The article analyzes the problems of development of sugar modernization of Ukraine in the conditions of Soviet industrialization. Based on the work, a wide range of both published works and new and in-depth researched documents of the Union bodies and the State Archives of Vinnitsa region, the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory (Kiev) and the Polish Institute of National Memory (Warsaw). Thanks to them, the focus is on little-known events and facts. It is revealed that among the repressed victims of the "Polish operation" of the NKVD the overwhelming majority were Poles, but there were also representatives of other nationalities, including Ukrainians. The truth and decency of the management and specialists of the regional sugar trust and factories have been documented. Historical memory calls for the continued deepening of the known and the search for the new fate of the repressed sugar workers of Podillya. It is important to emphasize that such legally unfounded and unproven indictments and rulings ended with transfers to extrajudicial authorities relatively quickly (in 2-3 months). The sentence was one - the execution with confiscation of property. By the way, not later than the second day of its implementation.

Based on the above, it follows that the "Polish operation" in the sugar industry of Ukraine on the example of Vinnitsa testified promptness of the NKVD bodies in the agreement of J. Stalin, who on the basis of his personal nature wanted to avenge the unsuccessful campaign and the crushing defeat of the Red Army with the slogan "!" in 1920 near Warsaw. It seems that the researchers still have a lot to find out, to tell about the terrible consequences of Stalinist totalitarianism in Ukraine. Historical memory awaits the discovery of little-known names of citizens of republics of different nationalities, the perpetuation of their patriotic actions. Historians, lawyers, political scientists, specialists in other specialties are still heavily indebted to the victims of disenfranchisement, and local authorities and self-government bodies should think about preserving the memory of these names in the names of new streets, avenues, squares.

**Keywords:** industrialization, sugar mill, NKVD, historical memory.

One of the main conditions for the stable provision of food to the population in the 1930s was the development of the sugar industry. In the economic plans of great importance was given to the traditional in the field Podillya. There was a system of cultivation of raw materials and processing, there were specialists and managers, permanent staff. At the end of the second five-year period, this system proved to be effective and efficient. But the Bolshevik-Soviet leadership in the face of officially proclaimed widespread democracy decided to quickly "cleanse" society of the remains of "pests." For this purpose, special operations were carried out by the NKVD of the USSR under the so-called “National trait”. One of the first and most brutal casualties was the "Polish operation". The millstones of Stalin's repression fell on the honest workers and especially the leadership of the sugar industry in Vinnitsa region only because they were Poles. Their names lack historical memory.

The purpose of the article is to take an in-depth look at the underestimated role and place of Poles by origin, citizens of the USSR, as specialists in the development of the sugar industry in Vinnitsa region. The fate of them under conditions of totalitarianism suffered long-term oblivion. The task of the research is to show the little-known names of the leaders of the leading branch of the Podolsk region, which gives it relevance.

Analysis of research and publications. The question of the role of the Poles, traditionally known in the sugar industry, their place and fate in the modernization of industry in the 1930s, has increasingly attracted the attention of scientists. Among them are A. Davidyuk [5], V. Petrenko [8], A. Bezugly and N. Gushinets [1]. A generalized look at the actions of the Bolshevik authorities is contained in the new publications "Poland is an Essay on History", prepared by the Institute of National Memory in Warsaw [11], "100 Years of Neighborhood Ukraine - Poland" by the Ukrainian Institute of
The dynamics of transformations is evidenced by the from decline in the early 1920's to a powerful change. This contributed to the consolidation of Ukraine as well. A number of preferential measures united the factories of "former landowners of sugar beet from the Vinnytsia (1920), principles and measures were laid to preserve the territorial Sugar Trust system (see Table 3).

The Moscow Sugar Trust united the factories of Ukraine as well. A number of preferential measures [4.1, p. 2]. This contributed to the consolidation of workers and the management of the industry, its exit from decline in the early 1920's to a powerful change. The dynamics of transformations is evidenced by the table. 1.

The plan for the first five-year plan is to build 11 new plants in the republic. However, over time, it turned out that agriculture would not be able to provide such a capacity with raw materials, so there was a reduction to three new buildings [3, p. 372].

As a result of the measures taken, the area under sugar beet in Vinnytsia region began to decline since 1934. However, due to better cultivation of arable land, crops with good precursors and timely care increased. Most importantly, sugar production increased (see Table 2).

The main and main production site of the sugar industry were factories whose labor teams processed beets from farms and collective farms. Their engagement helped endure the terrible human casualties caused by the Holodomor and reach the end of the second five-year plan. The results of the leading factories in 1937 testify to the characteristic changes in the Vinnytsia Regional Sugar Trust system (see Table 3).

Most of the trust's factories, including the newly built Glyvanivsky plant, have been successful. With the adoption of the "most democratic in the world" Constitution of the USSR in 1936 (by official estimation), the communist leadership, in preparation for the elections of the authorities, wanted to get rid of all the unreliable ones. Among those taken into account by the NKVD of the USSR under the special decision of the Political Bureau of the ruling party on "political color" among the repressed in 1937-1938, the first place was arrested for the so-called. "National lines". They amounted to almost 93.8 thousand people.

### Table 1

| Manufacturing season | Plants | Manufacturing sugars (in quintals) |
|----------------------|--------|-----------------------------------|
| 1921–1922 pp.        | 43     | 118 083                           |
| 1924–1925 pp.        | 43     | 722 690                           |
| 1928–1929 pp.        | 44     | 2 802 879                         |

The main and main production site of the sugar industry were factories whose labor teams processed beets from farms and collective farms. Their engagement helped endure the terrible human casualties caused by the Holodomor and reach the end of the second five-year plan. The results of the leading factories in 1937 testify to the characteristic changes in the Vinnytsia Regional Sugar Trust system (see Table 3).

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### Table 2

| Years      | 1932 p. | 1934 p. | 1937 p. |
|------------|---------|---------|---------|
| Centners   | 2 072 718 | 5 226 526 | 5 500 000 |

### Table 3

| Factory     | Beet accepted (in.) | Quantity of production of white sugar (in.) |
|-------------|----------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| Babinsky    | 937 375              | 114 709                                    |
| Bershechadsky| 861 459              | 112 928                                    |
| Gaysinsky   | 1 418 198            | 131 368                                    |

Among the 15 in the first place in the number of attracted was the "Polish line". It is about the NKVD Order of the USSR Union "On the Arrest and Liquidation of Local Organizations of 'Polish Intelligence' and 'Air Defense' # 00485 of August 1, 1937" [6, p. 225–226]. Unlike the first nationally-based "German operation" conducted under the shortened scenario, "Polish" was painted as a guide for the Chekists. Therefore, it is not surprising that almost every second of the attracted more than 54 thousand people was a Pole [7, p. 38]. According to a summary of my class teacher Z. Arefyeva, after my research on her older brother and finding out why he was “Lithuanian” for the NKVD during his arrest, and after a few months he became a “Pole”: “Since the summer of 1937, the Pole is only the enemy. " This was the zealous execution of the order of Yezhov.

Alfred Ludwikowke Franke, born in 1880, a native of the village of Ruda-Poviansky county in Lodz, Poland, was among the first to suffer from the Stalinist repression of Podillia. As evidenced by archival investigative case 32806 Vinnytsia Regional Department of the NKVD, son of a sugar factory, with good professional education and extensive experience, was arrested on July 11, 1937. He worked as a deputy chief engineer, head of the department of capital construction of the Vinnytsia Regional Tsun. In the style of "action" of the valiant armed party of the ruling party, as modern researchers understand, already in the second protocol of the interrogation it was fixed about the desire of AL Franke to "disarm before the conscience" and to give the desired "testimony" [4.3, p. 13].

For the investigation, it was the most colorful figure - a Polish German, from a family of exploiters, fits in "German", but better, according to the intent of investigators, in the "Polish line". Not surprisingly, the arrest was based on espionage and sabotage in favor of Polish intelligence, but later issued in favor of "German and Polish intelligence through special tasks at the Polish Consulate in Kiev".

At the request of the investigation, he told about the mythical spy-sabotage organization in the system of regional sugar trust to conduct "pest" on the task of spy,
engineer of "Golovspirt" in Moscow, Ya. B. Slobudsky. Later, under the conditions of AL Franke's rehabilitation, at the request of the Vinnitsa OUNKV to the Central Archive of the NKVD of the USSR, information about "spy JB Slobudski" or cooperation with Polish intelligence was not found.

However, according to the "recognition" of the deputy chief engineer of the sugar mill, the names of the chief engineers of the Babinsky, Hnivansky, Yaltushkovsky factories were named (MF Karpinsky, VY Kurkovsky, AY Stransky). The Chekists added to the list the employees of the sugar trust: chief mechanic BS Elperin, deputy design firm GM Stankевич, engineers of the construction department VA Vyshinsky, VB Elske, VI Rodionov [4.3, p. 35]. A week later, according to AL Franke's "testimony," Chief Engineer of Sitkovetsky Sugar Mill, KM Napalsky, was arrested in 1881. In the family of the director of a sugar factory in the Warsaw Voivodeship, a Pole, higher education (Lviv Polytechnic, Institute of Sugar Processing in Varemlyje, Belgium). He went the way of a sugar engineer from a chemical analyst, executive director, chief engineer, to the director of the parent plant [4.4, p. 43].

Later, at the insistence of the investigation, it was necessary to point out to Alfred Leopoldovich the creation of a separate spy-sabotage group of seven souls at the Gnivansky Sugar Mill under the leadership of V. Y. Kurkovsky to fulfill the tasks of the Polish and German Consulates in Kyiv [4.5, Ark. 69].

If we analyze essentially only the names of the heads of different units in the regional trust system, all of them have proven themselves to be well-known specialists, able organizers of production. AL Franke himself had 27 years of experience in the sugar industry upon graduation. He started working as an engineer in the Uman department of agricultural machinery. For 13 years he held the position of Vice-Director of Stepansivsky Sugar Mill. It draws attention to the fact that none of the archival investigative cases examined included at least any specific spyware or sabotage, not to mention cases. Thus, in the final accusation of AL Franke under the article of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR 54-7,1a, 9,11 only - it is established that in the system of Vinnitsia regional sugar trust "anti-Soviet organization" was discovered and liquidated, this is the first. And secondly, and most importantly, the activity of the "organization" was directed by "Polish intelligence" to destroy the sugar industry of the USSR, to prepare the Polish counter-revolutionary elements for an active fight against Soviet power, to engage in espionage in favor of Poland [4.3, p. 191].

It is important to emphasize that such legally unfounded and unproven indictments and rulings ended with transfers to extrajudicial authorities relatively quickly (in 2-3 months). The sentence was one - the execution with confiscation of property. By the way, not later than the second day of its implementation.

Conclusions and suggestions. Based on the above, it follows that the "Polish operation" in the sugar industry of Ukraine on the example of Vinnitsa testified promptness of the NKVD bodies in the agreement of J. Stalin, who on the basis of his personal nature wanted to avenge the unsuccessful campaign and the crushing defeat of the Red Army with the slogan "1! " in 1920 near Warsaw. This could not have caused anything other than a great detriment to the leading sector of economic development of the USSR and Podil'ya as an integral part of Ukraine. Most importantly, thousands of the country's best workers and engineering workers and their families have been affected. And the answers to the queries of wives and children reproached by the direct leaders of the Union and the republic were one. Most convincingly, this hell was borne by his wife, AL Franke. Before 1940, that is, 2 years later, she made correspondence with various high-ranking authorities, including the "most just leader and teacher", asking for a review of her husband's case. From the answers she learned that Alfred Leopoldovich had been "sentenced to 10 years without correspondence". To all her attempts, Anna Yakovna received one answer: "This is known to the accused and you do not need to know" [4.3, p. 195, 202]. Hundreds of thousands of wives, parents, and children were present in this "oppressive unknown" such as this music teacher, until the Khrushchev Thaw period, and some to the new wave of rehabilitation in the late 1980s.

It seems that the researchers still have a lot to find out, to tell about the terrible consequences of Stalinist totalitarianism in Ukraine. Historical memory awaits the discovery of little-known names of citizens of republics of different nationalities, the perpetuation of their patriotic actions. Historians, lawyers, political scientists, specialists in other specialties are still heavily indebted to the victims of disenfranchisement, and local authorities and self-government bodies should think about preserving the memory of these names in the names of new streets, avenues, squares.

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Бут О.М. Роль поліков у розвитку цукрової про-
мисловості Поділля та їх доля в умовах наказа НКВС Сумою РСР
У статті проаналізовано проблеми розвитку цукро-
вої модернізації України в умовах радянської інду-
стриалізації. На основі роботи, широкого кола як опублікованих праць, так і нових і глибоко досліджених
документів органів Сумою та Державного архіву Він-
ницької області, Українського інституту національної
пам’яті (Київ) та Польського інституту національної
пам’яті (Варшава). Видання їм увага зосереджуються
на нових подіях та фактах, що виявило, що серйо-
репресованих жертв “польської оперативі” НКВС переважно
живі плити складали позиції, але були засуджено на
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...
рованих жертв "польської операції" НКВД подавала
що большість становили поляки, але були та представи- 
тельи інших національностей, у тому числі українці.
Правда і порядочність відомства і спеціалістів регіонального сахарного треста та заводів були задоку- 
ментовані. Історична пам'ять призиває до даль- 
нішньому узагальнення ізумного і пошук нової судби 
репресованих сахарных рабочих Подолья. Важно 
зазначити, що такі юридично необоснованні 
і недоказані обвинувачення закриті 
і прийшли коротко (через 2-3 місяці) 
передачей во внесудебні органи. Приговор був один 
- 
казь щадами і конфискація. Ксати, не поздніше 
другого дня його реалізації.

Исходя из вышеизложенного, следует, что «польс- 
ская операция» в сахарной промышленности України на 
примере Винницы свидетельствовала о готовности орга- 
нов НКВД в соглашении И. Сталина, который на основа- 
нии своего личного характера хотел отомстить за Не- 
удачная кампания и сокрушительное поражение Красной 
Армии с лозунгом «!» в 1920 году под Варшавой.

Похоже, исследователям еще многое предстоит 
выяснить, рассказывать о страшных последствиях сталин- 
ского тоталітаризма в Україні. Історична пам'ять 
ожидает открытия малоизвестных імен граждан респу- 
бликих разных національностей, умовчування їх пат- 
ріотичних дійствій. Історики, юристы, політологи, 
спеціалісти по іншим спеціальностям по-прежній з в 
большої ступені обявили жертвам лишень багато 
чоловіків, а похили і органы местного самоуправления 
должны подумать о том, чтобы сохра- 
нять память об этих именах в названиях новых улиц, 
проспектов, площадей.

**Ключевые слова:** индустриализация, сахарный за- 
вод, НКВД, историческая память.

Бут Олександр Микитович – д.и.н. (07.00.01. – історія 
України); професор кафедри історії України 
Донецького національного університету імені Василя 
Стуса (м. Вінниця, Україна).

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