalism, from 1848 to 1851 in Lviv *Holovna Ruska Rada* (HRR, the Supreme Ruthenian Council) worked as the representative of the Galician Ukrainians before the State government. It was the first West-Ukrainian politic organization. Its main leaders were the Greek-Catholic Bishops Hryhorii Yakhymovych and Mykhailo Kuzemskyi. The HRR required for divi-ding Halychyna into Polish and Ukrainian parts since the Western Halychyna was predominantly settled by the Poles. The Ukrainian Eastern Halychyna needed to be the separate administrative region in the Austrian Empire, because the Poles pretended to make whole Halychyna their native land. the Poles occupied all administrative offices in Halychyna and made their own cultural policy spreading the Polish language among people.

On the other hand, the HRR demanded for teaching the Ukrainian language in schools and introducing the Ukrainian into an office-work.

In order to resist the HRR in 1848 the Poles initiated the creation of "Ruskiy Sobor" (the Rusian Assembly), which started criticizing the HRR.

However, despite the opposition, the HRR did something for the Ukrainian people. In October of 1848 the HRR established the "Galician-Ruthenian Queen" (Halytsko-Ruska Matytsia), cultural and educational organization, which was aimed to popularize the Ukrainian culture through the spreading of popular books [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 17; 21; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**The abolition of serfdom in Halychyna (1848).** In 1848 under the pressure of the pan-European revolution movement the Austrian Government abolished serfdom. At once the HRR called people for the celebration of this event giving peasants the personal freedom. The best lands, including lands with forests, pastures, and ponds, however, remained in the hands of landlords.

In summer of 1849 in the Austrian Empire the revolutionists were defeated and anti-democratic reaction started. In 1851 Holovna Ruska Rada was desolved by the State [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 17; 21; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**The actions of Lukian Kobylitsia.** In 1848 in the Northern Bukovyna a member of the Vienna Parliament Lukian Kobylitsia inspired the peasant uprising. Later on, the Ukrainians achieved the abolition of serfdom in Bukovyna (1853) [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 17; 21; 24; 28; 30; 38].

### ***The Dnieper Ukraine***

**The abolition of serfdom (1861).** In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Dnieper Ukraine also came to some economic transformations. The reasons for the reforms were, in common, the development of the capitalist system of production, the decline of feudal system of production and, in part, the defeat of Russia in the Crimean War (1853 – 1856) because of the economical backwardness and bad military equipment of the Russian Empire.

On February 19, 1861, the Tsar Alexander II issued the manifesto of serfdom abolition. According to this document, the peasants were personally free, but they did not get lands. The peasant (agrarian) reform divided Ukraine into the community land tenure (Bessarabian-Novorossiysk Governor-generalship) and the podvirna (homestead) land use (the Left-Bank Ukraine). The great landlordism was saved. In the provinces of black earth peasant could own only 3.27 – 5.45 ha and in the provinces of a non-black earth – 4.36 – 7.63 ha. If a piece of land was more than required by the reform, such piece of land was cut off in favour of the landlord. As a result of this measure peasants had lost 30 % of their holdings in the south and east of the Dnieper Ukraine. On the Right Bank the Government increased the size of peasant holdings up to 20 per cent, to weaken the Polish nobles, who were in opposition to the Russian authority. Later on, since 1864, Polish landlords suffered through the additional taxes (10 per cent of their annual income) they had to pay to the Russian Government annually [4].

Since 1861 peasants had to redeem pieces of land by paying 20 per cent of their cost. The state was obliged to pay the rest cost. In their turn, peasants had to repay the debt to the state for 49 years. It is remarkable, a land was four times more expensive (503 mln rubles) than it was in the international market (128 mln rubles). On the Right Bank redemption cost was reduced from 30 % to 20 % [5].

**Zemska reform.** In 1864 Zemska reform was made. *Zemstvo* was the name of the local self-government. The reform created a system of local government. In the Left-Bank Ukraine 6 provincial and 60 district zemstvos were created. On the right bank of Ukraine zemstvos were introduced in 1911. Only those, who was enough rich could to be elected as a Zemstvo member. Generally, Zemstvo had been working for three years. Zemstvos accounted for medical aid, education, mail, collecting of statistic data and roads in the country [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 17; 21; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**Judicial reform (1864).** In 1864 judicial reform was made. It introduced the public and independent Court. In the Court hearings the jury judges took part. The Court became the field of debates between the protection and the prosecution. In Ukraine three Trial Chambers (in Kyiv, Kharkiv and Odessa) were created. Those sentences, which were made without a jury, could be challenged in these Trial Chambers. The Senate considered an attorney functions [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 17; 21; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**The reform of educational system (1864).** In 1864 the reform of education system started, it introduced a unified system of primary education. In the field of secondary education the classic men high schools (graduates were eligible to enter the university) and women gymnasiums were opened [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 17; 21; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**The reform of censorship (1865).** In 1865 the reform of censorship launched the special bodies of censorship [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 17; 21; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**Urban reform (1870).** In 1870, according to the urban reform, in all towns town councils were established. Only rich candidates were able to be elected to town councils. The functions of town councils were the same as Zemstvos had in the country: to supervise medicine aid, roads, educational system, and etc. [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 30; 38]

**Military reform (1864 – 1883).** Between 1864 and 1883 the military reform was provided by the Russian Government. In Ukraine three military districts were established (in Kyiv, Odesa and Kharkiv). The general conscription was introduced. The term of military service was six years for land forces and seven years for the Navy. The military schools and cadet colleges started their working to make a lot of officers, while the army had been rearmed [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**Financial reform (1860 – 1864).** The financial reform (1860 – 1864) established the State Bank and the State Centre of Accountability.

**Polish uprising (1863 – 1864).** Between 1863 and 1864 the Poles were engaged in the Anti-Russian uprising for the revival of Poland, the State, which had been divided by Russia, Austria and Prussia in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. While revolting, the Poles involved some Ukrainians into the moto to defend the Ukrainian and Polish cultures [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**The Valuev Circular (1863).** In 1863 the participation of the Ukrainians in the Polish uprising provoked an actions of the Russian government against the Ukrainian culture. The Minister of the Internal Affairs Peter Valuev issued a secret order known as *the Valuev Circular*. It forbade printing school, educational and religious books in the Ukrainian language, any using of the Ukrainian language in public institutions, schools and churches [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**The Ems Edict (1876).** In 1876 the Emperor Alexander III issued *the Ems Edict* that banned the Ukrainian language in whatever sphear of public relations: in literature, theatres, concerts and schools. The Ems Edict also forbade an import of Ukrainian literature from other countries and translations of foreign literature into the Ukrainian language.

This Edict had been acting till 1881, when Alexander III was killed by terrorists [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**The Petersburg Community (Hromada).** When the above said reforms had been only planned, in 1859 in St. Petersburg Mykola Kostomarov, Vasyl Bilozerskyi and Taras Shevchenko created the first Ukrainian *Community (Hromada)*, cultural and educational organization that aimed to popularize the national Ukrainian idea through the publishing Ukrainian books and magazines, teaching in Sunday schools. The Petersburg Community published the magazine "Osnova" (in English "Basis", 1861 – 1862) [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**The movement of Hlopomany.** In 1850s, mostly in the Right-Bank Ukraine, a movement of *Hlopomany* (from Polish "chłop" – "peasant") started. The leader was the historian Volodymyr Antonovych. The Hlopomany were of the Orthodox Faith. They wore the Ukrainian national clothes, sang the Ukrainian songs and kept folk customs they had learned. They travelled through the villages to collect folk tales, proverbs, informarion about customs and ceremonies [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**The Old Kyiv Community (Hromada) and Community movement.** In 1862 the members of the Hlopoman movement Volodymyr Antonovych,

Pavlo Chubynskyi and Mykhailo Drahomanov launched *the "Kyiv Community" ("Stara Kyivska Hromada")*. Soon the similar Communities appeared in Chernihiv, Vinnytsia, Yekaterinoslav, Odesa, Poltava, Kharkiv, Katerynodar (Kuban), and even Moscow. The members of Communities organized public education through schools, textbooks, teacher training, etc. and scientific research in ethnography, linguistics, and history of Ukraine. They also published popular books written in Ukrainian.

After issuing the Valuev Circular (1863) Communities came to decline. The Kyiv Community became the illegal secret organization. In 1873 *the Old Kyiv Community* called at that period the Kyiv Community, started to publish the newspaper *"Kiyevskiy Telegraf"* (Kyiv Telegraph) [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**The "South-West Department of the Russian Geographical Society"**. In 1873 the Old Kyiv Community initiated the launching the *"Southwest Department of the Russian Geographical Society"* (Pivdenno-Zakhidnyi Viddil Rosiiskoho Heohraphichnoho Tovarystva), which became a scientific centre of Ukrainian studies. The President of the Department became Hryhorii Halahan, who in 1871 had opened a private Ukrainian school in Kyiv (Pavlo Halahan College). The department manager was Pavlo Chubynskyi. The Department published the journal *"Zapiski Yugo-zapadnogo Otdela"* (the Notes of the South-West Department).

In 1874 in one day the Department had made a census in Kyiv and proved that most dwellers of Kyiv population were the Ukrainians. In the same year the Department organized III Archaeological Congress to consider some crucial questions in the History of Ukraine. There were the rich exhibition of Ukrainian archeological artefacts, maps and woodcuts. 121 professors and archeologists took part in the work of Congress [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**Mykhailo Drahomanov is the leader of the Ukrainian socialist movement.** In 1876, after the Ems Decree had been issued, the Department was closed. An item of the Decree prohibited M. Drahomanov and P. Chubynskyi living in Ukraine.

Having left Ukraine M. Drahomanov published the magazine "Hromada" (the "Community", 1878 – 1879 and 1882), through which he demanded democratization and suggested getting the autonomy of Ukraine through non-violent actions. Also he made the so-called "Geneva group", which became

the basis for the Ukrainian socialist movement [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**The Old Kyiv Community.** In the meantime, in Ukraine the Old Kyiv Community secretly worked. Its members published in the Russian language the magazine "*Kievskaya Starina*" ("Kyiv Antiquity", 1882 – 1907) on the History of Ukraine [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**The Young (or Student) Communities.** In 1890s the so-called Young (or Student) Communities ("*Molodi Hromady*") widely spread. They tended to be socialist groups. Shortly after, on the basis of Young Communities the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party appeared. The Party demanded the Independence for Ukraine [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**The Tarasivtsi Brotherhood.** The very strong group was the Tarasivtsi Brotherhood ("*Bratstvo Tarasivtsiv*", literally, the Brotherhood of the followers of Taras Shevchenko) established in 1891. The first members were Mykola Mikhnovskyi, Borys Hrinchenko, Ivan Lypa, Mykola Voronyi and other. In Lviv journal "Pravda" (The Truth) they published their program in which they promised to care for the Ukrainian language and defend the rights of the Ukrainian people. The main purpose was to make Ukraine autonomous, and then independent [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**Narodnyky movement.** Between 1870s and 1880s in Ukraine *Narodnyky* operated. The most famous groups were "Chaikivtsi" (after the name of the founder Mykhailo Chaikovskyi, the townsman of St. Petersburg), "Kyivska Komuna" (Kyiv Commune), "Pivdenni Buntari" (Southern Rebels). They called upon peasants to revolt for overthrowing the autocracy in the Russian Empire. The most known *Narodnyky* were Fedir Volkhovskyi, Andrii Zheliabov, Vira Zasulych, Volodymyr Debohoriy-Mokriievych, Yakiv Stepanovych.

*Narodnyky* organized the so-called "*visiting people*" ("*khozhdenniie v narod*", literally, the "going among the people"), during which they read to peasants banned books and had conversations on revolutionary themes. In 1877 the "Pivdenni Buntari" incited the peasants of Chyhyryn outskirts to revolt when had deceived them that the Tsar approved such actions against rich persons. However, this revolt was suppressed very soon. Later on, *Narodnyky* turned to a terror. In 1879 in Ukraine they created terrorist organizations "*Chornyi Peredil*" ("Black Redivision") and "*Narodna Volia*" ("People's Will"). In 1881 members of "*Narodna Volia*" killed the Tsar Alexander II [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**The "Ukrainian Common Organization".** In 1897 Volodymyr Antonovych and Oleksandr Konysskyi initiated a secret organization – the "*Ukrainian Common Organization*" (Ukrainska Zahalna Orhanizatsiia, abbr. UZO). It was the union of nearly 20 Communities (Hromady), a lot of student group, and individuals. All they were headed by the *Consultative Committee*, located in Kyiv. In Kyiv UZO established library and bookstore. It periodically managed to make common anniversary celebrations devoted to Taras Shevchenko and other notable Ukrainian writers [28].

### ***The Western Ukrainian lands***

**The Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Western Ukrainian lands.** In 1867 Austria and Hungary signed an agreement under which the Empire turned into twofold Austro-Hungarian Empire headed by the Austrian Emperor. This was confirmed by the second Austrian Constitution adopted by the Emperor Franz-Joseph I.

The Ukrainians failed in their attempts of making the division of Halychyna into Eastern (Ukrainian) and Western (Polish) parts. The Ukrainians got an opportunity to elect and be elected to the Austrian and Hungarian parliaments, the Bukovyna and Galician Sejms. Since 1861, the Lviv Sejm had been working. Although, the Constitution of 1869 declared the inter-ethnic equality, most of Lviv Sejm members were the Poles [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**The economy of the Western Ukrainian lands.** In the second half of 19<sup>th</sup> the economy of the Ukrainian lands was far behind the economy of western provinces of the Empire. The Government supported the raw material industry (primarily, sawmill sector). The small businesses dominated. In 1883 in the Western Ukraine cooperative movement began. The entrepreneur Vasyl Nahirnyi founded the first consumer cooperative "*Narodna Torhivlia*" ("People's trade"). In cooperatives people united on the basis of mutual cooperation and engaged in some kind of economic activity. In 1892, V. Nahirnyi founded the first insurance company (the company's name was "Dniester").

In the late 80s – early 90s of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the labour emigration of the Ukrainians to the United States, Canada, Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Germany, Russia, Romania and Denmark started [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**The political and cultural movements.** According to their political preferences the Western Ukrainian intellectuals were divided into three groups: *the Russophils (or Moscowphils), the Ukrainophils (or Narodovtsy), and the Radicals* [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**The Russophils (Moscowphils).** The Russophils appeared in the second half of the 1860s. It was the group of people that did not want Ukraine to be the part of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire. They didn't like the Ukrainian language and that was why they created an artificial mixture of Russian, Ukrainian, Polish and Old Church Slavonic languages ("Yazychiye" they called). They contended that Ukrainian and Russian peoples were the one Russian nation. The leaders of the Russophils were Yakiv Holovatskyi and Dmytro Zubritskyi. In 1870 the Russophils established social and political organization "*Ruska Rada*" (the Russian Council). Also the Russophils published the newspaper "Slovo" ("Word") and the magazine "Halychyna" [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**The Ukrainophils (Narodovtsy).** The Ukrainophils had been operating since the early 1860s. The leaders were Markiiian Shashkevych, Volodymyr Barvinskyi, Oleksandr Ohonovskyi. The Ukrainophils were in opposition to revolutionary forms of struggle. They supported the Ukrainian language. Their political organization was "*Narodna Rada*" ("People's Council"). Since 1880 they had been publishing a newspaper "Dilo" (the Deal), since 1885 – the journal "Batktivshchyna" ("Motherland") [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**The Radicals.** The movement of Radicals began in the early 1870s. The leaders were Ivan Franko, Mykhailo Pavlyk and Ostap Terletskyi. They had rather political goal to unite the whole Ukrainian lands into one state. The Radicals published journals "Dzvin" ("Ring of Bell") and "Hromadskiy Druh" ("The Civil Friend") [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**Cultural and educational society "Prosvita".** In 1868 in Lviv the Ukrainophils created the cultural and educational society "Prosvita" (in English: "Enlightenment"). The "Prosvita" society published popular books, founded libraries and huts for reading, cared for Ukrainian elementary and secondary schools [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**The Fellowship of Taras Shevchenko.** In 1873, in Lviv, the Ukrainophils established the *Literary Fellowship of Taras Shevchenko* (Literaturne Tovarystvo imeni T. H. Shevchenka), which was intended to support the development of Ukrainian literature. This Fellowship published journals "Pravda" ("Truth") and "Zoria" ("Dawn"). From 1892 the Fellowship was



renamed the *Scientific Fellowship of Taras Shevchenko*. From 1897 to 1913 its head was the historian Mykhailo Hrushevskyi, who would be the first President of Ukraine. For the whole life he had written ten volumes of "History of Ukraine-Rus" (1898 – 1936), "The Essays on the History of Ukrainian People" (1904), "The Illustrative History of Ukraine" (1911). In 1894 he opened the first Department of History of Ukraine at Lviv University [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**The Agreement "New Era".** In 1890 the Ukrainophils (Yulian Romanchuk, Sylvester Sembratovych, Oleksandr Barvynskyi and the Radical Volodymyr Antonovych), Polish politicians, the Austrian Government signed the Agreement, called "*New Era*" (Nova Era). The "New Era" allowed the Ukrainians to occupy public offices. The Ukrainian language was introduced into the courts and administration. Also the Agreement provided for Ukrainians seats in the Austrian parliament and Halychyna Sejm [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**The Ruthenian-Ukrainian Radical Party.** In 1890 the Radicals made the first Ukrainian Political Party – the *Ruthenian-Ukrainian Radical Party* (RURP). The leaders were Ivan Franko and Mykhailo Pavlyk. It was the first European peasant party, which had socialist aims. The main aim was the establishment of the Socialism (public control over capital goods, total or partial elimination of private property) and the Democracy.

One RURP member Yulian Bachynskyi in his book "*Ukraina Irredenta*" ("The Ukraine Enslaved", 1895) put forward the idea of unity and independence of Ukraine [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**The Ukrainian National Democratic Party.** In 1899 Viacheslav Budzynovskyi, Yulian Romanchuk, brothers Kost and Eugene Levytskyi, Volodymyr Okhrymovych, Mykhailo Hrushevskyi and Ivan Franko made *the Ukrainian National Democratic Party (UNDP)*. The ultimate goal of the Party was independent Ukraine. Also they believed that firstly it needed to create at least the Ukrainian province in the Austria-Hungary. UNDP was the largest party in Halychyna [3; 5; 6; 8; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**The Ukrainian Socialist Democratic Party.** In 1899 Mykola Hatskevych, Semen Wityk and Julian Bachynskyi founded the Ukrainian Socialist Democratic Party (USDP). It joined to the Austrian Socialist Democratic Party as an autonomous unit. For a long time USDP had been a small one. USDP demanded the establishing of socialism, protecting the interests of workers.

To achieve these goals USDP used parliamentary methods of struggle. The ultimate goal was an independent Ukrainian Socialist Republic.

All three above-mentioned parties (RURP, UNDP, USDP) made meetings of peasants (so-called *viches*). The party members often used to meet their voters in order to popularize political notions, which strongly tended to be of socialistic ideology [3; 5; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 30; 38].

### ***The Dnieper Ukraine in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century***

**The economy of the Dnieper Ukraine.** In the early 20<sup>th</sup> in the Russian Empire the economic crisis raised. It had been caused by the overproduction of goods due to the development of means of production. The quantities of products increased up to such degree as the products became very cheap, even cheaper than the expenditure on hiring workers, who made these products. It, of course, led to decrease in the production and to a lack of employment for people. Due to the crisis the concentration of production started. As a result of this process, monopolies (in the form of syndicates) were created. Monopolists unconstrained by any competition placed a pressure on their workers. An official working day lasted for 11 hours per day, but workers often used to be forced by an employer to work 12 – 16 hours per day. Wages were very low and work was very hard. Also in plants and factories women and children were exploited.

The crisis of 1900 – 1903 led to a depression, which was going till 1913.

On the one hand, the monopolies allowed to overcome the economic crisis. On the other hand, they made a social stress [3; 5; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**The Revolutionary Ukrainian Party.** In 1900, some students in Kharkiv launched a first in the Dnieper Ukraine Party, the *Revolutionary Ukrainian Party* (RUP). The leaders were Dmytro Antotnovych, Bonifatii Kaminskyi, Levko Matsiievych and Mykhailo Rusov. The Party secretly published magazines "Haslo" (Motto) and "Selianyn" (Peasant), which were distributed among peasants [3; 5; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**Mykola Mikhnovsky and his brochure "Ukraine Independent".** Initially, the programmatic document of RUP was a brochure "Ukraine Independent" ("Samostiina Ukraina", New York, 1900), written by the Kharkiv lawyer Mykola Mikhnovskyi. Its author demanded the independence for Ukraine. He also insisted on taking the state power by way of a bloody struggle. In the

brochure also was the slogan "Ukraine for the Ukrainians" [3; 5; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**The splitting of the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party (RUP).** However, in conditions of economic crisis, when many workers were suffering, the most members of RUP turned their attention to problems of workers. Very soon these members accepted the ideas of *Marxism*, which called for the shaping of the international working fraternity. Hence, the former nationalistic ideas became obsolete for many RUP members.

In return, in 1902 Mykola Mikhnovskyi, who was a warm nationalist, launched the small Party, named the Ukrainian National Party (UNP).

The next year RUP was again splitted, when the small socialistic group led by B. Yaroshevsky went out of RUP, creating their own Party named *the Ukrainian Socialistic Party* (USP).

In 1904 another, but the large, group got out of RUP. This new group named "*Spilka*" (Union) was led by Marian Melenevskyi (alias Basok). The "Spilka" joined to another Marxist Party, *the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party* (RSDLP) at the head of which was Vladimir Lenin [3; 5; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**The Ukrainian Social Democratic Labour Party (former RUP).** The next year, RUP renamed itself, becoming *the Ukrainian Social Democratic Labour Party* (USDLP). Thus, the Party chose the way of combining nationalistic and Marxist ideas. The new leaders became Mykola Porsh, Volodymyr Vynnychenko and Symon Petliura [3; 5; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**The Ukrainian Democratic Party.** In 1904 another political party was launched. Its members were previously in the Communities' "Ukrainian Common Organization" (UZO), the literary and educational organization, which had run in 1897. The new Party was the liberal one, known *the Ukrainian Democratic Party* (UDP). The leader was Yevhen Chykalenko. UDP demanded the establishing of the Constitutional Monarchy in the Russian Empire, social reforms and the autonomy for Ukraine [3; 5; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**The Ukrainian Radical Party.** In 1904, no sooner had UDP run than a part of its members separated, launching the Ukrainian Radical Party (URP), among the leaders of which were Borys Hrinchenko, Semen Yefremov and Fedir Matushevskyi [3; 5; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**The Ukrainian Democratic Radical Party.** In 1905 UDP and URP united and declared about establishing the Ukrainian Democratic Radical

Party (UDRP), which had the same political purposes as UDP previously had [3; 5; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**The First Russian Revolution of 1905 – 1907.** Due to the economic crisis, the most of society used to live in very hard conditions. Socialistic Parties called for the revolution. In addition, the Government of the Russian Empire was dishonoured by the defeat of its army in the Russian-Japan War of 1904 – 1905. All these caused the First Russian Revolution of 1905 – 1907.

It began with the day of January 9, which was called the "Bloody Sunday". In St. Peterburg the police shot the great protest march of workers, who had been going with icons and portraits of the Tsar Nikolay II in their hands. At the head of the march a Ukrainian pricher Heorhii Halon was marching. The marchers demanded to establish 8-hour working day, to make lower prices etc. On the "Bloody Sunday", at least, 130 persons were killed and many hundreds were wounded by the police.

The news of the "Bloody Sunday" caused mass strikes, in which nearly 440 000 persons took part, throughout the whole Empire. The strikes were held under the slogan "Down with Autocracy!" The October strike raised to fight almost two million people, including 120 000 persons in Ukraine.

In June of 1905 the crew of a battleship "Potemkin" mutinied, having the political slogan directed against the Autocracy in the Russian Empire. In November of 1905 in Sevastopol sailors led by the Lieutenant P. Schmidt too mutinied. At the same time, in Kyiv the Second Lieutenant B. Zhadanivskyi inspired the mutiny of sappers [3; 5; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**The First Russian Parliament (Duma).** At last on October 17, 1905 Nikolai II signed a Manifesto by which he declared the civil liberties for all his subjects (private freedom, freedom of press, assemblies and unions etc.). Also he allowed the convening of *Duma, the First Russian Parliament*. The Duma elections involved all segments of the population.

The October Manifesto also gave way for the growing of number of periodicals (24 editions), opening of the "Prosvita" societies and Ukrainian-language schools [3; 5; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**Stolypin's reform.** In 1906 the Minister of the Internal Affairs Peter Stolypin implemented the reform pursuing the development of individual farms.

The reform allowed farmers to sell and buy land, take a cheap credit. Also many Ukrainian farmers got pieces of land in those regions, which had a little population, like Siberia, the Central Asia, and the North Caucasus.

However, despite of some positive results the so-called Stolypin's reform led to the disaster stratification in rural areas. Later on, it had been appeared that among rural population very rich families were 5 % and very poor ones – 80 %. During the migration to the bad-settled regions many farmers died because of bad sanitary conditions [3; 5; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**The First State Duma.** In the State Duma, convened in spring of 1906, the Ukrainian parliamentary faction (42 members) was acting. It was led by a lawyer Illia Shrah. They pursued the policy of making political autonomy for Ukraine. On July 8, 1906, the State Duma was dissolved by the Tsar [3; 5; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**The Second State Duma.** In January of 1907 the Second State Duma was elected. The Ukrainians created a new faction (47 people, mainly peasants). On June 3, 1907, the Tsar declared the Manifesto that dissolved the Second State Duma [3; 5; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**The Tsarist reaction and folding the Revolutionary gains.** According to the Manifesto 80 % of the population of the Russian Empire have no voting rights. Only landlords and great bourgeoisie were able to vote members of the State Duma III. Of course, new voters were monarchists.

Evidently, it was the beginning of the reaction against results of the Revolution of 1905 – 1907.

The Tsar's Government implemented a number of repressions. For the period between 1907 and 1909 on charges of treason 26 000 persons were convicted, of whom 5 000 persons were put to death. The Government banned the teaching in schools in the Ukrainian language. In the schools pupils were not allowed to sing Ukrainian songs, recite poems in Ukrainian, play the national melodies.

Educational societies of "Prosvita" were closed in Kyiv, Odesa, Chernihiv, Poltava and other towns.

In 1910 the Minister of the Internal Affairs Peter Stolypin issued a circular, in which "foreigners", including Ukrainians, were forbidden to create any fellowships and clubs as well as to publish newspapers in their native languages. At this time, the Russian State Committee of Printing banned the using in press the words "Ukraine", "Ukrainian people".

In return, in 1913 a member of USDLP, which was the secret Party, Dmytro Dontsov proclaimed the "idea of separation", or the notion that Ukraine must be seceded from the Russian Empire [3; 5; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 30; 38].

## ***The Western Ukrainian lands in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century***

**The political campaign for the the equal suffrage for all the Ukrainians.** In the Western lands, which were under reign of the Austria-Hungary, the following political events took place. Since 1890 the Ruthenian-Ukrainian Radical Party (RURP) had been demanding the equal suffrage for all the Ukrainians. RURP wanted that the Ukrainians not regarding whether they were rich or not would be able to elect the members of the Austrian and the Hungarians parlements.

In 1891 the Ukrainophil Yevhen Olesnytskyi in Stryi started the political campaign for the electoral reform. Between 1905 and 1906 the mass movement for electoral reform extended over large area, wich included Lviv, Stanislav, Ternopil, Chernivtsi, Brody, Kolomyia, Stryi, Boryslav, Sambir and other towns.

During January of 1906 in Halychyna 300 meetings and forums were called. No less than 500 000 persons took part in them.

In November of 1905 the Ukrainians founded the National Committee led by Yurii Romanchuk and Kost Levytskyi.

In January of 1906 the Emperor Franz-Joseph welcomed the Ukrainian delegation and the Uniat Metropolitan Andrii Sheptytskyi and had some discussions on the problem whether it was necessary to implement the equal suffrage for all the Ukrainians.

At last, in 1907, the Imperial Government introduced equal suffrage. Shortly after, 32 Ukrainians were elected into the Austrian Parliament [3; 5; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 30; 38].

**The Uniat Metropolitan Andrii Sheptytskyi.** In 1913 the Uniat Metropolitan Andrii Sheptytskyi founded the Lviv Ukrainian National Museum and became its chief patron. A. Sheptytskyi was the member of the Galician Sejm (1900 – 1913) and the Austrian Parliament (1900 – 1918), where he raised questions about the state of the Ukrainian education, proposed to establish the Ukrainian University in Lviv. The Metropolitan Sheptytskyi, the first of the top hierarchy of the Greek Catholic Church, began to use popular language to communicate with the "faithfuls", so called parishers.

The Metropolitan Sheptytskyi supported the cultural and educational "Prosvita" societies. In order to look after the sick Ukrainians he founded the National Hospital in Lviv (1903) [5].

## Questions

1. What were the reasons of the abolition of serfdom in the Russian Empire in 1861? Describe this reform.
2. What role did Holovna Ruska Rada play in the Western Ukrainian national movement?
3. How did the Austrian revolution of 1848 and 1849 influence the national movement in the Western Ukrainian lands?
4. Establish the conclusion about the significance and consequences of the reforms of 1860s and 1870s in the Dnieper Ukraine.
5. Who were the Hlopomans?
6. Describe the Community movement and its stages.
7. What were the differences between the Valuev Circular (1863) and the Ems Edict (1876)?
8. Describe the national and political movement in the Dnieper Ukraine in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.
9. Describe the estate of the Western Ukrainian lands from 1860s to 1890s.
10. What political agendas did the Ukrainian parties pursue in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and the early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries?
11. What differences were between the Russophils (Moscowphils), the Ukrainophils (Narodovtsi), and the Radicals in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century?
12. Describe the significance of the Ukrainophils (Narodovtsi) movement.
13. What were the reasons and results of the first Russian Revolution of 1905 – 1907?
14. What were the reasons and results of the Stolypin's agricultural reform?
15. Describe the Tsarist reaction and folding the Revolutionary gains.
16. Describe the political campaign of equal suffrage for all the Ukrainians.
17. What role did the Uniat Metropolitan Andrii Sheptytskyi play in the national movement?

## **Theme 11. The Ukrainian Lands in the First World War between 1914 and 1918.**

### **The Ukrainian National Revolution between 1917 and 1921**

**The purpose** of the theme is concerned the fate of the Ukrainian lands in the First World War and National Revolution. The political movement of the Ukrainians, and attempts to establish the independent Ukraine are described there.

The theme includes the following main **topics**: the First World War; the splitting of the Ukrainian national movement; the Supreme Ukrainian Council (HUR); the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (SVU); the political forces of the Dnieper Ukraine before the War; the Society of Ukrainian Progressives; the Galician and Bukovinian Governor-generalship; the Brusilov's Offensive; the February Revolution in the Russian Empire; the Ukrainian Central Rada (UCR); the All-Ukrainian National Congress; the First Universal of the Central Rada; the General Secretariat; the Second Universal of the Central Rada; the uprising of the regiment of Pavlo Polubotko in Kyiv; the Instructions temporary for the General Secretariat; the October revolution of the Bolsheviks in Petrograd; the Third Universal of the Central Rada; the conflict between the Central Rada and Bolsheviks; the first war of the Soviet Russia with the Ukrainian National Republic; the Fourth Universal of the Central Rada.

**The First World War.** The First World War (August 1, 1914 – November 11, 1918) was waged by States for the purpose of redistribution of previously divided colonies. The rivals were two military Alliances: *the Triple Alliance* (Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy) and *the Triple Entente* (Britain, France, Russia). In 1915, after the Italy had revoked the Alliance, Germany and Austria-Hungary allied with the Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria. They made *the Quadruple Alliance*.

Regarding to Ukraine, Germany sought to capture the industrialized regions (Dnieper, Donbass, Crimean). The Austria-Hungary was going to annex Podillia and Volhynia. The Ottoman Empire pretended to take the Crimea, and the South of Ukraine.

Their enemy, the Russian Empire, equiped an army for taking the Northern Bukovyna, Zakarpattia and Halychyna. The border between the Austria-Hungary and Russia was laid along the river Zbruch [3; 5; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 29; 30; 38].



**The splitting of the Ukrainian national movement.** The First World War caused the splitting of the national movement into supporters and opponents of the War.

**The Supreme Ukrainian Council (HUR).** On August 1, 1914, in Lviv, Ukrainian parties joined together into *the Ukrainian Supreme Council* (Holovna Ukrainska Rada, abbr. HUR; sometimes translated the Ukrainian Main Board) to support the Austria-Hungary. The HUR included radical, social-democratic and the national-democratic Parties.

At the head of the HUR was Kost Levytskyi. The HUR made a military legion named *the Legion of Ukrainian Sich Riflemen* (Ukrainski Sichovi Striltsi (USS), the riflemen of the Cossack Sich) of 2 500 soldiers in order to support the Austrian-Hungarian army. The first unit of this corps was commanded by Dmytro Vitovsky. The Commander of the whole Legion the HUR made was a former school teacher Mykhailo Halushchynskyi.

On August 3, 1914, the HUR announced the "Manifesto of the Main Ukrainian Council", the political program. The HUR hoped the Austria-Hungary, being the winner in the War, would make Ukraine the independent State [3; 5; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 29; 30; 38].

**The Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (SVU).** On August 4, 1914, in Vienna the Social Democrats Dmytro Dontsov, Volodymyr Doroshenko, Andrii Zhuk, Marian Melenevskyi-Basok, Olexandr Yoltuhovskyi and others founded *the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine* (Soiuz Vyzvolennia Ukrainy, abbr. SVU). Its program contained the aim to form an independent sovereign Ukrainian State under the protection of the Austria-Hungary and Germany. SVU was going to establish a Constitutional Ukrainian Monarchy [3; 5; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 29; 30; 38].

**The political forces of the Dnieper Ukraine before the War.** In the Dnieper Ukraine many Ukrainian parties supported the Russian Empire. Among them were the part of USDLP led by Symon Petliura. Another part of USDLP led by Volodymyr Vynnychenko took antiwar positions under the slogans "Down with War! The long life for the autonomy of Ukraine!" [3; 5; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 29; 30; 38].

**The Society of Ukrainian Progressives.** The Society of Ukrainian Progressives (*Tovarystvo Ukrainskykh Postupovtsiv*, abbr. TUP). The TUP was founded by democrats in 1908 as inter-party power. Its leaders were Yevhen Chykalenko, M. Hrushevskyi, Fedir Matushevskyi, Dmytro Doroshenko, and others. The Society announced that Ukrainian had to be neutral one

in the War and advocated for an independent Ukraine with the Constitutional Monarchy.

**The Galician battle.** From August 23 to September 25 of 1914 the Russian army invaded Halychyna, which belonged to the Austria-Hungary. The so-called Galician battle started. During the battle the Russian troops occupied Halychyna, Bukovyna, Zakarpattia and the north-eastern part of the Slovakia. In March of 1915 the Russians captured the fortress of Peremyshl [3; 5; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 29; 30; 38].

**The Galician and Bukovynian Governor-generalship.** By the beginning of spring of 1915 the Russians had annexed the whole Western Ukraine. There was created by the Russians the Galician and Bukovynian Governor-generalship, headed by the Count George Bobrinskiy. During the occupation the Russians closed the "Prosvita" societies, Ukrainian institutions, libraries, schools. The Russian government started the Russification of the Western Ukrainian culture. Local intellectuals and Greek-Catholics (the Uniats) were repressed. The Russians imprisoned Mykhailo Hrushevskyi and the Uniat Metropolitan Andrii Sheptytskyi. Political parties were banned. In Halychyna more than 12 000 people were exiled to Siberia.

By the end of June of 1915 under the pressure of the Austro-German armies the Russian troops left Halychyna, Bukovyna, and Volhynia [3; 5; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 29; 30; 38].

**The Brusilov's Offensive.** In the first half of 1916 the situation changed at the battlefield again. The Russian troops under the General Aleksey Brusilov captured Bukovyna, the eastern part of Halychyna, and Volhynia region. In summer of 1916 the front line remained unchanged. In summer of 1917 the Russians launched another offensive. It ended with the collapse, and German and Austrian armies moved to the east of the Ukrainian territory [3; 5; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 29; 30; 38].

**The February Revolution in the Russian Empire.** While the battle campaigns were running, on February 23 (March 8), 1917, in the town of Petrograd protest marches and strikes were going. The protest marches were attended by soldiers. The so-called February Revolution started. On 2 (15) March Nikolay II abdicated. No sooner had the Tsar abdicated than two Powers were launched by revolutionists: *the Provisional Government* (Vremennoye Pravitelstvo) and *the "Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies"* (Soviet Rabochoykh I Soldatskikh Deputatov).

The RSDLP took a course to gain the majority in the Soviets and put forward the slogan "All Power to the Soviets!" Taking into account RSDLP's course, the members of it took name the Bolsheviks (those, who make majority in the Soviets) [3; 5; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 29; 30; 38].

**The Ukrainian Central Rada (UCR).** On March 4 (17), 1917, in Kyiv some Ukrainian parties created the pre-Parliament of Ukraine – the Ukrainian Central Rada (UCR). The Chairman of the UCR was Mykhailo Hrushevskiy. Very soon the UCR split into the faction of the autonomists and the faction of the independentists. The autonomists demanded the autonomy for Ukraine in the Russian Federation, the independentists demanded the independence for the whole Ukraine.

The UCR intended to inspire all-people elections for the All-Ukrainian Parliament, named *the All-Ukrainian Constituent Assembly* [3; 5; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 29; 30; 38].

**The All-Ukrainian National Congress.** In April of 1917 the All-Ukrainian National Congress, assembled by the UCR, approved the legislature of the UCR. The *Small Council* (Mala Rada), headed by M. Hrushevskiy was elected. The Small Council was the Central Executive Committee of the Central Rada [3; 5; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 29; 30; 38].

**The First Universal of the Central Rada.** On 10 (23) June, 1917 the UCR issued *the Universal*, proclaiming the autonomy of Ukraine. It was said: "Henceforth we will make our own life".

**The General Secretariat.** In June of 1917 the Ukrainian Government – *the General Secretariat*, headed by Volodymyr Vynnychenko, was established.

**The Second Universal of the Central Rada.** The next month the delegation of the Russian Provisional Government arrived to Kyiv. The members of the delegation were Aleksandr Kerenskiy, Mikhail Tereshchenko, and Irakli Tsereteli.

During the negotiations the UCR agreed to put off the final decision about the autonomy of Ukraine until the All-Russian Constituent Assembly had started working and considered this question. In return, the Russian delegation promised that the Provisional Government would recognize the legitimacy of the Central Rada. The results of negotiations were put by the UCR into its *Second Universal*, issued on 3 (16) July, 1917 [3; 5; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 29; 30; 38].

**The uprising of the regiment of Pavlo Polubotok in Kyiv.** In response to the declaring of the Second Universal, on the night of 4 (17) July the Ukrainian regiment of Pavlo Polubotok led by Mykola Mikhnovskyi made attempt to seize Kyiv and proclaim the independence of Ukraine [3; 5; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 29; 30; 38].

**The temporary instructions for the General Secretariat.** Meanwhile, the Provisional Government did not accept the decisions of its delegation. In August of 1917 it sent a "The temporary instructions for the General Secretariat". According to that the General Secretariat was appointed a local body of the Provisional Government. The UCR was proclaimed by the Provisional Government the illegal Power [3; 5; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 29; 30; 38].

**The October Revolution of the Bolsheviks in Petrograd.** In Russia, at the VI Congress of the RSDLP (July 1917) the Bolsheviks voted for the armed uprising. They began to form Red Guard. The Bolsheviks actively contributed to the defeat of the counterrevolutionary rebellion of General Kornilov (August 1917). Due to that fact the Bolsheviks' party became more popular one.

In September of 1917 the Provisional Government declared Russia a republic. The Bolsheviks opposed the Provisional Government. The UCR announced the intention to acquire autonomy for Ukraine.

On October 25, 1917, the Bolsheviks seized power in Petrograd. The Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies proclaimed the Soviet Power in Russia. The first Soviet government – *the Soviet of People's Commissars* (Sovnarkom), led by Vladimir Lenin, was also created [3; 5; 10; 12; 17; 24; 28; 29; 30; 38].

**The Third Universal of the Central Rada.** On November 7 (20), 1917, the Ukrainian Central Rada issued the Third Universal on the formation of the *Ukrainian National Republic* (Ukrainska Narodna Respublika, also translated the Ukrainian People's Republic, UNR) as the autonomous part of the Russian Federation unless the Russia was the Bolshevik State.

The Third Universal declared the wide program of social reforms. It ceased landlordism, introduced the 8-hour working day; made state control over production. Minority groups were given the national-personal autonomy. Also it proclaimed democratic rights and liberties; the death penalty was banned, and political prisoners received amnesty. The UCR planned to convene on January 9, 1918, the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly [3; 5; 8; 10; 11; 12; 17; 24; 28; 29; 38].

**The conflict between the Central Rada and Bolsheviks.** The Central Rada, being against the Bolshevik Revolution, founded *the National Committee for the Protection of the Revolution* (of course, the February Revolution).

In return, the Bolsheviks headed by V. Zatonskyi, I. Kreisberh and H. Piatakov inspired workers of the Kyiv plant "Arsenal" and the third Aircraft Fleet to revolt against the UCR. After the revolt had been suppressed the Bolsheviks moved from Kyiv to Kharkiv. There they announced the new State, named the the Soviet Ukrainian National Republic (the Soviet UNR), in order to show it be opposed to the UNR of the Central Rada. The Bolsheviks formed the Power – the Central Executive Committee (CEC) of Soviet Ukraine (December 1917) [3; 5; 8; 10; 11; 12; 17; 24; 28; 29; 38].

**The first war of the Soviet Russia with the Ukrainian National Republic.** On December 17 (30) the Bolsheviks sent from Kharkiv ultimatum to the Central Rada, in which they called the UCR illegal Power. Very soon the Red Army under the command of M. Muraviev invaded the Left Bank and, then, besieged Kyiv [3; 5; 8; 10; 11; 12; 17; 24; 28; 29; 38].

**The Fourth Universal of the Central Rada.** Meanwhile, the German troops were moving from the west. In order to conclude the German interstate agreement against the Bolsheviks and inspire people to fight, the Central Rada announced the Fourth Universal, on January 9 (22), 1918. It was proclaimed the independence and sovereignty (the supremacy of national power was independent of any factors) of the Ukrainian National Republic. The transfer of land to the peasants without any compensation for it and the nationalization of forests, waters and groundwater resources were guaranteed there. The Fourth Universal also contained the intention to make peace with the Quadruple Alliance [3; 5; 8; 10; 11; 12; 17; 24; 28; 29; 38].

## Questions

1. What were the aims of the both military blocks regarding Ukraine in 1914?
2. Why did the Ukrainian national movement split before the First World War?
3. What was the policy the Russian State pursued in Ukraine during the First World War?
4. What were the reasons and results of the February Revolution in the Russian Empire?

5. Why was the Ukrainian Central Rada established? What political agenda did the Central Rada have?
6. What were the conflicts among members of the Central Rada?
7. Describe the relations between the Central Rada and the Russian Authorities.
8. What were the significance and role of the Central Rada's Universals?
9. What were the reasons of the first war between the Soviet Russia and the Ukrainian National Republic?

## **Theme 12. The Ukrainian National Revolution between 1917 and 1921**

**The purpose** of the theme is related to the attempts of the Ukrainians to defend their independence and establish Ukraine as the state throughout the civil war.

The theme includes the following main **topics**: the Brest Treaty of the Ukrainian National Republic and the Quadruple Alliance; the Hetmanate of Pavlo Skoropadskyi and the Ukrainian State; the second Ukrainian-Soviet war; the Directory and its Ukrainian National Republic; the French troops in the south of the Dnieper Ukraine; the Unification Act (Akt Zluky) of the UNR and ZUNR; the Warsaw Agreement of Symon Petliura and the Polish dictator Jozef Pilsudski; the White Army (the Volunteer Army); the Ukrainian Galician Army (UGA); the First Winter campaign of the Directory military units; the restoration of the Bolsheviks' regime in Ukraine; the Second Winter campaign of the Directory military units; the Soviet-Polish war (1920 – 1921); the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic (USSR).

**The Brest Treaty of the Ukrainian National Republic and the Quadruple Alliance.** On January 16, 1918, 300 students equipped by the Ukrainian Central Rada were defeated by the Red Army in the battle of Kruty. After the defeat of Kruty, the UCR went to Zhytomyr. On January 27 (February 10), 1918, the UCR signed the Brest Treaty with the Quadruple Alliance. The Treaty allowed armies of Germany and Austria-Hungary to occupy the whole Ukraine. The UCR promised to supply German and Austria-Hungarian troops by food and raw materials. In March, the Germans (led by

the General Linzingen) occupied Kyiv. Before it, the Russia also had signed with the Alliance the Peace in the Brest-Litovsk. The Alliance forced Russia to recognize the Ukrainian National Republic of the Central Rada [3; 5; 8; 10; 11; 12; 17; 24; 28; 29; 38].

**The Hetmanate of Pavlo Skoropadskyi and the Ukrainian State.** Later on, the Germans found that the UCR was not able to control the local governments (atamans), and, hence, was not able to supply food for the German Army. Due to this, the German Military Authorities resolved to replace the UCR by another Government, the Hetmanate of the military officer Pavlo Skoropadskyi, the descendant of the Cossack Hetman Ivan Skoropadskyi, who had been ruling Ukraine from 1708 to 1722.

On April 29, 1918, the Central Rada adopted the Constitution of the Ukrainian National Republic and elected the President of UNR M. Hrushevskyi. The Constitution proclaimed democracy, freedom of speech and press, national and personal autonomy for minority groups. However, the same day, shortly after the adoption, there was the military coup made by the Germans. The Hetman Pavlo Skoropadskyi dissolved the UCR. The previous name of Ukraine the UNR was changed by *the Ukrainian State* (Ukrainska Derzhava) [3; 5; 8; 10; 11; 12; 17; 24; 28; 29; 38].

**The Ukrainian National Rada and the West Ukrainian National Republic.** In October of 1918, in the Western Ukraine, the Austrian Emperor Karl allowed all subjugated peoples to create their own national governments. In Lviv the Ukrainians launched *the Ukrainian National Rada* (or the National Council, NR). Yevhen Petrushevych was elected the Chairman. The Poles immediately sent from Krakow to Lviv the Liquidation Committee. In response, the Ukrainian officers launched *the Central Military Committee*, headed by Dmytro Vitovskyi, the former officer of the Sich riflemen. The Central Military Committee officers and soldiers took post offices and other State institutions of Lviv. In November of 1918 the National Rada established the Government, named *the State Secretariat*, headed by Kost Levytskyi. *The West Ukrainian National Republic* (ZUNR) was also proclaimed by the National Rada [3; 5; 8; 10; 11; 12; 17; 24; 28; 29; 38].

**The Hetmanate of Pavlo Skoropadskyi and the peasant revolts in the Dnieper Ukraine.** In the Dnieper Ukraine the Hetman Government introduced serfdom and took away grains from peasants to supply the German Army. It led to peasant revolts against the State policy.

At the village of Hulaipole, nearby Katerynoslav, the rebels led by anarchist Nestor Makhno created the military corps.

In May of 1918, the former members of the Central Rada established the *Ukrainian National State Association* (UNA, Ukrainyskyi Natsionalno-Derzhavnyi Soiuz).

**The fall of Skoropadskyi's regime.** On November 11, 1918, the First World War ended. The Quadrelupe Alliance was defeated. The Hetman was left without the support of Germany. He immediately declared that Ukraine was going to be an autonomous part of Russia, unless the Bolshevik Government was ruling Russia. The Hetman was hoping that, taking this new course, he would gain the support of the Entente [3; 5; 8; 10; 11; 12; 17; 24; 28; 29; 38].

**The second Ukrainian-Soviet war.** As soon as Germany had stopped supporting the Hetmanate, on November 13, 1918, the Soviet Russia started the second war with Ukraine [3; 5; 8; 10; 11; 12; 17; 24; 28; 29; 38].

**The Directory and its Ukrainian National Republic.** While the Bolshevik army had been marching to Kyiv, on November 14, 1918, the UNA created *the Directory*, which members Volodymyr Vynnychenko, Symon Petliura, Fedir Shvets, Opanas Andriievskyi and Andrii Makarenko were elected. The military units of the Directory defeated the army of Hetman in the battle of Motovylyvka, near Kyiv.

The Directory occupied Kyiv and proclaimed *Ukrainian National Republic* (also translated the Ukrainian People's Republic, Ukrainska Narodna Respublika, UNR) [3; 5; 8; 10; 11; 12; 17; 24; 28; 29; 38].

**The French troops in the south of the Dnieper Ukraine.** In December of 1918 in the South of Ukraine (in Novorossiisk, Sevastopol, Odesa) French troops landed. The French demanded that Directory subject-ted to the Entente Ukrainian army, railways and finances. By that time, the Bolshevik troops had been advanced through the eastern part of the Dnieper Ukraine to Kyiv [3; 5; 8; 10; 11; 12; 17; 24; 28; 29; 38].

**The Unification Act (Akt Zluky) of the UNR and ZUNR.** In front of the danger to be captured by the enemies, the UNR and ZUNR declared the Act of Unification (on January 22, 1919) into one State – the Ukrainian National Republic. The ZUNR was renamed the Western region of the UNR.

Meanwhile, the Red Army led by V. Antonov-Ovsienko captured Kharkiv, and soon came to Kyiv. By that time, the Bolsheviks had crushed the French troops, not far from Odesa.



Rescuing from the Bolsheviks the Directory fled to Vinnytsa, then to Rivne, and then to Kamianets-Podilskyi [3; 5; 8; 10; 11; 12; 24; 28; 29; 38].

**The Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic (USSR).** Having taken Kyiv, the Bolsheviks declared the *Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic* (USSR). They also started a policy of *the War Communism* (or military Communism), main features of which were robbing peasants, making nationalization of enterprises, abolishing market relations, and persecuting all oppositionists.

On March 10, 1919, the Soviet Ukrainian Constitution was adopted by the Communists. This Act banned a private property. The Government of the new State – the Council of People's Commissars (CPC, Soviet Narodnykh Komissarov) led by Khrystyian Rakovskiy, was created [3; 5; 8; 10; 11; 12; 17; 24; 28; 29; 38].

**The White Army (the Volunteer Army).** However, in spring of 1919 the Left-Bank Ukraine was occupied by the White Army, led by Anton Denikin. The Denikinists (also known the Whites) called for the restoration of the Great Russia. Also it was known as *the Volunteer Army* (Dobrovolcheskaia Armia). The Volunteer Army advanced from the Don region and in the late summer of 1919 captured Kyiv. The Bolshevik troops retreated to the northern regions of Ukraine. Having possessed the Dnieper Ukraine, the Whites prohibited even the name "Ukraine". Throughout their regime, the Whites persecuted both the Bolsheviks and the supporters of the previous Ukrainian Government [3; 5; 8; 10; 11; 12; 17; 24; 28; 29; 38].

**The Ukrainian Galician Army (UGA).** In June of 1919, the army of the ZUNR – *the Ukrainian Galician Army* (UGA) made a successful offensive against the Polish Army, at Chortkiv, in Western Ukraine.

On August 30, 1919 the UGA led by A. Kravs together with detachments of the Directory came in Kyiv. Unfortunately on August 31, a Cavalry of the White Army entered there. A. Kravs was arrested and the UGA was forced to leave Kyiv. Symon Petliura called these events "*the Kyiv disaster*", because after it the Ukrainian troops fell into the so-called "*Triangle of Death*", at the surrounding, between the Polish, Volunteer, and Soviet Armies. As a result, a lot of Ukrainians, which had fallen into encirclement, moved to partisan warfare [3; 5; 8; 10; 11; 12; 17; 24; 28; 29; 38].

**The First Winter campaign of the Directory military units.** Between December of 1919 and May of 1920 the Ukrainian Generals Mykhailo Omelia-novych-Pavlenko and Yurii Tiutiunnyk made the so-called First Winter

cam-paign through the rears of the White Army and the Red Army [3; 5; 8; 10; 11; 12; 17; 24; 28; 29; 38].

**The restoration of the Bolshevik regime in Ukraine.** Between October of 1919 and February of 1920 the Bolsheviks possessed almost all of Ukraine. The White Army under command of Peter Wrangel retreated to the Crimea, where, then, it fortified in Perekop. In 1920, the Red Army and Nestor Makhno troops captured Perekop and beat the Whites. Shortly after the victory the Bolsheviks turned against its former ally Nestor Makhno and his troops, and repressed them all [3; 5; 8; 10; 11; 12; 17; 24; 28; 29; 38].

**The Warsaw Agreement of Symon Petliura and the Polish dictator Jozef Pilsudski.** By this time, in Warsaw S. Petliura had concluded with Polish dictator Jozef Pilsudski the Agreement (in April of 1920). In exchange for the support Symon Petliura obliged to give the Poles the Western Ukraine [3; 5; 8; 10; 11; 12; 17; 24; 28; 29; 38].

**The Soviet-Polish war (1920 – 1921).** In spring of 1920 Polish army seized Kyiv, but soon was forced by the Red Army to retreat to Warsaw. In March of 1921 the Soviet Russia and Poland signed *the Peace of Riga*. Poland recognized the Ukrainian SSR and received for it the Western Ukraine [3; 5; 8; 10; 11; 12; 17; 24; 28; 29; 38].

**The Second Winter Campaign of the Directory military units.** In November of 1921 the former soldiers of the Ukrainian National Republic, led by Yurii Tiutiunnyk started from Poland their Second Winter Campaign against the Bolsheviks. Unfortunately, this Campaign was lost. In 1921 the captured soldiers were shot by the Bolsheviks in the town of New Bazar, near Zhytomyr.

By 1921, Ukraine, but its western part, had been under the regime of the Bolsheviks, who declared *the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic* [3; 5; 8; 10; 11; 12; 17; 24; 28; 29; 38].

## Questions

1. What were the reasons of defeating the Central Rada?
2. What were the negative and positive results of the regime of the Hetmanate of Pavlo Skoropadskyi?
3. What was the West Ukrainian National Republic (the ZUNR)? Describe the Government of the ZUNR.
4. Why did the second Ukrainian-Soviet war start?

5. What politics did the Directory of the Ukrainian National Republic pursue?

6. What was the significance of the Unification Act (Akt Zluky) of the UNR and ZUNR?

7. Describe the establishment of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic (USSR).

8. What were the features of the internal war in Ukraine between 1919 and 1921?

### **Theme 13. The Ukrainian Lands between the 1920s and 1930s**

**The purpose** of the theme is to give the idea of the history of the Dnieper Ukraine under the hard Bolshevik regime and the Western lands under the ruling of Poland, Romania, and the Czech Republic. The economic, political, social, and cultural areas of the living of the Ukrainians in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century are considered there.

The theme includes the following main **topics**: the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR); the great famine in the Soviet Ukraine; the New Economic Policy (NEP); the campaign against kurkuls in the Soviet Ukraine; the economical changes in the period of NEP; the rivalry among the top leaders of the Communist Party; the course for Industrialization and collectivization; the policy of Ukrainization; the fight against illiteracy; the development of the Ukrainian culture; the Soviet forced Industrialization and total Collectivization; the Holodomor (1932 – 1933); the administrative development of the Soviet Ukraine and the Totalitarian system; the Stalinist repressions; the annexation of Eastern Halychyna, Western Volhynia, Western Polissia, and Zakerzonnia by the Second Polish Republic; the annexation of Zakarpattia by Czechoslovakia; Poland's policy relating to the Western Ukrainian lands; the radicalization of the national movement; Romania's policy relating to the Western Ukrainian lands; the Czechoslovakia's policy relating to Zakarpattia; Carpatho-Ukraine.

**The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR).** In 1920 the Governments of the Ukrainian SSR and the *Soviet Socialist Federative Republic of Russia* (SSFR) signed the Agreement on military and economic alliances. Two projects of uniting the Ukrainian SSR and the SSFR Russia were put

forward later. *The Plan of Autonomization* was to convert all the republics in the RSFS of Russia the autonomous regions (Yosyp Stalin, Dmitriy Manuilsky). The another Plan was the project of forming the International Union (Volodymyr Lenin, Volodymyr Zatonskyi, Khrystyian Rakovskyi).

On December 30, 1922, the first Congress of Soviets of the Ukrainian SSR voted the Declaration and the Treaty of the Union. The Congress also elected the Central Executive Committee. Thus, the Soviet Ukraine became the part of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (the Soviet Union, the USSR).

The first states-members of the Soviet Union became the Ukrainian SSR, the SSFR of Russia, the Soviet Transcaucasian Federation (the Soviet Georgia, Soviet Armenia, and Soviet Azerbaijan).

In 1924 the Second Congress of Soviets of the Soviet Union adopted the Constitution of the Soviet Union, which was architected by Mykhailo Kalinin. The highest authority of the Ukrainian SSR was the All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets, and between its sessions, the All-Ukrainian Central Execution Committee (later on, the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR) governed.

Between 1921 and 1922, the Ukrainian SSR was recognized by Lithuania, Turkey and Germany [3; 5; 8; 10; 11; 17; 28; 29; 38].

**The Government of the Soviet Ukraine.** For a long period in the Soviet Ukraine two branches of Authority had been:

1) the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks') of Ukraine (CC CP(b)U);

2) the Soviet of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR (the SPC of the Ukrainian SSR).

From 1923 to 1925 Emanuil Kvirinh was the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine.

In 1923 Kh. Rakovskyi for criticizing Y. Stalin was removed from the office of the Head of the Soviet of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR. From 1923 to 1934 the Head of the SPC was Vlas Chubar [3; 5; 8; 10; 11; 28; 29; 38].

**The great famine in the Soviet Ukraine.** Between 1921 and 1923 in Ukraine was the great famine. Its causes were Summer drought and the Policy of Military Communism. Hungry people got active help from the American Relief Administration (ARA). However, 400 000 – 2 million people were killed by the famine [3; 5; 8; 10; 11; 17; 28; 29; 38].

**The New Economic Policy (NEP).** In 1921, the Bolsheviks changed the confiscation of grain and other agricultural produce from peasants by the fixed food tax. The Communists declared *the New Economic Policy* (NEP). This policy allowed the market, but the state controlled a lot of industries [3; 5; 8; 10; 11; 17; 28; 29; 38].

**The campaign against kurkuls in the Soviet Ukraine.** The Ukrainian SSR came to the NEP only in 1922 because in Ukraine it still had been provided the campaign against *kurkuls* (in Ukrainian "kurkuli"; in Russian "kulaki"), as wealthy farmers were called. This campaign was run by the methods of the Military Communism. As soon as wealthy farmers had been approved that they were kurkuls, the village committees of poor (*komnezams*) robbed them [3; 5; 8; 10; 11; 17; 28; 29; 38].

**The economic changes in the period of NEP.** In 1921 the Bolsheviks allowed the economic cooperation. The growth of prices for industrial products led to the crisis of 1923, 1925, and 1928. In the agricultural sector the Government created the collective farms (5 % of farmers). At all, the state enterprises of the same type were combined into the Trusts. Between 1922 and 1929 the monetary reform was implemented. Due to this reform the gold *chervontsi* were introduced [3; 5; 8; 10; 11; 17; 28; 29; 38].

**The rivalry among the top leaders of the Communist Party.** In 1924, Volodymyr Lenin died. It led to a struggle for the power between the People's Commissar of Military Affairs Lev Trotsky and the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks') Yosyp Stalin [3; 5; 8; 10; 11; 17; 28; 29; 38].

**The course for Industrialization and Collectivization.** In 1925 at the XIV Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks') voted the course for the Industrialization (the primary development of the heavy industry). In 1927 the policy of Collectivization was taken in the country in order to make better supply of food to towns. The New Economic Policy began to be folded, because the market regulations of economics were replaced by the administrative ones. The economy of the Soviet Union was transformed into the command-administrative economy [3; 5; 8; 11; 17; 28; 29; 38].

**The policy of Ukrainization.** Between 1923 and 1933 the policy of the so-called *Nativization* (in Ukraine – the *Ukrainization*) was implemented by the Communist Government. This policy aimed at calming the peoples by showing them that the Bolshevik parties were the native ones.

In 1923 the Communist Party of the Ukrainian SSR issued a decree on the Ukrainization of the educational system. The Ukrainization was managed by the Ukrainian SSR People's Commissar of Education Oleksandr Shumskyi (1890 – 1946). After him the Ukrainization was implemented by Mykola Skrypnyk, who from 1927 to 1933 was the Head of the Commissariat of the People's education. In 1928 he approved the new Ukrainian orthography. The enemy of the Ukrainization was a General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (bolsheviks') of Ukraine, a former shoemaker, Lazar Kahanovych [3; 5; 8; 10; 11; 17; 28; 29; 38].

**The fight against illiteracy.** In 1921, People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR adopted a Decree "On the Fight Against Illiteracy". According to it all people aged from eight to fifty years had to learn the reading and writing. In 1923 the company "Down with illiteracy," which created points of elimination of illiteracy, was founded. After the "fight against illiteracy" literate persons was 70 per cent of adults in the urban area and 50 per cent in the rural area [3; 5; 8; 10; 11; 17; 28; 29; 38].

**The development of the Ukrainian culture.** The Ukrainization made conditions, which were favourable for the Ukrainian literature. In 1922, in Kharkiv peasant writers' association "*Pluh*" (Plow) was founded. In 1923 the association of proletarian writers "*Hart*" (Hardening) was established. At the end of 1925 members of "Hart" and "Pluh" created the "*Free Academy of Proletarian Literature*" (*Vilna Akademia Proletarskoi Literatury*, VAPLITE, 1925 – 1928). The VAPLITE was headed by Mykhailo Yalovyi. The leader also was the writer Mykola Khvyliovyi (real name Fitiliov). He made slogan against the influence of the Russian literature upon the Ukrainian one, – "Away from Moscow, Up with Europe!". In 1928 he was forced by Soviet commissars to renounce his notions publicly [3; 5; 8; 10; 11; 17; 29; 38].

In 1920s a number of great writers, like Volodymyr Sosiura and Pavlo Tychyna, made their works.

In 1922, in Kharkiv the stage actor Les Kurbas founded the theatre, named "Berezil" (literally, a little birch). At the end of the 1920s he headed the theatre "Funny Proletarian". Later on, he was accused of nationalism.

In the 1920s Ignat Yura worked as stage director and actor. In 1920 he became co-founder of the Ivan Franko Ukrainian Drama Theatre, in Vinnytsia region (since 1926 it had been the Ivan Franko Kyiv Academic Ukrainian Drama Theatre). The famous playwright was Mykola Kulish.

Since 1922 film studio had been working in Odesa. The acting director and screenwriter Oleksandr Dovzhenko (1894 – 1956), who had got some experience in Berlin, worked there. Then, he worked in the "Kyiv film studio" (in 1929 – 1941). He created the movies "Zvenyhora" (literally, sound mountain), "Arsenal", "Zemlia" ("Earth"), etc.

In 1920s many prominent artists painted original pictures. There were I. Yizhakevych, F. Krychevskyi, M. Boichuk, etc.

The conductor of the Kyiv Conservatory and organizer of the Ukrainian State Folk Choir H. Veriovka was well-known.

In the field of Sciences the Ukrainian National Academy of Sciences (UNAS, also known as VUAN from Vseukrainska akademia nauk) worked. From 1922 to 1928 its president was the botanist V. Lypskyi.

In 1924 M. Hrushevskyi returned to Kyiv. He became a member of the VUAN and headed the section of the History of Ukraine. In the Academy the economist Mykhailo Volobuiev worked. In the article "The Problems of the Ukrainian Economy" he argued that Ukraine still was an economic colony of Russia (1928). Later on, the NKVD forced him to renounce his views. In 1938 Mykhailo Volobuiev was shot by the Soviet commissars.

Since 1919 the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAOC) had been acting. In 1921, in Kyiv, its first gathering (sobor, synod) elected the Metropolitan Vasyl Lypkivskyi [3; 5; 8; 10; 11; 17; 29; 38].

**The Soviet forced Industrialization and total Collectivization.** In 1929 the newspaper "Pravda" (the Truth) published an article written by Y. Stalin "The Year of Great Change", in which he urged the forced Industrialization. That year the Communist Party in Moscow announced the forced development of Industrialization in the Soviet Union. The total Collectivization – the enforcing peasants to join their farms into the collective farms (kolkhozes) – was also started. It was necessary for supplying the basic industry.

The Industrialization and the Collectivization are considered to be the one *process of modernization of the Soviet Ukraine Economy*. The period of Soviet modernization in Ukraine took place between 1928 and 1939. It was made by way of completing the five-year plans. Untill the Second World War there had been three five-year plans (1928 – 1932, 1933 – 1937, 1938 – 1942). The main result of the Soviet modernization for Ukraine was changing its agrarian-based economy towards an industrial economy.

The funds for the Industrialization were taken from the light and food industry, high taxes, the sale of vodka, the export of raw materials and energy sources abroad, and, of course, the hard exploitation of the peasantry.

During the first five-year plans in Ukraine, a number of great plants were built. There were metallurgical plants (Zaporizhstal, Azovstal, Kryvorizhstal, Dniprostoi, Dniproaliuminiibud), machine-building plants (Krammashbud, the Kharkiv Tractor Plant), and etc. [3; 5; 8; 10; 11; 17; 28; 29; 38].

**Stakhanov movement.** In 1935, for six hours a miner Alexei Stakhanov extracted 102 tons of coal, when generally miners used to extract seven tons of coal. Thus, the so-called *Stakhanov movement* for breaking records started. Later on, records were established by a miner, coal-cutter M. Izotov. P. Angelina organized the first female tractor team [3; 5; 8; 10; 11; 17; 28; 29; 38].

**The great dispossession of the kurkuls in the rural area.** Between 1927 and 1928 the food supplying situation became disastrous. The Communist top-leaders supposed this was caused by nature of the market economy, by which they explained the problems of grain procurements, crises of sales and etc. [26, p. 23]. On the other hand, the Industrialization needed finances. In order to buy machinery from 1930 to 1931 the Communists increased the export of grain from 48,8 mln centners up to 51,8 mln centners [26, p. 27].

Between 1929 and 1930 a lot of activists were sent by the Party into the country. They made the dispossession of kurkuls (according to *the Dekulakization policy of the state*). Having been robbed kurkuls had no way, but to enter the collective farms. During the period of Collectivization nearly 200 000 private farms (from 1.2 to 1.4 m persons) were dekulakized [26, p. 32].

In towns the ration cards were introduced for the workers and employees [3; 5; 8; 10; 11; 17; 28; 29; 38].

**The Holodomor (1932 – 1933).** In 1932, in Ukraine the Extraordinary Grain Procurement Commission, headed by Viacheslav Molotov, worked. The Commission had the extraordinary powers in the rural area.

The Collectivization and excessive grain procurement plans caused the greatest famine of 1932 – 1933, called *the Holodomor* (literally, killing by hunger, to starve to death). Other names of this famine are the "Terror-famine in Ukraine" and the "Famine-genocide in Ukraine". It was planned destruction of the Ukrainian peasantry, which always tended to be independent landowners, and did not want entering any collective farms.



In 1932 the so-called *Five ears of corn law* was implemented. It appointed the execution or imprisonment for term of ten years as punishment for embezzlement property, including corn ears, of collective farms.

The Holodomor killed from 5 to 7 million persons [26, p. 60]. Kyiv, Kharkiv and Zaporizhzhia regions were especially affected [33; 5; 8; 10; 11; 17; 28; 29; 38].

**The administrative development of the Soviet Ukraine and the Totalitarian system.** In the Soviet Union the totalitarian system (from the Italian *totalita* – covering everything) and regime of personal power of Y. Stalin were formed. It is a political system where the state recognizes no limits to its authority and strives to regulate every aspect of public and private life wherever feasible.

In 1934 the capital of the Ukrainian SSR became Kyiv, instead of Kharkiv. From 1928 to 1938 years the leader of the Communist Party of Ukraine was Stanislav Kosior, and, then, Mykyta Khrushchov.

In 1936 the Communists adopted new Constitution of the USSR. According to it the highest authority was the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

By this time the number of the Soviet Republics had grown from 4 to 11 ones.

In 1930s through the policy called the "Cultural Revolution" the Communists stopped the policy of the Ukrainization [3; 5; 8; 10; 11; 17; 28; 29; 38].

**The Joint State Political Directorate and the Stalinist repressions.** In 1923 *the Joint State Political Directorate* (Obedinennoe gosudarstvennoe politicheskoe upravlenie, OGPU) was created, its main task was to investigate crimes against the Soviet State [3; 5; 8; 10; 11; 17; 28; 29; 38].

**The first show trial.** In 1928 OGPU made "*The Shakhty Trial*" ("Shakhtynska Sprava", "Shakhtinskoe Delo"), the first important show trial in the Soviet Union. The charges against the suspected persons were false. The OGPU arrested a group of engineers in the North Caucasus town of Shakhty. They were accused for conspiring with former owners of coal mines. Since the Revolution these owners had been living abroad of the Soviet Union. It was alleged by the OGPU that engineers had been sabotaging the Soviet economy. As a result of the trial five of the fifty-three accused engineers were put to death and another forty-four sent to prison. Undoubtedly, this trial was the offensive against old intelligentsia [3; 5; 8; 10; 11; 17; 28; 29; 38].

**The beginning of the Stalinist repressions.** The Shakhty trial marked the beginning of the use of accusations of sabotage against real and imagined class enemies within the Soviet Union. On March 10, 1928, in response to the arrests, Pravda announced that the bourgeoisie were using sabotage as a method of class struggle. Yosyp Stalin mentioned a month later that the Shakhty arrests had proved that class struggle was intensifying as the Soviet Union moved closer to Socialism. "We have internal enemies. We have external enemies. We cannot forget this for a moment" – Yosyp Stalin said [3; 5; 8; 10; 11; 17; 28; 29; 38].

**The show process of the Union for Liberation of Ukraine.** In 1929 (1930), in Kharkiv *the process of "the Union for Liberation of Ukraine"* was proceeded. It was another show trial. The event took place in the Opera Theatre in Kharkiv (at that time the Ukrainian State Central Opera) from March 9 to April 19, 1930. Forty-five (45) Ukrainian intellectuals, theologians, writers, and a librarian were accused of anti-state activities (counter-revolutionary classification was present there as well) and imprisoned for different terms (up to ten years). Of course, the charge was false. It was the attack on the old academical intelligentsia and the representatives of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAOC). All they were alleged to be the supporters of the old bourgeois ideas, the enemies of the Soviet system. Among the condemned were Serhii Yefremov (the academician of the Ukrainian National Academy of Sciences, former deputy chairman of the Central Rada, and a member of UPSF) and Mykhailo Slabchenko (the academician, historian, professor of the Odesa Institute of People's Education, a former member of USDRP). In 1930 the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church was forced by the OGPU to dissolve itself. Shortly after the show trial of 1930, 700 other people were arrested in connections with the process. In 1931 the former leader of the Central Rada Mykhailo Hrushevskyi was arrested by the OGPU commissars [3; 5; 8; 10; 11; 17; 28; 29; 38].

**The show trial against the Ukrainian National Centre.** In 1931 the OGPU fabricated the show trial on the Ukrainian National Centre (50 innocent persons were imprisoned, among them M. Hrushevskyi and M. Yavorskyi).

In 1932 the militia was subjected to the OGPU [3; 5; 8; 10; 11; 17; 28; 29; 38].

**The Executed Renaissance.** The repressions intensified after the murder in 1934 of the head of the Party organization in Leningrad Sergei Kirov. After it the campaign against Ukrainian writers was launched. In 1934 there

were arrested 37 writers (H. Kosynka, D. Falkivskiy, K. Burevii, A. Krushelnytskyi and others). 28 of them were shot. In 1933 the prominent Ukrainian writer Mykola Khvyliovyi shot himself, after being persecuted by commissars for a long time. In 1933 the famous stage actor and founder of the theatre "Berezil" Les Kurbas was arrested. In 1937 he was shot by the NKVD commissars.

All these events of the 1930s are known as *the Executed Renaissance* (Rozstriliane Vidrodzhennia) – the brutal crushing of the national cultural flowering by the Stalinist repressions of the 1930s [3; 5; 8; 10; 11; 17; 28; 29; 38].

**The People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs (NKVD) and methods of the Stalinist repressions.** From 1934 to 1946, instead of the OGPU, another body worked – the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs (Narodnyi komissariat vnutrennikh del, NKVD). This body implemented Soviet internal policy with respect to perceived enemies of the state ("enemies of the people"). NKVD is recognized as a major instrument of political repression in the Soviet Union.

Under colour of the hunting on "the enemies of the people" (public enemies), NKVD sent to GULag (the *Chief Administration of Corrective Labour Camps and Colonies*) or executed multitudes of people, most of which were innocent. In general, people were convicted by the NKVD troikas ("triplets"), the special court martials. A tip-off made by an anonymous informer used to be considered by the troikas sufficient grounds for arrest. Interrogations very often accompanied by tortures, "physical means of persuasion", which was sanctioned by a special decree of the state. It was proved by historians that the NKVD was guided by secret "plans". This "plan" established the number and proportion of "public enemies" in a given region. In other words, NKVD commissares knew very well how many clergy, former nobles, kurkuls, men suspected to be nationalists and etc. They had to find and try. The families of the repressed, including children, were also automatically repressed. The NKVD also prosecuted ethnic groups, and religious denominations.

Between 1934 and 1936 the People's Commissar for Internal Affairs was Henrikh Yagoda, between 1936 and 1938 – Mykola Ezhov, and between 1938 and 1953 – Lavrentiy Beria [3; 5; 8; 10; 11; 17; 28; 29; 38].

**The waves of the Stalinist repressions.** In general, three waves of repressions are distinguished by historians:

1928 – 1931 – repressions against kurkuls and wreckers (like, the engineers accused in the Shakhty trial of 1928);

1932 – 1936 – the Holodomor, struggle with bourgeois nationalism, the starting of the "Executed Renaissance" (the repression of writers, artists, and etc.).

1937 – 1938 – the "Great Purge" – the struggle against nationalists, former members of the Communist Party, repressions in the army, the end of the Executed Renaissance [3; 5; 8; 10; 11; 17; 28; 29; 38].

### ***The Western Ukrainian lands between 1921 and 1938***

**The annexation of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovyna by Romania.** In 1918 Romania annexed Bessarabia and Northern Bukovyna. Next year these annexations were approved by *the Entente* in its Treaty with Austria. In 1920 in Paris Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan signed the Bessarabian Protocol, which secured Bessarabia for Romania [3; 5; 11; 17; 20; 28].

**The annexation of Eastern Halychyna, Western Volhynia, Western Polissia, and Zakerzonia by the Second Polish Republic.** According to the decision of the Paris Peace Conference (1919), the Second Polish Republic occupied Eastern Halychyna (Lviv, Ternopil and Stanislav province). According to the Riga Peace of 1921, Poland got Western Volhynia, Western Polissia, Kholmshchyna, Pidliashshia, Osiannia and Lemkivshchyna.

In 1923, the Council of the Entente ambassadors finally secured Eastern Halychyna for Poland [3; 5; 11; 17; 20; 28].

**The annexation of the Zakarpattia by Czechoslovakia.** In January of 1919, in Hust all Ukrainian People's Congress of Hungary announced the reuniting of Zakarpattia with Ukraine, but in May of 1919 the Central Ruthenian Council announced the accession to Czechoslovakia. In September of 1919 the Paris Peace Conference approved this decision [3; 5; 11; 17; 20; 28].

**The Poland's policy relating to the Western Ukrainian lands.** The Polish government promoted a colonization of Western Ukraine by the Polish colonists. All public offices were occupied by the Poles. In office work and education the Polish language was introduced. In 1924 there were bilingual school (utrakvistychni). However, a lot of teachers these schools had were the Poles, who did not know the Ukrainian language. Due to the high cost

most of the Ukrainians could not study in high schools and middle schools. 70 per cent of the population of Western Ukraine was illiterate.

In 1920 it was proposed by some Polish politicians to call Eastern Halychyna "Little Poland" [3; 5; 11; 17; 20; 28].

**The Pacification.** In 1930, in the Eastern Halychyna, *the punitive action* ("*pacification*", Polish: Pacyfikacja Małopolski Wschodniej) was made by police and military of Poland against the Ukrainians. The pretext the Poles used was a wave of more than 2 200 acts of sabotage against Polish property in the region [3; 5; 11; 17; 20; 28].

The pacification involved the search of private homes as well as buildings in which the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and other illegal Ukrainian organizations (including the Orthodox Church and the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church) were based. The searching included the tearing up of floors and ceilings. During the course of the search the furniture and property inside the houses were often destroyed. During the searches, physical force was also used and many people were publicly whipped. Ukrainian reading rooms and cooperatives were also burnt down, and Ukrainian private schools were closed [3; 5; 11; 17; 20; 28].

**Bereza Kartuska detention camp.** In 1933 in Polissia Voivodeship *Bereza Kartuska detention camp* was created by a personal order of the President of Poland Ignacy Mościcki. People were detained in this camp even without formal charges or trial for, at least, three months. For the most cases Bereza Kartuska detention camp was the concentration place for political prisoners [3; 5; 11; 17; 20; 28].

**The economic development of the Western lands under the Polish rule.** In Poland the native land of the Poles – *the Poland "A"* – developed faster than Western Ukraine and Western Belarus, which were called *the Poland "B"*. In the Poland "B" small businesses were dominated, like wood and leather industries, industries of processing agricultural products (distilling, brewing, tobacco, etc.). The working day lasted 10 – 14 hours. Unemployment was widespread.

Although the Ukrainian cooperatives were operating, only Polish cooperatives received the state benefits. In the village over 40 per cent of lands were owned by large private, public and church landowners. A small part of the landlords' land was distributed among farmers by the agrarian reform of 1919. The emigration of the Ukrainians intensified [3; 5; 11; 17; 20; 28].

**The political activities in the Western Ukrainian lands under the Polish authority.** In the political area between 1925 and 1939 *the Ukrainian National Democratic Alliance* (UNDO) had been acting. It was the largest Ukrainian political party in the Second Polish Republic. The leader was Dmytro Levitsky. The UNDO was the direct descendant of the prewar Ukrainian National Democratic Party, which had been the leading western Ukrainian political party during the Austrian-Hungarian rule. The UNDO pursued the independence for Western Ukraine by legal moderate way.

In 1935, the UNDO reached a compromise with the Polish government known as the "*Normalization*". The UNDO agreed to work with the Polish government. In return, the Ukrainians were guaranteed nineteen seats total in both houses of the Polish Parliament, as well as the position of Vice-Marshal (speaker) of the Polish Sejm (Parliament), many Ukrainian political prisoners were amnestied, and financial credits were given to Ukrainian cooperatives. Vasyl Mudryi was elected the Vice-Marshal of the Polish Sejm. The UNDO tended to be the party of moderate views [3; 5; 11; 17; 20; 28].

*The Galician Radical Party* (GRP), another Ukrainian group, was more decisive one in its methods of struggle. It pursued the agrarian reform, restrictions of private ownership, and the independence for Ukraine. The Head of the GRP was Lev Bachynsky. In 1926 the GRP united with the Volhynia Ukrainian Party of the Social-Revolutionaries and took another name – *the Ukrainian Social-Radical Party* (USPR). Since 1930 the USDP had been headed by Ivan Marchuk. In 1931 the USPR joined to the Second Socialist International [3; 5; 11; 17; 20; 28].

*The Ukrainian Agrarian Statist Party* (UASP) promoted the ideas on the establishing in Ukraine the constitutional monarchy and gaining sovereignty for it. The creator and ideologist of the USHD was Viacheslav Lypynskyi.

*The Communist Party of Western Ukraine* (CPWU) operated illegally. Until 1923 it had been known under the name of the Communist Party of Eastern Galicia. The leader was Joseph Vasylykiv (alias Krilyk). These Communists intended to make Western Ukraine the part of the Ukrainian SSR. In 1923 CPWU had become the autonomous part of The Communist Party of Poland [3; 5; 11; 17; 20; 28].

All Communist parties were governed by the Comintern, which acted after the instructions of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (bolsheviks') (in Russian, Vsesoyuznaya Kommunisticheskaya Partiya – VKP(b)). In 1938 the Comintern dissolved the CPP and the CPWU.

From 1930 to 1939 *the Ukrainian Catholic People's Party* (since 1931 – the Ukrainian People's Obnova) made its political activity. Its leaders were the Uniate bishops H. Komysbyn and O. Nazaruk. At the same period the another religious party worked, *the Ukrainian Catholic Union* (Andrii Sheptytskyi). However, between these two parties there were differences in their aims. While the UPO wanted to merge the Greek Catholic Church with the Catholic Church, the UCU aimed at the full independence of the Greek Catholic Church from the Catholic one [3; 5; 11; 17; 20; 28].

**The radicalization of the national movement.** The Polish oppression the Ukrainians led to a radicalization of the national movement. In 1920 in Prague Ukrainians military officers launched *the Ukrainian Military Organization* (UVO) and elected its Head Yevhen Konovalets, the former officer of the Ukrainian legion of Sich riflemen. The UVO were making preparations for a nationwide uprising. The political plans of the UVO based on the ideas of the integral (efficient, effective) nationalism, after which the nation was of the highest value, even higher than a family had. *The integral nationalism* firstly was described by Dmytro Dontsov in his work "Nationalism" (1926).

In 1929 in Vienna members of the UVO established the military *Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists* (OUN, the first head was Yevhen Konovalets).

The OUN fought against foreign and domestic enemies, particularly Poland and Russia. The OUN's immediate goal was to protect the Ukrainian population from repression and exploitation by Polish governing authorities; its ultimate goal was an independent and unified Ukrainian state that would include whole territories inhabited primarily by ethnic Ukrainians.

In 1934 in Warsaw OUN members killed B. Peratski, Minister of Internal Affairs of Poland, who was responsible for the "pacification" of 1930 in the Halychyna. Shortly after, S. Bandera, one of the killers, was condemned to be a life-term prisoner.

In 1938 in Rotterdam a Soviet agent killed Yevhen Konovalets. It led to that in 1940, the OUN split into two parts. The older more moderate members were supporting Andrii Melnyk (OUN-M) while the younger and more radical members were supporting Stepan Bandera (OUN-B) [3; 5; 11; 17; 20; 28].

**The Romania's policy relating to the Western Ukrainian lands.** Between 1918 and 1928 the Ukrainian lands under Romania were under martial law, in "a state of siege". The Romanian Government abolished local self-governments.

The Ukrainian names of towns and villages have been changed to Romanian ones, the Ukrainian language was forbidden in state and municipal authorities. All Ukrainian-educational institutions were closed.

The Act of 1929 allowed the Ukrainian language in the Educational System. In schools the lower classes and the higher classes, in which the Ukrainian pupils dominated, got some training in the Ukrainian language. However, in 1934 the Ukrainian language in schools was abolished [3; 5; 11; 17; 20; 28].

**The Tatarbunary uprising.** In 1924 bolsheviks inspired the revolt of 6 000 peasants in and around the town of Tatarbunary (*Tatar-Bunar* or *Tatarbunar*) in Budjak (Bessarabia), now a part of Odesa Oblast, Ukraine. After the rebellion had been suppressed the Romanian Government started show trial against instigators of the revolt – "the process of 500". As a result 85 persons were imprisoned [3; 5; 11; 17; 20; 28].

**The economy of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovyna under the Romanian authority.** In the economy of Ukraine under Romania small-scale production dominated. The production was grounded on manual and semi-manual labour. Food industry, weaving, soap-boiling, production of oil were developed. According to the agrarian reform in 1919 only 16.8 % of land was distributed among peasants. Most lands were in possession of rich landowners [3; 5; 11; 17; 20; 28].

**The political activities Bessarabia and Northern Bukovyna.** In Northern Bukovyna since 1927 the Ukrainian National Party (UNP, leader V. Zalizetskyi) had been working. It tried to improve the living environment for the Ukrainians by way of a compromise with the Government of Romania. The UNP was only one legal party in Romanian Ukraine.

Among the illegal political groups the Bukovyna regional organization of the Communist Party of Romania (1926 – 1938) and the Ukrainian section of the Social Democratic Party of Romania (1921–1931) acted. They operated to establish the socialist system in Bukovyna. In 1931 the latter was transformed into the Ukrainian Communist Party, which worked until 1931 [3; 5; 11; 17; 20; 28].

**The Czechoslovakia's policy relating to Zakarpattia.** In Zakarpattia, officially known as Subcarpathian Ruthenia, many Czech schools were opened. 80 per cent of state officers were Czechs. In 1925 the Administrative Court of Czechoslovakia recognized the Ukrainian language "foreign" for Zakarpattian population. Zakarpattian economy mostly produced raw



materials. The peasants got a lot of lands, given them by the Government. In Zakarpattia the Government built roads, bridges, and made electrification [3; 5; 11; 17; 20; 28].

**The political movements in Zakarpattia.** In Zakarpattia the Parties were absent, but there were four ideological currents among the intellectuals: *the Ruthenians, the Narodovtsi (Ukrainophils), the Russophils, "Madyarorosy" ("Madyarophils", "Karpatorosy")*.

The Ruthenians contended that the local people of Zakarpattia were the original nation, nor the Ukrainians nor the Russians.

The Ukrainophils led by Avhustyn Voloshyn were of polar opposite opinion. They argued the Zakarpattians were no any others, but the Ukrainians.

Arguing that all Ukrainians were the part of the Russian people, the Russophils debated with both groups. The Russophils' leader was Andrii Brodii.

The "Madiarorosy" had rather political basis, on which their ideas grounded – the people of Zakarpattia was the original nation, which needed to be the part of Hungary, they affirmed. They argued Zakarpattia had a long history as the part of Hungary (since the 13<sup>th</sup> century), hence it had become naturally to be in the Hungarian State [3; 5; 11; 17; 20; 28].

**Carpatho-Ukraine.** On 29 September 1938 in Munich Great Britain, France and Nazi Germany implemented the Agreement, by which Czechoslovakia gave much of its border region to Nazi Germany. Soon after Carpathian Ruthenia and Slovakia declared their autonomy within Czechoslovakia, which Prague accepted. The autonomous Carpathian Ruthenia (early officially known as Subcarpathian Ruthenia) changed its name to the Carpatho-Ukraine soon afterwards, in November 1938. The month earlier the Ukrainophil Avhustyn Voloshyn was elected the Prime Minister of the Carpathian Ruthenia. He replaced on this post the Russophil Andrii Brodii. In February the Sejm (Parliament) was elected. On March 14, 1939, in Khust the Sejm passed the independence of Carpatho-Ukraine. Avhustyn Voloshyn became the President of the new state. However, the same day with the permission of the Fuehrer of Germany Adolf Hitler Khust was occupied by the Hungarian army. In the night to March 17, the last Czechoslovak troops left Khust and retreated to Romanian borders. Together with them, the one-day president of Carpatho-Ukraine, A. Voloshyn, emigrated to Romania [3; 5; 11; 17; 20; 28].

The Hungarian Army continued their advance and reached the Polish border on March 17. Sich volunteers, who came from the province of Galicia to defend Carpatho-Ukraine, were captured by the Hungarians. Later on, the volunteers were handed over to Polish soldiers. After a short hold in captivity all Sich volunteers were taken by the Poles to the banks of the Tisza River and executed [3; 5; 11; 17; 20; 28].

### Questions

1. How was the Soviet Union established?
2. What reasons caused the New Economic Policy (NEP)?
3. What reasons caused the great famine in the Soviet Ukraine?
4. What results did the policy of Ukrainization have?
5. Find the substance of the Stalinist totalitarian regime.
6. What consequences did the Soviet forced Industrialization and the total Collectivization have for the Ukrainian people?
7. What reasons and consequences did the Holodomor of 1932 and 1933 have?
8. What were the Stalinist repressions? Describe the show trials and everyday persecutions of the "people's enemies".
9. Analyze the economical and political development of the Western Ukrainian lands in 1920s and 1930s.
10. When did the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists appear? What political agenda did the OUN pursue?
11. Why was Carpatho-Ukraine proclaimed?

### Theme 14. Ukraine in the Second World War (1939 – 1945)

**The purpose** of the theme lies in the study of the role of Ukraine in the Second World War, the plans of the Nazis relating to Ukraine, the tragic fate of the Ukrainian people, the anti-Nazi resistance movement and freeing Ukraine from the Nazi regime.

The theme includes the following main **topics**: the Molotov – Ribbentrop Pact; the German-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Demarcation; the Soviet occupation of the Western Ukrainian lands; the first phase of the Great Patriotic War; the Act of Proclamation of the Ukrainian State by the Ukrainian nationalists; the occupation of Ukraine by the Nazi Germany; the State Defense Committee and the works in rear of the Red

Army; the reasons of the defeat of the Red Army; the end of the second phase of the Great Patriotic War; the Nazi New Order in Ukraine; the partition of Ukraine by the Nazi Germany; the resistance movement; the battles for the Sloboda and Right-Bank Ukraine; the Soviet repressions against the Crimean Tatars.

**The Molotov – Ribbentrop Pact.** On 23 August 1939 the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany signed the Treaty of Non-Aggression, also known as the Nazi-Soviet Pact and the Molotov – Ribbentrop Pact (after its chief architects, Soviet foreign minister Vyacheslav Molotov and German foreign minister Joachim von Ribbentrop). In addition to stipulations of non-aggression, the treaty included a secret protocol dividing Romania, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Finland into German and Soviet spheres of influence.

The invading of Germany to Poland on 1 September 1939 started the Second World War. On September 17 the army of the Soviet Union occupied Western Ukraine. A part of eastern Finland was also annexed by the Soviet Union after the Winter War. This was followed by Soviet annexations of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Bessarabia, Northern Bukovyna and Hertza region, the southern part of Chernivtsi Oblast in southwestern Ukraine, near Romania [3; 5; 9; 11; 17; 22; 28; 29; 37; 38; 41].

**The German-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Demarcation.** On September 28, 1939, after the joint invading Poland the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany concluded *the German-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Demarcation* (also known as the German-Soviet Boundary and Friendship Treaty). The text of this Treaty also was architected and signed by Joachim von Ribbentrop and Vyacheslav Molotov [3; 5; 9; 11; 17; 22; 28; 29; 37; 38; 41].

**The Soviet occupation of the Western Ukrainian lands.** In November of 1939, the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union officially included the Western Ukraine in the Ukrainian SSR. The Western Ukraine was divided by the Soviet government into six oblasts: Lvivska, Stanislavska, Volynska, Ternopil'ska, Rivnenska and Drohobyt'ska.

In the first days of the Soviet occupation, people of Western Ukraine welcomed the Red Army. In October of 1939 the Communists inspired people to elect members for the National Assembly by way of one-man-for-one-seat. This Communist Assembly officially announced the union of Western Ukraine and the Ukrainian SSR. The whole proceeding on the uniting of both parts of

Ukraine was a good show, which was performed by Communists for the demonstration of the popular character of the Soviet Power.

On August 2, 1940, the Ukrainian SSR officially included the Southern and Northern Bessarabia (Izmailska Oblast), and the Northern Bukovyna (Chernivetska Oblast) [3; 5; 9; 11; 17; 22; 28; 29; 37; 38; 41].

After all preparations, the Communists started the political and economical scenario, which had been approbated in the Ukrainian SSR for the two previous decades. They started the Ukrainization of the Western-Ukrainian culture in order to secure their regime in this region, getting a support of local people. It was necessary for destroying the local potential opponents, like Polish, Romanian and Czech great owners, the members of political parties, which stood on a non-Communist ideological platform. The Communists especially persecuted the Organization of Ukrainian nationalists (OUN), which ideas on integral nationalism confronted with the ideology of the international Marxizm.

Thus, the popular policy of Ukrainization had to pave way for the further unpopular Soviet modernization, which included forced Industrialization and total Collectivization.

At the beginning, the Communist Government, aiming at the strengthening of Communist regime, found Ukrainian-language schools, libraries, reading-rooms, newspapers. The Lviv University of Yan-Casimir was renamed to the University of Ivan Franko. The Lviv Opera Theatre was also named in honour of Ivan Franko (1856 – 1916), a very popular Ukrainian politician and writer. Western-Ukrainian inhabitants welcomed the introducing of free medical care by the Communists. The nationalization of great enterprises belonged to Poles, Romanians and other foreigners also was positively admitted by some local Ukrainians.

In the meanwhile, the Communists desolved local political parties, like the Ukrainian National Democratic Alliance (UNDO), the Ukrainian Catholic Union (UCU), the Ukrainian National Party (UNP), and etc.

Very soon, when the legal opposition had been destroyed, Communists went on the next stage, according to their plan. They started the dispossession of kurkuls, total nationalization and Collectivization. They shut down and banned the cultural and educational "Prosvita" society and its outlets. The later Communist activity in the Western Ukraine was accompanied by mass repressions. One wonders, how many people were condemned. There approximately were 10 per cent of the population both

imprisoned and exiled to Syberia in 1939 – 1941. After this policy the popularity of the Communist regime went down. The Western-Ukrainian people hated the Communist system of government and its ideology [3; 5; 9; 11; 17; 22; 28; 29; 37; 38; 41].

**The first phase of the Great Patriotic War.** On June 22, 1941, the German army and its allies suddenly attacked border guard of the Soviet Union. Thus, the war started. Adolf Hitler, the dictator of Nazi Germany, envisaged settling Germans in Eastern Europe as a master race, while exterminating or deporting most of the inhabitants to Siberia and using the remainder as slave labour. In the face of such threat in the Soviet Union very soon the term *Great Patriotic War* appeared. Just a day after Nazi Germany had invaded the Soviet Union, the Soviet newspaper Pravda published a long article titled "The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet People" (*Velikaya Otechestvennaya vojna sovetskogo naroda*). The article was written by Yemelyan Yaroslavsky, a member of Pravda editors' collegium. The term Great Patriotic War was intended to motivate the population to defend the Soviet motherland and to expel the invaders.

The Nazi German greate army (over 3.0 million troops) advanced, according to the plan codenamed the Operation "Barbarossa" Offensive. The Germans intended "to crush Soviet Russia in a quick campaign". It was planned a northern assault towards Leningrad, a symbolic capturing of Moscow, and a seizing oil fields in the south, beyond Ukraine.

In Ukraine the armies of group "South" (mostly the Germans, Romanians and Hungarians) commanded by the General von Rundstedt invided. For the first five days the German armies had moved from 900 to 1 200 km [3; 5; 9; 11; 17; 22; 28; 29; 37; 38; 41].

**The Act of Proclamation of the Ukrainian State by the Ukrainian nationalists.** Before the War OUN-B members formed two battalions "Nachtigall" and "Roland". On 30 June they both helped the Germans to capture Lviv. In this way the Ukrainian nationalists intended to overthrow the Communistic regime and get independence for Ukraine. OUN-B members believed Germany would be grateful for the help and allow them to build the Ukrainian nation.

As soon as Lviv had been captured in the same day the leading politician of OUN-B Yaroslav Stetsko read out *the Act of Proclamation of the Ukrainian State*, when he was at a meeting in the hall of the "Prosvita" society in the market place in Lviv. The independence of the Ukrainian State was

consecrated by the Uniat Metropolitan Andrii Sheptytskyi. At the moment of Proclamation Stepan Bandera had been confined by the Germans in Krakow. The elite of Nazi Germany did not clear the Proclamation. German soldiers arrested Yaroslav Stetsko, Stepan Bandera and a few other leading OUN-B members and brought them into a Berlin prison. There OUN-B members were imprisoned until 1944 [3; 5; 9; 11; 17; 22; 28; 29; 37; 38; 41].

**The occupation of Ukraine by the Nazi Germany.** Meanwhile, the German army, group "South", advanced to Kyiv. Between 23 and 29 June 1941 in the region of Lutsk-Rivne-Dubno-Brody the Red Army was defeated in the tank battle. In this great battle both sides (the Soviets and Germans) used 2 000 tanks. Between 7 July and 19 September 1941 the Germans took Kyiv and captured in the town and nearest to it regions 665 000 Soviet soldiers and officers. The Red Army group commander Mykhailo Kyrponos was killed. From August 5 to October 16, 1941 the Germans and the Romanians occupied Odesa, the important southern seaport of the Soviet Union. Between October 30, 1941, and July 4, 1942, the Red Army had been defending Sevastopol (for 250 days). On 25 October 1941 the Nazis seized Kharkiv. On 22 July 1942 the Red Army left Sverdlovsk, in Luhanska Oblast, the last Ukrainian settlement, which still had been unoccupied by the Germans [3; 5; 9; 11; 17; 22; 28; 29; 37; 38; 41].

**The reasons of the Red Army defeat.** The reasons, why the Red Army was crushed by the Nazis during the first battles, are considered to be as follows, already well-known. In the late 1930s, many experienced and competent military officers were killed in the Stalin repressions. Hence, the Red Army was left leaderless. The lack of good military officers led to the weakness of combat training of Soviet soldiers. The Red Army had been preparing for an offensive war, when the Nazis assaulted it [3; 5; 9; 11; 17; 22; 28; 29; 37; 38; 41].

**The State Defense Committee and the work in rear of the Red Army.** On June 30, 1941, in the Soviet Union *the State Defense Committee* (Gosudarstvennyj komitet oborony, GKO) was created by Yosyp Stalin, it was an extraordinary organ of state power for the wartime, which held complete state power in the country. By order of GKO, only between July and September of this year 2 million people were mobilized into the army and over 2 million were involved in making of defensive constructions, armament, and etc. A lot of plants, machine and tractor stations, collective farms, and

state farms were evacuated to the Asian republics, far away from the battlefield.

In December of 1941 the German forces were stopped at Moscow [3; 5; 9; 11; 17; 22; 28; 29; 37; 38; 41].

**The Nazi New Order in Ukraine.** In the meantime, Nazis had been establishing the so-called *New Order* in the occupied Ukraine. For that purpose they implemented *the Generalplan Ost* (in English, Master Plan East), which consisted of several tasks: the Germanisation (the spreading of the German language, people and culture by way of force), the Holocaust (full extermination of the Jews), partial extermination of the non-Aryan races (Slavs and Asians). It was calculated that for 1941 – 1944 Nazi punitive bodies (like, the secret state police "Gestapo" and the "Schutzstaffel", in English – the defence corps, abr. SS) had exterminated 3.9 million inhabitants of Ukraine, of which 1.4 – 1.6 million were the Jews. There was also enslavement of the non-Aryans. For this purpose in Ukraine Nazis opened 150 concentration camps, where innocent people, like prisoners, were working for Nazi regime. Since November 1941 people were brought to Germany to do forced labour, where they were marked as OST-Arbeiters (the Eastern Workers). German Nazis and their allies also robbed property of local dwellers, took away cultural artifacts and raw materials [33; 5; 9; 11; 17; 22; 28; 29; 37; 38; 41].

**The partition of Ukraine by the Nazi Germany.** According to the Generalplan Ost, the whole territory of Ukraine was divided into five parts. The *Reichskommissariat Ukraine* covered most of the Ukrainian territories, including Volhynia, Vinnytsia, Mykolaiv, Kyiv, Poltava and Zaporizhzhia. From 1941 to 1943 the Reichskommissar (the governor-general) of the Reichskommissariat Ukraine was Erich Koch. Further to the east, lands, nearer to the battlefield, were under control of military governance. There were Crimea, Chernihiv, Kharkiv, and the Donbas/Donets Basin. By the personal order of Adolf Hitler Eastern Halychyna was included into the Nazi Polish General Government as its fifth district (Distrikt Galizien). The territory between the Southern Buh and Dniester rivers was transferred to the control of Romania and got name "Transnistria" (or "Transniestra"). Early, in 1939, as it is said in the previous chapter, Zakarpattia was given to the Germany's ally Nazi Hungary [3; 5; 9; 11; 17; 22; 28; 29; 37; 38; 41].

**The resistance movement.** In 1941, when Germany had been occupying Ukraine, the resistance movement started. Taras Bulba-Borovets orga-

nized *the Polissian Sich*, the first Ukrainian insurgent army, which fought both with the Communists and Nazis. This movement was followed by the OUN-B in 1942, when this nationalist party created *the Ukrainian Insurgent Army* (Ukrainska povstanska armia, UPA). On the other hand, in June, 1942, the Communists established *the Ukrainian headquarters of the Partyzan Movement*, at the head of which was Tymofii Strokach. The headquarters provided cooperation between partisan units and the regular army. Also it was responsible for guerrillas' communication facilities, logistic facilities and weapons. In Ukraine the famous commanders of red partisan units became Saburov, Fedorov, Naumov, and Kovpak.

Thus, since 1942 the resistance movement in Ukraine was represented by two groups, which based on different ideologies – the integral nationalism and Marxizm [3; 5; 9; 11; 17; 22; 28; 29; 37; 38; 41].

**The battles for the Sloboda and Right-Bank Ukraine.** Between 23 August 1942 and 2 February 1943 the Germans lost the battle of Stalingrad (now Volgograd). In December 1942, while battle of Stalingrad was going on, the Red Army freed village Pivnivka (Luhanska Oblast), then, on February 16, 1943, the Army took Kharkiv, but on March 15 this town was lost again.

From July 5 to August 23, in 1943, Germanian forces were cruched in the battle of Kursk. During the battle the Soviets took Orel and Belgorod (on August 5), Kharkiv (on August 23). While the army freed these towns, partyzans, in great number, made the so-called Rail War, disrupting the Kursk-Kyiv rail line [3; 5; 9; 11; 17; 22; 28; 29; 37; 38; 41].

**The Soviet repressions against the Crimean Tatars.** On November 6, 1943, the Germans lost Kyiv. Between April and May 1944 the Red Army freed Crimea. Soon after there Y. Stalin impelemented repression against the Crimean Tatars. The whole Tatar people was falsely charged in treason against the Soviet Union and collaboration with Nazi enemies. They all were punished by a deportation to Central Asia. Together with them there were exiled from Crimea such national minorities, like Greeks, Armenians, Bulgarians, Turks and Iranians [3; 5; 9; 11; 17; 22; 28; 29; 37; 38; 41].

**The end of the second phase of the Great Patriotic War.** On the Right Bank from January to February of 1944 in the Korsun-Shevchenko battle the Soviets surrounded and destroyed ten or eleven German divisions, which consisted of nearly 80 000 soldiers and officers.

During the Lviv-Sandomier Offensive (July – August 1944) the Red Army expeled the enemy from the Western Ukraine, except Zakarpattia. In Sep-



tember and October of 1944 the Soviets had been fighting for Zakarpattia. At last on 28 October 1944 all the territory of Ukraine was freed. The next year the Red Army captured the capital of the Nazi Germany Berlin and on May 9, 1945, the end of the Great Patriotic War was proclaimed. Three months later the Second World War ended on September 2, 1945, when Japan, the ally of the Nazi Germany, had signed its own capitulation [3; 5; 9; 11; 17; 22; 28; 29; 37; 38; 41].

### Questions

1. What were the reasons of the Second World War?
2. Describe the Molotov – Ribbentrop Pact and the German-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Demarcation.
3. What were the features of Soviet occupation of the Western Ukrainian lands in 1939 and 1940?
4. What were the reasons of the Red Army defeat at the first stage of the War?
5. How were the political plans of the OUN changed through the Great Patriotic War?
6. What policy did the Nazi Germany pursue in Ukraine?
7. Due to what reasons was Ukraine freed from the Nazis in 1944?

### Theme 15. The Social and Political Development of Ukraine between 1945 and 1991

**The purpose** of the theme is to give an idea of the development of the Soviet Ukraine from the post-war rebuilding to the collapse of the Soviet Union. The attempts of the Soviet government to improve the State economy through administrative reforms, the struggle of the Ukrainian people against the Communist regime, and the collapse of the Soviet Union are considered.

The **main topics** of the theme are the following: the foreign policy of the Soviet Ukraine; the shaping of the territory of the Soviet Ukraine; the post-war rebuilding of the Soviet Ukrainian economy; the Great famine (1946 – 1947) in Ukraine; the Sovietization of the Western Ukrainian lands; the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA); the operation "Vistula"; the Zhdanovism; the Lysenkoism; the death of Yosyp Stalin and struggle for power in the Party; the transferring of Crimea to Ukraine; the policy of Liberalization; the XX Party

Congress and the secret speech of M. Khrushchov; the reform of decentralization of the State economy managing; the Virgin Lands Campaign; the disastrous Corn campaign; the Livestock campaign; the development of the Ukrainian culture, "the Sixties"; the Dissidents; the economical reforms of Alexey Kosygin; the Period of Stagnation; the crisis of the Soviet economy; the Dissident movement; the policy of "Reconstruction"; the nuclear explosion at Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant; the policy of "Glasnost"; the crisis of the Soviet economy; the national intellectual movements; the People's Movement of Ukraine for the "Reconstruction"; the great strike of miners; the first alternative elections to Verkhovna Rada; the Declaration on State Sovereignty of Ukraine; the Act of Declaration of Independence of Ukraine; the collapse of the Soviet Union.

**The foreign policy of the Soviet Ukraine.** In 1944, the January plenary session of the All-Union Communist Party (bolsheviks') voted the new rights for the Soviet Union Republics in foreign policy. In March of 1944 the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR was established.

In February of 1945, in the Yalta Conference (also known the Crimea Conference) the United States and the United Kingdom agreed to accept membership of the Ukrainian SSR and Belorussian SSR into the United Nations, the anti-war international organization, which it was planned to found in near future. In April of 1945 the Soviet Ukraine officially became *one of the founding members of the United Nations*.

Then, the Ukrainian SSR became a member of the United Nations Economic and Social Council. From 1948 to 1949 Ukraine was a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council.

However, all the territorial questions, regarding to the Soviet Ukraine, were considered only by the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union. The propositions of the United Kingdom and Sudan about establishing direct diplomatic relations with the Ukrainian SSR were left without any answers by the Soviet Union [3; 5; 9; 11; 17; 28; 29; 37; 38].

**The shaping of the territory of the Soviet Ukraine.** While the Red Army had been advancing to Berlin, the Soviet Union and Poland concluded Soviet-Polish agreement (in August of 1945). Poland gave the Soviet Ukraine Eastern Halychyna and Volhynia. In return, Poland received some small ethnic Ukrainian territories (Nadsianina, Lemkivshchyna, Kholmshchyna and

Pidliashshia) also known as Zakerzonnia, near the western borders of the modern Ukraine.

In November of 1944, the Congress of People's Committees of Zakarpattian Ukraine announced a reunion with the Ukrainian SSR. In June of 1945 Czechoslovakia officially gave Zakarpattia to the Ukrainian SSR.

In February of 1947 the Soviet-Romanian treaty was signed, about transferring Northern Bukovyna, Southern and Northern Bessarabia to the Soviet Ukraine [3; 5; 9; 11; 17; 28; 29; 37; 38].

**The post-war rebuilding of the Soviet Ukrainian economy.** In March of 1946 the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union adopted the five-year plan of reconstruction and economic development of the Soviet Union. In August of 1946 this plan was accepted by the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR. It was planned there to rebuild heavy industry, transport and energy sector. The rebuilding of economy had to be managed by the state, using command and administrative implements.

During the post-war rebuilding the Ukrainian SSR got machines and equipment from the East regions of the Soviet Union. Germany also sent to Ukraine machines as reparation repayment. However, for the most part, the recovery of the Ukrainian economy was made by the Ukrainian SSR at its own expenses. First of all the coal-mining, petroleum extraction, energy sector, metallurgy, and heavy engineering industry were rebuilt. In 1953 the total output volume of the heavy industry reached 153 per cent of the pre-war production level [3; 5; 9; 11; 17; 28; 29; 37; 38].

**The greate famine (1946 – 1947) in Ukraine.** Between 1946 and 1947 the Ukrainian population had been suffering due to the greate famine. The famine was caused by a drought, post-war devastation, and, mostly, high rates of grain procurements implemented by the State for needs of the rebuilding of heavy industry. The second reason for the high rates of grain procurements was a Soviet reclamation in Eastern Europe – in 1946 about 100 tons of grain were donated by the Soviet Union to countries of Eastern Europe, as a "fraternal aid". The Soviet famine of 1946 – 1947 killed nearly 1 million people [3; 5; 9; 11; 17; 28; 29; 37; 38].

**The Sovietization of the Western Ukrainian lands.** In the Western Ukraine the Soviet Government, making Industrialization, implemented the total Collectivization, the goal of which was to consolidate individual land and labour into collective farms, which was actually managed by State officers. The 1950 became known as the year of total Collectivization of the Western

Ukrainian lands. This year 93 % of the rural population entered the collective farms under compulsion. Meanwhile, in Western lands the Communists persecuted Nationalists and free-thinkers, who were disagreeing with the Communist ideology and politics. In March of 1946 the NKVD fabricated the liquidation of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. The year before its Major Archbishop Yosyp Slipyi with other bishops was arrested by the NKVD allegedly under charge of a collaboration with the Nazi regime. All these clergymen were convicted to penal servitude [3; 5; 9; 11; 17; 28; 29; 37; 38].

**The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).** When the Soviet State had been making its unpopular policy in Western Ukraine, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) had been fighting with the NKVD, the public and secret police organization of the Soviet Union. Between 1943 and 1950 the UPA was headed by the Nationalist Roman Shukhevych (alias Taras Chuprynka). Being supported by the local population UPA soldiers waged the guerrilla warfare against the Communists and the Poles in the Western lands [3; 5; 9; 11; 17; 28; 29; 37; 38].

**The operation "Vistula".** In 1947 the Soviet Union and the Communists of Poland arranged for making the operation, which was codenamed "Vistula". The operation was going to leave the UPA without its supporting by the Ukrainian minorities of the southeastern territories of Poland. It suggested the deportation of these minorities into western and northern regions of Poland.

On March 28, 1947, in Lemkivshchyna (now the Lesko County, in Poland) the sotnia (unit of a hundred soldiers) led by the officer alias Khrin assassinated the Polish Communist General Karol Świerczewski. This incident was used by the Government of the People's Republic of Poland as the direct pretext for the Operation "Vistula". Between April 28 and July 31, 1947, 20 000 Polish soldiers and officers under command of General Stefan Mossor had deported about 140 000 or 150 000 of the Ukrainians from their historical regions Nadsiania (in modern Przemyśl County, in south-eastern Poland), Łemkowszczyzna (in the Subcarpathian region of Poland, between rivers Poprad and Uzh), Kholmshchyna (south-eastern territory of Poland, southward from the middle of the Buh River), Pidliashshia (in the eastern part of Poland and western Belarus).

During the deportation deportees suffered a lot of inconveniences. Before being deported they had only a few hours to prepare and get the limited possessions they were allowed to take. They were transported in crowded boxcars, in very bad sanitary conditions, without any regular food

supply. During the transition many Ukrainians died. In order that deportees were unable to flee into the Soviet Ukraine, the NKVD blocked the borders of the Soviet Ukraine [3; 5; 9; 11; 17; 28; 29].

**The end of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).** The notorious operation "Vistula" left the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) without its local supporting. On March 5, 1950, the Commander UPA Roman Shukhevych was killed in fighting with NKVD nearby Lviv. Some detachments of UPA heroically continued fighting until about the middle of 1950s and then were finally overcome by the Soviets [3; 5; 9; 11; 17; 28; 29].

**The Cold War.** By the end of 1940s the world had been split into two camps: the capitalist one led by the United States and the Communist one headed by the Soviet Union. The sustained state of political and military tension between them is considered to be called the Cold War. It was reflected in the domestic policy of the Soviet Union, the government of which tried to isolate the Soviet people from the influence of western ideas on freedom of speech, private property rights, advantages of a market economy, and etc. [3; 5; 9; 11; 17; 28; 29; 37; 38].

**The Zhdanovism.** In 1946 the Soviet Central Committee secretary Andrei Zhdanov in 1946 proposed the so-called Zhdanov cultural doctrine, also called as *the Zhdanovism* or the Zhdanovshchina. According to it, from 1946 to 1952 a lot of writers, artists, intellectuals and other persons of intelligentsia, who did not conform to the party ideological line in their creative works, were persecuted by the NKVD. The guilties were charged by the officials in the "ideological errors", "a hostility against Soviet system", "a cosmopolitanism", "a kowtowing" before the Western European and the American States, "nationalism", and etc. Because of this cultural policy (Zhdanovshchina), a lot of members of Ukrainian intelligentsia suffered. There were Ostap Vyshnia, Ivan Senchenko, Yurii Yanovskyi, Maksym Rylskyi, Volodymyr Sosiura, Oleksandr Dovzhenko and others [3; 5; 9; 11; 17; 28; 29; 37].

**The Lysenkoism.** In 1949 in the Soviet Union the campaign called the Lysenkoism was started against the "idealistic science" Genetics. The Lysenkoism led to the destroying of this science in the Soviet Union by way of repressions against soviet geneticists.

This year agronomist Trofym Lysenko, the director of the Soviet Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences, called the Genetics "a bourgeois pseudoscience", citing the words of Yosyp Stalin, the Premier of the Soviet Union.

From 1930s Trofym Lysenko proposed the vernalization as the best way on developing of the Soviet agrarian sector. The vernalization is the technique of enhance crop yield by exposing wheat seed to high humidity and low temperatures. The vernalization, as T. Lysenko thought, would attract masses of rural population to soaked wheat seeds and grow crop in frozen fields covered by snow. T. Lysenko believed the mass and large-scale practical experiment led to the good results. The Soviet politicians, including Yosyp Stalin, accepted the idea of T. Lysenko because they believed it would make Soviet farmers happy with the Collectivization.

On the contrary, the Genetics proposed to make crop yield higher by way of researching wheat seed in the laboratory conditions by scholars, but no using farmer masses in real fields. The Genetics was opposed to the mass experiments in real fields, as T. Lysenko proposed. The methods of Genetics decreased greatly the financial expenses and labour costs in the agrarian sector, but they were not so popular as the technique of vernalization. Hence, in 1949 all Genetics researches was folded in the Soviet Union for a long time. A lot of geneticists were dismissed from their jobs and persecuted by the NKVD. In Kharkiv prominent geneticists I. Poliakov, S. Delone, M. Gryshko and others also lost their jobs due to the Lysenkoism, the official domestic policy of the State [3; 5; 9; 11; 17; 28; 29; 37].

**The death of Yosyp Stalin and struggle for power in the Party.** On March 5, 1953, Yosyp Stalin, the Great Premier of the Soviet Union, died. It led to a lot of changes in the life of the soviet society. After the death of Y. Stalin the head Minister of Internal Affairs (former NKVD, now Ministerstvo vnutrennikh del, abbr. MVD) Lavrentiy Beria initiated the Ukrainian Oleh Kyrychenko was elected the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine. O. Kyrychenko replaced on this post Leonid Melnykov, who had been the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine since 1949.

At the same time Lavrentiy Beria was appointed the First Deputy Premier of the Soviet Union (vice-head of government). In his struggle for the rule he based on the State power structures. That was the reason why he reinforced them by way of merging the Ministry of State Security (Ministerstvo Gosudarstvennoy bezopastnosti, abbr. MGB) into the Minister of Internal Affairs (MVD).

Lavrentiy Beria's opposition led by Mykyta Khrushchov mainly consisted of the members of Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Russian: Kommunisticheskaya Partiya Sovetskogo Soyuz; for short: KPSS).

In July 1953 after being reported by the former guerrilla Tymofii Strokach L. Beria was arrested under accusation of treason and in winter of this year he was shot together with five of his close associates [3; 5; 9; 11; 17; 28; 29; 37].

**Mykyta Khrushchov.** In September of 1953 Mykyta Khrushchov was elected the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Before it, in 1938 – 1949, he headed the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine. Since those times Mykyta Khrushchov had strong links with the Ukrainian Communists, who made a strong support for him. In return, he welcomed the Ukrainians to occupy the high State and Party offices of the Soviet Union. Taken this policy, the Ukrainian party elite was formed [3; 5; 9; 11; 17; 28; 29; 37; 38].

**The transferring of Crimea to Ukraine.** In 1954 in the Soviet Union peoples celebrated the Anniversary of 300 years from the time, when Ukraine and Russia had united. On 19 February 1954 in honour of this celebration the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union announced the transferring of Crimean Oblast from the RSFS Russia to the Ukrainian SSR [3; 5; 9; 11; 17; 28; 29; 37; 38].

**The policy of Liberalization.** In the struggle against adherents of Stalin (stalinists), one of which was considered to be L. Beria, M. Khrushchov and his supporters began policy against the Stalin's Cult of Personality. It led to changes in the most of spheres in the living of Soviet society. The so-called *Liberalization* (the part of general *de-Stalinization*) emerged, a relaxation of previous Stalin regime restrictions. Since 1953 the Soviet Government had been implementing general amnesty and rehabilitation of those, who were condemned in 1930s, the years of the cruel Stalin repressions. In 1953 the military tribunals of MVD (former NKVD) were banned [3; 5; 9; 11; 17; 28; 29; 37; 38].

**The XX Party Congress and the secret speech of M. Khrushchov.** In February of 1956 at a closed meeting of the XX Party Congress, M. Khrushchov read out so-called the secret speech named "On the Cult of Personality of Yosyp Stalin and its Consequences". In 1956 an incomplete version of it was published under name "On Overcoming the Cult of Personality and its Consequences". Although soon after the secret speech M. Khrushchov remarked that Y. Stalin was "the great Marxist-Leninist", all over the country Communist activists began destroying the monuments and pictures devoted to Y. Stalin. The eastern Ukrainian great coal-mining town Stalino was renamed Donetsk [3; 5; 9; 11; 17; 28; 29; 37; 38].

### **The reform of decentralization of the State economy managing.**

In July of 1957 M. Khrushchov, having purpose to stop a departmentalism of ministries, launched reform of decentralization of the State economy managing. For this he replaced the central ministries by the Regional Economic Councils (*Sovety Narodnogo Hozyaistva*, abbr. *Sovnarkhozy*). Each of these Regional Economic Councils managed a separate economic region. The territory of the Ukrainian SSR was divided into 11 separate economic regions [3; 5; 9; 11; 17; 28; 29; 37; 38].

**The development of the heavy industry.** The liberalization and decentralization led to the rise of personal initiative in the economy. Given it, in the Soviet Union at the beginning of 1960s the automobile production emerged (in Zaporizhzhia). At that time in Kyiv and Zaporizhzhia the production of the turbojet passenger airliner TU-124 started. On the whole, between 1959 and 1965 in the Soviet Union 5 200 designs of new machines had been introduced into production. Although to compare with the economies of Western states the progress of economy of the Soviet Union was slow, the development of steel industry of Soviet Ukraine left behind the steel industries of European and American countries [3; 5; 9; 11; 17; 28; 37; 38].

**The decline of agricultural sector of economy.** The agricultural sector of economy, however, had some difficulties. M. Khrushchov is also known for his three adventurous campaigns in the agricultural sector of the Soviet State economy. This campaigns pretended to be popular and were gone under ideological slogans in order to enhance the prestige of the Soviet farming [3; 5; 9; 11; 17; 28; 37; 38].

**The Virgin Lands Campaign.** In 1955 – 1960 M. Khrushchov initiated the so-called *Virgin Lands Campaign* (in Russian: *Osvoenie Tseliny*) in order to boost the Soviet Union's agricultural production and alleviate the food shortages for Soviet peoples. During campaign 13 million hectares of virgin lands were cultivated by the Soviets, including the Ukrainians, in Kazakhstan, Altai, and Northern Caucasus. Due to this campaign, Ukraine lost many young specialists (nearly 75 000 – 80 000 persons) and machines (grain harvester combines and tractors), which were transported to Central Asia. Many Ukrainian young persons left there for living. Unfortunately, the Virgin Lands Campaign did not give the expended yield, although it was very expensive project. The planting with cereal monoculture led to erosion of unstable Asian soils [3; 5; 9; 11; 17; 28; 37; 38].

**The disastrous Corn campaign.** The collective farms and state farms were unefficient, because of which the Soviet republics had shortage of food.



Given this, M. Khrushchov and his attendants look for new sources of food supplies. In 1959 N. Khrushchov with delegation visited the United States. There he saw a broad plants of corn, which, he knew, gave a very high yield, even sometimes higher than wheat. On his returning home, M. Khrushchov started *the Corn campaign*. He enthusiastically named the corn "the Queen of the fields". Although good american farmer specialist Roswell Garst recommended to grow the corn in the southern part of the Soviet Union, the Soviet officials, trying to please M. Khrushchov, planted it everywhere, even within the Far North. M. Khrushchov sought to plant corn in Siberia. 20 per cent of the Ukrainian territories was planted by the corn. The corn cultivation in the Soviet Union lacked necessary chemicals.

To free fields for corn the Soviet officials often removed grain and when the corn gave a little yield, the food supplies of the Soviet republics came to strong shortage, much stronger than it was until the Corn campaign. In 1963, when there was a bad harvest, the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, including the Soviet Ukraine, started importing grain in large quantities [3; 5; 9; 11; 17; 28; 37; 38].

**The Livestock campaign.** The third agricultural campaign of M. Khrushchov was implemented under his slogan: "If we catch up with the United States in per-capita production of meat, butter and milk, we will fire the most powerful torpedo against the foundations of capitalism". It was the beginning of *the Livestock campaign*. In 1959 the First Secretary of CC KPSS M. Khrushchov and his attendants tripled the five-year plan of food procurement [3; 5; 9; 11; 17; 28; 37; 38].

In order to fulfill the State plan collective farms and state farms had to buy lacking food from private owners. This secret operations were very expensive for these farms. Very soon they lacked money to purchase fertilizing and new machines. In addition, they falsely reported to the Government that all food they supplied was their own products. Hence, the Government knew nothing about the real situation in the agrarian sector. As a result of all the above-mentioned, next 1960 year the farming production substantially decreased in the Soviet Union, including the Soviet Ukraine [3; 5; 9; 11; 17; 28; 37; 38].

**The retirement of Mykyta Khrushchov.** The Government had to increase investments for the agricultural sector. On October 14, 1964, the plenum of central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union freed M. Khrushchov from his post of the first secretary of the Soviet Union

and party responsibilities, ostensibly at his own request, on account of his deteriorating health [3; 5; 9; 11; 17; 28; 37; 38].

**The development of the Ukrainian culture, "the Sixties"**. Among the positive results of M. Khrushchov's ruling was changes in the Soviet intellectual life. Due to the liberalization intellectuals experienced a period that came to be called, after a novella published Llia Ehrenburg in early 1954, *the "Thraw"*. By the mid-1950s many of the old restrictions were lifted, and every component of Soviet culture benefited. Works produced by writers and film directors reasserted the significance of the individual, the reality of emotional life, and thereby extended the private sphere. The cinema and literature were becoming freer. In Ukraine a number of new writers started their creative working. Among them V. Symonenko, L. Kostenko, Y. Sverstiuk, I. Dziuba, I. Drach, D. Pavlychko and others were writing fiction literature about the Ukrainian real life and culture. It was the second revival of the Ukrainian culture. All the prominent intellectuals of that period are known as *"the Sixties"*, after the time, when most of them began their creative working, in the late 1950s and 1960s [3; 5; 11; 17; 28; 38].

**The Dissidents**. The intellectual movement paved way for the political opposition to the Soviet State. These oppositionists got name Dissidents (litterelly from Latin: those, who set at the contrary side, who are disagree). Among the dissidents were intellectuals as well as workers and peasants. They non-violently demanded the Soviet State government to respect the human rights and private property of Soviet citizens. Dissidents published their demands in an illegal editions "Samizdat" (literally, that is edited by itself). Individuals reproduced censored publications of works, which were forbidden by the State. After reproducing dissidents passed the documents from reader to reader. Also dissidents inspired the national celebrations and meetings devoted to heroes of the history of Ukraine. State police and the Committee for State Security (Komitet Gosudarstvennoy bezopastnosti, abbr. KGB) persecuted dissidents as the "enemies of the Soviet Power". Being arrested dissidents got to a prison for a long terms.

While pursuing dissidents, the State government declared that there were not any political prisoners in the Soviet Union. In reality, in August-September 1965, Soviet police arrested about 20 dissidents [3; 5; 11; 17; 28; 38].

**Leonid Brezhnev, the First Secretary of the Soviet Union**. In 1965 the plenum of central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

elected Leonid Brezhnev the First Secretary of the Soviet Union. Under L. Brezhnev the *nomenklatura* (the party apparatus, the group of top-leaders of the Soviet Union, party elite) became the close association, the members of which had the best apartments, motels, hospitals, ration, and etc. [3; 5; 11; 17; 28; 9; 29; 37; 38].

**The economical reforms of Alexey Kosygin.** In March of 1965 the plenum of the Central Committee voted to start reforms of economy, which were initiated by Aleksey Kosygin, the chairman of the Council of ministers. The reforms established firm plans of purchasing agricultural products for several years. Also an incentive payments for an overplan production were introduced in order to motivate workers and farmers to make good results of their work. The regional economic Councils were replaced by the Central Ministries and by this way the Soviet economy was again centralized.

The reforms gave some positive results. The Eighth five-year plan (1966 – 1970) was even named "golden". The industrial output grew in 1.5 times and the general national income added 30 per cent. Unfortunately, in the early 1970s a decline in output began, that was caused by an extensive character of the economy and the lack of private initiative of citizens [3; 5; 11; 17; 28].

**The Period of Stagnation.** After reforms of 1965 – 1971 Leonid Brezhnev and his attendants had no attempts to change the economic situation for the better. Given this undoing of L. Brezhnev, later on, the next First Secretary of the Soviet Union Mikhail Gorbachev called the times of L. Brezhnev "the Period of Stagnation" [3; 5; 11; 17; 28; 9; 29; 37; 38].

**The "Mature Socialism".** After the failure of reforms L. Brezhnev's government more often announced that in the Soviet Union the society of the "Mature Socialism" had been already built by the Soviet people. Ostensibly the "Mature Socialism" was the transition link to communism, the "the paradise on the Earth". Of course, it was the Party announcement, which had no real ground. The Communist Party hoped to calm those people, who were waiting for the finishing of the communism building [3; 5; 11; 17; 28; 9; 29; 37; 38].

**The crisis of the Soviet economy.** Actually, the economy of the Soviet Union was in a deep crisis, and there were a little hope for the economical raising because of an industrial disbalance. The heavy industry left far behind the light industry. The Soviet Union wasted great money for armament in order to wage the Cold War (the sustained state of political and military

tension) with the United States. In addition, as we said above, the Soviet Union had great difficulties in the food supplies.

By 1980s in the Soviet Ukraine only 20 per cent of enterprises had produced consumer goods. The rest Ukrainian enterprises made half-finished products and other means of production, which were commonly finished by enterprises of other Soviet republics [3; 5; 11; 17; 28; 9; 29; 37; 38].

**The new Constitution of the Soviet Union.** In 1977 the Communist Party adopted the new Constitution of the Soviet Union. The sovereignty of the Soviet republics was formally proclaimed. The sixth article of the Constitution declared the Communist Party the only leading force of society [3; 5; 11; 17; 28; 9; 29; 37; 38].

**Volodymyr Shcherbytskyi.** By the time of adopting the Constitution, the Communist Party of the Soviet Ukraine had been headed by Volodymyr Shcherbytskyi, a fellow countryman of L. Brezhnev. They both were born in the village near Dnipropetrovsk, the south-eastern Ukrainian town [3; 5; 11; 17; 28].

**The Dissident movement.** Despite the greates proclamations about the human rights in reality the State power structures (KGB and Police) persecuted all citizens, who advocated the democratic rights and religious rights. The Dissidents were opposed to the state control over all spheres of social living.

Sometimes dissidents hung out blue and yellow flags, the colours of Ukraine, as it was in 1972 in Lviv (Liubomyr Starosolskyi, Roman Klopach) and in 1973 in Ternopil outskirts (V. Marmus, M. Marmus, and S. Sapeliak).

In 1972 the Police arrested more than 100 dissidents, among which were such intellectuals as Volodymyr Chornovil, Yevhen Sverstiuk, Ivan Svitlychnyi, Ivan Dziuba, Vasyl Stus and others. Those dissidents, which guilt was unprovable, were falsely called psychotics and detained in hospitals [3; 5; 11; 17; 28; 9; 29; 37; 38].

**The Ukrainian Helsinki Union.** In 1975 the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics and 34 States signed the Agreement in Helsinki, the capital of the Republic of Finland. Signing the agreement the Soviet Union obliged to defend democracy and human rights. In reality the government of Soviet Union continued persecution dissidents and violation the human rights. In return, in 1976 dissidents created *the Ukrainian Helsinki Union*, a legal group of 35 members aimed at supporting of the Helsinki Agreements. The group was headed by the Ukrainian dissidents Mykola Rudenko and Oleksa Tykhyi.

In the early 1980s the Police and KGB made large operation on catching a lot of dissidents. Most of dissidents were imprisoned. Some of them, later on, died in the corrective labour camps and mental hospitals [3; 5; 11; 17; 28; 9; 29; 37; 38].

**Mikhail Gorbachev, the First Secretary of the State.** In 1982 Leonid Brezhnev died. In 1982 – 1985 the post of the first Secretary of the Soviet Union was occupied by Yuri Andropov, and after him, Konstantin Chernenko. In March of 1985 the plenum of central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union elected Mikhail Gorbachev the First Secretary of the State [3; 5; 11; 17; 28; 9; 29; 37; 38].

**The policy of "Reconstruction".** In April of 1985, at the Central Committee plenum, M. Gorbachev proposed a course for accelerating economic of the Soviet Union, the so-called policy of "*Reconstruction*" (Perestroika). Making reforms he and his supporters planned for three five-year plans to get the production equal that had been made for all the previous years of the Soviet Union, since 1922. First of all, the campaign against alcoholism was started, because it was suggested that alcoholism of workers and collective farmers strongly harmed the process of Soviet production. In practice the anti-alcoholism campaign was accompanied by cutting down vineyards in great quantities, especially in southern Ukraine and Crimea. The cutting was caused by orders of those Communist officials, who wanted to make please for Mikhail Gorbachev and get from him some sinecures. Some varieties of grapes were lost forever. The damage from the anti-alcoholism campaign was appreciated ten billion rubles [3; 5; 11; 17; 28; 9; 29; 37; 38].

**The nuclear explosion at Chornobyl Nuclear Power Plant.** On April 26, 1986, the accelerating of the working process occured the great disaster, the nuclear explosion at Chornobyl Nuclear Power Plant. A lot of people died. For some days the Government had been suppressing the fact of nuclear accident, while the explosions and fire had been releasing large quantities of radioactive contamination into the atmosphere. The radiation spread over much of Europe [3; 5; 11; 17; 28; 9; 29; 37; 38].

**The policy of "Glasnost".** Two months before the nuclear accident M. Gorbachev and party started policy of "*Glasnost*" (publicity), allowing people publically to discuss little defects of the Soviet system for finding the ways of correcting these defects. After the nuclear accident of 26 April 1986 wide public discussions got out of the State control. The process of rethinking the history of the Soviet Union began. Very soon among the Soviet people the

Soviet Union became known as the barrack and semi-feudal State mainly due to its previous repressions and Holodomor of 1932 – 1933. The Communist Party rapidly had been losing its reputation.

At that time, Mikhail Gorbachev and his attendants initiated the releasing political prisoners in order to calm people. However, till 1988 the released victims were not rehabilitated by the State [3; 5; 11; 17; 28; 9; 29; 37; 38].

**The liberalization of economic management.** In order to made new officials of liberal views, who would provide the "reconstruction", M. Gorbachev initiated the local elections of deputies to local Soviet councils, the election of directors and middle managers in plants, factories, collective farms, and etc. In addition, M. Gorbachev passed the law, which allowed the free co-operation in trade, food and service enterprises. Actually both these measures led to financial strengthening of local directors, among which were persons embezzling the State propriety. Of course, these local directors tried to influence the government in order to secure their own states, often grounded on an illegal embezzling.

In 1987 M. Gorbachev made "cleansing" of the Part-aparatus, retiring old conservatives, who could prevent the reforms [3; 5; 11; 17; 28; 9; 29; 37; 38].

**The crisis of the Soviet economy.** While M. Gorbachev carried on the reforms of "Reconstruction", which included "Glasnost", the social and economic situation became worse. There were strong shortage of food and consumer goods in the Soviet markets, including the Ukrainian ones. The illegal trade, so called "black market", flourished. It caused the growing of criminal activities. Soviet currency (rubles) depreciated rapidly, because of an inflation that was caused by total crisis of the Soviet economy [3; 5; 11; 17; 28; 9; 29; 37; 38].

**The national intelectual movements.** The crisis and impoverishment of masses were the background for a development of national intelectual movements against the Soviet tyranny. In Ukraine the informal associations of citizens began their working for organization anti-Communist meetings of many thousands of people all over the cities of Ukraine. Also these informal associations made conferences, which reviewed the history of the Soviet Union. The informal groups were the Culturologist (Cultural and Educational) Club (from 1987, in Kyiv), the second "Ukrainian Helsinki Union" (from 1988, in Kyiv), the Tovarystvo Leva (Lion Society) (from 1987, in Lviv), the Hromada

(from 1988, in Kyiv), and etc. In 1989, historical and educational society "Memorial" and the "Taras Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Comradeship" began to call for the rehabilitation of all victims of Stalinist repression and reviewing the history [3; 5; 11; 17; 28; 38].

**The Law "On Languages in the Ukrainian SSR".** In 1989 under pressure of the national movement the Communist party launched Verkhovna Rada (Parliament) of the Soviet Ukraine. No sooner had been formed Verkhovna Rada adopted the Law "On Languages in the Ukrainian SSR", which proclaimed the Ukrainian language the official one [3; 5; 11; 17; 28; 38].

**The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church.** Between 1987 and 1990 the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and the Greek Catholic (Uniat) Church were revived [3; 5; 11; 17; 28; 38].

**The great strike of miners.** In July of 1989 the economic crisis caused the great strike of miners of 193 Donbas mines. The miners mostly demanded the ruling Communist party to make higher wages and better working conditions, and to resign the government [3; 5; 11; 17; 28; 38].

**The People's Movement of Ukraine for the "Reconstruction".** In September of 1989 in Kyiv *the People's Movement of Ukraine for the "Reconstruction"* (Perestroyka) was founded. This civil-political movement was headed by Ivan Drach, the intellectual and former dissident. The movement advocated democracy and humanity. On January 21, 1991, before the 71st anniversary of the Act of Uniting Ukraine, the People's Movement of Ukraine and other democratic forces organized the so-called "human chain" (the "Ukrainian Wave") between Kyiv and Lviv, performing the unity of Ukraine [3; 5; 11; 17; 28; 38].

**The non-Communist political parties.** Since 1989 in the Soviet Ukraine new non-Communist parties appeared. There were the Ukrainian National Party, the Ukrainian Republican Party, the Democratic Party of Ukraine, the Green Party of Ukraine, and etc. On the whole at the beginning of 1991 in Ukraine 13 non-Communist parties, which included nearly 30 000 people, were officially acting [3; 5; 11; 17; 28; 38].

**The first alternative elections to Verkhovna Rada.** In March of 1990 the first alternative elections to Verkhovna Rada and local councils were provided by the state. In the elections the new political forces also took part.

Meanwhile, M. Gorbachev lost his power. Even in Moscow, the capital of the Soviet Union, the democratic parliament was created [3; 5; 11; 17; 28; 38].

**The Declaration on State Sovereignty of Ukraine.** On July 16, 1990, the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR adopted *the Declaration on State Sovereignty of Ukraine*, which declared the independence, completeness and indivisibility of the republic authorities of Ukraine within its territory, independence and equality in foreign relations [3; 5; 11; 17; 28; 38].

**The Act of Declaration of Independence of Ukraine.** At last, on August 24, 1991, the extraordinary session of Verkhovna Rada voted *the Act of Declaration of Independence of Ukraine*. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic was renamed into Ukraine [3; 5; 11; 17; 28; 38].

**The collapse of the Soviet Union.** On December 7 – 8, 1991, in Belovezhskaya Puscha near Minsk the recently elected president of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk, a chairman of the Belarussian Parliament S. Shushkevych, and the Russian president Boris Yeltsin declared the collapse of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics [3; 5; 11; 17; 28; 37; 38].

## Questions

1. What foreign policy did the Soviet Ukraine pursue after the Great Patriotic War?
2. What territorial changes were in Ukraine in the middle 1940s and the early 1950s?
3. How was the Soviet economy rebuilt during the post-war period?
4. What were the reasons and consequences of the Great famine of 1946 and 1947?
5. How had the Sovietization of the Western Ukrainian lands been going during the post-war period?
6. What were the reasons of the military struggle of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army against the Soviet regime in the first half of the 1940s and the early 1950s?
7. What reasons and results did the Zhdanovism and the Lysenkoism have?
8. Describe the period of "Thraw" and its consequences for the late history.
9. What were the reasons of the establishment of the political regime of Leonid Brezhnev? Describe its features in Ukraine.
10. Why did the period of Stagnation begin?
11. What were the backgrounds for the political and economical democratization of the Ukrainian society?



12. Through what stages had the process of Reconstruction gone?
13. What consequences did the policy of Reconstruction have for the Soviet Union and independent Ukraine?
14. What were the reasons, which led to the defeat of Reconstruction policy?
15. What were the reasons and results of the "Glasnost" policy?

## **Theme 16. Independent Ukraine between 1991 and the 2000s**

**The purpose** of the theme is to give understanding of the progress of independent Ukraine throughout two decades, after the collapse of the Soviet Union. The theme's task includes the describing of economical, political and social development of independent Ukraine with its problems and successes.

**The main topics** of the theme are as follows: Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine and the first Ukrainian President; the official national symbols; the Crimean Republic; the political parties and public organizations of Ukraine; the defect of new State power structure; the Constitution of Ukraine; the action "Ukraine without Kuchma"; the Orange Revolution; Viktor Yushchenko – the third President of Ukraine; Viktor Yanukovych – the fourth President of Ukraine; the successes of foreign policy of Ukraine; the economy of independent Ukraine.

**Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine and the first Ukrainian President.** In March of 1990 450 deputies were elected to the Parliament named Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine. Surprisingly, there were a lot of Communists. On December 1, 1991, Leonid Kravchuk, the former Communist, was elected the President.

In October of 1991 the Rada voted the Law "On Citizenship" of Ukraine [3; 5; 11; 13; 17; 28; 38; 40].

**The official national symbols.** On January 15, 1992, Verkhovna Rada adopted the score for *the national anthem "Shche ne vmerla Ukrayina"* ("Ukraine has not yet perished"). It was the music composed by Mykhailo Verbytskyi (1815 – 1870). The text of the anthem, the first verse and the refrain written by Pavlo Chubynskyi (1839 – 1884), was finally adopted on March 6, 2003. On January 28, 1992, *the blue-and-yellow flag* was established as the national one. The flag colours symbolises the peace-loving Ukrainian state

through the colours of a clear sky and a field of wheat. On February 19, 1992, Verkhovna Rada fixed *the Trident – Ukraine's Small Coat of Arms*. The using of trident as a State symbol dates back to the 10<sup>th</sup> century, the times of Volodymyr the Great, which bore such Coat of Arms. The Great National Coat of Arms has not still been accepted [40].

**The defect of new State power structure.** The substantial defect of new State power structure lied in fact that there was not clearly defined the authorities of three power branches: the legislative (Parliament), the executive (President and Cabinet of Ministers), and the judicial (Constitutional Court of Ukraine) [3; 5; 11; 13; 17; 28; 38].

**The Crimean Republic.** In 1990 the Crimean Republic gained autonomy within Ukraine. Welcomed by the Ukrainian Government the Tatars began to return home from Asia and the Caucasus, where they had been deported to by the Soviet Government in 1944 [3; 5; 11; 13; 17; 28].

**The political parties and public organizations of Ukraine.** In June of 1992 Verkhovna Rada declared the Law "On Civic Associations", which allowed political parties and public organizations in Ukraine. Shortly after the declaring Law by State, a lot of small parties were registered in Ukraine. They started political competitions with the great Ukrainian parties known since 1989 – 1991. The great parties were, and still are, the Socialist Party of Ukraine, the Liberal Party of Ukraine, and the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists. In June of 1993 the Communist Party of Ukraine was renewed. In February of 1996 the People's Democratic Party of Ukraine appeared, in the second half of the 1990s it was the party in power, supporting the President of Ukraine Leonid Kuchma.

On the whole, by 1998 fifty political parties participated in the political life of Ukraine [3; 5; 11; 13; 17; 28].

**Ukrainian army.** On December 6, 1991, the Law "On the Armed Forces of Ukraine" obliged soldiers and officers of the Ukrainian army to give the oath of allegiance to Ukraine. On October 19, 1993, the Parliament adopted the military doctrine of Ukraine, which has still been actual. According to this State doctrine Ukraine has no enemy, and security of Ukraine is a state of military protection of national interests [3; 5; 11; 13; 17; 28].

**Leonid Kuchma is the second President of Ukraine.** In July of 1994, Leonid Kuchma, a former director of a Dnipropetrovsk plant, was elected the President of Ukraine. In November of 1999 L. Kuchma was re-elected on the President post [3; 5; 11; 13; 17; 28; 38].

**The Constitution of Ukraine.** Under insistence of L. Kuchma, on June 28, 1996, Verkhovna Rada voted the Constitution of Ukraine that declared Ukraine the democratic, social, legal, unitary and united Republic. The division of power into three branches: the legislative (Parliament), the executive (the President and Cabinet of Ministers), and the judicial (Constitutional Court of Ukraine) was also fixed [3; 5; 11; 13; 17; 28; 38].

**The action "Ukraine without Kuchma".** In 2001 due to the killing of a journalist Georgii Gongadze, L. Kuchma was suspected to be the chief organizer of this journalist murder. Having known about this, an opposition charged the mass actions under the slogan *"Ukraine without Kuchma"*. Between November and December 2004 this social protest developed into the so-called Orange Revolution [3; 5; 11; 13; 17; 28; 38].

**The Orange Revolution.** The Revolution was preceded by the presidential election. On April 14, 2004, the Party of Regions, the party in power created in 1997, proposed a candidate for President the Party leader *Viktor Yanukovich*, who had been the Prime Minister since 2002. On July 4 in Kyiv *Viktor Yushchenko*, the informal leader of the Ukrainian opposition coalition ("Our Ukraine – People's Self-Defense Bloc"), proclaimed the starting of his running for Ukrainian President.

In October of 2004, as soon as the presidential election had started, the Party in power, the candidat of which was V. Yanukovich, and state officers began meddling into the election process. They used administrative pressure on voters, deceived or bribed citizens, falsified electoral bulletins, and etc. Very soon it led to mass meetings, strikes and protest marches against the Government and the Party of Regions, which were blamed by protesters for its anti-democratic policy. The protesters demanded national democratic governance, an independent media, the honest electoral process, independence of the judiciary and fighting corruption. On November 23 there was the second round of voting, according to which ostensibly V. Yanukovich was elected the President. Numerous falsifications during the second voting caused the escalation of the mass protests. On November 31 in Kyiv Maidan Square nearly 500 000 protesters gathered.

At last, the Supreme Court of Ukraine decided that the Central Election Commission had broken the Law. The third round of the elections started. On January 20, 2005, Viktor Yushchenko officially won this round [3; 5; 11; 13; 17; 28; 38].

**Viktor Yushchenko is the third President of Ukraine.** Thus, on the wave of the Orange Revolution, Viktor Yushchenko was elected the Pre-

sident. He promised to keep the democracy, develop the economy, and support the Ukrainian culture. Later on, he passed the Law recognizing the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933 the genocide of the Ukrainian people [3; 5; 11; 13; 17; 28; 38].

**Viktor Yanukovych is the fourth President of Ukraine.** After Viktor Yushchenko, in January of 2010 Viktor Yanukovych, the opponent of the Orange Revolution, was elected the President. The political program of this President based on the notions about the first-priority of reforms in the economical sphere [3; 5; 11; 13; 17; 28; 38].

Later on, in media, including international one, this President was imagined as a reactionary and persecutor of those politicians, who were opposed to his authoritarian regime. On the whole the Presidentship of V. Yanukovych became known as the time of folding the gains of the Orange Revolution.

Meanwhile, the Yanukovych's economical reforms have not still reached the results he planned.

**The economy of independent Ukraine.** Since the times of the Soviet Union Ukraine has still been in the crisis of economy. By the end of the 1990s poor persons were about 50 – 80 per cent of the Ukrainian population.

In 1991, as soon as the Soviet Union had collapsed, rich persons, many of which were former cooperative directors, Communist party leaders and state officers, started to buy the enterprises from the State practically for low prices. The process of transferring the State property into private hands is defined as *privatization*. It is known that in Ukraine between 1992 and 1994 years 11 000 enterprises were privatized. This was one of the ways by which the economy of Ukraine was evolving from the command-and-administrative to the more effective one, the market economy that is grounded on a competition and free-trade.

In the rural areas in 1992 the property of collective farms and state farms was divided into shares among private owners. Hence, a lot of former Soviet agricultural enterprises were transformed by private owners into joint-stock companies. However, in the hard conditions of inflation these joint-stock companies more and more came to decline. The number of private farmers was and still is not large in Ukraine.

In 1992, the increasing food prices caused the strong strike of miners in Donbas. Although in 1990 the State had introduced the national currency (one-time coupon called karbovanets), in 1993 the inflation was the highest in

the world. The prices grew very rapidly. In addition, the decreasing by Russia a volume of gas imports caused the energy crisis in Ukraine.

Between 1995 and 1996 the National Bank of Ukraine and the Government stopped the falling of the karbovanets and in September 1996 under supervision of the President L. Kuchma a new national currency, the *hryvnia*, was established. Every 100 000 karbovanetses were exchanged by one hryvnia due to which the rapid growing of inflation was stopped [3; 5; 11; 13; 17; 28; 38].

**The successes of foreign policy of Ukraine.** Meanwhile, there were a great successes for Ukraine in the foreign relations. Between 1990 and 1991 Ukraine was recognized by Russia, Poland, Hungary, France, and Lithuania. From 1993 to 2000 Ukraine established diplomatic relations with 153 countries. In 1992 Ukraine became a member of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) that gave good opportunities for an attraction investments into the economy of Ukraine. In 1995 Ukraine joined to the Council of Europe as the 37th member.

On July 9, 1997, in Madrid, the leaders of 16 States and the General Secretary of The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Javier Solana concluded with the President of Ukraine Leonid Kuchma the "Charter on a Distinctive Partnership between NATO and Ukraine".

From 1999 to 2001 Ukraine was a non-permanent member of the United Nation Security Council, the body of that international organization [3; 5; 11; 13; 17; 28; 38].

## Questions

1. What were the preconditions of the proclamation of the Sovereignty and the Independence of Ukraine?
2. What is the historical importance of the Constitution of Ukraine?
3. Describe the development of the economy of Ukraine in 1990s and the early 21th century.
4. What are the official national symbols of Ukraine?
5. What are the State power structure of Ukraine?
6. What were the reasons and results of the Orange Revolution?
7. What were the successes of foreign policy of the independent Ukraine?
8. Describe the foreign policy, which Ukraine makes toward Western Europe.

## Glossary of Terms

**Autonomy** – the self-government within a state.

**Baskak** – an official of the Mongolian Khan in those lands, which were conquered by the Mongols.

**Bohatyrs** – the powerful heroes of Russian Bylinas.

**Bolsheviks** (the Communists) – members of the Russian Social Democratic Party.

**Boyars** – the high nobles; from the 10<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries; in some Slavic countries it was the second class after the ruling Princes.

**Burghers** – European townsmen of the 12<sup>th</sup> – 15<sup>th</sup> centuries; members of the trading or mercantile class of a medieval city.

**Bylinas** – Kievan Rus epic poems.

**Capitalism** – the social system in which a country's trade and industry are mostly controlled by private owners for profit, rather than by the state.

**Communists** – supporters of the Communism theory, according to which the community must own all property in the country, and the members of the community contributes and receives according to their ability and needs.

**Dissidents** – the political oppositionists (opponents) to the Soviet regime between the late 1950s and the early 1980s.

**Druzhyna** (literally, friends) – the armies of the Kyivan Rus Princes.

**Feudalism** – the social system in medieval Europe. In this system the nobility held lands from the Crown in exchange for military service. Vassals were tenants of the nobles. The peasants (serfs) were obliged to live on their lord's land and give him homage, labour, and a share of the produce, notionally in exchange for military protection.

**Hetman** – the ruler of the Ukrainian Cossacks.

**Inflation** – a common growth of the prices of goods and services.

**Khan** – the title of the ruler in Turkic and Mongolian languages.

**Kurkuls** (kulaks) – the term by which the Communists called independent farmers.

**Landlordism** – the system whereby land (or property) was owned by landlords to whom tenants paid a fixed rent.

**Liberalization** – changes in a state and social life towards a free-market economy and democratic liberties.

- Little Russia** – the name of Ukraine in the Russian Empire. The name "Little Russia" was used from 1654 till 1917.
- Magdeburg rights** – the medieval German laws, which allowed towns the internal autonomy. The name refers to the German town of Magdeburg, which became the first of all towns, which got the internal autonomy. Under the Magdeburg rights towns elected their own self-governments, which were known as the Magistrates.
- Mirza** – the Prince of the Blood, who was legitimately descended in the male line from the ruler (the Khan) of Turkic, and Mongolian countries.
- National-personal autonomy** – the self-government of a nation minority in its cultural policy.
- Nazis** – members of the National Socialist German Workers' Party (1920 – 1945), which had extreme racist and authoritarian agendas.
- Outcasts** (izhoi) – the name used in Kyivan Rus for designating the Princes without lands, bankrupt merchants, unfrocked monks, slaves and others, whose links with the feudal society were broken.
- Pechenihs** or **Patzinaks** – the medieval nomads, who in the 10<sup>th</sup> and the 11<sup>th</sup> centuries settled the Black Sea steppe, in the south of Ukraine.
- Polovtsians** (the Cumans) – the medieval nomads, who between the 11<sup>th</sup> and the 13<sup>th</sup> centuries settled the Black Sea steppe, in the south of Ukraine.
- Rus** – the name for the people, the region, and the medieval Slavic State of the 9<sup>th</sup> – 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, known as Kyivan Rus.
- Russes** – the people of Kyivan Rus.
- Ruthenia** – the country inhabited by the Ruthenians (the old name of the Ukrainians).
- Ruthenians** or **Rusyns** (word) – name, under which the Ukrainians were known before the 1800s. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century the "Ruthenians" usually used to designate the Ukrainian population of the Austrian or Habsburg monarchy.
- Sejm** – the parliament (legislature) in the Grand Duchy Lithuanian, the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth (the 16<sup>th</sup> – the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries), the Carpatho-Ukraine (1939), the Republic of Poland (1945 – 1990), Lithuania and Latvia (since 1920 year). The Self-Governments in the Austria-Hungary (the late 19<sup>th</sup> and the early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries).

**Serfdom** – the social and economic system, according to which serfs (peasants or tenants) had to work on lords' land and might not leave without that lords' permission.

**Servitor boyars** – the nobles, who served the Princes in the Rus lands from the 10<sup>th</sup> to the 14<sup>th</sup> centuries.

**Sovereignty** – the independence, completeness and indivisibility of the republic authorities within its territory, independence and equality in foreign relations.

**Sovietization** – the transformation of most spheres of a social life in the Communistic way.

**Starshyna** – the Cossack officers during the 16<sup>th</sup> – 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.

**Szlachta** – from the 14<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries the Polish and Lithuanian nobles, which were determined by heredity and/or military service.

**Teutonic Order** – the German Christian Brotherhood of knights founded in 1190.

**Totalitarian system** (from the Italian totalita – covering everything) – the regime, where the state recognizes no limits to its authority and strives to regulate every aspect of public and private life.

**Ukraine** (word) – the name, which means "on the edge" or "borderland", the far western edge of the Eurasian steppe, between Europe and Asia, West and East. The name "Ukraine" was firstly mentioned in the Ipativska chronicle in 1187.

**Union** – Association of two countries under certain conditions.

**Voivode** – the Slavic title; it originally was the name for the principal commander of military troops; due to the time voivode became the name for the governor of a province (Voivodeship).

**Zaporozhian Sich** – the Cossack fort, firstly founded in 1556 or 1557, beyond the Dnieper rapids, in the region known as Zaporizhzhia. The Sich was open to entry to any Christian male, and was barred to any woman.



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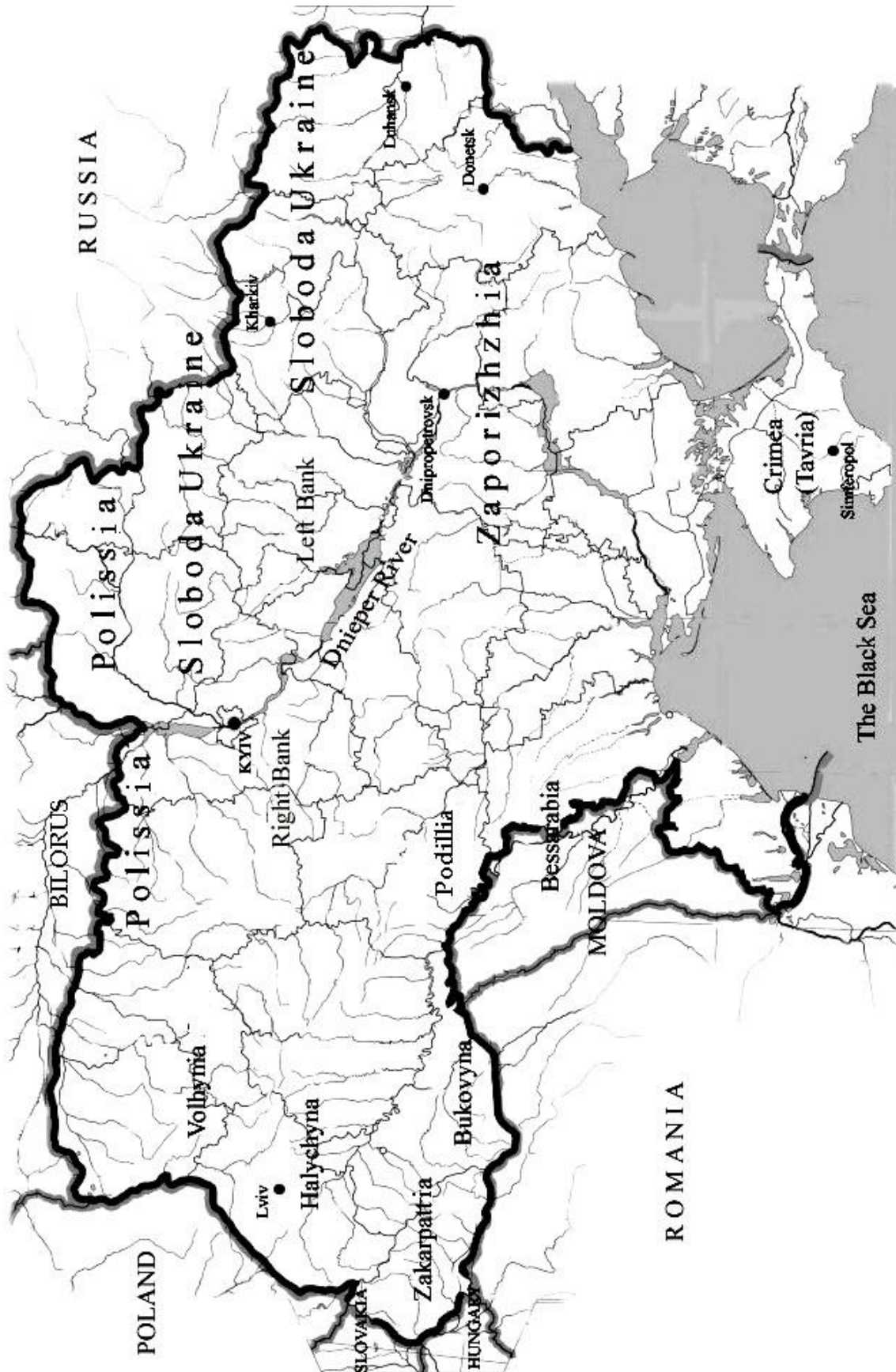
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## The Historical and Geographical Regions of Ukraine



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