

Donbass from February to October 1917: the regional dimension of the Ukrainian revolution

The First World War was a test that proved beyond the power of the Russian Empire. This primarily concerns the government: inefficiency of the state apparatus and its inability to cope with the burden of problems caused by the long war with each year was becoming evident. In November 1916 criticizing the government from the rostrum of the State Duma, leader of the Progressive Bloc P.Milyukov put a rhetorical question: government policy - is nonsense or treason. The speech had a wide resonance in connection with what Interior Minister Mikhail Maklakov wrote to Nicholas II letter in which he warned that "... the wave of dissatisfaction rises sharply and widely poured in, and the food challenges are very concerned about the life of towns and villages , prepare for the general discontent exclusively favorable conditions which must take advantage of the enemies of the existing order. " Maklakov believed that the capital has already begun the assault of power, and if you do not take timely measures to "crackdown", the consequences for the country and the dynasty can be very sad¹. At the beginning of 1917 after the assassination of Rasputin in Russian society actively spread rumors about the imminent coup, is expected in February 1917, but instead the revolution broke out.

It was blazing, the old power structure collapsed without any resistance. March 2 in St. Petersburg after the abdication of the king formed a new interim government. It was headed by the chairman of the All-Russian Land Union G. Lvov, and the members were mostly members of the party of the Cadets and Octobrists. Along with the Provisional Government in Petrograd rebelled revolutionary efforts of radical revolutionary democracy developed is an Workers' Council, headed by Menshevik N. Chkheidze.

In Ukraine, the first message of the revolutionary events began arriving 28 February. Local authorities could not believe in the authenticity of telegraph messages. She "zahnuzdala this life and firmly holding a firm, for help any administrative censorship and repression"².- Hrushevsky wrote. The entry of the same content on the behavior of Poltava bodies left on March 3 in his diary VG

Korolenko: "Visiting from Kharkov and Petrograd is March 1 said that in Petrograd - revolution / ... / We Poltava quiet. The governor took all the telegrams. "Poltavskyy day" yet released agent telegram to appeal Rodzianko peredrukuvavshy it without censorship "Yuzhny edge." But then the censorship did not miss anything. Somewhere far away thunder roars, the capital of bloodshed. There is no doubt that most of the troops on the side of the new order. They say that some Cossacks and the Guards regiments fought the gendarmes. Police in St. Petersburg nowhere to be seen. And we have a complete "peace" and censorship did not miss even any vague no news ... "³.

Poboryuvany doubts, head of the Kiev city council asked F.Burchak Petrograd confirm the veracity of the information received. March 1 was marked in Kiev how different meetings, which were attended by representatives of the former government, municipal government and most respected organizations and are feverishly discussed the new political situation and sought an adequate response to it. At one of these meetings was approved the idea of creating united NGOs and its executive committee, which would take power in their hands.⁴ Late evening 28 March kernel Public Committee was formed at the meeting of the Kharkov City Council, then it was filled by representatives of different NGOs⁵. The establishment of such councils and their executive committees was the idea of the Provisional Government. They had for some time to replace the old authorities to include in their representatives of all classes and strata of the population. The Prime Minister and Interior Minister H.Lvov regarded these bodies as a foundation, which must hold local government.

The interior ordered his commissars⁶ be based in their daily work as advisory bodies to the "provincial, county, township, city and village committees are formed from the NGO"⁷, that of united public organizations that have been actively happening on the ground. March 3 evening indoors Katerynoslavs'ka provincial rural council held a meeting of NGOs, which come accompanied by local governor chief garrison town, they said the transition to the side of the new government. Late night meeting elected the city committee of NGOs, which included representatives of Worker⁸.

Like other regions of Ukraine came in the Donbass Revolution "by wire". It was sudden and unexpected, so here some time went doubts about its authenticity, besides the old regime, especially in the counties and townships, far from provincial centers, tried to slow down the spread of information revolution. For example, the first meeting at the "Donsoda" in Lisichansk was convened only on March 15, in Bakhmut information revolution became known on March 4, at the same time in Yuzovka and Gorlovka two days earlier. In Starobelsk received telegrams from Petrograd on March 1, but their meaning was known only to the district police officer and chief of the garrison. They hurried to their publication, only when the telegraph news by officials fled the city, March 3, the students of senior classes staged a demonstration under red flags. A week in the provincial center held repeated demonstration and rally. Interestingly, both of them took place in the church service, which commemorated the king. Authorities in the county moved to the district commissioner and zemstvo. Last democratized, preserving the old management and adding several members of the workers and peasants Rubezhansky plants⁹. In Western Donbass in Pavlograd, the message of the revolution there were only 2 of March, but the city they reacted sluggishly, just 4 March familiar everyday rhythm of life has been violated small rally and demonstration. 5 March in the city council elected workers' deputies, led by Right SRs¹⁰. Even in Odessa, according to gas. "Izvestia", the workers Treated messages revolution "with a certain calmness and caution, not overestimating events"¹¹.

As you can see, the fall of autocracy and the establishment of the new revolutionary government in Petrograd in the Donbass perceived differently. Initially cautious and suspicious, but later more emotionally. Among the rights that were suppressed reports about the fall of autocracy and actually thrown out of public political life, were even documented cases of death from a heart attack. In liberal intellectual circles and democratic revolution sparked the enthusiasm and euphoria that found their way into numerous rallies, meetings, discussions. On their agenda is usually imposed since the questions racing, including the legitimacy of the new government, the elimination of the old, first disarm the police, self-organization of society, develop strategies and tactics future. World War, the fall of the royal

government, food difficulties, severe winters, lack of fuel, vehicle unstable work, early powerful floods on the rivers Donets Basin, a terrible tragedy in Gorlovka associated with the explosion of methane in the mine №1 and numerous victims is only part challenges nurtuvaly society and gave rise to the illusion that this revolution will not help to solve them. Public attention and imagination were filled with the concepts of "revolution", "people", "freedom", "will", "war", "democracy". They were treated very differently. From this one could conclude that the revolution only started, but no one guessed that thorny path will it continue.

Emotional perception during the rally and support the revolution quickly moved to the organizational measures to dismantle the old regime and the new creation. Already in the first days of March almost everywhere in Donbas was eliminated by the police. The Provisional Government believed the mission transition and his primary responsibility to bring the country to the Constituent Assembly as the new local authorities also have transitional forms. The main representatives of local authorities were commissars of the Provisional Government, they were assigned to the counties, and for overall management of the pool created 18 March Interim Committee Donets Basin. Along with them were created in Lugansk Interim Public Committee in Lisichansk Interim Committee for the Protection of the rest of the population in Mariupol - Public Committee. The members of the first community committees were recruited from the liberal or democratic intellectuals, they have initiated their creation and they were the majority. Workers only introduced to them. Interesting composition was the first government in Hryshynskomu area. Despite the presence in the vicinity of several large coal mines and a dozen smaller 90% of the population were peasants. Therefore, public committees got mostly wealthy farmers, land owners, priests, officials, intellectuals¹² Led Gorlovskogo Committee of Public Safety was an engineer Yatsynich (Cadet)¹³

On the basis mines revolution was the creation of temporary committees on which quickly began to emerge of Workers' Deputies. Bolshevik literature claimed that the process was natural, because the only way to explain the meager impact Bolsheviks Council in spring - summer 1917 Modern researchers say that very often initiated the establishment of councils of workers' deputies were public committees.

Such Councils have been arising as the production principle (in some factories and mines) and territorial. By March 6 councils were elected in Yenakiyev, Popasnaya, Slavic, March 8 Konstantinovka and Druzhkivka¹⁴. In March, there were a few dozen by the end of spring 1917 the number of Workers' Councils has grown to 132, in addition, there are 48 councils and Soldiers' Deputies, ie the Donbas accounted for over 70% of all councils Ukraine¹⁵. Of Workers' Deputies would like to represent the Worker, in fact they are often served supervision of workers, their composition also was not proletarian¹⁶. Yes, Bahmutskiy council made up 80% of urban democracy, ie artisans, officials, servants and other intelligentsia¹⁷. Certainly the fact that the Council does not claim to power. Interesting in this respect is the first conference of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies in Bakhmut, held 15-17 March and brought together delegates from 48 local councils. The agenda of the conference was made 8 issues, the most interesting were on time and creeping attitude to public committees. The Conference supported the main activities of the Provisional Government, voted to continue the war in order to defend the most free country in the world. Regarding public committees was decided to cooperate with them and even creating joint executive committees¹⁸.

It is well known that in the first months of its existence, the Council of Donbass were influenced by the Mensheviks and SRs. Bolshevik Vladimir Averin acknowledged that "LOTS as all the major industrial centers of Russia after the February Revolution was ruled by the Mensheviks and SRs"¹⁹. In Yenakiyev, Konstantyniv, Slavic council were influenced by the Mensheviks and SRs to late summer, and Bakhmut, Grishin Popasnaya Mensheviks and maintain leadership council until October²⁰. These parties were the most popular and widespread in the working environment.

The victory of the revolution has opened opportunities for a variety of community organizations, the legalization of political parties. Raging revolution environment actively sought answers to questions posed revolutionary being in the programs of political parties and also became a source to replenish their ranks. The first declared itself the all parties that in the early days of the revolution came out of hiding and take up legal employment. That they could boast the largest influx of new

members. Guide RSDLP (united) Donbass considered one of their most important strongholds. In the spring of 1917 were directed here by experienced party functionaries and propagandists. They were successful party ranks quickly grew. In April the Mensheviks numbered 10 thousand in the Donbass. members by the end of summer, almost tripled that number²¹. By RSDLP (o) were the Bolsheviks, who had virtually no independent organizations at the beginning of the revolution. They had very little influence among the workers and they spring 1917 did not use. G. Kuranov recalled that initially some Bolshevik factions in the councils of the territory of the future Artemivsk district does not. The first such faction was, according to him, in early April Gorlovka-Scherbynivskiy district council²². Bolshevik F. Zaitsev wrote that Yuzovsky Soviet of Workers' Deputies was "most Menshevik-SR". According to him, the reasons for the unpopularity of the Bolsheviks were two: first, public opinion perceived them as irresponsible adventurers and secondly, "we had a few workers leaders who would know how well said that could oppose his eloquence galaxy of intellectuals from hostile to us political parties"²³. A similar opinion was known Ukrainian revolutionary leader Ivan Mazepa, who testified, "after the split of Russian sots.- dem. the party in 1903 for the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks in Russia most politically conscious workers in Ukraine, in contrast to Muscovite went for the Bolsheviks and for the Mensheviks. And so it went until the arrival of the Russian Bolsheviks in Ukraine in late 1917"²⁴. Mazepa believed that Bolshevism, despite the Marxist rhetoric "was the product of purely Russian conditions and living on Ukrainian soil it had no deeper roots to spread"²⁵. The fact that "the Bolsheviks were at the beginning of the revolution in the least number" - testified in his memoirs Kotov J.²⁶. In March 1917 it was only in the Donbas 500 Bolsheviks. In April, when the prisons, prison and exile, returned to the old revolutionaries professionals, K. Voroshilov, S. Hruzman, Yu Lutovinov activities Bolsheviks intensified and the number of party members has increased to 5.5 thousand. People²⁷. As the Bolsheviks strengthen its own forces out of the combined organizations and created their own. In July 1917 was created Regional Organisation of the Bolsheviks Donetsk-Krivoy Rog basin, headed by F. Art. At the VI Party Congress (B) Donbass represented 12 delegates from 8 organizations uniting 15,818 party members²⁸.

Most noticeable growth in the spring of 1917 was observed in the Russian Socialist Party. Bolshevik P. Kazimirchuk recalled that workers are mostly not taken the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks and even shouted "Give us the party of Kerensky, no one else we want to recognize"²⁹. The plant "Donsoda" SR 800-900 organization uniting workers in Yenakiyev - 1500³⁰. If you remember that in 1917 with nearly 4 million people Donbass 3.5 million lived in rural areas³¹, if you remember that much of Donetsk proletariat consisted of workers, peasants, for whom the issue of land were not dry theory, but a painful reality, such behavior and such a choice is not something strange. By mid-summer the Socialist Revolutionary organizations Donbass there were about 36 thousand. Member³².

For a more complete analysis of the party and the party is worth mentioning Cadets. It is the backbone of the first cadets of the Provisional Government. There were many among provincial and district commissioners. It was the left-liberal party with great intellectual potential, which was mainly concentrated in the capital, industrial and cultural centers. At the Donbass there were about two dozen individual organizations of the party. In Kharkiv was one of four (in Ukraine) regional party committees of national freedom. Overall historians very roughly determine the number of members of the Cadets in Ukraine. There were 5.6 thousand. Members, perhaps half of them remained in Eastern provinces³³. The party had a great influence on the higher layers of the intelligentsia, but enjoyed prestige among the workers. I must say that among the entrepreneurs were not so many members of the PNC. This fact is not talking about the discrepancy between the program objectives, but the overall apolitical Russian industrial class. He gravitated to the professional, not political associations. Later in May 1918 on this quality class industrial bitterly recalled one of its leaders M. von Ditmar, "... our best people from the bourgeoisie, in our circles, lofty wave of the revolution up to ministerial posts, as it turned out, were quite unable to solve problems, which they had committed themselves. It happened because politically they were not ready. They had their nation-building program"³⁴ After it played a cruel joke with the bourgeoisie. She had not paid for most of his class selfishness. Overall running slightly ahead say that the tragedy of the Russian revolution was not a personal weakness member of the Provisional Government (its

composition updated several times), and a small number of critical in what today we call the middle class, and then was called bourgeoisie. It bourgeoisie would be after the overthrow of the autocracy foundation for the establishment of the democratic system. But it is not up to the task coped.

The development of the revolution in Ukraine had a distinctive feature: the unresolved national question. An outstanding representative of Russian revolutionary democracy, one of the leaders of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' Deputies, then Minister of the Provisional Government I. Tsereteli said in his memoirs that this question determines the fate of the Russian Revolution³⁵. Anyway Revolution in Ukraine quickly gained national characteristics. It was the embodiment of the Ukrainian Central Rada was established in Kyiv in early March 1917 general narrative of the revolution in Ukraine was defined national issues.

Revolution legalized the activity of Ukrainian organizations not only in Kiev but also Odessa, Poltava, Kharkov, Yekaterinoslav Chernihiv. In Odessa in early March appeared Kerovnychy Committee, which immediately sent a representative to the newly formed Central Council³⁶. March 3 held in a military demonstration, which was attended by soldiers of two local schools warrant. Demonstrations organized Kotsyubynsky J. and M. Pavlenko Omelyanovych-³⁷. On the same day in Odessa Ukrainian city community gathered for the first post-revolutionary meetings, meeting and formed a special temporary committee sent a greeting telegram M.Rodzyanku head of the State Duma and the Minister of Education of the Provisional Government O.Manuylovu. In the last telegram expressed strong hope "that the time has long exercise needs and expectations of the Ukrainian people." Congratulatory telegrams sent and Ukrainian organizations Kyiv, Poltava, Ekaterinoslav, Odessa, Ekaterinodar, Moscow and Petrograd³⁸. On March 8 Committee began work on a regular basis, one of the most notable successes was its newspaper "Native Word".

An important part of the democratization process were the changes in the military. Military units not only swore allegiance to the Provisional Government they have been major organizational and political change, the impetus for which was the

order of the Petrograd Soviet №1 from 1 March. Order vtyahuvav army actively in political life. One of its manifestations was spread among the troops of the Ukrainian movement, and a little later ukrainization parts. March 12 Yekaterynoslav meeting was held with the participation of Ukrainian viyskovykh- garrison city under Ukrainian national flags and banners with slogans Ukraine autonomy in a democratic Federal Republic of Russia.³⁹ March 16 appeared in Ukrainian society Magisterium, the direction of which were identified "gaps nationalization of the Ukrainian people and political activities in her. By guiding the Board were elected O.Bidnovu, Ye.Vyrovoho, M.Lutsenka, A.Sorokalita, S.Shvetsya and others."⁴⁰

In late March, appeared in Ukrainian committee that brought together representatives of different political currents. One of the first rooms "Workers" newspaper commented on the Ukrainian assembly and Katerynoslav incident that happened to them. At the meeting the representative visited UCR, Ukrainian Social Democrat AM Avdiyenko. His shame was struck by a large number of yellow-blue flags few red. On this occasion he made public comments in that room said acute obstruction, gave Avdiyenko talk⁴¹.

Overall in the Donbass Ukrainian movement was much weaker than in Central Ukraine, but his pockets were recorded in Bakhmut, Lugansk, Mariupol, Krivoy Rog. Ukrainian county councils were organized in Starobelsk, Bahmutskiy, Slav'yanoserbskomu, Mariupol and Iziium counties. In Bahmutskiy Slav'yanoserbskomu and counties were "Enlightenment". In Bakhmut seemed newspaper "Free Word"⁴².

In the first week of March 1917 renewed its work Ukrainian political parties. First it was the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Labour Party, the Ukrainian Socialist-Revolutionary Party and radical Ukrainian Democratic Party. USDRP led his first story in the Russian Ukraine political party - PA. Its program was similar to other programs of social democratic parties, but in the first place was the national problema.4-6 April in Kiev held a conference USDRP which resumed parties in the national scale and passed a series (13) resolutions on major issues of the moment, policies and tactics of the party. The conference confirmed the old party claim for the autonomy of Ukraine, "like first neodkladne burning problem of contemporary

moment Ukrainian workers and the whole Ukraine", to this end, proposed the idea of an energetic convening nationwide regional meetings, recognized the need to support the Provisional Government on the condition that he "recognizes and holds claims the whole of the revolutionary people "opposed the further conduct of the war, the government put the request to begin peace talks, deny" claims annexations and indemnities. " Several decisions were related to cooperation with other parties provided "their recognition of our ambitions," announced the participation of the party in the Central Council of Ukraine on the platform of autonomy⁴³.

USDRP leaders took an active part in shaping the Ukrainian Central Rada, it had an influential faction, while Party launched work to restore their grassroots organizations. In April the following organizations operating in Kharkiv and Yekaterinoslav. First zapysalos 676 supporters, but led only active third. In Yekaterinoslav the organization included about 400 people. On the organization of Ukrainian Social Democrats in Yekaterinoslav read in Mazepa: "... Katerynoslav since before the Revolution was the organization of Ukrainian Social Democrats. During World War II (November 1915) the main leaders of the organization as tsiye Min. Oak, D. Lysychenko, I.Vyrva, I. Romanchenko, P. Schukyn and others were zareshtovani and the organization for some time been declined. Now, when the revolution broke out and went out of prisons and links to the will of all political "criminals" Yekaterinoslavskiye ..- social democrats again went to work. I immediately volunteered them for the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party went even during his time at St. Petersburg University in 1905. Soul of Ekaterinoslav was Min. Oak, local railway official. This was a man outstanding organizational abilities. Extremely energetic and committed to, he was always on his feet, and when it was, was able to put on the feet of others. With party members acted "strictly", but he was loved and listened, especially the workers, zasterezhen.Ne no wonder he had a big impact on the organization and was its actual head. / ... / Ekaterinoslavskuyu general organization of Ukrainian ..- social democrats, I remained the best memories. It appealed not only to the internal organization of its members, but also their high national political consciousness "⁴⁴

By the summer of 1917 in USDRP there were 70 organizations united to 5 thousand. Party members ⁴⁵. Center most activity was USDRP Kyiv and Poltava province, when trying to work on the east Ukrainian party exposed to pressure Russian political parties, especially the Bolsheviks, who did not hesitate to use brute physical force. I. Nikolayenkou his memoirs told of a case during the celebration of May 1, 1917 in Luhansk. When a group of Bolsheviks noticed nevenlyku column of 30 men in yellow and blue flags and singing "Ukraine is still alive", it was localized, and the flags were selected in those languages pretext that it is a national and an international festival, where you can use only red flags⁴⁶. On something like a Bakhmut where Ukrainian had several organizations, including the "Enlightenment" and a number of supporters, telling the other Bolshevik P.Kazymirchuk. The Bolsheviks in Bakhmut were in the minority and "organized could not do anything. Yet meetings or congresses of Ukrainian nationalists are not allowed to hold, always plucked them, not allowing to finish "⁴⁷. However, the brutal tactics of the Bolsheviks applied not only to Ukrainian political parties, but the Mensheviks and SRs. Yes, Gorlovka-Shcherbinovsky District Bolsheviks on the grounds that their weak press, decided to destroy all other newspaper products. Each train passing through the station in the summer of 1917 there was a review of the luggage car, thrown out and destroyed "all the bourgeois newspapers, and behind them and SR"⁴⁸. The situation improved for Ukrainian Bakhmut after redeployed here from the front ukrainian Regiment. A Ukrainian Luhansk showed character and 11 May held the first Ukrainian mass demonstrations under the red and national flags with slogans of autonomy and federation. Demonstrations led representatives of the Ukrainian Social Democrats and Socialist⁴⁹.

Ukrainian SRs to 1917 had only a few isolated organizations. The founding congress of the party held in April 1917, but despite its youth organization, the party quickly became the most massive Ukrainian political force. In literature you can find the numbers from 1.2 million to 75 thousand. UPSR members in 1917. The latter figure is considered the most reliable⁵⁰. Party recorded in the whole village, for example, a small railway station railway Domintsevo Catherine Ukrainian Socialist Party cell consisted of 282 members ⁵¹. Explain the success UPSR possible that in

1917 the majority of the population of Donbass was Ukrainian peasantry, representing 80% of the peasants of the region, and in a few cities, in addition to the working class lived large number of artisans and craftsmen, for whom the SR ideology was well understood .

In this connection it is worth mentioning that Bahmutskiy County - was the birthplace of the famous Ukrainian revolutionary leader Nikita brothers and Nikolai Shapovalov. Nikita Shapoval was one of the ideologists of UPSR, a member of the Central Council, the Minister of Land Affairs UNR government, and brother Nicholas - Army General UPR. The party had the most numerous faction in the Rada. It was close M.Hrushevsky, although officially considered non-partisan.

The third influence and quantitative composition was radically Ukrainian Democratic Party (later renamed the Party of Socialists-Federalists). It was left liberal Democratic Party, which united Ukrainian intelligentsia. In 1917 it resumed its activities at the Ukrainian Society postupovtsiv.8 March in Kiev Council of the Society of Ukrainian progressives (TUP) issued a call "To the Ukrainian citizenship," which referred to the need to support the new revolutionary government, prepared for the Russian Constituent Assembly on which defend the autonomy of Ukraine and Russia's federal system, care for the Ukrainian press, a Ukrainian national fund to restore the "Enlightenment" and open them at school and remember that "there are no such second wave and that history does not forgive mistakes, hesitation and negligence ". When a call was signed by wire TUP: O.Vilinskoho, O.Voloshynova A. V'yazlova M. Dem'yanovskoho, D. Doroshenko, Hrushevsky, S. Wilkens, B. Leontovycha Matushevska F., A. Nikovsky V. Prokopovich, L. Starytska-Cherniakhivska, Chykalenko F. Steingel, L. Yanovsky. Most of the signatories joined the leadership of the URDP. According to A. Shulgyna party comprised three-quarters of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, but modern scholars believe that its abundance estimates for 1917 do not exceed 500⁵². I did not come across the description of Donbass Ukrainian forces in 1917, but is slightly later in 1920, made Maystrenko IV. The latter was appointed to the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, which was formed on the basis USDRP (independent) in January 1920, the secretary of the Donetsk regional committee of UCP. When Ivan

Maystrenko arrived in Lugansk, which was the center of the newly created province, where she worked "Enlightenment" in the same house was the center of the UCP than this "Enlightenment" and UCP cells were Yenakiyev and Bakhmut. "In Lugansk Enlightenment were mostly members and members of the UCP. Nearly one hundred percent of these were local workers. In Lugansk majority of the population were Ukrainian, but it was mostly in Russian, as in Kharkiv, -zhaduvav Maystrenko.- difference of Kharkiv and that Kharkiv sinking in rural Ukrainian elements, and around Lugansk, in addition to Ukrainian villages, a large coal power (mainly anthracite) mine came from the Russian working class (which, for example, was Khrushchev). Ukrainian Education seemed to me an island in the Russian sea. In that committee UCP contained in the Enlightenment house was a deep meaning and even certain symbols. Members and guests of the Enlightenment were mostly Lugansk workers. Many of them - former members USDRP. I say "former" because USDRP UPR as a state party, which fought the Bolsheviks, officially on the territory of the USSR did not exist. But its members in Lugansk feel UPR supporters, though with a certain slant to the left. Some of them were already members of the UCP. Two figures of the old uesdekiv very memorable to me. This worker metalworker Dmitry Shabala worker and carpenter Nikifor Loboda "⁵³.

I. Maystrenko retells the words of D. Shabaly another episode Ukrainian party life in Donbass in 1917 Shabala recalled that in Lugansk "had a strong group of Ukrainian Social Democrats, and the county had no Ukrainian SRs. Therefore Lugansk Ukrainian village was completely under the influence of the Russian Socialist. Then USDRP organization decided to allocate from its ranks a group of friends who must lay in the Lugansk district organization UPSR. So despite the pragmatic party dogmas Ukrainian proletarians Lugansk solve the problem of national revival of its people "⁵⁴.

I must say that this example is not typical. Ukrainian party members were free of their party, and programmatic dogma of socialist theory, which clearly trying to follow. They often prefer to associate with those blocked or Russian or Jewish or Polish parties, but not together. At the beginning of March at a general meeting in Kharkiv when trying to combine forces Ukrainian town and choose the Organizing

Committee of Ukrainian Social Democrats issued a statement that "Democrats are Ukrainian just because speak Ukrainian, but nothing with the rest of the bourgeoisie have not move. " This "on the bourgeoisie, they understand anyone who does not belong to their party"⁵⁵. Annoying Ukrainian opposition parties most often observed during the preparation and conduct of elections to urban doom. It was the first free democratic elections in Russia. They had not only to democratize local government, but also play the role of a certain sociological dimension of trust in various political parties, including the Ukrainian movement. Unfortunately the Central Council did not understand this and distanced itself from the electoral process, leaving it largely in the hands of local councils and some Ukrainian party organizations. It was not the best option. For example, in Yekaterynoslav Ukrainian parties were unable to agree on a joint unit and put up three separate lists. As a result, in the City Duma got only 9 seats out of 113⁵⁶.

In Kharkiv there was almost the same story. Ukrainian Ukrainian provincial council urged to create a single unit, but failed. Ukrainian Social Democrats never ceased to emphasize his dislike of Ukrainian Liberal Democrats and sought to go to the polls in the block with the Russian Social Democrats, but they found no oncoming desire. Ukrainian Socialist Revolutionaries stated that they "do not need such a Ukraine, which will be the ruling class and the oppressed, so we do not go in the heap with Ukrainian *napivburzhuzhaznym* block"⁵⁷ I offered to block the Russian Revolutionaries, who are not from the union refused. As a result, Ukrainian Kharkiv listings were about 8% of the vote ⁵⁸. Overall inter rhetoric summer 1917, which merged the elections to the municipal government was riddled with mutual disdain and confrontation. Socialist parties, especially the Bolsheviks, called for the deepening of class struggle and revolution. They seemed not to notice that the revolution stalled, in crisis, which only deepened and could destroy the country.

What was at the heart of this crisis. Soviet historians claimed that the main cause of it was the capitalist system, social riding which revealed a complete inability to govern. But the same capitalist system was all over, without exception drawn into World War II countries. They experienced the horrors of war, passed through sharp political and social conflicts in Austria-Hungary and Germany also had overthrown

the monarchy, but it was nothing in comparison with the disaster, which in the coming months waiting for Russia. There was something special that does not fall under the definition of 'revolution' when it interpreted as a locomotive of progress. It seems that the responsibility for the chaos, which in 1917 fell Russia, bore the whole society, which lacked even minimum consensus on the institutional foundations of the state and its political and social system. Probably most of the fault lies with the upper echelons of society. But now pay attention to the bottom. Doubts about their ability to be in the vanguard of society we have expressed. It should again return to the memo, which in December 1916 gave King book. Golitsyn when he was named prime minister of Russia. Report of the circle was dignitaries close to the Council of State A. Rimsky-Korsakov among them was M. Maklakov, the Minister of Interior. Although the memo rather skeptical about the Left parties, especially the Social Democrats and Socialist, but warned against frivolous attitude towards them. It was not so in batches as those strata of society, among whom they were working. Because of these parties mentioned in the memo, is that "they have the idea that there is money, there is a crowd ready and well organized. This crowd frequently changes its political aspirations, with the same enthusiasm singing "God Save the Tsar", like crying "Down with autocracy", but hatred of the opulent classes, jealous impulse to share someone else's wealth, the so-called class struggle - the crowd this strong and stable; it is the right to the same count on the sympathy of the overwhelming majority of the peasantry, which will follow the proletariat of the same moment as the revolutionary leaders specify them on someone else's land. 1905 and 1906 years with sufficient conviction has shown that avid defender of their property and the same conservative in his life, Russian peasant is the most persuasive Social Democrat from the moment when it touches another's good "⁵⁹. These fears were realized in the first days of the revolution directly in Petrograd, the capital of the Empire, where the general level of culture and consciousness was higher than anywhere else in the outskirts.

Famous Russian SR, member of the revolutionary events, later famous sociologist, Sorokin chapter of his autobiography, which concerned period in 1917, briefly called "disaster." He recalled how on February 28, when it is a question of

victory of the revolution has not been finally resolved in the Tauride Palace, in its various wings simultaneously met the executive committee of the State Duma and the Soviet of Workers' Deputies. At the last meeting had been several hundred workers and soldiers. In cigarette smoke were fiery debate about whether or not you need to arrest a counterrevolutionary head of the State Duma M. Rodzianko. With an atmosphere that prevailed in the hall, Sorokin was obvious that the "mentality of ragamuffins already declared itself, and the person wakes up not only the animal, but a fool is ready to take precedence over all the rest"⁶⁰. In this, he repeatedly persuaded in this and the next two days. The streets of the capital were at the mercy of unruly mobs of armed men who shot and hunted by the police and counter-revolutionaries, burning police stations, government buildings, no one was making any attempt to put out twice Sorokin nashtovhuvavsya groups of soldiers and street vagrants who smashed wine shops, and no one stopped. In Kronstadt began a massacre of officers was killed Admiral faithful. All of this can be attributed to the concomitant minor facts that always accompany great events and quickly forgotten, but, says Sorokin, he felt a contradiction and tension in the developments: "The workers were carrying slogans such as" to the machine and presses! ", And they cast work and spent almost all their time on political rallies. They demanded eight and even six-hour working day. The soldiers landed just ready to fight, but yesterday when one of the regiments had to go to the front, people refused, arguing that they are necessary in Petrograd to defend the Revolution. In these days we have also received information that the peasants seize private property, robbing and burning them. On the streets I saw a lot of drunks who matyukalys and shouted: "Long live freedom! Now everything is permitted! ". Passing house near Bestuzhivskiyh course I saw the people that laughed and gestured obscenely. In pidvorotni in front of onlookers mate man and woman. "Ha, ha - the crowd laughed - because freedom is allowed! ""⁶¹. Fairly skeptical about the state of Petrograd, and with it the entire Russian working class modern revolution known researcher W. Buldakov. He doubts that this proletariat had developed a stable class consciousness. "There is no doubt that the large concentration on the production of numerous napivselyan rise to a collectivist patterns of behavior, but it could be somewhat middle between the actions of the crowd and the community to which was

added a component artisanal initiative. Impressive layering metropolitan proletariat included the most spontaneous reactions parts of it to the actions of entrepreneurs, state, related societies and one another than the thrust to create its "proletarian" state "62.

Quite quickly in the Donbas could see something similar. First what workers demanded after the revolution - it was the elimination of the police. Provisional Government allowed these claims in the first days of its existence. Police has been eliminated and it is, according to Cabinet Minister of the Provisional Government Nabokov was a fatal error associated with revolutionary illusions idealization of the revolution and the revolutionary people. "Russian march against the police and gendarmes quickly led to its natural consequence. The device, which somehow, though weak, but it worked, was broken to pieces "63 It was the police, and in extreme cases the army in previous decades served as a factor that restrained spontaneous explosive destructive power of the working class and the peasantry .. Eliminate police opened wide road to renovation practices seizures, defeat, physical violence. "... Donbass miners discovered a backwardness immediately after the February Revolution, - said G. Kuromiya.- But they are not interested institutions such as collective agreements and Council conciliation. When possible and became a popular introduction to the trade unions, they, unlike many other groups of workers and artisans, very reluctantly united in the union. Instead, they resorted to direct action against the leaders - searched them expelled from mines arrested "64. "Nisa" revealed a complete inability to action in unison with the "top". As a result, from the very beginning of the revolution originated in the deep socio - political conflict between workers and employers. Known Menshevik and later researcher of the history of the labor movement M. Balabanov events of 1917 in the Donbass considered as "one continuous uninterrupted conflict"65. Another participant of the revolutionary movement, and later a prominent philosopher and sociologist F. Stepun in the book "Бышсее and несбысшееся", reflecting on the course of the Russian revolution and its transition from the phase of "February" in phase "October", expressed an interesting opinion, which, though not won a large number of supporters and remained almost unnoticed, meanwhile is not groundless. Stepun zhodzhuvasya

no opposition from the February and October as two different periods of the revolution. In his view "October was not born after February, and with it, perhaps even before it; Lenin and so only managed to win Kerensky that the Russian Revolution impulse for freedom initially concealed confidence and will to destruction"⁶⁶. A similar opinion came to exploring the revolutionary processes in 1917, Richard Pipes. He accurately observed that, having lost the king of Russia returned to its natural structure "Cossack outlaws", which was understood as unlimited freedom "⁶⁷. This freedom was too much, it destroyed not only archaic royal bureaucratic machine, but also social and industrial structure of society.

According to contemporary workers against anger management plant in Luhansk in the early days of the revolution was so strong that "only large efforts could curb weight of violence against individuals in the administration."⁶⁸ Voltage briefly lifted disaster. As a result, snowy winter in Lugansk occurred early and very intense flooding that workers flooded the city. But a few days later when the water receded, workers resumed the attack on the administration. In UII (April) conference RSDLP (b) representative Luhansk Bolshevik reporting on the situation in Luhansk, said: "The miners took control everywhere. Intellectuals do not. Miners do not trust the engineers. Miners everywhere in police stations and police in Council of Workers' Deputies "⁶⁹.

The first claims that exhibited by the revolution, concerned the increase in wages, the introduction of an 8-hour workday and the removal of individual members business administration, issued the most odious workers. These guidelines were characteristic of the Donbass, and not just for him. In mid-March rally three thousand mine workers №1 Gorlovka-Shcherbinovsky District passed a resolution to introduce the 8-hour day and 2 hours' overtime at the request of workers⁷⁰. Very close to this judgment ruling was meeting representatives of 21 Council of Workers' Deputies of Donetsk basin and the Miners held March 28-29 in Kharkiv. The meeting concluded on the need to introduce an 8-hour day, but in the circumstances of the moment, decided to "temporarily, before the mines and plants adapt to eight labor-day work as much time as before, but in order to work beyond eight o'clock considered extraordinary and pay for it pivtorachnym size "⁷¹.

April 25, 1917 in Kyiv has started the first regional congress of councils of Donetsk and Krivoy Rog pools with representatives of trade unions and factory committees. Congress unanimously passed a set minimum wage for all workers in 4 rubles per 8-hour working day. In addition, delegates developed several tables, which, depending on the complexity of work determined real wages. When you stop the company had to pay workers the average wage and overtime - at a rate of 1.5. By order of Congress salaries of council members and keeping council had done at the expense of businesses. Industrialists had to save or create grocery stores and let them products at prices July 1916 On heavy or hot work was introduced 6-hour day. List of hard work and all disputes between workers and management had to resolve Soviet of Workers' Deputies and factory committees or mines. Resolution of the Congress was presented to the conference Miners southern Russia, which at the same time held in Kharkiv. Industrialists agreed to partially satisfy these requirements. At the conference council said that the refusal of manufacturers allows workers "complete freedom", and the blame for the consequences rests entirely on Miners⁷². It appeared another protracted conflict between workers and employers. Latest always appealed to the government. Thus, on May 27 on behalf of the Conference of Miners Provisional Government was transferred declaration, which was put on notice that the dictatorship of the working class is in the most primitive form. "The working class, enthusiastic attractive prospects, depicting him irresponsible leaders, awaiting the onset golden age, and it is terrible disappointment that we can not predict." In this regard, the industrialists expressed their claims to the government, which effectively accused of inaction lack of economic strategy and warned in imminent catastrophe "deep economic crisis in which we enter, can not have political consequences and the respective performances of folk ... the most unexpected results. So on to deal not, and if you realize that all this is happening, and not take measures that come from a strong and forceful government - which means to contribute to the success of anarchy⁷³. Unfortunately the government could do little. He failed to create a reliable and effective mechanisms of government. M. Menshevik Sukhanov, well-informed active participant in the revolutionary events in Petrograd, issued the opinion that the interim government was completely powerless. "He reigned but not ruled he could

not manage - wrote M. Sukhanov - ... The real strength he had none. The mechanism of the civil administration was in contradiction with the objective developments worked idle speed. He was not able to more organic work was useless, useless "⁷⁴. Moreover, the government was not very effective, it is also not allowed to work.

The pressure on employers by workers significantly increased after returning to Russia Vladimir Lenin, which actually turned into a declaration of war against the interim government. As proposed by Lenin program, which celebrated its ultraradykalnistyu and became widely known as the "April Theses" were heard claims not to support the Provisional Government, the parliamentary republic in favor of the Republic of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies, eliminate the police, army and state apparatus, confiscate all landed estates, merge all the banks into a single national bank, introduce workers' control over production⁷⁵. The program was so radical that initially aroused opposition and misunderstanding, even a large part of the Bolsheviks. But one of the first "April theses" supported the Luhansk Bolshevik organization.

Once workers realized that local power is not real power, and such power they are, they are nothing restrained the desire to get even with their "oppressors." The spectacular collapse of pattern was drawn in the aforementioned Declaration Miners to the Provisional Government on 27 May. They wrote: "There is delight of land, buildings, equipment, carried out illegal arrests of" free "citizens are given orders by any unauthorized committees, departments seizures occur factories, remove unwanted individuals or mass workers' control. Buhalteriv, artists and others. Trusted entrepreneurs is organized like a march to the enterprise "⁷⁶

The Council of the Congress of South Miners and then threw the Provisional Government telegrams, which signaled that the workers "covered by anarchist sentiments", describing numerous cases of removal of persons mine administration, their arrests, threats to their lives, what did disappointing conclusion: while maintaining this situation threatens to stop the Donetsk basin, which cause paralysis throughout the country. Industrialists asked the government to influence the workers, who "put forward economic demands excessive nature"⁷⁷, and introduce conciliation

camera that would solve the dispute and whose decisions would be binding on both parties.

Since the summer of 1917 workers have already felt the owners of enterprises, most of them created workers' committees (council of elders, factory committees) that have been legalized by the government in April. Factory committees were the springboard from which the spreading influence of the Bolsheviks in the workers' collectives. Summer appeared in Donbas workers' military forces - the Red Guards. They first used to combat crime, which came into epidemic proportions, but at the same time - and as another lever of pressure on entrepreneurs. By early summer in Lugansk Workers wife consisted of 300 fighters. It is the biggest bull in the Donbass, smaller wife operated in Kramatorsk, Mariupol, Yuzovka⁷⁸.

June 28 alliance companies Donetsk coal basin interim government sent a telegram, which reported that the situation of coal enterprises is every day becoming more dramatic and even threatening. Despite the salary increases that exceeded the financial capabilities of enterprises, workers continue to put new no substantiated claims that "accompanied by threats and even violence, manifested mainly in the form of removal of managers, engineers and other skilled persons technical supervision of the mines." In a telegram saying that workers do not follow discipline and order, stated significant drop in productivity and suggested that "continue to work in this position absolutely impossible"⁷⁹. In early June, the situation in manufacturing has deteriorated, entrepreneurs stated "further strengthen the anarchy and demoralization of workers", which concluded with the complete decline in the authority of local authorities and councils of workers and soldiers deputies, which "workers no longer counted"⁸⁰. Prokhorov Directors coal mines on June 28 tried to draw the government's attention to the fact that notwithstanding excessive economic demands of the workers do not perform administrative decisions to ensure the safety of mining operations and intervene "to all those responsible disposal resulting in a permanent reduction of production"⁸¹.

Documents on the work of the Interim Committee of the Donetsk basin (Donkey) show that in the period from 1 July to 27 September 1917 of the 399 cases it reviewed, 127 (the largest number) accounted for conflicts between workers and

employers⁸². M. Balabanov, who introduced these statistics in the scientific revolution, believed that the above figure is an understatement, because it takes into account "the many of the conflicts that they had liquidated head of work and even more conflicts that have passed through the local authorities conflicting advice workers' unions and through the "⁸³. Classifying all conflicts typical features, M. Balabanov came to the conclusion that the greatest number (60vypadkiv or 40%) were outright clashes with the administration of workers, which included removal from office, arrests, shorts, changing the order of work dissatisfaction of workers as equipment.

After the suppression of the Bolshevik Petrograd speech in early July 1917 the government allegedly seized the initiative in their hands. Changed the Prime Minister and his staff. The government tried to strengthen its presence in the Donbass. July 11 was a government decree on the formation of local labor commissioners who had become a grassroots by the Ministry of Labour. In Ukraine proposed to introduce two of the Commissars, one specifically for the Donbass, the other - for the rest of the territory. August 1 announced the state monopoly on Donetsk coal. August 5 government passed a law "On reconciling institutions", which aimed to bring the legal basis for the conflict resolution process. But these efforts have not given a significant positive shift in relations between workers and employers. The problem continued to gain sharpness. The stream of telegrams to Congress Miners Provisional Government not decreased, but the content became more dramatic: over lost all sense of justice and responsibility, in the working groups are not dangerous fermentation stops, they demand higher wages, while labor productivity falls, number of outputs to work decreases, business administration constantly under threat of violence. Of course the owners did not forget about their own interests, but their appeals were many objective. Workers felt freedom and their own strength, not in a hurry to work, the average monthly number of working days in the coal industry almost 13 dotyahuvala⁸⁴. Entrepreneurs believe that in August in the Donbass not exist government, so asked the government to immediately take care of the basic rule of law and a strong non-partisan local government.⁸⁵

In the summer of 1917 all spheres of public life and economy crisis gripped tight. Industrial production and transportation were in a deep recession. In August 1917, coal production in comparison with November 1916 decreased by 67 mln. Tons, almost a third. Average output per worker in the Donets Basin in the summer fell by 50%, and in the steel industry - by a third. There were no industries, wherever there was a sharp decline in labor productivity⁸⁶. Lack of fuel poor performance of rail transport were forced to cut jobs and steel companies or their close completely, there is a huge number of unemployed. Businessmen accused their woes workers and demanded the government to end the anarchy.

In the second half of summer in Russia has been a consolidation of Right Forces and their leader was General LG Kornilov, who at that time held the post of Supreme Commander. He named Kerensky prepared a memorandum in which he outlined a program of action: creating a firm power, raising combat readiness of the army, crushing fighting Bolshevism. A short time Kerensky and Kornilov acted in unison, but in August the State meeting in Moscow it became clear that there was a rivalry between them for power. Kerensky later, describing the Moscow meeting, noted that "in speeches from the podium that sounded great in the crowded hall of the theater, on the sidelines and behind the scenes clearly sounded unconscious idea of dictatorship"⁸⁷. Kerensky primarily meant the speech of General Kornilov, but also in other speeches sounded the same right call. For several times mentioned in this text M. von Ditmar in his speech demanded the formation of the Provisional Government "independent, unified, strong government, not just one that convinces, but also makes carry out laws"⁸⁸. The government tried to adhere to a centrist position, wavering between right and left. These maneuvers if this line appeared very clearly in his speech the Minister of Trade and Industry SN Prokopovich at the state meeting. Zmalyuvavshy picture tough crisis that swept the country, the minister proposed a series of measures which require reciprocal concessions from manufacturers and workers. At the end of the speech SN Prokopovich appealed to some and to others calling for understanding and sacrifice, "save our home, save the Russian state, to save the revolution, our freedom can only sacrifice, which encourages you to Provisional Government. The Government has asked the government requires you to

sacrifice. Let the capitalists refuse undue profit, albeit a worker refuses to rest /.../ excessive citizens, capitalists, give the Provisional Government in order your entrepreneurial skills and your capital. A citizen workers, give the state your work. Citizens, farmers, feed bread to your army and city, working for the defense of the country. Saving your country sacrifices »⁸⁹.

As the next event on the State Government Meeting calls were in vain, and he is up to the task could not cope. Then the stage came a military dictatorship. Output also proved unsuccessful. Historians argue this time what is speech was General Kornilov who inspired him, what was the role of Kerensky in this story. But all agree that the performance of not only stopped, but rather speeded up the development of the already dangerous crisis.

First Kornilov performance father urgent government crisis and led to the collapse of the second coalition cabinet⁹⁰. Not supporting Kornilov, September 1, the government has delegated its powers "happy five" or the Directorate headed by AF Kerensky. In the Directory was the temporary "managing state affairs until the formation of the cabinet," the same day Russia was declared a republic, that directory zamanifestovala himself a supporter of the revolution. In the political and social circles have begun discussions about the nature and principles of creation of the future government. In the left democratic camp talked about the need for a homogeneous socialist government, center and right convinced of the need to preserve the coalition. The government coalition tended to his arguments voiced by Acting Minister SN Prokopovich on cooperative congress in Moscow on September 11. "The situation is such that we can save only the organization of all forces of the nation, they should gather in one fist, and need to make this fist and acted to defend the country, then we deliver it. But, comrades, you are not able to organize this power, we lost /.../ Do you, comrades, this power if you really want such a power that we need, and warned -zapytuvav performing required ' bandages Minister of trade and industry. - Without it, we are facing ruin, without it, we are facing a shameful peace. Do you want to remain a European country if you want to provide your own knowledge and the possibility of further cultural development of our country? Are you so weak that you no longer have the strength of that required to save the

fatherland? That's what I'm asking you. "⁹¹ Certainly pathos of his Prokopovich addressed not only cooperatives, but also wide public circles across the country. Does the country heard this cry of despair? It is difficult to answer this question, but you can with some confidence say that unambiguous, unanimous answer to it, Russia had, as had her government. The third coalition government was formed on 25 September. After two days in St. Petersburg by the decision of the All-Russian CEC Democratic Soviets opened the meeting whose main purpose was to support the government. The meeting was attended by 1,582 delegates. from different parties and NGOs. including the Donbass. A few days factions discussed at meetings of one and the same question: whether the government will be a coalition or purely democratic. September 19 was designated overall vote, which ended fail. First 766 votes for the resolution was voted the coalition, but then 595 votes was amended on the impossibility of participation in the coalition Cadet Party. Thus the work of the Democratic Conference turned just lost time.

The government turned right and left. In fact, in those days when Petrograd worked Democratic Conference, held in Kyiv conference of industrialists south of Russia, which was attended by 460 representatives of businesses. Most of them were from the Donbass. Early in the conference hall fervent applause supported the proposal of Kornilov identify with the leadership of the army and the administration of companies that suffered the oppression of workers. It was the first call, the conference was generally directed against the labor movement. But not only inherited and government. Industrialists demanded that the Provisional Government take decisive measures to suppress the revolutionary movement in the country, otherwise threatened mass lockouts. In the approved resolution "On the legislative activities of the Ministry of Labour" said that the work of the ministry has a distinct class character and protects only the interests of the working class while completely ignoring the interests of industrialists. Employers demanded cancellation of the labor laws of the Provisional Government and its participation in the development of such legislation in the future⁹².

In the labor camp, no one defended the government did not expect. Here were their contenders for power. At this time, the Bolsheviks already recovered from the

July defeat and tried to renew anti-government propaganda, again put into play the slogan "All power to the Soviets!". And they contributed to the success. The mood of the workers of Donbass began to change. In the summer they literally haunted the Bolsheviks called them German spies and threatened physical reprisals⁹³, the fall picture changed. Rather it more radykalizuvalas, SRs and Mensheviks are difficult to deter workers from destructive actions, but the Bolshevik agitation and propaganda against the government and businessmen, won new supporters. We can not say that the workers have returned back to their leaders yesterday, SRs and Mensheviks. However, recent harder managed to slow down the explosive power of the lower classes. 9 September the Ministry of Trade and Industry informed the Ministry of Justice that "in recent times workers of mining companies very often use violence against persons of technical and administrative staff of these companies, namely beat them arbitrarily arrested, remove from office and declare unfounded claims "⁹⁴ It should be noted that the workers had a completely opposite view of the causes of the economic crisis. In early October conference mine committees Donets Basin in Debal'tsevo concluded that the decline of coal mining is the result: an unfinished war, the low wages of miners refusal of owners to attract workers to solve production issues, including "indifferent attitude of the administration mines up his duties, escape from their posts and leave the mines to their fate "⁹⁵.

Donetsk proletariat remained mysterious thing in itself, the process of entry into political identity was extremely complex and controversial phenomenon that is not vmischalosya in the program of any single political party at that time. On this occasion, Hiroaki Kuromiya, who carefully studied the issue, wrote: "... the Donbas workers, especially miners, struggling for ideas, values and symbols, which they believed protected their community. These communities can be small, like the farm, barracks and friendly association and large, such as the municipality Konoplyanykova, "your step," "working class" and even "Ukraine" or "Russia"; These communities could be paternalistic, but had to ensure freedom, prosperity and dignity of the individual. In real life could simultaneously belong to several groups such as, for example, Tambovtsev, patriot, revolutionary and militant anti-Semite. Dedication group or sense of belonging must cover the exclusion of those considered

outsiders "⁹⁶. This is true in general opinion is objectionable only in so far as stating that the proletarian Donetsk in 1917 could feel part of a community as "Ukraine" or "Russia". I think that society for the period of the First World War could not overcome their survivals, not act as a single national body, so the first not withstood the test of World War II, which finally after the revolution turned into civil war, finding peaceful ways to reconcile the interests of different social miles. Kuromiyi thought that making identity necessarily accompanied by the exclusion of the others, another confirmation neintehrovanosti of society. In the working environment of the word "cadet" and "bourgeois" had extremely negative connotation. Summer Cadet press wrote that Bakhmatsk county workers are extremely intolerant to any attempts by the party of the Cadets and local council workers and soldiers' deputies began to openly hostile attitude to the party which sympathizes with only the administration of enterprises⁹⁷. Ironic and contemptuous, and often with undisguised hostility vymovlyuvane, the word "bourgeois" concerned primarily entrepreneurs, but not only. In massively distributed reprinted over 20 times in the 1917 brochure Karl Liebknecht "Pauk and flies," called broad strokes, depicted working class enemies. Who among them but was not, gentlemen, hrosholyubtsi, exploiters, nobles, rich men, priests talkers and deceivers and finally parasites of all kinds. They all fall under one category yemku "bourgeois." A contemporary wrote: "Who just do not call now bourgeoisie? Workers called bourgeois all are not workers, peasants - all "masters", including here in fact all dressed in town "⁹⁸.

In terms of finding enemies among the workers and peasants was very little difference. Perhaps farmers were even more radical agrarian revolution component is a separate issue, it only tangentially touch on the topic of Donbass, to better understand what happened in the pool in the second half of 1917

Farmers in 1917 in Ukraine actually already owned most of the arable land, they had 27.9 million. Des .. whereas the state, landowners, and other owners of only 16.2 million. However farmers actively advocated the further socialization of land, complete its transition in their hands. Thus none of their not confused by the fact that the productivity level of agriculture in large farms landed was significantly higher than in selyanskyh. Yedynny argument that guided the villagers was that the earth

should have only those who work it. The agrarian movement in Donbass in 1917 had the same rough shape as the labor movement in the industry. It began in early spring with the requirements of farmers to reduce rents, increase wages, to resolve disputed issues of land use in their favor and so on. Al., Later peasants began to seize land without prior permission landlord. For example, in late May with farmers. Manuylivky Slav'yano-Serbian County took Grazing local economy. Spring were not many hobbies, their number has been growing since the end of the summer. If from March to June in Kharkov and Ekaterinoslav provinces held 36 large agrarian conflict in July - September the number increased to 124⁹⁹. A. Datsenko that specifically studied the behavior of the peasantry in the revolutionary events of Donbass, found that the agrarian movement, developed from spring to autumn 1917, largely spontaneously, no one organized. Most performances took place in Bahmutskiy and Slavyanoserbksy counties. Peasant uprisings also occurred in the district of Mariupol and Taganrog districts in the territory of the Don Fields¹⁰⁰.

Left with virtually no support for the government at least tried to demonstrate their ability to work. September 27 at a meeting of the Central Economic Committee, the Government decided to establish a commission and its direction in the Donbass there to eliminate the plight of the defense industry. A few days later the committee returned to the same subject, I decided to walk to the Donbass not commission, and one person endowed with dictatorial powers to the provision of all means of coercion available to government authorities. In September, in some areas of Donbas were introduced Cossack units. October 5 Provisional Government decided to take the firmest steps to eliminate confusion in the Donbass. The development program of events was instructed Minister of Communications A. Liverovskomu. But no concrete decision taken by the divergence of opinion of members of the government. Regarding the Donbass government has repeatedly resorted to the meetings, which were attended by some ministers and senior officials¹⁰¹. Since October 18, a meeting of the Special Meeting on defense, which is considered the state of the coal industry of Donbass. The meeting was made assistant commissioner for the supply of metals and fuel engineer YD Pryadkin, his main thesis was a statement about the death of the coal industry of Donbass, productivity fell by half compared with 1916 In his

view, this in turn threatened a complete industrial the collapse of the country. The main reason for the fall Pryadkin considered will of the workers, their interference in the affairs of management of enterprises, especially personnel policy¹⁰². In fact, all these and other decisions of the government has almost no effect on the situation in the Donbass, and generally in the country. She was standing on the edge of the abyss and did not have any opportunity, any healthy force that could prevent it from falling back. On the contrary there were many willing to jump into the abyss. Nabokov, describing public sentiment fall of 1917 noted that "disappeared awareness of the existence of power, finished strongly to defend and protect public order"¹⁰³. And it made a coup is quite plausible and easy implementation.

Z. Gippius September 30 zanotovala in his diary: "Kerensky continues to fall, and the Bolsheviks are forever captured councils. Trotsky - head. When it will be different, shooting, uprising, massacre in St. Petersburg - not vyznacheno.Bude. "¹⁰⁴. Premonition tragedy which is rapidly approaching, it was not only a famous poet. Many Democratic intellectuals began to reflect on the fact that the revolution is not led the country in a way that uyavlyavsya after the fall of autocracy. The First World War not only undermined the economic foundations of the social, but moral. Revolution them completely destroyed. A well-known journalist Vladimir Nos October 15 the newspaper "Voice of the Front" published an article entitled "Disbelief" which drew attention on the fact that society is catastrophically quickly and completely extinguished in chestnist faith, honesty, sincerity and integrity. "In man to man love gone, there was no respect. Forgotten, obestsineni and trampled all previous achievements to society, to literature, to the motherland. People turn to each other saying, mechanical mannequins. Life turns into a scary puppet - says One Day journalist.

Broke swept the boundless Russian spaces some surprising psychological wave, which rozrushyla all past centuries vyrobleni and trained to hunt, outlook, which stushovala boundaries and frontiers of moral concepts, values and feelings destroyed svyaschenosti human person, life, work. " The conclusion of the author: "Live so you can not - it is intolerable for any forces. The individual who has lost faith in everything and everyone, from "fossilized" creature that does not perceive the

surrounding world, set in a remote corner of morale, lost his mind or commit suicide. Human society, people like immeasurably stronger element such that instinct has indestructible life, suicide is not coming, it could ignite a bloody awful flames to try to senseless brutality to break the nightmarish existence. Otrava bezvirrya worse than we think. " From the publication of this prophecy to its implementation took only ten days. Again, it all started in Petrograd. Interim government fell without resistance, almost without bloodshed, but the signal for the deployment of civil war sounded throughout the country. Donbass also had to determine their future.

¹ Архив русской революции, издаваемей В. Гессеном. В 22-т. - Т.5.- Спб, 1991.- С.344.

² Грушевский М. Спомини.

³ В.Г. Короленко. Дневник 1917 -1921. Письма.- М., 2001.- С.13 – 14.

⁴ Дорошенко Д. Мої спомини про недавнє - минуле. Част. Перша. – С. 68.

⁵ Эрде Д. Годы бури и натиска. Кн. Первая. На Левобережье. 1917. –Х., 1923.- С.10-11.

⁶ 3-5 березня на території України практично було ліквідовано органи царської адміністрації, від губернаторів та повітових справників владу перебрали призначені Тимчасовим урядом губернські й повітові комісари. Ними стали голови губернських та повітових земських управ. В Києві губернським комісаром призначили М. Суковкіна, в Полтаві – С. Іваненка, в Чернігові – О. Бакуринського, в Харкові – М. Іваницького і т. д.

⁷ Гайда Ф.А. Механизм власти Временного правительства (март – апрель 1917 г.)// Отечественная история. – 2001. - №2. – С.148.

⁸ Киевлянин.- 1917,6 марта.

⁹ Революційне минуле Старобільщини// Склав В. О. Щепетильників.- Старобільське, 1927.- С.7-8.

¹⁰ Швед А. Революционные события в Павлограде (март 1917 – март 1918 г.). // Летопись революции.- 1927.- №4.- С.105 - 106.

¹¹ Известия Харьковского совета рабочих депутатов.- 1917, 4 марта.

¹² Борьба за Октябрь на Артемовщине. Сборник воспоминаний и статей.- Изд. «Пролетарий», 1929.- С.236

¹³ Там само.- С.72.

¹⁴ Там само.- С.74.

¹⁵ Гамрецький Ю.М. Ради робітничих депутатів України в 1917 р.-К.,1966.-С.25.

¹⁶ Ф. Зайцев згадував, що склад Юзівської ради був меншовицьким, раду очолював меншовик Косенко, а у виконкомі була велика кількість адміністрації і взагалі мало революційної публіки» // Зайцев Ф. Как мы творили Октябрь (1917- 18 гг. В Юзовке). //Летопись революции.- 1925.- №4.- С.134.

¹⁷ Куранов Г. Советы Артемовщины от февраля к октябрю // Борьба за Октябрь на Артемовщине.- Изд. «Пролетарий», 1929.- С.77.

¹⁸ Борьба за Октябрь на Артемовщине. Сборник воспоминаний и статей...-С75.

¹⁹ Аверин В. Екатеринослав в 1917- 1918 году.// Октябрьская революция. Первое пятилетие.- Х., 1922.- С.585.

²⁰ Куранов Г. Указ. статья.- С.79.

²¹ Астрахан Х.М. Большевики и их политические противники в 1917 г.- Л., 1973.- С.295.

²² Куранов Г. Указ. статья.- С.81.

²³ Зайцев Ф. Указ. статья.- С.135-136.

²⁴ Мазепа І. Україна в огні й бурі революції. 1917-1921.- В 3-х т.- Т.1.-Вид-во «Прометей», 1950.- С.10.

²⁵ Там само.- С.11.

²⁶ Котов Я. З минулого на руднях Донбасу.// Літопис революції.- 1928.- №3.- 238.

²⁷ Большевицские организации Украины в период подготовки и проведения Великой Октябрьской социалистической революции / март –октябрь 1917 г./.- К., 1957.- С.3. Седьмая апрельская конференция РСДРП (б). Протоколы.- М.,1958.- С144.

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- ³⁷ М. Омелянович- Павленко. Спогади українського командарма. – К., 2002.- С.29.
- ³⁸ Рідне слово. – Харків. -1917. - 1 квітня.
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