

UDC 94(477.82):32.019.5(47+57)  
DOI: 10.24919/2519-058x.16.210891

**Mariia MANDRYK-MELNYCHUK**

*PhD hab. (History), Professor of Department of Social Medicine and Public Health, Bukovinian State Medical University, 2 Theatralna Square, Chernivtsi, Ukraine, postal code 58002 (mandricescu@yahoo.com)*

**ORCID:** <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5995-9003>  
**Researcher ID:** B-7790-2017

**Halyna KOTSUR**

*PhD (History), Associate Professor of Department of Archive Science and Specialized Branches of Historical Science, Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, 60 Volodymyrs'ka Street, Kyiv, Ukraine, postal code 01033 (panihalenka@meta.ua)*

**ORCID:** <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7777-4248>  
**Researcher ID:** AAD-1389-2020

**Марія МАНДРИК-МЕЛЬНИЧУК**

*докторка історичних наук, професорка кафедри соціальної медицини та організації охорони здоров'я Буковинського державного медичного університету, Театральна площа, 2, м. Чернівці, Україна, індекс 58002 (mandricescu@yahoo.com)*

**Галина КОЦУР**

*кандидатка історичних наук, доцентка кафедри архівознавства та спеціальних галузей історичної науки Київського національного університету імені Тараса Шевченка, вул. Володимирська 60, Київ, Україна, індекс 01033 (panihalenka@meta.ua)*

**Бібліографічний опис статті:** Mandryk-Melnychuk, M. & Kotsur, H. (2020). Propaganda as a component of the processes of sovietization of the territories of Northern Bukovyna and Bessarabia (1944 – 1947). *Skhidnoievropeiskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 16, 218–228. doi: 10.24919/2519-058x.16.210891

**PROPAGANDA AS A COMPONENT  
OF THE PROCESSES OF SOVIETIZATION OF THE TERRITORIES  
OF NORTHERN BUKOVYNA AND BESSARABIA (1944 – 1947)**

**Abstract.** *The purpose of the article is to investigate the role of propaganda in the denationalization of the territories annexed to the USSR, which were previously part of Romania, the unification of all spheres of life, the new type of mindset planting and the Ukrainians everyday life. The methodology of the research is based on the principles of historicism, objectivity, which allowed us to consider the problem in the context of general processes that took place in the territories annexed to the USSR, on the basis of the analysis of sources to identify specific features and specific historical conditions, to refute some false statements. The retrospective and analytical methods, the method of historiographic analysis and synthesis, the method of periodization and social psychology have been applied while presenting the material. The scientific novelty is an attempt to highlight the role of propaganda as a preventive means of a large-scale nature objectively, which allowed to establish control in the*

annexed territories. It has been proved that in the history of the Northern Bukovyna and Bessarabia Sovietization it is necessary to distinguish two different periods due to the consequences of the rule of two different Romanian regimes, the conditions of the war, and the struggle against the Ukrainian underground. It is shown that these processes took place in the context of the general unification of life. **The Conclusions.** Taking everything into consideration, the main goal of the Sovietization processes in Northern Bukovyna and Bessarabia, which joined the USSR, was to achieve the most profound changes in mentality, perception of self-identity, distorted understanding of their own ethnogenesis. The propaganda campaigns were developed in accordance with the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) decisions, which went down to the party leadership of the republic. Diverse tools were used in order to keep everything under control at the annexed territories and prepare the masses for the state of being captured, for instance, the whole arsenal on means of influence was applied, party control over the periodicals and radio broadcasting, censorship of the repertoire of theaters, philharmonics, the historical science transformation into the instrument of consciousness manipulation, coverage of lecture groups by a large part of the population. At the same time, an information war was launched in order to discredit the "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists". In addition, the authorities, aimed at strengthening its authority, speculated on the "national issue", inciting hatred against the Romanians.

**Keys words:** Sovietization, ambivalence, propaganda, reoccupation.

## ПРОПАГАНДА ЯК СКЛАДОВА ПРОЦЕСІВ РАДЯНІЗАЦІЇ ТЕРЕНІВ ПІВНІЧНОЇ БУКОВИНИ ТА БЕССАРАБІЇ (1944 – 1947 рр.)

**Анотація.** Метою дослідження є висвітлення ролі ідеолого-пропагандистського механізму у творенні радянської дійсності, насадженні нового світобачення та стилю життя на територіях Північної Буковини та Бессарабії, які ввійшли до складу СРСР. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на принципах історизму та об'єктивності, що дали змогу розглянути проблему у контексті загальних процесів, які відбувалися на приєднаних до СРСР територіях, на основі аналізу джерел визначити специфічні риси та конкретно-історичні умови, спростувати окремі хибні твердження. При викладенні матеріалу використано ретроспективний і аналітичний методи, метод історіографічного аналізу та синтезу, метод періодизації та соціальної психології. **Наукова новизна** полягає у спробі об'єктивного висвітлення ролі пропаганди як превентивних засобів масового характеру, які дозволили встановити контроль на приєднаних територіях. Доведено, що в історії радянзації Північної Буковини та Бессарабії потрібно виділяти два децю відмінні періоди через наслідки правління двох різних румунських режимів, умови війни, боротьбу з українським підпіллям. Показано, що ці процеси відбувалися у контексті загальної уніфікації життя. **Висновки.** Отже, головною метою радянизаційних процесів на теренах Північної Буковини та Бессарабії, які ввійшли до СРСР, було досягнення найглибших змін у ментальності, сприйнятті самоідентичності, перекрученому розумінні власного етногенезу. Пропагандистські кампанії розроблялися відповідно до рішень ЦК ВКП (б), які спускалися до партійного керівництва республіки. Застосування всього арсеналу засобів впливу, партійний контроль за періодичними виданнями та радіомовленням, цензурування репертуару театрів, філармоній, перетворення історичної науки на інструмент маніпуляції свідомістю, охоплення діяльністю лекторських груп значної частини населення – все це не лише підготувало підґрунтя до захоплення, але й сприяло утриманню контролю на приєднаних територіях. Водночас була розгорнута інформаційна війна з дискредитації "українських буржуазних націоналістів". Крім того, для зміцнення свого авторитету влада спекулювала на "національному питанні", розпалюючи ненависть до румунів.

**Ключові слова:** радянизація, амбівалентність, пропаганда, реокупація.

**The Problem Statement.** The propaganda served as the foundation of the Soviet statehood, permeating all institutions, creating artificial realities, symbols, images, instead of destroying the others. In addition to it, the selective history was written, one's own model of the world was created with the use of literature, the press, cinema, and television. The ultimate goal was to deepen the conditional distinction between "that" and the "new" Soviet world.

Harold Dwight Lasswell, the leading American researcher in the field of communications and author of the book “Propaganda Technique in the World War” (London, 1927), claimed that propaganda involved the forcible management of thoughts, relationships through direct processing of consciousness. Its main purpose is to “mobilize thought” around the idea of hatred of the enemy (Lasvel, 1929, pp. 27–28). The Soviet propaganda developed the “conspiracy theory”, involving the intellectual elite in this process actively. The propaganda used censorship to prevent the leakage of the “incorrect” information. Those people, who managed to isolate themselves from those realities served their terms in Gulag camps (Main Directorate of Camps) or in specialized medical institutions.

The propaganda became the most effective way of instilling the Soviet way of life in the territories of Ukraine integrated in 1939 – 1940 and 1944 into the USSR. Immediate transformations in all spheres of life, the accelerated pace of eradication of the consequences of the two Romanian periods of the 1918 – 1940 and 1941 – 1944, the leveling of national specifics, and the struggle against the liberation movement required the development of an effective propaganda mechanism.

**The Analysis of Recent Researches.** The processes of Sovietization in Northern Bukovyna and Bessarabia can be divided into distinct periods. The first period, lasted for a short time in 1940 – 1941, which is associated with the Romanian government system and administrative division abolition and the second period, which began in 1944 and lasted for the decade was tougher, complicated by the consequences of Ion Antonescu’s reign, the war and the struggle against the Ukrainian underground. In historiography, the above-mentioned specificity is almost not reflected. The written collective work was one of the first domestic studies on the Sovietization problem of the above-mentioned territories (Boiechko, Hanzha, Zakharchuk, 1992). The researcher Yu. Saifulina studied Northern Bukovyna and Bessarabia Sovietization processes through the prism of planting a new model of public administration and self-government (Saifulina, 2008). According to the researcher, the propaganda is the way to prepare the population’s minds for a positive perception of these changes in 1940 – 1941 (Saifulina, 2008, pp. 58–60). Furthermore, the control’s establishment over the region required some time and the use of human resources along with the mental specifics knowledge of these areas (Saifulina, 2008, p. 60). Instead, the so-called “reliable” personnel from the eastern and central regions of the USSR did not meet these criteria. The scientist, I. Pater analyzed the methods of Soviet propaganda, which were used to establish a new mentality (Pater, 2015 – 2016). The researcher, V. Mishchanyn focuses on the ambivalence of the Sovietization processes, for instance, the simultaneous elimination of the consequences of previous regimes and the implementation of large-scale multifaceted transformations in these areas (Mishchanyn, 2016; Mishchanyn, 2018). The author considers the Sovietization to be a reformatting of all spheres of life according to the models of a socialist modernization, which affected the Ukrainians’ mentality (Mishchanyn, 2019). V. Mishchanyn managed to characterize the measures used by the Soviet authorities in the context of “liberation” (Mishchanyn, 2016). The researcher considered historiographical aspects of the study of the Sovietization processes (Myshchak, 2009; Myshchak, 2007). He raises the intelligentsia participation issue in propaganda work, the usage of the punitive method against the disobedient (Myshchak, 2009, p. 277). The role of propaganda in leveling national differences and unifying life was analyzed by V. Koval (Koval, 2012).

In the post-war period, the propaganda campaign turned the historical science into a political situation. Numerous specialists created myths about the past, “fought against

nationalisms” in academic institutions, as the inclusion of new territories in the USSR required a revision of the Ukrainian historiography (Yusova, 2004).

Hence, the problem of using propaganda to establish the Soviet control in Northern Bukovyna and Bessarabia was studied only in the context of the socio-economic and political transformations that took place with the incorporation of these lands into the USSR.

**The purpose of the article** is to investigate the role of propaganda in the denationalization of the territories annexed to the USSR, which were previously part of Romania, the unification of all spheres of life, the new type of mindset planting and the Ukrainians everyday life.

**The Statement of the Basic Material.** The Soviet propaganda influence among the Bukovynians intensified in early 1938 after the destruction of all signs of the liberal system and the introduction of a siege state. During February 1938, an authoritarian regime of King Carol II was established in Romania, which led to the abolition of the foundations of parliamentarism, the suspension of parties, societies, and the adoption of a constitution that strengthened the monarch’s power and restricted minority rights. Due to the Law № XXXVI of February 17, 1938, all forms of propaganda were prohibited (Colectiunea de legi, 1938, pp. 59–62). The Romanian language became mandatory in all state institutions (State Archives of Chernivtsi region – SACR, f. 38, d. 1, c. 10746, p. 2). The General Commissariat for Minorities establishment, permission to use the mother tongue in institutions and primary schools was a formality (Hamangiu, 1939, p. 1337).

The significant weakening of the Ukrainian positions in the region by limiting the activities of societies led to the anti-Romanian resistance. As a result, the contradictions between the Romanians and the Ukrainians intensified, which conditionally split the latter into several camps – those, who were willing to cooperate with the regime of King II and integrate into new political structures, and those, who were influenced by the events in the Carpathian Ukraine and had close ties with the emigration centers, and the third – the Soviet propaganda supporters. In order to consolidate the society in the autumn of 1938, the Romanian Prime Minister A. Călinescu proposed the idea of creating a single political organization – the National Renaissance Front (Frontul Renașterii Naționale, FRN), which soon covered the entire country with its network (Scurtu, Mocanu, Smarcea, 1995). More than 3 million people were enrolled in the National Renaissance Front (Frontul Renașterii Naționale, FRN) by the end of January 1939 (SACR, f. 43, d. 1, c. 8686, p. 1; c. 8717, p. 96). At the same time, the Ukrainians were forced to enter the National Renaissance Front (Frontul Renașterii Naționale, FRN), who did not want to move to semi-legal activities.

The National Renaissance Front (Frontul Renașterii Naționale, FRN) documents include the total number of the Ukrainians in Romania in 1939 as well as those people, who were under the FRN influence: (11% – Bessarabia, 27.7% – Bukovina, 0.4% – Banat, 1.7% – Marmoroshchyna). There were numerous districts, where the Ukrainians inhabited, which were the part of the FRN: Suceava district – Chernivtsi district – 44.5%, Storozhynets – 45.5%, Suceava – 1.7%, Kimpulun – 6.7%, Radivets – 8.7%, Khotyn – 41, 6%. In the Dniester district – Belgorod-Dniester district – 20.5%, Tyhynskiyi – 3%, Orheyevsk – 9%, Lopushnyanskiy – 0.7%. In Prut district: Balti district – 7.6%, Soroca – 8.2%, Botosani – 0.3%. Even in of Tymysh and Somesh districts the Ukrainians could be found (*National Archive of Romania* – NAR, f. “Frontul Renașterii Naționale”, 1939, 4/1939, pp. 2–11). In October 1939, the Ukrainians prevailed in the administration in Kypulunh on Cheremosh, Ust-Putyl, Dykhtynka, Yablunivka, Nehostyn, Ploska, Serhiyah, and Shepot (NAR, f. “Prefectura județului Rădăuți” – PJR, 1939 – 1940, 59/1938). There were 75% of the Ukrainians FRN

members in Chernivtsi and Storozhynets district villages (NAR, f. “Ministerul de Interne, Presa internă”, 1939, 21/1940, p. 59).

Bukovyna administration reported to Bucharest concerning the anti-Romanian sentiments intensification among the Ukrainians (NAR, f. PJR, 1939 – 1940, 59/1938, p. 12). The police monitored the suspicious Ukrainians, who came into contact with the emigration centers (NAR, f. PJR, 1939 – 1940, 59/1938, p. 2). The Ukrainians worked most actively in schools, urging teachers to ignore government orders (NAR, f. PJR, 1939 – 1940, 13/1940, pp. 34, 65).

The defeat of the state-building processes in the Carpathian Ukraine, the persecution of organizations that “undermine” the foundations of Romania, weakened the position of the Ukrainian community. In 1940, the situation was complicated by the aggravation of relations between Romania and Germany and the USSR, povit (county) prefectures forbade the ethnic communities to hold meetings without the permission of the FRN (NAR, f. PJR, 1939 – 1940, 18/1940, p. 13–14). These events reinforced the pro-Soviet tendencies. Under the slogans of protecting the interests of the Ukrainians, the USSR launched an active agitation campaign in Bukovyna and created a powerful network of propagandists (Troncotă, Constantiniu, 1997, pp. 332–333).

According to a secret protocol of the Molotov – Ribbentrop Pact, Northern Bukovyna and Bessarabia became controversial objects of the international relations. In June 1940, favourable factors emerged to decide the fate of these territories. The USSR refused to recognize the fact of those lands integration into Romania, which took place in 1918. On the 26<sup>th</sup> of June, J. Stalin began to demand for the immediate return of Bessarabia to the USSR from Romania and the transfer that part of Bukovyna, whose population was mostly connected with the USSR by culture, language and past history. The above-mentioned information was stated in a note handed to the Romanian side. At the end of June 1940, there were outright threats from Moscow. On the 28<sup>th</sup> of June, the Romanian troops evacuated from Bessarabia and Northern Bukovyna. As a result, the USSR entered the territories with a total area of 51,000 square kilometers with a population of almost 4 million people.

During 1940 and 1941, the Soviet propaganda produced a great number of literature volumes, pamphlets, propaganda, appeals, posters, and magazines that the Romanian propaganda authorities barely had time to process it. Hence, on the 11<sup>th</sup> of October in 1941, Ovidiu Vlădescu, the Romanian Government General Secretary, sent an order № 12612 to Bukovyna Province Governor (SACR, f. P-307, d. 1, c. 4062, pp. 1–2). It was reported that the Ministry of National Propaganda was aware of the huge amount of the Soviet material stored in Chernivtsi. It was necessary to classify immediately all collections, involving specialists with knowledge of Russian and Ukrainian. Hundreds of thousands of documents, monographs, and multivolume publications were to be studied by specialists from the General Staff, the Ministry of Propaganda, and the military department. Academic works, reference and periodicals, which were of value to the secret services, the police department and the relevant departments, were stored. On the 24<sup>th</sup> of October in 1941, the General Staff, represented by General N. Pelengyan, in a secret telegram № 54, expressed concern over the negligence of individual officials and warned against the destruction of any sources (SACR, f. P-307, d. 1, c. 4062, p. 3).

Preventing the repeated loss of Northern Bukovyna and Bessarabia, in June 1941 the government introduced radical changes in the territorial division and management, the activities of the bureaucracy and the judicial system, the procedure for acquiring citizenship (General Ion Antonescu, 1941). The territories of Northern Bukovyna and Bessarabia became two provinces under the direct command of Marshal I. Antonescu. Bukovyna was divided into six povits (counties), and Bessarabia into seven povits (counties).

From the 1941<sup>st</sup>, September, the governor and heads of nine directorates powers in the province passed to, appointed directly by the head of state, which formed the Provincial Coordinating Council. The governor also controlled the local police. The povits (counties) were headed by Prefects (Hamangiu, 1942, pp. 1721–1728). For more effective control of the provinces, a Corps of Commissioners-General for Bessarabia and Bukovyna was created, consisting of eight high-ranking officials under I. Antonescu, who could give the commissioners the extraordinary powers (Hamangiu, 1942, pp. 1726–1727). In addition to it, § 40 of the same law regulates the establishment of the Civil-Military Cabinet for Bessarabia and Bukovyna with the subdivisions. He was to coordinate the activities of the provincial governors and ensure communication between the dictator, the government and the governors, gather information and identify propagandists.

On the 20<sup>th</sup> of July in 1941, the Supreme Commander-in-Chief introduced the emergency security measures in order to establish strict control and unify the life of the incorporated territories. Military intelligence and counterintelligence underwent major changes and were given a task concerning gathering the information on foreign spies and the Soviet propagandists. The work was rewarded with the prizes – from 2 thousand lei to 10 thousand lei (SACR, f. 38, d. 6, c. 118, pp. 244, 506).

Hence, Antonescu's regime took the drastic measures, which testified the desire to strengthen the state as soon as possible, to centralize the governance, and to launch a serious struggle against the Soviet propaganda. During 1941 – 1943, the security guard seized the secret documents about the Soviet intelligence centers' plans, the propaganda direction in the territory of Northern Bukovyna and Bessarabia (SACR, f. P-307, d. 1, c. 2407, pp. 70–75; d. 1, c. 406). Thousands of cases from the Bukovyna Provincial Governor's Office concern a special method of destabilizing the situation in Romania. It was a matter of preparing for the re-occupation of these territories. One of the propaganda manuals played a key role, as it selected trained individuals, who were due to recruit people to the special forces to organize the subversive activities. They worked with those in various positions from 1940 to 1941 closely. In the spring of 1943, the Romanian government sent the Governor a secret document regarding the activities of a wide network of the Soviet propagandists in Bukovyna, who were actually preparing the population for the return of the Soviet power (SACR, f. P-307, d. 1, c. 1099; c. 1124, pp. 1–2).

The intelligence and sabotage extensive network development in the territory of Northern Bukovyna is depicted in the secret work "The Regional Committee Organizational and Instructional Department References", which was adopted on the 24<sup>th</sup> of June in 1946 (SACR, f. 1, d. 2, c. 69–72 (joined), pp. 2–9). Hence, in July 1941, 7 battle groups were created in four districts, as well as 10 underground party groups in 7 districts. In October 1941, the underground Regional Committee of the party, headed by O. Boyark, the First Secretary, began its activities. However, within a few weeks, a network of secret apartments was discovered, and on the 10<sup>th</sup> – 11<sup>th</sup> November in 1941, a military tribunal sentenced the majority to death. At the same time, in September 1941, the Komsomol organization headed by K. Halkin appeared in Khotyn, which was engaged in "sabotage and subversive activities, the distribution of the Soviet leaflets" (SACR, f.1, d. 2, c. 69–72 (joined), p. 5). They killed a number of Romanian police officers, destroyed important communications, and blew up several businesses and institutions. By the end of 1942, all cells were exposed. Lots of mass arrests were made, some were shot, and others were to serve from 5 to 25 years of hard labour. During 1941 – 1944 there was an extensive organization in Chernivtsi. The center

published the newspaper “Stalin’s Eagle”. The case file contains a summary of the personnel and combat activities of underground communist organizations, sabotage groups and guerrilla units in 1941 – 1944 in Bukovyna. The five groups included 192 people, who conducted more than 10 combat operations, destroyed 20 cars and 75 km telecommunications, blew up 6 ammunition depots (SACR, f. 1, d. 2, c. 69–72 (joined), pp. 8–9). The information sector of the underground Regional Committee compiled lists of the “traitors”, “dissatisfied”, which included all those, who worked at the university and schools, were the Romanian police officers, security officers, counterintelligence and governor’s officials (SACR, f. 1, d. 2, c. 69–72 (combined), p. 36 (combined), c. 36). In addition, there was a network of “informers”, who in 1944 handed over the materials collected for 1941 – 1944 to the NKVD.

Strengthening for the agitators was the work written by J. V. Stalin “On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union” (Stalin, 1943), which the Regional Committee of the KP (b) on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of July in 1944 recommended the “ideological and political education of the population” (SACR, f. 1, d. 9, c. 2, pp. 47–49).

The historical science was assigned a task concerning developing the “right” prism for the Soviet processes’ perception as the Ukrainian people’s aspirations for the “reunification”. This is confirmed by Khrushchev’s letter to J. Stalin regarding the events to celebrate in January of 1944 the 290th anniversary of the conclusion of the Pereyaslav agreement. In the “Project on the celebration of the 290th anniversary of the accession of Ukraine to Russia” the fact of signing this agreement is regarded as a union of two fraternal peoples, which are connected by the “common historical process of formation of their nation” (Central State Archives of Public Organizations of Ukraine – CSAPOU, f. 1, d. 70, c. 91, pp. 45–47). M. N. Petrovskyi remained an unshakable authority, substantiating the positivity thesis concerning the Ukraine’s accession to Russia in 1654, while showing the connection between the events of the mid-seventeenth century and the Ukrainian territories entry into the USSR. In 1944, in the work “The Ukrainian people Reunification in a single Ukrainian Soviet state”, the scientist set out his own concept of the “common initial history of three fraternal, one-blooded peoples”. The so-called “common cradle” concept substantiations were actualized after the entry of Transcarpathia into the USSR. However, in 1944, F. Yenevych, the Institute of Party History Director under the Central Committee of the Communist Party (b), criticized scholars for the “confusing coverage” of the Ukrainian ethnogenesis issue of (Smolii, (ed.), *U leshchatakh totalitaryzmu*, 1996, pp. 127–128).

The renowned Soviet luminaries – medievalist O. D. Udaltsov (Udaltsov, 1942, 1943), a Slavist M. S. Derzhavin (Derzhavin, 1944) and the ancient era researcher V. V. Mavrodin (Mavrodin, 1941, 1946) created a theoretical basis for interpreting the Ukrainian territories accession process to the USSR.

On the 30<sup>th</sup> of October in 1944, the Soviet People’s Commissar of the USSR and the Central Committee of the Communist Party (b) U established publishing the Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia, which paramount task was to “strengthen the education of the masses, especially the party-Soviet cadres and intellectuals in the spirit of Bolshevism and Soviet patriotism” (*Pro vydannia*, 1944, p. 1).

All the transformations in the Ukrainian historiography were reflected inevitably in the propaganda work on the places. The ideologists in the Regional Committees of the party decided to flick through the methods of teaching history as the history of the USSR peoples. On the 18<sup>th</sup> of October in 1944, at a meeting of the Chernivtsi Regional Committee, the resolution “On the state of teaching the history of the USSR peoples in Chernivtsi’s Kitsman

district and the Stalin district schools” was adopted (SACR, f. 1, d. 9, c. 4, p. 56). It was mentioned that “teaching the history of the USSR peoples is not organically connected with the present, it is politically exhausted”, ignoring the Marxist approach to the interpretation of certain periods. As a result, a whole group of the history teachers suffered from repression.

The Regional Committee Propaganda Department of the KP (B) U held regional seminars for the speakers advanced training every month. Thus, in the appendix to item 19 of Chernivtsi Regional Committee of the CP (b) U meeting of the 3<sup>rd</sup> of July in 1944, it is stated in the section “The Measures” that City Committees are obliged to hold talks on the Soviet democracy principles and revolutionary legitimacy. It was highly recommended to display on the boards and in special installations the “atrocities, crimes and damage caused by the German-Romanian occupiers” in the districts and cities of the region. The reporting for April – June 1944 showed that the agitators read 400 political reports and lectures, held several thousand meetings, which were attended by 50 thousand Bukovynians (SACR, f. 1, d. 9, c. 2, pp. 47–48). In addition, on the 14<sup>th</sup> of June, a resolution was adopted by the Bureau of the party’s Regional Committee on the radio broadcasting organization and radiofication in Bukovyna. It was about the maximum radio usage as a “propaganda tool in the hands of the party”. The topics of the programmes, which were to cover the role of the party and Stalin as the “organizer and leader of the victories of the Soviet people”, were outlined. The party structures were responsible for the “politically trained and tested” personnel selection for the radio stations in Chernivtsi and districts. The programmes’ censorship was entrusted to the propaganda department of the KP (b) U Regional Committee headed by O. Andryushchenko. In addition, the Head of the Propaganda Department together with the Head of the NKVD Regional Department were to ensure the private radios’ seizure within 10 days (SACR, f. 1, d. 9, c. 7, pp. 108–110).

On the 3<sup>rd</sup> of July in 1944, a secret resolution issued by the Regional Party Committee Bureau “On approval of measures to improve the political work among the population”, which was signed by I. Zelenyuk, the Regional Committee Secretary (SACR, f. 1, d. 9, c. 8, p. 60). The document described the forms of work with the large audiences: 1) the Red Army’s explanatory work on the victories, military and political events and prospects for war, the Ukrainian territories liberation from the “Nazi invaders”; 2) the internal life of the country coverage issues. The particular attention was paid to work with the intelligentsia, as “most were educated in various bourgeois educational institutions” (SACR, f. 1, d. 9, c. 2, p. 49; c. 8, p. 65).

On the 13<sup>th</sup> of November in 1944, at the Regional Committee of the CP (B) U Bureau meeting, the subject of speeches to large audiences was approved, compiled on the basis of a report by M. Khrushchev, the Chairman of the Soviet People’s Commissar of the USSR (SACR, f. 1, d. 9, c. 5, p. 50). In accordance with the above-mentioned resolution, the topics of events were sent to the District and City Committees on a monthly basis. As for the ideological “processing” of the university faculty, teachers, writers, doctors, lawyers, the District and City Committees were obliged to organize special “circles” for them.

However, the propaganda’s main direction was aimed at counteracting and discrediting the National Liberation Movement led by the OUN and UPA (Ilnytskyi & Kantor, 2019). In a memorandum sent to M. Khrushchev, the Central Committee of the CP (B) U Secretary on the 27<sup>th</sup> of February in 1945, on the party’s decisions implementation on the 10<sup>th</sup> of January in 1945 “On intensifying the struggle against the Ukrainian-German nationalists” the following information is given: authorized by the Regional Committee from the staff of the Regional Committee and the regional party active, as well as the managers and operatives of the NKVD and NKDB departments to assist in the organization of work and the fight against



bandits” (SACR, f. 1, d. 1, c. 184, 204 (joined), p. 2). A total of 200 people were involved. Each was “personally responsible for the state of advocacy”. They organized speeches at village meetings, at which the names of those who were in the underground were announced. Fictitious individuals were often involved in naming the OUN members, who were allegedly known to the NKVD, and urging relatives to surrender voluntarily. The Soviet lawyers also “worked” with the population, explaining the content of the order of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of December 30, 1944. Thus, on the 10<sup>th</sup> of February in 1945, similar meetings in Putilsky, Vyzhnytskyi and Vashkivtsyi districts covered 83,202 peasants.

Due to the above-mentioned situation, discord and doubt about the successful resistance to the Soviet regime spread and caused distrust among the local population, which often betrayed the soldiers’ hiding places. As a result, the image of the “liberators” was created. Furthermore, there were pieces of evidence evidences by the Verkhovna Rada Presidium and the People’s Commissar of the USSR appeals concerning the “liberated” territories. These were the documents issued in February 1944, November 1944, May 1945 and February 1946. The texts of these documents were reproduced in leaflets, posters, which were distributed in the settlements, posted in public places. According to the documents, the Soviet government promised forgiveness to all, who agreed to cooperate (Sokhan, P. (ed.), *Litopys UPA*, 2001, pp. 104–116, 155–159, 223–230). The special traveling brigades agitated in the villages and settlements.

The report written by the Regional Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department in the 1947<sup>th</sup> contains the information about the Regional Committee of the CP (b) U groups of lecturers from the leading scientists of the university, medical and teaching institutes, and teachers of party courses. In the 1947, the agitation covered more than 100,000 people. 1046 lectures were given: 237 of them – on the history and theory of the CPSU, 353 – political and 106 – international issues. Lecturers of the Komsomol Regional Committee joined this process: 660 lectures, which covered almost 50,000 people, and the regional lecture bureau with three sections, which gave 14,920 lectures, which was much more than in 1944 – 1946 (SACR, f. 1, d. 2, c. 657, pp. 20–23, 26, 35).

In 1946 – 1947, the critique written by M. Hrushevsky’s concerning the “bourgeois-nationalist concept” and his school, repression of dissidents, which was reflected in the ideological and political education tendencies, gained momentum. In June 1946, at a meeting on propaganda at the Central Committee of the CP (B) U, in a report on the state and tasks of the ideological work, Secretary of the Central Committee of the CP (B) U K. Lytvyn emphasized the struggle against the “hostile concept” (Lytvyn, 1946). ). “Soviet Bukovyna” published the following material: “Hrushevskyi – ideologue and leader of the bourgeois-nationalist counterrevolution in Ukraine” (SACR, f. 1, d. 2, c. 657, p. 35).

Numerous central, regional and district publications, as well as radio broadcasting, undergone serious changes. The Regional Committee Secretaries and the Party District Committees were responsible for the information selection and censorship. In 1947, the volume of circulation and subscriptions to newspapers and magazines increased significantly “voluntarily and compulsorily”: 10,894 central, 24,660 republican and 16,000 regional newspapers, as well as 5,346 magazines. During the period of 1947, 467 radio broadcasts were conducted on the “achievements” of the government. In the same spirit, a new repertoire of the drama theater and philharmonic was compiled (SACR, f. 1, d. 2, c. 657, pp. 52, 54, 75).

**The Conclusions.** Taking everything into consideration, the main goal of the Sovietization processes in Northern Bukovyna and Bessarabia, which joined the USSR, was to achieve the most profound changes in mentality, perception of self-identity, distorted understanding of

their own ethnogenesis. The propaganda campaigns were developed in accordance with the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) decisions, which went down to the party leadership of the republic. Diverse tools were used in order to keep everything under control at the annexed territories and prepare the masses for the state of being captured, for instance, the whole arsenal on means of influence was applied, party control over the periodicals and radio broadcasting, censorship of the repertoire of theaters, philharmonics, the historical science transformation into the instrument of consciousness manipulation, coverage of lecture groups by a large part of the population. At the same time, an information war was launched in order to discredit the “Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists”. In addition, the authorities, aimed at strengthening its authority, speculated on the “national issue”, inciting hatred against the Romanians.

**Acknowledgement.** The authors express gratitude to the staff of the State Archives of Chernivtsi Region, the Central State Archives of Public Organizations of Ukraine, the National Archives of Romania for the cooperation.

**Funding.** The authors received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

*Archivele Naționale ale României (NAR – National Archive of Romania).*

**Boiechko, V. D., Hanzha, O. I. & Zakharchuk, B. I.** (1992). Kordony Ukrainy: istoriia ta problemy formuvannya [The Ukrainian Borders: History and Problems of Formation]. *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal – Ukrainian Historical Journal*, 1, 76–77. doi: 10/24919/2313-2094.5/37.102609 [in Ukrainian]

**Colecțiunea.** (1938). Colecțiunea de legi și regulamente. T. XVI. Partea I: legi 1 ianuarie – 30 aprilie 1938. (pp. 59–62). București: Monitorul oficial și imprimerile statului. Imprimeria centrală. [in Romanian] *Derzhavnyi arkhiv Chernivetskoï oblasti (SACR – State Archives of Chernivtsi region).*

**Derzhavin, N.** (1944). *Proiskhozhdenie russkogo naroda: velikorusskogo, ukrainskogo, belorusskogo* [The Rus' People Origin: the Great Russians, the Ukrainians, the Belarusians]. Moskva: Sovetskaya nauka, 124 p. [in Russian]

**General Ion Antonescu.** (1941). Proclamația către țară. *Monitorul Oficial*, 145, 22 iunie. [in Romanian]

**Hamangiu, S.** (ed.). (1939). Codul General al României (Volume I–XXX, Vol. XXVI). București: Monitorul oficial și imprimerile statului. Imprimeria centrală, 1350 p. [in Romanian].

**Hamangiu, C.** (ed.). (1942). Codul General al României (Vol. I–XXX, Vol. V. XXIX). București: Monitorul oficial și imprimerile statului. Imprimeria centrală, 1890 p. [in Romanian].

**Ilnytskyi, V. & Kantor, N.** (2019). Establishment of the soviet administration in the Carpathian region through the use of the open forms of punishment (1944 – 1954). *Skhidnoievropeiskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 10, 181–192. doi: 10.24919/2519-058x.10.159174. [in English]

**Koval, V.** (2012). Transformatsii derzhavnoho upravlinnia polietnichnistiu v Ukraini u period panuvannya radiansko-bilshovytskoho totalitaryzmu (1930 – 1950 rr.) [The Transformations of Public Administration of Polyethnicity in Ukraine during the Soviet-Bolshevik Totalitarianism Domination (1930 – 1950)]. *Aktualni problemy derzhavnoho upravlinnia*, (1), 17–21. [in Ukrainian]

**Kosminskiy, Ye. A.** (ed.). (1942). *Prepodavanie istorii v usloviyakh Velikoy Otechestvennoy voyny: metodicheskoe posobie dlya uchiteley sredney shkoly* [Teaching History under the Conditions of the Eastern Front: a Methodological Guide for the Secondary School Teachers]. Tashkent: Gosudarstvennoe izdatelstvo UzSSR, 55 p. [in Russian]

**Lasvel, G.** (1929). *Tekhnika propagandy v mirovoy voyne* [The Propaganda Technique in World War]. Moskva: Gosizdat, 199 p. [in Russian]

**Lytvyn, K. Z.** (1946). Pro stan i zavdannia ideolohichnoi roboty na Ukraini (Skorochna stenohrama dopovidi na sesii AN URSR) [The Ideological Work State and Tasks in Ukraine]. *Visti AN URSR*, 9–10. [in Ukrainian]

**Mavrodin, V. V.** (1946). *Drevnyaya Rus: (Proiskhozhdenie russkogo naroda i obrazovanie Kievskogo gosudarstva)* [The Ancient Rus: (The Rus' People Origin and Kyiv state formation)]. Moskva: OGIZ, Gospolitizdat, 312 p. [in Russian]

**Mavrodin, V. V.** (1941). *Obrazovanie russkogo natsionalnogo gosudarstva [The Russian National State Formation]*. Leningrad: OGIZ, Sotsekgez, 208 p. [in Russian]

**Myshchak, I. M.** (2009). Sotsialno-ekonomichni ta kulturni peretvorennia na zachidnoukrainskykh zemliakh pislia vkluchennia yikh do skladu URSSR: novitnia istoriohrafia [The Socio-economic and Cultural Transformations in the Western Ukrainian Lands after their Incorporation into the USSR: The Latest Historiography]. *Istoryko-geohrafichni doslidzhennia v Ukraini*, 11, 276–287. [in Ukrainian]

**Myshchak, I. M.** (2007). Stanovyshche Pivnichnoi Bukovyny ta Bessarabii u skladi Rumunii peryednanniam do Ukrainy RSR: istoriohrafia [The Northern Bukovyna and Bessarabia Position as The Part of Romania before joining the Ukrainian SSR: The Historiography]. *Spetsialni istorychni dystsypliny: pytannia teorii ta metodyky*, 15, 222–232. [in Ukrainian]

**Mishchany, V. V.** (2018). *Radianizatsiia Zakarpattia 1944 – 1950 rr. [The Transcarpathia Sovietization in 1944 – 1950]*. Uzhhorod: TOV “RIK-U”, 644 p. [in Ukrainian]

**Mishchany, V. V.** (2016). “Vyzvolennia”, “vozz’iednannia” i “radianizatsiia” Zakarpattia v 1944 – 1950 rr. [Transcarpathia “Liberation”, “Reunification” and “Sovietization” in 1944 – 1950]. *Literatura ta kultura Polissia*, (83), 66–81. [in Ukrainian]

**Pater, I. H.** (2015 – 2016). Ideolohichno-propahandystykyi nastup stalinskoho rezhymu na halychan (1944 – 1953) [The Stalin’s Regime Ideological and Propagandistic Offensive Against the Galicians (1944 – 1953)]. *Novitnia doba*, (3–4), 35–58. [in Ukrainian]

**Pro vydannia.** (1944). Pro vydannia Ukrainy RSR: Postanova RNK URSSR i TsK KP(b)U [The Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia Publication: Resolution issued by the SNC of the USSR and the Central Committee of the KP(b)U]. *Radianska Ukraina*, 224, 1. [in Ukrainian]

**Saifulina, Yu. V.** (2008). Radianizatsiia Pivnichnoi Bukovyny u 1940 – 1941 rr.: administratyvno-pravovyi aspekt [The Northern Bukovyna Sovietization in 1940 – 1941: The Administrative and Legal Aspect]. *Universytetski naukovy zapysky*, (4), 58–64. [in Ukrainian]

**Smolii, V. A.** (ed.) (1996). *Uleshchatakh totalitaryzmu: Pershe dvadtsiatyrychchia Instytutu istorii Ukrainy NAN Ukrainy (1936 – 1956 rr.) [In the Grip of Totalitarianism: The First Twentieth Anniversary of the Institute of History of Ukraine of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (1936 – 1956)]* (vol. 1.). Kyiv (w. p.), 247 p. [in Ukrainian]

**Sokhan, P.** (ed.). (2001). *Litopys UPA: Borotba proty UPA i natsionalistychnoho pidpillia: dyrektyvni dokumenty TsK Kompartii Ukrainy 1943 – 1959 : Dokumenty i materialy (v 30 t., T. 3) [The Ukrainian Insurgent Army Chronicle: The Struggle against the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the Nationalist Underground: the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine Directive Documents 1943 – 1959: Documents and Materials (in 30 vols., Vol. 3)]*. Kyiv–Toronto: Litopys UPA, 647 p. [in Ukrainian]

**Stalin, I. V.** (1943). *O Velikoy Otechestvennoy voyne Sovetskogo Soyuza [On Soviet Union’s Great Patriotic War]*. Moskva: Politicheskaya literature, 128 p. [in Russian]

**Scurtu, I., Mocanu, C. & Smârcea, D.** (1995). *Documente privind istoria României între anii 1918 – 1944*. Bucureşti, 732 p. [in Romanian]

**Troncotă, C. & Constantiniu, F.** (1997). *Mihail Moruzov și Serviciul Secret de Informații al Armatei Române*. Bucureşti: Editura INI, 530 p. [in Romanian]

**Udaltsov, A. D.** (1943). Nachalnyy period vostochnoslavianskogo etnogeneza [The East Slavic Ethnogenesis Initial Period]. *Istoricheskiy zhurnal*, 11–12, 70–79. [in Russian]

*Tsentrallyi derzhavnyi arkhiv hromadskykh ob’iednan Ukrainy (CSAPOU – The Central State Archives of Public Organizations of Ukraine)*

**Yusova, N. M.** (2004). Vozz’iednannia ukrainskykh zemel i aktualizatsiia problemy pokhodzhennia ukrainy narodnosti v radianskii istoriohrafii: 1939 – 1947 rr. (u svitli novykh arkhivnykh dzherel) [The Ukrainian Lands Reunification and the Ukrainian Nation Origin Issue Actualization in the Soviet Historiography: 1939 – 1947 (in the light of new archival sources)]. *Spetsialni istorychni dystsypliny: pytannia teorii ta metodyky*, 11, 174–208. [in Ukrainian]

*The article was received on December 12, 2019.  
Article recommended for publishing 26/08/2020.*