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## INFORMATIONAL SUBSTANTIATION OF WESTERN UKRAINIAN LANDS CONQUEST BY THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE IN 1914

*The article deals with the peculiarities of ideological and propaganda substantiation of the process of Eastern Galicia, Northern Bukovina, Zakarpattia by the Russian Empire at the initial stage of the First World War on the basis of source materials of Ukrainian governorates of South-West Kray (Kyiv, Volyn and Podillia). The main thematic areas of press publications, the content and specificity of appeals and brochures' informative filling are noted. It is examined that the imperial authorities began to actively ideological myths propaganda from the first days of the war about the process of the "collecting Rus' lands" ("zbyrannia zemel ruskykh"\*) and that the Galician population is a fraternal people who needs a long-awaited "liberation". The mass media used various techniques and mechanisms of information influence on the formation of public consciousness in order to overpersuade the society in the truthfulness of the aforementioned assertions and for the formation of a positive attitude towards the occupation of Western Ukrainian lands. The Orthodox clergy and the church mass media, which supported the official policy of the government and widely propagated the idea of the liberation of Eastern Galicia, Northern Bukovina and Zakarpattia population from Roman, Catholic oppression, played an important role in the ideological course of the imperial authorities.*

**Key words:** *informational substantiation, mass media, press, propaganda, Russian Empire, Western Ukrainian lands, The First World War, Kyivan Rus', Ruskyi.*

The war of the 1914–1918 was the first world collision not only in the military-political area, but also in information area. The warring sides began, immediately after the start of hostilities, to develop their own advocacy policy, which task was to substantiate the main geopolitical interests and to form positive attitudes among the population. The First World War became a period when the techniques of informational influence on the formation of public opinion began to be used massively.

In fact, the first person who revealed the role of the informational and psychological factor in the events of 1914–1918 was the well-known Harold Lasswell, a political scientist, professor at the University of Chicago and Yale, who can be called as the "father" of the propaganda theory. His work "Propaganda Technique in the World War"<sup>1</sup> published in 1927 has become a true classic in the field of mass communication. According to the researcher, the key role of propaganda in the conditions of war is determined by its great importance in the field of international relations. Neither government could hope to win the war

without the support of the united people and without the control of the public mood. Among the scholars who devoted their works to individual aspects of the Russian Empire's information policy during the War, it should be noted Jahn Hubertus<sup>2</sup>, Jonathan Daly<sup>3</sup>, Eric Lohr<sup>4</sup>, Aleksandr Astashov<sup>5</sup>, Elena Senyavskaya<sup>6</sup>,

<sup>2</sup> Jahn F. Hubertus. Patriotic Culture in Russia during World War I. Ithaca, N.Y. and London: Cornell University Press, 1995. P. 229.

<sup>3</sup> Jonathan D. Pressa i gosudarstvo v Rossii (1906–1917 gg.) [Repression and Freedom of the Press in Late Imperial Russia] // *Voprosy istorii*. 2001. №10. P. 25–45.

<sup>4</sup> Eric Lohr. The Russian Press and the "Internal Peace" at the Beginning of World War I. // *A Call to Arms: Propaganda, Public Opinion, and Newspapers in the Great War*, edited by Troy R. E. Paddock. Westport, Conn.: Praeger Publishers, 2004. P. 91–113.

<sup>5</sup> Astashov A. Russkii front v 1914 — nachale 1917 goda: voennyi opyt i sovremennost' [The Russian Front in 1914 — early 1917: Military Experience and Modernity]. Moscow: Novyi khronograf, 2014. P. 740.

<sup>6</sup> Seniavskaia Ye. Protivniki Rossii v voynakh XX veka: Evoliutsiia «obraza vraga» v soznanii armii i obschestva [Opponents of Russia in the Wars of the XX century: Evolution of the "Enemy Image" in the Minds of the Army and Society]. Moscow: «Rossiiskaia politicheskaia entsiklopediia», 2006. P. 288.

\* *Ruskykh, Ruskyi* — related to the medieval state of Kyivan Rus'.

<sup>1</sup> Lasswell Harold. *Tekhnika propagandy v mirovoi voine* [Propaganda Technique in the World War I], perevod s angliiskogo v obrabotke N. M. Potapova. Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatelstvo: otdel voiennoi literatury, 1929. P. 200.

Juliya Zherdeva<sup>7</sup>, Hanna Stepanenko<sup>8</sup> and Oleksandr Kyriienko<sup>9</sup>.

The work “Information and Psychological Support of the Russian Military Campaign in Galicia during the First World War” by the Ukrainian researcher L. Pytlova<sup>10</sup> is the actual work which describes the general features of the thematic direction of the press and the specific of the use of various information-psychological methods of manipulation in order to propagate the idea of historical pattern and the need of joining Galicia to the Russian Empire. The author also stressed the important role of the Orthodox Church in the formation of the positive public opinion and supporting of the Russian army’s spirit.

The mass media of that time were the source of the research. In particular, it was analyzed the “Kiev” newspaper, which had a conservative, nationalist character and “professed” the ideas of the Uvarov Triad: “Orthodoxy, autocracy, nationality”. The theme of joining the West Ukrainian lands into the Empire as “truly Russian” was one of the most relevant on the pages of this edition. In addition, the materials

<sup>7</sup> Zherdeva Yu. Illiustrirovannaia pressa kak istochnik formirovaniia obraza voyny v 1914–1918 gg. [The Illustrated Press as a Source of the Formation of the Image of War in 1914–1918]. // *Rossiiia i Pervaia mirovaia voina: ekonomicheskie problemy, obschestvennyie nastroiieniia, mezhdunarodnyie otnosheniia: sb. st., sost. S. M. Ishakov; red. Yu. A. Petrov.* Moscow, 2014, P. 155–176.

<sup>8</sup> Stepanenko H. Derzhavna sluzhba i pastyrskie sluzhinnia pravoslavnoho dukhivnytstva mist Pravoberezhnoi Ukrainy v roky Pershoi svitovoi viiny [Civil Service and Pastoral Ministry of the Orthodox Clergy of the Cities of Right-bank Ukraine during the First World War] // *Problemy istorii Ukrainy XIX — poch. XX st.* 2014. № 23. P. 247–254; *Iidem* Pravoslavne parafialne dukhovenstvo na ukrainskykh zemliakh Rosiiskoi imperii v roky Pershoi svitovoi viiny (1914–liutyi 1917 rr.) [Orthodox Parish Clergy on the Ukrainian Lands of the Russian Empire during the First World War (1914 — February 1917)] // *Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal.* 2004. № 5. P. 45–65.

<sup>9</sup> Kyriienko O. Viiskova tsenzura tylovykh hubernii Kyivskoho viiskovoho okruhu (1914–1917) [Military Censorship of the Rear Provinces of the Kyiv Military District (1914–1917)] // *Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zbirnyk.* 2010. № 13. P. 182–192; *Eadem* Diialnist orhaniv viiskovoi tsenzury 1914–1917 rr.: istoryko-pravovi aspekty [Activities of Authority of Military Censorship 1914–1917. Historical and Legal Aspects] // *Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zbirnyk.* 2009. №12. P. 160–166; *Eadem* Pryvatna korespondentsiia v poli zoru rosiiskoi viiskovoi tsenzury (1914–1917 rr.) [Private Correspondence in Sight of Russian Military Censorship (1914–1917)] // *Problemy istorii Ukrainy XIX — pochatku XX st.* 2009. № 16. P. 108–114.

<sup>10</sup> Pytlova L. Informatsiino-psykholohichne zabezpechennia rosiiskoi voiennoi kampanii v Halychyni pid chas Pershoi svitovoi viiny [Information and Psychological Support of the Russian Military Campaign in Galicia during the First World War] // *Voienna istoriia Halychyny ta Zakarpattia*, red.: V. V. Karpov, V. I. Horielov, I. V. Moroz (materialy Vseukrainskoi naukovo viiskovo-istorychnoi konferentsii, Lviv 15 kvitnia 2010 r.). Lviv, 2010. P. 153–158.

from the “Kievskaiia mysl” were used in the context of the research. It should be noted the “Podolia” newspaper among the Church periodicals of that time, which was published in Kamianets-Podilskyi, and a special magazine for the clergy, «Rukovodstvo dlia selskikh pastyrei», which was published in the Kyiv Theological Seminary. At the same time, it was analysed the propaganda printed production of the Carpathian-Ruthenian Liberation Committee. There were the «Mnogostradalnyi russkii narod Galitskoi zemli!» appeal and the «Sovremennaia Galichina. Etnograficheskoie i kulturno-politicheskoie sostoyanie yeie, v sviazi s natsionalno-obshchestvennym nastroiieniiami» brochure.

An important geopolitical task of the Russian Empire during the First World War was the conquest of Eastern Galicia, Zakarpattia and Bukovyna. This goal was conditioned by two main factors: firstly, it was the desire to expand its own territories far in Central and Eastern Europe, and secondly, the specified region was considered by the Petrograd government as the center of the Ukrainian national movement, and at the same time, as the «Mazepa’s separatism», which contradicted and, in fact, threatened for the imperial authority official policy on the territory of the Dnieper Ukraine. In this context, one of the conditions for the implementation of the task was conduction a successful ideological impact on the population. For this purpose, a special propaganda company was deployed in the media of that time, which justified the idea of the importance and historical pattern of the “entry” of Western Ukrainian lands into the Russian Empire.

The myth of the “reunion” of Little Rus with the Great was actively propagated from the very beginning of hostilities by the imperial authorities, and myth about Russia as the legal successor of Kyivan Rus, as well as the “great deal of collecting Rus’ lands”. It was argued in the appeal of Mykola Mykolaiiovych, Supreme Commander, to the population of Galicia on August 5, 1914: “Brothers! The judgment of Christ is happening... Let there be no more submissive Rus. The heritage of St. Vladimir, the land of Yaroslav Osmomysl and the princes of Danylo and Roman, throwing off the yoke, let the flag of the united, large, undivided Russia will flutter. Let the intention of God, which blessed the work of the great collectors of the Rus’ land, will be completed. Let the God help Mykola Olekandrovych, his anointed Emperor of all Russia, to complete the case of Grand Duke Ivan Kalyta. And you, the long-suffering fraternal Rus’, get up to the meeting with the Russian army”.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> God voyny s 19-go iulia 1914 g. po 19-oe iulia 1915 g. Vyisochayshie manifestyi. — Vozzvaniiia Verhovnogo Glavnokomanduiuschego. — Doneseniia: ot Shtaba Verkhovnogo Glavnokomanduiuschego, ot Shtaba Glavnokomanduiushchego kavkazskoi armiei, ot Morskogo Shtaba [The Year of the War from July, 19, 1914 to July,

There were materials of a comparative nature in the media, in which, with an ideological subtext, parallels were made between past and present events. For example, the story of the first contact of Russians with the Austrians near the Cossack graves in Berestechko was propagated in the "Kiev" newspaper, which was compared with the events of the Ukrainian national liberation movement led by B. Khmelnytskyi: "The Cossack battle under the Berestechko with the Poles turned out to be a key event that promoted the reunification of Little Rus with the Great Rus. You can see a good prediction in this. Let's serve the present battle of Berestechko as a key event for the reunification of Galician Rus with his mother, Russia".<sup>12</sup> Such stories had to establish in society the idea of a historically-logical need for the entry of, once Dnieper Ukraine, and now the Eastern Galicia into Russia.

The media actively propagated the thesis that the people of Eastern Galicia have been "living with the ideas of unity with Russia" so long<sup>13</sup>. There were published publications in the press, reflecting the positive assessment and approval of the actions of the Russian Army from of the population of Western Ukrainian lands. For example, an article «Nastroenie v Galitsii» was published in the newspaper "Kiev" on July 30, 1914. It was argued there on behalf of an unknown Galician-refugee: "You can't imagine how gladly the news of the declaration of war was met by the Galician people. We cried, hugged each other, kissed as on the day of the Holy Resurrection of Christ! We were glad not because we wanted this war, but we were triumphant, because the time has come when the Russian fate for us, giving us Austria, was corrected".<sup>14</sup>

It is clear that these theses had an uninformative character and were an ordinary hyperbole. It is known that a large part of the population of Eastern Galicia hosted to the new occupiers and did not show any enthusiasm by them. And further anti-Ukrainian actions of the local occupied administration only aggravated dissatisfaction and hostility towards it. The tendency of propaganda materials was growing with the Russian army occupation more and more Western Ukrainian territories and approaching to Lviv. In particular, newspapers massively noted: "The brilliant victory of Russian soldiers in Galicia brings about the expected time of the reunification of Red Rus with a common mother, Russia...".<sup>15</sup>

19, 1915], predislovie A. Oglina. Moscow: T-vo tipografii A. I. Mamontova, Izdanie D. Ya. Makovskogo, 1915. P. 11–12.

<sup>12</sup> Pervoe stolknovenie s avstriitsami [The First Encounter with the Austrians] // *Kiev*. July, 30, 1914. P. 2.

<sup>13</sup> Prikarpatskaia Rus [Prykarpathian Rus'] // *Kiev*. August, 10, 1914. P. 2.

<sup>14</sup> Nastroenie v Galitsii [Mood in Galicia] // *Kiev*. July, 30, 1914. P. 5.

<sup>15</sup> Vzyatie Lvova i Galicha [Capture of Lviv and Galich] // *Podoliia*. September, 3, 1914. P. 2.

"Chervien land... originally Rus' according to the ethnographic composition of its indigenous population, finally, after six centuries of incredible suffering, reunited with St. Russia..."<sup>16</sup> The context of such newspaper materials affirmed in the mass consciousness the thesis about the importance of completing the process of "reunification" of all territories of ancient Rus within the "single, indivisible, great" Russia, and was intended to awaken the readers' sense of enthusiasm, cheerfulness and pride for their own army and state which "brought peace and freedom" to the subdued Galician brothers.

In the context of information propaganda, the "substitution of terms" instrument was actively used by imperial authorities. It provided the replacement of objective concepts into words or phrases that had an ideological character and distorted the true nature of the phenomenon. In particular, instead of the legal term "annexation", the propaganda-patriotic clichés "collecting of lands" or "land joining" were actively used in the Russian historical and political vocabulary of that time: "The age-old hope has come true... The Russian flag proudly flutters on the ancient walls of the cities of the submissive Russia... The great task of Rus' lands collecting is completed".<sup>17</sup>

Another similar substitution of terms during the war was the distortion of the «Ruskii» word. For its designation there was used the term «Russkii» (with two letters [ss]) in the Russian language, which had a double meaning: "Russian" and «Ruskii» (related to the medieval state of Kyivan Rus'). This specificity of word-formation allowed the imperial authorities to easily manipulate the interpretation of terms. A striking example of this situation was the widespread statement in the press that allegedly the vast majority of the population of Galicia at that time were «Russkii», and therefore, these lands were truly «Russkimi», namely "Russian": "Long Polish domination and the century of Austrian oppression influenced the appearance of the city, it lost the character of the «Russkogo» city, however, in its history, this is the «Russkoie» city, as well as all Galician land".<sup>18</sup>

The word «Rusyn» ("Ruthenian") was also interpreted as "Russian", and Ukrainian as a special language of Russian.<sup>19</sup> These manipulations

<sup>16</sup> S-ko Zh. Vossoiedinennaia Galitsiia [Reunion Galicia] // *Kiev*. September, 9, 1914. P. 1.

<sup>17</sup> Galitskaia Rus [Galician Rus'] // *Kiev*. August, 29, 1914. P. 1.

<sup>18</sup> Vzyatie Lvova i Galicha [Capture of Lviv and Galich] // *Podoliia*. September, 3, 1914. P. 2.

<sup>19</sup> Pytliovana L. (2010). Informatsiino-psykholohichne zabezpechennia rosiiskoi voiennoi kompanii v Halychyni pid chas Pershoi svitovoi viiny [Information and Psychological Support Russian War Campaign in Galicia during World War I]. K., *Voienna istoriia Halychyny ta Zakarpattia: materialy Vseukrainskoi naukovoї viiskovo-istorychnoi konferentsii* (15 kvitnia 2000 r., m. Lviv, p. 155.

in terminology were intended to ensure the conviction of a common imperial nation and identity in the public opinion, and there with the inferiority of Ukrainians and their culture.

It should be noted that the Russian Orthodox Church (ROC) supported actively the idea of joining the Western Ukrainian lands into the empire. This situation was conditioned by the fact that East Galicia, Northern Bukovyna and Prykarpattia were viewed by the imperial authorities not only as areas of international political influence but also as an opportunity to expand the canonical territory of the ROC. Even before the war, Volyn Archbishop Antonii (Khrapovytskyi), at one of the meetings of the Galician-Russian Charity Society in St. Petersburg (GRCS), said in his speech: "We do not have the right to abandon our brothers..., but we must shout loudly to the whole world: 'Brothers-Galicians, we hear your groans, so you should prepare for the time of payback' ".<sup>20</sup>

Whereas the Greek Catholics kept the "Eastern Rite", the ROC justified the thesis that these were former Orthodox Christians, who, under certain historical circumstances, were forced to obey the Vatican, and the Eastern Galicia conquest was the time of their release. Such statements gave the war an ideological content, forming a distorted understanding of the true causes of the world conflict in the public consciousness of the population.

Church periodicals justified the imperial concept of "the liberation of fraternal peoples" by supporting the official course of government to participate in the war. P. Petrov, the author of the article «Zametki o tserkovno-obschestvennoi zhizni», interpreted the invasion of Russian army in Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna as the liberation of the Ukrainian population from the unfair Austrian and Roman oppression: "There is a full reason to hope that the Galician-Russian people will forever liberate from the Austrian bondage, the long-awaited opportunity to throw off the yoke of the imposed union with Rome has opened for them, and opportunity to return to its ancient Orthodox faith and merge with the native Russian people".<sup>21</sup> Such assessment by the church media of that events was aimed at asserting the conviction of a fair and liberating character of the war in the public opinion.

One of the important tasks of the Russian Empire during the war was the struggle with the Ukrainian national movement. Galician Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi was considered as a dangerous enemy for government. The main reason for the negative attitude of the Russian administration to the chairman of the Greek Catholic Church was his position regarding

the development of a national state. On the eve of the war, he signed the Memorandum on the future system of the Ukrainian state, in which the Metropolitan proposed the concept of Dnieper Ukraine separation from Russia and granting for it the national-political sovereignty with the preservation of economic and military control by the Austro-Hungarian. The third section of the document addressed issues of the church system in Ukraine. "This organization, — as emphasized in the document, — should work towards the same goal: to separate as far as possible the Ukrainian church from Russian".<sup>22</sup> Such ideas of Andrei Sheptytskyi were perceived by the tsarist officials as a danger factor for the integrity of the Russian Empire.

So, the Russian occupation authorities immediately imprisoned the Metropolitan after the capture of Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovina. The reason for the arrest of Andrei Sheptytskyi was his Sunday sermon on September 6, 1914 in the Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. A Russian gendarme officer, who was present at the worship, said in a report that the Metropolitan instructed those who were present there to pray for those who fought in the Austrian army against Russia. He said that Russian Orthodoxy "is far from the one that Greek Catholic Orthodox professes: their Orthodox is synodal and government-owned («kazionne»)". On September 19, 1914, Andrii Sheptytskyi was taken to Kyiv, and later to Russia, where he was detained in Novgorod, Kursk and Suzdal.<sup>23</sup>

The arrest of the Metropolitan had a significant resonance not only in the Russian Empire, but also in the world. The public demanded the explanations regarding the imprisonment of the spiritual father and the head of the church. The campaign was unleashed for falsifying the real reasons for the arrest of Andrei Sheptytskyi in order to justify the government actions in the mass media of that time. The press accused the Ukrainian metropolitan in anti-Orthodox and anti-Russian policy: "Uniate metropolitan Sheptytskyi, as a clever inspirer of that German-Magyar party, which planned to kill the ethnographic Galician people, hastened to do everything possible to eradicate the faith and national consciousness of this people... Sheptytskyi issued millions of proclamations to the people

<sup>22</sup> Ella Bystrytska Skhidna polityka Vatykanu v konteksti vidnosyn Sviatoho Prestolu z Rosiieiu ta SRSR (1878–1964 rr.): Monohrafiia [Eastern Policy of the Vatican in the Context of the Relations of the Holy See with Russia and the USSR (1878–1964): Monograph]. Ternopil: Pidruchnyky i posibnyky, 2009. P. 139.

<sup>23</sup> Mazur O. Tserkva i viina: antyuniina polityka rosiiskoho tsaryzmu v Halychyni (1914–1915 rr.) [Church and War: Anti-Union Policy of Russian Tsarism in Galicia (1914–1915)] // *Voienno istoriia Halychyny ta Zakarpattia*, red.: V. V. Karpov, V. I. Horielov, I. V. Moroz (materialy Vseukrainskoi naukovoii viiskovo-istorychnoi konferentsii, Lviv 15 kvitnia 2010 r. Lviv, 2010. P. 163.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid. P. 157.

<sup>21</sup> Petrov P. Zametki o tserkovno-obschestvennoi zhizni [Notes about Church and Public Life] // *Rukovodstvo dlia selskikh pastyrei*. 1914. № 41. P. 122.

by the Austrian money, urged them to irreconcilable hatred to Russia...”.<sup>24</sup>

Local newspapers turned the head of the Greek Catholic Church into the real “worst enemy”, who was engaged in the creation “a terrible atmosphere of religious violence and severe suffering for the slightest expression of sympathy for the Russian language and Orthodox faith” in Galicia<sup>25</sup>. By spreading such nonsense, the media tried to undermine the authority of the metropolitan among the society and present him as a Ukrainian chauvinist, whose actions are threatening to ‘unification’ of the Rus’ lands within the Russian Empire.

In addition to the press, important propaganda tools were appeals and brochures, which, unlike newspapers, had a non-periodic character and a narrow thematic focus. Some of the first, who contributed to their publishing, were emigrants-Moscowphiles from the Western Ukrainian lands, which at the time of military operations moved to the Russian Empire. On July 28 (August 10), 1914, S. A. Labenskyi, M. O. Sokhotskyi, M. F. Glushkevych and Yu. I. Sokalo, who had been in Odesa for some time, where they were in close relations with Professor P. Ye. Kazanskyi, the head of the Odesa branch of the GRCS, arrived on call in Kyiv. On July 29, 1914, they created the Carpathian-Ruthenian Liberation Committee (CRLC) here together with the head of the Kyiv branch of the GRCS Yu. A. Yavorskyi.<sup>26</sup> The organization operated exclusively in the direction of Russian nationalism and carried out the open chauvinistic policy towards Ukrainians.

On July 29, 1914, members of the CRLC promulgated a propaganda appeal «Mnogostradnyi russki narod Galitskoi zemli!» The document can be divided into three parts. The first talked about the suffering of Galicians under Austro-Hungarian domination: “Our Galician Rus was groaning in a foreign yoke for six hundred years! The long-suffering people of «Russkogo» Galicia were groaning in a fierce captivity for six hundred years! You, the unfortunate «Russkii» husbandman, hard-worked for six hundred years in the sweat of his forehead, not for himself and his children, but for those who were tied you in strong chains and kept in bondage...”.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>24</sup> S-ko Zh. Vossoiedinennaia Galitsiia [Reunion Galicia] // *Kiev*. September, 9, 1914. P. 1.

<sup>25</sup> Graf Sheptitskiy [Earl Sheptitskiy] // *Kiev*, September, 12, 1914. P. 1.

<sup>26</sup> Liubchenko V. Moskvofil'skiy faktor i rosiiska vlada naperedodni ta pid chas viiny [Moscowfilly's Factor and Russian Authorities on the eve and during the War] // *Velyka viina 1914–1918 rr. i Ukraina. U dvokh knykhak. Knyha 1. Istorychni narysy, uporiad. O. P. Reient*. Kyiv: TOV «Vydavnytstvo «KLIO», 2014. P. 129.

<sup>27</sup> Mnogostradnyi russkii narod Galitskoi zemli! [The Long-suffering Rus' People of the Galician Land!] // *Sovremennaya Galichina. Etnograficheskoe i kulturno-politicheskoe sostoianie yeio, v sviazi s natsionalno-*

The second part was emphasized on the allegedly liberation mission of the Russian army, which carries freedom and liberty: “By order of the Almighty, the glorious and invincible army of the Orthodox «Russkogo» tsar entered the Galician land, in order to bring the will and happiness to the unhappy people, in order to take them into a spacious and worthy house of ‘one indivisible «Russkoi» homeland’...”<sup>28</sup>

According to the third part, the appeal called on the people of Galicia to disarm and fraternize with the Russian army: “Throw out the weapons and give yourself to the Orthodox army, which will take you not as a prisoner of war, but as a native brother, who returns from captivity under the roof of his home. Throw out the weapons for that the brother’s blood from the hands of his brother did not flow during a great wave of liberation of Galician Rus”.<sup>29</sup>

In addition to the appeal, in the first month of the war, members of the CRLC actively participated in the preparation of a special informational propaganda brochure «Sovremennaia Galichina. Etnograficheskoe i kulturno-politicheskoe sostoianie yeio, v sviazi s natsionalno-obshchestvennym nastroienniami»,<sup>30</sup> which was intended for use by officers of the Southwest Front, as indicated by the corresponding stamp under which it appeared: “It is allowed. For get acquainted by the officers of the current army”. Another stamp reported that the that brochure was a note, concluded in July 1914 at the military censorial department of the Quartermaster General Department of the headquarters of the commander-in-chief of the Southwest Front armies and printed in the original printing house of the front headquarters. The brochure was printed in the first days of August with a circulation of 5,000 copies and was sent to all the military units of the South-Western Front.<sup>31</sup>

«Sovremennaia Galichina», contained several sections, the contents of which had a specific propaganda orientation. The first section “Nationalities in Galicia and Their Distribution” told about who «Russkie» are, which the population

*obshchestvennym nastroienniami*. Kiev: Pohodnaia tipografiia Shtaba Glavnokomanduiushchego Armiiami Yugo-Zapadnago fronta, 1914. P. 11–13.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid. P. 13–14.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid. P. 14.

<sup>30</sup> *Sovremennaia Galichina. Etnograficheskoe i kulturno-politicheskoe sostoianie yeio, v sviazi s natsionalno-obshchestvennymi nastroienniami* [Modern Galicia. Its Ethnographic, Cultural and Political Status, in Connection with the National-public Mood]. Kiev: Pokhodnaia tipografiia Shtaba Glavnokomanduiushchego Armiiami Yugo-Zapadnago fronta, 1914, P. 30.

<sup>31</sup> Liubchenko V. Moskvofil'skiy faktor i rosiiska vlada naperedodni ta pid chas viiny [Moscowfilly's Factor and Russian Authorities on the eve and during the War] // *Velyka viina 1914–1918 rr. i Ukraina. U dvokh knykhak. Knyha 1. Istorychni narysy, uporiad. O. P. Reient*. Kyiv: TOV «Vydavnytstvo «KLIO», 2014. P. 128–129.

falls into this category, and that they suffer from the cultural and political dominance of the Poles and from the economic domination of the Jews.<sup>32</sup> «Ukrainianophiles» are considered here as ideological supporters of the Austro-Hungarian policy, which by its activities threaten to the territorial integrity of the Russian Empire: “Ukraine can be torn away from Russia for joining Galicia with the help of the ‘Ukrainianophiles’ party.”<sup>33</sup> The second section of the brochure described “the functioning of the main Moscowphiles organ of the ‘People’s Council’, emphasized its significance, reflected the composition and organizational structure, presented a list of all members in 1914”.<sup>34</sup>

The third section was devoted to the activities of the Carpathian-Ruthenian Liberation Committee and told about the main goals and objectives of the organization. The brochure further contained a propaganda appeal entitled «Mnogostradalnyi russkii narod Galitskoi zemli!», in which the Russian army’s liberation mission was emphasized and the local population was urged not to resist.<sup>35</sup>

The last, fourth chapter, “The Mood in Galicia”, described the four main socio-political movements that existed on the territory of Western Ukrainian lands: «Russkaia», Ukrainian-Mazepa, Polish, and Jewish. The first of them was considered exclusively from the positive side, the last three were negative. The «Ukrainianophiles» movement and its leaders were presented as a hostile grouping, which, together with the Uniate clergy, instilled hatred to Russia and “schism” (Orthodoxy) with all possible means. In addition, it was indicated in this section how it is possible to distinguish «Russkogo» from «Ukrainianophile», and which printed editions, songs, societies and organizations are hostile, — it is about Mazepa movement.<sup>36</sup> As we see, the contents of the brochure were chauvinistic in nature and was aimed at forming anti-Ukrainian mood among soldiers of the South-Western Front. D. Doroshenko noted on this occasion: “This book was granted for every Russian officer who traveled to the Galician front, and it gave instructions on how to distinguish the supporters of ‘Mazepa movement’ from «Ruskikh». The book represented the Ukrainian movement as an insignificant, artificial intellectual intrigue, which Austria supported in its own interest, and which would dissipate as soon as the Ukrainian

periodicals would be closed and the Ukrainian leaders would be taken under the supervision...”.<sup>37</sup>

A significant amount of print materials of that time was devoted to appeals to society to take part in various charity events. The propaganda messages that called for assistance to the suffering population of Eastern Galicia had a prominent place among the press materials. A striking example of such a note is the treatment of the head of the Kyiv Slavic philanthropic society T. Florynskyi «Pomogite russkomu narodu v Prikarpatie!» dated on November 22, 1914 and published in the «Kievskaya mysl»: “Our native «Russkii» population in the Prykarpattia region, who suffered under foreign oppression for centuries..., gradually united with another, the only strong Russia. However, they enter as already quite exhausted, disfigured, ruined, impoverished population into the native roof of the «Russkogo» state... We need a quick and multilateral help to our «Russkim» brothers. A moral duty of all of us, «Russkikh» people, is to hurry with this help”.<sup>38</sup> It follows from the above-mentioned text that, in addition to charitable intentions, such appeals had a clear ideological propaganda character and affirmed the conviction that East Galicia, Northern Bukovina and the Prykarpattia region and their population were truly Russian.

As can be seen from the above, the problem of the conquest of Western Ukrainian lands became one of the key issues in the socio-political and informational discourse of the Russian Empire from the first days of the war. The crossing line of print media was the idea of “liberating the fraternal people”. Abstracts which were propagated everywhere include the intolerance of the Austrian oppression and the policy of terror on the territory of Eastern Galicia, and the desire of the local population to “reunite with the Great mother of Russia” and that the Greek Catholic Church was an artificially planted product of Rome which task was to eradicate Orthodoxy from the region. Along with that, chauvinistic propaganda became popular, which task was to discredit the Ukrainian national movement and its main ideological leaders. The Orthodox clergy had an important role in the information policy of the Russian Empire, which, despite the church-religious crisis, continued to use sufficient credit of trust of the population, supported the official ideological course of government and contributed to the formation a positive image of the occupation process of Eastern Galicia, Bukovina and Zakarpattia at the initial stage of the war.

<sup>32</sup> Sovremennaia Galichina. Etnograficheskoe i kulturno-politicheskoe sostoianie yeio, v sviazi s natsionalno-obshchestvennymi nastroienniami [Modern Galicia. Its Ethnographic, Cultural and Political Status, in Connection with the National-public Mood]. Kiev: Pokhodnaia tipografia Shtaba Glavnokomanduiushego Armiiami Yugo-Zapadnago fronta, 1914, P. 3–5.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid. P. 6.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid. P. 6–7.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid. P. 9–15.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid. P. 16–24.

<sup>37</sup> Doroshenko D. Moi spomyny pro nedavnie-mynule (1914–1920). V chotyriokh chastynakh: Halytska Ruina — Doba Tsentralnoi Rady — Doba Hetmanshchyny — Doba Dyrektorii [My Memories of the Recent Past (1914–1920). In Four Parts: the Galician Ruin — the Time of the Central Council — the Time of the Hetmanate — the Time of the Directory]. Miunkhen: Ukrainske vydavnytstvo, 1969. P. 5.

<sup>38</sup> Pomogite russkomu narodu v Prikarpatie! [Help the Russian People in the Prykarpattia Region!] // *Kievskaya mysl*. November, 22, 1914. P. 1.

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#### ІНФОРМАЦІЙНЕ ОБҐРУНТУВАННЯ

#### ЗАВОЮВАННЯ РОСІЙСЬКОЮ ІМПЕРІЄЮ ЗАХІДНОУКРАЇНСЬКИХ ЗЕМЕЛЬ У 1914 Р.

У статті на основі джерельних матеріалів Київської, Подільської та Волинської губерній розкрито особливості ідейно-пропагандистського обґрунтування процесу завоювання Російською імперією Східної Галичини, Північної Буковини та Закарпаття на початковому етапі Першої світової війни. Висвітлено основні тематичні напрями публікаційних повідомлень преси, зміст і специфіку інформативного наповнення відозв та брошур. З'ясовано, що з перших днів війни імперський уряд приступив до активної пропаганди ідеологічних міфів про процес «збирання земель руських», про те, що галицьке населення є братнім народом, який потребує

довгоочікуваного «визволення». З метою переконання суспільства у правдивості вищезазначених тверджень та формування позитивного ставлення до окупації західноукраїнських земель у засобах масової інформації застосовувалися різні прийоми та механізми інформаційного впливу на формування суспільної свідомості. Важливу роль в ідеологічному курсі імперського уряду відіграло православне духовенство та церковні ЗМІ, які підтримували офіційну політику уряду й широко пропагували ідею про необхідність визволення населення Східної Галичини, Буковини та Закарпаття від римського, католицького гніту.

**Ключові слова:** інформаційне обґрунтування, засоби масової інформації, преса, пропаганда, Російська імперія, західноукраїнські землі, Перша світова війна, Київська Русь, руський.

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