

CONTENTS

STUDIES AND ARTICLES

- Mădălina Strehie, *THE DISCURSIVE OBSESSION OF CATO CENSOR*..... 7
- Kalkaman Zhumagulov, Aigerim Akynova, Gulnar Kozgambayeva, Aliya Ospanova, *THE TIME OF GREAT CHANGES: THE MIGRATION PERIOD AS A STAGE IN THE EASTERN ROMAN EMPIRE ORIGIN* 15
- Irina V. Ladikova, *VORONTSOV DYNASTY'S CORRESPONDENCE AS A SOURCE OF THE HISTORY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN EUROPE OF XVIII-XIX CENTURIES*..... 25
- Nguyen Van Sang, *THE BRITISH-AMERICAN DIPLOMACY IN SEARCHING FOR THE NORTHEAST BOUNDARY IN MAINE AND NEW BRUNSWICK, 1820-1846*..... 35
- Marilena Rizescu, *EUGENE SCHUYLER AND THE FIRST AMERICAN LEGACY IN ROMANIA*..... 49
- Aleksandr G. Gryaznukhin, Tatiana V. Gryaznukhina, *THE IMPACT OF COMMUNIST LEADERS ON THE FORMATION OF LOYAL MASSES AFTER THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION 1917 IN THE REGIONS OF FORMER RUSSIAN EMPIRE*..... 67
- Cristina Ruiz-Alberdi Fernández, Fidel Rodríguez Legendre, *THE LIFE OF THE SPANISH WOMAN UNDER THE FRANCOIST REGIME (1940-1978)*..... 85
- Vasyl Ilnytskyi, Vitalii Telvak, *OPERATIVE INVESTIGATIONS OF THE PARTICIPANTS OF UKRAINIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN ROMANIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC (1955-1957) BY THE SOVIET REPRESSIVE BODIES* 97
- Andreea Gavrilă, Marina Anatolievna Shpakovskaya, *THE EU POLICY TOWARDS THE POST SOVIET COUNTRIES FROM THE BLACK SEA REGION*..... 109

BOOK REVIEW

- Marius Oanță (coordinator), *Studies of Ecclesiastical History*, Craiova, Sitech Publishing Press, 2018, 318 pages (Bogdan Emanuel Răduț)..... 119

STUDIES AND ARTICLES

THE DISCURSIVE OBSESSION OF CATO CENSOR*

Mădălina Strechie**

Abstract

Cato the Censor or Cato the Elder was a Roman statesman known for his conservatism and traditionalism. He is said to have been a successful lawyer who never lost any case, he delivered memorable speeches on various political, legal or economic themes, each time concluding his speeches in an obsessive manner: *Censeo Carthago delenda esse. I think Carthage should be destroyed* – our transl.

This discursive obsession of Cato Maior, who remained in history as Cato the Censor due to the perfect exercise of the censor magistracy, denotes not only his traditionalism, his conservative affinities, but also a fear of Rome's enemies/rivals. Carthage was at that time the power which dominated the Mediterranean Sea, having a strong empire and great financial influence, facing the Roman ambitions of expansion in the region, and also the Roman state's existence literally, as proven during the Punic Wars.

Although a rigid conservative in conceptions, Cato the Censor was a great Roman patriot, a man of distinguished culture, an exceptional jurist, he wrote several works of economic and literary value, always supported the Roman state and fought with all his powers, in particular the power of his words, for the supremacy of the Eternal City. He believed that the enemies of Rome had to be eliminated, only in that way could Rome become a great power, even if these considerations also betrayed the fear of the foreigners/enemies of the Romans. Cato the Censor demonstrated that Rome could defeat them by tenacity and by following the **mos maiorum**, his main argument in Roman politics.

Key words: *political discourse, Cato the Censor, enemies, ancient Rome, conservatism*

Introduction

Perhaps the most famous representative of the *ordo equester*, Marcus Porcius Cato, also referred to as Cato Censor, Cato Maior or Cato the Elder was born around 234 BC. in Tusculum in the Italic Peninsula. He was most commonly known by his cognomen, acquired after he successfully accomplished the magistracy of *censor*, which was part of *cursus honorum*. Cato due to his merits in service of his country was *adlectus in amplissimum ordinem*, and therefore he became member of the *ordo senatorius*, the class for which *cursus honorum* was intended. Therefore, Cato Censor was able to rise above his social status through his achievements, being one of the most renowned censors,

* This communication was held by the author at 10th anniversary edition of The International Colloquium *The Reception of Greco-Roman Antiquity in European Culture. Greco-Roman Discursive Tradition*, 26 May 2018, Craiova, Romania.

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(a position reserved for the Roman aristocracy, represented by the *ordo senatorius*), hence his cognomen. Taking this into consideration, in our study we will refer to him as Cato Censor and not by his other names.

Cato Censor earned his place in Roman history not only as the symbol of Roman nationalism, but also as one of patriotism manifested towards the Eternal City, zealously supporting Roman tradition and everything that pertained to Roman national identity. Cato, this symbol of conservatism, was also a notable statesman, with an outstanding activity, involving himself in military, political, administrative affairs, as well as in law, history, literature, economy and being a censor of moral values. One would not be wrong in saying that his theories formed the basis for the ideology of the *Optimates* faction, even if he belonged to the *ordo equester* by his lineage. Additionally, Cato Censor was a representative of Roman puritanism, because in all his speeches (which have been sadly lost to time) he supported romanocentrism and the supremacy of Rome through destruction of its enemies.

The historical writing of Cato Censor, *Origines*, had all the markings of a “Dominant history of Rome” and its traits fulfilled seven different roles: “1. Educative-patriotic and moralising; 2. Romanocentrism; 3. Partisan spirit; 4. Accent on verisimilitude; 5. Anthropocentrism; 6. Powerful literary nature 7. Stylistic autonomy” (Cizek, 2003: 112-113).

To this day, Cato Censor’s career is still impressive. He was *adlectus in amplissimum ordinem*, most likely, after distinguishing himself in the Second Punic War, the so-called Hannibal’s war. We know for sure that he fought on the Cannae front and even in the battle of Trasimenus. He began *cursus honorum*, making a name for himself in the magistracy of *censor*, but climbs to the peak of his career becoming a *consul*. He makes himself known as a jurist in 215 B.C., amidst the controversies regarding the *Lex Oppia* (Cizek, 2003: 119).

Due to his direct participation in the Punic War, Cato Censor harbored genuine hatred caused, most likely, by a fear of the Punic strangers which had humiliated Rome in the aforementioned battles. Cato Censor harbored hate and contempt towards all foreigners, but he was also afraid of their influence on Rome. Whether they were Greeks, Carthaginians or Orientals, all strangers were perceived by Cato as being *hostes*. Due to the conditions in which he conducted his political-administrative activity, the statesman formed certain biases which influenced his attitude, even towards fellow Romans, who imitated the customs of strangers; for instance, towards the family of the Scipiones, who admired Greek culture, even if a Scipio was the one who defeated Hannibal.

As a consul, Cato was a military commander of the Roman state, as a prerogative of the function. In 195 BC, he barely manages to defeat the Iberians who were rebelling against Rome. This campaign was followed by another military offensive in 191 BC in Macedonia, where he defeated the Seleucid king (Șarambei, Șarambei, n.d.: 58-59). Cato hated strangers especially due to fear of their potential influence on his country. He was, in essence, a great Roman patriot, representative for conservative nationalism and being among the first in the world to practice it, strongly supporting the interests of Rome, whether they were economic, military, political, territorial or otherwise. In his economic vision, Cato thought that Rome needed “commercial

navigation” in the Mediterranean, where Carthage ruled supreme, being Rome’s most feared “naval competitor”. This determined Cato to “obsess about Carthage” (Șarambei, Șarambei, n.d.: 59). Cato Censor noticed a potential formidable adversary in Carthage, due to the ambivalent nature of his power: control over the sea and economic expansion, due to the commerce he controlled by means of his colonies and satellites. He considered this rival of Rome important due to commercial navigation, especially in the Mediterranean Sea, which gave the Punic power an unmatched financial potential.

Therefore, *Ceterum censeo Carthaginem esse delenda* was a natural consequence of Cato’s conception, who had been humiliated in many lost battles, and felt uncontrollable fear because of these Punic strangers. He observed the military and human losses they had caused (the Roman army being almost destroyed in the disasters at Cannae and Trasimenus) and found out about the civilian losses in his beloved Rome, when women and children committed suicide out of fear of falling into the hands of the Punic strangers, famed for their *crudelitas*. He felt the same fear as the entirety of Rome, a fear which remained deeply engraved in the collective consciousness through the expression *Hannibal ante portas*.

Taking all of this into account, Cato Censor, who came from a family of military professionals, reached the conclusion that the best enemy is one that is eliminated, explaining his obsession. Our study analyses this rhetorical fixation of Cato’s, presenting its causes and consequences for Romans and for Rome.

The Causes of Cato Censor’s Discursive Obsession

To find out the causes of Cato Censor’s obsessive speech, first, we must understand how his conceptions were formed, which determined his actions in the very complicated political context he lived in. The great roman statesman inaugurated the *hominum novorum* gallery, which practically began with him, being promoted for personal merits in the *ordo senatorius*, superior to *ordo equester*, order he belonged to by birthright. Even if he was newly promoted in the ranks of aristocracy, Cato quickly climbed the hierarchy and achieved the rank of consul, behaving more like an aristocrat than many aristocrats.

He describes his ideas about Roman politics in *Origines*, a history of Rome which Cato wrote in seven books, a work in which he had the ambition of describing Rome’s entire history, starting with its founding, finding within its pages a justification for “Roman expansionist policies” (Șarambei, Șarambei, n.d.: 59). Through his literary works, he demonstrates that he is an ultranationalist, being, as Eugen Cizek says, “the inventor of Roman historical monograph” (Cizek, 2003: 122). The history he wrote was about Rome and for Rome, having powerful anti-foreign themes. Cato considered that Rome belonged to the Romans and hated the Greeks (except the Spartans, however) and the Carthaginians. Even if he hated the Greeks, he feared them because of their culture, and he hated the Carthaginians because of the experience he lived as a young recruit on the battlefield.

Origines preaches two main ideas: respecting the *mos maiorum* (Roman politics had to revolve around this tradition of the ancestors) and the *terra Italica* (Rome and all of its territorial possessions in the Italic Peninsula). These two concepts had to be

applied by statesmen who needed to dedicate their lives, talent and intellect in the interests of this hallowed ground, Rome. The hero of his history is not a politician, a god or a historical personality, but instead, the “people of Italy and especially Rome” (Cizek, 2003: 123). Therefore, through his history, Cato Censor proves that he is a “lucid conservative, ..., enlightened, ..., a consequent republican, not only a fanatic but also ferocious” (Cizek, 2003: 123). The main ideological message of his works is the “feeling of the reality of Italic unification around Rome” (Grimal, 1997: 100-102).

His conceptions are also noticeable in the plethora of speeches which he held as a lawyer. We have some information regarding the contents of Cato’s speeches, although they have been sadly lost to time. Cato Censor believed that Rome needed to be original without imitating other civilizations, such as the Greek one, regarding political institutions. Being well versed in Roman law, he considered that Rome should guide itself by its own values and laws. In many of his speeches, Cato criticizes the political shortcomings and the corruption of the Roman institutions, holding speeches about the “incorrect elections” of some Roman magistrates. In these demonstrations of speech craft, Cato Censor appears first as a lawyer, being a protector of “civil liberties”, fervently attacking statesmen who showed desire for personal glory as opposed to the glory of Rome, or those who unjustly condemned Roman “free men” (Grimal, 1997: 103).

A man devoted to the rule of the law, Cato Censor argued in his speeches not only for Roman law, but also for everybody to obey it, especially the Romans. He considered the Greek habits unfitting for Romans. He held many speeches against waste, the most famous one being the speech held in support of the *Lex Oppia*.

As a commander of Rome sent to Hispania to reestablish Roman order, he did not take the spoils of war and pillage himself as was customary, but instead, he deposited them directly into Rome’s vaults. His patriotism was also visible in diplomacy. Sent in a diplomatic mission in the Greece, he refused to speak Greek, even if he knew the language, answering only to Latin (Grimal, 1997: 99). Cato Censor was a veritable statesman who hated the Greeks, considering them strangers who defiled Roman tradition, but he also had a sort of envy for their cultural superiority, which influenced and continued to influence many Romans of his time.

De agri cultura sive De re rustica, even if it was a treatise on agronomy, reflected a reality in Roman society, namely that agriculture was the basis of Roman economy (Grimal, 1997: 103), Cato offering guidelines for obtaining a production which could assure the self-sufficiency of landowners. The Roman aristocracy, to which Cato belonged as well, thanks to the change of his social status, held, at the time, a dominant role in Italic agriculture, most of the land being in the hands of aristocrats. According to Cato, this Roman “rural spirit” led to Rome’s victory over the Greeks, who had attempted to morally attack Roman identity, but also other, much more deceitful foreigners (the Carthaginians) who had tried at Rome’s heart itself, in a much more direct manner, through economic, military and territorial dominance. We can say that through his treatise on agricultural activity, Cato supported the idea of a national Roman economy, which would offer it autonomy in the context of the economical war between Rome and Carthage.

Through all of his rhetorical works, Cato Censor also pointed out the qualities a Roman public speaker must possess. He must, first, serve his country, and to do this, the orator simply had to be a “good man – *vir bonus* – skilled in speaking” (Fredouille, 2000: 42). Because of this, in internal politics, Cato was a *vir bonus* who took note of and commented on all the shortcomings of his fellow Roman politicians. Not even the Roman heroes were spared – the family of the Scipiones – or the electoral corruption present in not only the political, but also the administrative system, considering the corruption of Rome’s magistrates a “serious threat to the balance of the Roman institutions” (Fredouille, 2000: 42).

The great statesman considered that Rome had to be strong and fair on the inside to resist external threats. Internally, the law and *mos maiorum* were responsible for assuring the strength of the institutions, and externally, the army and a good economical and foreign policy. Rome could not let itself be caught up in internal fights, out on the whim of the major personalities, influenced by Hellenistic circles, whose interests never intersected with the interests of Rome. Cato Censor struggled with these problems in his life as a lawyer, but also in his activities as a landowner. The internal struggle was damaging to Rome, who had to face powerful enemies such as the Carthaginians.

The patriot statesman also had a ranking of Rome’s enemies: the Greeks were first because they acted upon Rome in much more subtle ways: through culture, language, education and immigration, which brought about Oriental decadence (Marinescu, 2003: 24-26). The second place was occupied by the Carthaginians because of their economic power and naval empire.

As a *clarissimus vir*, Cato shone in all aspects of public life. He always acted like a devout patriot, pledging his life in service of Rome, for his *terra*, but also for the *mos*. As a politician, he also shone through speech craft, being one of the most renowned orators of his time, nicknamed the “Demosthenes of Rome”. As a consul, he ruled over the province of Sardinia, serving his country with dignity, without accepting the bribes and gifts which were usually offered to governors; he considered this custom different from the *mos maiorum*, borrowed from a people he despised even more than the Carthaginians, the Greeks. He considered them: “a people rotten to the core, unable to lead itself.” (Plutarh trans., 2004: 103-115).

Why *Carthago Delenda Esse*?

This is a very common question among those concerned with the study of Cato’s life and works. Arguments and answers to this question are uncovered by careful study of his biography and works.

1. *Carthago delenda esse* because it was the foreign city which Cato feared the most, therefore also hating it the most. Hannibal’s terrible power almost left the Romans without an army in Cato’s youth. Hannibal destroyed Rome on *terra Italica*, the Cannae and Trasimene disasters leaving a lasting impression on Cato Censor, who was an active belligerent and considered they should never be repeated. Particularly because he was a belligerent he felt the bitter taste of the humiliation the Roman army suffered. Cato’s fear of the Carthaginians was therefore justified, it grew along with his hatred but also with his desire for vengeance. We can say that the statesman Cato was

born on the battlefields of Cannae and Trasimenus. He was a politician with many different sides to him, “a warrior, magistrate, consul, farmer, merchant”, he had a “family” (De Coulanges trans., 1984: 40; 67) to protect which was the entirety of Rome.

2. *Carthago delenda esse* because the Carthaginian power, of extraordinary commercial, financial, colonial and naval force, opposed Roman imperialism. Carthage not only stole the “vital space” needed for Roman expansion, but also a part of *terra Italica*, the southern seaside and isles being the cause of the war which made the two civilizations clash. The fear fully acts on Rome, and maybe the Carthaginians were the strangers whom the Romans feared the most, and the *Hannibal ante portas* episode was the paroxysmal moment of this terror. Cato thought that Rome could not develop as a great power with such a powerful neighbor.

3. *Carthago delenda esse* because this omnipotent Carthaginian power had to be eliminated from the Mediterranean. The Carthaginians were a hindrance to Roman economy and to all Roman interests in the region, and Cato Censor, in addition to be a magistrate, was also a businessman, an aristocrat – an economic agent with his own personal ambitions. The second Punic war, which was the most damaging to the Romans, was supported by the Roman “business means” (Bordet, n.d.: 95-101) which aspired to breach into the economic market dominated by Carthage.

4. *Carthago delenda esse* because Roman law, which Cato Censor followed with all his might, did not give economic rights to foreigners on Roman soil. The Roman law, described by the Senate as “ruling body of the roman community...the law made obvious the will of the people” (Crawford, 1997: 56), and the will of the Roman people was for Rome to dominate the Mediterranean, and through it, the entire world. Roman law also supported Roman interests, no matter their nature. Cato, a Roman lawyer, fought against all those who wished to change the will of the Roman people. In the Punic war he took part of, the willpower of the people was close to being eliminated; therefore, he saw the invaders from Cannae, Trasimenus and Rome’s gates, the deceitful Carthaginians, powerful strangers and neighbor, as worthy of being punished.

5. *Carthago delenda esse* because it was on the mind of an entire people, who found the most fitting representative to be Cato Censor. “*Fides*”, the goddess of the Romans, required revenge after Rome was one step from being wiped out. National consciousness, tenacity and pragmatism allowed the Romans to close a favorable peace. The Romans reorganized in a remarkable way after the successive disasters, maybe in part due to the *mos maiorum* which Cato considered sacred, because only through a general mobilization were the Romans able to defeat the strangers they were both fearful and hateful of. The Romans had an entirely different world from the Carthaginians, “the Roman world was based on a complex system of exchanges, perfectly codified, which, regardless of their nature, were built on a unique bond... it’s about *Fides*... Rome was therefore built on an entire series of relationships which were not at all material, which did not pertain to objects, but had exceptional importance” (Roman, 2007: 132-133). It was indeed Roman nationalism which defeated Punic mercenaryism.

The same discursive obsession, which we have named in this study, acted as motivation, as encouragement, as hope, for the Romans in the army. Through this obsession, Cato Censor built a team spirit and an objective of the Roman army's vengeance, who had to destroy its foreign enemy who had caused it so much grief and humiliation. The Romans needed to have, in Cato's vision, what we would call nowadays a national project, namely destroying Carthage, a terrorist *hostis*. Like any intelligent man, Cato learned from his staggering defeats, being aware that the Roman army had to be rebuilt to be able to stand up to this frightening enemy. Not only a physical recreation was needed, but also a moral one. The entire Roman national spirit had to be riled up, because once it was alive again, the victory of the Romans was certain: "once their military success was put into motion, the Romans had also managed to make it self-sustaining in a manner that no other ancient city had ever achieved systematically" (Beard, 2017: 146). This was what Cato Censor was bidding his hopes on, understanding wars are won not only through arms, but also by means of the heart.

6. *Carthago delenda esse* because from a military point of view, this was a necessity for Rome. A foreign enemy feared by the Romans for so much time needed to be eliminated as soon as possible in order to not transform into a paradigm of punishing Rome and resisting its domination. The conspicuousness of the destruction of an enemy who had sunk both the pride and the fleet of the Romans was, from a military point of view, a desire for a retaliatory move which assured peace, so that no other enemy would dare to harm the dignity of Rome. Moreover, through removing such a powerful foe, Rome would take over its empire, which would mean assuming control over the Mediterranean.

Rome carried out the total destruction of Carthage in an organized way, respecting Cato's obsession by burning the city and farming the soil, so that this enemy, which had wounded the pride and very being of Rome, would be unable to ever rise again, and to strike fear of Roman vengeance if anyone dared to.

Conclusions

The idiom which always characterized Cato Censor was *Pugna pro patria*, not for the country's money, like gladiators, but for its cause (Cato trans., 2000: 39).

Cato Censor, always supported Rome and its greater good through all of his actions, political, military, or otherwise, as a veritable statesman for whom his country was the supreme ruler. His discursive obsession hides a great complexity for Roman civilization, Cato leaving it up to his followers to fulfill it. *Vir bonus*, he wished for a country of Romans, proud, over which strangers held no authority. He hated foreigners because he was afraid of them, considering them to be damaging, through cultural, economic or other influences, to the destiny of Rome.

We consider that, through his speeches, Cato Censor did not bore his contemporaries, but rather motivated them to build a Rome without equal, a city much more influential than Carthage, a global Rome, an ideal which was fulfilled after his death. He was the first who was willing to bet on Rome in world politics, as the ideological founder of nationalism as a political concept, who influenced his fellow countrymen to follow in his footsteps: "They made a daring bet for universal

dominance and control, and they have fulfilled these goals”, as Polybios said (Beard, 2017: 171).

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**THE TIME OF GREAT CHANGES: THE MIGRATION PERIOD
AS A STAGE IN THE EASTERN ROMAN EMPIRE ORIGIN**

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*Gulnar Kozgambayeva****, *Aliya Osphanova*****

Abstract

Events, that took place at the dawn of human civilization are still of great interest to historians. In this article the authors analyze the original historical data, history of Hun who caused the Great Migration of Eurasian and European people and relationship with East Roman Empire. The main reasons of this phenomenon are analyzed: political, cultural, socio-economic and geographical. This research shows all the stages of the Great Migration process and how he had affected on the creation of the new political unit – Eastern Roman Empire. Nowadays, in the world history, namely in the history of West Europe in the period of the Great Migration life of people has become one of the significant issues. The pick of this process, which covered whole European continent and changed its political, economic, ethnical, cultural development came to 4-7 centuries. Moreover, in 4-7 centuries Eurasian history is considered as continuation of Hun history in Europe.

Key words: *Great Migration, Eastern Roman Empire, huns, West Roman Empire*

In the history of world, especially in the history of Europe the life of people during the period of the Great Migration is one of the significant issues. The epoch of the Great Migration of Nations is a conditional name for a special period of world history that took place at the turn of the Antiquity and the Middle Ages (II-VII centuries) in Europe, Asia and North Africa, when the interaction of barbarism and civilization reached its most intensive phase. The result of this interaction is the birth of a new, Medieval civilization. The mass migrations of Germanic, Hunnic, Slavic and other tribes are characteristic for the era of the Great Migration. The grandiose migration movement that gripped Europe in the 1st millennium AD was a phenomenon that radically changed the ethnopolitical map of the continent.

In the article one of those people, who caused the Great Migration – Huns and their relations with Eastern Roman Empire will be discussed.

The relevance of the studied topic is justified by the fact that neither domestic nor foreign scientists haven't yet come to a clear formulation of the reasons and the

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period during which the Great Migration lasted. Also isn't fully understood the role of the Hunnic tribes in this socio-historical process.

A lot of research has been dedicated to the Great Migration of peoples. But this issue still requires in-depth study, development of new approaches to the problem and multifactor analysis. The authors of this research aim to study in more detail the influence of the Huns on the process of the Great Migration of Peoples.

In preparing this article, the authors relied on the studies of such foreign scientists as Heather, P. (2012), Kelly, C. (2010), Kim, H.J. (2015), Maenchen-Helfen, O. (2010).

Among the authors from the CIS there were analyzed the works of Baxaddin, U. (1998), Dashkov, S.B. (1996), Destunis, S. (1861), Inostransev, K.A. (1924), Kosminsky, E.A. (1951), Kulakovskiy, Y. (1967), Sazanov, A.V. and Ivashchenko, Y.F. (1989), Sidorova, N.A. (1957), Skazkin, S.D. (1967), Tortayev, S.A. (2002), Udaltsova, Z.V. (1952; 1967), Maslennikov, A.A and Chevelev, O.D. (1984), Zhumagulov, K.T. and Myrzabekova, R.S. (2015) and others.

The methodological basis for the disclosure of the analyzed topic was the system approach, which assumes a holistic examination of the object, the identification of its structural elements and the principles of its organization. This work also used such scientific methods as the chronological method, the comparative method, the historical-descriptive method, the method of studying documents, the content analysis of documents and scientific works. The principle of historicism allowed not only to study the conditions of the migration process, but also to trace the dynamics of its development in each specific historical situation. For the applied principle of positivism, in the scientific toolkit, the main facts are those described and systematized as a result of a specialized approach and analysis.

The history of Hun state who caused the Great Migration of the people of Eurasia and Europe has an important part in the history of East and West. The pick of this process, which covered whole European continent and changed considerably its political, economical, ethnical, cultural development, comes to 4-7 centuries. Moreover, the history of Hun people in the Europe in 4-7 centuries continues with the history of Eurasia. Along with migration with fights it has become a sample of integration and synthesis of different actions, traditions, and culture of East and West. As a result of this integration it influenced in establishment of new social relations and new civilizations. In this period the effect of the process of Great Migration of people related to Hun played its role in the world history (Zhumagulov, 2013: 238).

In general, the term of "Huns" came into scientific usage in 1926 by Russian historian and orientalis K.A.Inostransev (1924), so that to differentiate European Huns from Asian Huns. In the other opinion, Eastern Rome Empire's famous chronologist, historian of 7 century, member of Byzantium embassy Huns were called as "Unns" (Destunis, 1861: 41).

It is clear from the history that Huns migrated to Europe from Central Asia. In 4 century BC Chinese considered them as dangerous opponents (Baxaddin, 1998: 99). Military head of Huns achieved a lot of success during the war against Khan Empire.

In the first half of 2 century BC migration of Huns tribes started to East Kazakhstan and Zhetisu, then to West Siberia, Ural, Caspian coast and the steppes

behind Edil river. In this area assimilation process of Huns with local tribal communities started. In the middle of 4 century they arrived to Edil and Don. They invaded the land of Alans in Azov and North Caucasus, The Bosphorus Kingdom, Huns crossed Don river, occupied in 375 the Kingdom of Ostrogoth headed by King Ermanarikh in South and East Europe. Thus, 375 BC was the year of Great Migration of people in the history.

Scientists before showed Huns as destroyers of culture of people in the territory of Great Migration, Greece cities, Don, Kuban, Rome Empire, famous Cherniakhov culture, and whole European culture (Udaltsova, 1952: 70; Maslennikov & Chevelev, 1984: 421). In the past years, archeologist deny these theories. Comparatively investigating the results of archeological works, they found out that Hun people did not harm culture of Bosphorus and other cities (Sazanov & Ivashchenko, 1989: 88). Furthermore, culture of Bosphorus people in the 4-7 centuries has not changed at all (Sazanov, 1989: 211). However, they were dependent on Huns at that period.

In 395 BC Roman Empire was divided into two parts: West Roman Empire and East Roman Empire (Dashkov, 1996: 76). East part was called "Rome Empire". The term "Byzantine" was used after Osman Turks invaded Rome people and erased their name from the history. The name of East Roman Empire was caused by its capital city.

In 330 BC Emperor Constantine I moved the capital of Roman Empire to the east, Byzantine's city located in Bosphorus and Megar area. New capital was called "Constantinople" in honor of Emperor Constantine (Kulakovskiy, 1967: 13).

East Roman Empire existed more than thousand years and it is obvious from history that it was multinational centralized state. The Emperor of East Roman Empire Fedosi I died, and the west part of the Empire was inherited by his son Gonorii, while East part was inherited by Arkadii. After that two Empires passed social development path with its own characteristics. Moving the capital of East Roman Empire to Bosphorus (Turkic – Black Sea Strait, Greek – Bosphorus) had political, economic and cultural significance. It was located on the cross of trading paths between Europe and Asia, Black Sea and Aegean Sea. Thus new capital was called "Golden Bridge". Constantinople which is surrounded by land and seas became military and strategic center.

In 395 in East Roman Empire there were 7 diocese out of 14. It consisted of Balkan peninsula, Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Mesopotamia and part of Armenia, Mediterranean eastern islands and Crimea, Caucasus (Tortayev, 2002: 324).

East Roman Empire consisted of various nationalities, namely, Greeks, Copts, Jewish, Arabs, Illirics, Thracians, Armenians, Georgian etc. Even though the number of Latin people were less until 7 century Latin language was official language of East Rome Empire. After that Latin was replaced by Greek language. In 4-7 centuries East Roman Empire was a military and bureaucratic monarchy with centralized power. Whole governmental power was concentrated in Emperor's hand. He controlled court service along with foreign affairs, issued laws, and he was chief-commander. His power is believed to be given by God. Inherit power of Emperor was not written by law. However, in fact power was inherited from father to his son. If the heir will stay in the power was determined by his ability to govern the state. Advisor of Emperor

was called Senate or Singlet. He or she had a power to elect Emperor together with representative of people and militaries. People were governed by Council of Emperor. Whole country was divided into two prefectures – East and Illiric.

In East Roman Empire there were three types of government services: palace, civil, and military. The state was controlled by civil government representatives, but not military ones. In the 5th century Byzantine Empire had an army of 5 hundred thousand soldiers. The army was governed by 5 masters. Army was consisted from ordinary Byzantines farmers, later it was composed from contractors. Thus Byzantine Empire due to strong army and mighty fleet protected his border from barbarians, even sometimes attacked them.

The difference between East Roman Empire from West Roman Empire in early Middle Age was in capital and circus parties – dims in large cities. The most powerful party among four largest ones in Empire was Veneto and Pracin. Veneto party was Orthodox, and protected interests of mayors, aristocrats, rich people and government officials. While, Pracin was Monofisit, they protected traders and craftsmen.

The people of Byzantine divided into some groups of professions with particular rights and obligations which were inherited. The highest group was employees group, their high group was consisted of government employees and land owners – senators. Employees who don't have the title of senators were called aristocratic dinats, mostly they were land owners with titles of masters, regional mayors, metropolises, episcopos, hegumens. The group with benefits is consisted of kurials – small and middle land owners of city kurias. The next hierarchal group was farmers; they were mostly consisted of colons. Colon itself were divided into two: independent and dependent. Dependent colons had fixed property and property cannot be inherited. Next group is plebs, independent citizens of cities, traders, ship owners, craftsmen, small land owners. The last group is slaves without any rights.

Furthermore, Byzantine Empire located on the borderland of Europe and Asia was a powerful state which played a leading role in trade and economic, political and cultural relations of Middle Age West and East for many centuries. The religious impact of the Empire expanded over the area from Baltic Sea to Red Sea.

In terms of social and economic development East Roman Empire had some typical features. First of all, the conditions of the agricultural sector were higher than those of West Empire (Sidorova, 1957: 197). The downturn of agriculture of Byzantine took place later than in West Rome Empire. Even in some places of the Empire it took place in late 6th century. In East Roman Empire large land ownership was concentrated mainly Emperor's treasury, which was in monasteries and churches. The issue of landownership of aristocrats went slowly and in little scale. There were less latifundio type landownership.

In East Roman Empire along with agricultural sector the proportion of city culture was large. In city there were some craftsmen workshops with one or two contractors working for them. Apart from there were smith's shops with workers and slaves, which belong to government treasury of church. Empire's craftsmen production was more developed than in West Rome Empire, they had textile industry, construction technology, and produced linen and wool fabrics. In 6th century they started producing silk. Mining and metallurgy, production of weapon was highly

developed. Glass items, decoration of glass items, palace belongings, coins, military cloths, and jewelry were produced. Byzantine gold “solid” was used as international currency in the Middle Ages for many centuries (Zhumagulov & Myrzabekova, 2015: 247-248).

Byzantine has become the most developed state in the Europe; traders transported valuable goods from West to East and had a lot of income. Especially, during governing of Emperor Justinian military power of the state increased, and many small states were invaded by him. Very smart, brave, hard-working, stubborn Emperor by supporting the church tried to merge West and East Rome Empires. Aiming to dominate on the Great Silk Way they established military union with Turk Kaganat against Iran. Some Turkic tribes served in Byzantine army, and moved to Asia Minor, Caucasus, and Balkan Peninsula. In the politics of Justinian changes caused by social and economic relations (“Code”, “Novels”) entered into legal force. Existence of cities with developed handcrafts and many trade, and monetary, good, trade agreements demanded protection of property right and strict limitations (Udaltsova, 1967: 21).

Moreover, in Byzantine Empire included states with developed farming and agriculture. Thus, foreign and interior situation of the Empire was influenced significantly by agricultural relations. Demographic changes took place in 7-9 centuries due to the settlement of barbarian tribes in the territory of the Empire had impact on the development of production institutions. Migration of barbarian tribes to Byzantine land increased population. Settling down in the Byzantine Empire, immigrants mixed with local farmers. Thus, they strengthened institutions of agriculture of the country. Increasing the number of farmers, immigrants influenced in strengthening landownership community of Slavs and Byzantine farmers. Slav people brought with them community with unity, stability, strong interior relations.

As mentioned above, we can see that East Roman Empire was richer than West Roman Empire in the Middle Ages. The Empire was provided with wheat from Egypt and Thrace. Eastern part of the Empire was rich with fertile land and the weather was favorable for agriculture. Fertility of land and favorable weather in some parts of the country could let to have 2 or 3 harvests per year. Irrigation system on the south-east countries as Egypt, East Syria, etc. had huge influence on agriculture sector. On the irrigated land there were fruit gardens, grape farms, and gardens with olive trees, while in the south there were date trees. Along with fruit gardens there were some crops. Moreover, farming was developed as well (Skazkin, 1967: 213).

In agriculture in the 4th century weakened bondage system was replaced by feudal relations. In the Middle Ages in Byzantine there were many land ownerships and farmers’ community property, private property. Slaves and Colons worked there. The main feature of agrarian relations in Byzantine was existence of independent farmers, majority of colonates (a peasant, in Ancient Rome, who was legally tied to the land, but could not be bought or sold) and long-term rent (fee-farm). Moreover, it can be seen, that distribution of land among slaves existed unlike in West Empire. It was called “peculium”. Unlike in West Rome Empire, there were more independent farmers.

In Byzantine village large landownership was replaced by farmers' community landownership. Work of colons and slaves in large landownership was replaced by work of independent farmers. Colons were divided into two: independents and dependents. Independent colons had small private property share and equipments along with share given by large landowner. However, some colons could lose their share and became dependent. Moreover, children of dependent colons could not leave their landlord.

Colons paid taxes for land share. It was a particular amount of production ($1/5$, $1/3$, $1/2$). During the harvest season colons had to work for free for 2-3 days per week in the land of their landlords. Landowners tried to increase tax as possible and limit colons' legal rights. Therefore, in terms of social and economic situation of colons they were close to slaves.

There were conditional landownership in the territory of the state, which is called "commenda". The land was a possession of the state, however owner worked on it and paid tax "canon". Along with independent landowners there were independent village communities called "mitrocomuses". It should be noted that in 6th century Justinian's large construction works played great role in stabilizing the economy of East Roman Empire Emperor. Procopius's "Thesaurus on construction" and archeological excavations can prove it. Expansion of constructions intensified the social life and gave an opportunity to worker and builders to make a lot of profit. The government of Justinian stimulated farmers and small landowners to get rich and to contribute to the state's enrichment. Moreover, average wealthy landowners were in demand of other allies. The most authoritative ally was a church. In the mid 4th century Christianity was the official religion of whole Rome Empire. This religion was supported by government. Especially, churches in Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch had great authority. Their high power was announced officially in the "First (Nicaean) World cathedral". As the prime head of the church it was the second powerful after Rome Pop. The territory of Constantinople and its right was consolidated in 451 in Chalcedon church. The head of the church was called "Patriarch". In the late 4th century the governing of east and west churches and their traditions had some differences. Moreover, workhouses and smith's shops were controlled by church. There were considerable differences between west and east churches, however for thousand years they were under state's control and they were allies of the government. With the establishment of church unions and increase of material foundation monarchy institution was established in the Empire. Thus, government always used to support churches and monasteries. In the late 4th century landownership of churches made up $1/10$ of Empire's landownership.

Furthermore, downturn of economy of Byzantine Empire happened later than in the West. In some places it started in the late 6th century. In East Roman Empire large landownership was concentrated around Emperor's treasury, which was in monasteries and churches. The issue of landownership of aristocrats developed slowly and in small amount. Latifundium type landownership was less in the state.

Cities in the East and markets developed actively. As a result, Constantinople was major Byzantine Empire's capital city, where many merchants from all over the world came. In the Empire there were other large cities, which were economic centers of

Alexandria, Syria, Antioch, Edessa, Tyr, Asia Minor such as Efes, Nicea, Nicomedia, and Smyrna, etc. In 5-6 centuries commercial relations of East Roman Empire with the countries of Black Sea region and Caucasus increased (Kosminsky, 1951: 260).

After that Huns started attacking East Rome Empire's Balkan area several times. At first, Huns had warm and peaceful relations with East Rome Empire, as in 5th century most of Rome Empire's army was consisted of contractors of Hun people. In the 5th century Huns moved to Pannonia, then it became the center of Hun people. Hun leader Attila (Edil) (born in 395, died in 453) who was awarded title "master militum" for his military leadership skills in 40 of 5th century in Europe, started leading independent policy regarding to West Rome.

During his power in 434-453 state of Hun has become one of the powerful countries with large territory. Greek and Roman data shows that Attila was from tribe of the king whose generation ruled the country for many centuries. In 434 after death of Rua Kagan his brother Mundzuk's children Attila and Bleda governed the country (according to some data, Attila and Bleda weren't brothers, they were cousins). In 444 after death of Bleda, Attila became the only one ruler of the country. In 435-436 Huns ruled by Attila invaded Kingdom of Burguns between Main and Rein which was dominated by Rome. This event was base for German well-known epic composition of "Poem about Nibelung" which was as famous as "Poem about Igor's Polk", "Poem about Roland", and Homer's and other poems. In this and other German eposes, Scandinavian sagas Attila (Etelcel, Atli) is described as savior of people from Rome Empire's strain (Heather, 2012: 302).

Prisk Paniyskiy in his work called "History of Byzantine" describes Attila as country's leader, wise ruler who performed great job, talented negotiator, and fair expert, while his country is shown as the most dangerous opponent of Rome Empire. Prisk Paniyskiy states that East Roman Empire and West Roman Empire aimed to be ally with powerful Hun's King. Two Empires competed in pleasing the great ruler. In Pannonia palace of Attila Prisk met delegators of Valentinian III the Emperor of West Rome Empire, who attempt to persuade Huns to stop their invasion of West Rome Empire. Especially, East Roman Empire made huge effort to be in good relations with Attila. "they accepted his all demands and his decisions were considered as law by them" – Prisk wrote about East Rome's people (Kelly, 2010: 411).

According to Prisk Paniyskiy who was delegate in that period, war between East Roman Empire and Huns started with the attacks to trade fair in current Belgrade territory by Byzantine people. The main cause of the war was that city episcopo Marg stole Hun's treasure from king's tomb. Marg was caaught and then sent to Singidund (current Belgrade) and Viminaciy which is the largest cities in Dunai. Huns then moved through Dunai to the east Ratriari (current Bulgarian village Archer) and through Morav to the south Naissa (surrent Serbian Niche) (Kim, 2015: 34).

In general, the chronology of invasion of East Roman Empire by Huns, the dates of invasion of each city are written differently by various researchers. Hun's ruler Attila's attack to Byzantine is clearly described by O. Maenchen-Helfen (2010) in his work called "The World of the Huns: Studies in Their History and Culture".

Chronicler of those period Prosper Tyro (born in Aquitania, served as secretary of Rome Pop Lev I for a long time) describes Attila's attack to West Roman Empire

as the main event of that period as follows: “as he passed Rein many Gall cities were in terror. Roman and Got people gathered their army, and decided to meet their enemies...” (Kim, 2015: 47).

An evidence of this period can be letters of Pop and archive materials, however unfortunately they haven't been selected properly until today, and this issue is related to the soviet historical documents as well. Latin language data related to East Roman Empire let us reconstruct sophisticated issues of international relations of that period. For example, in 451 Pop Lev I delivered to Emperor of East Roman Empire Markian that Christian West and East Rome Emperors' agreements would help to fight against their enemies.

Fight with Huns caused merge of East Roman Empire and Westgot Kingdom, they could unite other Celtic and German tribes. United West Rome Empire's army was headed by Patricio Flavi Aeci. Aeci long before that run away to uns during the fight for the power in Rome, where they supported him and with Italian army he came back to the Empire to rule the army again. Sometimes Aeci used Hun contractors and could govern them.

In the beginning of 451 BC Attila started his invasion. His army crossed Rein and headed to Tryr, two groups headed to north-east Gallia (France).

Final fight happened in Cataluña in Sampans (lat. Campi Catalaunici). Cataluña fight was as well-known as European and world famous fights such as Cann of Cannibal (in 216 BC), Waterloo of Napoleon (in 1815). The fight started in June of 451. King of Westgot Theodoric was responsible for right wing, while Aeci for left wing, and their allies positioned in the middle. Armies in the central and opposite positions were Huns with their head Attila. Westgot King Theodoric fell down after being injured, his body was lost among others, but it was found next day. The fight continued till night.

We have to mention that military skills of Huns were developed well. It can be proved by Asian and European archeological data. Huns who lived in Asia had territory of thousand kilometers. However, the question is how come they could invade most of Eurasian and European territory in those days? Despite difference of landscape, climate, language, lifestyle, traditions of people in invaded territory their merge with Huns seems amazing.

This all can be explained by their strong army. In fact, Huns could ride a horse since their birth, according to some authors as Ammian Marcellin, Appolinari Sidoni, and etc. they seemed to be fixed to the saddle by nails. Moreover, saddles made of wood and decorated with gold and silver were found by archeologists in Altai region, Kenkol (Tian Shan), Burabai river, lower Volga, Hungary. Hun horse rider had 2-3 horses in case he needs. Archers of army had important role, Huns were very skilled archers (Zhumagulov, 2009: 17-19). Special asymmetry bow was made of flexible wood and decorated with horn plates, bones.

Thus, determining the level of investigation of the issue, following conclusions can be made:

- History of Huns who caused the Great Migration of people and their relations with East Roman Empire has great part in the world history;

- In the period of the Great Migration of European people state of Hun played an important role;
- Huns are not destroyers of European culture, in contrast they developed it;
- Byzantine Empire is one of the powerful countries in borderland of Europe and Asia;
- The development of military skills of Huns can be proved by many archeological data;
- Spiritual impact of East Roman Empire expanded from Baltic Sea to Red Sea region.

Thus, among Turkic people Huns opened new path to new society and culture in Middle Ages in Europe and Eurasia.

Thus, to summarize what has been said, we would like to emphasize: it is time to take a fresh look at the “old” problem through the prism of interdisciplinarity, applying an integrated systemic approach. This will allow, without contrasting the East and the West, to reveal the historical tread of the global migration of the population that began on the Eurasian continent. Moreover, according to the statements of geographers, almost from the beginning of our era man “came into motion”, and this tendency continues to this day.

It should also be noted that the development of a new approach should fall on the shoulders of specialists and, first of all, historians-medievalists. Only they can quite professionally define what is the “Great Migration”, as well as when it happened. Therefore, the topic is still promising for research. The scientists should create the clear chronological scope of the process, to indicate the number of peoples and nationalities participating in it, and the stages that took place in this process.

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**VORONTSOV DYNASTY'S CORRESPONDENCE AS A SOURCE
OF THE HISTORY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN EUROPE
OF XVIII-XIX CENTURIES**

*Irina V. Ladikova**

Abstract

The article analyses systems of correspondence relations between the members of Vorontsov dynasty and British state and military figures, which is kept in the British archives. Research is conducted within the scientific paradigm and using methods of a special historical subject – epistolology. Correspondence is presented as a source of the history of international relations in XVIII-XIX century. The activity of Vorontsov family corresponders and the members of Vorontsov family is defined and a description and the main events that happened in that period on the world stage are given. Research findings are presented in a table that contains correspondence relations title, a period during which the correspondence was conducted, and topic-based letter groups, which contain the materials concerning main problems of international relations in Europe of XVIII-XIX century. The article outlines the prospects of further scientific research, the key one being a reconstruction of correspondence and its introduction in scientific circulation.

Key words: *British archives, history of international relations of XVIII-XIX century, correspondence, epistolology, noble circles*

Introduction

One of the more promising directions of source criticism is research of family archives. Of special interest are archives of distinguished military and political figures as a source of historical research of international relations or history of specific countries. The article presents new findings about the archives of one of the most famous Russian dynasties – Vorontsov dynasty.

Purpose of study: a study of the existence of documents which are authored by Vorontsov family or which has Vorontsov family members as addressees in the British archives, also documents from Vorontsov archives which are the source of research in the history of international relations in Europe of XVIII-XIX century. Object of study – documents, which by the characteristic of the addressee or the author can be attributed to the documents from Vorontsov archives. Subject of study – the list of British archives where aforementioned documents are kept.

It is generally known that private archives have the following structure: private documents (lineage, academic certificates, decoration reports etc.); correspondence (official and private); collection items. This study will focus only on correspondence.

Research into correspondence is conducted in the discipline of epistolology. This term appeared in national science in the second half of the twentieth century (Smetanin, 1979), establishing that «epistolology» is science that studies letters – «correspondence». Correspondence offers insight into a prevailing attitude towards

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ruling elite in certain social climate, about outlooks on events occurring on the world stage and in their own country etc. In the eighteenth century, when sources of information about public affairs were quite limited (among foreign periodicals subscribers were only enlightened monarchs and ruling elite, even far from all of them), letters were the main source of receiving news from other countries and coverage of events occurring on the world stage.

Correspondence of distinguished political and military figures is divided into official and private, but not always possible to differentiate archived documents by this quality. This is clearly demonstrated by the archives of Vorontsov family, whose friends were also simultaneously their colleagues who occupied highest state positions in the Russian Empire, and for this reason letters involved both private and official matters.

Characteristic of State Activities of the Four Members of Vorontsov Dynasty

Vorontsov dynasty – one of the most astonishing dynasties in the history of Russia. Several generations – each subsequent one more distinguished in comparison to the previous – were notable in the field of Russian servitude. Table 1 provides information about dynasty's members – prominent state, political and military figures of the Russian Empire, whose documents are kept in British archives.

An important method of correspondence research is «heuristic technique», primarily identified as researcher's «intuition» that relies on analysis of the situation, thorough analysis of specific historical figure's actions in a specific political environment. In this case, the researcher is concerned about four aspects: who is the author of the letter; who is the addressee; when it was written; what events occurred on the world stage. These key positions determine the potential importance of the correspondence as a historical source.

Table 1 provides the information about four members of Vorontsov dynasty, whose correspondence is subject to research. First under examination falls the generation represented by M.I. Vorontsov, vice-chancellor, and later chancellor, of the Russian Empire during the time of Empress Elizabeth Petrovna and in the early reign of Catherine the Great. Second generation – his nephews count A.R. Vorontsov and count S.R. Vorontsov. The former was the President of the Board of Trade of Russian Empire for many years under Catherine II, then chancellor of the Russian Empire under Alexander I, the latter was an envoy for the duration of 20 years, later – Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Empire at the Court of St. James in London. Son of S.R. Vorontsov – the next generation – a count, and later Serene Highness M.S. Vorontsov – was the Commander of the corps of occupation in France, Governor-general of New Russia, Viceroy of the Caucasus.

Table 1: Tenure periods of Vorontsov dynasty members

Full name	Position	Tenure periods
Count M.I. Vorontsov	Vice-Chancellor of the Russian Empire; Chancellor of the Russian Empire.	1744-1758 1758-1765
Count A.R. Vorontsov	Envoy of the Russian Empire to Great Britain; President of the Board of Trade; Chancellor of the Russian Empire.	1762-1764 1773-1793 1802-1805
Count S.R. Vorontsov	Envoy of the Russian Empire to Great Britain; Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Empire to Great Britain.	1785-1797 1797-1806 (with a break in 1801)
Prince M.S. Vorontsov	Commander of Russian corps of occupation in France; Governor-general of New Russia; Viceroy of the Caucasus.	1815-1818 1823-1854 1845-1854

Thus, we answered the first question: who? During our research in the British archives letters belonging to members of Vorontsov dynasty were found. Before the second step of the research – uncovering of correspondence relations of the four dynasty’s members, that is before answering the question of who were the addressees of the letters we are searching for in the British archives, it is reasonable to clarify the following standpoint: why do we search for the letters of these members in the British archives? Why not in Russia?

The answer to this question consists of two points. First, the distinctive quality of scientific research is its novelty, and the questions concerning Vorontsov records, that is kept in Russian national archives of ancient acts (RNAAA) and scientific archives St. Petersburg department of Institute for the History of Material Culture of Russia Academy of Sciences, two of the biggest archives keeping Vorontsov papers, previously examined by I. Troitsky (1933) and V. Jincharadze (1950). Second, field archaeography’s search in British archives for presence of the Vorontsovs’ letters was conducted neither in national archaeography, and neither in national source criticism. Why Britain in particular? The thing is, life and state activity of these four dynasty’s members, one way or another, was tied to this country.

Count M.I. Vorontsov was vice-chancellor, and later chancellor of the Russian Empire, that is the head of Russian foreign policy. Russia and Great Britain were building their relations starting from the sixteenth century. By eighteenth century the embassies were situated in the capitals of both countries. M.I. Vorontsov corresponded with the envoy of Great Britain in Russia in his line of duty. Upon envoy’s return to homeland all embassy’s documents became state records, and later ended up in archives (Archives and Manuscripts..., 1758-1762), that is official letters of count M.I. Vorontsov end up in Great Britain.

Count A.R. Vorontsov as the President of the Board of Trade of Russian Empire oversaw state trade: both external and internal. It is known, that in the eighteenth century Russia and Great Britain were actively trading, specifically, according to Charles Whitworth (2010), Russian Empire had a trade surplus, that is export dominated over import. Empire exported more than it imported. Great Britain needed trade with Russia, therefore Russia frequently used its trade agreements as a tool of

political influence over Great Britain. As is evident from Vorontsov archive's documents, kept in RNAAA, count A.R. Vorontsov drafted trade agreements (Russian National Archives...). The Empress greatly appreciated him as a statesman, he enjoyed her trust concerning state matters or trade agreements. In 1785 Russian-English trade agreement has expired. A new one was concluded in 1793. Its conclusion was preceded by lengthy negotiations, which occasionally transitioned into an active phase, later postponed because of a reappearance of European continent's serious problem in the form of French Revolution and the threat of its expansion. Later, the relationship between two countries have stalled, nearly resulting in military conflict, from which Russia has emerged with dignity only thanks to the diligence of count S.R. Vorontsov, envoy of the Russian Empire to Great Britain. As a result, the topic of Russian-English trade agreements definitely has to be represented in count A.R. Vorontsov's correspondence. His letters may be in British archives also because from 1762 to 1764 he occupied the position of an envoy of the Russian Empire in London, and he was successful in obtaining connections in royal circles, which in turn pushed count S.R. Vorontsov into choosing London over Paris as his duty station. And, finally, in 1802 count A.R. Vorontsov became chancellor of the Russian Empire, first in its history Minister of Foreign Affairs, that is handled foreign policy of one of the most influential countries in the realm of European international policy. Correspondence with English envoys when he was chancellor of the Russian Empire may as well be in British archives.

Regarding count S.R. Vorontsov, he spent half of his life in Great Britain: from 1785 over 20 years he was an envoy, and later became Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Empire to Great Britain; since 1806, while having retired, lived in Great Britain as a private citizen, and before death (1832), according to several researchers (Davydov, 1992), converted to Anglican Church. Count S.R. Vorontsov enjoyed the well-deserved respect of Great Britain's ruling elite, was a friend of many notable political figures, among which were William Pitt and William Grenville. Information about this was taken by them from their correspondence (The National Archives (a)...; The National Archives (b)...). S.R. Vorontsov became related with one of the historic English royal names – Pembrokes: his daughter, E.K. Vorontsova, married Lord George Augustus Herbert, 11th Earl of Pembroke and 8th Earl of Montgomery. In 1805, after brother's death, whom he was very close with, as evidenced by their correspondence, partially published in «Archives of Prince Vorontsov» edited by P.I. Bartenev, count S.R. Vorontsov decided to resign, in 15 of May 1806 he received Her Imperial Majesty's Edict about his dismissal, continues to live in Great Britain.

Bearing in mind that S.R. Vorontsov resided in Great Britain for 47 years, that he took interest in state affairs and international relations after the resignation and maintained connections with many British nobles, we concluded that his circle of correspondence relations in Great Britain was broad. Fate has bound him with this country more firmly than all other members of the dynasty, thus his letters have to be in archives of Great Britain. Our assumptions were correct: sufficient number of letters were discovered for conducting a separate study.

Count, and later Serene Highness M.S. Vorontsov was born in Russia in 1782, spent his childhood and adolescence in Great Britain from 1785 to 1801. In 1801 he returned to his homeland and started to serve Russia with the rank of Poruchik of Preobrazhensky Lifeguard Regiment. In 1815, at the age of 33 years, he was appointed Commander of Russian corps of occupation in France. In 1823 count M.S. Vorontsov in the position of governor-general, accepted governance of New Russia provinces and Bessarabia (Zakharova, 2005). In 1845 he came to Tiflis as the first viceroy of the Caucasus, while keeping his position of governor-general of New Russia region. No nobleman in the history of Russia, neither before nor after M.S. Vorontsov, did not possess such authority.

Documents of M.S. Vorontsov are kept in Wiltshire archives, among the documents of Wilton House owners, one of them was George Herbert, 11th Earl of Pembroke. His wife was the sister of M.S. Vorontsov – E.S. Vorontsova, therefore documents ended up in archives of Wiltshire county.

Part of Vorontsov archives is kept in Northern Ireland. These documents include letters from emperors Alexander I and Nicholas I to M.S. Vorontsov, a correspondence with his sister, particularly during Battle of Waterloo. In Northern Ireland the correspondence got as part of family archives of his niece, who married 3rd Earl of Clanwilliam, whose land holdings were situated in Northern Ireland, that is along with M.S. Vorontsov's niece Vorontsov family archives also ended up there.

Characteristic of Correspondents of Vorontsov Family

Having covered state activity of the four Vorontsov dynasty's members, whose correspondence is of our interest, we proceed to characteristics of corresponders' personalities.

First on our list is count M.I. Vorontsov – chancellor of the Russian Empire during the reign of Empress Elizabeth Petrovna and the early reign of Catherine the Great. From three corresponders, whose letters are kept in British archives, of utmost interest is Robert Murray Keith – a senior ambassador of Great Britain to Russia, whose correspondence is a valuable source of the history of Russian-English relations of this period. The most significant event on the world stage was the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), therefore it is appropriate to suggest that exactly this world history event is reflected in the correspondence between count M.I. Vorontsov and R. Keith.

Analysis of Correspondence between Alexander and Semyon Vorontsov

Among corresponders of count A.R. Vorontsov the most interesting are Duke of Newcastle and Earl of Liverpool. The former is the Prime Minister of Great Britain in 1757-1762, latter was a British statesman, a member of the House of Commons since 1761, the Deputy Secretary, and since 1763 occupied a position of Minister of Finance. Specifically, from 1762 to 1764 count A.R. Vorontsov resided in London as an envoy of the Russian Empire. A major event on the world stage was the Seven Years' War. According to Friedrich Martens: «News about a coup in Russia (1762) was met with pleasure in London. The English government was quite displeased with their ally's actions – King of Prussia Frederick II, and English trade interests were badly damaged from the endless Seven Years' War. London hoped that Catherine II would

make every effort to establish peace» (Martens, 1874-1902). Given the foregoing, we came to a conclusion that correspondence of count A.R. Vorontsov with British statesman is a potential source of the history about Russian-English relations during Seven Year's War.

Count S.R. Vorontsov was a British resident for the longest time, performing ambassador's duties for 21 years, and later served as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Empire to Great Britain. Among corresponders of Semyon Romanovich were not only statesmen, but also philosophers, industrialists, whose total number amount to more than 20 people. But most of all we are interested in those corresponders, whose correspondence was of a continuous nature and lasted for several years. Among them were notable figures, like William Pitt, William Grenville, Edmund Burke, Jeremy Bentham, Robert Wilson.

William Pitt was the youngest prime minister in the history of Great Britain and occupied this office intermittently for twenty years. It is difficult to describe him better than how it was done by count S.R. Vorontsov in his letter to Prince Adam Czartoryski dated 12 January 1806: «This man combined the most extraordinary abilities and the loftiest virtues with the highest moral standings and with the most humanitarian character on earth; his beautiful soul was never haunted by glimpses of aspirations, arrogance and vanity in the slightest: humble, naïve – he, it appeared, was the only one, who did not know about outstanding virtues of his character. He never was a man belonging to any party, but he was always a man who wholeheartedly dedicated his life to his homeland, which he adored» (Bartenev, 1877). British archives keep correspondence of William Pitt and count S.R. Vorontsov from 1803 to 1805 (The National Archives (a)...; The National Archives (b)...).

A famous politician and a correspondent of S.R. Vorontsov for almost thirty years was Lord William Grenville. Starting from 1791 he oversaw the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for ten years, from 1806 to 1807 he was the Prime Minister. The fact that their correspondence lasted till 1825, that is before the time when both count S.R. Vorontsov and Lord Grenville had resigned, indicates that their relationship, which probably started as service related, later developed into a deep and sincere friendship. It is indicated by their salutations to each other: «Thousands upon thousands of commendations for that friendship you graced yours truly with. Vorontsov», «Be assured, I beg you, of my most sincere and undiminished affection. Grenville» (Archives and Manuscripts...).

Undoubtedly, of relevance is the correspondence of count S.R. Vorontsov with Edmund Burke (Sheffield Archives), a philosopher, statesman, and founder of English conservatism. Among philosophers-corresponders of count S.R. Vorontsov was Jeremy Bentham (a. British Library), a founder of a theory of utilitarianism. Presence of such figures among count S.R. Vorontsov's corresponders reaffirms the fact that the Vorontsovs were one of the most educated people of their time. Count A.R. Vorontsov corresponded with Voltaire, while his brother count Semyon Romanovich corresponded with British philosophers.

Robert Wilson, British general, statesman, who was seconded to Mikhail Kutuzov's regiment in 1812, corresponded with Alexander I. His attitude towards Russia was not amicable, but his correspondence with count Vorontsov persisted

from 1803 to 1812 (b. British Library). Major events on the world stage of that period were the Napoleonic Wars and activities of seven anti-French coalitions. Considering Great Britain was the most industrious participant of anti-French coalitions, correspondence of count S.R. Vorontsov with statemen and military elites of Great Britain is definitely the most significant source of the history of European international relations.

And finally, prominent and renowned Vorontsov lineage member – count, and later Serene Highness M.S. Vorontsov. If we consider the duration of correspondence and its frequency as a standard for selection, then the main corresponders of M.S. Vorontsov, whose correspondence is kept in British archives as a source of the history of international relations, are prince Christopher Henry von Lieven, British general Robert Wilson, British engineer and inventor Samuel Bentham.

Christopher Henry von Lieven occupied the position of ambassador of the Russian Empire to London from 1812 to 1834. Correspondence started in 1801 when count M.S. Vorontsov arrived from London to Russia. The upper bound of correspondence duration is 1835. Evidently, after Prince Lieven's departure from London the correspondence has ceased, and documents ended up in British archives as part of prince's private archives (b. British Library). This period of European history is eventful: the Napoleonic Wars, overseas campaigns of the Russian army, activities of the Holy Alliance, the Russo-Turkish War of 1828-1829.

Robert Wilson – a general, with whom count S.R. Vorontsov corresponded, evidently, having met him during his residency in Great Britain. M.S. Vorontsov corresponded with Wilson when he returned to Russia. Correspondence was irregular: only several letters, but his correspondent's ingenuity does not allow us to bypass this communication (b. British Library).

Another unordinary correspondent of M.S. Vorontsov was Samuel Bentham, British naval architect, inventor and engineer, who served Russia significant part of his life. Count S.R. Vorontsov corresponded with his brother Jeremy Bentham, a renown British philosopher. M.S. Vorontsov, being a statesman, whose functions were of applicable nature: amenity provision to New Russia provinces and Caucasus, was curious about sciences and communicated not with the philosopher, but with his brother inventor.

Of concern to this research is the aforementioned Wilton House records (Wiltshire and Swindon History Center) and Clanwilliam family records (Public Record Office...), because they also keep documents of count S.R. Vorontsov, prince M.S. Vorontsov, E.S. Pembroke (sister of M.S. Vorontsov). Count M.S. Vorontsov's involvement in the Patriotic War of 1812, in overseas campaigns of 1813-1814, commanding of the corps of occupation in France from 1815 to 1818 suggests that his correspondence contains valuable intelligence about the final stage of the Napoleonic Wars in Europe.

To summarize the foregoing discussion on the Vorontsovs' correspondence, which is kept in British archives, we submit a summary in Table 2.

Table 2: Correspondence relations of Vorontsov family members

Correspondence relations	Duration	Topic of correspondence
M.I. Vorontsov – R.M. Keith Senior	1758-1762	Seven Year's War, Russian-English relations
A.R. Vorontsov – Duke of Newcastle	1763-1766	Seven Year's War, Russian-English relations
A.R. Vorontsov – Earl of Liverpool	1763	Seven Year's War, Russian-English relations
S.R. Vorontsov – William Pitt	1803-1805	Russian-English relations during the Napoleonic Wars
S.R. Vorontsov – William Grenville	1793-1825	International relations during the Napoleonic Wars, anti-French coalitions' activities
S.R. Vorontsov – Edmund Burke	1791	French Revolution, ideological basis of conservatism
S.R. Vorontsov – Jeremy Bentham	1799-1802	Basis of ethical theory of utilitarianism
S.R. Vorontsov – Robert Wilson	1803-1812	Russian-English relations during the Napoleonic Wars
M.S. Vorontsov – Christopher Henry von Lieven	1801-1835	International relations during the Napoleonic Wars, activities of the Holy Alliance
M.S. Vorontsov – Robert Wilson	1820, 1842	International relations during the period 1820-1840
M.S. Vorontsov – Samuel Bentham	1818-1828	International relations of the 1820s

Conclusions

Therefore, uncovering and analysis of letters, which are authored by the Vorontsovs, kept in archives of Great Britain indicates that a whole set of correspondence is the most important source of research into the history of international relations in Europe on the cusp of eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Detailed research into provided correspondence relations (11 entries) will contribute to a clarification of already known facts or revelation of the new ones about the formation of Russian international relations and Vorontsov dynasty's role in this process.

The prospects of further scientific research are outlined as:

- conducting of archaeological explorations into the subject of seeking of counter letters in Russian archives, because a set of letters can only be called correspondence if there are counter letters;
- restoration of corresponders' set of letters, whose correspondence was either of amicable or formal nature on an ongoing basis, excluding occasional corresponders;
- conducting of source criticism analysis of correspondence to detect new facts or interpretations of already known through the lenses of interpersonal relations of corresponders, bilateral relations of countries (if the correspondence is of formal nature).

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**THE BRITISH-AMERICAN DIPLOMACY
IN SEARCHING FOR THE NORTHEAST BOUNDARY
IN MAINE AND NEW BRUNSWICK, 1820-1846**

*Nguyen Van Sang**

Abstract

This article is about the Northeast boundary in Maine and New Brunswick in the British-American diplomatic relations. After American War of Independence, the boundary in Maine and New Brunswick was established a dispute issue in relationship between two countries. So what was their opinion of the border in Maine and New Brunswick? What were their actions to resolve the conflicts related to the boundary between two countries in Maine and New Brunswick? How it was resolved in the British-American relations? And what was the effect of this deal of heated debate on Great Britain and the United States relationship? This article seeks to answer questions the British-American diplomacy relating to the Northeast boundary in Maine and New Brunswick from 1820 to 1846.

Key words: *Great Britain, United States, Maine, New Brunswick, Northeast boundary*

In 1820, Maine was officially accepted into the Confederation of Americas (Sprague, 1920: 18), (Varney, 1888: 241). From this point on, the Northeast boundary issue in Maine and New Brunswick became central to the borderline disputes between Great Britain and the United States¹. However, the deep roots that led to this dispute began with the descriptions of the Northeast boundary of the United States in Article II, the Treaty of Paris (1783) (Andrews, 1963: 712-713), (Morris, 1941: 126-128), (Bartnicki, 1992: 232). This borderline is described as follows:

“From the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, viz., that angle which is formed by a line drawn due north from the source of St. Croix River to the highlands; along the said highlands which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean, to the northwestern head of Connecticut River; thence down along the middle of that river to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude (...) East, by a line to be drawn along the middle of the river Saint Croix, from its mouth in the Bay of Fundy to its source, and from its source directly north to the aforesaid highlands which divide the rivers that fall into the Atlantic Ocean from those which fall into the river Saint Lawrence” (Kłowsowicz, 2005: 9).

With the descriptions in Article II, the Northeast Boundary dispute between the two countries involved the location of the St. Croix river, as well as defining what was

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¹ Today, Maine is a state of the United States and New Brunswick is a Canadian state. However, at the time of the dispute between two countries, New Brunswick was part of British Canada.

called “highlands”. The cause of this dispute was that the Mitchell Map¹ used to prepare for the Treaty negotiations showed inaccuracy between the location on the map and its actual terrain².

To locate the St. Croix river, in accordance with Article V of the Jay Treaty in 1794³, a commission was formed, including Thomas Henry Barclay, Britain’s commissioner, David Howell, US commissioner⁴, and Egbert Benson as the third commissioner (Demeritt, 1997: 515-548), (Burrage, 1919: 41-43), (Moore, 1898: 6-15). In the process, James Sullivan, the representative of the delegation of the United States, suggested that the Magaguadavic River should be seen as the St. Croix river (Demeritt, 1997: 535). Meanwhile, Ward Chipman, the representative of the British government based on Robert Pagan’s information on the proposed Mitchell Map⁵, regarded the Schoodiac river as St. Croix river mentioned in the Treaty. The two sides presented their own testimonials, including many statements against the views of the United States, supporting the views of Great Britain, most notably the testimony of Alexander Huges, Currie and Charles Morris⁶. After several discussions, on October 25, 1798 in Rhode Island, the commission under Article V of the Jay Treaty held its final session. Here, the committee announced that, St. Croix river which was referred to in the Treaty of Paris (1783) indeed is the Schoodiac river (Moore, 1898: 30).

Although the St. Croix located, however the borderline dispute between Great Britain and the United States still existed. The Ghent Treaty⁷ of the relationship between Great Britain and the United States after the war in 1812 mentioned a borderline issue, but “highlands”, an important part of the northeastern border between Maine and New Brunswick was not yet determined. Given this fact, Great Britain and the United States agreed to appoint two commissioners to resolve the

¹ Map of Mitchell was first published in London on March 28th, 1755 as “a map of the British and French Dominions in North America” (Edney, 2007a: 4-27), (Edney, 2007b: 63-85).

² The cause was that Mitchell’s map was based on the chart of Captain Cyprian Southack, but this chart also had many mistakes (Moore, 1898: 3), (Burrage, 1919: 12-13).

³ The Treaty was signed on November 19th, 1794, dealing with diplomatic issues that arose between the United Kingdom and the United States identified in Treaty of Paris (1783) on trade and neutrality (Findling, 1989: 269-270).

⁴ Initially, President Henry appointed Henry Knox as commissioner, but he refused because of personal interests in the dispute. In fact, Henry Knox was a big speculator in Maine and has financial links with British banks (Moore, 1898: 6), (Burrage, 1919: 41).

⁵ He criticized the shortcomings of the Mitchell map, which pointed to the difference in location, the size of some of the islands between the map and reality; some description of the St. Croix was unsuitable for the Magaguadavic River but reasonable with descriptions of the Schoodiac River (Tallman, 1972: 63-65).

⁶ Curries insisted that he had heard the Indians call St. Croix river as Maguagadavic since 1783, but it was not before. Charles Morris also vowed that the Indians told him that the Schodiac River was St. Croix river. An Indian named Colonel Lewis also asserted that the Schoodiac river was St. Croix river (Ganong, 1901: 232)

⁷ The Treaty of End-of-War 1812 between the United Kingdom and the United States was signed December 24th, 1814 in Belgium, containing such things as the status quo ante bellum; appointment of two commissioners on border issues; the Great Lake issue and fishing rights at sea (Bartnicki, 1992: 95), (Purvis, 1997: 158).

borderline issue on the basis of the Paris Treaty. Members appointed with the delegation representing the two countries¹ held several meetings to discuss the borderline issue and find out the location of the “highlands”. At the session, Thomas Barclay, US commissioner, suggested that the “highlands”² site in the Paris Treaty was at or near a mountain or hill called the Mars Hill located about 40 miles north from the upstream of St. Croix river and about 30 miles south of St. Croix river. While Cornelius Peter Van Ness, commissioner on behalf of the British government, said that “highlands” were located about 100 to 44 miles north of the upstream of St. Croix river and about 66 miles north of St. John river (Moore, 1898: 81-82). Differences in opinions on this issue led to repeated meetings between the sides that had to be postponed³. Therefore, the borderline issue which was determined by two commissioners under Article V of the Treaty of Ghent between 1816 and 1822, was not solved.

While the borderline issue was not resolved, on March 15th 1820, Maine was admitted into the United States. The problem of the northeastern border of the United States between Maine and New Brunswick therefore became more tense. Besides defining borders, many new conflicts had occurred at the border between Maine and New Brunswick. The situation worsened in January 1825, a commission of the Senate of Maine, claiming that people from New Brunswick had penetrated and cut wood in this state Moore, 1898: 85). Prior to the allegations, the British Government promised to end the encroachment, but declared that Aroostook and Madawaska, which Maine claimed were part of the territory, were subject to British jurisdiction. The United States and the United States each had their own views on their rights to Aroostook and Madawaska. Finally, they both agreed that, while negotiations were ongoing, there would be no action in the area. However, the capture of John Baker by New Brunswick on July 4, 1827 has reoccurred the inconsistencies between the two sides⁴.

¹ On 4 September 1815, the British king George III appointed Thomas Barclay, who had worked on the commission determining the St. Croix river as a commissioner on behalf of England. President Madison, on April 3rd, 1816, appointed Cornelius P. VanNess as United States commissioner (Burrage, 1919: 94).

² Since the first meeting, there were 9 meetings between the commissioners appointed under the terms of the Ghent Treaty with the British and United States delegations held, including the June 4 Bonson meeting in 1817; in Vermont on 15 May 1818; in New York on May 5th, 1819 and May 11th, 1820 and November 23rd, 1820 and May 14th & August 1st of 1821, on October 2nd, 1821 and April 1st, 1822 (Burrage, 1919: 93-116).

³ The meetings were delayed by two sides: the May 12th, 1818 meeting in New York; in Montreal, Canada on May 29th, 1818; at St. Regis on June 3rd, 1818, and in New York on October 30th, 1818 (Burrage, 1919: 93-116).

⁴ On July 4th, 1827, John Baker celebrated American Independence Day in a disputed village of Madawaska (now Baker Lake, Madawaska County, New Brunswick, Canada). Here, the flag of the United States was pulled up. On August 7th, 1827, New Brunswick's George Morehouse, the Justice of the Peace of New Brunswick, arrived at John Baker's home for investigation. John Baker confirmed that this action was intended to assert US sovereignty over this land and would support it. Then John Baker was arrested. The New Brunswick Government fined 25 pounds or sentenced to two months in prison until he had paid the fine (Paradis, 1972: 78-95).

In order to resolve the dispute, in 1826 Albert Gallatin¹, one of the commissioners negotiating the Ghent Treaty, arrived in Great Britain as Minister of the United States to seek an agreement between the two countries. Gallatin was an experienced person in border and foreign affairs, so it was hoped that the negotiations would be more successful than the arbitration (Burrage, 1919: 152). In London, a series of border discussions took place between Gallatin and Henry Unwin Addington, the representatives of the British Government. Gallatin realized that the British government did not really support the arbitration. Therefore, he was very cautious in presenting this solution. On September 21st, 1827, Gallatin sent a letter to Henry Clay announcing that an agreement on “friendly sovereign” on the Northeast border dispute under Article V of the Ghent Treaty had been reached². Under this agreement, in the event that the commissioners who were appointed to establish the border issue disagreed with the proposed borderline, the arbitration should be admissible by a “reference to a friendly sovereign or state shall be made”.

On September 29th, 1827, the United States and Great Britain signed the terms of the London Conference (Bevans, 1968: 78). The two countries accepted the arbitration of the North-East border issue by arbitration. The selected third party was responsible for investigating and deciding on the different issues (Bevans, 1968: 78-79). It was also agreed that, in this manner, all evidence intended to support the proposal of each party, including the reports of the committees or annexes and other documents put forward by the commission and issued in accordance with Article V of the Ghent Treaty of 1814 (Bevans, 1968: 79). The deadline for preparing such evidence was two years from the date the convention's terms were ratified (Bevans, 1968: 79-81). The two sides also agreed that the Mitchell map would be used officially during the arbitration process and that an A map, such as a sketch of flow and boundary lines, would be added in the report of the parties (Bevans, 1968: 80).

King William I of Netherlands was chosen as the adjudicator of the borderline issue³. The arbitration would focus on locating the “highlands”, “northwest angle of Nova Scotia” and “Northwesternmost head of Connecticut river” in the Paris Treaty and suggested a suitable borderline (Preble, 1831: 7). On the US side, reports submitted to the arbitrator were prepared by Albert Gallatin (Gallatin, 1840) and supported by William Pitt Preble⁴. On January 5th, 1828, the Maine Legislature completed the report with evidence presented in 588 pages, 61 appendices and Great Britain in 418 pages and 55 appendices.

¹ Albert Gallatin is a politician, diplomat and ethnographer. He held various positions in the state and federal government, such as the Treasury Secretary of the United States from 1801-1814, the Secretary of the United States to France from 1816 to 1823 and to Britain from 1826 to 1827 (Stevens, 1883), (Lodge, 1879).

² In this letter, Gallatin presented the basic content reached between the two countries regarding the arbitration (Adams, 1879: 388-389).

³ At first, the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Russia were proposed as arbitrators. However, the two sides did not reach a consensus on this issue (Burrage, 1919: 155).

⁴ William Pitt Preble was the first judge of the Maine Supreme Court and the United States Secretary of State to the Netherlands during 1830-1831 to settle a dispute with the British regarding the Maine-New Brunswick issue (Willis, 1863: 597-618).

After reviewing the documents and opinions of the two sides, on January 10th 1831, King William I issued the “Decision of the Arbiter”. The decision proposed that the northeastern border of Maine and New Brunswick was located in the middle of St. Francis and St. John but did not mention “highlands”. According to the King of the Netherlands, the disputed area was estimated at 12027 square miles, of which 7908 square miles belonged to the United States and 4119 square miles belonged to the United Kingdom¹. When the decision was just announced two previous days, William P. Preble objected that the verdict was beyond the jurisdiction of the arbitrator. The British also recognized that, but they accepted it. On December 7th, 1831, President Jackson presented the issue of accepting or denying the verdict to the US Senate. Meanwhile, with regard to the Netherlands King’s verdict, the Maine Legislature on January 19, 1832 declared “Resolve respecting the North Eastern Boundary” to express opposition².

In June 1832, the US Senate voted 35: 8 to veto the ruling, and petitioned the President to open a new negotiation to establish a borderline with Great Britain (Sprague, 1910: 27). British government promised to engage in friendly negotiations. Both sides agreed that at this time no authority should be exercised beyond the boundaries of which they were actually owned. While, the United States government attempted to reach an agreement with Maine to be fully empowered in resolving border disputes with Britain. Subsequently, the Maine Legislature secretly accepted a temporary ceded agreement giving the United States the right of complaints about land and jurisdiction over a portion of its territory lying in the East and West of the limited line proposed by arbitrator³. However, on March 4th, 1833, the Maine Legislature withdrew from this secret agreement (Bevans, 1968: 384-385) and stated that no agreement or Treaty had been made or may be made (The Legislature of the State of Maine, 1833: 581). From that incident, during the remain time of the President Jackson’s administration, the boundary problem seemed to have had no significant change.

While the borderline issue was not resolved, the restraint of the two sides on the disputed territory was lessened, resulting from increased mutual interests in the region. On December 14th, 1838, Maine and Massachusetts sent George W. Buckmore to the Fish River to investigate intruders from New Brunswick on two state lands (The

¹ The entire disputed area was equivalent to approximately 7697,280 acres, of which 5061,120 acres belonged to the United States and 2636,160 acres belonged to the United Kingdom (Moore, 1898: 138).

² In the “Resolve to the North Eastern Boundary”, the Maine Government asserted that the United States could not cede territory to a foreign power without the consent of the state concerned and the rights of the states to their sovereignty was undeniable. From there, they said that the Dutch king’s decision was not final. The proposal of the King of Netherlands on the border between Britain and the United States did not oblige the parties to accept. If the petition was passed it would threaten the independence of each state and they would do everything possible to prevent it (The Legislature of the State of Maine, 1832: 343-344).

³ Under this agreement, Maine would receive a compensation of approximately 1 million acres of unused federal land in the territory of Michigan. If this land was sold, the proceeds would be paid to Maine, with an estimated value of \$1250000 (The Legislature of the State of Maine, 1833: 465-466).

Legislature of the State of Maine, 1839: 3). Reports from the Land Agent indicated that a large number of people¹ from British provinces were invading and cutting wood on Maine lands. They not only refused to stop these activities but also challenged the authorities. The volume of wood that the intruders cut in the winter of 1838 was estimated at \$100,000 (Sprague, 1910: 59). On January 24th, 1839, the Maine Legislature sent the Land Agent to the place where intruders were acting on the Aroostook and Fish rivers to seize the facilities, disrupt the camps and disperse them and granted \$10,000 to perform the duty (Smith, 1839c: 32).

Governor of Maine John Fairfield appointed Rufus McIntire to Madawaska and Aroostook to solve the problem. In early February 1839, a delegation including Rufus McIntire, Bangor's Major Hastings Strickland, Penobscot County Police and about 200 officers departed from Bangor to the outfall of the Little Madawaska River and camped there (Day, 1989: 51). On February 13th, 1839, Governor of New Brunswick John Harvey announced that a group of more than 200 armed men from Maine invaded a part of the province (The Legislature of the State of Maine, 1839: 25-26). Immediately on the same night, the place where McIntire was sleeping was surrounded by more than 40 armed men. McIntire was arrested for being taken to Fredericton (Sprague, 1910: 61). John Harvey asserted that intruders would be arrested and prosecuted (Jackson, 1897: 1739). McIntire was later judged by the Woodstock court and sent to Fredericton for sentence. John Harvey's statement and the arrest of McIntire caused deep wrath in Maine. John Fairfield immediately dispatched Jonathan P. Rogers on behalf of the state of Maine to resolve McIntire's problems². At the same time, the Maine side arrested James McLaughlan, the warden of the public lands in New Brunswick, Tibbbets the assistant of Mclaughlan and brought them to Bangor³, but they were not detained in jail but in luxury homes (Sprague, 1910: 61).

In the wake of the tense situation, on February 16th, 1839, John Fairfield sent General Isaac Hodsdon and more than 1,000 people to assist the Land Agent to solve the problem of intruders (The Maine Council, 1904: 7) (The Legislature of the State of Maine, 1839: 19-20). However, as more arrests began, on February 20th, 1839 the Maine Legislature decided to increase its military presence on Aroostook and St. John rivers to prevent further penetration, protect stockpiled wood and cut wood, and provide \$800,000 for defense (The Legislature of the State of Maine, 1839: 42). John

¹ According to estimates on the Grand river there were about 40 to 50 men, the Green river ranged from 20 to 30 men, the Fish River with 50-70 men, Madawaska with 75 men and Aroostook river with 15 men (Sprague, 1910: 59), (Burrage, 1919: 258).

² On February 27th, 1839, John Fairfield directed the Jonathan P. Rogers to meet with John Harvey regarding the arrest of Rufus McIntire. John Fairfield also sent a letter to John Harvey about sending Jonathan P. Rogers representing Maine to Fredericton to discuss issues related to Rufus McIntire's case (The Legislature of the State of Maine, 1839: 15-17).

³ John Fairfield announced that James McLaughlan and his assistant would be released on similar terms as that of the release of Rufus McIntire. However, they must return to Maine at requested to respond to issues relating to their behavior and related procedures (The Legislature of the State of Maine, 1839: 38).

Fairfield also mailed¹ and informed President Van Buren of the measures taken and proposed Government assistance (The Legislature of the State of Maine, 1839: 43). President Van Buren immediately submitted to the Congress documents relating to the conflict at the Aroostook river, provisional measures were taken by the state of Maine and demanded Government assistance to the state (Jackson, 2009: 1733-1737).

In preparation for dealing with the conflict, Adjutant General A.B. Thomson of Maine ordered 10343² troops ready to act if the worst case ever happened (The Maine Council, 1904: 8). Volunteers from Penobscot, the Piscataquis Counties and the eastern state were also recruited. In just one week, 10,000 American troops arrived in the Aroostook area. Maine also received news that a 800-strong regiment had arrived in St. Louis. John from Ireland's Cork and going to the disputed territory. More than 500 regular British troops arrived in Madawaska from Quebec, eight cannons were shipped to St. Petersburg. St. John river from Frederiction (Day, 1989: 56). Recognizing the serious situation, Congress passed legislation to mobilize 50,000 troops and spend \$10 million to support Maine if the war was inevitable (Mansfield, 1846: 321).

President Van Buren directed General Winfield Scott to Aroostook with the aim of preventing armed conflicts, extending the scope of intrusion and restoring peace (Canadian Institute for Historical Microproduct: 2). He was also given the full authority to mediate between Maine and New Brunswick (Canadian Institute for Historical Microproduct: 2). On March 5th 1839, General Scott and his aides arrived in Augusta. As soon as he arrived, he informed the Governor of his special responsibility for maintaining peace in the East and North (Sprague, 1910: 65). General Scott said there had been no armed conflict between Maine and New Brunswick at this time (Canadian Institute for Historical Microproduct, 1839: 3), but both were preparing forces for the war³. He is also suspicious of information about British forces of more than 500 people coming to Madawaska from Quebec and 800 others from Ireland (The Maine Council, 1904: 3).

At arrival of Augusta, General Scott immediately had talks with John Fairfield and John Harvey to call for action for peace (The Maine Council, 1904: 5). On March 23, 1839, General Scott reached an agreement with John Harvey for suspending hostilities, withdrawing troops from the Aroostook Valley (The Legislature of the State of Maine, 1839: 113-114). Two days later, John Fairfield officially accepted the offer. Under the deal, Maine owns the Aroostook, Fish River and New Brunswick property Madawaska while waiting for the final decision on the border issue. Gen. Scott also ordered Governor of Maine to immediately divide 1,000 people to occupy

¹ In this letter, John Fairfield sent the Governor of New Brunswick a letter and replied to Fairfield on February 18th; a letter from the Attorney of New Brunswick to Charles Jarvis, the temporary land agent and Jarvis's reply on February 17th; Fairfield's message was sent to the Maine Legislature on February 21st (Jackson, 2009: 1738-1739).

² This force consisted of 74 cavalry, 451 artillery, 7482 infantry, 1752 light infantry and 584 riflemen. This force was ordered to serve here for three months, unless ordered by the Commander in Chief (The Maine Council, 1904: 8-10).

³ Maine had 1,000 men led by Gen. Hodsdon and 100,000 self-defense forces in Maine, while New Brunswick was in the midst of preparations.

these lands, summoning federal troops from disputed territory, organizing civilian forces to defend asset (Canadian Institute for Historical Microproduct, 1839: 15). On March 30th, 1839, General Hodsdon, commanding the forces of the Confederate Army on the northeastern border¹, received a command to divide forces into small sections led by a commanding officer stationed at the Aroostook area² to protect property until the land delegation can organize a civilian force. The remaining units under Hodsdon will immediately return to Bangor (The Maine Council, 1904: 19). By May 1839, the entire army garrisoned in the Aroostook area was replaced by civilians³. With the withdrawal of troops from the disputed territory, the Aroostook war ended⁴.

Although the new agreement had just been reached, it prevented a real war, but the two sides continued to accuse each other of the infringement in the border area. Great Britain said that Maine had acted to establish long-term ownership of the disputed land and invaded the part of British territory in Madawaska⁵. On the other hand, Governor of Maine on 12th December 1839 also sent a message to John Harvey about the British violation of the agreement between the two countries. The United States accused Britain of intensifying its troops at Temiscauta Lake, building military camps on both sides of St. John River, Madawaska river estuary and army gather in Grand Falls (Day, 1989: 59). H.S. Fox, the Foreign Minister of Great Britain, has denied the United States' allegations of their actions in disputed territory⁶. Both sides expressed the view that their actions were for peaceful purposes and in accordance with the agreement reached by the two countries. Finally, on April 18th, 1840, Maine passed a resolution declaring that Britain had to immediately withdraw its troops from the disputed territory. If Britain did not withdraw its troops, Maine would take armed

¹ Earlier, on March 25th, 1839, Gen. Isaac Hodsdon was ordered to immediately withdraw troops from the Aroostook valley as soon as a civilian force was organized by the Land Agent to protect the property in the area (The Maine Council, 1904: 18).

² Division 3 would be divided into one Company of Light Infantry, one Company of Riflemen and two Companies of Infantry under the command of a field officer at the mouth of the Presque Isle and at Fort Fairfield (The Maine Council, 1904: 19).

³ On April 4th, companies garrisoned in Calais under the command of Major Gen. Ezakiel Foster were discharged, while on April 8th, 1839, troops were garrisoned at Fort Fairfield and Presque Isle under command. Major James Smith was ordered to immediately withdraw the troops here back to Bangor (The Maine Council, 1904: 20).

⁴ In fact, in the Aroostook war, the number of US troops participating in border protection was 3339. They serves in the Aroostook area from 21 days to 2 months 25 days (The Maine Council, 1904: 22-71, 73-95).

⁵ He argued that civil force violated the part of the British-mandated Madawaska, the civilian armed forces and the construction of a road linking Bangor with disputed territory and division plot and sell land in this area (The Senate of the United States, 1840: 57-59).

⁶ There was no action against the reinforcements at Temiscauta Lake, only the replacement of the 24th Regiment by the 11th Regiment with equivalent forces. This force was to protect the warehouses and shelters of the royal army on the way from Canada to New Brunswick. In the St. John river and Madawaska river, England said no barracks were built. The Grand Falls area alone had an insignificant force of 16 people garrisoned here 12 months ago (Burrage, 1919: 281-282).

action to expel the British troops that were garrisoned there (Burrage, 1919: 283). The threat of a new border crisis in Maine and New Brunswick was approaching.

Facing this situation, the two countries wanted to resolve disputes in peaceful way. On March 4th, 1841, William Henry Harrison became the ninth president of the United States, appointing Daniel Webster, who was judged to have the desire and ability to successfully resolve complex disputes between the United Kingdom and the United States, as the Secretary of State (Gordon, 1908: 199). Since March 1841, negotiations on border issues between the two countries had been conducted. However, William H. Harrison died after a month of inauguration so the negotiations were delayed¹. On April 4th, 1841, John Tyler took office as the President of the United States. Daniel Webster continued to be appointed. Under John Tyler, foreign policy with the Great Britain had changed. Webster said it was necessary to maintain peace with the Great Britain, negotiating dispute issues, as well as border disputes in Maine (Pastusiak, 2005: 212). In Great Britain, Lord Aberdeen, whose had moderate views had been appointed as Foreign Minister, has had a positive impact on the establishment of border issues between the two countries (Gordon, 1908: 200).

In order to proceed with the negotiations, Lord Aberdeen sent a letter to Edward Everett, the Secretary of the United States in London, to inform him of a meeting on December 26th, 1841. At this meeting, Aberdeen announced that Lord Ashburton would be sent to Washington with full authority to create a final agreement on all disputes (The House of Commons, 1843: 15). News of Ashburton's special mission was welcome in the United States. President John Tyler also expressed support for talks between the two countries on a friendly basis and praised Lord Ashburton's mission to Washington². The British government had said Ashburton's arrival in Washington was not based on any plans. However, in fact, on February 28th, 1842, Ashburton received instructions from Aberdeen for the negotiations. Aberdeen pointed out the basic tasks and objectives of the negotiations including the Northeast Frontier, the Oregon border, the Northwest Frontier, the Caroline dispute and the right of visit of a ship at sea. Particularly for the Maine issue, three options were offered by Aberdeen to Ashburton for negotiation, such as the British claim; the British borderline includes both upper and lower Madawaska settlements, while at the same time ensuring full maritime rights on St. John river; the borderline must be in the Award of the King of the Netherland (Adams, 1912: 766).

The US and British governments were ready to negotiate to reach an agreement on border issues. However, the state of Maine and Massachusetts still had different views on this issue (Tyne, 1902: 256-258). On April 4th, 1842, Ashburton arrived in

¹ William Henry Harrison was the first Whigs to become President of the United States. He took office on March 4th 1841, and died April 4, 1841, just after 31 days, and was the first President in the history of the United States to die while still in office (Heideking, 1999: 161-163), (Bartnicki, 1992: 108).

² In reply to Everett on January 29th, 1842, Daniel Webster said that President John Tyler appreciated Lord Ashburton because of his knowledge and experience of the border issue; Ashburton's true desire to establish long-lasting peace between the two countries; his perception of the importance of the problem for both countries (The House of Commons, 1843: 18-19).

the United States to prepare for negotiations¹. When Ashburton arrived, Webster sent letters to the Governor of Maine and Massachusetts to inform Ashburton's purpose and mission, and the appointment of a commissioner to Washington to discuss border issues. Webster pointed out that the border issue was only accepted by the federal Government when it was approved by the commissioners (Gordon, 1908: 236-239). The ununited relationship between Massachusetts and Massachusetts with the United States government was also presented by Ashburton in a letter to Lord Aberdeen on April 25th, 1842 (The House of Commons, 1843: 4-5).

On May 27th, 1842, Governor Maine announced to President John Tyler that he had appointed commissioners for negotiation². The Maine commissioners arrived in Washington on June 12th, 1842³ and the Massachusetts commissioners arrived several days later⁴. At the same time, Ashburton sent a letter to Webster expressing opinions to successfully negotiate (The Houses of Parliament, 1843: 1-4). Webster and Ashburton later sent letters to each other recognizing they were representatives of the each Government involved in resolving the border issue (The Houses of Parliament, 1843: 4-5). On 18 June 1842, Daniel Webster and Lord Ashburton began formal meeting⁵. After this meeting, Ashburton expressed to Webster that the two sides would be forthright in resolving the issue and suggesting a borderline. Ashburton said that the St. John was the appropriate boundary line starting at its intersection with the northern boundary from the upstream of St. Croix to the highlands, except the south bank of the Madawaska settlement (The Houses of Parliament, 1843: 5-10). Ashburton's letter was handed over to Manie's trustees by Webster. In a letter to Webster on June 29th, 1842, Maine commissioners denied a borderline located south of St. John river. They argue that, if Ashburton proposed the boundary in the southern part of St. John river, as a required condition, they would give up the negotiation (The Houses of Parliament, 1843: 15-22). The disagreement between Ashburton and the Maine commissioners in opinion of the borderline had pushed the negotiation to a halt. In addition, the Creole scandal led to disrupted negotiation⁶.

¹ Earlier, on January 2nd, 1842, Ashburton sent a letter to Webster expressing his special mission in talks with the United States, the expected time of arrival, the journey and the desire for cooperation with Webster in the process of negotiation (The House of Commons, 1843: 252-254).

² Edward Kavanagh, Edward Kent, William P. Preble and John Otis were elected the representatives of the State of Maine to participate in the negotiations (Webster, 1848: 39).

³ In the letter, Webster confirmed receipt of information that the Maine commissioners had arrived in Washington and made an appointment for the meeting on June 18th, 1842 (Webster, 1848: 40).

⁴ Abbott Lawrence, John Mills, and Charles Allen were Massachusetts attorneys involved in the negotiations.

⁵ Earlier, on June 17th, 1842, Webster sent a letter to Ashburton announcing his appointment at 12.00 noon on June 18, 1842 (The Houses of Parliament, 1843: 5).

⁶ In 1841, a slave ship called the Creole from Virginia to New Orleans consisted of 19 fishermen and 135 slaves. As the ship approached the Bahamas, slaves aboard the rebels killed the captain and commander docked at Nassau. 19 slaves were arrested and tried for murder, the remaining slaves were freed. The Government of President John Tyler demanded the return of these slaves to the United States because they were the legitimate assets of the

Webster attempted to explain misunderstanding and prevented Ashburton from giving up on the negotiations and tried getting Creole out of the negotiations until an agreement on borderline issues was established.

After receiving a letter from the commissioners of Maine and Webster (The Houses of Parliament, 1843: 10-15), on July 11th, Ashburton told Webster that their proposal for a borderline on the north side of St. John at Madawaska was unacceptable. He also feared the negotiation would not lead to anything new. Webster's actions, however, changed the situation of the two parties' negotiations (The Houses of Parliament, 1843: 22-26). On July 15th, Webster sent commissioners of Maine a draft of terms that he believed would satisfy the two sides requests and may be accepted by Lord Ashburton (Webster, 1848: 41-44). In this letter, Webster proposed a borderline. For 12027 square miles of disputed territory, 7015 miles would belong to the United States, 5012 square miles belong to Great Britain¹. Webster also proposed that the Federal Government compensated the two states for a total of \$ 2,500,000 for the acceptance of borderline and payment of all costs incurred by these states to maintain the civil force for the conduct of the survey (Webster, 1848: 43-44).

On July 20th, commissioners of Massachusetts replied that they would give up their interests in these lands if the marine freedom on the St. John River including free transportation of agricultural and forestry products, and at the same time the Federal Government paid Massachusetts up to \$1,500,000 (Webster, 1848: 47-49). The acceptance of Massachusetts influenced Maine's decision. Two days later, the commissioners of Maine also accepted the terms proposed by Webster on July 15th. Maine's decision on this issue was critical to the success of the negotiations and the borderline issue (Webster, 1848: 49-56). However, states had also suggested that Webster modified some of the terms before officially entering the Treaty, such as the "disputed territory fund" that New Brunswick received from cutting timber in the territory. Disputes would be paid to the United States for usage by Maine and Massachusetts; marine freedom on the St. John extending to agricultural, forestry and non-taxable products (Webster, 1848: 56-57). Despite accepting the proposal, both Maine and New Brunswick claimed that they had sacrificed a large part of their territory, legitimate ownership and compensation was not satisfactory because of US peace relations (Webster, 1848: 47-56).

On July 27th, 1842, Webster sent a letter informing Lord Ashburton that he was ready for proposing a suitable borderline to divide the United States and the British province of New Brunswick (Webster, 1848: 57-62). In response, Ashburton said Webster's offer met almost all of Great Britain's negotiating requirements and had to quickly draft a Treaty (Webster, 1848: 62-63). On August 9th, 1842, Daniel Webster and Lord Ashburton formally signed the Treaty called "A treaty to settle and define the boundaries between the United States and the possessions of Her Majesty's

United States. However, the British Government had rejected the request of the United States. All slaves were then freed (Jervey, 1980: 196-211), (Rupprecht, 2013: 253-277).

¹ The territory was equivalent to 7697280 acres, of which 4489600 acres belonged to the United States, 3270680 acres belonged to the United Kingdom. Compared to the Dutch king's decision, the territory of the United States decreased by 893 square miles, equivalent to 571,520 acres (Webster, 1848: 41-44).

Majesty in North America; For the final suppression of the African slave trade; And for giving up criminals, fugitive from justice in certain cases". The Treaty was subsequently ratified by the President of the United States on August 22nd, 1842, and by the British on October 5th, 1842. The ratifications were formally exchanged in London on October 13th, 1842 (Bevans, 1968: 82-89).

This Treaty consisted of 12 articles, in which the border issue was presented from Article I to Article VI. In these terms, the Northeast issue identified the following contents: (1) The border between Maine of the United States and New Brunswick of Canada. This boundary followed St. John river up to the point of its junction with the St. Francis, thence ran along the river to Pohenagamook Lake, and at this point departed from any so-called natural boundaries, and struck in a direct line to the southwestern source of St. John river (Gordon, 1908: 83); (2) St. John river would open the maritime freeways for both Maine and New Brunswick (Gordon, 1908: 85); (3) Division of territorial disputes and compensation issues. The United States Government had also agreed to pay to the state of Maine and Massachusetts for the cost of investigating, military, and the cost of protecting these lands, and a sum of up to \$300,000 for the State's consent to the borderline as described in the Treaty¹. The Northeast border issues mentioned in this treaty resolved the northeastern borderline disputes in Maine and New Brunswick that had existed since the Treaty of Paris in 1783.

Thus, inaccurate descriptions of the Northeast Frontier of the United States in the Treaty of Paris in 1783 were the source of the dispute between Great Britain and the United States that had existed since then until the Treaty of Washington was signed in 1842. The history of British-America diplomacy to resolve this long-standing, complex issue was closely tied to the negotiations between Britain and the United States. There were also conflicts between the two sides, the risk of explosion of wars. However, in a partial diplomatic effort, Great Britain and the United States achieved their objective of settling disputes over Maine and New Brunswick. The borderline was defined as contributing to the settlement of issues in other territorial disputes and relations between Great Britain and the United States during this period.

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¹ This fund was the received amounts of the New Brunswick authorities due to wood exploitation on the disputed territory. This amount would be paid by the United States to the two states within six months of the ratification of the treaty (Gordon, 1908: 86).

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**EUGENE SCHUYLER AND THE FIRST AMERICAN LEGACY
IN ROMANIA**

*Marilena Rîzescu**

Abstract

Schuyler contributed effectively in the almost four years when he activated in the diplomatic function in Bucharest to the progress of the economic relations in particular, but also political or cultural relations between the two states. Even though there was no reciprocity of diplomatic representation in the two capitals, as the American side wanted, the role of the American legacy in Bucharest diminished proportionally with the enlargement of its responsibilities to Serbia and Greece, followed by the transfer of its diplomatic residence to Athens; Schuyler's mission in Romania marked an important stage of bilateral diplomatic relations. The debut in the new diplomatic post has not been consumed under the best auspices for Schuyler, the unresolved personal issues overlapping and in the end, creating prolonged discomfort. Somehow insignificant from the American perspective and with a low weight, but not neglected in the overall international diplomatic relations, the diplomatic relations between the two states marked an indisputable gain on a political level, which is distinct in terms of consequences and significance for the partners, having in the person of Eugene Schuyler, the first diplomat accredited in Bucharest with the rank of Charge d'Affaires (1880-1882) and then Minister Resident (1882-1884), a brilliant exponent of modern-day theory and practice.

Key words: *Eugene Schuyler, American legacy, Charge d'Affaires, Minister Resident, diplomatic relations, United States of America, Romania*

The internal situation in Romania

In 1879 Romania was a kingdom in Southeastern Europe, under the reign of King Charles I, who accepted his election as Prince of Romania in May 10 1866, and later was proclaimed King by the Parliament of Romania on March 26, 1881. In that period, the area of Romania was estimated at 129,947 square kilometers, and the population of the Kingdom was only known by estimates. The official estimate of the total population was 5,376,000 people with a number of 772,700 strangers, which included: 400,000 Israelites, 200,000 Bohemians, 85,000 Slavs, 39,000 Germans, 29,500 Hungarians, 8,000 Armenians, 5,000 Greeks, 2,000 French, 1,000 English, 500 Italians, and 2,700 Turks, Poles, Tartars, and others (*Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1883:726).

The Greek Orthodox was the state religion and the numbers of adherents to this faith are estimated at 4,529,000, but there were several sympathizers of other religions as: Israelites – 400,000; Roman Catholics – 114,200; Protestants – 13,800.

The principal city was Bucharest, the capital, which contained in 1879 – 221,000 inhabitants; and then was situated by Jassy with 90,000 souls; Galatz with 80,000 souls; Botochani with 39,941 souls (*Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1883: 727-728).

The military law was modified in 1872 and 1874; finally, was divided into: (1) the active army and the Territorial Army; (2) the militia; (3) the civic guard. The regular

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army counted 1,200 officers, 18,532 men, 2,945 horses, and 180 guns; the strength of the Territorial Army was about 100,000 men and 90 guns. Romania had a naval force of 4 steamers and 14 small gunboats (*Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1883: 729).

The vessels that entered to the Danube ports were evaluated to 22,349 with 3,929,032 tons of cargo. There were 1,098 kilometers of state railroads and 223 kilometers of private roads in operation. At the end of 1879, the imports were valued at 254,483,000 lei; and the exports at 238,650,000 lei. The income for the financial year was amounted to 114,228,041 lei (1 leu= 1 franc).

As a general conclusion, the imports of Roumania increased from 82,927,228 lei in 1871 to 274,757,458 in 1881; and the exports from 177,682,783 to 206,518,317 lei. The exports consisted entirely of cereals and other agricultural products. The values exported of the chief classes of articles in 1881 were as follow, in round numbers: cereals 157,200,000 lei; animals 16,600,000 lei; textile materials 7,100,000 lei; wood 5,200,000 lei.

The commerce of the Danube was almost exclusively in grain. Most of the vessels reached in ballast. The participation of the different nations in the navigation of the river is exemplified in the following table, giving the number and tonnage of vessels cleared in 1881:

FLAG	Steamers		Sailing vessels		Total	
	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.
English	516	496,666	7	2,328	523	498,994
Greek	50	44,173	487	84,518	537	128,691
Austrian	83	42,699	18	4,306	101	47,005
French	58	45,669	....	....	58	45,669
Russian	44	5,530	39	5,187	83	10,717
Turkish	....	....	345	33,834	345	33,834
Italian	3	2,862	24	6,688	27	9,550
Roumanian	....	....	15	2,967	15	2,967
German	3	2,168	....	....	3	2,168
Others	13	13,249	6	610	19	13,859
TOTAL	770	653,016	941	140,438	1,711	793,454

(*Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1883: 730)

Recognition of Romania's independence

Shortly after the Congress of Berlin ended in November 1878, the American minister in Vienna, John A. Kasson, urged Washington to establish diplomatic relations with Romania and Serbia. In March 1879 Kasson informed the State Department that Romania should be an advantageous market for American manufactured goods. Impressed by the Kasson's report (there was no American consul in Bucharest from 1876 to 1880), the State Department instructed him to proceed to Bucharest and Belgrade, and to begin negotiations for commercial and consular conventions. In October, Myer S. Isaacs, the president of the Board of Delegates of American Israelites, in a letter to Secretary of State W.M. Evarts expressed his concern that the United States might recognize Romania's independence and establish diplomatic relations before the latter agreed to comply with Article 44 of the Berlin Treaty. Concomitantly, the unequivocal attitude of Adolf Stern, who, from the position of the honorary deputy of the American consul, constantly informed the

Washington authorities on the new international statute of Romania, suggesting the recognition of it by the federal government, and even to remove the diplomatic representation of the United States of America in Bucharest at the embassy level (Funderburk, 1977: 315).

Meanwhile, the diplomatic sources in Vienna confirmed that the reservation or American expectation opposite the desire of Romania was motivated by the Jewish question. Not content with Romania's reaction to the condition that it is assumed by Article 44 of the Treaty of Berlin, The Union of American Hebrew Congregation, by Mayer S. Isaac, has asked in October 1879 the Secretary of State, W. Evarts, do not recognize his independence state (Foreign Relations of the United States, 1880: 36).

The Union's appeal could not be rejected by the federal government, which could not ignore the attitude of the signatories to the Treaty. The last of these, respectively, France, Germany and Great Britain, while following the example of the great powers, decided towards the end of the year 1879 and the beginning of 1880 to recognize the independence of Romania, so that the continuation of the American expectation had no more foundation.

The recognition of the independence of Romania by the federal government of Washington, also with the spore of importance granted to the economic factor, but also with the help of the international political events, gradually diminished the concern of the American Jewish circles for the designee of their co-religionists from Romania until the beginning of the 20th century. In this way, liberated after 1879-1880 from the external pressure, the governments of Romania, indifferently of their coloratura, allowed themselves complete freedom of action in the Jewish question, that they never appreciated being anything other than a question internal policy. Moreover, the internal criticism, but also the external criticism, was accompanied by the simple statement that Romania did not do more than any other country to maintain that national problems had priority over foreigners (Vitcu, 2009: 142,143).

Shortly afterwards Evarts told Kasson that the Department would be gratified if he could secure terms favorable to the Jews, but not to make this "a *sine qua non* in the establishment of official relations." Before anything further developed though, Romania reached a settlement on the Berlin Treaty. As the European powers now began to recognize Romania, on 28 February 1880 President Rutherford B. Hayes asked Congress to take the necessary steps to establish relations with Romania. Instead of officially recognizing Romania's independence, Evarts informed Kasson that there was no American representative in Bucharest. The letter of the President of 15 August 1878 to Prince Charles "touching the appointment of Mr. Timothy C. Smith as consul of this government at Galati would suffice" (Quinlan, 1980: 195).

Eugene Schuyler – the first American representative to the independent Romanian state

On February 28, 1880, President Hayes already recommended to the Congress the necessary formalities for the official recognition by the United States of America of the independence of Romania, and in June of the same year, the State Department appointed as Diplomatic Agent and Consul General Eugene Schuyler. At the request

of the Romanian authorities, his office was shortly afterwards elevated to the position of Charge d'Affaires and Consul General, and later of Minister Resident.

With a double role, in september-november 1880, Sergiu Voinescu, career military who took part in the campaign of Romania in the south of the Danube from 1877-1878, was sent in a diplomatic mission in Brazil and the United States of America, to notify the governments there the Romania's independence. In Brazil, he was received by Emperor Don Pedro II, and in the US, by the Secretary of State William M. Evarts and President Rutherford B. Hayes. Eugene Schuyler, Diplomatic Representative of The United States in Bucharest, learned about Sergiu Voinescu a series of biographical background, which he portrays in a diplomatic report: "It is engineer officer and distinguished himself in the war against the Turks, and besides all this is, he is relative with the minister (Nicholas) Kretzulescu and it is grandson of prince Ion Ghica" (Hitchin, Milin, 2001: 78).

Bucharest, August, 24: "Col. Voinescu has started on a diplomatic mission to Washington and Rio de Janeiro" (*New York Times*, 1880).

On 11 June 1880 a member of a prominent New York family, Eugene Schuyler, became the first American representative to the independent Romanian state, with the title of Diplomatic agent and Consul-general. During a period when many foreign posts were filled with political nonentities, Schuyler had a distinguished literary career, writing several books about Russia and the Balkans, as well as already holding various consul and secretarial positions in Europe.

Eugene Schuyler (1840-1890), American professor and diplomat was born in Ithaca, New York, he came from a family whose predecessors, of Dutch origin, had settled in the century 17th century beyond the ocean. He studied letters and philosophy at Yale College, where he earned a PhD in 1861, then studied law at the Columbia Law School, which he graduated in 1863. After a short lawyer career in New York, has applied for a post in diplomacy. Right consequently in 1867 he was appointed consul in Moscow. Until his arrival in Romania he also held several diplomatic posts: the consul at Revel, secretary of St. Petersburg, consul general in Constantinople, in Birmingham and Rome (the latter held between 1878 and 1880). He married in Rome in 1877 with Gertrude Wallace King (her father was the president of Columbia College). In June 1880 he was appointed representative diplomatic mission in Romania, and in July 1882 he would become minister resident and general consul of the United States for Greece, Romania and Serbia. He negotiated the trade treaty between Romania and the US, signed in April 1881. Following the abolition of the American legacy in Athens, Schuyler returned to the US where he worked as a lecturer at John Hopkins University and Cornell University. He returned to Europe in 1886, settling in Italy where he died in 1899. Eugene Schuyler published several papers on European and Russian culture and history, including a biography in two volumes of Peter the Great. Before to be named the general consul and businessman in Bucharest, was general consul in Rome (1879-1880). The author of the article in the quoted dictionary, E. Wilder Spaulding, appreciated that "in a time of mediocrity in the foreign service American, Schuyler was an extraordinary figure" (Malone, 1963: 471-472).

His personal relations with the Prince and Princess were always pleasant. Of the former he had written in 1876: "Like all the Hohenzollern princes that I have met, he leaves you under a spell, produced by frankness, bonhomie, intelligence, and culture."

In 1876 Prince Charles had bestowed Schuyler a medal for literary achievement.

"Constantinople, January 16th 1877"

"...My last excitement is being 'medaled.' The Prince of Roumania, whose acquaintance I made when I was in Bucarest last summer, and who seems to be equally – in triangular-wise – impressed with my 'person' (so the letter of the Marshal states), my book, and my Bulgarian report, has given me a medal 'Bene Merenti' – distinction exclusivement réservée à ceux qui ont bien mérité de l'humanité... After having satisfied myself that a medal is an award, and neither an 'emolument, pecuniary favor, office nor title, I have written to say I have accepted..." (Schuyler, 1901: 98, 99).

In August 1880, King Charles wrote about Eugene Schuyler, the US diplomatic representative at Bucharest, that: "he possesses great skill and an impressive luggage of knowledge; well-known of Russia, of Slavic countries and Turkey. It is honest and direct, having a great influence to those around him" (Hitchins, Milin, 2001: 82).

The Roman life came to an end very soon. In June 1880, Mr. Schuyler was surprised by the announcement of his promotion and transfer to Bucharest as Diplomatic Agent and Consul-General. He writes of his appointment:

"We enjoyed Rome very greatly, though I have been far too busy with my Consular work and with 'Peter the Great' to get all the advantage of Italy that I wished. I leave it with regret. Bucarest is very expensive and not particularly pleasant. Still there is great political interest in the East, and no one knows what is in store there... I was appointed without my knowledge, and even yet have no official announcement of the fact."

To him, the appointment came as a surprise and a disappointment. In spite of his fascination with Eastern Europe, he never cared for Romania. He found Bucharest "very expensive and not particularly pleasant". To a member of his family he described the streets and sidewalks as unpaved, muddy, and "impossible to walk a step". To the intellectual Schuyler, the cultural life of the "Paris of the Balkans" was also depressing. "There is not a picture nor statue – a poor library, a parody on a museum, and almost no music except a wretched Italian opera. Society is fearful" (Quinlan, 1980: 196). Unlike many who developed a love for the charm and quaintness of the country, Schuyler never changed his mind.

The arrival at Bucharest is announced of the United States diplomatic agent, Mr. Eugene Schuyler, who it is understood, will very shortly be raised to the rank of Minister Plenipotentiary as to a recognition of the independence of Roumania (*The Sydney Morning Herald*, 1880).

No sooner had he arrived in Bucharest than he found himself involved in the perennial issue of diplomatic accreditation. Because the title diplomatic agent and consul-general was used only with semi-independent countries, Romania refused to accept Schuyler. Until this situation could be rectified, Schuyler was given a temporary status. In the following January, his rank was raised to that of Chargé d'Affairs and Consul-general, and four months later to minister resident. This did not end his problems. In 1882 the United States combined Romania, Greece, and Serbia into one

legation, which resulted in the minister resident generally spending most of his time in Athens. Meanwhile, Romania became annoyed with this situation, and pressed the United States to create a separate legation in Bucharest.

His stay in Bucharest was beset with vexations. The title with which he was sent Diplomatic Agent – did not suit the Romanian Government, who justly maintained that such an agent could not be received in an independent country. The newness of their independence made them, perhaps, more particular; but, in fact, the only other Diplomatic Agent sent by us was to Egypt, a vassal state.

The President respected their prejudices by using the term ‘Diplomatic Representative’ in his Message; and Mr. Schuyler was accepted provisionally until his title could be arranged. About the end of January he received his credentials as Chargé d’Affaires and Consul-General, but meantime his anomalous position had caused him many annoyances. As Chargé d’Affaires he was placed on a par with his colleagues of Holland and Monaco, all the others being of higher rank. With a new country like this, relations of every kind had to be begun, and it was necessary, therefore, to make commercial and consular treaties, which placed Americans choosing to go to Roumania for business purposes, on the same footing as other foreigners as to rights and privileges. These negotiations dragged on until the following summer, owing to the procrastinating habits of the Roumanian statesmen. The treaties were, however, finally signed and ratified. In addition, there was a trade-mark convention to be made, and general and special reports to prepare on the commerce, industries, and revenues of the country (Schuyler, 1901: 137, 138).

Familiarize in some way with the Romanian political, social and cultural realities before taking up his post, Schuyler appreciated them with a lot of rigor after the realization of the direct contact a requirement which had not diminished the sympathy shown for the behavior of Romania at the time of the war for independence.

“Bucarest, November 14, 1880”

“...My report is finished, but the third copy is not quite finished. It makes eighty-one pages of foolscap, of which forty-one have been done since I got back – in ten days. Besides that, I have corrected, had copied, and got off three chapters of Peter, have drawn up and had copied a project de trait, both in English and French, twenty-one pages each; have written two long dispatches in English and French, and two short ones, and this makes thirty-six letters. I have now on hand some more Peter and three long dispatches. I feel, therefore, that I have not been idle, but still I have not seemed to work particularly hard...”

It was a peculiarity of his that he never did seem to be working very hard. He always had an air of leisure and detachment, stopping to walk about the house or the garden, to talk, to play a game of patience, seeming to idle away his time, but accomplishing an amazing amount of work. At this time his work was made much more difficult by the long illness of his private secretary. Moreover, Bucharest did not agree with him. He suffered greatly from neuralgia, and found his life there altogether depressing. To one of his family he wrote:

“I don’t know why you have such a fixed idea of the charms of Bucarest. Take to-day; it is sunny and pleasant, but it is impossible to walk a step. There are two streets that are well paved, six more with a block or two of paving; the rest are with

large cobble-stones worse than Constantinople, either no sidewalks or paved like the street. Even in the good streets the sidewalks are as in Pera, either very narrow or none at all. As the streets are never cleaned or swept, those rare sidewalks are now covered with slimy, sticky mud, through which you must shuffle, for if you lift your feet you fall down. There is not a picture nor statue – a poor library, a parody on a museum, almost no music, except a wretched Italian opera. Society is fearful. The Roumanian medal, which is not a decoration, being only given for literary merit. But some day when I am in America I'll get some friend to get a resolution through Congress for all of them. I see General Sickles has just asked permission for the Legion of Honor..." (Schuyler, 1901: 141, 142, 143).

Most constitutional countries have a similar proviso, that treaties must be approved by Parliament before ratification. In some countries even, as Spain, Italy, Roumania, and others, both houses are consulted on the subject, and discussions are public. Fortunately they can only affirm or reject a treaty; but owing to the wording of the article of our Constitution, which says that "the President, with the consent and advice of the Senate, shall conclude treaties" the Senate considers that it has a right to amend a treaty already negotiated, a practice which causes great difficulty, as frequently a senator, to whom the subject under discussion is not quite clear, insists on the addition of two or three words to an instrument, which produces a long delay, and frequently protracted negotiations (Schuyler, 1886: 21).

In certain cases, with countries which are only semi-independent, such as Roumania and Serbia before the last war between Russia and Turkey, such as Bulgaria and Egypt now, it has been thought advisable to send persons empowered to perform diplomatic functions, but who, on account of the peculiar relations of the country to its suzerain, can be given no special title, and are therefore called simply "diplomatic agents" (Schuyler, 1886: 22).

Even in the lesser diplomatic posts, our Government has been as careless of the proprieties as in greater ones. An example may be given of our hap-hazard way of proceeding. In 1880 it was decided to appoint a diplomatic representative at Bucarest, and the title chosen by Congress was "Diplomatic Agent and Consul-General." The person appointed to that post suggested to the State Department all the difficulties that might arise, as Roumania, being then independent both in fact and by treaty, would insist on having a diplomatic representative called by one of the titles agreed to by the rules of the Congress of Vienna. He was, therefore, accredited directly to the sovereign, with the expectation that he might come in under the general clause of "other persons accredited to sovereigns." This, however, the Roumanians refused to permit, and for some months he was refused any official recognition. They agreed to recognize him as consul-general, and unofficially as diplomatic "representative" of the United States until a change could be made. It became necessary, therefore, to alter his title to that of Charge d'Affaires; and it was only when he received his commission as such, accredited not to the Prince but to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, that he was considered to belong to the diplomatic body and allowed to treat officially with the government (Schuyler, 1886: 120, 121).

In deference to this feeling of simplifying our representation abroad, there have been various cases where consular and diplomatic powers have been united in the

same person. Our ministers to several countries – Switzerland, Portugal, Denmark, Greece, Roumania, and Serbia, and some of the South American countries – are Consuls-general as well; and this has not been found to work badly.

Their consular duties have not hindered their diplomatic work, nor injured their social position. Their diplomatic position, in small capitals, by no means prevents their knowing the heads of the mercantile world; on the contrary, it assists in it, and they have every opportunity to understand our commercial needs in those countries, and the peculiar conditions under which our trade is carried on (Schuyler, 1886: 172).

Bucharest, August 13th. “Eugene Schuyler has had an interview with the Roumanian Minister. A provisional understanding was arrived at whereby the American representative is officially recognized as a legation and Mr. Schuyler as Minister Resident, pending permanent results at the meeting of the United States Congress in December” (*The Daily Record-Union*, 1880).

“A dispatch from Bucharest states that Eugene Schuyler, United States Chargé d’Affaires at private audience with Prince Charles, presented an autograph letter of President Hayes, congratulating the Prince on the independence of Roumania, and expressing fervent wishes for the prosperity of the principality. The Prince made an appropriate replay” (Isabella County Enterprise, 1880).

Sunday, 18/30 January 1881

“The 5½ hour audience given to Mr. Schuyler, who presents himself as Chargé d’Affaires and the American general consul” (Docea, 2007: 47).

Thursday, April 7 / March 26, 1881

“Cold weather. Time 10, the war minister to me. All day at home. Elizabeth very cold and eye pain. 1½ received Schuyler, who congratulates me on behalf of the US government. Written in the evening” (Docea, 2007: 60).

Proclamation of Prince Charles as King

“Bucarest, March 26, 1881”

“...We have had a great excitement. The Prince has been proclaimed King. I have just come from the Senate, where I saw the law voted. The town is full with flags. It is a pleasant day, and everybody is out. Fortunately, I did some work this morning, for I have been gadding about all the afternoon, seeing my colleagues, who are now only distinguished strangers until they get new credentials, and looking at the crowd. Unluckily, it will put the treaty back a few days yet, and some pages will have to be re-copied. I have sent a telegram to Washington and hope to get one soon in reply...”

“...It seems that yesterday the Conservatives violently attacked the Liberals for protecting Nihilists, which made the majority so angry that they insisted on proclaiming the King as a reply. It was not to be done until May 22. No foreign power has been asked for its consent, and some of the Austrians are furious. Awkwardly enough for them, both Hoyos and Wesdehlen (the plenipotentiary minister of the Habsburg monarchy, Count Hoyos, supported and his German counterpart, Count Wesdehlerna) went to Sinaia early this morning to look for a house, so that they know nothing about it...”

“March 27th – After finishing my letter last night, I went up towards the palace with the crowd, and when all the formalities had been concluded the King and Queen came out on the balcony. He looked grave and quiet, but she was excited and very much pleased, and constantly waved her handkerchief to the crowd. When they had gone in Bratiano bowed awhile and finally kissed his hand right and left. It is something, of course, to make a king...”

“May 10... ‘Gar nichts oder ganz!’ is the Queen’s favorite motto, and has no special reference to her being queen. They say she is very unhappy. She is rather afraid of her husband, who is not very sympathetic; she has no children, and worse even, not a single relative or equal in the country. In most royal families you know, there are a lot of cousins, brothers, and sisters, who help pass the time. When Charles came as Prince he introduced a very rigid etiquette, which has quite cut them off from intercourse with the people of the country. So she is to be pitied...” (Schuyler, 1901: 144, 145).

Friday, September 8 / August 27 1882

“Hour 2½ in the hunting pavilion, official reception of Schuyler, who handed me the letters of accreditation as a resident minister American. Honorary guard, speeches, and then Elisabeth receives him” (Docea, 2007: 167).

Fist consular convention between Romania and USA

In spite of these vexing problems, plus occasional bouts with neuralgia, Schuyler took a keen interest in the possibilities of American-Romanian trade. Continuing where John Kasson left off, Schuyler reported to the State Department that Romania “would offer an excellent market” for American manufacturers – “a market which is now being seized upon with avidity by the English, the Austrians, and the Germans.” He was especially optimistic about the possible sale of agricultural machines and tools, and to facilitate American commerce urged that two new consulates be established at Braila and Constanta. Schuyler also pointed out that without a commercial treaty the United States would remain subject to the “very high tariffs applied to all nations which have not made treaties.” On 7 October 1880 Schuyler was instructed to negotiate a commercial treaty with Romania. Two months later in his annual message President Hayes told Congress that “we hope for a speedy development of commercial relations between the two countries” (Quinlan, 1980: 197).

At this stage, these two countries desiring a commercial treaty, the likelihood of concluding an agreement appeared very good. The State Department had considered the inclusion in the treaty of a clause referring to constitutional guarantees of “freedom of worship and education.” But Schuyler felt that a commercial accord was not the proper place for such a reference, and that it would “cause the failure of the whole negotiations.” Finally, on 11 April 1881 Schuyler and the Romanian Foreign Minister Vasile Boerescu signed the treaty, which provided for, among other things, minimum tariff rates for imported goods. At the same time, negotiations were conducted for a consular convention and a treaty for the protection of trademarks; the two were signed on 17 June and 7 October 1881, respectively. In the following year all three were ratified by the United States government. Unfortunately, this was the high point for the treaties.

In order to protect Romania's young industries, especially petroleum, whose growth had been partly restricted because of the growing importation of lower-priced American oil, the Romanian Parliament passed a law on 28 May 1882 which set a high tariff on petroleum and a number of other imports. In October Parliament refused to ratify the commercial treaty (including the trademark convention which was viewed as a supplement) unless amendments were added which would maintain a high tariff on those imports covered by the law of 28 May. But rather than try to rearrange a treaty which had already been ratified by the Senate and signed by the president, Washington rejected this. Schuyler himself thought that the changes that the Romanians wanted "might safely be made" and Secretary of State F.T. Frelinghuysen agreed with him.

By his pragmatism and professionalism, Schuyler effectively contributed to what could be called the normalization of the political-diplomatic relations between independent Romania and the United States of America, despite the restricted nature of these relations, reducible in the United States economic field, and above all the short time of their affirmation. Because, for financial reasons, the American Congress decided in 1882 to compress its diplomatic legations of Bucharest, Athens and Belgrade into one, by the compilation of the common function by Schuyler, and on July 5, 1884 even to give up the representative in the Balkan countries, towards the disillusionment of Romania.

In April 1883 Schuyler was instructed to see if he could work out a new treaty. But the negotiations never got off the ground, in part because Schuyler was recalled in the following year. Of the three treaties, only the consular convention was ratified by both countries, and officially signed on 17 June 1883.

Roumania, Serbia and Greece

<i>Name and office</i>	<i>Where born</i>	<i>Whence appointed</i>	<i>Where employed</i>	<i>Compensation</i>
<i>Minister Resident and Consul General</i>				
Eugene Schuyler				
	<i>New York</i>	<i>New York</i>	<i>Bucharest, Belgrade, Athens</i>	<i>6,500 \$</i>
<i>Consul</i>				
<i>Timothy C. Smith</i>				
	<i>Vermont</i>	<i>Vermont</i>	<i>Galatz</i>	<i>Fees</i>

(Official register of the US, 1883: 27)

The recall of Eugene Schuyler in the United States of America

To make matters worse, in July 1884 the legation was shut down by Congress to save money. As a dismayed Schuyler saw it: "The Democrats want to save \$100,000 on the Consular and Diplomatic Service, and then give outright a million to the New Orleans Exposition." The closing "created a bad impression" amongst the sensitive Romanians (Quinlan, 1980: 198).

The proposed abolition of this Legation is merely the absurd economy-cry. The Democrats want to save \$100,000 on the Consular and Diplomatic Service, and then give outright a million to the New Orleans Exposition (which promises, however, to be very remarkable, and you may find it worthwhile going there). The Department of State has taken up the defense of this Mission, saying very nice things about me and of

the Service generally with unusual warmth and energy. The Senate has greatly amended the House bill, and it now remains to see what will be done in the Conference Committee.

“The Diplomatic Agency at Cairo is reduced to a simple consulate. The Consul-General at Constantinople is reduced nearly half, and is no longer Secretary of Legation. This Legation is utterly abolished. A Consul-General will be appointed at Bucarest at \$3,500 and a Consul here at \$2,500. The total saving on this place is \$1,000. No provision is made for any officer at Belgrade. So far as I know, I am legislated out of official existence; for I know of no vacancy where I can be stored until wanted for future use. Therefore, as far as I know, I am a private man and my own master. I don't so much object to the situation as to the moment when it comes. I have a house on my hands up to the middle of November. Therefore, I think I shall stay here until the late autumn. At all events, I have a house over my head – my books around me; I can pack up at leisure, and perhaps do a little work. And yet, when I am in trouble and perplexity, I find it very hard to work. It is only when I am comfortable and prosperous that my brain works easily and that my hand follows. Here is one hardship. Congress passed the law July 6th, to take effect July 1st. I did not know it till the 14th” (Schuyler, 1901: 167).

When the letters of recall came, that to Serbia was written to Prince instead of King, and the one to Greece to the King of Greece, instead of King of the Hellenes. They had to be sent back, accusing much delay and annoyance. Later he writes:

“I am on my way to Belgrade and Bucarest, to take leave and present my letters of recall. It is an expensive journey, and at the present time uncomfortable, for I do not see how I can escape a quarantine on returning. However, I cannot afford to be impolite, even if the Government chooses to be. I have known the Kings of Serbia and Roumania since 1876, and they have always been very amiable to me. The Department said that if it were inconvenient to present my letters in person I could send them to the Foreign Offices. But these small countries are very sensitive – for such a proceeding with England or France would hardly be remarked – and I am patriotic enough to wish to soften the withdrawal of the Mission as much as possible, even at my own expense. I shall try to get repayment out of the Government, but have little hope of it” (Schuyler, 1901: 168).

Sunday, September 7/August 26 1884

“Time 12½ received Schuyler, who presented me the letter for his recall as the US plenipotentiary minister” (Docea, 2007: 319).

Mr. Schuyler returned to America in November, 1884, and he and his wife established themselves for the winter in Washington. During the following year he delivered at Johns Hopkins and Cornell Universities the lectures afterwards embodied in the book entitled “American Diplomacy”, which was published in 1886.

On July 16, 1890, died in Venice, the corresponding member in the historical section of the Academy, Eugene Schuyler, a former representative of the United States in Romania. A valuable writing on the Great Peter the Great made him occupy an important place in the history of Moldova since the beginning of the 18th century and a good historical work to explore the Moldovan chroniclers (Annals of the Romanian Academy, 1892).

Eugene Schuyler held the following positions in Romania:

1. **Diplomatic Agent/Consul General (Romania)**
Appointed: June 11, 1880
Presentation of Credentials: Was not formally received; delivered credentials in private audience on December 14, 1880
Termination of Mission: Promoted to Chargé d’Affaires/Consul General January 25, 1881
 - The Romanian Foreign Ministry had indicated on August 13, 1880, a willingness to enter provisionally into relations with the U.S. Legation.
2. **Chargé d’Affaires and Consul General (Romania)**
Appointed: December 21, 1880
Presentation of Credentials: January 25, 1881
Termination of Mission: Promoted to Minister Resident/Consul General September 8, 1882
 - Reaccredited on May 16, 1881, when Romania became a kingdom.
3. **Minister Resident/Consul General (Romania)**
Appointed: July 7, 1882
Presentation of Credentials: September 8, 1882
Termination of Mission: Presented recall on September 7, 1884
 - When promoted to Minister Resident/Consul General, Schuyler transferred his residence to Athens. Also accredited to Serbia and Greece; resident at Athens.

(history.state.gov)

«... I may, perhaps, be pardoned for stating in detail my official experience. I entered on my duties as consul at Moscow in August, 1867; as consul at Reval in November, 1869; as secretary of legation, at St. Petersburg in April, 1870 (remaining there nearly six years, and being charge d’affaires in the absence of a minister for thirty out of seventy months, or nearly one-half the time); as secretary of legation and consul-general at Constantinople in July, 1876; as consul at Birmingham in October, 1878; as consul-general at Rome in August, 1879; as charge d’affaires and consul-general at Bucarest in July, 1880; and as minister resident and consul-general to Greece, Roumania, and Serbia in July, 1882. This last mission terminated in July, 1884, owing to the failure of an appropriation. During my residence at Bucarest I negotiated and signed three treaties with Roumania and two with Serbia» (Schuyler, 1886: 5).

Appendix
Consular convention

Concluded June 17, 1881, ratification advised by the Senate April 3, 1882; ratified by the President April 6; ratifications exchanged June 13, 1883; proclaimed July 9, 1883.

Articles

- | | |
|--|----------------------------------|
| I. Consular officers. | IX. Applications to authorities. |
| II. Most favored nation consular privileges. | X. Notarial powers. |
| III. Exemptions. | XI. Shipping disputes. |
| IV. Testimony by consuls. | XII. Deserters from ships. |
| V. Arms and flags. | XIII. Damages to vessels at sea. |
| VI. Immunities of offices and archives. | XIV. Shipwrecks and salvage. |
| VII. Acting officers. | XV. Estates of deceased persons. |
| VIII. Vice-consuls and agents. | XVI. Duration; ratification. |

The United States of America and His Majesty the King of Roumania, being mutually desirous of defining the rights, privileges and immunities of consular officers in the two countries, deem it expedient to conclude a consular convention for that purpose, and have accordingly named as their plenipotentiaries:

The United States of America = Eugene Schuyler, their Chargé d’Affaires and Consul General; His Majesty the King of Roumania: Mr. D. Bratiano, President of His Council of Ministers, His Minister of Foreign Affairs, etc. etc.,

who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, found to be in good and proper form, have agreed upon the following articles:

Article I

Each of the high contracting parties agrees to receive from the other, consuls-general, consuls, vice-consuls and consular agents, in all its ports, cities and places, except those where it may not be convenient to recognize such officers. This reservation, however, shall not apply to one of the high contracting parties without also applying to every other power.

Article II

The consuls-general, consuls, vice-consuls and consular agents of each of the two high contracting parties shall enjoy reciprocally, in the states of the other, all the privileges, exemptions and immunities that are enjoyed by officers of the same rank and quality of the most favored nation. The said officers, before being admitted to the exercise of their functions and the enjoyment of the immunities thereto pertaining, shall present their commissions in the forms established in their respective countries. The government of each of the two high contracting powers shall furnish them necessary exequatur free of charge, and on the exhibition of this instrument they shall be permitted to enjoy the rights, privileges, and immunities granted by this convention.

Article III

Consuls-general, consuls, vice-consuls and consular agents, citizens of the State by which they are appointed, shall be exempt from preliminary arrest except in the case of offences which the local legislation qualifies as crimes and punishes as such; they shall be exempt from military billetings, from service in the regular army or navy,

in the militia, or in the national guard.; they shall likewise be exempt from all direct taxes national, State or municipal, imposed upon persons, either in the nature of capitation tax or in respect to their property, unless such taxes become due on account of the possession of real estate, or for interest on capital invested in the country where the said officers exercise their functions. This exemption shall not, however, apply to consuls-general, consuls, vice-consuls and consular agents engaged in any profession, business, or trade, but the said officers shall in such case be subject to the payment of the same taxes that would be paid by any other foreigner under the like circumstances. It is understood that the respective consuls, if they are merchants, shall be entirely submitted, as far as concerns preliminary arrest for commercial acts, to the legislation of the country in which they exercise their functions.

Article IV

When a court of one of the two countries shall desire to receive the judicial declaration or deposition of a consul-general, consul, vice-consul, or consular agent, who is a citizen of the State which appointed him, and who is engaged in no commercial business, it shall request him, in writing to appear before it, and in case of his inability to do so, it shall request him to give his testimony in writing, or shall visit his residence or office to obtain it orally. It shall be the duty of such officer to comply with this request with as little delay as possible. In all criminal cases, contemplated by the sixth article of the amendments to the Constitution of the United States, whereby the right is secured to persons charged with crimes to obtain witnesses in their favor, the appearance in court of said consular officer shall be demanded with all possible regard to the consular dignity and to the duties of his office. A similar treatment shall also be extended to the consuls of United States in Roumania in the like cases.

Article V

Consuls-general, consuls, vice-consuls and consular agents may place over the outer door of their offices the arms of their nation, with this inscription: Consulate-General, or Consulate, or Vice-Consulate or Consular Agency of the United States, or of Roumania. They may also raise the flag of their country of their offices, except in the capital of the country where there is a legation there. They may in like manner, raise the flag of their country over the boat employed by them in the port for the exercise of their functions.

Article VI

The consular offices shall at all times be inviolable. The local authorities shall not, under any pretext, invade them. In no case shall they examine or seize the papers there deposited. In no case shall those offices be used as places of asylum. When a consular officer is engaged in other business, the papers relating to the consulate shall be kept separate.

Article VII

In the event of the death, incapacity, or absence of consul-general, consuls, vice-consuls and consular agents, their chancellors or secretaries, whose official character may have previously been made known to the Department of State at Washington, or to the Ministry of foreign Affairs in Roumania, may temporarily exercise their

functions and while thus acting they shall enjoy all the rights, prerogatives and immunities granted to the incumbents.

Article VIII

Consuls-general, consuls may, so far as the laws of their country allow, with the approbation of their respective governments, appoint vice-consuls and consular agents in the cities, ports, and places within their consular jurisdiction. These agents may be selected from among citizens of the United States, Roumanians, or citizens of other countries. They shall be furnished with a regular commission, and shall enjoy the privileges stipulated for the consular officers in this convention, subject to the exceptions specified in Articles 3 and 4.

Article IX

Consuls-general, consuls, vice-consuls and consular agents, shall have the right to address the administrative and judicial authorities, whether in the United States of the Union, the States or the municipalities, or in Roumania, of the State, the district or the commune throughout the whole extent of their consular jurisdiction, in order to complain of any infraction of the treaties and conventions between the United States and Roumania, and for the purpose of protecting the rights and interests of their countrymen. If the complaint should not be satisfactorily redressed, the consular officers in the absence of a diplomatic agent of their country, may apply directly to the government of the country where they exercise their functions.

Article X

Consuls-general, consuls, vice-consuls and consular agents may take at their offices, at their private residence of the parties, or on board ship, deposition the captains and crews of vessels of their own country, of passengers on the broad of them, and of any other citizen of their nation. They may also receive at their offices, conformably to the laws and regulations of their and the citizens or other inhabitants of the country where they reside, and even all contracts between the latter, provided they relate to property situated or to business to be transacted in the territory of the nation to which the said consular officer may belong. Such papers and official documents of every kind, whether in the original, in copies or in translation, duly authenticated and legalized by the consuls-general, consuls, vice-consuls and consular agents, and sealed with their official seal, shall be received as legal documents in courts of justice throughout the United States and Roumania.

Article XI

The respective consuls-general, consuls, vice-consuls, and consular agents shall have exclusive charge of the internal order of the merchant vessels of their nation, and shall alone take cognizance of all differences which may arise, either at sea or in port, between the captains, officers, and crews, without exception, particularly in reference to the adjustment of wages and the exception of contracts. The local authorities shall not interfere except when the disorder that has arisen is of such a nature as to disturb tranquility and public order on shore, or in the port, or when a person of the country or not belonging to the crew shall be concerned therein. In all other cases, the aforesaid authorities shall confine themselves to lending aid to the consuls and vice-consuls consular-agents, if they are requested by them to do so, in causing the arrest

and imprisonment of any person whose name is inscribed on the crew-list, whenever, for any cause, the said officers shall think proper.

Article XII

The respective consuls-general, consuls, vice-consuls, and consular agents may cause to be arrested the officers, sailors and all other persons making part of the crews, in any manner whatever, of ships of war or merchant vessels of their nation, who may be guilty, or be accused, or having deserted said ships and vessels, for the purpose of sending them on board or back to their country. To this end they shall address the competent local authorities of the respective countries, in writing and shall make to them a written request for the deserters, supporting it by the exhibition of the register of the vessel and list of the crew, or by other official documents, to show that the persons claimed belong to the said ship's company. Upon such request thus supported, the delivery to them of the deserters cannot be refused, unless it should be duty proved that they were citizens of the country where their extradition is demanded at the time of their being inscribed on the crew-list. All the necessary aid and protection shall be furnished for the pursuit, seizure, and arrest of the deserters, who shall even be put and kept in the prisons of the country, at the request and expense of the consular officers until there may be an opportunity for sending them away. If, however, such an opportunity should not present itself within the space of three months, counting from the day of the arrest, the deserters shall be set at liberty, nor shall they again be arrested for the same cause. If the deserter has committed any misdemeanor, and the court having the right to take cognizance of the offence shall claim and exercise it, the delivery of the deserter shall be deferred until the decision of the court has been pronounced and executed.

Article XIII

In the absence of an argument to the contrary between the owners, freighters, and insurers, all damages suffered at sea by the vessels of the two countries, whether they enter port voluntarily, or are forced by stress of weather, shall be settled by the consuls-general, consuls, vice-consuls, and consular agents of the respective countries. If however, any inhabitant of the country, or citizen or subject of a third power, shall be interested in the matter and the parties cannot agree, the competent local authorities shall decide.

Article XIV

All proceedings relative to the salvage of vessels of the United States wrecked upon the coasts of Roumania and of Roumanian vessels wrecked upon the coasts of United States, shall be directed by the consuls-general, consuls, and vice-consuls of the two countries respectively, and until their arrival, by the respective consular agents, wherever an agency exists. In the places and ports where an agency does not exist, the local authorities until the arrival of the consul in whose district the wreck may have occurred, and who shall be immediately informed of the occurrence, shall take all necessary measures for the protection of persons and the preservation of wrecked property. The local authorities shall not otherwise interfere than for the maintenance of order, the protection of the interests of the salvors if those do not belong to the crews that have been wrecked and to carry into effect the arrangements made for the entry and exportation of the merchandize saved. It is understood that such

merchandise is not to be subject to any custom-house charges, unless it be intended for consumption in the country where the wreck may have taken place. The intervention of the local authorities in these different cases shall occasion no expense of any kind, except such as may be caused by the operations of salvage and the preservation of the goods saved, together with such as would be incurred under similar circumstances by vessels of the nation.

Article XV

In case of the death of any citizen of the United States in Roumania, or of any Roumanian in the United States, without having any known heirs or testamentary executor by him appointed, the competent local authorities shall give information of the circumstances of the consuls or consular agents of the nation to which the deceased belongs, in order that the necessary information may be immediately forwarded to parties interested. Consuls-general, consuls, vice-consuls and consular agents shall have the right to appear personally or by delegate, in all proceedings on behalf of the absent or minor heirs, or creditors, until they are duly represented.

Article XVI

The present convention shall remain in force for the space of ten years, counting from the day of the exchange of the ratifications, which shall be made in conformity with the respective constitutions of the two countries and exchanged at Bucharest as soon as possible. In case neither party gives notice, twelve months before the expiration of the said period of ten years, of its intention not to renew this convention, it shall remain in force one year longer, and so on from year to year, until the expiration of a year from the day on which one of the parties shall have given such notice. In faith whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed this convention in duplicate, and have hereunto affixed their seals.

Done at Bucharest, the 5/17 of June in the year one thousand eight hundred and eighty-one. (Compilation of treaties in force, prepared under act of July 7, 1898: 523-527)

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**THE IMPACT OF COMMUNIST LEADERS ON THE FORMATION
OF LOYAL MASSES AFTER THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION 1917
IN THE REGIONS OF FORMER RUSSIAN EMPIRE**

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Abstract

It's shown that regional party leaders had the leading role in the escalation of the revolution 1917. The authors explain this with a significant level of regionalization and fragmentation of territorial, national, and geographic features of the former territory of the empire. The paper shows that the change of territory management regime, ideological basis led not only to modernization but also to long-term regress of management system as a whole. The novelty of the paper is that the Bolshevik party has no regional political offices for management and only revolutionary units. The materials, which allow determining the role of political leaders in the expansion of the revolution after October, 1917 are represented.

Key words: *revolution 1917, province, masses, party leaders, Russia*

Introduction

Nowadays there exists a great interest for researching the behavior of a provincial human in the conditions of the social cataclysms. The ordinary summarizing the objective reasons (hard working conditions, low level of salary and of the whole life) doesn't let us to imagine the full historical reality. According to M. Bloch, "history wants to see people" (Bloch, 1949: 18). Now many researchers try to wide their activity by this direction. Many studies are dedicated to the psychology of the individuals as of the different social groups in 1905 and 1917 revolutions. However, there exist the need to continue researching the behavioral stereotypes of the masses and political leaders in the conditions of the social transformations. This study is dedicated to the revolutionists in province, their psychological portraits and their role in the revolutions in the whole Russian Empire.

It's obvious that different powers tried to understand the meaning, logic and essence of revolutions – from those whom they took at the peak of social life to those against whom they were directed (Maslikov, 2016). That's why the attitude towards revolutions was very different, the range of evaluations was disputable – up to wide asunder as pole and pole. In one camp revolutions were considered "humiliated's holiday", "truth moments", in the other – unacceptable violence over naturally established relations, heavy crimes, unconditional guilt of irresponsible elements and powers. Between these points of view that cancel each other – a number of combinations-outputs with different specific weight of positive and negative components. Such "blur" and diversity typical for professional approached to the full,

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where reflections regarding achievements and losses (actual and, sometimes, made up) as revolutions' consequences are added, settled down with scientific arguments (in general with obligatory stipulations, that it's the latter are laid in the foundation of theoretical evaluations and structures).

The circle of those who begin to judge regarding complex social phenomena with different degree of competence is constantly expands. Consequently, the historiography of revolutions by quantity indices apparently takes the leading place in historical literature, which, however, anything but guarantees corresponding quality achievements by no means marks approaching the desired truth.

The Degree of Problem Development in Historiographic Context

Researching the revolution process on the local level is still relevant for contemporary Russia because the problems of social psychology, people's treatment to the power, their orientation to cooperation or confrontation, the reasons of choosing the strategy of behavior are relevant in the contemporary Russian society as the country is developing on the way of forming the civil society and increasing the people's political culture.

The contemporary researches testify that the scientists are more and more interested in the history of revolution as a whole and of manifestations of the process on the local level. However, researching this problem is quite difficult because of finding out the main factors among the variety of different political events' reasons and determination of the correlation of objective and subjective reasons. All these facts cause the big massive of the literature concerned these problems and the variety of researched aspects of the revolutionary process determined by the historians. Nowadays the researches pay a lot of attention to analyzing the macro processes (the 1st World War's influence on the increasing of revolutionary attitude of wide groups of people, their mental transformations, forms and ways of politization) and to analyzing the activity of central party and state authority, prosopography of the political leaders. Also the historians research the subjective factors of the revolutionary process. The main of them is the organizing activity of the political parties and their leaders, the political culture of the different groups of population, the influence of the mass performances on the tactics of political parties, determination the reasons of different socialistic parties' fail (mostly, the Mensheviks who were the most realistic course of Russian revolutionary democracy). For the many years the special tendency appeared in the historiography – the multi-party system in the Russian province has not been researched well enough. However it is possible to explain the variety of political behavior of the participants of the revolutionary process only using the regional studies in the comparative aspect. As the historian Donald J. Raleigh said that it is time to refuse the point of view that Russian province was passive and secondary in the revolutionary process. It is important to enlighten the revolutionary events researching the role of social lower masses in Russian province (Raleigh, 1986).

The contemporary regional studies concern different aspects of history of revolution (the influence of WWI on regions' development, political culture and behavior of different social strata and military forces, revolutionary everyday life, the

activity of the local authorities and self-government, political and social organizations), however these studies are uncoordinated and embarrass to make up the comparative analyses. For example, there exist the studies concerning all these problems but only in one region. Thus in 2000th the studies on the problems of revolution appeared based on the material from Volga region (Shestopalova, 2011; Rumjancev, 2006; Slepchenkova, 2010; Mistrjugov, 2015; Jakimov, 2008; Khvostova, 2006; Dindarov, 2002; Krasovskaya, 2002; Olneva, 2005; Lapshin, 2001; Kuznetsov, 2010), “chernozem” (black earth) regions (Oskin, 2003; Polosina, 2010; Kutsevolov, 2007; Luzikov, 2016; Kolchinsky, 2005; Gnusarev, 2015; Nikolashin, 2010; Alekhina, 2005; Karmanov, 2002), Siberia (Vasil’eva, 2011; Eremin, 2006), Dagestan (Idrisov, 2007), Taurida Governorate (Potemkin, 2005), Vladimir, Kaluga, and Ryazan’ Governorates (Zhuruhin, 2010; Shherbakova, 2009; Akimova, 2007), Vladimir, Moscow, Smolensk, and Tula Governorates (Klimova, 2003), Ural (Kostogryzov, 2013; Abramovsky, 2004; Skipina, 2003; Kuchak, 2002), Transbaikalia (Mikheev, 2012).

Nowadays the researchers pay a lot of attention to subjective factors of revolution process (organizing activity of political parties and leaders, political culture of different groups of people, reasons of fails and victories of political parties) (Brovkin, 1987; Anatomija Revoljucii..., 1994; Vlast’ i Oppozicija..., 1995; Smith, 2001; Figes and Kolonitskii, 1999; Buldakov, 1997). But it is impossible to explain different types of political activity in revolutionary process without local and regional researches in comparison.

The Influence of Elites in the Regions of Traditional Cooperation of Regions with the Central Power

The establishing of masses as single social environment is above all things determined by the fact how much regions were free or vice versa too dependent on central authorities before the beginning of the revolution. We don’t consider the states, which separated from the empire due to declaration of independence.

Processes went most loyally in the central part of the former Russian empire, which was historically integrated with the center of government. This process can be traced by the example of a number of governorate (administrative unit).

Against the background of the economic problems the activity of the first revolutionary organizations began to expand. In Tula Governorate the first revolutionary organizations appeared in the late 1800s – the beginning of 20th century. What was the social structure of these organizations? Tula social-democratic organization until 1917 consisted of burgesses (21%), peasants turned to workers (21%), intelligentsia (doctors, engineers, white-collar workers – 15%), laborers (11, 7%). It is significant that in socialists-revolutionists’ organization the biggest percent was for white-collar workers (about 30%), students (20%), schoolboys (13%), burgesses (15%). The quantity of peasants was only 3,2%, and it were mostly the peasants turned to be laborers and craftsmen, that means, these peasants were separated from the village (SATR F. P-1300). According to the Tula Gendarme department on the eve of 1917 there existed 460 socialists-revolutionists and 563 social-democrats in Tula Governorate.

In general the educational level of the socialists was low (the illiterate and the semiliterate people constitutes near 50%) (SATR F.P-1300). The active members of the organizations (people who were known by gendarmes) were people separated from the place of their birth, permanently migrating around the Governorate and the whole Russian empire. Among the socialists-revolutionists the indigenous urban citizens consisted 58% before 1917 (32% lived in Tula), after 1917 – 31%, among socialists-democrats: 41% (40% in Tula) of indigenous citizens and 61% (58% in Tula) after the revolution. Analyzing this data we can say that revolutionists in little towns of the governorate (but not in the industrial center) were newcomers. Also all the revolutionists were concentrated in towns: of 119 socialists-revolutionists who we know from the papers only 15 lived in the villages. Of 287 people who were registered by gendarmes in 1917, 92 were migrating from village to village; others lived in the city that they had reached from other villages or cities. Among socialists-democrats (303 before 1917) only 17 lived in the village, in 1917 of 248 only 16.

In the provinces (in uyezds) there were not enough party organizations. For example, in Tula Governorate in 1905-1906 there acted only 3 social-revolutionists' organizations in Venev, Belev and Novosil, but they were not numerous and didn't influence the life of cities and uyezds a lot. By personal recollections and evidences of Tula social-revolutionists presented in 1920s, by February 1920 in uyezds there had been acted about 120 their organizations, and by October even 230 (SATR. F. P-1861). However, this information seems to be exaggerated because of the conditions when the evidences appeared and not very accurate party statistics. As a rule, the social-revolutionists' organizations worked in uyezds' cities, not in volosts.

The Mensheviks' organizations by the February, 1917 hadn't existed in the uyezds at all. The Bolsheviks had their groups in Bogoroditsk, Efremov and Dedilov in the period of the first Russian revolution. However later they disappeared and only in 1917 the Bolsheviks stirred to activity among the uyezds' peasantry. As for the gorcom's (city committee) decisions there were appointed the agitators who weekly on Sundays visited the uyezds for arranging mass-meetings and assemblies (Bogdanov, 1957: 38).

The political activity of the socialists came to accidental or sometimes special visits to villages to organize a meeting of any party organization. In social-revolutionists' memorandum there existed the rule of obligatory membership fee, but it was not common in the real life. Attending the meetings was enough for the membership.

The expansion of the Bolsheviks party to the village began only after the establishment of the Soviet regime. The main evidence of it is the chronicle of the Bolshevik organizations' creation. Most of them in volosts and villages were created in January-March, 1918 (Proletarian Truth, 1918; ZNITO F.1). The interrelationships between Governorate committees of social-revolutionists, Bolsheviks and Mensheviks and uyezds' committees were irregular and resumed as appropriate.

In the governorate center where the political activity was higher by October, 1917 there were 2330 Mensheviks, 537 Bolsheviks, 450 social-revolutionists of the city population of 200 000 people. Despite their paucity they played the main role in Tula

Soviet, in Governorate commissar of Russian Provisional Government' administration and in Tula City Duma from summer, 1917.

In the 2nd half of 1917 the growth of urban and governorate organizations became slower. In July, 1918 in the 2nd delegates' meeting of Tula Mensheviks the reporters marked the complex image of laborers' organizations' failure. Also they noticed the indifference of the wide masses to the party life: "Many members of organization didn't attend the meetings, were not interested in libraries and so on" (SATR F. P-1861). The tendency for damaging the socialist parties continued in 1918. This process was caused by inner factors connected with the tactics of parties and external factors connected with the Bolsheviks' pressure on the opponents.

It is complicated to observe the dynamics of socialists' organizations' development because of the state of the source base. Its distinctive feature is that in the papers of Tula Regional State Archive (GATO) there is not any information about the quantitative staff of the socialistic organization because from December, 1917 to July, 1918 the process of Bolsheviks' system of control on the political opponents had been only establishing. It is possible to characterize the staff of volost', uyezd and urban Mensheviks and right and left socialists-revolutionists in December, 1917 – July 1918 only using the information of questionnaires and reports of volost', uyezd and governorate Soviets of Peasants' and Laborers' Deputies. However the first questionnaires contained the information about the socialists' representing in the structures of new authority were filled by the deputies of volost' and uyezd Soviets only in May-July, 1918. Tula Unit of People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) collected more detailed information about the Mensheviks and right and left socialists-revolutionists in 1920-1930. That is why in last papers they wrote only the main stages of social organizations' activity: from foundation to February revolution, from February to October, 1917, brief information about the establishing of Soviet power and the socialists' attitude to it, and the state of the socialists organization in 1922-1923. These papers were collected in order to chase the former political opponents and consist of many corrections. That is the reason why they give us the characteristics of socialists' activity with many mistakes.

The establishing and functioning of administrative management structures in the Samara governorate in 1918-1920 allows determining the components of this process in a Russian province. The Soviet power was declared in Samara on October 26, 1917 at the formation of revolutionary committee as a temporary emergency agency; socio-political powers acting in the governorate opposed "the usurpation of power by bolshevists" (The history of the Samara..., 2000). Governorate executive committee of the Council of workers, soldier and peasant deputies, which had no peasant representative declared that "The commission of people's authority... should not be recognized as authority by anyone" (SASR F.81).

During November 1917 – February 1918 the establishment of Soviet authority was declared in all uyezd centers of governorates; the process of its organization in volosts had started. At the same time government agencies of all kinds functioned in rural areas: committee, councils, volost zemstvos elected in autumn 1917. At the same time government agencies of all kinds functioned in the rural area: committees, councils, volost zemstvos elected in autumn, 1917. It should be mentioned that at the

organization of volost zemstvos volost committees were abolished, and soviets incorporated them at first (SASR. F. P-52a). In such way in the beginning of Soviet construction bolshevists brought peasants on their side not only ideologically but organizationally (SASR. F. P-52b).

It should be noted that party-proportional election system, which were implemented in 1917, was not particular popular among the people. Moreover, a part of peasant conferences, which took place in the Volga region in 1917, preconditioned the work conditions of the Constitutional meeting by obligatory support of Soviet power and its decrees. In some places the process of unification of all soviets into a single government agency began (Kabytova, 2002). At the same time the destruction of zemskoe self government apparatus began with establishing the Soviet power, besides, this phenomenon was often initiated at the local level (SASR. F.5).

The bolshevist leadership originally supposed that soviets would exercise administrative political guidance, and Dumas and zemstvos would engage in organizational and economic activity (Vronsky, Shchagin, 1994). At the same time in the course of the country's sovetization they got peasants' support they didn't particularly expect. V.I. Lenin subsequently noted that "in Russia in September-November 1917 the working class of cities, soldiers and peasants were, due to a number of special conditions, extremely prepared to the acceptance of soviet order..."(Lenin, 1920: 43). In such a way the interests of bolshevist heads and lower social strata coincided in the course of government building. This unity was not long, since they entrusted the soviets with not only different but opposite functions. V.I. Lenin declared them the bodies of "proletariat dictatorship" (in practice, bolshevist dictatorship), and workers, soldiers, and especially peasants hoped that people's government will be exercised through soviets.

In Middle Volga villages the situation of cooperation between the bodies of Soviet power and village soviets wasn't long, the cause of agrarian policy, which central government required to carry out from local government agencies.

It should be noted that the Middle Volga region together with Ukraine and North Caucasus was the main granary of Russia. It's commonly known that in the Middle Volga region peasants owned the greater part of land on the rights of personal or communal ownership before the revolution. For example, in the Simbirsk governorate peasants owned over 54% of cropland, in the Kazan governorate – over 64%. Among these lands, khutor peasants owned a high percentage on the rights of private property, in the Simbirsk governorate they owned 14% of land, in the Samara governorate – over 17, 4%. In such a way, based on the provided data we see that the best part of cultivated land belonged to community peasants, large private and noble (droryanskoe) landed property made up a small percentage. The state owned over 20% of cropland, and it tented it to peasants.

In the mid March 1918 conflicts of uezd authorities with local Soviets, both volost and village ones, began. There are several causes for this.

Firstly, in February-March 1918 authorized persons arrived from uezds to villages and demanded to immediately return landowners' lands seized by peasants as well as ransack inventory of landowners' latifundia.

Secondly, on the places of landowner's landed property seized from peasants they began to create sovkhoses, as "base points" of a new soviet economic order. Refugees from Eastern regions were brought there, as well as owners of nationalized enterprises of "capitalists-exploiters". In summer 1918, attempts had been made to crop from the lands of agricultural economies,, but since peasants were forbidden to share this land between each other, and what they had managed to share were seized, peasants strongly refused to crop on the lands of ex-landowners' economies. They had to attract to this end workers from cities, having hastily created so-called "harvesting working brigades". They cropped a miserable part of harvest, however its best part were left to rotten on the lands (SAUR, F. 200). After restoration of Soviet power and the defeat of The Committee of Members of the Constituent Assembly army in September, 1918 the policy of creating sokhoses in the village were carried out with renewed vigour. In doing so, the absolutely negative attitude of the majority of peasants to the sovkhos idea was not taken into account.

Thirdly, bolshevist's prohibition of private trade struck the peasants' interests, since they couldn't carry out equivalent products supply to cities instead of industrial products. In the 1918 the shortage of industrial products began to make itself felt, besides the goods of first priority: matches, petroleum oil, agricultural equipment, etc. To bring bread and goods to the city and sell them independently became deathful, since new authorities forbade any private trade declaring it "capitalism leftover". Backstops and cordons were put at each step, which could not only confiscate bread and goods but also shoot a peasant with impunity as an "enemy of workpeople".

Fourthly, on May 13, 1918 state monopoly of bread was again confirmed by the decree of All-Russian Central Executive Committee (Decrees of the Soviet Government...: 91-92). The authorities declared the beginning of mass seizure of bread from "kulaks" and speculators. Landowner, private capital economies stopped to take bread away; ransack Stolypin's peasants stopped to produce goods. Community peasants also decided to keep bread, since the government of bolsheviks who had came to power established such low procurement prices for bread, that it was entirely unprofitable for peasants to give it away for trifling sum, and it became more profitable to feed it to livestock or keep until better days. Directives issued in May-June 1918 by central authorities finally legalized the policy of bread confiscation, which was gaining momentum in the Middle Volga region, and gave local authorities a free hand (SASR, F. 81). Starting from March, 3 this policy became tougher. Special Krasnaya Gvardia troops were formed for bread record and requisition in the Samara and neighboring Simbirsk and Kazan governorates (Decrees of the Soviet government...: 93-97). On May 27, 1918 the decree of All-Russian Central Executive Committee was passed, which provided People's Food Commissariat with the right to carry out food allotment, as well as the right of monopoly on the distribution of articles of prime necessity. On June 11, 1918 the decree on the establishing of poor committees was passed (CDN UO, F. 1a).

Fifthly, the authorities declared that the main cause of hunger in the country is that rich peasants, so-called "kulaks", hide bread for its further speculative sale. The local authorities began implementation of this confiscation policy from the organization of uezd and governorate conventions of Soviets. At that conventions

that policy was given the appearance of “all-people's approval” and decision on strict rationing of bread and goods made. Later authorities entrusted the direct implementation of these decisions on volost village Soviets.

Under this conditions village and volost Soviets in their majority expressing the interests of majority of villagers opposed the Bolshevik policy in the village.

The answer of authorities was quick and tough. So-called kombeds (poor committees) started to implant. Now the authorized persons from uyezds came to proposition volosts and villages accompanied by weaponed people, as a rule it was food troops. The determined rates of food handoff and set tight deadline for this procedure. If a certain village or volost Soviet refused to allocate goods for the “needs of Soviet republic”, it was immediately declared “anti-revolutionary” and abolished. On its place a poor committee was elected (rather assigned) from peasants-poor men, whose there are a lot in villages. However, from the very beginning kombeds and village and volost Soviets were fighting over power authorities. Often kombeds were assigned nonrelevant functions, for example, in the Samara region where they were obliged to manage mills and monitor the quality of grain taken by neighboring peasants to mills (SASR, F. 112).

Russian communist party (RCP) (b) nuclei started to command in villages, which headed bread confiscation “works”. In the Simbirsk governorate RCP (b) governorate committee “recommended” village communists-kombedovs to apply the most severe measures of “revolution impact” as for “tough” peasants. Thus, the Simbirsk governorate circular letter sent on places reads as follows: “... in order to ensure the successes of tax receipt, it's permitted to imprison payers in unheated premises with intentionally taken away windows, beating, lashing, shooting threat, etc., but the principle of allocation and way of taxation should be strictly agreed with its main purpose – to become tax, actively carried out by proletarsky and half-proletarsky bolsheviks against the part of exploiters and kulaks” (CDN UO, F. 1b). Nothing more, nothing less.

The village was actually divided on antagonistic social layers, which was made intentionally to submit it to a new emerging regime. This is firstly. And secondly, in order to get foodstuffs necessary for keeping the authority of this regime. In villages, which refused “voluntarily” elect kombeds and approve the lists of the persons proposed by authorities, mass expropriating and arrests of rich peasants, as well as all “doubtful” and “unreliable” persons specified by local activists were carried out.

The report of the head of the organizational-instruction section of the governorate committee of RCP (b) Chistov indicates the activity of kombeds in Temirsyanskaya, Bolshe-Tsilninskaya, Kaysarov volosts of the Simbirsk uezd of the same-name governorate. In the report Chistov states that kombeds works everywhere, firm measures to stop bread and other products sale are taken. Searches of kulaks and average peasants are effected (bread, salt, petroleum oil, weapons, clothing) (CDN UO, F. 1c). Kombeds actively used in their “activity” so-called “contributions”. In other words, they appointed to “kulaks” huge money payments. For example, in the village Bolshaya Tsilna of the Simbirsk uezd they make up from 50 to 120 thousands roubles (CDN UO, F. 1d).

At the meeting of the Simbirsk governorate committee of RCP (b) June 3, 1918 it was stated that "... peasants were divided into three groups: 1 – kulaks; 2 – average peasantry; 3 – the poor. The both (1 and 2) classes are against Soviet power. The policy of domestic affairs should be fundamentally changed. It's necessary to create reliable power from workers and poorest peasants and unemployed in order they jointly take bread, and this should be done without left socialists-revolutionaries" (CDN UO, F. 1e). In other works, despite left socialists-revolutionaries were allies of bolsheviks, they together came to power in the course of the October revolution, bolsheviks more and more suspended left socialists-revolutionaries from power.

In the Simbirsk governorate the dispersal of local village and volost Soviets in case of refusal to elect kombed, and so-called "revkoms" were organized on their place. Revcoms consisted of loyal to carried out policy peasants from communists or persons sent from city, who also participants of kombed (SAUR, F. 200). In all governorates kombeds started their activity from mass requisitions of rich peasants, people engaged in private trade, and also those people were considered to be well-to-do before the Revolution (SAUR, F. 2720).

The Change of State Authority and Influence of Regional Elites in Territories Separated from the Empire

In October 1919 there was a crucial point in the Civil War in the South. It was clear at that moment that the defeat of the Whites in the North Caucasus is a question of time. On December 31, 1919 the question on the Soviet construction in the North Caucasus was considered at the meeting of Politburo of Central Committee (CC) RCP (b). The decision was made that Revolutionary War Councils of armies taking part in the release of the North Caucasus should organize revolutionary committees and to hand them over the plenitude of civil authorities. The Caucasus revolutionary committee should be at the head of "vertical power structure" (RSASPH, F. 80) with the North Caucasus and South Caucasus under its jurisdiction.

In the beginning of February 1920 Bureau for recovery of soviet power in the North Caucasus was established at the Revolutionary War Council (chairman – Georgian Ordzhonikidze G.K., members – Russian Kirov S.M., Georgians Stopani A.M. and Mdivani P.G., Azerbaijanian Narimanov N.N., lakets Gabiev S.). The plenitude of legislative, executive and judicial authority in the territory of the North Caucasus shifted to the Bureau. It also elaborated the principles of soviet construction in placed: in governorates/regions, districts/departments/uezds, volosts and villages. In mountain villages the creating temporary Sharia-based courts from among the Muslim ministry who loyally treated the Soviet power was allowed.

The performance of work among Cossacks should be carried out by political department, which were entrusted with the task of establishing close relations of labour Cossacks with local population, mountaineers and non-Cossacks; organization of representation of Cossacks population in revolutionary committees; distinguishing Cossacks sections and departments in the structure of local revkoms. Mountain departments should carry out organizational and informational work among mountaineers, issue newspaper and magazines in Russian and local languages, issue

brochures and leaflets, as well as supervise the creation of national departments and sections at local authorities.

By the end of March the North Caucasus (except the central and southern part of Chernomorskaya governorate) fell under the control of Workers' and Peasants' Red Army. On March 31 the Revolutionary war council created the North Caucasus Revolutionary Committee based in Pyatigorsk, which was declared the holder of supreme power in the region. It was headed by Ordzhonikidze G.K., his tovarishes were Kirov S.M. and Poluyan Y.V., members – Stopani A.M., Mdivani P.G., Narimanov N.N., Gabiev S. (RSASPH, F. 85). On April 8 according to CC RCP (b) decision the Caucasian bureau CC RCP (b) was organized – the supreme party organ in the territory of the Russian southeast and the South Caucasus. Ordzhonikidze G.K. was named its chairman, Kirov S.M. – his tovarisch. The Caucasian bureau was assigned the tasks of confirmation and strengthening of the soviet power in the region, establishing and strengthening party organizations in the region, establishment and maintenance of national peace, solution of land question, maintenance of effective Red Army and suppression of political banditism, economic unification of all Caucasian regions, rendering all-round help to the revolutionary movement in the East (Uznarodov, 1966).

In April 1920 the Caucasian front was reorganized into the Labour army of the North Caucasus (Caucasian Army of Labour). On April 15, the Revolutionary war council was declared the supreme border organ of Soviet power in the North Caucasus. The Russian Council of People's Commissars (Sovnarkom) entrusted it "general management of work on the recovery and strengthening of normal administrative life and administrative organs of the South-east". On June 22 Sovnarkom ordered to dismiss the North Caucasus revcom, and "entrust the Labour Army of North Caucasus the general management of soviet construction and economic aspect" represented by its Revolutionary War Council including into its competence the Dagestan region, which was traditionally considered the part of the South Caucasus and not North Caucasus (RSASPH, F. 64). On June, 26 the chairman of North Caucasus revcom Ordzhonikidze G.K. issued an order on the delegation of all power authorities in the region to Revolutionary War Council of Caucasian Army of Labour (chairman – Smilga I.T., then – Beloborodov A.G.). In its turn CC RCP (b) entrusted Ordzhonikidze G.K. the management "of all war policy in the Caucasus" (RSASPH, F. 17), including fighting against anti-revolutionary rebel squads and conducting, if necessary, military operations in the countries of South Caucasus and Transcaspiian area.

On August 17 the Council of Labour and Defence officially delegated the plenitude of the power in the North Caucasus to the Revolutionary War Council of the Caucasian Labour Army of the south-east of Russia composed of the chairman (Stopani A.M.), two representatives of the Caucasian front authorized by the Supreme Council of National Economy, People's commissariat on nationalities, People's commissariat on communication, People's commissariat on labour, All-Union Central Council of Trade-Unions, as well as abolished the North Caucasian revolutionary committee, in total – 10 persons (Uznarodov, 1966). The new government authority included into its management office North Caucasian revcom with all its departments

and the Soviet of the authorized of Sovnarkom of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic.

Thus, the bolshevist leadership made a decision to introduce in the whole territory of the North Caucasus the system of emergency administration, having created tough vertical power structure and delegated all the plenitude of power not to elected, but to assigned revolutionary committees composed of the captain of the Red Army, members of bolshevist party and their followers. Local population had to unquestionably execute all revkoms' instructions, which (revkoms) didn't bear any responsibility to citizens.

What was it about? Above all things, it was about internal instability. The White Guard retired to Crimea didn't give up on the struggle and supported anti-soviet opposition in the North Caucasus. Leaders of Cossacks and mountaineers who didn't want to accept the bolshevists' power formed partisan parties. They started an active combat against Soviet power, finding support on the part of Transcaucasian countries, especially Georgia. The major part of the North Caucasus society according to bolshevists' recognition was hostile or neutral to the soviet power, and therefore, in case of conducting election to Soviets, opposition power could win. Revolutionary committees were charged a task of force suppression of counterrevolution, running all central power's events, as well as attraction of as much as possible local citizens as necessary preparatory condition for carrying out sovietization in the region.

It should be noted that the process of Soviet state construction in the Stavropol and Kubano-Chernomorsky regions took place in accordance with models, which were accepted in the Central Russia, while it had some specifics in the Terek and Dagestan regions. The reason was national and confessional composition of the population of the mentioned subregions: Russian-speaking orthodox population dominated in the Stavropol, the Chernomorsky governorate and the Kudan region, while there was a high specific percent of mountaineers-Muslims in Terek and Dagestan, the attitude to whom on the part of central authorities was of a differentiated nature.

Where the condition and opportunities of the soviet government were limited, the soviet power was strengthened by determining separate possessions and their transfer under the power of Soviet government. In such a way the soviet power solved the problem of elite of local nature and became the major economic player in separate regions.

The example is Western Siberia. In spring 1918 by the initiative of local Soviets withdrawal of lands from private-property economies was added with equipment confiscation. In this regard they were guided by the same principle as in relation to land excesses: equipment necessary to process labour norms of land was not subject to confiscation (Uznarodov, 1966).

Approximately from February 1918 private-property lands in the region began to pass under the control of local land and soviet organs. In this period the decision of governorate land committees and Soviets for accounting and inspection of economies located on private land were made.

The larger group of private-property economies of entrepreneurial type was within the Omsk, Tukulinsk and Tatarsky uezds of the Omsk region, where the

majority of undeclared frontiersman requiring land-utilization settled. In the conditions of revolutionary confusion they started to solve their problems by their own, seizing others' lands. That's why the executive committee of the Omsk regional Soviet in the circular of March 20, 1918 recommended to all local Soviets constitute immediate control over entrepreneurial economies, send there their commissioners, organize accounting and protection of property. It was necessary to inspect each economy and solve the issue on their use in place (RSASPH F, P-209). This work was carried out by special commissions created in the end of March, 1918 according to the decree of land department of the Council of national economy (Sovnarkhoz).

There were such-like structures in other regions of Siberia. It's known that 53 commissioners specially authorized for that purpose liquidated sheep entrepreneurial economies in the Zmeinogorsk uezd (Ivantsova, 1993).

There were 7 such commissions in the Omsk region, in each there was a commissioner, an agriculturist and, in the event of conflict situation, a representative of the executive committee of the Soviet of peasant, worker and soldier deputies (RSASPH a, F. P-284). The Commission activity was guided by the order "Concerning the procedure for accounting of properties in estates", specially developed by the Omsk regional land department. In the end of March 1918 commissions left and started to work in place. Data collected by them regarding the Omsk region were unpromising and incomplete. In the majority of estates there was unbalance of economy systems owing to the crisis phenomena in the leading areas – crop agriculture and cattle breeding (RSASPH b, F. P-284). It should be noted that there was no complete clarity in the agriculture and land-utilization commissariat concerning the state of confiscated estates and the possibility of their practical use (CDCHOR, F. 19).

In the spring 1918 the private-property economies of M.P. Telegin, P.Y. Kalinin, P.A. Lipatnikov, E. A. Yayskin, I.I. Gotman, I.L. Bekel, A.D. Zeyfert, Romberg, A.S. Haymovich, etc. (RSASPH c, F. P-284) were confiscated by the Omsk regional executive committee of the Soviet of worker, soldier and peasant deputies.

The Tomsk governorate also experienced negative moments in the development of entrepreneurial economies in this period. Following the establishment of the Soviet power, the economies of entrepreneurs-horse breeders Pyankov F.S., Ermolaev N.P., Tsevlosky N.A. and Zdorik S. were declared "people's assets", but it didn't put an end to "riotous and anarchic land seizure" and "destruction of cultural agricultural values". Located in the Tomsk uezd entrepreneurial economies of G. I. Fuksman, A. A. Gattenberger, V. M and N. V. Harchenko, A. V. Pudovikov, P. V. Bildinsky were also registered in the land authority in this period. Besides, the Tomsk governorate Sovnarkhoz took tough measures to return property and equipment plundered by peasants from that economies (SATR, F. P-1).

Earlier on February 19, 1918 the decree of the executive committee of the Soviet of worker, peasant and soldier deputies on the nationalization of living and dead inventory of private-property nonlabor economies were sent by uezds. According to this decree all living and dead stock of private-property nonlabor economies, as well as buildings and enterprises passed to the disposal of the Omsk regional executive committee and the Soviet of worker, peasant and soldier deputies. All transactions

carried out with stock after the declaration of the Land Decree were considered invalid (RSASPH d, F. P-284).

All inventory of entrepreneurial economies, even that was pledged or rented was registered by local Soviets and was distributed on general grounds. Inventory in the Omsk uezd was divided between volosts and localities in proportion to the number of their economies.

The procedure of inventory distribution in the Tobolsk governorate was mainly the same as in other regions of Western Siberia. The living and dead inventory of the estates based on which collective farms were created were left in place and passed under disposal of organizing communities and teams. The excesses of inventory were handed to rental stores and personal use of peasants for the price established by uezd land committees (The Peasantry of Siberia..., 1983: 30-31). In this regard it should be noted that living and dead inventory of agricultural entrepreneurs were withdrawn without any buy-out.

Agricultural entrepreneurs had to give subscription on the preservation of their economy, available inventory and production. Notably, it was reasoned by the need to prevent the destruction of cultural economies by local population. After the procedure of confiscation of entrepreneurial economies, they passed to local land bodies. Former owners were left the amount of land and cattle enough to keep labour farm (SATR, F. P-934). Special decisions forbade to use workhands in such economies, particularly, the labour of prisoners of war.

It should be noted that often nationalization turned into simple spoliation of entrepreneurial economies. The Omsk regional executive committee paid attention to this fact in the circular as of March 20, 1918. The documents reads that the cases of abuse on the part of owners are often at the confiscation by volost and village authorities, moreover the measures of the authorities themselves are often inconsistent, due to this misunderstandings appear, which damage the property, which passes to people's property (SATR, F. P-1).

There were bashings of entrepreneurial economies especially high-cultural and exemplary in other regions of Siberia. For example, in the Novonikolaevsky uezd peasants occupied the economy of Kurlin I. and distributed among themselves 39 brood cows and 13 horses. The population seized 50 brood horses and 50 cows as well as all agricultural inventory in the economies of Romberg and Lipatov. In the Ishimsky and Zmeinorsky uezds peasants in entrepreneurial economies demolished building and gave brood sheep away by villages in proportion to the population number. The commission of Tomsk governorate Sovnarkhoz inspected in 1918 confiscated private-property economies and stated the destruction of property, inventory and buildings at the stud farm of N.A. Tsevlovsky and N.P. Ermolaev (SATR, F. P-1).

Private-property entrepreneurial economies located in the territory of the Siberian Cossack troops were in somewhat other conditions. Troop government formed in September, 1917 advocated the interests of private owners and the Soviet of Cossack deputies, on the contrary, advocated confiscation of entrepreneurial economies located on private-property and rented lands (Diary of the 4th Extraordinary Circle..., 1918: 13-34).

The situation became more difficult on January, 1918 when the Omsk Soviet of worker and soldier deputies gave orders to nationalize the property of renters of troop Cossack land, which sparked protests on the part of the latter (CDCHOR, F. 19). At the meeting the administration of Cossack troops, the Soviet of Cossack deputies, the Omsk Soviet decided that their owners left the proprietaries of such economies, but control will be imposed over them (Vibe, 2007).

The troops government were arrested in January 1918 by the decree of the Soviet Cossack deputies (CDCHOR, F. 19). In March by the decision of the 3rd Cossack Assembly local land committees were created in the territory of Cossack troops, both for accounting of private-property estates and protection against plunder of Assembly's forests and renters' economies (CDCHOR a, F. P-1706).

In this period land was seized in the households of F.F. Shtumpf, brothers G.P., E.P. and M.P. Telegin, I. P. Shel, I. F. Matis, V. I. Zaytsev, M.A. Ignatov, G.G. Gertsen, N. P. Kovalev, F.I. Isaak, F.P. Isaak, A.F. Vedau, N.Y. Smirnov and others.

From this very moment the destruction of one of the best seed selection economies in Siberia, organized by I.M. Karzin, started (Diary of the 4th Extraordinary Circle..., 1918: 13-34; CDCHOR, F. 19; CDCHOR a, F. P-1706; CDCHOR, F, P-683; CDCHOR, F b, P-1706; CDCHOR, D. 247).

Losevsky land committee got the economy under control and made I.M. Karzing to leave it, while doing so, it displaced experienced employees and replaced them with "incompetent people" (CDCHOR, F119). All this couldn't but have an impact on the functioning of cultural economy.

Conclusions

As a result of the research the conclusion can be made regarding how much importance had for the Russia revolution how much geographical regions were common and similar by their composition in historical terms. We analyzed theoretical surveys by the perception of the Russian revolution among population after October 1917. We determined that the reaction and correspondingly behavior of regional leaders was determined how much closer studied objects were to the central authorities by their historical and geographical structure.

We took the European part of the country as research borders, since due to the peculiarities of integration of Siberia and the Far East the transformation on the part of state bodies became possible only in 1922. In general, we can say that the processes of dissemination of the soviet power were directly depended on local elite and, correspondingly, its support of the central power of the bolshevist party. When analyzing the Volga region, which consequently made up the main production basis and allowed retain the power in the framework of the Civil War, revealed historical succession in the management principles.

In more distant regions, where the greater power of regional elite emerged, the significant part of territories was more susceptible to independent state construction. It's shown that neighborhood with border districts, which already declared independence, was the dominant fact. It confirmed the fact that is laid in the purpose setting – approximately 50% of population and 70% of all regional elites didn't contribute to the establishment of the Soviet power and, correspondingly, delayed the

establishment of the Soviet power in the rest space of the Russian empire for 1,5-2 years. This can be further study how much important for separated territories were finding of their own development path.

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**THE LIFE OF THE SPANISH WOMAN
UNDER THE FRANCOIST REGIME (1940-1978)**

Cristina Ruiz-Alberdi Fernández, Fidel Rodríguez Legendre***

Abstract

The aim of this article is to analyse the social context in which Spanish women lived between the end of the Spanish Civil War (1939) and the transition (1978), and examine to what extent the said context affected their professional lives and created conditions to achieve forms of self-realisation. This research sets out to study the situation of women in the workplace and labour market of the period and to explore how they were able to give meaning to their existence through their social and personal lives. To this end, we will take into account the element associated with belonging to a given social class, as this variable influenced the opportunities for cultural and professional development. In this line of thought, it is necessary to point out that the methodological approach used for this study is based on oral history, taking as a starting point the testimonies collected by the researchers between the years 2006 and 2007. Consequently, it is important to note that 200 women were interviewed from 7 of Spain's autonomous communities, with an average age of 78, and who at the time were all living in retirement homes.

Based on this information, and after processing the data and subsequent analysis, we arrive at a series of conclusions of fundamental importance, which enable us to detect the most significant behaviours of this generation of women who are known today as the "solidarity generation", and which was one of the key elements that drove the process of transition.

Key words: *woman, human rights, civil liberties, education, culture*

Introduction

Post civil-war Spain was a country ravaged by hunger and abject poverty. After the three years of the Civil War (1936-1939), General Franco had achieved victory against the Republicans and Communists, and there was an atmosphere of social reconstruction, but, above all, what people wanted was peace. Meanwhile, the Spanish Roman Catholic Church had suffered fierce persecution (before and during the war, driven by an anti-clerical left that was out of control), resulting in the death of many victims including priests and nuns.

Likewise, there was a critically high number of political prisoners and this a major social and family crisis derived from this fact. To take just one case, in the city of Malaga in 1941, there were 3,500 political prisoners (De la Fuente, 2002:36). Under these circumstances, many women had no choice but to prostitute themselves to feed their children, while others were humiliated and abused. *The abuse to which they were*

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subjected was so cruel and humiliating that many of them were marked for life. Shorn heads and castor oil purgations were everyday occurrences, then came the processions in which they were paraded around town squares, where they were forced to wear a red ribbon whenever they went outdoors (Real, S. Abril, M. y Vicente, I, 1991: 320).

Although the situation described above was reported on the Republican side, after the war, women on the Nationalist (pro-Franco) side, suffered experiences that were similar to those on the other side, such as the disappearance of family members who had died in the purges, shootings, and in combat, not to mention the lost harvests, properties and (in generic terms) the destruction of personal life prospects. Regarding the last point, many women lost the opportunity to form a family, set up some productive activity or obtain a scholarship. As an example of this situation, there is the following testimony of a woman who fled to France with her family and who at the end of the Civil War was 16 years old: *We too crossed over into France via Hendaye, but my father was a Republican and we had to stay there until the end of the war. Before the war broke out, there was a schoolmistress who was arranging a scholarship so that I could train to be a teacher. When I returned from France, that schoolteacher was no longer there and nobody knew anything about my scholarship. I always deeply regretted not being able to go to university* (Ruiz-Alberdi, 2012: 156).

Nevertheless, these women strove to create a stable family environment that would allow them to resume their life in society, using every possible resource and means to survive. This endeavour is illustrated by De la Fuente in the following terms: *Mothers with families with the little money they had searched among the offal vendors for entrails and viscera reputed to be nutritious, such as liver* (De la Fuente, 2002:39).

We have offered this brief exposition as it demonstrates the environment in which the Spanish women interviewed in the said study lived, the majority of whom were born in the years 1928-1930. In this brief context, one may well ask what these women's daily life was like and how they dealt with these family needs and found employment. At the same time, regarding those few women (with academic qualifications) who were able to secure employment and have a career it is worth investigating how they were able to complete their education and training, bearing in mind not only the economic and social restrictions of the period, but also the legal status of women in Spain under the Franco dictatorship.

1. The Franco Dictatorship (1939-1978)

The beginning of the post-Civil War was marked by the imposition of peace – by the Franco-ist regime – using whatever methods were necessary, in order to reorganise the State and stabilise Spanish society. To build a solid political base, the Franco regime has the support of the “traditionalists” and the “phalangists”, in addition to the “apoliticals” who jumped on the bandwagon later. This latter group is described by Suárez y Comellas (2006) as a “large mass” far removed from the issues of the war and politics, whose members were only interested in activities that made a profit and the progress of Spain; from this sector would come the group known as the “technocrats”, who would play a very important role from 1959 on.¹

¹ It is important to stress that this group drove the development of economy with the implementation of the Stabilisation Plan (1959) and the Development Plan (1960), and the

In order to establish a minimal socio-historical framework within which to contextualise the situation of Spanish women during the years after the Civil War, it is important to identify two fundamental elements: a- The changes produced in the legal structure of Franco-ism, a circumstance that would have major consequences in terms of women's rights during the period; b- The class structure of the society of the time, which is going to be fundamental in order to evaluate the social and occupational role of Spanish women.

With regard to the first point, when General Franco came to power, all of the legal advances that had been granted to women during the Second Republic (1931-1939), as well as to other social groups and classes, were struck from the statute book. In this regard, we must first highlight Article 25 of the Constitution of the Spanish Republic (1931) which declared as follows: *The following cannot be the grounds of any privilege in the law: the nature, parentage, gender, social class, wealth, political ideas or religious beliefs. The State does not recognise distinctions or titles of nobility.* As a consequence of this legal measure, women achieved equal rights in matrimony (Article 43), the right to practise any profession (Article 40), the right to vote (Article 36), and the right to divorce by mutual consent. This latter right was enacted by the Law of 2 March, 1932.

When Franco came to power, all of these legal and social achievements were revoked. In this regard, María Ángeles Moraga points out the following: *The dictatorship immediately took a series of measures to place women back in a status of subjugation. All of the progress made disappeared with the stroke of a pen. Thus, for example, co-educational schools were abolished, [...] access to the liberal professions was prohibited to them and other positions in the civil service, such as Attorney-General, Land Registrars, the Diplomatic Corps, Judges, Magistrates, etc. [...]. In addition, the civil marriage act and divorce act were repealed with retroactive effects, abortion was criminalised, as were adultery and "common-law" marriage. The age of majority was raised to 25 years, forcing young women to stay in their parents' home until they married or entered a convent* (Moraga, 2008: 232).

With regard to the second point about the social structure of Spain, it is important to point out the particular feature identified by the researcher Pilar Ballarín, who according to the specificity of women for the period in question, establishes the following stratification: a) The working-class woman: includes female workers in general and farm workers; b) the middle-class woman who could only aspire to improve her situation by marriage, and c) the upper-class woman, who could study at prestigious institutions, as well as speak several languages and travel abroad (Ballarín, 2001: 60-62).

This legal and socio-economic framework that restricted women's lives in post-Civil War Spain was aggravated by the international isolation to which Spain was subjected by the UN resolution from 1946 to 1955 the year in which the country was readmitted and the development plans were started. But it was only from 1960 onward that a noticeable reactivation of the economy began to be apparent: *The period from 1960 to 1973 was the most prosperous of the Franco period [...] Spain was, together with Japan and Canada, the country that developed most in the world. It was the period of "horizontal prosperity"* (Suárez and Comellas, 2006: 367).

modernisation of the education system with the General Education Act (1970) also known as the "Ley Villar-Palasi".

In addition to the afore-mentioned aspects, during the Franco period the Social Security system was set up and subsidised housing was built for families with low incomes. Indeed, for the time, according to the above-cited Suárez and Comellas, *Social Insurance was developed, in particular Sickness Benefit, which allowed workers to have access for the first time to doctors and medicines free of charge* [to which was added] *the building of health centres whose size was probably disproportionate and along the lines of the “national syndicalist” mentality* (Suárez and Comellas, 2006: 368).

2. Spanish Women and Social Classes

As stated under the point above, Spanish women were tightly controlled by the social class to which they belonged. Following this approach, we will then conduct an analysis based on the hypothesis made by Pilar Ballarín (2001), who suggests a division into three segments, taking into account the roles performed, financial opportunities and family roles depending on the social stratum to which they belonged.

2.1. Working-class women

In this social group, one can observe differences between female workers and women who worked in the countryside. With regard to the first sub-stratum, there was a certain presence of women in the industrial workforce due to the migrations from the countryside to the cities. They were paid fair wages (although in some cases they had long working days) as unskilled labour in factories and industries, principally in Catalonia and the Basque Country. Later, Franco began to restrict the opportunities for women to access this kind of employment, which would lead women, in some circumstances, to do productive work at home, with trades related to dressmaking and embroidery (Ballarín, 2001: 62). Another segment of this social stratum was domestic servants, including maids, laundry workers or seamstresses.

As far as women in the countryside were concerned, – according to Pilar Ballarín – as they had a vital space and social status thanks to the role they played in the community (assisting in childbirth, taking care of family members, preparing cakes and sweets for village fairs) they had a more stable life. This did not occur with the working-class woman in the city, where life was harsher and more impersonal, although work in the countryside was also very hard. Regarding this last observation, we offer the testimony of a woman from Burgos (Spain) who was 15 at the end of the Civil War and who wanted to get away from working in the countryside: *The wisest decision I have ever taken was to tell my mother that I did not like looking after the cows, and that I preferred to go to the city and work as a domestic servant. I have been very happy and I have raised four children* (Ruiz-Alberdi, 2012:135).

2.2. Middle-class women

One of the fundamental characteristics of this stratum was that they had a very limited social life, and they were restricted to the home environment. It was perhaps the most restricted segment socially, in terms of the chances of achieving some degree of autonomy, as they had no access to work in industry because it was frowned upon by the society of the time. Furthermore, they did not have sufficient means to travel, learn languages or obtain an education that would allow them to gain effective access

to the labour market and obtain financial independence. Regarding the lack of educational opportunities, the following testimony of a woman who was born in 1941 may be illustrative: *If we had studied, I don't know where we would have ended up. I was the smartest one in our home, but my father spent his savings on my brothers' education and none of them graduated. It is something I have always regretted, not having been able to study, the problem is that now (I'm sixty-six) I feel too tired to do it* (Ruiz-Alberdi, 2012:137).

As a result of these socio-economic limitations, it was precisely this segment that drove the demands for a better social status for women through more open access to education and thereby to the means of production.

2.3 Upper-class women

This minority, logically, belonged to the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie, where marriage (to members of the same class) was the stabilising element to maintain one's status. Generally, they obtained their education at home, where they learned mostly music and languages, but there were also cases of women who attended prestigious colleges both in Spain and abroad. Nevertheless, despite the advantages derived from their social condition, they had no power to make decisions about their lives; neither did they have much freedom: although they could travel outside the country – one of the few advantages they enjoyed – in comparison with women of other social classes.

3. Spanish Women and Social Organisations: the Sección Femenina

Based on the ideas discussed above with regard to the woman's place in the class structure, it is essential to explain and analyse the importance of a form of social organisation that would dominate the lives of women during the post-war period until Franco's death, namely the "Sección Femenina".

This organisation emerged during the period of the Second Republic at the behest of the "Falange Española y de la JONS" (Spanish Falangx of the Councils of the National-Syndicalist Offensive, commonly known as "la Falange"), in 1934. Indeed, it was regarded as the female arm of la falange, and it had the active support of Pilar Primo de Rivera, sister of José Antonio Primo de Rivera, founder of la Falange Española. Consequently, the ideals of this organisation was firmly controlled by the thinking of José Antonio and of the Roman Catholic Church in Spain.

Subsequently, when Franco came to power, the basic approach of the Sección Femenina would be orientated at promoting the ideal of women as mothers who give birth to and raise children for the glory of the new fatherland. In this sense, the researcher Inmaculada Blasco (2005) offers an assessment that describes the role of women during the dictatorship: *The Franco-ist state explicitly called on women to be involved in building it. To this end, it appealed to a single national identity, one that was homogeneous, monolithic and based on the notion of serving the nation and the faith, although it articulated a different version of that identity for women: their service to the nation and the faith had to be deployed, not in working outside the home or in political participation, from which they were excluded, but in their role as mothers and socialisation in the family, spheres which, furthermore, had become matters of public importance (as issues of national concern) and susceptible to State intervention* (Blasco, 2005: 57-58).

This “female section” exerted great power over schools and the whole sphere of education (above all in physical education and political development). From its offices, teachers were selected and sent out to teach classes in girls’ schools: handcrafts, needlework, sport and a subject called “Formación del Espíritu Nacional” (National Spirit Training). In addition, starting in 1940, Spanish women between the ages of 17 and 35 had to do 6 months’ compulsory community service in offices, hospitals and rural schools; this was the equivalent for women of Military Service for men.

This national service was required to obtain paid employment, the issuance of an academic or official qualification, to join any association, obtain a driving licence or a passport. Married women and widows were exempted from this voluntary work, as well as disabled women and the seriously ill.

What this did mean – although it did not meet with the hoped-for acceptance by women – was a great effort to provide social welfare, at a time when the country needed a far-reaching social and economic reconstruction, especially from the 1940s to the 1960s. Perhaps, as Blasco (2005) claims, the women that were most hostile to this kind of instruction were those that lived in small towns and villages, because they had an organised life and were much more active participants in the community.

It is a fact that the Sección Femenina, in terms of social welfare and training, was of fundamental importance in the development of social services in Spain. In this regard, Blasco acknowledges that the Sección Femenina: *Played a part in the dictatorship’s social benefits policy, offering its services (unpaid or low-paid female labour) for the creation of rudimentary and low-cost welfare system through its rural instructors, social health visitors and nurses of the “Auxilio Social”* (Blasco, 2005: 62).

4. Economic Take-Off and Comfort in Women’s Daily Lives

As we have already noted, starting with Spain’s admission to the UN, planning for the country’s development began. This meant a major improvement in the Spanish economy which, of course, directly affected the family and hence, women.

In the 1960s, the generation of women we are concerned with in this study had an average age of 30 to 35 years, and their lives were now organised, with many of them enjoying a certain financial security. The Spanish middle class began to enjoy having a car, as well as a second home in the mountains or on the beach.

The arrival of television in homes meant that leisure began part of family life and this allowed for periods of relaxation and entertainment. Spanish people enjoyed watching foreign films, although there was State censorship which upheld a moralistic/political set of criteria to cut certain scenes or discourses, not just on television but also in the cinema; *For the Spanish censor, the three most important issues were: religion, politics and morality. It was therefore necessary that members of these bodies [sic] were among its organisers [...] to oversee these issues. They set the boundaries of what was permissible* (Gascón, 2010: 93).

The impression that was given was the Civil War was fading into the past and the idea was to forget about it because the future seemed promising. Women with children saw that their daughters and sons were starting university; this cohort of 1974 was completely normalised for the younger generations that were coming along.

The advance of education in Spain was spectacular, as pointed out by Suárez and Comellas (2006) taking in account that in 1954 illiteracy was completely eradicated, in 1964 there were 112,000 university graduates and, in 1975, 500.000.

Our women witnessed this change in its entirety; they had a harsh youth during the end of the Civil War and the post-war period, but they were able to adapt at the times it was their fate to live through and they were the bridge between two worlds: on the one hand, the poor Spain and, on the other hand, the Spain that leapt forward, becoming an important country in the European Community in subsequent years.

5. Testimonies of some elderly Spanish Women

The most appropriate way to analyse the social and political ideas, postures and positions of the women who lived through the years (the subject of this research), will consist in reviewing some variables of the research related to the data obtained via oral history procedures.

In this regard, it is interesting to analyse the variable associated with the opportunities of study and the education system, and if the subject was not able to attend school or college, to investigate what were the reasons for this and how it impacted on their social lives. To this end, we sought information about what work they did outside the home, as well as ascertaining to what extent they had to do so to earn money or to develop their career or vocation. Based on the data obtained, a series of graphs was drawn up, which show the overall results for the seven autonomous communities analysed (Ruiz-Alberdi, 2012: 217).

For the quantitative measurement of the afore-mentioned variable we interviewed 200 women over the age of 79 (in the period 2006-2007). The following items were formulated with two or three multiple choice answers from which only one could be chosen. The questions, with their design and the percentages of results were as follows:

No.1-Question: Were you able to study when you were young?

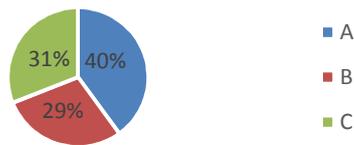
A. Yes, but what one studied then: a bit of everything: sewing, embroidery, piano, etc.

B. Yes, I was able to study and practise a profession.

C. No, the fact is I could not study.

The results obtained for this first question revealed that only 29% were able to study at university and practise a profession, while 40% studied at a basic level, and 31% had no access to basic education (See Graph 1).

Graph 1



Source: Ruiz-Alberdi, 2012.

Regarding this point, it is important to highlight as a significant data point that in one of the retirement homes that we researched in Burgos (Castilla y León), there happened to be a large number of retired pharmacists. This is an unusual data point in the generation analysed, which increased the figure to 29%. The percentages of those who studied and those who were unable to study are quite similar. This does not mean that many of them had to have worked.

No. 2-Question: Why do you think women of your generation seldom had the chance to study?

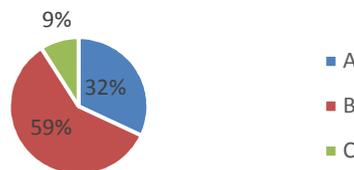
A. We were educated to get married and we did not think we could have a professional career.

B. Because times were hard economically and it was very expensive.

C. It was frowned upon and one's families did not want it.

With regard to the second question, although the socio-cultural variables were important¹, it should be noted that ultimately the economic reasons had a significant weight in terms of the opportunities of education and training, since as can be seen in the responses, 59% said they could not have access to education due to the cost it would have entailed (See Graph 2).

Graph 2



Source: Ruiz-Alberdi, 2012.

No. 3-Question: Were you able to develop your professional career?

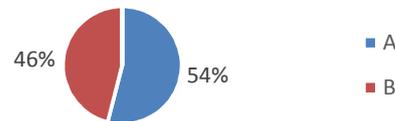
A. Yes

B. No

¹ As can be seen in the percentage responses with regard to the social function of women being to marry (32%), or the negative social and family perception (9%) of studying.

Regarding the third question, which is closely related to the fourth (and which we discuss in more detail in the qualitative study section), it is necessary to highlight a deep-seated problem from the point of view of the social structure of the era, which was the lack of real opportunities that could offer viable options to Spanish women in the post-war period, in terms of an education that would allow one to realise oneself professionally in an effective manner, meet one's personal needs and realise one's life goals (See Graph 3).

Graph 3



Source: Ruiz-Alberdi, 2012.

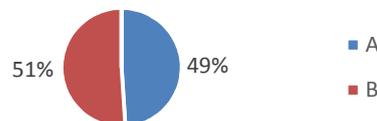
No. 4-Question: If you were unable to develop your professional vocation, do you miss it?

A. No, I have been very happy without having a career.

B. Yes, I would have liked to develop my professional vocation, because I feel there is a great cultural void.

Finally, referring to the last question, although one might think that professional realisation would have to be an indispensable element in the individual's psycho-social configuration, it is nonetheless striking that 51% of the interviewees did not have any problems of personal fulfilment, frustration or disenchantment for not having had a profession that allowed them to channel their concerns (See Graph 3).

Graph 4



Source: Ruiz-Alberdi, 2012.

In response to the previous comment, in order to try to find some kind of explanation for the percentages of Graph 4, we consider it necessary to review the qualitative study in which the opinions of women from different social classes, with different life histories, are observed, but who in old age find themselves in similar personal situations in nursing homes.

In the qualitative study, after looking at the problems experienced by the older women (who were interviewed), curiously, the view they have at this stage of their life, apparently gives them a different perception, which tends to be positive and

conciliatory with the problems, limitations and possible frustrations that they overcame.

With regard to the interview to carry out the qualitative study, this was structured based on a 5-item questionnaire whose purpose is to collect information about two vital aspects: firstly, we set out to obtain data about the personal and professional life of each interviewee; and secondly, it was crucial to establish a perspective in terms of the possible role of women today.

For the purposes of this research, we have taken as a reference one of the questions whose purpose was to collect information about how the post-war period had affected them, the period in which it was their fate to live during their youth. The question was as follows:

- *What would you have changed of the woman of your generation?* (Ruiz-Alberdi, 2012: 326).

To this question, most of the women from the Canary Islands, the Madrid Metropolitan Area, and the Basque Country (in particular, the city of Vitoria) replied that they would change *nothing*. On this point, a woman interviewed in the city of Palmas de Gran Canaria explained her response in the following way:

- *Nothing, because at my age generosity and loving one's neighbour is the most important thing in a person, and I believe that the women of my generation have given everything (woman aged 90)* (Ruiz-Alberdi, 2012: 388).

This question supplied a wealth of information about how women lived in post-war Spain. Firstly, when asked the question, they remembered and reflected on the most important moments of their lives. However, it is important to note that there were other, very different responses, with a degree of disagreement on a critical level (although they were a minority). This kind of response was marked by the geographical region, as depending on the place of origin they responded that they would have wanted more freedom, opportunities to have an education, or to be less dependent on their husband (this was the case in Guipuzcoa, Extremadura and Castille – La Mancha). In this regard, some of the responses were:

- *More freedom.*
- *More freedom and less submission to one's husband.*
- *Not having lived through the war.*
- *Having been able to study.*
- *More education* (Ruiz-Alberdi, 2012: 345).

In Burgos (Castilla y León) – as noted above – a group of women who were university graduates and professionals was identified (37% of the sample collected in that city) who were highly critical of the social behaviour of some women of the period for their conformist attitude, for accepting social conventions and for not standing up for their rights. In the analysis of the questionnaires, views such as the following were identified:

- *Having had the same opportunities as men.*
- *More culture; few of us girls went to secondary school.*
- *Having fewer children.*
- *More freedom of choice.*
- *That they weren't so silly.*

- *We were too trusting* (Ruiz-Alberdi, 2012: 341).

In this regard, this viewpoint is related to what we commented on earlier: that the middle-class single woman was the one who most demanded access to education and a professional career. However, part of the results obtained in this research also shows us that women, although they denounced the lack of freedom, were also able to overcome all of the problems and limitations of the era, which – apparently according to the testimonies collected – did not radically affect them in realising their personal goals. This point of view seems evident in the following testimonies:

- *My inner life is very strong. I pray mentally; it is where I draw my strength from. I have a life plan.*

- *I believe that it all depends on personal effort, not on the times one lives in.*

- *Women have to educate and develop themselves; I think they will become presidents of governments* (Ruiz-Alberdi, 2012: 342).

After analysing certain results of the research conducted, it is surprising to see certain testimonies in which, despite the difficulties of the period, the women interviewed had a positive view of their way of life during the Franco dictatorship. This circumstance must lead us to establish some form of conclusion in terms of frameworks of interpretation to assess the historical facts. Therefore, it is extremely important to reconstruct the mentalities, specific circumstances and living conditions of the period under study; in certain cases one cannot use the criteria of the present to assess past events.

Therefore, it would be useful to cite the views expressed by the Spanish intellectual and philosopher Julián Marías: *Every era is valid in itself; it has its own internal logic, according to historical reasoning, naturally, not according to abstract reasoning; it has its claims to justification, its opportunities for happiness, its risks of unhappiness, its meaning and meaninglessness, and one should not blithely project our particular way of judging reality on other eras* (Marías, 1990: 91).

Finally, when attempting to establish a kind of socio-historical balance of these women's participation in the social development of the country during the Franco era, we cite the view of Virginia Maquieira D'Angelo, Professor of Social Anthropology at the Autonomous University of Madrid, who makes the following assessment:

The grandmothers' generation – the last generation of women who were mostly housewives – has exercised a full circle of generational solidarity, taking care not only of their children but also their elder relatives and now also of their grandchildren, for which reason society owe them an immense debt; but this cycle seems to have come to its end. The new generations joining the labour market will not likely be able to perform these tasks with the next generation (Maquieira, 2002: 31).

The arrival of the 1978 Constitution meant the great legal change of rights and freedoms for Spanish women, although for women of the post-war period (which we have researched) this process did not mean a radical change, as it did for the new generations. In this regard, it should be noted that the elderly women had striven to overcome the difficulties of the Francoist period, without having the legal corpus or the rights acquired since the Transition yet, nevertheless, they laid the foundations for women's development and continue to provide support to stabilise the Spanish family structure: to sum up, these women (the "solidarity generation") see their children develop and support them by looking after their grandchildren.

Conclusions

With regard to the research conducted, a series of considerations emerge which we believe are important for possible discussions about the role played by Spanish women from after the Civil War to the Transition:

1. Firstly, according to the testimonies reviewed, it is important to point out that the analysis of the women's expectations, desires and aspirations must be interpreted within the historical context, as the war cut short many people's plans for their lives. In that regard, the awareness of the restrictions and difficulties possibly helped post-war women to overcome in an effective manner the problematic situations and crises they had to deal with.

2. The self-perception of women of this post-war generation would appear to be associated more with an idea of personal effort as a way of improving oneself, without giving much importance to the socio-historical and economic conditions of the period.

3. Finally, the model of practices, customs and habits generated by the post-war woman served as the social and cultural basis to lend stability to Spain's societal fabric, as well as giving historical continuity to this country's social process. Hence, it is very possible that this model of behaviour will tend to disappear in the coming generations.

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**OPERATIVE INVESTIGATIONS OF THE PARTICIPANTS
OF UKRAINIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN ROMANIAN PEOPLE'S
REPUBLIC (1955-1957) BY THE SOVIET REPRESSIVE BODIES**

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Abstract

The article is an attempt to disclose an unknown aspect, namely, the work of the Soviet special services on revealing, investigating, and detention of former participants of the OUN and UPA in the territory of Romanian national republic. As potentially dangerous the Soviet system considered even those nationalists who had emigrated abroad, therefore, after the liquidation of the Ukrainian organized resistance movement, they were perpetually search for. Hence, after the revealing of such persons, who most often were former heads and members of the nationalist underground of Chernivtsi region, a detailed plan of their investigation was made. A leading role in this process was played by the secret service agents who carried out the most difficult operative combinations of the Soviet law enforcement bodies. The well arranged – since the 1940s – cooperation between the USSR law enforcement bodies and the Romanian national republic assisted in the effective search, investigation, and arrests of the Ukrainian nationalists.

Key words: *Romania, operative-search activity, the OUN (B), the OUN (M)*

Introduction

The work of special services, – primarily, due to its confidentiality, – has always attracted the attention of researchers and, particularly, regular readers. The functioning of the Soviet repressive bodies after the suppression of Ukrainian liberation movement of 1940s-1950s still remains an important and, at the same, yet insufficiently studied question. Despite the liquidation of the large-scale and organized resistance movement, in the West Ukrainian lands some underground groups and persons kept active till the end of the 1950s. In 1955-1956 a great number of people were sent to West Ukrainian regions of the Ukr.SSR as a punishment for anti-Soviet activity. Persons, who voluntarily gave up themselves, became legalized, corresponded with their relatives abroad, considered as the OUN's (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) leaders' orderlies or its active members were taken under constant control (Sectoral State Archive of Security Service of Ukraine (SSA SSU), f. 2-n, opus 12 (1960), case 47, p. 129). Ukrainian nationalists, who had emigrated abroad, the Soviet force groups also regarded as their potential opponents. The opposition of the Ukrainian nationalists and the Soviet administration lasted not only in the USSR, but also beyond its frontiers, even after the official report on the liquidation of the organized nationalist structures. In this context, the question of carrying out of search

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actions by the Soviet power bodies in the territory of Romanian People's Republic (RPR), which were, first of all, connected with the search of the former heads and members of the nationalist underground in Chernivtsi region, remain actual and little studied.

The research methods

The general scientific research level is grounded on a combination of definite theoretical-methodological approaches for the solution of scientific problems: axiological, synergetic, hermeneutical, civilization, and phenomenological. The concrete scientific level of the research methodology is represented by such research aspects as synchronic, diachronic, regional, systemic, and complex, and also by combinations of such principles as these of historicism, scientific character, objectivity, multiple-factor method, and priority of the documentary facts. The historical research is carried out by an aggregate of traditional methods, including general scientific ones (abstraction, analysis, synthesis, induction, deduction, classification, typologization, and generalization), interdisciplinary (comparative, critical, systemic, and structurally-systemic), and specially-historical (comparative-historical, problemic-chronological, periodization, retrospective, and statistical). Besides, in order to elucidate the problem as much as possible authentically, representatively, and deeply, the archeographic heuristics together with external and internal criticism of sources has been used.

The directions of operative-searching measures

The search of nationalists in RPR the Soviet repressive bodies carried out in several directions: 1. investigation of the sibling connections of the former organizational links of the OUN's leaders, who at various times crossed the border and joined various foreign organizations and OUN centers; 2. activating of the search of OUN leaders abroad, discovering and intercepting of the possible channels of their communications with the OUN remainder in Bukovyna and their use with an operational purpose; 3. activating of the search of underground workers and investigation of the known OUN members taken on the operational register; 4. organizing of secret service works among those who became legalized, gave up voluntarily, former underground workers, OUN members, and investigating of those who did not give up weapons, became legalized by the instruction of the underground, and were released from prison and did not repudiate their previous views; 5. activating of the investigation of the Ukrainian nationalists taken on the operational register or in legal links of the OUN; 6. recruiting of new and increasing of the overall performance of the existing agents (specializing in the interception of the existing channels of communications of the OUN members investigated by the Soviet force agents and OUN's centers abroad) (SSA SSU, f. 2-n, opus 19 (1959), case 26, p. 419).

The chekists intensively searched for the nationalists (the Banderites and the Melnykites) hiding in the territories of the adjacent with the USSR states. After the retreat of the German-Romanian military departments many members of the Bukovynian regional leadership of the OUN(M) settled in the territory of RPR and

Czechoslovakia. Continuing their nationalist activity through the existing in RPR society “Bukovyna”, they sent couriers into Chernivtsi region (SSA SSU, f. 2-n, opus 19 (1959), case 26, p. 391). Among the great number of participants of the former Bukovynian regional/district leadership of the OUN, found out in RPR, the following were identified documentally: Stepan Dzhuliba, Illariy Karbuletskyi, Mykhailo Kolotylo-“Bytyi”, Dmytro Hyriuk-“Orel”, Athanas Kolotylo, Natalia Koval, Yuriy Kozmyk, Olexandr Liutyk, Taras Maravyk, Olexiy Horiuk, Yuriy Kuryk, Stepan Karbashevskyi and Heorhiy Karbashevskyi, Heorhiy Furman, Ivan Hryhorevych, Orest Masykevych, Stepan Shemchuk, Korneliy Makovskyi, Heorhiy Kravchuk, Manoliy Staroshchukand Mykhailo Staroshchuk, and others. By means of their agency’s data the chekists found out that the specified persons organized secret meetings in Atanasiy Kolotylo’s flat in Bucharest (Romania). They aimed to establish contact with nationalists in the Ukr.SSR, for which purpose they conducted a wide correspondence through false addresses (for example, M. Kolotylo in his correspondence with the OUN members living in other countries, used the mail box of Rozaliya Kalenchuk, who lived in the town of Kempina in RPR). The Soviet law enforcement agency was also disturbed by the fact that in the territory of Chernivtsi region there existed many sibling and close organizational links of the aforementioned OUN members which they could involve into the nationalist work.

The basics of the operative-searching measures

By January 1st, 1955, in the Committee of State Security Administration enlist (CSSA) in Chernivtsi region 45 agents worked at the disclosure and investigation of those members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, headed by A. Melnyk (OUN(M), who had emigrated abroad, mainly in the Romanian territory. In 1955 from the secret-service network 18 agents were excluded and, in the same period, 6 new agents were enlisted. In 1956 56 agents were enlisted, whereas the CSSA of Chernivtsi region opened contemporary 14 cases and, as well, 12 older ones. In 1957 10 cases were opened and 21 agents were enlisted. All in all, in this CSSA function line there were 53 carded cases, 16 detective cases, 9 previous pleaded cases, and 163 agents were enlisted (SSA SSU, f. 2-n, opus 19 (1959), case 27, p. 104). The recruitment of agent network was carried out on the basis of the available compromising materials. Afterwards everybody was rechecked on practical work and only then they were included into investigations of concrete leaders of Ukrainian liberation movement (SSA SSU, f. 2-n, opus 19 (1959), case 26, p. 409).

Secret-service cases with code names were opened for those under investigation. These cases were closed after arrest or physical liquidations of persons who passed on them. On June 15th, 1946 the 1st department of the Ministry of State Security Administration (MSSA) of Chernivtsi region opened a secret-service case of “Behlitsy” on a group of Ukrainian nationalists in Rumania, namely Mykhailo Kolotylo, Dmytro Hyriuk, Heorhiy Karbashevskyi, Heorhiy Furman, and Ivan Hryhorevych. On November 4th, 1946 the administration of counterespionage of the Ministry of State Security informed on arresting and prosecuting of nationalists Dmytro Hyriuk, Heorhiy Furman, Ivan Hryhorevych, and others. At the same time, the materials on Mykhailo Kolotylo and Heorhiy Karbashevskyi were transferred from

the secret-service case “Behlitsy”, which had been stopped, were transferred into the new secret-service case “Volotsiuhy” (“Vagabonds”) (SSA SSU, f. 65, c-11868, v. 2, p. 77).

The operative-searching measures of the OUN

The search of the Ukrainian nationalists in Romania accelerated in June, 1956, with the investigation of M. Kolotylo-“Bytyi’s” sibling and former underground links living in Chernivtsi region. For finding out of all facts of their possible use in operational purposes, the law enforcement agents organized a chain of actions. Agent “Yurkiv” worked in the secret-service network of the CSSA plenipotentiary in Vashkovets region and was well acquainted with Heorhiy Kozmyk, Olexiy Liutyk, and other OUN members. “Yurkiv” took part in the investigation of the relatives and other links of “Bytyi”, who lived in the territory of Chernivtsi region. In RPR “Yurkiv’s” brother, Vasyl Myhovan and sister Oktaviya Bratanesku lived, with whom he kept up the correspondence by an instruction of the law enforcement bodies. Moreover, their agents continued the preparation for “Yurkiv’s” departure into RPR under the pretext of visiting his brother and sister. “Yurkiv’s” trip ought to have been used for his introduction to “Bytyi” and others, using their relatives and acquaintances (SSA SSU, f. 2-n, opus 19 (1959), case 26, p. 132).

In parallel to that, in June, 1956 they sought an approach to M. Kolotylo through CSSA agent in Vashkovets region “Bohun”, brother Yuriy Kozmyk (who lived in Bucharest and was a member of “Bytyi’s” orderly group). Besides, “Bohun” carried out the task of the law enforcement bodies, which implied that he had to establish a correspondence with his brother and sister, who lived in RPR, through his relatives. Hence, the possibility of his trip to RPR under the pretext of contacting “Bytyi’s” links was considered. Mykhailo Kolotylo’s wife Natalia Koval’s links were actively investigated with the purpose of their attraction to the secret-service network. Simultaneously, a possibility of the recruitment of one of Natalia Koval’s orderlies, namely Lidiya Babiuk (a teacher of French in Chernivtsi technical school), was considered. In 1942 L. Babiuk was closely connected with Natalia Koval, the head of the OUN’s female network in Bukovyna, from whom she received nationalist literature and granted her flat for the OUN’s leadership’s gatherings. By L. Babiuk’s recruitment and use, the repressive bodies provided to represent her to N. Koval as a participant of the OUN so as to establish contact with the former OUN members in Bukovyna and to intercept it. Also, the law enforcement agents continued to disclose and study N. Koval’s sibling connections in Chernivtsi and the region, considering a possibility of the use of any of them with the operative purpose (SSA SSU, f. 2-n, opus 19 (1959), case 26, p. 133-134).

The Operative-Searching Measures of the OUN (M)

Carrying out investigations of the OUN (M) underground, the repressive bodies found out that yet in the second half of 1947 the Leadership of OUN (M) had appointed special agent “Honta” the head of OUN (M) in the territory of RPR, having entrusted him with a task of organizing of OUN’s activities in Odessa, Mykolaiv, Vinnytsia regions of the Ukr.SSR (SSA SSU, f. 2-n, opus 98 (1954), case 18, v. 1, p.

90). For the purpose of intercepting of communication channels of the Leadership of OUN (M) with the operating nationalist underground (which went through RPR), “Honta” was sent to Munich with the instruction to deliver to the foreign leadership a report on the work done in general and on the persons chosen by him as holders secret addresses and transit stations at the Romanian-Soviet border (a checked up MSS agent “Hryhorchuk”) in particular. For the liquidation of the emissaries, directed by OUN’s Leadership into the territory of Ukraine, as well as for seizing of technics, literature, money resources, and other material resources, those sent abroad for the OUN’s requirements were – through “Honta” – turned into clandestine structures as if representing the activity of the organizations of the Melnykites in the territory of Odessa and Vinnytsia regions (SSA SSU, f. 2-n, opus 98 (1954), case 18, v. 1, p. 91). For that reason “Honta” had to make the Leadership of OUN (M) interested in his links within the OUN’s milieu on the territory of the Ukr.SSR and, specifically, to appoint “Fedorova”, agent 1 of the Ukrainian MSS administration, who held the OUN’s secret address in the period of German occupation, and “Kaisarov”, the responsible for propaganda of Odessa Leadership of the OUN into Odessa (“Honta” was personally acquainted with “Fedorova”, but he did not know about her cooperation with law enforcement bodies). In his turn, during his membership in the Leadership of the OUN (M), “Honta” had to receive there secret addresses and passwords for communications with active members of the OUN within the Ukr.SSR, and also, – through organizational possibilities in Austria, where his brother occupied a supervising position in the OUN, – to establish connection with his personal acquaintance “Dromedar” (“Dromedary”), the former German secret service man and head of “Abvergrup-101”, and – by June, 1950 – with Hans Puliuy, the official employee of the American intelligence bodies. The law enforcement bodies set agent “Honta” the task to incite H. Puliuy’s interest in possibilities to conduct intelligence work through the coordinated OUN’s underground on the territories of the Ukr.SSR and Romanian People’s Republic in order to receive from Puliuy a task to make practical use of them. Depending on the results of the planned actions, a possibility was considered to show the MSS agencies to the American intelligence bodies through “Honta” (SSA SSU, f. 2-n, opus 98 (1954), case 18, v. 1, p. 92).

In their continuation of an investigation of the OUN (M), in June, 1956 the law enforcement agents tried to reestablish written communications with their agents “Nikolskyi” and “Denysenko”. The former was set a priority task to establish correspondence with his brother Ivan Zhukovskiy. Its fulfillment began with the establishment of the correspondence with his uncle E. Hnydei, who lived in RPR. A In his letters, along with the questions of everyday life, agent “Nikolskyi” showed an interest to doctors Omelskyi and Zalozetskyi, his former close acquaintances, who had resided in Chernivtsi before emigrating into RPR. At the same time, in his letters to the uncle “Nikolskyi” sought to clarify whether or not the uncle conducted any correspondence with his relatives or links in RPR, for example, with his brother Ivan Zhukovskiy (the answer could have brought about a further possibility to come into contacts with the necessary persons).

Clarifying close sibling and organizational communications of brothers Volodymyr Zhukovskiy and Arkadiy Zhukovskiy (the former lived in RPR, the latter

lived in Paris and represented OUN (M) interests in France), the chekists found out that they are “Nikolskyi’s” distant relatives. Through him and other agents the chekists investigated close organizational links of the aforementioned brothers on the territory of Chernivtsi region in order to select an agent to be send firstly to RPR and then to the West. Besides, the chekists found out that agent “Nikolskyi” had one more relative, Volodymyr Hnydei (he lived in Austria), a former member of a student nationalist society “Chornomorya”. For this reason, intensive measures were taken for a quick establishment of the correspondence of agent “Nikolskyi” with V. Hnydei, through whom the correspondences with Ivan Zhukovskiy was anticipated (SSA SSU, f. 2-n, opus 19 (1959), case 26, p. 117).

The other agent, “Denysenko”, had a task to learn the address of his brother Denys Kvitkovskiy through a regional society of the Red Cross and, as a result, to establish with him written communication (under the CheKa agents’ control). It was noticed, that the closest person to D. Kvitkovskiy, D. Yaremchuk, and other heads of OUN (M) was Khryzant Kudrynskyy (b. 1910 in the village of Mamaivtsi, Kitsman district, specialist with higher legal education), who was released from prison in November, 1955 (SSA SSU, f. 2-n, opus 19 (1959), case 26, p. 401).

In June, 1956, the law enforcement agents detected and began investigating of one more groups of the Melnykites on the territory of RPR, all natives of Chernivtsi region. Among them was the former chairman of “Bukovyna” nationalist society Orest Lukianovych (b. 1911 in the village of Vyzhenka, Vyzhnytsia district of Chernivtsi region), the veterinary surgeon, residing in Bucharest. His wife Olha, who during the Second World War headed the female section of the Ukrainian People’s House in Chernivtsi, also was investigated. Orest and Olha enjoyed authority among the Ukrainian nationalists living in Bucharest. They were visited mainly by members of the OUN (M) (SSA SSU, f. 2-n, opus 19 (1959), case 26, p. 118). In Chernivtsi region the law enforcement agents fixed sibling and business links of O. Lukianovych and other OUN members who were in RPR. For the disclosure of the Lukianovych family’s links on the territory of Chernivtsi region, the agents started to select a nominee for recruitment, dispatch in RPR, and introduction into the Melnykites grouping around Orest Lukianovych. Accordingly, the law enforcement agents started to carry out the following actions: 1. they found out that the former agent “Prykarpatsky’s” mother was a figurehead in the correspondence between Orest Lukianovych and his mother, who lived in the village of Vyzhenka, Vyzhnytsia district of Chernivtsi region. So, the possibilities of agent “Prykarpatskyi” to come into contact with O. Lukianovych through his mother and relatives living in RPR were considered; 2. V. Vynohradnyk, brother of “Prykarpatskyi’s” mother, who lived in Bucharest, was an employee of a scientific research institute of veterinary science and maintained relations with the Lukianovych family. Making use of that circumstance, the chekists condescended to a dirty deal by using “Prykarpatskyi’s” mother in her correspondence with her brother, turning it in the necessary direction; 3. according to agent “Prykarpatskyi”, the law enforcement agents learnt that in the summer of 1956 his mother’s brother intended to arrive to Vyzhnytsia, Chernivtsi region, on his leave. Through “Prykarpatskyi” measures were taken to obtain his mother’s consent to her brother’s arrival to the USSR. After his arrival, through agent “Prykarpatskyi” the

chekists planned to clear up all the questions concerning O. Lukianovych and his links. In order to activate the investigation of O. Lukianovych and his links, irrespective of V. Vynohradnyk's intentions to arrive in Vyzhnytsia, through "Prykarpatskyi" and his mother the chekists strived to achieve V. Vynohradnyk's consent to their agent's visit of his family in Bucharest. After accomplishing that and "Prykarpatskyi's" departure to visit his uncle, the law enforcement agents would have faced the attractive prospect of receiving of the letter of recommendation to O. Lukianovych and "Prykarpatskyi's" personal visits to him "on the instruction" of his mother (SSA SSU, f. 2-n, opus 19 (1959), case 26, p. 119). Orest's wife, a remarkable figure in the OUN's foreground, also came under investigated as her links the law enforcement agents did not yet find and learn. Through "Prykarpatskyi's" mother a possibility of discovering her maiden name and other data was considered and, afterwards, finding out her sibling and business links in Chernivtsi region for the further recruitment of some of them and for the investigation of the family of O. Lukianovych and his environment.

With the purpose of finding and intercepting of probably existing illegal channels of communication of the OUN's leaders living abroad with OUN members on the territory of Chernivtsi region, the law enforcement agents began preparing agent "Dunai" ("Danube") for trips to RPR in order to meet with separate heads of the OUN. Likewise, agent "Chernivetskyi's" was dispatched to RPR "for a possible meeting with the Melnykites D. Bulavka, D. Vershyhora, O. Hlukhaniuk, I. Siretskyi, and others.

Fulfilling the tasks of the repressive bodies, "Chernivetskyi" restored trustful relations with D. Bulavka's mother and sister to an extent that on June 17th, 1956 they revealed the contents of all the letters received from their latter (SSA SSU, f. 2-n, opus 19 (1959), case 26, p. 119). The law enforcement agents ordered "Chernivetskyi" to write a letter to D. Bulavka and to ask him to convince his relatives (living in RPR) to give an invitation for his arrival in RPR as a visitor. Then, in case of the affirmative answer, "Chernivetskyi" – from the sanction of the Chairman of the KGB by the Council of Ministers of the Ukr.USSR Brigadier General V. Nikitchenko – should go in RPR for the fulfilment of the set task of searching for heads of the OUN and intercepting of their possible organizational links on territory of Chernivtsi region. Dmytro Bulavka (b. 1911 in Kitsman', Chernivtsi region, lived in Orashti, RPR), sectional leader (1941-1944) and holder of a secret address of Bukovynian regional leadership of the OUN, was the first to undergo an investigation. By studying of correspondence control centers and investigating Bulavka's links, the law enforcement agents discovered that he conducted correspondence with his mother who lived in Kitsman'. Then, agent "Chernivetskyi" photographed her and she sent her photo to D. Bulavka, informing him that his old friend wants to establish contact with him (SSA SSU, f. 2-n, opus 19 (1959), case 26, p. 407). Rozaliya Bernyk, who lived in Kluzh-Napoka (Romania) and was the wife of the brother of the Melnykite Ivan Bernyk, came from RPR to Chernivtsi in January of 1956. A. Halytska-"Motria", leader of Bukovynian regional leadership of the OUN (M), who was arrested in 1945, testified that Ivan Bernyk and Yarema Siretskyi were planned (in 1944) to be entered into the structure of the Ukrainian nationalist government of Bukovyna after the

OUN's seizure of power. I. Bernyk worked as a teacher in Blazh (district Alba, Romania). Living in Chernivtsi and daily meeting agent "Dunai", I. Bernyk was interested in the former active nationalists, the Kobelski brothers, O. Hlukhoniuk, M. Mychkovskyi, Sobolevskyi, and others, who in 1941 belonged to P. Voinovskyi's kurin (battalion) of the OUN. It was then that Rozaliya Bernyk invited the agent to pay her a possible visit in RPR and necessarily to stay her guest, for which reason she gave him her home address (SSA SSU, f. 2-n, opus 19 (1959), case 26, p. 121, 394–395).

Agent "Dunai" personally knew Yarema Siretskyi as his school friend who lived in RPR (under the surname Siretselu). Till 1938 he was the committee-man of the Plast nationalist student's association which structure also included such Ukrainian nationalists, as Ivan Bernyk, Myroslav Mychkovsky, Orest Kniaz, and others. Iryna Siretska-Voitsenko, Siretskyi's wife, was the niece of the former head of Bukovynian regional leadership of the OUN (M) Stepan Dzhuliba.

Carrying out the planned secret service operations for the search of heads of the OUN abroad and home, in Chernivtsi region, as well as for establishing and intercepting of possibly existing illegal communication channels, the law enforcement agents selected agents "Dunai" and "Chernivetskyi" to be prepared for their trip into RPR to the aforementioned persons.

At the meeting on June 20th, 1956 agent "Dunai" informed, that – according to Ivan Bernyk's female relative – the latter, together with her wife and her relatives, planned in 1956 to arrive in the USSR to meet with her wife's family (who, in their turn, intend to arrive from Poland). In order to accelerate his leave for RPR, "Dunai" sent the second letter to his sister who promised to send an invitational call. The law enforcement agents started verifying "Dunai's" reliability and degree of his conspiracy (SSA SSU, f. 2-n, opus 19 (1959), case 26, p. 122). The positive result allowed agent "Dunai" to stay with the relatives in RPR during October-November, 1956. Having come back from there, he informed the Soviet agencies that he met the Ukrainian nationalists Roman Karbuletskyi, in Krayova, and Mykola Mychkovskyi, in Drohoshany. In his conversations with "Dunai", Roman Karbuletskyi expressed his interests in many former Ukrainian nationalists. Numerous conversations with R. Karbuletskyi allowed "Dunai" to draw a conclusion about his close contacts with M. Mychkovskyi and I. Siretskyi. However, the latter failed to come to the meeting with the underground activists. M. Mychkovskyi, in his turn, questioned "Dunai" about the life in the USSR, and, in particular, about the conditions of teaching of the Ukrainian language at schools of Chernivtsi region and in Ukraine on the whole. M. Mychkovskyi also asked about his acquaintances who lived in Chernivtsi region. His wife M. Budna, nationalist of Bandera faction, in her conversation with the agent also expressed grief for not living in her native land and her intention to arrive in the spring of 1957 to visit her mother and sisters. Agent "Dunai" encouraged her and told that she could return home for ever. This process could be accelerated by help of her sister's husband who worked as chairman of Chernivtsi Stalin district executive committee. The law enforcement agents also found out, that head of Bukovynian district leadership of the OUN (B) D. Hyriuk, after having been released from prison, was engaged in the restoration of the communication line with Yu. Serbeniuk. As a matter of fact, because the Mychkovski had wide communications among the

Ukrainian nationalists in RPR and other countries, as also considering that Mrs. Mychkovska longed for her native land, the law enforcement agents considered expedient to learn a possibility of her recruitment and further investigation through her of the emissaries of the Leadership of the Ukrainian Nationalists (LUN). It was decided that agents “Dunai” and Kosar” should prepare her for the recruitment and visiting her mother and sisters, which intended to do in the spring of 1957 (SSA SSU, f. 2-n, opus 19 (1959), case 27, p. 7-9, 11).

In general, the law enforcement agents positively estimated agent “Dunai’s” trip to RPR and considered the second one expedient in order to enter him into the existing communication channel. At the same time, along with “Dunai’s” preparation for the fulfillment of the set tasks, a possibility to “present” to heads of the OUN in RPR a more authoritative nominee was studied (SSA SSU, f. 2-n, opus 19 (1959), case 27, p. 10).

In March, 1956 the law enforcement agents took on the official account of Khryzant Kudrynskyi (his investigation was conducted by agents “Ptakh” and “Bukov”) (SSA SSU, f. 2-n, opus 19 (1959), case 26, p. 123). Kh. Kudrynskyi’s investigation was proceeded in the direction of the exposure of his anti-Soviet nationalist activity, revealing of organizational links on the territories of the USSR, and intercepting of the probable operating communication channels with foreign centers of the OUN and American intelligence. Consequently, it was found out that Kh. Kudrynskyi had wide links among the Ukrainian nationalists in RPR. For this reason, the law enforcement agents prepared a trip of agent “Yurkiv”, in which they planned to acquaint him with Kh. Kudrynskyi through his brother (agent “Ptakh”) with an aim that “Yurkiv” could make use of Kudrynskyi’s links who lived in RPR (SSA SSU, f. 2-n, opus 19 (1959), case 26, p. 124). Kh. Kudrynskyi’s wife in 1944 moved to RPR where married anew. For this reason, through his links in the underground who lived in Chernivtsi region, Kh. Kudrynskyi tried to find out the address of his former wife in RPR and to write her a letter; he also stated his desire to emigrate (SSA SSU, f. 2-n, opus 19 (1959), case 26, p. 432).

Petro Bydnyak, member of “Sich” society till 1940, was under active investigation as well. In 1941, during the occupation of Chernivtsi region, he joined P. Voinovskyu’s kurin. After the retreat of the Germans P. Bydnyak migrated in Czechoslovakia. In the course of secret-service investigation it was found out that for this period P. Bydnyak lived in Germany, RPR, Austria, and other countries of Europe. “Bilyi”, agent 2 of the CSSA departments by the Council of Ministers of the Ukr.SSR in Vinnytsa region, who was personally acquainted with Bydnyak from their workin together before, was sent abroad. As a result, agent 2 provoked Bidnyak to a long conversation and drew out the necessary information, including the particulars of his previous jobs. From Brandenburg he wert to Frankfurt, and from there into Czechoslovakia, in the settlement Skletsk near Prague where he worked as a worker. In 1946 from Prague P. Bydnyak – as a Romanian by nationality – was sent home. In Czechoslovakiae he worked as a driver, later as a repatriate, and in September, 1955 he returned to his native country. Through agents “Horlyk” and “Bukov” P. Bydnyak’s investigation was conducted in the direction of the establishment of his probable belonging to foreign intelligence agencies. According to the secret-service data in

Chernivtsi region there lived P. Bydniak's colleagues since their work in Vinnytsa police, therefore, the law enforcement agents tried to find out these persons and to consider about the recruitment of any of them for the investigation of P. Bydniaka (SSA SSU, f. 2-n, opus 19 (1959), case 26, p. 125-126).

The contacts of the Soviet and Romanian law enforcement groups in the process of searching for the Ukrainian nationalists

For an effective search of the Ukrainian nationalists the common cooperation of the USSR and Romanian law enforcement bodies took place as early as since the 1940s. The cooperation allowed the agents not only to detect the nationalists on the territory of RPR, but to find and transfer them to CSSA in Chernivtsi region (SSA SSU, f. 13, case 372, v. 4, p. 293-294; v. 58, p. 14; f. 2-n, opus 19 (1959), case 26, p. 25-26, 121-122, 131-132, 172-175; case 27, p. 2). On August 12, 1947, at the border, Bodnarash and Byner, the Romanian counterspionage representatives, were received by 31 boundary departments of the Ministry of Internal Affairs Forces. In a conversation they informed that in Bucharest they detected a group of the Ukrainian nationalists, including the former head of Bukovynian district leadership of the OUN Mykhailo Kolotylo-“Kobzar”. In particular, the Romanian counterspionage investigated this group through two checked up internal agents, one of them received tasks from M. Kolotylo to illegally cross into the territory of the USSR and to establish contact by the given addresses with the local nationalist underground in Chernivtsi and Stanislaviv regions. Bodnarash and Byner asked to accept their agent whom – accompanied by the Soviet agents – to direct to the available addresses. As the frontier squad members had no authority to settle such a questions, it was agreed that Bodnarash and Byner should come again some days later for the answer. Already on August 15th, 1947, in Reference №243 addressed to the MSS of the Ukr.SSR, major general Serhiy Savchenko, lieutenant colonel Novak, chief of 1 department of CSSA of Chernivtsi region reported on the permission given by him accept the agent. He then planned to interrogate him in detail and, afterwards, decided where to direct him (SSA SSU, f. 65, c-11868, v. 2, p. 73).

The Soviet power bodies thoroughly worked with the persons arrested in 1946-1947 on the territory of RPR, namely Yuriy Furman, Myroslav Kharoviuk, Orest Masykevych, and others. From their evidence they learnt about the nationalists who emigrated into RPR. So, the chekists mentioned that through arrests of the Ukrainian nationalists by the MSS counterespionage bodies of the Southern group of armies in 1946-1947 in the territory of RPR, some heads of the OUN(M) escaped to Austria and Western Germany where they settled and became part of the supervising links of the OUN(M) (SSA SSU, f. 2-n, opus 19 (1959), case 26, p. 393).

The aforementioned cooperation of the law enforcement agents of the two countries continued in the following years. So, at 3 pm on September 25th, 1956 00 at the Soviet-Romanian border in the area of the village of Porubne, in Hlyboke district of Chernivtsi region, the regional CSSA accepted from the Romanian agents Stefan Petriv (b. 1924 in the village of Molodiia in Hlyboke district, Chernivtsi region), searched after on the territory of RPR and detained on September 20th, who in 1944-1945 commanded an underground group in Chernivtsi lands. In 1945 S. Petriv's group

was crushed, a part of its participants were killed, many other were arrested, and the commander managed to escape. Searching for S. Petriv, the law enforcement agents received the information from agent “Lupashko” that Petriv hid in RPR. Then this information was checked up through Romanian agents. In August, 1956 a criminal case was open on Petriv, the documentation of his nationalist activity was made, the sanction of the public prosecutor on his arrest and transit from RPR to the CSSA of Chernivtsi region (whence he was received on September 25th, 1956) (SSA SSU, f. 2-n, opus 19 (1959), case 26, p. 174-175).

The conclusions

So, despite its struggle against the liberation movement in the 1940s-1950s, the Soviet power was not able to eradicate and suppress the anti-Soviet mood definitively. In connection with liberalization of the social-political regime (de-Stalinization, the “thaw”, rehabilitation of prisoners), the activity of the persons with hostility towards the power, – mainly, former members of the OUN and UPA (both remaining in the underground and relieved from prison), as also representatives of religious associations, increased. Therefore, the Soviet power bodies had not only to solve the problem of suppressing of the oppositional resistance on the territory of the Ukr.SSR, but also to find and liquidate all former underground participants, especially, commanders who were in other countries, particularly, in Romania. No doubt, they managed to do this work thanks to successfully adjusted cooperation of the power structures of both countries which promoted the search, investigation, and arrest of the found out nationalists. However, the all-round use of law enforcing agents became an important element of performing this work.

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**THE EU POLICY TOWARDS THE POST SOVIET COUNTRIES
FROM THE BLACK SEA REGION**

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Abstract

The accession of Romania and Bulgaria to the European Union represents an important moment in the extension of Western European democracy to the Black Sea region – a meeting point of the European, Euro-Asian and Islamic security areas. The aim of this paper is to present an analytical evolution of the EU policies towards the post soviet countries from the Black Sea region. The objectives of this paper are: to describe the Eastern Dimension of the European Union's Policy, in order to understand the role of the EU in the region; to analyze the policy of the Russian Federation and its influence in the post-Soviet space; and to present the role that Turkey plays in the region. The Eastern Partnership has sent a positive signal with the aim of changing the climate and supporting the rapprochement of eastern countries to the European Union. From the perspective of this research, geopolitics is used to analyze the policy of the EU towards the post soviet countries from the Black Sea region. This article analyses the background on which the EU has developed its eastern oriented policies, their evolution, the current situation and future perspective, also taking into consideration the situation between Ukraine and the Russian Federation, but also the positioning of Turkey. The main conclusion of this article is that the Black Sea region has gained a great importance not only for the EU but also for other non-EU countries from this region, but especially for the Russian Federation.

Key words: *EU, Russia, Eastern Europe, Black Sea region, European Neighbourhood Policy*

Introduction

With the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the communist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe, including the Soviet Union, the Western winning organizations, the North Atlantic Alliance and the European Union (the European Community at the time of the collapse of the communist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe), have changed their strategies to strengthen the security environment of their members, as well as to ensure the stability of the entire European continent by filling the security vacuum created by the Soviet Union's implosion and the disappearance of its alliances.

The new strategies included both NATO and EU enlargement policies, as well as other initiatives of the two organizations that were designed to respond to the challenges that arose in central and eastern Europe, strongly affected by the post-communist transition process. In the case of the European Union, an important stage in its enlargement was the accession of ten European states to the EU in 2004, which

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was one of the most significant events in almost half a century of European integration. According to the documents of the European Union, the process of European integration has always been open to all the European countries that were ready to sign the EU constituent treaties and adopt the EU legal and regulatory framework. In accordance with the Article 237 of the Treaty of Rome on the establishment of the EU, any country in Europe may apply for membership of the Union (<https://goo.gl/RDXHSX>).

The Maastricht Treaty, defined the European Union as a community of countries with a European domestic currency and established the three pillars of the Union – economics and social policy, international relations and security, justice and internal affairs, specifies that the Member States of the EU should have “*systems of government are founded on the principles of democracy*” (<https://goo.gl/Qfo16L>).

As a result of the enlargement of the European Union, the number of EU Member States has increased from 15 to 27 countries (on June 23 2016, the Great Britain voted to leave the European Union). To date, the European Union is the main economic and political power on the continent (with the world’s largest single market, an area of 5 million km and 500 million people).

The enlargement of the European Union to the East significantly increased its resource potential. Thus, the enlargement of 2004, followed by the accession of Bulgaria and Romania to the EU in 2007, significantly changed the perception and, mainly, the political approach of the renewed European Union towards the new neighbour countries.

The Eastern Dimension of the European Union’s Policy

In response to the new situation, the EU developed and adopted in May 2004 a new initiative called the European Neighbourhood Policy, or the ENP. The visible importance of this initiative for the EU was also determined by the fact that it was adopted a few days after the accession of ten new members (2004). In this regard, it should be mentioned that the EU’s relations with the post-Soviet states, as some kind of integral direction of foreign policy, began to form in the 1990s, on the basis of the Partnership and Cooperation Agreements (PCAs): Russia, Eastern Europe, the Southern Caucasus and Central Asia (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Ukraine, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan), when the foundations of the dialogue between the European Union and the post-Soviet countries were laid. However, at that time, this direction of foreign policy was not so significant for Brussels. It acquired a more significant status in connection with the enlargement of the European Union to the east after the adoption of new members (<https://goo.gl/wqruKL>).

Taking into account the differences in the aspirations of the participating countries, besides the multilateral cooperation formulas of the programme, the European Union also included bilateral arrangements with these countries in order to allow a more ambitious and intense cooperation.

In this regard, it should be noted that the European Union has a different approach in its relations with neighbouring countries, who expressed the wish to join the EU. The road towards joining the EU begins with concluding agreements on

stabilization and association (within the framework of the general Stabilization and Association Process), which give the addressee the opportunity to become a candidate for membership in the EU following the negotiation process (<https://goo.gl/DwTMWj>). These agreements are different for every partner country, being adapted to the specific situation. The Stabilisation and Association Agreement constitutes the framework of relations between the European Union and the partner countries which establishes a free trade area between the EU and the country in question, while identifying common political and economic objectives for the regional cooperation.

The first such agreements were signed by Croatia and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. Then an agreement was signed by Albania. It is interesting that the first attempts to formulate the concept of the ENP refer to 2001. Then it was about Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine. In accordance with the proposed neighbourhood policy, the EU concluded treaties on cooperation and trade with non-EU countries: in the South Caucasus – Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, as well as with the countries of Eastern Europe – the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine.

The basis of the ENP document was the new approach of the European Union by interacting with neighbouring countries in order to strengthen relations and cooperation in the creation of a security and welfare zone, the “ring of friendly countries” on the borders of the European Union. The ENP was also called upon to give the EU neighbours the opportunity to cooperate more closely with the European Union in the field of politics, security, economy and culture. In the documents and statements of EU leaders, it was emphasized that the ENP did not aim (on the long term) to add the countries included in the program to the list of EU member states.

It is important to pay attention to the fact that the ENP assumed that the role of the EU in the settlement of regional conflicts will strengthen. In addition, the ENP could contribute to the specific objectives of the European Union in the field of justice, internal affairs, in particular in the field of combating organized crime and corruption, as well as issues related to migration. Since 2004, two-sided “Action Plans” have been proposed to seven countries, including Ukraine and Moldova. In 2006, the countries of the South Caucasus taking part in the ENP were represented by Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia. In December 2006, the European Commission strengthened the ENP, giving it a proprietary financial instrument with a total budget of € 12 billion for the period 2007-2013. The European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument (ENPI) replaced the cooperation programmes TACIS for the Eastern European countries (<https://goo.gl/dB3dJw>). On the effects of non-reimbursable funds allocated to partner countries towards their Europeanization, the assessments made in the first part of 2014 were rather skeptical, except for some positive trends found in Georgia and the Republic of Moldova (Kaca, Sobják, Zasztowt, 2014: 19).

The European Neighbourhood Policy has driven substantial expectations and negotiations with the EU from the partner countries, that have set ambitious goals in their relations with the European Union, but has also generated an increasingly pronounced opposition and a surprising response from the Russian Federation, that considers itself threatened in its vital interests by the European Union’s strategy

towards this region.

As a result of the next stage of the EU enlargement and the accession of Bulgaria and Romania to the EU in January 2007, the borders of the European Union came directly to the Black Sea coast. This fact put the EU before the need to develop a special strategy for the Black Sea region on the basis of a more active involvement of the EU in the political, economic and other processes taking place there. In addition, since the year 2000 the interest of the European Union to cooperate and increase the role of the countries from the Black Sea region and the South Caucasus as transit routes for the transportation of Caspian energy resources has increased.

On 11 April 2007, the European Commission submitted to the Council of the European Union and the European Parliament its new initiative for regional cooperation, which was called the “Black Sea Synergy” (from the Greek word *συνεργία* “assistance”). Its synergistic, differentiated character was determined precisely by the fact that the approach of the European Commission consisted of a combination of three different components, which are intended to give a certain added value in the interaction of the EU with regional partners.

The first policies of the synergy were related to Turkey and covered a whole range of interrelated measures for the preparation of this country for accession to the European Union. The second area of interest was formed by a bloc of states in respect of which the EU pursued the European Neighbourhood Policy, in particular: Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine. The third aspect was the strategic partnership with Russia. In addition, in fact, the fourth group of countries included in this framework was: Bulgaria, Greece and Romania.

“Black Sea Synergy”, or “Synergy of the Black Sea”, according to the developers, was aimed at strengthening the trust between the countries of the region. The project was presented by Benita Ferrero-Waldner, European Commissioner for External Relations and Neighbourhood Policy. It was also announced that this regional program will become an integral part of the ENP and will work in much the same way as another successful regional project – the Northern Dimension which is a joint policy programme between EU, Russia, Norway and Iceland, that was initiated in 1999 and renewed in 2006 (<https://goo.gl/ctkUza>). However, the factor of the “frozen conflicts” (Nagorno-Karabakh and Transnistria), as well as the consequences of the August 2008 war between Russia and Georgia, made it much more difficult to implement the initiative in its original version.

In addition, the European Union did not include in the framework of the “Black Sea Synergy” the main international association operating in the Greater Black Sea region – the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC). In Brussels, the importance of dialogue with this organization at the regional level was underscored, stressing that “*the wide membership of the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation and the fact that Russia and Turkey are its founding members is a decisive advantage and could substantially contribute to the success of Black Sea Synergy*” (Mkrtchyan, T., Huseynov, T., Gogolashvili, K., 2009:110).

The report of the European Commission for the first year of the implementation of “Black Sea Synergy” marked the rapid development of relations between the European Union and the BSEC. In June 2007, following the results of the Istanbul

BSEC summit, the European Commission was granted observer status in an organization that also has seven EU member states: Austria, Germany, Italy, Poland, Slovakia, France and the Czech Republic. In the joint declaration on the outcome of the summit, the leaders of the BSEC countries reaffirmed “the importance of establishing strategic relations between the two organizations”.

On February 2008 Ukraine, holding at that time the BSEC Chairmanship, hosted a meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers and, at the initiative of Brussels, convened a joint meeting between the heads of the foreign ministries of the BSEC and the EU. Despite the results of the Kiev meetings, it was not possible to reach consensus. The main critic of the approach promoted by the EU was Russia, which spoke in favour of a higher role of BSEC based on an equitable dialogue between the organization and the European Union.

The Black Sea Economic Cooperation, established in 1992, became a full-fledged international organization by 1999, when its Charter was adopted. Energy, transport and the environment have become priority areas for cooperation: precisely those that emphasized the Euro-Union within the Black Sea Synergy. It was not just about competing infrastructure projects, but also about the different visions of the settlement of “frozen conflicts”. It became especially evident during the “unfreezing” of the situation around South Ossetia, which led to the war of August 2008. Everything testified to the fact that interaction within the framework of the Great Black Sea Region became another problematic issue on the agenda of the European Union.

The August 2008 conflict had a significant impact on the EU’s policy towards its eastern neighbours. In the EU, the actions of Russia were regarded as aggression and violation of the territorial integrity of one of the participating countries of the ENP. In the summer of 2008, before the war in South Ossetia, the “Eastern Partnership” programme was submitted by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland R. Sikorski, and by the end of the year the program was finalized and adopted at the May 2009 summit in Prague, aiming at bringing the EU closer to Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, Moldova, Belarus and Ukraine. The program became a part of the ENP.

The project did not provide the possibility for membership of any of these countries in the EU, but it implied a political and economic rapprochement, including the facilitation of the visa regime and cooperation in the energy sector. The Eastern Partnership aimed at the successful implementation of the reforms envisaged the conclusion of bilateral agreements between the European Union and the participating countries.

The agreements were supposed to facilitate their further integration into the European space. In the format of bilateral cooperation, the Eastern Partnership also proposed the possibility of negotiating with the European Union under a new Association Agreement, the predecessor of which was in need of substantial renewal at this stage. It could contribute to solving a broader range of issues, and in the future – to create an updated legal basis for the relations between the member states and the EU. So, for Georgia, since 2011, a simplified visa regime with the European Union has been introduced. Even in a more favourable position in this respect is Moldova. Citizens of this country can stay in the EU for 90 days during the year.

It is worth emphasizing that in the light of the global financial crisis of 2008-2009, The Eastern Partnership did not receive any serious support within the EU at first, but after the pro-movement of the Southern Corridor project (preferences for Caspian gas supplies to Europe through Turkey, bypassing Russia), the European Union again returned to this idea.

Thus, at the European Summit of the Eastern Partnership (2011, Warsaw), positive trends in economic cooperation between the European Union and the participating countries were noted, despite the fact that the economic crisis greatly complicated the full implementation of the program. Nevertheless, in view of the positive results of the program of cooperation in the field of trade, it could be assumed that similar dynamics of relations will be developed in other economic areas. An important issue was the creation of a free trade zone. In this direction, certain results were achieved with Ukraine, Moldova, and also Georgia.

The third Eastern Partnership Summit, held in autumn 2013 in Vilnius, Lithuania, highlighted the extreme tensions that have accumulated in Eastern Europe and in some of the countries in the region. The choice of the decision makers in Kiev to sign the Association Agreement with the European Union as a result of Russia's pressures to reject the agreement and to join the Russian initiative of the Eurasian Union triggered a spiral of clashes that ended with an internal political catastrophe in Ukraine and with a geopolitical cataclysm at the European scale.

The Russian Federation and its influence in the post-Soviet space

Russia and Turkey are the most active players in the Black Sea region. The "Eastern Partnership" initiative caused, from the very beginning, Russia to worry and be distrustful of its ultimate goals, as the Russian Federation saw in the EU's political and economic aspirations in the region, a way to deprive Russia of its influence on the post-Soviet countries.

The fall of the Yanukovich regime after the repression of the protests and the violent clashes in Kiev, the referendum of the Crimean Peninsula and the latent state of war, revealed a Russian strategy to defend certain red lines in the area of interference with the European Union and to respond to the draft Europeanization of its neighbors from the Western and Caucasian borders. But, surprisingly the crisis in Ukraine, led to the signing of the Association Agreements and of the Free Trade Agreements between the European Union and Ukraine, Georgia and the Republic of Moldova. The opening of new separatist outbreaks in Ukraine also led to the intensification of efforts from Brussels to support the countries from this region and accelerate the pro-European efforts in Chisinau, Tbilisi and Kiev.

The implication of Germany and France in the Minsk negotiations to end the hostilities in Ukraine had once again revealed the weaknesses of the European diplomacy and the failure of the European Union to act as a coherent and decisive actor in solving a substantial crisis for the European Union as a political entity.

In May 2015 after the Eastern Partnership Summit in Riga, the partner states did not receive promises for a faster European path but were assured of the European Union's support. Ukraine and Georgia had hoped for an agreement on visa liberalization, and Moldova hoped that the final declaration of the Summit will include

the mentioning that it would join the EU. None of these expectations have been fulfilled, but the Union leaders have expressed their support for all six partner states. As for the relations with the Russian Federation, the EU representatives have reported that the Eastern Partnership is not working against the Kremlin, but that Vladimir Putin must understand that each state is sovereign and has the right to decide its path. Despite the fact that the Riga Summit can be seen as a stagnation of the relations between the EU and the Republic of Moldova, Ukraine and Georgia, the conclusions show that the situation has improved, given the failure of the last summit in Vilnius in 2013.

The Joint Declaration of the Eastern Partnership Summit in Riga, reaffirms the high importance that the partner states attach to the Eastern Partnership as a specific dimension of the European Neighbourhood Policy. The partner states also reaffirm their shared vision which is based on mutual interests and commitments, while also supporting the sustained reform processes in the Eastern European partner countries. The partner states proposed themselves to “*strengthen democracy, rule of law, human rights and fundamental freedoms, as well as the principles and norms of international law, which are and have been at the heart of this Partnership since it was launched as a common endeavour of the Member States of the European Union and their Eastern European partners*” (<https://goo.gl/JsXWZt>).

Although the Eastern Partnership (EPP) is a success, this format has reached its limits, so a restructuring is needed. EPP was created as a special EU programme for the eastern neighbourhood countries. States in this region are different from the other EU neighbours from North Africa or the Middle East; for the eastern neighbours of Europe, there is a presumption that these countries are more suitable with the EU, going as far as foreseeing a future EU membership for some of them. Eight years after the launch of the EPP, three of the six countries signed and began to implement The Association Agreements (AAs) with the EU are more important than the public debates suggest. In fact, these documents create a new category of associated states for the EU. What does de facto mean to be an associated Partner State? On the one hand, the EU is ready to invest heavily in reforming these societies. On the other hand, there is no internal consensus within the Union, so the EU is not ready to offer them a prospect of accession (although since 2009 the idea has gained more adherents).

Although the signing of these agreements was an important step in the development of relations between Moldova, Georgia and Ukraine with the EU, this is just the beginning of a long process of implementation that will fundamentally change the legislative and administrative structures of these countries. In other words, the next decade will be characterized by the implementation of agreements that have already been negotiated and signed. The Association Agreements with the EPP countries are legally binding documents, very similar to the Stabilization and Association Agreements that the EU had signed with the Western Balkan countries in their association process. With the start of the implementation process, Moldova, Georgia and Ukraine will adopt approximately 80% of the EU acquis, which facilitates their future membership of the European Union.

Turkey's role in the region

As for Turkey, it is necessary to take into account the fact that for many years it has pursued a rather bold, diversified foreign policy, the priority task of which was the formation of its own Turkish "good-neighbourliness policy", which would include the countries participating in the Eastern Partnership.

During the Cold War, Turkey was an important partner in defending Europe against the Warsaw Pact threats. After a period of neutrality, during the interwar period and during the Second World War, Turkey, feeling threatened by the Soviets, re-orientated its foreign policy towards a tighter settlement with the West. Since then, a basic rule of Turkey's foreign policy has been the need to engage in institutional development for cooperation with Western Europe and the Atlantic Community. Later, Western Europe has recognized Turkey's potential for securing the "free world", thus responding to Turkey's wishes to be included in the European framework.

Along the time, the great European powers have begun to ask themselves whether Turkey, given its different culture (i.e. religion), could and should be part of a "European" organization. In this context, Turkey's relation with the European Union was characterized by ups and downs. Turkey's option for developing an export-led growth policy and the reasonable success of this policy have led to the signing of a Customs Union Agreement with the European Union in 1996, as provided for in the Ankara Agreement and its Protocols which have contributed to a considerable development of economic relations. But when the great enlargement of the European Union to Eastern Europe excluded Turkey in 1997, relations were on the brink of being broken.

The lack of enthusiasm for Turkey's EU accession was demonstrated by Germany's questions, on one hand, and by France's unequivocal resistance, on the other hand, diminishing the desire of the Turkish government to start the necessary reforms in order to comply with the conditions imposed by the EU. Public opinion on the subject of Turkey's EU membership has also changed with the ups and downs of the relationship.

If Turkey joins the European Union, the EU will become more economically strong, but more than that, the military power and the importance of the organization at the international level will gain other valences. If Turkey's accession becomes a serious possibility, the Turkish public opinion will also start to enthusiastically support this course of events. Otherwise, the current situation, best described by the phrase "neither together nor separately" will continue to generate unexpected results.

Conclusion

The evolution of the EU policies towards the post soviet countries from the Black Sea region has accelerated after the accession of Romania and Bulgaria to the European Union. In response to the new situation, the EU developed and adopted a series of new policies and initiatives like the European Neighbourhood Policy, the Eastern Partnership and the Black Sea Synergy.

It is important to note that the "Eastern Partnership" turned out to be truly effective at first and favourably differed from the programs offered by the European

Union earlier. At the same time, it should also be taken into account the fact that, due to the crisis and with very little financial capacity, the implementation of the projects was significantly complicated. This can also include a rather passive attitude to the program. For example, this initiative was not seriously supported in countries such as Britain and France. Moreover, the “Eastern Partnership” initially did not provide for the member countries the granting of EU membership.

Today, on the background of the tragic events in Ukraine 2014-2015, the European initiative “Eastern Partnership” is sure to expect a stage of serious rethinking with the subsequent development of new formats of cooperation between the EU and the participating countries. This will happen because at the moment the European Union does not have any other promising instruments of interaction with the countries of the region.

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BOOK REVIEW

Marius Oanță (coordinator), Studies of Ecclesiastical History, Craiova, Sitech Publishing Press, 2018, 318 pages

Ecclesiastical history represents a very particular side of history, being one of those who is connected with other areas such as theology, philosophy, sociology, religious history, universal history or national history and so on. Ecclesiastical history is an area of the Church history which deals with the individual history of the churches, in a specific period of time.

In an attempt to contribute to the writing and knowledge of ecclesiastical history, this volume shall be counted. It brings together many authors: clergymen and seculars, and has different subjects of this research domain. The authors are part of a large confessional range like “*Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic, Armenian Catholic, Serbians orthodox, evangelic-Lutherans, Baptists and Brethren*” (p. V). The thematic area extends on “*a larger period of time, starting in the middle of the Middle Ages and ending with the Modern and Contemporary Age*” (p. V). These studies are ordered chronologically.

In its pages, the volume contains seventeen studies, one article, five reports of the events and three reviews of thematic volumes. The studies that it contains are based on archived documents, part of them unknown, which helped to complete some confession's history, faction personalities or historical events. It is remarkable that even though the volume brings together authors of different confessions, it was followed the purpose of historical research and not the theological controversy, common in the interfaith environment such as the academic one. Thus, in this volume, there are some biographical studies (about Johann Drauth, Paul de Vuko, Petar Petrovici, L'udovit Augustin Boor, Ivan Bujna, Márton Áron, Episcopii Cisar and Scheffler, Bulgarians Catholic martyrs), one study about Paulicianism heresy during the Middle Ages, one about clergymen's positions, two studies about clerymen's settlements, two about Baptists, two about Brethren, one about the Greek Catholics' history and also one theological study about euthanasia. Furthermore, the studies are divided in three parts of the volume: six of them are included in *People and belief between Middle Ages and modernity's down*, five in *Confessional diversity and modernity* and six in *The Church under the totalitarian regimes*.

There are also reports of cultural and religious events that have raised interest locally, and not only that, but also scientific sessions, expositions and book releases. The book has a special place in every researcher's life, and because of that there are included three more reviews of some recent sightings of Catholic and Brethren's history.

The volume ends with a meditative article, written by a Greek-Catholic prelate, concerning *Romania: steps behind the ecumenical dialogue*, which wants to be a historical answer to a documentary about Patriarch Justinian Marina, realized by Trinitas TV – The Romanian Patriarchate Television.

This volume won't be a unique volume, even though it's authentic in its sighting because *“the volume is the first of a series which aims to be continued so that it rememorizes the important events that have marked the history of the Church and reveals the historical relevant facts, in a larger context, closely linked to the structural changes that influenced the religious life of faith's communities”* (p. X).

The sighting of this volume is very welcomed because this one and the following will contribute to a better knowledge of the ecclesiastical life from the Romanian space, placed in the European one.

Bogdan Emanuel Răduț

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