

ACTIVITY PETRO BUBELA'S AT THE FINAL STAGE OF THE STRUGGLE FOR UKRAINIAN STATEHOOD

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The purpose of this article is to reveal the activity of one of the leading Galician military figures, lawyer by education Petro Bubela (1889 – 1934?) at the final stage of his life. His work in the leading position of the Deputy State Secretary for Military Affairs of the Western Region of the Ukrainian People's Republic (ZOUNR), participation in the development of the armed forces – the Galician Army (GA), which was forced to resist the Polish armed aggression, is shown. The events of 1919 on the Polish-Ukrainian front are briefly analyzed – the Polish offensives and Ukrainian counteroffensives from January to March 1919, and a radical change in the situation on the front after the arrival of the well-trained and armed by the Entente Polish army under the command of General Józef Haller in Galicia. After retreating beyond the Zbruch River, the Galician soldiers found themselves in the territory controlled by the Army of the Ukrainian People's Republic. The functions of the "temporary capital" were then performed by Vinnytsia, whose military commandant was P. Bubela. In "big" Ukraine, Galicians had to resist the Russian ("white" and "red") occupants. P. Bubela's participation in the complex negotiation missions with the representatives of A. Denikin's "white" army (M. Bredov, M. Schilling) is covered. The study, based on the archival materials and memoirs, attempts to reproduce the course of events related to the "Odesa" period of P. Bubela's life and activity. Having left Vinnytsia as a result of the Bolshevik offensive, he found himself in Odesa. After its capture by the "Reds", he was forced to adapt to the difficult conditions of Soviet reality. In the early 1920s, P. Bubela was arrested by the Bolsheviks and taken to Kharkiv. After his release, he returned to Odesa and worked as a clerk in the Red Cross. During the Stalinist repressions of the 1930s, he was arrested again on March 23, 1931, and sentenced to three years in prison camps. The tragic fate of P. Bubela's family, whose members were also persecuted after the Soviet occupation of Galicia in 1939, is also briefly revealed. The struggle of Galicians for Ukrainian statehood in the early 20th century convincingly proves that Ukrainian people, like other European nations, are quite capable of state life. During this period, thousands of selfless fighters for the freedom of Ukraine reached national maturity. P. Bubela took an honorable place on this list. Ukrainian historians still owe a great deal to the creators and defenders of Ukrainian statehood in the early 20th century, to the generation of Galicians who had to live during the years of high national upsurge. Therefore, the activity and life of such prominent figures as P. Bubela requires further study and thorough research.

Keywords: P. Bubela, Galician Army, Entente, Denikinites, Bolsheviks, Odesa.

Problem Statement. In 1919, the further fate of preserving Ukrainian statehood was decided in the battlefields of the Polish-Ukrainian war, in the conditions of Russian armed aggression (in its "red" and "white" versions), and the intervention of the Entente countries. Therefore, one of the most important tasks for the

leadership of the state was the formation of a battle-worthy army capable of holding against enemy attacks and defending Ukrainian independence.

Research analysis. The memoirs of the direct participants in the events, such as I. Boberskyi, M. Holynskyi, M. Omelianovych-Pavlenko, M. Tarnavskyi,

were used to write the article.

This issue is partially reflected in the studies of V. Kucheruk, M. Lytvyn, V. Laba, Z. Malanchuk, A. Prokip, A. Filipenko, and others.

The purpose of the article is to reveal the activity of one of the leading Galician military figures Petro Bubela (1889 – 1934?) at the final stage of his life.

Presenting the main material. In early 1919, P. Bubela, as one of the most experienced Galician military specialists, who passed the difficult ordeals of the First World War, and later took a direct part in the preparation of Lystopadovyi Chyn (Prokip, 2019: 194), the creation of the West Ukrainian People's Republic (ZUNR), held the position of Deputy (Comrade) State Secretary for ZUNR Military Affairs, later (since January 1919) ZOUNR, the headquarters (Initial Command) of the GA and together with other employees of the military department was engaged in organizing the armed defense of the young state in the conditions of Polish aggression.

To finally destroy the West Ukrainian People's Republic, in January 1919, the main command of the Polish troops concentrated considerable forces on the Galician front, and on January 8, 1919, it launched a general offensive. The Galicians repulsed it, but the attacks of the Ukrainian troops on Polish-occupied Lviv on January 2 and 11, 1919, were just as unsuccessful. Analyzing the reasons for the failures of the Ukrainian military operations to capture Lviv, General Myron Tarnavskiy wrote: "Based on the information given to me by the Initial Command, the Polish army, at least twice as strong, stood against us. Besides, it was in a better situation than the besieging one. The Poles could move their units, for example, from Riasna to Sykhiv in two or three hours. It was different with us. Maneuvering the units was extremely difficult. It should be taken into account that all the roads went to Lviv centripetal... Therefore, the movement of artillery from one section to another faced insurmountable difficulties, and the movement of troops would take whole days of marching... To tell the truth, the offensive in our conditions was almost impossible because (remembering everything else) due to the lack of artillery, we could not have serious artillery training... Now we often hear: "Oh, Lviv could have been captured, only if..."... For the siege of Lviv, this mostly active enemy city, as shown in November, at least 10 thousand people were needed. The corps besieging Lviv numbered 9,000. The corps forces would barely suffice to besiege Lviv. And where is the front? And how to move west? The problems were not easy..." [Tarnavskiy, 2008, p. 100, 106, 107].

In February 1919, taking into account the experience of previous battles, the GA Initial Team developed a plan for a new offensive, which provided for the capture of the railway line on the section Horodok – Sudova Vyshnia and, thus, the full encirclement of Lviv. The operation was initially successful: on February 15, the Ukrainian troops liberated the villages of Dolyniany, Vovchukhy, and Bar from the Poles, and on February 20, they completely cut off the communications between Lviv and Przemyśl. However, the further development of the offensive was hampered by the mission of the Entente countries, which in the ultimate form demanded a cessation of hostilities, the conclusion of a Ukrainian-Polish armistice, and referring controversial issues to Paris Peace Conference.

The ceasefire lasted from February 25, but on March 2, 1919, the Ukrainian troops resumed the offensive. The Polish garrison in Lviv was threatened with capitulation. However, the Polish High Command, taking advantage of the negotiations, organized and transferred fresh forces, which on March 12 launched a successful counteroffensive and unblocked Lviv.

On March 22, 1919, in a joint appeal "To the Galician Army", the commander-in-chief of the GA General-Khorunzhyi M. Omelianovych-Pavlenko, the Chief of the General Staff, Colonel V. Kurmanovych, and Otaman P. Bubela, a representative of the State Secretariat for Military Affairs (SSMA), informed the Ukrainian soldiers of a temporary truce. In their address, in particular, it was stated that "the Initial Command of the Galician Army, in agreement with the Council of State Secretaries, decided to suspend weapons along the line defined by our current marks... The Entente ask the presidents for the signatures: Wilson (America), Lloyd George (England), Clemenceau (France), Orlando (Italy) to hold our operations at the same time as the Poles and solemnly condemn the sending of a new mission and an impartial investigation into the Ukrainian-Polish affair and request that a Ukrainian delegation be sent to Paris to negotiate with the Poles to end the bloody war between the two peoples" [Lviv Regional Scientific Library, № 1, p. 915].

The naive Ukrainian hopes for peace and decency of the Entente countries were finally dispelled by General Józef Haller's 80,000-strong army, formed in France and well-armed at the expense of the Entente, which arrived at the front in April 1919 and radically changed the balance of forces in favor of Poland. Its armament can be judged, for example, from the samples of weapons later transferred to the museums, in particular to King Jan III National Museum in Lviv (now Lviv Historical Museum, hereinafter LHM) – these are rifles, revolvers, helmets, etc. Thus, in the introductory inventory book of King Jan III National Museum "Dziennik nabytków muzeum narodowego im. króla Jana III" (Diary of the items of King Jan III National Museum) gives a description of the helmet under number 1552. It states that it is a French steel helmet used in the army of J. Haller (Dziennik nabytków Muzeum narodowego im. króla Jana III, 1939: №1552). The item is now stored in LHM (inv. No. 2756). The inventory of the leaflet states that the helmet was made in France in the early 20th century and it was in the service first of the French, later of the Polish army, in particular of the units of General J. Haller [ALHM, f. "Weapons", b. 7: №275].

An example of the Entente's "special concern" for the equipment of the Polish army is the museum collection of LHM, which consists of the French rifles of Lebel, Gras systems, manufactured at the military plants in Saint-Etienne, Chatellerault, and others [Prokip, Mykhalskiy, 2020, p. 155].

Already on April 19–20, 1919, the Polish invaders went on the offensive near Lviv, and in the second half of May 1919, a general retreat of the GA began. The situation of the ZOUNR was complicated by the interference of Romania with the internal affairs, whose troops captured the Galician Pokuttia.

On May 20, 1919, P. Bubela addressed the Ukrainian army with the following order: "Order. Soldiers of the Ukrainian army. We bring you the important information.

On May 20, the preparatory committee of the world conference in Paris proposed a contribution to the independence of the state with Drohobych and Lviv. This contribution of the preparatory committee will be recognized through the main board of the four conference leaders. The Poles want to seize as much of our land as possible to demand from the world conference everything they would manage to steal. Soldiers of the Ukrainian army. Now some waves will solve your seven-month struggle. Around you are your fields, your meadows, your lands. And at home, everyone's heart beats with pain. They look with sorrow at your great battles. The Lyakhs want to capture your fields, take away all your property, and enslave the Ukrainian people. To prevent this, withstand the enemy pressure. Withstand like masonry, withstand like hard and unbreakable steel. Gather all your strength to defeat our mortal, eternal enemy. All at once to battle, to victory. Comrade State Secretary for Military Affairs, Otaman Bubela [Prokip, 2017, p. 63].

However, the Ukrainian state was not destined to withstand an unequal struggle with a cruel enemy. Having lost Galicia, the ZOUNR government and the GA moved beyond the Zbruch River to the territory controlled by the UPR Directory.

In August 1919, a part of the units of the GA together with the Active Army of the Ukrainian People's Republic began a joint campaign against Kyiv, which failed. On August 31, 1919, the Ukrainian capital was lost and occupied by the Russian Volunteer Army of General A. Denikin.

To negotiate with Denikin's General M. Bredov, the Galicians organized a special commission headed by Otaman P. Bubela. The participant of the events General M. Tarnavskiy wrote the following: "The Initial Team as such sent a Galician delegation to the Denikinites (Otaman Bubela, Sotnyk Paliiv, Sotnyk Bemko) with an order: to unite the common garrison in Kyiv, divide the booty, and release the Ukrainian Galician prisoners who still were in the Volunteer Army. The delegation's efforts were unsuccessful: the conditions of General Bredov were unachievable [Tarnavskiy, 2008, p. 131].

General M. Omelianovych-Pavlenko, describing the same event, recalled: "At the same time, the commission headed by Otaman Bubela received powers identical to ours, but only signed by the Chief of the Galician Army Initial Team. But the result of its actions was negative because the people of Bredov were only interested in recognizing the slogan of the Volunteer Army "United Indivisible Russia". [Omelyanovich-Pavlenko].

After the loss of Kyiv, the GA Initial Team was located in the "temporary capital" of the Ukrainian People's Republic Vinnytsia. P. Bubela took over the duties of the military commandant of the city. Mykhailo Holynskiy, a good acquaintance of P. Bubela's since the time of his studies at one-year military school at Lviv 30th Infantry Regiment of the 9th Infantry Division of the Austro-Hungarian Army, later a famous opera and chamber singer, performed the duties of his adjutant [Holynskiy, 2006, p. 85]. By the way, 59% of the soldiers of this regiment were Ukrainians [Belinska, 2020, p. 18].

In Vinnytsia, on October 28, 1919, a meeting was held at which the commander of the GA General M. Tarnavskiy reported to the leadership of the country on the catastrophic

state of the army. On November 1, 1919, he sent a delegation headed by Otaman O. Lysniak for negotiations with Denikin's General Ya. Slashchov to conclude a truce. In the "Memoirs" of General M. Tarnavskiy's we read the following: "Otaman Lysniak went to Haisyn, where the commandant of Denikin's group, General Slashchov was staying. He had the task of starting negotiations for now. Not to raise the enemy's suspicion that some secret intention was lurking behind the mission's arrival, I ordered Otaman Lysniak to first initiate the case of the exchange of prisoners and not killing of our captured officers and riflemen by Denikinites. As for the agreement, I asked him to interpret the case in such a way as not to convince the Denikinites that we are in a hopeless situation and that we are very dependent on the truce." [Tarnavskiy, 2008, p. 135].

On November 6, 1919, General M. Tarnavskiy, behind the back of the Chief Otaman of the Ukrainian People's Republic S. Petliura, agreed with the Denikinites. Explaining the logic of his actions, he said: "I did not inform Petliura about my talks for the following reasons: firstly, I continued to consider myself the commander of the UGA, under the agreement with Petrushevych, not being subject to any higher authority, except for dictator Petrushevych, so I could do everything that seemed appropriate to me. Secondly, I was well aware of Petliura's longstanding ties with the Poles. There was no doubt that Petliura would use all his strength to persuade us to join the Polish side. And this is exactly what neither I nor our entire army wanted." [Tarnavskiy, 2008, p. 136].

When S. Petliura learned of the "arbitrary" from his point of view actions of the GA command, he made the ultimate demand to arrest and bring General M. Tarnavskiy, Colonel A. Shamanek, and Otaman O. Lysniak to a military tribunal.

P. Bubela, a lawyer by education, was a member of the military tribunal. He participated in the court hearings. Thus, from the archival documents of the "court case accusing UGA General Myron Tarnavskiy, Colonel Alfred Shamanek and Otaman Omelian Lysniak of disobeying the order of the Chief Otaman's staff" we learn that P. Bubela, as a member of the court, in particular, took part in interrogating O. Lysniak. In the court materials, as of November 13, 1919, we read the following: "A member of the court, Otaman Bubela: Did Otaman Lysniak inform Mr. Dictator that the mission had been sent? Witness: I was told by Otaman Lysniak that he had informed Mr. Dictator" [CSAUL, f. 581, descrip. 1, f. 149: sh. 6].

In the end, the court acquitted General M. Tarnavskiy, although it removed him from command of the army. The new commander of the GA General O. Mykytka continued negotiations with the Denikinites. P. Bubela was also a member of the official Galician delegation sent to Denikin's headquarters. As a result of the negotiations between the GA command and Denikin's General M. Schilling, the GA sided with the Volunteer army [Lytvyn, 1998, p. 149].

In the rear of Odesa, where the units of the GA exhausted by the typhus epidemic arrived to restore combat readiness, the so-called united settlement of the GA, whose commandant was Otaman Vasyl Orobko began to function. The GA united settlement was located in the barracks in Marazliivska Street. Three shelters were organized in

Kanatna Street (commander – Sotnyk M. Kohut), in Chornomorska Street, and Marazliivska Street. There were also two military hospitals of the GA. [Filipenko].

As an experienced soldier, P. Bubela was aware of the complexity of the situation in which the Galicians found themselves in late 1919. From the memoirs of I. Boberskyi, we learn that P. Bubela in the summer of 1919 foresaw the possibility of his departure abroad in case of a negative situation on the front. I. Boberskyi, recalling his conversation with V. Pachovskyi, in particular, wrote the following: “Bubela has a passport to Romania, and moved in front of Holynskiyi, his supporter, for some reason. This infuriated Holynskiyi, Bubela leaves with his wife. Bubela wanted a clear order from Kulytskyi with seals without a text.” [Boberskyi, 2003, p. 243].

During the offensive operation of the Russian-Bolshevik troops of the southwestern front under the command of O. Yehorov on February 7–8, 1920, Odesa fell into the hands of Bolsheviks. After the capture of the city, the head of Odesa National Committee S. Redens ordered the arrest and imprisonment of 640 patients from Odesa hospitals, including 200 officers of the GA [Lytvyn, 1995, p. 298].

The commander of the 1st Brigade of the GA, which at the time was fighting on the side of Bolsheviks, Osep Bukshovanyi, claimed that in late April 1920 P. Bubela arrested by Odesa ARNC.

After his release, P. Bubela returned to Odesa, where he worked as a government official in the Red Cross. M. Holynskiyi provided the information about the “Odesa period” of his life. He, in particular, recalled how, having concluded contracts for theatrical performances in Soviet Ukraine and arriving in Odesa in 1926, he “found” the Bubela family there: “Exactly a few days after we arrived in Odesa, we were visited at the hotel by Petro Bubela, his dear wife and their son. Bubela was then an official of the Red Cross.” [Holynskiyi, 2006, p. 293]. M. Holynskiyi further noted that the military experiences left very clear traces on P. Bubela and his wife: “They were old, emaciated, and a half gray. Petro still had a gleam in his dark eyes, and in her blue eyes that glow faded. The son was very badly fed, not like his father or mother, but like his grandparents, with bright Semitic features. His mother was of Jewish descent, her relatives had a small hotel in Krakivska Street in Lviv, and she was raised in Vienna, had a German education, and was more like a German than a Jew.” [Holynskiyi, 2006, p. 294].

In the “Memoirs” M. Holynskiyi told the story of P. Bubela’s about the events that took place in early 1920: “We spent several evenings telling each other what we had experienced during our separation in Vinnytsia in 1920. I wanted to cry all the time during our conversation. The son was born in a railway car on a train when the train was fired upon and the whole bullets were blown up. At the time of that frantic shootout, the Bubelas were lying on the floor of the car; she suddenly felt the pains of childbirth. During great pain, torment, without any help, not only medical but also an ordinary midwife, without warm water, without diapers, their son was born. When she was telling her story, they both cried, and I helped them much.” [Holynskiyi, 2006, p. 294]. In the family archive of Nadiia Bubela-Myketyuk’s, there are photos of P. Bubela and his son Yevhen, taken, apparently, in 1926? in Odesa photo studio

of A. Voronin’s. This is evidenced by a stamp with the name of the photographer A. Voronin on the back of the photo [Private archive of Nadiia Bubela-Myketyuk’s]. In the publication of E. Krasnova’s and A. Drozdovskyi’s “What did the passe-partout tell about”, it is stated: “The photographer A. Voronin ruled alone in the area of Slobidka.” [Krasnova, Drozdovskyi]. In Odesa, P. Bubela and his family (wife Malvina, son Yevhen, mother-in-law Leja) lived in Yuzna, 10 Street. [Private archive of Nadiia Bubela-Myketyuk’s].

In 1927 M. Holynskiyi received a congratulatory telegram from Odesa from P. Bubela and P. Biloskurskiy with the following words: “The best further successes to the best friend. Two Petros” [Holynskiyi, 2006, p. 338].

During the Stalinist repressions of the 1930s, P. Bubela was arrested again (on March 23, 1931), sentenced to three years in prison camps and shot in 1934? This version is followed, in particular, by such researchers as Z. Malanchuk [Malanchuk, 2004, p. 27] and V. Kucheruk [(Kucheruk, 2010, p. 61].

P. Bubela’s relatives did not escape the bad fate in Galicia. One of P. Bubela’s brothers, the Sich rifleman Volodymyr Bubela (b. 1894), along with 330 other prisoners in jail 4 “Bryhidka”, was killed by Soviet repressive authorities on June 28, 1941, during the mass shootings in Lviv prisons. His name, among the names of hundreds of other innocent people killed, is found on the plaque erected on the building of the former prison in Zamarstynivska Street. V. Bubela’s wife Pavlina was taken to Kemerovo in 1947. V. Bubela’s children, in particular Nadiia Bubela-Myketyuk, for the help to the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, was sentenced to 10 years in prison and exiled, first to Yakutia and later to Kazakhstan, and her brother Mstyslav Bubela was exiled to Yakutia. Yaroslav Bubela was also persecuted by the MGB-KGB, and N. Bubela-Myketyuk’s sister Iryna was killed in 1946 [ACLMS, f. 11. Collection of documents of Lviv Organization of the Ukrainian Historical and Educational Society “Memorial”. Questionnaire of the repressed Nadiia Myketyuk’s. 1927 b.: sh. 4]. Another brother, Semen Bubela, was also murdered by the Soviets.

To perpetuate the memory of P. Bubela’s in 2005 the monument was unveiled in the village of Lysynychi. The initiator of honoring the prominent countryman was a resident of Lysynychi, a former political prisoner of the Soviet concentration camps, a teacher at I. Trush Lviv College of Decorative and Applied Arts, Taras Drahan (a grandson of Anna Bubela’s, Petra’s sister). The monument was erected at the expense of the village community as a diploma project of the same college graduate Nazar Pylypiak [Palazh]. Its construction was timed to the 115th anniversary of the birth of P. Bubela’s.

The monument has a plaque with the following inscription: “Petro Bubela. 1889 – 1920. Organizer and leader of Lystopadovyi Chyn in 1918, Otaman of the UGA, member of the Military Committee, Deputy State Secretary for Military Affairs of the Western Ukrainian People’s Republic. Shot by Bolsheviks in Odesa. Erected in 2005.”

Conclusions. Thus, the struggle of Galicians for Ukrainian statehood in the early 20th century convincingly proves that Ukrainian people, like other European nations, are quite capable of state life.

During this period, thousands of selfless fighters for the

freedom of Ukraine reached national maturity. P. Bubela took an honorable place on this list. Ukrainian historians still owe a great deal to the creators and defenders of Ukrainian statehood in the early 20th century, to the

generation of Galicians who had to live during the years of high national upsurge. Therefore, the activity and life of such prominent figures as P. Bubela, require further study and thorough research.

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ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ ПЕТРА БУБЕЛИ НА ЗАВЕРШАЛЬНОМУ ЕТАПІ БОРОТЬБИ ЗА УКРАЇНСЬКУ ДЕРЖАВНІСТЬ

У статті висвітлено діяльність одного з чільних галицьких військових діячів Петра Бубели (1889 – 1934?) на завершальному етапі його життєвого шляху. Показано його працю на керівній посаді заступника державного секретаря військових справ Західної області Української Народної Республіки (ЗОУНР), участь у розбудові збройних сил — Галицької Армії (ГА), яка змушена була протистояти збройній польській агресії. Коротко проаналізовано події 1919 р. на польсько-українському фронті – польські наступи та українські контрнаступи упродовж січня-березня 1919 р. й кардинальну зміну ситуації на фронті після прибуття до Галичини добре навченої та озброєної Антантою польської армії під командуванням генерала Ю. Галлера. Після відступу за р. Збруч, галицькі вояки опинилися на території контрольованій Армією УНР. Функції «тимчасової столиці» тоді виконувала Вінниця, військовим комендантом якої став П. Бубела. На «великій» Україні галичанам довелося протистояти російським («білим» і «червоним») окупантам. Висвітлено участь П. Бубели у складних переговорних місіях з представниками «білої» армії А. Денікіна (М. Бредовим, М. Шиллінгом). У дослідженні на основі архівних матеріалів, мемуарів здійснено спробу відтворення перебігу подій, пов’язаних з «одеським» періодом життя та діяльності П. Бубели. Залишивши Вінницю в результаті більшовицького наступу, він опинився в Одесі. Після її захоплення «червоними», був змушений пристосовуватися до складних умов радянської дійсності. На початку 1920 р. П. Бубелу більшовики заарештували і вивезли до Харкова. Після звільнення повернувся до Одеси, працював урядником у структурі Червоного Хреста. Під час сталінських репресій, 1931 р. його знову заарештували та розстріляли у 1934 р.(?) Коротко також розкрито трагічну долю родини П. Бубели, члени якої після радянської окупації Галичини 1939 р. теж зазнали переслідувань.

Ключові слова: П. Бубела, Галицька Армія, Антанта, денікінці, більшовики, Одеса.