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POLITICAL REPRESSIONS AGAINST POLISH INTELLECTUAL CLASS IN THE UMAN REGION IN THE 1920s-1930s OF THE 20th CENTURY

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Статтю присвячено розгляду проблеми репресивно-каральної політики радянської влади та практики її втілення стосовно польської національної меншини в Україні у 1920-1930-х рр. На сучасному етапі міжнаціонального діалогу є актуальним вироблення спільних ідеологічних проектів, базованих на взаємоприйнятності історичної спадщини держав, яка в окремі періоди виявилася спільною. Цьому сприятиме вивчення і розкриття процесу здійснення масового терору проти представників польської інтелігенції на Уманщині, що і стало метою пропонованої праці.

За допомогою історико-наукового аналізу розкрито численні факти злочинних фальсифікацій подій у 1930-х рр., а також започаткування політичних репресій проти польської меншини на Уманщині у 1922 р. Характерною ознакою політичних репресій даного періоду стало фальшування карних справ на членів так званої «ПОВ» – Польської організації військової.

Ключові слова: *Польська організація військова, політика «коренізації», архівно-слідча справа, фальсифікації, репресії, Уманщина*

Problem statement. Repressive policy of the Soviet Communist regime was applied to all population, nationalities and regions. During the 1920s and 1930s, national minorities were persecuted alongside indigenous people, including the Poles of the USSR who were also hostages of the Bolshevik authorities. The distinctive features of a clear mechanism of terror against the Polish intellectual class left an indentation on the historical background of the Uman region. And the revelation of the regional dimension of Stalin's national politics, the personification of this hateful process, will help to complete the rethinking of the Soviet heritage and highlight the objective view of the causes and consequences of Russia's aggressive policy nowadays. It is precisely now that inter-ethnic dialogues, especially Ukrainian-Polish, require mutual understanding, common definitions, assessments, and coordination.

Analysis of research and publications. The problem of Stalin repressions against the Polish national minority of the USSR was investigated by O. Rubliov and V. Repryntsev¹, V. Lushchai², T.I. Yeremenko³ and others. The works of such researchers as L.V. Bazhenov⁴

¹ Рубльов О., Репринцев В. Репресії проти поляків в Україні у 1930-і роки. *З архівів ВУЧК-ГПУ-НКВД-КГБ*. 1995. Вип. 1-2. С. 116-156.

² Лушай В.І., Сілецький Б.П. Етнонаціональний чинник національної політики радянського комуністичного режиму щодо поляків (1920-ті – перша половина 1940-х років). *Література та культура Полісся*. № 92. Серія «Історичні науки». № 10. С. 186-202. DOI: 10.31654/2520-6966-2018-10i-92-186-202

³ Єременко Т.І. Польська національна меншина в Україні в 20-30-ті рр. ХХ ст. Київ, 1994. 74 с.

⁴ Баженов Л. Репресії проти етнічних поляків Волині-Житомирщини 30-х – початку 50-х рр. ХХ ст. у сучасних наукових і краєзнавчих дослідженнях. *Українська полоністика*. 2004. Вип. 1. Історико-філософські дослідження. С. 37-46.

and N.V. Titova⁵ are peculiar because of the distinguished regional aspect. Recent scientific studies are based on the use of a large number of little-known archival materials with the cursory publication of investigative documents by repressive bodies in the pursuit and punishment of the Polish national minority.

The aim of the research is to highlight the peculiarities of the communist regime's implementation of mass terror against the Polish intellectual class in the Uman region during the 1920s and 1930s as well as to cover falsification of punitive bodies, taking into account a personalized component based on the analysis of archival documents which were classified up to the present.

Main material statement. During the 1920s and especially the 1930s, the Soviet punitive bodies falsified the criminal cases not only of Ukrainian, but also of German, Jewish, Polish and other «counter-revolutionary organizations», the primacy of which belonged to the intellectual class. In particular, the Polish national minority of Ukraine, which comprised 476,435 in the late 1920s, was repressed⁶. At that time, according to the policy of «localization», 148 Polish settlement councils functioned on the territory of the republic, and the Marhlevsky Polish National District became not only an administrative-territorial unit, «...but it was also a Polish state center, where the Polish proletarian culture was built in the Soviet Union in terms of the proletarian dictatorship»⁷. By giving the possibility to the national minorities development, the authorities promoted the development of national cultures, in particular the spread of education in their native languages, the training of representatives of indigenous nationalities, publishing and so on. A peculiar feature of the initial stage of «localization» was that both manifestations of Russian chauvinism and local nationalism were simultaneously controlled among the intellectual class. There was a constant struggle against «national deviations» and «bourgeois nationalism», which continued throughout the decades of Soviet rule.

The «Case of the Polish counter-revolutionary and espionage organization on the Right Bank Ukraine» (accusations of Roman Catholic clergy, 1930), «the case of Polish teachers» (1930-1931), as well as the case of the «Polish Military Organization» (PMO) (1932-1933, 1937-1938) are known among the «revealed» Polish «espionage units». The name of the latter in the General Political Administration (GPA) of the USSR was borrowed from a real Polish military organization during the First World War, which secretly operated on the territory of Ukraine and ceased its activity in the early 1920s. But its staff and some successful experience became the basis for the formation of the state security services of Poland.

In an effort to counteract the Polish security services during the 1920s, the Soviet authorities started arresting representatives of the Polish intellectual class. Mostly, they were exchanged for the imprisoned by Polish courts members of the Polish Communist Party (CP), the Communist Party of the Western Ukraine. There was also a revelation of the activities of certain Polish territorial reconnaissance points («pliatsuvka»), as evidenced by the case of the members of «Uman pliatsuvka», which operated in the Kyiv region in 1921.

Investigation case No. 1045 on the charge of Galina Zbignevna Yagodzinska and of the other 26 residents of the Uman region of Kyiv province contains six volumes. The charges

⁵ Тітова Н. «Санації» прикордоння УСРР: поборювання «польсько-українського фашизму» на Поділлі. З архівів ВУЧК-ГПУ-НКВД-КГБ. 2007. Вип. 1 (28). С. 220-252.

⁶ Рубльов О., Репринцев В. Вказ. пр. С. 116-156.

⁷ Скрипник М.О. Перебудовними шляхами: Проблема культурного будівництва національностей України: Доповідь на I Всеукр. конференції культурно-освітніх робітників нацменшостей. 20 трав. 1931 р. *Укр. іст. журн.* 1989. № 8. С. 124 (Передрук за: *Більшовик України*. 1931. № 12).

were as follows: «...‘pliatsuvka’ in summer – autumn of 1921, with the support of the second Division of the General Staff of the 6th Polish Army, spread its influence in the territory of Southwestern Ukraine, maintained contacts with Petliura and savinovsky rebel units, was engaged in espionage»⁸. Such people as Galyna Zbignevna Yagodzinska, Anton Antonovych Sosnovsky, Maria Gnativna Glynchanka, Antoni Oleksandrovych Liutovsky, Tadeush Liudvigovych Pavliukovsky were sentenced to death by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Tribunal of the Central Executive Committee of November 4-7, 1922. Sophia Ivanivna Bardetska, Wanda Kazymyryvna Sosnovska, Oleksandr Yosypovych Pavlikovsky, Kallikat Antonovich Butinets and Anton Ivanovich Veres were sentenced to prison in concentration camps for different terms (from 2 to 10 years). The rest of those involved in ‘Uman pliatsuvka’ were released from custody due to the absence of crime. The execution of the highest sentence was suspended in order to transfer the prisoners to the Polish authorities and to exchange them in accordance with Article 1 of the Additional Protocol of November 24, 1921 (Riga). However, there was no response from Butyrska Prison (Moscow) to the telegram of the Supreme Court of the USSR. There is also no material in the criminal case regarding the further fate of convicted Uman residents of Polish nationality. According to the conclusion of the Prosecutor’s Office of Cherkasy region of December 8, 1999, signed by the Deputy Prosecutor, State Advisor of Justice of the second class P.G. Kushnir four of the defendants of the case were rehabilitated, and the rest were convicted and non-rehabilitated people.

In general, the activities of the Polish Spy Agency provided a convenient justification for falsifying allegations against the Polish population of the Ukrainian Republic, which became active in the summer of 1933. It should be mentioned that it was the time of the curtailment of the Stalinist policy of «Ukrainization», «localization» and the severe punishment of Ukrainian peasants by famine. The magnitude of the repression against the Polish population was added by a secret decision of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist party of Ukraine of December 9, 1934⁹ and the decision of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist party of December 20, 1934, «On Resettlement from Border Areas»¹⁰. According to the indictment on the Polish Military Organization case in Ukraine in 1934, «Polish spies» were found in a number of Kyiv institutions, such as: Institute of Polish Proletculture and Profos, Polish School No. 11, Polish Theater, Polish Central Library, Polish publishing house, the Mechanical Engineering Institute, the Red Army House, the factories – «Bolshevik», «Lenin Smithy», «Arsenal», «Kabelny» and others¹¹. In addition to Kyiv and Kharkiv organizations, peripheral formations of the Polish Military Organization were revealed, mostly in the Right-Bank Ukraine, which was of ‘strategic importance’. In 1935, the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine also made some important decisions regarding the Poles of the USSR, according to which cultural and educational institutions, printing bodies, etc. were removed. Polish village councils and schools were reorganized into Ukrainian ones.

Punitive measures reached their peak during the execution of the «Operative Order of

⁸ Case No. 1045 on charges of G. Yagodzinska and others. 6 p. 1921-1922 years // The State Archive of Cherkasy region (SACHR). F. 9817. 282 p.

⁹ The Central State Archives of Public Organizations of Ukraine (CSAPO of Ukraine). F. 1. Op. 16. File 11. Арк. 294-295.

¹⁰ CSAPO of Ukraine. F. 1. Op. 16. File 11. Pp. 316-317.

¹¹ Обвинувальний висновок у справі «ПОВ» в Україні (квітень 1934 р.). *Справа «Польської Організації Військової» в Україні. 1920-1938 рр.* / упоряд.: С.А. Кокін, Р.Ю. Подкур, О.С. Рубльов. Київ: Гол. редкол. наук.-док. серії кн. «Реабілітовані історією», 2011. С. 207-322.

the People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the USSR No. 00485» of August 11, 1937, with the enclosed letter No. 59098 «On the fascist-insurgent, espionage, sabotage, defeat and terrorist activity of the Polish Spy Agency in the USSR». The letter referred to the «revealed picture of the long-standing and relatively unpunished sabotage and espionage work of the Polish Spy Agency on the territory of the Union ...the subversive activity of the Polish Spy Agency was carried out and continues to be carried out so openly that the impunity of this activity can only be explained by the poor work of the bodies of the Main Directorate for State Security and secret service agents»¹². The bodies of the Main Directorate for State Security had the task of the complete elimination of the so-called grassroots contingent of the Polish Spy Agency during three-months from August 20 to November 20, 1937.

A lot of people were subject to arrests. They were: «active members of the Polish Military Organization who were identified in the course of the investigation and have not been searched yet; all prisoners of war of the Polish Army who remained in the USSR; deserters from Poland, regardless of the time of their transition to the USSR; political immigrants from Poland and those who were exchanged; former members of the PPP and other Polish anti-Soviet political parties; the most active part of the local anti-Soviet nationalist elements of the Polish regions»¹³. According to Order No. 00485, the employees of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, military factories, defense shops, various types of transport, and the army were arrested first of all. Workers of industrial enterprises, state farms and collective farms were further arrested. The release of the prisoners on the grounds of Polish espionage, who have served their sentence, was also suspended. Their cases were referred to the Special Meeting of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the USSR for a new sentence: another term, or even execution. The exact or final number of punished according to the conclusion of the so-called Polish operations in Ukraine has not been established yet. Today, there is various statistics from individual researchers, who calculated around 56,000 of convicted people during 1937-1938.

The report from the People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the USSR I.M. Leplevsky evidenced of the results of the «Polish operation» in the Kyiv region. The Kyiv Regional Administration (KRA) of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs reported the arrest of 1,779 people during June-August 1937, including «1107 Poles, 492 Ukrainians, 50 Halychans, 48 Jews, and 82 other nationalities»¹⁴. The main focus was on border areas, so among those arrested there were 396 people in Korosten district, 353 people in Zhytomyr district and 284 people in Novograd-Volyn district. Due to operative order No. 00485, operative-investigative groups were set up on the affairs of the Poles in Korosten, Zhytomyr, Novograd-Volynsk, Uman, Cherkasy, Bila Tserkva and at the regional departments of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs.

During the enquiry period, i.e. three months, 97 group cases were opened, according to which 606 people were arrested. The KRA of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs also reported on the results of the investigation, according to which «the following formations were identified and eliminated: 47 Polish spy-sabotage residences; 4 residences of the Consulate General; 29 Polish intelligence agents; 12 informants of the Consulate Gen-

¹² Оперативный приказ народного комиссара внутренних дел СССР № 00485 от 11 августа 1937 г. Письмо о фашистско-повстанческой, шпионской, диверсионной, пораженческой и террористической деятельности польской разведки в СССР (№ 59098 от 11 августа 1937 г.). *З архівів ВУЧК-ГПУ-НКВД-КГБ*. 1997. № 1/2 (4/5). С. 15-44.

¹³ Ibid. С. 16.

¹⁴ The Sectoral State Archive of Security Service of Ukraine (SSA of SSU). F. 16. Op. 1. File 103. 98 p.

eral; 9 groups of the Polish Military Organization; 26 sabotage groups; 11 Polish national counter-revolutionary groups»¹⁵. It was noted that the formation of the Polish Military Organization was mainly concentrated in the Uman region, in the former Markhlevsky District, in Bila Tserkva, Zhytomyr, Kyiv and Korosten. Counter-revolutionary organizations were managed by the Kyiv Polish Consulate and by the Polish Spy Agencies.

The formations of the Polish Military Organization might have consisted of the following elements: the Poles' agents in the Soviet party apparatus; engineering and technical staff and «old-timers» of the sugar industry; former political immigrants, deserters, prisoners of war of the Polish army, «kulaks»; «Clerical-nationalist elements». The following formulated task also draws attention: «...the alienation of Ukraine from the USSR and the reconstruction of great Poland with the borders of 1772. With this aim, the Polish Military Organization conducted espionage military, political and economic training of the staff for diversions in wartime, counter-revolutionary nationalist work at the ideological and cultural level, and damage and sabotage in the sugar industry and agriculture»¹⁶. Regular cases of the Polish Military Organization, which operated on the territory of the Uman, Monastyrshchensky, Plyskovsky and Pogrebyshevsky regions, were falsified. KRA reported that Polish Military Organization had created a number of combat groups in Uman and other areas. In particular, the case was opened for 28 people who were preparing diversions in the sugar industry. In particular, the case was opened for 28 people «who were preparing diversions in the sugar industry». This formation was supposedly organized in 1920 by special emissaries and officers of the Polish General Staff, namely the Polish Spy Agency officer Wenzel. The following people were included into the management of the group: M.S. Plavinsky (former Chief Engineer of Tsybulevsky Sugar Factory), R.V. Malinovsky (Chief Accountant of the Plant), B.A. Dobrokhovsky (Secretary), S.Y. Chervinsky (doctor) and E.Y. Chervinsky (Deputy Chief Engineer of the Spichinets Sugar Factory).

The mass terror spread to all social groups of the Polish population in different regions. The mechanism of humiliation did not bypass cultural workers in the Uman region. Evidence of this is the archival investigative case on the charges of Pavel Ivanovich Sulima-Saliichuk, Sergei Feodosiyovich Kravchuk and Fedor Petrovich Budzylevych according to the articles 54-4, 54-7 and 54-1¹⁷. The damning verdict in this case contains the following: «In 1937, a number of large spy-sabotage and rebel formations of the Polish military organization, which operated in the territory of the Kiev region under the direction of the emissaries of Polish Spy Agencies, were discovered and liquidated with the aim of alienation of Ukraine from the USSR and its annexation to Nazi Poland. The presence of such a formation was revealed in the Uman region. Its participants set out to undermine the economic strength and defense capability of the USSR by conducting reconnaissance, sabotage and damage activity. The main members of this organization were sentenced to various measures of social protection»¹⁸. The conclusion was prepared by the criminal investigator of the third department of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs Lieutenant of State Security Levin with the consent of the Chief of the KRA Junior Lieutenant of the State Security Tomin and approved by the Chief of the Inter-Special Forces of the KRA Captain Bory-

¹⁵ SSA of SSU. F. 16. Op. 1. File 103. P. 4.

¹⁶ SSA of SSU. F. 16. Op. 1. File 103. P. 76.

¹⁷ SACHR. F. R-5625. Op. 1. File 943 [Case No. 64463 on charges of Pavel Ivanovich Sulyma-Saliichuk, Sergey Fedoseevich Kravchuk, Fedor Petrovych Budzylevych under Articles 54-7, 54-4 and 54-1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR]. 173 p.

¹⁸ SACHR. F. R-5625. Op. 1. File 943. Pp. 65-68.

sov and Uman regional prosecutor Kunin. Such people as Pavlo Ivanovych Sulima-Saliichuk, Sergii Feodosiiovych Kravchuk and Fedor Petrovych Budzylevych were accused of the involvement into the organization by the investigation. They were arrested on October 29, 1937, by Uman KRA of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs and brought as defendants in the case.

Pavlo Ivanovych Sulyma-Saliichuk was born in 1888 in Uman and lived there. He was married, raised 4 daughters. He was an actor with secondary education, worked as an administrator in the Vinnytsia regional state stage. The accusations based on the testimony of S.F. Kravchuk consisted in the fact that «in 1935 he was recruited into the Polish military organization by Bolesław Monchynsky, on whose tasks he carried out counter-revolutionary activity. Using his travels to different regions as an actor, he collected information about the state of collective farms and the political mood of the population. L.S. Novosadovych, M.A. Kravchuk, S.A. Kravchuk, F.P. Budzylevych, etc. were recruited to the organization by him»¹⁹. «He also conducted a counter-revolutionary campaign against the Soviet government among the population by proving the inappropriateness of its policy with the aim to create mass dissatisfaction of the population»²⁰. Accused of «organizing assistance to Poland in the capture of Ukraine» P.I. Sulyma-Saliichuk admitted the guilt.

Serhiy Feodosiyovych Kravchuk was born in 1900 and lived in Uman. He received his secondary education, worked as a bandurist of the Vinnytsia Regional State Variety Art. According to the indictment, he was «recruited to the Ukrainian nationalist organization in 1934 by the band-bandurist M.V. Osipov. On his task, he conducted counter-revolutionary activities aimed at overthrowing the Soviet government and organizing an independent Ukrainian state. In 1937 he was recruited to the Polish espionage organization by P.I. Sulima-Saliichuk. On trips with a group of actors, he collected information about the state of agriculture, vehicles, roads, and more. Exposed by the evidence of P.I. Sulima-Saliichuk, he admitted to involvement into the organization»²¹.

Fedir Petrovych Budzylevych was born in 1904 in Uman, where he lived with his wife. He received his secondary education. He worked as an administrator at the Uman Civic Theater. In 1933 he was sentenced to 5 years for financial expenses. According to P.I. Sulyma-Saliichuk's evidence «...in May 1937, he was recruited to the Polish Military Organization by me and carried out counter-revolutionary activity aimed at discrediting measures of the Soviet government and undermining the economic strength and defense capability of the USSR»²². F.P. Budzylevych did not admit to his involvement into the organization. On the basis of the USSR People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs Order No. 00485, all three defendants were included into the Special List of the National Security agency and were held in custody in the Uman prison. There was no physical evidence in the case. By decision of the Special Meeting of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the USSR of November 28, 1937 P.I. Sulyma-Saliichuk and S.F. Kravchuk were executed by shooting on December 17, 1937. F.P. Budzylevych was sentenced under Category 2 to 10 Years in Correctional Labour Camps²³.

At the end of his sentence, F.P. Budzylevych was released in 1947, returned to Uman, and worked as an administrator of the Uman Civic Theater. According to the Directive

¹⁹ SACHR. F. R-5625. Op. 1. File 943. P. 66.

²⁰ SACHR. F. R-5625. Op. 1. File 943. Pp. 22-26.

²¹ SACHR. F. R-5625. Op. 1. File 943. P. 67.

²² Ibidem.

²³ SACHR. F. R-5625. Op. 1. File 943. P. 74.

No. 66/241 of October 26, 1948 of the Security Council of the USSR and the USSR Prosecutor's Office, F.P. Budzylevych was arrested on May 25, 1950 by the Ukrainian Ministry of State Security of the Kyiv region. And on September 25, he was sentenced for a second time to an exile to the Novosibirsk region by a special meeting of the Ministry of State Security of the USSR. This refers to an order according to which the authorities of the Ministry of State Security «again arrested state criminals who had already been punished for their crimes and released from prison after the Great Patriotic War»²⁴. They were charged with the same crimes for which the convicts had already served their sentences. It was intended to refer cases to the Special Meeting in order to apply settlement efforts for the prisoners, even if no information on their anti-Soviet activities was revealed during the investigation after their release from prison and camps. In July 1953, F.P. Budzylevych appealed from exile to the chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the USSR, requesting to cancel the exile, due to the fact that he had been sentenced unjustifiably in 1937 when physical influence was used during the investigation.

The conclusion of the Senior Investigator of the fourth Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Cherkasy region Captain Kosov of March 25, 1954 concerning the consideration of archival investigative case No. 755127 on the F.P. Budzylevych's accusation in connection with the complaint, stated the following:

«...Sulima-Saliychuk's evidence, both in relation of his recruitment by Budzylevych and the practical activity of the latter as a member of the anti-Soviet Polish military organization, is written in general phrases. It is not clear what exactly the matter of Budzilevich's anti-Soviet subversive activity was. S.F. Kravchuk's evidence was also unspecified, and indirect. Supposedly, he knew about Budzylevych's involvement in the anti-Soviet organization, according to Sulyma-Saliychuk»²⁵. The decision «to satisfy Budzilevich's complaint, that is to release him from exile» was signed by Colonel Yershov, Chief of the fourth Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Cherkasy region.

After additional verification, in accordance with the Order of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of August 19, 1955, the Prosecutor of Cherkasy region senior adviser of Justice Tyshchenko sent a protest on May 18, 1956 according to the cases of P.I. Sulyma-Saliichuk, S.F. Kravchuk and F.P. Budzylevych towards cancellation of the resolution of the Special Meeting at the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the USSR of October 27, 1937 and termination of the case due to the lack of the accusation proof²⁶. Cherkasy Regional Court satisfied the prosecutor's protest, arguing that «all the accusations of the convicts were based on Sulyma-Saliichuk and Kravchuk's confession, and no other objective evidence in the case was collected. Then additional questioning of a number of witnesses was made and the accusation was refuted»²⁷. The court also satisfied the prosecutor's protest against the cancellation of the Special Meeting of the Ministry of State Security of the USSR on September 27, 1950 according to the case of F.P. Budzylevych who was convicted to the exile as «a person previously prosecuted for participating in an anti-Soviet organization»²⁸. Thus, according to the decision of Cherkasy Regional Court, the case on F.P. Budzylevych was terminated.

²⁴ Циркуляр МГБ СССР и Генерального прокурора СССР от 26.10.1948 № 66/241сс. URL: <https://memorial.krsk.ru/DOKUMENT/USSR/481026.htm>

²⁵ SACHR. F. R-5625. Op. 1. File 943. Pp. 88-90.

²⁶ SACHR. F. R-5625. Op. 1. File 943. Pp. 110-112.

²⁷ SACHR. F. R-5625. Op. 1. File 943. Pp. 113-114.

²⁸ SACHR. F. R-5625. Op. 1. File 943. Pp. 160-161.

Conclusion. The results of the study of the repressive and punitive practice of the Soviet authorities according to the Polish national minority in Ukraine during the 1920s and 1930s testify to the systematic application of this practice, including in the Uman region. It has been established that Uman Polish intellectual class was repressed even before the introduction of «localization policy» as a Polish agency. The revealed case of the members of «Uman pliatsuvka» with the main person involved into it G.Z. Yagodzinska evidence of it. Further on, the most widespread sign of unjustified persecution and condemnation of representatives of the Polish intellectual class were large-scale falsifications of criminal cases by repressive bodies. In particular, they were highly active during 1933-1938 under the slogan of exposing the «counter-revolutionary formations» of the PMO – the Polish Military Organization. The bodies of the People’s Commissariat of Internal Affairs reported on the elimination of espionage groups of the Polish Military Organization on the territory of the Uman, Monastyrshchensky, Plyskivsky and Pogrebyschensky regions. One of the evidences of this is the archival investigative case on the accusation of F.P. Budzylevych and others.

The whole process was accompanied with the adoption of appropriate Soviet legislative acts aimed at the destruction of representatives of the Polish intellectual class. «Operative Order of the People’s Commissar of Internal Affairs of the USSR No. 00485» of August 11, 1937 is the most dogmatic with the letter «On fascist-insurgent, espionage, sabotage, defeat and terrorist activity of the Polish intellectual class in the USSR». Therefore, there are very specific signs of repression against the Polish intellectual class of the Uman region, which requires objective generalizations, first of all regarding the number of victims and their personalization. In general, the multi-faceted nature of the historical problem leads to further investigations of the crimes committed by the totalitarian communist system in terms of national, regional and social aspects.

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**POLITICAL REPRESSIONS AGAINST POLISH INTELLECTUAL CLASS
IN THE UMAN REGION IN THE 1920s-1930s**

The article deals with the peculiarities of the national policy of the Bolshevik regime during the 1920s and 1930s in Ukraine. The main attention is paid to the mechanism of political repressions against representatives of the intellectual class of the Polish national minority in the Uman region. The article used not only problem-chronological and comparative-historical methods of research, but also the biographical method. The purpose of the work was to study and highlight the process of mass terror against the Polish intellectual class in the Uman region taking into consideration a personalized approach.

It has been established that political repressions in the Uman region date back to the early 1920s, just when the policy of «localization» was introduced. At the same time, giving impact to the cultural and educational development of the national minority, the government controlled the manifestations of local nationalism. Starting from the case of «Umanska pliatsuvka» on accusation of G.Z. Yagodzinska and 26 other residents of the Uman Region, the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs periodically made arrests of people of Polish nationality. Given the previous activities of Polish intellectual class in the territory of Ukraine, the penal authorities had a convenient reason for further substantiation and investigation of the so-called «counter-revolutionary nationalist organizations». Based on a study of previously unavailable archival and investigative cases of the Departmental State Archive of the Security Office of Ukraine, the facts of mass falsifications on accusations of the Polish intellectual class of the Uman region for espionage in favor of Poland were revealed. Simultaneously with the closing up process of the policy of «localization» in 1933, political repressions gained extraordinary activity and were carried out in order to execute successive resolutions and decisions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party(b) of Ukraine, inclusive until 1938. In the territory of Ukraine and the Uman Region, in particular, the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs falsified criminal case materials mainly on the basis of the mythologization of the activities of the former Polish military organization – «PMO». In addition to the central Ukrainian cities, in particular, Kyiv, Kharkiv, the formation of this organization was also «revealed» in various regions. An archival investigative case No. 64463 on the accusation of the Uman citizens F.P. Budzylevych and others was revealed and may serve as an example. According to the decision of the Special Meeting of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the USSR of November 28, 1937 P.I. Sulyma-Saliichuk and S.F. Kravchuk were executed by shooting and F.P. Budzylevych was sentenced to 10 years of labor camps.

According to the of the author's study generalization the conclusion has been made of the multi-faceted historical problem, which actualizes further study and analysis of the crimes mechanism of the totalitarian communist system in national, regional and social aspects.

Keywords: Polish national minority, policy of «localization», archival investigative case, falsifications, repressions, Uman region