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<p>ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES</p> <p>OCOW-6075, 16 January 1967</p> <p>Attached herewith is a self-explanatory memo from SMABOVE concerning Ivan Vasylovych KOLASKA <i>[Handwritten initials]</i>.</p> <p><u>Transmittal of brief on educational system in the Ukraine, USSR</u> <i>[Handwritten initials]</i></p> <p>Attachment: a/s h/w</p> <p>Distribution: <i>2</i> - SB (w/att) <i>3</i> - ED (w/o att)</p> <div data-bbox="976 1075 1312 1317" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; transform: rotate(-5deg); text-align: center;"> MICROFILMED FEB 17 1967 DOC. MICRO. SECT. </div>			
CROSS REFERENCE TO <i>RATS H/W</i>	DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER OCOA-11523	DATE <i>74-124-29/3</i> 10 February 1967	
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John KOLASKY, after his return from Kiev, prepared a brief on the Russification process of the educational system in the Ukraine. This brief became available to us without KOLASKY's knowledge for a period of time sufficient for us to make a copy. We have attached a copy in the event that it may be of some interest to your organization.

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25 January 1967.

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EDUCATION
in
SOVIET UKRAINE

A
STUDY
in
DISCRIMINATION
and
RUSSIFICATION

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Preface

Although I was born in Canada, Ukraine, the land of my parents, always held a strong fascination for me. Wide reading of Soviet publications had convinced me that it was a free republic in a voluntary union with unimpeded opportunities for full development of its language, culture and customs. In 1963 came an opportunity sought for many years: a chance to study in Ukraine. September found me in Kiev where I was to remain for two years.

It was not long before various aspects of life in Ukraine began to trouble me, especially the fact that everywhere the Russian language was dominant. The party propaganda, that this was a natural process initiated by the Ukrainian people themselves, proved unconvincing. Experience contradicted the official explanation; everywhere in Kiev there was evidence of pressure to impose the Russian language. Painfully and slowly came the realization that what I had supported as a paragon of justice was, in reality, the worst type of national oppression. The impact of the truth was disturbing and depressing to the point of illness.

Then gradually, like the warming rays of a bright new day, slowly but inexorably pushing through the darkness of despair, began to grow an awareness of a deep and widespread opposition to enforced Russification. I resolved to make a thorough study of the phenomenon, and began to collect all evidence I could find of Russification and the opposition to it. Most of my free time was spent in libraries sifting through any materials that could throw light on the subject and reveal new data.

Toward the end of the term the authorities became suspicious of my dedicated devotion to academic pursuits. Possession of notes on the national question was apparently deemed a threat to the security of the Soviet state. However, the bulk of what I had amassed was already in Canada.

On arrival home, I discussed the problem with close friends fully convinced that it would be possible to make representations to the authorities in the USSR to at least stop, if not reverse, the trend. Then in late autumn came a great shock: I received reliable information, that after my departure, there began mass detentions and interrogations in Kiev of Ukrainians who opposed Russification. This was followed by the arrival

in the spring of this year of new published material, not available outside the USSR, of further centralization of control by Russians over Ukrainian schools. I began to move toward a decision to embark on a public discussion of the problem. Since the field is large and my profession is that of teacher, I am raising the issue in the field of education.

Some of the published material used here is available in libraries on this continent; some published material is not available outside the USSR; some has never been published. For obvious reasons it would be unwise to reveal how and where I obtained the latter. Let me assure the reader that it is authentic. Other information here used and not supported by documentary evidence had been corroborated in every instance.

J. Kolasky.
Toronto, Ontario.
October, 1966.

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I Lenin and the National Question

In addition to the economic and political grievances in the Russian Empire at the beginning of the 20th century there existed the deep-rooted and smouldering problem associated with the existence in the empire of a myriad variety of large and small non-Russian nations. The basic cause of the discontent among these peoples was the denial of their national rights, the suppression of their native tongue and the imposition on them of the Russian language. Marxists in the empire fully recognized the importance of this problem and devoted much of their attention to it. As early as the second congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (1) in 1903 they outlined in their program a draft of a constitution which would guarantee

The right of the population to be provided education
in its native language... (2)

At the party conference in 1913 the position on the national question was elaborated and restated. The resolution of the gathering declared in favour of

... full equality of rights for all nations and languages, with the absence of a compulsory state language (in this case Russian J.K.) and guaranteeing the population schools with instruction in all the local languages and the inclusion in the constitution of a fundamental law, which would proclaim as illegal any privileges whatsoever to any nation and any breach of the rights of the national minorities. (3)

Returning to the problem again on the eve of the Bolshevik revolution, the April Conference of the party adopted a resolution on the national question in which it voiced its support for

... wide local autonomy, abolition of control from above and abolition of a compulsory state language... (4)

The inspiration behind the program and resolutions of the party was N.I. Lenin, the son of a Russian school inspector. He grew up with a strong sensitivity to injustice and became involved in Marxist groups while at university. Endowed with great intelligence and a keen analytical mind, he soon emerged as a leading figure in Marxist circles.

This great erudition, personal contact with European civilization and a thorough understanding of the weaknesses and shortcomings of the Tsarist regime made him fully aware of Russia's great possibilities, which, he was convinced, could only be achieved through the application of the theories of Marx to produce a socialist society based on abolition of exploitation and equality of rights, for all citizens. Among the latter were to be included equality of national rights.

He carried on several polemics defending the rights of the national minorities with the ardour characteristic of a religious zealot. The central idea in his theses was the right of each nation in the Russian Empire to self-determination. He enunciated this most clearly in his article "Ukraine", written in June, 1917. In it he said:

Cursed Tsarism made Russians persecutors of the Ukrainian people, in every way fostered in them hatred for those who denied even the children to speak and study in their native language. Revolutionary democracy in Russia, if it wishes to be really revolutionary, really democratic, should break with this past, should regain for itself, for the workers and peasants of Russia, the fraternal faith of the workers and peasants of Ukraine, among them the right to free separation. (5)

On the question of national languages he was as clear, as emphatic and as explicit. In his article, Critical Notes on the National Question, he stated that

He is not a Marxist, he is not even a democrat, who does not recognize and does not defend the equality of rights of nations and languages. (6)

He held up as an example Switzerland, where there were

... three state languages, but draft laws for referendums are printed in five languages. (7)

After the Bolsheviks took power, the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets, which had become the organ of state power, meeting November 7-8, 1917, declared in favour of the principle of national self-determination. (8) On November 17, Lenin, as chairman of the Council of Peoples' Commissars, issued the Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia in which he declared that the policy of the Soviet government on the national question was based on:

1. Equality and Sovereignty of the Peoples of Russia.
2. The Right of the Peoples of Russia to Free Self-Determination to the Point of Separation and Formation of an Independent Government.
.....
1. Free Development of the National Minorities and Ethnographic Groups Inhabiting the Territory of Russia. (9)

National feelings among non-Russian peoples ran high in the revolutionary period. There sprang up several national movements for independence. After the triumph of the Bolsheviks, the non-Russians in the Communist Party took up the fight for implementation of the program on the national question. Many Russians had regarded the resolutions and declarations as mere propoganda devices for obtaining support in the struggle for power. Now that the party was in power, they regarded the national question as being solved. Lenin criticized most sharply such points of view. At the VIII congress of the party in March, 1919 he said of such people:

We have in the Commissariat of Education... Communists who say: 'One school, therefore do not dare to teach in any other language except Russian.' In my opinion such a Communist is a Great Russian chauvinist. (10)

In December 2-4, of the same year the VIII All Russian Conference of the party adopted a resolution: Regarding Soviet Policy in Ukraine, composed by Lenin and ratified by the plenum of the CC in November. It outlined clearly the party position on the language question and instructed its members as follows:

In view of the fact that Ukrainian culture (language, schools, etc.) over a period of centuries was suppressed by Tsarism and the exploiting classes of Russia, the CC of the RCP makes it a duty of all members to assist with all means the elimination of all impediments to the free development of the Ukrainian language and culture... Members of the RCP on the territory of Ukraine should enforce in fact the right of the toiling masses to study and converse in all Soviet institutions in their native tongue, counteracting in every way attempts to push aside by all artificial means the Ukrainian language, and transforming it, on the other hand, into a tool of Communist education of the toiling masses. (11)

This was followed on December 5-9, by the Seventh All Russian Congress of Soviets. On its resolution: Concerning the Oppressed Nations, the congress voiced support for "full abolition of all privileges for any national group whatsoever." (12)

In March, 1921 the national question was again discussed at the X Congress of the party. Stalin, then Peoples' Commissar of Nationalities, delivered the main report; it was met by sharp and severe criticism from delegates of the national republics. Among these were two Ukrainians: V.P.Zatonsky, who spoke bitterly of the Russian "colonizing element" in Ukraine with its belief in "one indivisible" Russia and pointed out that the national question was not solved by mere slogans, (13) and M.O.Skrypyk, who stated that in Stalin's report the national question "had not been resolved in the least." (14)

Although Lenin, who had delivered the main political report, did not participate (his health was failing), the resolutions committee, guided by previous decisions and declarations of the party, adopted a document, which was designed as a step in the practical solution of the national problem. In sharp, unequivocal terms it condemned the previous practice of the old regime as follows:

The policy of Tsarism, the policy of landlords and the bourgeoisie in relation to these people (non-Russians J.K.) was to kill among them the beginning of statehood, maim their culture, restrict their language, keep them in ignorance and finally, as far as possible, Russify them. (15)

and emphasized that the duties of the party were to help the non-Russian nations

... to develop and strengthen their own operative courts, administration, organs of economy and government in their native language, and made up of local people, who know the customs and psychology of the local inhabitants; to develop their own press, schools, theatre, clubs and general cultural and educational institutions in the native language; to set up and develop a wide network of schools and courses of education both general and professional-technical in the native language... (16)

In the following year it became evident that there was need of agreement, outlining the permanent relationship between the several Soviet republics. In August the Organizational Bureau of the CC of the RCP set up a committee headed by Stalin to prepare a report.

The latter drew up a project on the basis of which the national republics would give up their status as republics and join the RSFSR as autonomous regions. Lenin, although seriously ill, took a deep interest in the problem, subjected the project to severe criticism and proposed instead that the states form a union of Soviet republics. He stressed particularly the principle of equality in the following words:

We acknowledge ourselves as an equal of the UkrSSR and others; together with them and as equals we are forming a new union, a new federation.... (17)

On December 30, 1922 the First Congress of Soviets met in Moscow with delegates from the Russian, Ukrainian, Belorussian and Trans-Caucasian Federated Republics (the latter included Georgia, Azerbarzhan and Armenia) and announced the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics which was, according to the declaration of the congress

.... a voluntary union of equal nations with equal rights
.... each republic is guaranteed the right to free withdrawal from the Union.... (18)

This right of secession was reaffirmed by both the first constitution of the USSR of 1924 (article 4) and the second constitution of 1936 (article 17).

Among the areas of government assigned to jurisdiction of the all-union government were foreign affairs, army and navy, foreign trade, means of communications, post and telegraph and finance. Lenin seemed to have grave doubts about the advisability of the giving the central government control of so many ministries. On December 31, 1922 the day following the formation of the USSR, being too ill to write, he dictated several lengthy notes which were later made available to the leaders of the republican delegations to the XII congress of the party. In one of these he advised that

... it is necessary to introduce the strictest rules regarding the use of the national languages in the national republics which are part of our union, and to check these rules very assiduously. There is no doubt that under the pretext of a single railway service, a single fiscal administration etc. with our present apparatus there will appear very many abuses of a purely Russian character... Here will be necessary a detailed code, which can be compiled at all successfully only by the nationals living in the given republic. Besides this, we should under no circumstances preclude in advance against the possibility

that, as a result of all such work, we retreat at the following congress of Soviets, that is, leave to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics only the fields of diplomacy and army, and in all other areas renew full independence of the individual national commissariats. (19)

The XII congress of the party was held in April, 1923; Lenin was unable to attend due to illness; Stalin appeared in the capacity of general secretary, to which post he had been elected at the plenum of the CC in April, 1922, following the XI congress of the party. There were sharp and bitter recriminations that the resolutions on the national question were not carried out, especially from the delegates of Ukraine-Kh.H. Rahovsky chairman of the Council of Peoples Commissars and M.O. Skrypnyk.

They had good reason to be bitter. Although the old regime had been overthrown and old property relationships were being rapidly and forcefully altered, the old psychology remained. Russians viewed themselves as a great nation with an advanced culture and a great language (20), the imposition of which, on the more backward peoples of the empire, was a step in the interest of civilization. Added to this was the arrogance of the Russian officials born of arbitrary power and undisputed control. The new Soviet Russian officials, in addition, were bursting with confidence as a result of the victory of their party over all internal opposition and external intervention and glowing with pride at being the representatives of "the most revolutionary proletariat", the Russian proletariat.

Under the pressure of non-Russian delegates, the congress, in a resolution on the national question, condemned the psychology and the assertions of members of the Russian minorities in the national republics concerning the

... superiority of the Russian culture and the advancing of the thesis about the inevitability of the victory of the higher Russian culture over the more backward peoples (Ukrainian, Azerbaidzhan, Uzbek, Kirghiz, etc.) as nothing more than an attempt to consolidate the domination of the Russian nationality. (21)

It further expressed regret that

... a significant section of Soviet officials in the centre and locally regarded the union of republics not as a coalition of equal state entities set up to guarantee the free development of national republics, but as a step in the liquidation of those republics... (22)

The congress recommended to the members of the party that

... organs in the national republics and regions be made up, for the most part of local people, who knew the language, conditions of life and manners and customs of the people concerned; special laws be passed, which would guarantee the use of the native tongue in all state organs and departments which serve the local national population and the national minorities - laws, which persecute and punish with revolutionary severity all violators of national rights and especially rights of national minorities (23)

The truth of the matter is that Lenin, and through him the Soviet government and the Communist party, made their position on the national and language question quite clear; the USSR was to be a union of equal states with the right of each republic to withdraw if it so chose; there was to be equality of all languages with no compulsory state language; each national culture was to develop freely; education, from elementary to higher, was to be conducted in the native language.

II From Stalin to Khrushchov on the National Question in Ukraine

Fear of being absorbed by Poland forced Ukraine into a union with Russia in 1654. The Pereyaslav Agreement, negotiated by the cossack leader Bohdan Khmelnitsky, guaranteed the more culturally-advanced Ukraine, the national and political rights of an autonomous nation within Russia. Over the two intervening centuries these rights had been forcefully whittled away till Ukraine became an integral part of the Russian empire, subject to Russian laws, administered by Russian officials in the Russian language.

The towns and the developing industrial enterprises were completely Russianized by the continuous influx of Russians. Native culture could not develop fully under the heavy hand of the censor, and Ukrainian was not even recognized as a language. In 1863 P.O. Valuev, the Minister of Internal Affairs, who is famous for his statement that: "There was not; there is not; there can never be such a thing as the Ukrainian language", issued a circular which forbade the printing of Ukrainian books for schools. Nominally, literary works were allowed, but censorship was so restrictive that few were actually published.

National restrictions and harsh economic conditions fostered discontent and the development of the revolutionary movement in Ukraine. It took two paths: there were branches of the RSDLP, supported mainly by Russian urban workers, and Ukrainian parties whose support ranged from peasants in the villages to Ukrainian workers and intelligentsia in the cities. The former emphasized the economic injustice and regarded Ukraine as an integral part of Russia; the latter placed the main emphasis on the national problem, advocating a socialist federation of all nations comprising the Russian empire, on the basis of equality and local autonomy. With the overthrow of the Tsar in March 1917, the latter helped organize the Central Rada, which advocated autonomy and then in 1918 proclaimed Ukraine independent.

The members of the RSDLP in Ukraine held a congress in Moscow in July 1918, and formed the Communist Party of Ukraine, as a component and integral part of the RCP.

The name alone indicates the line of thinking of the founders on the national question: the parent body was the Russian Communist Party; the new organization was named the Communist Party of Ukraine. The majority of the delegates and the members of the CC were not Ukrainian and the central organ was in Russian. In the ensuing war, the CPU, supported by armies from Russia established Soviet power in Ukraine.

In the 20's some of the more radical members of the Ukrainian revolutionary parties, that had supported the Central Rada, joined the CPU. There were also recruits from among Ukrainians who immigrated from Western Ukraine (part that remained under Poland) and from the native Ukrainian population. Together with the old guard Ukrainian Communists, such as Petrovsky, Chubar, Zatonsky and Skrypnyk, the Ukrainians became a formidable force in the party. On the basis of the decisions of the congresses of the RCP, the proclamations of the government of the USSR and the teachings of Lenin they began, with the ardent support of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, the task of Ukrainianization of the party and government apparatus and, above all, the education of Ukraine.

However, the majority of the members in the party in Ukraine remained predominantly Russian till the late 1920's. They and the Russianized non-Ukrainians held many top posts in the party and the government. The attitude of these elements to Ukrainianization ranged from opposition to outright hostility. They buttressed their position with "the theory of the struggle of two cultures", according to which, of the two in Ukraine, the backward Ukrainian culture of the peasantry and the more advanced Russian culture of the city proletariat, the latter would inevitably conquer.

This theory was subjected to severe criticism at the VII Conference of the CPU, April 4-10, 1923. (1) Immediately after the XIII Congress of the RCP, the plenum of the CC of the CPU, on June 22, 1923, issued a decree which provided for intensification of Ukrainianization of the state, party and trade union apparatuses. (2)

This was followed by another decree of the Council of Peoples Commissars of Ukraine, July 27, of the same year whose purpose was to provide

... the Ukrainian people with education in the native language... (3)

It instructed the ministry of education to take

... wide measures for the training of new pedagogical personell, who would be fluent in the Ukrainian language, in order to guarantee both the elementary and higher schools with Ukrainian instructors.
... steps to train in the scientific research institutes new staffs of professors who would know perfectly the Ukrainian language. (4)

The minister of education was O. Ya. Shumsky, a former member of a Ukrainian revolutionary party, who joined the CPU in 1920. He held various posts: member of the CC of the CPU, chief of its Agitation and Propaganda Department and editor of Novy Shlyakh (New Pathway), a monthly literary journal. Shumsky advocated rapid and total Ukrainianization of all aspects of life and opposed the directing of non-Ukrainians to fill government and party positions. He came into conflict with Lazar Kaganovich, the general secretary of the CPU, whom he wanted replaced by V. Ya. Chubar, a Ukrainian who had joined the Bolshevik party in 1907. Kaganovich, supported by Stalin and the central party apparatus began a campaign of villification against him and Shumsky was forced to resign, in March, 1927, after which he disappeared from the political scene. (5)

In his place was appointed M.O. Skrypnyk, no less a supporter of the Ukrainianization policy, but a man of greater influence and prestige and considerably more tact. The son of a railroad worker, he became interested in the revolutionary movement while studying in Kharkiv. He joined the RSDLP in 1897 and from then on dedicated his life to the party and the revolutionary movement. He was arrested fifteen times, sentenced to a total of thirty-four years imprisonment, exiled seven times and, on one occasion, sentenced to death. In 1917 Skrypnyk was present at the meeting of the CC which decided on the Bolshevik uprising and served as a member of the committee that prepared it. Shortly after he was directed, on Lenin's suggestion, to Ukraine as the representative of the CC of the party.

Following the civil war in which he actively participated, Skrypnyk held at various times in Ukraine the posts of secretary of Workers'-Peasants' Inspection, Attorney-General, Peoples' Commissar of Internal Affairs, Justice, Education, vice-chairman of the Council of Peoples' Commissars and Chairman of the State Planning Commission.

He was a member of the CC of the CPU, the CC of the RCP, and the Executive Committee of the Communist International, six times delegate to its congresses and leader of the Ukrainian delegation. In the inner party struggles he supported Stalin against the opposition. Among the honours bestowed on him were the Order of the Red Banner and the Order of the Red Banner of Labour.

From his prolific pen flowed many works on art, literature, culture, history of the party and the national question. In recognition of his contribution in the cultural field, he was made a member of the Communist Academy of the USSR, and Academician of the Academy of Sciences of the UkrSSR and the Belorussian SSR. There was no doubt that Skrypnyk was the most talented and outstanding Ukrainian in the CPU.

He proceeded quietly, methodically and thoroughly to carry through his policies. On July 3, 1927, the CC of the party in Ukraine issued a decree on the work of the Kharkiv University. The clause on Ukrainianization of staff and students is a characteristic description of the procedure followed in higher educational institutions. It reads as follows:

To hasten the tempo of Ukrainianization of the university. In the first year courses to leave instruction in Russian in only one group. Russian groups, which, according to plan, are being left in the second and third year courses, should during the year master completely the Ukrainian language and in 1928-29 change over fully to the Ukrainian language. 1928-29 is the deadline for the Ukrainianization of the lectorial staff... (6)

On July 6, there was a major breakthrough in the drive to put into practice Lenin's maxims on the national question. The All - Ukrainian Central Executive Committee and the Council of Peoples' Commissars issued the decree Concerning the Guaranteeing of Equal Rights of Languages and the Assistivity of the Development of Ukrainian Culture. It provided for instruction in elementary and vocational schools and higher educational institutions in the native languages of the students and the teaching of both Ukrainian and Russian languages in all schools. This meant that for all significant minorities - Jewish, German, Bulgarian, Belorussian, Moldavian and Greek, there would be instruction in their native tongue. The remaining schools would be in Ukrainian. This was a blow to the hegemony of the Russian language. Of special significance for education were the following articles:

35. To the post of professor or lecturer in the higher educational institutions, it is permissible to appoint only individuals who can lecture in the Ukrainian language.
38. Enrolling in post-graduate studies of individuals who do not know the Ukrainian language to the extent required by the Peoples' Commissariat of Education of the UkrSSR is not permissible. (7)

The process of Ukrainianization of education among the 7,000,000 Ukrainians in the RSFSR had also been proceeding for several years, but at an abnormally slow pace. There were many demands for schools in the native tongue for Ukrainian children in this area. Skrypnyk had placed the question most sharply at the XII Congress of the RCP in 1923. (8) In October, 1927, the Peoples' Commissar of Education, A.V. Lunacharsky, issued a circular, in which he pointed out that there were only 236 such schools and outlined plans for the intensification of the process of introduction of education in the native tongue to Ukrainian children in the RSFSR. (9) As a result many Ukrainian schools sprang up in various areas of the RSFSR where Ukrainians lived. In the Kuban area in the Northern Caucasus where lived over two million Ukrainians, who were descendants of Cossacks settled there two centuries ago, Ukrainianization took deep roots. Ukrainian became the language of party and Soviet institutions. In Krasnodar there was a Ukrainian pedagogical institute and in Stanitsa Poltavska a pedagogical technicum (normal school), which trained Ukrainian teachers for the schools in Kuban.

The application of Skrypnyk's policy in Ukraine seemed to be going well; on November 1, he was able to report to the X Congress of the CPU the following breakdown in % for language of instruction:

Schools	Ukrainian	Russian
General education	79.1	7.1*
Vocational	51.9	27.6
Technicums	54.	16.7
Institutes	28.5	45.8 (10)

* Instruction in the remaining was probably either mixed, or in the languages of other significant minorities in Ukraine.

This was remarkable progress and the future seemed promising indeed. The policy of the government of Ukraine however, had been subjected to sharp attacks by the leadership of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine on the grounds that Ukrainianization was protracted and incomplete and by Russian chauvinistic elements for its zealous pursuit

of Ukrainization. The CPU appealed to the Communist International. The latter body replied that

The Executive Committee of the Communist International fully commends the policy of the CC of the CPU... (11)

This approval of the highest Communist authority gave further impetus to the Ukrainization drive. In May, 1929, the XI All - Ukrainian Congress of Soviets fully approved the policy being carried out regarding the national question, recommended that the government intensify this work and noted the following % achievements in Ukrainization of education:

Schools	Ukrainian	Russian
General education	81.	7.1*
Vocational	55.1	11.3
Technicums	54.	16.7
Institutes	30.	18.9 (12)

* In the case of the first three categories above, the remaining schools were in the language of national minorities; in the case of the institutes, the rest were either mixed or in the languages of national minorities.

This was the high water mark of Ukrainization; by this time, Ukrainian, as the official language, was well established, but this fact was never accepted by the Russian minority. Many are the stories told of their attitude of open contempt and hostility. Some regarded Ukrainian as a mere dialect, some as an invention of the Germans. One Russian official when spoken to in Ukrainian replied:

"Do not speak to me in that non-human tongue."

Another, when addressed in Ukrainian, retorted:

"Speak to me in a comprehensible language."

Officials who chafed under the regulation that provided for dismissal of those who failed to learn the Ukrainian language often related the following dialogue between two officials:

"Is Ukrainian a language or a dialect?"

"Neither, It is an excuse to dismiss a person from his position."

The author had an interesting but unpleasant experience that illustrates the Russian contempt for the period of Ukrainization. In a government department in Kiev I addressed a totally strange official, who later turned out to be a Russian, as so

many officials in Ukraine are. My request was made politely in Ukrainian; he replied gruffly in Russian. I then rebuked him very sharply for replying in Russian to a request made in Ukrainian in Kiev, the capital city of Ukraine. He replied just as sharply:

"This is not the period of Skrypnyk."

By the end of the 1920's black clouds were already gathering on the Ukrainian horizon. Stalin had overcome all opposition and emerged as undisputed master in the CC. Although undeniably a man of outstanding ability, singleness of purpose and steadfastness to a cause, he had been hardened to the point of callousness and brutality by Tsarist persecution, arrests and exiles. His devotion to the socialist cause gradually became overshadowed by personal ambition and thirst for power and fame, which were nourished by a deep sense of inferiority engendered by the hardships and grinding poverty of childhood. Eventually he imagined himself as the very embodiment of the great cause of socialism and viewed an attack on his person as an attack on the ideal. Each new victorious encounter with an opponent made him more arbitrary and domineering; each new success increased his confidence and nourished his arrogance. Finally he emerged as the infallible prophet marshalling his forces to usher in a new world order.

He had exhibited a deep interest in the national problem and his writings brought him recognition as the foremost Marxist authority on the subject. In November, 1917, he was elected Peoples' Commissar of Nationalities. Stalin always appeared to be in the forefront of the fight for national rights without, at the same time, antagonizing and alienating the Russian nationalistic and chauvinistic elements. In 1922 he was elected general secretary of the party, in which post he began quietly, carefully and methodically to appoint to positions in the servile lackeys and henchmen, who would do his bidding, while at the same time, carefully weeding out and discrediting men he could not dominate, men of personal initiative and independent will.

Before his death Lenin keenly sensed and was deeply disturbed by the potential danger of a man of Stalin's character in the key position of general secretary. In January 1923, too ill to write, he dictated a letter in which he said:

Stalin is too rude and this defect, although quite tolerable in our midst and in dealings among us Communists, becomes intolerable in a General Secretary. That is why I suggest that the comrades think about a way of removing Stalin from that post and appointing somebody else differing in all other respects from Comrade Stalin solely in the degree of being more tolerant, more loyal, more polite and more considerate to the comrades, less capricious, etc.: (13)

But Lenin was dying and Stalin was well entrenched. He remained the general secretary.

There is good reason to suspect that there was a wide discrepancy between his professions on the national question and his convictions and future plans of action. He seems to have viewed the development of national cultures and wide local national autonomy in the non-Russian republics as a threat to centralization, which he deemed necessary in order for the USSR to survive in a hostile capitalist environment. As early as 1926 he also expressed the fact that

... in view of the weakness of the indigenous Communist cadres in (the) Ukraine, this movement, which is very frequently led by non-Communist intellectuals, may here and there assume the character of a struggle to alienate Ukrainian culture and public life from general Soviet culture and public life... (14)

In 1929 he began the drive to collectivize the peasantry. The first victims were the middle peasants, the conscious national elements who formed the backbone of the Ukrainian nation. In 1930 he embarked on the campaign to behead the Ukrainian rebirth with the arrest and open trial of forty-five Ukrainian intellectuals, who were accused of being members of a secret anti-Soviet organization, the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine. This was followed by more arrests and secret trials. Eventually all such formalities were dispensed with; people were simply taken away during the night and deported to vanish without a trace. The climax came in 1937, with the arrest of all the members of the Ukrainian government, all the members of the Politburo of the CPU and nearly all other leading communists in Ukraine. By 1938, through arrest, exile, starvation and firing squad, were eliminated nearly all Ukrainian intellectuals, including writers, historians, artists, philologists, scientists; nearly all party and government officials including all Ukrainian Bolsheviks; about a quarter of the peasantry, who starved to death in the famine of 1932-33 which was caused by forced appropriation of all grain; countless numbers of officials, large and small in all walks of life.

In 1932 began the drive to close all Ukrainian schools in the RSFSR. In some areas this was accompanied by the most summary methods. In Kuban the populace was unable to fulfill the unrealistic grain delivery quotas. In November 1932, Stanitsa Poltavska was surrounded by detachments of the GPU, all 30,000 inhabitants - men, women and children - were herded together with only their few personal belongings and deported to Siberia. In their place were brought in peasants from Russia. The following day the Krasnodar regional paper announced that the Ukrainian, - nationalist - kurkul - Petlura nest in Kuban had been liquidated. The settlement was renamed Stanitsa Krasnoarmayskaya. The Ukrainian language was abolished in the schools of Kuban and the teachers were deported. The whole operation was directed by Molotov and Kaganovich from headquarters in Krasnodar.

Russians were no longer forced to use Ukrainian in state and party institutions. But Ukrainians, who remained in official posts attempted to carry on the dogged struggle for Ukrainianization. Even as late as June 1937, on the verge of the mass arrests of all top Ukrainian state and party officials, the XIII Congress of the CPU declared in its resolution that

... in the work of a number of organizations of the CPU lately appeared a weakening of attention to the question of the national policy of the party and an underestimation of the importance of this question. This is revealed mainly in the inadequate Ukrainianization of party, state and especially trade union and YCL organizations, in the inadequacy of the promotion of Bolshevik Ukrainian personnel to leading party, state, economic and trade union work. (15)

In 1938 a complete turn was made on the question of Ukrainianization. With the arrests of the leading party and government personnel in Ukraine, a new army of officials arrived from Moscow to take over. It was headed by N.S. Khrushchov. He immediately proceeded to denounce in the vilest language his predecessors. Speaking to the IV Kiev Regional Party Conference he called them

... enemies of the people, bourgeois nationalists, agents of our enemies...agents of fascist intelligence... mercenaries...Polish, German, Japanese spies...miserable traitors...villians. The Yakirs, Balitskys, Lyubchenkos, Zatonkys (16) and other scum wished to make Ukrainian workers and peasants the slaves of fascism. (17)

After 1937 there was no more talk of Ukrainization; the emphasis changed to glorification of the Russian language. On June 16, 1938, Khrushchov announced at the XIV Congress of the GPU:

Comrades, now all nations study the Russian language because the Russian workers were the first... to raise the banner of revolt... (18)

The following day the congress passed a resolution in which it

... underlined with special emphasis the indispensability of liquidating the consequences of the hostile sabotage in the teaching of the Russian language in the elementary and secondary schools and also in the higher educational institutions. Bourgeois nationalists, Trotskyites, Bukharinites acted basely and foully in order to drive out the great Russian language from our schools and higher educational institutions. The efforts of the Trotskyites, Bukharinites and bourgeois nationalists were directed toward the alienation of the Ukrainian people from the fraternal friendship with the great Russian people, toward the alienation of Soviet Ukraine from the USSR and the renewal of capitalist slavery. (19)

Russian gradually began to assume again the status of official language, but Ukrainian was still widely used both in the state and party apparatus and in schools. Entrance examinations to higher educational institutions included both the Ukrainian and Russian languages and institutes advertised courses in both. At the XVI Congress of the all-union party in 1930, Stalin pointed out that not only was there no merging of languages in the USSR into one, but that it was impolitic to think of promoting such merging because

There is a Ukraine which is part of the USSR. But there is also another Ukraine which forms part of other states. (20)

In other words, it was tactically unwise to start a planned campaign to Russify Ukraine while parts of it were under Poland, Romania and Czechoslovakia.

After Poland was attacked by Hitler in 1939 and the Western region of Galicia was added to Ukraine, the Council of the Peoples' Commissars of the UkrSSR on March 4, 1940 passed a decree

To introduce instruction in the schools of the western regions of Ukraine in the native tongue. (21)

The subsequent war brought many changes: to arouse patriotism there began the glorification of the "Great Russian people" and former Tsarist generals. With the defeat of Nazi Germany the USSR emerged as a great power. The victory was too often attributed to Russia; the other fourteen Soviet republics were forgotten. Russian nationalism and Soviet patriotism became synonymous. Many Russians, after demobilization began settling in Ukraine. New factories were constructed and old ones rebuilt. Many of the specialists to man them came from Russia. Schools and higher educational institutions were reopened. Too often the language of instruction was Russian. Ukraine was now firmly unified under the solid protection of the "elder brother". There was no more need, for tactical reasons, to maintain the Ukrainian language.

The death of Stalin in 1953 gave rise to a new struggle for power between the members of the party hierarchy. Beria, hoping by this manoeuver to gain support of the non-Russians, wrote a memorandum to the CC that the national policy was anti-Leninist and that the national republics should be given more freedom to develop their language and culture. There were immediate repercussions in several republics, including Ukraine. A plenum was held of the CC of the CPU at which L.G. Melnikov (a Russian), the first secretary, was relieved of his post and dropped from the bureau because of his

... distortion of the Leninist - Stalinist national policy of our party manifested by the practice of promoting to leading party and government posts in the western regions of Ukraine mainly workers from other regions of the Ukrainian SSR and also in the changing of lecturing in the Western Ukrainian higher educational institutions to the Russian language. (22)

It was apparently deemed unwise to speak the truth and say that many of those promoted to leading party and government posts in Western Ukraine were Russians sent from Russia on the instructions of the central organs in Moscow and that schools and educational institutions in all parts of Ukraine were being Russianized. Nevertheless, it appeared as if Ukraine was on the threshold of a new, more liberal era. Then suddenly Beria was arrested, sentenced and shot. Criticism of Russification was denounced as an attempt to undermine the friendship of the Soviet peoples.

Another contender for the vacant leadership, Khrushchov, used a bolder approach; he denounced his former master and proceeded to rehabilitate the victims, among them also those he himself had villified so enthusiastically in 1937. Millions sighed with relief and by 1957 he was firmly in control. He introduced changes, but on the national question he proceeded a step further along the road paved by his master; Stalin had destroyed the architects and engineers of the policy of Ukrainization; Khrushchov embarked on the policy of destroying the Ukrainian language itself, by proceeding to replace it in the educational process in Ukraine with the Russian language.

III Elementary and General Secondary Education

The system of education in Ukraine is a complex structure with a wide division of responsibility and much overlapping of control. There are two ministries of education, one for elementary and general secondary and the other for higher and secondary special. In addition, many educational institutions are supervised by other ministries, committees and boards.

The most significant feature of the educational process is the extent and the rapidity with which it has been and continues to be Russianized, while, to the outside world, all attempts are made to give the impression that Soviet policy in education is to encourage and maintain the Ukrainian language.

This process has especially been accelerated since the enactment on December 24, 1958, by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, of the law "For Strengthening the Relationship of School and Life and for the Further Development of the System of Public Education in the USSR". While the law was still under "discussion", there was popular and widespread criticism of article 19 in many republics. Most noteworthy and outspoken critics in Ukraine were P. Tronko (1), then secretary of the Kiev Regional Committee of the CPU and at present vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukr.SSR, and Ukraines' two most outstanding poets, Maxim Rylsky and Mykola Bazhan (2).

On April 17, 1959, the law was passed by the Supreme Soviet of the Ukr.SSR, despite the strong opposition to it by the Ukrainian populace. The clause under dispute reads as follows:

Instruction in the schools of the Ukrainian SSR is conducted in the native language of the pupils. Parents decide which school, with what language of instruction, they wish to send their children. The study of one of the languages of the peoples of the USSR, in which instruction is not conducted in the given school, is realized upon the desire of the parents and students on the application of sufficient numbers. (3)

The clause abounds in contradiction and double talk. The first sentence is simple enough; pupils study in their native language, be they Ukrainian or Russian. The following sentence contradicts the first. Parents now have a "choice";

children no longer automatically go to schools where instruction is in their native tongue. This does not apply to Russians; they send their children to Russian schools. Also very significant is the last sentence. What it means is that pupils in a national republic are not compelled to study a second language of the peoples of the USSR. This does not affect the Russian language which was made compulsory from the second grade in 1938 (4); it applies only to the other languages of the USSR including Ukrainian. A pupil in a school with Russian as the language of instruction, need not study the native language as a subject. By Soviet magic the clause begins with instruction in the native language and ends up abolishing that very language even as a school subject.

There is thus, in the clause, a two-stage plan for education in Ukraine and the other non-Russian republics. The first stage is to change the language of instruction from the native to the Russian with the native language as a subject; the second stage is to eliminate the native tongue even as a subject. And lest some may think that the application of the new law will develop on its own, let me quote from an editorial in a teachers' language magazine:

"The achievement of this principle of possibility of choice of the language of instruction...can under no circumstances be left to take its own course." (5)

We can best see how the "achievement of this principle" is not "left to take its own course" in the autonomous republics of the RSFSR. The Academy of Pedagogical Sciences and the Ministry of Education, both of the RSFSR, are leading a consistent and determined campaign to Russify the national groups that live in the fifteen autonomous republics in the RSFSR, who have had educational instructions in their native languages since the 1920's. Schools are selected where experimental teaching is carried on in native non-Russian classes with Russian as the language of instruction. Conference after conference is called on how to teach the Russian language; the native languages are neglected and relegated to second place.

In the national republics such as Ukraine there is considerable opposition to Russification, but the small autonomous republics in the RSFSR are not able, due

to their size, to put up a great deal of effective opposition. The process goes on almost unchecked as can be seen from the following quote:

"At the present time in a number of schools of the Russian Federation, in accordance with the wishes of the parents, pupils are changing to instruction in the Russian language. In addition the parents express the desire that the change be made in grade I."(6)

Among those putting up the greatest resistance to Russification are the 1,345,000 people who inhabit the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic which lies along the middle Volga with the capital at Kazan. The struggle is uneven. We are informed that:

"In the 1961-62 school year only 6% of the Tatar pupils, living in the fifteen cities of the Tatar Republic, studied in their native tongue."(7)
"In Russian kindergartens, 35-40% is made up of Tatar children."(8)

They carefully avoid to inform the reader that, perhaps, the only kindergartens in existence in the area are Russian.

In the Caucasus Mountains, bordering on Georgia, lies the Kabardino-Balkar ASSR, with a population of nearly half a million. A report on education in that autonomous republic indicated that:

"In the 1960-61 school year 115 Kabardin and Balkar beginning classes were changed to the Russian language of instruction; in the present school year there are 415 such classes."
"In the 1963-64 school year beginning classes will, in the main, be taught in Russian. In the beginning Kabardin and Balkar classes, with the native tongue of instruction there will be only 1,270 Kabardin and 60 Balkar children."(9)

Further east, between the Volga and the Don rivers, on the Caspian Sea, live the Kalmyks. In their schools:

"... instruction in the native language is conducted only in grades I to III. Beginning in grade IV, pupils change to the Russian language of instruction. The native tongue remains as a subject."(10)

South of the Kalmyks, in the north-eastern Caucasus and bordering on the Caspian, is the Dagestan ASSR with a population of over a million. There too we see the same process of Russification.

"... from the third grade instruction is in the Russian language and the native tongue is studied as a subject."(11)

At the foot of the Urals, in the east central part of European Russia lies the Udmurt ASSR with a population of about one and a third millions. The Minister of Education of Udmurtia, N.V.Gorbuskchin reported that:

"National schools of the Udmurt ASSR are changing to instruction in the Russian language from grade IV."(12)

Stretching north to the White Sea, the length of Finland, on its eastern borders, is the Karelian ASSR, with a population of over half a million, of whom about half are Karelians who speak the Finnish language. These people have suffered the same fate:

"In Karelia, after many requests of parents and pupils, in 1958, the native schools changed to instruction in the Russian language."(13)

Yet according to one teacher:

"Karelian pupils, entering school, in the majority of cases are insufficiently acquainted with the Russian language."(14)

The schools of the other autonomous republics have already, or are at present being Russianized. Although not as advanced, the same process is going on in the national republics. But there the change is made quietly, underhandedly, with care and caution, because opposition is strong. Occasionally there is a casual mention or reference which reveals to us what goes on behind the scenes. At one conference a speaker described:

"... how an experiment was introduced in Armenian schools in the teaching of geography in the Russian language."(15)

In Ukraine the process was intensified with the introduction of the new law. In cities parents already had a choice because both Russian and Ukrainian schools were already in existence. The introduction of the new school law meant that Russian schools were to be extended to the smaller towns where there were only Ukrainian schools. We have confirmation of the increase in their number after the reform from none other than the secretary of the CPU in charge of agitation and propaganda who wrote:

"Each year there is an increase ... in the attraction to the study of the Russian language... In connection with this there is an increase in the number of

schools with Russian as the language of instruction.(16)

Almost simultaneously, in identical language, there appeared another article, confirming the above, by Yu. Shiraev.(17)

There is further evidence of this increase of Russian schools in Soviet statistics. These are not always meant to enlighten and it is often difficult to make comparisons for different school years, especially as some of the data includes only day schools, and some included night and adult schools. To confound confusion, we are not advised explicitly as to what schools are in question. Sometimes the statistics are contradictory. However we can make some comparisons which indicate a definite trend.

In 1953 Pavlo Tychnya, poet and former minister of education, stated that, of 30,000 schools in Ukraine, in nearly 3,000 the language of instruction was Russian.(18) I. K. Bilodid, the minister of education, reported five years later that there were 25,464 schools with Ukrainian as the language of instruction, 4,355 with Russian, 155 with Moldavian, 100 with Hungarian and 3 with Polish.(19) A comparison here indicates that in five years - from 1953 to 1958 - there was an increase in general education day schools with Russian language of instruction from 3,000 to 4,355. In 1960 Bilodid reported that of the total number of schools for general education, over 30,000 had Ukrainian as the language of instruction and nearly 6,000 - Russian.(20) Here he apparently includes all general education schools - day, night, adult - and we cannot make a comparison with the previous data. However the % of Russian schools is higher in 1960 over 1958.

According to Alla Bondar, the incumbent minister of education, there were in Ukraine, at the beginning of the 1963 - 64 school year, a total of 29,918 schools for general education (not including night and adult schools), with the following breakdown:

<u>Lang. of Inst.</u>	<u>No. of Schools</u>	<u>% of total</u>
Ukrainian	24,485	81.8
Russian	over 4,500	over 15 (21)

There is a careful avoidance of statistics regarding the number of pupils attending each type of school. Russian schools, being for the most part in towns

and cities, are much larger than the Ukrainian village schools. Consequently the 15% of the schools which are Russian are attended by more than 15% of all the pupils. Such data would reveal the extent to which Russification of Ukrainian schools had advanced. This the authorities wish to avoid at all costs. From another earlier source we have the following more complete statistics for the school year 1955 - 56. These also include only regular day schools.

Lang. of Inst.	No. of Schools	%	No. of Pupils	%
Ukrainian	25,034	85.3	3,815,754	72.8
Russian	4,051	13.8	1,392,270	26.3
Moldavian	159	.5	27,102	
Hungarian	93	.3	16,622	
Polish	4		1,875	
Total	29,341		5,283,623	(22)

By comparing these statistics with those quoted by Alla Bondar we obtain the table:

Schools	1955-56	%	1963-64	%
Ukrainian	25,034	85.5	24,485	81.8
Russian	4,051	13.8	4,500	15
Total	29,341		29,918	

The table indicates that the number of Ukrainian schools has decreased from 85.3% to 81.8% in the eight year period, whereas the number of Russian schools has increased from 13.8% to over 15%. Assuming that the average size of Russian schools remained the same we calculate that the number of pupils in Russian increased from 26.3% in 1955 to 36.7% in 1963.

But this is not the complete picture. Another writer, (23) in quoting statistics on schools, also mentioned, along with language schools in Ukraine, 125 mixed schools. These have parallel classes with instructions in Russian and Ukrainian. In her statistics Alla Bondar does not account for some 900 schools. Obviously some are Hungarian, Moldavian, and Polish. The remaining must be mixed schools. If the number of pupils receiving instruction in Russian in these schools in these schools was added to the total, the percentage of pupils being instructed in Russian would be higher.

There are also general education night schools for working youth and village youth with vocational training. These may start as low as grade V, although

most of them begin at grade IX. In 1962 the number of pupils in these schools was as follows:

Working Youth	469,000	
Village Youth	226,900	
Total	695,900	(24)

The 1960 catalogue of school publications lists only eight titles of textbooks for such schools. Of these, four make up two identical pairs of language texts, one for Ukrainian schools and one for Russian. The latter editions are larger as the table below indicates:

Author	Grade	Title	Ukr. Ed.	Russ. Ed.	% in Russ.
Horyana	5	German Lang.	4,600	5,300	53.5
Zvinska	5	English Lang.	2,600	4,500	63.4

For 1964 the following are listed:

Truby & Yanchuk	7-8	English Lang.	3,900	11,000	73.8
Horyana & Martiashvili	7-8	German Lang.	6,000	11,000	64.7

We see that of the foreign language texts published in Russian and Ukrainian, the edition of the former is larger and its size has increased from 1960 to 1964. However, the number of textbooks published in Ukraine is absolutely inadequate for these schools. The remaining books must come from the RSFSR. They, of course, will also be in Russian. It follows, then, that instruction in these schools, in the main will be in Russian. If the pupils attending these schools were included in the statistics, the percentage of pupils instructed in the Russian language would, again, be higher.

There are also pre-school kindergarten classes in which, in Ukraine, in 1964 there were 693,800 children. In the cities these are, for the most part, Russified. The process is now going on in the smaller towns. A correspondent to a Kiev newspaper reported on the half-Ukrainian, half-Russian jargon spoken by the children in these classes in a small town and blames the teacher. The reporter could not openly and directly criticize Russification, nor the teachers, who in so many cases, are the wives of Russian officials, sent to Ukraine.

Records of childrens' songs and games and childrens' films used in these schools are all in Russian. When the Ukrainian tourist group visited Canada in

1964, there were many requests for Ukrainian childrens' films. Emphatic assertions were made by members of the group that these were available and promises were given that some would be sent. Despite many reminders and letters, none have arrived. Several people requested that I procure childrens' records in Ukrainian for them when I lived in Kiev. Despite many inquiries, even at the ministry of education, I was not able to obtain even one such record. If the kindergarten children were included in the total, the percentage of children using Russian language in schools would be still higher.

The extent of Russification in the cities of Ukraine can be seen from the following statistics compiled by officials of the ministry of education of the Ukr.SSR, but never published, regarding the number of students attending schools with Russian and Ukrainian language of instruction in 1958 in some of the leading cities:

City	Ukrainian	Russian
Kiev	22,527	61,217
Kharkiv	2,913	68,838
Odessa	4,687	52,978
Dnipropetrovsk	11,056	52,306
Donetsk	894	76,286
Vinnitsa	4,530	9,195
Stanislav	2,693	4,143
Sumy	3,800	5,307
Zhytomyr	5,134	8,069
Khmelnitsky	2,867	3,786
Luhansk	1,500	21,663
Zaporizhya	8,868	24,522

These statistics reveal an appalling situation: in every city the overwhelming preponderance of students is in Russian schools, although the majority of the population is Ukrainian. Even in such a Western Ukrainian town as Stanislav (now Ivano - Frankivsk) less than 40% of the pupils attended schools in the native tongue. This was in 1958. Much "progress" in Russification had been made since then. The cities of Luhansk and Donetsk no longer have any Ukrainian schools. In Chernivtsi, out of a total of 40 only four are Ukrainian. In Kolomiya, a district centre in Western Ukraine, there are two full middle schools(grades I to X);both are in Russian. In every smaller town, where there were only

some begin at a higher grade. In 1962 the number of pupils in these schools was as follows:

Working Youth	469,000	
Village Youth	226,900	
Total	695,900	(24)

The 1960 catalogue of school publications lists only eight titles of texts-books for such schools. Of these, four make up two identical pairs of language texts, one for Ukrainian schools and one for Russian. The latter editions are larger as the table below indicates:

Author	Grade	Title	Ukr. Ed.	Rus. Ed.	% in Rus.
Horyana	5	German Lang.	4,600	5,300	53.5
Zvinska	5	English Lang.	2,600	4,500	63.4

(25)

For 1964 the following are listed:

Truby & Yanchuk	7-8	English Lang.	3,900	11,000	73.8
Horyana & Martiashvili	7-8	German Lang.	6,000	11,000	64.7

(26)

We see that of the foreign language texts published in Russian and Ukrainian, the edition of the former is larger and its size has increased from 1960 to 1964. However, the number of textbooks published in Ukraine is absolutely inadequate for these schools. The remaining books must come from the RSFSR. They, of course, will also be in Russian. It follows, then, that instruction in these schools, in the main will be in Russian. Further evidence of the fact that these schools are Russian, are the posters announcing opening of registration of pupils. All such posters, seen by the author in Kiev, were in Russian. (See figures 1 and 2) If the pupils attending these schools were included in the statistics, the percentage of pupils instructed in the Russian language would, again, be higher.

There are also pre-school kindergarten classes in Ukraine. In the cities these are, for the most part, Russianized. The process is now going on in the smaller towns. The teachers are very often wives of Russian officials sent to Ukraine to promote Russification.

Records of childrens' songs and games and childrens' films used in these schools are all in Russian. When the Ukrainian tourist group visited Canada in

Ukrainian schools before the war, Russian schools now abound, in most cases in a majority.

We can further check on the number of pupils attending instruction in Russian and Ukrainian by comparing the number of textbooks published in each language specifically for Ukraine. Following is a comparison of two such books published by the Ukrainian school publishing house, Radyanska Shkola in 1964:

Author	Grade	Title	Ukr. Ed.	Russ. Ed.	% in Russ.
Dyadichenko, Los & Spitsky	<u>VII-VIII</u>	Hist. of Ukr.SSR	300,000	200,000	40
Dibrova	<u>VIII</u>	Geog. of Ukr.SSR	250,000	200,000	44

(27)

Comparisons of editions for two consecutive years of a text, published "for grade XI of the secondary schools of Ukraine", provides additional confirmation of increased Russification:

Year	Author	Grade	Title	Ukr. Ed.	Russ. Ed.	% in Russ.
1963	Lyalikov	<u>XI</u>	Economic	220,000	180,000	45 (28)
1964	"	<u>XI</u>	Geog. of USSR	100,000	130,000	56.5 (29)

Another textbook whose Russian edition increased as % of the total is the following:

Year	Author	Grade	Title	Ukr. Ed.	Russ. Ed.	% in Russ.
1963	Andriyevsky	<u>VIII</u>	Electrical	200,000	180,000	47.4 (30)
1964	"	"	Construction	150,000	170,000	53.1 (31)

Among other texts, published in Ukraine in 1963 in both languages, with larger Russian editions, are the following:

Author	Grade	Title	Ukr. Ed.	Russ. Ed.	% in Russ.
Tkachenko	<u>V-VI</u>	Wood & Metal Working	150,000	170,000	53.1
Chaly	<u>IX-X</u>	Drafting	170,000	200,000	54.1
Buryan	<u>IX-XI</u>	Lathe Work	15,000	17,000	53.1 (32)

There are also textbooks published in Ukraine in Russian only. For some subjects, listed in timetables, such as art, music, physical culture, there is no record of any texts being published in Ukraine. Confirmation of the fact that these and others are imported came in an article in a Kiev paper by Katerina Antonivna Kolosova, deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukr.SSR, secretary of the Ukrainian Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and leader of a group of cultural, political and other personalities to the U.S. and Canada in November—

December 1964, + January 1965. In her previous position as director of the department of education of the CC of the CPU, which supervises the work of the ministry of education, she reported that for the school year 1958-59, 105 titles and 130 million copies of textbooks had been published in Ukraine and over 13 million had been brought in from the RSFSR. (33) A check of the 1958 catalogue of the publishing house of school texts, Radyanska Shkola, (34) reveals that this number of titles was published for general education schools, excluding night and adult schools and schools for working youth and peasant youth. With the exception of Russian language books, no texts were published that year in Russian in Ukraine. The imported books made up almost 30% of the school books in Ukraine.

Data for 1966 reveals that 34.1 million books for schools were published in Ukraine and 15.5 million were imported from the RSFSR, (35) This puts the % of imported Russian books at 31.3, a slight increase over 1958. However, in 1960 there began in Ukraine the publication of books in Russian for the schools of Ukraine. We do not have their number for 1966, but in 1963 they numbered nearly 3 million (not including Russian language texts). (36) It is not likely that their number decreased in 1966, on the contrary, with increasing Russification it, no doubt, increased. This means only one thing - an increase in the number of pupils attending schools with instruction in the Russian language.

There is additional confirmation of the disproportion of Russian schools and their increase for the whole of USSR. The following table shows the relation between the number of teachers of Russian language and literature in Russian and non-Russian schools in the USSR for grades V to VIII.

School Year	Russ. Schools	%	Non-Russ. Schools	%	
1961 - 62	121,000	69.9	52,000	30.1	(37)
1962 - 63	135,000	71.4	54,000	28.6	(38)
1963 - 64	139,000	71.6	55,000	28.4	(39)
1964 - 65	142,000	71.7	56,000	28.3	(40)

The same applies to grades IX to XI :

School Year	Russ. Schools	%	Non-Russ. Schools	%
1961 - 62	32,000	69.6	14,000	30.4
1962 - 63	27,000	65.9	14,000	34.1
1963 - 64	30,000	66.7	15,000	33.3
1964 - 65	34,000	68	15,000	32

If we calculate on the basis of one teacher - one classroom, then in 68% of the classrooms in the USSR instruction was in the Russian language; but the % of the Russian population in the USSR is only 54.6%. For all the remaining nationalities, who make up 45.4% of the total population, there are only 32% of the classrooms. This is heralded as the "triumph of Leninist national policy in education".

Even the Ukrainian schools present a picture that is far from Ukrainian. A person walking into such a school, especially in a city or town, will likely find that on the walls hang portraits of Russian writers and leaders of the Communist Party and government of the USSR; the slogans, signs and wall newspaper will be in Russian; the janitor, the teachers of music, art, industrial training and physical education will more than likely be Russians; the library will be filled with Russian books; most childrens' and youth magazines will be in Russian. In the senior grades there is technical and industrial training in factories, where pupils go for one whole day each week. Industry is completely Russianized and the instruction is all in Russian.

The Russian language is given preference in the school curriculum. The ministry of education published the following timetables for the school year 1964 - 65:

For 8 year and full secondary schools with Ukr. language of instruction.

No. of hrs. per week for each grade.

Grade	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
Ukr. lang.	12	8	7/8*	6	4/3	4/3	2	2
Russ. lang.		4	5/4	5	3/4	3	2	2

* 7 hours per week in the first term and 8 in the second.

For 8 year and full secondary schools with Russ. language of instruction.

Grade	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
Russ. lang.	12	9	9	8	4	4	2	2
Ukr. lang.		3	3	3	3	3/2	2	2 (41)

Let us now make some further comparisons:

Grade	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
Russ.lang. in Russ. schools	12	9	9	8	4	4	2	2
Ukr.lang. in Ukr. schools	12	8	7/8	6	4/3	4/3	2	2

In grades III - V and VI Ukrainian language in Ukrainian schools is allotted less time than the Russian language in Russian schools in the same grades.

Let us proceed with further comparisons:

Grade	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
Russ.lang in Ukr. schools	0	4	5/4	5	3/4	3	2	2
Ukr.lang. in Russ. schools	0	3	3	3	3	3/2	2	2

Here the discrimination is extended to five grades.

The timetable for senior grades is as follows:

Ukrainian lit.	IX	X	XI
	3	3	3
Russian lit.	IX	X	XI
	4	3	3

Here again Russian gets the preference; in grade IX it is allotted one hour per week more than Ukrainian. Calculating it on a yearly basis Russian literature in grade IX gets 140 hours, whereas Ukrainian gets only 105.

This much for the first stage-Russification of Ukrainian schools. Now let us see how the second stage is proceeding - the entire elimination of the Ukrainian language from the schools of Ukraine.

One step in this direction is the eliminating of Ukrainian books from school libraries. A correspondent for a Kiev paper reported that in No. 178, a new school, there were 1,400 pupils with a library of 3,323 books of which 14 were in Ukrainian. In school No. 118, for grades I to VIII, with 700 pupils, there were 400 Ukrainian books, but for the juniors there was not one. (42) A month later, a group reported in the latter same paper that in No. 92, a Ukrainian school named after Ivan Franko, famous Ukrainian poet, with English as the foreign language, and rated as one of the finest in the Lenin ward of Kiev, that they found very few volumes by Franko and even fewer by other Ukrainian writers.

In school No. 47 the only volume by Sosyura, a great Ukrainian lyric poet, was in a Russian translation. (43)

The campaign to eliminate the Ukrainian language as a subject from non-Ukrainian schools in Ukraine is in full swing. I.K. Bilodid, the Minister of Education at that time, denied in 1960 that there were Russian schools without Ukrainian, when he said:

"Great attention is given to the Ukrainian language in schools with the Russian language of instruction, where it is studied because of the wishes of the parents." (44)

However Alla Bondar admitted that there are classes with no Ukrainian as a subject, but tries to minimize the extent of such cases. She stated that:

"...in schools with instruction in Russian there are almost no full classes where Ukrainian is not studied." (Italics mine. J.K.) (45)

She explained that these are children of parents who, as a result of their profession, are forced to constantly change their place of residence: military personnel, geologists, construction workers, and others. But let us ask: Why is Ukrainian not taught in any of the schools of Sevastopol? Or why, in schools where the language of instruction is Moldavian, Hungarian or Polish, as a subject Russian is taught, but Ukrainian is not? (46)

There have lately been ominous moves in the direction of eliminating the Ukrainian language from all Russian schools in Ukraine. The ministry of education of each republic is closely supervised by the Department of Education of the CC of the CPSU. The representative of the latter body - called an instructor - to the ministry of education in Ukraine is a certain Suntsov. On the instructions of the CC he has been applying pressure on the Council of Ministers of the Ukr.SSR to abolish completely the study of the Ukrainian language in Russian schools because "it is too difficult for Russian students to learn both languages". So far the Council of Ministers has been successful in staving off the measure.

Teachers are subject to the same pressures of Russification. In Ukraine there are only three pedagogical journals; the mass of them (20 in all) are published in Moscow in Russian. There is only one Academy of Pedagogical Sciences; it too

is in Moscow. Nearly all research in education for the USSR is done there. Teacher training institutions in Ukraine have their quotas of Russian students for whom lectures must be in their native tongue, "because they do not understand Ukrainian", and Russian lecturers and professors who use Russian because "they cannot speak Ukrainian". This is particularly true of the 24 regional and two city Institutes for Improving the Qualifications of Teachers. Many of the directors and staff are Russians who decide whose qualifications are to be improved.

Russification is pursued by many other devious and nefarious means. Draftees are sent away from their native republics for military training. Thus Ukrainians train everywhere but in their own country, while Russians and others are sent to Ukraine. Consequently, Russian schools are organized for military personnel. The trainees are encouraged to settle after demobilization in the areas where they trained. More Russian schools are opened to accommodate their children.

Another policy promoting Russification is the "directing" of Russians to fill leading positions in industry, party and government in the national republics. When a factory is built in Ukraine the personnel to operate it comes mostly from Russia; leading positions in villages are also too often filled by Russians. When such bureaucrats arrive they immediately demand Russian schools for their children. One of two things happens: a Ukrainian school becomes a Russian school, or parallel Russian classes are organized in a Ukrainian school and it becomes a "mixed school". This is a first step to a Russian school. Most Ukrainian schools in Lviv, Kiev and other cities are "mixed schools". This writer had an opportunity to visit what was supposed to be a Ukrainian school in Kiev - school No. 6. It was in reality a mixed school and Russian predominated everywhere.

Russification is advanced in Ukraine by allotting a smaller % of the total budget for education in the USSR than Ukraine's % of the total population.

Let us look at population statistics:

Total for USSR	RSFSR	%	Ukr. SSR	%
208,826,650	117,534,315	56.3	41,869,046	20 (47)

Ukraine's share of the total budget for all republics for all education in 1960, in millions of roubles, was as follows:

<u>Total for all republics</u>	<u>RSFSR</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Ukr.SSR</u>	<u>%</u>	
8,097.4	4,695.8	58	1,396.5	17.2	(48)

Ukraines share of the total budget for all republics for all general education schools for the same year was as follows:

<u>Total for all republics</u>	<u>RSFSR</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Ukr.SSR</u>	<u>%</u>	
2,990.1	1,671.4	55.9	525.0	17.6	(49)

A comparison indicates that Ukraine's % of the total budget is smaller than her % of the total population of the USSR. However, these statistics do not give the complete picture. There was, in addition, a special education budget for the central government of the USSR. The total for all education in 1960 was 2,225.3 million roubles and for general education - 104.4 millions. (50) The central government, conducted by Russians with its centre in Moscow, may use some of the money in the national republics, but the purpose is to Russify the native students and to promote the welfare, power and prestige of the Russians.

A strange phenomenon in education in Ukraine is that, whereas the Ukr.SSR obtains a smaller share of the education budget than it rightly deserves, it is not the Russian school, but the Ukrainian schools that suffer; the former receive a disproportionate share of the budget and consequently occupy better buildings, are better equipped and better supplied.

This is one inducement for parents to "choose" to send their children to Russian schools; there are many others. Some parents prefer Russian schools because instruction in the higher educational institutions is in Russian; some send their children out of fear and some due to pressure. The program of the party states that:

"Full scale Communist construction constitutes a new stage in the development of national relations in the USSR, in which the nations will draw still closer together until complete unity is achieved." (51)

"Complete unity", of course, is nothing less than complete Russification.

The new school law gave parents a "choice" of school with language of instruction to which they wish to send their children. Russians do not "choose"; they remain Russian. But Ukrainians have a choice; they can send their children

to Ukrainian or to Russian schools. How clever, how magnanimous and how democratic! But the party has decreed that there will be "complete unity". No party or government official who values his position in a society where the one party reigns supreme will risk sending his children to a Ukrainian school. Sycophants and those who wish to "get ahead" also fall in line. Yes, their children also attend Russian schools; so do the children of cabinet ministers in Ukraine; so did the children of the Minister of Education of Ukraine.

IV Vocational - Technical Schools and Secondary
Special Educational Institutions

Schools for skilled tradesmen for industry, mining, agriculture and other branches of the national economy are under the supervision of the Central Board of Vocational - Technical Education of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR, which is under close supervision and direction of the State Committee of Vocational - Technical Education of the Council of Ministers of the USSR. This latter body organizes uniform courses of studies, authorizes textbooks and coordinates the work of the republican boards. Pupils may be recruited in one republic, trained in another, and directed to work in still another. In one case boys were sent from the Poltava region in Ukraine to schools in Russia and then directed to work beyond the Urals.

These schools, which are attached to a factory or other enterprise, generally accept pupils who have completed grade VIII and entered the world of work. The latter attend day or night classes depending on the shift they work. In the rural schools of this type instruction is from one to two years; in urban - from one to three. In the academic year 1961 - 62 there were over 208,000 pupils in such schools in Ukraine.(1)

We find Ukraine is discriminated against in this type of education in comparison to the RSFSR as is revealed by the following table:

No. of grads. of voc. tech. schools of USSR for 1964 by republics.

USSR	RSFSR	%	Ukr.SSR	%	(2)
943,200	605,500	64.2	151,100	16	

The RSFSR with 56.3% of the total population of the USSR is favoured with 64.2% of the graduates, whereas the Ukr.SSR, with 20% of the total population, has only 16% of the graduates.

Personal investigation by the author while in Ukraine revealed that all such schools are conducted in Russian. There is confirmation of this Russification in various published materials. For example there is listed "A Handbook for Entrants to City and Vocational - Technical Schools of Dnipropetrovsk Region, Dnipropetrovsk 1964," in a monthly journal of books.(3) This students handbook is in Russian.

Annual statistical handbooks from 1955 to 1964 on publishing in the USSR, list textbooks for such schools as being published in the RSFSR. Books of this type are listed as published in Ukraine only in 1955 (there is no data available before that year); the number of titles was three. (4) The fact that textbooks are published in Russian means that the language of instruction is also Russian; the language of the text is also the language of the lecture. This is further confirmed by timetables for such schools for 1957 which list only the Russian language as a subject. (5) See figure 4)

However, in the 1920's and the early 1930's, the language of instruction was the pupil's native tongue. In Ukraine the language of instruction was either Ukrainian or the language of one of the national minorities: Russian, Jewish, Polish, Moldavian, German, etc., where there were large concentrations of such people. Russian was not even taught as a subject in non-Russian schools. (See figure 5)

There is a great deal of Soviet propaganda about the numbers studying in the USSR while employed. Among these are also workers and employees who improve their academic standing and technical qualifications without losing time from work. Soviet statistics indicate that the workers and employees of Ukraine, for some mysterious reason, also lag behind in this type of education as revealed by the following table:

No. of workers & employees who improve their qualifications while working in the Republics of the USSR in 1964.

Total in USSR	RSFSR	%	Ukr.SSR	%	(6)
8,784,400	5,821,600	66.3	1,565,000	17.8	

Semi professional training is provided by technicums or secondary special educational institutions. There was a total of 659 of these at the beginning of the 1964 - 65 school year. (7) Among these were the regular day, night and correspondence schools. Courses vary from three to five years for graduates of grade VIII and one and a half to three and a half for those who completed general education secondary schools.

A study of comparative statistics on secondary special education in the USSR reveals a shocking picture of discrimination against Ukraine, her language and her youth. The number of secondary special education institutions for 1964 - 65 was as follows:

Total in USSR
3,717

RSFSR
2,175

%
58.5

UkrSSR
682

%
18.3

The data on the number of students in these institutions for the same year follows:

<u>Total in USSR</u>	<u>RSFSR</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Ukr.SSR</u>	<u>%</u>	(8)
3,326,000	2,052,400	62	593,700	18.3	

The relationship is illustrated even more starkly by the following table:

No. of students in sec. spec. ed. inst. per 10,000 population.

<u>Year</u>	<u>1950-51</u>	<u>1958-59</u>	<u>1960-61</u>	<u>1961-62</u>	<u>1963-64</u>	<u>1964-65</u>	
USSR	71	90	95	120	132	145	
RSFSR	79	98	105	133	148	164	
Ukr.SSR	61	84	92	114	123	132	(9)

The number of students per 10,000 population for Ukraine is consistently lower than the number for the USSR or the RSFSR. If we subtract the number in Ukraine from the number in the RSFSR for each year we get the comparison of the difference from year to year:

<u>Year</u>	<u>1950-51</u>	<u>1958-59</u>	<u>1960-61</u>	<u>1961-62</u>	<u>1962-63</u>	<u>1963-64</u>
	18	14	13	19	25	32

This comparison again shows Ukraine's underprivileged position, and the expanding increase of that discrimination. A difference of 13 in 1960 has grown to a difference of 32 students in 1964 per 10,000 population between the number in the RSFSR and Ukraine.

Consequently Ukraine's % of the total number of graduates from technicums in the USSR is, also smaller than her % of the population:

No. of specialists with sec. spec. ed. in republics of USSR in 1964.

<u>USSR</u>	<u>RSFSR</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Ukr.SSR</u>	<u>%</u>	(10)
6,702,100	4,075,100	60.8	1,279,400	19.1	

Not only does a youth in Ukraine have less opportunity to enter a technicum in his native land, but a Ukrainian student has less chance of entering such an institution than a Russian in the USSR as a whole.

No. of students in sec. spec. ed. inst. of USSR by nationality for 1964.

<u>Total in USSR</u>	<u>Russians</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Ukrainians</u>	<u>%</u>	(11)
2,982,800	1,909,800	65.2	463,000	15.8	

This parallels the % of students with secondary special education in the USSR for 1964:

<u>Total in USSR</u>	<u>Russians</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Ukrainians</u>	<u>%</u>	(12)
6,702,100	4,361,400	65.1	1,067,100	15.9	

These figures are significant when we look at the population statistics of the USSR.

<u>Total in USSR</u>	<u>Russians</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Ukrainians</u>	<u>%</u>	(13)
208,826,650	111,113,579	54.7	37,352,930	17.8	

Thus with 54.7% of the population in the USSR, the Russians had in 1964 - 63.5% of the graduates of the secondary special educational institutions; Ukrainians with 17.8% of the population had only 15.7% of the graduates.

But, above all, Ukrainian students are discriminated against in admissions to technicums in Ukraine itself as is evident from the following table for the school year 1961 - 62:

No. of students in sec. spec. ed. inst. of Ukr.SSR by nationality:

<u>Total</u>	<u>Ukrainians</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Russians</u>	<u>%</u>	(14)
151,809	311,113	69.1	112,904	24.8	

In their native land, Ukrainians, with 76.8% of the population, make up only 69.1% of the students of technicums; Russians with 16.9% of the population of Ukraine make up 24.8% of the students.

It is natural to assume that there is also financial discrimination against the system of secondary special education in Ukraine. The following data of expenditures in million of roubles for technicums in 1960 reveals the degree:

<u>Total budget for USSR</u>	<u>RSFSR</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Ukr.SSR</u>	<u>%</u>	(15)
486.6	294.4	60.5	90.3	18.5	

There is also discrimination against the Ukrainian language. Careful personal investigation by the author during his two years in Ukraine revealed that the language of instruction in the technicums of transport, construction, production, agriculture, economics, medicine (for training nurses and felshers), trade and commerce, forestry, technology and music was Russian. Ukrainian is still partially used in the cultural - educational and pedagogical

A traveller to the USSR described to this writer his visit to a technicum in rural Bukovina in Ukraine. The director was away in Moscow on school business; officials whom he met at the school spoke to him in Russian, although he was a Ukrainian; the whole atmosphere at the school - signs, slogans, bulletin boards, books - was Russian.

A student in a technicum in Kiev who insisted on speaking only Ukrainian was warned several times by officials of the school. Later he was detained by the KGB. The principal then expelled him from the students' dormitory. I asked another student who attended a technicum in Kiev, where most of the pupils were Ukrainian, what would happen if he spoke to the principal in Ukrainian. He replied:

"I would not dare."

The fact and extent of Russification of the technicums is confirmed by the "Rules of Admission to the Secondary Special Educational Institutions of the USSR for 1966" in which we read that:

"Entrants to secondary special educational institutions complete entrance examinations of the Russian language for all courses with the exception of individuals who are entering courses where instruction is not in Russian, and who, instead of an examination of the Russian language, complete entrance examinations of the language in which lecturing is conducted in the given course." (16)

Needless to say, the language in which all examinations are conducted is, of course, Russian. The Ukrainian language is taught as a subject in the technicums, but it takes second place to Russian in the number of hours it is allotted. In a bulletin of instructions to directors of secondary special educational institutions, dated July 10, 1962, (see figures 6, 7) the ministry of secondary special education of the USSR laid down the following timetable for the study of literature with number of hours per year:

Russian in day schools - 135
Ukrainian in day schools - 120

Russian in night schools - 120
Ukrainian in night schools - 90

There is no mention of examinations in Russian literature and we assume that these are held, but it is specifically stated that there are no examinations in Ukrainian literature. In correspondence schools there are to be two examinations in Russian literature and only one in Ukrainian. Students entering technicums, who had had never studied the Ukrainian language are not required to take it.

This atmosphere, in which Ukrainian is relegated to second place, encourages Russian students to show their disregard and even contempt for the Ukrainian language. In the Odessa cooperative technicum the teacher of Ukrainian has often found when she entered the classroom, written insults on the blackboard against the Ukrainian language, such as the following:

"Now begins the lesson of the donkey language."

In the Odessa theatrical technicum, Russian students announced at the beginning of the 1964 - 65 school year to the teacher of Ukrainian that:

"We have no intention of working on the Ukrainian stage, we spit on the Ukrainian stage (nam naplevat na ukrainsky stseni), and, therefore, will not participate in your lectures."

They then walked out and stayed out. The director took no disciplinary measures.

Authorities not only do not punish such demonstrations of scorn and contempt for the Ukrainian language, but covertly encourage, and then hold them up as manifestations of "popular will" and use them as pretexts for further Russification.

Several cases were related to this writer of Russian teachers in technicums, who waged persistent campaigns against the Ukrainian language. In the Odessa cultural - educational school, which trains librarians and cultural workers for villages, a Russian teacher of history proclaimed that:

"The Ukrainian is a dying language. We have a universal language - Russian. We should stick to it and cultivate it."

Similar ideas were as emphatically expressed by Russian teachers in the Odessa technicum of food industry. Should, on the other hand a Ukrainian speak up in defense of the Ukrainian language, he would immediately be branded as a "Bourgeois nationalist" (see glossary) and terrorized into silence.

We can gauge the extent of Russification of these schools, by analyzing the data on book publishing in the USSR. Let us look at the number and language of textbooks for technicians in 1955:

<u>Total for USSR</u>	<u>RSFSR</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>UkrSSR</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Other Republics</u>	<u>%</u>
334	254	76	19	6	61	18 (17)

We find that the RSFSR with 56.3% of the population published 76% of the textbooks for technicians. We do not know the language of the 6% printed in Ukraine, but we do know that those in Russia were not printed in Ukrainian as there were no books printed in Ukrainian in the RSFSR.

In the years from 1955 to 1964 (data for 1965 not yet available) there are no listings of textbooks for technicians under the national republics in this source, but there is other data which is even more revealing (16) :

Textbooks for technicians in the USSR by language.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total for USSR</u>	<u>Russian</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>All other lang. of USSR</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>In other languages *</u>
1962	1,524	1,196	78.5	311	20.4	17
1963	1,482	1,143	77.1	319	21.5	20
1964	1,723	1,353	78.5	311	18.	59

(* These are probably in foreign languages for foreign language courses.) (18)

Here we find that in all the non-Russian languages of the USSR, which are the native tongues of 45.3% of the population, were published in 1964 only 18% of the textbooks for technicians.

A special catalogue of all technical books published in the Ukr.SSR for 1965 lists eleven textbooks for technicians. Of these, ten are in Russian with editions up to 40,000 and one in Ukrainian with an edition of 4,000. (19) (see figure 8)

The Ukrainian monthly journals of books lists the following three handbooks for students of technicians (all in Russian):

Donetsk City School of Artists - Decorators of Graphic Agitation, Regulations and Course of Studies. Donetsk, 1963. (20)

Donetsk Agricultural Technicum (Handbook For Entrants). Donetsk, 1964. (21)

Lviv Medical School No. 2. (Handbook For Entrants). Lviv, 1964. (22)

Significant is the fact that even the handbook for the school in Lviv should be in Russian.

Significant also is another fact; the technicians are not all under one authority. Some come under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education of the republic; others come under various other ministries, committees and agencies. But, strange as it may seem, many of these are agencies of the USSR. Thus in Ukraine in 1964, of 659 technicians 42 came under the jurisdiction of such agencies. Among these were the following: (23)

No.	Type of technicum	Agency which has jurisdiction
4	communications	Ministry of Communications of USSR
5	hydro power	State Com. of Energetics & Electrification of USSR
7	construction	State Prod. Com. of Transport Const. of USSR
15	railway transport	Ministry of Means of Communication of USSR

There are those who applaud the new rulers - Brezhnev and Kosygin - as heralds of a new era in the USSR. Certainly they have made some changes. Among these is the reorganization of the Councils of the National Economy (Radsnarhospy) into ministries. This affected the jurisdiction over technicians in Ukraine. All those that had been under the Councils of the National Economy of the Ukr.SSR, after the reorganization, came under the ministries of the USSR. Among these were the following technicians: (24) (see figures 9, 10)

- 4 automation
- 4 industry of food supplies
- 5 mechanical
- 7 chemical industry
- 11 light industry
- 15 mining
- 22 machine building

Consequently in 1966, out of a total of 673 technicums in the Ukr.SSR, 140 were under the jurisdiction of agencies and ministries of the USSR - an increase of 98 from 1964.

Not only are the language of instruction and the textbooks in the trade schools and technicums of Ukraine foreign, not only are Ukrainians discriminated against in these very schools, but the schools themselves are gradually coming under the control of agencies outside Ukraine. In the face of this, shamelessly and hypocritically, the hierarchy in the Kremlin announced to the world that they are:

"... promoting the free development of the languages of the peoples of the USSR and the complete freedom of every citizen of the USSR to speak, and to bring up and educate his children, in any language, ruling out all privileges, restrictions or compulsions in the use of this or that language. By virtue of the fraternal friendship and mutual trust of peoples, national languages are developing on a basis of equality and mutual enrichment." (25)

Higher Education

Discrimination against Ukraine and her students, frenzied haste bordering on insanity to Russify, and absolute control over all aspects of the educational process by the central government is most evident in higher education. Financially Ukraine gets less than her share of the total education budget for higher educational institutions. This is clear from the following table when we remember that the RSFSR has 56.3% of the total population of the USSR and the Ukr.SSR has 20%. Budget for higher ed. inst. for 1960 in million of roubles.

<u>Total for all republics</u>	<u>RSFSR</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Ukr.SSR</u>	<u>%</u>	
1,110.9	689.9	62.9	182.1	16.4	(1)

This, in turn, means that Ukraine will also suffer as to the number of higher educational institutions she will have as indicated by the following table:

Comparison of no. of higher ed. inst. in RSFSR and Ukr.SSR.

<u>Year</u>	<u>1940-41</u>	<u>1950-51</u>	<u>1958-59</u>	<u>1960-61</u>	<u>1962-63</u>	<u>1963-64</u>	<u>1964-65</u>	
USSR	817	880	766	739	738	742	754	
RSFSR	481	516	441	430	426	427	432	
% of total	58.9	58.6	57.6	58.2	57.7	57.5	57.3	
Ukr.SSR	173	160	140	135	133	131	132	
% of total	21	18.2	18.3	18.3	18	17.7	17.5	(2)

Not only is Ukraine's % of the higher educational institutions smaller than her % of the total population but it declined from 21% in 1940 to 17.5% in 1964.

Ukraine's % of students in the higher educational institutions in relation to the total population of the USSR is even smaller.

No. of students in higher ed. inst. in republics of the USSR for 1960-61;

<u>USSR</u>	<u>RSFSR</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Ukr.SSR</u>	<u>%</u>	
2,395,500	1,496,100	62.5	117,700	17.4	(3)

It is interesting and significant to note Ukraine's % of the total number of students in higher educational institutions of the USSR (Russian Empire in 1914-15)

in previous years:

<u>1914 - 15</u> (pres. boundaries)	<u>1927 - 28</u>	<u>1933 - 34</u>	<u>1940 - 41</u>	
27.6	17.3	21.	24.2	(4)

We can compare the relationship another way:

No. of students per 10,000 pop. in higher ed. inst. of republics of USSR.

Year	1940	1950	1958	1960	1963	1964
USSR	41	69	104	111	144	157
RSFSR	43	77	116	124	161	176
Ukr.SSR	47	54	91	97	121	143

(5)

Although Ukraine's number was higher in 1940 than the average for the USSR, it has remained consistently smaller in all other years for which data are available.

Another fact is significant:

Comparison of diff. in no. of students per 10,000 between RSFSR and Ukr.SSR.

Year	1950	1958	1960	1963	1964
	23	25	27	40	33

The size of the education budget is also reflected in student aid in Ukraine as is evident from the following table for 1960:

No. of students of higher ed. inst. receiving stipends in republics of USSR.

USSR	RSFSR	%	Ukr.SSR	%
847,031	514,374	60.7	119,580	17.7

(6)

Many students are sponsored and given a stipend by various economic enterprises to attend higher educational institutions. The data on this type of student aid for 1960 indicates the same discrimination against students of Ukraine.

No. of students sponsored by enterprises in republics of USSR.

USSR	RSFSR	%	Ukr.SSR	%
257,886	157,586	61.1	11,535	16.1

(7)

With some exceptions, students in the USSR are required to go to work for at least two years after graduating from secondary school before being eligible for admission to a higher educational institution. However, these exceptions do not apply in the same measure to students of all republics. In the RSFSR 43% of the students admitted in 1960 - 61 were exempt; in Ukraine only 25%. Stating this in reverse: 57% of the students in the RSFSR had work experience before being admitted; whereas in Ukraine 75% had such experience. (8)

As a result of this policy of discrimination, Ukraine suffers in the number of her graduates as the following table reveals:

No. of grads. with higher ed. per 1000 pop. in republics of USSR, 1959.

USSR	RSFSR	Ukr.SSR
18	19	17

(9)

But the discrimination against students in Ukraine is felt mainly by the Ukrainians. It is much easier for an urban than a rural youth to gain admittance to a higher educational institution. The reasons for this are many: city schools are better equipped and provide better instruction; intellectual stimulation is greater in a city environment; the language of instruction in city schools is, for the most part, in Russian, which is also the language used in the higher educational institutions and the language in which entrance exams are written. Russian youths are consequently, favoured because most of them live in cities. (10)

They are also favoured because Russians occupy a disproportionate number of leading positions in the republic. An influential parent can mean more in terms of educational advancement in the USSR than sheer mental ability and high academic achievement.

Students admitted to higher educational institutions are carefully screened.

With the application forms they must present

"... character references from party, YCL, trade union and other public organizations..."

(11)

In this case a Ukrainian is at a double disadvantage: firstly, in many leading positions sit Russians. (They made up 26.6% of the party delegates at the XXII Congress of the CPU in 1961(12), secondly, parents of rural youth, as a rule, are not party members. In villages the only members are generally local officials, and many of these very often are not Ukrainians.

Obviously, local officials, especially if they are Russians, would be reluctant to recommend Ukrainian students. As party members they must be guided by the party constitution, which states that a party member must "carry on a struggle with survivals of nationalism." (13) Any emphasis on national customs, tradition or language can be and often is interpreted as "nationalism". One can imagine the attitude of a local party official to the son of a peasant who had strong attachment to custom and tradition.

How strongly these and other factors affect the admission of Ukrainians to schools of higher learning in Ukraine can be seen from the following data on the

national composition of the students of these institutions for 1960 - 61:

<u>Total for UkrSSR</u>	<u>Ukrainians</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Russians</u>	<u>%</u>	
417,748	260,945	62.5	125,464	30	(14)

The relative position of Ukrainians in the higher educational institutions in the USSR is no better. Their number for 1964, was as follows:

<u>Total in USSR</u>	<u>Russians</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Ukrainians</u>	<u>%</u>	
3,260,700	1,987,900	61	476,400	14.6	(15)

If a Ukrainian wishes to go on to post-graduate work he will find the discrimination even greater. It is apparently deemed by the Russian ruling hierarchy not safe to allow too many Ukrainians to achieve higher academic standing: they could become a threat to Russian Hegemony in Ukraine. The rules of admission to republican institutions are laid down by official decree of the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education of the USSR and the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. (16)

The section on quotes of post-graduate student reads as follows:

"Summary annual quotes of admittance to post-graduate work in all higher educational institutions and research-scientific institutes of the ministries, councils of the national economy and other enterprises are examined and confirmed in accordance with the requirements of the national economy of the USSR by the Ministry of Higher Education of the USSR, and for scientific-research institutes of the Academy of Sciences of the union republics by the presidium of the academy in question." (17)

In addition, the number of institutions in Ukraine, empowered by decree of the CC of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR, August 20, 1956, to accept candidate and PhD theses for defense and recommend students for such degrees is very limited as is evident from the following data:

No. of institutions in USSR with power to recommend candidate and PhD students for degrees.

<u>Total in USSR</u>	<u>RSFSR</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Ukr.SSR</u>	<u>%</u>	
261	195	74.7	23*	8.8	(18)
(* Two of these are under jurisdiction of an all-union ministry)					

Although their Russian equivalents are included, we find the following Ukrainian institutions not among those that have such power:

Kiev State Conservatory of Music
 Kiev Karpenko-Kary state Institute of Theatrical Arts
 Kiev State Institute of Fine Arts
 Kiev Gorky Pedagogical Institute
 Higher Party School of the CC of the CPU (19)

For advanced studies in these fields Ukrainians must go to Moscow where Russians decide how many and who, from among Ukrainians, will be admitted.

The effect of these restrictions on the proportion of post graduate students in Ukraine, as compared with the RSFSR is most unfavourable for Ukraine:

No. of post grad. students in republics of USSR in 1964.

USSR	RSFSR	%	UkrSSR	%
83,271	56,323	67.6	10,604	12.8

(20)

If a student wishes to enroll for post graduate work at an institute of the Academy of Science of the USSR, he will be confronted with even more severe restrictions. Those accepted must be "worthy candidates", not only capable of achievement, but also politically reliable. In addition, students are accepted in the institutes of the academy of sciences of the USSR from the republican academies

"... only in those disciplines in which locally there are no faculty advisors and no material and technical resources". (21)

But, the students, who are accepted, receive their stipends not from the academy of the USSR, but from the republican academy. Clearly, the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, which is financed by funds from all republics, is in reality the Academy of Sciences of the RSFSR, and its facilities are basically reserved for Russians. And this is called "aid to the academies of science of the union republics..." (22).

Has hypocrisy ever known lower depths?

As one would expect, the policy of discrimination against post graduate students in Ukraine is reflected in the number of scientists in Ukraine.

No. of scientists in national republics of USSR.

Year	USSR	RSFSR	%	UkrSSR	%
1940	98,315	61,872	62.9	19,304	19.6
1950	162,508	111,699	68.7	22,363	13.7
1958	284,038	194,849	68.6	36,550	12.9
1960	354,158	242,872	68.3	46,657	13.2
1962	524,546	362,528	69.1	71,035	13.5
1963	565,958	389,326	68.8	78,866	13.9
1964	611,964	419,512	68.6	86,957	14.2

(23)

Although Ukraine's % of the total number of scientists in the USSR, has very slowly climbed, it is still a long way from the pre-war level; Russia's % is considerably above the pre-war level.

A further breakdown of statistics indicates that the % of PhD's in Ukraine is even smaller:

No. of scientists with PhD degrees in republics of the USSR for 1964.

USSR	RSFSR	%	UkrSSR	%	
13,713	9,693	70.7	1,751	12.8	(24)

By comparing the % of the population engaged chiefly in physical and in mental labour in the USSR, RSFSR and the UkrSSR for 1959 we obtain the following table:

	USSR	RSFSR	UkrSSR	
Physical	79.3	77.4	82.2	
Mental	20.7	22.6	17.8	(25)

It is quite easy to see who are the "hewers of wood and the drawers of water".

It is obvious that there is planned discrimination against the UkrSSR in the amount of money she obtains for higher education, in the number of institutions, students, graduates, post graduates, scientists and PhD's. (See appendix V) But the discrimination against Ukrainians as a nationality in post graduate schools of the USSR is even more marked than in the graduate, as is revealed by the following table:

No. of post grad. students in USSR by nationality in 1960.

Total in USSR	Russians	%	Ukrainians	%	
36,754	21,512	58.5	4,081	11.1	(26)

This, as can be logically assumed, adversely influenced the number of scientists in the USSR of Ukrainian nationality as we see by the following table:

No. of scientists in USSR by nationality for 1964.

USSR	Russians	%	Ukrainians	%	
611,664	404,170	66	65,094	10.6	(27)

Let us now analyze statistics for Ukraine for the national composition of specialists:

National comp. of specialists with higher ed. in UkrSSR for 1960.

Total for UkrSSR	Ukrainians	%	Russians	%	
685,851	399,931	58.3	181,489	26.5	(28)

universities - Kiev, Lviv, Uzhorod and Chernivtsi - Ukrainian is still used by some lecturers in some of the other faculties as well, especially in the social sciences. In Kiev, according to estimates of persons who are well acquainted with the situation, between 20 and 25% of the lectures are in Ukrainian. In Lviv, Uzhorod and Chernivtsi it may be slightly higher.

The other higher educational institutions: polytechnical, industrial, medical, trade and commerce, agricultural and economic, have all been completely Russianized except for those in Western Ukraine where the native tongue is used by some lecturers.

It is not openly admitted, but, occasionally statements are unwittingly made in unguarded moments that confirm the fact that the language of instruction in higher educational institutions of non-Russian republics is Russian. In a pamphlet meant for internal distribution Bilodid wrote:

"Many students of various nationalities study in large scientific and educational centres of the country - Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Kharkiv, Lviv, Novosibirsk, Minsk, Tbilisi and others. Possibility of such study for students of all nationalities is realized by a knowledge of the Russian language." (31)

A teacher in a national republic, pointing out that graduates of technicums do not have a full mastery of the Russian language, blames the condition on the insufficient number of hours assigned to Russian and, to strengthen her case, asks:

"Will the graduates of the secondary special educational institutions of the national republics be able to complete the entrance examinations for the higher educational institutions of Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, and other cities where instruction is carried on in the Russian language?" (32)

For the school year 1960 - 61, besides Ukrainians, there were listed as attending the higher educational institutions of Ukraine, students of thirty-three nationalities and some whose nationality was not listed. (See appendix II). Altogether they made up 37.5% of all the students of such institutions in Ukraine. Obviously this practise of accepting students from one republic in the schools of another is greatly encouraged and is a widely used means of Russification of the educational

institutions of the national republics. This writer was informed while in the USSR by highly placed officials that there were even quotas for each institution of the number of students of each nationality that it was obliged to enroll. Even Russification is planned in a planned economy!

Russification is advanced by various means and on all fronts. Over the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education of the UkrSSR stands a similar ministry of the USSR. This ministry appoints the Minister for Ukraine, his assistants, rectors of all universities and institutes; this minister approves all courses of studies, all entrance examinations, textbooks and final examinations.

One of the committees of this all - union ministry is the Higher Attestational Commission (VAK). It confirms the appointments of members of the academic councils of the higher educational and scientific research institutes, supervises their granting of degrees below the candidate (M.A.) level, confirms candidate and Ph.D. degrees and bestows the titles of senior scientific researcher, assistant professor and professor. (33)

Everywhere Russians are given a wide preference. In every institute they hold many of the key posts: rectors, prorectors, faculty heads and professors. Let us look at some of the names in key positions in higher education in Kiev:

Min. of Higher and Secondary Special Education	Badenkov
Rector Polytechnical Institute	Plagunov
Rector Technological Institute of Light Industry	Orlev
Rector Engineering Construction Institute	Vetrov
Rector Ukrainian Academy of Agricultural Sciences	Peresipkin
Rector State Institute of Physical Culture	Laputin
Director Kiev Institute for Improving Qualifications of Teachers	Kobyakov
Director Ukrainian Scientific Research Institute of Pedagogy	Chopilev

Last autumn a new university opened in Ukraine in Donetsk. It too will have its share of "elder brothers" from Russia. We were informed that doctors of science would arrive to fill posts on the staff from Moscow, Sverdlovsk, Kharkiv, Saratov, Lviv and Voronezh. (34)

Another means of Russification is through the language of the textbooks. The number of titles published in Ukraine for higher educational institutions in 1964 as a % of the total for the USSR was as follows:

<u>Total for USSR</u>	<u>RSFSR</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>UkrSSR</u>	<u>%</u>	
3,357	2,100	71.9	335	10.	(35)

Ukrains with 20% of the population of the USSR published 10% of the textbooks. But because they were published in Ukraine does not necessarily mean they were in the native tongue. We have no exact data as to the language of these texts, but there is a breakdown giving the total number of textbooks and pamphlets for higher education published in Russian and the non-Russian languages of the USSR as follows:

<u>Total for USSR</u>	<u>In Russian</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>In all other lang. of USSR</u>	<u>%</u>	
5,354	4,520	77.2	892	15.2	(36)

There is further evidence that most of those published in Ukraine are in Russian. Following is a letter, dated June 22, 1964 and received by the director of the Kiev publishing house, "Tekhnika", G.P. Solnikov (a Russian, of course).

The Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education of the Ukrainian SSR is forwarding to you a list, authorized by the committee of the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education of the USSR, of educational literature for 1965-66 (in Russian only) for higher educational institutions for which you publish.

Deputy Minister, I. Dzubko.

A check of the 1965 catalogue of technical and scientific books published in Ukraine (37) reveals that "Tekhnika" is not slated to published even one text book in Ukrainian for either the higher educational institutions or the technicians. (See figure 11). When we check the catalogue of publications of Kharkiv University for 1965 (38) we find that there are 15 text books authorized for higher educational institutions - all are in Russian. (See figure 12).

Reference books in libraries are also predominantly in Russian. The libraries of many educational institutions publish monthly bulletins of incoming books. The Kiev Gorky Pedagogical Institute lists for Jan. 1965 a total of 236 new books, of which 205 are in Russian and only 31 in Ukrainian (39). All books on philosophy, "scientific" communism, economics, history, cybernetics, astronomy, technology, linguistics, music, physiology, medicine and methods of teaching physics, languages and literature were in Russian. (See figure 14) And this is an institution that is still predominantly Ukrainian. In the technical and scientific institutes the library books are all in Russian.

Many higher educational institutes in Ukraine are directed under the jurisdiction of ministries or committees of the USSR. In 1964, of 125 institutes in Ukraine, 24, or 20% were in this category. (40) Among these the two Institutes for Mechanization of Agriculture, the two Veterinary Institutes, the Ukrainian Academy of Agricultural Sciences and the twelve Agricultural Institutes are under the control of the Ministry of Agriculture of the USSR since 1964. (See figure 15) Prior, they were under the Ministry of Agriculture of the UkrSSR. (See figure 16) There is no question about the language of instruction in these institutions.

There are many foreign students enrolled in Ukrainian higher educational institutions. In 1965 there were over 200 foreign students from 20 countries of the world studying in the Ukrainian Academy of Agricultural Sciences. (41) They begin attending regular lectures after a six month basic course in Russian. In 1964 there were 401 students from 32 countries taking such courses at the Preparatory Faculty for Foreign Citizens at Kiev University. (42) These students from abroad have become a pretext for Russification. In the Lviv Polytechnical Institute a few such students were assigned to each class and the lecturers were ordered to switch over to Russian. In the Kiev Medical Institute several obdurate professors received orders direct from the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education of the USSR in Moscow to lecture in Russian.

To get a clearer picture of the process of Russification let us follow a student from a Ukrainian secondary school as he prepares to enter Kiev University. First he must write entrance examinations which will be in Russian and for which he studied from Russian texts. (See figure 17) With him, trying the examinations, will be many Russians. They will have the advantage because he studied in a Ukrainian school and does not know Russian as well as they do. If he fails, he will be reproached: "You should have attended a Russian school."

If successful he may be assigned to a student dormitory where he will find that notices on bulletin boards, slogans, wall and regular newspapers and magazines, will be for the most part in Russian. The attendants at the hostel will also be Russian. If he insists on speaking Ukrainian he will be regarded critically and derisively and perhaps even labelled a "bourgeois nationalist".

When he goes to the book kiosk and asks for Ukrainian textbooks, a Russian

speaking clerk will measure him contemptuously from head to foot and snarl: "Nyem, tolko na russkom yazyke". ("No, we only have them in the Russian language.")

The professors will in most cases lecture in Russian: there may be a lack of textbooks in Ukrainian; Russian and foreign students may be present who will demand that lectures be in Russian as they do not understand Ukrainian; the professor may be afraid to go against official policy; he may be a Russian born in Ukraine or directed there.

Our student will come in contact with the rector, prorectors, faculty heads and other officials. He will find that many of them are Russians. Since they will speak their native tongue, others must answer in the same language, because "it is not cultured not to reply in the tongue one is addressed." When he goes to the library to study, he will find that most reference books are also in Russian.

After graduating he will come before a government board to "choose" his place of employment. The choice may be wide: Siberia, Kazakhstan, the Urals or the Island of Sakhalin. His diploma will be sent to the personnel department at his place of employment and will be made available to him after his three years of service at the assigned place of employment.

If accepted, a graduate goes on to advanced studies. The degree of "candidate" (M.A.) is conferred by a VAK in Moscow. If his thesis is satisfactory notification to that effect is forwarded to him, if it is not acceptable he does not get any explanation or an opportunity to rewrite it. Appeals and requests for an explanation are to no avail. There is no stipulation as to which language should be used in writing a thesis. A student may write it in Ukrainian, but in Moscow they only read Russian. So he waits hopefully; no word from VAK. Some students have been waiting for years. The word gets around; most theses are now written in Russian. There is no pressure, you understand; it is all "voluntary". Of course, a few are accepted in Ukrainian. In 1960 there was, for all Ukraine, a grand total of eleven! (43)

We can only conclude that there is a planned and organized discrimination in education against the UkrSSR (See appendix V), against Ukrainians in their own republic (See appendix VII), against Ukrainians in the USSR as a whole (See appendix VI) and against the Ukrainian language in all spheres of education. In the meantime official Soviet propaganda tirelessly continues to assert, as in the following, that:

The Ukrainian language clearly resounds in more than 40,000 schools where instruction is in the native tongue, in 135 higher educational institutions of the republics, in technicums, theatres and all cultural - educational institutions. (44)

VI In Defense of Language

When Ukrainians and other non-Russians in the USSR are being denied the right to education in their native languages, minorities in other states are enjoying full national privileges. On the USSR's north - western border lies the little country of Finland. Of its population of 4,500,000 about 8.5% are Swedes. For this minority, in their native language, there are elementary and high schools, a school of economics and a university. In addition, nearly all courses at the Institute of Technology and the University of Helsinki are given in both languages. Finnish is compulsory as a language in all Swedish schools and vice versa. Both languages are used on street and other signs, in broadcasting, government and parliament. There are Swedish newspapers and periodicals and Swedish units in the Finnish army.

The central European country of Switzerland also has a population of about 4,500,000, of which 69% are German, 19% French, 10% Italians and 1% Romansh. Although the Germans form over two-thirds of the population, there is no attempt to impose that language on the three minorities. Each national group has elementary and secondary schools in its native tongue. A second national language, German or French, is compulsory in all schools from grade two. Instruction in the universities is in one of the three national languages; in a few, instruction is in two languages. In social and economic life the language of the local inhabitants is used. All three, German, French and Italian, have the constitutional status of official languages, with the first two being used in diplomacy. Government communications are written in the native tongue of the addressee. The Romansh language is also regarded as a national language, and, even though it is spoken by only 50,000 people, every measure is taken for its preservation.

In Canada, of a population of nearly 20,000,000, about 5,500,000 are French Canadians, whose ancestors first settled here over three centuries ago. About 75% of them live in the province of Quebec. The official language is French; it prevails in government, business, education and military units of the Canadian army.

French Canadians in five other provinces, Ontario, Saskatchewan, Alberta, Manitoba and New Brunswick, where they live in sufficient numbers, have both elementary and secondary schools with instruction in their native tongue, French is the second official language in Canada and is used in government and parliament.

These are examples of how capitalist states resolve the national problem. Let us turn to socialist countries that are composed of two or more national groups. Czechoslovakia has a population of 9,000,000 Czechs and nearly 4,000,000 Slovaks. Both are official state languages. Slovakia has full and complete national autonomy; its language prevails in all walks of life. There is not one Czech school in all of Slovakia. If a traveller enters Czechoslovakia through Slovakia, he is greeted by Slovaks in their native language.

Another, multi-national Socialist state is Yugoslavia, with a population of 20,000,000. In three of the six federal republics - Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Montenegro - the population, totalling nearly 8,000,000, is Serbian. In Croatia where there live nearly 4,500,000 people, the language is identical to the Serbian with the exception of minor differences in accentuation and the use of the Latin alphabet instead of the Cyrillic. Slovenes with a population of 1,600,000 and Macedonians (1) with about 1,000,000, are related to the Serbs, but have separate languages and literatures. All three - Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian and Macedonian - have complete equality in government, economic life and education. Schools exist in all three languages from the elementary to the university level. The official organ of the party is *Kommunist*; it is published in four languages: Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian and Macedonian. There are also several national minorities in Yugoslavia - Albanians, Hungarians and others; they all have elementary schools in their native tongues where there are sufficient numbers.

We are particularly interested in the fate of Ukrainian minorities, which are found in a number of countries. In Poland they number 300,000, but unfortunately, are rather widely dispersed. However, there are elementary schools where the language of instruction is Ukrainian and elementary and secondary Polish schools where Ukrainian is taught as a subject if seven or more pupils register for it.

Normal schools and the University of Warsaw also provides advanced classes in Ukrainian language and literature. Ukrainians have cultural societies with choirs, dance ensembles and drama groups. They publish a weekly newspaper, a monthly literary supplement, an annual almanac, school texts and the works of Ukrainian writers in Poland. For the last several years they have also organized a weekly Ukrainian radio program.

Czechoslovakia has 70,000 Ukrainians, who live in a compact mass in the eastern regions of Slovakia. They have over 200 elementary and secondary schools with nearly 20,000 pupils. Ukrainian is also taught in the pedagogical institute and the university in Prashiv. There is a very active Ukrainian cultural organization, a national theatre, a professional song and dance ensemble, cultural centres with their choirs and dance and drama groups, libraries, a weekly newspaper, a children's magazine, a literary journal and an almanac. Ukrainians in Czechoslovakia have produced a number of prominent writers, whose works are published in Ukrainian, and several talented artists and sculptors. The centre of the Ukrainian community is the town of Prashiv from where there are also Ukrainian broadcasts, totalling twenty-two hours per week.

Romania's Ukrainian minority also numbers 70,000, but they do not live as compactly as in Czechoslovakia. However, they have their elementary schools and Ukrainian departments at normal schools and at the Bucharest University. There are Ukrainian cultural societies with libraries, and choir, dance and drama groups. Ukrainians publish a weekly paper, school textbooks and literary works of their writers in Romanian.

In Jugoslavia there are only 45,000 Ukrainians, who are quite widely dispersed. Yet they have several elementary schools with over 1300 pupils, a Shevchenko cultural society, a publishing firm that produces books for their schools, a weekly newspaper, and a monthly literary journal. Lately they have expanded their activities with a weekly radio program.

The Ukrainian population of the United States numbers about 1,500,000, but is widely scattered throughout the country. However they have hundreds of cultural and religious institutions, museums, tens of newspapers and journals, book publishing firms, and academic societies.

There are private Ukrainian schools, which hold classes for children in the evening and on Saturdays, and regular elementary and secondary schools. Ukrainians have achieved prominence in many walks of life as scientists, professors, artists, writers and professionals. In 1964 Ukrainians erected in Washington a monument to T.H. Shevchenko, the national poet of Ukraine.

Canada has about 500,000 Ukrainians scattered from the Atlantic to the Pacific. They also have their cultural and religious centres, libraries, museums, newspapers and journals. There are two monuments to Shevchenko, one at Palermo near Toronto and one on the legislative grounds in Winnipeg. Ukrainian is taught in private cultural centres at night and on Saturdays, in the secondary schools of Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan, and in many universities. The Ukrainian community has produced prominent scientists, educators and professional men. There are Ukrainians in provincial legislatures and provincial cabinets, in the House of Commons and in the Senate. In the previous federal cabinet, an outstanding Ukrainian, the Honourable M. Starr, was minister of labour.

The largest Ukrainian group outside the UkrSSR lives in the RSFSR. According to the census they number 3,359,083 (2). In reality there are many more. It is unpopular in the RSFSR to regard oneself as a Ukrainian; many, therefore, gave their nationality as Russian when the census was taken. These millions of Ukrainians in the RSFSR do not have one Ukrainian social or cultural society, not one choir, dance or drama group, not one newspaper. Moreover, it may even be difficult for a Ukrainian in the RSFSR to obtain a Ukrainian newspaper, because subscriptions are not readily accepted for newspapers outside the RSFSR by the agency through which they must be channelled. There is an equal problem with Ukrainian books, which must be ordered from Kiev. The schools that existed were arbitrarily closed in the early 1930's. Stalin has died; his misrule was denounced, but the schools remained closed despite requests to the government, the CC and the XXII and XXIII Congresses of the party from Ukrainians in the RSFSR and the UkrSSR that they be reopened.

Requests on behalf of these Ukrainians were even made by a very prominent Ukrainian lawyer from Canada (now deceased), who visited the USSR three times and on each occasion raised the question with Khrushchov. The first time, the latter replied he would investigate it, the second time he said that Ukrainians in the RSFSR were not interested in having their own schools and the third time he simply told his visitor not to stir up the national question.

This same policy, dictated by the CC in Moscow, is applied to other national minorities. In Ukraine the Czech, Slovak, Greek, Bulgar and Romanian population totals over 450,000 (See appendix I). Not only do they not have any schools, but there was not even one student listed as attending any higher educational institutions in the UkrSSR in 1960, from any of these groups (See appendix II). This is not, of course, the fault of the Ukrainians. In the 1920's and 1930's there were schools in Ukraine for national minorities. Jews in Ukraine number 840,311. They are also denied the right to have their schools. When I asked a Jewish citizen of Kiev why he did not organize a private Jewish school to provide night classes for Jewish children, he was horrified and, by way of answer, asked:

"Do you want me to be sentenced to Siberia?"

This is how the Soviet government "solves" the national problem, but they do not call their policy Russification, heavens no! A completely new terminology has been invented. Khrushchov, speaking at the XXII Congress in 1961 described it thus:

In our country there is going on a drawing together of nations... In the process of the unfolding construction of communism there will be achieved the complete unity of nations. (3)

This has since been widely commented upon, explained and expanded by official high priests. Each time new additions are made till we now have the following:

In the period of the development of communism there is objective intensification of the aspiration of peoples to an all-sided drawing together on the basis of unfolding communist relationships. The development of this tendency takes place under conditions of further consolidation of a new international community of people - the Soviet nation...

... this community of people of various nationalities is a transitional stage on the road to the complete future merging of nations. (4)

What was condemned by Lenin as Russification has now become "the drawing together of nations", "the achievement of complete unity" and "the merging of nations". To strengthen their case they quote Lenin who said:

The proletarian party ... aspires to the drawing together and further merging of nations, but this aim it wishes to achieve not by force, but by an exclusively free, fraternal union of the labouring masses of all nations. (5)

To Lenin, the terms did not mean Russification. He vehemently opposed the imposition of the Russian language on non-Russians and worked to promote the development of national languages. Like all great men he looked into the dim and distant future and saw a great community of free people, draw together by common bonds, based on the brotherhood of man and speaking a common language. But this would be a new language forged in the process of developing civilization. Nowhere did he say that it would be Russian.

Let us assume that milleniums from now there will emerge one universal language. Does that justify denying to living languages today the right to full and free development? We are told by scientists that millions of years from now life on our planet will become extinct. Is anyone vindicated in starting an atomic holocaust to hasten that extinction? By the very laws of nature my neighbour is doomed to die. Would I be justified to kill him now? We know that all things born are doomed to die, including civilizations, cultures and languages. But should they not be allowed to live out their full span? Why must the Ukrainian language be denied the right to bud, to flower, to run its full course and make its contribution to civilization? Why must it be annihilated in the bud? We have examples of civilizations destroyed. Are we not the poorer for this? Did not part of our heritage perish when Carthage was destroyed?

And by what right does the more powerful Russian nation impose its language on Ukraine? Is it not by the right of might? We are told that through a natural process of rapproachment of all Soviet peoples all nationalities are accepting the Russian language

and, moreover, are accepting it willingly. Yet during Lenin's time and for almost a decade after his death there was a period of rapid development of the Ukrainian language and culture. Beginning in the early 1930's the leaders of this movement were arrested and physically destroyed along with millions of the common people, while the rest were subjected to terror and persecution. From whence then this sudden emergence of "fraternal friendship."

The fact is that Ukrainians have always fought to preserve their heritage. During the war vague rumours circulated that with the return of peace there would also be a return to the period of Skrypnyk. Ukrainians hoped, fought and died. Their hope was given added substance on February 1, 1944, when the Supreme Soviet of the USSR passed amendments to the constitution granting national republics the right to establish commissariats (ministries) of foreign affairs, with the right to enter into direct relations with foreign powers, and commissariats of defense with the right for each republic to organize its own troop formations. (6)

When Khrushchov denounced the misrule of Stalin in 1956 and began to rehabilitate those who had perished, Ukrainians dared to hope that the period of arbitrary rule was over and looked forward to a return to the days of Lenin and Skrypnyk. Frequent individual protests against Russification and demands to return to the national policy of Lenin began to manifest themselves in letters to the press, to various governmental bodies and to the CC of the party in Kiev and Moscow. Later these protests and demands took on sharper verbal forms, first in closed committees and then at mass public meetings. One of the earlier and more significant of such demonstrations took place at the Republican Scientific Conference on the Problems of the Culture of the Ukrainian Language, held in Kiev, February 11-15, 1963. Among numerous unscheduled speakers, who participated in the discussion and condemned Russification were Lydia Orcl, from the movie studio of Kiev University, M. Shestopal, a brilliant, dynamic and popular young assistant professor from the faculty of journalism of Kiev University and V.F. Lobko, a war veteran, former captain and an engineer from the Academy of Sciences. In a speech interrupted by intermittent outbursts of loud and enthusiastic applause he said:

The peoples of the Soviet Union, among them the Ukrainians, supporting the decisions of the party congresses regarding the liquidation of the brand of criminals, wage a decisive struggle with all the evil, which came as an offspring of the personality cult, and how strange, if not painful, that the consequences of this cult are with us today. Apparently the Stalin - Kaganovich disciples have power, because due to their counteraction, the Ukrainian people have not been able to reclaim that which was forbidden by these criminals, has not been able to achieve that which is ordinary and natural, but which is most basic, most important and most sacred, that which all people possess: the privilege of education in the Ukrainian language, in creches and kindergartens, in schools, including schools of working youth; in trade and technical schools where our working class is trained; in the technical technicums and institutes where is forged our technical intelligentsia, the basis of technical progress, and the wide use of this language in all spheres of the life of our people.....the Ukrainian community has already, more than once, placed this question before responsible organizations of the republic, but there have not been any results to this day. Moreover, they do not even reply to our proposals regarding the introduction of instruction in the native Ukrainian language in secondary and higher educational institutions and the reestablishment of Ukrainian cultural institutions in those districts where millions of Ukrainians live - Siberia, Kazakhstan, the Far East and Kuban.

When he finished, the audience rose and gave him a tumultous standing ovation. No soviet publication mentioned the speech or the demands of the participants, among whom were many engineers and other technical personell. One of those present, a retired teacher, wrote a report, entitled: The Fate of Our Native Language, for the monthly supplement of the Ukrainian paper, Nashe Slovo (Our Word) in Poland (7) and listed the demands for Ukrainianization made by the participants in the discussion.

After the ousting of Khrushchov, the criticism of Russification became, stronger, louder and bolder. Early in January, 1965 one of Ukraine's great lyric poets, V. Sosyura, passed away. He had often been attacked as a nationalist for his expressions of deep attachment to his native land. At the funeral on January 11, one of his close friends, poet A.C. Halyshko, in a deeply emotional tribute to Sosurya in his funeral oration, took the occasion to level a sharp attack on Russification by reaffirming his faith in Ukraine and its language. (8) He said that:

The stone will disintegrate and the thousand year-old tree will blossom and die, but your poetry will remain, And let not the snobs wait for our language and our native Ukraine to pass away, because Ukraine is eternal, as you are eternal in it,

The excitement over this sensation had not died down when, on January 16, I.M. Dzyuba, an outstanding literary critic and uncompromising opponent of Russification, speaking at a memorial meeting for V. Simonenko, a young national poet, who died in 1963, made a most devastating indictment of Russification when he said:

It is true that Leonid Mikolaiovich Novichenko, (9) who sits here in the presidium, assures us that the idea "national concept", "national consciousness" are now obsolete, unwarranted, outdated and non-Marxist. I would advise him to tell this to the Chinese Communists, or the Italian Communists, or the English Communists, or the Polish Communists, or, finally, the Russian Communists... Obviously, the national concept exists and will continue to exist.

.....

Dostoyevsky once asked: "Would you agree to build a system of universal harmony on one single tear of one innocent child?" And similarly we ask: Can there be "universal harmony", can there be a universal society, can there be universal human justice for the attainment of which is necessary even the smallest injustice to any one nation, in this case the Ukrainian nation? No, there cannot be such a society and such "harmony" established on such foundations.

But one of the boldest protests against Russification is the following document, written by a man who was imprisoned by the Germans during the Second World War and by the Russians after it.

To the Attorney - general of the Ukrainian SSR.
From citizen Karavansky Svyatoslav Yosipovich, who resides in the city of Odessa, at 59 Chornomoraky Road, apartment 47.

Petition

I request you to arraign on criminal charges the Minister of Higher and Special Secondary Education of the Ukrainian SSR, Dadankov Yuri Mikolaiovich, under sections of the criminal code of the Ukrainian SSR which provides penalties for:

1. Violation of national and racial equality. (Sec 66. CC, Ukr.SSR).
2. Opposition to the restoration of Leninist principles in the practical organization of higher education of the Ukrainian SSR. (Sec 167, CC, Ukr.SSR).
3. Failure to implement the resolutions of the XX Congress of the CPSU regarding the liquidation of the consequences of the cult of the individual (10) and impeding the restoration of normal conditions of development of the Ukrainian socialist nation. (Sec 66. CC, Ukr.SSR).
4. Training of unqualified personnel and dis-organization of the pedagogical process in the system of higher and specialized secondary education. (Sec 167. CC, Ukr.SSR). (11)

In accordance with the rules of admission to higher and specialized secondary educational institutions, Russian language and literature are among the subjects of the entrance examinations. Graduates of Russian schools are more successful in this examination than graduates of Ukrainian schools. In addition to this, entrance examinations in specialized subjects are conducted in Russian; this also makes it more difficult for graduates of Ukrainian schools to write these subject examinations. Therefore they achieve fewer points on these competitive examinations.

Of the total number of those who study in the higher educational institutions, Ukrainians make up a significantly lower percentage than they do in the sphere of production of material goods on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR. Thus, among those who entered the Odessa Polytechnical Institute in the school year 1964 - 65, Ukrainians made up 43%. Of 1126 Ukrainians who made entrance applications, 453 were accepted, i.e. 40%. But of 1002 Russians who applied, 477 were accepted, or 46%. The procedure of admittance to higher and specialized secondary educational institutions of the republic now in force is anti-Leninist and a direct restriction of the rights of citizens as regards their nationality. Acts of this nature are subject to penalty under Sec. 66, Criminal Code, Ukrainian SSR.

Sec. 66. Violation of national and racial equality. Propaganda or agitation with the view of inciting to racial or national animosity as a direct or indirect limitation of rights; or the establishment of direct or indirect privileges of citizens as regards their racial or national affiliation. - Punishable by imprisonment for a term of from 6 months to 3 years, or by banishment for a period of from 3 to 5 years.

In the overwhelming majority of higher and specialized secondary educational institutions of Kiev, Kharkiv, Odessa, Dnipropetrovsk and others, instruction is not in the Ukrainian language.

The teaching personnel in higher educational institutions of the Ukrainian SSR "do not understand the Ukrainian language". Thus in the Odessa Pedagogical Institute which trains teachers for secondary schools, lectures are in Russian because the lecturers "do not know" the Ukrainian language. In the Odessa State University, even in the Ukrainian department of the philological faculty which trains Ukrainian philologists, the majority

of subjects (history of the CPW, foreign languages, logic, psychology, foreign literature, Marxist philosophy) are not taught in Ukrainian. This is the direct result of the negligent attitude of the minister of higher education to his responsibilities:

- a) failing to have published a whole series of textbooks for higher educational institutions e.g. foreign language, logic, foreign literature;
- b) failing to train national (i.e. Ukrainian) personnel as lecturers.

Such conditions in higher education in Ukraine destroys the normal conditions for the development of the Ukrainian Socialist nation.

As a result of relegating the Ukrainian language to second place, graduates of universities and pedagogical institutes are not proficient in its use. Teaching in Ukrainian schools, such teachers do not employ the Ukrainian language. Fifty percent of the graduates of Odessa University and the Odessa Pedagogical Institute refuse to teach in Ukrainian schools, giving as their reason ignorance of the language.

I beg you to study the above facts and to determine the degree of guilt of Yuri Mikolaiovich Dadenkov.

24/II/65.

Obviously such protests are not to the liking of the authorities, who are constantly on the alert for any manifestations of national consciousness. There is a ceaseless campaign of mass agitation denouncing nationalism and glorifying Russification as a natural development in the march to communism. Just how intense this campaign is was revealed by the secretary of the CPU in charge of agitation and propaganda, who wrote that:

After the XXI Congress of the party, the army of agitators in the republic grew to one million. (12)

Khrushchev, himself laid special emphasis on this question at the XXII Congress when he said:

It is necessary to intensify the education of the masses in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and Soviet patriotism. With all Bolshevik implacability, we must root out even the smallest manifestation of nationalist survivals. (13)

The terms "proletarian internationalism" and "Soviet patriotism" are sugar-coated terms for Russification. What happens if one million propandists in Ukraine do not convince each other? How do you then deal with "manifestations of nationalist survivals?"

Obviously it is necessary to use more "concrete" methods.

When he visited Kiev on January 30, 1964, Khrushchov was asked by Ukrainian party leaders whether they should not ease up on the language question. He was adamant:

"Nyet! Tighten the screw. We will continue to explore and persuade that it is imperative to adopt the Russian language. However, if necessary, we will repeat 1937!"

In the spring of 1965 after Khrushchov had become a mere memory, P.N. Demichev, acting secretary of the CC of the CPSU in charge of ideological work, gave instructions to the secretaries in charge of agitation and propaganda of the national parties, to take the "offensive" against manifestations of nationalism. There had always been a close scrutiny of those who championed the Ukrainian language. Every higher educational institution has a "Special Department", a branch of the security organs, which keeps a file on every student and professor, thus exerting a tight control on the life of the institution. All professors, who insist on lecturing in Ukrainian are on a special list and carefully watched as dangerous enemies of the Soviet state. All classrooms are connected by an inter-communication system to a central recording room. Periodically lectures are taped and carefully scrutinized for any nationalist sentiments and deviations from the prevailing ideological line. After Demichev's instructions, the offensive began; Khrushchov's threats were being translated into reality by his successors. Lydia Orel was relieved of her post; Shestopal was expelled from the party and dismissed from his position; the Kiev writer, who spoke up at the party conference of writers, was summoned to the CC by A.D. Skaba, the hated and despised Stalinist third secretary, who is in charge of agitation and propaganda, and given a thorough dressing down and a stern warning; students involved in the campaign to propagate the Ukrainian language at Kiev University were detained, terrorized and some even expelled.

All summer tension was building up, the security police became more active; detentions and interrogations increased, assuming mass proportions in Kiev after my return to Canada in August, 1965. Later news arrived that among the arrested were Dzyuba. Now comes news that a number have been sentenced, among them Karavansky. The fate of other opponents of Russification, Orel, Shestopal, Lobko, who was dismissed from the

Academy of Sciences in June 1963, are not known.

There are many, who though not in possession of incontrovertible evidence, have strongly suspected the existence of a policy which denies non-Russians their national and personal rights. One such was Palmiro Togliatti. He could not have known all the facts, but he sensed these injustices when he wrote in his "Testament", published after his death:

The problem meriting the greatest attention... is however, that of overcoming the regime of restrictions and suppressions of the democratic and personal freedoms which was introduced by Stalin... The general impression is that there exists a slowness and a resistance against the return to the Leninist norms that ensured within the party, as well as outside it, a broad freedom of expression and debate on questions of culture, art and politics. We can not understand this slowness and this resistance, especially when taking into account the existing conditions, when capitalist encirclement no longer exists. (14)

Togliatti's words had a profound leavening effect on the peoples of the USSR. Will not others raise their voices on behalf of a nation fighting with its back to the wall, for its culture and its language? There are about 2000,000 Ukrainians on this continent, will they not speak up? Will not the French Canadians, who have successfully maintained their language and their culture speak up on behalf of a nation that does not even have the right to use its language in schools and state institutions? Will not writers, poets, professors, students, add their protests? Will not statesmen, motivated by respect for justice raise their voices in the free assemblies of the world?

In Kiev I heard of a grade VI student who wrote:

The world shouts: Freedom for Asia, freedom for Africa!
When will it shout: Freedom for Ukraine?

Glossary

USSR. Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

RSFSR. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, the largest of the 15 republics of the USSR. The population is for the most part Russian, but includes many smaller nations, which inhabited the areas before they were added to the Russian Empire.

UkrSSR. Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the second largest of the republics. Also referred to in the text as Ukraine.

ASSR. Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. Areas comprised of small nationalities not large enough to form a national republic. There are 19 in the USSR. Of these, 15 are in the RSFSR.

CPSU. Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

CPU. Communist Party of Ukraine. When first formed the letter (b) was inserted (CP(b)U) denoting Bolsheviks. In the text the (b) is omitted.

CC. Central Committee.

Supreme Soviet. The house of representatives organized along the lines of the House of Commons, but without any real powers.

Council of Peoples' Commissars. Now called the Council of Ministers. The equivalent of the cabinet. The chairman is the prime minister.

Bolshevik. The term is applied to members of the majority in the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party. They later formed the Communist Party.

Bourgeois nationalist. Term used in the USSR to denote nationalists in Ukraine and other non-Russian areas of the Russian empire, who wished to form independent democratic states based on private ownership. Such people are regarded as the most dangerous enemies of the USSR.

Central Rada. The latter word means council. This was a convention in Ukraine of representatives of political parties and other organizations, called in 1917, after the overthrow of the Tsar, to form a government in Ukraine.

Petlura, Simon. Political and military leader in Ukraine from 1917 to 1920.

Kurkul. Term applied to peasants of average wealth. The policy of the Soviet government was to confiscate their property and exile or destroy them.

YCL. Young Communist League, the youth organization of the Communist Party.

KGB. Committee of State Security, the Russian secret police.

Appendix I

National Composition of the Population of the UkrSSR 1959.

<u>Total population</u>	<u>41,869,046</u>	<u>%</u>
Ukrainians	32,158,493	76.8
Russians	7,090,813	16.9
Jews	840,311	
Poles	363,297	
Belorussians	290,890	
Moldavians	241,650	
Bulgarians	219,409	A
Hungarians	149,229	L
Greeks	104,359	L
Romanians	100,863	
Tatars	61,527	O
Armenians	28,024	T
Abkhaz	23,530	H
Gypsies	22,515	E
Czechs	14,539	R
Slovaks	13,991	S
Georgians	11,574	
Mordva	11,397	6.3
Chuvash	8,925	
Lithuanians	8,906	
Uzbeks	8,472	
Latvians	6,919	
Azorbaidzhans	6,680	
Kazakhs	4,694	
Estonians	4,181	
Dagestans	3,823	
Albanians	3,809	
Bashkirs	3,345	
Osetins	3,325	
Karaims	3,301	
Udmurts	2,828	

Source: Itogi vsesoyuznoy perepisi, Ukrainskaya SSR, pl68.

Appendix II

National Composition of students in Higher Educational Institutions of the USSR 1960.

<u>Total in USSR</u>	<u>417,748</u>	<u>%</u>
Ukrainians	260,945	62.5
Russians	125,464	30.
Jews	18,673	
Belorussians	4,377	
Moldavians	1,030	
Armenians	909	
Georgians	527	A
Tatars	517	L
Azerbaijans	192	L
Chuvash	139	
Osetins	129	O
Lithuanians	106	T
Uzbeks	104	H
Kazakhs	101	E
Latvians	84	R
Mordva	78	S
Yakuts	68	
Komi	62	7.5
Dagestans	55	
Bashkirs	51	
Estonians	51	
Kirghiz	44	
Kalmyks	42	
Balkars	40	
Abkhaz	38	
Buriats	29	
Tadzhiks	28	
Turkmen	28	
Kabardians	22	
Maris	21	
Karelians	17	
Udmurts	17	
Ingush	8	
Chechens	6	
Others	3,746	

Source: Vysshee obrazovanie, op. cit., p130.

Appendix III

National Composition of Specialists with Higher Education in USSR 1960.

<u>Total in USSR</u>	<u>685,351</u>	<u>%</u>
Ukrainians	399,931	58.3
Russians	181,489	26.5
Jews	83,689	
Belorussians	6,272	
Armenians	1,800	
Moldavians	823	A
Tatars	806	L
Georgians	578	L
Chuvash	228	
Latvians	209	O
Osetins	183	T
Mordva	175	H
Lithuanians	143	E
Komi	123	R
Udmurts	118	S
Estonians	114	
Adzerbaidzhans	101	15.2
Maris	61	
Yakuts	45	
Bashkirs	40	
Karolians	32	
Dagestans	31	
Uzbeks	31	
Kazakhs	23	
Tadzihs	18	
Balkars	14	
Buriats	11	
Abkhaz	9	
Kabardins	7	
Turkmen	6	
Kirghiz	4	
Kalmyks	3	
Chechens	2	
Ingush	2	
Karakolpaks	2	

Source: Vysshee obrazovanie, op. cit., p70.

Appendix IV

Distribution of Ukrainian Specialists with Higher Education in republics of the USSR 1960.

<u>Total in</u>	<u>USSR</u>	<u>517,729</u>	<u>%</u>
Ukrainian	SSR	399,931	77.2
Russian	SSSR	85,155	16.4
Kazakh	SSR	10,984	
Moldavian	SSR	5,702	A
Belorussian	SSR	5,441	L
Uzbek	SSR	2,984	L
Kirghiz	SSR	2,201	
Latvian	SSR	1,135	O
Tadzhik	SSR	1,103	T
Turkmen	SSR	787	H
Azerbaidzhan	SSR	615	E
Georgian	SSR	579	R
Lithuanian	SSR	519	S
Estonian	SSR	420	
Armenian	SSR	168	6.4

Source: Vyshee obrazovanie, op. cit., p70 - 71.

Appendix VI

Comparison of Russians and Ukrainians in Various Areas of Education as % of the Total for the USSR (Summary).

	Yr.	Russians	Ukrainians
Population	1959	51.7	17.3
Students in sec. spec. ed. inst.	1961	65.2	15.8
Specialists with sec. spec. ed.	1961	65.1	15.9
Students in higher ed. inst.	1961	61.	14.6
Post graduate students	1960	58.5	11.1
Scientists	1961	66.	10.6

Appendix VII

Comparison of Russians and Ukrainians in Various Areas of Education as % of the Total for the UkrSSR (Summary).

	Yr.	Russians	Ukrainians
Population	1959	16.9	76.8
Students in sec. spec. ed. inst.	1961	24.8	69.1
Students in higher ed. inst.	1960	30.	62.5
Specialists with higher ed.	1960	26.5	58.3
Scientists	1960	Not given	48.3

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Appendix V

Comparison of Various Areas of Education of the RSFSR and the UkrSSR as % of Totals for the USSR (Summary).

	<u>Yr.</u>	<u>RSFSR</u>	<u>UkrSSR</u>
Population	1959	56.3	20.
Budget for all education	1960	53.	17.2
Budget for elem. and gen. sec. ed.	1960	55.9	17.6
Budget for Technicums	1960	60.5	18.5
Budget for higher education	1960	62.9	16.4
Textbooks for technicums	1955	76.	6.
Textbooks for higher ed. inst.	1964	71.9	10.
Sec. spec. ed. inst.	1964	53.5	18.3
Higher ed. inst.	1964	57.3	17.5
Students in sec. spec. ed. inst.	1964	62.	18.3
Students in higher ed. inst.	1960	62.5	17.4
Students in higher ed. inst. receiving stipends	1960	60.7	17.7
Students in higher ed. inst. sponsored by enterprises	1960	61.1	16.1
Institutions with power to recommend students for candidate and PhD degrees	1959	74.7	8.8
Graduates of voc-tech. schools	1964	64.2	16.
Post graduate students	1964	67.6	12.8
Specialists with sec. spec. ed.	1964	60.8	19.1
Scientists	1964	68.6	14.2
Scientists with PhD degrees	1964	70.7	12.8
Workers who improved their qualifications while employed	1964	66.3	17.8

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