

Ukraine after World War II: Population and Territory

- Population losses (about 7 m. ?)
 - Reaches 1941 population of 42.1 m. only in 1960s
- Severely damaged economy & infrastructure
- Drought & famine in 1946-47
- Guerilla war by UPA into early 1950s
 - Mass deportations from w. Ukraine to Siberia & Kazakhstan of civilian population
- Territorial gains of Transcarpathia (1944) & Crimea (1954)
 - Ukraine gained independence in 1991 with these territories
 - Deportation of Crimean Tatars to Central Asia (1944)

Ukrainian SSR (1920-54)



The Post-War Ethnic Balance

- Jews in Ukraine: 6.5% in 1930s; 2% by 1959
 - More leave in 1970s, many to Israel
- Poles, Hungarians & Romanians move or are forcibly resettled in “peoples’ democracies”
- Polish-Ukrainians living along Polish-Ukrainian border forcibly resettled (Operation Wisla)
- Incorporation of w. Ukrainian lands added about 7 m. Ukrainians to Ukrainian SSR.
- Nevertheless, percentage of Ukrainians in Ukraine fell from 80% (1926) to 77% (1959).

Russians in post-World War II Ukraine

- Proportion in Ukraine more than doubles
 - 9.2% (1926); 16.9% (1959); 19.4% (1970); 22.1% (1989)
 - In-migration & addition of Russians in Crimea
- Russians migrate primarily to s & se Ukraine
 - Luhansk (44.8%); Donetsk (43.6 %); Kharkiv (33.2%); Zaporizhia (32%); Crimea (67%)
- In-migration facilitates Russification
- Many Ukrainians leave republic to find work
- Russian immigrants well-educated or had skills
- Imperial power colonizing a colonial periphery
 - Poses challenge to Ukrainian identity & their position

Russians in Ukraine (1926)



Russians in Ukraine (1979)



Urbanization

- Ukraine's cities badly damaged during the war
 - Entire industries destroyed & factories dismantled
 - Housing destroyed: many urban dwellers homeless
- 12.8 m. in cities (1950); 1 m. less than in 1940
 - 2/3 of population (of about 42 m.) lives in country
 - side, which is quite a low rate of urbanization. Rapid
- Rapid urban growth came in the 1960s
 - 26 m. lived in cities and towns (1970)
 - Ukrainians concentrated in smaller towns & cities
 - Percentage of Russians high in larger cities
 - Lack of Ukr cultural infrastructure in cities of s & se
 - Assimilation of Ukrainians & in-migration of Russians

Soviet Nationality Policy and Ukraine

- Ukrainization replaced by Russification
- Pseudo-internationalist ideological formula
 - *Rastsvet* (the flowering or development of nations)
 - *Sblizhenie* (the coming together of nations)
 - *Sliianie* (the joining or mixing together of nations)
 - *Sovetskii narod* (creation of a new Soviet people)
- Assimilation is not simply a linguistic process
 - However, language is indicator of national identity
- Russification most successful in se & s, where 2/3 of Russified Ukrainians lived
- Yet, 96% of all Ukrainians did know Ukrainian

Soviet Nationality Policy and Ukraine

- 75% of the population knew Ukrainian, while 50% knew Russian (1970)
- In cities, 62% knew Russian, 68% Ukrainian
- Knowledge of Russian was necessary for social advancement (higher ed. & white-collar jobs)
- Native-language identity dropped from 84.7 in 1959 to 82.8% by 1970
- Ukrainian was being eliminated from public life
- Russian was the language of administration & work; government policy enforced its usage, eliminating Ukrainian from these spheres

Formation of a national identity after World War II

- National self-identification of Ukrainians grew following World War II
 - Impact of w. Ukraine (the most nationalistic part), incorporated into Ukrainian SSR in 1939
 - Territorial identity also has to be taken into account
 - Retention of Ukrainian material culture & customs, even in highly Russified regions
- Defence of the Ukrainian language was a struggle of both substance and symbol
 - Symbolized the struggle over identity
 - Also indicated a conflict between competing elites
 - Intelligentsia was the 1st to defend the language, but the Communist Party of Ukraine did so also

Social change & national identity

- In 1970: working class 50%, white-collar workers 20%, and collective farmers 30%
- Ethnic disbalance in Ukraine's social structure
 - Ukrainians represented 74% of working class
 - Highly underrepresented among white collar workers
- Working class: potential problem for regime
 - inadequate capital investment in machinery & low labour productivity
 - Social infrastructure was inadequately developed
 - Shortages of food products were especially irksome
 - Capital drain from Ukraine to develop other regions

Social & National Questions

- Dissatisfaction & nationalism fuelled by disparities in investment patterns & regional divisions of production
- Combination of difficult material circumstances & rising expectations caused dissatisfaction
- Level of education rose rapidly, but road to a higher education for many was closed
- Ukrainian working class was quite educated
 - Educated workers are more socially aware
- Where Russians & Russian speakers occupied higher positions, social questions tend to coincide with the national question

Culture & Imperialism

- Ethnic Ukrainians constituted a little more than 50% of intelligentsia & semi-intelligentsia
 - High-level specialists in all branches of human endeavour, including government & administration
- This group was most subjected to Russification
- Russian culture was portrayed as carrier of progressive, modern & universal values
 - Imperial & colonial powers mask rapacious policies by depicting domination as a civilizing mission
 - Indigenous cultures are denigrated & depicted as relics of the past
 - Authorities aim to produce indifference & negative attitudes of natives toward own language & culture

The Ukrainian intelligentsia, Russification & nationalism

- Ukrainian intelligentsia was more exposed to Russification than other sectors of society
- National intelligentsia's interests affected by competition in ethnically mixed environments
- There is a relationship between influx of Russian specialists into Ukraine & growth of national consciousness among Ukrainian intelligentsia
- In-migration of Russians forced some Ukrainian specialists to move to other republics of the USSR for work, or to find lower-paying & less prestigious jobs in Ukraine

Russification & higher education

- Relative standing of Ukrainians who received a higher education declined in 1960s-70s
- Intense rivalry existed for available places in institutions of higher learning
 - Restricted access created conditions for bribery & unfair advantage to well-connected (often Russians)
 - Russification created impediments for Ukr speakers
- Much of higher ed. policy set by Moscow
- Knowledge of Ukrainian not compulsory (1954), but Russian remained compulsory
- Gave unfair advantage to Russians from Russia to gain entrance to Ukrainian institutions

Russification of primary & secondary education

- Russification of higher ed. encourages sending children to Russian-language schools
 - Percentage of students enrolled in Ukr-language schools fell from 81% in 1950-51 to 60% in 1974-75
 - Crisis of Ukr-language education pronounced in cities
 - Language of instruction mirrored social differences
 - Regional imbalances: Ukrainian-language schools predominate in west; Russian in south & east
 - Russian-language schools generally better equipped & offered greater range of science subjects.
- Khrushchev & Thesis 19: 1958 education reform
 - Makes second-language education (Ukrainian in Russian-language schools) optional. Adopted 1959

Publishing

- Ukrainian-language titles in books & brochures
 - 61% to 45% (1945- 50); grows to 60% (1958-59)
 - Falls to 49% (1960); 39% (1971); 30% (1975)
 - Scholarly titles fell from 60% (1946) to 31% (1971)
 - Ukrainian-language titles predominated only in literature, agriculture & social sciences
- Minimal number of Ukrainian-language titles of scientific & technical literature
- Ukrainian-language newspapers
 - 70% of all titles & 68 % of total circulation (1971)
- Ukrainian-language journals
 - 62% of the country's journals (1970)

Communist Party of Ukraine

- Rapid recruitment of Ukrainians into the party following World War II
 - 60% of Central Committee (CC) are Ukrainians (1949), but Russians are 1st & 2nd secretaries until 1954. That year, Ukrainians are 72% of CC. All 8 full members of the Politbureau are Ukrainian
- 300th anniversary of Pereiaslav Treaty (1954)
 - Russians singled out as the "leading nation" of USSR; Ukrainians were implied junior partners in USSR
- "Theses on the Three Hundred Year Anniversary of Ukraine with Russia"
 - Communist Party theoretical tract interpreting Ukraine's history

"Theses on the Three Hundred Year Anniversary of Ukraine with Russia"

- The Theses created an official historical myth that was to serve as point of departure in interpretations of all scholars and educators
 - 1654 Pereiaslav Treaty was declared to be the most important event in Ukraine's history, because, by it, Ukraine was irrevocably "reunited" with Russia, This was the historical goal of the Ukrainian people
 - Russian state portrayed as defender, and Russians portrayed as great allies & firm friends of Ukrainians
 - Anti-Russian Ukrainian leaders were labelled traitors
 - Appeals to Slavic roots, not Marxist doctrine
 - Poles, Tatars & Turks depicted as historical enemies, replaced in modern era by capitalist powers

Mykhailo Braichevsky: "Annexation or reunification?"

- The term "reunion" was an absurdity
 - Only separated parts of a whole can be reunited; the 1654 agreement was one between two peoples
 - Ukraine & Russia had not been united prior to 1654
 - Ukrainians were never part of Russia or of Muscovy
 - Existence of 2 peoples makes thesis of reunion an impossibility even though they were once part of Kyivan Rus
- Reunion idea: an aspect of Russian messianism & an expression of great power chauvinism
 - Singled out Russian people for special treatment & subjected them to different social & historical laws than other nations

Mykhailo Braichevsky: "Annexation or reunification?"

- Theses made USSR direct heir of tsarist Russia
 - Criticism of Tsarist imperialism, therefore, was dangerous, as it undermined "friendship" of peoples
- Braichevsky castigated Theses as anti-Marxist
 - Ukrainian historical figures were viewed based on relationship to Russia, not class criteria
 - Lenin had postulated that the nationalism of an oppressed nation should be supported in response to the chauvinism of an imperialist nation
- Pereiaslav Treaty was union of two states
 - 1667 Treaty of Andrusovo confirmed annexationist character of the treaty, based on idea of conquest

The Khrushchev thaw & Petro Shelest in Ukraine

- Khrushchev's secret speech at 20th Congress of CPSU (1956): heralded liberalization
 - Russification relaxed & decentralization of economy
- Petro Shelest: 1st secretary of CPU (1963-72)
 - Ukrainians continue to dominate high party positions
 - CPU membership grows rapidly: 1.1 - 2.5 m. (1958-71)
 - CPU members challenge Moscow's economic policies
- Shelest's CPU: regional pol'l & economic elite
 - Ukrainize party & prevent influx of outside cadres
 - Supported a limited revival of Ukrainian culture
- Volodymyr Shcherbytsky (1972-89)
 - Shelest accused of nationalism. CPU purged

Cultural revival of the 1960s

- Emergence of “the sixties group”
 - Rejected socialist realism as a guiding principle, stressing the freedom of individual creativity
 - Promoted Ukrainian language use & culture
 - Rehabilitation of cultural figures & works banned in the 1930s
- Oles Honchar’s novel *The Cathedral* (1968)
 - Condemned destruction of historical monuments
- Dovzhenko film studio: “Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors”
- Undertaking of several encyclopedia projects & a multi-volume dictionary

Ukrainian dissident movement

- Developed in 1960s as a spontaneous, self-organizing movement of national defence
 - Participants articulated their own vision of a democratic society, which included broad cultural, political & economic rights for Ukraine
 - Regime began to intimidate & finally repress them
- Dissident: expresses disapproval of an existing regime, policies/actions, publicly beyond that which is officially sanctioned or permitted
 - signing a petition, writing or circulating self-published literature, writing letter of protest, participating in unofficial groups, gatherings or demonstrations, writing slogans in public places

Ukrainian dissident movement

- Majority of statements/actions address issues of democratization: free speech, assembly, etc.
- Defend victims of repression/political prisoners
- National concerns: access to banned Ukrainian literature; protests against Russification & limits on Ukraine's political/economic rights
- National character of the dissident movement
 - 77.2 % Ukrainians; 0.5 % Russians; 9.9% other nationalities (mostly Jews & Tatars); 12.4% unknown
- Crackdowns on dissidents: 1965-66 & 1972
 - 2nd coincided with removal of 1st sec. Petro Shelest

Ivan Dziuba & Valentyn Moroz

- Ivan Dziuba: *Internationalism or Russification?*
 - Soviet internationalism was actually Russian great power chauvinism, or national egoism
 - Soviet government was destroying Ukrainian culture & the intelligentsia under slogan of internationalism
 - Continued colonial policies of Tsarist Russia
- V. Moroz: “Report from the Beria Reserve”
 - Exposed arbitrary acts of regime, especially KGB, as being in contravention of own & international laws.
 - Terrorism of state stifled human individuality & initiative, producing an “empire of cogs.”
 - Defence of the individual/individualism against state-ordered collectivism, conformity & a herd mentality

Mikhail Gorbachev: Glasnost, Perestroika & the USSR's collapse

- Leonid Brezhnev's rule (1964-82) was characterized by stability, & then stagnation
- Yu. Andropov & K. Chernenko (1982-85)
- Mikhail Gorbachev (1985-91)
 - Planned some sort of market economy (perestroika),
 - Encouraged public support: openness (glasnost)
 - Democratization : 1989 elections to People's Congress
- Change came slowly in Ukraine until replacement of V. Shcherbytsky in 1989
- Ukrainian Writers' Union 1st to begin promoting rebirth of culture & language

Ukrainian opposition groups organize (late 1980s)

- 1986 explosion at Chernobyl n-power plant: ecological movement Green World 1987
- Taras Shevchenko Language Society (1989) founded to promote the use of Ukrainian
- Ukrainian government declared Ukrainian the state language of Ukraine in 1989
- Civic national-democratic proto-political party, Rukh (The Movement) founded in 1989
 - Calls for state support of the Ukrainian language & culture, but also defends rights of ethnic minorities
 - Calls for transformation of USSR into a confederation of sovereign states

Toward sovereignty

- Greek Catholic Church emerges from underground (1987; was dissolved in 1946)
- Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church re-established (1989)
- Official press becoming more daring in its exposes of abuses/crimes of Soviet rule (1989)
- Proliferation of unofficial publications
- 16 July 1990 declared of sovereignty
 - Right to form armed forces & intention to become a neutral, nuclear-free power
 - Sovereignty recognized by Russian FSSR Nov. 1990

Independence

- 19 August 1991 attempted coup by hardliners
- Ukrainian national legislature (Verkhovna Rada), on 24 August declares independence
 - Makes reference to the "thousand-year tradition of state-building in Ukraine"
 - Defines act as realization of the July 1990 declaration on state sovereignty.
 - Independence made subject to referendum 1 Dec.
 - Declaration confirmed by 91%; 56% in Crimea
 - Leonid Kravchuk, former Communist party chief of ideology, elected Ukraine's first president
 - Existence of Soviet Ukrainian institutions served as important assets in independence drive

Nature of Ukraine's Independence

- Ukraine's independence was not the result of a takeover of power by opponents of the old Communist regime
 - Was a compromise between national democrats & Communist elite: both agree on independence
 - Opposition national democrats not strong enough to achieve Ukrainian statehood on its terms
- Compromise with the Communist elite is both a blessing and a curse
 - Independence achieved without bloodshed
 - Post-Communist elite still holds reigns of power: mismanagement of the economy has continued & needed reforms have been slow to come as a result

Ukraine's three great tasks; Ukraine between east & west

- Transformation of the economy from a centralized, command, economy, to a market economy
- Change from a one-party dictatorship to a multi-party democracy
- Complete nation-building & state-building
- Ukraine between east & west
 - Internal: forge an identity that would reconcile nationalistic west (largely Ukrainian-speaking) & more Russified & ethnic Russian southeast & south
 - External: balance its relations between Russia & the west. Move to integrate with Europe, while still maintaining ties, especially economic, with Russia

Ukraine's balancing act

