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Conflict between the intellectuals and authorities in the totalitarian system: historical and political aspect

У статті проаналізовано специфіку політичного конфлікту в тоталітарній системі на прикладі конфлікту, який розгорнувся між владою та інтелігенцією в СРСР. Розглянуто проблеми горизонтальних конфліктів: конфлікту цінностей, конфлікту інтересів і конфлікту ідентифікації та вертикальних політичних конфліктів, які розвиваються за лінією «влада – суспільство».
Ключові слова: політичний конфлікт, конфлікт цінностей, конфлікт інтересів, конфлікт ідентифікації.

политических конфликтов, которые развиваются по линии «власть – общество».
Ключевые слова: политический конфликт, конфликт ценностей, конфликт интересов, конфликт идентификации.

The problem of the political conflict as an integral component of the political and social life is analyzed in the article on the basis of scientific sources and literature. The specificity of political conflicts that unfold in the totalitarian political system is shown through the example of the conflict that unfolded between authorities and the intellectuals in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The problems of horizontal conflicts, such as: conflict of values, conflict of interests and conflict of identification, are investigated. The vertical political conflicts that evolve through the line "authorities – society" are studied.
Key words: political conflict, conflict of values, conflict of interest, conflict identification.

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В статье анализируется специфика политического конфликта в тоталитарной системе на примере конфликта, который развернулся между властью и интеллигенцией в СССР. Рассматриваются проблемы горизонтальных конфликтов: конфликта ценностей, конфликта интересов и конфликта идентификации и вертикальных

Formulation of the problem. The political process in any country is full of contradictions. Conflicts are the essential components of social and political life, in fact, they are only one of the forms of intraspecific and interspecific struggle for existence, one of the mechanisms of natural selection, which forces us to open fully in the struggle against an opponent. The current stage of society development is considered by many academics as a period of conflicts' escalation with the tendency to their increasing. Conflict management is considered to be one of the most important conditions for social and political stability within the country and on the international stage. Taking into consideration the fact, that the acutest conflicts take place in politics, the problem of political conflict is very important and requires further investigation and searching of new ways of solving. The experience of the 1920s can be very useful. At this time, the Bolsheviks tried to build a stable socially homogeneous society. Totalitarian regimes are characterized by the stability wherein the self-regulation is provided by repressions and violence aimed at eliminating of any existing or potential opposition [1, p. 279].

The purpose of the article. The purpose of this study is to analyze reasons and peculiarities of political the conflict between the intellectuals and the government. The latter refused to search the compromise and resorted to the policy of Sovietization that has led to the gradual increasing of severity during the analyzed period.

State research. In modern political science there is no a certain work where the problems of political conflict development between the government and the representatives of intellectuals at the regional level were discussed, however tangentially, it is con-

sidered in the works of V. Makarova, V. Khrystoforova [2] V. Nesterenko [3], V. Savchuk [4] V. Kas'anov [5] V. Zhezytskyi [6].

Presenting main material. A political conflict is a clash, a confrontation of different socio-political forces and political subjects in their ambition for realizing their interests and goals related primarily to the struggle for gaining power and its redistribution, change of their political status and also to political prospects of society development. The subjects of the conflict are parties that have realized the contradictions and have chosen collision, struggle and competition as ways of conflict solution [7, p. 240–248]. This method of collisions' solution becomes mostly inevitable when it affects the interests and values of the interacting groups, under open infringement on resources, under the influence in the system of political relations, under the access to making generally valid decisions and under the monopoly of their interests and their recognition as socially necessary [8, p. 112].

The conflicts of totalitarian regimes are primarily characterized by status and role playing moments, they are related to the proximity or remoteness from the political power. The majority of real conflicts becomes hidden and gets latent character. The political conflicts in the totalitarian system are maximally ideological. The ideology becomes an indefeasible value that is above any criticism. The dissent is declared as a political offense.

In view of above-mentioned facts the appearance of conflict between the intellectuals and the Bolsheviks was inevitable, because the intellectuals did not share the ideology of the ruling party in the 1920s, took an active political position and were the base of parties that stood against the Bolsheviks or com-

peted with them in the struggle for power during the revolution. In addition, the confrontation between the Bolsheviks and the intellectuals in Ukraine was complicated by the existence of national question, the solution of which was seen from different perspectives [5, p. 22–23].

The result was that the intellectuals during the national liberation struggle were in the advance team of fighters for Ukraine's independence, and run the rebel and underground movements in the early 1920s [3, p. 155], participated in Petliura and Hetman movements in 1917–1920. Taking into consideration the fact that professionals of “new generation” were almost absent, they had to use the “services” of the “old” intellectuals, which was closely observed by Committee for State Security servicemen [6, p. 15].

Almost all types of conflicts happened to be in the relation between the government and the intellectuals. If social conflicts can be of different types, the most important among political conflicts are the conflicts that are directly related to the distribution of scarce values in the society: power, material goods and social prestige [1, p. 771].

The conflicts of values, interests and identification are pointed out in the science dealing with policy. The conflict of values implies a clash of different value systems. Differences in values are one of the preconditions of conflict, and when they go beyond a certain borders the conflict potential and pre-conflict situation appear.

The confrontation between the party and the intellectuals was inevitable, because the latter aspired to general democratic principles that were contrary to the Bolsheviks' desire to have a monopoly position in the political and ideological life. The totalitarian state tried to impose the values of collectivism, so there had started a struggle for the recognition of Soviet regime's goals and interests as common by the majority of society. The Bolsheviks began to overcome the “counter-revolution in the minds” and a campaign against the dissidents started. Revolutionary tribunals, Extraordinary Commission on Counter-Revolution, Commissions on Political Purges Control and Implementation, Commissions on Emergency State and other emergency authorities were created in the early 1920s as an instrument of pressure on society. The intellectuals, as the spokesmen of public ideas and interest, fell primarily in the sphere of above-mentioned authorities' activity.

The dismissions, arrests and ejections of lecturers, teachers and doctors, whose views were observed by new power as insecure, gained currency beginning from 1921. In particular, Yu. Sitsynskyi, P. Klepatskyi and other were arrested. Many students, especially those from priests' families were “cleaned” from the universities' walls [9, p. 56].

The lists of intellectuals to be deported within the country or abroad were formed [2, p. 97]. 200 representatives of academic and outreach intellectuals,

including 77 from Ukraine were deported abroad. 47 of them were university workers, including 32 professors from Kyiv, Kamianets-Podilskyi, Kharkiv, Odessa, Yekaterynoslav [9, p. 56]. The intellectuals who actively propagated the ideas of Ukrainian People's Republic and did not want to accept the Bolsheviks' ideology were completely wiped out. Vacant professor positions at the universities were filled with former students who were party members [10, p. 77].

Kamianets-Podilskyi Commission on Soviet Institutions Purge resolved to dismiss 82 people in June 1922 [3, p. 157–158], and in 1923 – to liquidate a group of teachers from Podillia region consisting of 106 people: 25 of them were sentenced to death, 56 – to different terms of imprisonment, 25 – were dismissed [3, p. 158].

The Bolsheviks saw the ideological danger in the representatives of worship, so on March 7, 1922 the Council of People's Commissars adopted a regulation on non-admission of priests, rabbinate, Roman Catholic priest, etc. to service in the education system. [11, p. 133]. Any communication of the intellectuals with the priests was subjected to condemnation [12, p. 165].

To ensure the education of the generations of people with new values Central Committee Secretariat emphasized the need in creation a new university teaching staff that will be able to perform a complete reorganization of higher education according to the needs of the Soviet Republic. The first step towards its implementation was called the selection to the younger group of scientific workers the bigger number of communists and non-parties who would actively cooperate with them in the direction of higher education transformation according to the Soviet standard [13, p. 11]. The position of political commissar was introduced in the 1920s in order to enhance monitoring of the universities. As a rule, it was a communist student. He had unlimited power, more specifically – to issue orders and instructions on all kinds of these institutions activity: teaching load, scientific research, educational activities, approving of annual reports, financial expenses, etc. A political commissar could also decide a rector's future [14, p. 2]. According to the author's conflicts classification of L. Tsoi, a social control is a manifestation form of violent non-physical conflict [15].

The courses of teachers' political retraining aimed at the creation of the communist staff became regular [16, p. 4]. The teachers were tested by the control commission of public education when recruiting to create loyalty. Thus, in 1924, 91 people among 648 were denied in employment because of inappropriate social status. Moreover, the main pressure lever on the intellectuals was the conclusions of the SPA (**State Political Administration**). Training of the majority of teachers for public work was weak because of the absence of appropriate political training [17, p. 54].

Analyzing the conflict of interests, related to the collision of different, primarily political and socio-economic interests, it must be said that intellectuals, the reasoning people, understood that building a strong state by methods of violence was impossible. The position of the majority of Vinnytsia teachers' is illustrated by the words of teacher Dobrohay: "We need a system that would ensure the free development of national culture and, what is the most important, would not implant social conflicts in rural areas. So I think Ukrainian People's Republic, based on the coalition principle with the orientation of all organizations that claim for the struggle for Ukraine" [18, p. 122]. The Bolsheviks also tried to do everything not to lose the control over Ukraine and tried to pursue a policy that would prevent the resistance movements and contributed to the establishment of values of Bolsheviks policy among the intellectuals.

Suffice it to say that intellectuals having survived all the violence of the civil war, famine and devastation, injustice and oppression, and were encouraged to some extent with the policy of korenization (indigenization), were more inclined to cooperation with the authorities, submitting to the needs of culture and science development. This led to the conflict of identification. Conflict of identification emerges as a contradiction on the free determination by a citizen of his ethnic and national character.

Thus having given to the minorities the possibility of free determination of their ethnicity and some freedom of the development on a particular historical stage, the Bolsheviks eventually turned this ethnicity into a proof of guilt.

Besides the abovementioned types of conflicts, scientists distinguish vertical political conflicts which develop along the line "government – society". They are based on different access of social groups to management, various influence opportunities on the decision-making. The government, as a matter of the conflict, is an access mean of these groups to economic and social benefits. The Bolsheviks had begun the struggle for the influence in the system of political relations and for the exclusive access to power since the first days [19, p. 112] and they tried to close all ways to control for the intellectuals. In particular, few people of mental work were in party organizations. The intellectuals also were reluctantly involved in participation in local councils. For example, the percentage of teachers elected to village councils in Vytyvetskyi and in Proskuriv region was the least – 0,4% [11, p. 4]. The secretary of village council actively agitated against a candidacy of teacher in Mitsivtsi village in Solobkovetskyi region [12, p. 4].

To distract the educational and scientific intellectuals from the struggle for the influence in the sphere of state administration, Bolsheviks government creates the new movements – excellence master and shock workers of public education, where party members

had to play a key role. But, these hopes didn't come true. Because of the absence of adequate professional training, these categories could not head the education and training improving movement, in particular, it can be observed on the example of Letychiv region [22, p. 60].

Among the subspecies of vertical conflicts the status and role conflicts are distinguished. The political statuses inequality, unequal amount of political and civil rights and etc. are the sources of these conflicts. Partial or complete restriction of social and economic interests of large part of the country's population, the differences in attitudes to political and socio-economic development of the society can be the matter of vertical conflicts. The limitation of basic needs can be caused by both objective and subjective factors. The crisis of natural of socio-economic development, problems connected with the radical reform of socio-political system and unforeseen circumstances are distinguished among the objective factors. Among the subjective factors one can identify loopholes in socio-economic policy, the reluctance of state leaders to consider the basic interests and needs of the dependant social classes and groups, understanding of the existing political system of resource allocation (including government) as unfair and illegal by the dependant social classes and groups [23, p. 168].

If the majority of country's population finds no place in the existing social and political structure of the society and is unable to meet the basic needs within the existing social and political institutions, it will aspire radical changes. It was the same situation in which the intellectuals were. In the political letter of Vinnytsia Regional Party Committee Secretary (October–November 1925) it is reported that constant wage violations and overworking were the factors that turned the intellectuals against the government. Thus, the teachers didn't get salary for 6 months in Il'inetskyi district Vinnytsia region [24, p. 32]. The teachers' state was so difficult that on the regional meeting a driven to despair teacher proposed to organize a strike and proclaimed the declaration in which he demanded to get into touch with the teachers' union in Paris in order to protect the rights. This declaration got only 5 votes (teachers obviously knew all the unreality of the idea) but, according to the archive documents, the applause after reading the declaration were "great and friendly" [24, p. 15].

The discrepancy between the social and cultural status of the intellectuals can be observed. On the one hand, this is the financial position and on the other – the limitation of political and civil liberties. Although the low level of qualification that wasn't rare, teachers were so overloaded with additional responsibilities that they hadn't enough time and efforts for performing their basic work. Thus, 440 households were served by one teacher in Vyhvatnivtsi village in Kamianets-Podilskyi region. In addition to edu-

cational activity, he worked as a technical secretary of the party cell, cell agitator, board member of the cell and accountant, chairman of the reading house, chairman of the Regional Committee of Education Workers, a board member of District Branch of Education Workers, head of Village Council Culture Commission, member of Regional Executive Committee, authorized agent of the Regional Committee of International Organization on Revolution Support, chairman of Fire Brigade Revolutionary Commission, member of Poor Peasants Commission, chairman of Labor Protection Commission in the Regional Union of Education Workers, person attached to the cell of Lenin Communist Union of Ukrainian Youth and, finally, person attached to another village as a party member [25, p. 4].

The situation in high school was also rather bad. The outstanding example is Kamianets-Podilskyi Institute of Public Education. The training here started only at the end of November. Till this time all the teachers and students were engaged in agricultural works. Professors were unable to prepare lectures properly, because, reading room and library were closed when the work in the gardens was carried out. Starting from November the teachers often went to mills to grind grain, and some of them were busy with looking for a new apartment because their previous apartments in the building at the university were transferred to other people [26, p. 179].

For example, a minimum of work at university garden for each employee or student was introduced in 1921 in this educational institution and it was 8 hours per day. All professors, members of their family aged 14 and to 72 years and all students had to work firstly six, and then seven days a week. Those who didn't complete a minimum were forfeited lunch in the public education institute canteen. Such circumstances caused serious problems when food products and any financial resources were absent. By the order of political commissar dating on October 8, 1921 any vacation was also prohibited [27, p. 32].

The unsatisfactory financial support of teachers should also be noted. In such way, with workload in 33 – 46 hours (106 – 125% of working time) per week an average teacher often didn't earn even on the necessities – clothes, shoes, etc. [28, p. 68]. The minimum wage was paid irregularly [28, p. 68], and it was the reason for numerous letters of resignation [29, p. 355]. Lack of financial support forced even public education instructors to be engaged in speculations [30, p. 2].

At the same time, the Bolsheviks used measures aimed at political isolation of Podillia educational and scientific intellectuals, limiting their intellectual freedom. The creativity freedom transferred into the harassment, defamation and direct repressions and the social order (the struggle against the kulaks, nationalism and saboteurs) moved to the forefront. However,

the priority of class over universal, unitary over personal and original became the general rule [31, p. 16]. The intellectuals suffered from the constant control. Each word could be used by bodies State Political Administration against a particular lecturer, teacher, etc. [32, p. 27].

Conclusions. Thus, the conflict between the intellectuals and the government was inevitable, as all vertical conflicts arise as the result of social comparison, when the group compares its' present situation with better one in past. In this case, the situation of overwhelming majority of intellectuals has dramatically changed for the worse in comparison with the pre-revolutionary period with the coming of Soviet government: financial support got worse, basic and additional work increased against almost total rightlessness. The latent, concealed form of the conflict is its' peculiarity under the conditions of constantly increasing pressure of the totalitarian state.

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