

D.Chub

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RUSSIFIES
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«LASTIVKA PRESS»

Melbourne — 1983 — Australia

**Lastivka Press,
36 Percy Street,
Newport, Victoria, 3015, Australia**

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ISBN 0 449617 01

**This publication has been founded by
The Lubomyr Sklepkovych Foundation**

**Printed in Australia by
M. Ciurak, Adelaide, S.A.**

FOREWORD

To understand the difference between Ukraine and Russia it is necessary to know the history of these two countries.

Kievan Rus', a state created by the ancestors of the Ukrainians primarily occupied the territory of present-day Ukraine. Thus the term Rus' is the old name for Ukraine. It is true that at times the territory of Rus' incorporated neighbouring lands which are presently parts of Russia, Belorussia and Poland. However the notion that Rus' gave birth to the Ukrainian, Belorussian and Russian nations cannot be irrefutably proven. There is no doubt that Ukrainians are direct descendants of the inhabitants of Rus', whereas the Russian nation developed quite independently.

After the fall of Rus' most of its people found themselves under Lithu-

anian rule. However in the northern regions of Rus' and on adjacent territory which was never part of Rus', a new independent state evolved, with a distinctive population. It was known as Muscovy. Thus Muscovy and Rus' were two distinctive countries inhabited by two distinctive peoples.

After a union between Lithuania and Poland the main territory of Rus' came under Poland. By this time the name Rus' began to disappear, being replaced by the new name Ukraine. Thus, the descendants of those people inhabiting Rus' became known as Ukrainians. After a long struggle, national independence was finally won in the middle of the 17th century, with the proclamation of an independent Cossack state.

However Ukraine was unable to withstand the constant attacks from Poland, the Turks and the Tatars. By this time Muscovy was a strong military state and the Cossack leader

Khmelnitsky sought its help against invaders from the south and west. An agreement between Ukraine and Muscovy was signed in 1654 at Pereyaslav. Secure from invasion by Poland, Ukraine set about consolidating its state.

But Muscovy had its own interpretation of the Pereyaslav Agreement, gradually assuming the role of the Polish invaders. By the time Ukraine was fully aware of this, it was practically under Muscovite rule.

During the reign of Peter the Great Muscovy changed its name to Russia. Using its military might Russia progressively weakened Ukrainian government rule, to the extent that at the end of the 18th century Ukraine had lost all traces of independence and was formally incorporated into Russia.

During World War I Ukraine regained its independence for a short while. But its forces were crushed by the Bolsheviks and a nominal Ukraini-

an Soviet Socialist Republic was established. Under the Bolsheviks the republic was ruled from Moscow. 1923 saw the creation of the USSR and Ukraine became one of its member republics.

The Ukrainian SSR is often called an independent state. Yes, it has its own constitution, its own parliament and government. Ukraine is a founding member of the UN and has its own representative there. It has concluded treaties with other countries and is a signatory to many international agreements. But in practice Ukraine is only a Russian puppet and is being mercilessly Russified, to the extent that the language of its government now is Russian.

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HOW MOSCOW RUSSIFIES UKRAINE

It has been over 900 years since the first surviving Ukrainian books were written. During this time the Ukrainian people have moved along a difficult path of national and cultural development. Every major work, be it written by chroniclers with goose quills, or in later centuries by our classics and scholars, or created by our contemporaries — all this is our national treasure.

Like all peoples, we Ukrainians are proud of good achievements and their creators. Such works do not die prematurely, for they truthfully depict the various periods in the life of our people, their struggle against enemies, the level of culture, language and the arts at the time in which our people lived.

In looking at statistical data, in particular on book publishing, which was probably the most important indication of the level of cultural and artis-

tic development of our people, we see that from the 11th century, that is from the appearance of the first Ukrainian manuscript book, **the Ostromyr Gospel**,¹ until the 14th century 700 manuscript books have been found, and from the 15th to the 17th centuries inclusive the number of handwritten and printed books numbered 25.000.² Unfortunately this information is not for Ukraine alone, but for the whole territory of Russia and the countries it occupied. However, one can say with certainty that more books were written and printed in Ukraine than Muscovy, for in those days education was on a much higher level in Ukraine — the first school of higher learning, the Academy, was opened in Ukraine, and also the first printing houses.

Professor O. Lototsky³ asserts that the Czechs were the first among the Slavs to print books⁴, for they were closer to the West. They published their first printed book in 1468. And the Ukrainians took second place af-

ter them, publishing the first Ukrainian printed book in the Slavonic language in 1491, which explained certain features of everyday Ukrainian. These were the the first two books for the needs of the Ukrainian populace — **Oktoikh** and **Chasoslov**, which appeared in the printing house of Schweis-polt Fiol in Cracow. Meanwhile the first printed Russian book was published in Moscow 73 years later in 1564 by Ivan Fedorov, with the help of the Belorussian Mstyslavets. But Muscovy was so ignorant in those days, that after the publication of their third printed book, the people attacked the printing house and burned it down, wanting to kill the printer himself, for he supposedly associated with the devil. However, Russian historians fail to mention this fact today. Escaping danger, Fedorov fled to Belorussia with Mstyslavets, and then moved to Lviv, where he organized a new printing house.

By the third quarter of the 16th century printing was blossoming fast in Ukraine: new printing houses were opened in Lviv, Ostroh, Derman, Pochaiev, Lutsk, Kremianets and Zhytomyr. Three printing houses were operating in Kiev, the largest of these at the Kiev-Pechersk Monastery. The Ukrainian publications were circulated throughout all the countries of Eastern Europe, even non-Slavic ones such as Rumania, Hungary and Moldavia. There was no censorship in Ukraine in those days.

However, after the infamous Pereyaslav Agreement⁵, Moscow began to demand in the mid-seventeenth century that everything be sent to them for censorship, instituting strict controls on printing houses, demanding that they also adhere to Great Russian grammar. Disobedience resulted in stiff fines, sometimes even in the death penalty. A pitched battle raged in this area for a long time, but printing was eventually so paralysed by Moscow

that for long years only two to three books were published annually. From this we can see what «progressive significance» the Pereyaslav Agreement had for Ukraine, as emphasized by Soviet historians.

1876 brought with it another pogrom of the Ukrainian printed word. Tsar Alexander II issued a secret ukase (decree) which forbade the printing of everything except belles - lettres. Translations from other languages were forbidden, as was the staging of Ukrainian plays and the printing of dramatical works. A string of Ukrainian cultural organizations was closed, the Ukrainian press was forbidden, and professors were dismissed from universities. Galicia (Western Ukraine) alone had more national freedom, for it was under Austrian hule.

In 1905 conditions eased a little in Ukraine, though not much. However, we can see the explosion in Ukrainian cultural life with the outbreak of the revolution and the formation of a Uk-

rainian independent state. In 1917 747 books were published in Ukraine, in 1918 — 1084, but in 1919 the figure had fallen to 665, for the armed Russian onslaught from the north had already begun.

With the arrival of the Bolsheviks the number of Ukrainian publications began to fall. Thus in Ukraine in 1920 457 books were published in Ukrainian, 369 in Russian; in 1921 — 214 in Ukrainian, 448 in Russian; in 1922 — 385 in Ukrainian, 927 in Russian.

Moscow oversaw the distribution of paper among the republics, so all book publication was in its hands. One Kharkiv publishing house which planned to publish 252 books in 1933, was able to publish only half of these, and then in small editions.

And to break the potential of a literary front, 240 Ukrainian writers were arrested between 1933-1937, most of whom were destroyed.

In «The Rise and Fall of Stalin» by English scholar Robert Payne we read

that in 1934 Stalin signed 384 lists of arrested persons to be executed without even reading through them. This added up to some 4 million people. Clearly, most of these were Ukrainians, for even in the camps Ukrainians accounted for sixty per cent of the population.

As a consequence of these mass arrests a secret circular was issued naming five thousand forbidden books. The second object of the Russian onslaught was the Ukrainian school system. To prepare for a broader Russification offensive, great purges were carried out in the school system between 1933 and 1937. From information in the Soviet press of the day, 24 thousand teachers were expelled from teaching establishments. This rout of the Ukrainian cultural forces was especially extensive in 1934, when the People's Commissar for Education in Ukraine shot himself. The writer and statesman Mykola Khvylovy^o had suicided before him, after having visited

the Ukrainian countryside with Arkadii Liubchenko⁷ and seen whole villages dying of starvation because of Moscow's forced famine. And in 1937 the chairman of the Council of People's Commissariats (Premier of the Ukrainian Republic), Panas Liubchenko, chose the alternative of suicide as well.

Before this, in 1933-34, the Soviet regime had liquidated all 240 Ukrainian schools in the Kuban region, instituting Russian as the language of instruction. The Russification of pedagogical technical schools in Krasnodar (the provincial centre of Kuban) and in the «stanytsia» (Cossack village) of Poltavska was carried out, and the Ukrainian departments at the Krasnodar Workers' Faculty, the Pedagogical Institute and the Agricultural Institute were liquidated. In the Krasnodar Workers' Faculty alone there were 160 students in the Ukrainian department.

At the same time Professor Shalia and Semen Boklazhenko, lecturers in Ukrainian language and literature in Krasnodar, were arrested and executed. The Ukrainian club and Ukrainian bookshop in Krasnodar were also closed.

The Ukrainian newspapers were liquidated in 1933 too: one in Krasnodar, which appeared as a supplement to the Russian language newspaper «Krasnoe znamia», and «Chervona hazeta» in Rostov. The editor of the supplement in Krasnodar was the writer Omelko Rozumienko, a member of the Komsomol (communist youth organization) and later of the Communist party; in Rostov the paper was edited by the poet Ivan Lutsenko and the writer Ivan Dobrovolsky. Rozumienko was later arrested. Ivan Lutsenko was forced to flee deep into the north of Russia, while Dobrovolsky ended up in the Far East, from where he wrote letters that there too, in «Zelenyi Klyn»⁸,

all Ukrainian cultural life had been liquidated.

At the time Rostov-on-Don was the centre of the North Caucasian Territory. The Ukrainian section of the Party Provincial Committee was then headed by Fedosii Chapola. He too was arrested and executed.

Up until the liquidation of Ukrainia-
nization and Ukrainian educational
and cultural organizations in the Nor-
thern Caucasus, particularly in Kuban,
the Russian-language magazine «Na
podieme», being published in Rostov,
had a Ukrainian department, and the
magazine «Kubanskym shliakhom»
and the previously-mentioned «Cher-
vona hazeta» also published literary
pages.

The Ukrainian writers in the Cau-
casus included such names as I. Kor-
zhevsky, Vasyl Ocheret, Omelko Rozu-
mienko, Ivan Lutsenko, Spyrydon Do-
brovolsky. Some of them are the au-
thors of a string of novels and narra-
tives. The best known among them be-

came Dobrovolsky, Rozumienko, Lutsenko and Vasyl Ocheret, who began to write under a pseudonym. Apart from a few exceptions, all these people were repressed, and some even executed. This was the «beneficial» influence of «Big Brother» on Ukrainian life in the Northern Caucasus.

Following the liquidation of all Ukrainian cultural life in the Northern Caucasus, the population of the three largest Ukrainian villages was deported to the Russian North; this included the people of Poltavaska village, where there was a Pedagogical Technical Institute and Ukrainian schools, and where the people lavishly celebrated the Shevchenko^o Festival each year. From the memoirs of the former NKVD general, Orlov, we know that 12 thousand NKVD troupes took part in the exercise. They encircled each village, and the whole populace had to pass through a special NKVD commission. The letters A, B or C were placed opposite each name on the list and ente-

red into the passport. The first group, mostly adult Cossack males, were separated from the others and shot near the village. Those with the letter B were destined for exile, and the 3rd group were resettled in the Russian North. They were transported away in freight cars, and in the same cars Russians and Belorussians returned to settle the depopulated villages.

The details of this brutal destruction of people and the liquidation of Ukrainianization in the Poltavaska village were told to the author of these lines by a girl from that village, whose father was shot there and whose brother committed suicide in exile. I also heard these details from others with whom I had studied and from the people who had conducted the Ukrainianization. During the liquidation of Ukrainianization in the Kuban, the Far East and in regions adjacent to Ukraine (Voronezh and Kursk) the Shevchenko Institute in Kharkiv was running an exhibition of Ukrainian publi-

cations in Kuban. However, an NKVD official turned up one day (the NKVD was located in a neighbouring street) and ordered the exhibition to be closed.

This was how «beneficial» Big Brother was towards «backward» Ukraine, and this, as Soviet scholars now write, «had a progressive influence on Ukraine».

The NKVD kept a careful watch on all those outside Ukraine who spoke Ukrainian or read Ukrainian books. One teacher now living in Australia, who was allowed to live outside Ukraine after serving his term in exile, told me that he settled near Rostov-on-Don. From time to time he borrowed books from the local library. The librarian was a Ukrainian. One day he asked her if she had any Ukrainian titles. She was already a good friend by this time, and said that though there were books in Ukrainian it would be best if he did not borrow them, for an NKVD official arrived periodically

and made a list of those borrowing Ukrainian publications.

The mass arrests among the Ukrainian writers were being conducted on such a scale then, that everyone was waiting for the Black Maria to come for them at night. In the writers' building «Slovo» in Kharkiv each night writers burned those manuscripts which contained even a hint of patriotism or scenes which might give the NKVD grounds for arrest. The snow around the «Slovo» building in the winter of 1934 was black with soot from chimneys.

And since the spoken Ukrainian language was being treated by the NKVD as a sign of nationalism, the people became afraid of speaking their language in the cities. Little wonder that during the interrogation of writer Ivan Bahriany his interrogator, Hersonsky, shouted in Russian: «You scum, how long are you going to continue speaking that dog's language?!» And this took place in Ukraine and in

an establishment which represented the regime and its legitimacy.

The results of the terror and Russification? Whereas in 1928 85 per cent of schools in Ukraine had Ukrainian as the language of instruction, this fell to 65 per cent by the end of the last war.

At the same time the percentage of Ukrainian publications, compared to those in Russian, was falling too. Whereas in 1962 Ukrainians comprised 20 per cent of the Soviet population, only 8 per cent of all books published in the USSR that year, according to Soviet statistics, were Ukrainian. In the USSR in 1963 there were, on the average, 9 books printed for each Russian, and only two books in Ukrainian for each Ukrainian. At the same time a great number of publications in Ukraine appear in Russian, whereas there is not a single Ukrainian publication for Ukrainians living in Russia, not a single Ukrainian publishing house,

Ukrainian school or other Ukrainian organization.

According to Soviet statistics, 7599 books were published in Ukraine in 1963, but of these only 3321 were in Ukrainian, while 4278 were in Russian. This is how Moscow solves the nationality question in Ukraine and other non-Russian republics in the USSR. Looking at those same Soviet statistics, we can see, that the number of copies of Ukrainian books keep falling each year. For example, in 1962 the number of copies of Ukrainian books published in Ukraine was 87,058.000. In 1963 it was only 76,667.000. Thus in just one year it had fallen by 10 million. However, during the same period the number of copies of Russian books published in Ukraine had grown by 15 million.

But let us compare Ukraine even with Hungary. In 1963 in Ukraine 76 million copies of books were published for a population of 45 million, while in Hungary, with a population of 10 milli-

on, 80 million copies of books were published that same year in Hungarian, because there the «guardianship of Big Brother» and Russification were nowhere near as strong as they were in Ukraine.

Looking at publishing in more recent times, the catalogue «Novi knyhy Ukrainy» (New books in Ukraine) for 1970 gives 1668 titles to be published in Ukrainian, while the issue for 1973 lists only 1059 Ukrainian titles. In the 1974 catalogue this figure falls to 856 books, that is half the 1970 figure. And when one takes into account that about 25 per cent of these have not been printed for various reasons, the picture looks even worse.

«Pechat SSSR» (Publications of the USSR») lists 4041 brochures and books in Ukrainian in 1961, while in 1968 this figure was only 2933. This shows the quick pace at which the Russification of the Ukrainian people is proceeding. Meanwhile more and more is being printed in Russian in Ukra-

ine. Thus in 1956 3200 publications were printed in Russian, 3893 — in 1960, 4023 — in 1965, 4682 — in 1970, and 5497 — in 1972. These same statistical sources show that in recent times in Ukraine Russian publications have been outweighing Ukrainian ones by 80 to 90 per cent. In 1973 131 serials published were in Ukrainian, while 264 were in Russian, besides which the Russian serials had much larger editions.

When we look at the editions of propagandist literature, we see that there is no shortage of paper for them: according to Soviet statistics 33 per cent was allotted for propagandist and political literature, while artistic literature received only 9 per cent. The serial «Bloknot propahandysta» (Propagandist's notebook), is printed twice monthly with a circulation of 435 thousand.

Newspapers fare no better. Most of them appear in Russian. In 1962 alone 15 Ukrainian newspapers were con-

verted to Russian. The publication «Statistika SSSR» lists the total annual circulation of all Ukrainian newspapers in Ukraine as 2,272.558. But at the same time the circulation of the Russian newspaper «Izvestiia» alone is 2,820.000.

Book and newspaper production in the USSR in 1973 appeared thus: 80.4 per cent was printed in Russian, 3.9 per cent in Ukrainian.

But if anyone still thinks that there are more publications appearing in Ukrainian than Russian in Ukraine overall, if someone considers the previous statistics out of date, then they should look at the «Shchodekadnyi bibliorafichnyi biuletyn» (The Ten-Day Bibliographical Bulletin) published by the State Committee of the Ukrainian SSR in matters dealing with publication, polygraphy and book trade. By taking numbers 22, 23 and 24 for August, 1980 and calculating how many of each publication were published,

we see that during the first ten-day period of August 1980 there were 47 publications in Ukrainian and 58 in Russian. Another indication of the great difference in the number of publications is the fact that a catalogue of Russian publications appears weekly, having 88 pages, while the Ukrainian catalogue has only 23 pages, and even then the majority of publications listed there are in Russian.

The readers of Kiev's «Literaturna Ukraina» (Literary Ukraine) would have noticed lately that whereas in 1980 the newspaper had a column **New Publications**, it is absent now. One can be sure that it was liquidated so that readers would not see that of late more books were being published in Russian than in Ukrainian. And this was a striking index of Russification.

Much earlier, nearly every issue of this magazine had a column where publications were criticized for poor language, Russisms, stylistic acrobatics, however now it is almost defunct. And

small wonder, for now even dictionaries contain an increasing number of purely Russian words. Back in 1934 an author was criticized in the Russian press for using the word **Russification**.

A separate subject which attests to Russification and ethnocide is the transportation of people from Ukraine to the virgin lands in Soviet Asia, the movement of young people to technical schools in Russia (200 - 300 thousand annually), few of whom return to Ukraine. This is thoroughly discussed in Myroslav Prokop's article «The Mixing of the Population of the USSR and Ukraine» in the 1974 issue of «Suchasnist», No. 2 (162).

The progress of Russification in the publishing area can also be seen from the report of a writers' conference held in 1963 in the Kiev publishing house «Dytvydav» (Children's Publishers). The publishing house director stated that there were 263 titles in the yearly plan, but of these only 85 were by Ukrainian writers, the

rest being translations from Russian and other languages. This made the writers indignant and the children's writer Mariia Pryhara dubbed the publishing house Perekladvydav (Translation publishers).

The Poltava humorist O. Kovinka wrote in the newspaper «Literaturna Ukraina» that he had once visited the village of Liutenka in Poltava province. Members of the village Council complained to him that they had subscribed 10 thousand Ukrainian newspapers and magazines, but were sent instead a pile of Russian ones, which continued to lie in a pile on the cupboard, for no one was interested in reading them.

In another issue of the same magazine Mariia Pryhara and Natalia Zabyla¹⁰ wrote that the works of the decorated Ukrainian writer Oles Honchar¹¹, which had been published in Russian in Moscow, were available in every Ukrainian bookstore. However, the original works of the same au-

thor published in Ukrainian in Kiev could not be found even in the bookstores near Kiev. The poet Petro Doroshko commented in the same magazine that he had toured three provinces giving readings of his works and saw that there were hardly any Ukrainian-language books in the stores. While in the village of Kupyshiv near Kolodiazhne in Volhynia, where the famous Lesia Ukrainka¹² lived, there was not a single book in Ukrainian, neither prose nor poetry, among the books laid out for sale in the Palace of Culture. This is how Moscow's internationalism appears in practice.

Fierce Russification is being conducted in all fields of Ukrainian life. In 1964 a ship from Odessa arrived in Melbourne to take on wheat. There were many Ukrainians among the ship's crew, which was clear not only from the language, but also from the crew list. But there was not one Ukrainian book in the ship's library. And when I asked the captain why such

a state of affairs existed in their library, he insolently looked me up and down, and then said in Russian: «And isn't Kiev in Russia?»¹³ And this was a reply given by a party member, a responsible Soviet official. One wants to ask whether anything similar would be tolerated on a ship from Greece, Germany, France or even Russia, if there was no literature in the native language on board.

According to Soviet statistics, in 1963 there were 161 students per 10 thousand of population in Russia, while in Ukraine there were only 129. Russia also had 33 scientists per 10.000 of population, while in Ukraine this figure was only 16.

The same state of affairs exists with theatres. In a speech delivered by the Premier of the Ukrainian SSR D. Korotchenko, we learn that in 1961 there were 61 professional theatres in Ukraine. However, of these only 30 were Ukrainian, the rest being Russian. Understandably, this state

of affairs has worsened now. Out of the six theatres in Odessa today, only one is Ukrainian. It is also known that several years ago the Dnipropetrovsk opera was Russified, administrators and artistic directors being sent in from Moscow.

However, Russification is not only brutal, it can sometimes be bloody. The French writer and historian Roland Gaucher wrote and published a book «Opposition in the Ukrainian SSR», in which among other numerous facts he describes one horrifying incident connected with a protest against Russification. R. Gausher has drawn on evidence given by a former professor of Kharkiv University, Professor Rathaus, who emigrated to Israel in 1962. According to Professor Rathaus, in 1951 the Ukrainian students of Kharkiv University refused to undertake their examinations in Russian. 800 of them were repressed then: many were exiled to Siberia, while 33 were executed on the basis of a sen-

tence passed in a closed «court». Ten years later Professor Rathaus was in Kiev and went to visit the rector of Kiev University. It was 23 May, 1961. Outside the university Rathaus saw NKVD cars. One of the university passages was alive with NKVD officers, while a long row of students stood against the walls with raised hands. The NKVD officers were checking for traces of black paint on their hands. The reason for the inquiry, attests Professor Rathaus, was that the walls, floor and even basements of the seven university buildings were daubed with the number **33** in black paint. Professor Rathaus figured that over a hundred students must have taken part in the manifestation. The symbolic **33** also appeared on the walls of the university in Lviv. In this way the students of Kiev and Lviv had commemorated that bloody decennial.

Little wonder then that when in one technical school in Lviv a student asked the lecturer why he was reading

lectures in Russian, when all the students were Ukrainian and would understand better if he changed to Ukrainian, the KGB summoned the student's parents the next day and quizzed them who had put their son up to asking such questions.

When a circle of adherents of the Ukrainian language was formed in Lviv University, headed by a philology professor, and they decided to speak only in Ukrainian among themselves, a Lviv newspaper «Vilna Ukraina» (The **Free** Ukraine) published an article titled **Rottenness** and the students and professor were expelled from the university. That is how savage Moscow's internationalism is.

It is a well-known fact that many thousands of Ukrainians have been taken to the virgin lands in Soviet Asia, however, not one Ukrainian school has been opened there, not one Ukrainian newspaper is being published to serve these people. The authorities explain this away saying

that the people themselves do not wish it. But when a group of initiators began to take steps to open Ukrainian schools in Kazakhstan, they were immediately dispersed to the distant corners of that republic and the matter died.

One could give thousands more examples from the newest Soviet statistics which show the steps being taken to achieve total Russification. Suffice to say that 8 years ago Kharkiv had only 5 per cent Ukrainian schools, while today all have been converted to Russian. The universities and tertiary institutes of Ukraine have fared no better. Today nearly all have been Russified. Only some still have Ukrainian language and literature as a subject, while the rest of the subjects are run in Russian. Small wonder that the students of secondary schools often ask their teachers to read lessons in Russian, for entrance examinations to universities and technical institutes are held in Russian. Besides, all go-

vernment departments and organizations conduct their dealings and correspondence in Russian. Thus the Ukrainian language has in fact been made redundant.

As an example, here is how this Russification is applied in real life. In 1939-40 three professors still lectured in Ukrainian at the First Medical Institute in Kharkiv. These were Professor L. Finkelstein (Microbiology), Professor G. Miller (Chemistry) and Anastasiia Sobol, a lecturer in Sanitary Hygiene. In 1941 Moscow appointed A. Gasparian to the post of director in place of Dr. M. Lovlia, who had been arrested. At the time a resolution was passed in Moscow that all the better republican institutes would become institutes of all-Union standing, obviously with tuition in Russian. Therefore, upon arriving in Kharkiv and embarking on his work, Gasparian summoned those still lecturing in Ukrainian and suggested that they change to Russian. Professor Finkelstein asked

that he be given such an order in writing, but Gasparian refused to do so, saying it was a government decision. Thus the last of the lectures being conducted in Ukrainian were liquidated.

But whereas 15-20 years earlier people could complain about separate examples of obstacles encountered in the dissemination of literature or small print runs, about poor language in certain publications, even this was forbidden after the fall of P. Shelest, the Premier of the Ukrainian SSR.

At the Ukrainian Writers Union congress, in Shelest's presence, the writers had complained that books were being published in small editions. For example, there might be an order for 300.000 copies and only 30.000 would be printed. The writers demanded that the paper be divided up among the people like bread; ever since the revolution, Russia has always apportioned Ukraine an unusually small amount of paper. And the-

refore it turned out that all publications about Ukraine's past, the successes of its theatres and artists, its heroes during the Cossack period—all this was printed in tiny editions. For example, Mykola Sadovsky's¹⁴ memoirs «My Theatrical Reminiscences» about the heroic past of Ukrainian theatre, how Moscow obstructed and forbade its existence, appeared in an edition of 3500 copies, though the prominent poet and writer Maksym Rylsky, who had written the foreword to the book, expressed his joy that the publishers had agreed to print this useful book in a mass edition... Bohdan Tobilevych's recollections about his father Panas Saksahansky¹⁵, the famous coryphaeus of the Ukrainian theatre, appeared in an edition of two thousand copies, and a monograph about M. Arkas, the author of the famous opera «Kateryna» and the book «The History of Ukraine-Rus'» came out in only 1000 copies. The memoirs of the actress Sofiia Tobilevych¹⁶, the

wife of playwright I. Karpenko-Kary (I. Tobilevych), had a run of 2500 copies. Even a collection of vignettes about various promoters of the Ukrainian theatre, whose author was Rylsky" himself, appeared only in an edition of 1500 copies. One could also mention books which appeared in editions of 300 — 500, but this is enough to paint the picture of the prevailing circumstances.

It should also be added that Russification in Ukraine has been accompanied by the decimation of the Ukrainian people through the organization of artificial famines as well as keeping the population in extreme poverty.

Back in tsarist times the population growth in Ukraine approached 21 per cent per annum, whereas according to the census of 1959 and 1970 the figure has dropped to 9 per cent in Ukraine. In the same period the average growth of population in

the USSR was 16 per cent, and 13 per cent in the Russian republic.

Therefore all such facts show that these are not isolated incidents, but are a part of the broad plan by the Moscow government to hasten the liquidation of all non-Russian languages in the USSR, in particular the Ukrainian language (the language of the second largest non-Russian republic in the USSR), so as to create a «single indivisible Russia» with one language and one set of customs.

The reader should not be surprised that many parents in Kiev, Poltava, Chernihiv, Dnipropetrovsk and other cities of Ukraine are now themselves approaching departments of education and school boards to convert schools to instruction in Russian. And since schools where Russian is the language of instruction give preference to accepting Russians, quite a few young Ukrainian people change their Ukrainian nationality to Russian in their passports, for

all their life they will be dealing with Russified departments and organizations. Thus the regime has made Ukrainian a redundant language and this is Russifying the Ukrainian population more than anything else. All this done with such cunning baseness. In public the regime's representatives state that there is full national freedom in the Ukrainian SSR, the choice to attend Ukrainian or Russian schools. Only there is no place for those who speak Ukrainian in the government and other establishments of their native land.

And we need only to remember the recent words of L. Brezhnev: «Those who refuse to learn Russian are placing themselves outside our society». One may have inclined to agree with him had he told the peoples of the USSR that they should nonetheless cherish their own native language. But no mention was made of this, there was only an emphatic demand to know Russian.

So this is how Moscow Russifies
Ukraine and the other peoples of the
USSR.

EXPLANATORY NOTES

1. THE OSTROMYR GOSPEL is the oldest Ukrainian Cyrillic relic. It was rewritten from the ancient Bulgarian original by the Kiev deacon Hryhorii in 1056-57 for the Novgorod mayor Ostromyr, who was the viceroy of the Kiev prince Iziaslav Iaroslavych. It consists of 294 sheets. To prepare the parchment for a book of this size would have required the skins of no less than 150 lambs or kids. This is an indication of how expensive books were in those days.

URE, vol. 10, p. 417.

2. D. Antonovych. *Ukrainska kultura*. UTHI Publishers. 1947, p. 69.
3. Prof. O. Lototsky — (1870-1939) — prominent social and political worker, writer, publicist and author of several publications (pseudonym O. Bilousenko, O. Lubenky).
4. D. Antonovych. *Ukrainska kultura*, p. 71.
5. The Treaty of Pereyaslav in 1654, between Muscovy and the hetman of Ukraine, Bohdan Khmelnytsky.

6. Mykola Khvylovy — well known Ukrainian author and communist, who was against Russification and Russian interference in Ukrainian cultural and literary matters. Committed suicide on 13 May, 1933, whilst awaiting his own arrest.
7. Arkadii Liubchenko — prominent writer and friend of Khvylovy.
8. Zelenyi Klyn — a region in the USSR where many Ukrainians were resettled during the Tsarist times. According to the first post revolutionary laws, nationalities had the right to establish their own schools, organizations, and conduct their cultural life in their own language. However, as time went on, not only was this banned, but the organizers were also destroyed.
9. Taras Shevchenko — the most outstanding poet-revolutionary, defender of Ukraine's rights, and harsh critic of the Tsarist regime. He was arrested and sent to a concentration camp near the Caspian Sea, where he was imprisoned for ten years. (1814 — 1861).
10. Mariia Pryhara and Natalia Zabyla — popular Ukrainian authors, especially Natalia Zabyla, author of close to 100 childrens' books.

11. Oles Honchar — a well known contemporary writer; author of many works sympathetic to the regime.
12. Lesia Ukrainka (1871 — 1913) — one of the three greatest writers of classic literature. Author of fourteen volumes of works.
13. Kiev is the capital of Ukraine.
14. Mykola Sadovsky — outstanding actor and director, one of the founders of Ukrainian classic theatre.
15. Panas Saksahansky — one of the founders of Ukrainian theatre. Prominent actor.
16. Sofiia Tobilevych — actress, wife of Karpenko-Kary (Tobilevych), one of the founders of Ukrainian classic theatre, dramatist, author of several volumes of plays on society and its lifestyles.
17. Maksym Rylsky (1895 — 1964) — a prominent poet, newspaper editor, and translator from ancient and modern languages; also a writer of many forewords and investigations.

