

In summary, the limited duration of government power is essential in a democratic state. It ensures balanced regulation of the political affairs along with the realization of public interests. The ruling party has to keep itself from pursuing immediate advantages (such as political capital). Therefore, it has to provide legible policies, which are possible to implement and which promote the development of the society.

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## **UKRAINE DURING THE TOTALITARIAN REPRESSION REGIME OF 1917-1991**

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"Soviet totalitarianism" is a kind of communist totalitarianism, based on the primacy of the class approach, the denial of the right to private property, the prohibition of autonomy of the individual, etc. At the same time, a mass terror, which is directed not only against real or imagined opponents of the regime, but also used as a means of managing society, is an integral part of totalitarianism. To justify mass repressions, as well as tough methods of control and restriction of individual freedom, the creation of the so-called "enemy of the enemy", as advocates of other ideologies, are used. Thus, totalitarianism is a criminal form of power that destroys the people with impunity.

Separately among the totalitarian states is the Soviet Union. Having proclaimed humane goals and prospects, the Stalinist leadership created a political system that had its own peculiarities. Stalin's model of society is the so-called revolutionary totalitarianism. The reasons for establishing a totalitarian regime in the USSR were the lack of traditions of democracy, the low level of political culture of the population, the gradual growth of party and state apparatus, the DKT of the CPSU (B) in the political sphere, the command-administrative system of the management of the state economy, etc. The main method of establishing and maintaining the regime's existence was constant terror against all groups and strata of society. The totalitarian regime of the USSR was in fact a regime of personal power of Y. Stalin. The dictatorship of the CPSU, the lack of pluralism, opposition parties and movements, the actual deprivation of an individual's real participation in

the public-political life of the country – these and other features were inherent in the USSR for several decades and after the death of "the leader of all time and people"

The formation of a communist totalitarian system lasted parallel with the formation of the Soviet state itself. But it was the 20-30s that became the time when the totalitarian system took shape finally and fully realized its "potential". From the second half of the 20-ies the Communist Party monopolizes, concentrates in its hands all the power in the country, turning into a state party.

It turned out to be the following:

- the elimination of all other political parties and organizations and repression against their members;
- party interference in all spheres of life of citizens;
- the political dictatorship of the Bolshevik Party;
- the fight against any dissent in the middle of the party and among the population;
- creation of party groups and organizations at all enterprises and in all institutions, in order to strengthen the control over the society and spread the influence of the party;
- party interference not only in political issues but in absolutely all spheres of life, both society as a whole, and individual individuals.

Thus, the monopoly system and the dictatorship of a single party, which is one of the key signs of the totalitarian system, has been established in the Soviet Union. By 1929, Stalin definitively eliminated all his competitors from the party's leadership and became an actual dictator. From this moment we can state the completion of the formation of a command-administrative system of a totalitarian type.

After the extermination of competitive political forces, the russian bolsheviks established a totalitarian regime and began to plant in the country an adequate socioeconomic structure. The expropriation of large and small private owners, the suppression of the national liberation movement and the ideological indoctrination of the entire population would have been impossible without mass repression. In the triad of methods of "socialist construction" (propaganda, upbringing and violence), the totalitarian state most widely used violence in all its forms: coercion, expropriation of private property, terror by hunger, deportation, mass repression. In contrast to "dislocation", terrorist starvation and deportations, which had the character of discrete acts directed against social strata or national groups, mass repressions were individualized and carried out continuously. As a rule, they were directed against the real or potential enemies of the regime, but could also cover loyal people to intimidate everyone else.

The term "totalitarianism" (from the Latin totalitos - integral, in Italian totalitario - the one that covers everything as a whole) means the state system, which exercises absolute control over all spheres of public life. In his work,

"Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy" (1956), Karl Friedrich and Zbigniew Brzezinski, identified a number of features inherent in a totalitarian regime.

Among them are the following:

- the only official ideology;
- the presence of a single party, usually driven by a dictator, merging with the state apparatus and secret police;
- a monopoly on mass media, an ideological censorship of all legal channels of receipt of information, programs of secondary and higher education. Criminal punishment for the dissemination of independent information. "Monopoly on Truth";
- Denial of traditions, traditional morality, and complete subordination of the choice of means to the goals set (the goal is to build a "new society");
- centralized rigid planning of the economy;
- Comprehensive control of the party over the armed forces and the proliferation of weapons among the population;
- a great role of state propaganda, manipulation of mass consciousness of the population;
- administrative control over the implementation of legal proceedings;
- the destruction of individual civil rights and freedoms;
- mass repressions and terror by the security forces; the creation of a police control system to combat any opposition.

All of these signs acquired their most complete forms in the Soviet Union, during the Stalinist era. Since the time when Stalin managed to concentrate all power in his hands, the regime began to blame all its mistakes, difficulties and disadvantages of "enemies of the people", "agents of imperialism," cruelly treating them with false (or simply rigged) accusations. The repressive measures were the punitive organs of the DPU, subordinate to the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD). In 1934 the General Directorate of State Security was established instead of the DPU. The DPU-NKVD bodies launched massive repressions against all segments of the population of Ukrainian society. Mass repression and terror were a form of existence and a protective reaction of the totalitarian Soviet regime.

Dosing the pressure and frank terror, the repressive apparatus, which was an integral part of the totalitarian system, had three main tasks:

- Eliminate organized opposition and cases of dissent in the Bolshevik Party;
- Provide the state through the GULAG system as a gift labor force;
- Maintain the course of social processes under strict control.

The following main areas of mass repression in Ukraine can be distinguished:

repressions against the peasantry - dekulakization, artificial famine of 1932-1933, which, according to various estimates, perished: R.Konkvest calls 5 million; N.Vert - from 4 to 5 million; S. Kulchytsky -3.5 mln.

Fighting "old specialists". In 1928, the Shakhty Trial was fabricated over engineering and technical workers of the Donbas. Repressions were explained by the need to fight "enemies of the people", which impede socialist construction.

Fighting "underground nationalist organizations." In 1929-1930, the Ukrainian Liberation Union (IUU) was fabricated. The intellectual elite of the Ukrainian people was repressed. Among the convicts were 2 academics, 11 professors, 2 writers, teachers, scientists, priests, students.

Fight against religion and church. In January 1930, the UAOC was forcibly disbanded, and Metropolitan M. Boretsky was repressed by almost all bishops and part of the priests.

The prolongation of the arrests over the intelligentsia was the "disclosure" of another "hostile organization" - the "Ukrainian National Center" and its structural unit "Urainian Military Organization". Many prominent representatives of the pre-revolutionary Ukrainian intelligentsia, including prominent historians M. I. Yavorsky and M. Hrushevsky, were accused of anti-Soviet activity. Already young Hrushevsky was arrested and held in prison for 9 months, then sent to Russia, where he died in 1934 under mysterious circumstances. All 50 "UC members" were sentenced to different terms of imprisonment. Later, in 1937, 33 of them were convicted again: 21 were shot, others extended the time.

In the 1930s, the Stalinist regime was transformed into a widespread and systematic terror against its own people. The destruction of the army command post on the eve of the war was one of the most terrible crimes of the Stalinist regime.

For Ukraine 1929-1941 years have become a time of heavy trials, terrible crimes of a totalitarian system against the Ukrainian people. Forced industrialization and the continuous collectivization of agriculture meant the abandonment of the new economic policy and the beginning of the voluntarist course of Stalin and his associates to implement a "big leap" in the development of the country.

The industrialization of the country had a significant impact on the economic and social structure of Ukrainian society. On the one hand, the first five-year plan for the development of the national economy for industrial construction was favorable for Ukraine, which received about 20% of total investment. As a result, in 1940 the industrial potential of the republic increased several times compared with 1913. At the same time, the "leap" of industrialization caused Ukraine, as well as the PCP Union in general, a lot of damage. The main disaster was that the financing of industrialization was carried out at the expense of "scissors" of prices, holding up to the end of the five-year low prices, on which the state bought bread from peasants, that is, at the expense of seizure of peasant funds.

The deceleration of industrialization, the attempts to provide ultra-high growth rates of industry have led to an extremely difficult situation in the economy.

Even more significant and disadvantageous was the interference of the party bodies in socio-economic relations with a view to "socialist" restructuring of agriculture. Thus, the continuous collectivization of agriculture, which was carried out by violent methods, the repression against the wealthy peasantry in the process

of eliminating the kulaks as a class, led to a deep degradation of the productive forces of the village and eventually the 1932-1933 famine, resulting in the deaths of villages and small towns 5 million people.

Repressions that were subjected to different segments of the population, primarily directed against the former privileged layers - the nobility, officers, clergy. The offensive has started and private-ownership elements that have gained some development in the new economic policy.

As a result, the cooperative peasantry now constitutes the overwhelming majority of the rural population. Farmers and unauthorized handicraftsmen and artisans accounted for only 5.5%. Arose and a new stratum of the working class in the countryside as workers of MTS, machine operators and workers of state farms.

The rapid development of industry was accompanied by an increase in the ranks of the working class. At the end of the 1930's, the number of workers reached 6.2 million.

The Ukrainian intelligentsia suffered heavy losses. The old engineering building of the Ukrainian industry has suffered, especially after the mine business. The relentless persecution of specialists with pre-revolutionary diplomas, their naming as "bourgeois specialists", "loud" lawsuits over Ukrainian engineers and technicians led to the almost total destruction of this small number of technical intelligentsia. The place of the experienced staff was taken by the "nominees" from the number of workers or specialists, hurriedly prepared at the courses of "red directors".

The creative intelligentsia did not escape this participation either. In 1932, Stalin demanded a "cessation of Ukrainization" and made a real pogrom among the creative intelligentsia of the republic. Many Ukrainian scholars and artists have been oppressed. Most of them in 1930-1934 pp. and 1937-1938 pp. died in camps or in exile.

The fundamental changes occurred in the 30th pp. and in the development of the political system. Having defeated the apparatus of power, Stalin and his supporters created a state organization that, under the guise of a dictatorship of the proletariat, dictatorship of hardware, a system of leadership. The Communist Party, the entire USSR governing mechanism were led by Stalin and his immediate circle, locally by local party leaders. Under the statute of the All-Union Communist Party (b) in 1939, the party committees of institutions, enterprises, MTS, and collective farms obtained the right to control the activities of the administration. There was a merger of the party apparatus with the state, military, economic, with the top of public, scientific, creative organizations. Having granted the right to allocate and redistribute personnel, the party bodies created conditions for the formation of a new personnel nomenclature, which in combination with the security service, the army and the media constituted a resistance to a totalitarian, repressive system.

After the war, the country needed an urgent reconstruction of the industry in the context of preparing for a new confrontation with the West.

The military defeats of the USSR at the beginning of the war and the suffering of the population significantly influenced the consciousness of the

citizens of the USSR. During the war, millions of people - military and exiled to forced labor in Germany - went abroad and saw another life. The postwar period was characterized by attempts by the regime of repression to restore the consciousness of the population to the previous state. The repressions were restored, but they were less massive than before the war. The leadership of the USSR believed that the methods of physical destruction in general had achieved the goals of conquering and denationalizing the Ukrainian population. At the same time, in the newly-annexed Western Ukraine, the number of those killed and repressed (along with the deportees) in 1944-1945 and in the post-war years exceeded one and a half million people.

In 1946, throughout the entire Ukraine, in addition to the western regions, a new Holodomor of 1946-1947 began. It was held in the scenario of the Holodomor of 1932-1933, with the centralized seizure of grain in collective farms. The Soviet authorities reduced the number of people in Ukraine who received baking cards, suppressed household farms, and exported food from Ukraine to 4 million people.

Meanwhile, repressions against Ukrainian culture continued. In 1946, the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) issued a resolution on "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism", which resulted in the exodus of several thousand representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia to concentration camps. This time later was called "zhdanovshchina" by the name of the immediate organizer of persecution.

The post-war Soviet Union, in order to accelerate the country's reconstruction, needed a large number of specialists to replace personnel shot during the war. Thanks to this, after the war, higher education became massive among the population. It was of positive significance for the development of Ukraine. At one time, the leadership of the USSR for the purpose of Russification quickly translated Russian higher education in Ukraine.

After Stalin's death in the history of Ukraine can be divided into two periods, as they had a significantly different historical content. The first is the time of "thaw" when an attempt was made to partially reform the totalitarian system, turn it into a more viable organism. The second period was the time of a political and ideological reaction, a progressive decline and the decomposition of the totalitarian system.

Of course, the death of Stalin did not destroy the totalitarian system, there were factors that slowed down this process: first of all, it was an atmosphere of united thought, which was formed for decades during the "purges"; the absence of an organized opposition in the country. Already from the first days, the "collective leadership" (G. Malenkov, L. Beria, M. Khrushchev, etc.) began actions against the abuses of Stalin's times.

The flood or Khrushchev thaw is a period in the history of the Soviet Union, which broadly began with the death of Stalin and ended with the arrival of a party group headed by L. Brezhnev (1953-1964).

Bright features of this time:

- selective liberalization in the life of society;
- weakening of the repressive apparatus;

- partial rehabilitation of the repressed in the previous period;
- condemnation of the cult of Stalin's face (de-Stalinization);
- the transition from totalitarianism to authoritarianism;
- attempts to reform the economy of the USSR under conditions of the command system.

The consequences of the Khrushchev thaw:

The weakening of totalitarianism - the formation of an authoritarian regime (key result).

"Interrupted" de-Stalinization (slowed down in the first half of the 1960s, interrupted with the arrival of L. Brezhnev in power).

Moderate decentralization (expanded rights of the republics).

Partial liberalization ("under-freedom" - freedom of thought, limited criticism of Stalinism and power, minimal freedom of movement) and a new reaction (anti-religious policy, the 1960s).

The half-nature of most reforms (see changes in farm management in the Ukrainian SSR).

The post-Khrushchev period (1964-1984) in the life of the peoples of the USSR, including Ukraine, entered history as a period of "stagnation" ("developed socialism" - in terms of party phraseology), manifested in the economy, socio-political and cultural life countries. He was characterized by excessive ideologization of public consciousness, an increase in totalitarian tendencies in administrative and public administration, and the struggle with dissent. Khrushchev reforms were stopped, which, despite inconsistency, still led to the liberalization and humanization of society. A total offensive against the sixties began, the rehabilitation process repressed by the Stalinist regime practically ceased, a wave of arrests and trials took place, and the Russification of Ukraine intensified. Stalinisation gave way to neo-Stalinism.

By the mid-eighties of the twentieth century, the collapse of the Bolshevik system became apparent. All spheres of life of Soviet society covered the general crisis. The economy of the USSR did not meet the needs of the country, the standard of living of the population was steadily declining, the socialist form of management completely discredited itself.

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## **THE DECORATIVE-APPLIED ART OF KHARKIVSHYNA: TRENDS OF DEVELOPMENT AND CONSERVATION**

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The artistic tastes of today's society are ambiguous, but the overall assessment of this phenomenon clearly makes us understand that one of the dominant places are taken by contemporary painting, graphics and photography. If, however, to turn to the history of art, before it became established in society, it underwent significant changes, and there was a long way: from unprofessional folk art (traditional for every ethnic group) to contemporary art with a diverse variety of its forms .

- It is on the basis of traditional culture that contemporary art was formed, therefore, taking into account this fact, it should be noted that the same important and decisive factor for every person is the preservation of traditional forms of art, such as arts and crafts, that is, art that combines in itself as folk aesthetic as well as folk practical qualities. In particular, it includes such branches of artistic activity as carvings, embroidery, stamping, molding, spinning, weaving, molding and many other types that have long been owned by Ukrainians and widely used them in everyday life. Thus, arts and crafts are a unique cultural code of a nation, which identifies it on an international level, therefore, the issue of its popularization in society is unquestionable.

- Nowadays, there are many examples of preserving arts and crafts on a permanent basis in the museum space or, in fact, in the workshop of the folk artist who works in one or another artistic technique, in addition, the state of conservation of arts and crafts in the leading European countries much higher than in Ukraine. In Kharkiv, for example, there are Kharkiv Art Museum, the Kharkiv Historical Museum, the Regional Organizational and Methodological Center for Culture and Arts, the Parkhomov Art Museum and many other local lore museums, as well as numerous workshops of folk artists, with about 1400 people in the region. However, if you look deeper, you can see that both of the above-mentioned directions are doomed to constancy because of lack of material and technical base and leading specialists. In this case, the question immediately arises - "How to ensure the further development of folk arts and crafts, which is not able to compete