



LCC DK508.832

The Problem of Emigration and Deportation in the Fate of Academician Community of the Kamianets-Podilskyi State Ukrainian University*

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Abstract. The problem of further development of the national university structure in the context of the European integration processes of the Ukrainian educational system and its internal transformation significantly foregrounds research studios, in which the subject of retrospective approaches has being developed various aspects of the topic, including the fate of representatives of professorial teaching corporations and studentship in the event of defeat of national liberation struggles the beginning of the 20th century and the establishment of the Soviet form of statehood in Ukraine. This process has been analyzed on the example of the Kamianets-Podilskyi State Ukrainian University, which was founded on the eve of Hetman P. Skoropadskyi with the direct participation of representatives of government structures, local self-government and public institutions. The authors used the problem-chronological and

historical-typological methods, which provided a distinction in the topic of research of certain problems. The change of political regimes in Ukraine has led to the use of the historical-comparative method, and the biographical has allowed to ascertain the activity of concrete activists in a fractious period of history. It was emphasized that at the end of 1920, the academician community of the Kamianets-Podilskyi State Ukrainian University faced the problem of further life choices. It has been noted that a part of the staff of the educational institution, based on the previous experience of Bolshevik governance in Podillia, has made a decision in favor of emigration. It has been proved that 18 members of the corporation sent abroad from among the professors, private associate professors and assistants, were headed by rector I. Ohiienko. Students were a separate group. The challenges of everyday life have been described in the conditions of emigration being, and attempts have been demonstrated to overcome them. I. Ohiienko's active position in solving urgent questions concerning the assignment of members of the professorial corporation to European scientific centers has been shown with purpose to complete the researches begun at home and their employment in educational institutions organized in the camps of the interned. Great efforts were also made by I. Ohiienko to help students continue their studies at European Higher Education Centers. Despite the unstable political and difficult financial situation, these tasks have been successfully implemented to a certain extent. With the rest of the projects and programs it looked less important. It has been demonstrated that the expectations of those representatives of the corporation that remained in Ukraine, in order to contribute to the development of the educational system in its national forms by its own work, in view of the general strategy of the Bolshevik Party to unify all spheres of social and political life, have not been justified. Some representatives of the corporation were included in the list of prominent figures of science and culture, which the Soviet authorities preferred to deport abroad at the end of 1922 – early 1923 has been shown. The precondition of this process has been proved by the fact that the communist education system was oriented to satisfy the needs of the state, Bolshevik model of socialism, but much less to improve social relations. As a result, political purges and permanent terror, including deportation, have become an inalienable and key method of «sovietization» of the intelligentsia in scientific and educational institutions.

Keywords: Professorial-teaching corporation; Bolsheviks; Ukrainian revolution.

Received 01.03.2019

Reviewed 13.05.2019

Accepted 29.07.2019

* The article prepared in accordance with the tasks of research work no. 0115U004580 "National-cultural revival in Podillya (beginning of the twentieth century)".



Universum Historiae et Archeologiae
The Universe of History and Archeology
Універсум історії та археології
Универсум истории и археологии
 ISSN 2664-9950 (Print)
 2019. Vol. 2(27). Issue 1, pp. 109–124
 doi 10.15421/26190109
<http://www.uha.dp.ua>

УДК 378.4.091-047(477)(09)

**Проблема еміграції та депортації
 у долі академічної спільноти
 Кам'янець-Подільського
 державного українського
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Анотація. Проаналізовано завершальний етап функціонування Кам'янець-Подільського державного українського університету, коли восени 1920 р. професорсько-викладацька корпорація та студентство постало перед непростим для себе вибором, що був детермінований остаточним утвердженням в краї більшовицької владної моделі. У цьому контексті з'ясовано причини, що спонукали багатьох представників академічної спільноти вдатися до еміграції, переважно до країн Центральної та Східної Європи, а також зроблено спробу дослідити долю тих репрезентантів науково-освітньої інституції, які залишилися в Україні, сподіваючись на продовження розбудови національної системи університетської освіти. Показано, що надії останніх, з огляду на загальну стратегію більшовицької партії щодо уніфікації усіх сфер суспільно-політичного життя, не виправдалися, а натомість окремі представники корпорації були включені до списку видатних діячів науки і культури, котрі безпосередньо відчували дію радянського репресивного механізму, пов'язаного із підготовкою та проведенням депортації наприкінці 1922 – на початку 1923 рр.

Ключові слова: професорсько-викладацька корпорація; більшовики; Українська революція.

*Надійшла до редколегії 01.03.2019 р.
 Прорецензована 13.05.2019
 Рекомендована до друку 29.07.2019*

* Статтю підготовлено відповідно до завдань науково-дослідної роботи 0115U004580 «Національно-культурне відродження на Поділлі (початок ХХ століття)».



Universum Historiae et Archeologiae
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Універсум історії та археології
Универсум истории и археологии
 ISSN 2664-9950 (Print)
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 doi 10.15421/26190109
<http://www.uha.dp.ua>

УДК 378.4.091-047(477)(09)

**Проблема эмиграции и депортации
 в судьбе академического общества
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Аннотация. Проанализирован завершающий этап функционирования Каменец-Подольского государственного украинского университета, когда осенью 1920 г. профессорско-преподавательская корпорация и студенты встали перед непростым для себя выбором, который был детерминирован окончательным утверждением в крае большевистской властной модели. В этом контексте выяснены причины, побудившие многих представителей академического сообщества прибегнуть к эмиграции, преимущественно в страны Центральной и Восточной Европы, а также предпринята попытка исследовать судьбу тех репрезентантов научно-образовательной институции, которые остались в Украине, надеясь на продолжение развития национальной системы университетского образования. Показано, что надежды последних, учитывая общую стратегию большевистской партии по унификации всех сфер общественно-политической жизни, не оправдались, а взамен отдельные представители корпорации были включены в список выдающихся деятелей науки и культуры, которые непосредственно испытали действие советского репрессивного механизма, связанного с подготовкой и проведением депортации в конце 1922 – в начале 1923 гг.

Ключевые слова: профессорско-преподавательская корпорация; большевики; Украинская революция.

Поступила в редколлегию 01.03.2019

Прорецензирована 13.05.2019

Рекомендована в печать 29.07.201

* *Статья подготовлена в соответствии с задачами научно-исследовательской работы 0115U004580 «Национально-культурное возрождение на Подолье (начало XX века)».*

Formulation of the problem. The Kamianets-Podilskyi State Ukrainian University, which appeared in the times of the national liberation struggle of 1917–1920 thanks to the joint efforts of representatives of local intelligentsia, self-governing bodies of the region and government structures, today attracts considerable attention of scientists. This fact has a well-defined explanation. The higher educational establishment in Podillia region not only represented the model of the national educational institution, designed to prepare highly-qualified specialists in different fields of knowledge for state needs, but also became a significant factor that directly or indirectly influenced the course of many events of the important period in the Ukrainian political history. Therefore, objective knowledge of the main problems of the state-building process that took place at the beginning of the 20th century is possible, in particular, through the description and disclosure of various aspects of the multidimensional life of this scientific-educational institution.

Analysis of scientific researches and publications. The problem of the formation and activity of the Kamianets-Podilskyi State Ukrainian University in various historical periods has been investigated by scholars, including V. Bidnov, O. Zavalniuk, I. Ohiienko, V. Serhiichuk, M. Tymoshyk etc.

The aim of the study. In this article, the authors aim, on the basis of the unknown archival materials, to analyze the final stage of the functioning of the University under the conditions of definitive strengthening of Soviet power in Podillia region. Actually, we are interested in motivational factors that, on the one hand, led one part of the staff to make decisions in favour of emigration and, accordingly, to trace their further adaptation, caused by the new life challenges, seeking the opportunities for continuing work and study in educational sphere. On the other hand, we found out the reasons behind the choice of the completely different position related to the desire to stay in the home country, hoping to serve the development of the educational system in its national forms.

Presenting of the main material. In the context of study of our issues, it should be emphasized that for the first time, the Kamianets-Podilskyi State Ukrainian University collided with the Soviet practice of realization of the basic principles of educational policy in April 1919, when the Red Army once again occupied the strategic centre of Podillia region. The communist experience of this period in defining the structural forms of functioning of the system of higher education was only a copy of appropriate approaches that were used in the Russian Federation. The normative base, which regulated various aspects of the inner life of higher schools and determined

their place in the system of public education, was duplicated on the local ground virtually unchanged. In the format of our study, it is worth emphasizing the importance of the adoption by the temporary workers' and peasants' government of Ukraine in January 1919 of two decrees – «On the Separation of Church from State and School from Church» (Pro vidokrem-lennya tserkvy ..., 1919), and «On the Transfer of All School Establishments to the Department Of Education» (Pro peredachu vsikh ..., 1919). Based on these legal acts, the People's Commissar of Education of the Ukrainian SSR V. Zatonyskyi during his visit to the educational institution in the spring of 1919 personally ordered to close the theological faculty (Bidnov, V., 1997).

However, solving much more important issues related to the very possibility of preserving the power, the Bolsheviks at this stage objectively did not have the opportunity to more seriously intervene into the university life, more over to monitor the practical implementation of the innovations they initiated. Taking into account these circumstances, the professorial corporation was particularly in no hurry to carry out destructive instruction for the educational process, at least in their entirety. That is why the Council of Professors of the Theological Faculty, having heard the information of the dean on April 25, 1919, on the demand of the head of the central educational department to close the unit, in its decision limited only to the appeal to the Council of Professors of the educational institution with the request to provide relevant directives on this issue for further reaction (State Archives of Khmelnytskyi Oblast Fund R–582. Inventory 1. File 41, p. 12). The latter at the meeting on April 30, taking into account «verbal instruction of the Commissioner of Public Education», also dwelt on a fairly moderate decision: «To terminate temporarily lecturing at the Faculty of Theology, with the abolition of the faculty itself, to wait until the official order was received from the Ministry» (State Archives of Khmelnytskyi Oblast. Fund R–582. Inventory 1. File 10, p. 36).

Actually this time the state power confined itself to the initiated changes in the question of bringing the internal structure of the university to the requirements of the new standards. For more, the Bolsheviks did not have enough time or forces. True, in the context of conducting the general policy that did not exclude the use of repressions to nationally-minded intelligentsia, the Communists arrested V. Bidnov and L. Biletskyi. The first one mentioned, when the professional revolutionaries left the city again, they intended to shoot the prisoners, but they did not have time to do it because of the devastating bombardment (Bidnov, V., 1997).

Instead, the third arrival of Soviet troops in Kamianets-Podilskyi, which took place in the middle of July 1920, was characterized by much more aggressive attitude of the Bolsheviks towards the educational institution, right up to the proposal of V. Zaton'skyi to eliminate the institution as such (Tymoshyk, M., 2000). It is clear that this affected many important aspects of the life of the institution, including its organizational and structural forms.

Thus, already in the first order of the University of July 28, 1920, signed by the authorized of the high school A. Volianskyi, who actually represented in the educational establishment the institution of political commissar, again referred to the closure of the theological faculty from July 11, the liquidation of cases of which was charged to the Economic Board, and on the academic issues – to the Council of the University. For practical realization of this task they gave a little more than two weeks (State Archives of Khmelnytskyi Oblast. Fund R–582. Inventory 1. File 41, p. 2). Two days later, during the development of the initiated processes, the commissar issued the following order, which dissolved all the commissions and institutions that existed at the faculty (Herynovych, V., 1927). There were a lot of them during the activity of the unit. In particular, a circle of «Studio of Pure Christianity» functioned there, at the meetings of which various issues of church life were discussed and debates were held between the representatives of various religious faiths, the commission on the translation of the Holy Writ, which since late December 1919 acted not under the Ministry of Confessions of the UPR, but at the theological faculty (Zavalniuk, O. M., 2008).

If the change of the curricula required certain time to bring them in accordance with the new educational tasks and political-ideological guidelines, then the planned structural reforms were tried by the Bolsheviks rather promptly. Already on July 31, the meeting of the professorial council of the theological faculty was set up, on which the only question on the elimination of the training unit was put forward (State Archives of Khmelnytskyi Oblast. Fund R–582. Inventory 1. File 37a, p. 54).

The order of comprehensive realization of the new tasks this time was monitored not only by the political commissar, but also by the representatives of local authorities. In accordance with the order of the chairman of the revolutionary committee of Kamianets district, on August 7, the head of the department of separation of the church from the state I. Huba was appointed in the structure of the governing bodies, and he was entrusted with the proper functions (State Archives of Khmelnytskyi Oblast. Fund R–1128. Inventory 1. File 8, p. 6).

For the sake of objectivity, it should be noted that in the effort to clearly fulfill the goals of educational and party bodies for the transfer of the educational institution to the Soviet platform, the high school official at the same time tried with a balanced approach to deal the issues related to the preservation of the university achievements of the previous period. In particular, in September 1920, the Economic Council considered a special request by A. Volianskyi whether the university church could be considered a museum, and whether it was possible to move the art cabinet there. The decision of the Council was in line with the commissioner's resolution: «According to the resolution, the university church should be considered the museum, where the whole cabinet of art should be transferred» (State Archives of Khmelnytskyi Oblast. Fund R–582. Inventory 1. File 114, p. 1).

That is, if it was not possible to preserve the church itself, the proposed authorized method saved many valuable church things, preserving them as museum exhibits.

In mid-September 1920, Soviet troops again left Kamianets-Podilskyi. But only for a short time. Exactly in two months they returned again. It was evident from this that this time for a long. The hard reality was understood by the overwhelming majority of the teaching staff of the university. For those of them who did not organically perceive the new orders, the only way remained was emigration. That's how greater part of the professorial corporation of the educational institution did, in particular, the rector of the educational institution I. Ohienko. For them, rather difficult period of adaptation to the new realities of the European world began in the context of finding the best ways to continue the struggle for national independence. Also a lot of students, whose position was characterized by the clearly defined patriotic mood decided to emigrate.

According to I. Ohienko, eighteen members of the corporation from among the professors, private associate professors and assistants left Kamianets-Podilskyi State Ukrainian University (TsDAVO of Ukraine. Fund 2582. Inventory 2. File 84, p. 6). Twelve of them were attached to the Ministry of National Education of the Ukrainian Peoples Republic. Among them, in particular, were V. Bidnov, L. Biletskyi, S. Bachynskyi, L. Bachynskyi, V. Dobrovolskyi, A. Cherniavskyi, D. Kolomiitsev, I. Shermetynskyi, M. Chaikivskyi, P. Tabinskyi, Lino and Ryndyk (TsDAVO of Ukraine. Fund 2582. Inventory 2. File 173, p. 17). Somewhat later, in April 1921, as a result of the petition of I. Ohienko to the Ministry of Public Education of the UPR, associate professor E. Arkhypenko was also affiliated with the permission of holding the post from March 19, 1921

(TsDAVO of Ukraine. Fund 2582. Inventory 2. File 87, p. 3).

As for the student contingent, statistics are not so clear. According to T. Olesiuk, the head of the Ukrainian Student Community in Warsaw, it was estimated that about 1,500 young people in Poland were willing to continue their studies at higher educational institutions in Europe (TsDAVO of Ukraine. Fund 2582. Inventory 2. File 63, p. 19). Some of the former students of the Kamianets-Podilskyi State Ukrainian University were in Tarnow and entered the local student community (State Archives of Khmelnytskyi Oblast. Fund R–582. Inventory 1. File 40, p. 3), the others found temporary shelter in the internment camp in Częstochow, while some others settled in Warsaw and other Polish cities. Altogether, during this period, fourteen student communities were organized abroad (Olesiyuk, T., 2004).

Documentary materials of this period, discovered in the funds of Central State Archive of the Supreme Power and Administration of Ukraine and the State Archive of Khmelnytskyi Oblast, allow to partially reconstructing the range of problem issues that the best sons and daughters of Ukraine had to solve abroad.

It is clear that the situation of I. Ohienko, as well as of the majority of professors-teachers staff and the students, was uncertain. On the one hand, I. Ohienko continued to be considered the rector of Kamianets-Podilskyi State Ukrainian University, because in May 1920, according to the statute, he was elected to the post for the following four years (Biletskyi, L. T., 2013). On this basis, I. Ohienko took every possible step not only to establish the work of the administration of the educational institution on solving the most urgent problems, but also to develop important projects for the future. In the petition of March 24, 1921, signed by the director of the department of general affairs of the Ministry of Education of the UPR M. Shuhaievskyi, we learn, in particular, that the Commission for the elaboration of the new statute of Kamianets-Podilskyi State Ukrainian University, even in the conditions of exile, did not stop its work (State Archives of Khmelnytskyi Oblast. Fund R–582. Inventory 1. File 40, p. 27).

For realization of educational affairs at the disposal of I. Ohienko there were insignificant finances. Evidence of this is the official statements of the secretary of the Board of Directors of the University D. Kolomiitsev about the money spent (State Archives of Khmelnytskyi Oblast. Fund R–582. Inventory 1. File 40, p. 15).

On the other hand, I. Ohienko was substantially limited in his actions. The reason for this was not only the circumstances of the financial nature. The bright example of this aspect is noted in his letter to

the Minister of National Education of the UPR of March 16, 1921, which refers to the possible scholarly trip of M. Shadlun abroad. «Attached to this letter by Mr. Shadlun of 2/III 1921, I have the honor to inform that I cannot satisfy the request of Mr. Shadlun of sending him abroad for scientific work on behalf of Kamianets-Podilskyi State Ukrainian University, first of all, that the University did not officially leave Kamianets-Podilskyi, and secondly, that for such a trip the resolution of the Professorial Council of the corresponding faculty is required. But, supposing the considerations of Mr. Shadlun appropriate, I kindly ask to satisfy them and issue the proper certificate to Mr. Shadlun» (State Archives of Khmelnytskyi Oblast. Fund R–582. Inventory 1. File 40, p. 12–12 zv.).

In a letter to V. Petro I. Ohienko again recognized the obvious fact: «Kamianets-Podilskyi University also works under the Bolsheviks regime, but it is very difficult for the professors» (TsDAVO of Ukraine. Fund 2582. Inventory 2. File 84, p. 6–6 zv.).

So, as we can see, I. Ohienko evaluated the situation fairly objectively, fully understanding the limits of his own competence under the conditions of emigration and possible range of issues to be solved.

The problem was further aggravated by the fact that the Ukrainian educational community was compelled to be based on internment camps in different cities. Under these conditions, it was impossible to talk about the establishment of any system work.

Having suffered from material and financial difficulties, professors and teachers of Kamianets-Podilskyi State Ukrainian University, who were abroad, had to look for various opportunities to ensure their further existence. The rector of the University I. Ohienko received a lot of appeals with the request to provide financial assistance to somehow survive the difficult times. In the letter dated December 16, 1920, the priest P. Tabinskyi wrote: «Without taking into consideration the fact that in Kamianets city I participated in many institutions, namely: except the University, in the Theological Seminary, the Diocesan Church Council, the First Ukrainian Orthodox Parish and in the Translation Commission for the translation of the Scriptures, but all my maintenance was not great; it was enough for food only, and there was not enough clothes. I especially feel the lack of clothes now and it badly reflects on my business, because «on clothes» people meet you. Would you be so kind to raise in the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian People's Republic the question of giving me some funds for the purchase of necessary clothing» (TsDAVO of Ukraine. Fund 2582. Inventory 2. File 21, p. 21).

Some colleagues independently looked for a way out of the difficult situation, leaving their regular

posts at the institution. For example, on March 1, 1921, the corresponding application to the rector of the University was written by S. Bachynskiy (TsDAVO of Ukraine. Fund 2582. Inventory 2. File 22, p. 5), which was satisfied in five days (TsDAVO of Ukraine. Fund 2582. Inventory 2. File 6, p. 10).

True to tell, it should be admitted that it was practically the only case of leaving the professorial corporation on the own initiative.

The vast majority of teachers, trying to find the best way out of the difficult situation, tried to get the official trip to European research centers in order to complete the studies that had begun in their homeland. One of the first with such a request to I. Ohienko from Lviv appealed L. Biletskyi. On this document, the rector of the educational establishment has made a positive resolution (TsDAVO of Ukraine. Fund 2582. Inventory 2. File 21, p. 4).

With the same request for a scholarly trip to the University of Vienna, former assistants of the educational establishment M. Vikul, Dobrovolskyi, A. Cherniavskiy, L. Bachynskiy and Fedosiiv addressed the Council of the Republic. In order to objectively study this question, professor V. Bidnov appealed to I. Ohienko to find out the rector's opinion about the need for such a step for the educational institution (State Archives of Khmelnytskyi Oblast. Fund R-582. Inventory 1. File 40, p. 20–20 zv.). After a short discussion, the Council of the Republic unanimously adopted the decision that recognized the need to send young scientists abroad, for which the Ministry of Public Education undertook to prepare a relevant draft legislation (TsDAVO of Ukraine. Fund 2582. Inventory 2. File 46, p. 13).

The desire to use time rationally to deepen their own knowledge in a certain area of scientific cognition partly neutralized the factor of financial support of the business trip and pushed it to the background. The example of this is the request, made by the assistant librarian of the fundamental library of the Kamianets-Podilskiy State Ukrainian University L. Bykovskiy, set forth in the appeal to I. Ohienko. «In the effort to make productive use of the time of emigration, in the direction of obtaining higher bibliological education, I have the honour to ask you, Mr. Rector, to send me for studies on bibliology into one of the relevant higher educational institutions in Germany. For my part, I dare to express my desire to pass this course at the Bibliological Institute in Leipzig. I can make the business trip at my own expense. In case of satisfaction of my sincere request, I ask you to give me corresponding travel documents both to the institute and to the representative of the government of the UPR in Germany» (State Archives of Khmelnytskyi Oblast. Fund R-582. Inventory 1. File 40, p. 22).

On this document I. Ohienko personally imposed the resolution: «I know L. Bykovskiy as a capable person; he deserves this business trip. 20/XI. Rector of the University Professor I. Ohienko» (State Archives of Khmelnytskyi Oblast. Fund R-582. Inventory 1. File 40, p. 22).

It should be mentioned that I. Ohienko tried to support in the organization of scientific trips not only employees of the professors' and teachers' corporation of headed by him educational institution. He did not remain indifferent to the requests received from the unauthorized people, and, being sure of the need for assistance, took appropriate measures to positively resolve the issues. This is exactly the case with M. Shadlun, who requested assistance for the trip to one of the scientific centers for the purpose of studying mining (State Archives of Khmelnytskyi Oblast. Fund R-582. Inventory 1. File 40, p. 31).

Some proposals as for the finding ways to get out of difficult situation came from other members of the corporation. About one of the possible variants, we learn from the message of V. Bidnov, addressed to the Ministry of Education of the Ukrainian Peoples Republic, dated November 29, 1920. «Owing to the military events in the territory of Ukraine, in Tarnow, and in general in Galicia, there are now many researchers-professors of Kamianets-Podilskiy University. Having settled abroad without money and work, they address to the Ministry of Education asking for help and, living in the impossible material conditions, spend in vain their time that can be used in the interests of the Ukrainian school and culture. For this purpose, it is necessary to mobilize these fugitives for forced labor – compilation of textbooks or necessary books for our schools. In order for them to have the opportunity to work, they must be assigned with the monthly salary (at least five thousand marks) and the term to which they must complete their work. If the work is not completed to the specified period, then the researcher does not receive more assistance, and the University will not give him the fee until it is returned to the state treasury what was given to him as the help in completing his full work» (State Archives of Khmelnytskyi Oblast. Fund R-582. Inventory 1. File 21, p. 8–9).

As for himself, V. Bidnov expressed readiness during three months ... to make one textbook for secondary schools or the history of the Middle Ages, or the history of the Ukrainian church (State Archives of Khmelnytskyi Oblast. Fund R-582. Inventory 1. File 21, p. 9).

Partly the representatives of the professors-teaching corporation of the Kamianets-Podilskiy State Ukrainian University managed to find employment for a certain period in their specialty in educational institutions organized in the camps for the

interned people. Thus, in June 1921, at the Lantsut camp, the Ukrainian People's University, the gymnasium and a number of educational institutions were founded, where the financial law was taught by Kh. Lebid-Yurchyk, the history of Ukraine by V. Bidnov, the higher mathematics by M. Chaikivskyi (Sribnyak, I., 1997).

Unlike the teaching staff, the students had much smaller possibility of variation activity. Therefore, having found themselves abroad in the camps for the interned people in Poland, they, «guided by the hot love to their Motherland and the desire to serve it in the future,» made significant efforts to: «1) complete their education, 2) to enter directly the circle of the European culture and science; 3) to comprehend and understand the life of the peoples of Europe» (Serhiychuk, V., 2010).

The number of people willing to study in high schools was measured by hundreds. Several lists have been preserved for today, which testify to this fact. Some of them directly pointed out the educational institutions, where they began to study (TsDAVO of Ukraine. Fund 2582. Inventory 2. File 63, p. 4–5), others mentioned only the list of names and surnames (TsDAVO of Ukraine. Fund 2582. Inventory 2. File 63, p. 8–9, 68–68 verso).

On December 14, 1920, at the general student meeting in the city of Częstochow, the Council of student representatives of Kamianets-Podilskyi State Ukrainian University was elected as the body of the «emigrated Ukrainian students of higher educational institutions of Ukraine». It developed and unanimously adopted the special memorandum addressed to the Government of the Ukrainian People's Republic, which clearly defined the thoughts and urgent desires of Ukrainian youth for the nearest perspective. Here is its content: «... taking as the starting point – the ensuring the national culture and political-state independence of Ukraine, through the education of Ukrainian professional forces, Ukrainian students ... unanimously decided: 1) at all costs, to continue academic work abroad; 2) to elect and authorize the Council of student representatives to draw up and submit to the government the memorandum in which to seek the means for the pursuit of academic work; 3) to ask the government to establish the educational fund for the education of Ukrainian cultural forces abroad and the improvement of professional knowledge among these students; 4) to ask the government to mobilize emigrated students in one of the university cities of Western Europe, such as Prague, Vienna, Warsaw, Krakow and others, or to place them in the faculty groups at higher relevant schools abroad, with the opportunity under the guidance of their emigrated professors, as leaders (organizers); 5) without waiting for the response to the

government's memorandum, to authorize the Council of student representatives to immediately start the self-organization of the emigrated student centre around the single student cell in Częstochow, the «Councils of student representatives», which is authorized to speak on all matters of Ukrainian students in emigration; 6) to authorize the Council of student representatives to take care of the material provision of both physical and academic students' needs in emigration, including the use of the physical power of the united society» (TsDAVO of Ukraine. Fund 3646. Inventory 1. File 2, p. 7–8).

Besides, respecting I. Ohienko and believing in his practical assistance in solving the topical issues of youth, the chairman of the Council of student representatives O. Maliuta separately addressed the rector of the university «who has already put so much forces and care for students and Ukrainian culture, that you have given your authoritative voice before the Supreme power of the Republic and the Council of People Ministers in the realization of the desires of Ukrainian students in emigration» (Rohovyy, V., and Serhiychuk, V., 2005).

The response to this appeal from I. Ohienko was the prompt communication with the rectors of the Warsaw and Krakow Universities about the facilitation of providing opportunities for further continuing education. «Your Magnificence! The last November Bolshevik invasion of Ukraine forced a large number of Ukrainian citizens to leave Kamianets-Podilskyi and seek refuge in friendly Poland. Among such fugitives from Kamianets-Podilskyi now in Tarnow there are 18 professors, associate professors and assistants of Kamianets-Podilskyi State Ukrainian University. In the times of the destruction of culture, we are now experiencing, we feel pity for every cultural force; it is unacceptable to stay for the mentioned 18 university employers without scientific work in Tarnow, and therefore I appeal to Your Magnificence with the sincere request to give your permission to the professors, associate professors and assistants to use the libraries and laboratories of the entrusted to you University. Together with the professors, many students left Kamianets-Podilskyi State Ukrainian University, now they are in Częstochow. Considering it harmful to the general culture, so that the youth grew without any education, I appeal to your Magnificence with the sincere request to help Ukrainian students and allow them to enter the University of Warsaw. Please send your kind response to the city of Tarnow, hotel Bristol, No. 6. With great respect to you, Professor I. Ohienko, Rector of Kamianets-Podilskyi State Ukrainian University. City of Warsaw. 28. XII. 1920 No. 139» (TsDAVO of Ukraine. Fund 3646. Inventory 1. File 2, p. 10–10 verso).

The next day, trying to use all the possibilities to solve the problem of assistance to the students, I. Ohienko addresses the head of the Ukrainian diplomatic mission in Poland with a similar request (TsDAVO of Ukraine. Fund 3646. Inventory 1. File 2, p. 9–9 verso).

Not relying solely on the sent correspondence, I. Ohienko personally visits the rectors of the leading Polish higher schools, trying to accelerate solving of the problem in the positive direction with his own presence. About the results of this trip, he informed the Board of student representatives in writing (TsDAVO of Ukraine. Fund 3646. Inventory 1. File 2, p. 5–5 zv.).

Obviously, V. Serhiichuk and V. Rohovyi assume, that due to the initiative of I. Ohienko, the issue of financial support was closely followed both by the ministers and by the Head of the Directorate S. Petliura himself. Considering on January 16, 1921 the bills of the Ministry of National Education of the UPR regarding the provision of 400000 Polish marks to assist Ukrainian students in Warsaw, the finance committee of the Ministry of Finance found it possible to speak out for the loan of 250000 Polish marks, provided that these funds will be paid to the Warsaw University as a payment for the right to study Ukrainian students in it (Serhiychuk, V., and Rohovyy, V., 2007). Besides, the Ministry of Education initiated the draft legislation to provide students with a scholarship of 3600 Polish marks monthly as study aid (TsDAVO of Ukraine. Fund 2582. Inventory 2. File 46, p. 16). This was an important step that enabled the Ukrainian youth to engage in science.

Thus, the activity of I. Ohienko under the difficult conditions of emigration was directed to supporting the representatives of professors-teachers Corporation and the students in solving their diverse problems under the new conditions of living. Much effort was made to help young people continue their studies at European higher educational centers. In spite of the unstable political and difficult financial situation, these tasks have been successfully realized to a certain extent. The situation with the rest of the projects and programs looked less relevant.

For those representatives of the professors-teachers Corporation of Kamianets-Podilskyi State Ukrainian University, who decided to stay in their native land, it was necessary to adapt again to the new realities of life. At the same time, the collective tried to publicly demonstrate its readiness to work in the new circumstances. On the eve of the change of power, the professorial Council heard the statement by the students' representative M. Oliinyk, in which it was argued that the Council of student representatives will continue to work energetically to ensure the normal conditions of the educational process and

generally stand guard on the interests of academic life. The adopted decision was fully in line with these sentiments: the information was accepted and taking into consideration the departure of some professors, the deans of the faculties were proposed to change the timetable so that there were no free hours between lectures (State Archives of Khmelnytskyi Oblast. Fund R–582. Inventory 1. File 44, p. 23).

On December 6, 1920, the Regional Revolutionary Committee at the University reinstated the post of political commissioner. Due to the absence of A. Volianskyi, D. Mizin was appointed of temporary duties (Adamskyi, V. R., 2009). His first steps toward managing the high school were not something new. He literally reproduced all the norms, which at one time were promulgated by his predecessor. In this context, the next closure of the theological and juridical faculties by many workers of the educational institution was perceived as a fully predictable solution (Zavalniuk, O., 1992).

However, the reorganizational processes on this did not end. In February 1921, in the context of introducing the foundations of the new system of education, the collegium of Ukrainian department of education liquidated the University, establishing instead the Institutes of Public Education and Agricultural Institute (State Archives of Khmelnytskyi Oblast. Fund R–302. Inventory 1. File 10, p. 34–34 verso).

It is clear that the realities of the Soviet actuality in the educational sphere have become a serious trial for the professors and lecturers. Almost all of them had to develop new courses in the basic disciplines of the humanitarian cycle that would correspond to the new patterns of curricula. However, the readiness of venerable professors to adapt the theoretical material to the requirements of the Soviet standards in the educational sphere for the development of national culture and science has not always been a persuasive argument for the central authorities in the question of decision-making as for their further fate. By approving the faculty plans in March 1921 before the end of the educational year, the sector of preparation of teachers of Ukrainian department of education also wanted to obtain direct texts of specific disciplines and submit for approval all pedagogical staff with the presentation of curriculum vitae of every teacher of the University (State Archives of Khmelnytskyi Oblast. Fund R–302. Inventory 1. File 3, p. 13).

For the properly prepared documents, issued by the administration of Kamianets-Podilskyi Institute of Public Education, the answer from Kharkiv was quite predictable. The educational department announced that it refuses in further work in the educational institution for eight teachers (State Archives of Khmelnytskyi Oblast. Fund R–302. Inventory 1. File

3, p. 48). Besides, Yu. Sitsynskyi was allowed to lecture, but the question of his approval also remained open (State Archives of Khmelnytskyi Oblast. Fund R–302. Inventory 1. File 3, p. 48 verso).

The abundant attention from the Bolsheviks to the representatives of the national intelligentsia, whose previous life and professional experience did not fit into the canons of the latest standards, was felt continuously. Everyone looked for their own way out of this situation. For example, Yu. Sitsynskyi continued to work in the educational institution, taking active part in the religious, cultural and public life of the region. He repeatedly organized students' natural-archaeological excursions on the outskirts of Kamianets (State Archives of Khmelnytskyi Oblast. Fund R–12. Inventory 1. File 12, p. 40), was engaged in the collection and study of historical-cultural monuments of ethnography and archeology, which were kept in the cabinet of art of Kamianets-Podilskyi Institute of Public Education.

Instead, I. Oksiuk concentrated entirely on church affairs, having left the institute. In June 1922, at the Kazan Council, he was given the post of the Bishop of Kamianets-Podilskyi Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (Nesterenko, 2008). With his direct participation the influence of Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Podillia region has become widespread. In particular, at that time, 45 Ukrainian parishes were registered in Podillia region. The Ukrainian church was visited by more than 10 % of all believers (Vinyukova, V., 1997).

Under the conditions of the further retreat on the «economic front», the party authority took on tougher position in political-ideological issues. At the XII Party Conference of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), held in August 1922, H. Zinoviev declared in the full voice the style the Bolsheviks elected against their opponents: «We cannot say and we mustn't say that we, in any case, refuse from repressions» (Zinov'ev, G., 1922).

As a result of this strategy, the repressive component of the political process grew incredibly, yet in 1922, it resulted, in particular, in the deportation of representatives of intellectual work, known today as the «philosophical steamship». Its victims were also workers of the reorganized Kamianets-Podilskyi State Ukrainian University.

The idea of banishment of intellectuals abroad belonged directly to V. Lenin. Today this thesis is shared by the overwhelming majority of scholars (Prystayko, V., Pshennikov, O., and Shapoval, Yu., 1997). The position of the leader of the Bolsheviks was determined by at least two common factors. Firstly, appearing as an architect of the new policy towards the old intelligentsia, he basically considered its involvement into the socialist construction only as

one of the forms of class struggle. In order to achieve the goal set before him by the revolution, V. Lenin considered it legitimate to force them to «keep silence». It is desirable in all areas of creative work. And especially in those that affected the very foundations of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was for this reason that he categorically insisted on the abolition of the administrative autonomy of higher schools (Pokrovskiy, M., N., 1990) and the inclusion of the educational institutions into the general system of Soviet institutions and organizations.

Secondly, the specific situation in the country at the beginning of 1922 in the sphere of democratic freedoms was rather difficult. Despite the attempts of the Bolsheviks to keep control of all more or less significant social processes, the elements of the liberalization of spiritual life, which were allowed by the authorities in the introduction of the New Economic Politic, began to worry to death. Thus, registered private publishing houses published magazines, containing materials that totally ignored the principles of Marxist methodology; at the universities departments, in the scientific societies the non-party professors lectured on various topics, after which public discussions were held; the representatives of some branches of the national economy gathered at professional congresses, where they discussed professional problems, resorted to some critical remarks to the Soviet authorities regarding the implementation of tactical tasks of economic and social nature, etc. (Zinov'ev, G., 1922).

These processes developed so rapidly that the Bolsheviks again began to speak with the usual terminology of the period of the civil war. The high school, along with co-operation, religion, and other spheres of social life, was classified as reference points through which «petty-bourgeois elements» tried to capture the positions conquered by the Communists (Bubnov, A., 1923). There was the necessary to respond in some way to these challenges. Thus, along with the mobilization of the party forces on the «ideological front of the struggle with counterrevolution», deportation was one of the means, aimed at curbing intellectuals.

V. Lenin not only grounded the expediency of the idea of banishment of dissenters, he was the first to make rigorous practical steps in order to streamline the regulatory framework, which would provide legal grounds for «politely removing to the countries of bourgeois «democracy» teachers and members of the scientific societies, who kept to all kinds of «mysticism and idealism» so-called «educated citizenship» (Lenin, V. I., 1922a). «Propaganda, or agitation, or participation in the organization, or assistance organizations that act (propaganda and agitation) in the direction of helping that part of the international

bourgeoisie that does not recognize the equality of the communist system of property, which is replacing capitalism and seeks to forcibly overthrow it by means of either intervention, or blockade or espionage, or financing of the press, etc., is punished by the supreme penalty, with the replacement, under some circumstances that mitigate guilt, to imprisonment or expulsion abroad» (Lenin, V. I., 1922a), – this is the additional paragraph for the authorship of V. Lenin, which he sent to the People's Commissar of Justice D. Kurskyi on May 17, 1922, to be included as an organic part into the introductory law of the Criminal Code of the Russian SFSR.

«The operation» of banishing inexorable in their vital principles intellectuals was considered by the party authority on a large scale. Since the development of the elements of the democratic process was the threat to the very foundations of the new state system, the planned action was to cover other Soviet republics, despite the fact that the latter *de jure* were recognized as independent. The decision was made by the top authority of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and was sent to the local authority bodies «for efficient execution». At the same time, it seemed that the party oriented the regions even on the approximate number of deportees. That's why, it is no coincidence that quantitatively different lists (Moscow, Petrograd, Ukrainian) were almost identical in this regard (Glavatskiy, M. E., 1995).

If the theoretical elaboration of the repressive measure was carried out by the party authorities, then the whole preparation and practical implementation of the plan entirely relied on the bodies of the State Political Administration. It was they who were obliged to pick up the necessary contingent of representatives of mental labor, who were considered hopelessly lost for the communist ideology.

The control over the course of the process, according to the decision of the Politburo of the Central Committee of June 8, 1922, relied on the specially formed commission composed of I. Unshlikht, D. Kurskyi and L. Kameniev (*Vypiska iz postanovleniya*, 1922). This commission was also instructed to study and approve the final list of candidates for expulsion.

In Ukraine, the process of «staffing» of the list was not easy. V. Lenin personally took care of this region. However, on August 3, the Ukrainian list was sealed by V. Mantsev and sent to the Bolshevik center. It included the representatives of various fields of scientific knowledge, who represented the largest cultural-educational centers of Ukraine – the cities of Kyiv, Kharkiv, Odesa, Katerynoslav. Podillia region was presented with the separate group – five teachers of higher educational institutions, the religious figure and human rights activist. Actually from Kamianets-

Podilskyi, the rector of the Agricultural Institute M. Baier, the member of the Institute of Public Education K. Koperzhnskyi and the bishop of Kamianets and Ushytsia of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church Y. Oksiuk were included into the list.

Why these dwellers of Kamianets-Podilskyi got into the list remains to some extent a mystery. Indeed, in the local high schools, there worked a lot of professors who, in their civic position, no less «deserved» to be included as candidates for expulsion. First of all, they were P. Klepatskyi, Yu. Sitsinskyi, M. Vasylykivskyi, Ye. Stashevskyi, S. Haievskyi and others.

Let's try to analyze the content of the lapidary characteristics that were drawn up for each exile, and thus understand the logic of the actions of the local Cheka agents. K. Koperzhynskyi: «Young scientist. Great nationalist, son of a priest. In nationalism comes to the absurdity – divorced with his wife as she was Russian. In political relation he is certainly harmful by the ideas that he practiced» (Adamskyi, V. R., 2007).

Everything seems pretty frank. In addition, taking into account his previous activity on the support of the Directory, which was expressed, in particular, in active public advocacy and explanatory work (Selo, 1918; 1919), everything becomes more or less clear.

Y. Oksiuk: «He is expelled from the faculty staff because of the organization of the autocephalous movement. Currently he is consecrated in the bishopric. Type of a person, which, of course, is harmful in all respects and who should be detained in the first place» (Adamskyi, V. R., 2007).

Again, taking into account the fact that the initial policy of the official authorities towards the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church was undergoing substantial adjustments and adopting more rigorous approaches, tightly linking the activity of the latter with the Petliura movement, the Cheka agents had good reasons for including the bishop in the disgraceful list. On-site documents provided additional assurances of confidence. In the secret circular to the heads of the districts, developed by the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, was pointed to the urgent collection of information about autocephalous movement, paying particular attention to its connection with nationalist elements (State Archives of Khmelnytskyi Oblast. Fund R–336. Inventory 3. File 1, p. 141).

M. Baier: «Head of the department of geodesy. At the same time, he is the rector of the agricultural institute in Kamianets. He took active part in the Petliura movement, and during Petliura worked in the Department of Farming. Uproarious person» (Adamskyi, V. R., 2007).

As we can see, this characteristic is not distinguished by special categorical tone. In the national liberation competitions practically all professors-teachers Corporation of the local high school took active part. However, this possible, from the point of view of the Cheka agents «negative» was overshadowed by the weighty affairs of the scientist in solving many urgent and necessary cases of Soviet construction. They knew about these facts as they were widely known even to the population of the region. Thus, M. Baier was one of the organizers of the opening on the basis of the Agricultural Institute of geodesic courses (State Archives of Khmelnytskyi Oblast. Fund R–302. Inventory 1. File 16, p. 206–206 verso), acted as an editor of jubilee literary-scientific collections, dedicated to the anniversary of the October Revolution (State Archives of Khmelnytskyi Oblast. Fund R–302. Inventory 1. File 22, p. 38), standing at the origins of the creation of the working faculty (State Archives of Khmelnytskyi Oblast. Fund R–336. Inventory 1. File 84, p. 97–97 verso), etc.

Why did the rector of the educational institution got into the cohort of expelled candidates? Obviously, the Bolsheviks themselves gave the objective answer to this question. Ukrainian Cheka agents simply were not ready for this «operation». That's why the lists were made in a slapdash way, and the subjective factors played fundamentally important role. It was clarified somewhat later, when a special commission, consisting of Mantsev, Yermoshchenko, Zatonskyi and Lebid was created by the decision of the Small Bureau of the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee for more thorough study of cases on expulsion abroad of a number of people and the final correction of the list (TsDAGO of Ukraine. Fund 1. Inventory 20. File 1018, p. 74). When the commission once again reviewed the lists, it turned out that «many of the arrested were victims of private reckonings» (TsDAGO of Ukraine. Fund 1. Inventory 1. File 992, p. 129).

However, none of the dwellers of Kamianets-Podilskyi, like the vast majority of the candidates on the Ukrainian list, was sent abroad. The party functionaries in the Ukrainian SSR, after being properly publicized and arrested in mid-August, became clear that in the event of the expulsion of active social activists, they would thus objectively strengthen the intellectual forces of Ukrainian emigration. That's why, some adjustments were made in the preliminary plan. Ukrainians were mostly deported in the remote provinces of the Russian Federation, or they were forced to move independently to other cities of Ukraine.

K. Koperzhnskyi moved to Kyiv, where he worked under the guidance of academician V. Peretz.

He was issued a scientific trip from Kamianets-Podilskyi Institute of People's Education (State Archives of Khmelnytskyi Oblast. Fund R–302. Inventory 1. File 222, p. 39 zv.). In November 1922, by the decision of the Bureau of the Institute, it was extended until July of the following year, but without proper maintenance (State Archives of Khmelnytskyi Oblast. Fund R–302. Inventory 1. File 222, p. 114 zv.).

Y. Oksiuk, in spite of the numerous appeals of the believers to the local executive committee, to leave the bishop in the county, because his church activity «did not violate the state orders regarding the revolution» (State Archives of Khmelnytskyi Oblast. Fund R–336. Inventory 1. File 112, p. 47), was forced to move to Poltava region. In 1923, the community of the Lubensk church chose Oksiuk as their spiritual guide (Zavalniuk, O., 2006).

As for M. Baier, he managed not only to stay in the city, but even to maintain his position. The local authorities personally pleaded for the rector of the Agricultural Institute. On September 11, 1922, the Small Plenum of the district executive committee, having considered the issue on the request of M. Baier about leaving him in Kamianets-Podilskyi, made a positive decision: «Taking into account the previous activity of M. Baier as the rector of the Agricultural Institute, initiator of the opening of the working faculty, the organizer of pest control, active participant in our Soviet press on the questions of agriculture, his participation in public work, loyalty to the Soviet power in the past, and his benefit as a public figure and a worker of science, and also because he was entered by the district congress on the red board for his useful work, it is considered useful and possible to leave him stay in Kamianets-Podilskyi for the further work, about which to raise the petition in the centre» (State Archives of Khmelnytskyi Oblast. Fund R–336. Inventory 1. File 10, p. 99–99 verso).

Conclusions. Thus, the fate of the Kamianets-Podilskyi intellectuals under the conditions of the consolidation of the Soviet model of statehood was quite similar. The scientific-educational elite, which did not accept the requirements of the entire ideologization of the spiritual sphere, as well as the changes in conceptual- world-view beliefs, was doomed to directly feel the effect of the repressive machine. The communist system of education was focused on meeting the needs of the state, implementing the Bolshevik model of socialism, but much less on improving social relations. As a result, political purges and permanent terror, including deportation, have become an inalienable and key method of «sovietisation» of the intelligentsia in scientific-educational institutions.

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Державний архів Хмельницької області. Ф. Р–302, оп. 1, спр. 16.

Державний архів Хмельницької області. Ф. Р–302, оп. 1, спр. 22.

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Державний архів Хмельницької області. Ф. Р–336, оп. 1, спр. 84.

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