

UDC 94(477.54)1917"

M. Dovbyshchenko, PhD in Historical Sciences, Senior Researcher  
Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv (Kyiv, Ukraine)

## THE MAIN PROBLEMS OF ESTABLISHMENT OF UKRAINIAN STATEHOOD IN KHARKIV REGION DURING THE PERIOD OF NATIONAL LIBERATION REVOLUTION

*The main features of the Ukrainian national movement in Kharkiv from the declaration of the Third Universal (Decree) of the Tsentralna Rada (Central Council) till the final occupation of the City by Bolsheviks are analyzed. The main courses of political, cultural and military activity of Ukrainian Community in Kharkiv directed to the support of the Ukrainian Tsentralna Rada are shown.*

**Key words:** Kharkiv, Tsentralna Rada (Central Council), "Enlightenment"-organization, Ukrainian socialists, worker's movement, Ukrainian Army.

The development of the national movement in Kharkiv Region and establishing of Ukrainian statehood in this region during era of the *Tsentralna Rada* (Central Council) are poorly understood in Ukrainian historiography. Soviet scholars omitted this problem, focusing mainly on issues related to the Bolsheviks' activities, the proclamation of Soviet power in Ukraine and the famous Congress of Soviets in Kharkov 11–12 (24–25) December 1917 [20, p. 21–22, 25–30, 228–233; 5, p. 85–99]. At the same time national movement in Kharkiv region in general and in Kharkiv in particular is highlighted selectively, mostly justifying the policy of the Bolsheviks in the national question and condemning "counter-revolutionary" and "anti-people" policy of the Central Council [20, p. 170–174].

At nowadays Ukraine the interest in the issue significantly increased. However, a comprehensive study of Ukrainian national movement in Kharkov in the context of state-building processes in February 1917 – April 1918 is not provided. In fact, today we have only studies, which deal only with some aspects of the problem. Among them should be mentioned the J. Tinchenko's study of the history of the Ukrainian army in 1917–1918, which contains important information about ukrainian troops in Kharkiv region in 1917 [38, p. 18–76, 358–359]. Political processes in Kharkiv were reflected in O. Vysotsky's monograph, dedicated to the history of Ukrainian socialist parties – the Social Democrats and Socialist Revolutionaries [7, p. 1–198]. We also have some reviewing articles, which contain interesting facts about the history of Ukrainian national movement, but unfortunately they are not always accurate and verified.

The purpose of this article is a partial solution to the aforementioned scientific problem. Based on the research results and using facts of Ukrainian newspaper "New Community" of 1917, we will try to trace the main trends of Ukrainian national movement in Kharkiv after the proclamation of the Third Universal of the Central Council to the final occupation of the city by the Bolshevik troops.

### 1 Activity of Ukrainian political and educational organizations in Kharkiv before the revolution of 1917

7 (20) November 1917 the Ukrainian Central Council issued its III Universal that became an important stage of Ukrainian state-building. Proclamation of the Ukrainian People's Republic and inclusion Kharkiv province to its law jurisdiction area opened new prospects for the development of political and spiritual life of Kharkiv region. However, in Kharkiv there were not favorable conditions for deployment of the national movement. Among residents there were only 26% Ukrainians, although among the inhabitants of the province they were 81% [24]. Did the leaders of the Central Council suggest that "the Ukrainian segment" in Kharkov was active enough to keep the city in the political space of the young Ukrainian state?

From my point of the view, the reasons for such expectations existed. Long time before the revolution of 1917 in russified Kharkiv acted Ukrainian political parties and leaders

of Ukrainian science and culture. It was Kharkiv, where in the early twentieth century worked the ideologue of Ukrainian statehood building Mykola Mikhnovskyi and during the revolution of 1905–1907 among workers provided its propaganda Ukrainian Social Democratic Workers' Party.

But special part in the process of Ukrainian national awakening in Kharkiv played "Hrygorij Kvitka-Osnovjanenko Ukrainian literary art and ethnographical Society», activity of which we are paying especial attention. It was founded in 1912 and at the very beginning of its activity (1912–1914) organized only entertainments. But after the beginning of I World war and increasing of interest in Ukrainian problems Ukrainian intellectuals managed to give a new impulse to Society's activity. In 1914–1916 here worked famous in culture figure Hnat Hhotkevych, well-known agronomist and botanist Oleksandr Ianata, writer and social-revolutionist Andrij Zalyvchyj, social-democrat and journalist Iakiv Dovbyshchenko etc.

Members of the Society were also active in enlightenment process: was read a series of public lectures on the history of Ukraine and culture, which gathered quite a wide audience. The Society planned to public its own journal and from the spring 1915 its members began to discuss the necessity of satisfaction the cultural requirements of Ukrainians in Kharkiv region. The rise of the revolutionary movement in Ukraine and Russia has also involved the Society – in the autumn 1915 its members began to prepare the socialist propagandists [14, p. 2]. These plans became known to Kharkiv Gendarmerie and in the night of 21 January 1916 the most active members of Society were arrested that put an end to Society's existence. But till that time the Society has fulfilled its main task: because of his work cultural and political life of the Ukrainian community in Kharkiv were activated on the eve of the 1917 revolution.

### 2 Ukrainian political and cultural centers in Kharkiv before the proclamation of the Third Universal of the Tsentralna Rada. The main directions of cultural, national and political Renaissance in Kharkiv in November – early December 1917

The 1917 February Revolution contributed to the revival Ukrainian political and cultural life in Kharkiv. In the new political realities Ukrainian Socialist Party and the Ukrainian community were presented in Kharkiv Council of Workers 'and Soldiers' Deputies (hereinafter – RRSD), as well as in the City Duma. In both institutions Ukrainians were not the majority – in the Council the dominant influence had Russian socialist parties, and in the Duma dominated Russians and Russified Ukrainians who were not the supporters of the Ukrainian movement. At the beginning such situation did not cause among Ukrainian Socialist significant concern. Considering RRSD as an organ of revolutionary democracy, they were in the illusion of unity of the revolutionary front. Indeed, the social demands of Ukrainian and Russian socialists, including the Bolsheviks, were very close and the differences on the

national question did not seem significant until the overthrow of the Temporal Government.

The situation changed after the October Revolution in Petrograd, when the Bolsheviks undertook steps to usurp power in the country and behaved as real Russian chauvinists in the national question. Then the underrepresented Ukrainians in RRSD and City Duma became obvious. In such circumstances, in November – December 1917, in the political, cultural and national life of Ukrainians in Kharkiv significantly increased the role of their informal center – the Ukrainian House, located in a former noble assembly at the Mykolaiv square. Here worked a variety of organizations that have arisen in Kharkiv in the spring – summer 1917 [32, p. 2]. The Ukrainian House always held different events – meetings, concerts, lectures, performances etc. In the new political situation the institutions of Ukrainian House took over the main activity, which showed that, despite the Russification, Kharkiv was closely connected with the general process of state building in Ukraine. Let us consider the most important areas of this activity.

### *2.1. The educational movement in Kharkiv and its impact on the activities of "Prosvitas" in Kharkiv region*

The rise of Ukrainian national movement in Kharkiv region during the spring – fall 1917 most clearly manifested in the establishment of "Prosvitas." The value of these organizations in the revival of the nation's was very highly estimated among the Ukrainian intellectuals. For example, one of the participants of the Ukrainian national revival in Kharkiv T. Olijnyk in November 1917 wrote on this subject: "Prosvitas are the small laboratories in which dark intimidated Ukrainian people is converted into a large powerful nation" [33, p. 2].

A special place among the "Prosvitas" owned the Kharkiv one. Established in late July 1917 and led by P. Volosenko, in November 1917 it was divided into four sections: cultural and educational (conducted lectures), dramatic and choir (had a large troupe and choir), publishing and library. However, the main task of Kharkiv "Prosvita" in this period was to create the first Kharkiv Ukrainian Gymnasium (director M. Plevako). The goal of this institution was a double – First task was to give children a good education in their native language. At the same time it was important the social aspect of school – most of pupils came from a peasant families. In this way, members of the "Prosvita" tried to engage in education representatives of socially disadvantaged groups. In November 1917 in the school already acted three classes – preparatory, first and second, and eventually it was planned to expand the number of classes. During this time there were enrolled 60 pupils – boys and girls. All subjects in this school was taught in Ukrainian language [6, p. 2].

Kharkiv "Prosvita" served as an example for Ukrainian patriots in Kharkiv region – here in summer – fall 1917 were established over 50 "Prosvitas". Supported by Ukrainians, in a short time they were able to deploy a wide educational, political and even military activities. These issues were raised during the Second Congress of the "Prosvitas", held in Kharkiv in November 19 (December 2) 1917 in Ukrainian House. The speakers emphasized that the mission of these organizations is to conduct cultural work among as civilians, as militaries. At the same time Congress showed that members of "Prosvitas" in the new political situation significantly expanded the scope of their activity. In particular, they were campaigning for the elections to the district councils, so it was elected the significant number of representatives from Ukrainian community. In some "Prosvitas" (eg. in Belgorod) in November 1917 has been set up party branches of Ukrainian Social Democratic

Workers' Party (USDRP) and Ukrainian Party of Socialists and Revolutionaries (UPSR), some "Prosvitas" started forming the of units Free Cossacks [21, p. 2].

The most difficult problems that had to be managed by members of "Prosvita" in Kharkiv region in 1917 was a process of Ukrainianization of education. Practical realization of this task was complicated by the reluctance of some local officials as well as a large part of chauvinistic minded teachers to accept the realities of national life. This issue was common for "Prosvita" as in Kharkiv, as in Kharkiv region in general. Official refusals to support Ukrainian education were explained as the lack of Ukrainian textbooks, the inability of Ukrainian language to pass scientific terminology, lack of Ukrainian teachers etc [11, p. 2]. However, patriotically minded teachers with the support of the public and pupils showed a real selfless devotion to achieve their goals [15, p. 3].

However, not everywhere the attitude to Ukrainianization was hostile. We have mentioned above the positive for Ukrainians consequences of "Prosvita" participation in election to local authorities. Therefore, in some cases "Zemstvos" with Ukrainian deputies rather provided them with support. For example, Ukrainianization of school was actively supported by "Zemstvo" in Akhtyrka. It endorsed the decision of the Congress of Teachers to educate children in primary schools in Ukrainian and made efforts steps to further progress of Ukrainian education [31, p. 2].

### *2.2. Ukrainian socialist's straggly for influence on workers in Kharkiv*

As heritage of the Soviet historiography Ukrainian scientists remain the stereotype about rejection by Ukrainian workers "nationalist" policy of the Central Council. To a large extent this thesis is true – Russian industrial proletariat in the revolutionary events was under the predominant influence of the Bolsheviks, and its representatives have become an important part of the Red Guards, which was established by the Soviet regime in Ukraine at the turn of 1917–1918. However, deeper studies of this problem lead to the conclusion that the real situation was more complex. We have already mentioned that the Ukrainian Social Democrats conducted revolutionary work with Kharkiv workers even during the first Russian revolution. As a result of this work by 1917 among Kharkiv officials and proletariat there were a certain number of supporters of the Ukrainian national movement. We have some resolutions of working meeting, which expressed strong support for the newly established Ukrainian People's Republic. During November-December 1917 was held a number of meetings of clerks, factories and transport workers, which have adopted resolutions in support of the policy of the Central Council. Especially active were workers of Berlizov's railway factory, Locomotive Factory and staff of Kharkiv Post-office. In some cases representatives of Ukrainian workers went further than common phrases about supporting of the Central Council. There were, in particular the requirement of formation of troops of Free Cossacks and the foundation of a separate Ukrainian Kharkiv Soviet of Workers 'and Soldiers' Deputies [10, p. 3; 18, p. 3; 27, p. 3; 22, p. 3]. Important information about the impact on the Ukrainian Socialist labor movement can be found in the Blyzniuk's article entitled "With working life", published in newspaper "New Community". The author does not question the fact that the main impact on the Kharkiv proletariat is made by Bolsheviks, who have an advantage compared to other political parties. He also drew attention to the gradual growth of trust of Kharkiv workers to Ukrainian socialist parties, who received 20% at Locomotive Factory

during the elections to Kharkiv Council. Noted in particular that the recent elections have shown that about of workers voted Ukrainian socialists. In particular the article says: "The election results clearly demonstrated the falsity of opinions that national interests are completely alien to the working class, that it stay apart from the Ukrainian movement" [2, p. 3].

*2.3. Ukrainian socialist parties in the struggle for informational space of Kharkiv region. The newspaper "New Community"*

Proclamation of Ukrainian People's Republic and raising of the national movement in Ukraine forced Ukrainian community in Kharkiv to establish a newspaper, through which the supporters of the Central Council could at least partially control the information space in Kharkiv region. In this situation on J. Dovbyschenko's initiative was founded the newspaper "New community", which was published from 10 (23) November till 31 December 1917 (13 January 1918). J. Dovbyschenko became a regular editor of this publication. With edition also helped Representatives of Esser Party (Gn. Mikhailychenko, M. Panchenko, J. Lepchenko) and Socialist-Federalists (M. Plevako). Thus, the "New Community" was a common press organ of three Ukrainian socialist parties.

This newspaper was the only one in Kharkiv, constantly supported the Central Council on its pages. Here was published the Third Universal of the Central Council and the articles proclaimed the full support for the new Ukrainian authorities. In November – December 1917 the newspaper published a variety of materials: instructions of the provincial commissioner of the Central Council, articles on topical issues of national and social life of Kharkiv region, essays on the history of the revolutionary movement in Ukraine etc. It is noteworthy that since the second issue "New community" began to show the imperial nature of the Bolshevik government of Soviet Russia. E.g. Ol. Sokolovsky stressed that Russian socialists cannot grow out of the imperial thinking. Towards Lenin and Trotsky the author spoke rather harshly, saying that they are dictators, from which Ukrainians shouldn't expect something good. Newspaper's readers were also acquainted with the events of the national liberation movement of other peoples in the former Russian Empire. E.g. interesting is the J. Dovbyschenko's article, which deals with newly created Siberian republic, analysis of common and distinctive features between this republic and Ukrainian one [13, p. 2].

The newspaper "New Community" played, in our opinion, extremely important role in the political life of the Ukrainian community in Kharkiv in November – December 1917. As the only one newspaper, which consistently supported the policy of the Central Council, "New Community" showed to Kharkiv's people the political life of Ukraine, and thus contributed to the formation of the political unity of the Ukrainian nation.

*2.4. Ukrainian movement and local authorities in Kharkiv. Juridical accession of Kharkiv to Ukrainian Public Republic (UPR)*

Proclamation of the UPR is an important step in history of Ukrainian state. Among others the III Universal contained the request for extension of Central Council's jurisdiction in Kharkiv province [25, p. 67]. However, the practical implementation of this request was difficult. By 7 November 1917 in Kharkiv was actually dual power – RRSD and City Duma. In RRSD situation was complex – it included the factions of Bolshevik, Esers, Ukrainian socialists, Mensheviks, Bundists and others. The preferred influence had Bolsheviks and allied with them Esers, but other factions with voting solidarity could complicate making the decision of the majority. Cooperation

between all factions was still possible, but after the fall of the Temporal Government in Petrograd the question of power steadily led them into conflict. There were two basic problems of controversy: 1) recognition of the new revolutionary government in Russia – the Council of People's Commissars; 2) recognition (or rejection) authorities of the Central Council. These questions gradually caused confrontation.

With known till our days data it is possible to assert that the Bolsheviks at least twice – 10 (23) November and 19 November (2 December) tried to make in RRSD the decision of the establishment of Soviet power in Kharkiv. However, in both cases, these attempts were neutralized by principled position of Ukrainian socialists who believed that the Council, in which the predominant influence have the Bolsheviks, cannot represent the interests of all city workers. It is significant that this position was also supported by the Menshevik faction and the BUND, who were very concerned about the usurpation of power by the Bolsheviks [3, c.3; 23, p. 3–4]. But the Bolsheviks were able to carry out decisions of inadmissibility for Kharkiv region and Ukrainian part of Don region to be part of the UPR [16, p. 3]. In this way they tried to remove from the agenda the issue of recognition in Kharkiv authorities of the Central Council. In general RRSD during November 1917 couldn't resolve the issue of power in the city and as the result the Central Council actually did not control Kharkiv.

Besides RRSD in Kharkiv also functioned Duma, who ruled the inner city life. Most of its members were Russians or Russified Ukrainians. It is clear that these figures were ambivalent to Ukrainian movement, if not openly hostile. III Universal they took with caution and strongly delayed the question of its ratification. Only in circumstances where a civil war in Russia began and the threat of Bolshevik's usurpation of power became a reality, the City Duma 2 (15) December 1917 recognized the Third Universal of the Central Council. This meant that in the face of legitimate authority Kharkiv announced its official entry to the UPR. However, this decision was taken very late – in three weeks after the proclamation of the Third Universal. Thus, time for Ukrainian government in Kyiv and the city government to protect Kharkiv (one of the largest industrial cities in Ukraine) was lost.

*2.5. The formation Ukrainian power structures in Kharkiv*

The military authorities of the Central Council in Kharkiv were also weak. City garrison commander by Mykola Chobotarov had only formal small force. It is known that in November 1917 in Kharkiv region were four regiments, which recognized the authority of the Central Council: 2nd Ukrainian alternate and Chygyryn stood in the Kharkov, Zaporizhya regiment was placed in Kupyansk and 5th alternate Cavalry – in Balakleya. However, in these units were few soldiers, to whom Ukrainian authorities could rely during an armed confrontation with the Bolsheviks. Thus, even the most reliable from the point of view of Ukrainians 2nd Ukrainian regiment was largely influenced by Bolshevik agitators. Only his 1st battalion and machine gun team were ready to take up arms to defend the Central Council. But this very limited resource because the commander, captain Omelian Volokh, was a nationalist-communist and a long time did not believe in the possibility of war between Soviet Russia and the UPR [38, p. 39].

Some hope the Central Council could impose on the 5th Cavalry regiment in Balakleya. We know that 27 November (10 December) the executive committee of military Council in this regiment condemned Bolshevik's hostile actions towards

Ukraine and assured: regiment will maintain the Central Council [17, p. 3]. However, for unknown reasons, Kharkiv Ukrainian military leaders did not use this regiment in a situation that has arisen in the city 8–12 (21–25) December 1917 [38, p. 40].

The situation with other Ukrainian units was even worse. Chygyryn and Zaporizhyya regiments, formed by Ukrainian soldiers from Muscovite garrisons in October–November 1917, participated in street fighting in Moscow on the side of the Bolsheviks and pressed the anti-Soviet uprising in Tula. According to historian J. Tinchenko with such actions Chygyryn and Zaporizhyya regiments was for the Central Council not a protection, but a potential danger [38, p. 39–40].

Military position of UPR in Kharkiv could be better if its leaders (both military and civilian) noticed Chuguev cadet school, where was noticeable the Ukrainian influence [29, p. 4]. Chuguev school recognized the authority of the Central Council, and its cadets even attempted to liberate Kharkiv from the Bolsheviks. However, unpreparedness of this action and lack of support from other regiments prevented the realization of this plan [38, p. 31].

The lack of military ability of the 2nd Ukrainian Regiment and lack of subordination to Central Council from other Kharkiv regiments forced Ukrainians in the city to form units of the Free Cossacks. Practical arrangements took upon itself Kharkov Committee of USDRP [39, c.1]. Organizational meeting, which proclaimed the creation of these units, took part 29 November (11 December) 1917. The chieftain of free Cossacks in Kharkiv became Koziienko [9, p. 3]. Officially the creation of Kharkov Free Cossacks was proclaimed 2 (15) December 1917. By that time were already organized military headquarters, located in the “Ukrainian House”, were forming units among Ukrainian workers. Soldiers of the 2nd Ukrainian regiment had become the instructors for the Cossacks. However, the formation of Free Cossacks started too late – about a week before the arrival to Kharkiv of the Red Guards. Clearly, the formation of deployable troops from volunteers within a short period of time was impossible.

### **3 The struggle for Kharkov: occupation of the Red Guards and opposition of local Ukrainians against the Soviet aggression**

As was noted above, the conflict between the Bolsheviks on the one hand, and the Ukrainian socialist parties that supported the Central Council – on the other, began immediately after the October Revolution in Petrograd. Tension in their relationship during November 1917 grew and eventually ended with the famous ultimatum of Council of People’s Commissars 4 (17) December 1917, which actually was the beginning of the first war between Ukraine and Soviet Russia. In this case, the Bolsheviks paid much attention to Kharkiv as the political center that had to confront the Central Council. In Kharkiv after failing 1st All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets moved from Kyiv its delegates – Bolsheviks. Together with Kharkiv party members and with direct support of Council of People’s Commissars they proclaimed the establishment of Soviet power in Ukraine and started an open military intervention against UPR.

It should be noted that the first attempt of armed revolution in Kharkiv Bolsheviks made before an official ultimatum of Council of People’s Commissars of 4 (17) December. The armed group of Bolsheviks occupied city telegraph and arrested its staff in the night 2 (15) December 1917. This was promptly reported to the chief of the Ukrainian garrison and Ukrainian military council. Their representatives immediately arrived to the place of events and demanded the release

of object. This time the attackers did not dare to come into conflict with Ukrainian soldiers and were forced to go [27, p. 4]. Event of 2 (15) December showed the willingness of Kharkiv Bolsheviks to obtain the power in the city by force of arms. Unfortunately, political naivety of Ukrainian leaders (both civilian and military) prevented them to take appropriate measures to prevent similar actions in the future. Therefore, when the Bolsheviks in a week started military revolution in Kharkiv, Ukrainian government was unprepared to counter.

In the morning of 8 (21) December 1917 in Kharkiv came the first two trains of the Red Guards, who immediately began to occupy key institutions of the city. Such actions caused the tension in the city. The opposition of Ukrainian militaries was weak and spontaneous. Any clear instructions for action in the new military and political situation were not given. 2nd Ukrainian regiment remained in the barracks, thus in the morning of 8 (21) December the opportunity to counter still existed. Obviously, only with the initiative of individual commanders troops of Free Cossacks began to move – one of them took control under the station “Osnova”, while others moved to the “Ukrainian House”, waiting for orders [34, p. 3].

This day the Bolsheviks in Kharkiv did not feel themselves secure enough. Therefore, at a meeting of committees of socialist parties by the Bolsheviks and Ukrainians was reached an agreement to keep from the military actions security till 12:00 of 9 (22) December 1917. One of the leaders of the Bolshevik in Kharkiv Artem (Fyodor Sergeyev) claimed that the Red Guard actually is moving to the Don and don’t linger in Kharkiv. Ukrainian command believed the promises of the Bolsheviks, and soon had to pay for this.

9 (22) December 1917 Red Guard attacked the armored division and captured seven armored cars. Garrison here was Russian; it constantly declared its neutrality and therefore surrendered without a fight [35, p. 2]. Then the Bolsheviks gained a convincing technical superiority over the forces of Ukrainian garrison and in spite of agreements took decisive action. First was shot the “Ukrainian House”, where two people were killed and several wounded. On the same day the Red Guard brought captured armored cars up to the Commandant’s administration and a group of sailors raided the “Ukrainian House”. Trying to create an atmosphere of chaos and panic in Kharkiv, the Bolsheviks drove in the city and arranged the shootings.

How did Ukrainians respond to these events? Free Cossack troops and 2nd Ukrainian regiment did not receive clear mandates, so no military combating was organized. Ukrainians due to their democratic beliefs began to argue that shooting at “Ukrainian House” was unprovoked. They checked the guns of the Free Cossacks that confirmed that with this weapon was not made a single shot. However, the Bolsheviks were not interested in these results, and so far Ukrainians overlooked the guns of their army, the Red Guard continued to occupy strategic sites of the city.

Instead Ukrainian socialists demonstrated the peaceful resistance. It is known that 9 (22) December in protest against the Bolsheviks’ violence the workers of Post and Telegraph went on the strike. In response to the Bolshevik’ occupation of the North Donetsk railway office workers immediately convened the meeting of the staff. At this meeting it was decided to support the the Central Council and to appeal to the Kharkiv garrison commander M. Chobotarov, calling him to send soldiers to guard the railway office. In addition, they proclaimed the requirement to equip immediately Free Cossacks-railway workers [42, p. 3].

But the time was against the Ukrainians. At a time when the Central Council in Kyiv could not decide how to respond to Soviet aggression, only the presence of local authoritative leaders (both military and civilian), who would be ready to take responsibility, could solve the situation. However, in Kharkiv there were not such leaders.

Meanwhile, in the night of 11 (24) December to Kharkiv came another echelon of Red Guard. Receiving regular support from Russia, the Bolsheviks the night surrounded the barracks of the 2nd Ukrainian regiment in Moskalivka. The artillery and armored cars were brought up here. They made a claim to disarm and give up Ukrainian officers. Red Guard achieved only partial success: only 200 soldiers left the barracks and left the arms, but most of the regiment prepared for battle. In such circumstances, the Bolsheviks did not dare to attack the barracks and went away. In the daytime of 11 (24) December patriotically minded soldiers of the regiment expressed the willingness to fight against the Bolsheviks. On behalf of his department they were supported by the representative of Balakleya Ukrainian Cossack cavalry regiment [4, p. 3; 37, p. 3]. But neither the commander of the 2nd Ukrainian Regiment captain Alexander Volokh, nor garrison commander M. Chobotarov, used the determination of their subordinates.

The events in Kharkiv 12 (25) December 1917 had a special significance in the history of liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people in 1917–1921. Party congress, called by the Bolsheviks “All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets of Workers and Soldiers’ Deputies, approved five resolutions, which in fact proclaimed non-recognition of the Central Council and the creation instead of it the Central executive Committee, consisting mainly of the Bolsheviks. The fourth resolution actually declared the war against the Central Council, and the fifth was about the creation of autonomous Donetsk-Krivyi Rig Soviet Republic.

Red Guard continued the action of neutralization of the Ukrainian military units in Kharkiv. In the night of 12 (25) December second time were blocked barracks of the 2nd Ukrainian regiment, but its fighters repeatedly refused to surrender. In the same day the Bolsheviks again fired Ukrainian House, which was still guarded by Free Cossacks. A significant number of Ukrainian soldiers were still waiting for the orders of their commanders, but there was nobody, who could give them – 12 (25) December in the newspaper “New Community” was reported the absence of the Chief of Kharkiv garrison. On the same day the newspaper “New Community” officially stated: Kharkiv occupied by the Bolsheviks [30, p. 2].

Socialist parties embraced the war and occupation of Kharkiv Ukraine against the Bolsheviks originally. According to a statement of Mikhailo Panchenko published 14 (27) December 1917, Kharkiv UPSR Committee decided: “any agreement with the Bolsheviks as a Russian government party can’t be reached as long as army of People’s Commissars wouldn’t leave the territory of Ukraine and People’s Commissars wouldn’t refuse any interference in the affairs of the Ukrainian National Republic” [19, p. 2]. At the same time Ukrainian parties did not take any measures to organize armed resistance against the Bolsheviks. As a result, the peaceful resistance of Ukrainian citizenship actually resulted as a meeting of labor teams, which adopted a declaration supporting the Central Council. It is clear that such events could not be a real political opposition against the Bolsheviks in Kharkiv and in the region.

As a result, the establishment of Soviet regime 12 (25) – 13 (26) December 1917 was accompanied not with organized

resistance of Ukrainians, but with local clashes between them and the Red Guards. 14 (27) December 1917 was held the last attempt of armed struggle of Ukrainian forces in Kharkiv. In that day Chuguev school of cadets tried to break into the city to disarm Red Army units. But their actions were not properly prepared. Cadets had not any information about the enemy forces and were stopped near Kharkiv by the Red Guards and were forced to retreat [38, p. 31].

Nationally orientated soldiers of the 2nd Ukrainian regiment made some attempts to organize the resistance to the new government. They proclaimed the demands to withdraw troops from the city, stop requisitions, liberate prisoners, etc. [40, c.3]. However, these initiatives were carried out with a significant delay and could not succeed in the new conditions.

Finally entrenched in Kharkiv, the Bolsheviks began the mass requisitions, searches and arrests. There were the first cases of executions of political opponents. Thus, according to the newspaper “New Community”, by 17 (30) December 1917 the Red Guards have arrested about 100 people, almost all of them belonged to the supporters of the UPR, and nine of them were shot. Among those arrested was even a member of the Executive Committee RRSU, a worker of Szymanski’s factory, Ukrainian Social Democrat Sofiyenko. The reason for his arrest were his public statements in support of the Central Council [1, p. 4; 41, p. 3].

The Bolsheviks also directed against the supporters of the Central Council their agitators. Particular attention was paid to the brainwashing of soldiers of the 2nd Ukrainian Regiment, who long time tried to resist the new government. The biggest success of this campaign was in those hundreds, which consisted of russified Ukrainians and Russian immigrants. This fact and the lack of a clear plan of the military and political leadership led to the demoralization of the troops. Under these conditions, the Bolsheviks made another attempt to disarm the Regiment. It happened after Christmas – in the night of 28 December 1917 (10 January 1918). When the Red Guard surrounded the barracks, Ukrainian fighters took up arms. However, at the decisive moment on the Bolsheviks’ moved soldiers of the 11th, 13th and 15th hundreds, who opened fire on the Ukrainians. In the shootout one soldier-Ukrainian died and two were injured. In these circumstances, it became impossible to resist, and the remnants of the regiment were forced to surrender [36, p. 4; 12, p. 4]. 29 December 1917 (11 January 1918) Red Guard totally liquidated the Ukrainian units in Kharkiv. At this time, without any resistance, they disarmed Chyhyryn Regiment, who had already lost its military capability [38, p. 41].

So after three weeks of confrontation Ukrainian troops in Kharkiv were finally disarmed. One reason for this was their low combat readiness. It was possible to prevent the disarmament with serious ideological work among the soldiers, reorganization or demobilization of unreliable soldiers and formation of new combat units. But Ukrainian government had neither the time nor sufficient number of professionals to realize these tasks.

Against the consolidation of Ukrainian military power to protect the Central Council was also another factor. We have already mentioned the naive belief of Ukrainian soldiers in the possibility of alliance and cooperation with the Bolsheviks. Ataman Olexander Volokh was one of the national communists and long hoped for such cooperation. After the disarmament of the 2nd Ukrainian regiment he was able to become free and go to Kyiv to continue the struggle for Ukrainian statehood. On the way Olexander Volokh composed a letter to Ukrainians

in Kharkiv, where emotionally wrote about the end of the former illusions. His message ended with the words: "Real Ukrainians! You are not conquered, you are deceived and sold! Let's be together now! Long live free Ukraine! Long live the truth and brotherhood on the Earth! Die away, enemies of humankind – a penalty for the innocent blood will come soon "[26, p. 4]!

One of the last bastions of Tsentralna Rada in Kharkiv at the end of December 1917 was the newspaper "New Community", which under Bolsheviks' occupation continued policy to support the Central Council. The more active became the battles of Ukrainian-Soviet War, the more brutal the Bolsheviks pressed Ukrainians in Kharkiv, the strongest was the tone of the articles in "New community." It is clear that the Bolsheviks could not allow the existence of the newspaper that exposed their aggressive policy in Ukraine. The last its number was published 31 December 1917 (12 January 1918), after this the newspaper was closed and its editor J. Dovbyschenko was arrested and put on trial of Kharkiv revolutionary tribunal [8, p. 3–4].

Thus, the Ukrainian national movement in Kharkiv in November – December 1917 has been prepared by the Ukrainian political parties and representatives of the Ukrainian scientific and creative intelligentsia from the early twentieth century. Their revolutionary and educational activity contributed to the formation in Kharkiv Ukrainian community, which during 1917 revolution clearly supported the policy of Ukrainian Central Council. Especially important their activity became after the proclamation of the Ukrainian People's Republic, which marked the beginning of a new stage of Ukrainian statehood.

Ukrainian national movement in Kharkiv in November – December 1917 had three main areas: cultural-educational, political and military, and in each it achieved significant results. The most important achievements were: the activities of the Kharkiv "Prosvita", which became a model for other educational institutions in Kharkiv region; gradual Ukrainianization of education and appearance of the first Ukrainian school in Kharkiv; success in working with Kharkiv workers and employees; creation in the short term troops of Free Cossacks and others. At the same time Ukrainians in Kharkiv made a number of serious political mistakes and miscalculations, primarily due to lack of political experience and lack of understanding of the essence of Russian Bolshevism. Ukrainian socialists too long believed in the unity of the revolutionary front and tried affect the Bolsheviks to mitigate their anti-Ukrainian position by political debate. Therefore, when the Bolsheviks started open military coup in the city, Ukrainian soldiers and the public were disoriented and unable to resist actively. As a result, protests of Ukrainian Kharkiv were mostly peaceful and lasted until the end of December 1917, in the situation of civil war they were not able to influence on aggressor. Among the reasons that led to the defeat of Nation-Ukrainian movement in Kharkiv should be also mentioned a small number of Ukrainian population – less than a quarter of the total population in the city. In this situation, even with exemplary political and military organization to retain control over Kharkiv would be very difficult.

However, despite the mentioned above failures, political, educational and military activity of Ukrainians in Kharkiv in November – December 1917 clearly demonstrated the inextricable link of this city and all region with the general process of Ukrainian statehood. This fact played a prominent

role in the recognition of Kharkiv as part of the Ukrainian state at the time of the 1917–1921 liberation and in the era of the USSR.

## References

1. Aresht tov. Sokhviyenka // Nova ghromada. – 1917. – # 39. – P. 4.
2. Blyznjuk. "Z robitnychogho zhyttja" // Nova ghromada. – 1917. – # 1. – P. 3.
3. Blyznjuk. Zbory Rady rob. ta sold. deputativ // Nova ghromada. – 1917. – # 3. – P. 3.
4. Boljshevyky v 2-mu Ukrajinskomu polku // Nova ghromada. – 1917. – # 25. – P. 3.
5. Bosh Evgeniya. God bor'by. Bor'ba za vlast' na Ukraine s aprelya 1917 g. do nemetskoj okkupatsii / Evgeniya Bosh. – M.; L.: Gosizdat, 1925. – 271 c.
6. Vashhenko A. Iv. 2-j denj z'jzdu "Prosvit" Slobozhanshhyny // Nova ghromada. – 1917. – # 14. – P. 2.
7. Vysocjkyj Oleksandr. Ukrajinsjki social-demokraty ta esery : dosvid pere-mogh i porazok / Oleksandr Vysocjkyj. – K. : Osnovni cinnosti, 2004. – 198 p.
8. Vidchynennja Kharjkijskogho revolucijnogho tribunalu // Vistnyk Ukr. Nar. Respubliky. – 1918. – 24 sich. – Chyso 19. – P. 3–4.
9. Viljne kozactvo // Nova ghromada. – 1917. – # 17. – P. 3.
10. Vicha // Nova ghromada. – 1917. – # 3. – P. 3.
11. Ghajdamaka O. "V khvosti revoluciji" // Nova ghromada. – 1917. – # 1. – P. 2.
12. Ghospodarjuvannja boljshevyku u drugomu zapasnomu Ukrajinskomu polku // Nova ghromada. – 1917. – # 39. – P. 4.
13. Dovbyshhenko Ja. Sybirsjka respublika. – // Nova Ghromada. – 1917. – # 23. – P. 2.
14. Dovbyshhenko Ja. Storinka z ukrajinskogho rukhu v Kharkovi v ostanni roky pered revolucijeju 1917 roku // Nova ghromada. – 1917. – # 40. – P. 2.
15. JeV. Shhe pro prosvityteliv. // Nova ghromada. – 1917. – # 10. – P. 3.
16. Z ghazet // Nova ghromada. – 1917. – # 16. – P. 3.
17. Za Centraljnu Radu // Nova ghromada. – 1917. – # 20. – P. 3.
18. Zaliznychnyj z'jzid pivdennykh zaliznycj. // Nova ghromada. – 1917. – # 24. – P. 3.
19. Zajava chlena Vykonavchogho Komitetu Kharjk. Rady Seljansjkykh Deputativ Mykhajla Panchenka (Ghol. Komitetu partiji Ukr. Soc.-Rev.) // Nova ghromada. – 1917. – # 27. – P. 2.
20. Istoriya Ukrainskoj SSR. Velikaya oktyabr'skaya sotsialisticheskaya revoljutsiya i grazhdanskaya vojna na Ukraine (1917–1920). – T. 6. – K. : Nauk. dumka, 1984. – 656 c.
21. Ivashhenko Ant. 2-j z'jzid "Prosvit" Slobozhanshhyny // Nova ghromada. – 1917. – # 10. – P. 2.
22. Ivashhenko Ant. Zaghaljni zbory USDRP 26 lystopadu p. r. // Nova ghromada. – 1917. – # 15. – P. 3.
23. K. Tetjana Zasadannja rady rob. ta vijsjkyvykh deputativ // Nova ghromada. – 1917. – # 10. – P. 3–4.
24. Kalynchuk Dmytro. Kharkiv ukrajinsjkyj [Elektronnyj resurs]. – Rezhym dostupu: <http://tyzhden.ua/History/24829?attempt=1>
25. Konstytucijni akty Ukrajiny. 1917–1920. Nevidomi konstytuciji Ukrajiny. – K. : Filop. i sociol. dumka, 1992. – 272 p.
26. Lyst v redakciju // Nova Ghromada. – 1917. – # 40. – P. 4.
27. M. Bl. Zaghaljni zbory robitnykiv zavodu buvsh. Berlizova // Nova ghromada. – 1917. – # 14. – P. 3.
28. M. Bl. Zakhoplennja teleghrafu // Nova ghromada. – 1917. – # 20. – P. 4.
29. M. V. Boljshevyky v Chughujovi // Nova ghromada. – 1917. – # 32. – P. 4.
30. Mykh. P. Okupacija Kharkova // Nova ghromada. – 1917. – # 25. – P. 2.
31. Na Slobozhanshhyni. V spravi osvity. // Nova ghromada. – 1917. – # 15. – P. 2.
32. Nichka I. Ukrajinsjkyj budynok // Nova ghromada. – 1917. – # 31. – P. 2.
33. Olijnuk T. "Prosvity" na Ukrajini // Nova ghromada. – 1917. – # 16. – P. 2.
34. Podiji v Kharkovi // Nova ghromada. – 1917. – # 23. – P. 3.
35. Podiji v Kharkovi // Nova ghromada. – 1917. – # 24. – P. 2.
36. Pro rozbrojennja 2-gho ukr. polku // Nova ghromada. – 1917. – # 39. – P. 4.
37. Sered kozakiv 2-gho Ukrajinskogho polku // Nova ghromada. – 1917. – # 25. – P. 3.
38. Tynchenko Ja. Ukrajinsjki zbrojni syly. Berezenj 1917 – lystopad 1918 (organizacija, chyseljnistyj, bojovi diji) / Jaroslav Tynchenko. – K. : Tempora, 2009. – 455 p.
39. Tovaryshi robitnyky // Nova ghromada. – 1917. – # 15. – P. 1.
40. U Kharkovi // Nova ghromada. – 1917. – # 29. – P. 3.
41. Uviljennja zareshotovanykh // Nova ghromada. – 1917. – # 30. – P. 3.
42. Ja. D. Upravlinnja Pivnichno-Donckojki zaliznyci // Nova ghromada. – 1917. – # 23. – P. 3.