

## REPRESSIONS AGAINST SUMY REGION TEACHERS AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON THE FORMATION OF TEACHING STAFF OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

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**Keywords:** repressions in Sumy region, Sumy Pedagogical Institute, students, teachers, Stalinist repressions, great terror, educational institutions.

Within the framework of this scientific research the peculiarities of political persecutions of pedagogical intelligentsia of secondary and higher educational establishments of Sumy region in 1930-40s are analyzed. Peculiarities of formation of university management in the specified period of research are revealed. The author emphasizes that despite the existence of a wide documentary base and the declassification of archival criminal cases of persons repressed by the Soviet authorities, Sumy region remains the region where the problem of political repression during the Stalinist period is the least studied. Research on this topic is also becoming relevant due to the emergence of a large number of publications on repression in the region, based on archival materials from other areas. The article presents facts about teachers and heads of higher educational institutions of Sumy region, analyzes criminal cases and accusations against them.

The article states that the Soviet authorities carried out mass work to replace the opposition-minded intelligentsia with Soviet cadres who proved their devotion to state policy. It is noted that higher education institutions, in addition to their educational function, also became centers of Soviet propaganda aimed at spreading the ideas of Stalin's world view to the masses. The Soviet government made efforts to involve teachers in the fight against «enemies of the people» within educational institutions. In 1939-41, and then in the postwar years, many teachers who were able to prove their devotion to the party were sent to the western regions of Ukraine to participate in the Sovietization of the region.

The authors of the article see the prospects of this study in continuing to study the archives of teachers and students of higher education in Sumy region, finding new facts and creating and supplementing the biographies of teachers who were repressed by the Soviet authorities.

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## РЕПРЕСІЇ ПРОТИ ПЕДАГОГІВ СУМЩИНИ ТА ЇХ ВПЛИВ НА ФОРМУВАННЯ ВИКЛАДАЦЬКИХ КАДРІВ НАВЧАЛЬНИХ ЗАКЛАДІВ

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**Ключові слова:** репресії на Сумщині, Сумський педінститут, студенти, педагоги, сталінські репресії, великий терор, навчальні заклади.

В рамках даного наукового дослідження проаналізовано особливості політичних переслідувань педагогічної інтелігенції середніх і вищих навчальних закладів Сумщини в 1930-40-х рр. Розкрито особливості формування керівництва ВНЗ в зазначений період дослідження. У статті констатується, що радянською владою проводилась масова робота для

заміни опозиційно налаштованої інтелігенції на радянські кадри, які будуть вірні політиці держави. Підбивається підсумок, що вищі навчальні заклади, окрім освітньої функції, ставали також осередками радянської пропаганди, спрямованої на поширення ідей сталінського світогляду в маси.

Despite the existence of a wide documentary base and the declassification of archival and criminal cases of persons repressed by the Soviet authorities, Sumy region remains the region where the problem of political repression during the Stalinist period is the least studied. Research on this topic is also becoming relevant due to the emergence of a large number of publications on repression in the region, based on archival materials from other areas.

The purpose of the article is to reveal the repressive policy of the Soviet government towards the teachers of secondary and higher educational institutions of Sumy region in the 1930s and 1940s.

At present, there are no thorough studies in the Sumy region, written on local archival materials and devoted to political repressions in educational institutions. The topic of repression is mentioned in the monograph by L.V. Korzh<sup>1</sup>, dedicated to the history of Sumy State Pedagogical University named after A.S. Makarenko. In the dissertation of A.M. Nikiforov, dedicated to the figure of local historian and teacher N. Onatsky, it is mentioned about his persecution by the penal authorities<sup>2</sup>. In the monograph of A.M. Borovik and M.A. Borovik, dedicated to Chernihiv University, there is some information about the materials about the two directors of Sumy University, written on the materials of the Chernihiv archive<sup>3</sup>.

The first high-profile case in the Sumy region was the revelation of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (ULU), which was allegedly focused on the insurrection within the country, which relied heavily on youth (schools and universities) and under the slogan of a united national front with the aim to unite Ukrainian intelligentsia to fight the Soviet government. Lists of opposition-minded intellectuals were compiled and detained. On the ter-

ritory of Sumy region in 1929 teachers I.P. Galyun and V.V. Ivchenko (Romensky district) were guilty for belonging to SLU<sup>4</sup>. Local lore expert N. Onatsky, who worked at the Sumy Pedagogical College – SP – was summoned for interrogation by the DPU (in 1930 the SP was transformed into the Sumy Institute of Social Education – then SISV, and in 1933 – into the Sumy State Pedagogical Institute, then SSPI)<sup>5</sup>. After the arrest of Academician S. Efremov, the DPU officers found letters to him from I.P. Galyun (researcher at the Romensky Museum of Local Lore), which caused the latter to be summoned for questioning. In 1919–20 he lived in the an apartment with Academician of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Professor A.M. Loboda, who introduced him to the famous Academician S. Efremov, who was credited with the leadership of the SLU<sup>6</sup>. A few years later, on October 3, 1937, I.P. Galyun was arrested in the case of a nationalist organization, which involved 5 more people. All members of this organization were sentenced to death.

Political purges in the case of «ULU» did not bypass the SP and formed on its basis SISV. One of the first in January 1930 the Secretary of the SP M.M. Teterin was arrested, who had a noble origin<sup>7</sup>. On October 16, 1930, as a member of an anti-Soviet organization, a teacher of the workers' faculty, P.G. Glicksman was also arrested and accused of the fact that «... Manifestations of the party's biases for Glickman were the occasion for talks on the subject of these condrevolution and the turn to something else, the failure of the party policy, etc., and in this regard preparation of military actions against the Soviet government by Poland»<sup>8</sup>. In the data base of the historian S.V. Volkov, where one can find the information about members of the white movement, he is referred to as a «military official» who was taken a prisoner. He was on special account in the

<sup>1</sup> Корж Л.В. Історія становлення і розвитку Сумського державного педагогічного університету ім. А. С. Макаренка. Суми: Сумськ. держ. пед. ун-т ім. А. С. Макаренка, 1999. 88 с.

<sup>2</sup> Никифоров А.М. Педагогічна та культурно-просвітницька діяльність Никанора Онацького (1875–1937) на Слобожанщині. Дис. ... к-та істор. наук: 07.00.01. Суми, 2016. 323 с.

<sup>3</sup> Боровик А.М., Боровик М.А. Історія Чернігівського національного педагогічного університету в біографіях його керівників. Київ: СПД Чалчинська Н.В., 2016. 416 с.

<sup>4</sup> Архієрейський Д.В., Бажан О.Г., Бикова Т.В. Політичний терор і тероризм в Україні. ХІХ—ХХ ст. Історичні нариси. Відповід. ред. В.А. Смолій. К.: Наук, думка, 2002. С. 278–279.

<sup>5</sup> Никифоров А.М. Педагогічна та культурно-просвітницька діяльність Никанора Онацького (1875–1937) на Слобожанщині. Дис. ... к-та істор. наук: 07.00.01. Суми, 2016. С. 252.

<sup>6</sup> Державний архів Сумської області (далі ДАСО), ф. Р-7641. оп. 1, спр. 598. арк. 91.

<sup>7</sup> ДАСО. ф. Р-7641. Оп. 5, Спр. 771, арк. 46.

<sup>8</sup> ДАСО, ф. Р-7641, оп. 6, спр.581, арк. 132.

USSR since 1920<sup>9</sup>.

The case of P.G. Glickman was imprisoned on August 17, 1931, and was released from custody. The name of the well-known Soviet pedagogue Y.U. Sambros also appeared in this case, although he was not prosecuted. The main reason for distrust of him was his short (only a few weeks) service in the White Army. According to his words, in October 1931, fearing dismissal, he himself «submitted to the director of the institute an application for dismissal of his own volition»<sup>10</sup>. After being released from Sumy University, he moved to Kharkiv. Obviously, not the last role in the release of J. Sambros was played by the replacing on September 15, 1931, the present director of the newly formed SISV S.I. Pryimenko to the position of director of the Chernihiv Institute of Social Education (CHISV)<sup>11</sup>. From the Zinoviev Institute of Social Education (now the Central Ukrainian State Pedagogical University named after Volodymyr Vynnychenko) to the position of new director of SISV was transferred P.A. Gudzenko, who successfully headed the school for two years, but was eventually accused of failing to provide the institute with Bolshevik personnel<sup>12</sup>. About the further fate of P.A. Gudzenko is known very little. During the war he was at the front, and in the postwar period he became the author of two local lore monographs<sup>13</sup>.

After the appointment to a new position the director L.T. Koshko was summoned to Kharkiv on September 13, 1933, and after his return from the then capital of the USSR on September 16, he issued an order about the appointing persons approved by the People's Commissariat of Education (Y.G. Nesterenko, V.L. Lesik, and K.A. Symonenko). By the same order, A.E. Almashina was appointed the head of the Russian sector (she had been working at the institute since 1930), and the Ukrainian sector – was

headed by S.I. Panchenko<sup>14</sup>. Subsequently, three of them were dismissed from the school as «foreign elements»: V.L. Lesik was dismissed on November 29, 1933 for «organizing a group of students to honor the memory of Khvylovy during the funeral» and declared the «defeat of the Ukrainian language»<sup>15</sup>; K.A. Symonenko was dismissed on October 29, 1934, when it became known about his previous arrest in the case of «ULU»<sup>16</sup>. The then director of SDPI, Russian I.D. Semenov received a reprimand from the Sumy City Party Committee for «blunting class vigilance, which manifested itself in the untimely dismissal of a former member of the SLU at the institute, a lecturer Symonenko»<sup>17</sup>. In 1935, the head of the Ukrainian sector S.I. Panchenko was fired, who two years later was arrested by the NKVD as a member of an anti-Soviet nationalist organization and sentenced to death<sup>18</sup>.

But the most tragic pages in the history of the SDPI turned in the years of «great terror». On October 29, 1936, by order of the People's Commissariat of Education, the director of SDPI I.D. Semenov was appointed the director of the Melitopol Pedagogical Institute<sup>19</sup>, temporarily transferring his responsibilities to Deputy M.I. Shevchenko. He held this position until the beginning of the Soviet-German war of 1941-1945, and in the postwar years he headed the Kherson Pedagogical Institute.

The greatest role in the political repressions of the 1930s in the SPI was played by the then director L.V. Garkusha. A native of Odessa, he came from the family of an employee, lost his father early (in 1913), graduated from the Soviet Party School<sup>20</sup> and Kamyanets-Podilsky Pedagogical Institute in 1931<sup>21</sup>. Having a criminal past (he was arrested several times before 1918 for «some theft») and tarnishing his biography with a short service in the White Army, this figure was able to make a brilliant career under Soviet rule. In September 1934, L.V. Garkusha was appointed the director of the Glukhiv Pedagogical Institute (here in after GPI) in place of Yu.G. Rozhkova, removed from the office

<sup>9</sup> Сайт историка С.В. Волкова. URL: <https://cutt.ly/hxmnsS7> (-дата звернення 22.03.2021).

<sup>10</sup> Самброс Ю. Щаблі. Мій шлях до комунізму: мемуарні нариси. [Б. м.]: Сучасність, 1988. С. 227.

<sup>11</sup> Боровик А.М., Боровик М.А. Історія Чернігівського національного педагогічного університету в біографіях його керівників. Київ: СПД Чалчинська Н.В., 2016. С. 85.

<sup>12</sup> Семешин Е.В. Участь викладачів Сумського педінституту в політичних репресіях 1930-х (на прикладі справи С.І. Панченко). Сумські історико-краєзнавчі студії. Збірник матеріалів Всеукраїнської науково-практичної інтернет-конференції (Суми, 5 листопада 2020 р. Суми: ФОП Цьома С.П., 2020. С. 385.

<sup>13</sup> Гудзенко П.А. Сумська область: географічний нарис. Відп. ред. О. Т. Діброва. Київ: Радянська школа, 1958. 122 с.; Гудзенко П.А. Черкаська область: географічний нарис. Київ, 1959. 122 с.

<sup>14</sup> ДАСО, ф. Р-2817, оп. 1, спр. 235, арк. 25зв.

<sup>15</sup> ДАСО, ф. Р-2817, оп. 1, спр. 235, арк. 32.

<sup>16</sup> ДАСО, ф. Р-2817, оп. 1, спр. 237, арк. 31зв.

<sup>17</sup> ДАСО, ф. Р-2817, оп. 1, спр. 230, арк. 13.

<sup>18</sup> Семешин Е.В. Участь викладачів Сумського педінституту в політичних репресіях 1930-х (на прикладі справи С.І. Панченко) / Сумські історико-краєзнавчі студії. Збірник матеріалів Всеукраїнської науково-практичної інтернет-конференції (Суми, 5 листопада 2020 р.). Суми: ФОП Цьома С.П., 2020. С. 382-392.

<sup>19</sup> ДАСО, ф. Р-2817, оп. 1, спр. 241, арк. 122.

<sup>20</sup> ДАСО, ф. Р-7641, оп. 1, спр. 907, арк.59.

<sup>21</sup> ДАСО, ф. Р-2817, оп. 1, спр. 268, арк. 297.

for «Ukrainian nationalism» and held this position until January 1936<sup>22</sup>. In 1935, when checking party documents, it became clear that the teacher of political economy GPI S.K. Sakharylenko was of a kulak origin and was expelled from the party as a Trotskyite double-dealer L.V. Garkusha achieved his release from the institute<sup>23</sup>. On August 23, 1935, L.V. Garkusha testifying to an NKVD officer against SK Sakharylenko claimed that the repressed teacher had the protection of the leading part of the institute and the party organization. According to him, when he raised the issue of S.K. Sakharylenko, he always encountered an opposition and was in the minority<sup>24</sup>. When L.V. Garkusha raised the issue of Trotskyist activities of the director of the Agricultural Institute K.E. Vakulenko (arrested on April 29, 1935 and sentenced to 3 years), M. Balyshv proposed to stop such conversations, saying to L.V. Garkusha: «We know him better than you, and you stubbornly want to impose your opinion». Soon, M. Balyshv initiated an inspection of L.V. Garkusha as the director of the Pedagogical Institute and managed to expel him from the party<sup>25</sup>. In 1937 M. Balyshv was arrested.

After that, L.V. Garkusha was transferred to the Nizhyn Pedagogical Institute, and by the mandate of the People's Commissariat of Education of December 27, 1936 he was appointed the director of the SPI, and on January 7, 1937 M.I. Shevchenko handed over the affairs of the institute to him and returned to the performance of his direct duties – the Deputy Director for Research and Education<sup>26</sup>. On February 28, 1937, the newly appointed L.V. Garkusha issued an order to release M.I. Shevchenko «for the close connection and protection of the enemies of the people, counter-revolutionaries, Trotskyists and nationalists» and as «a double-dealer who cannot provide the necessary guidance for educational work». He appealed to the People's Commissariat of Education with a request to approve his order just in this wording<sup>27</sup>. By order of the director, L.V. Garkusha, on April 15, 1937, a teacher of the German language, D.I. Levin was released from teaching, who was earlier hired at the institute by a former deputy director M.I. Shevchenko. In the course of his work, he allegedly «committed a number of significant distortions of the pedagogical process and tried to drag out hostile anti-Soviet allegations and

formulations». By the same order, students Mozgov and Hrebinyk, «who did not report in time about the distortion of the pedagogical process by Levin» were removed from their duties as monitors<sup>28</sup>.

In April 1938, an engineer O.N. Gurin was fired from his job at the SDPI as repressed by the NKVD. The same happened with teachers D.A. Pryimak, P.Ye. Rosmovsky and O.Y. Komlev, the students of the evening department K.L. Kukharenko and V.P. Evtukhov were expelled<sup>29</sup>. The detainees testified against other people, that allowed to expand the search for potential «enemies of the people». So, K.L. Kukharenko (at the time of his arrest, the principal of school No. 3 in Sumy and a student of the evening department of SSPI) a month after his arrest, testified about the anti-Soviet agitation of the teacher of school No. 6 (Sumy) S.S. Sapun, arrested on April 22, 1938<sup>30</sup>. According to the evidence of the above-mentioned V.P. Yevtukhov from April 25, 1940, physical methods of influence were used to him and the other repressed by investigators<sup>31</sup>. In total, 42 people were sentenced to death in this case by the decision of the troika at the UNKVD in Kharkiv region, including P.E. Rostovsky, K.L. Kukharenko and I.V. Kanishcheva. The investigation into the case of O.N. Gurin, V.P. Yevtukhov, O.Y. Komlev and D.A. Pryimak was suspended and they were released from custody<sup>32</sup>. The subsequent fate of the defendants in this case was different. D.A. Pryimak disappeared in January 1942 at the front, the teacher O.Y. Komlev worked as a researcher at the Sumy Institute for Teacher Training in 1940 - 1941, and with the beginning of the war he was mobilized to the front. After the war he worked at the Lviv Pedagogical Institute, and then at the Ivan Franko University of Lviv. He became a well-known specialist in the field of chemistry<sup>33</sup>.

By the order of the People's Commissariat of Education of the USSR of July 6, 1940, the director of the SPI L.V. Garkusha was sent to another uni-

<sup>22</sup> ДАСО, ф. Р-7641, оп. 1, спр. 907, арк. 122.

<sup>23</sup> ДАСО, ф. Р-7641, оп. 2, спр. 333, арк. 69-70.

<sup>24</sup> ДАСО, ф. Р-7641, оп. 4, спр. 318, арк. 60.

<sup>25</sup> ДАСО, ф. Р-7641, оп. 2, спр. 333, арк. 70.

<sup>26</sup> ДАСО, ф. Р-2817, оп. 1, спр. 242, арк. 13.

<sup>27</sup> ДАСО, ф. Р-2817, оп. 1, спр. 242, арк. 60.

<sup>28</sup> ДАСО, ф. Р-2817, оп. 1, спр. 242, арк. 106.

<sup>29</sup> Семешин Е.В. Репресії проти студентів і викладачів Сумського державного педагогічного інституту в 1930-х рр. Вісник Державного архіву Хмельницької області «Подільська старовина». Вип. 3. Хмельницький. 2018. С. 166.

<sup>30</sup> Галузевий Державний Архів Управління Служби Безпеки України в Сумській області (далі ГДА УСБУ в СО), спр. П-1845, арк. 22-23.

<sup>31</sup> ДАСО, ф. Р-7641, оп. 1, спр. 907, арк. 105.

<sup>32</sup> Семешин Е.В. Репресії проти студентів і викладачів Сумського державного педагогічного інституту в 1930-х рр. Вісник Державного архіву Хмельницької області «Подільська старовина». Вип. 3. Хмельницький. 2018. С. 166.

<sup>33</sup> Комлев О.Й. До 105 річниця від дня народження. Вісник Львівського університету. Серія хімічна. Випуск 50, 2009 р. URL: <https://cutt.ly/Kxmnk6v> (дата звернення 22.03.2021).

versity<sup>34</sup>, taking the temporary position of acting head of the Department of Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism at the University of Chernivtsi<sup>35</sup>. Very little is known about the peculiarities of his activities in the western regions of the Ukrainian SSR. In January 1944 – 1948 he held the position of a secretary of the Volyn regional committee of the CP (B) U for propaganda, called to combat against the nationalist influence of the OUN on the educational front<sup>36</sup>. The press mentions his speech at the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (b) of the Ukrainian SSR, which took place on December 12-14, 1945 in connection with the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR<sup>37</sup>. In 1950 he spoke at a scientific session of the Institute of History of Ukraine of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR in Lviv with a report on «The task of historians in the struggle to uproot the remnants of the ideology of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism», which was published<sup>38</sup>. He later held the position of Secretary of the Lviv Regional Committee for Propaganda, Deputy Head of the Department for Higher Education at the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and after the reform in 1956 of the Department of Marxism-Leninism of the Kyiv Medical Institute (now the National Medical University named after O. O. Bogomolets) and the formation on its basis of three separate departments. Then, L.V. Garkusha became the head of the newly formed Department of Dialectical and Historical Materialism<sup>39</sup>.

With the outbreak of the Soviet-German wars of 1941–1945, repression against saboteurs and conditional members of the «fifth column» intensified. Several German teachers accused of anti-Soviet propaganda were repressed in the Sumy region. Arrested on September 3, 1941, M. Waldenburg, the German language teacher at school 1 (Okhtyrka, 5 years of camps), corresponded with relatives in Germany in an anti-Soviet spirit. Her husband and son were repressed by the Soviet punitive author-

ities<sup>40</sup>. The only evidence in the indictment of A. Koshchiiy, the German language teacher arrested in 1941 (Okhtyrka, 5 years of camps), was the testimony of informants, dated 1937 and 1938, where she allegedly expressed dissatisfaction with the Soviet regime and sought to go abroad<sup>41</sup>. The teacher J. Tilman (Buryń, Buryń district, 10 years of camps) was accused of discrediting the collective farm system and praising the German army<sup>42</sup>. L. Gunther, the German language teacher at the SDPI, was also accused of anti-Soviet propaganda<sup>43</sup>.

After the liberation of Sumy, Soviet troops arrested several people for accepting German passports and classifying them as Volksdeutsche (foreign Germans). For this reason, SDPU student N.Yu. Fedenko was arrested together with her family. Her mother, S.O. Fedenko, living in occupied Sumy, in January 1942 got a job in the city German commandant's office as a translator, where she had worked until August 1943. The basis for the registration of her family as representatives of the Volksdeutsche was the maiden name S.O. Fedenko-Schmidt, because of which she was considered a German<sup>44</sup>. Russian E.G. Krause was arrested in October, 1947. During the war, she was included in the category of «Volksdeutsche» as the widow of a German, who in 1937 was sentenced to death as an «enemy of the people»<sup>45</sup>.

In the first postwar years, the university leadership regularly raised the issue of finding «traitors to the homeland» among students and teachers. At a closed meeting in October, 1946, the then director of the SPI D.Yu. Nukalov reported on receipt of the statement on the student of the 4th course of the literary faculty O. Sokolova that she was the traitor of the homeland. The director of the institute claimed that the inspection in the school was at a low level and called for its improvement<sup>46</sup>.

The publication of the party resolution «On the magazines «Zvezda» and «Leningrad» (August 14, 1946) caused a wide public response and became the subject of the discussion at the meetings of the party organization SDPI. On September 16, 1946, a number of teachers called for a struggle against nationalism and low-level worship of the West. The Head of the Department of Literature D.F. Markov stated that there was a «stretching of hostile ideol-

<sup>34</sup> ДАСО, ф. Р-2817, оп. 1, спр. 242, арк. 20.

<sup>35</sup> Холодницький В. Становлення та діяльність кафедри історії нового та новітнього часу Чернівецького державного університету в 1940-1955 рр. Історична панорама: Збірник наукових статей ЧНУ, 2007. Випуск 3. С. 174.

<sup>36</sup> Сайт історика С.В. Волкова. URL: <https://cutt.ly/hxmsS7> (дата звернення 22.03.2021).

<sup>37</sup> Зоря Полтавщини, № 246, 1945, 16 грудня.

<sup>38</sup> Гаркуша Л.В. Завдання істориків у боротьбі за викорчовування залишків ідеології українського буржуазного націоналізму. Наукові запаски інституту історії України АН УРСР. Київ, 1950. С. 96–111.

<sup>39</sup> Кафедра філософії, біоетики та історії медицини Національного медичного університету імені О.О. Богомольця. Історія кафедри. URL: <https://cutt.ly/ixmbvFe> (дата звернення 22.03.2021).

<sup>40</sup> ДАСО, ф. Р-7641, оп. 2, спр. 317, арк. 50.

<sup>41</sup> ДАСО, ф. Р-7641, оп. 5, спр. 590, арк. 29зв., 31.

<sup>42</sup> ДАСО, ф. Р-7641, оп. 5, спр. 263, арк. 10.

<sup>43</sup> ГДА УСБУ в СО, спр. П-2913, арк. 12.

<sup>44</sup> ДАСО, ф. Р-7641, оп. 5, спр. 641, арк. 15, 15зв., 22.

<sup>45</sup> ДАСО, ф. Р-7641, оп. 4, спр. 300, арк. 12-13.

<sup>46</sup> ДАСО, ф. П-1690, оп.1, спр. 1, арк. 20.

ogy into literature» at the department. The Head of the Department of Ukrainian Literature M.V. Semivolos claimed that the fight against ideologically unsound textbooks was limited to discussions, but no conclusions were drawn. In his opinion, the theory of ideological flow «stretched» into the history of Ukrainian literature, which was based on «Hrushevsky's reactionary doctrine of the classless development of Ukrainian history». The teacher of the Department of Marxism-Leninism I.P. Davydenko criticized the director and the teacher of Ukrainian history D.Yu. Nukalov for stretching M. Hrushevsky's concepts into the educational process<sup>47</sup>. A month later, at another party meeting, D.Yu. Nukalov and the head of the department of Marxism-Leninism SDPI Ya.N. Tsikol were criticized for publishing incorrect articles in the local press<sup>48</sup>. This issue was brought to the city meeting, where the secretary of the regional committee and the city CP (b) U, I.I. Ivanov criticized the people mentioned above. As a result, these teachers were forced to publicly repent, admit their mistakes and promise to correct the situation at the institute<sup>49</sup>.

D.Yu. Nukalov was removed from the position of the director of SDPI in September 1948 in connection with systematic drunkenness<sup>50</sup>. The revealed documentary materials suggest that irresponsible attitude to the work was not the last role in his dismissal. In order to carry out timely repairs of the Sumy, Konotop, Glukhiv, and Lebedyn institutes, the Ministry of Education of the Ukrainian SSR assigned the SPI directorate the task of implementing one window glass carriage in July 1948. However, due to the bureaucratic attitude of D.Ye. Nukalov and the chief accountant of the institute, this task was thwarted and these schools were left without glass<sup>51</sup>. Thus, the removal of D.Yu. Nukalov as SDPI director was not politically motivated. However, he soon found himself at the epicenter of the so-called struggle against cosmopolitanism, which did not escape the SDPI.

In September 1949, the teacher L.S. Kaufman was arrested (the wife of the mentioned Y.N. Tsykol) and in February 1950 she was sent to the Okhtyrka camp of the Sumy region, in April 1951 she was re-

leased «for lack of proof of guilt»<sup>52</sup>. Despite accusations of cosmopolitanism, the immediate grounds for her arrest were adultery and an intimate relationship with a certain Revin, who later blackmailed L.S. Kaufman and her husband with pornographic photos and demanded a large sum of money (9 thousand rubles.)<sup>53</sup>. The mentioned Revin during the war avoided mobilization into the army and remained in the occupied territories, later he was in Germany. The role of D.Yu. Nukalov in this case was reduced to the fact that he had known Revin for a long time, often drank with him and showed him pornographic cards during one of the meetings with Revin in the pub. About this fact D.Yu. Nukalov did not report the party cell. The latter categorically denied such accusations<sup>54</sup>. J.N. Tsikol was dismissed from the post of head of the Department of Marxism-Leninism according to his application, and a teacher, I.I. Krasnopolsky was temporarily appointed on his place. The issue of his expulsion from the party was also raised. At the meetings of the Academic Councils and party meetings, the open persecution of J.N. Tsikol, who, despite his wife's adultery, tried to protect her. He was accused of incompetence, political instability.

Thus, we can state that the Soviet government carried out a huge mass work to replace the opposition-minded intelligentsia with loyal Soviet cadres. Higher education, in addition to its educational function, also became centers of Soviet propaganda aimed at spreading the ideas of Stalin's worldview to the masses. The Soviet government tried to involve teachers in the fight against «enemies of the people». In 1939-41, and then in the postwar years, a lot of teachers who were able to prove their devotion to the party were sent to the western regions of Ukraine to participate in the Sovietization of the region.

The prospect of further research is to search for persons repressed by the Soviet authorities among students and faculty of universities and schools by studying the life path of persons present in the archival lists of students and faculty.

<sup>47</sup> ДАСО, ф. П-1690, оп.1, спр. 1, арк. 13-14.

<sup>48</sup> ДАСО, ф. П-1690, оп.1, спр. 1, арк. 21.

<sup>49</sup> Спик Л., Семешин Е. Борьба з буржуазним націоналізмом і космополітизмом у ВНЗ УРСР в період післявоєнної відбудови (1945–1953 рр.). Сторінки історії: Збірник наукових праць. К., 2020. № 50. С. 245.

<sup>50</sup> ДАСО, ф. П-1690, оп.1, спр. 12, арк. 71.

<sup>51</sup> ДАСО, ф. Р-4962, оп. 1, спр. 39, арк. 87.

<sup>52</sup> Дронова Н.П. Из Коканда в Тамбов: топология жизни. К столетию профессора, доктора филологических наук Лии Соломоновны Кауфман (17.04.1918-23.04.2016). Неофилология. 2018. Т. 4, № 13. С. 64.

<sup>53</sup> ДАСО, ф. П-1690, оп.1, спр. 10, арк. 87.

<sup>54</sup> ДАСО, ф. П-1690, оп.1, спр. 10, арк. 101-102.

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