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**THE POSITION OF HISTORICAL SCIENCE
OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR IN THE CONDITIONS
OF COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY IN THE YEARS
OF KHRUSHCHEV'S «THAW» AND THE UNFOLDING
OF BREZHNEV'S «STAGNATION»**

Keywords: historical science, scientific research, communist ideology, Soviet totalitarian regime, falsification, intellectual resistance, national past of Ukraine, Ukrainian scientists, objectivity

ABSTRACT: The article shows the complete subordination of historical science in the Ukrainian SSR to the ideology of the Soviet state. The concept of the historical development of the Ukrainian people during the 60s and 70s of the 20th century was determined not by scientists, but by party-communist ideologues. The concept of the rapprochement of nations, the creation of a «new historical community of Soviet people» and the condemnation of the ideology of «bourgeois nationalism» came to the fore. When researching the history of the Ukrainian SSR, scientists were tasked with not focusing on national differences and promoting the «exceptional» role of the Russian people in the life of Ukrainians in every possible way.

Contrary to the ideological dictates of the ruling communist elite, many researchers tried to preserve the objectivity and impartiality of Ukrainian historical science. In their writings, they directly or indirectly proved the separateness of the history of Ukraine and the Ukrainian people (O.

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Apanovych, M. Brychevskiy, I. Dzira, O. Kompan, I. Krypyakevich, F. Shevchenko, etc.).

During the years of Khrushchev's «thaw» and the unfolding of Brezhnev's «stagnation», there was an intellectual resistance of historians-scientists to the Soviet totalitarian regime.

FORMULATION OF SCIENTIFIC PROBLEM AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

During the 60s–70s of the 20th century, Ukrainian historical science was completely subordinated to the policy of the CPSU – KPU. The Soviet totalitarian state was forced to legitimize the interpretation of the national question in the Ukrainian SSR in favor of the «new historical community – the Soviet people». Scientists were tasked with promoting the «exceptional» role of the Russian people in the life of Ukrainians in every possible way. The process of taming the «carriers of the ideology of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism» engulfed the historical science of the Ukrainian SSR. However, despite the dictates of the communists, Ukrainian historians sought to preserve true historical science, to show the separateness of the Ukrainian nation and the Ukrainian state in historical retrospect.

With Ukraine's independence, socio-political life's democratization, and access to many archival sources, favorable conditions were created for the free, unbiased, methodologically balanced study of the Soviet past of the Ukrainian nation. Therefore, a comprehensive study of the situation of historical science in the Ukrainian SSR and the study of the confrontation between national and non-national in it during the 60s–70s of the 20th century is extremely relevant and requires a special approach to study.

RESEARCH ANALYSIS

The question of the conditions of the functioning of the historical science of the Ukrainian SSR during the second half of the 20th century was highlighted in the works of such authors as: S. Bilokin (1990), O. Antonyuk (1993), N. Orach (1994), V. Smoliya (1996), M. Koval (1997), Y. Isaevich (2001), V. Golovko (2003), S. Helei & Y. Malik & B. Vol (2003), V. Yaremchuk (2009) and others. However, in the scientific literature, the topic remains understudied. This enables us to continue working in this promising area.

THE AIM OF THE ARTICLE

Thus, the focus of this article is the study of the struggle of the Soviet government with the ideology of «Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism» in the historical science of the Ukrainian SSR during the years of Khrushchev's «thaw» and the unfolding of Brezhnev's «stagnation», showing the efforts of the CPSU – the Communist Party of Ukraine to artificially merge the history of the Ukrainian and Russian peoples, analysis of the intellectual resistance of pro-Ukrainian-oriented historians to the ideological dictates of the Soviet totalitarian regime.

THE MAIN MATERIAL AND JUSTIFICATION OF STUDY RESULTS

Historical science in the Ukrainian SSR during the 60s – 70s of the 20th century turned into a submissive servant of the CPSU – Communist Party of Ukraine. All scientific concepts of historical events and phenomena were dictated by party ideologues for further necessary «scientific justification and clarification». In the absence of scientific freedom, historians were forced to adhere to certain regulated prescriptions, which were announced as the official state course. The complete subordination of

scientists' research to the interests of the Soviet totalitarian state was established.

The issues of the periods of Ukrainian state formation in historical science were completely distorted by Soviet propaganda. For the communist government, «Ukrainian nationalism» was the subject of active speculation and adjustment of its content in the direction required by the ruling elite (Kindrachuk, 2016 c, p. 282). The Communist Party of Ukraine recognized only one type of nationalism – patriotism of all nations in favor of Russia, while other manifestations of nationalism were interpreted as hostile and anti-state, and their supporters were branded as dissidents and enemies of the people.

Based on party instructions, historical science in the Ukrainian SSR undertook to finally destroy the «nationalist falsification» of the history of the Ukrainian nation's past, to correct its «mistakes» and «distortions». A key role in this process was played by the decisions of the All-Union Meeting of Soviet Historians in 1962, which directed the development of historical knowledge to support the ideological guidelines of the Communist Party.

Archival sources inform that the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine directed its decisions to carry out measures to «improve» the process of teaching history and social science disciplines in schools and higher educational institutions of the Ukrainian SSR (*Reports of departments of the regional committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, information of district committees of the party on the implementation of the decisions of the bureau, 1967–1968, p. 22, 28, 32*). The main goal pursued by the ruling Communist Party leadership was the «ideological and political hardening» of the younger generation of Ukrainians. In these circumstances, among the publications that filled the Ukrainian SSR's libraries at that time, there were the lifetime books of V. Lenin and K. Marx, works of communist ideologues. Among educational and scientific literature, the history of the CPSU and the USSR had the largest circulation.

In parallel with the publication of works of Soviet ideological direction, the cleaning of libraries from «foreign ideology» was arranged. Thus, emphasizing that «censorship bodies do not invent anything... and are

guided in their activities by the instructions of the party and the government...» the head of the Main Directorate for Literature and Publishing of the Ukrainian SSR, M. Pozdnyakov, directed all subordinate institutions to start checking library funds in the republic (*Minutes of the meetings of the censors of the Ukrainian SSR held by the Main Department of Literature...*, 1969, p. 2).

In the conditions of close control of the publishing business in Soviet Ukraine, for «serious methodological errors» and «theoretical errors», the taboo of Holovlit of the Ukrainian SSR was imposed on virtually all Ukrainian studies, including the «bourgeois-nationalist historiography» of the history of Ukraine (Bilokin, 1900, p. 76). Instead, during the 60s of the XX century several generalizing works on the history of Ukraine were published, most of which illustrated the «great victories and achievements» of the Ukrainian people with the help of the «fraternal Russian» people. One of the most important such publications was a new version of the two-volume academic «History of the Ukrainian SSR», work which began in 1962 and ended in 1967. When writing a new history of Soviet Ukraine, scientists were tasked with leveling national differences in the Ukrainian SSR, promoting in every possible way the «exceptional» role of the Russian people and its «all-encompassing dominance» in the historical being of Ukrainians. Thus, a certain hierarchical pyramid of nations headed by Russia was established. This idea invented by Kremlin theoreticians was forcibly inserted into the consciousness of the Ukrainian nation and artificially entered into the pages of the history of Ukraine (Kindrachuk, 2016 a, p. 33).

It should be emphasized that along with the mandatory citation in historical science of authors of Marxist-Leninist views and leaders of the CPSU – KPU, it was forbidden to refer to the scientific work of N. Polonska-Vasylenko and M. Hrushevskyi and other Ukrainian historians (Golovko, 2003, p. 47). The works of outstanding thinkers of Ukrainian historical thought – M. Drahomanov and M. Kostomarov – were withdrawn from scientific circulation.

For defending the independence of the Ukrainian state during the Cossack period (Apanovych, 1961; Apanovych, 1969) suffered O. Apanovych – a Ukrainian historian, and archivist, 1972 was dismissed from the posi-

tion of senior researcher at the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, allegedly under the pretext of downsizing, but actually for dissident in science. Ukrainian historian, corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, doctor of historical sciences, and professor F. Shevchenko also suffered from the Soviet totalitarian system. The article published by him in 1966 «Why did Mykhailo Hrushevskyy return to Soviet Ukraine?» (Shevchenko, 1966) opened the partial rehabilitation of M. Hrushevskyy in the historical academic circles of the Ukrainian SSR (Yaremchuk, 2009, p. 358–360), which led to the dismissal of the historian from the position of director of the Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR and his removal from the editorial boards of several scientific publications at the time.

However, it should be emphasized that the working conditions of historians in the 1960s were somewhat more favorable in comparison with the following decade (Kindrachuk, 2016 b, p. 116). In particular, during this period, the names of historians and their tabooed works were removed from the «forbidden lists» of the Main Directorate for Literature and Publishing Houses of the Ukrainian SSR, the system of access to archival documents was simplified, and a significant part of archival special funds was declassified. However, since the beginning of the 70s of the 20th-century curtailment of these processes was observed. The famous Ukrainian historian M. Koval, analyzing the national historiography of those years, noted that «the process of cleansing historical science from totalitarian influences was silenced from the second half of the 1960s» (Koval, 1997, p. 13).

Ideological pressure on Ukrainian historical science intensified with the coming to power of a supporter of the political course of the Kremlin, V. Shcherbytskyi, and the election in 1972 to the position of chief ideologist of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine of an ardent fighter against «Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism», a Ukrainophobe, V. Malanchuk. A group of Lviv historians led by Ya. Malik speaks about a new outbreak of mass massacres and arrests of dissident historians in the republic during the time of V. Shcherbytskyi (Malik & Vol & Helei, 2003, p. 202). Researchers emphasize the accelerated growth in the 1970s totalitarian tendencies and a sharp return to criticism of «Ukrainian

bourgeois nationalism» in the field of historical science of the Ukrainian SSR.

Speaking about the sharp changes in the political course of the 1970s, it is necessary to mention the Republican meeting of historians, which took place on November 27–28, 1974 in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine. It was on it that important of criticizing M. Hrushevskyi's historical concept, which promoted the Ukrainian national idea and the inalienable right of the Ukrainian people to self-determination (Hrushevskyi, 1991, p. 33). In particular, this meeting did not ignore the historical heritage of V. Antonovych, which the party authorities declared «harmful», and the historian himself was called the author of the «anti-historical concept» about the eternity of the Ukrainian nation. This characteristic of the scientist was included in the textbooks for students of history faculties of pedagogical institutes of the Ukrainian SSR.

In the 1970s, Soviet censorship gained momentum. At that time, the struggle of the Soviet authorities against the «bourgeois-nationalist falsification» of the history of Ukraine was deepening. For the review of Golovlit of the Ukrainian SSR, mostly works that lacked the «necessary ideological coloring» and were «erroneous» in the ideological and political relation of the work were received. The remarks made during the revision of the books concerned, for example, materials in which, according to the communist authorities, some historical events were «incorrectly» assessed, and «false or politically immature statements» were allowed. So, from the publishing plans of the republic in the early 70s of the XX century 157 titles of books were removed in which the ideological curators found a hint of «nationalism» and other «deviations» from the ideological line of the CPSU – KPU (Smoliya, 1996, p. 386). Instead, according to archival data, in the period from 1976 to the first half of 1978, 10 monographs, 2 brochures, 10 scientific articles, etc., were published in the Ukrainian SSR on the subject of exposing «Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism» (*Information of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR on the work in the field of nature protection...*, 1976–1978, p. 20).

Revealing the advantages of a socialist way of life over a capitalist one, the Soviet party bodies paid great attention in their activities to the criticism of «bourgeois standards» of life. Archival sources testify that through

historical science, they tried to eradicate «nationalistic vestiges» from the consciousness of Ukrainians and persistently fought against the «antipodes of bourgeois morality», which included Ukrainians who stood on the independent positions of their state (*Information, reports of district committees of the party, the department of culture and cinematography...*, 1977, p. 19). For this purpose, the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR regularly supported scientific columns of historians of many universities of the Ukrainian SSR, among which the following can be distinguished: «Nationalists are the worst enemies of the working people», «Nationalism is a tool of anti-communism», «Against the bourgeois falsifiers of the history of our region» and others (*Information, reports of district committees of the party, the department of culture and cinematography...*, 1977, p. 20).

It should be emphasized that Ukrainian historians whose works did not correspond to the ideology of the Soviet theoreticians of the CPSU – KPU were included in the «risk groups», and this threatened public accusations of «nationalism and anti-Sovietism», which in the end could lead to their removal from professional activity and even dismissal from work (*Reports of the administrative department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, letters, information...*, 1957, p. 14, 26). Thus, in 1972, such scientists as O. Kompan, Ya. Dzira, and the aforementioned O. Apanovych and F. Shevchenko were dismissed from the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR for promoting «bourgeois-nationalist ideas» and friendly relations with repressed dissidents. Ukrainian historians M. Brychevskyi and Ya. Dashkevich was included in the list of «undesirable» persons in the 1970s, the citation, and publication of whose works were officially banned.

The well-known Ukrainian archaeologist I. Shovkoplyas was also mercilessly criticized for the fact that the bibliographic index «The Development of Soviet Archeology in Ukraine (1917–1967)» (1969) included «unwanted» names of Ukrainian historians, including V. Antonovych, F. Vovk, M. Hrushevskyi, N. Polonska-Vasilenko, P. Kurinnyi, V. Scherbakivskyi, V. Dubrovskyi, and others (Orach, 1994, p. 29). In 1972, I. Shovkoplyas was dismissed from the Institute of Archeology of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR for his adherence to «bourgeois ideology».

For «serious methodological errors» and «theoretical errors» the taboo of Holovlit of the Ukrainian SSR was imposed on virtually everything that contained even the smallest traces of Ukrainian patriotism (Bilokin, 1900, p. 76). An example of such an approach is the data of archival documents, which testify that the head of the Department for the Protection of State Secrets in the Press at the Executive Committee of the Khmelnytskyi Regional Council of Workers' Deputies, S. Humenyuk, by the order of the head of the Main Department for the Protection of State Secrets in the Press at the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR No. 1 dated January 31, 1974, issued an order labeled «Secretly», according to which he ordered to ensure the removal of works by O. Ogloblin, N. Polonska-Vasylenko, D. Soloveia, P. Fedenko, K. Shtepa and other Ukrainian historians (*Correspondence with the party, state, and Soviet bodies on the main issues of activity...*, 1974, p. 1). «Competent reviewers» appointed by the party structures were subjected to critical analysis of everything that did not correspond to the official dogmas and views of the communists. The state censorship of the Soviet totalitarian state, which was based on the ideology of the proletariat, marked the complete absence of legal norms to ensure freedom of speech. This state of affairs led to the fact that any historical publication could be declared «ideologically harmful» based on artificially fabricated arguments.

It must also be said that due to «methodological errors» several historical works previously approved for publication were removed from the publishing plans of scientific institutions, which were withdrawn from public access and transferred to special funds, which in Ukraine at the beginning of the 1970s there were 26 (*Plans for meetings of workers of the regional literature and publishing department...*, 1970–1971, p. 51, 54). Among the important works, the publication of which was stopped, it is worth mentioning the monograph of I. Krypyakevich's «Halytskyi-Volyn Principality», which was prepared by the Institute of Social Sciences of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR (Isaevich, 2001, p. 666–667). In 1972, the work on the multi-volume publication of the documents of Kosh Zaporizhzhia Sich's archive stopped, and in 1977 – on the collection «Cyril-Methodiev Society».

Any aspirations of Ukrainians for the objectivity and independence of historical scientific research from the current political course were strictly persecuted (Kindrachuk, 2018, p. 49). The KGB and other state security agencies of the Ukrainian SSR closely monitored the special funds of the largest libraries of the republic, and especially the readers who were allowed there. Thus, the reader forms of special funds served as a real reference point for identifying Ukrainian scientists with anti-Soviet positions and views, and historians' selection of books on certain topics or works by banned authors became indisputable incriminating evidence for accusing researchers of «anti-state» and «counter-revolutionary» activities.

Archival documents indicate that the historical science controlled by the Soviet authorities in the Ukrainian SSR launched an internal process of artificial creation of a «new historical community – the Soviet people» (*Reports, information, reports on the work of the radio committee...*, 1967, s. 36), in which the Ukrainians, as a separate nation that was part of the USSR, had to disappear. This approach was evidenced by the theses of the Central Committee of the CPSU «On the 300th anniversary of the reunification of Ukraine with Russia (1654–1954)», which spelled out the state's official concept of the historical development of Ukraine with an emphasis on a strong union with the «fraternal Russian people».

An attempt to discredit the official Soviet version of the reunification of Ukraine with Russia was made by the Ukrainian historian and archaeologist M. Brychevskyi, publishing in 1966 a treatise entitled «Joining or reunification?» (Brychevskyi, 1972). In his work, the scientist brilliantly proved the hypocrisy of the official «Theses to the 300th anniversary of the reunification of Ukraine with Russia», for which he was fired from his job and banned from further scientific activity, after which the historian wrote, «in the drawer». Due to the ban, the indicated work of the scientist was initially distributed by a «self-publisher», and in 1972 it was published in Canada.

Promoting the gradual rapprochement, and later the merging of the Ukrainian nations with other nations in the Ukrainian SSR into a single Russian-speaking and Russian-cultural whole, the Soviet authorities severely criticized and banned any historical version based on the state

separation of Ukraine and the Ukrainian nation from Russia. Thus, the Soviet historical approach once again denied the state concept of the separateness of the history of the Ukrainian state, put forward by the world-famous Ukrainian historian M. Hrushevskyi and his students and followers, whom the communists called agents of foreign imperialism. Instead, the statement about the «community of the historical roots of the Russian and Ukrainian peoples» most flooded the historical scientific world and propaganda literature during the celebration of the 325th anniversary of the «reunification of Ukraine with Russia» by the Soviet Union in 1979.

Soviet historical science silenced and falsified facts and events from the history of Ukraine that were not beneficial to it. In particular, the ideologues of communism interpreted Kyivan Rus as a «common cradle of three brotherly peoples – Russian, Ukrainian and Belarusian», the Pereyaslav Rada was evaluated as a union of two «brotherly» Ukrainian and Russian peoples, the existence of Hetman Ukraine was not recognized at all, Ukrainian national movements were equated with of the «bourgeois-nationalist counter-revolution», the Ukrainian statehood of 1917–1920 was distorted, the Famine of 1932–1933 and Stalin's repressions in Ukraine was hushed up. Entire eras were discarded from Ukrainian history, the transparent study and interpretation of which became an unprofitable matter for Soviet ideologues. Topics with a Ukrainian color were muffled and receded into the background.

The famous Ukrainian poet and human rights defender V. Stus, speaking about the consequences of the leadership of the Soviet government in Ukraine, which, in his opinion, «undermined» the Ukrainian nation, remarked: «How can a national tree develop when half a crown is cut down from it? What is Ukrainian history without historians, when there are no Cossack chronicles, no history of Rus, no Kostomarov, Markevich, Bantysh-Kamensky, Antonovich, Hrushevsky...» (Stus, 2008, p. 198; Stus, 2019, p. 68). In the current conditions, the conceptual connection of Ukrainian historians with the heritage of previous generations, scientific traditions, and entire scientific schools was broken. The political situation and ideological pressure of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine deprived researchers of a real scientific discussion and objective coverage of the historical past of the Ukrainian people.

It is worth emphasizing that «History of Ukraine» as an independent course was not intended for study either in schools or in higher educational institutions of the Ukrainian SSR. Researching the historical education of the Ukrainian people, O. Antonyuk claims that secondary school students in Soviet times had a limited opportunity to get acquainted with the multifaceted history of Ukraine, which was included in the general course of the history of the USSR (Antonyuk, 1993, p. 83). In the school, the subject of national history was called «History of the USSR and Ukrainian SSR», and since 1973 it was replaced by «History of the USSR», within the framework of which the volume of material on the history of Ukraine was constantly reduced (Antonyuk, 1993, p. 83). Soviet ideologues directed the study of the history of the Ukrainian SSR towards pro-Russian foundations, where Ukrainian statehood had no right to its independent existence. The entire historical path of Ukrainians was closely tied to the Russian people. With such steps, the Communist Party of Ukraine tried to eradicate national consciousness and belonging to the Ukrainian nation and state in the eyes of young Ukrainians.

CONCLUSIONS

Thus, during the 60s–70s of the 20th century, the Soviet authorities waged an ideological struggle against «nationalist tendencies» in the historical science of the Ukrainian SSR. The communist regime forbade recognition of the historical development of any ethnic group. The slightest hint of the separateness of the Ukrainian nation and the Ukrainian state in historical retrospect was interpreted as treason and anti-Soviet activity. The process of «taming the bearers of the ideology of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism» flooded the historical science of Soviet Ukraine. Pro-Ukrainian-oriented historians were prevented from conducting free scientific research, publishing research, defending theses, they were sentenced to «scientific incompetence», etc. The official content of Ukraine's national past was Russian-centric. The party leadership promoted and glorified the leadership of Russia and the exceptional role of the «great Russian people» in the historical development of the Ukrainian people. This idea invented

by the Communist Party was systematically implanted in the consciousness of Ukrainians and artificially entered into the pages of Ukrainian history. This development of events deprived scientists of a real scientific discussion and an objective assessment of the historical past of the Ukrainian nation. However, contrary to the ideology of the CPSU – CPU, many Ukrainian historians tried to preserve a politically neutral, true historical science and sought to show its objectivity and impartiality.

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