

# **Balkanistic**

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<b>СЪСТАВИТЕЛИ</b> Кристина Попова Нурие Муратова	<b>EDITORS</b> Kristina Popova Nurie Muratova
<b>ЕЗИКОВА РЕДАКЦИЯ</b> Милен Малаков	<b>LANGUAGE CHECK</b> Milen Malakov
<b>АДРЕС НА РЕДАКЦИЯТА</b> България, 2700 Благоевград Международен университетски семинар за балканистични проучвания и специализации при ЮЗУ “Неофит Рилски”, ул. “Иван Михайлов”, № 66, УК-1, стая 433 Тел./факс (+359 73) 88-55-16 e-mail: bforum1992@gmail.com www.bf.swu.bg	<b>EDITORIAL ADDRESS</b> Bulgaria, 2700 Blagoevgrad International University Seminar for Balkan Studies and Specialization at the South-West University “Neofite Rilski”, Ivan Mihailov str. 66, Room 433 Tel./Fax (+359 73) 88-55-16 e-mail: bforum1992@gmail.com www.bf.swu.bg

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## **ESCAPE AND RETURN**

**Editors: Kristina Popova and Nurie Muratova**

## **БЯГСТВО И ЗАВРЪЩАНЕ**

**Съставители: Кристина Попова и Нурие Муратова**

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*Natalija Malets*  
*Uzhhorod National University (Ukraine)*  
[1981phd@gmail.com]

*Oleksandr Malets*  
*Mukachevo State University (Ukraine)*  
[1981phd@gmail.com]

## **Dynamics of Cultural and Educational Processes of National Minorities of Transcarpathia of the Second Half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century**

**Abstract:** *The article analyses the dynamics of ethnic composition and ethnic processes in Transcarpathia in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, as well as ethno-cultural processes of national consolidation of Ukrainians of the region as part of the Ukrainian nation. The paper evaluates the practice of the Soviet state and the ideology of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) to determine the nature, content and directions of all ethno-national and ethno-cultural policies in Transcarpathia. While researching the consolidation processes of Transcarpathian Ukrainians as part of the Ukrainian nation, the authors showed that the development of the traditions of Ukrainian national culture was seen in the environment of the creative intelligentsia and the majority of the people as an alternative to ideological communication.*

*It is justified that the main goal of the communist authorities in Transcarpathia in 1945-1991 was to establish socialist, economic, political and ideological regime in the region. In order to accelerate this process, a Russian (Russian-speaking) national minority was hastily created in the region by the state authorities, which, having occupied leading political, ideological and economic positions, became a reliable support for the new communist regime.*

**Key words:** *assimilation; nation; ethnic processes; ethnic groups; national minorities; ethnic consolidation.*

### **Introduction**

#### ***Topicality***

The long period of statelessness of the Ukrainian nation and belonging of its ethnic territories to different state political formations, each dominated by a specific socio-economic, political and cultural regime,



had a significant impact on the preservation and development of the ethnographic zones of the Ukrainian ethnic group. Their formation and development allow specifying the main stages and features of ethnic history, ethnic and ethno-cultural development of the Ukrainian ethnic group, revealing the territorial differences of traditional culture and life.

One of the ethnographic zones of the Ukrainian ethnos is Transcarpathia, which is characterized by considerable ethnic diversity (Ukrainians, Hungarians and Romanians live compactly in certain territories, and Russians, Germans, Slovaks, Jews, Gypsies and others – in small groups in cities and villages) and the ethnographic mosaic of Ukrainians (hutsuls, boykos, lemkos, dolyniany and others).

The features of Transcarpathia are conditioned by the millennial belonging of the region to different states, which has caused considerable political and cultural isolation from the main territories; a peculiar geopolitical location on the border with the ethnic lands of Romanians, Hungarians, Slovaks, Poles and their ethnic formations.

The Ukrainian ethno-consolidating and national liberation movement in this region manifested itself only in the 20<sup>th</sup> century: the decision of the national congress in Khust (January 21, 1919) on the entry of the region into united Ukraine; the mass will of the Ukrainians in Transcarpathia to reunite with Soviet Ukraine in 1944.

With the entry of Transcarpathia into the USSR, the accelerated Sovietization of the region and its integration into the Soviet socio-political system began. At the same time, there was a consolidation of Transcarpathian Ukrainians as part of the Ukrainian nation, assimilation of the best achievements of culture and consolidation of national consciousness.

In the context of independent Ukraine, there is a need to analyse the changes in the ethnic composition of the population of Transcarpathia in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, to find out the essence of the real policy of the Soviet authorities regarding the ethnicities of this region.

The objective of the study is to analyse the consequences of the national policy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) for the ethnopolitical and ethnocultural development of Transcarpathia in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The research object is ethnic processes in Transcarpathia during the years of communist totalitarianism; national policy of the USSR and its influence on the ethno-political and ethnocultural development of the region in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

### **Theoretical background**

*Methods of research* — the principle of historicism, focusing on a specifically historical approach to the study of ethnopolitical and ethnocultural processes, events and facts; structural and system analysis; comparative and statistical methods for processing material of the sources.

An attempt was made to investigate in the summarizing work changes in the ethnic composition of the population of Transcarpathia in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century:

- the size and ethnic composition of the population of the region;
- forms and methods of political and cultural influence of the communist regime on ethnic processes;
- the process of ethnic consolidation of the Transcarpathians as part of the Ukrainian nation;
- influence of internal and external factors on the number of ethnic groups;
- causes of ethnic and cultural isolation of national minorities of the region;
- marginalization and russification of ethnic groups.

In particular, the role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet authorities in the assimilation processes in Transcarpathia has been clarified; it was emphasized that the displacement of ethnic migrant groups from different parts of the USSR not only brought cultural traditions of another nation, but also increased the ethnic diversity of the population, the Russian national minority was artificially created, which, despite its small size, played a leading political and social role; political and ideological propaganda tools that accelerated political, social and cultural irrigation, assimilation, that is, the assimilation of the indigenous population to the Russian margins, were identified.

The article analyses the state of study of ethnopolitical and ethnocultural processes in Transcarpathia. In researching the topic, unpublished and published sources and the most important researches of domestic scholars were used. In particular, documents and materials of the Transcarpathian Regional and District Committees of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet authorities, which reflect the policy for the region, attitude of local population to multi-ethnic groups, collectivization and fight against the Ukrainian national liberation movement. Various informative reports on the socio-political situation, the scope of the national movement, methods of combating it, repressive

actions and dispossession of the kulaks, deportation of the local population, etc. are analysed.

This work relies on the census materials that reproduce the more or less real demographic, ethnic and socio-cultural situation. These materials confirm the ethno-national consolidation of Transcarpathian Ukrainians as part of the Ukrainian nation, as well as the ethno-national isolation of Transcarpathian Romanians, Germans, Gypsies, Hungarians, as well as the political domination of Russians and the russification of the population of Transcarpathia.

Regional statistical books also contain supporting information. The 1969 statistical books present the demographic characteristics of the population of the cities of Uzhhorod and Mukachevo and all districts. However, the publishers did not provide any information about the ethnic composition of the population, education and culture of the ethnic groups. Unlike the previous ones, in the 1969 book, although a special section "Territory and Population" was singled out, it contained only demographic and superficial ethnic characteristics of the population of the region, and did not contain any data on the social structure of political, cultural life and education of ethnic groups (Itohy vsesoiuznoi perepysy naselenyia 1970 hoda, 1972-1974). In the 1990 statistical book, National Economy of the Transcarpathian Region, according to the census data of 1979 (Naseleattia Zakarpatskoi oblasti za danymy vsesoiuznoho perepysu naseleattia 1989 roku, 1990) and 1989, the ethnonational composition of the population is only one page, there is no information on education and culture of national and ethnic groups of the population of the region (Narodne hospodarstvo Zakarpatskoi oblasti, 1980).

These statistical books do not provide enough material to analyse the ethnic and national situation and ethnic processes in the region during 1944-1991. This has become noticeable today. In an effort to remedy this situation, the organizers of the research and training conference State Regulation of International Relations in Transcarpathia held in Uzhhorod in 1997 included annexes of statistical materials prepared by Matso and Luts in the collection of conference materials (Natsionalnyi sklad naseleattia Zakarpatskoi oblasti (zghidno perepysu 1989 roku), 1997).

A series of documents covering the process of reunification of Transcarpathia with Soviet Ukraine were included in the collection of documents "Following the Path of October" (Shliakhom Zhovtnia, 1973). Important materials for the coverage of ethnic processes in Transcarpathia in the 1940-1980's were published in the popular science edition "The Thorny Road to Unity. For the 350<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Uzhhorod un-

ion” (Ternysta Doroha do Yednosti. Do 350-richchia Uzhhorodskoi unii, Uzhgorod, 1995), and in the collection of documents and archival materials “The Black Book” (Chorna Knyha, Kyiv, 1998). Much attention is paid to the ethno-cultural processes in the region in the collection of documents and materials of I. Krypiakevych Institute of Ukrainian Studies, which fully consider the main aspects of cultural life and the problem of deportation in Western Ukraine in the late 1930’s - beginning of 1950’s.

Some aspects of the political and cultural development of Ukrainians, Hungarians, Romanians, Germans and Slovaks of the region were covered in scientific papers. This topic was politicized in the Soviet era. This greatly limited the scientific focus of scarce studies, whose nature and content were determined by communist ideological dogmas and the ideological-political interests of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Democratization of the socio-political life of the country and its restructuring stimulated the awakening of interest in the chosen topic. This is evidenced by the emergence of a number of journalistic and scientific articles of historical and local lore, focusing only on certain aspects of ethnic and ethno-cultural processes in Transcarpathia. The concept of “ethnic processes” was introduced in the 1920’s by Sh. Marr. Ethnic processes mean all the various ethno-cultural, ethno-social and ethno-political changes in the traits and properties of ethnic communities. Some contemporary researchers interpret ethnic processes as the development of ethnic phenomena, as a consistent change in the stages of ethnogenesis, the combined alternation of ethnic activities in order to achieve the goals and objectives.

Soviet researchers reduced the essence of ethnic processes to ethnic composition. Almost all of them noted that the number of Ukrainians from 1959 to 1989 increased from 74.6% to 78.4%, the number of Romanians during the same time increased from 2% in 1959 to 2.4% in 1989, and the number of Hungarians declined from 15.9% to 12.5%. At the same time, Soviet researchers considered phenomenon of the formation and numerical growth of the Russian-speaking population extremely positive, which in 1989 accounted for 4% of the population of the region and identified itself with ethnic Russians.

The focus of the research was on the dynamics of the ethnic composition of the population of the region, changes in its social structure, unification (Sovietization) of cultural life and linguistic, cultural and ethnic russification, which were proclaimed the main features of “Soviet internationalism”. Official propaganda invoked that representatives of more than thirty nationalities live peacefully and amicably in Soviet

Transcarpathia. However, they were reluctant to say that the multi-ethnic composition of the population of the region and its peaceful coexistence is a long-standing tradition - Transcarpathia did not know real ethnic conflicts in its history. Ponomarov (1986, 175) acknowledged that "the ideological aspects of the Soviet way of life were developed in the process of purposeful activity of the party and the state, in the course of an uncompromising struggle against the bearers of standards, habits, traditions and customs, alien ideology and principles of socialism were imposed". Let us note that these generalizations were denied by the deployment of interethnic conflicts in the late 1980's and the collapse of the USSR in 1991.

Similar assessments and approaches have dominated all ethnographic literature in characterizing ethnopolitical and ethnocultural processes in Ukraine and Transcarpathia in the 1940's-80's.

A nice exception to the ethnographic literature of this content are two articles by Tkachenko (1974a; 1974b), who analyses the dynamics of the ethnic composition of the population of Transcarpathia according to the censuses of 1910, 1930, 1959, 1970.

The authors of "Carpathian Collection" (Karpatskyi Zbirnyk) – Hrozdova (1972), Hratsyanskaia (1972), Filimonova and Shin (1972) – touched upon a number of complex issues of life of the national minorities in Transcarpathia. Nevertheless, even the timid hints at their uncertain ethno-cultural existence have provoked protests by the Transcarpathian regional committee of the Communist Party, which accused the authors of the articles of ideological perversion and anti-Sovietness.

The most notable scientific work of the 1970's was the work of Kopchak and Kopchak (1977), which examined the demographic and social processes in Transcarpathia.

The team of historians of the Uzhhorod State University published essays on the history of Transcarpathia, "By Way of Happiness" (Shliakhom do shchastia 1973), which have become a generalized work on the past and present of Transcarpathia in Soviet historiography. During the perestroika years, the aforementioned team, considering the processes of liberation and reunification of the region in the collection "Transcarpathia: Past and Present" (Zakarpattia: Mynule i Suchasne, 1986), made an attempt to touch upon the problems of ethno-political development. Later the two-volume book "Essays on the History of Transcarpathia" was published (Narysy istorii Zakarpattia. t.2., 1993).

In this period Laver, co-authored with Makara, tried to explain the causes and the course of demographic changes in the structure of the

population of Transcarpathia during 1959-1989 (Laver, 1991; Laver and Makara, 1994).

During the years of independence, the issues of ethno-political and ethno-cultural life of the population are not marked by serious studies. Nowadays, the study of these issues is conducted mainly by Transcarpathian ethnologists, ethno-political scientists, and ethno-demographers. During 1990-1995, Tyvodar devoted a number of scientific and popular scientific materials to this issue. Most of them were included in the collection of scientific papers published in 1995 and collections of papers of research conferences (Tyvodar, 1995a; 1995b; 1995c). The researcher identified the main features of the processes in Transcarpathia in the Soviet era, emphasizing that the entire socio-economic, migration, cultural, religious, linguistic policies of the Soviet authorities were subordinated to the ideological and political interests of the great Russian chauvinists (Tyvodar, 1967; 1993; 1994; 1995).

The totality of the works discussed above does not give a sufficiently complete description of the ethno-political and ethno-cultural processes in Transcarpathia in the 1940's and 1980's. While the overwhelming majority of Soviet-era publications strongly endorsed the Leninist national policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, persistently promoting Russian Soviet culture, internationalism and Soviet patriotism, there is a more critical approach to the coverage of those problems in the publications of the second half of the 1980's. At the same time, the works of contemporary Ukrainian authors unilaterally describe the political and cultural activities of the Soviet totalitarian system (Tyvodar, 1967).

Transcarpathia has long been characterized by significant ethnic diversity. But national and ethnic minorities after the Second World War made up only 21.5-25% of the total population of the region. The incorporation of Transcarpathia into the Soviet state-political system has had different effects on the position, ethno-social and ethno-cultural development of the national minorities. As soon as Soviet troops entered Transcarpathia, they began repressions against the local Hungarians and Germans, who were referred to as hostile nations. In November-December 1944, based on Decision of the Military Council of the 4<sup>th</sup> Ukrainian Front No. 0036, the purge of the Hungarian and German male population of the military age started. They were all equated to prisoners of war and sent to various camps. Those who stayed in the Svalyava camp were forced to rebuild the Volivets-Mukachevo railway. Their working conditions there were so severe that out of 5,430 prisoners of

war about 3,000 were exhausted and were returned sick to the camp in just 1.5 months (Shliakhom Zhovtnia, 1973, p. 162; Makara, 1995, p. 94-96; Pavlenko, 1997, p. 160-161).

In general, significant ethno-demographic shifts have taken place in the Transcarpathian during the years of Soviet rule. Specific materials show that the share of Ukrainians in the structure of the population of the region increased from 67.9% in 1946 to 78.4% in 1989. At the same time, the number of Russians increased from 1.5% to 4%, Romanians – from 2% to 2.4%, Gypsies – from 0.6% to 1%. The share of other national minorities, including Hungarians, Germans, Slovaks and Czechs, Jews, Bulgarians, has been steadily decreasing. In 1946, the Hungarians made up 17.3% of the total population, and in 1989 – only 12.5%. For the same period, the number of Czechs with Slovaks decreased from 1.7% to 0.6%, Germans - from 0.4% to 0.3%, Jews – from 0.8% to 0.2% (Naselennia Zakarpatskoi oblasti za danymy vsesoiuznoho perepysu naselennia 1989 roku, 1990).

As before, the Hungarians mostly concentrated in the villages of the Zakarpattia (Prytysianska) Lawland. Their highest concentration was in the Berehiv district. According to the 1989 census, 85.1 thousand people lived in the district, of which 57,000 were Hungarians (almost 67% of the district population). (Narodne hospodarstvo Zakarpatskoi oblasti, 1980; Hrachak, 1997).

Almost 28,000 Hungarians lived in the Vynohradiv district in 1989, accounting for only 25% of the district's 113,000 inhabitants. They live both in almost exclusively Hungarian villages (Petrovo, Bobove, Diakogovo, Velyka Palad etc.) and in mixed Ukrainian-Hungarian villages (Chernotysovo, Vilok, Matiievo, Fanchykovo, Tekovo, Chepa, etc.) (Narodne hospodarstvo Zakarpatskoi oblasti, 1980; Hrachak, 1997).

Lack of industrial development and political conditions were the factors that delayed socio-cultural development in Hungarian settlements. Schools, libraries, clubs, hospitals, kindergartens and nurseries were built there mainly with the use of collective and state farms, and only rarely – through state investment (Lyzanets, 1999).

The Hungarian school and the education in their native language were in a particularly difficult condition in the 1960's. Although they formally proclaimed equality of all national groups, in practice there was widespread discrimination against non-Russians. This was especially noticeable in the field of public education (Tyvodar, 1996).

The discrimination of Hungarians in the field of education has been eliminated only in independent Ukraine. This is evidenced by the fact

that there were 95 Hungarian-language schools (1 school for 1621 students) in Transcarpathia in 1998, including 22 secondary schools (17 secondary schools, 4 gymnasiums, 1 lyceum), Hungarian-speaking groups at the Mukachevo Branch of the Ivano-Frankivsk Pedagogical University, at the Uzhhorod School of Culture and Education, the Berehove Medical School, the Berehove Vocational School and the Hungarian Branch of the Uzhhorod State University. In addition, many children of Transcarpathian Hungarians study at higher educational institutions of Ukraine, the Transcarpathian Hungarian Pedagogical Institute in Berehove, as well as secondary and higher educational institutions of Hungary (Lyzanets, 1999, p. 48-49; Hents, 1999, p. 38).

The linguistic Ukrainianization of a small part of the Hungarians was contrary to Soviet party and state policy. It affected only Ukrainian-Hungarian nationally mixed families and some of the 15.6 thousand Hungarians who lived in the Ukrainian ethnic environment (Itohy vse-soiuznoi perepysy naselenyia 1959 hoda, 1963; Itohy vsesoiuznoi perepysy naselenyia 1970 hoda, 1972-1974; Vestnyk statystyky, 1980; Natsionalnyi sklad naselennia Zakarpatskoi oblasti (zghidno perepysu 1989 roku), 1997). One of the drivers of Russification was nationally mixed families who were declared international by communist propaganda. In the pre-Soviet times, ethnically mixed marriages in Transcarpathia were most common in the cities and were very rare in rural areas (Tyvodar, 1967; 1996).

Romanians in Transcarpathia live on the border of Rakhiv and Tiachiv districts. In almost exclusively one-ethnic communities such as Serednie Vodiane, Dobryk, Plaiuts, Bila Tserkva, Dibrova, Hlybokyi Potik, Topchyno, Podishor, Pechera and in the city of Solotvyn. In 1975, 99.2% of Romanians lived in one-ethnic villages. Statistics show the gradual quantitative growth of Romanians within the present Transcarpathia. While there were only 11,867 people in 1921, their number was 12,777 in 1930, in 1959 – 18,346, in 1970 – 23,454, in 1979 – 27,155, and in 1989 – 29,845 people (Statistika prirucka republiky Ceskoslovenske, 1932, p. 9; Administrativni lexiconobci v Republice Ceskoslovenske, 1934, p. 8; Kopchak, V., Kopchak, S., 1977, p. 70; Itohy vse-soiuznoi perepysy naselenyia 1959 hoda, 1963; Itohy vsesoiuznoi perepysy naselenyia 1970 hoda, 1972-1974, Vol. 1-7, p. 175; Narodne hospodarstvo Zakarpatskoi oblasti, 1980, p. 24).

The ideological offensive toward the Romanian population of Transcarpathia has intensified in connection with the adoption of the resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet



Union “On Additional Measures in the Field of Ideological Work in Connection with Strengthening of Romanian Nationalist Propaganda Affecting the Interests of the USSR”. In an effort to get out of the difficult situation, ideologists of the Transcarpathian Regional Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union tried to find at least some bases for classifying the Transcarpathian Romanians as Moldavians (State Archives of the Transcarpathian region, p. 20; p. 266; p. 16).

The system of school education in Romanian started in 1919, when Transcarpathia was incorporated into the Czechoslovak Republic. In 1934, the Romanian language was taught in form 1 in 4 elementary schools for 1,772 pupils. All textbooks to the schools were then supplied from Romania. The pupils received incomplete secondary and secondary education in their mother tongue in neighbouring Romanian cities. The Soviet system of Moldovan-language education of the Transcarpathian Romanians started as early as 1945/1946, when the seven-year schools began to work in Solotvyn, Dibrova, Bila Tserkva and Serednii Vodanyi (Ihnat, 1971; Istoryia horodov i sel Ukraynskoï SSR. Zakarpatskaia oblast, 1982, p. 465, 467, 474).

If the elimination of illiteracy and receiving incomplete secondary education in the Moldovan language were more or less successful, obtaining secondary education in the same language was rather problematic. Even in 1979, there was only one secondary school for 27,000 Romanians. Even in the restructuring 1989, there were 10 schools for 29,485 Romanians and only 2 secondary schools (1 secondary school for 14,742 Romanians) (Maryna, 1997, p. 114). This has significantly affected the relatively low level of education of Romanians compared to Russians, Ukrainians, Hungarians, Slovaks (see Table 1).

**Table 1. Educational level of ethnic groups in Transcarpathia (per 1,000 people) as of 1989** (State Archives of the Transcarpathian region, C.153; Tkachenko, 1974)

<i>Ethnic group</i>	<i>higher</i>	<i>incomplete higher</i>	<i>specialized secondary</i>	<i>secondary</i>	<i>incomplete secondary</i>	<i>primary</i>
<i>Ukrainians</i>	68	10	149	367	218	145
<i>Russians</i>	246	25	267	310	-	34
<i>Hungarians</i>	37	7	98	427	264	155
<i>Romanians</i>	17	3	38	208	451	181
<i>Slovaks</i>	88	12	157	385	101	-
<i>Gypsies</i>	-	-	7	97	431	387

The program of ideological work envisaged the expansion of activities of cultural institutions. Village reading rooms, clubs, village and school libraries were established in each Romanian village (State Archives of the Transcarpathian region, p. 275). The situation was similar in the Romanian villages of Tyachiv district. In 1952, there were only 49 readers for 650 yards in the village of Dibrova in the village library, and the Resolution of the Tyachiv District Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union noted that no mass political work was carried out in the village of Hlybokyi Potik. The same situation was recorded by the resolutions and decisions of the District Committees of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1960-1970 (State Archives of the Transcarpathian region, p.153).

The predominantly agrarian development of the villages, their almost complete one-ethnicity and endogamy, and the exclusive one-ethnicity of the Transcarpathian Romanians' marriages contributed to the preservation of their ethnic stability and sustainability. They have preserved ethnic environment, ethnic specifics, language, traditions and folklore, national identity almost unspoiled from the outside (Malets, 1999, p. 134; Narodne gospodarstvo Zakarpatskoj oblasti. Statystychnyi zbirnyk, 1980, p. 15; 29; Tkachenko, 1974, p. 65).

German settlers appeared in the territory of historical Transcarpathia in the 10<sup>th</sup> century. During the Middle Ages, they contributed to the development of many settlements in the region. At the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, there was a new period of German colonization, which resulted in virtually all non-German settlements of the region. The materials of censuses and other official documents indicate that there were 12,914 Germans in 1910, 10,674 in 1920, 12,713 in 1930, 2,338 in 1946, 3,504 in 1959, 4,230 in 1970, 3,746 in 1979, 3,478 in 1989 in the territory of modern Transcarpathia (State Archives of the Transcarpathian region, St.u.39,40;141; Makara, 1995, pp. 95-96).

The Soviet era was tragic for the Germans of Transcarpathia. As early as 13.12.1944, the Military Council of the 4<sup>th</sup> Ukrainian front issued Decree No. 0036 on sending all German men aged 18 to 55 to the Camps of Prisoners of War. The next day (14.12.1944), the military commandant ordered the rear services to identify, register and take in such Hungarians and Germans for "three-day" restoration work. Only during 13-14.12.1944, the NKVD (People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs) troops detained 292 German men in the Svaliava, Vynohrady, Khust, Rakhiv and Mukachevo districts. They were sent to the Svaliava and Staryi Sambir camps of prisoners of war (Pavlenko, 1997, p. 161).

The Germans emigrated from Transcarpathia at the end of World War II. Emigrant sentiments have grown especially rapidly since the late 1950's, with the return of a large number of people repressed to their native land. For example, in 1944, the village of Nimetska Mokra was home to 1,075 Germans (Kulia, 1977, p. 138-147; 1995, p. 47-55; 1998, p. 11-12). During the years of Soviet power, all the traditions of the national and cultural life of the Germans of Transcarpathia were destroyed. In 1935/36, there were 26 German schools in the region, with more than 2,157 pupils enrolled in 44 classes, 29 German village reading rooms, 9 drama hobby groups, 17 musical instrument orchestras, etc. (State Archives of the Transcarpathian region, p. 87).

Weakening Soviet Union's pressure on the Germans in the mid-1970's was accompanied by attempts to encourage them to get secondary and higher education, to involve them in membership in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to work in public and mass-political organizations, to advance to leading administrative positions. The liberalization in the attitude of the official authorities to the Germans has led to a number of publications on the successes of German workers in the regional and district press. However, it was difficult to stop the emigration sentiment among the Transcarpathian Germans. During 1979-1992, 887 Germans emigrated from Transcarpathia (Kampov, 1993).

Despite the significant improvement of national-cultural life of the Transcarpathian Germans in independent Ukraine, they leave for Federal Republic of Germany. Old inhabitants of German villages state that "... there will probably be no young people here..." soon (Makara and Ofitsynskyi, 1996, p. 17).

The Soviet authorities "closed" the Slovak issue as early as in 1945-1947, when all Slovak schools, public and political organizations, newspapers and magazines were closed, all forms of national-political and religious life were suspended, etc. (Natsionalnyi sklad naseleння Zakarpatskoi oblasti, zghidno perepysu 1989 roku), 1997). For centuries, Slovaks, like Ukrainians, have been nationals of different states, denationalized and assimilated by politically dominant ethnic groups. For a long time, they have been the object of Hungarianization, which has become manifested by widespread of the Hungarian language among the Transcarpathian Slovaks. During the 1920s - 1930's Slovaks, belonging to the Czechoslovak people, were subjected to Czechization, and in the Soviet era, they sought to Russify them by various methods. This was most clearly manifested in the recognition of ethnically foreign languages as the main spoken or native languages (see Table 2). The census data of

1979 and 1989 testified to the emergence of quite significant groups of Ukrainian-speaking and Hungarian-speaking Slovaks (Hapáková, 1997, p. 105; Natsionalnyi sklad naselennia Zakarpatskoi oblasti, zghidno perepysu 1989 roku), 1997; Kulia, 1998, p. 64).

**Table 2. Distribution of Slovaks by mother tongue**

<i>Year of the census</i>	<i>Total number of Slovaks</i>	<i>With Slovak native language</i>	<i>With Ukrainian native language</i>	<i>With Russian native language</i>	<i>With Hungarian native language</i>	<i>With other native languages</i>
<b>1979</b>	8,200	3,468	2,309	316	n/d	2,107
<b>1989</b>	7,329	2,555	2,433	388	1,890	53

The significant spread of the Ukrainian language among Slovaks is connected with a number of objective factors: the similarity of the Ukrainian and Slovak languages, the predominant study of Slovaks in Ukrainian schools, the long peaceful coexistence of Ukrainians and Slovaks, and the lack of conflicts on ethnic, religious and political grounds between them, closeness of cultural and daily life traditions, ceremonial culture and folk art, etc. (Makara and Myhovych, 1997, pp. 66-67).

All these factors influenced the ethnic marginalization of the Transcarpathian Slovaks, their low national consciousness. They were linguistically Ukrainized, Hungarianized or Russified, and only in independent Ukraine their national cultural and political revival began.

According to the 1989 census, 12,131 Gypsies lived in Transcarpathia, and according to a sociological survey of 15.04.1989 - more than 20,000. With the establishment of Soviet power, the situation of the Gypsies, despite the slogan of "socialist internationalism", was no less difficult than in the past. A clear indication of this fact is the Decree of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of October 5, 1956 "On Engaging Vagabond Gypsies in the Work" and Resolution of the Council of Ministers of the USSR No. 1373 of October 5, 1956 "On Engaging Vagabond Gypsies in the Work". The third clauses of the Decree and the Resolution obliged the repressive authorities to catch the Gypsies and to bring them to criminal responsibility (Navrotska, 1997, p. 116-121; Adam and Navrotskaia, 1997, p. 123-127; Yemets and Diachenko, 1993, p. 7-9).

Although the aforementioned Decree and Resolution declared the need to create jobs and conditions for their livelihoods, they created a legal basis for the persecution of the Gypsies by the authorities. As a result, Gypsies began to conceal their ethnicity, resort to the deception of the authorities and various tricks. All this further contributed to both the

self-isolation of the Gypsies by the non-ethnic population and their ethnic marginalization.

In 1946, 12,176 Russians and Russian-speaking people arrived in Transcarpathia, which made up more than 1.5% of the population of the region. In terms of social composition, more than 83% of Russian-speaking people were administrative, party, NKVD-KGB, court staff and prosecutors. This tendency was particularly noticeable in the first post-war decade, when, in the face of widespread distrust to local Ukrainians, party authorities determined the percentage of replacement of local personnel by those who came from the east, mainly Russians (Narysy istorii Zakarpatskoi oblasnoi partiinoi orhanizatsii, 1980, p. 150; Istoryia horodov i sel Ukraynskoi SSR. Zakarpatskaia oblast, 1982, p. 67; Khymynets, 1996, p. 159). At the same time, the war-torn economy was to be reconstructed, collectivization and industrialization began, requiring some staffing. These positions were mainly held by migrants from the Russian Federation.

In general, the migration of Russians and Russian-speaking people to Transcarpathia during 1945-1991 was under constant state control. Regardless of whether the Russians came to Transcarpathia with job placement, moved to relatives (earlier migrants, wives, brothers, etc.), or settled in the region at will (those became numerous after the adoption on 1.09.1955 of the Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on granting privileges in the choice of place of residence, allocation of housing and employment of demobilized officers), the Russians felt comfortable at all levels. They quickly adapted to local conditions because they had well-established cultural and information support, a system of teaching children in Russian schools, newspapers, radio, cinema, television, etc. (Narody mira: Istoryko-etnohrafycheskyi spravochnyk, 1988, p. 501).

The Table 3 shows that in 1979, 97.3% (and in 1989 – 95.7%) of Russians recognized Russian as their mother tongue. The language barrier did not interfere with them because they believed that all local people had a good understanding of Russian.

**Table 3. Distribution of Russians by mother tongue**

<i>Cen- sus year</i>	<i>the total num- ber of Russians</i>	<i>with native Russian</i>	<i>with native Ukrainian</i>	<i>with other native lan- guages</i>
<b>1979</b>	41,713 (100%)	40,611 (97.3%)	985 (2.4%)	117 (0.3%)
<b>1989</b>	49,458 (100%)	47,387 (95.7%)	1,871 (3.7%)	209 (0.5%)

The Russian national minority was practically formed during the years of Soviet rule. In 1946, more than 1.5% (12,176 people) of the Russian-speaking population of the region identified themselves with the Russians, in 1959 the Russian-speaking population was already 3.2% (29,599 people), in 1970 – 3.3% (35,189 people), in 1979 – 3.6% (41,713 people), in 1989 – 4% (49,458 people) of the total population of Transcarpathia. The formation of the Russian-speaking minority in the region is fully linked to the policies of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet authorities, which strengthened their dominance by creating a politically, socially and culturally dominant ethno-social community. Their quantitative growth is entirely related to the constant influx of Russian-speaking migrants and russification processes.

The entire ethno-cultural policy of the Soviet authorities stemmed from the communist socio-political ideology and practice of socialist industrialization, collectivization and cultural revolution. Their implementation broke the traditional division of labour of almost all ethnic groups in Transcarpathia, each being more or less clearly oriented to certain activities. Among the population, they cultivated and promoted extra-national, ideologized picture of the world, a “cultural”, with a peculiar “monopoly” of one Russian language, propagated a functional and production approach to languages, education, life, nature, etc. Romanians, Germans, Gypsies and partly Hungarians, while maintaining their economic, cultural and historical traditions, successfully resisted cultural assimilation. Transcarpathian Ukrainians, massively involved into the realm of socialist economic and political transformations, have undergone significant influences from the socialist Russian-speaking culture. Russian-speaking migrants occupied almost all managerial administrative, state and party positions. In spite of this, the overwhelming majority of Transcarpathian Ukrainians linked their future only to the Ukrainian ethno-national world, preserving most of the ethno-cultural traditions of festive ritual and household culture, attitudes, ideals and stereotypes.

During 1945-1991, the Hungarian national minority experienced a very difficult period of political, ideological and national pressure, and from 1989 – a gradual national and cultural revival. Since the fall of 1944, the local Hungarians were massively repressed until 1953, after that they were released from concentration camps and partially rehabilitated. Along with the Ukrainians, the Hungarians were involved in all the socio-political and national-cultural processes of the Soviet era. Insufficient economic development and political conditions have largely delayed socio-cultural construction in Hungarian settlements. In 1957-1958,

there were 100 Hungarian-language schools operating there (13 secondary, 52 seven-year and 35 primary). This means that there were only 13 secondary schools for 146,247 Hungarians, that is, one secondary school for 11,207 Hungarians (at the same time, there was one secondary school for 2,690 Russians in the region). The situation worsened in the following decades. In 1979, there were only 6 secondary schools for 158,450 Hungarians, that is one secondary school for 26,400 Hungarians. Even in 1989, when the perestroika policy had already become full-scale, there were 50 schools for 155,711 Hungarians in Transcarpathia (11 secondary schools; one secondary school for 14,155 Hungarians).

Maintaining a high level of ethno-national consciousness of the Hungarians of Transcarpathia was facilitated by the fairly wide functioning of almost all cultural and household traditions, both rural and urban; they were difficult to assimilate. In 1989, only 0.6% of them called Russian as their mother tongue and 2% - Ukrainian. Mostly residents of cities called Russian their native language, and Ukrainian - rural residents from mixed Ukrainian-Hungarian villages. At the same time, Hungarians have a very high percentage of single-national marriages, and Russification or Ukrainization were negligible in ethnically mixed families.

In general, the national consciousness of the Hungarians was characterized by the dominance of traditional stereotypes. New "socialist" cultural and historical traditions did not take root, and their construction was superficial and shallow. The main role in maintaining a high level of ethno-national consciousness was played by the preservation of traditional family relations and the intergenerational transfer of ethnic information.

The Romanians underwent all those processes that Ukrainians from the first years of liberation and the establishment of Soviet power in the region. They were not referred to as "hostile nations" and were not repressed, but were gradually involved into the Soviet socio-political system, like the Ukrainians. In late 1944 - early 1945, about 50 Romanians were voluntarily or forcibly enlisted in the ranks of the Soviet army, and over 80 joined the Czechoslovak military corps of General Svoboda. In addition, they were involved in resolving the fate of the region because four delegates of the First Congress of People's Committees from Romanian villages supported the reunification of Transcarpathia with Ukraine. Forced collectivization provoked resistance of the peasants. As the vast majority of Romanians resided in rural areas, over 82% of them were considered to be working in collective farms and 18% - in forestry and industry. The urgent problem was the employment of working-age popu-

lation and the lack of jobs at the place of residence. The vast majority of able-bodied male population did not have a permanent job and regularly went to seasonal jobs outside Transcarpathia and Ukraine.

The predominantly agrarian development of the villages, their almost complete one-ethnicity and the exclusive one-ethnicity of the marriages of the Transcarpathian Romanians helped to preserve their ethnic stability and sustainability. They kept intact their ethnic environment, ethnic specifics, language, traditions and folklore, national consciousness. This is confirmed by the fact that a very small percentage of Romanians recognized the language of another ethnic group as their native language, in particular Ukrainian and Russian. In general, the Transcarpathian Romanians are characterized by a high level of national awareness and strong sense of local patriotism. They almost did not assimilate or relocate abroad and other regions of the Soviet Union. Among the reasons for this was the high level of material sufficiency, and seasonal employment. In 1979, there was only one secondary school for 27,000 Romanians. Even in the reconstructing 1989, there were 10 schools for 29,485 Romanians, of which only two were secondary schools (one secondary school for 14,742 Romanians). This caused a low level of education of Romanians compared to Russians, Ukrainians, Hungarians, Slovaks.

The Soviet era's repressive policy against the Germans was accompanied by widespread anti-fascist, essentially anti-German, propaganda on radio, in press, films, literature, school and university education. The Germans felt everywhere like an outcast belonging to a hostile nation; some of them registered as Ukrainians, Slovaks, even Hungarians in their passports. In 1945-1950, the number of nationally mixed marriages in German families increased.

In general, the German national minority of Transcarpathia existed in the conditions of political repression, as well as national and cultural persecution during 1945-1991. The attempt of some Germans to escape persecution by changing their nationality, marrying Russians or Ukrainians did not save them from mistrust. It was a purposeful anti-German policy and practice that became the main factor for their emigration to their historical homeland. This was facilitated not so much by economic difficulties, as by the lack of prospect of their ethno-national existence in the face of a significant reduction in their numbers.

During the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the political, legal and national-cultural situation of the Transcarpathian Slovaks has changed several times. In the newly formed Czechoslovakia, Slovaks belonged to a politically, na-



tionally and culturally dominant population. The situation of Slovaks changed with the occupation of Transcarpathia by Hungary in 1939. The Soviet authorities constantly influenced the situation of the Slovaks through their political measures. For official ideology, propaganda and politics, Czechoslovakism has always been at the forefront, beyond which it was difficult to perceive the national interests of the Slovaks, and especially the interests of the small national minority of the Transcarpathian Slovaks. The Soviet military invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 and the subsequent ideological offensive of the Soviet totalitarian system against the manifestations of nationalism finally suppressed any manifestations of the national and cultural life of the Transcarpathian Slovaks, except for primitive ethnography.

The national minority of Russians in Transcarpathia was formed during the years of Soviet power by immigrants who began to settle here on their own or were sent to work by state authorities. The overwhelming majority of Russian white émigrés who lived here during the 1920's – 1930's left the region during the occupation of Transcarpathia by the Hungarian fascists, while others escaped with the approaching Soviet army. In 1945-1946, a small number of those Russophile intellectuals who sought to annex the Transcarpathian region to the USSR within the Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic attributed themselves to the Russians.

The Soviet authorities everywhere mistrusted the local population and its personnel. This was one of the factors encouraging the resettlement of the Russian and Russified ethnic groups to Transcarpathia. The purpose of this controlled migration is to form a social base for supporting the Soviet regime. The Russian-speaking settlers were given a special role and place in the plans for accelerated exploitation of the region's natural and labour resources. At the same time, Transcarpathia played a special role as a military stronghold to control all of Central Europe. The events of 1956 in Hungary and 1968 in Czechoslovakia confirmed the role of Transcarpathia as an important Soviet military and political foothold.

### **Conclusions**

Dynamics of ethnic composition and processes of national consolidation of the Ukrainians as part of the Ukrainian nation in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century were determined by the policy and ideology of the USSR. The period from October 1944 to June 1945, despite the uncertainty of Transcarpathia's legal status, is characterized by the gradual

establishment and assertion of power by the Soviet regime. These processes did not cause much concern in most Ukrainians of the region, because they solved the main historical task for them - the reunification of Transcarpathia with Ukraine.

The period from July 1945 to 1950 can be conditionally called the time of Soviet "Ukrainization", which took place against the background of the establishment of Soviet socio-political relations and communist ideology. The socio-political actions of the authorities determined the nature, content and directions of all ethno-social and ethno-cultural processes in Transcarpathia. The specific political measures of the authorities began to create an ethno-social support for the new regime.

Since mid-August 1945, a large number of Russian-speaking demobilized servicemen have been settled and employed in the region. At the same time, a wide program of development of national education and culture was implemented in Transcarpathia, which largely became a major factor in the spread of Ukrainian literary language and the best examples of Ukrainian folk and professional culture.

The inclusion of Transcarpathia in the all-Ukrainian socio-economic, cultural, educational and state-administrative structures exacerbated the Transcarpathian sense of unity and identity with the whole Ukrainian ethnic group. Mobility of the population within the republic increased, general household culture and urbanization raised, accessibility of education, distribution of Ukrainian-language literature, radio, press, which accelerated the process of ethnic consolidation of Transcarpathians within the Ukrainian nation, increased sense of involvement in Ukrainian history and culture, display of new talents.

In the environment of the artistic intelligentsia, the development of the traditions of Ukrainian national culture was seen as an alternative to ideological communization. This showed that the Soviet regime had not yet fully controlled the activities of the Transcarpathian-Ukrainian intelligentsia. In general, during 1945-1953, the Transcarpathian Ukrainians were deeply disappointed in the socio-political practice of the Soviet authorities, became aware of their anti-Ukrainian nature and the malignancy of Soviet totalitarianism, imbued with the ideas of national liberation movements and promoted their national and cultural figures of the national scale from among their environment.

The content and nature of ethnocultural processes in the Transcarpathian pre-Soviet era was characterized by the planning of traditional forms of culture that forced a person to live and act according to custom, to behave in a stereotypical manner, according to ancient standards.

Changes in traditional culture took place very slowly, and the development of Transcarpathian Ukrainians and national minorities took place in the usual socio-cultural and political environments. Each of the ethnic groups of the region was guided by several determining traditions.

Romanians, Germans, Gypsies and partly Hungarians, while maintaining their economic, cultural and historical traditions, successfully resisted cultural assimilation. Transcarpathian Ukrainians, being massively involved in the sphere of socialist economic and political transformations, underwent political influences of the socialist Russian-speaking culture.

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# МУКАЧІВСЬКИЙ ДЕРЖАВНИЙ УНІВЕРСИТЕТ

89600, м. Мукачево, вул. Ужгородська, 26

тел./факс +380-3131-21109

Веб-сайт університету: [www.msu.edu.ua](http://www.msu.edu.ua)

E-mail: [info@msu.edu.ua](mailto:info@msu.edu.ua), [pr@mail.msu.edu.ua](mailto:pr@mail.msu.edu.ua)

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