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UKRAINIAN COLLABORATIONISM FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THE RUSSIAN OCCUPATION REGIMES IN THE XX AND EARLY XXI CENTURIES

Russian imperial power presented the Russian monarchy, the Bolshevik dictatorship, or Putin's state based on normative legal acts or masquerading under the mythologies of creating a single „Soviet” nation – has always been trying to destroy the Ukrainian nation. Accordingly, Ukrainian national self-identification was sufficient to accuse a person of collaborating with the enemy. According to this concept, the Russian government throughout the 20th and early 21st centuries systematically and consistently destroyed centers of Ukrainian culture, political structures, and bright personalities who produced and were the exponents of the Ukrainian national idea.

The Political Unreliability of the Greek Catholic Clergy and Ukrainian Elite During the Russian Occupation of Eastern Galicia 1914-1917

With the beginning of the First World War, the lands of Eastern Galicia became the territory of fierce battles and repressive measures of the Russian occupation

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authorities. Ukrainian historian and statesman M. Hrushevsky compared this period in the history of Eastern Galicia and Bukovyna with the „Ruin” of the second half of the 17th century².

The Russians were helped in their annexation policy by Moscow-ophile organizations created on the eve of the First World War with the financial support of the Russian special services, which defended the kinship of the residents of western Ukraine with the Russian people. Only the repressive policy of the Russian occupation regime in Eastern Galicia in 1914-1917 against the local population and the war crimes of the Russian army showed the civilizational and ethnic difference of Russians.

Researchers of the activities of the occupation administration in Eastern Galicia during the First World War are unanimous that the actions of the Russian authorities, in addition to ensuring the needs of military structures and preserving socio-economic and political stability, were aimed at the annexation of Eastern Galicia through repression of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic priesthood, public facilities, and education for the integration of the region into the Russian Empire³.

It should be noted that due to the Battle of Galicia in the summer autumn of 1914, the western Ukrainian lands were almost entirely occupied by Russian troops and were under the control of the Russian authorities almost until June of the following year, 1915. According to the „Temporary Regulation on the Management of the Austro-Hungarian Regions Occupied by Law of War,” military structures, including the Supreme Commander-in-Chief’s Staff, he played the leading role in the organization and management of the occupied territory. The headquarters of the commander of the South-Western Front were subordinate to him, and the governor-general was appointed as the head of the Russian occupation administration⁴. Governors, heads of counties, and mayors formed the Provisional General Governorate staff on August 22, 1914, in the Ukrainian territories captured by Austria-Hungary. Despite various assessments of the professionalism of Russian officials, they committed numerous abuses

² М. Грушевський, *Новий період історії України за роки від 1914 до 1919*, Либідь, Київ, 1992, с. 8.

³ С. Адамович, *Українська історіографія про діяльність російської окупаційної влади у Східній Галичині в 1914–1917 рр.*, [в:] *Олександр Карпенко – історик Української революції: До 100-річчя від дня народження: колективна монографія*, за ред. М. Кугутяка, Прикарпат. нац. ун-т ім. В. Стефаника, Івано-Франківськ, 2022, с.230-231.

⁴ І.Ільницький, *Нормативні та ідейно-концептуальні основи організації управління західноукраїнськими землями у період Першої російської окупації (серпень 1914 – червень 1915 рр.)*, „Проблеми історії України XIX – поч. XX ст.”, 2013, №21, с.362.

and immoral acts. Thus, in a letter dated January 8, 1915, the Ternopil governor claimed that „(...) some district leaders arrest and detain various persons accused of one or another crime, without the necessary documents being drawn up”⁵. When conducting assimilation policy in the occupied territories, Russian officials were guided mainly by the principles of personal enrichment. Thus, the assistant to the head of the Lviv mayor’s office, P. Yakutevich, was prosecuted for property abuse. A court case was also opened against the mayor of Lviv, Colonel A. Skalon, who received up to 60,000 rubles only through bribes⁶. The Russians themselves pointed out that the personnel of their administration in Galicia spread the local population’s dissatisfaction with the Russian government⁷.

At the same time, the occupation Russian policy was oriented towards the final accession of Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovina to the Russian Empire. This process was accompanied by an ideological campaign based on the view of the Ukrainian lands of Galicia as historically Russian territories. Thus, in the fall of 1914, Russian Emperor Nicholas II, in conversations with representatives of the diplomatic corps, claimed that Russia had the right to include Galicia and Northern Bukovina as a result of the war, which would allow it to „(...) reach its natural borders - the Carpathians”⁸. Such views were spread in Russian power structures with the help of representatives of the so-called Russian nationalist movement, including Galician Muscovites.

As V. Gaiseniuk noted, the Muscovite movement entered the First World War with hopes and concrete steps to implement plans for the incorporation of Galicia into the Russian Empire, embodied, in particular, in the activities of the „Carpatho-Russian Liberation Committee”⁹ created at the beginning of the war. Appointed as temporary governor-general of the occupied regions of Austria-Hungary, Count G. Bobrynsky first filled his administration with Galician Muscovites, who received directives from destroying the „mazepins,” i.e., Ukrainians¹⁰.

⁵ С. Адамович, *Станиславів у часи лихоліть Великої війни (1914 – 1918 рр.)*, Лілея-НВ, Івано-Франківськ, 2013, с.44.

⁶ І.Кучера, *Політика російської окупаційної адміністрації в Східній Галичині в 1914–1917 рр.*, „Вісник Прикарпатського університету. Історія”, 2013, №23-24, с.195.

⁷ І.Лозинська, *Організація російського цивільного управління у Галичині (серпень-вересень 1914 р.)*, „Східноєвропейський історичний вісник”, 2017, №2, с.28.

⁸ І. Льницький, *Нормативні та ідейно-концептуальні основи...*, ор. cit., с.369.

⁹ В. Гайсенюк, *Москвофільство в Галичині та на Буковині в роки Першої світової війни*: (дис. канд. іст. наук: спец. 07.00.01 – історія України), Чернівці, 2015, с.184.

¹⁰ Д. Дорошенко, *Мої спомини про недавнє-минуле (1914-1920)*, Українське видавництво, Мюнхен, 1969, с.308.

It should be noted that the analysis of H. Bobrynskyi's orders regarding the ban on Ukrainian-language literature, measures to introduce teaching in educational institutions in the Russian language, and support for aggressive religious policy allows us to determine that they even went beyond the regulatory and legal field of the occupation administration („Rules on localities declared on martial law” (1892), „Regulations on the Field Management of Troops in Wartime” (1912), „Temporary Regulations on the Management of the Austro-Hungarian Regions Occupied by Law of War”¹¹).

The language of court proceedings was determined to be Russian, but Polish could also be used temporarily. With the arrival of the Russians, schools with the Russian language of instruction, Russian language courses for teachers, and textbooks were printed in Russian. Education in primary schools was to be conducted in Russian, except in cities with a predominantly Polish population, where Polish private schools would be allowed.

Thanks to the activities of Muscophile leaders V. Bobrynskyi, D. Chikhachev, Yu. Yavorskyi, V. Dudykevich, and others, appeals, instructions, and explanatory pamphlets were spread in Eastern Galicia, emphasizing that „(...) Eastern Galicia and Lemkivshchyna are not a separate part of greater Russia, and the population in these lands was „Russian”¹².

In parallel with the Russification processes, repressions unfolded, the basis for which was sufficient Ukrainian identification and loyalty to the Austrian state. According to the report of the head of the temporary gendarmerie in Galicia, Colonel Mezentsev, during several months of 1914-1915, 1,200 arrests, more than 1,000 searches were carried out in Galicia, and 578 people (including 34 Greek-Catholic priests) were deported to the Russian Empire. Thus, in February-March 1915, in Eastern Galicia, lawyers A. Tchaikovsky, D. Stakhur, ambassador T. Starukh, employees of the insurance company „Dniester” - S. Britan, O. Kuzmych, M. Gubchak, S. Fedak, were arrested. Prof. V. Okhrimovych, director of „Narodnaya tradni” M. Zayachkovskyi, director of the national museum I. Svientsitskyi, editor of „Prosvity” publications Yu. Balytskyi. In the report of H. Bobrynskyi on his activities in the post of temporary governor-general, it is stated that in 1914-1915, 1,962 people were deported from Galicia, and 2,364 people were resettled in the eastern regions of the empire¹³.

¹¹ І. Ільницький, *Нормативні та ідейно-концептуальні основи...*, op. cit., с.368.

¹² І. Баран, *Політична діяльність російської окупаційної адміністрації в Галичині (1914-1915 рр.)*, „Вісник Прикарпатського університету. Історія”, 2010, № 17, с.154.

¹³ І. Ільницький, *Нормативні та ідейно-концептуальні основи...*, op. cit., с.372.

However, the heads of the points often carried out the arrests and deportations without the sanction of the leadership, so today, it is difficult to establish the number of deportees. Presumably, the number of victims was huge because only about 15 thousand people passed through Kyiv prisons on the way to the east of Russia¹⁴. The Russians often took hostages and sent the most respected citizens of the cities to Siberia before their retreats¹⁵.

A component of the anti-Ukrainian policy of the Russian authorities was the persecution of publishing houses, the public, and sports associations of a Ukrainophile orientation, in particular, „Prosvity,” „Sichey,” „Sokola,” the bookstore and museum of the National Academy of Sciences, Taras Shevchenko National Society, the insurance company „Dniester,” etc., whose activities were defined as „dangerous for Russia,” as well as the banning of the Ukrainian-language press, in particular the newspapers „Dilo,” „Ruslan,” „Hromadsky Golos”¹⁶. Thus, together with other Ukrainian societies, the „Sichi” were banned, of which there were 813 in Eastern Galicia at the beginning of the war. A search was conducted in Lviv, and the society board was sealed. In the villages, Russian soldiers destroyed the property of the Sichovs, and used their awards as trophies¹⁷.

The basis of the Russification policy of the empire traditionally also remained the repression in the religious sphere, which became especially acute in Eastern Galicia—with the entry of Russian troops into Galicia, the Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church immediately sent to Galicia, the fanatics of Russian Orthodoxy - Bishop Anthony Hrapovytskyi from Kharkiv and Bishop Yevlogius from Kholm. The main task of their „mission” was the destruction of the Greek Catholic Church in Galicia. Instead of the Greek-Catholic one, it was planned to create an Orthodox metropolis with the center in Lviv¹⁸. It should be noted that even modern Russian scholars admit that the Orthodox priests who came to lead the Galician parishes behaved unceremoniously and were ready to introduce Orthodoxy by force, which was complained not only by their Uniate colleagues but also by some Russian observers¹⁹. Bishop Yevlohiy could remove

¹⁴ І. Кучера, *Політика російської окупаційної адміністрації...*, op. cit., с.198.

¹⁵ С. Шпунд, *Жахиття, скоєні росіянами в Станиславові, Ліля-НВ, Івано-Франківськ*, 2023, с.47.

¹⁶ І. Ільницький, *Нормативні та ідейно-концептуальні основи...*, op. cit., с.372.

¹⁷ І. Баран, *Політична діяльність...*, op. cit., с.157.

¹⁸ С. Адамович, *Надніпрянська політична еміграція в суспільно-політичному житті західноукраїнських земель (1914 –1918 рр.)*, Місто-НВ, Івано-Франківськ, 2003, с. 116.

¹⁹ Д. Парфирьев, *От лоялизма к сепаратизму: трансформация украинского движения в Цислейтании (1914–1918 гг.)*: (диссертация канд. историко наук: спец. 07.00.03 – всеобщая история, Москва, 2021, с. 112.

a Greek-Catholic priest from a busy parish on suspicion of „Mazepinism” (belonging to Ukrainians). A hint from the parishioners or the displeasure of the district chief was enough to send the suspect to the depths of Russia without investigation. The activities of Archbishop Evlogiy took such brutal forms that, in the end, Count Bobrynsky agreed to send Orthodox priests at the request of even a minority of parishioners²⁰.

The Lviv newspaper „Dilo” reported that 22 priests from Lviv, Rohatyn, Radekhov, Lyshchyna, and Przemysl were arrested and died in the Lviv Diocese during the Russian occupation. In the Przemyśl eparchy, the authorities arrested and tortured 33 priests, in the Stanislaviv eparchy - 5²¹. It is worth noting that the actions of the Russian Church were supported in every possible way by the head of the gendarmerie, Colonel O. Mezentsev, who sometimes acted behind the governor general’s back²². As the Basilian sisters from the Stanislavsky Monastery recalled, „(...) the new Moscow military government at first (...) was very unpleasant and first of all paid attention to our priests. Frequent audits began, searches for „Austrians,” classrooms and school offices were sealed - and then arrests of prominent spiritual dignitaries and sending them to the depths of Russia”²³.

The rulers of tsarist Russia were particularly worried about the activities of Metropolitan A. Sheptytskyi. He was seen as the personification of Ukrainian political and religious separatism. He was the main object of denunciations of Muscophiles. Already on September 6, 1914, A. Sheptytsky preached a sermon in the Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Lviv, in which he called on Lviv residents to defend their faith before the Russian offensive²⁴. After such a speech on September 11, the metropolitan’s chambers were searched, repeated on September 12 and 14, and from September 15, A. Sheptytskyi was already under house arrest²⁵. On September 19, 1914, A. Sheptytskyi was imprisoned taken to Kyiv, and Nizhny Novgorod, Kursk, Suzdal, and Yaroslavl.

²⁰ І. Баран, *Політична діяльність...*, op. cit., с.159.

²¹ І. Берест, *Репресивні акції щодо населення Східної Галичини в роки Першої світової війни*, „Вісник Національного університету Львівська політехніка”, 2007, №584, с. 55.

²² І. Баран, *Антиукраїнська політика представників Руської православної церкви в Галичині у 1914-1915 роках*, „Грані”, 2014, №4, с. 153.

²³ С. Сабол, *Укрита фіялка – сестра Василя Глібовицька. ЧСВВ, Словацьке педагогічне видавництво в Братиславі, Братиславі, 1992, с.120.*

²⁴ В. Лаба, *Митрополит Андрей Шептицький: його життя і заслуги*, Люблін, 1990, с. 50.

²⁵ Я. Заборовський, *Митрополит Андрей Шептицький. Матеріали та документи /1865 – 1944 рр.* Львів -Івано-Франківськ, 1995, с.30.

Sheptytsky stayed in the Spaso-Evfimovsky Monastery of Suzdal until the February Revolution of 1917.

The defeats of the Russian Imperial Army in 1915 and the apparent shortcomings committed by the administration of the Provisional Military Governor General of Galicia forced Russian politicians to change the main directions of national policy in the region. As a result, the official position of the Russian authorities towards the Ukrainians as the second occupation regime was announced in July 1916 in a letter from the Chief of Staff of the Supreme Commander-in-Chief to the Governor General of Galicia and the commander of the South-Western Front, O. Brusilov. It stated that „(...) no mass repressions against Ukrainians as such for belonging to the so-called Ukrainian party are foreseen, if, of course, they behave sufficiently loyally towards Russia and its interests, and if they reconcile with those orders that will be introduced in the newly formed Governor General”²⁶.

Instead, on September 4, 1916, the Minister of Public Education, Count P. Ignatiev, warned in a letter to Governor-General F. Trepov that it would not be necessary to „(...) teach in the artificial Little Russian language” at the state expense in educational institutions and that „(...) the language of the winners (...) for the benefit of those who will live under the Russian State.” However, despite the criticism of the ministry and Muscophiles, in the approved „Temporary Regulation on the Establishment of an Educational Unit in the Austro-Hungarian Regions Occupied by Law of War” dated October 14, 1916, it was stated that „(...) teaching is permitted in all local languages except German and Hebrew”²⁷. At the same time, the Russian authorities abandoned harsh, repressive measures against the Greek Catholic clergy but continued teaching Orthodoxy.

So, in 1914-1915, the Russians interpreted Ukrainian national identification as treacherous and hostile, artificially created by Austrian state factors. They tried to resist the Ukrainian national movement through repression and bans on Ukrainian public and political organizations. Also, they took care of destroying the Greek-Catholic church clergy and establishing Russian Orthodoxy. Russification was also carried out by banning Ukrainian book printing, closing Ukrainian-language schools, and expanding the Russian-language educational network. To eradicate Ukrainianism in Eastern Galicia, the Ukrainian intelligentsia, civil servants, and Greek-Catholic clergy were exiled to distant provinces

²⁶ С. Адамович, *Станиславів у часи лихоліть...*, с.58.

²⁷ В. Любченко, *Генерал-губернаторство областей Австро-Угорщини, зайнятих по праву війни (1916–1917 рр.)*, „Проблеми історії України XIX – початку XX ст.: 36. наук. Праць”, 2011, №19, с. 361-363.

of the empire. The Russification of the region under the influence of the imperial tendencies dominant in the Russian elite and the assurances of Muscophiles about the Russianness of the area became an essential task for the Russian occupation administration in Eastern Galicia in 1914-1915.

Only the defeats of the Russian Imperial Army on the Eastern Front in 1915 and the shortcomings committed by the administration of the Provisional Military Governor General of Galicia forced the Russian authorities in 1916, after returning to Eastern Galicia as a result of the Brusylov breakthrough, to abandon overt forms of repressive policy against Ukrainians and the forcible introduction of Orthodoxy in the country.

Persecution of the Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia by the Soviet punitive and repressive system in the 40s and 50s of the XX century

The arrival of the Soviet occupation in 1939 and 1944 in Galicia was accompanied by searches for people who cooperated with enemy states. This time, Ukrainian self-identification, which was immediately tarnished by cooperation with the „fascist regime” of Germany, was also enough to hang the label of collaborator.

The priority task of the state authorities of the USSR in Eastern Galicia was the desire to implement the rapid Sovietization of the western Ukrainian lands, which was accompanied by terror against the Ukrainian intelligentsia, clergy, wealthy sections of society, and soldiers of the Ukrainian insurgent army. For this purpose, structures of the political apparatus, substantial military forces, and already formed repressive and punitive bodies were sent to Eastern Galicia. Despite the reports and plans for the liquidation of the Ukrainian movement, the confrontation between the Soviet authorities and the latter took place intensively in the late 1940s.²⁸

Repressions against Ukrainians, in particular, unfolded after the end of the Second World War, when the USSR authorities concentrated all the necessary resources on destroying the opposition to the communist regime of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. As noted by I. Andruhiv,

²⁸ В. Ільницький, *Радянські карально-репресивні органи: особливості формування в Карпатському краї*, „Актуальні питання гуманітарних наук”, 2015, №13, с.21-45.

the Soviet party authorities unleashed „mass terror against the Ukrainian people”²⁹ in the western regions of Ukraine, according to the data of the well-known researcher I. Patrylyak, during the years of the struggle, the communist punishers destroyed 563 OUN leaders of various levels, including the Main Leader, 10 regional leaders, 32 regional and district leaders, 84 supra-district leaders, 436 district leaders, 1,888 armed underground groups, 155,108 insurgents were killed, sympathizers of the rebels and random persons³⁰.

Ukrainian women detained by the Soviet special services were sentenced to be shot or received court sentences of up to 25 years in prison, mainly under Article 54 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR (Article 54-1 „a” - treason to the Motherland; Article 54-11 - participation in a counter-revolutionary organization). In the court records, the accused were still labeled fascist-Nazi sympathizers, although the Second World War had already ended. But we note that the residents of Eastern Galicia were not citizens of the USSR and, therefore, could not be held accountable for treason to the Motherland.

That is why Ukrainians, in some places, refused the rehabilitation that unfolded in Ukraine after the collapse of the USSR. Thus, in March 1992, during the review of the criminal case, Orest Dychkovsky, who was convicted under Art. 54-1 „a” to 25 years of correctional labor camps, confirmed the 1947 shows, and explained that he did not need any rehabilitation. During the interrogation on March 23, 1992, he told the investigator: „I was an enemy of the Soviet government in Ukraine. He led an armed struggle for the formation of an independent Ukraine. I committed the specified actions due to my convictions, knowingly, as I was brought up in such a spirit by my parents (...) I fully confirm my testimony”³¹.

Any manifestation of sympathy or support for pro-Ukrainian structures was the basis for sentencing to long-term prison terms. For example, many residents of Knyazhoy in the Snyatyn region suffered from punitive and repressive measures of the Soviet regime, not even for military aid to the resistance movement. Thus, Anna Vakaruk received a ten-year prison term for having a collection point for products and messages at her home, washing the linen of Ukrainian rebels,

²⁹ І. Андрухів, А. Француз, *Правда історії. Станіславщина в умовах терору і репресій: 1939 – 1959 рр., історико-правовий аспект. Документи і матеріали*, Івано-Франківськ, 2008, с.412.

³⁰ І. Патриляк, *«Перемога або смерть»: український визвольний рух у 1939 – 1960 х рр.*, Часопис, Львів: Часопис, 2012, с.498.

³¹ С. Адамович, Р.Кобильник, Л.Щербін, *Нереабілітована пам'ять*, „Лілея-НВ, Івано-Франківськ”, 2017, №1, с.83, 85.

and hosting them in her home. Iryna Maksymjuk and Mykola Kybych „earned” their ten years because there were bunkers in their farms where rebels hid³².

It should be noted that the Soviet investigation used interrogation methods that forced the subject to give „necessary evidence” against himself: falsification of testimony in protocols, reduction of food standards, threats to witnesses, hoaxing of executions, offers to „turn in” comrades, deprivation of the right to receive letters, dangers of deportation of relatives, long-term and night interrogations, use of force to sign the protocol, use of physical violence, temperature torture, etc.³³

After the illegal detention of persons, employees of the internal affairs and state security bodies often used inhumane torture on the arrested persons. So, employees of the Bogorodchansky district police department Yurisov and Bespalov, on February 7-9, 1946, in the village of The residents of Lyakhiv, arrested M. Snitya, suspected of collaborating with nationalists without a warrant. After the beating, she was returned to her parents, where she died. In Tlumatsky district in January 1946, the head of state welfare Knyazev, as the representative of the district council of the village of Hrynivtsi, detained M. Andriyova, abused her, doused her genitals with diesel fuel and was going to set them on fire with a match. In addition, he burned the woman’s left buttock with a red-hot metal circle³⁴.

After applying extrajudicial influence to the arrested, which led to their death, they still considered them guilty despite the absence of a verdict. This is what happened to the wounded insurgent Mykola Dyakiv from the village of Slobidka Bilshivtsivska, whose guilt in the indicted crimes was not established by the court, and he died in the hospital of the Stanislav prison³⁵. In the early summer of 1947, a native of the village of Bovshiv, Yaroslav Kurlyak, was not charged. The case has no explanations, but the Ukrainian was still found guilty posthumously³⁶.

A separate page among the criminal activities of the Soviet authorities was the mass deportations of the population of Galicia, which began in 1944 and were already criminal in themselves, and even during their implementation, violations of the law on the part of the Soviet law enforcement officers were recorded.

³² С. Адамович, *Нереабілітована пам'ять*, „Лілея-НВ, Івано-Франківськ”, 2020, №2, с.55.

³³ Г.Савчин, *Система виконання покарань у західних областях України в період 1944–1953 рр.: монографія*, Львів 2016, с. 142.

³⁴ Державний архів Івано-Франківської області, фонд Р-584, оп. 1, спр. 12, арк. 161.

³⁵ Галузевий державний архів Управління Служби безпеки України в Івано-Франківській області, фонд 4, спр.18.

³⁶ Галузевий державний архів Управління Служби безпеки України в Івано-Франківській області, фонд 4, спр. 386.

Formally, the reasons for the deportations were the wealth of the peasants as an obstacle to collectivization, support of the Ukrainian insurgent army, belonging to the Ukrainian intelligentsia, and the Greek-Catholic priesthood. But in fact, the categories of people who were evicted constituted the backbone of the Ukrainian nation in the region. Therefore, they were a priori considered potential traitors and a threat to the Soviet empire.

Thus, on March 26, 1945, the leadership of the NKVD of the Stanislav Region informed the head of the Stanislav Regional Council of Workers' Deputies, Ryasychenko, in a memo that in April of the same year, the „eviction of bandit families” would take place, and to gather the deportees in the cities of Stanislav, Kolomyia, and Kalush, special points³⁷. Instead, following the Decree of the Council of Ministers of the USSR No. 3214 of September 10, 1947, not only the families of the participants and sympathizers of the OUN but also „Kurkul-nationalists and their families” were subject to eviction. Operation „West,” carried out in October 1947, is considered the most extensive Soviet resettlement campaign.

Previous forms of repression were permitted by the resolution of the Council of Ministers of the USSR dated October 4, 1948, on the eviction of the families of bandits and nationalist elements, and the resolution dated April 5, 1950, declaring the persons deported in 1944-1949 to be exiled forever³⁸. In the fall of 1949, a forced resettlement campaign began to help collective and state farms in the southern regions of Ukraine. In January 1951, the Council of Ministers of the USSR issued a resolution „On the eviction of kulaks with their families from the territory of the Volyn, Drohobyt'sk, Lviv, Rivne, Stanislav'sk, Ternopil, Chernivtsi, and Zakarpattia regions of the Ukrainian SSR.” During the deportation, the property of the kulaks was subject to confiscation³⁹.

There were cases when all the inhabitants of the village were evicted. In February 1950, Soviet punitive units surrounded and destroyed the town of Posich. The villagers were taken to Siberia and Odesa, and a military training ground was set up on the site of the ruined settlement. Witnesses of the terror recall that people were not given time to gather, and the entire household remained at home. Peasants were taken to prison, and they were sent by train to their destination.

As G. Savchyn notes, the materials of the cases filed against the families of the rebels often did not have sufficient evidence of their „subversive” activities. Still, people were taken out and arrested⁴⁰. The groundlessness of the depor-

³⁷ Державний архів Івано-Франківської області, фонд 295, оп. 3, спр. 32, арк. 4.

³⁸ В. Тацій, А. Рогожин, *Історія держави і права України*, Т.2, Київ, 2000, с.379.

³⁹ Г. Савчин, *Система виконання покарань...*, оп. cit., с.133.

⁴⁰ Г. Савчин, *Система виконання покарань...*, оп. cit., с.128.

tations of many people is evidenced by the fact that sometimes, the competent authorities did not permit deportation. In some places, they were even forced to return people. As of mid-1946, out of 996 materials submitted to the police to obtain a sanction for arrest and eviction in the Stanislav region (today's Ivano-Frankivsk region), sanctions were given to 446, and 520 were refused. According to the materials, detentions and deportations were sanctioned, 76 people were illegally approved, and 76 people had to be returned from places of exile. Thus, in 1944, the Voyniliv Ministry of Internal Affairs deported the family of F. Durkal to the Arkhangelsk region. It was believed that he was in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. In December 1945, he returned from the Red Army, he did not find his family or property, and a police officer lived in his house and did not move out, despite the letters from the prosecutor's office. Such cases were not unique to the ⁴¹

From 1944–1949, 50,453 families of 143,141 people were deported from the western regions of the Ukrainian SSR. The terror unleashed by the regime against the population of Western Ukraine led to the fact that on January 1, 1953, the number of Ukrainians in concentration camps increased 2.4 times, and the number of insurgents reached 175 thousand people⁴².

So, the Soviet punitive and repressive bodies in the 40s and 50s of the 20th century pursued the goal of destroying the Ukrainian elite in Eastern Galicia. A nationally conscious Ukrainian society that lived in the Polish state under the conditions of a market economic system, the Ukrainian intelligentsia and Greek Catholic priests could spread their Ukrainian-centric worldview values to the rest of the population of Ukraine. Even without documented manifestations of anti-state activity, these population categories were considered potential traitors to the Motherland. That is why the Soviet party officials sought to destroy or isolate the nationally active part of the population of Western Ukraine through repression. This goal was achieved through imprisonment, physical destruction, or deportation of the strata of society hostile to the communists and forcefully overcoming any resistance.

⁴¹ Державний архів Івано-Франківської області, фонд Р-584, оп. 1, спр. 12, арк. 153.

⁴² Г.Савчин, *Система виконання покарань...*, оп. cit., с.131-133.

„Ukrainian collaborator” during the modern Russian-Ukrainian war

The Russians once again tried to destroy the Ukrainians in 2014. As a result of the annexation of Crimea and the outbreak of war in the Ukrainian Donbas, the Russian Federation killed all existing international legal mechanisms for maintaining peace in the world, and 2022 launched a bloodbath on a scale not seen since the Second World War invasion of Ukraine. The actions of the Russian military under the leadership of its military-political leadership in Ukraine provide grounds for the international community to recognize Russia as a terrorist country and its military's actions on Ukraine's territory as crimes against humanity⁴³.

To subjugate the Ukrainians, the Russians widely used indiscriminate shelling of civilian infrastructure and deprived people of sources of food, water, and medicine. Ukrainians who came under the control of the Russians were executed, illegally kept in captivity, tortured, filtered, deprived of their property, and their dignity was mocked. At least some Ukrainian self-identification was enough for persecution. The testimonies of the victims of Russian persecution allow us to claim that the actions of the Russian military and the occupation administration are aimed at genocide against Ukrainians⁴⁴.

It should be noted that V. Putin personally granted the right to accuse and persecute his subordinates only for manifestations of belonging to the Ukrainian nation. So, in July 2021, the Russian president denied the existence of the Ukrainian nation: „(...) When I was asked about Russian-Ukrainian relations, I said that Russians and Ukrainians are one people - a single entity. These words were not driven by any short-term considerations or prompted by the current political context. I have said this many times and firmly believe this”⁴⁵. To consolidate the Russian electorate, the Russians intimidated it with Ukraine's dependence on NATO member states and a military threat to Russia itself. Accordingly, the Russian military believed

⁴³ S.Adamovych, Y.Mukytn, L.Prystach, N.Savetchuk & I.Kozych, *Prospects for Punishing Citizens of the Russian Federation for War Crimes in Ukraine in 2014-2*, „Pakistan Journal of Criminology”, 2023, vol.15, nr 02, s.238.

⁴⁴ С. Адамович, *Притягнення до відповідальності вищого військового і політичного керівництва росії за геноцид проти українців*, „Law & Society”, 2022, №6, с. 7.

⁴⁵ *Стаття Володимира Путіна „Про історичну єдність росіян і українців”*. 12.07.2021: <https://web.archive.org/web/20211210002245/http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/66181> (дата звернення 01.05.2022).

that they had „sent to liberate”⁴⁶ Ukraine, and people with a pro-Ukrainian orientation were interpreted as traitors to the Motherland and criminals. In the records of the testimonies of people who survived the Russian occupation, it appears that pro-Ukrainian views, and not manifestations of disloyalty to the Russian Federation, were sufficient grounds for detention and repression. Prosecutor Oleksandr Kud said why or for what purpose the Russian military tortured the residents of Kherson: „The first is a pro-Ukrainian position. The second is belonging to law enforcement agencies or law enforcement agencies. And the third is coercion to cooperate with the enemy”⁴⁷.

As Lyudmila Sklyar, a resident of the occupied village of Markivka, Starobil district, Luhansk region, recalls, „In general, they took all activists, teachers, everyone with a pro-Ukrainian position for questioning”⁴⁸. So, in May 2022, the occupiers beat the doctor Volodymyr Matsk from Velika Bilozerka for his pro-Ukrainian position; he was immediately admitted to the intensive care unit, his office was ransacked, and his laptop was taken away⁴⁹. They interrogated people even if they found Ukrainian symbols or, in their opinion, suspicious information in people’s phones⁵⁰. At the same time, the occupiers and collaborators provoked pro-Ukrainian people to leave their homes and put pressure on them „(...) because there will be no Ukraine here”⁵¹.

Today, in the cities of Ukraine freed from Russian troops, from Buchi to Izyum, Ukrainian law enforcement agencies and international institutions are investigating the places of torture and documenting numerous war crimes

⁴⁶ В. Стешенко, с. Нижня Дуванка Нижньодуванської селищної ради Сватівського району Луганської області. Опитано свідка 17.07.2023 р. Архів Навчально-наукового юридичного інституту Прикарпатського національного університету імені В.Стефаника.

⁴⁷ С. Андрушко, *Струм, протигаз, «кат-спеціаліст»*. Свідчення херсонців про російські катівні. URL: <https://www.radiosvoboda.org/a/skhemy-deokupovanyu-kherson/32165900.html> (дата звернення 01.05.2023).

⁴⁸ Л. Скляр, с.Марківка Старобільського району Луганської області. Опитано свідка 30.01.2023. Архів Навчально-наукового юридичного інституту Прикарпатського національного університету імені В.Стефаника.

⁴⁹ Т. Базна, с. Велика Білозерка Василівського району Запорізької області. Опитано свідка 17.03.2023. Архів Навчально-наукового юридичного інституту Прикарпатського національного університету імені В.Стефаника.

⁵⁰ Р. Кунафін, м. Херсон Херсонської області. Опитано свідка 11.01.2023. Архів Навчально-наукового юридичного інституту Прикарпатського національного університету імені В.Стефаника.

⁵¹ В. Ковтун, м. Херсон Херсонської міської ради Херсонського району Херсонської області. Опитано свідка 13.05.2022 р. Архів Навчально-наукового юридичного інституту Прикарпатського національного університету імені В.Стефаника.

committed by the Russians against Ukrainians only because of their nationality. Russian troops commit war crimes on a massive scale, and the statements of the highest state leadership of the Russian Federation are evidence that the state policy of this country is carried out with the intention of wholly or partially destroying Ukrainians as a nation. Bringing to justice the perpetrators of war crimes by the Russians and the military-political leadership of Russia should stop the genocidal policy of the Russians towards the Ukrainians and other totalitarian regimes from trying to subjugate other nations to their power through force; will condemn racism with its „Russian peace” as an ideological phenomenon; will allow the diversification of the Russian people and the destruction of the last Eurasian empire.

In conclusions, during the occupation of Eastern Galicia by the Russian Empire during the First World War, the Russians interpreted the Ukrainian nation as non-existent, artificially created by the Austrians, and hostile. To destroy it, Ukrainian organizations were banned, the Greek-Catholic clergy were killed, Russian Orthodoxy was planted, the cultural and educational spheres of life were Russified, and the Ukrainian intelligentsia, civil servants and Greek-Catholic clergy were exiled to remote provinces of the empire.

The occupation of Eastern Galicia by the USSR in 1939 again led to the destruction of the Ukrainian elites in the region by the Soviet punitive and repressive bodies. Even without documented manifestations of anti-state activity, Ukrainian business people, intelligentsia, and Greek Catholic priests were considered potential traitors to the Motherland (now tools of the Nazi regime) and a threat to the empire’s existence. Soviet party officials tried to destroy or isolate them using imprisonment, physical destruction, or deportation.

In turn, the ideological basis of Russia’s large-scale military invasion of Ukraine in February 2022 became the spread of Putin’s mythologies about the unity of the Ukrainian and Russian peoples. Today, Ukrainians are accused of betraying the interests of the „fraternal Russian people” in favor of the whims of NATO member countries. The actions of the Russian military and the occupation administration in Ukraine are aimed at genocide against Ukrainians. Manifestations of any Ukrainian national identification are sufficient for restricting rights and brutal repression by the Russians against Ukrainians.

So, during the 20th - beginning of the 21st century, the Russian Empire, the Soviet Union, and Putin’s Russia during the First World War and after the Second World War in the territories of Eastern Galicia, and in the modern Russian-Ukrainian war in the East and South of Ukraine, carried out repression against Ukrainians based on national identity. Ukrainians who refused

to identify themselves with the Russian people were accused of treason. Regardless of the political regime in the country, the Russian people, infected with imperial consciousness, accused Ukrainians alternately of Austro-loyalism, cooperation with Nazi Germany, or dependence on NATO member countries. But behind these groundless accusations was a deep desire of the Russians to destroy the Ukrainian nation by various methods and means.