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#### **THE MYKOLAIV OBLAST INDUSTRIES IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 1980S – EARLY 1990S**

*The purpose of the article is to analyze the Mykolaiv oblast industries during Gorbachev's-era perestroika (1985–1991). It was established that the national economic crisis of the second half of the 1980s did not immediately succeed in the Mykolaiv oblast industrial sector. In late 1980s, engineering industry remained one of the leading industries in the Mykolaiv oblast. Shipbuilding with tertiary industries and power engineering industry were of great importance, as well as nonferrous metallurgy, electric power industry, light, flavoring and processing industries. Luckily, they managed to slow down for some time the regression of industries in the Mykolaiv oblast. However, the breakdown of the administrative-command system, the lack of centralized supply, the breakdown of economic ties, social instability, the collapse of the USSR as an integral state, and other causes led to a catastrophic state of the economy. Already in the first quarter of 1991, each second enterprise of the region reduced production output. First of all, the production of mass consumption goods reduced. Later on, the recession widened. The enterprises of a number of industries shut down and the workers were made to take unpaid long leaves. The shipbuilding industry, which provided jobs and wages for almost 60 thousand of Mykolaiv people, had considerable difficulties. Some enterprises switched to a shorter working day and week. Accordingly, real wages decreased. The situation at the engineering enterprises, where the production decline amounted to 20.8%, became catastrophic. Mykolaiv shipyards, the main customer of which was the Ministry of Defense of the USSR, faced particularly painful situation. Industries of the oblast, together with the industries of whole Ukraine in the first half of 1991, passed beyond the point of no return from the Soviet system.*

**Key words:** *Ukrainian SSR, Mykolaiv oblast, industries, working class, perestroika.*

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#### **RURAL POPULATION OF DONETSK REGION IN 1945 – 1953 BASED ON THE MATERIALS OF THE REGIONAL STATISTICAL DEPARTMENT**

*The article studies the nature and typical features of changes in size and structure of the rural population of Donetsk region in 1945-1953. The war caused the reduction of the rural population, made considerable changes in age and gender structure and fertility decline. Overall during the period of 1945-1953 Stalino region's rural population increased by 20.9%, however it did not reach the prewar figures. 71% of increasing was achieved due to the natural growth which seriously declined in the times of the Holodomor of 1946-1947.*

*Migration made a controversial contribution to the dynamics of the population. Intensive migration flows of demobilized veterans, repatriates and deported during 1945-1946 substantially increased the number of the rural population. Instead, the state and party authorities considered the local rural population to be an important source of working force*

*for restoring industrial facilities in Donbass cities. The Holodomor became the further trigger for the villagers in the process of moving to the cities in search of work and guaranteed subsistence minimum. In 1948-1949 the local villagers, chiefly the working age men, became one of the sources of compensation to the industrial enterprises for the working force lost due to gradual removal of temporary staff, such as prisoners of war, internees, repatriated persons and individuals released from the places of detention. Another reason for this was mass escapes of workers during the Holodomor. In 1950-1953 due to the fact the cities' industry was staffed the outflow to cities was primarily caused by the rural youth mobilisation into factory and workshop schools. Instead, the rural areas as well as the cities became the place where the amnestied settled down.*

**Key words:** rural population, Donetsk region, migration, age and gender structure, continuous population registration.

Nowadays the Ukrainian rural areas are in the state of a sustained large-scale crisis. Since 1979 the rural population has been in the phase of depopulation. Regarding the demographic system conservatism, the origins of many crises should be searched for in the previous periods. The post-war period is of particular interest as the totalitarian regime used its traditional instruments of human resources management to realise its reconstructive tasks. Certainly, all dramatic events were reflected on the social and demographic development of the rural areas thus forming the specific character of population dynamics and structure.

Closed character of the main bulk of sources complicated examining demographic history in the Soviet era. Since Ukraine became independent a number of scientific works by S.M. Tymchenko [1] have been devoted to studying social and demographic processes in Ukrainian rural areas of the post-war period. The special characteristics of social and demographic development of Donetsk rural areas during the late period of Stalin's totalitarianism have not been the objects of the separate study. Although some episodes, the Holodomor of 1946-1947 in Donetsk region villages in particular, were examined in details by O.I. Zadniprotsky [2].

The purpose of the article is the attempt of reconstructing dynamics of the rural population of Donetsk region (then Stalino region) and the changes in its structure in 1945-1953 according to the materials of statistics. The sources of the article are comprised of single reports on age and gender structure of the rural population and reporting forms of Statistical department of Stalino region.

Restoration of the record-keeping system of the rural population started almost immediately after the Nazi occupiers had been expelled. In November 1943 according to the Executive Committee of Stalino regional Council's decree the heads of the district Executive Committees were mandated to ensure the accurate recording of the population living in the territory controlled by the rural councils. This was to be done by means of registering the people in the Household Record Books and the record lists of the rural councils, also the reports were to be sent to the inspectors of the Central Statistical Office of the USSR State Planning Commission. The rural councils' reports were the basis of summary regional 'Single reports on age and gender structure of the rural population' made up by statistical bodies. The report form was filled in annually as of the 1<sup>st</sup> January. Since 1945 the statistical report also contained data on the social structure. On the basis of the data of the single reports the financial institutions fixed the agricultural tax amount. Financial liability forced statisticians resort to verification of accuracy of the Household Record Books' data provided by the rural councils. The information was compared to the resettlement institutions' data, Civil Registry Office record books, the list of voters and so forth. During the verification as of the 1<sup>st</sup> January, 1951 the inspectors of the Central Statistical Office detected the underreporting of the rural population of the region that reached 25,500 people or 4.2% [3, p. 4]. In the same

year the corrections in the Household Record Books were made. So, the rural population registration was controlled by the statistical institutions. Certainly it had some faults but its data could be used to detect the changes in social and demographic characteristics of the rural population.

The starting point of the rural population registration was collecting the statistical data as of the 1<sup>st</sup> January, 1944 in which there were recorded two categories of population: permanent and existing. The permanent population category consisted of 702,464 people that was 28,565 people more than it had been registered in 1939 census. Such a statistical result was attributed, firstly, to the sufficient number of city dwellers moving to the rural areas during the occupation, and secondly, to inclusion of the people who had severed their connection with the rural council in the permanent population category. The registration of the existing rural population confirmed its decline during the period of occupation by 117,100 or by 17.4% of 673,899 people in 1939 and totaled 556,799 people in 1944. The number of the registered temporary residents was 4,853 people or 1.7% [5, p. 1-6].

Since 1945 the statisticians supplemented the standard form of the single regional report with information on the social status of every age group. In 30 districts and in 347 rural councils of Donetsk region as of the 1<sup>st</sup> January, 1945 there were registered 681,000 people of the permanent population, among them 140,327 persons were temporarily absent, and 540,971 persons of the existing population. During the year the existing population declined by 15,828 people or 2,8%, in particular the number of men aged 14-54 decreased by 2,681 people. It could be the consequent of residents of the city homecoming, labour mobilisation of working force for reconstructing industrial enterprises and the rural youth mobilisation into factory and workshop schools. The bulk of the existing population was comprised of the kolkhozniks – 396,101 people or 73.2%, also there was a significant number of workers, officials and cooperative handicraftsmen – 139,246 people or 25.7%, the rate of individual peasants and non-cooperative handicraftsmen was 0.1% or 750 people. The number of temporary residents was 4,889 people or 0.9%, among them there were 1,674 persons who were evacuated there [6, p. 1].

Three years later, as of the 1<sup>st</sup> January, 1948 the statistical institutions registered in 30 districts and 356 rural councils of Donetsk region 626,030 persons belonging to the permanent residents group including 38,310 persons who were temporarily absent and 587,720 persons of the existing population. Compared to the beginning of 1945 the category of the permanent population declined by 54,970 people partly because of excluding from the category of the temporarily absent those people who had completely severed their connection with the rural council.

The existing population increased by 46,749 people or 8.4%, among other things due to homecoming of some of temporarily absent residents [7, p.1]. It is known that in the course of massive demobilization that took place from 1945 to 1947 inclusive 154,357 veterans arrived in Donetsk region, some of them returned to villages [9, p.180]. At the same time no less than 86,964 repatriated individuals were sent here, some of them settled down in the rural areas [10, p. 1]. The category of parolees who had been brought from prisons to work at the industry enterprises, most likely, left their trail in the villages of Donetsk region. There were also deliberate displacements to the rural areas. Thus, in 1945 3,067 families consisting of 13,200 people deported from Zakerzonnia were settled in the districts of the region. However, the Ukrainians from Zakerzonnia due to unacceptable conditions and famine left for West Ukraine in large numbers. As of September 1947 there stayed only 25.3% of them [11, p. 126, 132]. In the end of 1946 in the villages, mostly maritime ones, there were settled 42 families consisted of 173 re-emigrants from Bulgaria [12, p. 130].

According to the documents of the statistical service natural population growth in 1945, 1946 and 1947 was respectively 3,855; 9,626 and 3,992 people and totaled 17,473 persons or

37.4% of the overall growth [8, p. 1-3]. The number of deaths in 1947 increased almost twofold from 4,202 to 8,137 people compared to 1946. Mortality rate among babies under one year grew more than twofold from 657 to 1,366 individuals [8, p. 1-3]. These data can't be regarded complete because there was underreporting on the infant mortality. In the view of statisticians, death was not always registered is case a newborn child died after a short period of time. As of the 2<sup>nd</sup> April, 1947 in the villages of Donetsk region there were 15,874 adults and 13,960 children ill with dystrophy [13, p. 1,2]. It's the number of the registered sick people only. A number of villagers in search of survival went to cities. The statistical materials comprised information on rural population decline during 10 months of 1947 by 19,100 people. The number of rural households in the region during the period from December 1946 to December 1947 decreased by 4,380 people [14, p. 16; 15, p. 14]. State security bodies reported on the leaflets of insurrection character in Olginka district [22, p. 1].

There were certain changes in the social structure of the rural population. The part of the kolkhozniks decreased, though insignificantly, from 73.2% to 67%, in absolute numbers it declined from 396,101 to 393,781 people. The number of workers, officials and cooperative handicraftsmen, in contrast, increased from 139,246 to 187,798 persons or from 25.7% to about 32%. The quantity of individual peasants and non-cooperative handicraftsmen shrank almost threefold from 750 to 253 persons. The category of the temporary residents grew from 4,889 to 5,888 people and totaled 1% [7, p. 1].

As of the 1<sup>st</sup> January, 1951 the category of the existing population comprised 608,900 people. That fact demonstrated growth in comparison to the beginning of 1948 only by 21,200 people or 3.6% [3, p. 8]. During 1948 the existing population increased only by 4,680 people, although natural population growth totaled 7,626 people. In 1949 the population increased by 5,000 persons while natural population growth was 11,505 people. In 1950 the population growth was 11,500 people and natural population growth was 10,640 people. The cumulative natural growth in 1948-1950 exceeded the overall population growth by 8,600 people [8, p. 2]. That situation happened probably because of migratory outflow of the rural population. In 1948 the industrial enterprises in the cities faced urgent need for replacing temporary staff that consisted of prisoners of war, internees, repatriated individuals and those released from the places of detention with the permanent personnel. Also it was necessary to compensate the enterprises for their working force losses due to mass escapes which were observed during the Holodomor. Evidently, the rural population became a significant source of working force primarily for the nearest cities. At the same time the rural population of the region grew due to resettlers from other regions. In 1950 as the resettlement institutions reported there were sent 15,388 people [3, p. 4].

In 1948 displacement from the Ukrainian SSR of those individuals who 'evaded employment in agriculture, followed antisocial and parasitic lifestyle' became to a certain extent moral and psychological blow for the rural areas. According to the Decree of the 21<sup>st</sup> September, 1948 477 civil displacement verdicts were imposed in Donetsk region [16, p. 88]. The action aimed at forcing peasants work in kolkhozes more effectively, strengthening order in the kolkhozes.

The object of the powerful blow of the State machine was peasant proprietors. On the 25<sup>th</sup> of August, 1948 Stalino regional executive committee issued the decree 'On displacement of the kolkhozniks' households, workers and officials who live in the former lands of farm land tenure to the kolkhoz settlements'. The document indicated: 'Existence of farm land tenure is in stark contrast to managing kolkhoz system; it weakens the kolkhozes, reduces the productivity of kolkhoz production, disrupts the correct crop rotation, and hinders farm work mechanisation. In the course of 1948-1949 384 households were to be displaced to kolkhozes [17, p. 463].

In the beginning of 1954 654,013 persons of the existing rural population were registered in Donetsk region. That was 45,100 people of 7.4% more than it had been in the beginning of 1951 [18, p. 39]. Natural population growth played the most important part in increasing population. The cumulative number of it totaled 32,958 people or 73% of overall one [8, p. 1].

Migratory flows were multidirectional; consequently their impact on the population dynamics was controversial. On the one hand, there was the positive impact of organised resettlements. In 1951 the resettlements to Donetsk region took place due to the fact that the frontier land swaps between Poland and Ukraine. 2670 families from Drohobych region the part of which had become the territory of Poland were to have been resettled in the kolkhozes of Donetsk region (in fact, 1962 families arrived). Simultaneously 1430 families from Rivno region and 200 families from Zakarpatya region were to be displaced [19, p. 49]. In 1952 3115 resettlers arrived in the villages of the region. In 1953 there were resettled 831 families comprised of 3,560 people from West Ukrainian regions (Rivno, Ternopil, Stanislav region and so forth) [18, p.33]. The same year under the resolution of the September Plenum of the Communist Party 1,535 people came to machine and tractor stations [13, p. 34]. In 1951, 1953 the rural population grew due to amnestied individuals.

On the other hand, the category of the existing population declined due to the fact that the rural youth was called to the labour force schools. Thus, in 1952 4,695 people were called, in 1953 - 11,596 people [13, p. 35]. In 1953 in the cities and villages there was organised recruiting to work in timber industry sphere in the Urals and the Far East. The plan for the 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter totaled 2,700 workers. The amnestied persons were also planned to be engaged as the sources of replenishing workers within the limits of the organised recruiting out-of-scope tasks. Apparently this category gave insignificant quantity of workers due to their age and their unsuitability for physical work [20, p. 133].

The further changes in the social structure were related to declining proportion of the population of the kolkhozes and growing number of workers and officials. The villagers regarded the latter category to be more acceptable due to stable salaries. In the beginning of 1953 the number of the kolkhozniks totaled 376,300 people or 59.1%, the number of workers and officials was 244,300 people or 38.4%.

The changes in gender and age structure affected almost all the age groups.

**Table 1. Gender and Age Structure of the Rural Population of Donetsk Region in 1945-1953 [21]**

As of 1 January	under 6			7-15			16-59			60 and older			Overall		
	thousand people	% in overall number of population	% of men	thousand people	% in overall number of population	% of men	thousand people	% in overall number of population.	% of men	thousand people	% in overall number of population	% of men	thousand people	% in overall number of population	% of men
1945							262,8	48,57	26,1	44,2	8,2	36,5	541,0	100	37
1948	69,5	11,8	49,8	132,1	22,5	48,9	341,9	58,2	37,9	44,2	7,5	35,9	587,7	100	41,6
1949	66,1	11,2	50,5	136,1	23,0	49,0	341,3	57,6	38,5	48,9	8,3	35,8	592,4	100	42,1
1950	69,8	11,7	50,5	137,3	23,0	49,6	339,8	56,9	38,2	50,5	8,5	35,6	597,4	100	42,1
1951	75,8	12,4	50,2	142,7	23,4	51,1	336,6	55,3	37,6	53,8	8,8	34,9	608,9	100	42,1
1952	82,2	13,2	50,6	133,9	21,6	50,0	348,7	56,1	39,0	56,5	9,1	35,0	621,3	100	42,5
1953	92,2	14,5	50,3	126,4	19,8	49,9	358,7	56,3	39,3	59,5	9,3	35,1	636,8	100	42,6
1954	96,0	14,7	50,5	117,5	18,0	50,2	377,7	57,7	40,4	62,9	9,6	35,3	654,0	100	43,1

\*based on the category of the existing population

The group of children under 6 decreased in number in 1948 from 69,500 to 66,100 persons or from 11.8 to 11.2% in the overall number of the rural population. It was the consequent of the fertility decline during the Holodomor of 1946-1947. Since 1949 both absolute number of this group and its proportion grew from 66,100 to 96,000 persons in 1954 or from 11.2% to 14.7%. It is related to the baby boom in 1949 and also to gradual transition of not numerous generation that had been born during the war to the following age category. The group of adolescents from 7 to 15 grew from 132,100 people in the beginning of 1948 to 142,700 people in the beginning of 1951. The portion of this category increased in the overall number of the rural population from 22.5% to 23.4%. Since 1951 it started to decline. Thus, from 1951 to the beginning of 1954 its absolute number decreased from 142,700 to 126,400 people and its proportion in the overall number from 23.4% to 18%.

In 1945-1947 the group of persons aged 16-59 sufficiently grew from 262,800 to 341,900 people. Its proportion in the overall number of the rural population increased from 48.6% to 58.2%. Percentage of men in this group grew from 26.1% to 37.9%. It happened primarily due to demobilization and repatriation that increased the number of working age men in the rural population. That in its turn led to improvement in the gender proportion in the rural areas on the whole. In 1948-1950 the mentioned age category declined from 341,900 to 336,600 people or from 58.2% to 55.3% chiefly due to drain of productive population to work at industrial enterprises. During those years the problem of replacement of temporary staff presented with prisoners of war, repatriated individuals and those released from the places of detention with permanent personnel. From 1951 to the beginning of 1954 the group of persons aged 16-59 increased from 336,600 to 377,000 people or from 55.3% to 57.7%. That fact might be related to reducing drain of working force from villages to cities as the result of staffing the existing enterprises with workers, completion of the numerous industrial objects construction and arrival of amnestied individuals.

The group of people over 60 grew almost permanently. Thus, from 1948 to the beginning of 1954 it increased from 44,200 to 62,900 people or from 7.5% to 9.6%. The period of 1945-1948 became a certain exception. Their absolute number and proportion in the overall population registered in the beginning of 1945 and totaled 44,200 people or 7.5% repeated their figures in the beginning of 1948. Most likely, the aged people were gravely affected by the Holodomor of 1947.

The gender structure of the rural population also improved gradually. The proportion of men from 1945 to the beginning of 1954 grew from 37 to 43.1%. Particularly intensively growth of the proportion of working age men took place in 1945-1948. In total, the number of men of this age category increased from 26.1% in 1945 to 40.4% in 1954. In younger age groups the regular gender ratio with natural prevalence of men became established up to 1954. They were principally comprised of the generations of people born after war. In the group of the rural population aged 60 and over the proportion of men declined from 36.5% in 1945 to 35.3% in 1954.

The percentage of the rural population in the overall structure of Donetsk region population gradually declined. From the 1st January, 1950 to the beginning of 1953 the proportion of the rural population decreased from 18.4% to 17.8%.

Thus, the war resulted in decline of the rural population, deformation of its gender and age structure, decline of the fertility rate. In total during 1945-1953 the rural population of Donetsk region grew by 20.9% but never returned to pre-war population figures. 71% of growth was caused by the natural population growth that experienced sharp decline during the Holodomor of 1946-1947.

Migration made a controversial contribution to population dynamics. Intensive migrations of 1945-1946 with the flows of demobilized veterans, repatriates, released and

deported persons sufficiently replenished the number of villagers. At the same time the state and party authorities regarded the rural population to be the important source of working for restoring industrial facilities in the cities of Donbas. The Holodomor became the further trigger for the villagers in the process of moving to the cities in search of work and guaranteed subsistence minimum. In 1948-1949 the local villagers, chiefly the working age men, became one of the sources of compensation to the industrial enterprises for the working force lost due to gradual removal of temporary staff, such as prisoners of war, internees, repatriated persons and individuals released from the places of detention. Another reason for this was mass escapes of workers during the Holodomor. The opposite flow of resettlers was sent in organised manner to the rural areas from other regions of Ukraine. In 1950-1953 due to the fact the cities' industry was staffed the outflow to cities was primarily caused by the rural youth mobilisation into factory and workshop schools. Instead, the rural areas as well as the cities became the place where the amnestied settled down.

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21. Складено за: ДАДО. – Ф.-Р.-4249. – Оп.2. – Спр.353, Спр.3092, Спр.7365, Спр.8350; Skladeno za: DADO. – F.-R.-4249. – Op.2. – Spr.353, Spr.3092, Spr.7365, Spr.8350.

22. ЦДАГОУ – Ф.1– Оп.23 – Спр.4978; CzDAGOU – F.1– Op.23 – Spr.4978.

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**Н.Ф. Шипік**

### **СІЛЬСЬКЕ НАСЕЛЕННЯ ДОНЕЦЬКОЇ ОБЛАСТІ У 1945 – 1953 рр. ЗА МАТЕРІАЛАМИ ОБЛАСНОГО СТАТИСТИЧНОГО УПРАВЛІННЯ**

*У статті розглянуто характер та особливості змін в чисельності і складі сільського населення Донеччини у 1945-1953 рр. Війна призвела до скорочення сільського населення, деформації статевовікової структури, зниження рівня народжуваності. В цілому за період 1945-1953 рр. сільське населення Сталінської області зросло на 20,9 %, але так і не відновило довоєнних показників чисельності. 71 % зростання був забезпечений природним приростом, який зазнав різкого спаду в часи Голодомору 1946-1947 рр.*

*Міграції робили суперечливий внесок у динаміку населення. Потужні міграції 1945-1946 рр., у складі яких виділялись потоки демобілізованих фронтовиків, репатріантів, розконвойованих і депортованих, неабияк поповнили число селян. Натомість, місцеве сільське населення розглядалось державно-партійним керівництвом як важливий ресурс робочої сили для реалізації відбудови промислових потужностей у містах Донбасу. Голодомор відіграв роль додаткового поштовху у мотивацію переїзду селян до міста в пошуках роботи і гарантованого життєвого мінімуму. У 1948-1949 рр. місцеві селяни, передусім чоловіки працездатного віку, стали одним із джерел компенсації промисловим підприємствам робочої сили, втраченої внаслідок поступового вивезення тимчасових контингентів військовополонених, інтернованих, репатрійованих і звільнених з місць ув'язнення, а також через масові втечі робітників період Голодомору. У 1950-1953 рр. у зв'язку із насиченням робітничими кадрами міської промисловості, вибуття до міст формувалось,*



*передусім за рахунок сільської молоді, мобілізованої до шкіль ФЗН. Натомість сільська місцевість, поруч із містами, стала місцем осідку амністованих.*

**Ключові слова:** сільське населення, Донецька область, міграції, статевовікова структура, поточний облік населення.

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**В.М. Яблонський**

## ОСОБЛИВОСТІ СПРИЙНЯТТЯ УНР В УКРАЇНІ ПІСЛЯ ПРОГОЛОШЕННЯ НЕЗАЛЕЖНОСТІ

*У статті розглядаються проблеми спадкоємності Української Народної Республіки та сучасної Української держави через призму діяльності та передачі повноважень Державним центром УНР в екзилі.*

*Наголошується на важливості Акту передачі повноважень у процесі творення сучасної української ідентичності. Представники ДЦ УНР, складаючи свої повноваження підкреслили, що проголошена 24 серпня і утверджена 1 грудня 1991 року народом України Українська держава продовжує державно-національні традиції УНР і є правонаступницею Української Народної Республіки.*

*Аналізуються основні причини того, чому українські держава та суспільство практично зігнорували цей історичний шанс, який відкривав можливості більш швидкого переходу від пострадянського стану до відкритого демократичного суспільства з ринковою економікою.*

*Стаття написана з використанням результатів національних щорічних соціологічних моніторингових опитувань, які проводилися у 1992-2015 роках.*

**Ключові слова:** Українська Народна Республіка (УНР), Державний центр УНР в екзилі, українська ідентичність, історична спадкоємність

Ліквідація Української Народної Республіки на початку 1920 рр., вимушена еміграція законної влади, подальша окупація України більшовицькою Росією призвели до втрати українцями власної держави на сімдесят років. Разом із державністю була заборонена українська історія, зазнавали утисків мова і культура, український народ фактично отримав статус «молодшого» у державі де усі суб'єкти мали «рівний статус». Тому сприйняття українцями певних сторінок власної історії можна зрозуміти, але через чверть століття після здобуття незалежності, навряд чи можна назвати задовільним. Особливе місце тут посідає тема Української Народної Республіки, яка є досить впізнаваною серед широкого загалу, але навряд чи знання пересічного українця йдуть далі утворення Центральної Ради та проголошення незалежності у січні 1918 року. З огляду на це не випадає говорити про тісний зв'язок між УНР і сучасною українською державою. Важливим доробком для розуміння цих питань є роботи очільників ДЦ УНР в екзилі – С.Петлюри, М. Лівіцького, М. Плав'юка, О. Шульгина та інших, присвячених проблемам державного будівництва, ідеології та соборності України [1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8]. Метою даної статті є аналіз спадкоємності між двома державами – Українською Народною Республікою та сучасною Україною.

Лідери Державного центру УНР на еміграції здавали собі справу в тому, що після ліквідації СРСР нова незалежна Україна навряд чи буде творитися за лекалами Центральної Ради чи Директорії. З огляду на відсутність досвіду державотворення, взірці були далеко небездоганними. Однак, вони сподівалися на затребуваність у