

Oleksandr Lukyanenko



**IN THE GRIP
OF DE-STALINIZATION**

**MOSAICS OF EVERYDAY LIFE OF PEDAGOGICAL INSTITUTES
OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR IN 1953–1964**

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OLEKSANDR LUKYANENKO

Monograph

Poltava
2016

UDC 378.4:94(477)«1953/1964»

*Recommended for the publication by the Academic council of Poltava V. G. Korolenko
National Pedagogical University (Protocol # 13 from 23, June, 2016)*

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In the Grip of De-Stalinization: Mosaics of Everyday Life of Pedagogical Institutes of the UkrSSR in 1953–1964: Monograph [Text] / Oleksandr Viktorovych Lukyanenko. – Poltava: Publishing House “Simon”, 2016. – 274 p., i-viii.

ISBN 978-966-2989-47-2

The author conducted a comprehensive study of the everyday life of the higher pedagogical schools' staffs in 1953-1964 based on a wide range of published literature and archival documents. The thesis solves issue of the evolution of life conditions of students and teachers along with the description of logistical base changing. The analysis of teachers' wealth and purchasing power is also shown in the research. There is also given the characteristic of everyday religious and deviant behavior motives of educators as well as the characteristics of leisure-time. The work describes the changing attitude of the higher schools staffs towards the reforms in education. Monograph shows the place for students and teachers in the process of growing connections of society with farming and agriculture. The characteristic of the language situation in higher educational school during the days of the “thaw” is also described.

ISBN 978-966-2989-47-2

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To my Mom – the Teacher to the core who lit the flame of that endless work in me,

To my History teacher Mrs. Nataliya Bunets'ka who let me bloom with knowledge at
her lessons,

To my English teacher Mrs. Evheniya Mulko who broadened my world and
opportunities with so useful language skills

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book was written with the great amount of help I want to give thanks for. I am grateful for the sharp eye of my scientific advisor Mr. Petro Kyrydon, Dr.Sc. who kept me in the flow and moved to strengthening the argumentation with the widest variety of examples. I would like to give a special thank you to the specialists who thoroughly read the Ukrainian text of this monograph through – Mrs. Lyudmyla Babenko, Dr.Sc, Mrs. Tetyana Demydenko, PhD and Mrs. Tetyana Tron’ko, PhD from Volodymyr Korolenko Poltava National Pedagogical University. Your advice was always in time and useful.

A word of gratitude is to be said to the “carriers” of the history who helped me verify my theoretical conclusions with their personal truth – the former students of Pedagogical institutes of the “thaw” and now the bright scientist of Ukraine – to Mr. Oleksandr Rudenko, Dr.Sc and Mr. Oleksiy Vertiy, Dr.Sc, to Mrs. Lyudmyla Pashko, PhD, Mr. Mykhaylo Baka, PhD and Mr. Hryhoriy Dzhurka, PhD.

Special thanks to the people who said their authoritative word on my behalf in discussing of the results of this research – Mr. Oleksandr Rublyov, Dr.Sc., the Academic Secretary of the Institute of History of Ukraine of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Mr. Serhiy Kornovenko, Dr.Sc and to Mr. Vasyl Melnychenko, PhD, the professors of Bohdan Khmelnytsky Cherkasy National University.

I need to thank those who moved me forward when the research showed no signs of progress – Mr. Yuriy Voloshyn, Dr.Sc. with his works, Mr. Ihor Serdiuk, PhD with his creative scientific worldview, Mrs. Nataliya Lavrychenko, Dr.Sc. with her being near with a good piece of advice when it was just needed and Mr. Mykola Stepanenko, Dr.Sc. with his promotion in my undertaking.

Many others helped me with gathering materials, advice and just a friendly word and assistance. I’d like to thank them by name: Mr. and Mrs. Oleksandr and Tetyana Kolivanov, Mrs. Inna Kozlova, Mr. Kostyantyn Donchenko, Mrs. Olena Kanyuka, Mr. and Mrs. Oleh and Klavdiya Solovchuk, Mrs. Iryna Tsebriy and Mr. Vitaliy Nahorny.

I apologize to anyone I have missed. It was a pleasure to have had you near while I was working on my project. Hope, you’ll enjoy reading as much as I enjoyed the process of research itself.

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ABBREVIATIONS

APNPU	Arkhiv Poltavs'koho natsional'noho pedahohichnoho universytetu imeni V. H. Korolenka [Archiv of Poltava National Pedagogical University]
ark.	'arkush' – archive file sheet
ASSR	Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic
CC	Central Committee
CC CP(b)U	Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine
CM	Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic
CPC	Council of People's Commissars
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union
CPU	Communist Party of Ukraine
DACHO	Derzhavnyy arkhiv Cherkas'koyi oblasti [State Archive of Cherkasy Oblast]
DAK	Derzhavnyy arkhiv mista Kyeva [State Archive of Kyiv]
DAKhO	Derzhavnyy arkhiv Kharkivs'koyi oblasti [State Archive of Kharkiv Oblast]
DAKO	Derzhavnyy arkhiv Kyyivs'koyi oblasti [State Archive of Kyiv Oblast]
DAPO	Derzhavnyy arkhiv Poltavs'koyi oblasti [State Archive of Poltava Oblast]
DASO	Derzhavnyy arkhiv Sums'koyi oblasti [State Archive of Sumy Oblast]
DE	Department of education
f.	'fond' – archive fund
KGB	Komitet gosudarstvennoy bezopasnosti = Committee for State Security
Komsomol	All-Union Leninist Young Communist League
MHE	Ministry of higher and secondary vocational education of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Ministry	Ministry of education of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic
op.	'opys' – archive series
RSFSR	The Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic

Society “Knowledge”	Society of Spreading the Scientific and Political Knowledge
SPI	State Pedagogical Institute
SPIFL	State Pedagogical Institute of the foreign languages
spr.	‘sprava’ – archive file
SR	Supreme Rada (Verkhovna Rada)
SSR	The Soviet Socialist Republic
UkrSSR	The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic
USSR	The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
TsDAHO	Tsentral’nyy derzhavnyy arkhiv hromads’kykh ob'yednan’ Ukrayiny [Central State Archive of Public Organizations of Ukraine]
TsDAVO	Tsentral’nyy derzhavnyy arkhiv vyshchykh orhaniv vlady i upravlinnya Ukrayiny [Central State Archive of Supreme Bodies and Government of Ukraine]
z/v.	‘zaochnyy viddil’ – extramural department
zv	‘zvrot’ – the flip side of the archival sheet

Introduction

QUESTIONS



Picture 1. The profession of the teacher was in the row of the 'sacred' and the most honored in the Soviet society. The poster says about it directly with its mane "Honor and glory to the Soviet teacher" (1951, artist: Ihor Koretskyi).

Education of the citizens has always been one of the movers of the society throughout its history. However, the education itself does not determine the success of building a prosperous state. Modern-day Ukraine has one of the highest percentages of educated people comparing to other countries. However, it was and still is hard for our post-Soviet state to farewell Soviet-style economic management, totalitarian patterns in culture building and worldview of its citizens. One of the leading roles in this process of changes should have made the scientific and educational intelligentsia of the republic. Nevertheless, they have not done it completely. That is why we have modern day rebirth of "Soviet nostalgia" in occupied Donetsk and Luhans'k Regions. That is one of the main reasons why Crimean Ukrainians called for "Russian Spring" in 2014. Ukraine has lost the first battle for minds and souls mostly because of weak positions of Ukrainian worldview of educators.

Back in 1950's, the process of de-Stalinization in the USSR promised the country a new way of thinking and living. It could have ruined rooted totalitarian machine; but once again – it was stopped and reversed. Socio-economic and political changes in the country in the beginning of the XXI century are pretty similar to those



Picture 2. The ideological role of the educator was unquestionable. (The poster “Love your Motherland!” (1949, artists: Ihor Koretskyi, Volodymyr Hrynevych)

in the middle of the XXth century. If Nikita Khrushchev had fulfilled so well started process of changes we would have had totally different not only Ukraine, but also the whole post-war world. Reforms got drowned in the bog of the intrigues and political battles.

Here, on the vast lands of Eastern Europe, we are so got used to hearing highly pseudo-patriotic cliché about incomparably high role of teacher in the life of the country. Along with these phrases teacher continue to earn one of the smallest salaries and being accused of corruption in form of bouquets of flowers and boxes of candies for the holidays. In the same educators are those who along with the family give the patterns of behavior to the new generation. Ukrainian researcher Oksana Prokhorenko characterized educational intelligentsia as the one that determines the future of the

people, although it does play by the rules imposed by the authority¹.

Actually, this is true, especially if we recall the words of English philosopher Ernest Gellner who stated that “*at the base of the modern social order stands not the executioner but the professor. Not the guillotine, but the (aptly named) doctorat d'état is the main tool and symbol of state power. The monopoly of legitimate education is now more important, more central than is the monopoly of legitimate violence*”².

¹ Oksana Prokhorenko, “Dynamika kil'kisnykh i yakisnykh kharakterystyk naukovopedahohichnoyi intelihentsiyi URSR (1945-1955 rr.),” in *Ukrayina. XX stolittya*, no. 10 (2006): 187.

² Ernest Gellner, “Industrial Society.” In Gellner, E. *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983).

It was so in the USSR half a century ago when professors and students of higher educational establishments across the country made a step in the new era of their lives – Era without Stalin. They were the ones who had a chance to change the worldview of the country.

Most of the attitudes and motives of actions of the Soviet people had three roots: family life, so-called “street” and, of course, the school. School helped to mold the person, needed to the totalitarian state. It’s not a secret that smithies of teaching staff were considered the smithies of ideological workers as well. But who was to mold “the sculptors of the right citizen”? These were Pedagogical and teachers’ institutes of the country. They were not only places for breeding highly sophisticated youth. They were on the frontier of unseen war. The educators of pedagogical institutes openly attributed their places of work to a specific category of “ideological schools”¹. This was understood by the students, too. For example, Evdokiya Budnyk, the student of the historical department of Poltava SPI, stated in her composition during the entrance exam in 1959 that she wanted to be a part of “an ideological institution”². Her older colleague, Olha Avramenko even quoted words of Nikita Khrushchev about the teacher as “the closest friend of the Party in educating the new man”³. So it was very logical that in the mid-XXth century teacher was understood as “a communist by his spirit”⁴.

THEMES

This work is a try to show common features of the life of educators of Ukraine in two epochs of reforms in education. One of them marked changes started by Joseph Stalin and continued on his own way by Nikita Khrushchev in the middle of the XXth century. The other one began with the adoption of the legislative guide for current national school: National Doctrine of Education of Ukraine in the XXI century and the state the national program “Education” (Ukraine of the XXI century) and redirected by the changes after the Revolution of Dignity in 2014. Analysis of the problems caused by the reform during the “thaw” era stands closely to our findings of what we have today in the forms and methods of educational changes.

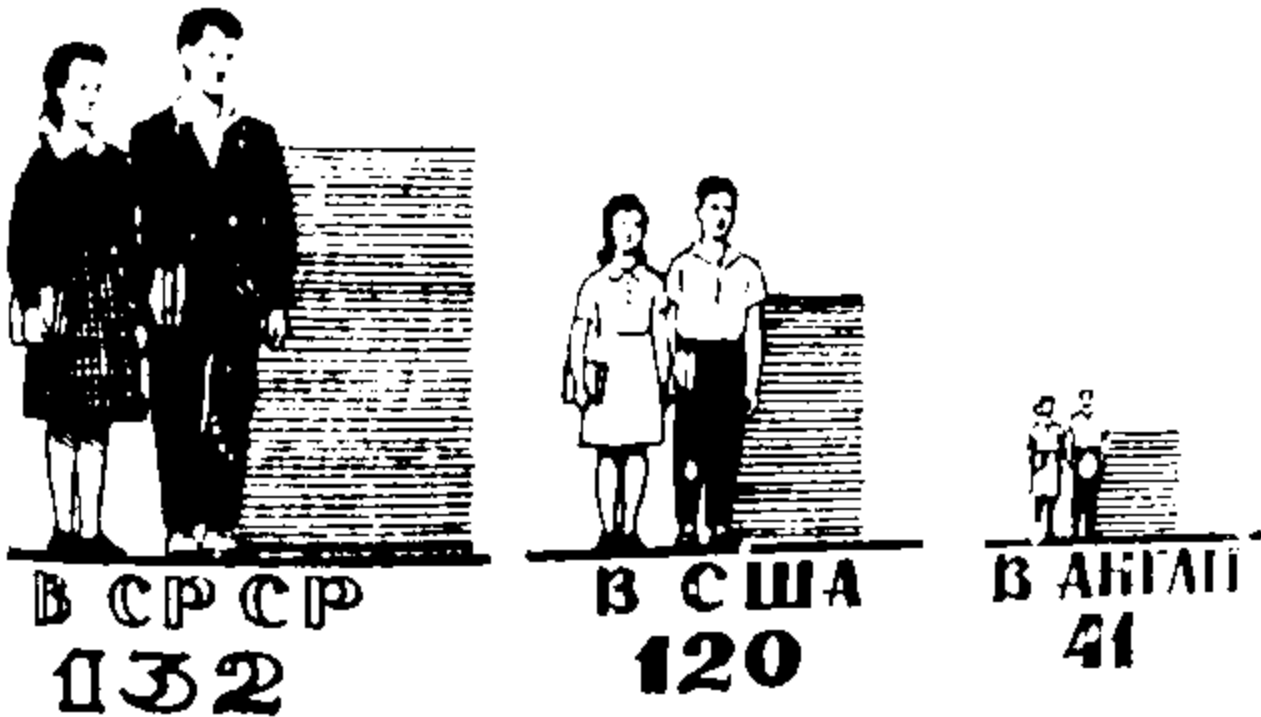
The other side of the actuality of this specific research is connected with the “changed tastes” of contemporary historical science of Ukraine. Modern historians

¹ Derzhavnyy arkhiv Poltavs'koyi oblasti (DAPO), f. P-251., op.1, spr.4824, ark. 8.

² Arkhiv Poltavs'koho natsional'noho pedahohichnoho universytetu imeni V. H. Korolenka (APNPU), f. 1.(z/v), op. 1964 (Ist. viddil) (A-V), spr.Budnyk Yevdokiya Maksymivna, ark. 30zv.

³ APNPU, f. 1.(z/v), op. 1961 (Ist. viddil) (A-B), spr. Avramenko Ol'ha Oleksiyivna, 28

⁴ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4832, 18.



Picture 3. The infographics showed the pride of the Soviets of having not only the biggest army of teachers but also the greatest amount of students in the world for each 10 thousands of people in 1962-1963 academic year – the USSR with 132, the USA with 120 and the UK with 41.

are just trying to conquer the heights of previously remote areas of oral history, stories of everyday life, the history of individuals and social groups once buried under the headstones of Marxist “methods” or research. Today there is a sufficient number of works dedicated to the history of the USSR higher school itself. This bulk of literature mostly unites works on the history of classic universities and other special institutes. Researchers showed total number of scholars, counted amount of scientific degrees and calculated overall sum of educated people across Ukrainian universities. But they looked at the field of education as at something homogenous, something that had unified way of life and common reaction of changes in the reality.

I’d like to make some difference in it. The army of teachers in the Soviet Union in Khrushchev days compared with its main opponents (US and Britain) was the largest (1,811 million people against 1.135 million and 309 thousand accordingly)¹. And in that sea of education pedagogical institutes were the leaders of the impact on the youth of the country. Thus, in 1953, with 48.505 students of all universities of the USSR only 20% (10 thousand people) were taught in the

¹ Alec Nove, “Toward a “Communist Welfare State?” Social Welfare in the USSR,” in *Russia under Khrushchev: an anthology of problems of communism*, ed. A. Brumberg (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1962), 574.

pedagogical institutes¹. In 1959, higher pedagogical schools made only one-third (43 institutes and universities) from all country's 138 institutions of higher education². By 1960, after all mergers and reorganizations their share decreased to 28% (33 institutions)³. By these numbers I want to show that higher pedagogical school is able to be an experimental group, the example to explore both specific and general conditions of everyday life of the citizens of the USSR.

The researchers acknowledge that the study of the everyday life of certain social groups in clearly localized chronological and geographical boundaries is only in its infancy in Ukrainian historiography. And the group of pedagogical institutes' staff in the UkrSSR during the times of de-Stalinization (1953-1964) is still not considered as an object of study. In this regard, the description of material and household characteristics, the characteristics of socio-economic, cultural and political components of everyday life of educators as members of a particular social group, united locally, professionally and ideologically, seems to me quite topical.

In my research, I look at the "thaw" years (1953-1964) in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic as at the socio-cultural phenomenon. The title of the book is "The mosaics of every-day life..." Why mosaics? Because it is the only way you can show the diversity of human existence. Fundamental research can unite one specific side of it – leisure, work, traditions and beliefs etc. But only "scientific mosaics" can give the concentrated breath of the epoch. Among "mosaic pieces" of this monograph one can find a complex of material (life, food, wages etc.) and ideological everyday practices (morality, ideals, preferences, etc.) of educators of pedagogical institutes of the UkrSSR of de-Stalinization time. There is an examination of the treatment of groups of pedagogical higher educational institutions of Soviet Ukraine of the reform of the system of education, agriculture and industry of the country and of changes in the national language area. There is a glimpse on the position of teachers on heritage of debunking of Stalinism and criticism of the cult of Stalin. Among others, I cover in my research the position of teachers on the removal from power of Laverty Beria, "anti-party group" (Georgiy Malenkov, Lazar' Kaganovich and Vyacheslav Molotov) and Georgiy Zhukov. But they are the subject of the future book to appear soon.

The territorial boundaries of this work will lead the reader through the territory of the Ukrainian SSR under the administrative division of 1953-1964. Thus there are both modern and altered during the reform names of streets, cities, districts and regions on the pages of the monograph. Chronological measures of the research are

¹ Tsentral'nyy derzhavnyy arkhiv hromads'kykh ob'yednan' Ukrayiny (TsDAHO), f. 1, op. 71, spr. 105, ark. 15.

² TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 225, 21.

³ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 239, 59.

limited with 1953 – 1964. The lower chronological limit (1953) is caused by the beginning of the “thaw” after Stalin’s death, the top one (1964) – with the removal from power of Nikita Khrushchev and curtailment of the policy of de-Stalinization. I’ve called the book “Education in the grip of de-Stalinization” not in vain. Surely, we are used to associate the word “grip” with totalitarian regime. What does it have to do with liberal reformation period in the history of the state? The specific of the “thaw” was that from one side people were given the right to see the light in the end of autocratic tunnel. But from the other – their “train to the free future” was broken by its constructors right on the speedy way to the goal. People learnt to live amid old stereotypes and the right to speak out loud. They were to survive in the country of the “winning socialism” with the help of old well-known but prohibited capitalistic tips. They were between two flames – in the grip of dead Stalinism and incipient neo-Stalinism of the Leonid Brezhnev.

We still live in that grip, loosening the vice inch by inch with each Ukrainian conscious change – Revolution on the granite of 1990, Orange Revolution of 2004 and Revolution of Dignity of 2014. When will we be free from that heritage? God knows...

SOURCES

In terms of origin, location and purpose of creation we divided unpublished archival sources into the following groups:

- legislative acts (laws, orders and prescriptions of the Ministries of Education and Higher and Secondary Special Education, the Council of Ministers and the Supreme Soviet of the UkrSSR and the USSR, etc.);
- records of local authorities (protocols, resolutions, regulations, reports, newsletters of the regional committees, district committees and city committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, etc.);
- classified materials lifted the stamp ‘classified’ (information about the mood of the population, information about the public perception of the Soviet government, etc.);
- statistical data (data on faculty, number of students, material and technical basis, success rates, etc.);
- NGO documents (protocols, resolutions, decisions, reports of the Society “Knowledge”, student research groups, etc.);
- manuscripts (diaries and memoirs of the students and teachers of the studied days, etc.);
- periodicals (“Zorya Poltavshchyny” (Star of Poltava Region), “Bilshovytska zbroya” (Bolshevik weapon of Sumy), “Umans’ka zorya” (Uman Star from

- Cherkasy region), “Robitnyk Kremenchychchyny” (Kremenchuk worker), etc.);
- and propaganda literature (calls, leaflets, brochures explaining the basic legislation, changes of party policy, etc.).

Materials from nine archives made the basis of the research: TsDAHO of Ukraine (f. 1) TsDAVO of Ukraine (f. 166, f. 4621), State Archives of Regions: Kyiv (f. P-485), Poltava (f. P-12, f.P-13, f. P-15, f. P-19, f. P-121, f. P-244, f. P-251, f. R-1507, f. R-6829), Sumy (f. R-2817 and f. R-5369), Kharkiv (f. R-1780 and f. R-4293) and Cherkasy regions (f. P-2078, f. P-2178, f. R-193, f. P-1418, f. R-3990, f. R-4313) and the State Archives of Kyiv (f.R-985). This also assigns archive of Poltava Pedagogical university (f.1-3).

In TsDAHO of Ukraine, we processed materials of the Fund 1 (the Central Committee of the CPU), in particular, documents of special sector of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (op. 24 – classified part) and the Department of Science and universities of the CC (op. 71). Classified materials played the role of the “reference group”. We conducted a comparison of the response of the different groups of population with the educators’ response to important questions of public policy (death of Stalin, the removal from power of L. Beria, “anti-Party group”, G. Zhukov, combating cult of personality, etc.). The information reports include some references to the material, psychological and ideological position of the lecturers and students in higher educational schools of the country.

The leading role here belongs to the documents of department of science and higher education of the Central Committee. Cases of the referred fund are represented in the references of the regional committees and district committees of the Central Committee of the Communist Party on the state of ideological work, material support of universities, on ideological education, cultural and re-building work in education. These documents helped to compare higher pedagogical school to other educational establishments. They also determined the ratio of state interest in pedagogical schools in comparison with classical and technical universities by the method of content analysis of these cases. Materials of the fund revealed the problem of quantitative and qualitative characteristics of student and teaching staff of universities, contributed to the analysis of linguistic and national problems. Independent place is given to the papers covering the state of higher school during the reform years in connection with the release of the Education Act. Remarkably, the reaction of educators was easy to spot in the materials of special meetings being held by both regional and republican departments. Moreover, this reaction was often different from the “established” by the party opinions about the positive focus of education reform.

The important role is played by the archival records of government and government agencies from TsDAVO of Ukraine (f. 166 – Ministry of Education of the UkrSSR, f. 4621 – Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education of the USSR). The documents of the first fund are primarily formed with annual and current reports of pedagogical and teachers' training institutes, teacher training schools; reports on scientific work, personnel arrangements and so on. Revised documents helped to clarify the features of the material sphere of the universities depending on the region, contingent of teachers and students. The cases contain statements for ideological and educational work, which to some extent reflect the specificity of regional public policy vision of intellectuals in the field of education. The information preserved in the collection of recommendations and proposals to the authorities available in such statements is particularly interesting. They showed the real situation in the universities, not declared by the leaders as the course of steady improvement in life. One should distinguish materials of the MHE of the USSR. They included data on housing and welfare support for students and teachers, governing the traineeship, gave information about the financial situation of teachers, touching even the question of sanitary conditions in higher schools.

The source base from the central archives was added with the materials of regional archives. They not only allowed us to trace the evolution of regional specificity of life and attitudes of teachers of pedagogical universities of the country, but became the basis for “regional localization” of the conclusions obtained after analysis of materials of central archives, making them alive with the specific features. We can classify these sources for direction as follows:

- 1) documents describing material conditions of life and work of the institute teams (reports of the Central Committee of the CPU and the CPSU, regional, district committees, commissions, etc.);
- 2) documents describing the educational process (reports of departments, faculties, institutes);
- 3) documents giving educators' response to the socio-political and socio-economic changes in the country (minutes of the party meetings, documents of the party bureau, scientific councils, special gatherings, etc.);
- 4) documents that reveal the inner world of educators (ego-documents (personal cases, references, test papers, essays, research papers, etc.) ;
- 5) documents determining the degree of interaction between teaching staff of the universities with the society (documents of the related institutions (regional and city education departments (oblvNO and miskVNO, Kremenchuk Pedagogical College, schools) or institutions whose representatives were seen in the list of invitees to the

meeting or party organizations of the institutes (city committee, party committee, regional committee, prosecutors, police, the KGB, etc.).

Speaking about the daily cooperation of universities with society, we analyzed documents and materials of other institutions and organizations operating in the same time with the college. For the selection criterion we set the degree of connection of those organizations with pedagogical universities as with institutions. Of course, the greatest number of them was the documents of schools. Firstly, they were a direct link in the chain in the work of the institutes. The former students whose consciousness was formed within the walls of alma mater, continued to sow “reasonable, good, and eternal” in schools in their native regions. Secondly, as it turned out, the lecturers of the pedagogical institutes often appeared in most schools as experts, advisors or even ideological supervisors on numerous methodological and even at a party meetings. With such considerations, we could not avoid the documents of the Institutes of Postgraduate Education of Teachers. The list of “others” included not only museums but also groups of prosecutors, police departments and local authorities. From time to time representatives of all these institutions were visiting university students and faculty lectures with check-ups.

Published sources involved in the thesis are divided into:

- collections of documents;
- anthologies;
- periodicals from the library newspaper collections (“Pravda”, “Radyanska Ukrayina” (Soviet Ukraine), “Komsomolskaya Pravda”, “Radyanska osvita” (Soviet Education), “Literaturna hazeta” (Literary Gazette), etc.);
- memoirs and interviews of witnesses and others.

Video and audio source presented with the documentary “Chronicles of our days” and films that were recommended for use in the educational process of universities during the days of the “thaw” (“Skvoz gody mchas” (Rushing through the years) (1957), “Nash Nikita Sergeevich” (Our Nikita Sergeevich) (1961), etc.).

The above source base gives reason for a complex reconstruction of the everyday of the educators of the UkrSSR in 1953–1964.

CONTENTS

The book is composed of six chapters in addition to the introduction. In the first two the everyday life of the educators itself is analyzed and described. Chapter 2 examines living conditions of the staff of the lecturers and students during the de-Stalinization era. Thirteen key questions covering the material component of everyday are explored. The first paragraphs illustrate the environment in which the

students were spending their lives during 1953-1964. It gives understanding of how the institutes returned the property lost during the war, how the process of rebuilding of the academic premises and facilities was held and when it was completed. The chapter describes the specific movement for self-catering that became so popular among the youth. The chapter also presents the life in dormitories – both regular and in those recognized as the households of exemplary communist life. It also deals with the question of eating, issues of the dining rooms; improving nutrition of the educators, gasification and so on. The broad issue is addressed: How educators managed to survive with the contemporary financial standard of living. The search revealed the information of part-time work of students in the walls of universities as well as on the side. The paragraph helps to understand the financial burden of the system through the prism of scholarships and the system of benefits (exemption from the tuition fees for social origin, state of health, etc.). the one can also find some information on youth employment through targeted state distribution.

The separate attention is paid to the financial support of higher school teachers depending on the length of service, academic title and their office. In order to illustrate the real life conditions of the lecturers, the chapter tries to find the amounts spent by the educators on food, household needs and other goods. The search of additional income in other institutions, educational organizations, speculations and bribes became the topics of the chapter, too. The chapter presents some cases of dismissals and opportunities to be appointed to other universities of the USSR.

Chapter covers the content of leisure, recreation and social limits of deviation showing bureaucracy of the educational process and the dominance of ideological campaigns in the universities. The work shows the place of sanctioned parties, classes in scientific societies and circles of amateur performances in the life of the student. The chapter also contains information on the totalitarian control being offensive to religious students and teachers and on the struggle for collective morality. The strict filtering of aesthetic tastes of young people in music and literature, increased active intervention in the private lives of employees and students under the pretext of fighting for socialist legality and morality are discussed.

Chapters 3-7 present the impact of socio-economic, cultural and political reforms onto the everyday of educators. The topics include the attitude of lecturers towards the main reforms in education, agriculture and industry, language and power management policies, and describe the response of the institutes' teams to these changes.

Chapter 4 investigates the influence of innovations the participation of teachers in the reform of educational space of the country during the “thaw”. It describes the

main one defined by us among educational reforms – the polytechnic training. It shows how this process was connected to the ongoing reform of the consolidation and elimination of some teachers' training institutes, with the heyday of the excursion movement and with finance revenues allowing universities to open manufacturing workshops in institutes. The chapter covers the problems of building of necessary facilities within the movement for self-catering. The part of the book also studies the enrollment of professionals from manufacturing who were to ensure the teaching of new disciplines in the educational process.

The educators' activity in the light of changes in the agricultural sector is described in Chapter 5. It states the role and place of the pedagogical institutes in the course of the agricultural reform of the government of Georgiy Malenkov during 1953 - 1954. It analyses the effect of the establishment of collective patronage of the universities over collective farms and attracting young people to work in the botanical gardens. The part of the work looks at the increased youth initiative in studying and popularizing of agricultural policy, the culmination of which was the trip to the virgin lands.

Chapter 6 presents a survey of the language issue in pedagogical universities of the UkrSSR. It refers to the study of the language identification of the staff of the colleges, reveals the essence of the process of "Ukrainization" of the higher school and the next strengthening wave of Russification of the educational sector. The broad topics are examined: level of language literacy of students and staff, double-speak, growing interest to the native language, introducing of a single language mode in universities. The text covers the issue of the resistance of the Ukrainization of the educational process, marks the beginning of open positions, and the expansion of verbal conflict.

The last chapter contains the information on the activities in the flow of the campaign against the cult of personality. It studies the effect of changes in the political orientation of the country on interpersonal communication and functioning of the institute teams. It shows the process of strengthening of critics, the decrees and increase waves of fear for doing it because of possible reprisals. The chapter deals with the evolution of the question after the Twentieth Party Congress, touching the struggle of the "cults" of the directors, secretaries of Party organizations and heads of departments of universities as well as with the criticism of party officials from the regions. It shows the reflection of the campaign in the diploma projects, and in the training courses. The questions of the status of institute management and public "isolation" are raised. The repressive and loyal responses to criticism of the personality cult of the directors from the government are described as well.

Living Conditions

INTRODUCTION

Soviet society was firstly the materialistic one. Building the strongest and the wealthiest state on Earth was the leading goal of the whole country. Thus its citizens were to be the richest and the happiest. All troubles in their lives with poverty were named transient obstacles on the way to Communism. Reading periodicals and watching documentaries of mid-XXth century one can find pretty ideal everyday life of Ukrainian people. But, as Viktor Kotsur has noticed, the immersion into the secrets of everyday life helps to refute the myths of the totalitarian system in the best way¹. From the height of today the lines written by the poet Yuriy Andrushchenko in 1962 sound even more prophetic in the light of my research:

*You, descendants, surely will care about us!
Study our time to the last minim:
How we lived, with whom and how we were friends,
With whom we waged the struggle.
How we loved and didn't sleep enough
In foundation pits of the great constructions,
How we lifted above ourselves
Stars of the newly-built towns and capitals².*

This book is not aimed to portray the society of Khrushchev era. It won't give you the detailed explanation of the impact of each reform onto the life of the "invisible actors of history"³ as Taras Tsymbal aptly named the ordinary citizens. You won't find the illustration of the everyday life of a regional center in which Pedagogical Institutes were located either. Instead, I paid attention to the problems that arose before the

¹ Viktor Kotsur, "Vstupne slovo." In *Istoriya povsyakdennosti: teoriya ta praktyka* (Pereyaslav-Khmelnytsky, 2010), 9.

² Yuriy Andrushchenko, "Nashchadkam!" *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, April 8, 1962, no. 74, 4.

³ Taras Tsymbal, "Peredmova do druhoho ukrayins'koho vydannya." In *Novi pidkhody do istoriopysannya* (Kyiv: Nika-Tsentr, 2010), 9.

educators. I looked at the questions that attracted young people and teachers of 1953-1964s. As noted Oleksandr Lysenko noted, this is not a study of history details, but it is the study of the history in details of what was typical to the Soviet Union¹.

The political reality of the “thaw” and the reviews of the reforms were reflected in the minds of teachers only when all previous levels of motivation were satisfied. The formation of ideals of “higher category” was possible only after the needs of the so-called deficit were reached. Among them were the needs in rest, shelter, food, protection against the hazards, etc., – all what shaped the everyday life.

The chapter is composed of fourteen sections. In the first, some general comments on the status of educational institutions after the Second World War are presented. The second depicts the nature of self-catering of students and educators and its role in the renaissance of the material basis of the education. The third and the fourth deal in particular with the problem housing of the young generation on the campuses and on the private flats in the cities. The fifth section gives the observation of the nutrition problem of the students. The paragraphs from six to thirteen describe the situation with money in the circle of students and their educators. They examine the level of scholarships, salaries and purchasing power of the teachers. These problems go closely to the topics of pensions, firings and resigning from work. The last paragraph the broad question of the state distribution of young specialists is addressed.

MODEL

To explain the interference of the state and collectives of educators from the standpoint of political science, I have chosen the original theory of the political system by David Easton². I’m using the basic principles of it in evaluating of all sides of everyday life of teachers and students during the “thaw”. The whole process of Changes in the living conditions of the Pedagogical Institutes’ collectives of the Ukrainian SSR can be shown as one system (Figure 1). Their content is the formation of life canons of educators during the accelerated development of socialism. The main actors moving the system are the State, the Pedagogical Institutes and the Society. It is the power that mainly defines the patterns of the everyday in the Soviet Union. The scheme can function only with the providing of information communication between all players on that field. All the changes became possible thanks to specific conditions created by the state. The reaction of the educators was defined as the technologies. With their help

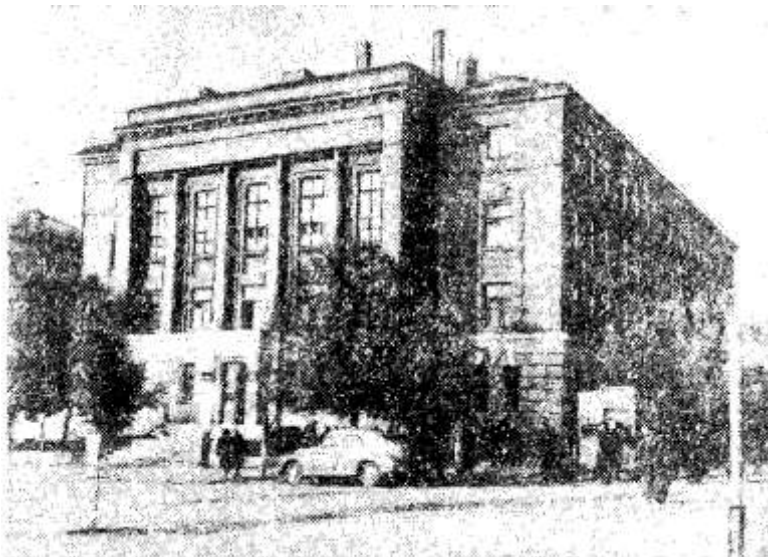
¹ Oleksandr Lysenko, “Istoriya povsyakdennya yak haluz’ naukovooho znannya (povsyakdenna istoriya viyny: metodolohichni notatky).” In *Istoriya povsyakdennosti: teoriya ta praktyka* (Pereyaslav-Khmelnytsky, 2010), 14.

² David Easton, *A Systems Analysis of Political Life* (New York: John Wiley, 1965).

staffs tried to shape their every-day being according to the terms provided. In most cases each condition had the specific “answer” in the form of technologies.

One of the first in that row was the trinity of state demands – Responsibility, Liberality and Competitiveness. These principles were common to post-Stalin era having their roots in the time of Stalin leadership. Each member of the society was called to bear his load of liability for country’s well-being. Only after its fulfillment, one was allowed to think about his own needs. Liberality appeared to be the key-principle of the era right after the last breath had flown from the lips of the dictators in 1953. It was declared so but in fact it happened to be in reverse. Competitiveness as the mover of socialist economy was greatly used in 1930-s and didn’t lose its meaning in the 1960’s. The country, still being depressed by the post-war rebuilding process, was trying to create the world of every-day on the same positions as it did with the industry. The answer of educators was equally classical. The great responsibility laid on them manifested into the refreshing of the old-known saying: “School is your second home”. All what was done at the institutes was filled with the aura of forming not the official but your native space.

The country was still living in the conditions of goods deficit. The party was constantly trying to hide it behind the ideology surplus. Some years ago Stakhanovite movement in all spheres was connected with the slogans of laying lives for state’s growth. The wind from behind the Iron curtain made its work. During the se-Stalinization period the credo “Time – is money” could be easily read in the motives of actions of educators. Capitalism was banned but the life itself moved the teachers towards it more and more.



Picture 4. The building of Voroshylovhrad SPI, 1955

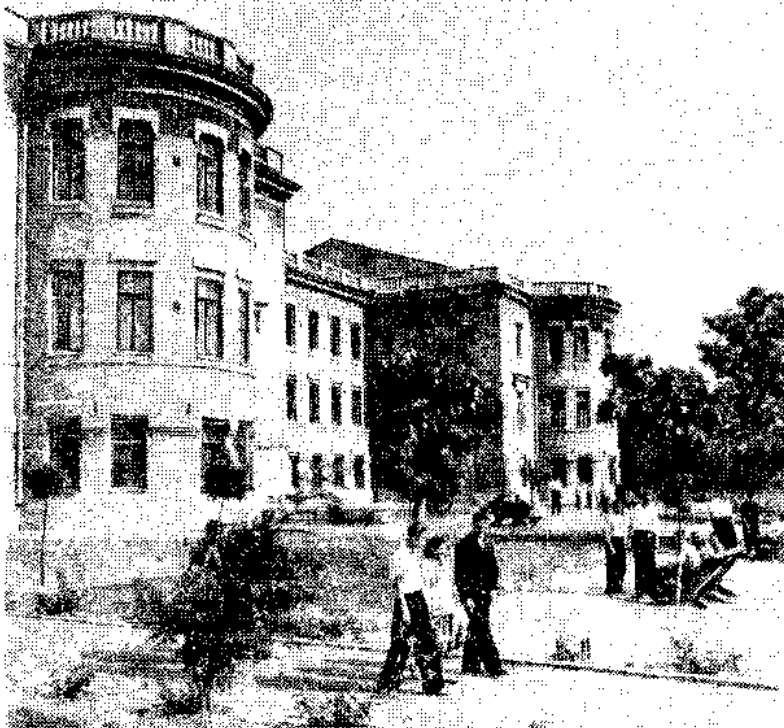
Especially when the state continued to play in the conditions of the centralization of the claims with dispersion of all aid needed to the institutes. The center in the person of the Ministry of Education, of the Council of Ministers or of the Communist Party of Ukraine placed the norms and standards education institutions were to follow.

But when the last ones asked for some help the top-manager dispersed all the resources

thus none of them received enough or only central and close to the government ones were able to fulfill the requirements. As a response to that government policy, the educators found the sphere of the limited autonomy of higher pedagogical institutions. In such a way they were able to cope with material problems on their own.

I looked at each problem from the position its development in time. Thus all of them have three basic evolution periods. The first one in most cases marked crises characteristics of the problem. During that time people were dealing with the baggage of the last days of Stalin's rule. Old canons of morality and previous standards of well-being were in the process of the demolition but still strong. However, it was that first period when the earliest sprouts of reforms were found. So this period is not only the crises one but also the transitional for the whole system of values.

Speaking about material life of educators, this first cycle lasted from 1953 to 1955. It was marked with the lack of facilities and reconstruction of buildings of the Institutes. The great role in complicating of people's lives was still played by the strictly built bureaucracy machine. It backed off the great amount of undertakings of educators. But it was not only about control but also about stocks of needless paperwork teacher were obliged to do every semester for nothing. Along with that useless work, the staffs of

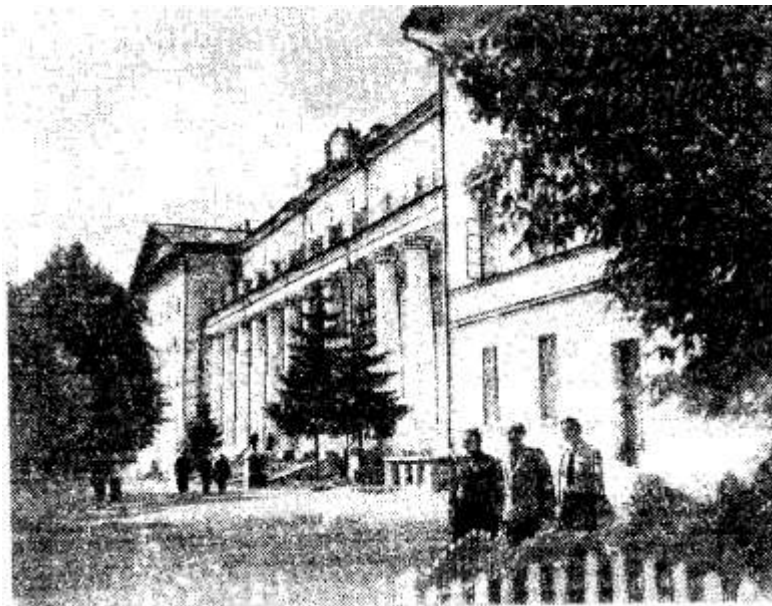


Picture 5. The photo of the newly constructed academic building of Zaporizhzhya SPI. The correspondent proudly mentioned that the building had many spacious rooms, library with the reading hall, astronomy tower and the gym, 1955

higher pedagogical schools were bound with the domination of ideology in their work and leisure. Three years after Stalin's death the country was tackling the post-war economic crisis. It was not so visible in the capitals and big industrial cities. But pedagogical institutes from the provinces felt the strongest dependency on the Center. They asked for help in rebuilding and increasing of level of life. But instead they received inconsistency in working hours and salaries. Work more – earn less. This was very notable when going shopping – the prices of goods

were the markers of the real “price of living” of the educators. In the early days of the “thaw” they still were suffering from the unsolved housing question. It could be said not only about teachers who didn’t have personal apartments but also about students who didn’t have even dormitories in some cities across the country. Young people had some hardships with paying for their food and cloths. During 1953-1955’s, many of them were forced to combine studying with work in alma maters. The people also struggled from the continuous attacks on their religiosity. So to be the atheist was not only the norm but also the safest way to live. On the background of fate absence, the hidden alcoholism was widely spread among youngsters and their mentors. The struggle for morality looked especially artificial because of it.

The second cycle lasted from 1956 to 1958. It was the time for changes that is why it can be named as the main forming period. Basic characteristics of de-Stalinization way of life were established during it. State didn’t manage to solve the problem of rebuilding across the country. The accident rate of new buildings as well as old lodgments was high. A lot of inner household problems were solved with the introduction of so-called self-catering of students in the institutes. The center shaped its contact with provinces in frequent financial and economic audits. But the life itself was increasing. Teachers got high income and six-hour working day. The only bitterness in this honey barrel was the exhaustion from propaganda. Students were frankly speaking about their apathy to social and political problems because of their omnipresence in youngsters’ lives. They also were suffering from filtering of personal

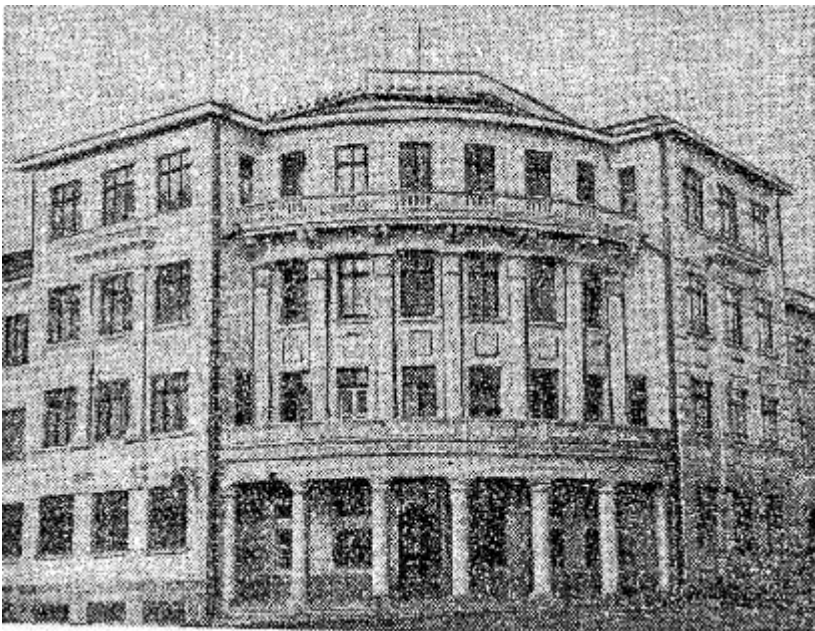


Picture 6. The photo of the building of Nizhyn SPI, 1955

aesthetic tastes by institutes’ direction. Party ideology was pushed deeper into the lives of ordinary people. It tried to move back religiosity and old-established traditions with new ones. One of them was a tradition of so-called “Komsomol weddings” with newly formed ceremony. This was just the lightest example of increasing process of invasion of the party organs into the privacy of teachers and their

students. So there was no wonder that tobacco & alcohol dependence only grew day by day as the form of personal rebellion or personal escape from the control.

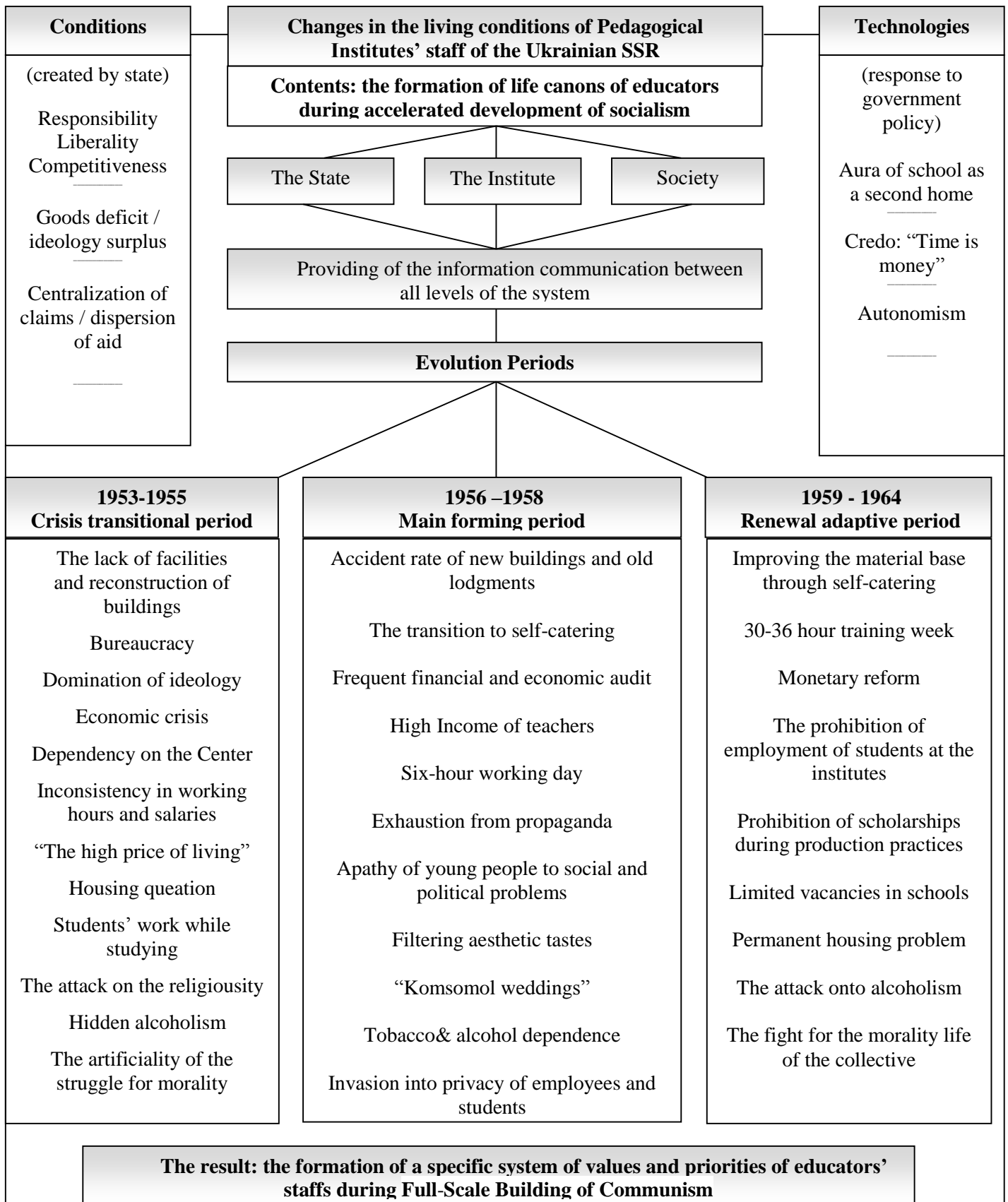
The third cycle started in 1959 and lasted to 1964. It was, if you want, the apogee of the problem. I call it 'The Renewal Adaptive Period'. The first component stands for renovations that actually were taking place during this time, the second – for the attitude of educators who needed to get adjusted to those changes. Self-catering of students helped to improve the material base of the educational establishments. The country made some steps to strengthen the material welfare of teachers and students. One of the steps was the 30-36 hour training week. Another one – monetary reform of 1961 that cut one zero in the sums of salaries of educators. But along with that, government stepped on the throat of student's financial independence. The Ministry of education prohibited the employment of students at their institutes. It also cancelled paying the scholarships during production practices of young people. From one side it was very clever decision for the country. But the reality was harsh. Youth was left without jobs after graduation because the country had limited vacancies at schools not looking at propaganda slogans calling young people to villages. The housing problem once appeared at the dawn of de-Stalinization was not solved as well as the fight with alcoholism was only getting tougher.



Picture 7. The new building of Vinnytsya SPI, 1956

The country leaders wanted to see the formation of a specific system of values and priorities of educators' staffs during Full-Scale Building of Communism. That was a programmed result. But the reality showed that the Full-Scale building was started and the system of values showed the gravitation to the "hostile and decaying" capitalism.

Scheme 1. Historical Model of Changes in the Living Conditions of Pedagogical Institutes' staff of the Ukrainian SSR



ON THE POST-WAR ASHES

Teachers and students spent the great part of lives within the walls of the institutes. There was one determination that specified their everyday lives. It was the moral calling to create an aura of second house in the workplace. I turned to the recreation called “the re-presence of the past” by Yaroslav Potapenko¹ to find out in what conditions the teachers and the students were working during the “thaw”. It helped me to find out whether the declared improving of the welfare affected the work of universities. I found out if the teachers themselves were ready to tackle the changes in everyday life, when the state did not help solve the problem of institutions.

Postwar higher education institutions had much in common. It was defined by the general crisis situation of the country rising from the ruins of the Second World War. Nizhyn Pedagogical Institute – one of the oldest in the country – was able to regain all the buildings that belonged to it before the war. In 1953, it had four hostels for students



Picture 8. The conditions with heating in early 1950's was very hard. The caricature shows the librarian sitting in warm clothes. The town official came in from the freezing street in the fur-coat, asking for “taking-away” some book from the cold empty library, 1955

and even began building new with the regular state allocations². However, the majority of higher educational institution had a problem of lack of classrooms. In early 1953, the rebuilding of school building and property restitution of Poltava SPI lost during the war was delayed. Some rooms were rented as private apartments and even to the service of “Film distribution”. Other institutes also had insufficient space during the “thaw”. Uman SPI had to share the ground floor of its own building with trade and economic institutions and

¹ Yaroslav Potapenko, “Perspektyvy rozvytku istoriyi povsyakdennosti cherez pryzmu dyskursu postmodernu.” In *Istoriya povsyakdennosti: teoriya ta praktyka* (Pereyaslav-Khmel'nitsky, 2010), 53.

² Tsentral'nyy derzhavnyy arkhiv vyshchychk orhaniv vlady i upravlinnya Ukrayiny (TsDAVO), f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1874, ark. 3.

children's theater of the city¹. Kyiv SPIFL was forced to rent someone else's apartments having none of its own²; Zhytomyr, Kamianets-Podilskyi³ and Melitopol Pedagogical Institutes⁴ held classes in the buildings of secondary schools. And sometimes even that was not enough. So, Kamianets-Podilskyi SPI managed to place only one faculty in the rented premises⁵. In 1953, no department other than the department of Marxism-Leninism had its own separate room in Dnipropetrovs'k SPIFL. Even the dean's offices of different faculties were in the small room divided with the plywood partitions⁶.

Strengthening of material base of the institutes at the beginning of de-Stalinization often was disrupted. Among the causes could be the systematical loss of the corps reconstruction plans⁷. The rebuilding could be processed and transferred in the connection with increased or decreased cost of building materials⁸. Very often Regional building trusts (Oblbudtrest) did not release materials to complete the work⁹. Thus, because of the negligence of contractors there was a delay of rebuilding of Vinnytsya SPI¹⁰ and Odesa SPIFL¹¹.

The condition of available premises often left much to be desired. The temperature in the old classrooms of Poltava SPI in winter did not exceed 14 degrees in separate rooms¹². The situation was similar in other establishments: the "standard" of 12-16 degrees¹³ in Cherkasy SPI came down to 4C¹⁴! When some educators were noticed trying to get warm near the electric stove or brewed hot tea using the "state electricity" in the winter days, it could have led even to dismissal from work¹⁵. Often rebuilding process dragged on for more than one year¹⁶. Sometimes the government rejected the offer of the institutes to continue building with the involvement of their own forces and capacities as an alien system¹⁷. Although the Ministry accepted projects of

¹ Derzhavnyy arkhiv Cherkas'koyi oblasti (DACHO), f. P-3070, op. 1, spr. 300, ark. 238.

² TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1297, 3.

³ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1296, 2.

⁴ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1873, 1-2.

⁵ TsAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1294, 5.

⁶ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1292, 4.

⁷ DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr. 710, 124.

⁸ DAPO, f. P-1507, op. 1, spr. 513, 32.

⁹ DAPO, f. P-15, op. 2, spr. 1365, 4.

¹⁰ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 106, 103.

¹¹ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 107, 17.

¹² DAPO, f. P-1507, op. 1, spr. 392, 53.

¹³ DACHO, f. P-193, op. 8, spr. 174, 25.

¹⁴ DACHO, f. P-2187, op. 1, spr. 21, 56

¹⁵ APNPU, f. 3, op.1, spr. Nakazy. T.3, 72.

¹⁶ DAPO, f. P-1507, op. 1, spr. 471, 1.

¹⁷ DAPO, f. P-1507, op. 1, spr. 513, 27zv.

reconstruction of Kyiv State University on the best examples of California, Columbia or Oklahoma Universities without fear being accused of sympathizing bourgeois ideas¹. Protracted buildings had been completed by the 1955-1956 biennium. In some places the problem of the lack of space was solved by rebuilding (Kirovohrad², Poltava³), in others – through mergers and transfers to other cities (e.g. the Institute of from Bila Tserkva to Horlivka)⁴.

The state eventually showed more concern for the working conditions of teachers. MHE and the Ministry of Education of the Ukrainian SSR required periodic reports on improving of working conditions indicating the money spent on ventilation⁵, safety training⁶ or bettering sanitary conditions⁷. However, there were facts of flaws that pushed educators to show their outright attitude towards government policy. Thus, in February 1957, Mariya Malych from Poltava SPI made a report on the outcome of the December 1956 plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU. It was glorious as usual. But her colleague Mykola Krasnyuk allowed himself a critically note: *“We’ve talked a lot about Republican and Union affairs, but we forget about the state of affairs at ours”*⁸.

It was really vital remark. Authorities tried to convince people that they were living in the time when *“imperialism was lead to rage ... by the fact that socialism was every year more and more attractive to people of good will”*⁹. And the real problems not even of the whole country but of a single provincial educational institution were enough to sink the illusory ideal world. For instance, in winter of 1957, the floor in the library of Poltava SPI had almost rotted to pieces¹⁰; the windows in Physics and Mathematics classrooms were leaking; Astronomical cabin had no light but had the wet ceiling instead; there were no air vents in the locker room; dormitories were without heat, and smoke filled the entire building every time when a small stove in the kitchen was working¹¹.

¹ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 177, 1.

² TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1869, 2.

³ DAPO, f. P-1507, op. 1, spr. 552, 1.

⁴ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1861, 3.

⁵ TsDAVO, f. 4621, op. 7, spr. 24, 200.

⁶ TsDAVO, f. 4621, op. 7, spr. 25.

⁷ TsDAVO, f. 4621, op. 7, spr. 86.

⁸ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4830, 7.

⁹“Promova tovarysha M. I. Byelyayeva na vruchenni ordenu Lenina Altays'komu krayu”, Zorya Poltavshchyny, January 22, 1957, no. 15, 3.

¹⁰ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4830, 66.

¹¹ DAPO, f. P-19, op. 2, spr. 237, 91.

“HELP YOURSELVES”

The teachers of pedagogical institutes decided to help themselves without waiting for help from authorities. The polytechnic training campaign really helped to cope with that problem alone with the practice of self-catering in the institutes. For a very short period of time, the youth had completed the things the party did not have enough money, attention and time for. Kyiv educators reported that youth alone built 15 academic buildings, 6 dormitories, 48 workshops and laboratories, 13 stadiums, 5 gyms, 100 playgrounds, 36 parks and laid gardens during just 1958¹. The gains were similar in other cities. Students of Berdychiv Pedagogical Institute rebuilt the barns,



Picture 9. The lecture on philosophy in Poltava SPY by Dmytro Stepanov in the newly-rebuilt classes, early 1950's

lodge, plumbing, greenhouses and dug the ponds in 1956². Future teachers of Kharkiv State Pedagogic Institute and Odesa SPIFL³ organized themselves to arranging their own institutions, too⁴. They did it faster than central authorities gave their promises to raise the public funds. The students arranged new sports fields, running tracks, piers for boats and a sports camp at the institutes. In 1958, the initiative students of Poltava SPI transferred institute's premises to gas heating⁵ and provided themselves with bedclothes⁶. Young inventors completed the installation of radio and film projectors in the training corps⁷. They personally built a sports hall and garage for cars so more than 50 teachers and students had the opportunity to take driving courses⁸. The self-catering solved not only economic but also

¹ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 226, 178.

² TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1859, 2.

³ Derzhavnyy arkhiv Kharkivs'koyi oblasti (DAKhO), f. P-4293, op. 2, spr. 741, ark. 13.

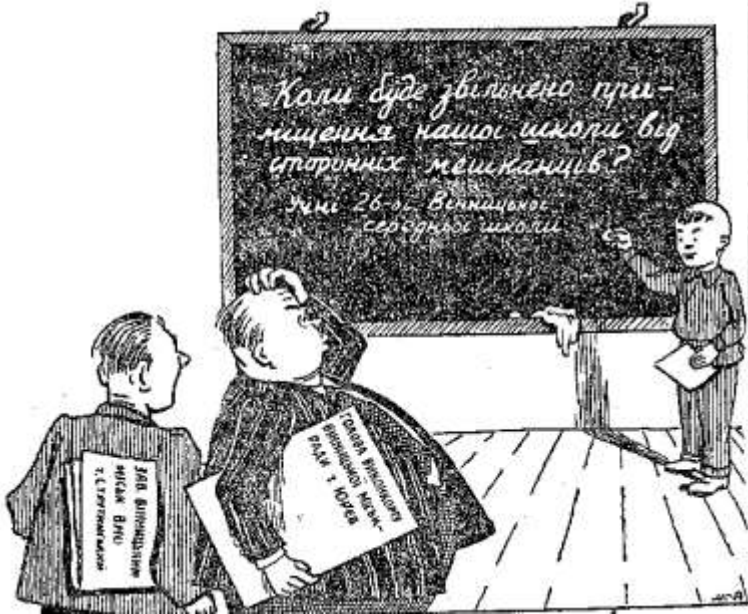
⁴ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 242, 23.

⁵ DAPO, f. P-12, op.1, spr.658, 1-2.

⁶ DAPO, f. P-1507, op. 1, spr. 756, 66.

⁷ DAPO, f.P -19, op. 1, spr. 247, 78.

⁸ DAPO, f. P-1507, op. 1, spr. 666, 3-4.



Picture 10. The caricature “The Hard Task” by the lecturer of Vinnytsya SPI Mykola Slavs’kyi shows the school class. The pupil has written with chalk on the board the letter to the authorities: “When will the premises of our school be vacated by outsiders?” The party and city bosses are depicted as fat cats –the head of the executive committee of Vinnytsya city council comrade Yuryev and the head of Vinnytsya city department of education comrade Strutynskiy. The situation was pretty familiar to many Ukrainian pedagogical institutes all over the country

particular, Poltava SPI returned to a situation where it lacked space even for departments (out of 16 departments only 5 had own rooms⁷). The complaints for repetition of the situation of the early “thaw” were also heard from Berdyansk⁸, Donetsk⁹ and Drohobych Pedagogical Institutes¹⁰.

medical problems. For example, level of respiratory diseases in Kharkiv SPI decreased after the introduction of this practice¹.

The studying environment of the last days of the period of de-Stalinization cannot be compared with that one in which teachers and students met Khrushchev era. Great financial contributions from the Ministry were taken into account². With their help, the premises of the Crimean³, Mykolayiv⁴, Poltava⁵ and Chernihiv⁶ Pedagogical Institutes were significantly expanded and equipped with the novelties of the technological revolution. However, the problem of educational areas intensified with the increase of recruitment of students. In

¹ DAKhO, f. P-4293, op. 2, spr. 1038, 63.

² TsDAVO, f. 4621, op. 7, spr. 86.

³ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 4182, 2.

⁴ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 4185, 3-4.

⁵ DAPO, f. P-1507, op. 1, spr. 847, 2.

⁶ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 4194, 5.

⁷ DAPO, f. P-1507, op. 1, spr. 908, 34.

⁸ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 4165.

⁹ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 4171.

¹⁰ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 4170.

HOSTELS AND “CORNERS”

Dormitories often turned into a means of keeping the contingent of students. Thus, in Lutsk in 1953, students of mathematical specialties were given the priority right to receive a room as a way to engage young people to enter Physics and Mathematics department of the institute¹. The war destroyed many buildings where the homes youth were previously located. For example, Poltavites lost the dormitory for 600 students. They didn't get that amount of rooms even to the end of de-Stalinization period². The battle for placing students even moved the educators of Poltava SPI to fight for the cells of the local Monastery of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. The very problem of the dormitory of Poltava SPI was quite interesting. In January 1953, even regional party committee was engaged in the process. However, played the hostel card in a somewhat own purposes. Party leaders suggested uniting nunneries of two cities – Poltava and Zolotonosha within one Lubny monastery in Poltava Region. Instead, they wanted to



Picture 11. In the room of the rebuilt hostel of Poltava SPI, early 1950's

open a hostel for students and teachers of Poltava SPI in the walls of Poltava sanctuary. They also found a justification for their acts: the monastery had already been on the books of the institute before the Second World War so the teachers had begun to repair it and settled down there³. “The battle for the dwelling” between the educators and priests started with a letter of the teachers to the City Council of Poltava in January of 1953. They “reminded” authorities that 653 square meters of that precious residential area in the days of Khrushchev “were occupied by servants of the women convent”. Meanwhile, 400 students had to live “at the corners”. Therefore Pedagogical Institute raised the issue of the transfer of the convent to another location⁴. Looking ahead, we need to note that when authorities finally evicted the nuns of the monastery in July of

¹ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1300, 5.

² DAPO, f. P-1507, op. 1, spr. 513, 11.

³ DAPO, f. P-15, op. 2, spr.1294, 14.

⁴ DAPO, f. P-1507, op. 1, spr.370, 1.

1960, Pedagogical Institute did not get the monastery premises. There was opened a boarding school¹.

In many cases even rebuilt premises did not meet all the needs of the institutes. For example, Poltava SPI resettled only 34% of full time department students² and



Picture 12. The photo of the student ironing her dress was a call for the promotion of self-catering in the institutes in 1964

Stalino SPI – only 25%³. However, if some higher schools were able to rebuild hostels during the first years of the “thaw” as Poltava did⁴, the situation in other institutes was somewhat worse. Starobilsk Pedagogical institute had unfitted for habitation premises⁵; 150 students in Uman were housed in a former fire station⁶; educators of Zaporizhzhya only got an earthen hut with 9 rooms where 70 (!) people were placed⁷. The state appropriations for the needs of rebuilding the dormitories were often so symbolic even for non-pedagogical institutions. Thus, Kharkiv teachers calculated in 1954 that with the current state funding and the rate of future engineers work they would have got the hostel by the year 1962 – only in the eight year period of time⁸. Sometimes the institutes received the direct refusal of the Ministry at the request of building of at least one hostel for young people. That happened to Kherson SPI⁹ and to Kyiv SPIFL¹⁰.

One of the characteristic causes of the lack of premises for the students was the fact that pedagogical institutes turned some rooms

¹ DAPO, f. P-15, op. 2, spr.1858, 36.

² DAPO, f. P-19, op. 1, spr. 240, 51.

³ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1879, 5.

⁴ DAPO, f. P-1507, op. 1, spr. 420, 20.

⁵ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 106, 43.

⁶ Derzhavnyy arkhiv Cherkas'koyi oblasti (DACHO), f. P-3070, op.1, spr.87, 3.

⁷ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1295, 13.

⁸ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 154, 24.

⁹ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1297, 4.

¹⁰ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 141, 121.

in the dormitories into classrooms. For example, the number of “occupied” student dorms in Poltava SPI rose to 72% (!) of all hostel premises¹. Situation was very similar in other places – hostel rooms became libraries or apartments for professors in Vinnytsya² and Rivne³. Sometimes the rooms were even rented by total strangers at speculative prices⁴ as it happened in Poltava in 1953⁵. However there were the institutes that fully provided youth with the shelter even in crisis circumstances of 1953. Among them were Drohobych and Zhytomyr Pedagogical Institutes⁶. But we need to keep in mind that they were able to do it because of the low number of students. But the influx of students from the deep woodland areas of the Ukrainian Polissya changed the situation so even these two establishments felt the lack of housing areas in 1954⁷.

The average fee for hostels was 10 rubles per month with 5 rubles for the use of bedclothes⁸. Those who weren't able to live in the hostel were placed into the rented houses mostly called “corners” (Ukrainian “kutky”). Over 100 thousand students throughout the USSR lived “in the corners” even in 1957⁹. As Nataliya Khomenko found out, “corners” cost from 50 to 150 rubles per month. This sum was often paid by the young people of their own purse¹⁰. Sometimes the government provided full time students with so-called “apartment money”. And these payments adversely affected the budgets of the institutes. Thus, in Poltava of 1960, even with a minimum amount of 50 rubles monthly, flat payment for 467 people reached 700 thousand 50 rubles¹¹. It should be mentioned that we calculated the “official” prices. There were cases of “private speculation” when institutes paid to owners of apartments much more for placing students in private apartments, as it was in Cherkasy and Uman¹². Accountings of the higher schools often delayed payment for apartments and youth was in a step from eviction from housing as it frequently was in Kyiv SPI¹³. Spending of the higher schools on students' accommodation was even higher if we take into account the need

¹ DAPO, f. P-1507, op. 1, spr. 420, 2.

² TsDAVO, f. 4621, op. 7, spr. 7, 21.

³ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1878, 2

⁴ APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr. Nakazy. T.2. (2.07-31.12.1953), 171.

⁵ DAPO, f. P-1507, op. 1, spr. 470, 7.

⁶ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1294, 5.

⁷ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1293, 6.

⁸ Nataliya Khomenko, “Povsyakdenne zhyttya student-s'koyi molodi povoyennoyi Ukrayiny,” *Ukrayina XX st. : kul'tura, ideolohiya, polityka*, no. 15 (2009), 311.

⁹ TsDAVO, f. 4621, op. 1, spr. 62, 1.

¹⁰ Khomenko, “*Povsyakdenne zhyttya*”, 311.

¹¹ DAPO, f. P-1507, op. 1, spr. 420, 1.

¹² DACHO, f. P-2087, op. 1, spr. 26, 10.

¹³ Derzhavnyy arkhiv Kyivys'koyi oblasti (DAKO), f. P-485, op. 3, spr. 6, 47.

to settle along with full-time students and part-time ones. So, Kharkhiv SPI was looking for that 2.5 thousand “corners” with the help of the press and radio in 1953¹. Not surprisingly, it was difficult to settle such a number of youth in the full-fledge apartments, so many higher schools signed contracts with secondary schools of the cities on accommodation and feeding in classrooms or gyms. That was a common practice for Uman² or Kyiv SPIFL³.

Sometimes the authorities ignored the requests of the institutes to help with financing the resettlement of youth as it was in Rivne⁴. Sometime after the officials began to issue orders for periodical reduce of apartment payments for saving money of the budget. The first such reduction by 40% was in 1959. Poltava SPI reduced the number of the placed students to 280 people⁵. Then it dropped to only 100 students in 1961⁶ and to 88 young educators receiving the shelter provided by the state in 1963⁷. However, it did not indicate the reduction of the number of those who needed housing. For example, three times more students of Uman SPI lived in private flats in 1964 than lived in the hostel (600 against 200)⁸. Higher schools conducted check-up raids to figure the living conditions of their students living “in the corners”. These were Nizhyn “Raid Brigades”⁹ or Poltava “Household Commissions”¹⁰. The life “in the corners” sometimes cost young people something more than only money. Future teachers were forced to work for the owners. For example, youth of Kharkhiv SPI did not have time to prepare for classes because of continual house work on behalf of the proprietors¹¹.

“INDEPENDENT” DORMITORY LIFE

Let’s have a look at the life of youth in the hostels in 1950-1960’s. Olena Serhiychuk noticed in her thesis that dormitories were overcrowded during this period. The living space for students of 1959 in 21 universities of the Ukrainian SSR was less than 3 square meters per nonresident student (at a rate of 10 square meters¹²). So, Lviv

¹ DAKhO, f. P-4293, op. 2, spr. 497, 79zv.

² DACHO, f. P-1418, op. 2, spr. 181, 18.

³ Derzhavnyy arkhiv mista Kyyeva (DAK), f. P-985, op. 5, spr. 3, ark. 1.

⁴ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1878, 7.

⁵ APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr.Nakazy. T.1. (4.01-31.05.1955), 6.

⁶ APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, Spr.Nakazy. T.1. (2.01-30.06.1961), 64-70.

⁷ APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr.Nakazy. T.1. (3.01-29.06.1963), 75.

⁸ DACHO, f. P-2087, op. 1, spr. 26, 9.

⁹ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1874, 54.

¹⁰ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 908. 118.

¹¹ DAKhO, f. R-1780, op. 3, spr. 495, 1.

¹² Olena Serhiychuk, “Vyshcha shkola v umovakh liberalizatsiyi suspil’noho zhyttya 1953-1964 rr”. (Ph.D. diss., Taras Shevchenko Kyiv Natioanl University, 2002).

students had from 3.1 to 4.1 square meters per person¹. With increasing contingent of youth authorities didn't build new premises, but simply reduced the rate of the minimum living space. Ministerial Guidance stated the norm of 2.6 square meters per student of Ukraine in 1959². The researcher Olena Isaykina estimated that 12 double rooms were standard for contemporary hostels of the Ukrainian SSR³. And it seemed to be true – they settled from five⁴ to fourteen people⁵ into the rooms in Poltava. It was identical to the situation of 1920's when, according to Viktor Pryluts'kyi, the premises for 20 people were occupied by 65 students⁶. There was no water in the dormitories at the beginning of de-Stalinization, the toilets did not work, there was no heating due to the high cost of fuel, so the students had to sleep dressed. Such facts were in Poltava⁷, Cherkasy⁸ and Kharkiv State Pedagogical Institutes⁹. Even city authorities were forced to admit the lack of furniture in Odesa¹⁰, Poltava¹¹, and Kharkiv. The students in Lviv during the early years of the “thaw” had only one bookcase, not enough chairs, cupboards and cabinets for all in the hostel. And sometimes the furniture was in really terrible conditions. Thus, 20% of “students' beds” in Kremenets' SPI were named “bedspreads” only because they were used for these purposes¹².

Administration check-ups often found rooms in a terrible unsanitary¹³. Students used bedclothes almost to blackness and holes. And if they managed to “cleanse” it could be simply shaking out of dirt and dust in the corridors of hostels¹⁴. Because of this Kyiv SPIFL gave with bedclothes only to children of World War II veterans and to children of those who died during the war¹⁵. But in most cases the calls to restore the order in dorms were in vain – as it was with countless attempts to bring the light of sanitation to men's hostels of Cherkasy SPI¹⁶.

¹ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 106, 49.

² TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 237, 106.

³ Olena Isaykina, “Pobut i dozvillya mis'koho naseleण्या v povoyenny period (1945-1955 rr.)” (Ph.D. diss., National Pedagogical Dragomanov University, Kyiv. 2006).

⁴ APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr. Nakazy. T.2. (3.07-20.12.1956), 128-31.

⁵ APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr. Nakazy. T.2. (1.08-30.12.1958), 57.

⁶ Viktor Pryluts'kyi, “Povsyakdenne zhyttya studentiv.” In *Narysy povsyakdennoho zhyttya radyans'koyi Ukrayiny v dobu nepu*, no. 1 (2010), 88.

⁷ DAPO, f. P-15, op. 2, spr. 1446, 60.

⁸ DACHO, f. P-2187, op. 1, spr. 16, 82.

⁹ DAKhO, f. R-1780, op. 3, spr. 461, 16.

¹⁰ TSDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1876, 3.

¹¹ DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, Spr. 691, 85.

¹² TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 106, 6. 49.

¹³ TsDAVO, f. 4621, op. 1, spr. 62, 2.

¹⁴ APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr. Nakazy. T.1. (2.01-30.06.1956), 1. 17. 123.

¹⁵ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1297, 62.

¹⁶ DACHO, f. П-2187, op. 1, spr. 16, 82.

But the management of institutes took care of the cleanliness of students' apartments long before that. Thus, the director of Poltava SPI Dmytro Nenenko in 1953 petitioned to the chairman of the Communist Party City Committee Hryhoriy Umanets to solve that problem for his youth. The city had no laundry for 250 students from the hostels to wash their clothes. There was washing room in the dorm then (and it was not even projected by the rebuilders). So the director asked to give orders for the house management №16 to take students' laundry. However, the resolution was quite short: "the laundry in the house laundries by the organizations is prohibited by the Ministry of municipal services"¹.

Special attention must be paid to the analysis of the mode of life in student hostels. Typically, the youth got up at 6 am, lights out – at 1 am. There really was no light in the buildings until six in the morning. Additionally, there were other limitations, too. So, special order of the Director of Poltava SPI banned loud talking, playing musical instruments and listening to the radio from 4 to 10 pm. To persuade young people to learn, this same document forbade the students be in bed after seven in the morning. Although the next check-up found that many of the youth did not fulfill this order and were sleeping at least till nine in the morning². Such a strict regime of "the second home" often becomes the cause of problems for young people. For example, it was the schedule that moved the beau of young lady V. Korovay from Poltava SPI to beat the hostel commandant Ivan Kozachenko. The last one did not let his beloved to the hostel after midnight and sent the lovers away from under the windows of student rooms. That deed moved the young love-maker to gather the company of students from close-by Poltava Agricultural Institute for the revenge³. Young people often conducted fairly relaxed lifestyle inside the walls of the hostels. The Ministry of Education of the Ukrainian SSR sent to the pedagogical institutes the Board's decisions "On serious of deficiencies in the education and life of students in the institute dormitories" at the end of the "thaw". The list of "banned actions" of the youngsters included the offensive inscriptions on the furniture, decorating rooms with obscene photographs and the abuse of boys and girls⁴.

The situation began to improve after 1955, when the institutes joined to the campaign of self-catering. It brought dormitories out of the sanitary crisis, which even became the subject for regional newspapers to write about⁵. Subsequently, the improving of the living conditions of students helped to launch a campaign of

¹ DAPO, f. P-1507, op. 1, spr.513, 78.

² APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr. Nakazy. T.1 (2.01-31.05.1957), 9.

³ APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr. Nakazy. T.1 (2.01-30.06.1956), 139.

⁴ DASO, f. R-2817, op. 3, spr. 428, 1.

⁵ DACHO, f. R-3990, op. 1, spr. 44, 14.

converting the dormitories into the Hostels of communist life. That was their stone to the campaigns of transforming regional centers such as Poltava¹ or Kharkiv² into the model cities. They began to hold the systematical competitions for the title of rooms of the communist way of life³, to the title of the best streets and the best building in the district⁴. That tremendously useful experience of the institutes was even used by other organizations and institutions of the country trying to cope with bad living conditions of employees⁵.

COOKING OR EATING OUT?



Picture 13. It was really hard to find enough money for the students in the early 1950's to attend such a restaurant advertised in Poltava newspaper. The ad invited to make collective orders for October holidays in every Poltava cafe, tea house or a restaurant with the wide range of dishes

Another problem for the pedagogical institutes of the Ukrainian SSR to solve was the providing meals to youth. A lot of higher schools were left without dining rooms after the war. Canteens had been rebuilt only in some places even by 1953. Poltava SPI did not have its own dining room right after the war. One of two buffets in 1953 was in the rooms of the dormitory right across the main building in the Ostrohradskyi street, 3. And even they were “wandering” from room to room – from the hostel to the school building through the academic year. Ultimately it moved to the room near the toilet⁶. This neighborhood, being not surprising to the educators, surprised members of the regional check-up commission. So they noted about inadmissibility of such location. City officials noticed that young people

¹ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4833, 41.

² DAKhO, f. R-4293, op. 2, spr. 1028, 5.

³ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 908, 118.

⁴ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 916, 2.

⁵ DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr. 770, 211.

⁶ APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr. Nakazy. T.1 (22.01-30.06.1953), 126.



Picture 14. The caricature showed the situation with school canteen in the village of Kalnyk in Mukacheve district of Zakarpattya region in 1956. It was rather common situation for a lot of educational institutions across the country.

gathered in half-hour queues near them¹. And they were often really useless because there were not enough dairy products, fish, sausages, rice or even butter and bread for all in those buffets. And if they were in stock – they could be very expensive for young educators. But what was even more unexplained – that’s the fact that there was also a frequent lack of ordinary hot tea. They party check-up also decided that young had absolutely nowhere to eat in the evenings and at weekends when the canteens were closed. So they gave an order to equip dorm rooms with electric ovens. Although then another inspector wrote over the resolution: “It is not allowed²”. And the students had to roam the city in search of the place to eat.

The situation with dining rooms was similar on other institutes across the country. The canteen of Lviv SPI was in disrepair³, the one in Vinnytsya huddled it in a small room where 50 seats were

placed even above the norm⁴. One of three hostels of Kyiv SPI did not have a buffet at all; the second one did not import cucumbers, cabbage, salads and dairy products. And the third was working in unsanitary conditions with the great part of speculations. Deficient butter and sausages were immediately resold to the strangers, so the youth couldn’t get even a piece of them on the sandwiches sold in the buffet⁵. The terrible margins on products were also in the close by Kyiv SPIFL⁶. The official reports of Kremenets educators informed of “the fine dining” at the institute. But the teachers and students, despite that, complained about the lack of full wheat bread and irregular

¹ ‘Persha sesiya mis’koyi rady’, Zorya Poltavshchyny, March 17, 1957, no. 54, 2.

² DАPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 371, 2.

³ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 106, 106.

⁴ TsDAVO, f. 166., op. 15., spr. 1291, 126.

⁵ DAKO, f. R-485, op. 3, spr. 6., 50.

⁶ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 105, 62.

provision of other bakery products¹. However, where there was no deficit, they had other extremes. Some institute canteens provided the boxes with free bread for the customers. The youth often took too many pieces of bakery and didn't eat it all. They threw out kilograms of wasted bread leaving it in the dirty dishes and on the tables². Only a few institutes of the Ukrainian SSR reported no problems with dining rooms at the beginning of de-Stalinization. Among the lucky ones were Cherkasy and Uzhhorod Pedagogical Institutes³.

The process of rebuilding was moved off the deadlock with the help of the directives from the center. The government realized that the country lacked not only products, but also places to eat during the takeoff of the agriculture declared in the press. That was a time for the Order of the Ministry of Education from 04.27.1956. "On the measures of improvement of public nutrition in schools, educational institutions, orphanages and kindergartens of the Ukrainian SSR". It forced the work on the urgent extension of the system of dining facilities and opening them in already existing buildings. The higher schools even had special due dates for completing that tasks. For example, Poltava SPI had to finish the construction in September of 1956⁴, but neither in six months⁵ nor a year⁶ or two later⁷ the dining room was not finished.

The similar "hungry" life of students of Cherkasy and Uman led to complaints to the authorities⁸. Their mood could be felt the best in the words of Ms. Polins'ka, the young student of Cherkasy Pedagogical Institute. She was one of those who went to work on the virgin lands of Kazakhstan. After her coming back to Ukraine in 1956, she hoped to meet the better living conditions. But it turned out that there was even nowhere to eat. The students had to cook in their hostel rooms. When and that was banned, the only way for "surviving" was the proposition to continue the work the nearest canteen up to 9 pm⁹.

No wonder that sometimes the quality of studying was estimated in the direct dependence on the presence or absence of the dining rooms. For example, Uman students didn't have the canteen even in 1957. So they spent a lot of time on cooking.

¹ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 106, 7.

² Fedir Akin, "Pisly obidu", *Radyans'ka osvita*, September 8, 1963, no. 74, 4.

³ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 106, 23.

⁴ DAPO, f. P-1507, op. 1, spr. 517, 13.

⁵ DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr. 733, 97.

⁶ DAPO, f. P-15, op. 2, spr. 1735, 88.

⁷ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4830, 7.

⁸ DACHO, f. P-2087, op. 1, spr. 18, 29.

⁹ DACHO, f. P-2187, op. 1, spr. 21, 127.

And that was a strong argument in defense of unwillingness to learn. Their teacher took as an excuse the fact that students were cooking instead of self-studying¹.

However, the situation was not so catastrophic. The way out was found very quickly. If the educational establishments did not have dining rooms their students went to other ones nearby². But the check-ups of the city committees of the communist party occasionally noted that most of these institutions didn't have proper conditions for organizing student nutrition. There were not enough forks, knives and other utensils. Moreover, the "caring" chefs scrimped the products³ understating the calorie content of meals⁴. Not surprising that young people sometimes resorted to violations of safety and began to prepare meals directly in the rooms. It was strictly forbidden for the future teachers in Poltava⁵. They had a separate "room for heating meals"⁶. But even then student hid in the basements cooking on the kerosene stoves⁷. Meanwhile Cherkasy students were bravely took oil stoves and smoked the ceilings of their rooms and corridors. Over time, it was forbidden and the students began to starve⁸.

Nutrition of students improved with the supply of gas to the building of pedagogical institutions. However, this problem was rather of provincial institutions than of the central ones. The gasification of the hostels of Kiev Pedagogical Institute was finished as early as 1953. Young people could cook in the gasified kitchens and the only thing that stopped them was a lack of utensils⁹. When the dormitories were supplied with gas, all the inhabitants went through the special instruction of using gas heaters with receiving the special certificate¹⁰. Kyiv SPIFL allowed being present in the kitchen only those who had that document¹¹. The using of gas was allowed from 7 am to 11 pm. In case of violation of usage rules by at least one resident of the floor, the gas was blocked to the whole floor¹². Such control was justified because the province had only acquainted with the benefits of gas and faced troubles. For example, Uman student Ms. Zavutashok burned herself because preparing dinner because. She forgot

¹ DACHO, f. P-2087, op. 1, spr. 19, 72.

² DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr. 658, 2.

³ DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr. 659, 217.

⁴ DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr. 661, 208.

⁵ DAPO, f. R-1507., op. 1., spr. 371, 2.

⁶ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 521, 3.

⁷ Interview. Baka Mykhaylo Vasyl'ovych.

⁸ DACHO, f. P-2187, op. 1, spr. 16, 82.

⁹ DAKO, f. P-485, op. 3, spr. 6, 49.

¹⁰ Interview. Rudenko Oleksandr Panteleymonovych

¹¹ DAK, f. R-985, op. 1, spr. 283, 45.

¹² APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr. Nakazy. T.1 (2.01-31.07.1958), 59.

to close the gas tap in the kitchen and went to her room. The gas soon filled the cooking room and exploded. The young lady was became disabled¹.

At the end of the “thaw” the youth of pedagogical institutes in most had a roof over their heads and did not complain about the inability to cook. Isolated cases of lack of dining rooms (as it was in Donetsk SPI even in 1963²) were the exceptions rather than the pattern that it was in the early 1950s.

EARNING MONEY: SIN OR RIGHT?

Soviet leaders had been building socialism and communism different ways for quite a long time, seeking their “accelerated” and forms trying to give people some hope in the better future. In all this chasing of the “blue bird of the dream”, the only question remained: how most citizens of the country lived in that rash?

Professor Volodymyr Tkachenko said that the difficult financial situation of the Soviet scientists was used as a means of manipulating scientific and educational community³. But Olena Prokhorenko stated that noticing own poor financial status among scientific and pedagogical intelligentsia of the Ukrainian SSR was considered “bourgeois” and banal⁴. Let us not accept this idea. On the one hand, the well-known



Picture 15. Soviet ruble after the reform of 1961 .

¹ DACHO, f. P-2087, op. 1, spr. 26, 159.

² TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 4171, 5.

³ Volodymyr Tkachenko. “Pytannya material'no-pobutovoho zabezpechennya ukrayins'kykh uchenykh u mizhvoyennyi period (1921—1939 pp.),” *Ukrayins'kyi istorychnyy zhurnal*, no. 6 (2008), 134.

⁴ Oksana Prokhorenko, “Kharakterni rysy ta osoblyvosti povsyakdennoho zhyttya naukovopedahohichnoyi intelihentsiyi 40-50-kh rokiv XX stolittya,” *Sums'kyi istoryko-arkhivnyy zhurnal*, no. 8-9 (2010), 214.

principle of socialism “who doesn’t work – that one doesn’t eat”¹ gave to understanding: if you want to earn enough money – work². On the other, the teachers of the Ukrainian SSR opposed the practice life to it: even those who worked, not always earn enough even to feed themselves. Cherkasy assistant professor Yakiv Tevlin publicly said in 1956: “*As an ordinary communist, I disagree with the phenomenon when ministers receive a salary of 15.000 rubles, when the regional committee secretaries, in addition to wages, receive packets not deducted from income tax; some secretaries of regional committees have two cars, receiving 6-8 thousand rubles*”³.

Labor enthusiasm and working “for the idea” were not very popular in the circle of the educators. Oleksiy Zhukov, the Physiology teacher of Poltava SPI wrote a resignation letter in 1954 due to overwork because he had a salary of 1050 rubles teaching histology and even anatomy in addition to a formal course of physiology. That working load, according to his calculations, cost 1200 rubles. That’s why he wrote “*I have the lack of certainty that directorate work could guarantee the conditions for self improvement*”⁴.

The same did the engineer Mykhaylo Kalinichenko voluntarily resigning from the institution. He controlled the reconstruction of a new academic building. But he chose to leave the work because he was paid only a half of 790 rubles salary with no explanations⁵.

Such displays of “economic survival” were typical not only to the teachers of that time. As Ihor Tatarinov discovered, young people across the Ukrainian SSR were used to practices of “labor desertions” from the plants. The main reason was the wage of 400 rubles that was spent mainly on rent⁶. The teaching staff was reluctant to agree even to free lectures in the Society of Spreading the Scientific and Political Knowledge⁷. The Society of Poltava was headed by the assistant professor of Poltava State Pedagogical Institute Dmytro Stepanov. So many colleagues from the institute worked with him. Thus, in 1956, the teachers of Poltava SPI attended 26% more paid seminars (506 events) than “charitable” ones⁸. They willingly preferred paid meetings

¹ DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr. 114, 24.

² DASO, f. R-2817, op. 3, spr. 349, 38.

³ DACHO, f. P-2187, op. 1, spr. 21, 58.

⁴ APNPU, f. 2, op E, ZH, Z, spr. Zhukov Oleksiy Yevhenovych, 8.

⁵ APNPU, f. 2, op. K-1, spr. Kalinichenko Mykhaylo Danylovych, 8.

⁶ Ihor Tatarinov, “Povsyakdenne zhyttya ukrayins’koyi robitnychoyi molodi v pershe povoyenne desyatylittya”, *Visnyk Luhans’koho natsional’noho universytetu imeni Tarasa Shevchenka (istorychni nauky)*, no. 21 (2009), 109.

⁷ DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr. 35, 56.

⁸ DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr. 61, 5.

because for one such lecture the teachers received from 40¹ to 69 rubles². That was the amount that fully covered the daily expenses of the ordinary family of three. The students of the same institute being in the ranks of the “emulous members” of the Society received 27 rubles for each performance. However, the lecturers told that they were paid significantly lowered amount of money to the time and forces spent³.

If the lecturers traveled from the regional centers to areas, they received 150 rubles and more for each lecture⁴. The practice of searching money while working in the Society in spite of “noble” goals of spreading knowledge was quite widespread. Many lecturers were offered lectures at enterprises or at different institutions to which they agreed at once. But when the organizers added that the lectures were planned as free, educators often refused. Controlling institutions knew the answer beforehand: *“I have a conference, a sub-department meeting and it all ended with the fact that they would be sick and wouldn’t be able to hold a lecture at the specified time”*⁵. Of course there were cases the lecturers answered directly where there were offered at a volunteer lecture, as Poltava educator Serheev did in 1955: *“You won’t make me a slave”*⁶.

Lecturers also received payment of 3% of the final contract sum for lectures from their scientific sections⁷. For example, the employee of the Society from Poltava SPI Stepan Danishev, who was in charge of the International Relations Section, could have received quite a lot of money, if his section deducted 882 lectures just in Poltava only in 1955⁸. In addition, there even existed “Table of rewards” for lecturing teachers for propaganda lectures. So, after reading more than 50 lectures, the teacher could get the amount of 300 rubles, which was equal to the monthly salary of the technical staff of the pedagogical institute.

For example, they issued such “incentives” in the amount of 44.000 rubles in a single 1959⁹. Also keep in mind the fact that teachers received 75 rubles for reviewing each article submitted to the Society by any person¹⁰.

¹ DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr. 33, 28.

² DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr. 41, 8.

³ DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr. 30, 51.

⁴ DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr. 51, 41.

⁵ DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr. 48,90.

⁶ DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr. 50, 23.

⁷ DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr. 68, 39.

⁸ DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr. 53, 17.

⁹ DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr. 107, 18.

¹⁰ DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr. 43, 27.

Table 1

**Monetary stimulation of the speakers
of the Society of Spreading the Scientific and Political Knowledge
of Poltava Region**

Total number of lectures held	Rewards
11-20 lectures	50 rubles
21-30 lectures	100 rubles
31-50 lectures	200 rubles
More than 50 lectures	300 rubles

Source: DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr. 53.

When payment for lectures was canceled¹, college professors slightly reduced the lecture plans². Already at the end of Khrushchev era, government realized that people's "love for money" was more than an idea. "Guest workers" from the institutes so common in the Scientific societies were called "honorarium enthusiasts"³, "extortionists" and the "botchers"⁴. Educators themselves gradually began to speak against that kind of earning money, giving up their own payment in favor of the Society. That was the start of propaganda of so-called "scientific Unmercenaries"⁵. Sometimes later, in 1959, the Director of Pedagogical Institute of Poltava Mykhaylo Semyvolos said on one of the staff meetings

There are many migrant workers, or in other words, grabbers among the members of the Society who instead of carrying of the Bolshevik word to the masses turned into the migrant workers, they could travel to the country for a few days and earn couple of hundreds rubles there.

He even mentioned one of his colleagues – assistant professor Lyudmyla Medvedovska – among the examples of those "workers". She received almost half of earnings at the Institute for 2-3 trips to the country with lectures⁶. As we can see, educators knew the value of their own labor not only within the walls of the institute.

¹ DAPO, f. P-6829, op. 1, spr. 39, 11.

² DAPO, f. P-6829, op. 1, spr. 41, 21.

³ DAPO, f. P-6829, op. 1, spr. 66, 45.

⁴ DAPO, f. P-6829, op. 1, spr. 101, 52.

⁵ DAPO, f. P-6829, op. 1, spr. 127, 22.

⁶ DAPO, f. P-6829, op. 1, spr. 101, 82.



Picture 16. The student orchestra of Poltava SPI during the May Day demonstration, early 1950's

Not surprisingly that the graduates of Poltava SPI also appreciated their work and could stand up for decent pay even with force. A young teacher of a School #25 of Poltava Mr. Zhornyk in 1958 was swearing throwing class register across the class. He was shouting with disagreement when he learned that the government canceled the fee

of 200 rubles once paid for teachers for class management¹. Well, that was very considerable sum.

“Making money” in the country of socialism was also possible with the help of the amateur performances. Probably because of that fact, when the director of Poltava SPI Mykhaylo Semyvolos seriously announced about the creation of the orchestra at the institute in 1956, the deputy secretary of the Communist Party City Committee Mr. Kalashnyk warned that *“any newly formed orchestra primarily learned funeral march to earn money, and no attention was paid to other activities”*².

“SWING OF SALARIES”

They say that fed the hungry won't understand each other. That's why the staff members of pedagogical institutes produced their individual vision of reality based on the salary they brought home. Let's have a look at such a “Table of Ranks” of salary at the institutes at the time of Khrushchev's rule.

Analysis of the report documentation of pedagogical institutes of the country showed that the pay gap varied from 200 rubles to the amounts that exceeded 5.000. Thus, among 165 people of Kharkiv SPILF, 15% received the minimal wage (25 employees); only 1% (2 teachers) earned more than 5.000. Most were those holding a sum of 1 to 2 thousand rubles (34 people, 21% of the staff)³. Salaries of the rest were diverse: from 400 rubles and above⁴.

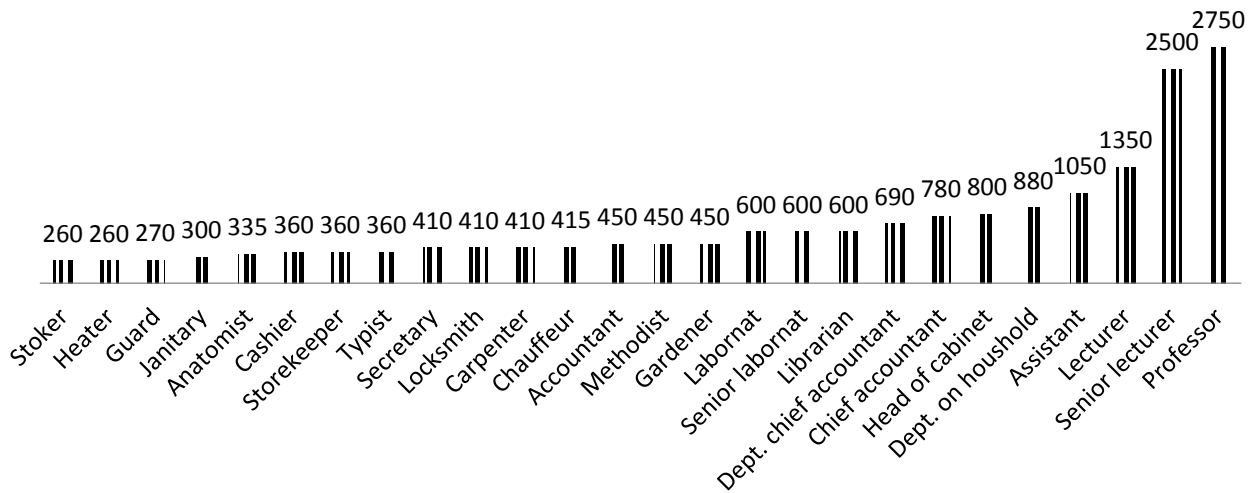
¹ DAPO, f. P-244, op. 1, spr. 3920, 103.

² DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr. 730, 49.

³ DAKhO, f. R-1780, op. 3, spr. 521, 1.

⁴ TsDAVO, f. 4621, op. 7, spr. 7, 12.

Salaries in Poltava SPI in 1953-1960

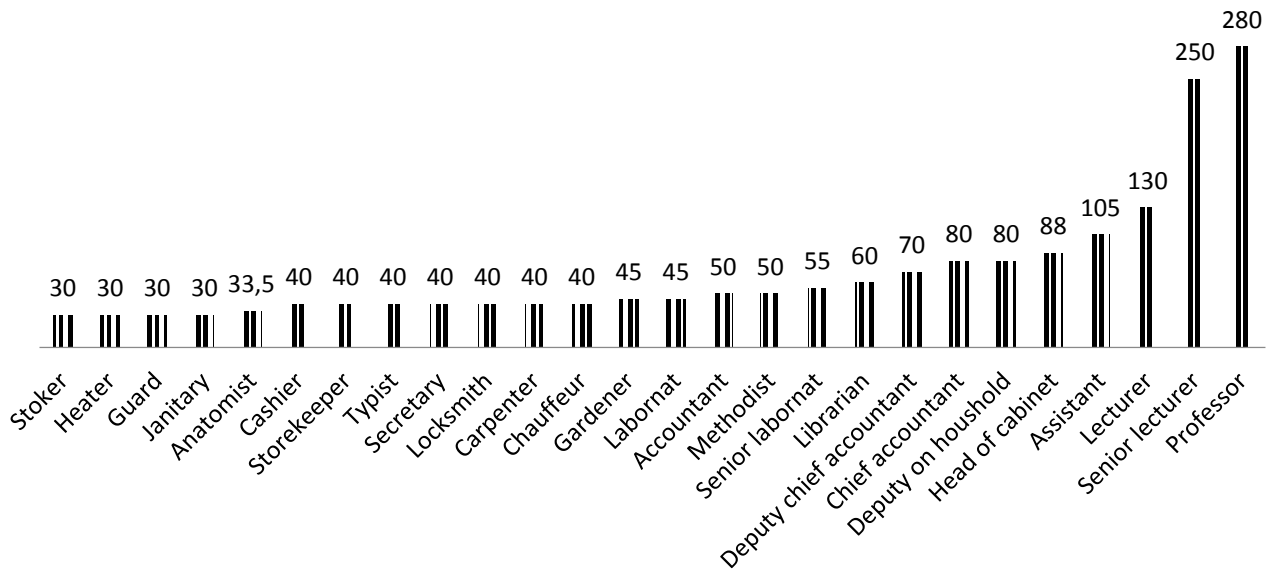


Bar chart 1. Range of salaries in the institutes of the UkrSSR in 1953-1960

Source: APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr. Nakazy from 1953 to 1960.

The content analysis of documents of Poltava SPI’s personnel for 1953-1964 biennium showed that the highest salary was of professor Pavlo Sosin. With 23 years of working experience, with a scientific degrees and titles he received 6.000 rubles, an amount that was greater than 5.000 salary of the director Mykhaylo Semyvolos. After the currency reform of 1961, the wage slightly lost zeros. However, this did not impact on the level of payments and the ratio of accruals. Comparative analysis of the maximum amount of earnings states the same parameters as before.

Salaries in Poltava SPI in 1961-1964



Bar chart 2. Range of salaries in the institutes of the UkrSSR in 1961-1964

Source: APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr. Nakazy from 1953 to 1960.

Not surprisingly, that the staff members were looking for opportunities to earn extra money “on the side” with such a significant gap in wages between workers. And they tried to earn wherever they could. Gardeners of Poltava SPI botanical garden were selling overpriced saplings and seedlings that even attracted the attention of the prosecutor’s checks¹. Craftsmen were earning with their hands. Thus, in 1954 the director of Poltava SPI even had to introduce a special throughput system to the hostel workshops because the technicians, locksmiths and carpenters began to repair appliances of the ordinary Poltavites. That irritated the authorities and was regarded as speculation².

TO BUY OR NOT TO BUY?



Picture 17. The advertisement of the new collection of shoes in the newly opened shoe-shop “Ukrvzuttya” (Ukrainian shoes) in 26, Kotlyarevskoho Street in Poltava. The advertising stressed that the store had leather, textile and rubber shod for men, women and children of all sizes in a large range. The shop also was selling hosiery, March, 1953

However, the amount of wages is not the decisive indicator of how the teachers were leaving. To estimate this, we need to look on the store shelves to find out what the teaching staff could afford working in the conditions of achieving the “bread-and-butter goals of communism”. For as Alden Whitman noted, Mr. Khrushchev liked to ask: “*And what sort of Communist society is it that has no sausage?*”³ The institute lecturers used to tell the future teachers of impoverishment of workers under capitalism⁴. But the ordinary people often complained that wages were 3-4 times lower than the subsistence level⁵.

There was a question wondering among the citizens of the USSR “Why aren’t there shoes on sale?” along with the anecdotic answer “It’s easier to catch up and overtake America barefoot”. Let’s look

¹ APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr.Nakazy. T.1 . (5.01-30.06.1959), 14.

² APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr.Nakazy. T.2 . (2.06-31.08.1954), 71zv.

³ Alden Whitman, “Khrushchev's Human Dimensions Brought Him to Power and to His Downfall”. New York Times, September 12, 1971.

⁴ APNPU, f. 1(z/v), op. 1956 (Ist. viddil) (L-T), spr. 2230. Kucherenko Pavlo Ivanovych, 20.

⁵ Mykola Breheda, Protses destalinizatsiyi i suspil’ni nastroyi ukrayins’koho naseleण्या u 1953-1964 rr. (Mykolayiv, 2010), 42.

at the problem of deficit shoes from the close. The propaganda video “The chronicles of our days” advertised the shops having changed price tags for a holiday in April 1954 because of the seventh after-war prices reduction. The announcer told about significant reduction of price on shoes. The most expensive cost 426 rubles before and 326 after. Among other products were home appliances (vacuum cleaner “Dnipro” lost in price 45 rubles falling 405 rubles in price), fabrics (crepe satin reduced the price to 20 rubles to 101 ruble per meter); and all the toys lost 15% in price¹. Indeed, shoe seems quite scarce. The ordinary worker of the institute who did not hold pre-paid lectures working in the Society “Knowledge”², cost 70-120 rubles each³, it cost at least half the wages, if not exceed it.

But the ads didn't mean the real ability to buy all these “luxuries”. Thus, the check of the outlets of Poltava by the city authorities in 1954 found that just Poltava lived in the circumstances of the total deficit. One could find men's socks only of the 48 and 50size, and one single type of women's and children's stockings all over the city. The paint on the existing jerseys was washed out right after the first wash. And the expensive shoes turned out to be defective. But skilled shoemakers still put the brand



Picture 18. The caricature criticized Kremenchuk shoe factory for supplying al Poltava region with the shoes of the worst quality but with the labels “first-class.” One of the inspections defined 1093 pairs of shoes as of the worst make out of 2100 pairs in 1962.

“first class shoes” on them. Incidentally, shoes often become the object of interest of thieves who stole them from the youth. Not only university janitors were eager to expropriate the “scarce commodity”, having direct access to the rooms and audiences. Thus, in 1963, the unknown swindler came into to dorm of Poltava SPI, posing a sister of one of the current students, V. Shcherbinina. Another student A. Kyshchenko trustingly accompanied her to the needed room, allowing taking only the shoes... and letting her go. The swindler politely thanked for the help and disappeared. A young student Kyshchenko had to return the cost of the stolen shoes to her colleague from her own modest scholarship or to buy new ones⁴.

¹ Novosti dnia. Khroniki nashikh dney. Aprel' 1954 goda. №20 (Directed by Tulub'êva Z., 1954)

² DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr.60, 3.

³ Prokhorenko, “Kharakterni rysy...”, 188.

⁴ APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr. Nakazy. T.2. (1963), 256.

Fortunately for the girl she had a way to find the shoes for the cheaper price. Many workers of Poltava shoe factory stole the skin and made their own shoes they were selling at homes for “speculative” prices¹. And people rather went to purchase “from hands” for the quality of manufacturing at home, because the official production offered substandard products.

The Commission of the City Party Committee was shocked to learn in 1961 that 37% of women and 48% of men’s shoes from Poltava factory were defective and could not be used by people². Looking at such situation city authorities obliged the companies to master the manufacture of 9 new models of clothes. Another order to somehow lighten the mood of Poltavites from the identical products was to wrap clothes aesthetically. Silk shirts were to be placed into the plastic bags, and dresses – in cardboard boxes and so on³. Not surprisingly, that with such a deficit the easier way was to look for clothes “on the side”. For example, Poltava military garrison resold to Poltavites silk shirts for 140 rubles and fall coats for women for 610 rubles from the closed stores of Voentorg⁴. The prices were too high so even if the goods were in the shops people could not afford to buy everything they wanted. The goods were lying on the shelved of the stores for months and years and people were going shop-windows near just looking at. For example, in 1954, Poltava city authorities even issued the order “to take urgent measures on the sale of goods of the release of the past years, of the old styles and models, according to the selected limits for markdowns on these products⁵”.

Let’s look at this problem from the other side. The scientists of Poltava SPI received daily travel expenses during academic travels. Total daily travel expenses payment, as we know, should theoretically cover the cost of food per one day. In 1953, the daily sum, given to the educators was 26 rubles⁶. It means that the sum spent by the teacher for food monthly would theoretically be 780 rubles. That was a half of



Picture 19. The advertisement of luxurious life of the Soviet citizens they could afford for their salaries was somehow different from the reality, 1963

¹ DAPO, f. P-12, op.1, spr. 833, 44.

² DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr. 832, 109.

³ DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr. 691, 118. 137. 162-63.

⁴ DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr. 668, 190-91.

⁵ DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr. 691, 66.

⁶ DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr.33, 14.

assistant's salary. So let's start with the cost of food to know the ratio of salaries of teachers.

Purchasing the goods from the proposed short list, the assistant of the institute would have to spend 18% of salary (186 rubles 96 kopecks). If buying them once a week, a person would spend 747 rubles 84 kopecks monthly. Again, for a lecturer with a salary of 1200 rubles this was 62% of the profit, but it was almost 2.5 times the monthly salary for a storekeeper.

Table 2
Pricing on food
in the USSR of de-Stalinization era

Product Name	Price
1 liter of vodka	40 rubles
1 kg of chocolate candies	30 rubles 68 kopecks
1 kg of Swiss Cheese	31 rubles 60 kopecks
1 kg of Pork	24 rubles 10 kopecks
Sunflower oil	20 rubles 20 kopecks
1 kg of "Irys" toffees	14 rubles
10 eggs	8 rubles 20 kopecks
1 liter of beer on tap in Poltava	4 rubles 90 kopecks
1 kilo of buckwheat	4 rubles 40 kopecks
1 kg of sprat	3 rubles 20 kopecks
1 kg of white wheat bread	2 rubles 50 kopecks
A bottle of "Apple soda"	1 ruble 40 kopecks
A loaf of bread stick	1 ruble 23 kopecks
1 kg of potatoes	55 kopecks

Source: archival cases from DAPO, f. P-12, op.1.

This only emphasizes the gap between the academic staff and support staff of the institutes. At the same time another question rises up: Did the teachers have an access to all necessary goods? Poltava of 1953 had 30 groceries and 60 stores of manufactured goods. However, the city often had the lack of fat, sugar, cereals and pasta¹. Interestingly, but while the USSR debunked anti-Party group which did not seem to believe in the possibility to overtake America for the production of meat and milk Poltava itself was not provided with milk. There were only 2 dairy shops and one milk cafe in the city in 1958. They imported 580 liters of milk a day in the best times, and

¹ DAPO, f. P-15, op. 2, spr. 1291, 107.



Picture 20. The sketch in the newspaper showed the success of the Soviet agriculture: the lorries with the refrigerators full of meat were moving to the cities from the industrial areas followed by the trucks with the trailers with milk. However, it was a good commercial and political movement in the stupid but ideologically refined race with the USA. Those trucks hardly reached people in the majority of the cities across the UkrSSR, 1963

only for those citizens who were in the list for a delivery¹. Thus, despite reach harvests regional centers sometimes had not seen potatoes for ages, having scarce supplies of carrots², cucumbers³ and onions⁴. According to the reasonable note of Nataliya Shlikhta, the word “to get” that days practically replaced the word “to buy” in the Soviet lexicon⁵. Not surprisingly, the lack of products made the educators look for their own private households. It is not known how widespread it was in different cities, but Cherkasy lecturers systematically demanded (!) to provide them with “dacha” (private kitchen gardens)⁶.

As for meat, it was seen by many people mostly only in dreams. Unscheduled checking of Poltava city committee in 1961 found that of the six names of sausages offered to the residents of the city, 4 were made with violation of all possible technological procedures, so they it was hard to call those products “sausages”⁷. Not surprisingly, sometimes Poltava shop-assistants were selling home-made sausages of higher quality from the shelves under the labels of well-known Poltava plants⁸. As acknowledged by contemporaries, sausages of Poltava slaughterhouse were mostly bought “for Bobik dogs and Murka cats and for nobody else”. And the only fish they saw was whitebait⁹. It was also a great deficit. And if it appeared at the shops of Poltava it was also got by the people with a portion of “cheating”. For machinations Nadiya Kolmohorova was imprisoned in 1953 for selling a kilo of imported fish for 4 rubles

¹ DAPO, f. P-15, op. 2, spr. 1686, 44.

² DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr. 693, 43.

³ DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr. 834, 86.

⁴ DACHO, f. R-3070, op. 1, spr. 300, 17.

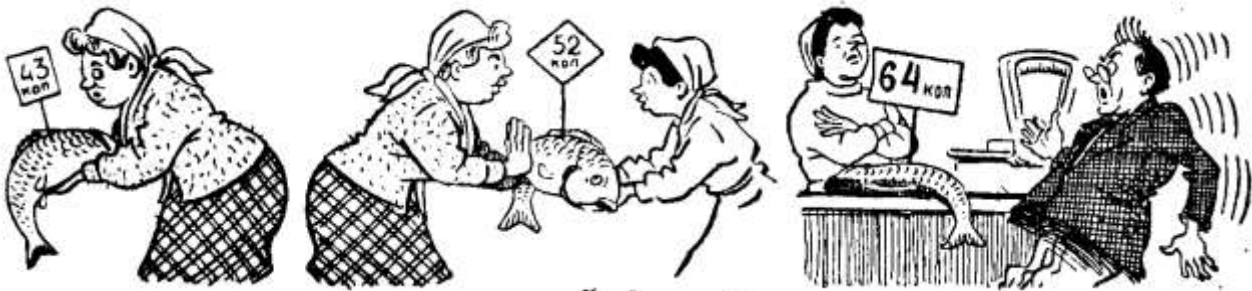
⁵ Nataliya Shlikhta, *Istoriya radyans'koho suspil'stva: Navchalnyi posibnyk* (Kyiv: Vydavnycho-polihrafichnyy tsentr NaUKMA 2010), 156.

⁶ DACHO, f. P-2187, op. 1, spr. 22, 21.

⁷ DAPO, f. P12, op. 1, spr. 832, 109.

⁸ DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr. 693, 66.

⁹ DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr. 656, 99.



Picture 21. The caricature showed the banality of the Soviet reality when people speculated on products willing to survive in the in “the country of luxury” or just with the wish to fool comrades. The sketch shows the real situation that became well-known to the Poltavites. The dining hall #3 of Poltava canteen trust received fish for 43 kopecks per kilo. The head of the eatery Mrs. Bohatyr decided not to cook it for the diners but to sell it for 52 kopecks per kilo. Her partner barmaid Mrs. Dovbusha agrees to help and was selling it for... 64 kopecks per kilogram. Thus the mark-up for one kilo was 50% when the fish finally reached the customer, 1963

instead of the stated price of 3 rubles 20 kopecks¹. With such “fish problem” it is not surprising that even the head of the botanical garden of Poltava SPI Leonid Kotsyubynskyi was secretly selling fish from the ponds of the institute².

Many outlets didn't have salt, tobacco, tea and vodka for sale. And vodka “Moskovskaya” was sold from the shelves to the Poltavites clearly overpriced. Perhaps it moved the educators to the theft of the alcohol from the barns of their Institutes, which will be discussed later³.

It was hard to get bread as well. Most bakers' shops in Poltava offered only 1-2 kinds of products. But even with such a limited diet one could remain without a piece of bread in the city. Shops never had a sufficient amount of loaves. So again, only skillful ones survived: a large amount of bread was stolen by the chauffeurs delivering bakery during the night and then they sold to the average people or simply took it home⁴. In addition the bread in fact in the beginning of 1950's was sold not by loaves but by weight. And there were cases when, instead of 2.5 rubles per kilogram skillful saleswomen asked the same sum of money for a loaf of bread that weighted less, in fact robbing the citizens of Poltava⁵. And, frankly speaking, the quality of bread was quite questionable. In 1953 it was no longer a surprise to find “a gift” in a bakery. There could be a copper wire, leftovers of caramel, knife blades, rags or glass inside⁶.

¹ DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr.668, 210.

² APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr.Nakazy. T.2. (1958), 87.

³ DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr.661, 247.

⁴ DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr.661, 134-135.

⁵ DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr.693. 66.

⁶ DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr.660,113.



Picture 22. The caricature shows the shop assistant trying to fool the customer weighing the bay leaves with the newspaper under it so the weight of the product identified by the scales is as “needed” for her but not for the Soviet purchaser, 1963

Teachers, like their countrymen, during 1950's often had an unmet demand for furniture, building materials, kitchen utensils, cotton fabrics and shoes¹. Not surprisingly, even the lack of curtains in stores led to the fact that KGB employees were forced to stop the avalanche of “anti-state talks” in the crowd of disgruntled Soviet citizens waiting for the deficit goods. And the KGB were aware themselves that such talks and the periodic appearance of anonymous letters wasn't an indicative of treason. They noted in their reports that people just talked in anger from the social problems in the country. And ideological machine continued to put pressure on the educators that were in the lines of the unpleased. So for all high school teachers' remarks about

the shortage of goods, the authorities gave the answer: “All is well”. Thus, when the staff of Kyiv SPI started the same talk they were warned that “some comrades underestimate the rise of Soviet trade”. It was hard even to “sweeten” a bitter life with candies being quite expensive. Poltava confectionery factory was just mastering the new types of glazed sweets in 1954, so the most affordable was hard to chew “Fruit toffee” for 14 rubles per kilogram. But sometimes it was sold to Poltavites for 30 rubles prices per kilo.²

City officials recognized that people lacked goods. Long queues at the shops were usually controlled by the police. But even after that they were a source of discontent. Policemen often put “their men” in the first rows or even stood themselves in the lines for scarce goods. And having bought the needed thing they left customers without control hurrying home with the purchase³. Teachers of Pedagogical Institutes did not lag behind in this speculative practice of survival. Thus, senior laboratory assistant of

¹ DAPO, f. P-15, op. 2, spr.1686, 8.

² DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr.693, 66.

³ DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr. 662, 17.

the sub-department of the basics of production of Poltava SPI Fedir Kolomiets and the technician of the same department Hrygoriy Iholnyk often used their position for buying equipment and materials in enclosed shops for their own needs¹. Otherwise, they would have to wait in long queues for a long time with an unidentified result. No wonder that in anonymous leaflets often appeared on the walls of city buildings similar to the one that was found in the city of Kremenchuk of Poltava Region:

Comrades, workers and intellectuals! Look at what is around us in cities and villages; there's nothing in stores. Jews rule everywhere. Workers' wages are cut down. Where are our products provided by the farmers? Demand higher wages and food in stores. Read and tell to a friend².

There was a reason for Poltavites to transfer the contents of this letter in the period of de-Stalinization. Institute teachers, like their countrymen, often had unmet demand for furniture, building materials, kitchen utensils, cotton fabrics and shoes³.

For the comparison of wages and prices let's look at the list of "luxury goods" that was exhibited in the state lottery in 1958:

Table 3
Pricing on luxury goods
in the USSR of de-Stalinization era

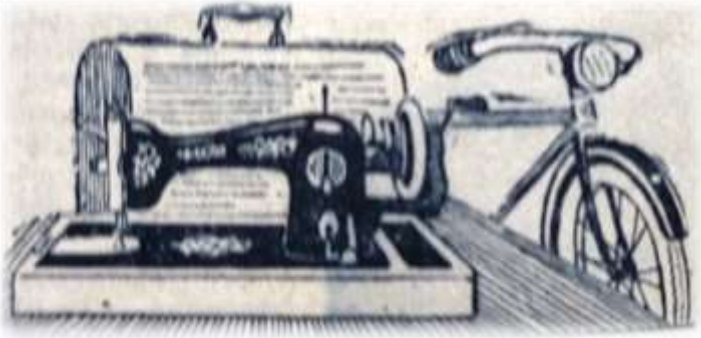
Product Name	Price (rubles)
Volga M-21	40.000
Moskvich 402	15.000
Motorcycle IZh-56	5.500
Piano	3.890
Refrigerator "Dnipro"	2.000
Radio "Dnipro"	1.650
Women bicycle	642
Men bicycle	583

Source: "Umovy hroshovo-rechovoyi lotereyi 1958 roku", Zorya Poltavshchyny, February 14, 1958, no. 32, 1.

¹ APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr. Nakazy. T.1. (4.01-30.06.1960), 1.

² DAPO, f. P-15, op. 2, spr. 1291, 72.

³ DAPO, f. P-15, op. 2, spr. 1686, 8.



Picture 23. The advertisement of the services of the artel named after the Eighteenth Party Congress with the ultra-modern than sewing machines, phonographs and bicycles of early 1950's

With such prices, even the professor would have to set aside almost 15 months the entire salary to ride on his own “Volga”. And modest librarian perhaps would never find money for a bicycle.

Not surprisingly, the doctors used to give people fake certificates of disability so they would be able to get at least free “Moskvich” from the state. And often there were cases where the same person

brought the document that didn't have the left leg one year, and the next year he could bring the document about having no right leg¹. However, in such circumstances, the Central Committee of CPSU in 1958 demanded to increase the production of jewelry and souvenirs, which should be in the demand. The regional plants tried to complete the task. Poltava educators after such changes read advertisements about the opportunity to purchase unique male and female shirts with Poltava embroidery, exquisite children's and women's gloves or gift pillowcases and napkins². No wonder that the directors of the institutes often didn't deny the facts of bribery on extra-mural departments³. The students of that department had to pay 75 rubles tuition if they did not fulfill the plan. This fact, perhaps says nothing special. Unless you consider that according to special commissions, some teachers deliberately created conditions for students to “failure the plan” because they wanted to get the money as a bribe for a guarantee check-up work⁴. The amounts of bribes varied from city to city. If Poltava, Kharkiv and Cherkasy could not find anything about the size of “fees”, associate professor of Kyiv Pedagogical Institute V. Yermak was openly accused of facilitating the entry to the institute for quite a large sum of money. Moreover, during the proceedings the size of bribes in the testimony ranged from 3 to 8.000 rubles (!)⁵.

¹ DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr.117, 115.

² DAPO, f. P-15, op. 2, spr.1686, 108.

³ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 847, 203.

⁴ DAPO, f. P-15, op. 2, spr. 1446, 53.

⁵ DAKO, f. P-485, op. 4, spr.21, 249-50.

FLATS AND HOUSES

Directors of the institutes often received reprimands from the Ministry of Education for promises they gave to their teachers to help with housing along with the payment of relocation allowance. The size of relocation allowance was usually equal to the salary. Let's suppose that the teacher had moved from a nearby regional center in the new building in the new place where he needed to purchase a minimum of furniture for normal living. Could he meet his goal only with his monthly salary in case of refusal by the Ministry to pay the aid? The prices existing in 1953 (which did not change significantly after all reductions in 1960¹) somewhat resembled modern ones.

Table 4

Pricing on Manufactured goods in the USSR of de-Stalinization era	
Product Name	Price
Soft sofas	652 rubles 80 kopecks
Wardrobe	436 rubles
Case book	377 rubles 33 kopecks
Table desk	315 rubles
Carpeting (1 m)	206 rubles
Curtains (1 m)	118 rubles 85 kopecks
Kettle	97 rubles
Simple chair	37 rubles 05 kopecks
Cup	8 rubles 10 kopecks
Plate	3 rubles

Sources: archival sources form DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1; DAPO, f. P-19, op. 1, DAPO, f. P-15, op. 2.

However, even this list was out of reach for the educators. Chairs, sofas and cabinets were equally deficient in these years as buttons, combs, toys and knitted products². To purchase this artificially formed minimum, our teacher, having moved to a new apartment in Khrushchev era, had to pay 2.251 rubles 13 kopecks. Senior lecturer of the institute fully covered all spends through monthly earnings. An assistant had to work for a few months. Cashier or secretary of the faculty needed at least six months to do that.

¹ DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr. 124, 41.

² DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr. 662, 138.



Picture 24. The advertisement of the Artel "Sport and Culture" of the city of Poltava demonstrates the imaginary ideal interior of the living room of Poltava inhabitants of the early 1950s

No wonder that people were waiting for another price reduction for even a kopeck as holidays. And the Soviet myth about improving the lives was torn at the seams in realities of Poltava. It turned out that companies of the city under the pressure of the authorities reduced the cost of food and manufacture goods most at a loss of the state. Thus, for example, the meter of the carpet after the lowering of prices in 1953 was worth 17 rubles 11 kopecks. But the cost of its production in Poltava

accounted for 18 rubles 20 kopecks¹. The economy was eating itself and people's lives didn't become better.

In this context arises the problem of housing of the lecturers of higher educational schools. About 10 million people were left outdoors in the country that was re-building after the war². The official news showed construction cranes erecting dozens of apartment buildings in the Arctic Circle³. But propaganda was different than real life in the ordinary cities of the Ukrainian SSR. Thus, Poltava city put into commission only 13% of the planned amount of residential space in 1953 from the all fund needed after the war⁴. The lecturers of Poltava SPI received only 5 apartments in 1948. And local authorities showed no support to their further attempts to start the construction of apartment building for 200 people in a special institute quarter⁵.

Some teachers in Cherkasy even in 1957 had been waiting for own flats for 11 years since the first promises to give rooms to them in 1946⁶. The same "construction

¹ DAPO, f. P-19, op. 1, spr. 99, 131.

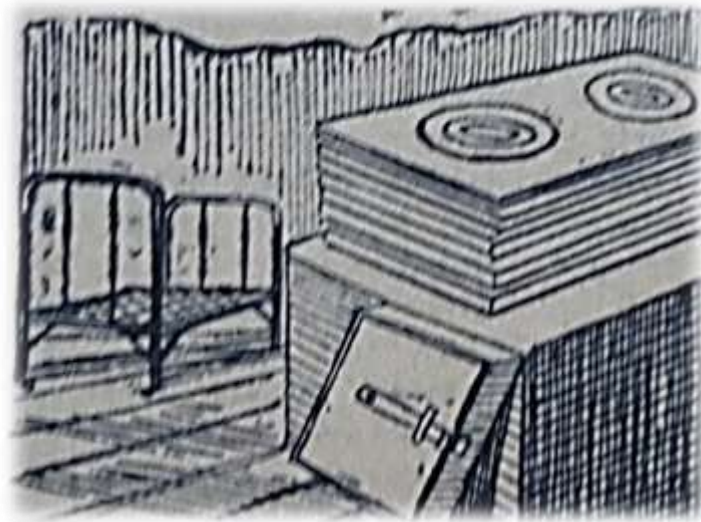
² Olena Isaykina, "Pobut mis'koho naselennya v povoyennyi period (1945–1955 rr.)." In *Istoriya povsyakdennosti: teoriya ta praktyka: Mater. Vseukr. nauk.konfer., Pereyaslav-Khmelnitsky, 14–15 travnya 2010 roku*, (Pereyaslav-Khmelnitsky, 2010),182.

³ *Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashikh dney. Avgust 1957 goda. №32* (Directed by Babushkin Ya.,1957)

⁴ DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr. 658, 159.

⁵ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 513, 11. 47.

⁶ DACHO, f. P-2187, op. 1, spr. 23, 136.



Picture 25. The advertisement of the Artel "Melalist" demonstrates the desired metal oven and the metal bed on the back of the early 1950s

petitions” were sent to the Ministry by pedagogical institutes from Stalino¹ and Kyiv²; where from 12 to 25 teachers’ families had been waiting in the “apartment queues” for years.

The big universities of the country had no such problems with flats as provincial ones like Poltava and Cherkasy SPI’s had. Thus, Kyiv State University without much hassle put into commission the construction of a new residential building for 250 employees and teachers in 1954³.

There were also some teachers living in their own apartments. It was in those places where higher schools were mostly small. For example, among 40 people from the staff of Drohobych SPI, 3 were from Drohobych and had their own flats (7.5%). Four small huts housed 16 lecturers (40%). Another 14 people dwelt in communal apartments (35%) and 4 others temporarily settled at the students’ hostel (10%). And 3 educators commuted 10 km to work from nearby Truskavets and Boryslav daily (7.5%)⁴.

Village councils used to pay for housing of the secondary school teachers⁵. But when it was about higher education, the institutes had to pay for everything without local authorities’ help. The sums were really huge. The daily cost of an apartment in the city was an average of 5.7 rubles⁶. Simple calculations says that the institute had to spend an average of 250-350 rubles (!) monthly for a one teacher. It was a sum of the salary of regular economic unit personnel.

Of course, the institutions didn’t have such a big money. So the educators had to live in small rooms with the most primitive living conditions. And if Poltava teachers had at least a corner of their own, then, for example, the teacher Uman SPI Mr. Sheptiy was forced to live in the hall (!) of students’ hostel even in 1957⁷. And homeless

¹ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1879, 5.

² TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1297, 62.

³ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 154, 54.

⁴ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1293, 6.

⁵ DAPO, f. P-15, op. 2, spr. 1659, 67.

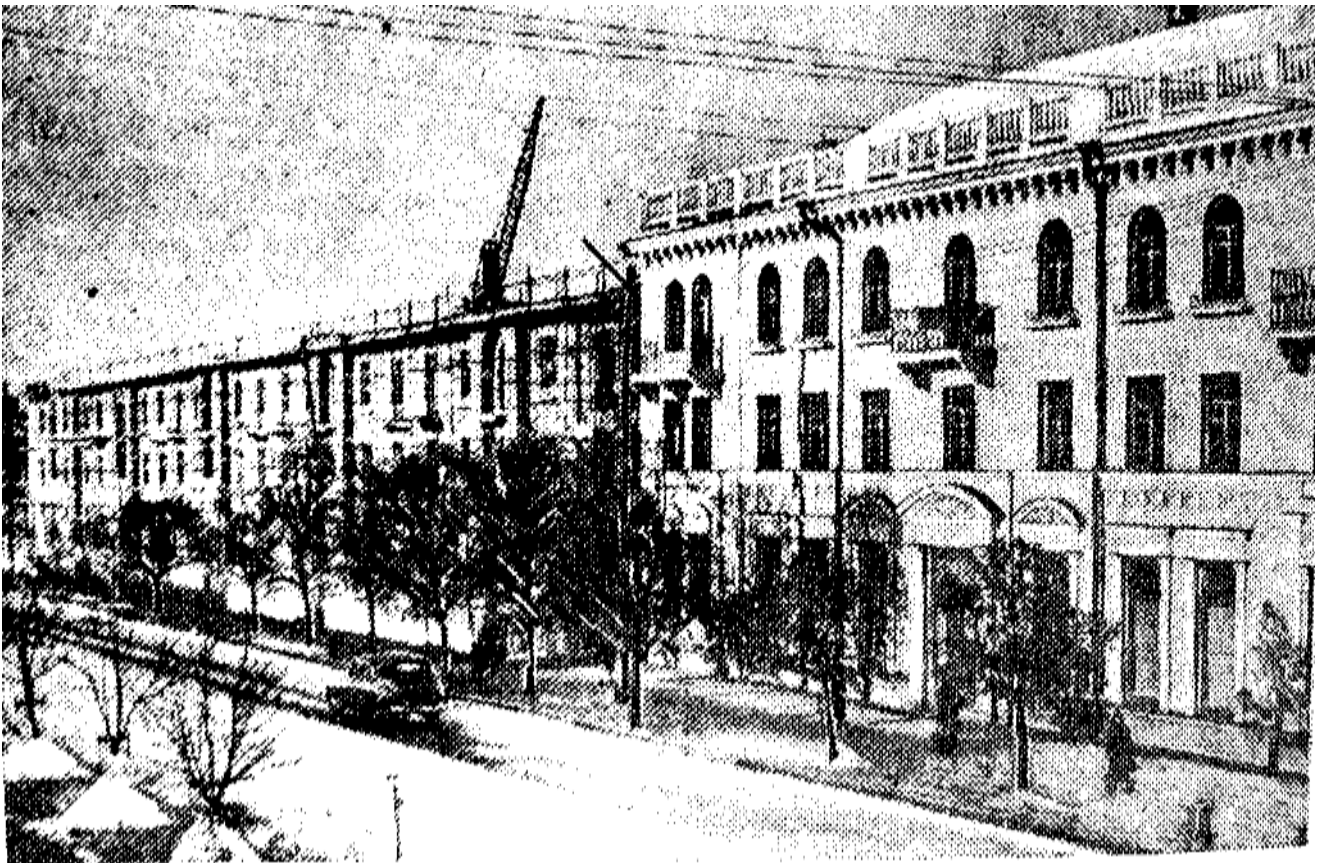
⁶ DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr. 26, 48.

⁷ DACHO, f. P-2087, op. 1, spr. 19, 72.

commandant from Kyiv SPI Mariya Holdfeld occupied the room in her dormitory having evicted young people from their small home with force fearing no party penalties¹.

Historian from Poltava Volodymyr Sokolovskyy, having problems with the apartment several times wanted, in his words, “to escape” from the institute². In 1954 his colleague, scholar Petro Padalka told in tune: *“I have never complained about the conditions of my apartment, but now I had to...”*

Teacher was not satisfied with the small, dark, damp and very incapacious room where the whole family was living³. There is little information left about the premises educators of pedagogical institute of Poltava had. But we can look at the ones owned by their colleagues from the institute of the engineers of agriculture. They lived in adobe or brick and wooden houses, in the rooms from 4.3 to 11.4 square meters. In 1955, all 14 university premises were scattered around the city. Only eight of them had

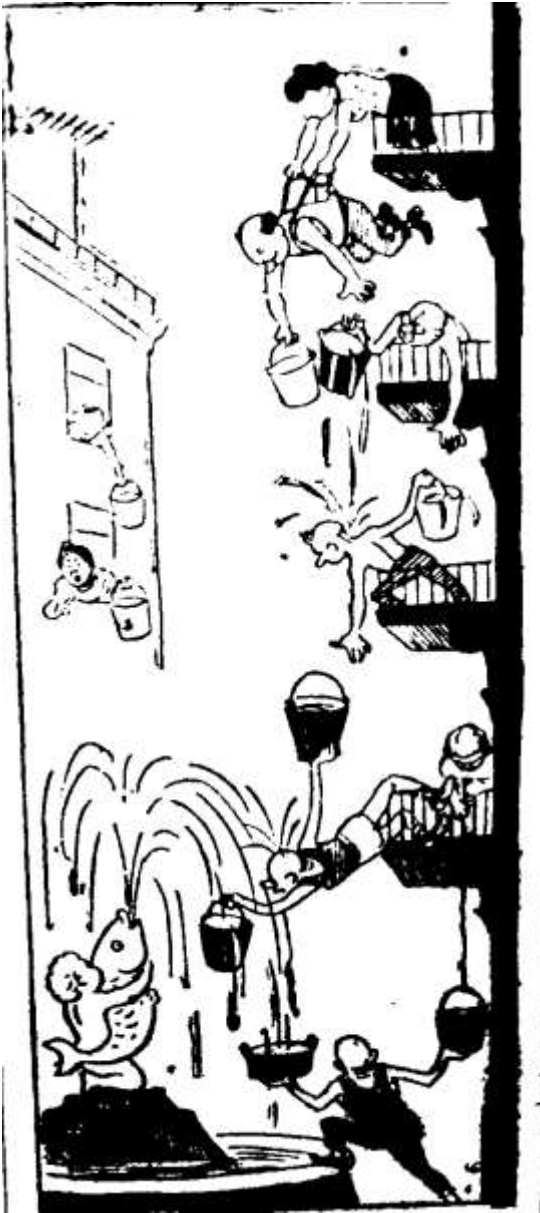


Picture 26. The photo of the central arteria of Poltava – Stalin Street restored after the Second World War. The three-storied residential building at 28 Stalin Street was to be put into operation in the first decade of December of 1953, the nearby building of a new house under the number 30-32 was to be finished the following year

¹ DAKO, f. P-485, op. 3, spr. 5, 6.

² DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4826, 44.

³ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4826, 78.



Picture 27. The caricature by V. Bakalo was named "The scene near the fountain – not from the opera "Boris Godunov" but from the reality of Poltava". It showed the problem that many even newly built houses did not have water supply and people were looking the ways to fulfill their needs in it in many ways, 1963

water supply, seven had sewerage, only one house on Shevchenko street had central heating, only 4 rooms were gasified; only three had the bathroom. it was great they all of them were electrified¹. Perhaps it is about the same conditions that Zhytomyr SPI wrote to the Ministry that they were not real flats but "just suited for use as housing"². Unlike Poltava and Zhytomyr, Cherkasy SPI in 1953 allocated some funds for repairs in the homes of its employees. However, when it came, that 6,000 rubles for repairing were not enough and the institute management needed to ask for apartments for the staff, the answer that came from the government offices was dry: there is no extra-housing³.

The directors really tried to convince the Ministry of Education to start the building of the housing for educators. For example, the director of Kharkiv SPI Ivan Dementiev initiated that for couple of times. But the statesmen didn't hear his proposals⁴. Instead there was a great amount of the hype active ads about the state loans for housing in 1950's⁵.

The Pedagogical Institute of Kharkiv finally started constructing houses for its teachers without state help on the cooperative principles in 1956. The educators of other cities soon also started building houses the same way. Students and teachers were erecting these houses themselves in their free time. However, there were frequent difficulties with receiving bricks and concrete that caused the stopping of

¹ TsDAVO, f. 4621, op. 7. spr.24, 92.

² TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1294, 6.

³ DACHO, f. P-2187, op. 1, spr. 16, 42.

⁴ DAKhO, f. R-4293, op. 2, spr. 696, 98.

⁵ Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashikh dney. Yanvar' 1957 goda. №1 (Directed by Tuzova Z., 1957)

the building process¹. There were also cases when the inventive teachers depended solely on students to solve their housing issues. For example, Cherkasy educators had been discussing for a long time the case of their colleague Mr. Firsov who used the youth for the construction of his private house².

Sometimes the dwelling problem of the teachers was solved with the usage of the academic building as happened in Poltava. there was an old two-storey building at Skovoroda street where the after-war institute was situated. When the study in the inconvenient building finished because of the restoration of the new main building, the former class-rooms were divided among university educators as flats. However, it's a mistake to think that teachers received luxury apartments. The old building hosted 18 lecturers with families. Residential area was quite different. So, assistant Lymar got the smallest room of 4.14 square meters despite the fact that sanitary norm was 9square meters)³, the largest room belonged to the mentioned above Volodymyr Sokolovskyy (39.5 square meters)⁴.



Picture 28. The sketch by V. Bakalo shows the newly-built houses in Zygin street in Poltava showing the fulfillment of the promises of the party to solve the housing problem of the Soviet citizens, 1963

¹ DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr.769, 207.

² DACHO, f. P-2187, op. 1, spr. 23, 136.

³ Oksana Prokhorenko, "Naukovo-pedahohichna intelihentsiya yak sotsial'no-profesiynny prosharok v 1945–1955 rr." In *Narysy povsyakdennoho zhyttya radyans'koyi Ukrainy v dobu nepu (1921–1928 rr.)*, no. 2 (2010), 192.

⁴ APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr.Nakazy. T.3 (1955), 119-99zv.

Note that this was quite fair distribution for that time. For there still were actual norms of living space per working person in Poltava in 1953 listed in the Resolution №1483 of the Council of People's Commissars of the UkrSSR and the Central Committee of CP(b)U of 10 November 1944. According to them, one person could claim 3.75 square meters¹, so the distribution of living space at Poltava SPI was still quite luxurious. Over the years, the proportion for one person didn't increase. So when assistant of Poltava SPI Borys Kuznyak moved to another apartment from that old house, his previous private flat was turned... into a dormitory (!) for teachers, where four educators (!) were housed after only one moved out². Not surprisingly, that with such complexities in solving the housing problem the director Mykhaylo Semyvolos put a big question marks in front of one of the points of the order of the Ministry of



Picture 29. The caricature showed the way some deficit good came into the houses of the Soviet people when “to get” was even faster than “to buy”. The situation debated under the sketch happened with the head of Poltava department of the division of the workers' Supplies of the Main office of Geology of the UkrSSR. He offered 19 refrigerators “Dnipro”, “Oka”, “Kama”, “Saratov” and “Ukrayina” to people who were close-nit to him but not to the workers, 1963

Education, with which it pledged the director to give housing for students of Certification training all over the region. He just could not do that having nowhere to house his own employees³.

There were very common examples of the “housing speculation”. Quite a long time student Emma Zilberman from Poltava SPI was under the influence of party penalty for his activity. He demised his own home to fellow-immigrants from Nizhyn who moved to Poltava due to the reformations of the system of education. he overestimated the ability of students to pay the rent so the fact became known to the wide masses⁴. Little bit different situation occurred in Uman SPI. The student V. Kostenko “didn't dare to house the students because he could not

¹ DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr.661, 244.

² APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr.Nakazy. T.2. (2.07-30.12.1962), 217.

³ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 655, 110.

⁴ DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr.750, 99.

take money for living in his apartment”. Instead, in 1958, he proposed Ms. Zabolotna to live with him “keeping the order in the apartment”. But very soon he forced her to the intimacy. But the same cohabitation played a cruel joke with the student Kostenko when he fell apart with ex-lover. The smart lady started to claim her right onto the living space. Uman People’s Court recognized her right to reside in the same flat for the forced cohabitation with the student actually turned her into the common law wife. And the young man lost the solemn right of ownership on his poor 15 square meters of the flat including the corridor because of sex¹.

After the years of the rebuilding, the cities tried to expand the housing stock with the help of low-cost, concrete-paneled or sometimes brick three- to five-storied “Khrushchyovkas”². But it was not enough. The Directorate of Poltava SPI noted that they lost 10 prominent lecturers desiring to work at the institute because higher school had nowhere to house them³. Uman SPI had to recruit local secondary school teachers because of similar problems. They didn’t have sufficient experience and education for lecturing; however, they had where to lay their heads at night⁴. The same way this problem was solved by Stalino⁵ and Cherkasy⁶ Pedagogical Institutes. The merger of the institutes in the late 1950’s only deepened the housing problem. For example, teachers of Dnipropetrovs’k SPILF moved to Odesa, retaining jobs, but without apartments⁷.

DISMISSALS, PENSIONS AND FIRINGS

The question of dismissal of teachers was as painful as the housing problem. The reports of the institutes show quite extensive redundancy process. Thus, they had to fire 75% of masters and specialists in workshops and laboratories of Kharkiv SPI in 1962 because of lack of funds. That inflicted a huge damage to polytechnic education⁸. We also can’t go by the facts of the deductions from wages. It could be done because of the criminal actions or other illicit deeds. The bright example of that kind of cases was a story of a driver of Poltava SPI Yuriy Mamay happened in 1953. He was fired for being absent at the working place during the working day for the “illegal undermining” on the official car. However, before that he was forced to pay a fine in

¹ DACHO, f. R-1418, op. 2, spr. 206, 156-57.

² Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashikh dney. Iyun' 1957 goda. №26 (Directed by Belyaev V., 1957)

³ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 471, 2.

⁴ DACHO, f. R-3070, op.1, spr.87, 4.

⁵ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1879, 8.

⁶ DACHO, f. P-2087, op. 1, spr. 26, 8.

⁷ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1876, 4.

⁸ DAKhO, f. R-4293, op. 2, spr. 1038, 44.

the amount of missed hours – 36 rubles 72 kopecks for two working hours. With the amount that the perpetrator had to pay, it appears that the working hour of the driver at the university was estimated at 18 rubles 36 kopecks¹. Remembering that driver of the institute received 415 rubles a month; the picture appears to be quite strange. For that sum of money he should work no more than 22 hours a month. Otherwise the amount of the fine was too overpriced.

Of course, the hourly wage of teachers never reached those 18 rubles, which the driver was fined. In the post-reform times an hour of teacher's work estimated at 50 kopecks² (which was equal to 5 pre-reform rubles). Perhaps it was because of low salaries that teachers were looking for opportunities to earn living cheating "so generous" state. In Poltava SPI, there were cases when hourly lecturers added a large number of hours that they hardly attended at the university. Most complaints were connected with the music teachers. They used to mark not only hours of attended period, but also break time motivating that they were working without recesses. One of the most striking examples was the work of the violinist Volodymyr Kulbabchenko. Besides "standard" work during the breaks, he had been writing down to the report



Picture 30. One of the reasons for dismissals was the violation of working schedule. Many teachers were late to work as well as their students. 1963

¹ APNPU. f.3,op. 1, spr.Nakazy. T.2 (1956), 191.

² APNPU. f.3, op. 1, spr.Nakazy. T.1(1963), 153.

individual lessons with a student Valentyna Roman for a year, although she was on maternity leave¹.

A lot of former teachers were not left in the street. They were taken “under the wing” by the city departments of public education. They were rapidly hired by secondary schools. Sometimes they were let to read hourly lectures at the correspondence departments of the institutes².

Some fired ones could fight for their working place to the last. They could even go to people’s courts as Poltava lecturer Aaron Matyukov did³. Others went farther. For example, once fired senior lecturer Sofiya Kahan from Poltava SPI returned to work after visiting the ministerial offices in Kyiv. She was strong enough to receive what she wanted. The director offered her to come back as an assistant. But she refused and sent a telegram saying that she would not return to work from Kyiv until she received the position of a senior lecturer. With the rest, the director Mykhaylo Semyvolos gave up under the pressure of the Minister. Apart from the fact that Sofiya Kahan was resumed at requested position, the institute had to pay her money for the “forced twenty-day absence”⁴. Of course, there were frequent cases of resignations and transfers to other universities all over the Soviet Union from Odesa or Kyiv to Tashkent⁵.

We cannot avoid the fact that the fired teachers often refused to work at the places offered to them instead of the pedagogical institutes. Sometimes these were rather prestigious institutions. So, the candidate of History Mykola Spotar refused to work in the Far Eastern Polytechnic University. He chose to receive less at permanent part-time work in the nearby Kyiv Pedagogical Institute. And his unemployed colleague Hryhoriy Oliynyk refused to work at the Department of Marxism-Leninism in Molotov Polytechnic Institute⁶.

Another question to cover is pension provision. In many cases it easily was turned to the political rather than social problem. For example, when Poltava citizens were visiting party meetings on the debunking of so-called anti-Party group of G. Malemkov, V. Molotov and L. Kaganovich. Then, some working woman Andreyeva said loudly, “*I will retire soon, but I'm not afraid of old age, because I can live well on my pension*”⁷.

¹ APNPU, f.3, op. 1, spr.Nakazy. T.1 (1961), 101.

² APNPU, f.2, op. K-1, spr.Kashkalda Kostyantyn Kyrylovych, 30.

³ APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr.Nakazy. T.2 (1958), 153.

⁴ APNPU, f. 2, op. K-1, spr.Kahan Sofiya Khrysanfivna, 42-43.

⁵ DAK, f. R-985, op.1, spr. 155, 15.

⁶ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 170, 49.

⁷ DAPO, f. P-15, op. 2, spr.1635, 4.

To find out what was understood under “well”, we need to know the real sum of the “wealth”. Educators belonged to the category of those receiving a higher pension. However, the term “enhanced pension” was quite broad: the sum received varied from 300 to 1 000 rubles per month¹. However, there were cases when pension had to be demanded with a great challenge. At one time the assistant of Marxism-Leninism sub-department of Poltava SPI Ivan Boyko was dismissed from the university at the age of 59 having no pension. So he wrote a letter to the director Mykhaylo Semyvolos in desperation asking to let him read at least a few hours of lectures a year at the university. These hours were needed for calculating the old age pension. However, he was answered that there were no vacant hours².

STUDENTS AND THE MONEY

The welfare of the students at the beginning of de-Stalinization also left much to be desired. It could easily be describe by the words of Viktor Prylutskyi talking of student life in 1920 as of “constant struggle for survival”³. This is evident even from the process of paying of tuition fees by the institutes of the country. Thus, 36 pedagogical institutes of the Ukrainian SSR had the debt of 173.700 rubles for payment in 1953. The future teachers of Poltava owed 34% (!) of this amount (58.700 rubles).



Picture 31. The student of Poltava SPI Mykhaylo Baka earns extra-money painting Lenin's portraits, early 1950's

Taking in the account that the yearly tuition fee was 150 rubles⁴, it appears that there were 392 people at the institute having hard time with such payments. Perhaps that's the answer on the question why the students reacted so happily on Khrushchev's revocation of tuition fees in 1956⁵.

We can speak about half-starving life of students of that time. It is confirmed by frequent appeals of the young

¹ DAPO, fP-12, op. 1, spr.668, 317.

² APNPU, f. 2, op.B-2, spr.Boyko Ivan Mykolayovych, 13.

³ Viktor Pryluts'kyi, “Material'no-pobutovi umovy zhyttya studentstvar adyans'koyi Ukrayiny 1920-kh rr.,” In *Ukrayins'kyi istorychnyy zhurnal*, no. 3 (2008), 110.

⁴ APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr.Nakazy. T.1. (22.01-30.06.1953), 90.

⁵ APNPU, f. 1, op. 1956 (A-K), spr. 2242. AltynYuriyIllich (1951-1956), 57.

to the directors to provide work at the institutes during their studying. A striking example is a third year student of Poltava SPI Lyudmyla Hurtova. She was forced to write a letter to the director of the higher school asking to hire her at least as part-time laboratory assistant. This at best could give her 300 rubles per month. The girl had no means of livelihood. Her rural family had no money as the most of families of the country living only on work on the ground in the countryside of the Ukrainian SSR¹. Lyudmyla didn't even have winter clothing and shoes. To the credit of the director Mykhaylo Semyvolos, he supported her request². However, the Ministry of Education banned such a recruitment of students by the institutes beyond the exclusive permission of the Minister in May of 1963³.

Analysis of the current documentation of the institute showed that young people were often exempted from tuition fees. The largest number of those ones was the students who came from poor families (47%). Educators or their children were at the second place (22%) followed by students with disabilities received during the World War II (17%). And the last place was of those who completed academic plans successfully (14%)⁴. Not surprisingly, that there were cases of cheating the state for saving money. Thus, 9 students in Poltava in 1954 forged documents, impersonating for teachers to obtain places and scholarships in Poltava SPI. The student of the Natural Faculty Nataliya Svyts had been applying for exemption from tuition fees as the daughter of the father deceased in the war for 2 years. But it was a fraud – her father was safe and sound. When the truth was revealed, the young “parricide” had to pay the entire sum of studying fee for two years⁵.

Young people often applied for financial assistance from the institutes. This amount of support ranged from 50⁶ to 200 rubles in 1956⁷. The amounts spent by the institutes for these purposes were quite large. Thus, Cherkasy Pedagogical Institute gave 5.000 rubles of the financial assistance in 1953⁸. If we take the minimum and maximum sizes of help, it turns out that it could help from 25 to 100 students per year. But it varied from region to region. Zaporizhzhya SPI gave exactly the half of the sum Cherkasy institute offered to its students⁹.

¹ Volodymyr Havrylov, “Sil's'ka osvita na Chernihivshchyni v pershe pislyaokupatsiyne desyatylittya: 1943 – 1953 rr.,” *Siveryans'kyy litopys*, no. 5 (2009), 70

² APNPU, f. 2, op. H-1, spr Hurtova Lidiya Omelyanivna, 2.

³ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 843, 31.

⁴ APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr. Nakazy. T.1. (22.01-30.06.1953), 212.

⁵ APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr. Nakazy. T.2. (2.06-31.08.1954), 65-67.

⁶ APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr. Nakazy. T.2. (3.07-20.12.1956), 231zv.

⁷ APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr. Nakazy. T.3. (5.08-28.12.1957), 89.

⁸ DACHO, f. P-2187, op. 1, spr. 16, 26.

⁹ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1295, 13zv.

There were cases when the financial aid was used not to help those in poverty. In 1959, it turned out that the student of Poltava SPI V. Konoplya often received money from the institute, stating that he had no money for food. However, all money to the last kopeck was spent on booze. And that was “during the national struggle with alcoholism”¹.

SCHOLARSHIPS

There were also those who received scholarships for studying. But their number sometimes was not big enough. Particularly, the teachers of Kyiv SPI were very surprised to learn that less than the half of their students received money. They were sure that young educators had really better financial status². But there were exceptions. Among 1.173 students of Poltava SPI 935 (78%) received stipends in 1957. Each student had 258 rubles during each of eight “scholarship months”³.

The Newsletter of the Ministry of Education from 01 September, 1956 set a size of scholarships for students of pedagogical universities in a range from 220 to 362 rubles. It depended not only on studying progress, but also on the course of study. The “salary” of youth could increase 1.3 times during the years at the institute⁴. The sums were quite decent:

Table 5

**The size of the scholarship of the students in pedagogical institutes
of the Ukrainian SSR in 1956-1957 academic year**

Course of studying	Main scholarship	Overpay to the “excellent students”	Scholarship of the “excellent students”
I	220 rubles	55 rubles	275 rubles
II	240 rubles	60 rubles	300 rubles
III	265 rubles	66 rubles 25 kopecks	331 rubles 25 kopecks
IV	290 rubles	72 rubles 50 kopecks	362 rubles 50 kopecks

Sources: DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 517

¹ APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr. Nakazy. T.1. (5.01-30.06.1959), 25.

² DAKO, f. P-485, op. 3, spr. 5, 106.

³ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 607, 3.

⁴ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 517, 42.

Not surprisingly, sometimes there were cases when young people were looking for a way to get state benefits in dishonest way. Future teachers could steal neighbors' student ID cards to get someone's scholarship then¹.

But 362 rubles were not the limit. There also were representatives of neighboring countries and students of brotherly communist parties among young people. They received individual scholarships appointed by the state. Thus, in 1956, the foreigner Kang San Ha, having transferred to Kyiv SPIFL from Moscow, received 500 rubles of scholarship without taxes, and being free from tuition fees according to the special ministerial orders².

Stalin scholarship had remained the most honorable and the biggest reward for the excellent studying for quite a long time³. It was so until the Ministry of Education of the Ukrainian SSR "downgraded" it to a number of scholarships of prominent figures in 1960. The size of Stalin scholarship received by two or four students yearly in one institution was as big as 600 rubles. The same amount was paid to the fellowships of V. Korolenko, A. Pushkin and other scholarships since 1960. This sum changed to 60 rubles after the monetary reforms in 1961⁴. The most honorable reward of 1960's was Lenin scholarship⁵. It reached 800 rubles. After the reform of 1961 – 80 rubles.⁶ There were cases that high scholarships were truly "personal" when they were issued to the favorites of the directorate. That, in particular, was the "sin" of managers in Kharkiv SPIFL⁷.

There was a talk among the students during the Khrushchev "thaw" that the system of awarding of scholarships was wrong. The director of Rivne SPI Ivan Oplakanskyi noticed that the "satisfactory mark" gave the right to receive the diploma of a teacher but it deprived opportunity to get the stipend⁸. Because of the frequent "supplications" and "extortions" of scholarships by student, the director of Zaporizhzhya SPI Mr. Shokalo offered the differentiation of scholarships speaking at the meeting of rectors of universities in 1960. According to the proposal, scholarships should have been awarded to all young teachers, equally if they had the mark "satisfactory" (150 rubles), "good" (180 rubles) or "excellent" (350 rubles)⁹.

¹ APNPU, f. 3, op. 1954, spr. Nakazy. T.2. (2.06-31.08.1954), 67.

² DAKO, f. R-985, op. 1, spr. 282, 104.

³ DASO, f. R-5369, op. 1., spr. 139, 51zv.

⁴ APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr. Nakazy. T.2. (1.11-30.12.1961), 95.

⁵ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 699, 29-31.

⁶ APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr. Nakazy. T.1. (2.01-30.06.1961), 103.

⁷ DAKhO, f. R-1780, op. 3, spr. 526, 159.

⁸ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1878, 39.

⁹ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 244, 131.

“THE DESIRE AND AGREE TO WORK...”

Was it hard to find a job to a young specialist in the country of social justice? Let's look at the number of teacher prepared in the Ukrainian SSR those days. Poltava Pedagogical Institute itself had prepared 15.000 teachers for only 50 years – from 1914 to 1964. They gave “a ticket to life” to 562 teachers only in 1964¹. Don't forget that there were 36 institutes similar to Poltava one on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR not counting teacher training schools. Not surprisingly, that Oleksandr Lohvynenko stated the surplus of teachers' staff in the country during the years of the “thaw”². But that was not true about the employment of young teachers at the beginning of de-Stalinization. On the eve of the “thaw” institute graduates traveled far beyond their native regions, getting work from the state³. However, we can talk about the appearance of that problem already from the middle of the 1950's. Kyiv teachers told that about 40% of their graduates had to work not as they were appointed⁴. For example, Tamara Irdanska, having graduated from Kharkiv, could not settle down at any of the schools of the town of Konotop not looking at the fact she had targeted referral to job⁵. She managed to get a job on a specialty in Poltava SPI sometimes later. But 22 of 80 graduates of Kharkhiv State Pedagogic Institute of 1961 (almost a third!) were doing jobs not connected with the specialty received in the institute⁶.

Young people didn't go to the places of professional distribution of several reasons. The main ones were the marriage to officers, entering of the graduate school and Party and Komsomol work. Diseases as reason of not-going were at the last place (only 2 from all 121 graduates of the University of Kyiv were sick so stayed at home while others went to the appointed places⁷). Similar data can be seen from the analysis of the distribution of students of Poltava SPI of 1954 graduation year. Thus, 154 people from 169 went to work in Poltava, Vinnytsya, Zaporizhzhya, Mykolayiv, Khmelnytskyi and Donetsk regions. However, 8 didn't follow the targeted referral to jobs because of the marriage to Soviet army officers, 5 were spouse of teachers or officials. One person started to work at the civil service and one more – in higher education⁸. There was a legal way not to follow the state directions. You could start

¹ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4837, 189.

² Oleksandr Lohvynenko, “Pidhotovka vchyteliv ta zabezpechennya nymy shkil u 1950-1960 rokakh,” in *Ukrayina XX st.: kul'tura, ideolohiya, polityka*, no. 15 (2009), 203.

³ DAPO, f. P-15, op. 2, spr. 1366, 72.

⁴ DAKO, f. P-485, op. 4, spr.15, 113.

⁵ APNPU, f. 2, op. I, spr. Irdans'ka Tayisa Andriyivna, 3.

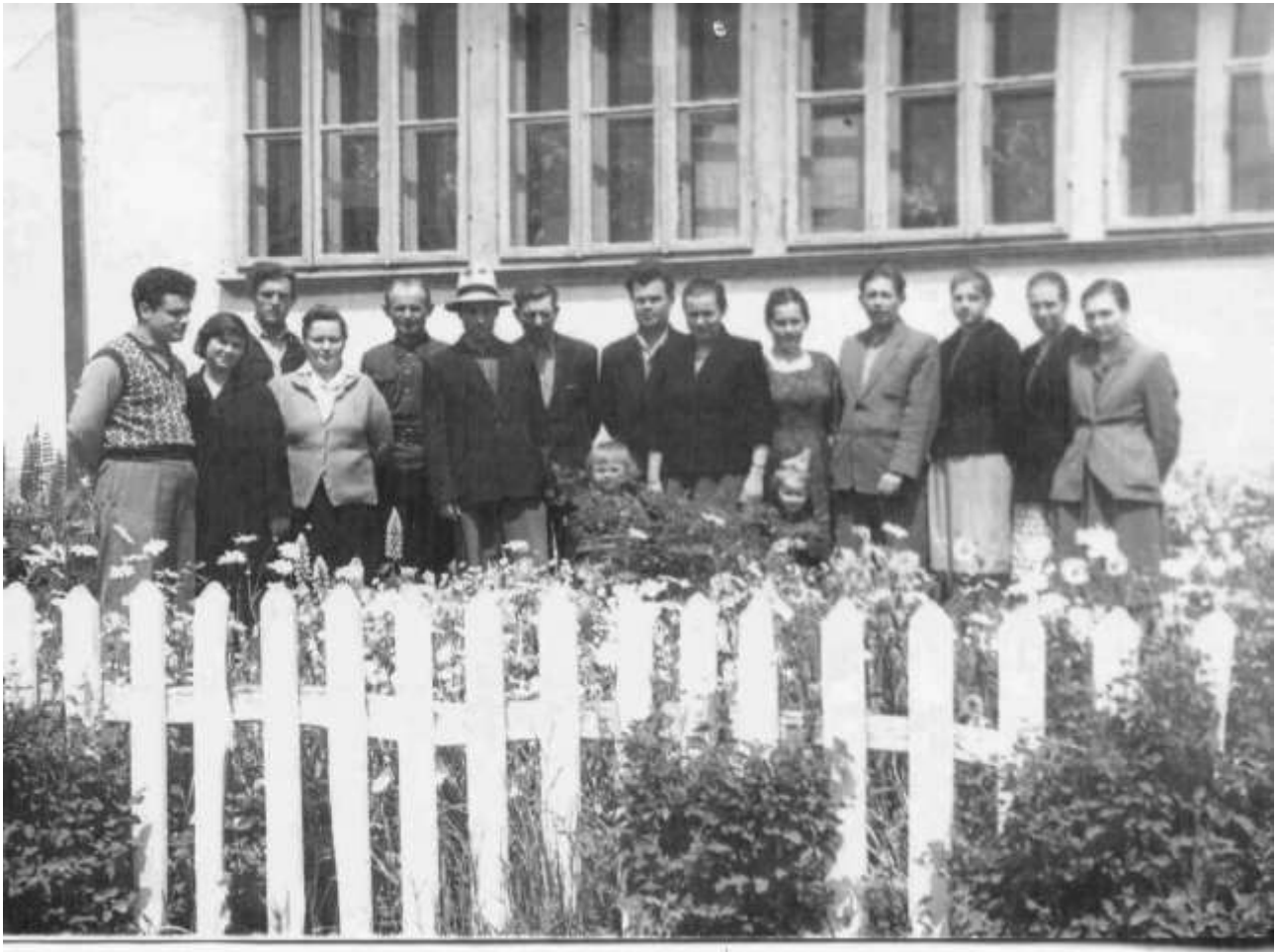
⁶ DAKhO, f. R-4293, op. 2, spr. 1038, 126.

⁷ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 140, 28.

⁸ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 458, 7.

your own job search when the employers appointed by the Ministry refused to provide housing to you as a young professional. Such precedents occurred quite often¹. The Ministry itself also didn't do enough to employ young people after graduation. Sometimes the young teachers did not travel to the place of the future work because the state didn't give the travel money for getting there. So it was particularly with the graduates of Odesa SPIFL in 1953² as well as graduates of Odesa Pedagogical Institute³.

Besides "financial sclerosis", the Ministry itself often worked, dangling the sleeves. Sometimes the center sent people to the regions with the strange culture, language and mentality even though everything was "fraternal" and "common" in the USSR. Thus the students of Stalino Pedagogical Institute were sent to Yerevan in Armenian SSR without knowing the Armenian language⁴. Teachers of Chernivtsi



Picture 32. Students of Poltava SPI during the teaching practice in secondary school of the village of Buderazh of Zdolbuniv district in Rivne region., early 1960's

¹ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, opr. 105, 274.

² TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 105, 73.

³ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1876, 49.

⁴ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 105, 257.

criticized officials for they often gave job referrals without even checking whether those regions needed so many teachers or not. There were cases when many schools of Odesa¹, Ternopil, Zakarpattya and the Crimea refused to employ young professionals². Such happened with the graduates of Odesa SPI Ronis, Sokolova and Savchenko left without jobs in the Crimean region. And the situation was very prosaic – the lack of working places. The fact that young people could not get to their destination places was no better by the local officials than by their colleagues in the center. Thus happened when the management of Poltava SPI was explaining to Acting Minister of Education Mr. Myrhorodskyi the fail of fulfilling the demand of schools for teachers in 1958. They were to ask for procreator's help searching for the graduates who had not come to work. The directorate found out that the majority of young people did not reach the places of destination not because of their bad will. They were just sent to other rural districts with lack of school staff by local departments of education without noticing the center about it³. For example, Tamara Berezkina didn't reach Uzbek SSR having settled in one of the villages of Hadyach district in Poltava region and Zoya Dovzhenko instead of distant Amur region of Russian SFR found herself in Zhytomyr region. Of course, they were "asked" to return the travel money which the state politely issued to the young professionals in the hope that they would join the ranks of teachers where the center needed.

Sometimes students resisted the state distribution and did not want to work where they were told to by the government. Poltava student A. Ternova refused to go according to the distribution process to Khmelnytskyi region. The girl was soon terrified that by refusing to work in the village she would not be allowed to pass the state examinations and then would be brought to justice in the folk courts⁴. Such cases of "immoral acts" were pretty common in the Crimean, Sumy⁵ and Kharkiv institutes⁶. So, the student Shchur from Kharkiv State Pedagogic Institute pretended to be sick being sent to Sumy region, hoping to get rid of job in the village. And his institute colleague Mayev resorted to such manipulation in Poltava. Both cherished hope to be sent back to their native Kharkiv in case of "rejection" them as improper specialists. However, their dreams were not to come true⁷. Incidentally, Kharkiv Pedagogical Institute was among the leaders of youth without referral jobs. At least 86 young

¹ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1876, 49.

² TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 105, 228, 258.

³ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 648, 2.

⁴ APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr. Nakazy. T.1. (3.01-29.05.1954), 169.

⁵ DASO, f. R-2817, op. 3, spr. 225, 109.

⁶ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 170, 23.

⁷ DAKhO, f. R-1780, op. 3, spr. 483, 27.

teachers refused to go with the appointments in 1954, and many of them were not only officers' wives, but those who openly declared: "Only Kharkiv!"¹

Young people were not willing to go to the village at all, looking for ways to avoid it. Such cases were in Kherson² and Kyiv, where students pretended being ill³. Cherkassy teacher Hryhoriy Markov noted with regret that even tsarist teachers eagerly went to the most remote corners of the country but not the Soviet ones⁴. Such facts made the lines of Luhans'k report sound ironically: "*All the students expressed their desire and agreed to go to work wherever they were sent*"⁵. It was good that they were sent to the surrounding areas.

However, the later oversaturation of labor market with teachers led to the fact that there were cases where even the village was not able to welcome young professionals. Thus, in 1959, the deputy head of the Poltava Regional Department of Education S. Samsonenko sent a letter to the state universities of the Ukrainian SSR, warning that the region could not provide jobs for graduates of 1959. Instead of 392 jobs the region was able to offer only 74. The increase of the number of classes was not expected even the next academic year. But even when the graduates agreed to work in schools of the region, no one promised young professionals the full time job. They were even given teaching load of two or three different subjects. The reaction of the Ministry on such statements was decisive. The information of Mr. Samsonenko was called a serious shortcoming in work, and however, was denied⁶.

CONCLUSIONS

The educational process in higher educational school depended on the post-war adjustment of material resources of the country as well as of the regions and institutes. The returning of the property lost during the war and the rebuilding of the institute s' destroyed premises had mostly ended by 1956.

The lack of a stable strengthening of the material-technical base of the institutes funded by the State led to the rise of the movement for self-catering. The problem of the premises that arose at the beginning of de-Stalinization because of the post-war crisis remained the same at the end of the "thaw" because of the increased number of students. The state funding of the resettlement of the students in private apartments was gradually reducing from 1953 to 1964. Authorities helped with the reconstruction of

¹ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 140, 56.

² TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 141, 121.

³ DAKO, f. P-485, op.3, spr.2, 91.

⁴ DACHO, F. P-2187, op. 1, spr. 23, 9.

⁵ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1872, 5.

⁶ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 655, 60.

hostels, which, however, were not enough with the increase of the enrollment to the higher school.

Every day life of young people had changed substantially over the years of de-Stalinization, too. The institution check-ups often stated the unsanitary of premises and the violation of moral standards at the beginning of the “thaw”. But after, the hostels of institutes were recognized as model communities of communist life thanks to self-catering at the end of the period. The problem of catering students was solved by annexing canteens to the buildings of the institutions. If they couldn’t do it – by involving the surrounding dining facilities to feed youth with hot dinners. The gasification of youth hostels completed by the end of 1950’s improved the nutrition of students. Financial living standards of young people were quite low at the beginning of the “taw”. It pushed students to search for undermining in the walls of universities as well as on the side. But then the Ministry of Education banned the employment of young people in the institutes. Scholarships help to ease the financial burden. They differed depending on the rate and quality of education with the system benefits. Among them were the exemptions from tuition fees based on social origin, state of health etc.). Youth employment was held through targeted referral, which created a problem of “glut of labor market” in mid 1950’s. There were cases of avoidance of work according to the state distribution – both formal (marriage, absence of housing etc.) and illegal (hiding and simulations, etc.).

Financial support of higher school staff was graded by the Ministry depending on length of service, academic title and the seat of the workers of the institutes. That, however, did not fully ensure the needs of educators and pushed them to search for additional earnings in educational institutions and other establishments, to the facts of speculation with the production of botanical gardens and bribes. The employee of the institute spent at least 62% of wages on food. That demonstrates the high cost of life of educators. The housing problem of workers of Higher Pedagogical Schools was unsolved. They either occupied rooms in the student hostel or left the institutes. Dismissed teachers had an opportunity to be appointed in other universities of the USSR as part-time workers. They could also work in schools and departments of education of regions. But the cases of refusal of proposed places of work and apply to court for reinstatement in the workplace were very frequent.

During the first period, which lasted from 1953 to 1955, pedagogical universities were forced to solve a lot of material living problems associated with post-war situation of the country. The first of these was the lack of classrooms and lasting reconstruction of the buildings. There was also very seen the economic crisis of universities and their financial and economic dependence on the center. In addition, social turmoil increased

mismatch of working load and wages of teachers, which was particularly noticeable against the background of a stable “expensive way of life”, despite the systematic decline in prices. A separate problem to solve was the housing problem of students and teachers in post-war country. Material wealth of youth was often scarce, forcing them to look for job on the side and in the native institutes. The educational process was characterized with bureaucracy and ideological dominance.

During 1956–1958, the staffs of the pedagogical institutes were developing in much better conditions. This is due to the transition to self catering of the institutes. During this period personal well-being of students and educators significantly improved. We marked the high wages of the teaching staff of universities and unloading of work (establishment of six-hour working day). However, young people suffered emotional and intellectual exhaustion, causing apathy to social and political problems.

In the period from 1959 to 1964, there was a significant improvement of material and technical basis of schools through self-service. Universities not only regained its former strength, but also made a step forward with updates of premises of academic buildings, dormitories with the help of the young people. However, in the late years of the “thaw”, high school again faced with the problem of lack of working space. This time it was not caused by war devastation but by the increasing number of students. The currency reform in 1961 did not significantly impact on the welfare of educators: overall ratio of wages to purchasing power had not changed, as well as the difference in wages. Instead, there was a Ministerial ban of employment of students in the universities. The country resorted to economizing of the scholarship funds by the ban of paying scholarships to students during their production practices at plants and in the kolkhoz.

As you can see, the two components – the living conditions and material support – were the cornerstones in the formation of motivation of educators. They determined attitude to the realities of the “thaw” and served as incentives or anti-incentives to the participation in the reforms in the country. Availability of equipped space for learning, living space, satisfying the primary needs for nutrition, comfort and safety contributed to a sense of satisfaction. At the beginning of de-Stalinization, the state of life satisfaction was quite arbitrary. Post-war reconstruction of the country resulted in the fact that educators faced with partial satisfaction or complete dissatisfaction of queries in medical care and in unsuitable for living and working spaces. Certain elements of dissatisfaction were problems marital status (a large proportion of cases of family betrayals, domestic quarrel that ended beating wives, etc.).

Practice of self-catering in the universities helped to bring higher educational school out from material and household crisis. The great role in this process belonged to appeal to the so-called “pseudo-feelings” of the teachers (feelings created by the artificial public (mostly ideological) attitude). One of them was instilling a sense of duty for the development of well-being to the institutes and the state. The idea was “a wealthy country – wealthy citizens”, opposite to the principle of “wealthy citizens – rich countries”. Another motivating “pseudo-feeling” was the feeling of belonging to the common goals of reviving of the lost in the war material basis of higher school. We also should mention “the motive of power” moving educators to changes. At the beginning of de-Stalinization, the burden of Stalinist model of governance envisaged domination motive of coercion. It was detected in the mass organized campaigns to improve life, the discrepancy of payment to the hours worked out. Subsequently, a method of coercion replaced the method of remuneration (mainly moral) and a method of regulatory authorities, in which pressure didn't have threatening form of exemption, deduction, and kept only on the performance of power and subordination inside the teams.

The last group of reasons that changed the very way of life of teachers and their relation to reality constituted personal reasons. The motive of self-improvement helped the youth to developed the material and technical base of universities (young technicians and masters built premises themselves, supplied them with electricity and gas. decorated the rooms with the will of self-manifestation rather than to obtain compensation). There also should be mentioned the achievement motive that authorities began to use by organizing competitions of the best rooms, best universities and streets, giving start to fight for the honorary name of the dormitory of the communist life and the best leisure of students in high school and so on.

Leisure and Deviations

INTRODUCTION

One of the most attractive topics is the problem of the extracurricular time of students and teachers. Oleksandr Udod has justly named it as the time “free from the dictates”¹. I am speaking here of leisure as about time used to restore physical, mental and psychic powers of a man. It includes both individual and public forms of culture consuming: reading books, watching movies, trips to the theater and the dance etc. Leisure consists from communication, physical exercises and creative activities. But totalitarian society itself adds an ideological component to the forms of people’s recreation.

The main attention here is paid to the leisure of students. Available sources do not allow showing what filled their spare time of their mentors. Instead, they are rich in reports and messages about the organization of leisure of future teachers in extracurricular time during vacation periods and during their farm and camp practices. This is so because the entertainment of teachers was not a subject of such strict fixation and control. The protocols of the communist party meetings of the institutes have rare mention about the free time of some teachers. Most of them are the critics of certain of deviant behavior. Other is hard to find. Basing on the same documents, we can talk about the presence of teachers at the youth parties. However, this is not enough for detailed depiction of elders’ leisure. Actually, educators’ free time may be characterized together with the leisure of the wide masses of the period. This issue has been the subject of historical research by Vitaliy Vovk², Olena Isaykina³ and Olha Tyevikova⁴.

The chapter is composed of 10 sections. In the first, an analysis of the time budget of students and teachers is presented. The next two look at three aspects of the free

¹ Oleksandr Udod, “Istoriya povsyakdennosti: pytannya istoriohrafii,” in *Istoriya povsyakdennosti: teoriya ta praktyka: Mater. Vseukr. nauk.konfer., Pereyaslav-Khmel'nyts'kyi, 14–15 travnya 2010 roku*, (Pereyaslav-Khmel'nitsky, 2010), 21.

² Vitaliy Vovk, “Dozvillya mis'koho naseleennya Naddnipyrians'koyi 50 – 80-kh rr. XX st.,” *Ukrayins'kyi istorychnyy zbirnyk*, no. 8 (2005), 307–20.

³ Isaykina, “Pobut i dozvillya”...

⁴ Olha Tyevikova, “Povsyakdenne zhyttya hromadyan URSR: sotsial'ni ta kul'turni aspekty (1953 – 1964 roky)” (Ph. D. diss., Poltava V. H. Korolenko National Pedagogical University, 2010).

time: passive and active leisure manifesting in discos and parties. The questions of fashion and style, as well as health and sport activities are also examined. Some other paragraphs discuss the problem of bad habits such as smoking, alcohol drinking and crimes. The family life and deviations are analyzed in the last section.

“WE HAVE VERY LITTLE TIME LEFT...”



Picture 33. Caricature by Yevheniy Pruzhans'kyi “With the Drawing-Pen” depicts the teacher pulling the cart with different loads – the head of drama group, agitator, trade union organizer, editor of the wall newspaper, the political preparation of information in extra-time. The text says, “All the loads he is used to pull as bat-horse., 1957

The major part of the day of teachers wasn't limited by ordinary classroom work. During the last days of Stalin's reign, it was filled with scheduled and unscheduled party meetings. There could be any kinds meetings of the staff in order to explain new orients stated by the “coryphaeus of science” or to explain the right course of the party. The number of the meetings of the same type racked teachers morally and physically. The dean of the history department of Poltava Pedagogical Institute Ivan

Chirko said on this occasion: “Meetings knock us all out of the rut, out of all regimes and schedules”¹. His colleague philologist Volodymyr Saveliev resented the snare of bureaucracy, high school teacher were in “at the slightest occasion, we must do a report, not a job; not regular work with students ...; we have very little time left for that”².

It is worth saying that teachers working day was not so short. Lecturers of Cherkasy SPI were sometimes forced to work up to 20 (!) hours a day during the sessions times, taking scheduled and unscheduled credits of the students form the stationary and correspondence departments³. The director of Lutsk Pedagogical Institute M. Bablyak in the light of these facts asked to free the institutes “from the nugatory custody of the Ministry, to give more autonomy to the Director, to unload the Institute from the countless smaller reports and forms, the implementation of which separated the

¹ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 392, 39.

² DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 392,82.

³ DACHO, f. R-193, op. 8, spr.174, 26.

managing staff of the institutes from the educational process and as well as from the control over its implementation”¹.

Sometimes the Ukrainian educators recommended finishing all the work in the institutes by 6 p.m., as higher schools in Moscow did². The Ministry of Education responded to these remarks by the order from 19, June, 1956, forcing the directorate of the institutes to adhere to six-hour working day³.

Extracurricular time of students was equally busy with politically and ideologically orientation activities. We can only guess on the verge of attracting of young people to the propaganda campaigns. Thus, the first year students of Poltava SPI Evheniy Kalhanov complained after only a few months of training at the institute in 1956: “We are sent to a lot of different organizations. For example, I spoke 62 times. This hinders my studying”⁴



Picture 34. Caricature by V. Bakalo shows the love of people for meetings and party gatherings where everyone was sleeping instead of solving real problems, 1956

¹ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1300, 70.

² DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 542, 35.

³ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 517, 31.

⁴ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr.4829, 41.

There were times where Komsomol meetings ended at three am (!) Then some students fell asleep on the desks during the first lectures, while others did not appear at on the periods at all. And some even lost consciousness of fatigue during training¹. It certainly affect not only on the organization of students' rest, but also on the learning process itself. Dean of the Faculty of Physics and Mathematics of Poltava SPI Dmytro Mazurenko complained that students were hard to find for additional studying. Their free time was filled either with harvesting potatoes, or with two "political hours" instead of one scheduled: "*They just have no time for thinking*"².

Note also that the young people had to prepare for practical training after lectures. Sometimes had been working with literature until two at night³. Training day itself was long. Thus, the students in Poltava Institute were working from 8 am to 10 pm while the workshops and reading rooms were opened⁴. The young people of Kharkiv State Pedagogic Institute left the classrooms and sports halls at 1 a.m., so employees of the medical stations and faculty staff had to work after ten at night. Recall that these same young men returned to the gym and workshops at around five in the morning⁵. That working atmosphere moved the future teachers of Kharkiv to write a letter of complaint to the newspaper "Komsomolskaya Pravda". They complained in excessive overload. However, the bureaucratic check by the Regional Committee of the Communist party found no violations⁶.

The authorities tried to solve the problem of "the stolen free time" of the students several times. One of the solutions was given by the prescriptive letter of the Ministry of higher and compulsory special education of the USSR from 15, July, 1956. It obliged the school authorities to shorten the stay of students in the classrooms. Lectures were to become a dictation of the crucial shorten material; the primary focus was given to the independent work of students⁷. Ministerial decree of 27, August, 1963 forbade load young people with more than 36 studying hours a week. This norm for graduate students was reduced to 30 hours⁸. But the management of departments had little success in fulfilling such orders of the Ministry. Before the examination sessions, dean offices did not fit the lectures even in 38-hour week⁹.

¹ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 392, 2.

² DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 440, 14.

³ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 756, 64.

⁴ APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr. Nakazy. T.1. (2.01-30.06.1956), 87.

⁵ DAKhO, f. R-4293, op. 2, spr. 1038, 55.

⁶ TsDAVO, f. 4621, op.1, spr. 27, 2.

⁷ DAKhO, f. R-4293, op. 2, spr. 686, 2.

⁸ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 843, 59.

⁹ DAKhO, f. R-1780, op. 3, spr. 526, 152.

PASSIVE LEISURE



Picture 35. Poltava students playing chess in the hostel room, early 1960's

Of course, the educational front, except “udarnik-students”, had its “deserters” who were able to arrange a break from training routine by themselves. As modern one, the youth of 1950s, assuming the lack of formal free time, presented it to themselves through the absenteeism of lectures¹.

The campaign to curb absenteeism crashed. So, the institute teachers were

seeking the ways if not to stop then at least turn it into the most positive direction these “hiking for adventures”. There reasons were obvious. For example, Cherkasy educators felt that young people “going where they wanted” was the basis of the anti-Soviet moods². But where did they disappear from the lectures? The popular paths led to the surrounding yards where young people were playing a game of dominoes with neighboring men³. At the same time some of them stayed in the resting rooms in hostels. They were provided with reproducers, checkers, chess and dominoes as well⁴.

But not looking at that, a lack of places where young people could spend their free time remained one of the most urgent problems. Thus, in 1953, Poltava regional committee of the Communist party drew attention to the fact that the parties for youth were quite rarely organized in the regional center⁵. But what if not parties were considered well-organized leisure? According to Nataliya Khomenko, theatres had great popularity that day. The tickets at the gallery cost 30-50 kopecks or 3 rubles in

¹ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 392, 53.

² DACHO, f. P-2187, op. 1, spr. 23, 5.

³ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 392, 53.

⁴ APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr. Nakazy. T.1. (22.01-30.06.1953), 76.

⁵ DAPO, f. P-15, op. 2, spr. 1354, 12.



Picture 36. The advertising of the new color film “Storm” by the Hungarian director Zoltán Fábri to be demonstrated on the screens of Poltava and Poltava region in 1953

stalls or in box. Moreover, if half of the first act had passed, the one could enter the hall free¹.

Teachers often organized youth mass weekly trips to the theaters and cinemas². There as another played on the field of leisure – The Society “Knowledge”. Their film sessions were popular among students as well. Most of those films were educational or documentary ones, concerning historical events, science, economic or ideology³. In order to get to see these films, young people were willing to pay from 1 to 3 rubles per

session⁴. But there was too much ideology and politics even in leisure. For example, every session in the movie theaters was started with the short series of the documentaries “News of the Day”. They were the snap-shots of then-day reality through the prism of the Communist party. As Roman Heneha notices, sometimes mechanics cut out the demonstration of the political news magazine. But willing to help ordinary viewers they received some troubles. For example, an employee of the central cinema “Ukraine” in Lviv cut out the “politically important story of the guerrilla movement in the country”. Probably he was thanked by the audience but in fact fired by the management⁵.

¹ Nataliya Khomenko, “Dozvil'lya studentiv VNZ pid chas navchal'noho roku (kinets' 1940-kh – 1967-mi rr.)”, *Ukrayina XX st.: kul'tura, ideolohiya, polityka*, no. 14 (2008), 158.

² TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 170, 28.

³ DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr. 117, 73.

⁴ DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr. 122, 68.

⁵ Roman Heneha, “Radyans'kyi kinematohraf u L'vovi v pershe povoyenne desyatylyttya”, *Ukrayins'kyi istorychnyy zhurnal*, no. 2 (2011), 115.



Picture 37. Poltava students resting in the hostel, 1961

Sometimes going to the cinema in post-Stalin era Poltava could cost students their lives. City was hastily rebuilt, so there were quite frequent accidents in the new buildings. In 1953, the ceiling of the cinema “Komsomolets” dropped down as well as large pieces of plaster in Ivan Kotlyarevsky cinema and the House of Pioneers. And it was a real miracle

that all those accidents happened right after the sessions had been finished and people had left the premises¹.

Loudspeakers in parks and squares added coloring to the leisure equally with homemade and factory radios². However, one should keep in mind that the installation of radios in the individual dwellings had not reached its peak during the “thaw” yet. That’s why the ideological influence of mass radio translations was more widespread than the individual listening of music. So, the free time for listening to radio was not something common to the student as it is so for the modern one. According to the chief of the regional directorate of radio Andriy Pochter, Poltava of those days had quite few broadcasting radio stations. Almost two million population of the region had 56 thousand station. And only half of them were in towns. That was really “*a drop in the sea*”³. For example, hostel for students of Poltava SPI had radio stations, but there were no loudspeakers in the building in 1953. So the youth could listen to the radio only when the rooms were equipped with loudspeakers by themselves⁴.

Young people also liked reading literature and periodicals. Although there were cases of complete apathy to the books. There were students in Sumy SPI who had read only one book for the entire year of studying⁵. The Head of the sub-department Pedagogy of Lviv SPI Mr. Hus’ also noted a great decline in reading of literature by

¹ DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr. 659, 157.

² DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 5942, 12.

³ DAPO, f. P-15, op. 2, spr. 1353, 121.

⁴ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 371, 1.

⁵ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 209, 19.



Picture 38. Poltava students while camping singing folk songs with the teacher Mykola Fisun, 1950's

youth¹. Poltava city authorities organized book stalls in the pedagogical institute to raise the love to books². Similar kiosks of “Oblknyhtorh” (Regional book selling) were in Zaporizhzhya SPI³. But could the students afford to buy books? According to Olena Isayeva, government grants made books cheaper, making the reading almost the only

entertainment for the contemporary men⁴.

Table 6

**Examples of pricing on the printed materials
in the Ukrainian SSR during the “thaw”**

Product name	Price
Volume of “Big Soviet Encyclopedia”, 1953	50 rubles. 40 kopecks
“Russian-Ukrainian Dictionary”, 1953	40 rubles
Volume of Lenin’s works, 1953.	6 rubles 50 kopecks
Joseph Stalin. Short biography, 1947	5 rubles
Pavlo Tychyna, “Mighty Homeland” (poetry), 1960	4 rubles

Source: Library fund of Poltava V. G. Korolenko National Pedagogical University

¹ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 190, 277.

² DAPO, f. P-15, op. 2, spr. 1802, 52.

³ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1295, 13.

⁴ Isaykina, “Pobut i dozvillya...”



Picture 39. The press advertised Poltava youth reading the press in their free time if the institute dormitory. The motto of the article said: "The friendship with the press!", 1964.

Of course, a student receiving Stalin's scholarship could afford himself to buy two or three books at around 10 rubles a month. That meant to spend only 5% of his wealth. But there were only two or four of those lucky ones in the institutes every year. Others received a twice smaller scholarship. You should also note that the declared price on books was one thing, but the actual cost at which people could buy them could be different in soviet reality. In 1953, the director of the Poltava Regional book selling was dismissed just for cheating on rather high prices on books for Poltavites¹.

But not looking at commonly low prices on books, teachers in Hlukhiv² Berdychiv³, Poltava and Cherkasy⁴ stated the apathy of young people to the reading of press from the early 1950's all the way to the end of de-Stalinization. Probably they felt satiety because of political information on meetings and lectures.

Answering on the accusations of ignorance of issues in current policy, students often told that they would rather read fiction than newspapers⁵. The ones desiring to read collected their own libraries while studying. They were saving money and working to

¹ DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr. 664, 199.

² DASO, f. P-5369, op. 1, spr. 321, 13.

³ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 253, 140.

⁴ DACHO, f. P-2187, op. 1, spr. 15, 23.

⁵ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 822, 2zv.



Picture 40. The press advertised Poltava municipal library #1 where everyone can find a book to read – a text-book for studying as well as fiction, 1964.

buy rather rare editions of Aleksandr Pushkin and Ernst Hoffmann¹. They enjoyed the works of foreign and domestic classics. However, when reading the works of Yuriy Smolych, Volodymyr Sosyura, Aleksandr Tvardovsky or Ilya Ilf and Evgeniy Petrov were encouraged, then reading of banned by the Communist party national Ukrainian writers as Mykola Kulish could lead to serious administrative sanctions².

DANCING AND PARTYING

Some students compensated their reluctance to read with love for outdoor activities. Back in 1953, Poltava authorities were concerned that the students wanted to dance, but the city could not meet their needs in clubs or dance floors. In the end, they agreed to organize dance clubs at educational establishments, where youth was supposed to be taught “cheerful, happy Soviet dance”³. The most popular dances of de-Stalinization times were waltz, waltz-boston, foxtrot and tango (especially the “Albanian tango”) and quadrille⁴. The interest in dances is quite simply: they were extremely available for the youth. The ticket for a dance floor cost 3-5 rubles.

This question even was debated at the meeting of teachers with party authorities in Lviv in 1956. The secretary of Stalinskyi district in Lviv committee noted: “youth still earns not enough in manufacturing, in addition, note that they are treated badly at plants, they are assigned working categories badly and so on, so they have to go to a dance floor, it is cheaper than to go to the theater”⁵.

¹ Interview Rudenko Oleksandr Panteleymonovych (25.09.2011).

² Interview Pashko Lyudmyla Fedorivna (4.11.2011)

³ DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr. 662, 72.

⁴ Interview Rudenko Oleksandr Panteleymonovych (25.09.2011)

⁵ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 190, 266.



Picture 41. Poltava student Hryhoriy Dzhurka while reading in the dormitory in his free time, early 1960's

In addition, many students were orphans and the poor. They had no discount on tickets to movies and theaters. Interestingly that was even a concern of the police. They spoke on behalf of decreasing the costs of tickets to the theatres because youth often committed crimes stealing money for buying them¹.

However, interest in dancing was not limited to the list of the ones in the

permitted Soviet style. When the lecturer of Poltava SPI Mykola Rizun noted that “there was the wild the students obsession of dances”², he meant that they liked not the promoted dancing to the classic tunes³. Students did not listen to the radio broadcasts the institute’s radio. They only turned it louder when heard the dance music⁴. And if they waited – they tried to get as much fun as possible. Kyiv teachers complained that young people organized loud dance parties every day until 2 a.m. So teachers asked to limit dancing until midnight at least on Saturdays⁵.

The most of student meetings ended with singing Ukrainian and Russian folk songs to the accordion or to the guitar⁶. Among the top-rated were the songs from the repertoire of Leonid Utyosov and Mark Bernes⁷. But sometimes the discos “in the dark corners” were resounding with the banned music, taking zealous party members out of equilibrium⁸. They were absolutely unwilling to hear jazz tunes in parks and public places⁹. Nataliya Shlikhta considers music as an expression of protest¹⁰. Perhaps that

¹ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 190, 278.

² DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4832, 15.

³ Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashikh dney. Yanvar' 1954 goda. №1. (Directed by Venzher Í., 1954)

⁴ APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr. Nakazy. T.1. (22.01-30.06.1953), 76.

⁵ DAKO, f. P-485, op. 3, spr. 6, 50.

⁶ Interview. Baka Mykhaylo Vasyl'ovych (1.11.2011).

⁷ Interview. Rudenko Oleksandr Panteleymonovych (25.09.2011).

⁸ DAPO, f. P-15, op. 2, spr. 238, 78.

⁹ DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr. 662, 99.

¹⁰ Shlikhta, Nataliya. Istoriya radyans'koho suspil'stva,” 136.



Picture 42. Poltava students resting with the accordion, early 1950's

is why the director Poltava SPI Mykhaylo Semyvolos in April 1958 prohibited playing without his permission not to miss any record at the evenings for dancing without his previous listening. He was trying to avoid the propagation of the capitalist ideals by that¹. The facts of the “controlled leisure” in Poltava institute happened more frequently². As a result, it was impossible for someone to hear popular foxtrot “My Marusechka” by

Piotr Leshchenko repressed by the Soviet authorities³.

The youth spent little time in Poltava tea-houses, cafes and ‘varenychnayas’ (dumpling houses). There were several reasons for that. At the beginning of de-Stalinization, there were just not enough of those kinds of establishments in Poltava. They did not have time to rebuild the ruined or to open the new ones. Those who were in Stalin Street, inside of Voentorg and in Hohol Street and in the Birch Park in 1953, were not in the list of places where young people and teachers wanted to spend their time in. They were dirty, with cockroaches and bedbugs, portions weren't usually filled up, and were poorly prepared, and the chefs were saving money on good products at the expense of cheap ingredients⁴. Even the central city presentable buffet at the hotel gradually lost its face by selling vodka, cigarettes and having become known for nightly fights⁵. And those small cafes and tea-houses, which were still preserved in their “classic form” after the war at the start of Khrushchev's rule, one could hardly find cocoa, chocolate, ice cream or fruit⁶.

Over time, the reasons of not-visiting cafes had changed, as had change the living conditions. The first cause why people couldn't spend there every holiday and leisure

¹ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4831, 169-70.

² Naraliya Khomenko, “Kolektyvne dozvillya yak sposib kontrolyu za students'koyu povsyakdennistyu,” in *Istoriya povsyakdennosti: teoriyatapraktyka: Mater. Vseukr. nauk. konfer., Pereyaslav-Khmel'nyts'kyy, 14–15 travnya 2010 roku*, (Pereyaslav-Khmel'nitsky, 2010), 191.

³ Interview. Rudenko Oleksandr Panteylemonovych (25.09.2011).

⁴ DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr. 662, 25.

⁵ DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr. 657-a, 45.

⁶ DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr. 661, 246.



Picture 43. The caricature showing the Poltava tea-house lady selling alcohol from the samovar. She is pouring 40° vodka and with her left hand - 50° vodka in the glasses. In the middle. There are three cranes for pouring three different kinds of wine ('nalyvka'), 1953

time with families in such establishments, as it was wanted by the party authorities of the region, was the high cost of food. Another one was the rudeness of the staff. As statesmen recognized themselves, people were moved to go to the tea houses and special departments of the grocery shops in 1960 mostly because of the lack of money and hopelessness. Not surprising that they wanted to be welcomed warm. But instead there were frequent complaints that customers were not greeted with the smile and were poorly served¹. Another reason why the young people did not appear in the eating places was that the majority of former model tea houses in Poltava by 1960's had been turned into a banal "brasseries and eateries"².

But to think that Poltava was clearly not paradise for students and teachers is neither correct. The same problems occurred in other university cities as well. Thus, their colleagues in Lviv complained to local authorities that the

young people had a lack of places for leisure, even if "all kinds of rabble» gathered in the club of Police". Therefore, they proposed to decrease in 2-3 times the amount cellars, barbecue houses and similar establishments and to open cafes in their places³.

Perhaps the only effective way to control the time of students was bringing them to amateur orchestra, choirs, groups of eloquence, photo shops, and sports clubs and so on. The number of involved was growing every year several times. There won't be enough of paper to describe the successes of students at numerous competitions. I can just mention that each regional center had a chance to see students' talents for at least several times a year during festive demonstrations. Then the marching columns of future teachers impressed the audience with their ingenuity/ for example, Poltava educators formed blooming garden of 500 branches of apple trees, the golden wheat field, or were carrying the model of huge satellites and spacecrafts⁴.

¹ DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr. 115, 49.

² DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, Spr. 117, 111.

³ TsDAHO, f.1,op. 71, spr. 190, 258.

⁴ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr.573, 3.

However, these demonstrations eventually exhausted youth. Most of the activities carried out by institutes under the lash. The violation of authorities' directive to grant 100% attendance of the event was judged as a violation of allegiance to the Motherland¹. Thus, Mr. Didkovskyi from Kharkiv State Pedagogic Institute was fired for the decision to spend May Day not in the column of demonstrators but fishing at the riverside².



Picture 43. May Day demonstration, the column of Lutsk SPI, 1956

¹ DASO, f. R-2817, op. 3, spr. 362, 15.

² DAKhO, f. R-4293, op. 2, spr. 1038, 72.

FASHION



Picture 44. Students of Poltava SPI in early 1950's. Note the military overcoat worn as an every-day outerwear – the echo of World War II and after-war poverty

The attitude of teachers towards fashion was very specific. Special correspondent of “Komsomolskaya Pravda” A. Kuchkina once wrote about the youth of provincial Poltava SPI: “Girls are wearing sundresses put on thick sweaters, boots, scarves on their shoulders” and “the Institute persecutes those well-dressed, considering good clothes the sign of “moral instability”¹.

Teachers in institute really criticized so-called “Stilyagi”. They wore snappy or fashionable clothing and admired modern Western music and fashions. They wore jackets in a cell with broad shoulders, bright tie with an exotic pattern, narrowed pants, shoes with rubber soles, wide-brimmed hats, which were “got” somewhere or made by themselves worn with long hair with greased forelock². And a matter of style was always combine with the question of ideology³. Thus, the lecturer Dmytro Stepanov from Poltava fought with “wild hairstyles” of some students as an expression of petit bourgeois interests⁴. There were the same examples in other universities. The Director of Uman SPI Volodymyr Horbach reported with hostility about the appearance of so-called “stilyagi” in his institute in 1957. He quickly organized teachers to “eradicate these germs of rot”⁵.



Picture 45. “Stilyaga” Evheniy from Poltava SPI, 1960

¹ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4832, 45.

² Shlikhta, “Istoriya radyans'koho suspil'stva,” 152.

³ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4832, 56-57.

⁴ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4835, 106.

⁵ DACHO, f. R-1418, op. 2, spr. 206, 3.

But what was the “correct” image of the student-teacher? Probably, it was more fully formulated by one teacher of Poltava schools, giving characteristics of a student Halyna Zelenska 1964:

“Her modest haircut and clothes always reminded of the moral purity of soul of the teacher who knows the code of the builder of communism and aggressively implements it into life; she lives according to its principles”.

And only that kind of the outlook could hold in the *“light, joy, dream and inspiration of our young generation”*¹.



Picture 46. Before the graduation ceremony of 1964 in Poltava SPI. Note the mixture of the styles – the skirts above the knee go along with the strict Soviet teachers’ standard of the long skirts

¹ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 908, 42.

SPORTS AND HEALTH



Picture 47. Students of Poltava SPI during the bike trip in Poltava neighborhood, early 1950's

Speaking about the development of sports preferences of educators, remember that in the early 1950s universities of the USSR faced the problem of after-war recovery. That influenced sports greatly. However, the transition to self-catering in the institutes allowed not only to rebuild the old gyms, but also to expand recreation centers by annexing sports complexes the existing buildings.

In addition to the incentives to sports, there were mandatory forms of physical culture. To maintain educators' health in good condition, the Ministry of Education issued a corresponding order of January, 16 of 1959. According to it, the departments of physical education under the auspices of the Komsomol committees organized morning sports exercises for students. For example, Poltava ones organized daily gymnastics for 430 residents of the dormitory¹. The same mass exercises were common in Cherkasy SPI². However, many young people locked themselves in the rooms covering with blankets and slept over the time of gymnastics. But it did not help. Those who did not leave the hostel in the morning had to do the same exercises in the classrooms³.

Many young people were engaged in the professional sports. Poltava SPI in 1953 opened volleyball, basketball and handball play-grounds⁴. The establishments was quite sporty. In 1960, there were 711 in the sports union "Burevisnyk" ("Petrel"); another 635 were in numerous sports clubs. Above the entrance to the sports hall of the institute there was large poster on which three contemporary sporty heroes were depicted with the old epic heroes Ilya Muromets, Alyosha Popovich and Dobrynya Nikitich on the background. Above the composition there was a slogan: "Let native land be always famous for great heroes!"⁵

¹ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 756, 67.

² DACHO, f. P-2187, op. 1, spr. 24, 31.

³ APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr. Nakazy. T.1. (5.01-30.06.1959), 11.

⁴ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr.420, 2.

⁵ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr.708, 99-100.

Inner institute and intercollegiate competitions, as well as national championships and Olympics were very frequent. Preparation for them became number one issue of the staff meetings of the institutes¹. There were different sport clubs inside the higher schools: gymnastics, athletics, chess, checkers, badminton², table tennis, and volleyball and basketball clubs³. Young people often showed strong performance in the competition, winning high prizes⁴. It is significant that Kharkiv stadium “Dynamo” in 1955 brought together more than 800 participants of the Republican Olympics of students of pedagogical institutes of the UkrSSR. The city hosted participants from 31 gymnastic teams from Donetsk, Kyiv, Crimea, Lviv, Poltava, Odessa, Kharkiv and



Picture 48. The newly built stadium ‘Urozhay’ (Harvest) (nowadays ‘The Vorskla’) in Poltava where Poltava SPI students used to practice sports, winter of 1952

other cities. Student youth has set dozens of new sporting records. Thus, a new record for shot put was established by Andriy Serdyuk of Kharkiv SPI – 14 m 23 cm. His team colleague Fedir Vorobyov threw a hammer at 48 m 83 cm, and Petro Nametchenko made a jump with a takeoff up to 1,8 m, thus setting new records for pedagogical institutes of the country⁵.

However, even youth sports could cause poor health. Reports of the aid station of Kharkiv State Pedagogic Institute show that most students had lower limb injuries – 28 of them were received during wrestling classes, football and basketball matches. The second place was occupied by radiculitis and joint disease. That was a diagnosis for 19 students engaged in gymnastics, acrobatics and swimming. The inflammation of the nasal cavity was on the third place. These were 8 patients – boxers and swimmers. They went along with the hypertension of non-sporting students. Then followed the young people with heart failure and pulmonary tuberculosis (4 persons). Students suffering from stomach ulcers, liver disease and concussions were in the minority, however, often being on lists of patients (2 persons

¹ APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr. Nakazy. T.1. (4.01-31.05.1955), 156.

² APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr. Nakazy. T.2. (2.06-31.08.1954), 173.

³ Interview. Rudenko Oleksandr Panteleymonovych (25.09.2011).

⁴ Interview. Baka Mykhaylo Vasyl'ovych (1.11.2011).

⁵ M. Kuz'min, Yu. Ivanenko, “Respublikans'ka spartakiada studentiv pedvuziv,” *Radyans'ka osvita*, July 16, 1955, no. 29, 1.

per each illness)¹. As doctors stated, it was still easy, though already disability of youth in 100% of the cases.

However, medical examination sometimes was the only thing done for health care of the students. In case of illness, students and teachers could be left without skilled care. Medical institutions after the war had been in a catastrophic state, they were not able to provide the district and city with healthcare not even speaking of regional needs. Thus, in the closest to Poltava SPI pension, there were only 14 beds for patients and only 11 blankets. But at least 45 people came to the establishment a day. Therefore, many of them had to “lie in the hospital” on the straw in the yard and in the nearest sheds of the medical-sanitary control department. Even the ambulance could not arrive on time to the patients, because in 1950, there were not enough rubber tires for the cars, no medicines, and even no banal name-signs on the buildings, so the drivers couldn’t recognize the location of the ill ones.



Picture 49. The advertisement of the opening of the new drug-store #13 in 73 Zhovtneva Street in Poltava. The correspondent noted that it was opened in the newly built big and light premises and the customers always receive all needed medications there, 1963,

¹ DAKhO, f. R-4293, op. 2, spr. 1039, 14.

Moreover they also felt the lack of medical personnel. In the early 1950s, in the Zhovtnevyi district of Poltava city, where the pedagogical institute was located, there were only four doctors for 11 medical stations. Under such conditions, the only salvation of people could be that they were engaged in self-treatment. However, chemist's shops did not provide them even drugs for self-treatment. All pharmacies of the city even had no wadding. And drugs mostly were sold "from under the counter", and by the principle of selectivity and acquaintance¹.

It is quite terrible picture, especially keeping in mind that they were doing much more in the sphere of health care for the international image of the country. Therefore, students from the People's Democracy countries received more than domestic ones. They were treated in hospitals of the UkrSSR without standing in the lines. That right along with the right of emergency hospitalization was provided by the special orders of the Ministry of Health of the UkrSSR².

Of course there were the first aid stations in the institutes. For example, the first aid stations of Poltava SPI after the war was located in the premises of the student hostel. But the conditions were not quite pleasant. Checks of the regional committee of the CPU noted that it didn't even have a chance to boil medical instruments for sterilizing³. And sometimes they played totally different than health-protection role. As lecturers of Kremenets SPI noted, students were often given medical certificates to excuse their absenteeism at the periods for money in such first-aid stations⁴. With time the situating had changed. Already in 1964, the clinic staff of Poltava first aid station was quite broad: a doctor, a nurse and a hospital-cleaner who started to provide full treatment and prevention services to students and teachers⁵.

But health threats didn't eliminate with the increase of the medical staff. There was a lot to do with the living conditions. For example, the problems with water of the hostel of Poltava SPI along with the broken sewage in 1961 led to the fact that young people joined the ranks of Poltava residents suffering from intestinal infections⁶. The gradual adjustment of living conditions and medical care in the city reduced the incidences. As a result, in 1963, there was the first after-war order of the director about the need for mandatory vaccination against gastrointestinal diseases for students and teachers in the institute⁷.

¹ DAPO, f. P-19, op. 1, spr. 99, 154-67.

² TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr 190, 22-24.

³ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr.371, 1.

⁴ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr.1298, 181.

⁵ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr.908, 8.

⁶ DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr. 833, 15.

⁷ APNPU, f. 3, op.1,spr.Nakazy. T.1 (1963), 89. 95.



Picture 50. Students of Poltava SPI during the May Day demonstration promoting Soviet sport, early 1950's

In 1959, the authorities became interested in rehabilitation of students in special sports camps of the institutes. Thus, future teachers of Zaporizhzhya in 1953 received 18 vouchers to holiday homes, 3 to sanatoriums and 2 people received tourist vouchers¹. The situation was getting better. In 1956, only one institute of the Ukrainian SSR had the health camp for 350 students. In 1958, already 10.310 young people had an opportunity to rest in 42 institutes' camps. There were 24% of all students resting in camps in 1959 (3.750 people out of 15.710 in all institutes of the UkrSSR). That was too little, so Ministry gave money for the expansion of old and construction of new camps.

Allocated funding for nutrition was 100 rubles per person. But the ideal way was to have special recreation bases for the staff. In the end of de-Stalinization only of 13 higher schools had

them. There were not only such giants as Kyiv, Odessa or Kharkiv SPIs among the lucky owners but also provincial institutes like Cherkasy, Vinnytsya and Kamianets-Podilskyi². For example, in the last year of Khrushchev's rule Poltava Pedagogical Institute reconditioned 38 students in the rest homes and sanatoriums.

Another 130 people rested in special athletic summer camps organized by the Institute on the playgrounds at its territory and in the "picturesque corner of the village Mykhaylivka" of Poltava region. But youth received their real Spartan conditions: no light, radio, ware-houses and dining rooms³. The lecturers had the opportunity to relax in a special tent camp in Alushta in the Crimea⁴. Later the authorities began to reduce even short summer recreation for students. They included "duties to the homeland" that were to be completed during their rest. The youth were obliged to read several political or educational lectures in their native town or village⁵. And later even more – the

¹ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1295, 13zv.

² TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 226, 80-82.

³ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 916, 3.

⁴ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 901, 164.

⁵ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 243, 40.

students had to work out physically. No wonder that Ministry proudly said that “summer vacation turned into labor semester for many boys and girls”¹.

“SIN OF FAITH”

Soviet democracy declared adherence to a set of personal freedoms, one of which was freedom of religion. That closely intertwined with the individual filling of the free time. However, as educators noticed, “*freedom of conscience was primarily freedom of antireligious propaganda*”².

That, in fact, was used by the state and party bodies to control personal life. The teachers of the country were among the leaders in the struggle for the purity of Soviet consciousness of “religious remnants”. How did teachers influence the religiosity of people during the era of Khrushchev’s “thaw”? What prevailed in their activities: personal rejection of faith or performance of “public order”?

The main asset of this was atheistic education of youth. A separate course of atheism was introduced to the pedagogical institutes rather late but situation differed from institution to institution. Thus, Sumy SPI started to debate on it only in connection with the resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU “On the errors of scientific atheistic propaganda among the population” from 10 November, 1956³. Associate Professor of Kharkiv SPI Yakiv Nepomnyashchii was still testing on the young teacher the raw course filled with the examples of local believes⁴. While constant atheistic seminar for students was being held within the walls of Poltava SPI during the same years⁵. The purpose of such subjects was educating people that were far from superstition and faith. Here let’s recall how Kyiv SPI educators were criticized for their belief in the supernatural, in interpreting dreams and fortune telling cards in 1953. There were even funnier examples:

*graduate student is going to defend his thesis for the degree of PhD in Philosophy, the cat crosses the road to him, the man returns using ten bypasses ways, he is late to the session and after the successful defense, says the friend, that he has defended brilliantly because of walking ten far ways, and that hears the reply: “Fool, you’d spit three times over your left shoulder, that’s all...”*⁶

¹ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr.890, 82.

² H. Bardyk, “Prohrama KPRS i ateyistychne vykhovannya trudyashchykh,” Zorya Poltavshchyny, January 6, 1962, no. 4, 1.

³ DASO, f. R-2817, op. 3, spr. 196, 39-40.

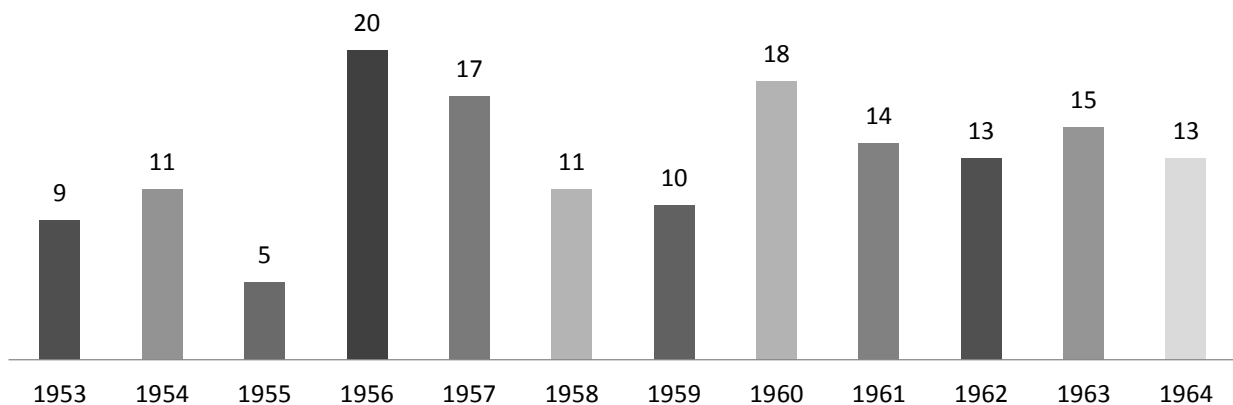
⁴ DAKhO, f. R-4293, op. 2, spr.740, 30.

⁵ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4830, 122.

⁶ DAKO, f. P-485, op. 3, spr. 2, 49.

If religious students fell into the ranks of future teachers, the system was, in contemporary language, to “format” their consciousness. What place did anti-religious propaganda take in the walls of institutions?

**Questions of atheist education of young people
in speeches of party members of Poltava SPI**



Bar chart 3. The content of the speeches at the party meetings of Poltava SPI

Source: DAPO, f. P-251, op.1, spr. 4824-4837.

Look at content analysis of protocols of parte meetings in Poltava SPI for 12 years. It showed that atheistic education in almost 100% was mentioned by party members talking about political education. The teachers devoted 13% of party time (707 speeches from 5.380) to the problems of anti-religious struggle within the walls of the institute. The annual rate of “popular” issue of the “highest Soviet atheism” was quite stable and hadn’t fallen been falling under 10% since 1956¹. It was hard to remain indifferent to the opinion of the majority in such an atmosphere.

Anti-religious atheist workshops for young people became more and more traditional. They were held in Luhans’k, Lviv², Poltava, Kharkiv³ and Uzhhorod⁴. Moreover, the course of the basics of atheism, which was compulsory for all students of the Ukrainian SSR, was only optional in neighboring Russian SFSR⁵. The ideological sub-departments of the institutes could not stand away of these processes.

¹ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr.681, 82.

² TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 224, 61.

³ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 253, 73.

⁴ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 241, 36.

⁵ TsDAVO, f. 4621, op. 1, spr. 157, 3.



Picture 51. The caricature “Priest’s function” by Mykhaylo Bakalo shows the drunken holy father stretching his hands towards the devil with the bottle of moonshine and smiling lasses. The poem by Mykola Netesa under the picture says: “Would you like fly up to God? / The cantor asked the bishop. / - And the priest said: – I would fly to devil / if only I had moonshine and

The sub-department of Marxism-Leninism of some universities limited their activity only by organizing atheistic evening in the dormitories¹. Others resorted to more serious action. Young people went to the masses. So, only in 1957-1958 academic year, students of Poltava SPI under the direction of the Department of Marxism-Leninism read 134 lectures on atheistic topics like “Was there the beginning and whether is there the end of the world?” or “Artificial satellites and religious tales of heaven” to the population of Poltava².

The history is rich on the examples of the religiosity of villages and towns of the regions, from where the students came to their educational establishments. Poltava regional committee of the CPU kept intelligentsia in constant “alert”, regularly reporting about the facts of the involvements of students to various religious organizations. Thus, the Head of Poltava regional department of education S. Samsonenko in 1959 reported that despite the numbers indicating the decrease of believers among students and educators of the region, “according to the actual actions are manifestations there were “unreliable facts”³. Under the number of such “unreliable facts» the regional party committee secretary M. Kyrychenko meant that 45% of children of the region were baptized right after birth. For example, only in the very 1960 in Poltava 1,153 children were christened⁴. But the ceremony itself received the negative term “to be a subject of baptism”⁵. According to the idea of local party member, Poltava intellectuals and educators were to create the Soviet substitute of the religious birthday celebration to get rid of the fact when the “child was bless to life by the holy father”⁶.

¹ DAKhO, f. R-1780, op. 3, spr.527, 2.

² DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr.633, 3.

³ DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr.100, 38.

⁴ DAPO, f. P-15, op. 2, spr. 1900, 2.

⁵ DAPO, f. P-15, op. 2, spr. 50, 31-34.

⁶ DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr. 115, 45.



Picture 52. The caricature showed that “God” was sleeping while people were committing crimes – so even the priests could be criminals as the text under the sketch said, 1963

Educators also conducted their own “anti-religious investigations”. According to data cited in 1958 by Poltava teacher Mykola Lyakhov, 1/10 of pupils of the region were under the influence of religious beliefs, and many school teachers were involved “into weddings, baptisms, and coloring eggs for Easter”¹. Poltava, to their thought, in such circumstances had to play the role of the religious response outpost. The lecturers of Poltava SPI didn’t hide their outrage, listening, for example, how religious holidays were

“wildly spent” in Lokhvytsya district, or how children of Pyryatyn district in pioneer ties were blessing apples in churches². Another fact that made the educators feel less confident was that one day in Kobelyaky district all the students even came to school with pro-religious leaflets in hands, which added hassle to their “atheist” teachers³.

The villages of Poltava region, where young people often came from and to where lectures from the SPI often were sent for the business trips, were still searching for their “witches” even in 1950’s. One of these cases occurred in Zhdanov kolkhoz of the town of Vasylivka. In 1955, milkmaid Aksyniya Prykhodko was accused of witchcraft because she had too high milk yield. Her fellow villagers gossiped that she was a witch, had a small tail, turned into the beast and drank milk of the cows at night. Everything, as expected, was finished by the court. However, this time not in medieval mock trial

¹ Mykola Lyakhov, “Ateyistychne vykhovannya ditey”, Zorya Poltavshchyny, June 15, 1958, no. 117, 3.

² DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr. 50, 31-32.

³ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 5057, 2.

for a “witch”, but in people’s court for her prosecutors. The Soviet Union “state inquisition” took milkmaid’s side and acted against “religious superstition”¹.

As we see, the institute staff was living on the border of atheism and faith, finding God and finding ways to destroy His authority. Educators made every effort to complete the last task especially knowing the fact that religious life of Poltava was reviving very slowly. The monks of Poltava monastery up to its liquidation in 1960 had been active preachers in the masses. That worried teachers very much. The Institute dormitories and academic buildings themselves were right on the way to the spiritual abode. So the future teachers always saw the believers near their windows².

The undisputed leader of interference into the spiritual life of the youth of Poltava SPI was the sub-department of history of the USSR. Its head Hryhoriy Kulyk developed and widely promoted the themes of atheistic education on history lessons in secondary schools. He liked to give that as a topic hardly to all his students for thesis writing in mid 1950’s³. His colleague Stepan Danishev as well as his boss, was systematically writing anti-religious articles to the main regional periodicals “Zorya Poltavshchyny” (“The Star of Poltava Region”)⁴ rhetorically asking readers: “Who needs the myth of Christ?”⁵

The most ideological sub-department of Marxism-Leninism of the Institute could not stand aside. During 1957-1958 academic year students read to the public of Poltava under the supervision of their teachers 134 lectures on atheistic topics like “Was there the beginning and will there be the end of the world?” or “Artificial satellites and religious tales of heaven”⁶. This means that during the school year, young people were convincing the inhabitants of Poltava in erroneous religious beliefs in average for about 13 times a month. Students of physics and mathematics faculty involved in the lecturing on behalf of the regional Communist Party Committee⁷ even received messages of thanks from party organs for effective atheistic work⁸.

Atheistic propaganda was squeezed into the seemingly unconnected to religion courses. So, philologist Mariya Bezkyshkina of Poltava SPI particularly stressed that the new Ukrainian language spelling of the names of the religious holidays (Christmas

¹ DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr. 50, 34.

² DAPO, f. P-244, op. 1, spr. 3925, 48.

³ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 541, 12.

⁴ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 713, 23.

⁵ Stepan Danishev, “Komu potriben mif pro Khrysta?” Zorya Poltavshchyny, January 6, 1960, no.6, 3.

⁶ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 633, 3.

⁷ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr.700, 156.

⁸ DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr. 751, 64.

or Intercession) in the Soviet reality should be written with small letters¹. Convincing young people in the absurdity of faith, the teachers named Taras Shevchenko², Pavlo Tychyna³ and even Ukrainian folk singers⁴ to some of the most advanced atheists, while reading their poems during literature periods. As atheist were also presented Russian writers and poets of the “Silver Age” by the teacher of literature Mrs. Mishchenko. She said that Sergei Yesenin creativity was rich in “religious archaic” only because of the author’s childhood memories. She disparagingly noted that “jesuses, mothers of god and nicholases” were just fabulous images, inherited from the childhood, so they didn’t suit to the conscious Soviet citizens⁵. Moreover, by the deep conviction of another speaker, Mr. Lisovyi, “there won’t be religion in communist society⁶”.

However, the ubiquitous struggle against believers sometimes became boring even to the teachers themselves. Thus, the historian Ludmyla Medvedovska of Poltava repeatedly drew the attention of her colleagues in 1959 to the fact that atheistic propaganda was not worth the attention diverted to it. However, all “talking in the ranks” of atheist soldiers” were stopped by the director Mykhaylo Semyvolos who made it clear: anti-religious campaign, launched in the institute, deserved every kind of approval⁷.

A special place in the “relationship” of religion and the students and teaching staff was occupied by their activities in the Society “Knowledge”. The teachers of Poltava SPI were in the management of that organization in the region, they planned the work of its departments, and they often traveled in the region and were themselves involved in active propaganda measures, involving younger generation of educators to it as well. The chairman of the Society during de-Stalinization was the Head of the sub-Department of Marxism-Leninism of Poltava SPI Dmytro Stepanov. At the dawn of the “thaw”, he named combating unscientific and religious worldview as a priory aim of their work. However, significant progress was hard to achieve: for example, in 1954, only 10% of all lectures in the city concerned atheism⁸.

Most negative from the educators towards the new religious movements was sent to Adventists (Sabbatarianists), Pentecostalists (“shakers”), Baptists and Jehovah’s

¹ Mariya, Bezkyshkina, “Druhe vydannya ukrayins’koho pravopysu”, Zorya Poltavshchyny, March 30, 1960, no. 64, 2.

² DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 681, 82.

³ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 741, 67.

⁴ DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr. 37, 143.

⁵ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 741, 152.

⁶ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 741, 155.

⁷ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 680, 65. 70.

⁸ DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr. 38, 11.

Witnesses¹. Thus, the main task was to show the rottenness of the ideologies of the opponents of communism. And the next step was to justify those attacks in terms of law and logic.

The real life stories were used by the educators as “the trump card» for this struggle to convince the population of the falsity of religion. Since 1953 lecturers Borys Lozovs’kyi and Pavlo Sosin received “special orders” to fill their performances with vivid local materials that would turn Poltavites away from God². The teachers, burdened with social objectives, did not have to go far in search of their “anti-religious heroes”. One of them was right in the walls of their alma mater. Since 1959, there was a special student at the atheistic seminar. He was a former first archdeacon of Poltava Cathedral Mykola Uvarov³ and became a real boon for the religion fighters. His image became a symbol of the awakening from “the religious oblivion”. Moreover, Uvarov himself was getting a very good theoretical training from his instructors. Then he went and preached to the masses... about the reactionary essence of religion and moral decay of the church. Perhaps the stories about reactionary essence of Easter were too convincing when heard from the former priest during his lectures in Poltava atheist house or somewhere in distant clubs in the region⁴.

The educators of Poltava SPI were very active fighters against religion not just in the lecture audiences, but also in their neighbourhood. We find many colourful facts of their work with inhabitants of Zhovtnevyi district of Poltava where the institute was located. They were involved in undermining the positions not only of “hateful sectarianism” but also of the titanium of the religious life – the Orthodox Church. Students and teachers were especially furious in their performances on the new specially built platform near The Baptist house of worship and St. Makarius Orthodox Church. Their “anti-religious sermons” of 1960 started the city rumors that that was the real beginning of the closing of houses of worship promised once by Lenin. The speeches of young atheists were so kin and forcible that people started to talk that all theater for performances of actors and singers would be opened right after that atheist campaign⁵.

Recalling the success at the “anti-religious fronts”, it should be noted that perhaps, physics and mathematics were the most “close ones” to the debunking of “superstitions of believers”. Thus, Dmytro Mazurovskyi from Poltava SPI often lectured in the city

¹ DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr. 109, 43

² DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr. 25, 121.

³ DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr. 106, 89-90.

⁴ DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr. 111, 52.

⁵ DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr. 116, 28.

on how the Soviet astronomy refuted religion¹. Those lectures became particularly successful when the Soviet science launched the first space rocket. Already in October of 1959, that fact was successfully used by the educators. After that they got used to say about “atheist landing party”: *“the rocket went to the Moon, and the members of the section [of the society “Knowledge”] departed to the remote villages”*.

During one of those “enlightening” visits one of the villagers asked the teacher where it was possible to find Cain and Abel on the Moon. There was a folk legend saying that one could see the faces of two Biblical brother in the relief of the Earth’s satellite. The educator waited a bit with his answer saying nothing to the believer. But the next lecture was scheduled right on the day when there was the first moon-landing, on 13, September, 1959. Thus saying nothing he won the battle for souls and minds².

Many other than mathematicians left Poltava SPI for propaganda trips into the deep countryside. Thus, the historian Stepan Danishev went to Dykanka district while his counterpart Mykola Kaplun was in Mashivka area. This was not surprising, because even Poltava regional committee secretary Mykola Kyrychenko urged educators to buy and learn church calendar to the very day of religious holidays. That was to be done to for them to be ready for “ideological landings” of the speakers in villages and towns in the sacred Christian days. Be the end of 1954, using that rule, Poltava educators had read totally 903 atheistic lectures through the society “Knowledge” solemnly in the regional center³.

Teachers of Poltava SPI also voluntarily worked in opened in 1959 Poltava city atheist house⁴. They willingly held anti-religious speeches at regional radio course of lectures⁵. As a culmination of that campaign was the grand-opening of the museum of atheism at the historical and philological faculty of Poltava SPI in 1961. Students after that conducted frequent propaganda excursions there for secondary school pupils each month⁶.

However, noting a persistence of teachers in the attack on faith, we must admit that they acted against the excesses in that policy⁷. Thus, the philosopher Dmytro Stepanov as a chairman of the Society “Knowledge” mentioned that the strange fact. His colleagues in 1957 started depict Christ... as a communist at weekly atheist

¹ DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr. 97, 54.

² DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr. 101, 35.

³ DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr. 117, 120.

⁴ DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr. 117, 60.

⁵ DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr. 104, 59.

⁶ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 762, 1.

⁷ DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr. 68, 50.

lectures to youth. The practice was soon stopped as an appropriate to the communist ideology¹.

The headlines almost daily argued that “religion wasn’t a private matter in relation to our party”². Therefore they even sought the threats to the ideology even in the religiosity of elderly parent of the educators. Such persecution was common to the lecturer of Poltava SPI Andriy Hurenko. He was accused of the belonging of his parents to the religious community of Baptists in the past. That Christian denomination at that time was as a bone in the throat of Soviet power. The case forced the teacher to write a letter to the director of the institute, explaining:

*their religion is a private relic of the past that still occurs among backward part of elderly citizens, but not the manifestation of some kind of a consciousness, active guidance that would be pushing them to anti-social actions, to violation of state or labor discipline. We are conscious Soviet people, pupils of party and state.*³

Pay attention to the fact that the teacher called faith a relic of the past, typical of the elderly. This explanation of religiosity of parents was quite familiar to Poltavites of that time. Thus, at a meeting with educators and intellectuals, the secretary of the Regional Communist party Committee Mykola Kyrychenko recalled his visit to one of the villages in 1960. He had a talk with eighty-year-old peasant woman about the motives of her church-going. As a main among them, the old woman named “*to talks it should be, frankly, to take the soul*”. At the official accusations granny explained, that her daughter-in-law didn’t let her to chat with friends always finding some housework to do. “*And when I get dressed fine and go to church, then daughter-in-law feels herself somehow uncomfortable for that she doesn’t let me go*”⁴.

Let’s look at some cases of a direct impact on the members of the staff of the Institute, when they stated the “sin of faith”. Teachers used to tell about the dangers of faith for the development of children on parental lectures⁵. And the religious piety in the walls of the institute could be very costly to the students. Thus, the dorm neighbors of student Kharytonova in Poltava SPI accused the girl of manifestations of religiosity in 1956. They wrote a note to the party organization of the institute telling she was praying evening prayer before going to bed. The case dragged on. Interestingly but the

¹ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 5719, 18.

² M.Rassokhin, “Zaluchayemo intelihentsiyu do naukovo-ateyistychnoyi propahandy”, Zorya Poltavshchyny, July 11, 1958, no. 135, 2.

³ APNPU, f.2, op.H-2, spr.HurenkoAndriyMykhaylovych, 10.

⁴ DAPO, f. P-6829, op. 1, spr. 117, 113.

⁵ DAPO, f. P-6829, op. 1, spr.45, 151.

party bureau pitied believer, holding that “there were no reasons for prosecution (!) Kharytonova in religiosity”¹. Similar accusation of religiosity was thrown towards the student of Sumy SPI Minyuk. She refused to join Komsomol because of faith irritating the party members with that². At the same time, a lot of Kharkiv young girls from different churches and sects often appeared under the walls of student dormitories, agitating young men do not attend theater and cinemas, but come to their ministries³.

The attitude towards the faithful ones was similar in Cherkasy. For example, the institute groom was at gunpoint of atheists in 1957. His religiosity was exposed when the old man asked for days-off on the days of co-called “Old New Year”. That holiday appeared due to the change of the calendar and was celebrated as a folk fest on 13-14 of January with specific religious rituals. It was combined with veneration of memory of old saints – Basil and Melania (Ukrainian Vasyl and Malanka). The groom was one of true believers who wanted to spend the holly evening. He even promised to work that vocation on any other day. The institute even organized the individual atheistic lecture to “convert” the grandfather to non-believers. However, he did not listen the lecturer Berdychevskyi to the end. Even after listening about “lies of faith” he left lecture at half and continued to ask the directorate to give him the weekend for... St. Basil’s day⁴.

As we see, it was difficult be a believer inside the walls of the pedagogical institute. It was even harder when the city government tried to do everything possible to destroy the sacred places religious buildings. Thus, in Poltava, The Holy Cross Monastery was turned into a boarding school for the retarded children, St. Nicholas Church was turned into the tourist center for the workers of the Regional education department while the repair shops of the accordion factory moved to the church on Frunze Street⁵. Surely, the authorities could not extend their “atheistic hands” so deeply in the region, where young students came from. In 1955, the educators of Poltava SPI noted that there still were remote place where the churches “shone like toys”, being even more beautiful than rural clubs that were standing as gray barns in the center of the villages. These facts were explained by the village heads very simply: “*how is it to the priest, it is fine to him, he would travel along the village and gather money and had repaired the church, and we are not allowed to do that...*”⁶.

¹ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr.4829, 128.

² TsDAHO, f. 1, p. 71, spr. 209, 19.

³ TsDAVO, f. 4621, op. 1, spr. 157, 8.

⁴ DACHO, f. P-2187, op. 1, spr.23, 6.

⁵ DAPO,f.P-15, op. 2, spr. 1982, 25.

⁶ DAPO,f. R-6829, op. 1, spr. 50, 32.

However, the authorities often made a bet not for money but on ideology. So, the teachers from Poltava SPI as one of the most qualified atheist lecturers were often sent to the countryside to start the closing of churches. For example, even in 1961, Hryhoriy Mandych was fighting against churchmen in the village Machukhy near Poltava¹ while his colleagues from the school of atheist-agitators were making the same attempts in the city itself².

SMOKING



Picture 53. Students Pashko and Hryhorovych smoking near the hostel of Poltava SPI, 1961

One of the problems to study is a problem of teachers' everyday bad habits and manifestations of their deviant behavior. Deviant behavior is understood as a system of separate action or deeds that do not correspond to moral or legal norms of society. In this case we are talking about the facts of smoking, alcohol abuse, health risks (actually, deviant behavior) and evidence of crime among

students and teachers (delinquent (criminal) behavior).

Smoking was one of the core problems in pedagogical circles. There was a deficit of cigarettes in 1953³ and young people were not often caught smoking. But everything had changed by the end of the "thaw". Students openly smoked cigarettes in the corridors of educational buildings and in hostels of Poltava⁴ and Cherkasy⁵. Thus, Cherkasy youth filled the corridors with smoke. And no one but the commandant considered it the violation of internal regulations. Perhaps, it was so because most teachers also smoked even with a clear disregard of accepted norms. Lecturer Barandes from Cherkasy was smoking, "regardless of where he was"⁶, as well as Associate

¹ DAPO, f. P-15, op. 2, spr. 1982, 87.

² DAPO, f. P-15, op. 2, spr. 1982, 59.

³ DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr. 662, 141.

⁴ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4836, 20.

⁵ DACHO, f. P-2187, op. 1, spr. 16, 82.

⁶ DACHO, f. P-2187, op. 1, spr. 23, 6.

Professor of Kharkiv SPI Serhiy Utevsnyi, who allowed himself to smoke even during holding the lectures¹. Reasons for smoking of students and teachers can be explained in different ways. Smoking as a deviation is not an innate behavior, rather it is a social factor. For certain educators it was the form of conformal deviation. Their smoking began as an adaptation to most standard behavior in a group or to the behavior of the authorities in it. For other smoking became compulsory deviation, which evolved as a protective response to mental shocks, the desire to relieve stress with nicotine that later developed into tobacco dependence.

ALCOHOL



Picture 54. Students “partying” with the decanter with water in the hostel of Poltava SPI, early 1960’s

Even frequent hiking trips could lead to interesting consequences. Students from the city of Zhdanov, biking on the fortieth kilometer from the city, decided to brighten up their gray road and caught up with a lorry driving ahead... And then stole a bottle of vodka and two bottles of wine from the trunk of the lorry ahead. Their camping trip ended in the nearest police station². However, it shows us that alcohol

occupied not the last place in the lives of students. It’s a pity, but the free time was often filled with talks over a bottle of alcohol. It was done by the teachers as well as by their students. Besides the first even found a moment for alcohol during working hours. Masters and assistants had been working until 22 pm. Taking into account that the day was really long, it was obvious that some masters as Volodymyr Kurylko of Poltava SPI, finished it with a glass of vodka³. By the way, Poltava teachers themselves

¹ DAKhO, f. R-4293, op. 2, spr. 1134, 16.

² TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 224, 145.

³ APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr. Nakazy. T.1. (2.01-30.06.1961), 8zv.

recognize that the highest number of cases of drunkenness across Ukraine was registered in the contemporary Poltava¹.

Another lecturer from Poltava Hryhoriy Chepurnyi, having tried some hooch in 1954, went to control the teaching practice of students in secondary school №16. Not reaching the destination, educator fell asleep at the fence of the school, where he was lying in front of students from noon to 4 pm, until they had carefully brought him to his senses. Of course, he was fired². Similar practices of “drunken sleep” under the walls of the institute and in the streets were known to the lecturer Serhiy Kovalchuk from Cherkasy. His students repeatedly brought him home from the city, pulling from railway stations³. They even picked him up on the lawns near the training corps of alma mater when he was sleeping hiding his face from the daily sun under students’ copybooks⁴.



Picture 55. The advertisement encouraged to buy for the New Year holidays some grape wine, fruit and berry wine and “Soviet champagne” - the perfect grape wine, the pride of the Soviet winemaking. It also gave the chance to choose Soviet Champaign wine to buyer’s taste - sweet, semisweet or semi-dry wine, December 1953.

The presence of “alcohol problems” among students seems to be not so strange. According to the inquiries of Poltava city party committee, among 2.657 detainees of Poltava sobering-up stations for just three months of 1960, 17% (467 people) of discipline violators were students up to 25 years⁵. A similar pattern of behavior was common to the students of Kharkiv, Kyiv and Lviv institutes. Party checks exposed there some “immoral groups”, and teachers often took young people from sobering-up stations⁶. However, the lecturer Perlov from Uman SPI advised not to wonder “wine passion” of students. Even the gift set to the Day

¹ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 5278, 22.

² APNPU, f. 2, op. Ch, spr. Chepurnyy Hryhoriy Arsentiyovych, 20.

³ DACHO, f. P-2187, op. 1, spr. 22, 17.

⁴ DACHO, f. P-2187, op. 1, spr. 24, 13.

⁵ DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr. 832, 13.

⁶ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 244, 267.



Picture 56. The caricature of Mykola Stuliy shows one of the main problems of the Soviet families – alcoholism in families when husbands deceived wives for vodka, 1964

of the Soviet Army in 1957 consisted of vodka and canned meat¹. Interestingly, but polytechnic education itself also increased the youth drinking. Having received salaries at plants and factories, students often immediately ran to the nearest restaurants or cafes spending it on vodka, then the “official part” often evolved into fights².

Students gathered for alcohol parties mostly within the walls of their hostels. The city management of Poltava since 1953 and after regularly reported that youth tried to drink and gamble for the first time nowhere else but in college

dormitories. And that often led to undesirable consequences³. The authorities struggled with it by organizing special propaganda campaigns but in vain. Young people became the heroes of official report as drunkards and gamblers again and again⁴. For example, in 1957, the students of historical faculty of Poltava SPI Ronshyn, Posukhov, Mitko, Bondar and Horda were punished for drinking alcohol, smoking and loud songs in their dorm room. Except public censure, they were deprived from the scholarship for a one month⁵. It was like a message: no one should spend state funds on vodka.

Maybe, it would have been much easier to cater with the alcoholism of the youth if their mentors hadn't been present at their banquet tables. There was the case with the commandant of the hostel of Poltava SPI Hryhoriy Marchenko. In 1959, he was a warmly welcomed guest at the gatherings of boozers on the “forbidden territory”⁶. The commandant of the hostel could be somehow understood and forgiven but similar teachers' behavior was hardly acceptable. Thus, in Cherkasy SPI, the Head of the Department of Marxism-Leninism V. Pustovharov often treated students with

¹ DACHO, f. P-2087, op. 1, spr. 26, 11.

² TsDAHO, s. 1, op. 71, spr. 224, 139-40.

³ DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr. 661, 208.

⁴ DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr. 691, 86.

⁵ APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr. Nakazy. T.1 (1957), 9. 18.

⁶ APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr. Nakazy. T.1 (1959), 25.



Picture 57. The caricature argued the problem of alcoholism in the circles of the heads of kolkhoz and other organizations. It showed how people got drunk after work and fell asleep all over the public places. The small article under the picture was even named "Where the drunk sleep", 1963

alcoholic beverages not elsewhere but in the student dining room. His opponents even mentioned cases when they together sat down to compose questions for the future tests and exams. Of course, the contents of such methodic work became a cause for long disputes at party meeting¹.

It was easier to protect students from the company of drinking teachers. But it was hard to shield them from the temptation. The educators of Uman SPI knew it as no one else. In 1964, there was a legal taproom in the institute canteen. The teachers unsuccessfully urged to close it. But even if they reached their goal there was a stall right near the entrance of the higher school building where vodka was sold by the glass. City

officials from Uman did nothing for there was the same kind of a stand² near the city hall. That seemed to be a norm for the period the "thaw".

Poltava SPI educators were frequently present at the meetings announcing a new wave of struggle with alcoholism. There they were told about every new fact of misconduct because of intoxication. Many teachers were taken to the drunken tanks during the school year, and students used to come to the lectures being tipsy. One of them, Poduyev, in 1957, even dared to abuse the director of the institute. The swearing from the lad's side hardly escalated into a fight. The teachers tried to find out the reason of the popularity of boozing among the youth. The teacher Yelisey Ryzhylo accused Soviet cinema of promoting alcohol. His comments on the impact of the movies were quite appropriate. Even the news often showed the tables of ordinary Soviet families

¹ DACHO, f. P-2187, op. 1, spr. 15, 59-60.

² DACHO, f. P-2087, op. 1, spr. 26, 11.



Picture 58. The caricature showed that some collectives created conditions when newly-comers were forced to drink “for the company” or for other reasons and that became disaster to many groups, 1963

bursting with wine and Soviet champagne¹. Highly moral Soviet citizens were quite relaxed and were drinking freely in the presence of small children². The aggressive anti-alcohol campaign also crashed into pieces with the help of TV. For example, in January of 1954 there was a series of news where the youth was shown celebrating some event. The announcer even was telling how they joyfully toasted by the crystal ringing of glasses “for friendship, for success in studying, and for the favorite Fatherland³”.

But the director Mykhaylo Semyvolos had another thought: not films but educators themselves pushed youth to drinking. He just said: “it has become a habit to booze on occasion of all holidays, birthdays and others. This is promoted by some teachers who ask to provide the room to students for partying⁴”

It is worth mentioning that, the Ministry of Education had sent a special directive №32-r of June 12, 1956 a year before the described incident. It warned teaching staffs to avoid celebrating the anniversaries: “they have become continuous, distract employees from their immediate problems and generate irresponsible waste of public funds”⁵.

Alcohol addiction pushed educators to committing illegal acts that harmed the Socialist state (which could always find sabotage anyway). There always was a trace of vodka in the many cases of theft. For example, the janitor of Poltava SPI Yelyzaveta Havrylova was fired for stealing student shoes⁶. The reason of theft was in the need of money for firewater. The superintendent of the academic building Mykola Nosenko

¹ Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashikh dney. Yanvar' 1955 goda. №6 (Directed by Kisel'ov F.,1955)

² Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashikh dney. Yanvar' 1954 goda. №6 (Directed by Varlamov L.,1954)

³ Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashikh dney. Yanvar' 1954 goda. №7 (Directed by Grigor'ev R.,1954)

⁴ DAPO, f. P-251,op. 1, spr. 4831, 40-42.

⁵ DASO,f. R-5369,op. 1,spr. 237, 32.

⁶ APNPU,f. 2, op. H-1, spr.Havrylova Yelyzaveta Petrivna, 10.

stole tens of meters of pipes for his love for the bottle as well¹. But when they were fired no one mentioned their alcoholism as a reason of losing their places. It seemed that it was normal to keep that social defect in secret. But everything changes in August of 1958 when the Ministry of Education issued the order of battling for socialist legality. That document listed the facts of socialist law violators across the UkrSSR. Most of them were connected with the robberies and alcohol. Poltava Pedagogical Institute wasn't mentioned among the law breakers. But central power showed the concern that Poltava was in the leaders among all the cities of the UkrSSR where teachers were connected with brewing and with frequent violations of the rules of cohabitation².

Probably, this document had forced to work a strange "exposure machine". It showed the real growth of addictions and crimes connected to it. The superintendents didn't stay long at their positions at Poltava SPI because of the craving for alcohol. The deputy of the director of the economic part Mykhaylo Pustovoytov had worked only for a year (1958-1959) and was fired for drinking³ as was with Oleksiy Kravchenko right before him⁴. In 1958, the driver Yuriy Vassakovskiy stole institute's official car and was stopped by the traffic police only on the outskirts of the city⁵. Dismissal due to alcohol sometimes ended on the bench of the defendants as happened to the storekeeper of Poltava SPI Yehor Voronin in 1961. He was systematically stealing two liters of alcohol each week from the warehouse⁶. The man was sentenced to five years in prison by the time he had thieved 87 liters of spirit and various building materials⁷. Knowing that 1 liter of vodka cost 40 rubles, we can count that the storekeeper robbed totally 3.480 rubles. With the monthly salary of 360 that was a significant "help" to his family budget.

Student boozing parties often ended with midnight singing and playing the accordion at the hostel. However, there were cases where drinking vodka lead to terrible consequences. Once Poltava youth ended "partying" with setting the fire on the roof of the gym. The part of the ceiling of the building had fallen down and school building rebuilt after the war had almost burned down⁸. Alcohol addiction in

¹ APNPU, f. 2, op. N, spr. Nosenko Mykola Ivanovych, 1.

² DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 609, 29.

³ APNPU, f. 2, op. P-19, spr. Pustovoytov Mykhaylo Tykhonovych, 5.

⁴ APNPU, f. 2, op. K-3, spr. Kravchenko Oleksiy Kononovych, 10.

⁵ APNPU, f. 2, op. V, spr. Vas'kivs'kyi Yuriy Petrovych, 10.

⁶ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4835, 66.

⁷ APNPU, f. 2, op. V, spr. Voronin Yehor Zakharovych, 1-4.

⁸ APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr. Nakazy. T.1. (2.01-31.07.1964), 76.

contemporary pedagogical institutes along with “material damage” from “drunk” young doings concerned Kharkiv¹ and Kyiv lectures as well².

However, there were terrible incidents. So, students of the Natural Faculty of Poltava SPI were strongly drinking on the practice started a fight with the members of Voluntary People’s Druzhyna (Guard) of Pysarivshchyna zoology and veterinary technical college in June 1963 there were too many of perpetrators so they were forced to barricade in the nearest hostel. In the heat of passion, future teachers invaded the building. During the scuffle the student Pavlo Lytvynov stabbed another one several times³. The similar situation happened in Sumy SPI. The future philologist Leonid Lutsenko wounded his colleague with the Finnish knife⁴.

The practice in the collective farms always gave some freedom to youth. The Ministerial orders had been recording the facts of their drunken immoral behavior up to the last days of the “thaw”⁵. For example, the lecturers of Kharkiv SPIFL were constantly complaining of the bad behavior of future teachers during harvesting⁶. Young educators of Poltava, coming from under the constant supervision of party organizations and teachers, also started drinking heavily⁷. The drunken brawls of students were the frequent subjects of the reports on the gatherings of the City active of the Communist Party⁸. Thus, during the harvest of 1958, students-communists Zaslavets, Bondarev and Khomenko organized a booze at the collective farm field. Nothing was usual till Zaslavets decided to seek intimacy in the nearest house. Breaking through the windows, he woke up the whole village⁹. It’s not surprising, that students finished their drunken activities in district hospitals. Thus, the student from A. Chyhyr from Kyiv, being drunk, stole the motorbike and wasn’t able to disperse with the car. As a result he received numerous injuries¹⁰.

Looking at such “alcohol practice”, it was quite reasonable that Ministry of Education issued an order №5-r of 11, February, 1959 “On strengthening the fight against drunkenness...”¹¹. One of the main means was the complex of lectures for the public and students. Not surprisingly, educators began to fight alcoholism even in

¹ DAKhO, f. R-4293, op. 2, spr. 755, 26.

² TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 104, 18.

³ APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr. Nakazy. T.1. (3.01-29.06.1963), 171-72.

⁴ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 209, 18.

⁵ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 890, 89.

⁶ DAKhO, f. R-1780, op. 3, spr. 495, 3.

⁷ DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr. 658, 122.

⁸ DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr. 662, 150.

⁹ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 632, 15.

¹⁰ TsDAVO, f. 4621, op. 1, spr. 27, 75.

¹¹ DASO, f. R-5369, op. 1, spr. 284, 9.

professional lecture courses, finding the evil even in the ordinary once quotations of the famous writers. Poltava philologist Vira Matveyeva found herself in a little bit strange situation. She was delivering a lecture on participles and gerunds, and, as always, cited an example from the work of Panas Myrnyi to show the rule in practice: *“And how once couldn't drink living among such people”*

But some “extremely attentive” listener reported to the management about the propaganda of alcohol among students. Afterwards, the sub-department of the Ukrainian language forced her to review her papers because of the improper ideological level of teaching¹.

Teachers also were involved into promotion of the healthy lifestyles the Society “Knowledge”. Republican branch offered a list of 13 topics of healthcare, one of which concerned the dangers of smoking tobacco, and 3 had to convince public in the harm of alcohol. Such topics sounded as “Alcohol incompatibility with the moral image of Soviet man” and so on. It is surely known that teachers failed in their attempts to overcome alcoholism as the “harmful remnants of the past”².

One is known for sure: all similar steps to overcome the “green snake of drinking” failed. To illustrate it let's look at the vivid example of the special language camp, organized by Poltava SPI for its students in 1963. The teachers of physical education and foreign language were sent to help young people while their rest. Then there occurred the regrettable situation when lecturer of English Mykola Dubrovskiy and the coach Ivan Dolhorukov organized themselves “a free vacation” forcing students to lay tables with alcohol and snacks for them every day. Perhaps it was a standard practice for teachers far away from the party and directorate control. But that time the secret became apparent much earlier than expected. One night Ivan Dolhorukov got so drunk that the next day, when the institute check-up came at 11 am, he could not even speak to the guests. Of course, having come right to the firing, Mykola Dubrovskiy was looking for excuses, saying that *“it was not booze but a forest walk”*. But the real facts were nowhere to hide. That's why his colleague Mariya Malych correctly noted: *“What can we demand from students when our teachers drink so much?”*³

The final of the story was quite expected. Perhaps, the management acted by the principle “everyone drinks but we need lecturers” because “re-educated” Dubrovskiy continued his work in the institute, though, in another sub-department⁴.

So, alcohol drinking was also a striking manifestation of social deviation. For young teachers, it was the conformist deviation in most cases. Drinking of vodka was

¹ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 673, 16.

² DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr. 97, 28.

³ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 847, 182.

⁴ APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr. Nakazy. T.2 (1962), 66.

voluntarily organized to keep “good spirits” and “for the company”. For some, drinking of alcohol was a social anomaly or subordination. Young people found themselves among older, more experienced students. For others it was abnormality of innovations when students tried something new in the new social conditions of Higher School. Do not forget the anomaly of ritual when drinking alcohol, which subsequently passed allowed limits, directly associated with the holidays, anniversaries, meetings of friends and so on.

Speaking of much older teachers and students, we note that their deviation was rather forced, caused by the need to escape from reality, which later developed into a state of dependence. It was caused by the effects participation of the majority of them in the Second World War, dissatisfaction with material or moral demands of society and the state, by the problems in family, at work and in their own world of values. There also were frequent cases of so-called social retreating, departure from life, which were the result of the emergence of chronic alcoholism that needed inpatient treatment. There also were examples of deviant drunk behavior becoming delinquent, and violation of moral norms becoming a violation of law.

CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS

Building a communist society, high school teachers cared about the moral character of students and colleagues. They tried to control whom they were spending free time with. They always checked if their colleagues violated morality so needed to Soviet teachers. It was very necessary that even the Department of higher schools reported to the Central Committee of CPSU in 1959 that “*university students of the USSR proved with their practical deeds that they were worthy sons of the Soviet Motherland¹*”.

They should be ideal. At least until 1955, Stalin had been the ideal of morality. Course theses and independent works of students with different variations of this statement were evaluated by teachers of Sumy SPI almost every year².

The first things that made youth look not as was desired were the quarrels between students and teachers. Despite authoritarianism of the Soviet time, we have to admit that in many cases management was on the side of the youth in solving the problems. Abusing of the student’s dignity easily could be a reason for the removal from a high position. So, the Dean of the Faculty of Physics and Mathematics of Poltava SPI Dmytro Mazurenko in 1957 slapped third-year student Stepanov onto face in the midst of altercation calling him an obscene word. The background of the broil was the wish

¹ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 224, 46.

² DASO, f. R-2817, op. 3, spr. 157, 1.

of the young man to get into the workshop to pass the test. The misunderstanding between the dean, desiring to make and order in the noisy corridor, and the student, wishing to get a high quiz mark, transformed into the hot conflict¹. The deed of the educator was discussed at a party meeting of and the Academic Council of university. He was removed from the post of Dean and was a step before his resigning². The same cases were in other universities and not only with the teachers. The janitor of the hostel of Kyiv SPIFL Mrs. Scherbyna was fired for “the rude attitude to students”³.

A lot of educators were to leave their working places for good when had a conflict with their colleagues. Thus, physicist Vsevolod Morhunov of Poltava SPI was fired “for being rude towards students and for discrepancy of the requirements to the university assistant, especially of the Pedagogical Institute”⁴. Soon after the same incident happened to the philologist Hanna Vilhovchenko. Her working contract was cancelled after the number of complaints of students⁵. The point of view of the future teachers was also even counted in deciding the fate of prominent university professors. The mood of youth was one of the key arguments in placing the issue on returning to work of the fired history teacher Sofiya Kahan in 1957. After her squabbles with the young ones, the management was the warning that if that happened, “*the students would rise up(!) again against her and would complain to various legal authorities*”⁶.

But students also could be punished for their rudeness. In 1954, Yuliya Rudnytska didn't finish her studying in Poltava SPI because in a fit of resentment she wrote in chalk on a blackboard: “*English teacher is a fool*”⁷.

Speaking about the reasons of firing, we have already covered the facts of embezzlement of state property. The financial fraud was a serious crime but in the official documents it was named “window dressing for the country”. The campaign with that phenomenon of everyday life moved educators to a strange activity. They started to scare each other with the punishment of different range for all kinds of faults that could only be fit under the “window dressing”. Some of them were rather ridiculous. Thus, in 1961, Poltava SPI deputy of the director Mykola Sazonov terrified the staff with the news that they would be fired for the “fraud” of the states if the check-up found the difference in the evaluation of the knowledge of the youth. So, one should

¹ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 588, 29.

² APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr. Nakazy. T.1. (1957), 144.

³ DAK, f. R-985, op. 1, spr. 282, 8. 149.

⁴ APNPU, f. 2, op. M-1, spr. Morhunov Vsevolod Platonovych, 14zv.

⁵ APNPU, f. 2, op. V, spr. Vil'khovchenko Hanna Petrivna, 11.

⁶ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 588, 20.

⁷ APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr. Nakazy. T.1. (4.01-31.05.1955), 149.

control the marks received by the students at semester exams and their grades during seminars¹.

It can sound funny, but the director of Poltava SPI Mykhaylo Semyvolos in 1960 even named cheating of students as a nearly criminal act that was the subject of “state fraud”². Actually, student cheating really caused some damage to the higher school – and sometimes more material than moral one. For example, four future historians had some troubles with memorizing the material on Middle Ages period in 1964. They even cut four chairs in the classroom hiding some cribs in the seats. Of course, the entire secret became apparent. The young people had to offset the cost of seats in amounts of 19 rubles 20 kopecks. That was almost a monthly scholarship in the early 1960’s³.

Among other “strange crimes” we can name “hostile nationalist and anti-state views” of the educators. Teachers constantly attacked young people who were quickly passing “anti-Soviet jokes” about Khrushchev’s policy to each other. This hindered party and career promotion even to the most active students. As an example one can look at the case of the third-year student of History and Philology department of Poltava SPI Evheniy Kalhanov. He was always in the first rows of those defending the honor of the institute during various competitions and festivals⁴. But in 1957 he had a great trouble in getting the title of candidate member of the CPSU⁵. The reason was quiet prosaic. Kalhanov just kept silence when his group mates were telling each other the “hostile” to the Soviet system anecdotes. While he was suffering from the party measures, his friends were expelled from the university⁶. This was the least that could have happened to the “story-tellers”. Political anecdotes in Soviet reality could be judged from the position of the Criminal Code of the USSR. They even had jokes on that. One of them tells about a judge coming out of the courtroom, laughing. A colleague asks him about the reason of his laughter. The judge replied that he had heard quite a funny anecdote about Khrushchev. At the request to share it he answered: “*I can’t. I have just sentenced a person to fifteen years of prison for that*”⁷.

Not only youth but also their mentors favored “spicy jokes” about politics. In 1964, there was an ideologically scented story with the activity of the music teacher Mykola Klyuchnyk. As it was told, he was writing anonymous letters to Moscow portraying the Soviet reality “not as it actually was”. He was found out by the KGB by

¹ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4834, 86.

² DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 700, 94.

³ APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr. Nakazy. T.1. (2.01-31.07.1964), 135zv.

⁴ “Do novykh tvorchykh uspikhiv. Pidsumky oblasnoho ohlyadu-konkursu, prysvyachenoho dekadi ukrayins’koyi literatury i mystetstva u Moskvi,” *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 1, 1960, no. 43, 3.

⁵ DAPO, f. P-19, op. 1, spr. 241, 116.

⁶ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4830, 88.

⁷ “Vchera mne rasskazaly anekdot,” *Literaturnaya gazeta*, May 14, 1989, no. 20, 16.

the specific features of his typewriter. The punishment for independent world-view was very deeply personal. It was more like a mock trial “for all one has done”. We do not know the content of the letters but it should have deeply wounded communist consciousness of the educators. Everything uncommon and different, as always, was proclaimed inimical. The head of the Russian language sub-department Olha Mishchenko accused Mr. Kluchnyk in presenting people “the bouquet of mud”. Labeling and blackmailing the victim was quite normal in the process of saving their own position. Vasyly Loburets named all of that “a riot of philistinism”. But moral abuse was only a part of punishment. The main scope was to rind the roots of the “evil thought”. Thus, the director of Poltava SPI Mykhaylo Semyvolos recalled everyone that the situation with anonymous letters appeared because teachers were “fans of different jokes spread in the walls of the institute by hostile elements”. Mariya Malych made a parallel of his thoughts with the programs of Western press and bourgeois radio (hence, she stated that she herself listened to it and read it). And, at last, professor Ivan Ivanenko vividly described that situation in such a way: “*he has gathered gossips at the market, has thrown them in the face of the Institute, and hid in the shadows, watching what will come from that*”¹

Actually, it was very easy to find “hostile to the Soviet system” behavior inside the walls of the higher school. There were plenty of young boys and girls in the institutes who, as was said, “*in pursuit of originality were echoing silly thought, manners and tastes from the voices of strangers*”.

Some showed misbehavior, others we connected with systematic thefts of state property or personal belongings of teachers and students, and the third ones were openly swearing in the presence of teachers². But even simple interest to the foreign culture was considered a crime against socialist welfare. If the student saw a stranger from the “bourgeois country” he should better keep silence. The was a prominent situation in Poltava SPI in 1960 when the delegation from the USA visited the institute. Probably, some students wanted to speak to foreigners but it was prohibited. Long after that the director of the higher school Mykhaylo Semyvolos reminded his wards that the right to speak with foreigners was elite one: “*some longed to be an interlocutor, but they should not do that – there are only some who can do it*”³

It’s useless to wonder because they tried to control even schoolchildren’s behavior. The same delegation went to the nearby school#3 where many youngsters were opened to the conversation. The party members were really afraid that they could

¹ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 901, 106-11.

² DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4830, 8.

³ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4833, 57.

involuntarily tell guests from abroad something that needed to be kept in secret¹. But the worst crime of that category was not the word said on the way but the long-lasting contact. It could have great consciences for the pen-friend. The party made the great mock trial on the student of Kyiv SFIFL Makoda. The girl not only had “anti-Soviet relationships” but also kept prohibited bourgeois literature and communication and other things².

It is worth to mention the notorious problems of Poltava professor Pavlo Sosin. He also was blamed for exchanging the scientific literature with the West countries. Once he had already been told off for reading foreign books. But even after that the scholar decided to send his publications behind the “iron curtain” in 1960. Instead good reputation he received long party meetings with moralizing and being accused of the attempt to be reputed as “even more educated”³. Not long after that the lecturer of Russian Literature Mariya Isayeva was forced to write explanatory letter to KGB. Her PhD thesis was about criticism of bourgeois society and the Anglo-American imperialism in Bernard Shaw’s dramas. Defending herself for reading banned literature and for publishing “state secrets”, the woman wrote: *“I used only published works specified in the list of literature, and also the archives, the contents of which is not secret”*⁴

Similar charges of hostility were experienced by the head of the sub-department of Pedagogy of Kyiv SPI Moisey Perelmutter in 1953. He had to explain to the team, why he published his works in Germany 25 years ago(!). Of course, the explanation that “it was considered “a merit” then, it was considered fashionable” along with the recognition of his own “grossest error” didn’t save the researcher from the party check-up of his possibly anti-communist publications⁵.

Of course, the most frequently, the blaming was the result of the conflicts inside the team. Blackmailing was quite popular method of showdown in the circle of teachers. It’s hard to reconstruct the core of the conflict but we can assume the methods. Accusation of being not loyal to the ideology was one of the most successful weapons in the battles for the position in the institute. For example, physicist Mykhaylo Shavlovykh was repeatedly losing his job in Poltava SPI because he started “to slander on Soviet scientists”⁶. Probably, he was inexperienced one because he was fired but not the objects of his attack. Another example of a blamer of the false ideology crimes

¹ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 5251, 17.

² TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 242, 59.

³ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4833, 58.

⁴ APNPU, f. 2, op. I, spr. IsayevaMariyaIvanivna, 15.

⁵ DAKO, f. P-485, op. 3, spr. 2, 83.

⁶ APNPU, f. 2, op. Sh-1, spr. Shavlovykh Mykhaylo Volodymyrovych, 25.

was a historian Lidiya Medvedovska. Everyone knew that she was using the conflicts inside the staff to achieve her personal goal. The educator promised to stop her activity of writing “anonymous letters” right after the guarantying her work in the Poltava SPI¹.

The story won't be full without mentioning the genius of the head of the sound recording cabinet of Poltava SPI Leonid Vertiy. While still studying in the same institute, he won the first place in the Poltava Region competition for the construction of VHF radio. After that he became a member of the first international competition on VHF radio sport near the Hungarian border. His experience of the inventor helped him at work when Leonid started recording conversations of teachers for blackmail them. Those conversations helped him to demand a lot of money from the colleagues².

However, all these conflicts were of local scale. But the case of the historian Leonid Oliynyk reached the Ministry of Education in Kyiv. He was accused of a fabrication of the diplomas. The man used his brother's certificates of secondary and higher education erasing the name of the sibling killed at World War II. Having no actual education, Mr. Oliynyk gained the position at the institutes of the UkrSSR and received PhD. The long lasting investigation soon led to the depriving him of all titles and awards in 1958, and Mr. Oliynyk was forced to seek fortunes in another professional field³.

It's no secret that there were even former criminals among the students of pedagogical institutes of the UkrSSR who often served as a catalyst for misconduct in the groups⁴. So, Poltava City Committee of CPSU noted with regret that the majority of crimes in the city of 1953 were committed by pupils and students⁵. Lviv educators through these same facts even asked to create (!) special troikas (threesome groups) within militia departments that would “without hesitation” (!) convict offenders among students. Moreover, teachers demanded that such court processes should be demonstrative⁶.

There were cases of petty crime in the institutes. Thefts made the biggest part of them. A lot of people from the future teachers to staff were stealing things from time to time. Janitors appropriated mainly small items, watches and money while cleaning the hostels⁷. Youth resorted to theft while staying alone in the changing rooms and toilets. At the beginning of de-Stalinization, youth of Poltava mostly stole shoes,

¹ APNPU, f. 2, op. M-2, spr. Medvedovs'ka Lidiya Oleksiyivna, 27.

² APNPU, f. 2, op. V, spr. Vertiy Leonid Fedorovich, 13.

³ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 680, 102.

⁴ DAKhO, f. R-4293, op. 2, spr. 497, 32.

⁵ DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr. 656, 91.

⁶ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 190, 257.

⁷ APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr. Nakazy. T.2. (3.06-31.07.1957), 8.

letters, and small amounts of money and cosmetics of neighbors¹. But already in 1960, the students took fur coats². There were the same petty criminals in Kyiv³ and Cherkasy⁴. However, the people were moved to crimes by heavy material conditions. So, four year student, disabled Ponomarenko of Kyiv SPI stole money, bonds and bread from the dining room only because he was trying to survive on 250 rubles. Of pension of the veteran in Ukraine's capital, which he himself had delivered⁵.

Sometimes young people repented of the crimes committed by them, as did Halyna Olshanska of Kyiv SPIFL⁶ or Tetyana Klymenko of Poltava SPI. The last one had been robbing youth of hostel for s long time. A shame fled her from the institute and from home. Having returned, she received severe sentence of the directorate of the institute. If in the Middle Ages the shame was washed with blood, during the Soviet era it could be washed with work. The girl was allowed to return to the ranks of students after a year of decent work in manufacturing and having positive characteristics of employment⁷.

The emblematic examples of demonstration of the high level of civic dignity were quite prominent. Once revealed, they were fixed in documents and announced to the public. Thus, students of the Poltava SPI Svitlana Fedotova and Zoya Husak received messages of thanks for finding the watch in city streets. They were praised for taking it to the police station but not to their dorm⁸. But fixing of such deeds were rather the exception – a lesson or an example for others, for there were no more mentions of similar facts for all 12 years of de-Stalinization period in the documents of the institutes.

Hence, delinquent behavior of future teachers was caused by several factors. Alcohol factor pushed to the actions developed from the involuntary deviant behavior. Social poverty moved to the conduct that developed into the impulsive deviation. The psychological and mental exhaustion due to unmet needs in money, food and warmth in such a way pushed to loss of self-control and, as a result, to the crime against one's own moral standards. This is evident from the subsequent repentance of such "criminals". Last place is occupied by social anomalies of rebellion and ritualization. The crimes were committed due to bravado or by those who have already served a sentence for theft and had a recurrence.

¹ APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr.Nakazy. T.1. (2.01-30.06.1961), 83.

² APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr. Nakazy. T.2. (1.07-30.12.1963), 246.

³ DAKO, f. P-485, op. 3, spr. 2. 9.

⁴ DACHO, f. P-2187, op. 1, spr. 23, 5.

⁵ DAKO, f. P-485, op. 4, spr. 15, 59.

⁶ DAK, f. R-985, op. 1, spr. 283, 207.

⁷ APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr.Nakazy. T.1. (2.01-31.07.1958), 60.

⁸ APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr.Nakazy. T.1. (4.01-30.06.1960), 145.

FAMILY LIFE

Communist society pretty bothered about the moral character of students and colleagues. It was a matter of ideology with which educators were spending free time and if there was sometimes violating morality.

As Nataliya Shlikhta notices, the party checking of Leningrad in the early 1950's found the moral decay of youth and – what was even more unacceptable – free relationship¹. The problem of family morality of institute teachers was raised in connection with the CPSU letter of 10 March, 1955 on unworthy behavior of Alexandrov and others. As always, knowing nothing about what was the real scope of another party purge, educators started to interpret the letter in their own way. Poltava



Picture 59. The moment of tenderness while 'subotnik' near the academic building of Poltava SPI, early 1950's

teacher understood it as a call to the tactful attitude towards persons of the opposite sex in the walls of the university. They started to find their own local heroes and negative characters. Communist leader of the institute Mykola Rizun was proclaimed the example of the real gentleman. The young Borys Kuznyak, on the contrary, was named a womanizer. No criteria were given for such "grading" except "as we all know". The ideal woman's behavior towards males, according to Poltava philosopher Dmytro Stepanov, was a quality of the janitor of the history department some "aunt Halya"².

But they didn't go farther than establishing the perfect images of relationships between men and women in the pedagogical collective. The role of the catalyst that moved to the active control over the personal lives of the colleagues and students was the Ministry decree №105 from 25 August,

¹ Shlikhta, "Istoriya radyans'koho suspil'stva," 151.

² DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4828, 73.

1958 “On strengthening the struggle for socialist legality”¹. Having the special clause connected to the morality of students of Poltava SPI, it moved the directorate to organize the course of lectures in 1959 for its students about violations of the law and the rules of socialist cohabitation. To make them even more influential, they invited the deputy chairman of the Poltava Regional Court Mr. Davydenko. He was to explain the youth the right way to organize their family life².

The management showed the concern not only of student’s but teachers’ intimacy. They immediately began to recall all those who once had given a negative example to youth. There were different people among them: from “prominent” and honored“ to the ordinary seasonal workers whose “family crimes” had to be forgotten by the lapse of time. For example, an employee of Poltava SPI’s Botanical Garden Yosyp Derkach had some trouble with his amorous life. When the party started new round of fighting for the morality, he was living happily alone. But “special commission” found out that in 1943 he parted with his wife and had relations with German women. The gardener had already paid for his “crime” fully back then. His wife accused Mr. Derkach and German soldiers beat him torturing for 11 days. The command even had sentenced him to death. Fortunately, the sentence was not executed³. The Soviets recalled the old sin but that time the gardener had only moral condemnation.

The situation could end much worse to those organizing such a “marriage agencies” in the pedagogical institutes. In Poltava SPI, the period of the “thaw” was very fruitful to the janitor and cloakroom attendant Antonina Zelens’ka. She was fired than not only for being rude towards the management but also for another “deeds”: *“she arranged at her own apartment meetings of female students who lived in a dormitory with various immoral persons and by this prompted them to the behavior unworthy of the student”*.⁴

Others used the “high guise of science” for the seduction: zoologist of Poltava SPI Borys Hrebinkin often invited young students to his home. After working sometime on their papers showed his admiration of their beauty wooed promising to marry each of them. When the facts were revealed, the educator said in his defense that he did it to

¹ DASO, f. R-5369, op. 1, spr. 263, 122.

² DAPO, f. R.-1507, op. 1, spr. 666, 20.

³ APNPU, f. 2, op. D-1, spr.DerkachYosypKharytonovych, 3.

⁴ APNPU, f. 2, op. E, Zh. Z, spr.Zelens’ka Antonina Kostyantynivna, 12.



Picture 60. Komsomol wedding of the student family Baka during the New Year party, Poltava SPI, 1950's

explore the character of his students¹. That was not something extra-immoral. In schools of Poltava there also were frequent cases of cohabitation of teachers with young boys².

To affect the proliferation of uncontrolled sexual life of their students, the historian of Poltava SPI Yelisey Ryzhylo in 1958 began to read lectures “Save your honor since your

youth”. It is unknown whether those lectures were popular among future teachers, but the lecturer gathered full halls of workers and ordinary listeners³. Why was that issue so important for Soviet people if the ideology stated that there was no sex in the USSR? Perhaps, the real situation can be understood from the words of one of secondary school teachers from Kremenchuk Mrs. Mariya Hrachova. In 1956, she told her class that many of those graduates who were to enter the universities of UkrSSR that year, had lost their innocence long before the last school bell. And, talking about it to the wide audience of school leavers, she without shame even pointed at some of those who had already known the “forbidden pleasures”⁴.

But sex as one of the essential parts of people’s life was too powerful to be controlled. Educators from Lviv in 1956 constantly complained about so-called “one hundred meter race” in the Pershotravneva Street where students often were running quickly for the prostitutes. The police knowing about it, only sheltered the business⁵.

Party bosses didn’t avoid the family lives not only of elders but also of youth. There was an ideal image of the true love in the Soviet society. It echoes in one of the favorite songs of the students of that period by Maya Kristalinskaya:

*I am not afraid of grief and sorrows
And the ways and path without end,
If we have met each other*

¹ APNPU, f. 2, op. . H-2, spr.HrebinkinBorysHeorhiyovych, 31.

² DAPO, f. P- 251, op. 1, spr. 5278, 37.

³ DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr. 57, 94.

⁴ DAPO, f. P-13, op.1, spr. 588, 108zv.

⁵ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 190, 265.

*And gave our hearts to each other, too.
I do not know myself how I love you,
But, I'm afraid, my love is forever.
You are the dearest soul to me,
The dearest person to me¹*

Taken up by that flow of that perfect feeling, students frequently has weddings during studying. In the early 1950's it was really hard to find not only money but also a place for a wedding party. In 1956, Poltava educator Ivan Chirko complained that youth had bad manners and lack of culture shown during such celebrations. Most of them were held in small hostel rooms with too loud music, alcohol and fights². Some students (mostly from the rural areas) still preferred church marriages along with the civil ones. With time the Communist party ordered to promote so-called "Komsomol wedding". They had a solemn greeting list, and considered to be the best means to combat religion inside the youth circles³. The educators of Poltava SPI already in 1959 urged to conduct youth weddings "in Komsomol style, in a new way"⁴. The presence of teachers at those



Picture 61. Komsomol wedding of the student family Pashko with the special guest – lecturer Mykola Huryev, Poltava SPI, 1961

weddings encouraged as a means of moral education of youth. For example, in 1957, language teacher of Kharkiv SPI Mariya Pasichnyk was a frequent guest at youth fests what was even mentioned on the party meetings on the highest level⁵.

If there were some intimate problems, young people also had to explain their behavior to the comrades. One of those who came under the eye of public

¹ Mayya Kristalinskaya. Pesni. "Lyublyu tebya," Accessed August. 15, 2012.<http://kristalinskaya.ru/songs/song100.htm>

² DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 542, 58.

³ "Pidvyshchennya rivnya naukovy-ateyistychnoyi propahandy," Zorya Poltavshchyny, September 6, 1958, no. 175, 1.

⁴ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4832, 47.

⁵ DAKhO, f.R-4293, op. 2, spr. 755, 17.

condemnation, was Poltava SPI activist Serhiy Nyemchyn who left his wife Polina for personal reasons. The Institute party organization received a letter from the principal of the school in which his wife worked. The document accused the student of treason and worthless attitude to his wife, a teacher. The party organization, as befits to a highly moral organization, condemned the actions of Mr. Nyemchyn and ordered him to return to his family. It was logical for a society with the imposed stereotype that separate living of husband and wife could be only during her stay in the maternity hospital¹. The case of Mr. Nyemchyn dragged on for almost a month. The young man after the grueling interrogations of “high moralists” stated that he could not live with his wife: *“family had collapsed long before that and doesn’t exist anymore, but to live ‘for the form’ – I won’t do that”*.

The society of the collective intellect could not stand the values and needs of the individual. The educators of Poltava SPI accused young man of selfishness and inability to live in the team and, ultimately, expelled from the party for the moral decay and collapse of the family².

It was useless to hope for excuse from the comrades for such family sins. The process of ‘redemption’ could take almost a decade. An example of this can be the educator from Cherkasy SPI Mr. Kyrnos. He was able to ask his colleagues to withdraw the reprimand for attempting to rape a sugar factory worker, which took place in 1945, only 8 years after – in 1953. It wasn’t proper for a higher school teacher to have such a charge³. Similarly, only after the public ‘repentance and atonement’ in 1956 the teacher of Uman SPI Ivan Tymoshenko washed off the stigma of “traitor”. He had to pass through a year and a half of animadversion for adultery with a single woman without being divorced⁴.

Similar “debriefings” of domestic conflicts were all over the universities of the UkrSSR. Thus, the graduate student of Kharkiv SPI Mr. Matsakov in 1957 was expelled not only from the Komsomol but also from the graduate school for beating his wife in public. She often was unconscious after his cruelty. Mr. Matsakov also kept a mistress and was not going to divorce with his ‘beloved one’. It is interesting that it was not his first public court for inappropriate family behavior. He had been already excluded from the Pedagogical Institute of Lviv for the same attitude towards his

¹ Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashikh dney. Mart 1955 goda. №14 (Directed by Tulubyova Z., 1955)

² DAPO, f. 251, op. 1, spr. 4831, 148-52.

³ DACHO, f. P-2187, op. 1, 98. 106.

⁴ DACHO, f. P-2087, op. 1, spr. 18, 100.

spouse¹. Similar problems of young men who were enjoying physical abuse were often discussed in Kyiv SPI in 1956².

But the younger generation had the understanding that the communist morality was far from reality. The student of Physics and Mathematics department of Poltava SPI Inna Tymoshenko in 1957 said: *“the conscience is a relic of capitalism, real life is not as shown in the movies and in the literature³”*.

For such statement she was even named the supporter of anti-Soviet views by the Regional Communist Party Committee. The sub-department of Marxism-Leninism of Poltava SPI then had to conduct a broad campaign among the youth explaining the reality of the Soviet views on the family morality.

CONCLUSIONS

University management and party offices continued strict filtration of tastes of young people in music and literature, increased active intervention in the private lives of employees and students under the pretext of fighting for socialist legality and morality. Religiosity, which is one of the factors of formation of the feeling of pleasure (and often a state of complete satisfaction or happiness), was declared negative part of life. At the beginning of de-Stalinization, there was a short liberalization of the government's attitude to the religious feelings of believers (seen in the resolution of the Central Committee in 1954). But higher school on the local level with the help of the methods of power (mostly by coercion) formed perceptions of the fallacy of faith in young people and university staff. The image of the pedagogical institutes as “one of the most immutable atheistic strongholds” was propagated through a number of negative sanctions. The most frequent were verbal punishments (condemnation and criticism of team members), sometimes they resorted to social isolation and the exclusion from the university. Imprisonment of believers in higher schools was not revealed by us, but there were frequent cases of involvement of teachers in public courts over the believers, thus becoming an indirect negative motive for the rejection of faith. With the liberal trends coming to their end in the state politics, they also intensified the restrictions of religiosity among students and teachers.

Analysis of the everyday practices of young people found that quite a strong interest in dance was caused not only by the search of leisure without sensing the purpose of activity. It was formed by the desire to oppose the system of “youth values” to the officially-ideological values with more or less clear sense of purpose. Foreign

¹ DAKhO, f. R-4293, op. 2, spr. 755, 156-58.

² DAKO, f. P-485, op. 4, spr. 15, 66.

³ DAPO, f. P-15, op. 2, spr. 1621, 22.

music played a catalytic role of public sentiment that came out of motives of rebellion. This in turn caused some sanction from the powers (from a verbal warning to the social exclusion of groups). Incidentally, the method of social exclusion rather successfully operated on the manifestations of the rebellion in fashion of “stilyagi.”

In contrast to the live interest of young people, the party and the administrative authorities resorted to the formation of artificial interest. To accomplish that they often appealed to “pseudo-feelings” of youth. The main one among them was the feeling of belonging (in this case – belonging to the ranks of advanced ideological front of the country. And therefore to the number of morally stable true leaders of socialist ideas of fashion and culture). Sometimes students were able to confront the numerous campaigns of the administration on prohibition of dance that considered “unworthy of Soviet teachers” as well as listening to the forbidden music. This rebellion was based on the grounds that proceeded from the same group of “pseudo-feelings”: a sense of adulthood (like “we understand life better than those edifying us”) and from a sense of new (such as “changes in the country after Stalin must touch all spheres of culture”).

We can name other activities as bright manifestations of social deviation: excessive smoking, alcohol abuse and crimes in the circle of teachers and students. Deviations were conformal for young teachers in most cases (drinking alcohol and smoking were voluntarily organized to the “good spirits” and “for the company”). Deviations in behavior were often caused by abnormality of social subordination (when young people found them among the older, more experienced students), anomaly and innovations (when students tried something new in the new social conditions of the higher school). As for the teachers and students that were much older, their deviations were rather forced, caused by the need to escape from reality, which later grew into a state of dependence and passion. Their deviations were like consequences of participation in the Second World War, dissatisfaction with material or moral demands of society and the state, problems in the family, at work and in their own world of values. There were also frequent cases of so-called social retreat, departure from life, which were the result of the emergence of chronic alcoholism. The educators thus needed inpatient medical treatment. Very often due to intoxication, the deviant behavior became delinquent, and violation of moral norms becomes a violation of law.

Delinquent (criminal) behavior of teachers was caused by several factors. One of them was alcohol. In this case, criminal behavior evolved from the forced deviant behavior. Caused social poverty, delinquent behavior grew into impulsive deviation. Then the psychological and mental exhaustion due to dissatisfaction of needs in money, food, heat pushed them to the loss of self-control and, therefore, to a crime against their own views, as is evident from the subsequent repentance of the that “criminals”. Last

place was occupied by abnormalities of social revolt and ritualization when crimes were the result of bravado or by those who had already been sentenced for theft and had a relapse.



Picture 62. The photo by P. Kekalo of the central after-war street of Poltava – Stalin Street, where the students of the nearby pedagogical institute used to skip their periods in cafes and tea-houses, 1954

Educators vs. Manufacturing

INTRODUCTION

De-Stalinization is associated not only with the dismantling of Stalin's cult of personality, but also with the changes in all spheres in the country: from the architecture of small towns to implement measures of international politics. One of the characteristics of a totalitarian society was an imparting to all social strata the sense of belonging to reforms in the country. The staff of the higher pedagogical schools of the UkrSSR didn't remain aside. Not one educational reform was launched during the "thaw". The government started transformations in different spheres of life of kindergartens, schools and colleges and higher educational establishments.

The chapter is composed of eight sections. In the first one the views of the educators if on the changes in the general schools are examined. Some comments on the specifics of the Law on Education that changed the educational reality of the country in 1958 are given in the second part. The next six sections study the broad range of questions of the main reform – the polytechnic education: the problem of material bases for the organization of the production education, the equipment of workshops, supply with the raw materials, the enrollment of the specialists and etc.

SECONDARY SCHOOL REFORMS

In April of 1958 Nikita Khrushchev delivered a speech at the XIII Congress of Komsomol where the First Secretary outlined his views on the reform of secondary school education. Teachers of Poltava joined the extensive discussion of the abstracts of his report offering options for reform. However, the head of the sub-department of Russian language and literature of Poltava SPI Volodymyr Saveliev rightly observed that the theses said absolutely nothing about the pedagogical institutes, so government policy towards martens of educational personnel remained really uncertain¹.

But the pedagogical institutes were directly dependent on the schools. So the educators joined the public discussion. Poltava lecturers preferred to see the two-stage secondary school in the USSR. The first step was to unite pupils from 1 to 8 classes, and the second stage – students of 9-11 grades. Teachers of Poltava SPI advised to start

¹ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 673, 9.

introducing industrial training from the 5 year of studying. Along with this some of them advised to cancel the study of history, geography and nature study up to the 5 grade. Educators also worried that children in schools were too overloaded with the program and thus often suffer of exhaustion. As for language education, then, according to the teachers, the study of Ukrainian and Russian should be stopped in the 8 grade. Instead of learning a foreign language was to be started from the 3 class (or even from kindergarten, as it was offered by the head of history sub-department Hryhoriy Kulyk).

The teachers also had their point of view regarding the financing of schools. The dean of the Natural studies department of Poltava SPI Andriy Karyshyn gave a proposal to divide the funding between state schools and parents into two halves – 50/50. This was reinforced by the decision of the scientific council of the institute that stated the need to transfer schools in the UkrSSR to the self-service. It should be completed with the help of the pupils themselves as the result of the labor and polytechnic education as early as from the 1 grade. The assignment of the working specialty to the students of the 9-11 grades was to give school free working force¹. But, looking ahead, we need to state that their recommendations were not used by the reformers. The Soviet state often declared such public discussion as illustration for the fictitious opinions of democratization.

According to the proposals of Poltava educators even issuing of diplomas was to undergo drastic changes. The diploma of the teacher would be issues only after the passage of a year of practice after graduation and only according to the results of the defence of the qualification thesis and under the appropriate positive characteristics from the school². Some of scientists, such as Professor Pavlo Sosin, recommended abolishing state exams at the universities, replacing them with the defense of the diploma thesis³. The question of language education took probably the most time in that discussion and we will return to it in another chapter.

The views of teachers on the higher school administration were also rather interesting. During the meeting of the Communist party active meeting of Poltava in 1958 the educators of Poltava SPI proposed to create a separate fully functioning Academy of Pedagogical Sciences.

The issue of awarding scientific degrees should be would withdraw from the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education to the newly-formed Academy of Sciences. Some of teachers also dreamed of the total elimination of the Ministry of Education

¹ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 630, 57-66.

² DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 630, 90-101.

³ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 680, 15.

and Ministry of Higher Education of the USSR. They proposed to create the Committee for higher education in the Council of Ministers of the USSR instead. We should note that the government supported just a single proposal of Poltava educators: the possibility of combining the institute of improvement of teachers with pedagogical institutes of the country¹. But even that reform with the time was backed up. And now the institutes of requalification of the teaching staff are still doubling the work of pedagogical universities in modern-day Ukraine.

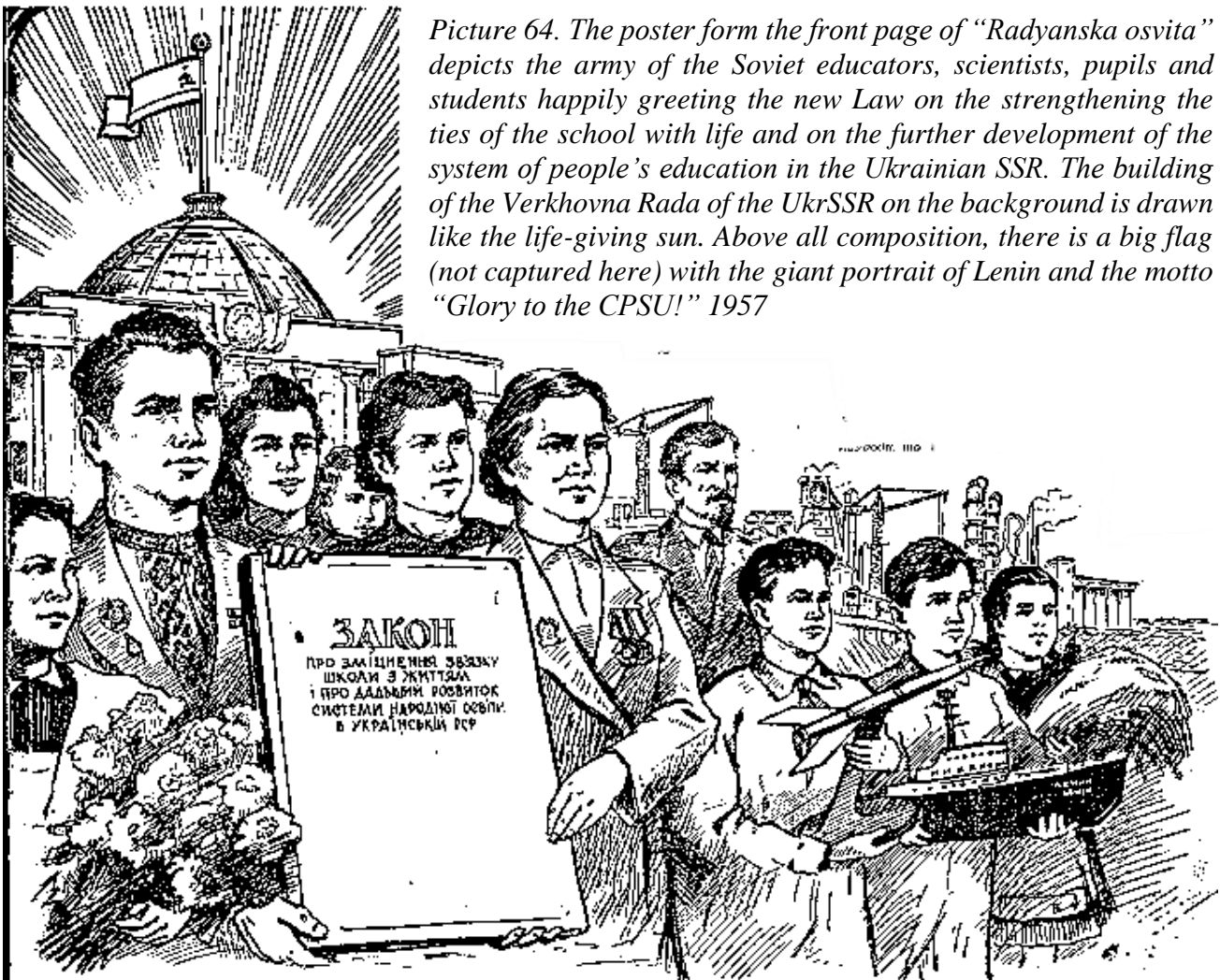


Picture 63. The picture of the wishes for the new 1959 year for educators of the UkrSSR “We invite you for the New Year party!” It illustrates the expectations of the teachers from the reforms in their professional sphere. In the left bottom corner, there are schoolchildren with see-saws, hammers, scissors, scythes, wrenches and other tools marching towards the journalist and the press-photographer with the banner “For the close connection of the education with the labor!” – the symbol of polytechnic reform. The right side composition shows the connection of education with agriculture and science. Schoolchildren are holding the flag “Brigade of the communist labor”, corn, beet root, wheat ears, feeding pigs, rabbits and hens. There are also teachers in the picture. Some of them, in the right upper part, are marching from the newly opened school with the plant in the back – the symbol of the connection of education with manufacture. Father Frost has three main principles of the reforms in his sack: new schools, workshops and boarding schools.

¹ DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr. 770, 211.

THE NEW LAW ON EDUCATION

However, one of the most significant reforms was polytechnic training. This problem left behind the largest number of teachers' comments. It also caused more changes in the learning process than any other government innovation. Therefore, I consider it fundamental educational reform throughout that days, which is reflected in the Law on Education in the Ukrainian SSR in 1959¹. Regulations were adopted on 17, April of 1959. It is actually dubbed the "Law on strengthening ties with the life of the school and the further development of public education in the USSR", adopted on 24, December of 1958. This "heredity" was even stated in the preamble to the Ukrainian legislative act. Regulations have an entry and four sections, consisting of 55 articles: the secondary (§1-21) on vocational (§22-29), secondary special (§30-36) and higher education (§37-55). The entry declares the achievements of Soviet power in the development of Ukrainian school that opened more than 25 thousands educational



Picture 64. The poster from the front page of "Radyanska osvita" depicts the army of the Soviet educators, scientists, pupils and students happily greeting the new Law on the strengthening the ties of the school with life and on the further development of the system of people's education in the Ukrainian SSR. The building of the Verkhovna Rada of the UkrSSR on the background is drawn like the life-giving sun. Above all composition, there is a big flag (not captured here) with the giant portrait of Lenin and the motto "Glory to the CPSU!" 1957

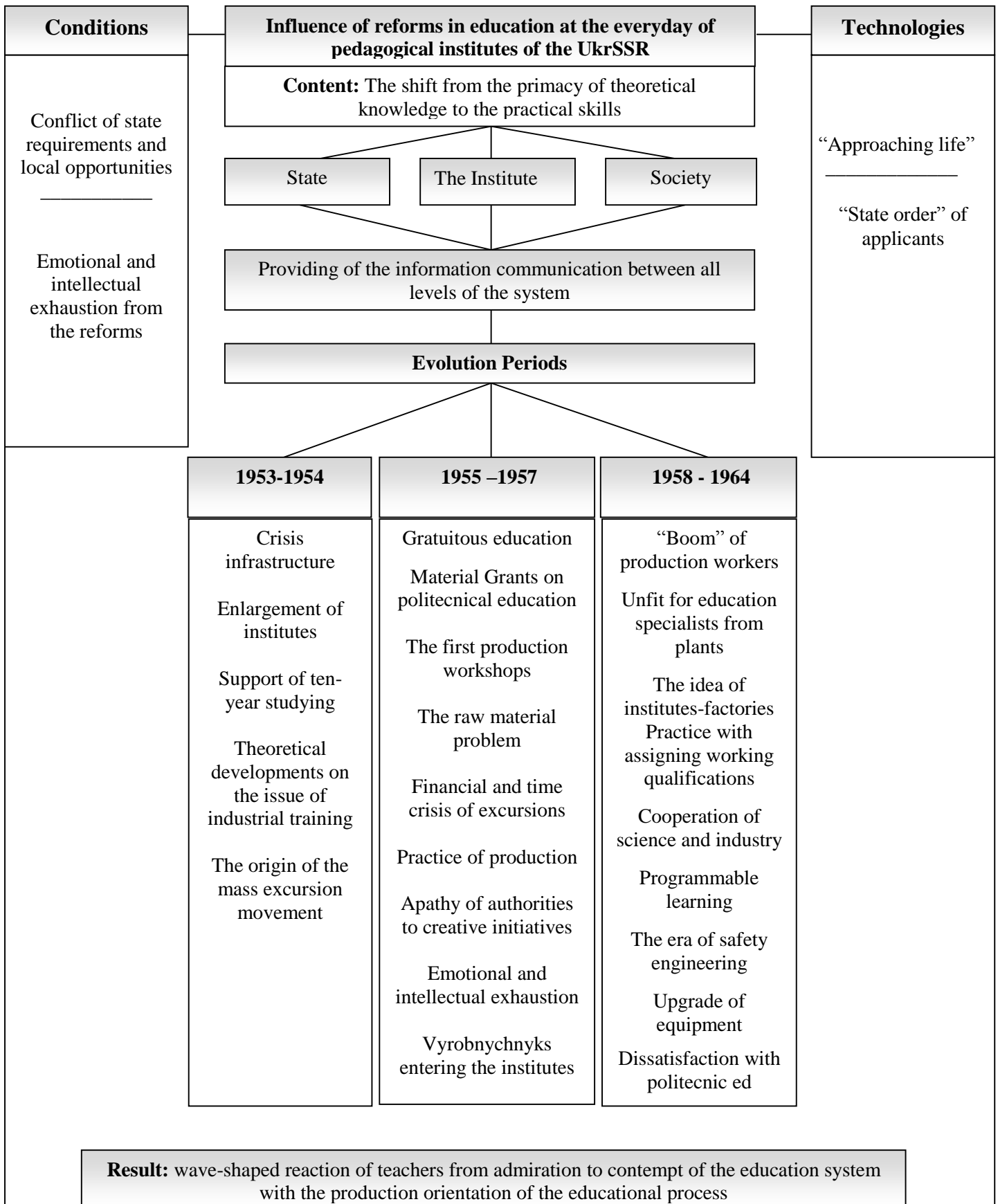
¹ "Zakon pro zmitsnennya zv'yazku shkoly z zhyttyam i pro dal'shyy rozvytok systemy narodnoyi osvity v Ukrayins'kiy RSR," Zorya Poltavshchyny, April 19, 1959, no. 78, 1-2.

institutions and gave the opportunity to people to study their native (Ukrainian) language. Here was also stated the main characteristics of education in the UkrSSR: national in form and the Soviet in content. The document declared the purpose of education in the USSR: to educate the citizens of the state understanding that everyone has to contribute to the building of a communist society. In this study, we are particularly interested in the first and the fourth sections. The educators of the UkrSSR had a rather sharp debate regarding the first one, especially in the field of language of education in the country. The last one directly touched the lives of institutes.

The first section declared the introduction of the eight-year secondary education instead a seven-year school. From 1959, secondary education in incomplete general labor Polytechnic schools had to cover children from 7 to 15-16 years. The complete secondary education was received by 15-16-olders in secondary schools of working and rural youth, in secondary educational labor polytechnic schools with industrial training or in technical schools and other secondary specialized educational institutions. Education in the native language was declared. Along with that parents were provided the right to choose to what school with what language of training their children should have been taught. The clause was ambiguous, because the following paragraph of the act establishes the measures to ensure the teaching of the Russian language “as a powerful means of international communication”.

The fourth section required approximation of higher education to life that meant to the production. Studying in high school was conducted on the basis of secondary education through a combination of training with socially useful work. The law gave preference to entrants of production for admission to institutes of the country. They were called “vyrobnychnyks” – people from manufacturing (Ukr. “vyrobnytstvo”). The document took care of strengthening the correspondence and evening education. Article 43 of the documents concerned the work of pedagogical institutes themselves. As their aim was named the finishing of completing all schools with teachers with higher education. Independently required to start training of teachers in agronomy, animal husbandry, technical and engineering disciplines. Regulations ordered the institutes to increase the level of theoretical teaching, enhance the value of production and pedagogical practices. Finally, it again stressed the superiority of applicants with work experience, especially those who had experience or working with children. The article 50 ordered a high school to broader involvement of skilled engineering workers, builders, agriculturists, engineers and others in the educational process of the higher pedagogical schools.

Scheme 2. Historical Model of Influence of Reforms in Education at the Everyday of Pedagogical Institutes of the UkrSSR



POLYTECHNIC EDUCATION



Picture 65. In the workshops of Poltava SPI newly rebuilt by the students, early 1960's

The article of “The Great Soviet Encyclopedia” gives such a definition of polytechnic education: “it’s a mastering of system of knowledge about the scientific basis of modern production skills of treatment with the most common means of labor, the formation and development of technical skills and creative attitude to work”¹.

Encyclopedia and periodicals of that time also

marked the beginning of the introduction of polytechnic education in the times of Stalin². Back in his days, the Soviet leader wanted to see it as an opportunity for youth not to be tied down to a particular profession because of the existing division of labor. One of the leading scientists in 1950's Ukraine, candidate of pedagogical sciences Mykola Nizhynskyi treated it as means of accelerating the transition from socialism to communism³. In keeping with these statements students were taught polytechnic norms solely on works by Joseph Stalin⁴. There was little science in them, as we can see from the reports written by Poltava student Yuri Halenevych. The best paper was the one using the name “Stalin” as much as possible – even more than “polytechnic education” itself⁵. However, after 1953, when “the coryphaeus of all sciences” had already passed away, his influence on polytechnic education was considered having been overestimated. The lecturers and students turned their minds to works by Vladimir Lenin

¹ B. A. Vvedenskiy, ed. *Politekhnicheskoe obrazovanie*, Bol'shaya sovetskaya éntsyklopediya, vol.33 (Moskva: Gos. nauch. izdat. «BSÉ», 1955).

² “Poslidovno vprovadzhuvaty politekhnizatsiyu shkoly!,” *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, Januzry 10, 1953, no. 7, 4.

³ M. Nizhynskyi, “Pro deyaki pytannya politekhnichnoho navchannya v seredniy shkoli,” *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, January 13, 1953, no. 9, 2-3.

⁴ APNPU, f. 1.(z/v), pp. 1956 (Ros. viddil) (A-H), spr. 2144. Bondarenko Lukeriya Markivna (1953-1956 pp.), 11.

⁵ APNPU, f. 1.(z/v), op. 1956 (Ros. viddil) (A-H), spr. 2159. Halenevych Yuriy Mykolayovych (1951-1956 pp.), 24.

and Nadezhda Krupskaya. At least the reports of Poltava students, as Hanna Zaparenko, had no mention of Stalin while speaking on the topic in 1954 citing the “revolutionary couple” instead¹.

During the 1953-1955 bienniums, polytechnic training didn't go far than taking youth to the short-time excursions to the factories. In fact, there were 26 specialized secondary schools with industrial training working in the UkrSSR. But future teachers had no opportunity to study their experience because those schools were far from the real process of production training as well². Thus, Poltava lecturer Mykola Huryev remarked: “*what is called polytechnic education in schools is something very far from the real polytechnic education and our own business of polytechnic education seems to be more like a game than something serious*”³.

Calls of the Communist party to bring education closer to life forced the teachers of the pedagogical institutes to develop guidelines for secondary school teachers of different specialties. For example, Halyna Lipatnikova from Poltava SPI made great efforts to combination of apprenticeship and history courses⁴. Soon her colleagues left the walls of the institute to explore the experience of schools in polytechnic education all over the region. Philologist Lev Rohozin learnt the results of milling and lathe classes of Poltava, historian Oleksandr Danysko was engaged in work on the collective farm schools in the village of Dykanka, and linguist Olha Nemyrovska studied the work of Opishnya school of ceramics. The idealistic world-view of the educators was ruined. The real situation with polytechnic education was totally different from the one they presented to their students at the universities preparing them to the work. That concern was told out loud in 1957 at the joint meeting of the Academic Council of Poltava SPI and the Poltava Institute of improvement of teachers with secondary school directors, representatives of regional and district departments of education. The mathematician Zahariy Kushka noted that in most schools polytechnic education was held quite negligent. Specialty of the classes were appointed excluding interests of students, and most importantly there were no textbooks and no study plans both in schools and in the pedagogical institutes⁵.

That once again showed that despite the active efforts of the government on the introduction of new educational reforms, the old promises were never fulfilled.

¹ APNPU, f. 1.(z/v), op. 1956 (Ros. viddil) (D-L), spr. 2168. Zaparenko Hanna Semenivna (1951-1956 pp.), 18.

² Iryna Tyurmenko, “Shkil'ne budivnytstvo na Pivdni u 1950-kh-1960-kh rr.” In *Pivden': etnoistorychnyy, movnyy, kul'turnyy ta relihiynyy vymiry* (Odesa, 2011), 158.

³ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 440, 77.

⁴ APNPU, f. 2, op. L, spr. Lipatnikova Halyna Ivanivna, 32.

⁵ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 588, 1.



Picture 66. Caricature about the real connection between schools and pedagogical institutes. The old caretaker locks the chemical cabinet of the institute answering the question of the man about the goal: “The teachers have come for practice so we close it for their eyes not to diverge, 1957

Educators blamed the authorities for promising too much and completing very few from the promised. The authorities instead blamed pedagogical staff in detachment from the real school work¹. Teachers had a claim in return. For example, the Ministry of education gave a scientific work to Poltava SPI teacher Mrs. Verkhovod on teaching the production education in the secondary school. They ordered to perform the work by the end of 1956. But even in January of 1957 there were no classes with the production education throughout all secondary schools of Poltava region to conduct that work².

Perhaps it is because of the “splendor” of government appeals and of superficiality of most university plans there were oddities that only stated the fragility of reforms. One happened during a meeting of students and lecturers of Poltava SPI with teachers from the regional schools in 1957. The educators from the sub-department of Pedagogy commented proudly that they were focusing on sharing with masses of the

best practices of production education. But some people from the audience without hesitation commented that ambiguous statement: “We hear it for the first time”³.

But in other spheres there were real efforts. For example, a teacher of Kharkhiv SPI Ustinov urged not to simplify the understanding of that process “only by visits to factories” and move to arming young people with knowledge of technology, even having the limited material possibilities of institutes as an obstacle⁴. The hesitation of the institutes in the common understanding of what they should do speaking of industrial training lasted quite long. A lot of educators were not interested in it – and that was quiet obvious. But not for the totalitarian scheme of ruling the country. Everyone should be a part of the process. That’s why the output resolution from the Ministry of Education of February 25, 1955 “On the results of research work in

¹ DAPO, f. P-19, op. 1, spr. 237, 40.

² DAPO, f.R-1507, op. 1, spr. 588, 68.

³ DAPO, f. R- 1507, op. 1, spr. 599, 164.

⁴ DAKhO, f. R-4293, op. 2, spr. 497, 66.

pedagogical institutes of the UkrSSR.” forced teachers of higher educational schools to join at least theoretical development of the polytechnic learning¹.

The year 1956 became the defining not only for political life. After the Twentieth Congress of CPSU, the number of teachers’ theoretical works increased. The polytechnic education elements were introduced even in school math courses². Some educators were using data from plants and collective farms in making-up tasks for tests. But the most just started giving the sums on calculating of numbers and other data left by the Party Congress³. Manufacturing was everywhere – even in the courses of humanities. Seeing that the teacher of Sumy SPI Taras Chupys named it “*a free training of the manufacturing workers for the state*”⁴. The pedagogical youth went from school classrooms to the big factories. Thus, future teachers in Kharkov carried out 8 hours per day near the machine tool at Car repairing plants⁵. The reform started to give its results when some pedagogical institutes of the UkrSSR opened the department the basics of the manufacturing in 1957⁶.

DO-IT-YOUSELF-EDUCATION

I’ve already covered the problems of the institutes that were hardly coming out of the decline even eight years after the Second World War. Here let’s have a look on the ones concerning the organization of polytechnic education not mentioned previously. One of them was a lack of places for embodying party plans of polytechnic education into life. Central institutes as Kharkiv SPI were close to provision bases having little problems with the supply of materials and organization of working areas⁷ but situation in provinces was rather different.

Thus, Poltava SPI had only one workshop in 1953. Note that the crisis was not only with buildings, but also with providing of educational raw materials. For example, students-philologists sometimes had only 2-3 textbook on foreign literature for the course for a whole group of at least 20 people, there also were no textbooks on Soviet literature⁸. There was not even wool for making stuffed animals and birds, supposed by the plans of polytechnic education at the natural faculty. The set of the radio in the institute was frustrated because accountancy hadn’t provided cash for the purchase of

¹ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 470, 3.

² DASO, f. R-5369, op. 1, spr.233, 5.

³ DASO, f. R-5369, op. 1, spr. 249, 5-7.

⁴ DASO, f. R-2817, op. 3, spr. 225, 109zv.

⁵ DAKhO, f. R-4293, op. 2, spr. 740, 58.

⁶ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 570, 19.

⁷ DAKhO, f. R-1780, op. 3, spr. 483, 109.

⁸ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 395, 17.



Picture 67. The caricature of Vinnitsya SPI lecturer Mykola Slavskyi showing Vinnitsya shop of school visual devices. The director comrade Meyerzon is depicted sleeping by the door, The note on the doors says, 'The shop is opened daily except Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, Thursdays, Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays. That situation moved educators to make devices themselves, 1956

wire and loudspeakers. Instructors were ready to make even the most necessary details by themselves only having raw materials.

But they didn't receive them as well as they didn't have the most basic supplies in the laboratories¹. In the same time Lviv Pedagogical Institute, being at the edge of reforms as newly-joined territory, was boasting of having the latest equipment for laboratories and workshops already in 1954².

A similar situation as we see in Poltava was almost in every second pedagogical institute of the country. So, Uman SPI director Volodymyr Tkanenko had every reason to note, looking at the only microscope and an only one magnifying glass in the biological laboratory of his institute: "We only cripple students with such equipment"³.

Sometimes the state helped, but did it clumsily. Thus, the staff of Vinnitsya SPI wrote to the Ministry of Education that they finally got a big drilling machine in 1953

after numerous pleas. But teachers could not use it effectively. The government miscalculated and inscribed in small audiences machine designed for large machine-building plant that even couldn't be taken into any room. And the higher school even lacked a powerful enough electric generator in order to run it for no one gave money for that⁴.

¹ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 392, 229-30.

² TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 141, 158.

³ DACHO, f. R-193, op. 8, spr. 174, 26.

⁴ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1291, 6.



Picture 68. The chemical laboratories of Poltava SPI in the early 1960's were totally different from their poor predecessors in 1950's

After three years of launching the national program of polytechnic education in the new 1956-1957 academic year, workshops of some institutes were not still prepared to host students. New protracted, unfinished buildings appeared in organizing carpentry, plumbing or glass-blowing departments¹. In some opened workshops machines were outdated; there was a lack of wood and iron for work². So, the

lecturer of physics in Kharkiv SPI Halkin in 1953 stated that the institute was unable to order new equipment and had to use outdated devices³.

Maybe, 1956 was a turning point not only for ideology, for it pointed the changes in providing higher schools of many cities with materials for polytechnic education. In particular, Kharkiv State Pedagogic Institute, mentioned above, was able to boast of acquiring of new machines and equipment for specialized laboratories⁴. Stalino SPI received a truck GAZ-51, a tractor and 7 machines in his cramped work-shops⁵. Poltava higher school bought 6 machine tools, two grinding presses, tractor "Universal-2" and the car "ZIS-5" for the needs of polytechnic education⁶. Even well-equipped Lviv was able to re-new 19 laboratories and workshops. After that the lecturers noted that they finally got rid of "harmful brigadier method of teaching in labs". Before that only few students were able to practice what others just learnt theoretically because of the lack of tools⁷.

¹ DAPO, f. P-15, op. 2, spr. 1588, 29.

² DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 542, 85.

³ DAKhO, f. R-4293, op. 2, spr. 696, 7.

⁴ DAKhO, f. R-4293, op. 2, spr. 684, 4.

⁵ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1879, 4.

⁶ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 639, 183.

⁷ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1872, 2.

However, the students, working 90 hours a semester in workshops, often were not able to make any visual material or any model¹. The reason was not so much in the inability and ignorance of students. It was in a simple lack of materials so common for all subsequent years. Poltava teachers complained that needed wood and wire had been absent in the workshops for two semesters². To solve that the directorate made the households facilities of the institute to help with provision³. But it was a single “act of good will”. Services in other institutes were not so willing to help future teachers in their dream to become manufacturers. For example, Uman and Kharkiv teachers openly said that there was no hope for business executives helping the higher schools. The reason was obvious. They had no provision and materials themselves to supply educational laboratories. That’s why the lecturer of Kharkiv SPI Viktor Babiy hinted that if household department had been installing two electric bells in the corridors for more than two months, it would have been building workshop for ten years⁴.

The problem of working space occurred once more in the end of 1950’s. The Ministry of Education had to state the fact of unsuitability of all workshops for polytechnic education in high schools across the UkrSSR by its separate order of May 15, 1959⁵. For example, Poltava 2 joinery and 2 metalwork workshops, thermal and storing rooms and automobile class were placed in damp, cramped basement without daylight⁶. The situation with “above-ground” workshops wasn’t also very optimistic. So, physics workshops could host only 12-15 students. The institute had to arrange practice at the railway college, locomotive repair factory and in the Building institute⁷. It was of no effect to wait for state’s assistance. Therefore Odesa SPIFL reported to the Ministry with certain accusation of indifference that they had gained 7 machine tools and other implements “by the own initiative of the institute workers”⁸. And Poltava Professor Pavlo Sosin noted that material basis of the Institute could only be strengthened by the students themselves, without waiting for help from above over the years because “students had already built a garage, so they could build all workshops too”⁹.

¹ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 630, 13.

² DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 762, 28zv.

³ DAKhO, f. R-4293, op. 2, spr. 696, 33.

⁴ DACHO, f. R-1418, op. 2, spr. 181, 27.

⁵ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 655, 53.

⁶ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 660, 5.

⁷ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 598, 12.

⁸ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1875, 1.

⁹ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 756, 33.

EXCURSIONS AS “NEED OF LIFE”

One of the slogans of education reforms was “Approaching of education to the needs of life”. The students and subsequently teachers were introduced to the production not only through the paragraphs of books and in the pages of the periodicals. They in the literal sense were taken to the machine tools. Of course, it was strange to expect the rapid convergence of the pedagogical institutes with the production just right of the beginning of education reforms in 1953. The most of the pedagogical institutes of the country chose the easiest way. They names excursions as the basis of the polytechnic education. At least that was a way the polytechnic education was originally seen in Kharkiv¹ and Zhytomyr². Vinnytsya SPI even offered to standardize the plan of production excursions for future teachers for all four years of studying³. Those means of teaching were inherent in many institutes of the UkrSSR⁴. For example, students of Poltava SPI were taken on excursions to the Accounting Office of Poltava⁵, to the plants and factories⁶ and other industrial objects of the region⁷.

The ties of pedagogical institutes and plants seemed to be quite strong. However, this cooperation sometimes was limited only by walking and looking around, because the management of companies frequently couldn't let students manufacture something⁸. But even such theoretical studying the experience of factories and collective farms created little problems. The main ones were the lack of time in the curriculum, and the lack of money in the treasury of the institutes for their organization. Because of this, the deputy of the director of Poltava SPI Andriy Karyshyn noted the Ministry of Education that it wasn't stepping up with the life and institute was not able to do anything itself perfectly⁹. But when the teacher of Cherkasy SPI Nosenko said that the tours should not be the basis for polytechnic education, she was criticized for distrust of government policy¹⁰. And subsequently the Ministry of Education instructed to organize lectures for lecturers explaining them agriculture and manufacturing bases to avoid such misunderstanding¹¹.

¹ DAKhO, f. R-4293, op. 2, spr. 497, 64.

² TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1294, 36.

³ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1291, 32.

⁴ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 243, 174.

⁵ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 392, 229-30.

⁶ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 424, 4.

⁷ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 552, 9.

⁸ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 911, 6.

⁹ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 542, 54.

¹⁰ DACHO, f. P-2187, op. 1, spr. 21, 103.

¹¹ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 517, 95.

“PRODUCTION WORKERS”



Picture 70. Students of Cherkasy SPI go to their youth friends to the synthetic fiber plant after lectures, 1957

Industrialization of the education showed the lack of professionalism of current teaching staff in new circumstances. It was pretty logical. The specialist in humanities could hardly cope with the tractor. But now he was obliged to do it. That’s why the best representatives of industrial and agricultural areas were involved in work with future teachers. Most of them were qualified engineers or farmers, but did not have sufficient pedagogical training to transform their experience into a means of effective learning process¹.

Another indicator of “polytechnic changes” was a specific state order for students. It is difficult to talk about regional or professional specificity in a country with a solid government orders. However, there really was one in case with polytechnic education. The first wave of discussions appeared in December of 1954 with the new rules for the entry into universities. The Soviet State offered to take manufacturing workers to the higher schools on preferential terms. The privileges were granted to those who had already had two year working

experience. A lot of young people from agriculture and factories rushed to higher schools. That was great for them.

However, Poltava lecturer Aaron Matyukov observed that such labor turnover negatively affect agriculture sector of countries. Moreover, after two years of work at the machine tool people could easily lose all the knowledge gained at school and needed for entering the institutes. But there also were the defenders of such party decision. The assistant of the sub-department of Mathematics of Poltava SPI Andriy Plish treated this as salvation of education from educating “kid-gloves” in Soviet society². There were supporters and opponents of introduction of people from plants to teachers’ world all over Ukraine. Uman Mathematician I. Khasin was even accused of hidden resistance of polytechnic changes. It was told that he showed the biased attitude

¹ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 588, 42. 56.

² DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 486, 25.

towards students from manufacturing, oppressing them during exams and the trainings¹. But how many of production workers entered the higher schools of the UkrSSR right after the reform? The universities across the country reported that the average number of production workers was 65% (24.000 young people from 37.000 of all recruits to higher schools²). And pedagogical institutes really remained behind in that process.

Although the production remained somewhat distant from the pedagogy, the reforms really tried to combine quite different things. The situation varied from city to city. It was much easier for the big industrial centers to find the volunteers for helping with education of the working youth. It was in funding, in the tools and materials supply and the cooperation of the specialists. For example, Zaporizhzhya SPI in 1960 proudly reported about having enrolled 30 companies that committed to pay a stipend for young people during their training³. On the contrary, the cities with the poor manufacturing had totally different situation. Thus, in 1956, only 6 people of youth from production were enrolled on the first course of Drohobych SPI out of 153 applicants, and only 8 persons from 250 entrants of Poltava SPI⁴. The regional committees of the Communist Party along with the executive committees of regional councils and workers joined the process to remedy the situation. For example, in November 1959, they gathered representatives of collective farms and companies of the region⁵. After debates they developed a special plan of admission of representatives from production to the institutes of Poltava⁶. They ordered 300 applicants from districts to stand in a queue to Poltava SPI during the admission campaign of 1960. Ten more Poltava institutions promised to facilitate the entry of 30 of their employees to the institute.

¹ DACHO, f. R-1418, op. 2, spr. 206, 2.

² TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 226, 40.

³ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 244, 130.

⁴ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 193, 107-10. 114-15.

⁵ DAPO, f. P-15, op. 2, spr. 1858, 84.

⁶ DAPO, f. P-15, op. 2, spr. 1903, 77.

Table 7

The appointments of “producers” to Poltava SPI in 1960	
The name of the institution	Number of applicants (persons)
Regional Trade Union Council	8
Cotton spinning mill	4
Turbo-Mechanical Plant	3
Leather and Shoes Plant	3
Butter and fat plant	2
Milk factory	2
Meat plant	2
Gloves and mittens factory	2
Glass factory	2
Garment factory	2
Total	30

Source: DAPO, f. P-15, op. 2, spr. 1903, 77, DAPO, f. R-1507, op.1, spr.655, 124-32.

These institutions had a diverse specific, so it's hard to talk about the goal of that campaign except the execution of the state order is difficult¹. Still there were some difficulties. A lot of businesses could help pedagogical institutes with the education of production workers. There was a collision of the legislation. From one hand, the Ministry made pedagogical institutes enroll as much people from the plants as possible, from the other side it prohibited people to study on the departments with a specialty different from their original occupation. So, you could be a student of the pedagogical institute only if you were a teacher. So, many plants were really unable to come against the current Soviet law that prohibited paying scholarships for the youth training not in the field².

Sometimes the higher schools tried to complete the state order for “production workers” among their students in all possible ways. And they led to the absurd. Thus, a strange fact was revealed in 1960 in Poltava. Wanting to make all their bests, the reformers tried to lobby the acceptance of two girls to the Philology department of the local SPI. Poltava regional party committee tried to push them through the special commissions but in vain. The first one, Ms. Sydorenko from the 6th communication station was not accepted due to the absence of hearing, and her friend Ms. Trehub had “*the catastrophic knowledge of the Ukrainian language*”³.

¹ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 655, 124-32.

² DAPO, f. P-15, op. 2, spr. 1993, 25.

³ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 244, 130.



Picture 71. In 1957, It became extremely popular to fight against so-called “charcoal methods of teaching”. The educators started to promote the use of scientific films, models and schemes. The verse under the picture said: “Even if you have already been serving us for ages, charcoal, / It’s time to strip you rule”

But already in a year the situation with a set of production workers into the ranks of institute teachers had changed dramatically. The higher schools stated that as the priority of their work. The ‘top three list’ was formed by Kirovohrad, Vinnytsya and Luhans’k Pedagogical Institutes with the highest percentage of students with manufacturing experience.

Though, there still were those having failed to fulfill state plans such as Berdyansk, Hlukhiv, Drohobych SPIs and some others¹. The increased pressure on the education system had led to the fact that in 1961 it turned out that Ukrainian universities were the first in the Soviet Union in a process of enrolling applicants from the production spheres².

This step of the government significantly broadened outlook of the staff of the institutes. The interests of the masses had changed since initiation into the ranks of people who deliberately chose to work in a factory or village before that. On the one hand, educators stated that production workers “treated the education more attentively” (Cherkasy³) and “worked independently, being more interested in counseling” (Kharkiv⁴). On the

other hand, they noticed that the institutes were flooded with people, “whose lives’ purposes were far from pedagogy”⁵.

REFORMS “ON THE WAY”

But the emotional and intellectual exhaustion of teachers from the reforms came very soon. It affected the implementation of government’s plans. Most of them were badly thought-out. Others were changed already during the implementation. No

¹ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, dpr. 239, 59.

² DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 756, 164.

³ DACHO, f. R-193, op. 8, spr. 322, 3.

⁴ DAKhO, f. R-4293, op. 2, spr. 741, 106.

⁵ DAPO, f. P-15, op. 2, spr. 1993, 20. 29.

wonder that teachers from Slovyansk SPI named them “reforms on the way”¹. The director of Poltava SPI Mykhaylo Semyvolos argued that it was especially difficult for teachers and students to change to changes due to permanent corrections of plans by issuing new laws on scholarships, shifting to a five-year period of study and changing the specialization of training the specialists². Not surprisingly, teachers sometimes criticized actions of the Ministry. For example, the scientist and then a lecturer of Cherkasy SPI Mykhaylo Zhovtobryukh considered impractical the combination of two specializations of language and singing because young people had already comprehended language and literature as separate courses³. But the combination of specialties was only a half of the problem. Another one was a reverse mode that Ministry used to apply. They always liked to back off all reforms they considered to be wrong. We can only imagine the reaction of teachers when they heard the report of Ministry of Education from August 27, 1963. Just three days before the beginning of a new academic year they had to be change all scholar programs from five again back to four-year study for specialties of Ukrainian and Russian language and literature, Mathematics, Music, History and Foreign languages by September, 1 of 1963!⁴

The changes in the curriculum were not the only reforms in the education. Government started to change the network of educational institutions of the UkrSSR. They included the transfer of educational institutions or their branches in other cities⁵. Lecturers were to move across the country with the closer of their previous working sites. The teachers often had difficulties with housing at new places. And infusion into a new institute team with its own rules and traditions was very hard for a lot of them. The most accurate attitude to such transformations of Ministry was expressed by teachers of Osypenko SPI, “*we get the orders of the Ministry of Education of the UkrSSR very late, when it is late to perform them, and sometimes their performance can affect the business*”⁶.

From 1956 to 1958 education reforms went far beyond simple polytechnic changes. As a gift for youth was named the Resolution of CM of the USSR “On the abolition of tuition fees”. Students even wrote special dictations on that. They wrote the words of support of the government policy: “*The people of many countries, where the old capitalist relations still dominate, are only dreaming of radical reforms of the*

¹ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1880, 30.

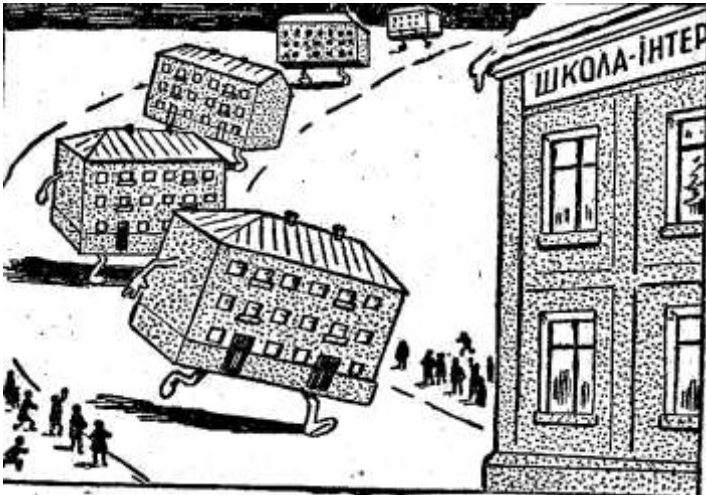
² DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 542, 18.

³ DACHO, f. R-193, op. 8, spr. 322, 265.

⁴ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 843, 59.

⁵ DASO, f. R-5369, op. 1, spr. 186, 30.

⁶ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1877, 52.



Picture 72. In 1957, the educators welcomed the reform of school system. A new type of schools – boarding school – was introduced. There were already 74 such establishments with 15.000 students in them across the UkrSSR. The verse under the picture said: “Even though our age is small, but the people have already praised us. Our regiment will be growing with time”

whole system of public education and upbringing, of such reforms that would make education accessible to all people”¹.

In May 1956 teachers welcomed another initiative of the government on the organization of boarding schools. It wasn't just the ordinary legislative process. The country of workers tried to show that each person could influence the life. So every teacher was to leave his proposals. A lot of these remarks were made on a “about own sores”. One required selecting the best boarding language teachers, others offered to increase the number of hours of physical education, the

third ones recommended to strengthen the training of teachers of singing, drawing and mathematics². Teachers' curiosity to orphanages was not only extremely professional. The boarding schools were associated with the earliest successes of educators in the field of industrial training³. Already in 1957, according to the plan of the Ministry, 36 pedagogical institutes of the UkrSSR started the custody of orphanages in the sphere of polytechnic training⁴. Another document appeared in November of 1958. The teachers were submitted a draft of abstracts of Central Committee of CPSU and the CM of the USSR “On strengthening the link of school with life”. The discussion enrolled even students who, in particular, offered state farms to employ university graduates and to open special plants and factories producing school supplies. But the Ministry of Education was deaf to the employment of students as well as to the most of the proposals during the adoption of the new Law “On strengthening the link of school with life”⁵.

The educators reacted not only on official orders but also on speeches of state leaders. One of them was Nikita Khrushchev's report at the XIII Congress of

¹ APNPU, f. 1. (z/v), op. 1956 (A-K), spr. 2242. Altyn Yuriy Illich (1951-1956), 57.

² DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 542, 65.

³ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 658, 11.

⁴ DASO, f. R-5369, op. 1, spr. 237, 11.

⁵ “Zakon pro zmitsnennya zv'yazku shkoly...”

Komsomol in which The First secretary stated his views on the reform of school education. Teachers of the UkrSSR joined the extensive discussion of abstracts, offering options for reform. Head of the sub department of Russian language Poltava SPI Volodymyr Saveliev rightly observed that leader's theses had said absolutely nothing about the pedagogical institutes. So the government policy towards the smiths of educational personnel remained uncertain¹.

REACHING THE GOALS

During the 1959-1964, one could see significant progress for which institutes had come through many obstacles: from the moral exhaustion of workers to the depletion of treasuries of the institutions. In April of 1959, comrade Zavadskyi, the members of the special commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party correctly noted checking-up Poltava SPI that nothing else but "really heroic efforts of the staff" made it possible to reach good results in polytechnic education². These "heroic efforts" helped to overcome the constant problem of lack of raw materials³ and the limit of time spent by students in the workshops along with the repeating incidents of injuries and damaging when working with old equipment in the process of cutting and chopping at automobile a tractor courses. The MHE of the Soviet Union realized the problem of life protection of unskilled humanity students and joined the campaign of teaching safety in the institutes in connection with polytechnic education only in October of 1961⁴. Later, the Ministry of Education revealed that future teachers were working with outdated equipment and virtually learned to work with the tools that had not already been used in production. The order of 27, August of 1963 obliged the factories to supply the institutes under their application with brand new machines, machine tools and samples of agricultural equipment of serial production of the first batches⁵. It was right but really late decision. Teachers all over the country had already done whatever they could to equip the institutes with needed technique. For example, Poltava lecturer Andriy Svitalka with great efforts had collected old and decommissioned machines for workshops of Poltava SPI touring collective farms by 1958⁶. Cherkasy sub-department of production repaired old tractor teaching students at least on it⁷. Kharkiv SPI also

¹ DAPO, f. R-1507, op.1, spr. 673, 9.

² DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 683, 77.

³ DAPO, f. P-15, op. 2, spr. 2084, 7.

⁴ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 808, 2.

⁵ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 843, 59.

⁶ APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr. Nakazy. T.1. (2.01-31.07.1958), 129.

⁷ DACHO, f. P-2187, op. 1, spr. 21, 155.

quickly found usage to written off cars and rejected buses. One of them was turned the learning bus by young people and broken GAZ-93 was used as a training vehicle too¹.

Despite the turmoil, polytechnic education had already become an integral part of university life in the last period of reforms, giving good results. Excursion work of the institutes increased. Future teachers of Poltava within the course of polytechnic education traveled to more than 10 plants and factories of the city; they were even at the accordion factory, Kharkiv Tractor Plant and Kremenchuk Hydroelectric Power Plant². Subsequently, even the ideological sub-department of Marxism-Leninism started to approach closer to the production. Dmytro Stepanov of Poltava in 1960 offer to attached his sub-department to one of the enterprises of the city to strengthen the relationship with life³. Even the studying program of ethics and aesthetics in Poltava SPI in 1962 were changed to show the beauty of the labor reflecting the aesthetics of production and emphasizing its moral factor. And to talk of just one sub-department is nothing if the pedagogical institute in 1960 announced about the “march of science



Picture 73. Students of Poltava SPI on the study excursion to the lakes of the village Brusia in the valley of the river Vorskla (now the village of Mykhaylivka of Stasi village council of Dykanka district in Poltava region), early 1960's

¹ DAKhO, f. R-4293, op. 2, spr. 740, 6.

² DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 688, 8.

³ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4833, 22.

towards people” – to the workers of enterprises of Poltava region due to the XXI Congress of the Communist Party¹.

It was the time when the ideas of Minister of Higher Education of the USSR Vyacheslav Yelyutin urged for creating plants-higher-schools in the country with compulsory agricultural engineering education for teachers of all specialties². The idea of plants- higher- schools was warmly welcomed by the pedagogical school groups. And already a few years after, in 1964, the lecturer Mariya Malych even came to the idea of organizing special general scientific faculty of Poltava SPI at the premises of Kremenchuk petroleum chemical construction trust (Kremenchuk naftokhimbud)³.

The polytechnic education also touched the organization of the studying process. The director of Kharkiv SPI Ivan Dementiev offered to schedule student practices in the way that they could covers all periods of agricultural work⁴. Poltavites Ivan Popenko and Andriy Karyshyn suggested the organization of the lectures of the first year students directly at farms and enterprises to insure the fulfillment of that idea⁵. Polytechnic education made even student consciousness work differently. Thus, the student A. Kryvda from Uman SPI told the story of the broken tractor while his teaching practice in the village. The young teacher while theoretical course found out that the vehicle was broken down. The whole class was sitting and looking at him with surprise. No one except him could help with that. The boy realized the logic of his rural students: *“if I complete the task, then everything will be okay. If no – he is a bad teacher, he does not know. But I knew. And from that day I felt from my students a completely different attitude”*⁶.

In the struggle for strengthening the connection with the school the gaps in knowledge of teachers began to show up. Those who had not worked a single day in school were sent to a forced practice. For example, it happened with Emiliya Doroshenko from Poltava SPI. Young lecturer had to work three months at school №10 of the city to get some real experience⁷.

¹ “Rishennya XXI z’yizdu KP – v masy! Zvernennya kolektyvu vykladachiv Poltavs’koho pedinstytutu do intelihentsiyi”, Zorya Poltavshchyny, Ferbruary 26, 1960, no. 41, 1.

² DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr.756, 165.

³ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4837, 15.

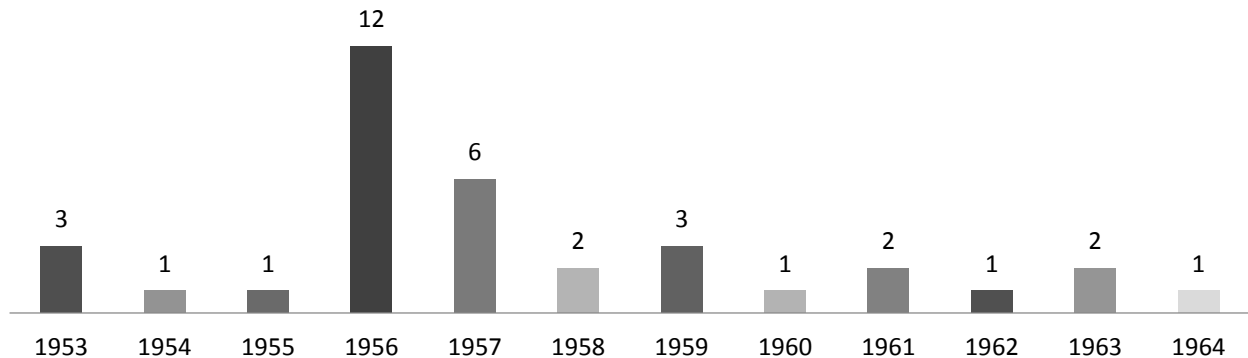
⁴ DAKhO, f. R-4293, op. 2, spr. 696, 26.

⁵ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 756, 176.

⁶ DACHO, f. R-3990, op. 1, spr. 44, 14.

⁷ APNPU, f. 2, op.D-1, spr.Doroshenko (Kolomyts’ka) EmiliyaMykhaylivna, 12.

Questions of polytechnic education in speeches of party members of Poltava SPI



Bar chart 4. The content of the speeches at the party meetings of Poltava SPI

Source: DAPO, f. P-251, op.1, spr. 4824-4837.

To check the proposed chronology of education reforms, I turned to the content analysis of protocols of meetings of the Communist party organization of Poltava SPI during 1953-1964. After processing the protocols for 12 years, I have analyzed 5.380 statements of teachers and students of Poltava SPI. Party authorities of the institute were not really bothered with the issue of industrial training in comparison with other problems. Less than 1% of their time (35 reports) was devoted to the consideration of this issue. In the first period (1953-1955) interest in polytechnic work was quite low (1-3% of reports (from 5 to 7 per year). During the 1956-1958 bienniums we see the splash of attention to industrial training (6-12% (from 22 to 66 reports yearly). The year 1958 was significant by the introduction of the Draft of the Law on Education. However, it also showed a stabilization and decline of “hysteria of reforms”. Since this time until the end of 1964 the number of talks on the polytechnic studies had ranged from 1 to 3% a year (5-13 reports).

So the formation of education with industrial orientation training process went through quite clear, structured periods of development and largely depended not only on directives from above, but on the local realities.

CONCLUSIONS

Reforms in education in the UkrSSR / USSR (the main one among them was the turn to the polytechnic education), reflect on teachers’ everyday depending on the conditions that existed in the high school in the different years of their implementation. In the time period of 1953–1955, the move to the complete polytechnic education happened because of the crisis of logistics of the institutes. Sometimes the ongoing

reform of the consolidation and elimination of some teachers and pedagogical institutes did not contribute to this process as well. If the educators were engaged into the declared approach of education to life, they did it within the scientific and theoretical works on industrial training. It was done by the sightseeing movement to the factories.

During 1956–1958, the case moved forward. In addition to the abolition of tuition fees that essentially injected energy into students, the state started to make substantial material subsidies for polytechnic education in schools. Revenues allowed universities to open manufacturing workshops. Very often this was done immediately after the students personally built the necessary facilities within the movement for self-service. Another innovation was to attract professionals from manufacturing to the educational process in the pedagogical school. They were to provide teaching of new engineering and manufacturing disciplines. But when old problems of the polytechnic education were solved, the pedagogical institutes received new one such as the lack of raw materials for industrial training. In many universities it was solved with organization of the first production practices of young people at the plants, factories and collective farms, where students worked on the raw material base of other institutions. With the development of such practices, there was a significant change in the understanding of the excursion issues. Sometimes teachers noticed the limited financial and time abilities for that. The strengthening of the connection with life resulted in a number of production workers joining the ranks of future educators. On the one hand, it significantly increased the potential of universities; education was annexed to a wider range of young people. On the other hand, it laid the foundations of new problems: excessive love of the production work and with pedagogy left by the wayside. All this together with the next round of reforms led to the emotional and intellectual exhaustion of educators.

The final stage of the education reforms during 1959–1964 was marked by the significant increase in the enrollment of students from the plants, diligence of whom was stated in the reports of departments, faculties and institutes. State with active actions helped to upgrade facilities of the institute laboratories, paid much attention to observance of the safety of young people. A positive step was the origin of programmed teaching and organization of the practice of young with assigning workers specialties to them. The educational sphere was slowly conquered with the idea plants-universities. However, in the process of work they found the discrepancy of teaching and working experience of the specialists involved from the production. After that the government organized special educational seminars for new recruits. At the end of the “thaw”, the teachers significantly changed their attitude towards the abnormal love of polytechnic education.

Educators vs. Kolkhoz

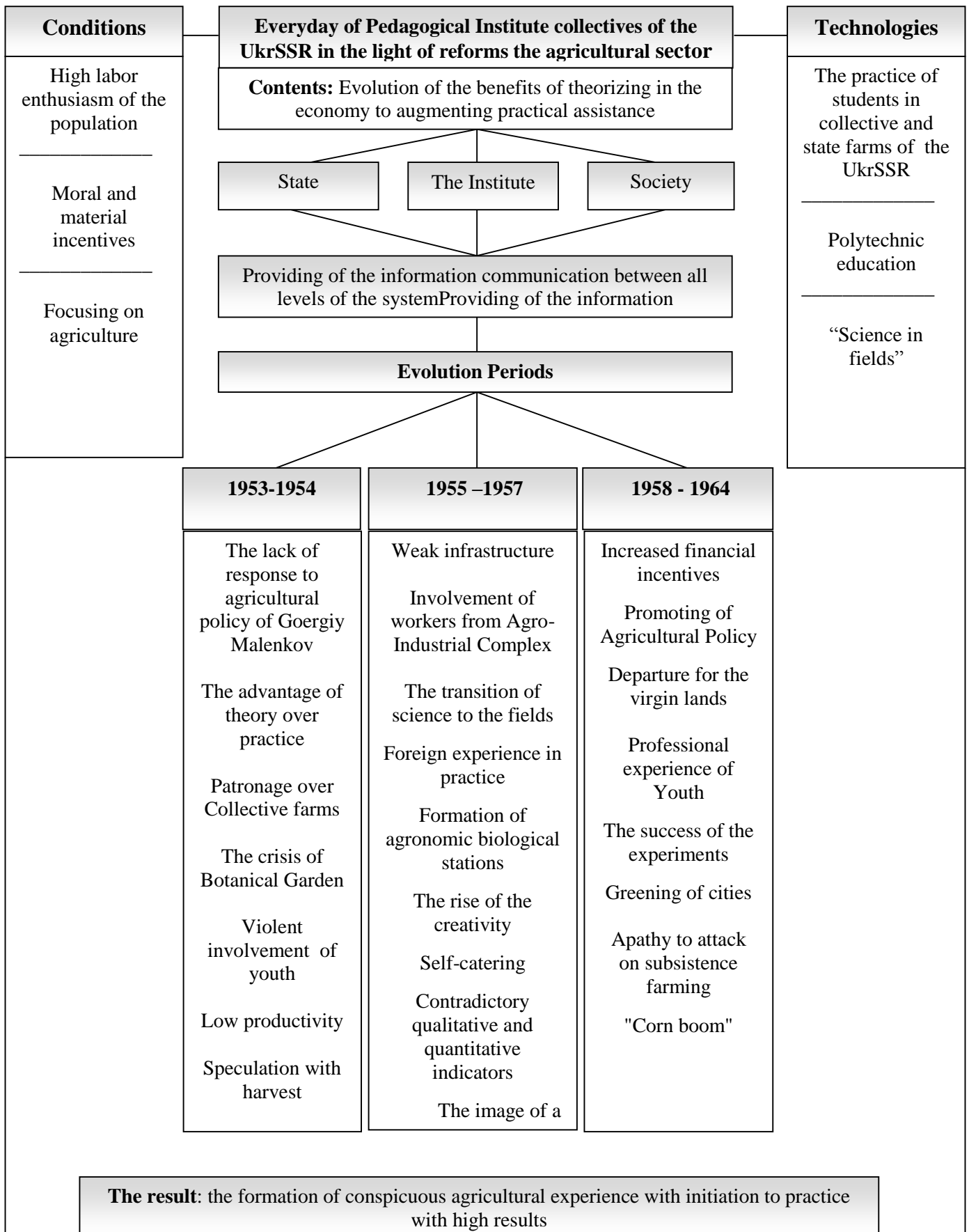
INTRODUCTION

Professor Stanislav Kulchytskyi noted that ideological and pragmatic tendencies always coexisted in the agricultural policy of Nikita Khrushchev. And the first of them often won¹. The problem of economic life in the Land of the Soviets went out of the circle of specialists. It became mandatory for understanding by all and everyone. So to be aware of the problems of the agricultural sector of the country was to be directly involved in the development of domestic policy. Different social groups were “introduced to the soil”. Ones did it through constant theoretical “infusion”, others – directly by working in the fields of their boundless Motherland. A place of educational elite of the UkrSSR in the agricultural development of socialism was very specific. On the one hand, attached to the walls of their alma mater, they were in the orbit of the theoretical knowledge in matters pertaining to breeding of corn. On the other, they had the closest practical help on kolkhoz fields.

The chapter is composed of eight sections. In the first, the formation of “the labor duty” of educators is described. The next five sections includes various case studies depicting the stimulation of work of students on the soil with the help of diplomas, honorary titles and money; the combination of education with long-lasting agricultural practices in kolkhoz; and, the process of exchange of the specialists between farms and institutes with the scope to make the school closer to the Soviet workers’ and peasants’ reality. The seventh section presents the overview of the botanical gardens as a new attempt of combining theory and practice in the education of “truly Soviet teachers.” The last paragraph stresses the problem of corn in the consciousness, in the canteen menus and on the fields of the UkrSSR during Khrushchev’s era.

¹ Kul’chyts’kyy, Stanislav. “Sproby reform (1956-1964) (2),” *Ukrayins’kyy istorychnyy zhurnal*, no. 3 (1998),125.

Scheme 3. Historical Model of Everyday of Pedagogical Institute collectives in the light of Reforms the Agricultural Sector



AN UNJUSTIFIED DUTY

The government of the USSR was very successful in using the power of labor enthusiasm of the masses throughout the history of the state. It was an era of so-called *peredoviks*. Nikita Khrushchev noted at one of the meeting with such advanced farm workers in the Kremlin in 1954: “*these are new people who were born in our country, in our village, so with these people, I do not know, we can twist devil’s head if we correctly understand them and if we are able to work with them*”¹.

The increase of labor enthusiasm of people was heated before each political event. They were forced to compete: company with company, farm with farm and with one another. For example, slogans like “The competition to the XXth Congress of the CPSU is spreading out!” were very common to the periodicals of 1956². Exploitation that side of people’s was not something top-secret.



Picture 74. The caricature by M. Bakalo showed the educator listening about different agriculture issues. There are many party proclamations dancing around the man: “Scientifically reasoned system of fertilization”, “Inner household specialization”, “Intensive fattening of pigs and poultry”, “The new technology of cultivating beet” ... It was said in the note that many people are bored and aren’t attentive while reading party documents. One of them is yawning, another is picking his nose, and the third one is doing both things a time, 1964

The teachers themselves also focused on the fact that during the development of the Soviet state agricultural sector rose mainly due to the enthusiasm of the masses in their lecture courses³. It was common for youth to make so-called “labour gifts for the Party” on their examinations before the commissions.

These pledges were different: from collecting scrap metal to completing greater number of workdays in

¹ Nash Nikita Sergeyevich (Directed by Setkina Í., 1961).

² “Shyryt’sya zmahannya na chest’ XX z’yizdu KPRS,” Zorya Poltavshchyny, January 7, 1956, no. 5, 1.

³ APNPU, f. 1, op. 1956 (A-K), spr. 2244. Bozhko Tykhon Andriyovych (1953-1956), 44.

the fields¹. The lecturers even re-scheduled institute's curricula for to students to stay longer in farms² and enterprises³ so their "labor gifts" could be completed.

It even came to the search of enthusiasts within the walls of institutes who would agree to leave the teaching and could go raising the agricultural regions. In most cases voluntary choice was dictated by the party needs. So, in April of 1955, trying to help farmers with finding skilled managers, the staff of Poltava SPI sent the deputy of the director of Mykola Kaplun to the Molotov collective farm in the village of Mashivka of Poltava district. The argument was very simple: "he would be a good head of farm"⁴. The same aim was awaited from Khrushchev's campaign of development of virgin lands. After his calls at the XII Congress of the Komsomol, the pedagogical institutes of the UkrSSR sent to "Khrushchev's" colonization 9.878 students only in 1956⁵. But later such patronage of institutes over the farms was not liked by the teachers. They openly noticed that custody over the collective farms was transformed into an unjustified duty of institutions in the rural areas⁶.

REWARDS

Involving students and teachers to solving agricultural problems, the country applied a wide system of rewards for work on the soil. Moral incentives of groups were multiple: from acknowledgments⁷ and honorary flags transition⁸; to award diplomas of regional communist party committees and badges of "The best corn breeder"⁹. But soon after the material incentive was added to already common and familiar moral incentives. That revived the interest of educators in agriculture a lot¹⁰. According to Aron Kahan, it was something called the flavor of buyer and seller relationship in Khrushchev's Soviet Union¹¹. After that the students working in the fields received valuable rewards. For example, Poltava youth after field work of 1955 were bestowed with gramophone, accordion and harmony¹². Financial encouragement of students was actually quite logical, because they often did the work of three farm workers. Thus,

¹ DAPO, f. |R-1507, op. 1, spr. 761, 23.

² DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4834, 12.

³ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 190, 255.

⁴ APNPU, f. 2, op. K-1, spr. Kaplun Mykola Leontiyovych, 24.

⁵ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 4182, 74.

⁶ DAPO, f. P-19, op. 1, spr. 100, 172.

⁷ DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr. 733, 233.

⁸ DACHO, f. P-2187, op. 1, spr. 22, 60.

⁹ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 774, 10.

¹⁰ DAPO, f. P-244, op. 1, spr. 3920, 49.

¹¹ Kahan, Aaron. "The Peasant, The Party and the System," in *Russia under Khrushchev: an anthology of problems of communism*, ed. A. Brumberg (New York: Frederick A Praeger, 1962), 298.

¹² APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr. Nakazy. T.3. (1.09-30.12.1955), 124.

Kharkiv¹ and Odesa² youth received official letters of thanks and prizes from farm for having shown exceeding established daily norms by 150-200%.

The practice of material incentives of youth had lasted till the end of the reign of Nikita Khrushchev. This is clearly seen while analyzing harvesting campaign of 1963. They saved the scholarships of young people for the month of their working in the fields³ but before the payments were cancelled because students got a chance to earn money in other way. In 1963, along with the stipend, the youth were paid daily allowance. The way to the farms from the institutes was compensated by the higher school in the sum of 1 ruble 50 kopecks. The road back to the institutions was paid by the farm accounting. Besides, they had to provide students with meals. However, not free, but for affordable prices. The scheme of wages in collective farms and state farms was slightly different. Those who were working at the collective farms had to get at least 1 kg of grain or 5 kg of potatoes and 1 ruble per working day⁴. Students at the state farms didn't have product payment, but they were paid 20 kopecks more than collective farm workers earned⁵. By the way, receiving potatoes was quite appropriate because of the lack of vegetables in the markets of cities of the time.

FOCUSE ON AGRICULTURE

Almost forced focusing on the agricultural problems was also very practical in controlling the interest of the masses. The common practice stated that the decision of each new Central Committee plenum, all new thesis of party members dealing with the development of the agricultural sector, had to become widely spread and available to people. They were quiet multiple. People sometimes were really tired of learning new party regulations on topics of sowing and tractor business. Not surprisingly, there was a joke among the masses: *"We sow wheat, corn, oats and rye in spring. What will we gather in autumn then? A plenum!"*⁶

The first "magnets of attention" of de-Stalinization time was the time resolution of the Plenum of the Central Committee "On measures for further development of agriculture", adopted 07 September, 1953 after the thesis of Nikita Khrushchev⁷. It influenced not only agricultural problems but also some moral and professional

¹ DAKhO, f. R-4293, op. 2, spr. 684, 20.

² TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 242, 25.

³ APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr. Nakazy. T.2. (1.11-30.12.1961), 170. 195.

⁴ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 518, 8-9.

⁵ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 843, 51.

⁶ "Vchera mne rasskazaly anekdot..."

⁷ "Postanova Plenumu Ts KPRS "Pro zakhody dal'shoho rozvytku sil's'koho gospodarstva SRSR", pryynyata 7 veresnya 1953 roku po dopovidi tovarysha Khrushchova Mykyty Serhiyovycha," Zorya Poltavshchyny, September 13, 1953, no. 183, 1-4.

standards. After the flaming speech of the Secretary of the CPSU, young people took an unambiguous decision “to be the rural teachers”¹. It must be noticed also that agricultural matters were also used to solve some political problems of the communism. It happened, in particular, with a discussion of the resolution of June plenum the Central Committee of CPSU in 1959 on the development of agriculture. Then, supporting agricultural program of the party, institute teachers also touched the question of so-called “anti-party group” of Malenkov, Molotov and Kaganovich debunked in 1957 and “other fosterling of Beria”².

Much time of the teachers was spent on the debate on the thesis of Nikita Khrushchev “On further improvement of organization of management of industry and construction” (1957)³. Offers of the teachers basically duplicated the abstracts of the



Picture 75. The caricature of Vinnytsya SPI lecturer Mykola Slavs'kyi shows the great concern about agricultural success of educators. The text on the sign says, ‘Sugar beets. The area of school #4’, the director of the school. Mr. Komarnytskyi is shown bending pointing at the field: “It’s strange, we sowed beets but the field yielded weeds...”. That was one more call for the educators to learn agriculture deeper, 1955

report, but were some interesting exceptions. So, Poltava lecturer Volodymyr Kostenko, a historian by profession, suggested: “Sumy region, which had no sufficient economy and looked like consisting of parts of the neighboring areas, to be eliminated...”⁴

In his vision of the future economic-administrative map of USSR would generally consist of 12 regions. It’s hard to explain how he explained his proposal: historical and ethnographic or economic zone of the Ukrainian Republic. But in other speeches everything was “party right”. And, as in Stalin’s times, when all said by the leader was brought into the texts of lectures, so that time, the program announced by Khrushchev, became fundamental in educational activities.

¹ M. Fedoryshchev, “V navchal’nykh zakladakh,” Zorya Poltavshchyny, September 23, 1953, no. 190, 2.

² DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4832, 1-3.

³ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4830, 18.

⁴ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4830, 19.

AGRICULTURAL PRACTICES



Picture 76. The students of Poltava SPI in the kolkhoz during the agricultural practice, early 1960's, late 1950's

The most stable technology linking educators to the fields throughout the history of the Soviet Union was the agricultural practice of students. Youth worked in the farms of the UkrSSR up to two months in autumn – from September to November, sometimes in spring – in April and May, and in summer in the days of harvest¹. They were completing high working norms. For example, in 1955, the students of Poltava SPI

weeded more than 100 hectares of sunflower and corn, and collected 40 hectares of potatoes², and their colleagues from Lviv SPI harvested on 41 hectares³. But showing good results played not for an account of students. The plank of such agricultural working off was becoming higher each year. The work was difficult and tiring. Sometimes students organized boycott and did not go to work in the fields by the whole academic group as they did in Cherkasy SPI in 1956⁴. And some (as Poltava youth) just ran home from this practice without going back to the fields⁵. So it's hard to explain where young people then found forces to organize amateur concerts and parties nights for a general audience for almost ten thousands.

Young people at the time of practice were placed in the premises of schools, orphanages, on the farms or in the private houses of local peasants. Ministry cared the farms to provide meals in canteens for the youth. Although claims about the organization of their stay in the village sometimes occurred among students. They didn't keep silence and wrote to the party organizations about it as the students of the Crimean SPI⁶. The long period of practice for several months often caught students

¹ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 593, 6.

² DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4828, 18.

³ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1872, 32.

⁴ DACHO, f. P-2187, op. 1, spr. 22, 61.

⁵ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 632, 14. 21.

⁶ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 4182, 77.



Picture 77. The picture praises the schoolchildren having grown fruit and vegetables on their school fields and in the experimental school gardens. The text on the ribbon says "For the New Year table." That was motives for educational institutions compensate the nutrition lack with their own potential. The verse under the picture stated: "There was a wasteland, and there will be a grove, bloom, you native land, with orchards and grapes," 1957

unprepared to the autumn cold in the village. There were frequent cases when young people massively caught colds and flu, freezing through in the fields¹. There were also cases of injuries. Thus, according to the Ministry of Higher Education, the most frequent were brain concussions, damages of the hip joints and cut off fingers. The cases often deaths were also listed. Basically, the youth died because of negligence when they fell asleep at the field with the working technique. For example, once the drivers of the combiner simply didn't notice students of the Crimean SPI in breads².

A big influence on the formation of the desired ratio of teachers to work on the ground was made by the polytechnic education. This topic has already been discussed in the context of higher education reforms. However, we are interested in another aspect of polytechnic education, which developed the ability to work in agriculture and that we haven't touched in the previous section. The agricultural directing of the educational space became more obvious after the order of Ministry of Education "On public benefit work of students of pedagogical institutes of the UkrSSR" (1956). According to it, to deepen polytechnic education, the future school teachers should start to the production work from

the first days of a new academic year. Field work was considered one of the main spheres of "molding a new man". Student's characteristic after passing their agricultural work was kept in the personal file to the final examination. Interestingly, the Ministry left some space for democracy in attracting young people to work in the fields. The teachers were offered to consult with the students about the way ... to use them better in the field works³ So, Poltava SPI introduced the distribution of students

¹ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 908, 88.

² TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 4182, 114-17.

³ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 517, 73-79.

into group of mastering agricultural knowledge in June of 1956. During the first year of studying future teachers learnt hotbed, during the second they were introduced to the basics of gardening and horticulture, the third year was dedicated to crop rotation¹.

FROM THE FIELDS TO THE CLASSROOMS

Another innovation brought by polytechnic education was the involvement of workers of agriculture, and, above all, the directors of the reformed Motor and tractor stations to teaching. This was supposed to revive the theory and instill youth's love to practical work. Of course, the expansion of states of the institutes with the people who could work, but not always managed to explain the specifics of the process to other, had to spill in confusion sooner or later. The higher institutes, being once inspired with people from plants among the lecturers, had to cope with their unsuitability for teaching activities. The staffs could come back several times a year to a discussion of the feasibility of their work in the institutes. After couple of complaints even the Ministry of Education eventually cleared out the unsuitability of plant and farm workers for lecturing in pedagogical institutes. And after dome check-ups it obliged the institutes with another directive to organize special educational and instructional seminars for new recruits to teach them the basics of teaching methods².

It is needed to be said that with time the "agrarization" of training of students tired out even the pedagogical university themselves. They no longer kept quiet about it, despite the dominance of agriculture in domestic policy priorities. There were facts when students didn't attend teaching practice and did not conduct lessons because of their constant work in the fields³. Odesa lecturers openly remarked to the Ministry that "some complications in the educational process" were brought by several months of students' participation in corn harvesting⁴. Young people of Kharkiv SPI had to stop lessons and go on harvesting as well with school-children while their teaching practice, for that was the will of the Directorate of the establishments where they were holding the practice⁵. Perhaps, total convergence of school with collective farms tired everyone. It is seen in the open letter from meetings of the institute workers of the UkrSSR in September of 1960 had a statement: "*the main task of the school is to teach children and not to engage in breeding rabbits*"⁶.

¹ DAPO, f. P-1507, op. 1, spr. 542, 67.

² DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 700, 21.

³ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 732, 29.

⁴ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1875, 6.

⁵ DAKhO, f. R-4293, op. 2, spr. 685, 185.

⁶ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 756, 10.

FROM THE CLASSROOMS TO THE FIELDS



Picture 78. Students of Poltava SPI in Mashivka kolkhoz, during the autumn harvest works, 18 September, 1961

Teachers were forced to love the soil not less than their students. One of the steps on that way was the march of science to the fields of the UkrSSR. Right after the time of the September Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU in 1953, the institute teachers turned to be active promoters of agricultural theoretical knowledge¹. But their theory poorly crossed with reality. Educators threw into the extremes

in that campaign. It was especially noticeable in their work in the Society “Knowledge” where they tried to connect almost all topics – political, international, and philosophic, etc. – to the problems of agriculture². The words of Academician Oleksandr Palladin are quite indicative to this phenomenon. He was touring the country while the election campaign of 1958. On the meeting with the teachers of Poltava SPI he was asked about the role of the Soviet scientist in the farm building of the country by the lecturer Petro Padalka. Then the candidate for deputy to the Supreme Soviet replied: “*We, Soviet scientists, are related by blood with the people, are the part of it. We do not shut ourselves in the offices, as it is the capitalist countries, and we work at factories, plants, collective and state farms*”³.

Scientists of the institutes began to help Soviet agriculture immediately after the proposals of Khrushchev in 1955 to exchange breeding experience with American farmers⁴. The leader had just returned from the tour across the USA and was inspired

¹ DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr. 31, 4.

² DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr. 39, 11.

³ “Zustrich vybortsiv z akademikom O.V. Palladinym”, Zorya Poltavshchyny, March 2, 1958, no. 45, 2.

⁴ DACHO, f. R-193, op. 8, spr. 239, 86.

by the agrarian benefits of corn¹. For example, directorate of Poltava SPI ordered the sub-department of Botany to start growing hybrid corn seeds already in 1956². Later scientific developments of Poltava scientists were highly appreciated by the Ministry of Education of the UkrSSR. They had successes in strain testing of hybrids of wheat³, corn and sunflower⁴. Their work was even repeatedly put as an example to other universities of the country⁵.

But during the he first period “agrarian revolution” in the consciousness of the educators’ things were controversial. The leading scientists offered little help to the village. And even if they did it caused surprise and indignation of local government. We need to recall the least criticism of Poltava teacher Mykhaylo Petryk by the senior party members. The milkmaids of a collective approached him with the problem of falling milk yields and piglet mortality. Prominent educator, to his misfortune, “just once dubiously showed a compassion” and then “ironically told about it” when the public censure over him⁶. This suggests artificiality of some interest of educators to agricultural problems and sometimes of little knowledge of the practical side of contemporary village life. However, the number of such cases over time was minimal,



Picture 79. Students of Poltava SPI during the field experiments, 1961

because the process of molding the “agriculture consciousness” significantly influenced the pedagogical teams of the country.

From 1953 to 1954, there was a lack of coordination between center and the institutes in connecting educators with agriculture. Traditionally, the theoretical bases for the union of science with

¹ Litsom k litsu s Amerikoy. Rasskaz o poezdke N. S. Khrushchëva v SShA. 15-27 sentyabrya 1959 (Moskva, Gospolitizdat, 1960), 339.

² DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr.4829, 7.

³ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 699, 89.

⁴ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 750, 19.

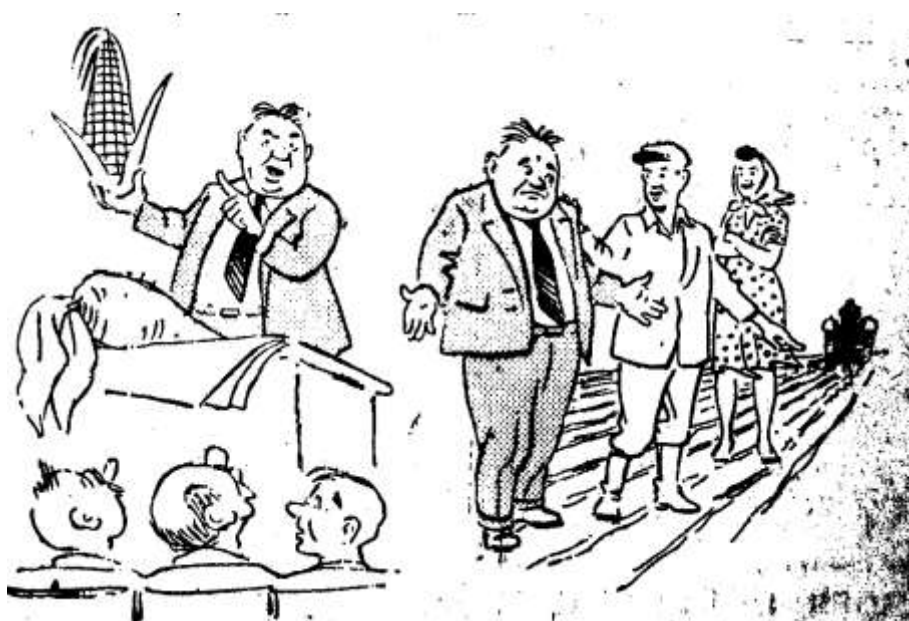
⁵ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 609, 7.

⁶ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 440, 110.

agricultural labor were searched in bottomless Stalin's works. For example, the control tests of the student of Poltava SPI Mykola Hromov in 1952 show Stalin as the best specialist in plowing and sewing across the USSR¹. After the death of the dictator his place of the coryphaeus in agriculture was overtaken by the new leader Georgiy Malenkov. It was immediately reflected in the control works of students and lectures of the teachers. The future Russian language teacher from Poltava Natalka Hrachova mentioned his reforms of private household². But in many cases the texts remained the same as they were about Stalin. Thus, another student, Yuriy Halenevych wrote the test about the Soviet agriculture totally the same way his colleague did in 1951 just placing "Malenkov" in every gap where "Stalin" was³.

However, that dry theory came closer to practice right after the report by Nikita Khrushchev in September of 1953⁴. After it the rapprochement with the village became

the leading target of the education for the short perspective. Thus, in Kharkiv SPI frankly acknowledged that institutes of the UkrSSR were preparing teachers mostly for the rural areas. But the institute students didn't know the village specifics at all. Therefore, it should be studied by the youth in the specific courses of agriculture and while annual working in the fields⁵.



Picture 80. The caricature by M. Bakalo showed the educator who presented himself as a great lecturer on agriculture topics. But when the farmers took him into the field he was absolutely useless there. The people used to say: "He is good at chattering but doesn't know the case", 1964

¹ APNPU, f. 1.(z/v), op. 1956 (Ros. viddil) (A-H), spr. 2156. Hromov Mykola Oleksandrovykh, 27.

² APNPU, f. 1.(z/v), op. 1956 (Ros. viddil) (A-H), spr. 2158. Hrachova Natalka Andriyivna, 25.

³ APNPU, f. 1.(z/v), op. 1956 (Ros. viddil) (A-H), spr. 2159. Halenevych Yuriy Mykolayovych, 26.

⁴ Fedoryshchev, "V navchal'nykh zakladakh..."

⁵ DAKhO, f. P-4293, op. 2, spr. 497. 91.

BOTANICAL GARDENS



Picture 81. The students of Poltava SPI in the botanical garden, late 1950's

But not only periodical farm practices of students linked the higher schools with agriculture. Botanical gardens, later reorganized in agrobiostations, helped in that as well. Their position at the beginning of de-Stalinization was ambiguous. So, the whole “agriculture household” of Poltava SPI in 1953 consisted from 22 rabbits, 1 bee family and one fish.

And while the guard was

dozing during long December night, seven long-eared animals were stolen by the unknown¹. The crop capacity of the botanical gardens was also questionable. There were cases when the directors of the gardens were working not for the profit of the institutes but for their own benefit². Sometimes fruits and vegetables from the Botanical Gardens were realized directly to the urban residents who, as well as higher school teachers, had difficulty in searching of fresh products³. Similar problems with some local variations were common to different universities of the UkrSSR. Thus, Cherkasy had long talks about “the notorious pumpkins” in 1953. The garden had a high harvest that year and it was sold little by little to the city residents by the director of the garden. Something was sold in secret, something – with the permission of the directorate but still without listing money to the university budget. The “merchants” began to declare profits only when the pumpkins spoiled and they were “simply given” to people under the price of 20 kopecks per 1 kg. What hadn't been sold out was fed to the horses of the institute⁴.

Mane changes were taking place from 1955 to 1957. The first one was the reorganization of botanical gardens into the agrobiostations. That name changing, according to some educators, was more consistent with the agricultural innovations of

¹ APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr. Nakazy. T.2. (2.07-31.12.1953), 198.

² DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 392, 145.

³ APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr. Nakazy. T.2. (2.06-31.08.1954), 117.

⁴ DACHO, f. P-2187, op. 1, spr. 15, 11.



Picture 82. The picture shows the rabbits marching near the school rabbit warren. It was the time of the agricultural race with the USA declared by Khrushchev. The verse under it says, "Hundreds of thousands of rabbits... Young men are helping to catch up the United States" 1957

the Soviet government. Although we need to mention the words of the deputy of the director of Poltava SPI Mykola Huriev: "There was a botanical garden, and now there is an agrobiostation, but the point change a little. They do not do all needed on those small areas"¹.

In the light of national educational initiatives, the agrobiostations of the institutes were also swapped to the self-catering of students since 1956². The youth was to become the moving power in process of changes. They were supposed to

show the better results in gardening than their elder colleagues from botanical gardens receiving salaries for their professional work. Inspired by the reformist spirit, Poltava educators planned to get 55.000 rubles of profit from farming already in the first year of working at the agrobiostation. Similar economic achievements in growing rye, oats, tomatoes and other vegetables were planned in Cherkasy³. But the results fell short of their expectations. Even joining with collecting firewood and unscheduled taking up farming to the revenue, students and teachers didn't perform the balance of 1956 plan⁴. No wonder the teacher of Poltava SPI Stepan Danishev stated: "Somehow rabbits give offspring at all people's households, but at men's of science – they die" (it was said for Poltava biologists managed to raise only 20 young animals in the institute for the whole academic year)⁵. Similarly, animals died from neglect, hunger and thirst in Uman SPI. But if Poltava educators repeated their attempts in breeding birds and animals after each fail, Uman researchers did not try to do it after the first one. In 1956, all survived chickens were sold and the earned sum was used for buying feed for the experimental

¹ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 542, 57.

² DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 542, 85.

³ DACHO, f. R-193, op. 8, spr. 267.

⁴ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 569, 6.

⁵ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4830, 44.

squirrels. It seemed that unfortunate educators forgot that once had planned to help in raising the country's agriculture¹.

CORN – THE QUEEN OF FIELDS



Picture 83. The poster advertising the corn by the lecturer of Vinnytsya SPI Mykola Slavskyi. The sign says, 'School research area', the corn is holding the text-book on corn growing and is calling with the bell the teacher with his pupils, 1955

The last period of “agriculture changes” in lives of teacher started when major reforms in the structure of educational institutions were completed. It lasted from 1958 to 1964. However, significant changes didn't occur during the entire period. The most plans started by the officials didn't meet expectations. Thus, even kennels for institute dogs, which were to be purchased by Poltava SPI in 1956, were delivered only on 28, November of 1957². Young people who hadn't left regional centers for the glory on virgin lands, were engaged into planting of fruit and ornamental trees in urban and suburban areas³.

On the other hand, the transition of students to self-catering somewhat accelerated the process of equipment of agricultural research land plot. The young ones quickly compensated the lack of

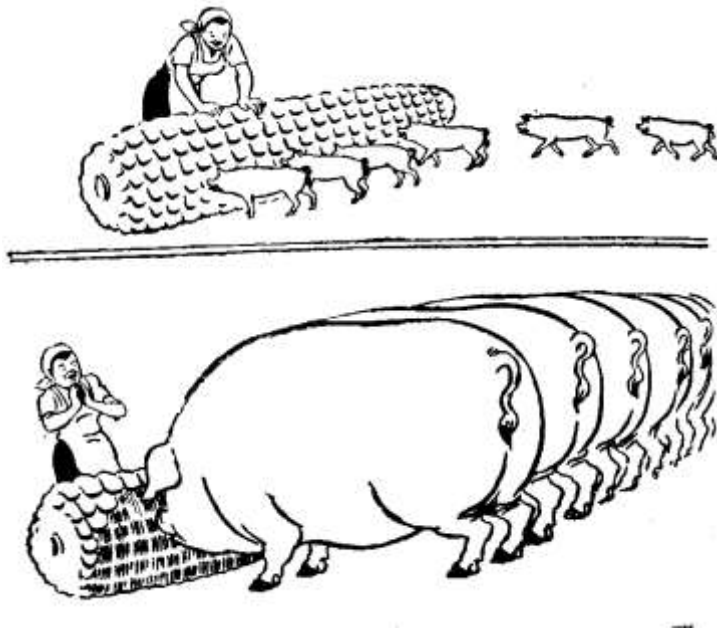
premises, constructing booths and huts. However, the benefits of their first experiences were rather small: during the slightest rain, water flooded the rooms through the roves up to the windows⁴. Students would have to learn on their own mistakes. Self-catering in the institutes had already brought positive results at the end of 1950's. The students were working in the greenhouses built by them, provided with central heating and electricity. And later they were already invited for the construction of buildings for agricultural purposes in other educational institutions of the city of Poltava.

¹ DACHO, f. R-2087, op. 1, spr. 18, 35.

² DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 588, 69.

³ B. Yarmolenko, “Prykrashuyemo ridne misto,” Zorya Poltavshchyny, May 7, 1958, no. 90, 4.

⁴ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 639, 160.



Picture 84. The “fat and meat plant” that became possible with the feeding pigs with corn was very popular topic of sketches by V. Bakalo, 1962

*That what it means – a corn!
From the farm piglets
It grows the most powerful
Fat and meat plant².*

Students were read long lectures on the letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU “On increasing of the attention to corn growing”³. After that they were demonstrated educational propaganda film “Our Nikita Sergeyevich”. On the background with harvesting tractors in a field and cows chewing the feed, the voice confidently told, how “having evaluated exceptional quality of maize, Khrushchev became its ardent propagandist”⁴. The teaching young people were supposed to become not less propagandists of it as well. Thus, future teachers of Sumy often traveled to collective farms with amateur concerts. One of the top show numbers were ditties

*We have a lot of interest in corn –
its prolific power
gives us a pig – without any miracles –*

¹TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 226, 188.

² Fedir Harin, “Shcho to znachyt’ – kukurudza!,” Zorya Poltavshchyny, March 27, 1962, no. 65, 1.

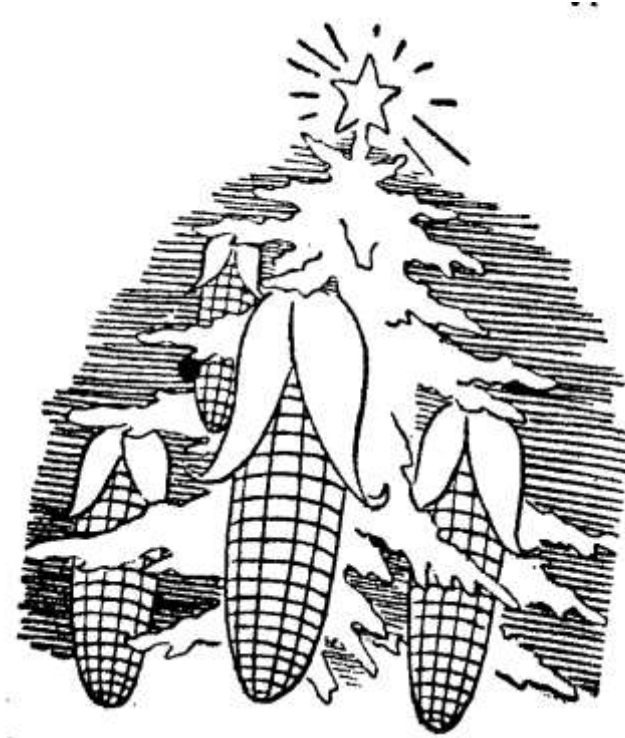
³ DAPO, F. P-15, op. 2, spr.1956, 84.

⁴ Nash Nikita Sergeyevich (Rezhiser.: Setkína Í.,1961)

*with four hundred grams daily gain,
And earlier it was 170¹.*

The success of teachers in developing new hybrid corn varieties also manifested during these years. In 1958, 55 hectares of the only agrobiostation of Poltava SPI and its leased territories were sown by students with the “queen of fields”². It is not surprising that the number of teachers and students involved in the development of the problems of growing corn only grew over the years³. Eventually corn gained not only farmlands, but also the every-day life of the institutes. Thus, the press enthusiastically told how Komsomol member Oksana Borshch was buying dinner in the dining room of Poltava SPI: “*You couldn’t even choose at once the most delicious dishes: there are five dishes for the first course and fifteen for the main one, including five of the corn*”⁴.

Please, note that five of corn means 25%! That crop surely became a symbol of



Picture 85. The corn was so advertised that it was normal to have toys for the New Year tree in the shape of the corn ear, 1963

the last period of agrarian reforms of Khrushchev. It was not only the agricultural practices of youth, but became the part of everyday life. Most of people recalled that with the years they couldn’t even look at corn after the years of its dominance in the fields and in the ration⁵. So we can state that the attempt to implant “agrarian seed” into education turned to “corn mania” which stopped only with the Khrushchev’s removal from office.

Even the students themselves promoted products from corn to the general public. As an example we can name a festive procession in the streets of Poltava dedicated to the anniversary of the October

¹ DASO, f. R-2817, op. 3, spr. 336, 64.

² DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 632, 6.

³ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4835, 104-6.

⁴ H.Markov, “V robitnychykh ta student-s'kykh yidal'nyakh,” *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 16, 1956, no. 55, 4.

⁵ Interview Leshchenko Klavdiya Stepanivna (28.11.2011).



Picture 86. The corn was said to be the bases of agricultural racing with the USA helping to gain high results in fattening cattle and pigs. This way the crop should make the sausages available for the citizens of the USSR. But it was so only on the posters, 1963

Revolution of 1961. Then several hundreds of girls in national costumes were caring the fragrant loaves of Poltava bread of corn flour on the embroidered towels. The commentators didn't have enough words to praise the achievements of young people: "Yes, the students of the institute are indeed relevant to an outstanding victory at Poltava bread fronts. They have harvested corn on an area of 2,000 hectares! And at work, as well as in education, they will be worthy of our great era"¹.

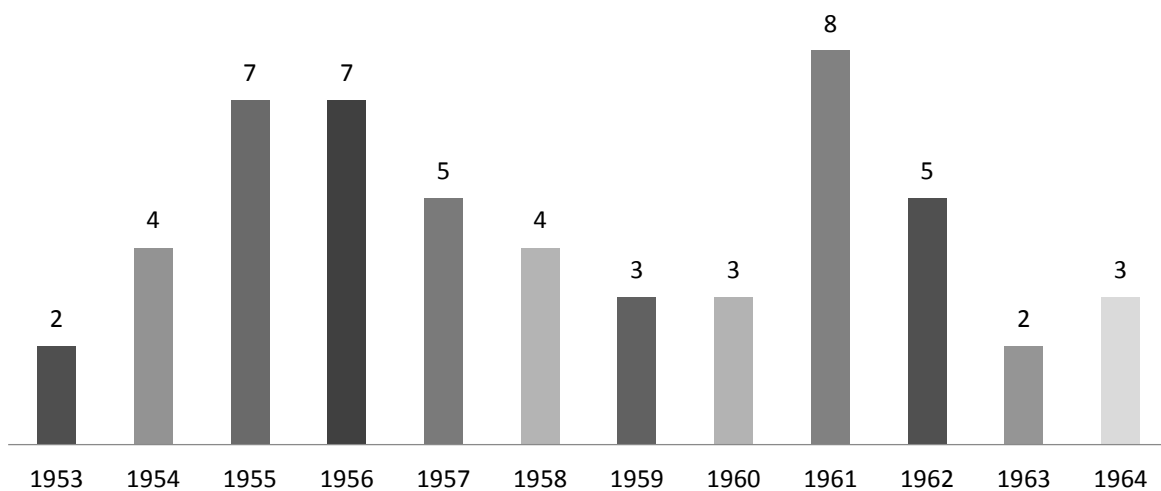
Such labor accomplishments of Poltava SPI were associated with the organization of a special working-Sunday on September 24 of 1961 due to corn when more than 8000 of Poltava residents "found the initiative" to work on the farms of the native. The teacher of Poltava SPI Stepan Danishev then proudly named that year as "the year of the fight for a great corn".

To check the proposed chronology of the process of connecting institutes with agriculture, we turned to the content analysis of protocols of party meetings of Poltava SPI communist party organization during 1953-1964. The issue of the agro-industrial sector of the state and agricultural practice of students owned 1% of the time (51 speeches for 12 years from the total of 5.380). During the 1953-1954 bienniums, the teachers appealed to the agriculture from 2 to 4 per cent yearly (from 7 to 14 speeches). From 1955 to 1957 there was a consistently high rate of interest in agricultural issues: 7% (35-37 reports each year). Actual reduction rate to 5% in 1957 suggests

¹ "Svyatkuye Poltavshchyna", Zorya Poltavshchyny, November 11, 1961, no. 228, 3.

stabilization period and the beginning of its adoption. During the 1958-1964 bienniums the average rate was 3.5% (from 9 to 33 reports annually). That demonstrates the development of the problem in the limits outlined earlier. The peak of 1961 (8% of reports) can be easily explained by the conduct of the XXII Congress of the CPSU, which raised many agricultural issues. However, none of the innovations of the last period did not contradict to what was set during the previous years.

Agriculture questions in speeches of party members of Poltava SPI



Bar chart 5. The content of the speeches at the party meetings of Poltava SPI

Source: DAPO, f. P-251, op.1, spr. 4824-4837.



Picture 87. Students near the greenhouse built by them for Poltava SPI, 1961

CONCLUSIONS

Changes in agriculture also affected the daily life of the pedagogical institutes. Reforms of the industrial sector affected more polytechnic practices and sometimes become the subject of debate during the party meetings. Instead, major reforms were made in agriculture. During 1953 – 1954, we spotted the absence of teachers' reaction on agricultural policy of Georgiy Malenkov's government that was characteristic of the reaction of peasants, rural teachers and others. The first form of rapprochement of educators to the agricultural sector was the establishment of collective patronage of the universities over kolkhozes and sometimes forced youth participation in the work in botanical gardens, which were in a state of post-war crisis. They were characterized with the low yield and almost zero profitability; there were cases of speculation with the harvests. Basically, during the first period of "agrarian campaign", teachers implemented it just through the theoretical research of some agriculture and industry problems, not the practical application of their inventions.



Picture 88. The poster advertised the need of organization and propaganda of the experience of the so-called Schools of chemicalization of the agriculture. Educators were at the edge of the popularization of the chemical knowledge among the farmers, 1964

If the beginning of 1955 was characterized by the weak infrastructure of agricultural training of the young teachers, then the end of 1957 showed that the situation had improved. The involvement of the employees from the Agrarian sector and Industry to the learning process in the institutes contributed to that very much. Another side of the success of the educators in agronomy was the self-service campaign in universities and the movement of the academic science out of the institute into the fields. Remarkably, there were frequent appeals of the educators to the foreign experience of farming that embodied in practice of the newly agrarian and botanical stations that once functioned as botanical gardens. These initiatives were made possible by the rise in creative activity of the groups in connection with the reforms of Khrushchev. However, there were

frequent cases of imbalance between qualitative and quantitative indicators of agricultural activities of educators.

In 1958–1964, we noticed the enhance of the incentive to working on the soil. The initiative of young people in the study and promotion of agricultural policy was rising very quickly, the culmination of which was the campaign of leaving university for the virgin lands. The work experience of the young people at institutes' agrobiostations was increasing and they began to receive the first results of highly-performed scientific experiments in the fields of agriculture. Educators of the UkrSSR became one of the most active participants of the campaign of greening cities and their suburbs. But subsequently we mentioned the conciliatory position on the government's actions, noticeable even in the absence of reaction to the attack on dachas – the private plots of land, and in support of “corn boom” not only in the fields but also on the tabled of educators. The teaching staff started to talk loudly about the imbalance between training and agricultural activities only in the last year of the “thaw”.



Picture 89. The photo by Leonid Kulykov shows the students of Poltava SPI planting flowers in the nearby Zhovtnevyi park as a part of the campaign of the greening of the city and connecting the youth to the agriculture, 1964

Language Problem

INTRODUCTION

One of the pressing issues of de-Stalinization was the question of everyday language in the UkrSSR. The big country “from Moscow to the farthest outskirt” communicated mainly in Russian as in “language of interethnic communication”. In this situation, the status of the Ukrainian language remained uncertain as Borys Azhnyuk stated, the bilingualism had become a real problem¹. The researcher Les Tanyuk drew attention to the fact that the mass bilingualism inherent in the USSR, was dramatically opposite phenomenon of individual bilingualism. If the second one is a testimony of education, the first one is a consequence of the colonial situation of the country². De jure independent state had a language problem de facto.

The chapter six composed of twelve sections. In the first, the atmosphere and overall background of the language problem in the Ukrainian SSR are examined. The next five sections deal with the factors that influenced the language preferences of the teachers such as age, nationality, gender, social background and place of birth. The influence of other conditions such as limited diversity of Ukrainian literature and the creation of the complex of inferiority are surveyed in paragraph from seven to nine. In the last four sections, the evolution of the language problem in time is described with the analyses of examples of the “language behavior”.

WIND OF CHANGES

The changing point in the lingual sphere was a memorandum of the Interior Minister Lavrentiy Beria on 26 May, 1953. The Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPSU issued a decree “On the political and economic situation of the western regions of the Ukrainian SSR”. This document recognized as abnormal the teaching of the most of subjects in higher education in Western Ukraine in Russian. In average only 4 subjects out of 50 in the pedagogical and technical universities were taught in

¹ Borys Azhnyuk, “Linhvistychni aspekty hlobalizatsiyi v Ukrayini,” in *Movni konflikty i harmonizatsiya suspil'stva: Materialy naukovoyi konferentsiyi: 28-29 travnya 2001 r.* (Kyiv: Kyyivs'kyi universytet, 2002).

² Les' Tanyuk, “Mova v zhytti narodu,” in *Movni konflikty i harmonizatsiya suspil'stva: Materialy naukovoyi konferentsiyi: 28-29 travnya 2001 r.* (Kyiv: Kyyivs'kyi universytet, 2002), 8.

Ukrainian. Not surprisingly, the leaders of the state noted that this policy was dubbed as policy of Russification by “hostile elements”¹. To be frank, these “hostile elements” in the face of foreign researchers-Sovietologists had mentioned the interesting pattern long before that Beria’s report. Alex Inkeles in 1950 remarked that even tsarist Russia could not imagine that dominance of Russian culture in the former “Little Russia”, as the Soviet government did².

Assessing the implications of this decision for Ukraine, historian Oleh Bazhan illustrated a chain of reaction in the country³. Bureau of the Communist Party Central Committee held an emergency meeting immediately. Leonid Melnykov was dismissed from the post of the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine for violation of Leninist national policy. Appointed in his place Oleksiy Kyrychenko even made a speech in which he expressed concern about the dominance of the Russian language not only in the western regions UkrSSR. Oleh Bazhan gave quite vivid sketches of the “linguistic portrait” of de-Stalinization era of the country on the example of Donetsk and Kharkiv, the Crimea and Lviv regions of the country living on “ideology of the equality of all races and nations”⁴. This part is a try to determine what place the language issue took in the walls of pedagogical institutes of the country; how language influenced the position of the Leninist-Stalinist national policy whether it was true “miraculous cementing force”⁵, or vice versa, made even more negative in their daily lives? or there was a problem of “vandalized” Ukrainian language in educational institutions? If so, in what ways it was deepening or, conversely, was solved? After all, how people reacted to the fluctuations in the conduct of the language policy? For this, we resorted to the structuring of language issues using historical model, because, according to Vasyl Tsyba’s conclusions, it is one of the components of everyday consciousness that demonstrates the state of the groups and the depth of its problems⁶.

¹ Lavrentiy Beriia. 1953. Stenohramma iyul'skogo plenuma TsK KPSS i drugie dokumenty, ed. A. N. Yakovlev; V. Naumov, Yu. Sigachev. (Moskva: Mezhdunarodnyy Fond “Demokratiya”, 1999), 49

² Alex Inkeles, “Public Opinion in Soviet Russia: A Study in Mass Persuasion” (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950), 318.

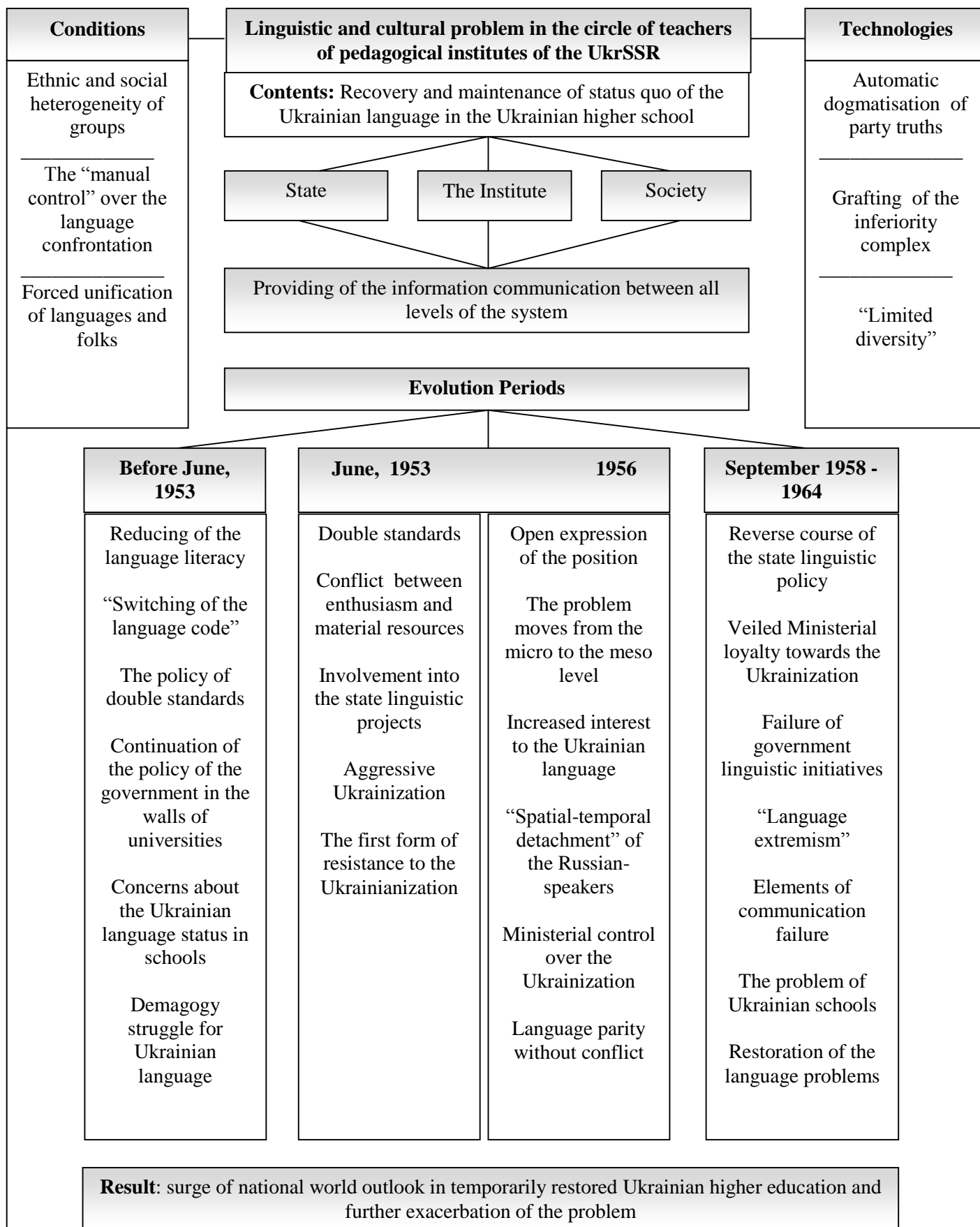
³ Oleh Bazhan. “Movnyy protses v Ukrayins'kiy RSR v umovakh pochatkovoho periodu destalinizatsiyi (1953–1955 rr.). Accessed June 10, 2012. http://www.nbu.gov.ua/portal/soc_gum/Uxxs/2008_14/6.pdf

⁴ “Radyans'ka ideolohiya druzhby narodiv,” *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, April 8, 1953, no. 71, 1.

⁵ “Velyke zavoyuvannya,” *Literaturna hazeta*, August 2, 1951, no. 31, 1.

⁶ Tsyba, Vitaliy. “Movnyy chynnyk konsolidatsiyi ukrayins'koyi natsiyi,” in *Movni konflikty i harmonizatsiya suspil'stva: Materialy naukovoyi konferentsiyi: 28-29 travnya 2001 r.* (Kyiv: Kyyivs'kyi universytet, 2002), 29.

Scheme 4. Historical Model of the Linguistic and Cultural Problem in the Circle of Teachers of Pedagogical Institutes of the UkrSSR



FACTORS

3

*Автобиография
Степанова Димитрия Васильевича*

Родился 81904 году в семье пар-
зубца. До 1920 года учился, а потом поступил
на работу в основную мастерскую мебель-
щиков. В этом же году поступил в школу Кад
Соловья, а затем в школу партия.

Летом 1920 года, во время наступления
белых войск ушел в Красную Армию (по партий-
но-комсомольской мобилизации). В 1921 году
принят в члены партии и был избран членом
Учредительного комитета профкома.

В 1922 году в школе поступил в комсомольскую
партию, а в 1925 году был принят в члены
партии.

С 1927 по 1930 г. учился в Харьковском
институте машиностроения, который окон-
чил в 1931 году с отличием. На комсомольском курсе
уже работал на инженерно-технической работе, на
которую был направлен ЦК КПУ.

В 1933 году, по мобилизации ЦК пар-
тии для работы в деревне, был направлен в
Саратовский районный КПУ в качестве ин-
женера. В 1934 году был избран членом партии. На авиаци-
онной службе в бригаде партия и отдал над собой все внима-
ние. В 1938 году был избран членом в партию
а судьями дело прекращено.

С 1938 года вновь работал на инжени-
ерской работе. В 1943 г. по семейным об-
стоятельствам переехал в село в сельхоз-
колхозе. С 1943 (2038) по 1946 год работал
в Волгодонском аэроме НКВ. С апреля 1946 года
работает инженером-механиком в
машинно-строительном заводе.

Picture 90. The first page of the autobiography by the lecturer of Poltava SPI Dmytro Stepanov. This paper along with other personal and ego-documents were the base for the defining the major language used by the educator in the oral and written speech daily and for different occasions such as official documents, lectures or ordinary notes for individual usage

The language which communicates person in is determined by various factors. However, I'll define several as key ones: what language is used by a person in the family, which is used to learn the world (language of learning can significantly vary from their native) and eventually the dominant language of the social environment. One of the first conditions for the emergence of the language problem and start of solving is a clash of interests of people with different life orientations. The criteria that can influence it, I assign as age, social and national identity, place of birth and adulthood, when the formation of human personality along with language favors was formed. The illustration of language preferences according to gender is interesting according to the accurate historical demography study. To consider ethno-social heterogeneity of higher pedagogical school, I resorted to the method of sample statistics. At the heart of it is a dense analysis of personal files of teachers Poltava SPI. The feasibility of using the findings on data received on Poltava SPI is confirmed by the analysis of documents of Lviv¹, Dnipropetrovs'k² and Drohobych institutes³. The basis of comparison of language and national origin,

¹ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 158, 10.

² TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1292, 7.

³ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1293, 7.

gender, and social characteristics was made while analyzing reports of Zhytomyr¹, Kamianets-Podilskyi², Kyiv³ and other institute of the UkrSSR.

There were about 100⁴-130⁵ teachers in Poltava Pedagogical institute each year of de-Stalinization. They were leaving and returning to the walls of the Institute according to the number of students and set of personal reasons. To determine the language targets of the Poltava educational elite, I've analyzed 611 personal files of teachers and employees of the establishment, who were working within its walls during the 1953-1964. I paid attention to the different documents searching the answer to question of the language being used by more people in everyday life. The primary one was a sheet from Human Resources list. However, it could not always speak as a guide. In the period up to 1954 in most cases that sheet was published in Russian. After 1954, the forms in Russian and Ukrainian languages are found in personal cases with varying success. People often filled them in the language the form proposed to. So to take it as a basis in determining the dominant language would be wrong. I did it in only in two cases. The first one, if no other written document of the person except that HR sheet was left (including performances at various meetings, preserved in other archives). Such cases made 17% (104 of 611 available). The second one when people deliberately wrote in another language than was required in the form. For example, the graphs were printed to fill in Russian, but the employee left the notes in Ukrainian or vice versa as Mykola Pereverznyev from Kyiv SPI did⁶. These facts are a demonstration of what language was native to a person. Although there are not so much of them – only 9% (55 cases from 611 teachers).

LANGUAGE AND AGE

I've paid much attention to the study of current documentation of employees of Poltava SPI in defining a mother tongue. There were times when people filled the HR sheet in Russian, but when it came to writing their autobiography (what can be closer?), they started leaving records in Ukrainian. In such cases, the “palm” goes to Ukrainian as the language determining a process of everyday thinking of a person, regardless of social constraints. There were 30% of such examples in the study (183 out of 611 personal files). And finally, the last amendment affected the definition of language

1 TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1294, 7.

2 TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1296, 5.

3 TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1297, 6.

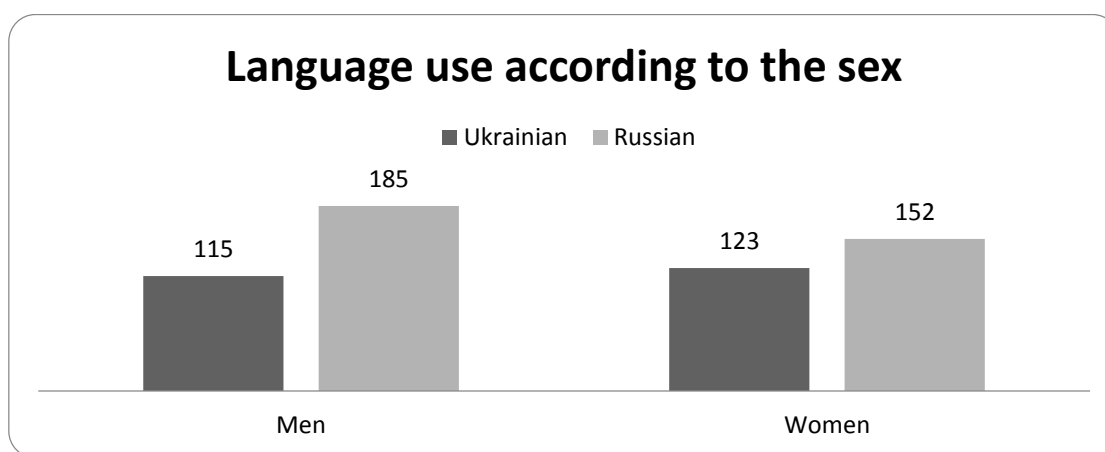
4 DAPO, f. P-15, op. 2, spr. 1733, 16.

5 TsDAVO, f. 4621, op. 7, spr. 145, 25.

⁶ DAK, f. R-985, op. 2, spr. 32, 1.

rights. Even with his autobiography and a form of accounting personnel in one language, the dominant language was determined only if at least 3-5 other documents were written by a person in the same language. The list included the statements, requests, reports, personally written specifications, reviews of student work and so on.

Over the period under study, 355 university employees (58%) used Russian as the language of everyday communication, while the Ukrainian was in use of 256 of their colleagues (42%). Of the named number of men (61%) and women (55%) showed more love for Russian.



Bar chart 6. Language preferences among the educators of Poltava SPI

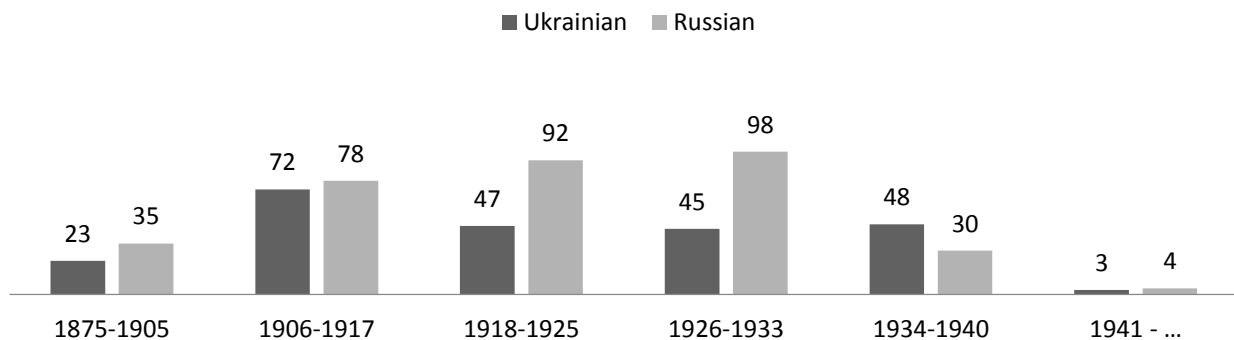
Source: personal cases of educators from APNPU, f. 2.

The next criterion in determining the dominant language was the year of birth of the person. Our chronology largely coincides with the chronology of formation language issue in Ukraine proposed by Yuriy Shapoval¹. The oldest members of staff of Poltava SPI, who had reached the age of 78 by the time of the de-Stalinization (were born before 1906), in the majority used Russian (59%, 38 people). Probably, the formation of their personality in imperial Russia and colonial Ukraine – Little Russia – was felt in that fact. The largest number of university faculty and staff was born in the second period (from 1906 to 1917 (26%, 156 employees). And 52% of their number (81 people) communicated in Russian in everyday life and at workplace. Quite interesting figures appear under the study of born in the third period associated with the Ukrainian revolution era. Among 139 “children of tumultuous years” only 34% (49 teachers) had Ukrainian for their native tongue, 66% of others (95 people) spoke the language of “big brother”. The age of Ukrainization also didn’t bring the increase

¹ Shapoval, Yuruy. “Movna sytuatsiya v Ukraini: istoriya y suchasnyy stan,” Accessed September 5, 2012. <http://memorial.kiev.ua/genocyd-ukrajinciv/duhovnyj-i-kultunyj-genocyd/780-dodatok-do-vidkrytogo-lysta-mizhnarodnij-gromadskosti.html>

percentage of Ukrainian speaking population. Perhaps that was the effects of the famine and the subsequent attacks on the reforms of Mykola Skrypnyk¹: only 33% of teachers (49 people) enjoyed the language of Taras Shevchenko versus 67% (101 people) of Russian-speaking of the same age. Obviously, the pressure of Stalinism was significantly weakened by the war with Germany, for the first and only “revenge” of the Ukrainian language in the mass of employees is seen only among those born from 1934 to 1940 with 61% (51 people) with dominant Ukrainian language among them. However, most of them come to work in the institute as twenty-year old assistant lecturers and laboratory assistants already at the end of the era of Nikita Khrushchev. And they had to either fight, or lose their linguistic affiliation during the “Brezhnev stagnation”.

Language use according to the year of birth



Bar chart 7. Language preferences among the educators of Poltava SPI

Source: personal cases of educators from APNPU, f. 2.

LANGUAGE AND NATIONALITY

And did all Ukrainians who claimed them to be the ones according to the background, selected Ukrainian language for communication and documentation? The analysis of personnel files showed that it was not true. It was found that out of 441 institute employees who noted their Ukrainian nationality, only 207 (46.9%) resorted to the use of the national language. Note that this was a high figure for the UkrSSR, where, according to Olena Prokhorenko, only 9.7% of scientific and pedagogical

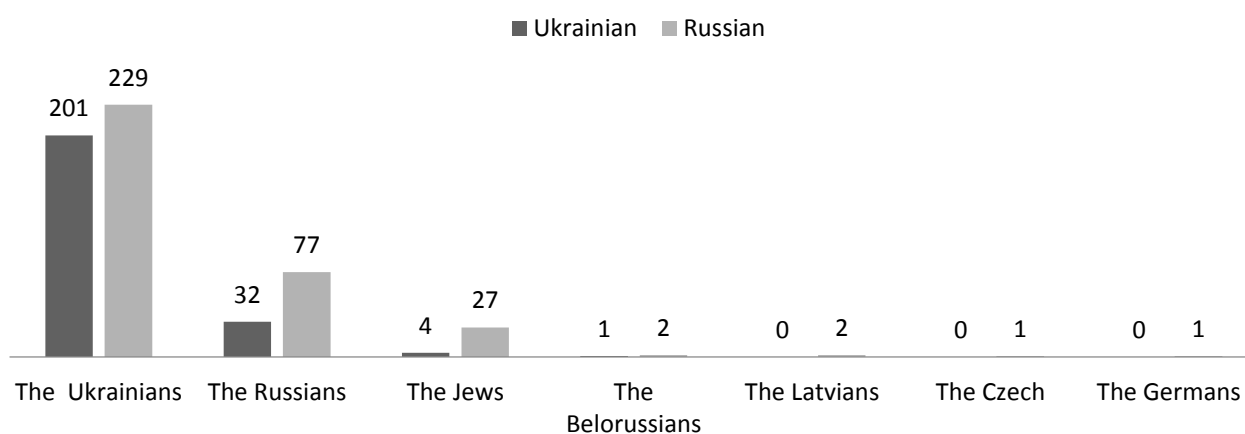
¹ Yefymenko, Hennadiy. “Stavlennya vladnykh struktur do rozvytku natsional'nykh mov u radyans'kiy Ukrayini 1930-kh rokiv,” in *Movni konflikty i harmonizatsiya suspil'stva: Materialy naukovoyi konferentsiyi: 28-29 travnya 2001 r.* (Kyiv: Kyyivs'kyyuniversytet, 2002), 179–85.

intelligentsia recognized themselves as Ukrainian speakers in 1955¹. Interestingly, but 33% of Russians among the teachers of Poltava SPI (39 people) used the Ukrainian. Ones as mathematician Viktor Nochovkin² wrote in Ukrainian.

Others at least reported that read and translated from Ukrainian, not having it as spoken language, as Volodymyr Korotkykh from the sub-department of the basics of manufacturing did³. Among fully Russian-speakers were the Germans, the Czechs and the Latvians. Of the three Belarusians only one senior lecturer of the sub-department of the basics of manufacturing Mykola Davydovych had no problem in writing and speaking Ukrainian⁴.

As for the Jews, 79% of them in turned to the language of Pushkin. The same trend is shown by the teachers in other higher schools of the UkrSSR. For example, the Jews of Sumy SPI were the last who were “made” to transfer to Ukrainian language of teaching by 1957⁵. In general, Jews rarely wrote in Ukrainian. Among the notable exceptions were assistant professor of mathematics Mina Hardashnikov⁶ and physics teacher Mark Heydelberh of Poltava SPI⁷.

Language use according to the nationality



Bar chart 8. Language preferences among the educators of Poltava SPI

Source: personal cases of educators from APNPU, f. 2.

¹ Oksana Prokhorenko, “Dynamika kil’kisnykh i yakisnykh kharakterystyk naukovo-pedahohichnoyi intelihentsiyi URSR (1945-1955 rr.),” in *Ukrayina. XX stolittya: kul’tura, ideolohiya, polityka. Zbirnyk statey*, no. 10 (2006), 197.

² APNPU, f. 2, op. N, spr. Nochovkin Viktor Yukhymovych, 1.

³ APNPU, f. 2, op. K-2, spr. Korotkykh Volodymyr Oheyovych, 3.

⁴ APNPU, f. 2, op. D-1, spr. Davydovych Mykola Stepanovych, 6.

⁵ DASO, f. R-2817, op. 3, spr. 201, 10.

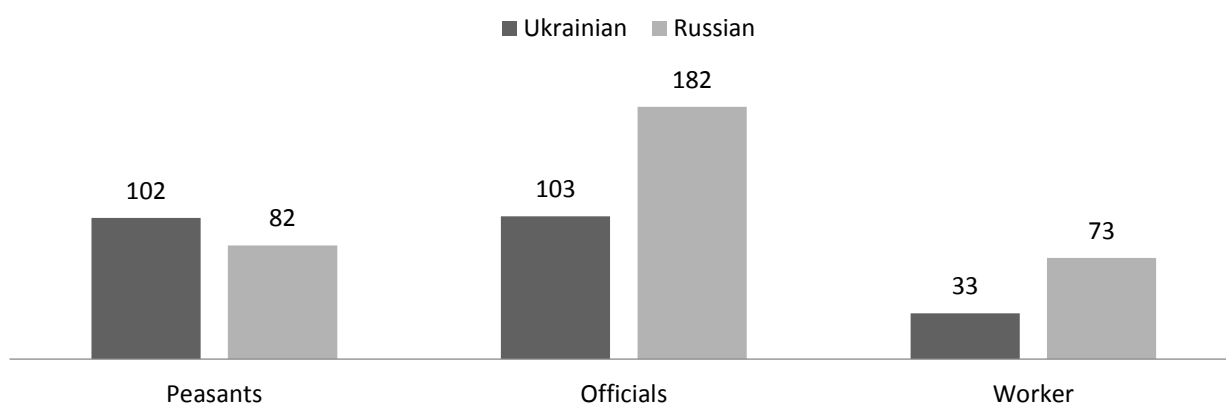
⁶ APNPU, f. 2, op. H-2, spr. Hardashnikov Mina Fayvelevych, 1.

⁷ APNPU, f. 2, op. H-2, spr. Heydel’berh Mark Borysovych, 1.

LANGUAGE AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND

Let's find out to which stratum Ukrainian-speakers came from and how the language identified "what origin you were". The category of "farmers" included all of those who tagged themselves to have come from a family of a villager or a collective farmer¹. The category of "officials" was filled with those affiliating themselves to the family of party and state officials, military personnel, teachers, musicians and more. Category of "workers" doesn't have any "apps"². Most Ukrainian-language bearers came from peasants and officials (110 and 109 people respectively). But if Ukrainian speakers made the majority of people from the village (55%) they were in the minority among officials (37%). Workers in the majority were Russian-speaking (68%); only 37 people of Poltava SPI (32%) chose Ukrainian language as a dominant one.

Language use according to the social background



Bar chart 9. Language preferences among the educators of Poltava SPI

Source: personal cases of educators from APNPU, f. 2.

LANGUAGE AND BIRTHPLACE

Now we'll define the dependence language choice according to the place of origin. People from 20 regions of the UkrSSR and 8 other big autonomous and union republics were working in Poltava SPI during 1953-1964. Of course, the number of representatives is quite different to make guaranteed conclusions. In eight cases, we have only one representative from regions and in 16 cases there 10 employees in each. Most of the institute workers came from Poltava region (53% or 323 people) and 169

¹ APNPU, f. 2, op. E, Zh, Z, spr. Zhukov Oleksiy Yevhenovych, 3.

² APNPU, f. 2, op. K-2, spr. Korotkykh Volodymyr Oheyovych, 1.

from among them (27% of all teachers) chose to speak Ukrainian. Most Russian-speaking came from Poltava (25%, 154 teachers), from different regions of Russia (12% – 74 people), from Kharkiv (5%, 28 educators) and Kyiv (3%, 17 teachers). Interestingly, three of Lviv, who arrived in Poltava, chose Russian language as titular one. At the same time we can see strange language parity in close to Russia Voroshylovhrad, Stalino and Chernihiv regions. Many employees from the western regions swapped to Russian as a working language and the language of communication. Although it was noticeable that it was difficult to do for immigrants from the West, especially from the Western villages as it happened with Vanda Dubovych of Kamianets-Podilskyi region. Her autobiography and sheet of HR was written by the confident hand of the educated person. But this education was gained likely in Ukrainian. There is an evidence of “doublespeak” facts that her parents “zanimalis’ zymlyedyeliyem” (were engaged in agriculture – in Ukrainian without Russian influence it should be spelled as “zaymalysya zemlerobstvom”) etc.¹. Although titular Russians as assistant of the Russian language of Poltava SPI Nina Sharipova wrote that she had studied the Ukrainian language especially for work in the Ukrainian higher school². However, such cases were rather the exception. For the most part, Russian teachers as Mykola Sharipov from the sub-department of Marxism-Leninism of Poltava SPI didn’t know the Ukrainian language at all. Others like him even wrote about it separately in the personal file, stressing that they were reading lectures exclusively in Russian³. This is not surprising when Ukrainian language was foreign even to the born in Kharkiv the head of the same department Dmytro Stepanov, as he wrote, settling at work in 1946: “*I don’t know Ukrainian and other foreign languages*”⁴.

¹ APNPU, f. 2, op. D-1, spr. Dubovych Vanda Ivanivna, 1.

² APNPU, f. 2, op. Sh-1, spr. Sharypova Nina Semenivna, 1.

³ APNPU, f. 2, op. Sh-1, spr. Sharipov Mykola Andriyovych, 2.

⁴ APNPU, f. 2, op. S-2, spr. Stepanov Dmytro Vasyl’ovych, 1.

Table 8

Language use according to the place of residence			
Oblast / Region	Ukrainian	Russian	Total
Bashkir ASSR	0	1	1
Belarusian SSR	1	6	7
Cherkasy oblast	2	0	2
Chernihiv oblast	9	9	18
Crimean oblast	0	1	1
Dnipropetrovs'k oblast	7	7	14
Kamianets-Podilskyi oblast	0	2	2
Kazakh SSR	0	1	1
Kharkiv oblast	14	26	40
Khmelnyskyi oblast	0	1	1
Kirovohrad oblast	4	2	6
Kyiv oblast	10	15	25
Lithuanian SSR	0	1	1
Lviv oblast	0	3	3
Mykolayiv oblast	1	1	2
Odesa oblast	0	8	8
Poland	1	0	1
Poltava oblast	161	148	309
Russian SSR	7	68	75
Stalino oblast	4	6	10
Sumy oblast	6	10	16
Tatar ASSR	0	1	1
Vinnytsya oblast	2	4	6
Volyn oblast	1	0	1
Voroshlovhrad oblast	2	2	4
Zaporizhzhya oblast	3	3	6
Zhytomyr oblast	3	11	14
Total	238	337	575

Source: personal cases of the educators from APNPU, f. 2.

CONFRONTATION ATMOSPHERE

The great role in forming language preferences was played by the artificially pumping atmosphere of confrontation of different languages and cultures which followed from the authorities. Stalin's ideological machine did it quite ably, especially as Stalin himself had a hand in linguistics no less than in other spheres, where he considered himself a coryphaeus. His work "Marxism and Problems of Linguistics" was published in 1950¹. As Nataliya Yusova found out, for a long time it was the "talk of the town" not only for philologists of the institutes, but also for scientists from numeral other fields of study². Kharkiv and Vinnytsya SPIs used linguistic "discovery" of Stalin not only in philology, but also in pedagogy³ and psychology⁴.

His theory of language mix was much more aggressive of the modern theory of language contact analyzed by Borys Aznyuk⁵. The formation of the USSR itself led to the rooting of the idea of the erase not only territorial but also cultural frontiers. That was a result of the powerful myth of Pan-Slavism that was supposed to unite peoples around Russia⁶). Governing elite represented by Stalin began the forced unification of the peoples with the spread of inferiority complex of "miner folks". Students were encouraged to notice that in the VI century Russians had already developed the united nation within a unified Russian state⁷. That statement then seemed quite right for them because scholars used to rely on conclusions from Stalin's books⁸. And students almost every month had to write special control works to for such "self-convincing" in the correctness of the thoughts of their "supreme leader"⁹. The dogmatization of the formula "Russia and Russians above all" from the documents of Dnipropetrovs'k SPIFL was characteristic of various universities of the UkrSSR¹⁰. For example Lviv

¹ I. V. Stalin, *Marksizm i voprosy yazykoznaniiya* (Moskva, Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1951).

² Nataliya Yusova, "U svitli stalins'kykh tvoriv z pytan' movoznavstva": aktualizatsiya etnohenetychnykh protsesiv u SRSR na pochaktu 1950-kh rr. , " *Ukrayins'kyi istorychnyy zhurnal*, no. 3 (2007).

³ DAKhO, f. R-4293, op. 2, spr. 497, 36.

⁴ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1291, 103.

⁵ Borys Azhnyuk, "Linhvistychni aspekty hlobalizatsiyi v Ukrayini," in *Movni konflikty i harmonizatsiya suspil'stva: Materialy naukovoyi konferentsiyi: 28-29 travnya 2001 r.* (Kyiv: Kyyivs'kyi universytet, 2002), 145.

⁶ Nataliya Yusova, "Formuvannya teorii pro davn'orus'ku narodnist' v istorychniy dumtsi SRSR pid chas Velykoyi vitchyznyanoyi viyny (1941-1945 rr.)," *Istoriografichni doslidzhennya v Ukrayini*, no. 11 (2002).

⁷ APNPU, f. 1 (z/v), op. 1961 (Ist. viddil) (A-B), spr. Balahura Daryna Markivna, 18.

⁸ Nataliya Yusova. "Heneza kontseptu "davn'orus'ka narodnist'" u radyans'kiy istorychniy nautsi", *Ukrayins'kyi istorychnyy zhurnal*, no. 6 (2001).

⁹ APNPU, f. 1 (z/v), op. 1956 (Ros. viddil) (A-H), spr. 2149. Bilohrad Mariya Fanichna, 9.

¹⁰ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1292, 24.



Picture 91. The ideological poster “Forever together” was created in 1954 by a group of artists K. Ivanov, V. Koretsky, O. Savostyuk and A. Uspenski. The text in the upper right corner said: “Forever linking its destiny with the brotherly Russian people, the Ukrainian nation has saved itself from foreign enslavement and provided the possibility of its national development. Together forever!”, 1962

linguists and mathematicians as well warmly welcomed “the genius works” of Stalin as they did in Hlukhiv¹ or in Uman². Poltava scholars even started a seminar on the dissemination of Stalin’s new doctrine of language among students of the institute, especially of students and teachers of Russian language in schools in the city in 1951³.

The reviewers of course works and examinations specifically allocated those students who had devoted considerable attention to the disclosure of provisions of the Stalinist theory of language in their works⁴. They even created a separate committee of teachers who controlled the reports on students mastering the regular work of Stalin in Poltava⁵. For example, the main report on the achievements of young people of Kyiv SPIFL in learning some of Stalin’s works was planned for 05 March of 1953, – dramatically, on the day when the “Great Leader”, for which such events were held, had died⁶.

The syndrome of need of confirmation linguistic and cultural unity of peoples did not abandon teachers even two years Stalin’s death, when the era of severe pressure

¹ DASO, f. R-5369, op. 1, spr. 139, 24.

² Anatoliy Svidzyns’kyi, “Korinna perebudova,” in VKurse, March 21, 2009. Accessed July 15, 2011. <http://vkurse.ua/ua/analytics/korennaya-perestroyka.html>

³ DAPO, f. P-251, op.1, spr. 5244, 16.

⁴ APNPU, f. 1(z/v), op. 1956 (Ros. viddil) (S-Sh), spr. 2201. Sopil’nyak Vira Mykolayivna, 10.

⁵ APNPU, f. 3, op. 1953, spr. Nakazy. T.1. (22.01-30.06.1953), 23.

⁶ DAK, f. P-985, op. 1, spr. 155, 3.

seemed to be bygone¹. Machine of dogmatization operated so smoothly that the work of compulsory regular seminars to study the Stalinist theory of language was stopped only around 1955. At least that was the year of the cancellation of such courses in Sumy SPI² and in Poltava when the lecturer Lev Rohozin concluded them to be outdated³. With the dethroning of the personality cult of Stalin, the dogmatic foundations under his theoretical work shook as well. Thus, the Director of Sumy SPI Fedir Huzhva openly declared that *“it would be better to stop admiring the influence of the Russian language in Ukrainian. Each language has its own national laws, they should be disclosed⁴ or that “the provisions of Joseph Stalin on language were contrary to the truth, so they should be re-viewed”⁵.*

However, to hear that the science and scientists had to go a long and difficult path of self-deception and scientific self-convincing in the rightness of “Stalinist layer” of knowledge. Even Ukrainian philologist and director of Poltava SPI Mykhaylo Semyvolos, early in his career in Poltava, opposed unreasonable, in his opinion, attacks on the Russian language at the institute. In 1954 he noticed that educators had the wrong idea about Russisms in the language of their students. The director in contrast even encouraged young people and teachers to use some borrowings from Russian language (!).

He explained that folk language borrows from Russian when Ukrainian language misses some apt words to describe the mood of any person or specific phenomena⁶. Although modern scholars argue that these “users” of Russian borrowings are very easily programmed to their second-rate status and are the best material for the political influence⁷. In such conditions, indignation of teachers about the low level of Ukrainian language in schools of UkrSSR, found in the documents of Poltava⁸ and Sumy⁹ SPIs, was rather individual.

Even in the early years of de-Stalinization the authorities were stimulating propaganda of the “historical closeness” of Ukrainian and Russian languages. One of the tools of it was a Ministerial Guidance on 04, December of 1953 “On the measures

¹ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 493, 65.

² APNPU, f. 2, R-2, spr. Rohozin Lev L'vovych, 16.

³ DASO, f. R-5369, op. 1, spr. 198, 4.

⁴ DASO, f. R-2817, op. 3, spr. 175, 26.

⁵ DASO, f. R-2817, op. 3, spr. 178, 16.

⁶ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 486, 69.

⁷ Oleksandra Serbens'ka, “Surzhyk: “nyz'ka mova”, bezlad chy movna patolohiya?” in *Movni konflikty i harmonizatsiya suspil'stva: Materialy naukovoyi konferentsiyi: 28-29 travnya 2001 r.* (Kyiv: Kyyivs'kyy universytet, 2002), 91.

⁸ DAPO, f. R-251, op. 1, spr. 5266, 20.

⁹ DASO, f. R-5369, op. 1, spr. 158, 6.

to improve training of language teachers in pedagogical institutes of the UkrSSR". It was still full of recommendations about the references to Stalin's works¹. Not less important component in the creation of such conditions of development of the language issue was the celebrating of the 300th anniversary of Pereyaslav Council². Teachers of pedagogical schools of the UkrSSR in line with government programs started to search introduced by Russian culture elements even in traditional Ukrainian mentality. Thus, in the light of theses on the 300th anniversary "of the great unity", the teacher of Sumy SPI Mr. Dobrovolskyi gave public lectures on the role of the Russian language for all peoples of the world³, and Poltava lecturers Andriy Kuzmenko and Ivan Tereshchenko in honor of significant date reported about the enriching of Russian literature ...by the founder of Ukrainian literary language Ivan Kotlyarevskyi⁴.

There were some works by Kotlyarevskyi in Russian: cantata "Little Russian United Provincial Choir", "Ode of Sappho", "Records of the first actions of the Russian troops in the Turkish war of 1806" and "Reflections on the Gospel of Luke, translated from the French work by Abbe Duken". But they didn't form the core of his world famous heritage. Thus their Russian language mad them prominent in the line of the anniversary of "concrete friendship" of Russians and Ukrainians.

Perhaps after such statements it is much easier to perceive the verse by Poltava poet Ivan Riznyk that once again stated Ukraine's inability to come independently into the world

*For that the new flowering Ukraine
Is growing in friendship and harmony,
Having cured old burning wounds --
Thank you, Russian people⁵*

According to the educators, there was a great deal to thank Russia for. What was worth the mission of the Russian people in the process of cleaning (!) of Ukrainian language from the harmful foreign investments? Yes, these were the statements given to the youth to the lecturers of pedagogical universities in connection with the "reunion" of Ukraine and Russia in 1954. In particular, that was the basic argument for

¹ DASO, f. R-5369, op. 1, spr. 169, 67.

² "Svyato nerushymoyi druzhby rosiys'koho i ukrayisn'koho narodiv. Vidkryttya dekady rosiys'koyi literatury i mystetstva v Kyievi," Zorya Poltavshchyny, May 8, 1954, no. 95, 1.

³ DASO, f. R-2817, op. 3, spr. 138, 26.

⁴ "Zbirnyk naukovykh statey," Zorya Poltavshchyny, October 4, 1953, no. 198, 3.

⁵ I. Riznyk, "Spasybi, rosiys'kyy narode!," Zorya Poltavshchyny, May 22, 1954, no. 105, 2.

the educator Tychyna from Kharkiv SPIFL when he was telling his students that the Ukrainian language became independent only in the XIX century¹.

LIMITED DIVERSITY

The educators had to live among the “limited diversity” of the literature. It led to the terrible consequences that made the Minister of Culture Kostyantyn Lytvyn to point in 1953 that among 50.000 copies of films in Ukraine there were only 2.650 (5%) in Ukrainian. And for the period from 1950 to 1953, only 18 textbooks for schools and universities of the UkrSSR were published in Ukrainian language². Even the most “Ukrainian” Lviv SPI complained to the Ministry of the lack of textbooks in Ukrainian. However, the teachers did not rush to the preparation of the original textbooks in their native language³. Students were to use Russian books to study. That had bad consequences on their overall education level. That indifference of educators to the problem of textbooks soon pushed the institute teachers to control what their students were reading to increase their Ukrainian language vocabulary⁴. However, after the exchange of experience teachers were in great despair. There was nothing to control: there was no (!) Ukrainian literature textbook for universities in higher schools and in the state as a whole, as well as there were no copies of modern Ukrainian literature works in the libraries of provincial institutes⁵.

From the other side, quite telling was the fact that 77 titles of Stalin’s works (17.860.000 copies) were published in the Ukrainian language after World War II (the most popular were two ones – brochure “Briefly about party disagrees”⁶ and leader’s speech “On the question of agricultural policy in the USSR”⁷). And his “Marxism and the National Question” withstood 5 editions of 230.000 copies in the Ukrainian⁸. Exclusively for comparison, that after a while there was a publication of works by the writer Vladimir Korolenko in Ukrainian, too. However, their circulation was 7.5 times

¹ DAKhO, f. R-1780, op. 3, spr. 445, 124.

² Oleh Bazhan, “Movnyy protses v Ukrayins'kiy RSR v umovakh pochatkovoho periodu destalinizatsiyi (1953–1955 rr.),” Accessed June 10, 2012. http://www.nbu.gov.ua/portal/soc_gum/Uxxs/2008_14/6.pdf

³ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 106, 10.

⁴ DASO, f. R-5369, op. 1, spr. 139, 11.

⁵ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 395. 133zv.

⁶ “Vydannya broshury Yosypa Vissarionovycha Stalina “Korotko pro partiyni nezhody,” Zorya Poltavshchyny, May 8, 1953, no. 98, 1.

⁷ “Vydannya promovy Yosypa Vissarionovycha Stalina “Do pytannya ahraryoi polityky v SRSR,” Zorya Poltavshchyny, May 19, 1953, no. 91, 1.

⁸ “P’yatdesyat mil’yoniv knyh tvoriv Yosypa Vissarionovycha Stalina,” Zorya Poltavshchyny, March 19, 1953, no. 53, 1.

less to the total circulation of “political missals” of Stalin issued by May 1953¹. It is not surprising, but it was separately reported to the Ministry about the availability of Ukrainian editions of Stalin and Lenin in the libraries of the institutes. So, Drohobych SPI noted that among 4.781 names of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin works 1.858 (39 %!) were in Ukrainian. Moreover, the “Ukrainian” works of Stalin formed 12% more than similar translations of Lenin. The made 15 volumes (60%) of 25 to 10 volumes (48%) out of 21 Lenin’s².

The significance of the Russian book was noticeable even in the pages of the press. In 1955, people were immediately informed about the appearance of books and textbooks in Russian in bookshops with the articles on the front pages as if they were in a great rarity in comparison with Ukrainian book³. No wonder, that sub-department of Ukrainian Literature of Poltava SPI sent a letter to the Ministry to significantly improve teaching of Ukrainian and provision of Ukrainian literature just when heard the calls of critics of the personality cult of Stalin in March of 1956⁴.

The practice of domination of Russian books and science clearly reflected in the activities of Kharkiv State Pedagogic Institute. When the directorate started new Ukrainization campaign there, the head of the library Valentyna Ledkovska noted that the majority of students and faculty demanded books only in Russian. Russian editions prevailed over the Ukrainian book publications on the shelves of the library as 60% to 35%. On the “classic” Leninist question “what to do?” the director Ivan Dementiev ordered to complete institute libraries only with books in Ukrainian. They even defined the quantitative advantage of Ukrainian publications for higher education once again become a national oriented – not less than 60%⁵.

But the picture looked quite pessimistic in the light of calculations that we did with the book fund of Lviv institute of publishing. With 709 titles of textbooks, entered in the list of mandatory, 675 (92% (!) were in Russian⁶. The numbers become more significant when we turn to the conclusions of the educators from Drohobych SPI. They wrote to the Ministry of Education that the main defect of the system was the presence of only Russian language books in the list of recommended literature. And they were not even planned to be published in Ukrainian what “*for the institutes of western regions [was] in a special value*”⁷.

¹ “Tvory Volodymyra Halaktionovycha Korolenka ukrayins’koyu movoyu,” Zorya Poltavshchyny, June 5, 1953, no. 110, 1.

² TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1293, 81.

³ “V mahazynakh Knyhtorhu,” Zorya Poltavshchyny, December 31, 1955, no. 256, 4

⁴ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 553, 10.

⁵ DAKhO, f. R-4293, op. 2, spr.755, 60. 139.

⁶ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 175, 2-51.

⁷ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1293, 16.

THE PERIOD OF ACCUMULATION

The period of maturing of the language problems had lasted until June 1953, when the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party did not respond to a decree of the Presidium of the Central Committee of 26, May of 1953 on the situation in the western regions of the UkrSSR. I didn't define the lower limit of that period due to the chronological limits of that specific research. During this time, not only language problems accumulated but also the potential of people, their ideas about national policy and their aspirations. The fact of accumulation eventually resulted in proactive in the next years. In the period to June 1953, the authorities created an atmosphere of political care for the Ukrainian language.

The press worked in the same way. Provincial periodicals continued a campaign of struggle for the language purity on the samples of central newspapers¹. They were considered the models of pure Ukrainian that could be the alternative of provincial use of borrowings from Russian. However, regional papers criticized language policy in small village and district editions often making a lot of spelling and lexical mistakes as well².

A characteristic feature of the period was the doublespeak and dialect as a result of mixing of the languages. The dialect effect was noticeable even for literary faculties of many institutes. It was a process that Borys Matiash named the half-language³. It was a result of the inner conflict when the native language was moved to unreasonable changes in the Russian speaking environment to achieve better position of some authority. The dialect words were traced in the tests and control works of students. For example, a lot of them, having learnt grammar and orthography rules, were still using distorted words as “сухвік” (“suhviks”) instead of “суфік” (“sufiks”)⁴, or «хворма» (“hvorma”) instead of “форма” (“forma”)⁵. Teachers of Drohobych SPI noted that the presence of double speaking of students of language departments was very clear. Many of those entering the “elite” Russian language departments were Ukrainian-speaking people and had never used Russian before the higher school⁶.

¹ “Konferentsiya chytachiv hazety “Radyans'ka Ukrayina,” Zorya Poltavshchyny, Januzry 1, 1953, no. 1, 4.

² “Pro movu odniyeyi rayonnoyi hazety,” Zorya Poltavshchyny, April, 25, 1953, no. 83, 2.

³ Bohdana Matiash, “Napivmovnist' i vnutrishniy konflikt osobystosti,” in *Movni konflikty i harmonizatsiya suspil'stva: Materialy naukovoyi konferentsiyi: 28-29 travnya 2001 r.* (Kyiv: Kyyivs'kyi universytet, 2002), 121.

⁴ DAVO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 395, 8zv.

⁵ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1878, 39.

⁶ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1293, 21.

However, the indicators of success of students from Poltava¹ and Hlukhiv² demonstrated that students oriented better in the language of the titular nation of UkrSSR than in the language of international communication. That situation was even brought to the mass discussion through the press. They asked for the leveling the knowledge of Russian and Ukrainian for the success of the new system of education in the country³.

THE PERIOD OF SEARCH

The second stage of the developing of language issue started in 1953 and lasted until December, 1955. That was time when the initiatives of curtailing the Russification policies in the UkrSSR, started by Lavrentiy Beria and supported by the First Secretary of the Central Committee of CPU Oleksiy Kyrychenko began to bear fruit. These were the incomparable to anything events at the level of the UkrSSR. The authorities sponsored the first volume of the renewed Ukrainian-Russian Dictionary of 24.425 Ukrainian words⁴. They even came up with an idea of the Republican pedagogical readings, the main issue of which was teaching of the Ukrainian language in schools with Russian language of teaching⁵. The great breakthrough was also in granting the right to Kyiv SPI for the reception defense of scientific thesis on the methods of teaching of Ukrainian language and literature as well as the opening of the postgraduate specialty “Ukrainian language” Lviv SPI⁶. The Ministry itself recognized that the state had come to such situation that there were few qualified specialists of Ukrainian Language and Literature⁷!

Teacher training institutions continued the search of the ways of bettering the language environment. On the one hand, they were looking for a way out of the impasse in which the Ukrainian language was taken by the campaign of fighting against “bourgeois nationalists”. That situation once again confirmed the view that there was no conflicting of language, but of people⁸. On the other side they were trying to hold national feelings on a short chain constantly monitoring if the language of the “big brother” hadn’t been clamped anywhere around. That was an easy way to blame

¹ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4824, 10.

² DASO, f. R-5369, op. 1, spr. 163, 6zv.

³ “Do novykh uspikhiv radyans’koyi shkoly!,” *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, January 11, 1953, no. 8, 4.

⁴ “Pershyy tom “Ukrayins’ko-rosiys’koho slovnyka,” *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, July 7, 1953, no. 133, 1.

⁵ “Respublikans’ki pedahohichni chytannya,” *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, July 4, 1953, no. 131, 2.

⁶ Bazhan, “Movnyy protses...”

⁷ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 190, 26.

⁸ Oleksandr Muzyka, “Psykhologichni mekhanizmy konfliktiv v umovakh tsinnisno-movlennyevoyi vzayemodiyi,” in *Movni konflikty i harmonizatsiya suspil'stva: Materialy naukovoyi konferentsiyi: 28-29 travnya 2001 r.* (Kyiv: Kyyivs’kyy universytet, 2002), 129.

someone from institutes and elite of the failures in the language policy of the country. In 1955, teachers and students were still using Stalin's theses on the second sort of the Ukrainians language and the first class of Russian. For example, that was the base for the "excellent" mark of Buma Petrova entering the department of philology of Poltava SPI in 1955¹.



Picture 92. The photo by P. Kekalo captured one of the places of interest of Poltava – the White gazebo. In 1950's it was called The gazebo of Peoples' Friendship – a sign of that Ukrainian folk became the part of a new – Soviet one. There was even the inscription on the pediment – the lines from the anthem of the UkrSSR: "Glory to the Soviet Union, Glory, and Glory to the Union of the fraternal peoples!", 1954

The cleanness of the Ukrainian language in everyday life of students still was an urgent problem. It was rich in strongly rooted dialect. The press even cited the brightest examples of them from the compositions of new students of Poltava. Among the "pearls of mistakes" were the words "просю" ('prosyu') instead of "прошу" ('proshu'), "гаворя" ('havorya') instead of "говорячи" ('hovoryachy'), and "может" ('mozhet') in place of "может" ('mozhe')². During that time the adoption of the benefits of Russian still was felt. The exams to the universities were held in Russian. It especially affected traditionally Ukrainian schools with children coming from Ukrainian villages. So, Chernivtsi teachers informed that during the admission campaign of 1953 many young people had difficulties because of the fact that examiners started talking to them in Russian, confusing youth³.

At the beginning of the description of the problem there

¹ APNPU, f. 1 (z/v), op. 1956 (Ros. viddil) (M-R), spr. 2193. Petrova Buma Yosypivna, 12.

² I.Yaremenko, "Na vstupnykh ekzamenakh," Zorya Poltavshchyny, August 13, 1953, no. 163, 3.

³ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 105, 83.

was stated the significant boost of Lavrentiy Beria memorandum of national policies in Western Ukraine in the development of the language issue. Undoubtedly, the decision of the June Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU on these issues was discussed in the higher pedagogical school. However, the documents of higher educational institutions of Kharkiv, Cherkasy and Uman are silent on the issue. In Poltava, we do not know other manifestations except the reaction of the mathematician Yuriy Kopkin. He told that it was... the attempt of the authorities to inflame national enmity accenting the language question (!). However, the protocols of party meeting in Kyiv SPI preserved. During it, the protection of the Ukrainian was held along with the adoption of priority of Russian language. Party secretary Synytsya said: *“Of course, we have to appreciate the culture of the Russian people and the Russian language as a means of unity of all nations, as treasury, which contains much spiritual wealth of mankind, particularly the teachings of Lenin and Stalin. But the Party teaches us to take care of the development of national languages all over”*¹.

Kyiv educators resented the fact that from 1.718 higher school teachers of Lviv only 320 (19%) gave lectures in Ukrainian. However, the discussion did not go far. Present there poet and lecturer Volodymyr Sosyura, trained by recent repressions and persecutions, concluded that *“the decision of the Presidium of the CC of CPSU and the CC of CPU will be a big blow to the rump for Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists, for American warmongers”*².

Kyiv educators spoke out loud on the problem of the Ukrainian language in secondary schools. Teachers were outraged that 90% of school in the capital of the UkrSSR were Russian-speaking. The lecturer Volodymyr Lysenko was suppressed by the fact that “in Ukraine, in the Russian-speaking schools, they didn’t even submitted Ukrainian language for state examinations”. And the very education system was clearly discriminatory. As rightly marked his colleague Hryhoriy Prokopenko, the parents brought children to Russian schools because they had better system of cooperation with higher school. When the graduates of Russian speaking schools had already had the certificates of complete secondary education at the hands in the beginning of the summer and were entering the universities, young people from Ukrainian speaking schools were just starting to take their final examinations. In fact, it created the unhealthy competition in the country where the education with Russian language of teaching beat the Ukrainian speaking one³.

¹ DAKO, f. P-485, op. 3, spr. 2, 199.

² DAKO, f. P-485, op. 3, spr. 2, 204.

³ DAKO, f. P-485, op. 3, spr. 2, 204.

But we need to note that the revival of interest in Ukrainian language was noticeable even though. The universities joined to the work of the Academy of Sciences in creating the dialectological atlas of Ukrainian language¹. According to Kostyantyn Tyshchenko, the interest to the dialects indicated the revival of full operation conditions of the national language². The institutes organized special teams of students and teachers who traveled across the regions, collecting data for scientific work³. Some educators worked independently in the same direction as the whole institutions. For example, Vinnytsya student Slyvko was studying the dialects of the village Pysarivka⁴, Poltava lecturer Vira Matvetyeva dedicated her study to the vocabulary of Poltava Ukrainian art crafts⁵ and Sumy teacher Mariya Bezkyshkina researched the lexicon of the Ukrainian dialects of the north-eastern regions of Sumy region⁶.

However, the students still got problems in which interest in local Ukrainian dialects was seen through the prism of the banned Stalinist language doctrine/ one of the members of the research groups from Poltava SPI Dmytro Ivashchenko still used a lot of references to Stalin's books in the analyses of the data gathered in Poltava region⁷. In the following years. But nevertheless, the interest to the study of the map of Ukrainian traditional sub dialects was only increasing from year to year⁸. The scientists paid attention to all of them – from south-westerns dialects of Zakarpattya and the Danube region⁹ to the south-eastern ones of Luhans'k and Sumy¹⁰.

The remediation of the status of the Ukrainian language was possible because of the measures of the Ministry of Education of spreading of so-called “single language regime” in the universities and schools of the UkrSSR. So, the decision of the Academic Council of Poltava SPI in August 1953 required the Director to develop a special draft order on the basis of Ministerial “Provision on the single language regime and the culture of oral and written language”¹¹. And a teacher of Kharkiv SPI Teslenko strongly raised the question of the transition of the whole institute on Ukrainian

¹ DASO, f. R-5369, op. 1, spr. 187, 7.

² Tyshchenko, Kostyantyn. “Poky zhyvi ukrayins'ki dialekty – zhyve Ukrayina,” in *Movni konflikty i harmonizatsiya suspil'stva: Materialy naukovoyi konferentsiyi: 28-29 travnya 2001 r.* (Kyiv: Kyyivs'kyi universytet, 2002).

³ APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr. Nakazy. T.3. (1.09-31.12.1954), 142.

⁴ TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1291, 103.

⁵ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 392, 50.

⁶ DASO, f. R-5369, op. 1, spr. 187, 14.

⁷ APNPU, f. 1(z/v), op. 1956 (Ros. viddil) (D-L), spr. 2170. Ivashchenko Dmytro Serhiyovych, 23.

⁸ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 548, 375zv.

⁹ DASO, f. R-2817, op. 3, spr. 281, 48.

¹⁰ DASO, f. R-5369, op. 1, spr. 285, 13.

¹¹ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 392, 146.

language of learning already in 1953¹. The same requirements were put forward by the director of Uman SPI Volodymyr Tkanenko². The basis for that were the cases when some students boycotted the Ukrainian language in their responses. For example, Poltava teachers, lecturing in the Ukrainian, demanded students to answer in the same language. But a significant number refused to speak Ukrainian, referring to ignorance (!) of that language³. And some students from Kyiv SPI even made attempts to write and speak Russian during the Ukrainian language exams⁴. To raise language literacy of students, university teachers initiated the system of language consultations⁵. For example, they were very popular means of raising the literacy in Kyiv SPIFL⁶ and Poltava SPI⁷. The teachers of Sumy SPI in 1954 even asked the Ministry strengthen their financial support for the organization of such groups of learning Ukrainian language⁸.

The stumbling block in the process of the Ukrainization of the student life was the oversaturation of Russian terminology in textbooks and courses. The head of the Department of Foreign Languages of Poltava SPI Olha Churuhina repeatedly noticed that the teachers had to study Ukrainian along with the foreign language study. That happened because students often require the translation of English and even Ukrainian terms and words into Russian⁹. Similar situations were in other universities of the country. In particular, the Kyiv professor of botany Shestakovskyyi refused to lecture in Ukrainian, explaining that he didn't know that language¹⁰. And the educator L. Kucherenko from Kharkiv SPIFL advised to carry out to students frequent parallels of French terminology with their native language meaning Russian but not Ukrainian¹¹. It was not surprising at all for, in 1955, almost 93% of the lectures in this leading Ukrainian institute were taken down in shorthand in Russian¹².

However, leading scientific collections in educational institutions were still issued in Ukrainian. Most teachers of the UkrSSR understood the right place of the Russian language: additional one, used for international communication, not leading in science. Thus, Associate Professor of Kharkiv SPI I. Remizov in 1953 said: *“Our Scientific*

¹ DAKhO, f. R-4293, op. 2, spr. 497, 85.

² DACHO, f. R-1418, op. 2, spr. 111, 23.

³ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 440, 1.

⁴ DAKO, f. P-485, op. 3, spr. 2, 200.

⁵ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 170, 32.

⁶ DAK, f. R-985, op. 1, spr. 155, 183.

⁷ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 440, 31.

⁸ DASO, f. R-2817, op. 3, spr. 133, 7-8.

⁹ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 440, 2.

¹⁰ DAKO, f. P-485, op. 3, spr. 2, 214.

¹¹ DAKhO, f. R-1780, op. 3, spr. 484, 4.

¹² DAKhO, f. R-1780, op. 3, spr. 483, 286.

notes are published in Ukrainian and it is right, but they are read not only in Ukraine. I think we should give after each article the summary in Russian”¹.

THE PERIOD OF RENAISSANCE

The year of 1956 brought a change in the worldview of the Soviet people that launched a renaissance of the role of language in the educational environment (1956 – September, 1958). People saw the government openly talking about the crimes of Joseph Stalin and about the failure of others to criticize his actions. The democratization of party life prepared democratization of national question. Thus, during the discussion of the resolution of the Central Committee of CPSU “On overcoming the cult of personality & its consequences” in July 1956, Poltava teacher Mykola Rizun accused the authorities

We wonder that Ukrainian language is out of favor in the city of Poltava and in our region. Speeches and presentations are rarely heard in Ukrainian language, s our children neglected Ukrainian language in school, conversational language in our party meetings, consultations, and conferences is not Ukrainian. In the city of Poltava, schools with teaching in Russian are created artificially².

Kyiv educator, scientist, once sent to the concentration camps of GULAG, Mykhaylo Marchenko said that “*Ukrainian culture during the Soviet period developed less than in pre-revolutionary years, it is so now that there are almost no Ukrainian schools and we have cases when schools children cannot study in Ukrainian*”³.

However, later for these remarks he had to hand over his party ticket and got the charges of anti-Soviet sentiments as bourgeois nationalist⁴. The same trends were observed among the teachers of Kharkiv⁵ and Sumy⁶. They also rushed to introduce Ukrainian-language teaching in higher school, realizing that many students simply did not study Ukrainian at secondary schools. Quite an interesting fact quoted a Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences of the UkrSSR, and famous philologist Evhen Kyrylyuk after inspection of higher educational institutions of Kyiv in 1957. He found out that competition was much higher for entering the Russian departments of the universities, and examinations were more complex than for the

¹ DAKhO, f. R-4293, op. 2, spr. 497, 3.

² DAPO, f. P-15, op. 2, spr. 220, 55.

³ DAKO, f. P-485, op. 4, spr. 15, 14.

⁴ DAKO, f. P-485, op. 4, spr. 16, 4-5.

⁵ DAKhO, f. R-1780, op. 3, spr. 526, 165.

⁶ DASO, f. R-2817, op. 3, spr. 287, 4.

Ukrainian one. So many young people without even studying Ukrainian in schools, applied to the Ukrainian departments for its easier contest. That was a real test for those who knew nothing in Ukrainian. So, no wonder that they continued Russian-speaking life at Ukrainian language departments. Moreover, Evhen Kyrylyuk noted that they often turned into the “militant ignorant” fighting against the national language. So the scientists had to convince them of the need to speak Ukrainian¹.

During this period, even the teachers of the Russian language and literature joined the campaign of a new Ukrainization of higher schools. As an example we can look at Poltava lecturer Hanna Kahan. At a scientific conference to the 40th anniversary of Soviet power in Ukraine in 1957, she even started to edify the Ukrainian philologists of the feasibility of the translation of “understood to all” Lenin’s and Stalin’s references into Ukrainian². Searching for possible explanations for these changes, I need to name the progressive position of the Ministry of Education of the UkrSSR. It published the ordinances that returned Ukrainian language at prominent place in the Ukrainian socialist state. Much worthy is the fact that the lecturers could read courses in Russian in 1956 only after the official permission of Kyiv authorities. This often was a trump card of directors of pedagogical institutes in their requirements of full transition of the institution into Ukrainian in lectures as well as in the office work³.

Another core document was the order of Ministry from 25, January of 1958 “On the work of Kamianets-Podilskyi Pedagogical Institute”. It drew particular attention to the failure of a single language regime of teaching in the walls not only of the criticized university⁴ but also in all institutes of the UkrSSR⁵. The authorities were monitoring that process very thoroughly. The Resolution of 12, May 1958 requested the higher schools to send data on the number of teachers that continued to lecture in Russian In May, 1958. It also asked to indicate when they pledged to move to Ukrainian language of teaching. They even establish clear terms themselves – by June 1. The name lists were to be given in the context of each individual department. The ministry also separately requested a list of teachers who had already switched to teaching in Ukrainian. The first group united those who did it in 1956-1957, the second – in 1957-1958, the last one – those who had to switch starting from 01, September 1958. The only ones who were not on the list were the teachers of Russian⁶.

¹ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 207, 73.

² DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 629, 3zv.

³ DAKhO, f. R-4293, op. 2, spr. 696, 71.

⁴ DASO, f. R-2817, op. 3, spr. 130, 7.

⁵ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 639, 72.

⁶ DASO, f. R-5369, op. 1, spr. 169, 42.

Of course, there were the problems that. Hlukhiv teachers complained about the passivity of students and teachers in learning Ukrainian¹. The youth of Kharkiv SPIFL openly opposed the introduction of Ukrainian as a second profession even in 1958². However, inside the walls of Poltava SPI the situation was a little better. Here students periodically reported to the Ukrainian language sub-department of improving their knowledge of the native language³. And it truly became not just a means of communication, but “some ideological category”⁴.

THE PERIOD OF RESISTANCE

The last period of the language issue among teachers and students of the college teachers is called the period of resistance (September 1958-1964). It is closely linked with the general trends in clotting of liberalization in the UkrSSR. The lower limit of chronology is connected to the appearance in the press of Khrushchev's proposals to strengthen the connection of school with life⁵. The resistance was everywhere. From one side, the teachers of higher school had got accustomed to the fact that the school had to be Ukrainian a long period. As Larysa Masenko states, they met with the specific hostility the initiatives of the center on clotting liberalization policies⁶. But from another side, a new wave of Russification of schools arose as a way to provide “the right of choice”. And many young people entering the universities those years again demonstrated their opposition to Ukrainian speaking high school. In fact, the two camps separated by language issues, not having confronted for several years, resumed the active counteraction. However, such resistance once again demonstrated that Ukrainian language was still alive in the country.

¹ DASO, f. R-5369, op. 1, spr. 246, 17.

² DAKhO, f. R-1780, op. 3, spr. 526, 2.

³ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 548, 13.

⁴ Iryna Farion, “Mova yak dukhovno-natsional'nyy fenomen,” in *Movni konflikty i harmonizatsiya suspil'stva: Materialy naukovoyi konferentsiyi: 28-29 travnya 2001 r.* (Kyiv: Kyyivs'kyi universytet, 2002), 38.

⁵ “Pro zmitsnennya zv'yazku shkoly z zhyttyam i pro dal'shyy rozvytok systemy narodnoyi osvity v krayini (Propozytsiyi, vykladeni v publikovaniy zapystsi tovarysha Mykyty Serhiyovycha Khrushchova, skhvaleni Prezydiyeyu TsK KPRS),” *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, September 23, 1958, no. 187, 1–2.

⁶ Larysa Masenko, “Staye marazmom «naviky razom» (pro linhvokul'turne zmishuvannya)” in *Movni konflikty i harmonizatsiya suspil'stva: Materialy naukovoyi konferentsiyi: 28-29 travnya 2001 r.* (Kyiv: Kyyivs'kyi universytet, 2002), 70.



Picture 93. Not looking at pro-Russian trends in the language policy, the students of Poltava SPI associated themselves with the Ukrainian culture at least in the outlook as these students (from left to right) – Kateryna Shysh, Nadiya Kumanyuk, Lyubov Horobets, Lidiya Olefir, Halyna Yaremenko and Lyudmyla Hladyr, 1962

The offsetting of the relative “Ukrainization” started with the publication of the theses of the Central Committee of CPSU and CM of the USSR “On strengthening the link of school with life” in 1958. It was publicly discussed at meetings of scientific councils of institutes¹, after the materials had been repeatedly studied by each separate department². It was a striking example of one of the favorite methods of action of the Soviet government in manipulation of human consciousness – reverse course. The power without giving reasons returned to the old patterns of behavior and old values. In special reports of the department of higher schools they informed the Central Committee of the CPU that “the liveliest discussion” was mentioned on the issue of language of learning at schools³.

Moreover, the common thought of workers, farmers, scientists and students was on the side of the equal status of national and Russian languages. And government proposal to exempt some categories of people from the study of national language “did not meet approval”. Although, according to Stanislav Kulchytskyi, in early 1960, all previous positive trends told that most children studied in Ukrainian schools⁴. But still educators concerned about the situation of the legalized right of parents to choose the language study of their children. They were sure that the state policy would lead to the

¹ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 630, 90.

² DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 673, 8zv.

³ DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr.770, 210.

⁴ Stanislav Kul'chyts'kyi, “Sproby reform (1956-1964) (3),” *Ukrayins'kyi istorychnyy zhurnal*, no. 4 (1998), 95

situation in which villages in the UkrSSR would speak Ukrainian and the cities would speak Russian because young people were pulled to where the higher schools and enterprises were situated and where Russian dominated¹.

Science council of the Poltava SPI concluded that *“the study of the national language should not be weakened”*². Moreover, teachers recommended increasing the role of native language and literature in the system of teaching of other subjects in secondary school. They urged the Soviet government to support their movement for *“compulsory study of national language in schools with Russian as the language of study”*.

Their findings echoed with the advice of Sumy educators who recommended introducing native language as a major part to the system of combined specialties of future teachers of music, literature, history, foreign language and singing³. As history has shown, their proposals were not taken into account. As noted by contemporaries through these actions, the Russian got all the benefits and *“prestige of the sole language of high culture, science, industry and urban civilization”*⁴.

However, we should not speak about the passivity of the Ukrainian Ministry of Education on the issue of the second place of the Ukrainian language. During this period there was an order of the Ministry from 21, January 1960 “On some changes in teaching history in schools of the UkrSSR”. It stated the publication of new textbooks in Ukrainian up to 01, June, 1961 starting from the book of short stories on the history of the USSR for the fourth grade pupils and finishing with a textbook on the history of the USSR, and on Modern and Contemporary History of foreign countries for the tenth grade up to 01, June, 1962⁵. Higher school teacher had been waiting for the printing of textbooks in their native language for too long time. We can recall even the debates around the law on language in the universities of the country. Then, teacher of Sumy SPI Olena Chobotaryova directly said that textbooks issued in the RSFSR were completely unsuitable for Ukrainian schools⁶.

As we see, the teachers had to make their position on the language issue in quite difficult conditions. On the one hand, the Ministry of Education of the UkrSSR duplicate the decisions of Moscow aimed at the Russification of Ukrainian schools that. On the other hand, Republican Ministry of the UkrSSR gave the teachers more or

¹ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 224, 88.

² DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 673, 10.

³ DASO, f. R-2817, op. 3, spr. 262, 9.

⁴ “Rozkvit ukrayins'koyi movy v Radyans'komu Soyuzi (do dnya utvorennya SRSR),” in Narodna Pravda, Accessed July 25, 2012. <http://www.narodnapravda.com.ua/ukr/culture/4b376e6ed8854/>

⁵ DASO, f. R-5369, op. 1, spr. 302, 15.

⁶ DASO, f. R-2817, op. 3, spr. 262, 20.

less supported by normative documents hopes to promote the Ukrainian education. Typically, these were documents that didn't specifically control language question and concerned the general issues of the university life. Among them was the resolution of the Board of Education of the UkrSSR "On the status of training teacher of the wide specialization in Luhans'k Pedagogical Institute"¹ and "On the progress of the restructuring of work in the light of the Law about school in Zaporizhzhya and Poltava Pedagogical Institutes"². In addition, the Ministry itself kept its documentation in Ukrainian. And when it turned to the formation of the individual statutes of the pedagogical institutes of the UkrSSR on the Moscow model, the Ministry of Education sent separately direction "to translate the samples of statute in Ukrainian for a better understanding"³.

Sometimes the Center spoke behalf of the Ukrainian language education openly as they did in 1962⁴. Thus, their memorandum to the Central Committee of the CPU wrote that they could not put up with the facts when students in the Donetsk region were not given the right to take exams in Ukrainian, despite the request of young people to ensure their admission exams in their native language. That violated the official paragraphs 1 and 2 of the rules of admission to universities of the UkrSSR⁵. However, in the same time there were examples of reverse reaction.

In 1959, Poltava student Malko publicly stated in a lecture in 1959 that the Ukrainian language in Ukraine was underestimated and there were no conditions for its development in the state. His replica soon became one of the causes of some public meetings at the university, which gave the "right party" assessment of such complex views of a group of students⁶. At that even the teachers who promoted all Ukrainian, such as Petro Padalka, had to answer to the protocol that Lenin's national policy was conducted well in the UkrSSR⁷. The two-faced "Ukrainization" is demonstrated by the analysis of the so-called "ethnic marginal", people who were on the verge of two linguistic worlds⁸. According to the official reports, teachers began to write and communicate in Ukrainian, even if they hadn't done it before as it was in Poltava⁹ or

¹ DASO, f. R-5369, op. 1, spr. 284, 6.

² DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 750, 35.

³ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 750, 38.

⁴ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 800, 20-24.

⁵ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 227, 13.

⁶ Interview. Pashko Lyudmyla Fedorivna (4.11.2011).

⁷ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4833, 72.

⁸ Roman Kis', "Linhvokul'turna marhinalizatsiya u mistakh (neofunktsional'ne bachennya), "in *Movni konflikty i harmonizatsiya suspil'stva: Materialy naukovoyi konferentsiyi: 28-29 travnya 2001 r.* (Kyiv: Kyyivs'kyi universytet, 2002), 54.

⁹ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 925, 5.

Sumy¹. In such circumstances, some of those who did not know Ukrainian, tried to hide it. This happened, for example, with a teacher of Marxism-Leninism of Berdychiv O. Malyshev. The situation revealed quite by accident. In the eyes rushed the fact that the lecturer corrected no errors in the responses of students. As it turned out, he did not understand Ukrainian completely, while students answered only Ukrainian². Feeling that the Ministry of Education weakened its control over the Ukrainization of school and began a campaign to introduce the practice of free choice of language training, youth also decided to demonstrative steps of manifestations of so-called “communication failures”³. For example, on 10, September of 1958 13 students of Poltava SPI got up and ostentatiously left the lecture on political economy only because the lecturer Volodymyr Yevtushenko read it in Ukrainian⁴. The act was condemned at the party bureau of the Institute, not only as a breach of discipline. The teachers outraged the fact of linguistic hostility.

The language policy of the Soviet Union gave its fruits: the people again began to succumb to the phenomenon of “linguistic mutation”. In a year the Scientific Council of the Academy of Sciences of the UkrSSR in an editorial of the magazine “Voprosy yazykoznavniya” (Questions of linguistics) published and application “patterns of development of national languages” in connection with the development of socialist nations. The languages of the USSR were divided into promising and unpromising. The Ukrainian lost its right on perspective⁵. Offsetting of the de-Stalinization and the coming to power of Leonid Brezhnev only deepened its lethargy. Hardly passed the month after the removal of Khrushchev, as the philologists of the institutes were asked to make comments on the changes in Ukrainian spelling in the light of a new project... of Russian spelling (!). And in another six months they organized the conference in Luhans’k, where the authorities offered to prove with a new force the unity of two languages⁶.

Content analysis of protocols of party meetings in Poltava SPI party organization confirmed the proposed periods of language issues in everyday life of educators.

¹ DASO, f. R-2817, op. 3, spr. 284, 39.

² TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 253, 136.

³ Oksana Ruda, “Osoblyvosti mizhmovnoyi komunikatsiyi v umovakh ukrayins’ko-rosiys’koho bilinhvizmu,” in *Movni konflikty i harmonizatsiya suspil'stva: Materialy naukovoyi konferentsiyi: 28-29 travnya 2001 r.* (Kyiv: Kyyivs’kyy universytet, 2002), 99.

⁴ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4831, 85.

⁵ Larysa Masenko, “Movna polityka v URSR 60-80-kh rokiv. Dnyu ukrayins’koyi pysemnosti ta movy prysvyachuyet’sya,” Accessed March 25, 2012: <http://sd.org.ua/news.php?id=12887>

⁶ DASO, f. R-2817, op. 3, spr. 476, 3.

Language of speeches at meetings of the party organization of Poltava SPI



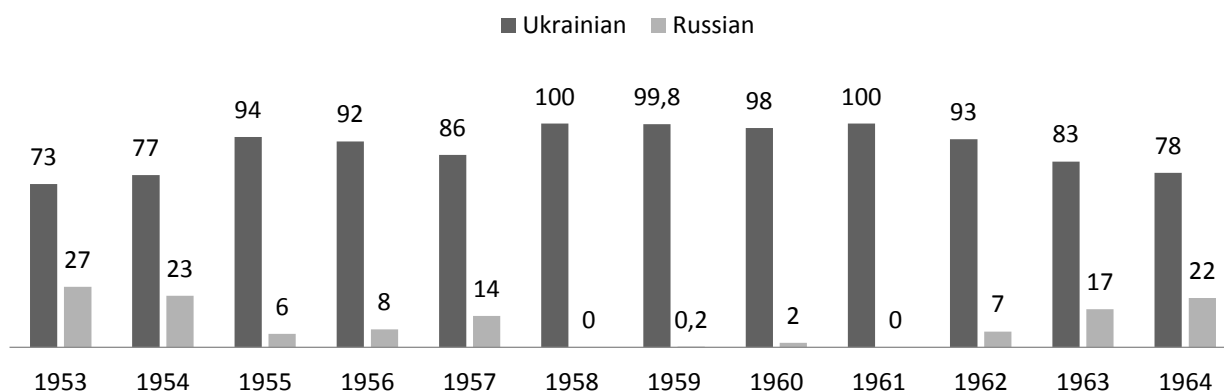
Bar chart 10. The content of the speeches at the party meetings of Poltava SPI

Source: DAPO, f. P-251, op.1, spr. 4824-4837.

During the “thaw”, the dominant language, without a doubt, was Ukrainian (90% or 4.820 speeches out of 5.380). And 560 reports were delivered in Russian. In 1953 the ratio was 27% to 73% in favor of the Ukrainian. Therefore, we believe that it is not proper to talk about the total dominance of Russian in Poltava higher educational school. During the second period (June 1953 – 1955) we see the acceleration of the Ukrainization efforts. If there were 306 speeches in Ukrainian (77%) out of 398 in 1954, then after the year of the actions of a single language regime at the institute there already 486 reports (94%) of 456 in the language of the titular people of the UkrSSR. In the third period (1955-1959) the level of use of Ukrainian in the statements of teachers and students from 92% in 1956 reached 100% in 1958.

During the last period (1959-1964) the achievements of the liberal attitude to the development of Ukrainian language became obvious. The teachers moved to the Ukrainian language of teaching, the youth showed respect to those reading the lectures in the native language. However, at the end of the period there were the results of the policy of definition of “promising” and “unpromising” languages. The level of the “Ukrainian identity” of the institute gradually decreased. At first the figure of the Ukrainian spirit of party meetings was rather high (98-100%). But after the adoption of the new program of the CPSU, with the prospect of a common language of international communication, Russian gradually came into use again (from 7% in 1962 to 22% in 1964). This once again confirms the view that the outcome of the language issue was only a temporary restoration of Ukrainian language regime in higher school. The conflict with government policies caused further aggravation of the language problem in the coming years.

Language of speeches at party meetings in Poltava SPI (percentage of total performances)



Bar chart 11. The content of the speeches at the party meetings of Poltava SPI

Source: DAPO, f. P-251, op.1, spr. 4824-4837.

Thus, the language issue inside the collectives of the institutes had its own peculiarities depending on the period of “thaw”. During the first period (January-June 1953) there was a decrease in language literacy of students and of university staff. It was not so much as a result of Russification policy, but as part of the overall illiteracy. The next stage (June 1953 – December 1955) is characterized by frequent “switches of language code” and the policy of double standards of central government. There also mentioned sometimes aggressive testing of technologies of Ukrainization of university staff in line with the introduction of a single linguistic regime.

No wonder that the first centers of resistance to the Ukrainization of educational process appeared. Another period (1956 – September 1958) describes the stability of Ukrainization due to the ministerial control over the process. The parity of Ukrainian and Russian was created without escalating their confrontation both at universities and in government circles. The last phase (September 1958 – 1964) includes reverse course in the language policy. There was given a start to the hidden Russification of education. The public policy of “single linguistic regime” turned into the politics of “one prospective language”. There were single actions of demonstration of opposition to the Ukrainian higher education from the side of the youth.

CONCLUSIONS

The problems of the language had an independently place among the everyday issues of the educators. From January to June of 1953, there were the examples of the reducing of language literacy among students and staff of universities. That was not only the result of Russification policy but also a part of the overall illiteracy. Educators' behavior was characterized by frequent "switch of the language code": the use of the double speak and to using of the language of the interlocutor. This policy of double standards was promoted by the central government, which agreed on the debris of the Ukrainian language and nevertheless promoted Stalin's idea of mixing of languages and cultures. Educators were active advocates of the importance of the Russian language in lecture courses and in publications in the press. Despite this the higher school periodically showed the signed of outbreaks of the concern of the status of the Ukrainian language in schools of the republic. However, if a struggle for the language happened, it was rather demagogic: undertakings remained only on paper or in the comments, it never came to actions.

In the period from June 1953 to December 1955, the state and university teachers noted the presence of two targets: to expand the use of the Ukrainian language and the preservation of Russian positions in everyday life. The growing interest in the native language helped to attract teachers to the study of the national dialects of the Ukrainian language. It helped to the process of introduction of so-called "a single mode of speech" in universities. It was eventually an aggressive technology of the Ukrainization of institute groups. This led to the emergence of the first centers of resistance to the Ukrainization of the educational process.

The period from 1956 to the beginning of September 1958 was marked by the open position statements on Ukrainization of the higher school. This led to the expansion of space of the verbal conflict: the language problem emerged from the micro level (from the a closed groups of the institute teams) at the meso level (to the level of cities and regions) It is worth noting the emergence of so-called "space-time estrangement" of the Russian speakers (they did not create problems until none created problems to themselves). The sustainability of the Ukrainization was provided by Ministerial control over the process. The short-time parity of the Ukrainian and Russian languages without an escalation of the confrontation of both inside the universities was created.

In the last period lasting from September, 1958 to the end of 1964, one could see the distinguishable fruits of the Ukrainization of the higher education in improvement of the Ukrainian language status in Physics and Mathematics courses in teaching Natural and ideological subjects. But not looking at that, the center started the hidden

Russification of education, the transformation of public policy of the “single linguistic regime” to the politics of “common language perspective”. This led to the recovery of the shortage of schools and classes with teaching subjects in the Ukrainian all over the cities of the UkrSSR. In contrast, we noticed veiled loyalty to the Ukrainization from the Republican Ministry of Education. There was a process of testing the strength of “linguistic resistance” of the Ukrainian-speakers. It was characterized by the performance of teachers against government initiatives to Russification the secondary education, teachers also tried to customize the polytechnic training to spread the idea of the Ukrainian speaking higher education. The government’s actions only gave rise to the “language extremism” towards the Russian texts in textbooks and lectures on the side of university lecturers and single demonstrations of high school youth against the Ukrainization.

Education vs. Personality Cult

INTRODUCTION

Soviet leaders opened Pandora's Box, starting liberalization of life and making the first offensive steps on the personality cult of Stalin and on his way of management. The society burst out with the debunking of so called "cults" of local managers. This situation raises many questions: how the staffs of institutes responded to the calls of the CPSU to "purge" of authoritarian leaders? How powerful was the impact of these actions for combating camps – leaders and masses? Did the reaction of institute collectives find the response among the related facilities and institutions? To answer these questions, we resorted to the method of historical simulation. For qualitative research we used methods of micro history and conflict logy, methods of study of individual behavior justified by Michael Soltman¹, and a method of social drama by Victor Turner². The both limit the research within an individual group (in our case, it is Poltava SPI). For verification of the conclusions we occasionally resort to the examples of other pedagogical institutes of the UkrSSR. Investigated years were not only chronological fracture of the century. They were destined to become a political and ideological watershed in the minds of Soviet society that stirred the human minds, leaving quite controversial legacy. The death of the "father of nations" Joseph Stalin didn't pass without consequences if speaking about interpersonal relations in the middle of micro-groups of different levels. It was called "The great tribulation of the Ukrainian people"³. But even grieving, they started the process of rocking of the pedestal under the cult of Stalin. That was aptly named "Stalin's dethroning" by Abraham Brumberg back in 1960's⁴. The chapter is composed of five sections. The first two examine the atmosphere inside the localized groups as well in the country that led to the possibility of the critics of the management. The next three show the evolution of the conflicts that emerged as the reaction on the cult battling proclaimed in the country right after the death of Stalin and after the XX Party Congress.

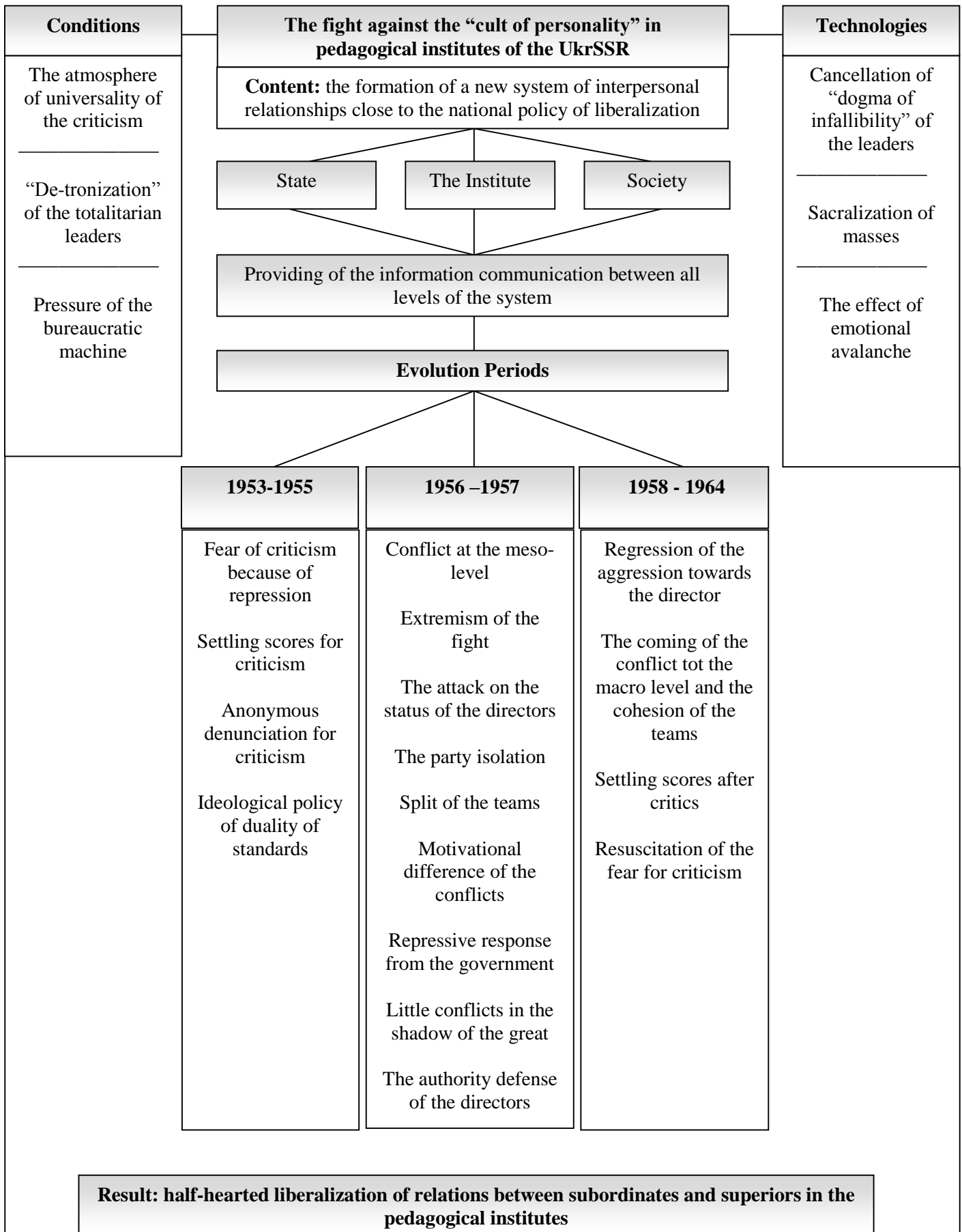
¹ Michael Saltman, "Methodological Points of Reference in a Loosely Structured Society : Fieldwork in Antigua, West Indies," *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford*, XXX, no.1 (1999), 18.

² Victor Turner, "Frame, Flow and Reflection: Ritual and Drama as Public Liminality," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, no. 6/4 (1979).

³ "Velyka skorbota Ukrayins'koho narodu," *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 7, 1953, no. 48, 3.

⁴ Abraham Brumberg, "Iconoclasm in Moscow – a commentary," in *Russia under Khrushchev: an anthology of problems of communism*, ed. A. Brumberg (New York: Frederick A Praeger, 1962), 73.

Scheme 5. Historical Model of the Fight Against the “Cult of Personality” in the UkrSSR



CRITICIZE YOUR PAST FOR THE BETTER PRESENT



Picture 94. The caricature against authorities named "Borrowed mind" showed the donkey at the tribune with the papers with the words "Quote" on them. It also had a verse under it: *The ass was speaking so wisely / so idiomatic, / But these are not his words / but someone else's*, 1964

During the first period of combating the "cults" of local leaders (1953-1955), the process itself was still quite timid and could hardly be even named "the struggle". In the first years all critics flowed not onto the real tyrants but onto their historical predecessors. The first "victims" of the ideological purge were the bourgeoisie historians who constructed the history only on the actions of outstanding people – kings, generals and governors. The new worldview required to see only folk as a mover of historical process¹. The party started process of sacralization of masses. Already in 1953 the sub-department of Marxism-Leninism of Sumy SPI reported on overcoming mistakes in teaching. The students were lectured

on the topic "The folk as the creator of history"². And with year the role of the masses became the leading topic in the programs of many social studies courses in pedagogical universities of the UkrSSR³. The people were used to see strong leaders – charismatic personalities as Stalin or Beria. But the new worldview was created to convince them that progress of history depended on their, people, not government actions. They were looking for cult everywhere. In schools, teachers even were forbidden to study life of prominent people from the past. The educators of Poltava school #5 said that they were forced to remove the information about Ivan the Terrible, Peter the Great, Alexander Suvorov and Mikhail Kutuzov (!) from the lesson plans because of the campaign of cult banishing⁴.

¹ Fedir Konstantynov, "Narod – tvorets' istoriyi," Zorya Poltavshchyny, July 3, 1953, no. 130, 2.

² DASO, f. R-5369, op. 1, spr.161, 6.

³ DASO, f. R-2817, op. 3, spr. 181, 9.

⁴ DAPO, f. P-244, op. 1, spr. 4004, 51zv.

On another pole of the battle there were frequent calls of collegiality in the party and social work¹. But those were only occasional theoretical notes without any consciences. Educators only stated their will to have collective rule and nothing else. In the reality, party organs as well as the institutes and the departments had strong personal leadership. However, it continued so only up to the attack on the personality cult of Stalin caused by the resolution of the Central Committee of CPSU in 1956. The document provoked real conflicts in the groups of teachers not only in the ideological sphere². It moved them to the re-evaluation of their personal relations. A lot of teachers started to accuse their direct bosses of fostering local “cult”. For example, the subordinates of Mykola Moiseyenko at the sub-department of pedagogic in Cherkasy SPI kept silence about his manner of management during the early 1950’s. But they felt free to openly criticize it in 1956³.

The removal of Lavrentiy Beria from office of Interior Minister in 1953 also was explained to people as a part of that campaign. He was shown as a dethroned despot and anti-worker at least it was the image created by the press and the letters of the Central Committee of CPSU. The attack on Beria made the authorities urgently search quotations from the works of Karl Marx stating the aversion to the cult of personality. And the masses without any original quotes were told that Marx was one of the first fighters with it⁴. The regional editions advertised the fact that ordinary people easily understood the “rotteness” of that phenomenon. It was necessary to show that “the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the role of the individual in history” was total. The press published materials on the meetings of communists, party activists, milkmaids and builders, educators and farmers. They all finished their speeches with almost sacral phrase of cult critics⁵.

The arrest of Lavrentiy Beria moved teachers all over Ukraine join the attack on the authority of the managers at local level. Educators of pedagogical institutes from Poltava⁶ and Sumy⁷, Lviv and Kharkiv⁸ found their own “victims” to assault. The common was the procedure of criticizing. It seemed that no one had seen the problem

¹ Ya. Yaroshenko, “Za kolehial’nist’ v partiyniy roboti,” *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, February 3, 1953, no. 24, 2.

² “Postanova Tsentral’noho Komitetu KPRS “Pro podolannyu kul’tu osoby i yoho naslidkiv,” *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, July 3, 1956, no. 128, 1–2.

³ DACHO, f. R-2187, op. 1, spr. 21, 56.

⁴ “Nezlamna yednist’ partiyi, uryadu, radyans’koho narodu,” *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, July 11, 1953, no. 136, 1.

⁵ “Komunisty Moskvy i Moskovs’koyi oblasti odnostayno ukhvalyuyut’ postanovu Plenuma TsK KPRS,” *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, July 11, 1953, no. 136, 1.

⁶ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 392, 211.

⁷ DASO, f. R-5369, op. 1, spr. 164, 5.

⁸ TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 24, spr. 2997, 17.

till the party showed it with Beria's arrest. And, having found the "aim-person", they tried to find the parallels in his past behavior with the deeds of a new folk enemy. As an example of those affected by the after the massacre of Beria, we may include the lecturer of pedagogy of Poltava SPI Tamara Tolstonosova. In early 1950's she held the position of the Deputy of the Chairman of Executive Committee of Poltava Region. Already on 11 July, 1953, during national defamation of the former leader Beria, she was publicly accused of committing the same offenses while being in office¹. It is obvious that her actions never reached the size of Beria's. But it was necessary to persecute her for others to be aware and for the party to see the loyalty of masses. Another striking example of a "sudden awakening" can be a speech of Mariya Stishakova from Cherkasy SPI. While discussing Beria's case at the party meeting she was the first in her institute to state the faults of the director. As all leaders across the country, Oleksandr Tkanenko was mainly accused of combating the collegiality in higher school management². The same wave of critics onto local authorities arose right after the start of the massacre of an anti-party group of Georgiy Malenkov, Lazar Kaganovich, and Vyacheslav Molotov and of Marshal Georgiy Zhukov. After that the attack on the cult of directors and leaders of local government was revived with a renewed vigor. Another "exemplar" behavior of critics is worth mentioning. In 1957, the teacher from the school #2 in the town of Zin'kiv of Poltava Region Antonina Ihnatenko complimented her students for their compositions in which they criticized their lecturers³. It had become a new moral standard of the epoch.

CRITICS WITH STATE PERMISSION

The seeds of that were sown right after the XIX Congress of the CPSU. After the event the authorities of different levels were following the quality of "growth of self-criticism and criticism from below". At least the secretary of the CPU Leonid Melnykov in January, 1953 reported about that on the nearest Plenum of Central Committee of the CPU⁴. Joseph Stalin himself publicly called on all "honest workers and toiling elements" to expose the flaws of the central government institutions of the USSR as well as the local ones⁵.

¹ DAPO, f. P-15, op. 2, spr. 1291, 23.

² DACHO, f. P-2187, op. 1, spr. 15, 73.

³ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 599, 142.

⁴ "Postanova Plenumu TsK KPU na dopovid' sekretarya TsK KP tov. L. H. Mel'nykova Pro khid vykonannya rishen' XIX z'yizdu KPRS, henial'noyi pratsi tov. Yosypa Vissarionovycha Stalina "Ekonomichni problemy sotsializmu v SRSR" i zakhody polipshennya ideolohichnoyi roboty partiynoyi orhanizatsiyi," Zorya Poltavshchyny, January 3, 1953, no. 2, 1.

⁵ "Smilyvo i rishuche vykryvaty i usuvaty khyby," Zorya Poltavshchyny, January 13, 1953, no. 9, 1.

The ability to combat “cult-makers” appeared when people believed that the campaign was carried over everywhere – from small villages to major industrial cities. Country leaders even used old Stalin calls to criticism all power including the Central Committee in their struggle. The greatest cult-makers appeared to be the best cult-fighter¹. They even cited the “coryphaeus of science” who named criticisms as a special communist education of a person².

The official permission to criticism of government appeared as opposition to the previous dogma of “infallibility” of the leader. But, giving the course to criticism, the government gave the green light to the deployment and subsequent conflicts in groups of educators. The campaign began already during the life of Stalin. His speeches were used to battle the oppressors of criticism “who substituted it with splendor and praise”³.

Although later the educators called that type of critique a “frankly empty chatter”. At least there were caricatures of narcissistic leaders avoiding collective leadership in the UkrSSR already in January, 1953. One of them was re-printed from major newspapers to the regional and rural small editions. The sole leader appeared in as a strutting turkey:

*To manage avian domain
The birds elected the government,
Ana a Turkey as its head.
But an awful disaster struck –
The Turkey does not gather the government,
And never asks anyone for advice...⁴*

The irritated masses threw him out of the office in the end of the fable and in the end of the comics. That critic seemed to be very fair in terms of shortsightedness and ignorance of the majority of ruling staff. At least Viktor Krupyna stated that the country faced that problem in the first postwar years⁵. Such criticism of the managers only intensified after the removal of Beria from the political arena. They began to praise it

¹ “Svyato vykonuvaty obov’yazky chlena partiyi!,” Zorya Poltavshchyny, January 13, 1953, no. 9, 1.

² “Krytyka i samokrytyka – osnovnyy metod vykhovannya kadriv,” Zorya Poltavshchyny, August 11, 1954, no. 163, 1.

³ “Postanova Plenumu TsK KPU na dopovid’ sekretarya TsK KP tov. L. H. Mel’nykova...,” 2.

⁴ “Indyk”, Stalynskyy klych (Nedryhaylovskyy RK KPU), January 29, 1953, no. 9, 4.

⁵ Viktor Krupyna, “Osvitn’o-kul’turnyy riven’ partiynoyi nomenklatury URSR (druha polovyna 1940-kh – pochatok 1950-kh rr.) ,” *Ukrayinskyy Istorychnyy Zbirnyk*, no. 12 (2009).

as a force of the Soviet people in holding in the grips “all workers not looking at the positions they held when they were on the path of tyranny”¹.

Perhaps this was due to the fact that the same people were in the government of all levels. And all changes were only “Reshuffling the deck” as it was called by Viktor Krupyna². It led to some outrage. For example, in 1956, ideological supervisory authorities in Poltava stated that in the whirlpool of the struggle “the cult of personality was sewn to anyone”³. Undoubtedly, Petro Kyrydon is right saying that criticism of local political elites was a direct threat to the supreme authority⁴. That’s why party used the reverse of the course of the policy in combating the cult of personality. The leadership of the state saw that the campaign against local chiefs reached extremes. They began to revive the idea of the Unity of command⁵. And it was done along with the whitewashing of the figure of Stalin as a theorist of the most correct (!) interpretation of the role of personality history⁶. And even poetry was used to make that process faster:

*To the people! –they were treading so all their lives,
Two hard-stoned Bolsheviks.
Two great names – Lenin, Stalin –
Are standing near, as in life, for centuries!*⁷

IDEOLOGICALLY SAVVY

During 1953 - 1955 the criticizing of untouched leaders had just began. It was still quite shaky and unstable. No one knew the limits of that critic at first. Educators were afraid to go too far in it. So the only way they took part in the process of cult-fighting was the fighting on the field of education. Poltava lecturers changed the studying plans for students wiping out the place for the principles of collective leadership⁸. Sumy

¹ Yuriy Borysov, “Bezustanno zmitsnyuvaty radyans’ku derzhavu,” Zorya Poltavshchyny, July 4, 1953, no. 131, 2.

² Viktor Krupyna, “Nomenklatura povoyennoyi Ukrayiny: kil’kisno-yakisna kharakterystyka”, *Ukrayina XX st.: kul'tura, ideolohiya, polityka*, no. 15 (2009), 275.

³ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 5702, 29.

⁴ Petro Kyrydon, “Typolohichnyy portret predstavnyka pravlyachykh struktur Ukrayins’koyi RSR povoyennoyi doby (1945-1964 roky),” Accessed September 10, 2012. http://www.nbu.gov.ua/Portal/Soc_Gum/Slv/2011_12/st17.pdf

⁵ Nikolay Rodichev, “Na Tammerfarskoy konferentsyi,” Zorya Poltavshchyny, December 22, 1955, no. 250, 2.

⁶ Dmytro Stepanov, Borys Lozovs’kyy. “Rol’ narodnykh mas v istoriyi,” Zorya Poltavshchyny, November 15, 1953, no. 227, 2.

⁷ Rodichev, “Na Tammerfarskoy konferentsyi...”

⁸ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 498, 7.



Picture 95. The lecturer of Poltava SPI Yuriy accused the young generation of “being toothless” in criticism of the cult of personality

educators planned extra-time for talking about the dangers of the cult of personality. But still they continued propaganda of the “wisdom” from the “brilliant Stalin’s works”¹.

Anyway, in terms of increasing personality critics, it was not only recommended but demanded from students and teachers of the institutes. However, speaking for the Soviet totalitarian society, declaring its openness was much easier than implementing it in practice. This was shown by the check-up of the wall newspapers of Poltava SPI in May of 1953. Ideologically “savvy” teachers started to complain of a lack of initiative on the part of young people in the criticizing wrongs in their work. The assistant of the sub-department of Marxism-Leninism Yuriy Yaichnikov even accused the young generation of “being toothless”. But

student’s apathy was obvious in the country of the total control. That’s why Poltava inspectors received a response from the second year student-philologist Mahda: the youth was afraid of criticizing anything and anyone because of the potential retaliation from the object of their criticism². That fear was normal and predictable. But it didn’t stop management of the universities from promoting “healthy critics of the leaders” during the next years. We even see that since the beginning of the new, 1955-1956, academic year, the campaign of criticism in pedagogical universities of the UkrSSR only strengthened as we can see from the documents of Sumy SPI³. But sometimes it really led in the wrong direction. So communist party members called to avoid oversimplification and vulgarization of that process⁴. They even urged not to turn criticism into a tool for settling scores⁵. For there were cases when teachers fought not with real tyrants but with those ones whom they just considered to be “pompous” or “wise guys”⁶.

¹ DASO, f. R-5369, op. 1, spr.224, 16.

² DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4825, 27.

³ DASO, f. R-5369, op. 1, spr. 205, 27.

⁴ “Zavdannya partiynoyi osvity v novomu navchal’nomu rotsi,” *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, September 29, 1953, no. 194, 1.

⁵ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 5942, 12.

⁶ DAPO, f. P-244, op. 1, spr. 3925, 41.

IDEOLOGICAL SETTling SCORES



Picture 96. The director of Poltava SPI Mykhaylo Semyvolos who became the center of criticism for his cult of personality during the sway of the campaign

However, inside the walls of Poltava SPI, everything happened exactly as ideologist did not want to see. Criticism began to be perceived as a tool to settle scores with those ones who had offended the critic with actions or words. The first fact of that series was a conflict at the sub-department of Marxism-Leninism in 1954. All happened under the shield of the discussion of the problem of the criticism at the party meeting in the Institute. The problems that arose during the educational process moved in the sphere of private confrontation. Educators took the personal problems to the public. And it was more like the kitchen quarrel than a highly moral political procedure of purifying the management. Two speakers – the head of the sub-department Mykola Kaplun and his subordinate Aaron Matyukov – found the most peculiar words to describe the opponent. The first one in the climax of the

conflict was named “not the head, but the hysterical Parisian lady”. Another was called “narcissistic pen pusher, and bureaucrat”¹. After such criticism, the anonymous letters from some colleagues appeared in the offices of city and institute party committees. They were blackmailing those ones in the doghouse². With the time it grew into so-called “war of the anonymous letters” when each side of the conflict tried to convince the party authorities in its rightness. The tsunami of criticism was stopped by the letter of the Ministry of Education of the UkrSSR. In 1954, it prohibited to use those documents as a guide in the conflicts inside the collective³.

The team of Poltava SPI turned to more “active” action on the “pressing out the personality cult” in 1956-1957. The catalyst for the events was the Twentieth Party

¹ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4826, 9-10.

² DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4828, 95.

³ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4826, 38.

Congress, which started the open attack on the cult of personality of Stalin¹. It also urged “to strengthen the fight against complacency sentiments and attempts to beautify the true state of affairs”². By the end of 1956-1957 school years, the most of the universities of the UkrSSR had already reported to the Ministry on important achievements in this field of work³. But if the task was common to all, the way of completing the aim was different in each institution.

It can sound strange, but the first who raised the urgent topic of “the cult of leader’s personality” in Poltava SPI was its director Mykhaylo Semyvolos. His speech on the staff meeting in 1956 was short, but it allows us to understand the attitude of the official towards the “official thaw” in relations between managers and subordinates. He said that there were cases of a deliberate boycott of certain orders of the administration in the institute. Some educators demanded the democratic governance and so on. The words of M. Semyvolos still bared impersonal reference to “blameworthy” someone – manner of address inherent from Stalinist times. That



Picture 97. The lecturer of Poltava SPI Aron Matyukov – the active struggler against the “cult of the director” in 1950’s

method was used intentionally. Everyone was to know a priori the blamed ones for their actions without naming. This is only escalated the heavy psychological atmosphere in the team. We have every reason to think that those were the last ineffectual trying of Mykhaylo Semyvolos to retain the near-dictator influence at all levels of the institute life. It is evident from his own words that with the beginning of the struggle with the cult of personality a “throne” under the one-man manager of the educational institution had shaken. He threw to his colleagues: “Some from our institute misunderstand the question of fight against the cult of personality and ignores the unity of command, says that the director cannot issue and sign orders...”⁴

¹ “Hlyboko vyvchaty rishennya XX zyzdu KPRS,” Zorya Poltavshchyny, March 17, 1956, no. 56, 1.

² “Partiyno-orhanizatsiynu robotu na riven’ novykh zavdan’,” Zorya Poltavshchyny, March 6, 1956, no. 48, 1.

³ DASO, f. R-5369, op. 1, spr.224, 2.

⁴ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr.4829, 20.

The most emotional surge was among the younger generation of educators. So, the teacher of political economy Aron Matyukov admitted that he himself had imposed “the cult of personality” at the institute and in the city, “*being loyal to the party of Lenin and Stalin*” by the professional duty¹. But further, after the confession in personal ideological sins, he started the open attack on the members of the city and region party committees. He indiscriminately said: “*We came up to the local leaderism; you can not criticize Selishchev, Bazylevych [leaders of Poltava city and region committees of the CPU – O.L.] and others. So you can only criticize yourself. It’s enough to pose chiefs...*”²

The educators agreed that existing authorities “*were wrapped with the stink of the cult*”. Even less loyalty and more reformist fire was heard from the student Teslenko: “*Let our rulers, who do not ever go on foot, go on foot, let them brake their legs on our sidewalks, let them be among the people in the shops, let them be nicely told off once or twice there, they would change their bureaucratic attitude to people, to the business then*”³.

Educators of Poltava were known not to regret their party bosses. The report of Nikita Khrushchev on the cult of personality just gave a loose to their tongues. They were only seeking a better opportunity to accuse the communist elite that their wives “*were wearing fur coats and Chinese scarves*” – the deficit for ordinary Soviet people⁴.

However, criticism of “the cult” had a lot of kinks. One of them happened during the holiday meeting dedicated to the Women’s Day on 8 March, 1956. The head of Marxism-Leninism sub-department Dmytro Stepanov told that director’s order to honor the best female students and employees was the brightest manifestation of the personality cult⁵. Although it was obvious absurdity, because the lists of awarded people had not less than four pages, and the names of women varied with each new year⁶. Some of them even got to the point that giving flowers to teachers by students was also a sign of the cult. And the educators asked the citizens to fight that as a “strange to the Soviet society phenomenon”⁷.

This is not surprising, because sometimes even the Leader boards with photos of teachers were regarded as an act cherishing the cult⁸. Similar trends occurred in other educational institutions of the UkrSSR. Thus, historian of Kharkiv SPI P. Stefanovs’kyi

¹ APNPU, f. 2, op. M-2, spr. Matyukov Aron Hershkovych, 17.

² DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr.4829, 20.

³ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr.4829, 26.

⁴ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 5282, 60zv.

⁵ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr.4829, 25.

⁶ APNPU, f. 3, op. 1, spr. Nakazy. T.1. (3.01-29.05.1954), 123-25.

⁷ DAPO, f. P-13, op. 1, spr. 584, 91.

⁸ DAPO, f. P-244, op. 1, spr. 4026, 14.

tried to explain the criticism of the personality cult as an effort to stop the arrogance at the university¹.

These events coincided with the climax of the combat with cult of personality in the Soviet Union when people meticulously studied and discussed the order of the Central Committee of the CPSU “On the consequences of the personality cult...” The party organization of Poltava SPI didn’t remain aloof. The special staff meeting was gathered to inform the public of the new political line. The traditional announcer of political changes to Poltava SPI educators, the lecturer Mariya Malych, started her talk about the need in the collective leadership. But her ideologically correct and tolerant speech pushed educators to public demonstrations against the director. The teacher of Marxism-Leninism Hryhoriy Mandych firmly said: *“And on the bottoms personality cult thrived. It was not refused and by our director. Heads of institutions should consult*



Picture 98. The lecturer of Poltava SPI Dmytro Stepanov, the head of the sub-department of Marxism-Leninism, was really fast in feeling the changes of the policy of the CPSU. When the anti-cult campaign started, he was among the leaders of the “ideological purge.”

with party organs, only collective decisions will be wise and correct, but not that when one person decides. One-man manager shall not act as a monarch”².

Particularly forced offensive on the director of the institute was held by an assistant of the sub-department of political economy Aron Matyukov: *“I think that comrade Semyvolos still does not want to give up the cult of personality. He often does not count with the team, often reminds of his rights. Party organizations must take care about changing of the staff attitude towards the director and director’s attitude toward the team, to its individual members”³*

Thus the personal troubles in the relationship of the educator with management resulted in the open confrontation. Fighting with the director, the inventive employee successfully hid behind the CPSU measures aimed at reviving the Leninist norms and principles of leadership.

¹ DAKhO, f. R-4293, op. 2, spr. 696, 16.

² DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr.4829, 49.

³ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr.4829, 51.

That “story of Mykhaylo Semyvolos’s cult” gained enough publicity in the city of Poltava. Immediately after the described party meeting of educators, the Regional department of education stated: “*one-man management is not cancelled, and there can be found some people among us who can see the cult of personality in it*”¹.

A secretary of the Poltava Regional Committee of the Communist Party Hryhoriy Bazylevych, also mentioned by the teachers from Poltava SPI as a ‘cult-maker’, after speaking against the director Semyvolos himself held 800 meetings propagandists and agitators of the region. There he personally warned against mixing notions of authority and the cult of personality².

However, the story of the cult of the director of Poltava SPI didn’t finish with that. On the contrary, its culmination approached on a reporting and electing meeting of party organization of the institute in September of the same 1956. One of the central questions there was the implementation of the decisions of the XX Congress of the CPSU. It was not only the part of the agenda but also a very unbalanced political and ideological point. The authorities tried to tell about the results in the embodying the decisions of the party without mentioning the details. And that was the point for a new wave of “witch hunting”. The lecturer Borys Lozovskyi expressed his dissatisfaction from the cursory review of such an important question as XXth congress decisions. And then he went on the offensive: “*Personality cult takes place at the institute, too. This is a cult of the director who acts individually and works with personnel guided by the principle of personal sympathy*”.

There were also accusations against Mykhaylo Semyvolos of repeated violation of socialist legality, of arrogance, settling scores with the dissenters. As an example he used the problem of the senior lecturer of History Sofiya Kahan. She was fired couple of month before the September meeting under the strange conciseness after the conflict with the managements. Speaking of the director, it was mentioned that, “at a meeting of instructors he allegedly said, “*Kahan was once here... and is not now*”.

Another educator, Hryhoriy Mandych spoke in support of the accusations. Being in disgrace, he argued that “*the criticism in the institute was in the squad. Those who were criticizing the director were suffering from repression*”³. The critic also tried to prove that there were “black spots”⁴ in the biography of the director Semyvolos. The personal life of a manager in the totalitarian life had to be pure and spotless. The

¹ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 5191, 16.

² “Ideolohichnu robotu na – na vyshchyy riven’!,” Zorya Poltavshchyny, July 14, 1956, no. 137, 2.

³ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr.4829, 91.

⁴ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr.4829, 89-90.

Charter of the Communist party even required the leader to be “*an example of high moral character, a model of selfless service to the business*”¹.

There was even a real reason for that aggression against the director. The teachers discovered the fact that he abandoned his first wife and nine-year old child in 1933, having taken a big sum of money of 1.5 thousand rubles. And for all the time of living separately he had not paid any money for child support. They also added the accusations in numerous threats from the side of the director towards the students with or without any visible reasons.

However, the accusation itself was not as impressive as a way of gathering information selected by the newly-born fighters with the cult of the personality. So, colleagues Hryhoriy Mandych and Borys Lozovskyi, posing regional newspaper correspondent, visited ex-wife of Mykhaylo Semyvolos Mrs. Chukhlib in one of the villages of Dykanka district of Poltava region. Having brought her some alcohol, they got the private information they operated in opposition to the “autocratic” manager. For his antisocial acts Mykhaylo Semyvolos was named “*thief, easy rider and rake*”, and even politically offensive “*Beria’s nestling*”². Incidentally, a way to get information for setting accounts with the bosses was quite popular among educators of the country. With the beginning of the fight with the cult of personality, Cherkasy Communist Trehub started his struggle against the party organization secretary of the regional Pedagogical Institute Shevchuk. It was under the guise of “newspaper correspondent” that he introduced himself in the native place of the “cult figure” while gathering information.

The solid before team of Poltava SPI under the emotional pressure of two critics actually split in half. In terms of collective psychology this can be explained by the theory of Lyudmyla Nykonenko³. The electromagnetic field (psycho-emotional state) of two active individuals (Hryhoriy Mandych and Borys Lozovskyi) changed the collective field of the whole closed group (Poltava SPI). Some of the participants of the meeting treated the critics with an understanding. Another stood on the positions of the protection of the head manager. The final point was made by the present at the gathering secretary of the regional committee of the CPU Hryhoriy Bazylevych: “*Some communists misunderstands criticism and, as indicates the CC of CPSU, turned the*

¹ L.Shneyderman, “Avtorytet partiynoho kerivnyka,” *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, December 21, 1956, no. 248, 2.

² DAPO, f. P-15, op. 2, spr. 230, 82.

³ Lyudmyla Nykonenko, “Do pytannya funktsionuvannya hrupovoho nesvidomoho: hipotezy ta perspektyvy doslidzhennya,” in *Naukovi studiyii z sotsial'noyi t apolitychnoyi psykholohiyi*, no. 21 (2008),38.

criticism into the defamation. Some communists under the guise of fighting the cult of personality undermine the one-man management in the leadership¹".

The local party government tried to bring calm to the teaching staff of Poltava SPI divided by the squabbling between M. Semyvolos from one side and H. Mandych with B. Lozovsky from another. The last couple for the regional party authorities was not the truth-seekers but hell-raisers². So they turned to the "useful" credo "no man – no problem" they were accustomed to throughout the whole Soviet era. But in terms of de-Stalinization it was slightly democratized. The couple of troublemakers was simply "removed" from conflict environment. They were "offering" jobs in other educational institutions of the UkrSSR. For example, Borys Lozovskyi was transferred to Stalino SPI³.

Analysis of the personal files of parties of the conflict suggests that the enhanced administrative pressure was used to form people's attitude to the fired colleagues Mandych and Lozovskyi. The management used official characteristics to show the rottenness of the former colleagues. For example, in past they were named as devoted to the affairs of Lenin and Stalin and to the Communist Party. Already after the conflict everything changed. Hryhoriy Mandych was said called to be "non-confident, painfully perceiving criticism, having repeatedly party and administrative penalties"⁴. And Borys Lozovskyi was accused of "doing immoral acts, boozing, slandering Institute workers..."⁵ and the Deputy Minister of Education of the UkrSSR Fedir Ovcharenko⁶. So, the campaign against the cult of personality led to devastating the fates of many people not directly connected to the political battles "above".

This phenomenon of searching for "scapegoats" in the face of head managers was noted not only in the walls of Poltava SPI. But it had different outcome. For example, in Sumy SPI, they didn't come farther than accusing the director Fedir Huzhva of lack of criticism⁷. And then the anti-cult campaign was stopped. However, the cases similar to that of Poltava occurred in other institutions and organizations of the country. The uncontrolled sway of the fight made the Party authorities conduct explanatory work with the masses in December, 1956. There appeared a warning in the newspaper: "*eradicating formal bureaucratic methods of leadership, the party however strongly*

¹ DAPO, f. P-251, sp. 1, spr.4829, 94.

² DAPO, f. P-15, op. 2, spr. 238, 13.

³ DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr. 750, 41.

⁴ APNPU, f. 2, op. M-1, spr. Mandych Hryhoriy Ivanovych, 34.

⁵ APNPU, f. 2, op. L, spr. Lozovs'kyi Borys Yosypovych (1950-1956 rr.), 33.

⁶ APNPU, f. 2, op. M-1, spr. Mandych Hryhoriy Ivanovych, 36.

⁷ DASO, f. R-2817, op. 3, spr. 225, 11.

condemns those who under the banner of fighting the consequences of the personality cult comes to the anarchist objection of the role of leaders in general”¹.

Because of this, people, combating of the cult of personality at the closed party meeting in Poltava SPI on 11, January, 1957, tried to explain it in another – lighter way, using as less manes as possible: *“The hostile speeches can appear because we have a bureaucracy”²*. Senior lecturer Stepan Danishev appealed to that: *“Some comrades in the guise of criticism of bureaucracy criticized our whole system. We must condemn such people!”³*

The director Mykhaylo Semyvolos mentioned about activity of hostile party elements in the party organization of Poltava SPI. He did it mentioning his personal insults. Among “the newest enemies” he named the former colleagues B. Lozovskyi and H. Mandych. He accused them of slandering of the regional party committee members and of teachers. The former employees were also blame of the distribution of “incorrect rumors about the events in Hungary among students⁴. Those days there was an uprising in Hungary against the Soviet regime. So we can assume that two former lecturers of political economy didn’t bypass that topic at the lessons. And that was their fault. The country demanded to keep silence about the foreign policy if having another than official point of view. It was quite significant accusation because the authorities paid extremely high attention to the reaction of the intelligentsia to that event. And as Oleh Bazhan says, there were even political repressions because of the “separate thoughts” on that problem among intelligentsia⁵. Taking in the account that statement of the director, it becomes clear why the disgraced teachers were fired with such rush. Especially when the words of the director were confirmed by the first secretary of Poltava city Communist party Oleksiy Selishchev who reminded teachers: *“those who pretended to be brave, we put them in place in time, and to someone who went the wrong way in connection with the Hungarian events, we had to take other measures...”⁶.*

With that statement the “purge” of the collective was stopped for a year. A new wave of discontentment the director form the side of the faculty members was generated by the attack on the anti-party group of ex-Prime-minister Georgiy Malenkov, ex-Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov, ex-Minister of Industrial

¹ I.Malyshv, “Leninizm pro tvorchist’ mas i partiynе kerivnytstvo,” Zorya Poltavshchyny, December 12, 1956, no. 242, 2.

² DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4830, 3.

³ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4830, 2.

⁴ DAPO, F. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4830, 1.

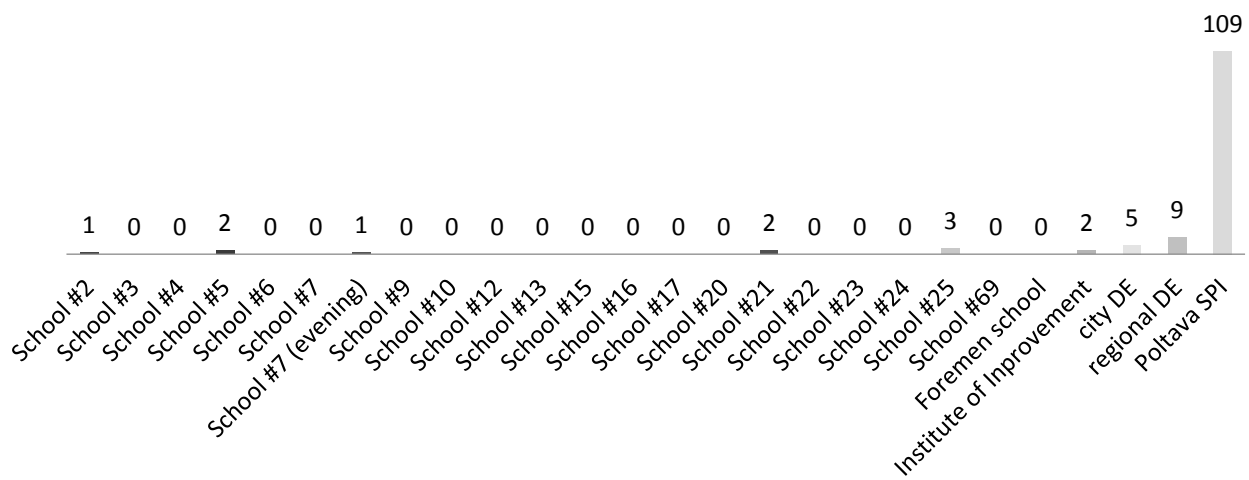
⁵ Oleh Bazhan, “Politychni represiyi v Ukrayini pid chas Uhors’koyi revolyutsiyi 1956 r.,” *Istoriya . Malovidomi imena, podiyi, fakty (Zbirnyk statey)*, no.34 (2007), 289–98.

⁶ DAPO, f. P-15, op. 2, spr. 242, 31.

building and materials Lazar Kaganovich and, ultimately, of Marshal Georgiy Zhukov in 1957. Immediately after the cleansing of the real army from the cult of the disgraced leader, the army of teachers resumed the issue generated a year ago. From the debate on the cult of Zhukov we can conclude that all year round Mykhaylo Semyvolos had been within a kind of “trial period” during which the Party organization monitored the observance of the true Leninist norms of institute management.

On the background of the fight with the head of the institute there were other conflicts without which the life in the institute is impossible under such political and emotional conditions. The common feature was that most of them occurred in the wake of criticism. They began blossoming as a criticism of the every-day work of the staff which would have to bring positive changes. In Kharkiv SPI confrontation happened at the sub-department of Russian language. However, unlike in Poltava, there the criticized head left the workplace but not those who sought justice¹. But how ambitious were allegations of local authorities in the manifestations of “Stalinist methods”? To find this out, we turned to the analysis of the protocols of party meetings of different educational institutions of Poltava. Among them were schools, the Institute of Teachers’ Improvement of the Region, city and regional departments of education which constantly intersected in their work with the same problems as scientific and pedagogical staff of Poltava SPI.

The speeches about the cult of personality on the local level



Bar chart 12. The content of the speeches at the party meetings of Poltava schools

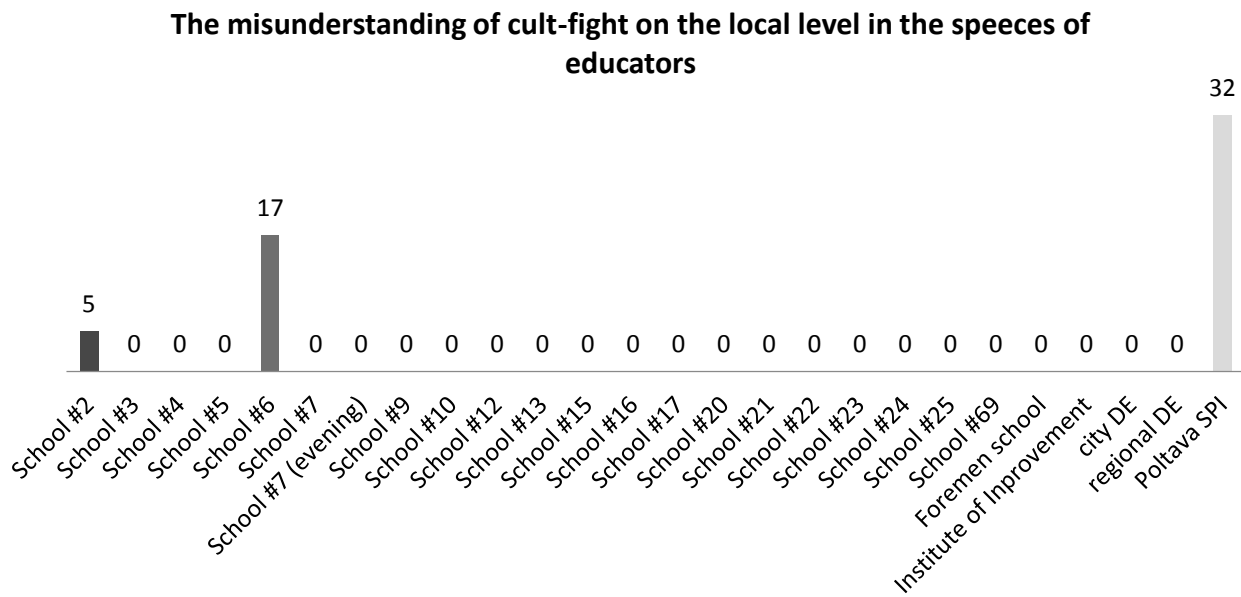
Source: DAPO, f. P-251, op.1, f.P-244, op.1; f.II-251, op.1.

¹ DAKhO, f. R-4293, op. 2, spr. 741, 89.

Most educational institutions (15 of 26 or 66% of all) revealed indifference to the problem of finding the creators of cults in education. Instead, the interest of 34% of institutions to this problem can be explained with the presence of people burdened by administrative and political power. For example, the secretary of the regional committee of CPU Hryhoriy Bazylevych was a member of the staff of school #6¹. A significant percentage of speeches on the cult of personality in the education sphere belongs to Poltava SPI workers (81%). This could be explained by the higher number of members of primary Party organizations and of the overall number of delivered. Moreover, it once again speaks of the nature of the discussion among high school workers comparing to the schools. Most of the allegations of “totalitarian manners” in Poltava SPI were addressed to the director Mykhaylo Semyvolos (91 out of 109 performances, 83%). Other 18 were about local authorities and heads of the sub-departments. Totally, 68% of speeches of all Poltava educators related the figures of the director of Poltava Pedagogical Institute. He was mentioned at public schools, in the city and regional departments of education and in the Institute of Improvement of teachers. Thus, the problem of local cult-making as a phenomenon was relevant only for 34% of educational groups. The dynamics of the discussion depended on the range of administrative and political powers and ideological and education institution’s sphere of influence in the region. The wider it was the more active the members of the staff were.

Let’s find out if the educators understood the difference between public cleansing campaign of “Stalinist” elements and conventional wars at lower levels.

¹ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 5276, 43.



Bar chart 13. The content of the speeches at the party meetings of Poltava schools

Source: DAPO, f. P-251, op.1, f.P-244, op.1; f.II-251, op.1.

Comparing with the debating on cults as an essential social problem, educational masses paid 2.5 times less attention to settle scores with the city officials using it as a handful method. So, only 12% (3 of 26) educational institutions and organizations of Poltava paid time to charges of managers and leaders of the region. The leading position in this was occupied by the Poltava SPI – 59% all speeches of educators in the city. Analysis of the reports of parte meetings shows that Pedagogical Institute staff did not consider his accusations baseless and false. The erroneous remarks about the newest “witch hunt” were heard in the walls of the institute 3.2 times less than the “convictions” of the heads of the region, city and university. Another leader of the “false accusations” was a school #6 with neighboring the Institute, giving 31% of the material in the discussion of the problem¹. The conclusion is simple: teachers of Poltava were indifferent to the problems of political dragging of blankets. In case of authorities’ interference in the conflicts, people did not consider themselves a party protecting the false ideals. So even after the visits of ranked politicians educators continued to criticize city government as “managing only form the cabinets” and “spending little time among ordinary people”².

¹ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 5276, 43.

² DAPO, f. P-244, op. 1, spr. 4025, 19.

SLOWDOWN OF THE CONFLICTS

During 1958-1964 there was a smoothing of corners in all conflict situations. And the conflicts themselves, occurring only episodically at the beginning of the period, came to naught to 1964. The only event reminiscing of the old conflicts between the director and the staff in 1958 was a letter to the Ministry of Education of the UkrSSR written by the lecturer of Marxism-Leninism Aron Matyukov. He was writing it in “the hot pursuit” of the “political massacre” over his colleagues. So he appealed to the examples of despotism of the director Mykhaylo Semyvolos that were fresh in his memory. The problem, in fact, was small and consisted in the distribution of study courses. The teacher got those ones he did not want to lecture. Being angry, he wrote to the Ministry: “*the director of the institute made me read the courses by order, so I obeyed it*”, “*I was performing the work under the presser of the administration” (underlined in the Ministry)¹.*

The Ministry of Education didn't take any other measures to the director than a warning. It was predictable for the country entered the new era of “cult-fighting”. You could battle the theory but in practice the leader was under the protection of the ideology – “the manager, especially the manager-communist, must be a model”².

Immediately after this episode the newspaper “Komsomolskaya Pravda” published the article “How the director will say...” It criticized despotism and the cult of the director of Poltava SPI. The publication said about the seizure of administration from the side of the director. It mentioned the flourishing practice of depriving scholarships from students for some faults. For example, for 10 months of 1958-1959 academic years, 12 future teachers were left without scholarships, 22 reprimands were issued and 54 students were charged with penalties. The only one, who acknowledged accusations of the press, was the head of the sub-department of Marxism-Leninism Dmytro Stepanov. According to him, young people really complained about the callousness. He told that the director M. Semyvolos had “too strong belief in an order and a very little contact with students” who wanted to see the director as “a native father” instead. The head of the sub-department was supported by the freshmen Kovalenko and Ambrosimov present at the meeting. All others (among them prominent local party members, lecturers Mykola Rizun, Oleksandr Danysko, Vasyl Loburets, and Mariya Malych etc.) only accused correspondents of lying, and debunked the fact that the director was shown as “some scarecrow” or “slacker”³.

¹ APNPU, f. 2, op. M-2, spr. Matyukov Aron Hershkovych, 37.

² L. Shneyderman. “Yedynonachal'nist' i partyne kerivnytstvo,” Zorya Poltavshchyny, February 11, 1958, no. 30, 3.

³ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4832, 45-52.

These excuses made an effect on a special commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party with the political check-up. And it found extremely high support of director's way of management. No wonder that after the article in "Komsomolskaya Pravda" M. Semyvolos received more than 180 letters of support of his leadership in Poltava SPI from all over the USSR¹.

But the output of the problem of the "cult" of the director in Poltava on mega-level – the level of the Soviet Union – hasn't created an acute conflict in collective of teachers. Simultaneously, there was continued the criticism of miner leaders "in the shadow of the great campaign" against the director.

During this period, people began to fear again the consciences of their criticism. If the critics existed, it was only in the fairway of the official politics and in accordance with the institute authorities. The periodicals of the institute returned to policy of writing articles "without offending anyone"².

In 1961, when the transformation of party politics was on time, the question of student openness with the faculty arose again. The lecturers of Marxism-Leninism of Poltava SPI resented the lack of initiative of youth. They told that the students were afraid to ask teachers the questions, especially when the party abruptly changed course and misunderstanding were written on the faces of young people. However, no question went out of their lips. The teacher Serhiy Hrennikov blamed the lecturers themselves for avoiding important issues, and for giving no clear answers to students. To help with that, the head of the sub-department of Marxism-Leninism Dmytro Stepanov offered to use Kyiv and Lviv experience. He proposed to quit the practice of reading propaganda lectures to young teachers. That was to unchain their free thought. The director M. Semyvolos added: "*You cannot demand bookish speeches; the students should tell what they think*".

However, Soviet democracy was limited to the well-known frameworks, clearly outlined by Ivan Popyk: young people should be leading the right path in their search of veracity because they saw "*problems in our reality, but they were misunderstanding how the party and the government were correcting these shortcomings*"³. And it was the real truth: young people knew the consequences of the open expressing of their position. For when in December 1963 the lecturer of music Mykola Klyuchnyk wrote a letter to the Presidium of the Central Committee criticizing the director Semyvolos⁴,

¹ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4832, 180.

² DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4833, 144.

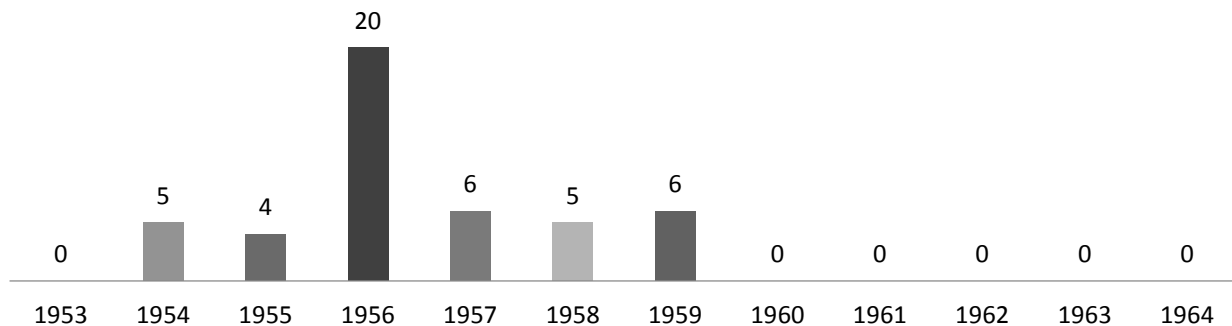
³ DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 778, 34-36.

⁴ APNPU, f. 2, op.K-1, spr.KlyuchnykMykola Petrovych, 13.

he was accused not only of the collapse of amateur creative groups of the university, but also in the slandering of the Soviet reality¹.

The proposed model of fighting with local cults is confirmed by the content analyses of the protocols of party meetings of Poltava SPI during 1953-1964.

Criticizing local cults in speeches of party members of Poltava SPI



Bar chart 14. The content of the speeches at the party meetings of Poltava SPI

Source: DAPO, f. P-251, op.1, spr. 4824-4837.

Combating the cult of local leaders was presented in 220 speeches (4% of 5.380 reports). During the 1953-1955 bienniums, the issue of cult took just a bit of time – up to 5% per year. The team of educators intensified their struggle in 1956 – 20% of performances a year were concerning with the problems of local cults of personality. And in 1957 the figure falls to 6% a year. The fact that 1958 and 1959 demonstrate the flashes of interest in the problem can be explained with the left-over motives of the conflict. Therefore, the period from 1958 to 1964 (when the rate of calls to question the cult balanced at zero) can be named the renewal period. It occurred because of the adaptation of the educators to the new political realities and the realm of interpersonal relationships in their higher school.

CONCLUSIONS

Fighting the cult of personality in the Soviet Union greatly influenced the everyday world of the educators. Continued criticism of the “cult of personality” at universities created its own problems. During 1953-1955, we marked the preservation of student’s fear to criticize their teachers because of possible reprisals and of settling scores between subordinates and superiors. This often led to the practice of anonymous

¹ DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4837, 33.

denunciations. During 1956-1957, the critic came to the meso-level. The combat spread out from the institutes and touched not only university management but also local authorities and party officials from the regions. The anti-cult campaigns were often directed against honorary diplomas, certificates for the holidays, mentions of the historical leaders in training courses. There also expanded the open attack on the status of direct management of schools, which led to the party and social “isolation” of the heads of departments and other division. There was a noticeable change in motivation of that “struggle”. From critics of separate director or an officer it moved to the criticism of the bureaucracy as a phenomenon; from personal conflicts in developed to the criticism of the management issues. The response to the criticism of the “personality cults” of the directors was often repressive. It turned into dismissals or an open hostility. During 1958-1964, one could see a fading aggression against directors of the universities. We tracked residual characteristics of the motives for each new conflict. The problem of “cults” in the field has reached the mega-level – the level of the state. It resulted in the government intervention into the development of such conflicts. This once again forced young people to fear criticism.

At the heart of the conflict there was a distortion of the official information (ideological appeals and decision) as well as of personal one (improper presentation of the facts from the past life of the management). The conflicts were also brought to life by the false understanding of the interests of each party to the conflict. They accused each other of selfish interests, of tyrant-like behavior, etc.). According to its consequences, the fight against local cults was a destructive conflict. It didn't lead the community groups and educators to the positive results, dividing them rather than pushing to qualitative changes. As a general phenomenon in the life of the team, such conflict was long-lasting. However, its individual components were manifestations of short-term conflicts (especially on the level of conflicts between teachers and their bosses – heads of sub-departments). Other clashes grew in the category of hopelessly delayed (for example, in Poltava, the disagreement between the staff and the director lasted for several years).

The nature of a “struggle against the cult of directors” started as spontaneous conflict generated by the historical realities of the “thaw”. Very often they were brought to life after the sharp government statements and publications in the press. But over time, the spontaneous emergence of the clashes was replaced with a clear planning of conflicts. With a fading of state initiatives in combating cult of personality at the state level, educators began to appeal to the cult problem when they needed to shake the ship of the institute. The nature of the course of most of these conflicts was acute and chronic. They affect questions of that were evolving for a prolonged period of time,

touching areas of private life, work and beliefs. The attenuation of such conflicts often occurred after the intervention of the ‘foreign powers’. The role of the ‘foreign power’ for the conflict inside the departments was played by the director of university; and for conflicts with the director – by the party bodies. When the same conflict emerged among the community with party members at the local level the role of the judge was performed by the ideological divisions and the Central Committee of the CPU and the CPSU.

We have not seen the spontaneous end of such conflicts. In terms of “truth-falsity” of the fighting with local cults, they can be classified as mixed true-false conflicts. Thus, the false charges started the conflict, during which educators raised the question of true or at least equivalent accusation of others. For example, charges against Poltava SPI director Mykhaylo Semyvolos in family betrayal or allegations of local party leaders in isolation from the people, excessive luxury and arrogance grew into accusations of their “cults”.

According to the subjects, such actions were interpersonal conflicts (level teacher-head of sub-department) as well as inter-group conflicts (confrontation of the groups of support and opposition to the director of the university). Sometimes they turned into conflicts between social groups. This was due to the allegations of the staff of the regional committee, city committee or district committee, of the Communist Party by the collective of higher pedagogical school. According to the scope, the fights against the “cult of the directors” were mostly labor conflicts. In determining of the rank of conflict, we note that the first fight against cults of local leaders developed as vertical conflict. The initiative of the debunking was going from top to bottom (remember appeals to continuous criticism during the last days of Stalin). After that the allegations came from below, from teachers and other social groups to critique senior party members. Of the rest, these conflicts at the college levels belonged to a different category altogether – to the conflicts of subordination.

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- spr. 226. Dopovidni zapysky ta informatsiyi ministerstv, obkomiv ta mis'kkomiv, TsK LKSMU pro perebudovu roboty vuziv u svitli vymoh Zakonu pro narodnu osvitu [Memoranda and information of the Ministries, regional committees and city committee, the CC Komsomol of Ukraine about the restructuring of universities in the light of the Law on public education] (5.01-2.07.1959).
- spr. 227. Dopovidni zapysky ta informatsiyi ministerstv, obkomiv ta mis'kkomiv, TsK LKSMU pro perebudovu roboty vuziv u svitli vymoh Zakonu pro narodnu osvitu [Memoranda and information of the Ministries, regional committees and city committee, the CC Komsomol of Ukraine about the restructuring of universities in the light of the Law on public education] (9.10-22.12.1959).
- spr. 237. Materialy Ministerstva vyshchoyi osvity URSSR pro orhanizatsiyu novykh vuziv, perevedennya vuziv, zavvazhennya do proektiv postanov pro perebudovu systemy narodnoyi osvity, dopovidni zapysky pro provedennya narad po perebudovy systemy seredn'oyi spetsial'noyi osvity [Materials of the Ministry of Higher Education of the USSR on the organization of new schools, transfer schools, comments on the draft resolution on the restructuring of the education system, memoranda of meetings on the restructuring of secondary special education] (13.01-4.12.1959).
- spr. 239. Materialy viddilu vuziv pro perebudovu roboty vuziv u svitli vymoh Zakonu pro narodnu osvitu [Materials of the department about the restructuring of the work of the universities in the light of the Law on public education] (1.01-31.12.1960).
- spr. 241. Informatsiyi ta dopovidni zapysky pro robotu okremykh vuziv URSSR po vykonannyu Zakonu pro narodnu osvitu [Information and memoranda on the work of individual universities of the UkrSSR on the implementation of the Law on public education] (13.07-4-26.07.1960).
- spr. 242. Informatsiyi ta dopovidni zapysky pro robotu okremykh vuziv URSSR po vykonannyu Zakonu pro narodnu osvitu [Information and memoranda on the work of individual universities of the UkrSSR on the implementation of the Law on public education] (13.09-30.12.1960).
- spr. 243. Dopovidni zapysky ta informatsiyi obkomiv partiyi pro vykonannyu Zakonu pro narodnu osvitu vuzamy URSSR [Memoranda and information of regional party committees about the implementation of the Law on public education by the universities of the UkrSSR] (26.01-23.08.1960).
- spr. 244. Stenohrama respublikans'koyi narady z pytan' perebudovy roboty vuziv u svitli vymoh Zakonu pro narodnu osvitu [Transcript of the Republican meeting on the restructuring of universities in the light of the Law on public education] (5.05-5.07.1960).
- spr. 253. Informatsiyi obkomiv KPU pro perebudovu roboty kafedr suspil'nykh nauk vuziv pislya XX z'yizdu KPRS [Information of the regional committees of the CPU about the restructuring of social science departments if the universities after the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU] (11.01-26.12.1961).

Derzhavnyy arkhiv Kyyivs'koyi oblasti (DAKO)

f. P-485. Pervynna partiyna orhanizatsiya Kyyivs'koho derzhavnoho pedahohichnoho instytutu imeni O. M. Hor'koho [The primary party organization Kiev State Pedagogical Institute named after A. Gorky]

op. 3. Dokumenty i materialy za 1953 rik [Documents and materials for the year 1953]

- spr. 2. Protokoly partzboriv [Minutes of party meetings] (10.02-23.07.1953).
spr.5. Protokoly partbyuro [Minutes of the party bureau] (6.01-29.06.1953).
spr.6. Protokoly partbyuro [Minutes of the party bureau] (15.09-29.12.1953).

op.4. Dokumenty i materialy za 1954-1970 rr.

- spr.15. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv ta zasidan' partbyuro [Minutes of the party meetings and of the party bureau] (13.01-25.12.1956).
spr.16. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv ta zasidan' partbyuro istorychnoho fakul'tetu [Minutes of the party meetings and of the party bureau of the department of history] (3.01-26.12.1956).
spr.21. Protokoly ta stenohrama zahal'nykh partiynykh zboriv [Minutes and the tapescript of the general party meetings] (11.01-27.06.1957).

Derzhavnyy arkhiv mista Kyyeva (DAK)

f. R-985. Kyyivs'kyy derzhavnyy pedahohichnyy instytut inozemnykh mov [Kyiv State Pedagogical Institute of Foreign Languages]

op. 1. Dokumenty ta materialy za 1948-1975 roky [Documents and materials on 1948-1975]

- spr. 155. Nakazy po instytutu. T.1 [Orders by the Institute. Vol.1] (3.01-4.07.1953).
spr. 282. Nakazy po instytutu. T.1 [Orders by the Institute. Vol.1] (3.01-4.07.1956).
spr. 283. Nakazy po instytutu. T.2 [Orders by the Institute. Vol.2.] (5.07-29.12.1956).

op. 2. Osobovi spravy profesors'ko-vykladats'koho skladu za 1948-1975 roky [Personal case of teaching staff for 1948-1975 years]

- spr. 15. Osobova sprava Maslova Mykoly Ivanovycha [The personal file of Maslov Mykola Ivanovych] (15.09.1952-23.04.1957).
spr. 32. Osobova sprava Pereverznyeva Mykoly Mykytovycha [The personal file of Pereverznyev Mykola Mykytovych] (10.04.1950-26.05.1962).

op. 5. Dokumenty ta materialy za 1952-1962 roky [Documents and materials on 1952-1962 years]

- spr. 3. Plan roboty zaochnoho viddilu na 1953-1954 navchal'nyy rik [Working plan of Correspondence Education Department in 1953-1954 academic year].
spr. 6. Plan roboty zaochnoho viddilu na 1956-1957 navchal'nyy rik [Working plan of Correspondence Education Department in 1956-1957 academic year].

Derzhavnyy arkhiv Poltavs'koyi oblasti (DAPO)

f. P-12. Poltavs'ka mis'ka partiyna orhanizatsiya KPU [Poltava city party organization of the CPU]

op. 1

- spr. 656. Protokoly XVII-yi mis'koyi partiynoyi konferentsiyi [Minutes of the XVII-th City Party Conference] (28-29.11.1953).

- spr. 657-a. Stenohrama zboriv mis'koho partaktyvu [Transcript of the meeting of city activists], (16.01.1953).
- spr. 658. Zasadannya byuro mis'kkomu [Meeting of the Bureau of the City Committee] (14.09-18.12.1953).
- spr. 659. Zasadannya byuro mis'kkomu [Meeting of the Bureau of the City Committee] (5.01-4.11.1953).
- spr. 660. Zasadannya byuro mis'kkomu [Meeting of the Bureau of the City Committee], (13.03-15.05.1953).
- spr. 661. Zasadannya byuro mis'kkomu [Meeting of the Bureau of the City Committee] (22.05-21.07.1953)
- spr. 662. Protokoly mis'kykh partaktyviv Poltavy [Minutes of the city party active meetings of Poltava] (16.01-25.09.1953).
- spr. 664. Vypysky z protokoliv zasidan' byuro Poltavs'koho obkomu KPU [Extracts from the minutes of meetings of the Bureau of Poltava Regional Committee of the CPU] (9.01-26.12.1953).
- spr. 691. Protokoly zasidan' byuro mis'kkomu KPU [Minutes of meetings of the bureau of the city committee of the CPU] (8.01-17.04.1954).
- spr. 668. Dovidky, dopovidni zapysky, predstavlennya ta inshi materialy orhaniv MHB ta orhaniv prokuratury [Information, memoranda, and other presentation materials of the MGB and prosecutors]. (14.01-31.12.1953).
- spr. 693. Protokoly zasidan' byuro mis'kkomu KPU [Minutes of meetings of the bureau of the city committee of the CPU] (3.09-28.12.1954).
- spr. 710. Protokoly XIX mis'koyi partiynoyi konferentsiyi [Minutes of the nineteenth city party conference] (19-20.11.1955).
- spr. 730. Protokoly plenumiv mis'kkomu [Minutes of the Plenum of the City Committee] (11.01-30.10.1956).
- spr. 733 Protokoly byuro mis'kkomu [Minutes of meetings of the bureau of the city committee] (7.09-28.12.1956).
- spr. 750. Protokoly zasidan' byuro mis'kkomu KPU [Minutes of meetings of the bureau of the city committee of the CPU] (25.04-29.08.1957).
- spr. 751. Protokoly zasidan' byuromis'kkomuKPU №43-1 [Minutes of meetings of the bureau of the city committee of the CPU#43-1 (11.09-27.12.1957)], (11.09-27.12.1957).
- spr. 767. Protokoly №2-8 zasidan' mis'kkomu KPU [Minutes #2-8 of meetings of the bureau of the city committee of the CPU] (16.01-23.04.1958).
- spr. 769. Protokoly №16-23 zasidan' mis'kkomu KPU [Minutes #16-23 of meetings of the bureau of the city committee of the CPU] (29.08-24.12.1958).
- spr. 770. Protokoly zboriv mis'koho partaktyvu (23.01-12.12.1958).
- spr. 832. Protokoly zasidan' byuro mis'kkomu [Minutes of meetings of the bureau of the city committee] (11.01-26.04.1961).
- spr. 833. Protokoly zasidan' byuro mis'kkomu [Minutes of meetings of the bureau of the city committee], (10.05.1961).
- spr. 834. Protokoly zasidan' byuro mis'kkomu [Minutes of meetings of the bureau of the city committee] (2.10-27.12.1961).

f. P-13. Kremenchuts'kyyMKKPU [Kremenchuk City Committee of CPU]

op.1

- spr. 584. Protokoly partaktyviv mis'kkomu KPU ta profspilkovykhaktyviv [Minutes of party activists meeting of the City Committee of the CPU and trade unions] (30.01-19.19.1956).
- spr. 588. Dopovidni zapysky na im'ya sekretarya mis'kkomu KPU i zaviduvacha mis'kkomu z perevirky pratsivnykhiv partiynykh ta komsomol's'kykh orhaniv [Memoranda addressed to the

- secretary of the city committee of the CPU and head of the city committee on the inspection of the party and Komsomol bodies], (28.06-12.10.1956).
- spr. 633. Protokoly zasidan' byuro mis'kkomu KPU ta materialy do nykh [Minutes of meetings of the bureau of the city committee of the CPU and the materials for them] (6.03-10.04.1957).
- spr. 635. Protokoly zasidan' mis'kkomu KPU ta materialy do nykh [Minutes of meetings of the city committee of the CPU and the materials for them] (26.06-28.08.1957)
- spr. 639. Protokoly zboriv mis'koho partiynoho i profspilkovoho aktyviv [Minutes of meetings of city party and trade union activists meeting] (24.01-12.12.1957).
- spr. 643. Informatsiya i dopovidni zapysky sekretarya mis'kkomu KPU na im"ya sekretarya obkomu KPU z pytan' partiyno-orhanizatsiynoyi roboty ta propahandy i ahitatsiyi [Information and memoranda of the secretary of the city committee of the CPU to the Secretary of the party committee on party organizational work and propaganda and agitation] (29.01-16.11.1957).

f. P-15. Poltavs'ky obkom KPU [Poltava Regional Committee of the CPU]

op. 2. Spravy za 1935-1962 roky [Cases for the years 1935-1962]

- spr. 1291. Informatsiyi, dopovidni zapysky obkomu partiyi TsK KPRS, TsK KPU pro obhovorennya plenum TsK KPRS pro zlochynnu antyderzhavnu diyal'nist' Beriyyi [Information, memoranda of the regional party committee to the Central Committee of CPSU, the Central Committee of the CPU about Central Committee plenum the discussion of the criminal anti-state activities of Beria] (21.01-25.12.1953).
- spr. 1294. Lysty obkomu partiyi TsK KPRS, TsK KPU z prokhannyamy nadannya dopomohy [Letters of regional party committee to the Central Committee of CPRS, the Central Committee of the CPU with the requests of assistance] (7.01-31.12.1953).
- spr. 1298. Zvit sektora osoblyvoyi kantselyariyi TsK KPU pro robotu za 1953 rik. Spetspovidomlennya upravlin' MDB, napravlenykh obkomu partiyi pro reahuvannya naseleण्या u zv'yazku zi smertyu Stalina Y. V. ta vykrytyam zradnyts'koyi diyal'nosti Beriyyi [Report a of the special sector of the Office of the Central Committee of the CPU on work for 1953. Special reports of MGB offices aimed to the regional party committee about the public reaction on the death of Stalin and exposing the treacherous activity of Beria] (16.01-16.07.1953).
- spr. 1318. Informatsiyi mis'kkomiv, raykomiv partiyi obkomu KPU [Information of city and district committees to the regional committee of the CPU] (24.07-30.08.1953), 98 ark.
- spr. 1340. Informatsiyi obkomu partiyi TsK KPU [Information of the Regional Committee to the Central Committee of the CPU] (27.01-30.10.1953).
- spr. 1342. Statystychni zvity, informatsiyi, dovidky mis'kkomiv, raykomiv partiyi obkomu KPU [Statistical reports, information, references of the the city committees, district committees to the regional committee of the CPU] (8.01-31.12.1953).
- spr. 1353. Dovidky mis'kkomiv, raykomiv partiyi obkomu KPU pro roz'yasnennya ta vyychennya rishen' veresnevoho (1953 roku) Plenumu TsK KPRS [Information of the city committees, district committees to the Regional Committee of the CPU on explanation and study of the resolutions of the September (1953) Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU] (7.07-7.11.1953).
- spr. 1354. Dovidky, informatsiyi viddiliv, mis'kkomiv, raykomiv partiyi obkomu KPU pro masovopolitychnu robotu [References, information of the departments, city and district committees to the Regional Committee of the CPU of mass political work] (28.01-16.11.1953).
- spr. 1365. Dovidky viddilu shkil TsK KPU pro vykonannya planu kapital'noho budivnytstva [Information of the School Department to the Central Committee of the CPU on the plan of capital construction] (10.01-9.12.1953).

- spr. 1366. Informatsiya raykomiv partiyi obkomu KPU pro naslidky provedennya zvitno-vyborykh zboriv [Information of the district committees to the regional committee of the CPU on the consequences of about reporting and elective assemblies] (13.10-10.12.1953).
- spr. 1446. Informatsiyi, dovidky viddilu shkil ta vuziv obkomu KPU [Information, references of the department of schools and universities to the Regional Committee of the CPU] (22.01-16.12.1954).
- spr. 1551. Informatsiyi, dopovidni zapysky, dovidky, zvity obkomu partiyi TsK KPRS [Information, memoranda, notes and reports of the Regional Committee to the Central committee of the CPSU] (19.01-8.12.1956).
- spr. 1588. Dovidky, informatsiyi viddilu shkil ta vuziv obkomu KPU [Information, references of the department of schools and universities to the Regional Committee of the CPU] (10.01-18.12.1956).
- spr. 1621. Informatsiyi, dovidky mis'kkomiv, raykomiv obkomu KPU [Information, references of the the city committees, district committees of the Regional Committee of the CPU] (2.01-31.12.1957).
- spr. 1632. Informatsiyi, dovidky mis'kkomiv, raykomiv obkomu KPU [Information, references of the city committees, district committees to the Regional Committee of the CPU] (10.04.-10.11.1957).
- spr. 1635 Informatsiya mis'kkomiv, raykomiv partiyi obkomu KPU [Information of the city committees, district committees to the Regional Committee of the CPU] (10.07-31.07.1957)
- spr. 1659. Informatsiyi, dovidky viddilu shkil ta vuziv obkomu KPU [Information, references of the department of schools and universities to the Regional Committee of the CPU] (10.01-30.12.1957).
- spr. 1686. Informatsiyi, dopovidni zapysky, propozytyi obkomu TsK KPRS [Information, memoranda, proposals of the Regional Committee to the CPSU] (25.02.-31.12.1958)
- spr. 1733. Informatsiyi viddilu shkil ta vuziv obkomu [Information of the department of schools and universities to the Regional Committee] (1.014-27.12.1958).
- spr. 1735. Informatsiyi, dovidky, zapysky mis'kkomiv, raykomiv obkomu KPU [Information, references and notes of the city committees, district committees to the Regional Committee of the CPU] (25.01-16.12.1958).
- spr. 1802. Informatsiyi, dovidky, zapysky mis'kkomiv, raykomiv obkomu KPU [Information, references and notes of the city committees, district committees to the Regional Committee of the CPU] (23.04-19.12.1959).
- spr. 1858. Informatsiyi obkomu partiyi TsK KPU [Information of the Regional Committee of the Party to the Central Committee of the CPU] (7.01-23.12.1960).
- spr. 1900. Dovidky, informatsiyi viddilu propahandy ta ahitatsiyi obkomu KPU [References, Information of the Department of Propaganda of the Regional Committee of the CPU], (3.02-24.04.1960).
- spr. 1903. Zvity, informatsiyi, dovidky mis'kkomiv, raykomiv obkomu KPU [The reports, information, reference of the city committees, district committees to the Regional Committee of the CPU] (26.03-15.09.1960).
- spr. 1956. Informatsiyi mis'kkomiv, raykomiv obkomu KPU [The information of the city committees, district committees to the Regional Committee of the CPU] (20.05-19.07.1961).
- spr. 1982. Informatsiyoyi, dovidky viddilu propahandy ta ahitatsiyi TsK KPRS [Information, references of the Department of Propaganda of the Central Committee of the CPSU], (27.01-27.12.1961).
- spr. 1993. Dovidky viddilu shkil TsK KPU [References of the department of schools to the Central Committee of the CPU] (27.12.1960-4.11.1961).
- spr. 2084. Informatsiyi, dovidky viddilu shkil TsK KPU [Information, references of the department of schools to the Central Committee of the CPU] (1.02-17.12.1962).

f. P-19. Zhovtneva rayonna partiyna orhanizatsiya mista Poltavy [Zhovtnevyy district party organization of Poltava].

op. 1. Dokumenty [Documents] (1943-1963).

- spr. 99. Dodatky do protokoliv zasidan' byuro raykomu KPU [Additions to the minutes of meetings of the Bureau of the District Committee of the CPU] (14.01-13.07.1953).
- spr. 100. Dodatky do protokoliv zasidan' plenumiv raykomu KPU [Annexes to the minutes of the meetings of the Plenum of the District Committee of the CPU] (19.08-16.12.1953).
- spr. 220. Protokoly vos'moyi rayonnoyi partiynoyi konferentsiyi Zhovtnevoho rayonu mista Poltavy (stenohrama) [Minutes of the eighth Zhovtnevyy district party conference of Poltava (transcript)].
- spr. 230. Protokoly zasidan' byuro raykomu №24-25; №1-5 [Minutes of meetings of the Bureau of the District Committee #24-25; #1-5] (26.09-26.12.1956).
- spr. 231. Protokoly partaktyviv zboriv №1-2 [Minutes party activists meetings #1-2] (25.01-12.03.1956).
- spr. 237. Protokoly IX-yi rayonnoyi partkonferentsiyi [Minutes of the IX-th District Party Conference] (30.11-1.11.1957), 138 ark.
- spr. 238. Protokoly plenumu raykomu KPU [Minutes of the plenum of the District Committee of the Communist Party] (22.01.-1.12.957).
- spr. 240. Protokoly zasidannya byuro raykomu KPU [Minutes of meetings of the Bureau of the District Committee of the CPU] (9.04-13.08.1957).
- spr. 241. Protokoly zasidannya byuro raykomu KPU [Minutes of meeting of the Bureau of the District Committee of the CPU] (27.08-30.12.1957).
- spr. 242. Protokoly zboriv rayonnoho partiynoho aktyvu 25.01.1957 [Minutes of meetings of district party activists].
- spr. 247. Protokoly XI rayonnoyi partkonferentsiyi KPU [Minutes of the XI-th district party conference of the CPU] (29.11-30.11.958).

f. P-121. Pervynni partiyni orhanizatsiyi Lenins'koho rayonu mista Poltavy [Primary Party organizations Leninsky district of Poltava].

op. 1.

- spr. 1420. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU Lenins'koho viddilu UKDB mista Poltavy [The primary Party organization of the CPU of the Leninsky KGB department of city of Poltava]. (11.01-31.12.1956).

f. P-244. Partiyni orhanizatsiyi Kyyivs'koho rayonu mista Poltavy [Party organizations of the Kyivskyy district of city of Poltava]

op. 1.

- spr. 2337. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU Kyyivs'koho rayonnoho komitetu mista Poltavy. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [The primary Party organization of CPU of Kyivskyy District Committee. Protocols of party meetings] (16.01-26.12.1957).
- spr. 2384. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU Kyyivs'koho rayonnoho vykonavchoho komitetu mista Poltavy. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [The primary Party organization of the CPU of the Kyivskyy district executive committee of Poltava. Protocols of party meetings] (03.01-06.12.1957).

- spr. 3566. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU Poltavs'koho sil's'kohospodars'koho instytutu. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv (sichen'-hruden' 1956) [The primary Party organization of the CPU of Poltava Agricultural Institute. Minutes of the party meetings (January-December 1956)].
- spr. 3925. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU seredn'oyi shkoly №2 robochoyi molodi [The primary Party organization of the CPU of the secondary school #2 of the working young] (1.01-31.12 1956 rik).
- spr. 3567. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU Poltavs'koho sil's'kohospodars'koho instytutu. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [The primary Party organization of the CPU of Poltava Agricultural Institute. Minutes of the party meetings] (8.01-14.12. 1957).
- spr. 3901. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU seredn'oyi shkoly desyatnykiv-budivel'nykiv mista Poltavy (sichen'-veresen' 1956 rik) [The primary Party organization of the CPU of secondary school of the foremen builders of Poltava (January-September 1956)].
- spr. 3919. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU seredn'oyi shkoly №25 mista Poltavy. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv (sichen'-hruden' 1956) [The primary Party organization of the CPU of secondary school #25 of the city of Poltava. Minutes of the party meetings (January-December 1956)].
- spr. 3920. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU seredn'oyi shkoly №25 mista Poltavy. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [The primary Party organization of the CPU of secondary school #25 of the city of Poltava. Minutes of the party meetings] (21.01-9.12.1958).
- spr. 3945. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU seredn'oyi shkoly №13 mista Poltavy (sichen'-hruden' 1956 rik) [The primary Party organization of the CPU of the secondary school #13 of Poltava (January-December 1956)].
- spr. 3990. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU sil's'kohospodars'koyi shkoly z pidhotovky holiv kolhospiv (sichen'-lypen' 1956 rik) [The primary Party organization of the CPU of the agricultural school for preparation of collective farm heads (January-July 1956)].
- spr. 4004. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU seredn'oyi shkoly №5 mista Poltavy (sichen'-hruden' 1956 rik) [The primary Party organization of the CPU of the secondary school #5 of Poltava (January-December 1956)].
- spr. 4025. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU seredn'oyi shkoly №16 mista Poltavy [The primary Party organization of the CPU of the secondary school #16 of Poltava] (1956).
- spr.4026. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU seredn'oyi shkoly №16 mista Poltavy [The primary Party organization of the CPU of the secondary school #16 of Poltava] (3.01-13.12.1957).
- spr. 4044. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU seredn'oyi shkoly №17 mista Poltavy. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [The primary Party organization of the CPU of secondary school #17 city of Poltava. Protocols of party meetings] (7.01-19.12.1957).
- spr. 4314. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU druhoho viddilennya militsiyi mista Poltavy. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv (sichen'-hruden' 1956) [The primary Party organization of the CPU of the second police station of Poltava. Minutes of the party meetings (January-December 1956)].
- spr. 4411. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya v"yaznytsi №1 mista Poltavy [Primary Party organizations of the prison #1 of Poltava] (10.01-18.12.1957).
- spr. 4460. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU narodnykh sudiv ta yurkonsul'tatsiy Kyyvsk'koho rayonu mista Poltavy. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [The primary Party organization of the CPU of the people's courts and juridicila consultation of Kyivskyy district of Poltava. Protocols of party meetings] (04.01-17.12.1957).
- spr.4490. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU hravimetrychnoyi observatoriyi mista Poltavy. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [The primary Party organization of the CPU of Poltava gravimetric observatory. Protocols of party meetings] (28.01-31.12.1957).
- spr.4550. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU Derzhavnoho muzeyu istoriyi Poltavs'koyi bytvy [The primary Party organization of the CPU of the State Museum of History of the Battle of Poltava. Protocols of party meetings] (1957).

spr. 4604. Pervynna partorhanizatsiyi KPU redaktsiyi “Zori Poltavshchyny” [The primary Party organization of the CPU of of the editorial board of “Zorya Poltavshchyny”] (01.02-22.12.1957).

f. P-251. Partiyni orhanizatsiyi Zhovtnevoho rayonu mista Poltavy [Party organizations Zhovtnevy district of Poltava].

op. 1.

- spr. 4824. Poltavs'kyi derzhavnyy pedahohichnyy instytut. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [Poltava State Pedagogical Institute. Primary party organization. Minutes of the party meetings] (15.01 - 10.12.1953).
- spr. 4825. Poltavs'kyi derzhavnyy pedahohichnyy instytut. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [Poltava State Pedagogical Institute. Primary party organization. Minutes of the party meetings] (10.11 - 17 .121953).
- spr. 4826. Poltavs'kyi derzhavnyy pedahohichnyy instytut. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [Poltava State Pedagogical Institute. Primary party organization. Minutes of the party meetings] (5.01 - 16.12.1954).
- spr. 4828. Poltavs'kyi derzhavnyy pedahohichnyy instytut. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [Poltava State Pedagogical Institute. Primary party organization. Minutes of the party meetings] (20.01 - 3.12.1955).
- spr. 4829. Poltavs'kyi derzhavnyy pedahohichnyy instytut. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [Poltava State Pedagogical Institute. Primary party organization. Minutes of the party meetings] (19.01 - 20.12.1956).
- spr. 4830. Poltavs'kyi derzhavnyy pedahohichnyy instytut. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [Poltava State Pedagogical Institute. Primary party organization. Minutes of the party meetings] (11.01-19.12.1957).
- spr. 4831. Poltavs'kyi derzhavnyy pedahohichnyy instytut. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [Poltava State Pedagogical Institute. Primary party organization. Minutes of the party meetings] (21.01 – 30.12.1958).
- spr. 4832. Poltavs'kyi derzhavnyy pedahohichnyy instytut. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [Poltava State Pedagogical Institute. Primary party organization. Minutes of the party meetings] (22.01 – 25.12.1959).
- spr. 4833. Poltavs'kyi derzhavnyy pedahohichnyy instytut. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [Poltava State Pedagogical Institute. Primary party organization. Minutes of the party meetings] (21 .01 -26 .121960).
- spr. 4834. Poltavs'kyi derzhavnyy pedahohichnyy instytut. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [Poltava State Pedagogical Institute. Primary party organization. Minutes of the party meetings] (17 .01 -27 .121961).
- spr. 4835. Poltavs'kyi derzhavnyy pedahohichnyy instytut. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [Poltava State Pedagogical Institute. Primary party organization. Minutes of the party meetings] (25 .01 -28 .121962).
- spr. 4836. Poltavs'kyi derzhavnyy pedahohichnyy instytut. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [Poltava State Pedagogical Institute. Primary party organization. Minutes of the party meetings] (24 .01 -19 .121962).
- spr. 4837. Poltavs'kyi derzhavnyy pedahohichnyy instytut. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [Poltava State Pedagogical Institute. Primary party organization. Minutes of the party meetings] (16 .01 -24 .121964).
- spr. 5057. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU Instytut udoskonalennya kvalifikatsiyi uchyteliv mista Poltavy. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [The primary Party organization of the CPU of the

- Institute of improvement of qualification of teachers of Poltava. Minutes of party meetings] (10.01-13.12.1957).
- spr. 5191. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU Poltavs'koho oblVNO [The primary Party organization of the CPU of Poltava regional education department] (26.01-29.11.1956).
- spr. 5192. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU Poltavs'koho oblVNO [The primary Party organization of the CPU of Poltava regional education department] (7.01-13.12.1957).
- spr. 5235. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU mis'koho viddilu narodnoyi osvity mista Poltavy. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [The primary Party organization of the CPU of Poltava city public education department. Minutes of the party meetings] (17.01-17.08.1961).
- spr. 5244. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU seredn'oyi shkoly №3 mista Poltavy. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [The primary Party organization of the CPU of Poltava school #3. Minutes of the party meetings] (1.01-31.12.1953).
- spr. 5248. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU seredn'oyi shkoly №3 mista Poltavy. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [The primary Party organization of the CPU of Poltava school #3. Minutes of the party meetings] (2.01-27.12.1957).
- spr. 5251. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU seredn'oyi shkoly №3 mista Poltavy. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [The primary Party organization of the CPU of secondary school #3 of Poltava. Minutes of party meeting] (21.01-23.11.1960).
- spr. 5266. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU seredn'oyi shkoly №4 mista Poltavy. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [The primary Party organization of the CPU of Poltava school #4. Minutes of the party meetings] (27.01-23.12.1954).
- spr. 5267. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU seredn'oyi shkoly №4 mista Poltavy. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [The primary Party organization of the CPU of Poltava school #4. Minutes of the party meetings] (3.01-4.12.1955).
- spr. 5268. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU seredn'oyi shkoly №4 mista Poltavy. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [The primary Party organization of the CPU of Poltava school #4. Minutes of the party meetings] (3.01-14.12.1956).
- spr. 5276. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU seredn'oyi shkoly №6 mista Poltavy. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [The primary Party organization of the CPU of Poltava school #6. Minutes of the party meetings] (14.01-27.12.1956).
- spr. 5277. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU seredn'oyi shkoly №6 mista Poltavy. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [The primary Party organization of the CPU of Poltava school #6. Minutes of the party meetings] (2.01-16.11.1957).
- spr. 5278. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU seredn'oyi shkoly №6 mista Poltavy. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [The primary Party organization of the CPU of Poltava school #6. Minutes of the party meetings] (6.01-25.12.1958).
- spr. 5282. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU seredn'oyi shkoly №6 mista Poltavy. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [The primary Party organization of the CPU of Poltava school #6. Minutes of the party meetings] (4.01-13.12.1962).
- spr. 5649. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU Poltavs'koho oblasnoho upravlinnya kul'tury. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [The primary Party organization of the CPU of the Poltava Regional Department of Culture. Protocols of party meetings] (1.01-31.12.1957).
- spr. 5702. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU Upravlinnya okhorony viys'kovykh i derzhavnykh tayemnyts' u drutsi. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [The primary Party organization of the Department of the Communist Party of military and state secrets in print. Protocols of party meetings] (26.01-27.12.1956).
- spr. 5703. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU Upravlinnya okhorony viys'kovykh i derzhavnykh tayemnyts' u drutsi. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [The primary Party organization of the Department of the Communist Party of military and state secrets in print. Protocols of party meetings] (02.01-12.12.1957).

- spr. 5719. Pervynna partiyna orhanizatsiya KP Ukrayiny Tovarystva z poshyrennya politychnoho ta naukovoho znannya mista Poltavy [The primary party organization of the CP of Ukraine of Poltava Oblast Society for dissemination of political and scientific knowledge] (11.01-30.12.1957).
- spr. 5883. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU Poltavs'koyi oblasnoyi biblioteky. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [The primary Party organization of the CPU of the Poltava Regional Library. Protocols of party meetings] (17.01-27.12.1956).
- spr. 5942. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU Oblasnoho komitetu radio ta informatsiyi. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [The primary Party organization of the CPU of the Regional Committee of the radio media Protocols of party meetings] (20.01-16.07.53).
- spr. 6005. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU Obltyporafiyi mista Poltavy. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [The primary Party organization of the CPU of the Regional Printing house. Protocols of party meetings] (12.01-20.12.1956).
- spr. 6006. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU Obltyporafiyi mista Poltavy. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [The primary Party organization of the CPU of the Regional Printing house. Protocols of party meetings] (24.01-19.12.1957).

R-1507. Poltavs'kyy derzhavnyy pedahohichnyy instytut imeni V. H. Korolenka Ministerstva osvity URSR m. Poltava [Poltava State Pedagogical Institute named after V. G. Korolenko of the Ministry of Education of the UkrSSR, the city of Poltava].

op. 1. Dokumenty za 1939-1969 roky [Documents for 1939-1969].

- spr. 370. Rozporyadzhennya ta rishennya oblasnoyi ta mis'koyi rad deputativ trudyashchykh, yaki vidnosyat'sya do diyal'nosti instytutu [Orders and decisions of regional and city councils of People's Deputies, which relate to the activities of the Institute] (3.01-14.07.1953).
- spr. 371. Postanovy prezydiyi Poltavs'koho obkomu profspilky PPSSh, yaki vidnosyat'sya do diyal'nosti instytutu [Decisions of the Presidium of the Poltava regional committee of trade union of the workers of primary and secondary schools that relate to the activities of the Institute] (24.02-23.12.1953).
- spr. 372. Vidomosti pro nabir studentiv do pedinstytutu na 1952-1953 navchal'nyy rik ta statystychnyy zvit [Information on enrollment of students to Pedagogical Institute in 1952-1953 academic year and a statistical report].
- spr. 392. Protokoly Vchenoyi Rady instytutu [Minutes of the Academic Council of the Institute] (30.09.1952 – 31.08.1953).
- spr. 395. Zvity pro robotu fakul'tetiv ta kafedr za 1952-1953 navchal'nyy rik [Reports of faculties and departments for the 1952-1953 academic year].
- spr. 406. Pro robotu zaочноho viddilu za 1952-1953 navchal'nyy rik [The work of the correspondence department for the 1952-1953 academic year].
- spr. 419. Nakazy Ministerstva osvity URSR 1954 roku, yaki vidnosyat'sya do diyal'nosti instytutu [The orders of the Ministry of Education of the Ukrainian SSR for 1954, relating to the activities of the Institute].
- spr. 420. Akt ohlyadu hotovnosti instytutu do novoho 1953-1954 navchal'noho roku [Act of inspection readiness of the institute to the new academic year 1953-1954].
- spr. 424. Dovidka pro stan roboty kafedry marksyzmu-leninizmu v pershomu pivrichchi 1953-1954 navchal'noho roku za stanom na 10 hrudnya [Information on the status of the department of Marxism-Leninism in the first half of 1953-1954 academic year as of December 10].
- spr. 432. Stenohramy leksiy za 1954 rik [Transcripts of lectures in 1954].
- spr. 440. Protokoly zasidan' Vchenoyi rady [Minutes of the Academic Council] (24.09.1953 – 30.08.1954).

- spr. 458. Zvit pro rozpodil studentiv-vypuskniv instytutu v 1953-1954 rotsi [Report on the work distribution of graduating students in the year 1953-1954].
- spr. 470. Postanovy Ministerstva osvity URSSR ta Prezydiyi Poltav's'koho obkomu profspilky PPSSh, yaki vidnosyat'sya do diyal'nosti instytutu [Decisions of the Presidium of the Poltava regional committee of trade union of the workers of primary and secondary schools that relate to the activities of the Institute] (25.02.1955 – 24.09.1955).
- spr. 471. Dovidka pro pidhotovku do novoho 1954-1955 navchal'noho roku [Reference about the preparation for the new 1954-1955 school year].
- spr. 486. Protokoly zasidan' Vchenoyi rady [Minutes of the Academic Council] (30.09.1954 – 30.08.1955).
- spr. 493. Zvity pro robotu kafedr ta fakul'tetiv instytutu za 1954-1955 navchal'nyy rik [Reports of departments and faculties of the Institute for the 1954-1955 academic year].
- spr. 498. Rozporyadzhennya Ministerstva osvity URSSR 1955 roku, yaki vidnosyat'sya do diyal'nosti instytutu [Order of the Ministry of Education of the UkrSSR in 1955, which relate to the activities of the Institute].
- spr. 513. Materialy po vidbudovi holovnoho korpusu instytutu 1948-1955 roky (postanovy oblyvkonkomu, koshtorys, dopovidni zapysky i inshe) [Materials on the reconstruction of the main building of the Institute 1948-1955 years (ruling executive committee, estimates, memoranda and other)] (23.01.1948-16.11.1955).
- spr. 517. Nakazy Ministerstva osvity URSSR, yaki stosuyut'sya diyal'nosti instytutu [Order of the Ministry of Education of the UkrSSR in 1955, which relate to the activities of the Institute] (5.02.1956 – 29.11.1956).
- spr. 518. Postanovy ta rishennya oblasnoyi ta rayonnoyi rady deputativ trudyashchykh, yaki vidnosyat'sya do diyal'nosti instytutu [Resolutions and decisions of regional and district council of People's Deputies, which relate to the activities of the Institute] (3.01-12.09.1956).
- spr. 521. Informatsiyi pro pidhotovku do novoho navchal'noho roku, pro stan pidhotovky naukovykh kadriv, retsenziyi na prohramy ta zavvazhennya do nykh za 1955-1956 navchal'nyy rik [Information on preparations for the new academic year, the state of academic training, a review of the application and comments on them for the academic year 1955-1956].
- spr. 541. Protokoly zasidan' kafedr [Minutes of meetings of sub-departments] (31.08.1955-28.06.1956).
- spr. 542. Protokoly Vchenoyi Rady [Minutes of the Academic Council] (1.11.1955-29.11.1956).
- spr. 548. Zvity pro robotu kafedr za 1956-1957 navchal'nyy rik [Reports of sub-departments for 1956-1957 academic year].
- spr. 552. Zvit pro robotu PDPI za 1955-1956 navchal'nyy rik [Report on the work of Poltava SPI for the 1955-1956 academic year].
- spr. 553. Zvit pro robotu kafedr ta fakul'tetiv instytutu za 1955-1956 navchal'nyy rik [Report on the work of the sub-departments and faculties of the Institute for the 1955-1956 academic year].
- spr. 555. Stenohramy lektsiy za 1956 rik. T.2 [Transcripts of lectures in 1956. Vol.2].
- spr. 569. Richnyy finansovyy zvit instytutu za 1956 rik [Annual financial report of the Institute for 1956].
- spr. 570. Nakazy ta rozporyadzhennya Ministerstva osvity URSSR, yaki stosuyut'sya diyal'nosti instytutu [Orders and prescriptions of the Ministry of Education of the UkrSSR concerning the activities of the Institute] (4.01.1957-31.12.1957).
- spr. 573. Lystuvannya z Ministerstvom osvity URSSR pro uchast' student's'kykh kolektyviv instytutu u festyvali molodi 1957 roku [Correspondence with the Ministry of Education of the UkrSSR on the participation of Institute student teams in the Festival of Youth in 1957].
- spr. 588. Protokoly zasidan' Vchenoyi rady [Minutes of the Academic Council] (18.01.1957-27.12.1957).

- spr. 593. Zvit pro robotu fakul'tetiv za 1956-1957 navchal'nyy rik [Report on the faculty work for the 1956-1957 academic year].
- spr. 595. Zvit pro zv'yazok kafedr instytutu z shkolamy ta dopomohu vchytelyam za 1956-1957 navchal'nyy rik [Report about the connection of the sub-departments with schools and assisting teachers for the 1956-1957 academic year].
- spr. 598. Stenohramy lektsiy [Transcripts of lectures] (1957).
- spr. 599. Stenohramy lektsiy za 1957 rik. T.2. [Transcripts of lectures in 1957. Vol.2].
- spr. 602. Zvit pro robotu zaochnoho viddilu za 1956-1957 navchal'nyy rik [Report on the work of the correspondence department for academic year 1956-1957].
- spr. 607. Rozrakhunky stypendial'noho fondu na 1957 rik [Payments of the scholarship fund in 1957].
- spr. 609. Nakazy Ministerstva osvity URSR, yaki stosuyut'sya diyal'nosti instytutu [Orders of the Ministry of Education of the Ukrainian SSR related to the activities of the Institute] (31.01-10.12.1958).
- spr. 620. Stenohramy lektsiy za 1958 rik [Transcripts of lectures in 1958].
- spr. 629. Protokoly naukovoyi konferentsiyi kafedr instytutu, prysvyachenykh 40-richchyu vstanovlennya radyans'koyi vlady na Ukrayini [Minutes of the Scientific Conference of the Departments of the institute dedicated to the 40th anniversary of the establishment of Soviet power in Ukraine] (1957).
- spr. 630. Protokoly zasidan' Vchenoyi rady [Minutes of the Academic Council] (24.01.1958-29.12.1958).
- spr. 632. Informatsiya pro naslidky roboty studentiv instytutu v kolhospakh Poltav'skoyi oblasti [Information on the effects of students' work of the institute in the collective farms of Poltava region] (24.09 – 28.10.1958 roku).
- spr. 633. Informatsiya pro orhanizatsiyu suspil'no korysnoyi ta hromads'ko-politychnoyi roboty studentiv v 1957-1958 navchal'nomu rotsi [Information about the organization of public benefit and socio-political work of students in the 1957-1958 academic year].
- spr. 639. Zvity pro robotu fakul'tetiv ta kafedr za 1957-1958 navchal'nyy rik [Reports of faculties and departments for the 1957-1958 academic year].
- spr. 648. Informatsiya pro rozpodil ta vykorystannya molodykh spetsialistiv vypusku 1958 roku [Information on the distribution and use of young professionals of the graduation of 1958].
- spr. 655. Nakazy ta rozporyadzhennya Ministerstva osvity URSR, yaki stosuyut'sya diyal'nosti instytutu [Orders and prescriptions of the Ministry of Education of the UkrSSR concerning the activities of the Institute] (21.03-23.12.1959).
- spr. 658. Materialy pro zv'yazok instytutu zi shkolamy na pochatok 1958-1959 navchal'noho roku stanom na 17 zhovtnya (informatsiya, postanovy i inshe) [Materials on relationship Institute of with schools at the beginning of 1958-1959 academic year as on October 17 (information, statutes and other)].
- spr. 660. Dovidka pro naslidky perevirky instytutu u spravi perebudovy roboty na osnovi rishen' ta materialiv XXI z'yizdu KPRS ta zakonu pro zmitsnennya zv'yazkiv shkoly z zhyttyam i dal'shyy rozvytok systemy narodnoyi osvity v SRSR 1959 roku [Reference on consequences of the inspection of the institute in the case of the restructuring of work on the bases of the solutions and materials of the XXI Congress of the CPSU and the Law on strengthening ties of school with life and further development of public education in the USSR in 1959].
- spr. 666. Dovidka pro perebudovu roboty instytutu u svitli Zakonu pro zmitsnennya zv'yazku shkoly z zhyttyam i dal'shyy rozvytok systemy narodnoyi osvity v SRSR, 1959 rik [Information on the restructuring of the Institute work in the light of the law on strengthening ties of school with life and further development of public education in the USSR].
- spr. 673. Protokoly zasidan' kafedry ukrayins'koyi movy [Minutes of meetings of Ukrainian language sub-department] (25.08.1958-3.06.1959).

- spr. 680. Protokoly zasidan' Vchenoyi rady instytutu [Minutes of meetings of the Academic Council] (14.07.1958 – 20.08.1958).
- spr. 681. Stenohramy lektsiy 1959 roku [Transcripts of lectures in 1959].
- spr. 683. Zvit holovy komisiyi TsK KPU dlya perevirky roboty instytutu (t. Zavads'kyy pro robotu v skladi tsiyeyi komisiyi z 3 po 12 kvitnya 1959 roku) [Report of the Commissioner of the Central Committee of the Communist Party to verify the work of the Institute (Vol. Zawadzki on the work of this commission is composed of 3 to 12 April 1959)].
- spr. 688. Zvit pro robotu Poltavs'koho pedahohichnoho instytutu imeni V. H. Korolenka za 1958-1959 navchal'nyy rik [Report on the Poltava Pedagogical Institute named after Korolenko for the 1958-1959 academic year].
- spr. 699. Nakazy ta rozporyadzhennya Ministerstva osvity, yaki stosuyut'sya diyal'nosti instytutu [Orders and prescriptions of the Ministry of Education concerning the activities of the Institute] (5.03.-20.12.1960).
- spr. 700. Protokoly zasidan' Vchenoyi rady [Minutes of the Academic Council] (31.08.1959-08.07.1960).
- spr. 708. Zvit pro robotu instytutu za 1959-1960 navchal'nyy rik [Report on the work of the Institute for the 1959-1960 academic year].
- spr. 713. Zvity pro robotu kafedr instytutu za 1959-1960 navchal'nyy rik [Report on the work of sub-departments in 1959-1960 academic year].
- spr. 729. Protokoly zasidan' kafedry marksyzmu-leninizmu za 1959-1960 navchal'nyy rik [The minutes of the meetings of the sub-department of Marxism-Leninism for the 1959-1960 academic year] (28.08.1959 – 30.06.1960).
- spr. 732. Protokoly zasidan' kafedry ukrayins'koyi movy za 1959-1960 navchal'nyy rik [Minutes of meetings of Ukrainian language sub-department for the 1959-1960 academic year] (31.08.1959 – 14.06.1960).
- spr. 741. Stenohramy lektsiy . T.1. [Transcripts of lectures. Vol.1.] (1959-1960).
- spr. 750. Nakazy ta rozporyadzhennya Ministerstva osvity URSR, yaki stosuyut'sya diyal'nosti instytutu [Orders and prescriptions of the Ministry of Education of the UkrSSR concerning the activities of the Institute] (12.01.1961-27.01.1961).
- spr. 756. Protokoly zasidan' Vchenoyi rady instytutu [Minutes of the Academic Council] (06.09.1960-29.08.1961).
- spr. 761. Protokoly zasidan' kafedr za 1960-1961 navchal'nyy rik [The minutes of the meetings of the sub-departments for the 1960-1961 academic year].
- spr. 762. Zvity pro robotu fakul'tetiv instytutu za 1960-1961 navchal'nyy rik [Reports on the work of the faculties of the Institute for the 1960-1961 academic year].
- spr. 771. Informatsiya Poltavs'koho derzhavnoho pedahohichnoho instytutu pro vzhyti zakhody po dal'shomu rozvytku spivrobotnytstva nauky z vyrobnytstvom [Information Poltava State Pedagogical Institute of the action taken on the further development of cooperation between science and production].
- spr. 774. Informatsiya pro provedenu u 1961 rotsi vyrobnychu sil's'kohospodars'ku ta pedahohichnu praktyku studentiv Poltavs'koho pedahohichnoho instytutu [Information about ongoing production agricultural and pedagogical practices of students of the Poltava Pedagogical Institute in 1961].
- spr. 778. Protokoly zasidan' kafedry marksyzmu-leninizmu za 1960-1961 navchal'nyy rik [The minutes of the meetings of the sub-department of Marxism-Leninism for the 1960-1961 academic year] (31.08.1960-27.06.1961).
- spr. 800. Nakazy ta rozporyadzhennya Ministerstva osvity URSR, yaki stosuyut'sya diyal'nosti instytutu [Orders and prescriptions of the Ministry of Education of the UkrSSR concerning the activities of the Institute] (31.01.1962-29.10.1962).

- spr. 805. Protokoly zasidan' Vchenoyi rady instytutu [Minutes of meetings of the Academic Council] (26.09.1961 – 16.07.1962).
- spr. 808. Informatsiya pro khid vykonannya nakazu Ministra vyshchoyi i spetsial'noyi seredn'oyi osvity SRSR №287 vid 13 zhovtnya 1961 roku "Pro pokrashchennya vykladannya tekhniky bezpeky v vyshchykh navchal'nykh zakladakh SRSR" v Poltavskomu pedinstytuti 1962 roku [Informatsiya on the execution of the order of the Minister of Higher and Special Secondary Education of the USSR №287 from 13 October, 1961 "On improvement of safety teaching in schools in the USSR" in Poltava Pedagogical Institute in 1962].
- spr. 819. Zvity pro robotu kafedr Poltavskoho pedinstytutu v 1961-1962 navchal'nomu rotsi [Reports on the work of the departments of Poltava Pedagogical Institute in 1961-1962 academic year].
- spr. 822. Protokoly zasidan' kafedry marksyzmu-leninizmu za 1961-1962 navchal'nyy rik [The minutes of the meetings of the sub-department of Marxism-Leninism for the 1961-1962 academic year].
- spr. 824. Protokoly zasidan' kafedry istoriyi [The minutes of the meetings of the sub-department of History] (29.08.1961 – 19.06.1962).
- spr. 843. Nakazy Ministerstva osvity URSR, yaki stosuyut'sya diyal'nosti instytutu [Orders and prescriptions of the Ministry of Education of the UkrSSR concerning the activities of the Institute] (20.02.1963 – 30.12.1963).
- spr. 847. Protokoly zasidan' Vchenoyi rady instytutu [] (30.08.1962 – 30.09.1963).
- spr. 858. Zvit pro robotu kafedry marksyzmu-leninizmu PDPI pro robotu na zaochnomu viddili ta zahal'nonaukovomu fakul'teti v 1962-1963 navchal'nomu rotsi [Report on the work of sub-department of Marxism-Leninism of Poltava SPI about the work on the correspondence department and general scientific faculty in the 1962-1963 academic year].
- spr. 890. Nakazy ta rozporядzhennya Ministerstva osvity URSR, yaki vidnosyat'sya do diyal'nosti instytutu [Orders and prescriptions of the Ministry of Education of the UkrSSR concerning the activities of the Institute] (11.01-22.12.1964).
- spr. 901. Protokoly zasidan' Vchenoyi rady instytutu [Minutes of meetings of the Academic Council] (14.09.1963-21.07.1964).
- spr. 908. Zvit pro robotu PDPI za 1963-1964 navchal'nyy rik [Report on the work of Poltava SPI for the 1963-1964 academic year].
- spr. 911. Informatsiya pro stan navchal'no-vykhovnoyi roboty kafedry khimiyi za 1964 rik [Information on educational work of the sub-department of Chemistry in 1964], 10 ark.
- spr. 916. Informatsiya pro suspil'no-korysnu pratsyu studentiv PDPI pid chas litnikh kanikul 1964 roku ta uchast' u zbyranni vrozhayu 1964 roku [Information on socially useful work of Poltava SPI students during the summer break in 1964 and participation in the harvest of 1964].
- spr. 925. Protokoly zasidan' kafedry istoriyi. Tom 1 [The minutes of the meetings of the sub-department of History. Vol. 1] (28.08.1963-14.01.1964).
- spr. 926. Protokoly zasidan' kafedry istoriyi. Tom 2 [The minutes of the meetings of the sub-department of History. Vol. 2] (6.02-16.06.1964).
- spr. 927. Protokoly zasidan' kafedry ukrayins'koyi movy [The minutes of the meetings of the sub-department of the Ukrainian language] (20.09.1963-28.15.1964).
- spr. 943. Protokoly zasidan' Uchenoyi rady Zahal'nonaukovoho fakul'tetu PDPI [Minutes of meetings of the Academic council of the general scientist faculty of Poltava SPI] (9.10-25.12.1964).
- f. R-6829. Poltavsk'eoblasnetovarystvopoposhyrennyunaukovohotapolitychnohoznannya [Poltava Oblast Society for dissemination of political and scientific knowledge].**

op. 1.

- spr. 25. Protokoly zasidan' prezidiyi pravlinnya. Tom 1 [Minutes of meetings of the Presidium Board. Volume 1] (8.01-21.05.1953).

- spr. 26. Protokoly zasidan' prezydiyi pravlinnya. Tom 2 [Minutes of meetings of the Presidium Board. Volume 2] (30.06-29.09.1953).
- spr. 30. Stenohramy druhoyi oblasnoyi konferentsiyi [Transcripts of the Second Regional Conference] (10.10.1953).
- spr. 31. Protokoly oblasnoyi narady kerivnykiv rayonnykh, mis'kykh viddiliv [Minutes of the regional meeting of heads of district and city departments] (18.11.1953).
- spr. 33. Koshtorys, shtatnyy rozklad, dovidky na 1953 rik [Estimates, staffing, information in 1953].
- spr. 35. Richnyy finansovyy zvit za 1953 rik [Annual financial report for 1953].
- spr. 37. Protokoly zasidan' prezydiyi pravlinnya. T.2 [Minutes of meetings of the Presidium Board. Vol. 2.] (1.07-30.10.1954)
- spr. 38. Protokoly tretyoho plenumu pravlinnya [Minute of the third of the plenum of the Presidium Board] (17.06.1954).
- spr. 39. Protokoly oblasnoyi narady holiv pravlinnya rayonnykh, mis'kykh viddilen' tovarystva [Minutes of the regional meeting of heads of district and city departments] (15.01-22.10.1954).
- spr. 41. Koshtorys, shtatnyy rozpys, dovidky na 1954 rik [Estimates, staffing, information in 1954].
- spr. 43. Richnyy finansovyy zvit za 1954 rik [Annual Financial Report for 1954].
- spr. 45. Protokoly zasidan' prezydiyi pravlinnya tovarystva. Tom 1 [Minutes of meetings of the Presidium Board. Vol.1] (11.01-13.07.1955).
- spr. 48. Protokoly plenumiv pravlinnya [Minutes of plenum of the Presidium Board] (16.03-18.12.1955).
- spr. 50. Stenohrama tret'oyi oblasnoyi konferentsiyi [Transcript of the Third Regional Conference] (18.12.1955).
- spr. 51. Rozporyadzhennya ta dyrektyvni nakazy rayonnym viddilenniam tovarystva [Instruction and directive orders to the district offices of the society] (15.01-30.12.1955).
- spr. 53. Zvit pro robotu tovarystva za 1955 rik [Report on the work of the Society for 1955].
- spr. 57. Protokoly zasidan' prezydiyi pravlinnya. T.2. [Minutes of meetings of the Presidium Board. Vol. 2] (19.10-28.12.1958).
- spr. 60. Shtatnyy rozpys, nakladni na 1956 rik [The staff list, invoices for 1956].
- spr. 61. Zvity pro robotu tovarystva za 1956 rik [Reports on the work of the society for 1956].
- spr. 66. Protokoly zasidan' prezydiyi pravlinnya [Minutes of meetings of the Presidium Board] (16.01.-24.04.1957).
- spr. 68. Protokoly zasidan' plenumu pravlinnya [Minutes of meetings of the Plenum of the Board] (26.02-17.05.1957).
- spr. 95. Postanovy pravlinnya prezydiyi Respublikans'koho tovarystva [Resolution of the Presidium Board of the Republican Society] (8.07-25.12.1959).
- spr. 96. Dyrektyvni lysty respublikans'koho tovarystva [Orders of the Republican Society] (3.01-3.12.12.1959).
- spr. 97. Protokoly zasidan' prezydiyi. Tom I [Minutes of meetings of the Presidium Board. Vol. 1.] (16.01-27.03.1959).
- spr. 101. Protokol №4 plenumu pravlinnya [Minute #4 of the plenum of the Presidium Board] (20.10.1959).
- spr. 107. Richnyy finansovyy zvit za 1959 rik [Annual financial report for 1959].
- spr. 109. Postanovy Prezydiyi pravlinnya [Resolution of the Presidium of the Board] (13.01-26.10.1960).
- spr. 111. Protokoly zasidan' prezydiyi pravlinnya. [Minutes of meetings of the Presidium Board] (15.01.1960)
- spr. 113. Protokoly zasidan' prezydiyi pravlinnya. T.2 [Minutes of meetings of the Presidium Board. Vol. 2.] (13.05-30.06.1960).
- spr. 114. Protokoly zasidan' prezydiyi pravlinnya. T.3 [Minutes of meetings of the Presidium Board. Vol. 3.] (29.07-28.10.1960).

- spr. 115. Protokol №5 plenumu pravlinnya [Minute #5 of the plenum of the Presidium Board] (17.03.1960).
- spr. 116. Protokol №6 shostoho, s'omoho ta vos'moho plenumiv pravlinnya [Minutes of the sixth, seventh and eighth plenary sessions of the Board] (27.05-12.12.1960).
- spr. 117. Materialy p'yatoyi konferentsiyi tovarystva [Materials of the fifth conference of the society] (13.12.1960).
- spr. 122. Lystuvannya z rayonnymy viddilamy tovarystva [Correspondence with district departments of the society] (25.07-21.12.1960).
- spr. 123. Lystuvannya oblasnoho viddilennya Tovarystva z inshymy orhanizatsiyamy [Correspondence of the regional branch of the Society with other organizations] (3.01-22.12.1960).
- spr. 124. Richnyy finansovyy zvit za 1960 rik [Annual financial report for 1960].
- spr. 127. Dyrektyvy i rozporyadzhennya respublikans'koho tovarystva [Orders of the Republican Society] (30.01-2.12.1961).

Derzhavnyy arkhiv Sums'koyi oblasti (DASO)

f. R-2817. Sums'kyy derzhavnyy pedahohichnyy instytut imeni A. S.Makarenka [Sumy State Pedagogical Institute named after Makarenko]

op. 3. Dokumenty ta materialy za 1944-1978 roky [Documents and materials on 1944-1978 years]

- spr. 130. Retsenziyi vykladachiv Sums'koho pedinstytutu na nadislani lektsiyi ta konspekty lektsiy vykladachiv instytutiv ta retsenziyi na nykh za 1953 rik [Reviews of Sumy Pedagogical Institute lecturers and lectures and lecture notes sent to the lecturers for reviews in 1953] (16.01.-22.12.1953).
- spr. 133. Knyha protokoliv zasidan' Vchenoyi rady Sums'koho pedahohichnoho instytutu za 1953-1954 roky [The book of minutes of meetings of the Academic Council of the Sumy Pedagogical Institute in 1953-1954 years] (11.09.1953-16.07.1955).
- spr. 138. Protokoly zasidan' kafedry marksyzmu-leninizmu za 1953-1954 navchal'nyy rik [The minutes of the sub-department of Marxism-Leninism in the 1953-1954 academic year] (28.08.1953-21.09.1954).
- spr. 147. Zvity pro robotu biblioteky za 1953 rik [Reports on the work of the library in 1953].
- spr. 157. Plany naukovo-doslidnoyi roboty instytutu za 1954 rik [Plans of the scientific research work of the institute in 1954].
- spr. 174. Protokoly zasidan' Uchenoyi rady instytutu [The minutes of meetings of the Academic Council of the Institute] (14.10.1955-27.27.1956).
- 175. Protokoly zasidan' Uchenoyi rady instytutu [The minutes of meetings of the Academic Council of the Institute] (21.03.1955-4.06.1956).
- spr. 178. Protokoly zasidan' kafedry marksyzmu-leninizmu [The minutes of the meetings of the sub-department of Marxism-Leninism] (23.08.1955-20.07.1956).
- spr. 181. Zvity pro robotu instytutu za 1955-1956 navchal'nyy rik [Reports on the work of the Institute for the 1955-1956 academic year].
- spr. 196. Navchal'ni plany na 1956-1957 navchal'nyy rik [Study plans for the 1956-1957 academic year].
- spr. 201. Protokoly zasidan' kafedry marksyzmu-leninizmu [The minutes of the meetings of the sub-department of Marxism-Leninism] (24.06.1956-5.05.1957).
- spr. 225. Protokoly zasidan' uchenoyi rady [The minutes of meetings of the Academic Council of the Institute] (10.09.1957-24.07.1958).
- spr. 252. Protokoly zasidan' Uchenoyi rady [The minutes of meetings of the Academic Council of the Institute] (29.08.1958-26.06.1959).

- spr. 262. Propozytsiyi instytutu pro perebudovu roboty seredn'oyi zahal'noosvitn'oyi politekhnichnoyi shkoly v svitli vystupu tovarysha M.S. Khrushchova na XIII z"yizdu VLKSM ta po Tezakh TsK KPRS ta Rady ministriv SRSR "Pro zmitsnennya zv"yazku shkoly z zhyttya ta pro dal'shyy rozvytok systemy narodnoyi osvity v krayini" [Proposals of the Institute on restructuring of Secondary Polytechnic School in the light of the speech of Comrade M. S. Khrushchev at the XIII Congress of the Komsomol and on the Theses of the CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers "On strengthening the link of school with life and the further development of the education system in the country"] (30.04.1958).
- spr. 281. Plany naukovo-doslidnoyi roboty na 1959 navchal'nyy rik ta perspektyvnyy plan naukovo-doslidnoyi roboty na 1959-1965 roky [Plans of scientific research work in the 1959 academic year and a roadmap for research in the years 1959-1965].
- spr. 284. Protokoly zasidan' kafedry marksyzmu-leninizmu [The minutes of the meetings of the sub-department of Marxism-Leninism] (31.08.1959-8.04.1960).
- spr. 287. Protokoly zasidan' kafedry movoznavstva [The minutes of the meetings of the sub-department of the Ukrainian language] (28.08.1959-30.07.1960).
- spr. 315. Protokoly zasidan' kafedry movoznavstva [The minutes of the meetings of the sub-department of the Ukrainian language] (29.08.1960-26.05.1961).
- spr. 336. Naukovi zapysky students'koho pedahohichnoho hurtka [Scientific notes of student Pedagogy club] (1955).
- spr. 349. Protokoly zasidan' Uchenoyi rady [The minutes of meetings of the Academic Council of the Institute] (27.08.1960-15.07.1961).
- spr. 362. Protokoly zasidan' Uchenoyi rady [The minutes of meetings of the Academic Council of the Institute] (6.04.1961-29.6.1962).
- spr. 407. Zvit pro naukovo-doslidnu robotu kafedr instytutu za 1962 rik [Report on the scientific research work of the sub-departments of the Institute in 1962].
- spr. 428. Nakazy po naukovi roboti [Orders on scientific work] (18.03-6.09.1963).
- spr. 476. Knyha protokoliv kafedry movoznavstva [The book of minutes of the meetings of the sub-department of the Ukrainian language] (29.08.1964-10.03.1965).

f. R-5369. Hlukhivs'kyy derzhavnyy uchytel's'kyy instytutimeni S. M. Serhyeyeva-Tsens'koho Ministerstva Osvity Ukrayins'koyi RSR [Hlukhiv State Pedagogical Institute named after S. M. Sergeyev-Tsensky of the Ministry of Education of the Ukrainian SSR]

op. 1. Dokumenty i materialy za 1943-1988 roky [Documents and materials for 1943-1988 years]

- spr. 139. Protokoly zasidan' rady instytutu [The minutes of meetings of the Academic Council of the Institute] (18.09.52-1.07.53).
- spr. 158. Zvedennyy zvit pro naukovo-doslidnu robotu za 1953 rik [Summary report on the research work in 1953].
- spr. 161. Richni zvity pro robotu kafedr za 1953-1954 [Annual reports on the work of the sub-departments in 1953-1954].
- spr. 163. Protokoly zasidan' rady instytutu [The minutes of meetings of the Academic Council of the Institute] (19.09.53-5.07.54).
- spr. 164. Protokoly zasidan' kafedr [The minutes of meetings of the sub-departments] (25.08.53 – 25.05.54).
- spr. 169. Dyrektyvy Ministerstva osvity URSSR ta Ministerstva VSSO URSSR pro robotu pedvuziv za 1953 rik [Directive letters of the Ministry of Education of the UkrSSR and Ministry of higher and secondary special education about the work of pedagogical institutes in 1953] (15.01 – 30.12.1953).

- spr. 175. Protokoly zasidan' kafedry ukrayins'koyi movy za 1955-1956 rik [The minutes of the meetings of the sub-department of the Ukrainian language in 1955-1956].
- spr. 178. Protokoly zasidan' kafedry marksyzmu-leninizmu za 1955-1956 rik [The minutes of the meetings of the sub-department of Marxism-Leninism in 1955-1956 academic year].
- spr. 180. Richni zvity pro robotu kafedr za 1954-1955 navchal'nyy rik [Annual reports on the work of the sub-departments for the 1954-1955 academic year].
- spr. 186. Nakazy ta dyrektyvy Ministerstva osvity URSSR ta MVSSO SRSR pro robotu pedvuziv za 1954 rik [Directive letters of the Ministry of Education of the UkrSSR and Ministry of higher and secondary special education about the work of pedagogical institutes in 1954] (4.03 – 31.12.1954).
- spr. 187. Tematychni plany NDR na 1954 rik [Thematic research plans in 1954].
- spr. 196. Spysky vyluchenoyi literatury [Lists of the seized literature] (24.02.1954).
- spr. 198. Lystuvannya dyrektora z osnovnykh pytan' diyal'nosti instytutu [Correspondence of the director on the main issues of the institute] (10.02. – 11.11.1954).
- spr. 199. Richnyy zvit pro robotu instytutu za 1955-1956 rik [Annual reports on the work of the institute for the 1955-1956 academic year].
- spr. 205. Protokoly zasidan' uchenoyi rady instytutu [The minutes of meetings of the Academic Council of the Institute] (27.09.55-25.06.56).
- spr. 224. Richnyy zvit pro robotu instytutu za 1956-1957 navchal'nyy rik [Annual reports on the work of the institute for the 1956-1957 academic year].
- spr. 232. Nakazy Ministerstva osvity URSSR ta Ministerstva VSSO URSSR pro robotu pedvuziv za 1956 rik [Orders of the Ministry of Education of the UkrSSR and Ministry of higher and secondary special education about the work of pedagogical institutes in 1956] (05.01 – 30.12.1953).
- spr. 233. Tematychni plany naukovo-doslidnoyi roboty na 1956-1960 rik [Thematic plans of research work in the year 1956-1960].
- spr. 237. Dyrektyvy Ministerstva osvity URSSR ta Ministerstva VSSO URSSR pro robotu pedvuziv za 1956 rik [Directive letters of the Ministry of Education of the UkrSSR and Ministry of higher and secondary special education about the work of pedagogical institutes in 1956] (17.01 – 13.12.1953).
- spr. 246. Protokoly zasidan' uchenoyi rady instytutu [The minutes of meetings of the Academic Council of the Institute] (18.09.57-23.06.58).
- spr. 248. Nakazy Ministerstva osvity URSSR ta Ministerstva VSSO URSSR pro robotu pedvuziv za 1957 rik [Orders letters of the Ministry of Education of the UkrSSR and Ministry of higher and secondary special education about the work of pedagogical institutes in 1957] (17.01-06.12.1957).
- spr. 249. Tematychni plany naukovo-doslidnoyi roboty na 1957 rik [Thematic plans of research work in 1957].
- spr. 254. Dyrektyvy Ministerstva osvity URSSR ta Ministerstva VSSO URSSR pro robotu pedvuziv za 1957 rik [Directive letters of the Ministry of Education of the UkrSSR and Ministry of higher and secondary special education about the work of pedagogical institutes in 1957] (18.01-12.12.1957)k.
- spr. 263. Nakazy Ministerstva osvity URSSR ta Ministerstva VSSO URSSR pro robotu pedvuziv za 1958 rik [Orders of the Ministry of Education of the UkrSSR and Ministry of higher and secondary special education about the work of pedagogical institutes in 1958] (16.01-20.12.1958).
- spr. 269. Dyrektyvy Ministerstva osvity URSSR ta Ministerstva VSSO URSSR pro robotu pedvuziv za 1958 rik [Directive letters of the Ministry of Education of the UkrSSR and Ministry of higher and secondary special education about the work of pedagogical institutes in 1958] (15.01-31.12.1958).

- spr. 284. Nakazy Ministerstva osvity URSS ta Ministerstva VSSO URSS pro robotu pedvuziv za 1959 rik [Orders of the Ministry of Education of the UkrSSR and Ministry of higher and secondary special education about the work of pedagogical institutes in 1959] (07.01-30.12.1959).
- spr. 285. Tematychni plany NDR na 1959 rik [Thematic plans of research work in the year 1959].
- spr. 292. Spysky vyluchenoyi literatury [Lists of the seized literature] (12.02-10.07.1959).
- spr. 302. Nakazy Ministerstva osvity URSS ta Ministerstva VSSO URSS pro robotu pedvuziv za 1960 rik [Orders of the Ministry of Education of the UkrSSR and Ministry of higher and secondary special education about the work of pedagogical institutes in 1959] (03.01-16.12.1958).
- spr. 312. Nakazy ta dyrektyvy Ministerstva osvity URSS ta Ministerstva vyshchoyi ta seredn'oyi spetsial'noyi osvity URSS pro robotu pedvuziv za 1961 rik [Orders of the Ministry of Education of the UkrSSR and Ministry of higher and secondary special education about the work of pedagogical institutes in 1961] (7.03-26.12.1961).
- spr. 321. Protokoly zasidan' uchenoyi rady instytutu [The minutes of meetings of the Academic Council of the Institute] (7.09.56-20.07.57).
- spr. 323. Richnyy zvit pro robotu biblioteky za 1961-1962 navchal'nyy rik [Annual reports on the work of the library for the 1961-1962 academic year].
- spr. 347. Protokoly zasidan' kafedry marksyzmu-leninizmu [The minutes of the meetings of the sub-department of Marxism-Leninism] (30.09.62-22.06.63).
- spr. 359. Zvedennyi zvit pro NDR za 1963 rik [Summary report on research work in 1963], 25 ark.
- spr. 364. Richnyy zvit pro robotu biblioteky za 1963-1964 navchal'nyy rik [Annual reports on the work of the library for the 1963-1964 academic year].
- spr. 380. Richnyy zvit pro robotu instytutu za 1964-1965 navchal'nyy rik [Annual reports on the work of the institute for the 1964-1965 academic year].
- spr. 385. Richnyy zvit pro robotu kafedr instytutu za 1964-1965 rik [Annual reports on the work of the sub-departments for the 1964-1965 academic year].
- spr. 389. Protokoly zasidan' kafedry marksyzmu-leninizmu [The minutes of the meetings of the sub-department of Marxism-Leninism] (30.08.64-21.06.65).

Derzhavnyy arkhiv Kharkivs'koyi oblasti (DAKhO)

f. R-1780. Kharkivs'kyi derzhavnyy pedahohichnyy instytut inozemnykh mov imeni N. K. Krups'koyi [Kharkiv State Pedagogical Institute of Foreign Languages named after N. K. Krupskaya]

op. 3. Dokumenty i materialy za 1941-1960 roky [Documents and materials for 1941-1960 years]

- spr. 445. Stenohramy lektsiy vykladachiv instytutu. T.1., 1953 rik [Transcripts of lectures of the teachers. Vol.1 in 1953].
- spr. 461. Protokoly zasidan' Uchenoyi rady za I semester 1955-1956 navchal'noho roku [Minutes of meetings of Academic council for the first semester of 1955-1956 academic year].
- spr. 483. Stenohramy lektsiy vykladachiv instytutu za 1955 rik [Transcripts of lectures of the teachers of the institute in 1955].
- spr. 484. Retsenziyi na lektsiyi vykladachiv instytutu za 1955 rik [Reviews on the lectures of the teachers in 1955].
- spr. 495. Protokoly zasidan' Uchenoyi rady za II semester 1956-1957 navchal'noho roku [Minutes of meetings of Academic council for the second semester of 1955-1956 academic year].
- spr. 520. Statystychnyy zvit pro chysel'nist' ta fond zarplaty pratsivnykiv instytutu za 1956 rik [Statistical Report on the number of employees and payroll in the Institute in 1956].

- spr. 521. Odnorazovyy statystychnyy zvit pro rozpodil pratsivnykiv instytutu za rozmiramy zarplaty, narahovanoyi za berezen' 1956 roku [One-time statistical report on the division of the Institute workers according to their wages accrued in March of 1956].
- spr. 526. Protokoly zasidan' Uchenoyi rady instytutu za 1957-1958 navchal'nyy rik [Minutes of meetings of Academic council for 1957-1958 academic year].
- spr. 527. Vytyah z protokolu zasidannya kafedry marksyzmu-leninizmu vid 1.10.1957 roku zpytannya pokrashchennya roboty [Extract from the minute of the department of Marxism-Leninism of October 01, 1957, concerning improvements].

f. R-4293. Kharkivs'kyi derzhavnyy pedahohichnyy instytut imeni H. S. Skovorody [Kharkiv State Pedagogical Institute named after Hryhorii Skovoroda]

op.2. Dokumenty I materialyza 1953-1964 rr. [Documents and materials for the 1953-1964]

- spr. 483. Zvity pro robotu fakul'tetiv KhDPI za 1953-1954 navchal'nyy rik [Reports on the work of Kharkiv SPI faculties in 1953-1954 academic year].
- spr.4 97. Protokoly Vchenoyi Rady instytutu [Minutes of meetings of Academic council of the institute] (6.02-26.11.1953).
- spr. 681. Stenohrama lektsiyi vykladacha tovarysha Ostrovs'koho "Vnutrishnye stanovyshe ta dyrektyvy XX z'yizdu KPRS po shostomu p'yatyrichnomu planu rozvytku narodnoho hospodarstva SRSRu 1956-1960 rr". [Transcript of the lectures of the teacher comrade Ostrovskyy "Internal situation and directives of the Twentieth Party Congress in the sixth five-year development plan of the USSR in 1956-1960] (5.05.1956).
- spr.684. Zvit pro robotu KhDPI imeni H. S. Skovorody za 1956-1957 navchal'nyy rik [Reports on the work of Kharkiv SPI named after Hryhorii Skovoroda in 1956-1957 academic year].
- spr.685. Zvity kafedr KhDPI za 1956-1957 navchal'nyy rik [Reports of the sub-departments of Kharkiv SPI for the 1956-1957 academic year].
- spr. 686. Zvit pro vyvchennya roboty kafedry suspil'nykh naukz 27.11 po 7.12.1956 roku chlenamy komisiyi Ministerstva osvity URSR [The report on the study of the work of sthe sub-department of Social Sciences from 27.11 to 07.12.1956 by the members of the commission of the Ministry of Education of the USSR].
- spr. 696. Protokoly Vchenoyi Rady instytutu [Minutes of meetings of Academic council of the institute] (1956).
- spr. 740. Zvit pro robotu KhDPI imeni H. S. Skovorody za 1957-1958 navchal'nyy rik [Reports on the work of Kharkiv SPI named after Hryhorii Skovoroda in 1957-1958 academic year].
- spr. 741. Richni zvity pro robotu fakul'tetiv ta kafedr za 1957-1958 navchal'nyy rik [Reports on the work of faculties and sub-departments in 1957-1958 academic year].
- spr. 755. Protokoly Uchenoyi rady za 1957 rik [Minutes of meetings of Academic council in 1957].
- spr. 1028. Dani pro perebudovu navchal'no-vykhovnoyi roboty instytutu u zv'yazku z novoyu prohramoyu KPRS ta rishennyamy XXI z'yizdu partiyi [Data on the restructuring of educational work of the institute in the connection with the new program of the CPSU and decisions of the XXII Party Congress] (1962).
- spr. 1038. Protokoly Vchenoyi Rady instytutu [Minutes of meetings of Academic council of the institute] (12.01-21.12.1962).
- spr. 1039. Stenohrama zasidannya Vchenoyi Rady instytutu [The tapescript of the meeting of Academic council of the institute] (12.03.1962).
- spr. 1134. Protokoly zasidan' Uchenoyi rady instytutu [Minutes of meetings of Academic council of the institute] (17.01-18.12.1964).

Derzhavnyy arkhiv Cherkas'koyi oblasti (DACHO)

f. R-1418. Umans'kyy derzhavnyy pedahohichnyy instytut [Uman State Pedagogical Institute]

op. 2. Dokumenty i materialy za 1946-1982 rr. [Documents and materials for 1946-1982]

- spr. 111. Protokoly zasidan' pedahohichnoyi rady instytutu [Minutes of meetings of Pedagogical council of the institute] (29.09.-19.11.1953).
spr. 181. Protokoly zasidan' Uchenoyi rady instytutu [Minutes of meetings of Academic council of the institute] (20.01.1956-16.05.1957).
spr. 206. Protokoly zasidan' Uchenoyi rady instytutu [Minutes of meetings of Academic council of the institute] (11.09.1957-17.12.1958).

f. R-193. Cherkas'kyy derzhavnyy pedahohichnyy instytut imeni 300-richchya vozz'yednannya Ukrainy z Rosiyeyu [Cherkasy State Pedagogical Institute named after the 300-th anniversary of the reunification of Ukraine with Russia]

op. 8. Dokumenty i materialy za 1943-1975 rr. [Documents and materials for 1943-1975]

- spr. 174. Protokoly zasidan' Uchenoyi rady instytutu [Minutes of meetings of Academic council of the institute] (4.03-30.12.1953).
spr. 239. Protokoly zasidan' Uchenoyi rady instytutu [Minutes of meetings of Academic council of the institute] (24.09.1955-18.04.1956).
spr. 267. Plan roboty ahrobiostantsiyi na 1956 rik [The working plan for agrarian and biological station for 1956] (10.02-30.12.1956).
spr. 322. Protokoly zasidan' Uchenoyi rady instytutu [Minutes of meetings of Academic council of the institute] (11.09.1957-18.07.1958).

f. P-2087. Pervynna partiyna orhanizatsiya Umans'koho derzhavnoho pedahohichnoho instytutu imeni P. H. Tychyny [The primary party organization of Uman State Pedagogical Institute named after P. H. Tychyna]

op. 1. Dokumenty i materialy za 1944-1991 roky [Documents and materials for 1944-1991]

- spr. 15. Protokoly zasidan' partbyuro ta partzboriv [The minutes of the party bureau and party meetings] (8.01-29.12.1953).
spr. 18. Protokoly partzboriv [The minutes of party meetings] (26.01-20.12.1956).
spr. 19. Protokoly partzboriv [The minutes of party meetings] (5.01-29.12.1957).
spr. 26. Protokoly partzboriv [The minutes of party meetings] (17.01-24.12.1964).

f. P-2187. Pervynna partiyna orhanizatsiya Cherkas'koho derzhavnoho pedahohichnoho instytutu imeni 300-richchya vozz'yednannya Ukrainy z Rosiyeyu [The primary party organization Uman State Pedagogical Institute named after P. H. Tychyna]

op. 1. Dokumenty i materialy za 1944-1991 roky [Documents and materials for 1944-1991]

- spr. 15. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [The minutes of party meetings] (7.01-20.12.1953).
spr. 16. Protokoly zasidan' partbyuro [The minutes of the party bureau] (13.01-29.12.1953).
spr. 21. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [The minutes of party meetings] (24.01-27.11.1956).
spr. 22. Protokoly zasidan' byuro [The minutes of the party bureau] (17.01-25.12.1956).
spr. 23. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [The minutes of party meetings] (8.01-1.12.1957).
spr. 24. Protokoly zasidan' partbyuro [The minutes of the party bureau] (8.01-25.10.1957).

f. R-3070. Vykonkom Umans'koyi mis'koyi rady deputativ trudyashchykh [Executive committee of Uman city council of People's Deputies]

op. 1

- spr. 87. Kopiya rishennya pro reorganizatsiyu Umans'koho uchytel's'koho instytutu v pedahohichnyy [A copy of the decision on the reorganization Uman Teachers Pedagogical Institute] (18.02-29.04.1954).
- spr. 300. Materialy pro robotu Umans'koho mis'kvykonkomu, viddiliv, orhanizatsiy, zakladiv ta pidpnyemstv mista Umami [Materials on the work of Uman city executive committee, departments, organizations, institutions and companies in the city of Uman] (20.06-30.06.1960).

f. R-3990. Komarnyts'kyy M. F. (zhurnalist, krayeznavets'). [Komarnyts'kyy M. F. (journalist and local historian)]

op.1

- spr. 44. Deyaki materialy (v osnovnomu hazetni vyrizky) pro Umans'kyy pedahohichnyy instytut imeni P. H. Tychyny [Some materials (mostly newspaper clippings) about Uman Pedagogical Institute named after P. H. Tychyna] (2.08.1950-15.06.1965)

*Arkhiv Poltavs'koho natsional'noho pedahohichnoho universytetu imeni V. H. Korolenka
APNPU*

f. 1. Osobovi spravy studentiv (z/v) [Personal cases of students (correspondent department)]

op. 1956 (Ist. Viddil [History department]) (A-K)

- spr. 2242. Altyn Yuriy Illich (1951-1956 rr.).
- spr. 2244. Bozhko Tykhon Andriyovych (1953-1956).

op. 1956 (Ist. Viddil [History department]) (L-T)

- spr. 2230. Kucherenko Pavlo Ivanovych.

op. 1956 (Ros. Viddil [Russian language department]) (A-H)

- spr. 2144. Bondarenko Lukeriya Markivna (1953-1956).
- spr. 2147. Bandur Kateryna Vasylivna (1951-1956).
- spr.2149. Bilohrad Mariya Fanichna (1953-1956).
- spr.2156. Hromov Mykola Oleksandrovych (1951-1956).
- spr.2158. Hrachova Natalka Andriyivna (1951-1956).
- spr.2159. Halenevych Yuriy Mykolayovych (1951-1956)k.

op.1956 (Ros. Viddil [Russian language department]) (D-L)

- spr.2168. Zaparenko Hanna Semenivna (1951-1956).
- spr. 2170. Ivashchenko Dmytro Serhiyovych (1950-1956).

op. 1956 (Ros. Viddil [Russian language department]) (M-R),

- spr.2179. Malinevych Maryna Heorhiyivna (1951-1956).
- spr. 2193. Petrova Buma Yosypivna (1953-1956).

op. 1956 (Ros. Viddil [Russian language department]) (S-Sh)

- spr. 2201. Sopil'nyak Vira Mykolayivna (1951-1956 rr.), 39 ark.

op. 1956 (Ukr. Viddil [Ukrainian language department]) (K-M),
spr. 2085. Kol'chyk Dariya Pavlivna (1951-1956).

op. 1961 (Ist. Viddil [History department]) (A-B)
spr. Avramenko Ol'ha Oleksiyivna.
spr. Balahura Daryna Markivna.

op.1964 (Ist. Viddil [History department]) (A-V)
spr. Budnyk Yevdokiya Maksymivna.

f. 2. Osobovi spravy spivrobitnykiv ta profesors'ko-vykladats'koho skladu [Personal cases of the staff and faculty]

op. B-2.
spr. Boyko Ivan Mykolayovych.

op. V.
spr. Vas'kivs'kyi Yuriy Petrovych.
spr. Vertiy Leonid Fedorovych.
spr. Vil'khovchenko Hanna Petrivna.
spr. Voronin Yehor Zakharovych.

op. H-1
spr. Hurtova Lidiya Omelyanivna.
spr. Havrylova Yelyzaveta Petrivna.

op. H-2
spr. Hardashnikov Mina Fayvelevych.
spr. Heydel'berh Mark Borysovych.
spr. Hrebinkin Borys Heorhiyovych.
spr. Hurenko Andriy Mykhaylovych.

op. D-1
spr. Davydovych Mykola Stepanovych.
spr. Derkach Yosyp Kharytonovych.
spr. Doroshenko (Kolomyts'ka) Emiliya Mykhaylivna.
spr. Dubovych Vanda Ivanivna.

op. E, Zh, Z
spr. Eliokums Zynoviy Saulovych.
spr. Zhukov Oleksiy Yevhenovych.
spr. Zelens'ka Antonina Kostyantynivna.

op. I
spr. Irdans'ka Tayisa Andriyivna.
spr. Isayeva Mariya Ivanivna.

op. K-1
spr. Kalinichenko Mykhaylo Danylovych.
spr. Kaplun Mykola Leontiyovych.

spr. Kashkalda Kostyantyn Kyrylovych.
spr. Klyuchnyk Mykola Petrovych.
spr. Kahan Sofiya Khrysanfivna.

op. K-2

spr. Kozyn Ivan Andriyovych.
spr. Korotkykh Volodymyr Oheyovych.

op. K-3

spr. Kravchenko Oleksiy Kononovych.

op. L

spr. Lipatnikova Halyna Ivanivna.
spr. Lozovs'kyi Borys Yosypovych (1950-1956).
spr. Lyakhov Mykola Ivanovych.

op. M-1

spr. Mandych Hryhoriy Ivanovych.
spr. Mel'nykova Tamara Mykolayivna.
spr. Morhunov Vsevolod Platonovych.

op. M-2

spr. Matyukov Aron Hershkovych.
spr. Medvedovs'ka Lidiya Oleksiyivna.

op. N

spr. Nosenko Mykola Ivanovych.
spr. Nochovkin Viktor Yukhymovych.

op. P-19.

spr. Pustovoytov Mykhaylo Tykhonovych.

op. R-2

spr. Rohozin Lev L'vovych.

op. S-2

spr. Stepanov Dmytro Vasyl'ovych.

op. Ch

spr. Chepurnyy Hryhoriy Arsentiyovych.

op. Sh-1

spr. Shavlovych Mykhaylo Volodymyrovych.
spr. Sharypova Nina Semenivna.
spr. Sharipov Mykola Andriyovych (2).

f. 3 Nakazy dyrektora po instytutu [Orders of the director of the institute]

op.1

spr. Nakazy. T.1 [Orders. Volume 1] (22.01-30.06.1953).

- spr. Nakazy. T.2 [Orders. Volume 2] (2.07-31.12.1953).
spr. Nakazy. T.1 [Orders. Volume 1] (3.01-29.05.1954).
spr. Nakazy. T.2 [Orders. Volume 2] (2.06-31.08.1954).
spr. Nakazy. T.3 [Orders. Volume 3] (1.09-31.12.1954).
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spr. Nakazy. T.3 [Orders. Volume 3] (1.09-30.12.1955).
spr. Nakazy. T.1 [Orders. Volume 1] (2.01-30.06.1956).
spr. Nakazy. T.2 [Orders. Volume 2] (3.07-20.12.1956).
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spr. Nakazy. T.2 [Orders. Volume 2] (3.06-31.07.1957).
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spr. Nakazy. T.1 [Orders. Volume 1] (4.01-30.06.1960).
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spr. Nakazy. T.2 [Orders. Volume 2] (1.11-30.12.1961).
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Наукове видання

ЛУК'ЯНЕНКО Олександр Вікторович

У ЛЕЩАТАХ ДЕСТАЛІНІЗАЦІЇ
Мозаїка повсякденного життя педагогічних вишів
УРСР 1953-1964 років

Монографія

Англійська мова

Редактор – Дмитренко В. А.
Технічний редактор – Лебедев О. К.
Комп'ютерна верстка – О. Зайцева
Коректор – М. Корж

Здано до набору: 19.06.2016 р. Підписано до друку: 27.07.2016 р.
Формат: 60x84/16. Папір офсетний. Друк офсетний.
Ум. друк. арк. 17,9. Вид. № 1304. Наклад 300 прим.

Видавництво «Сімон»
Свідоцтво про внесення суб'єкта видавничої справи до Державного реєстру видавців, виготовників і розповсюджувачів видовничої продукції скрія ПЛ № 17 від 23.03.2004 р.
36011, м. Полтава, вул. Стрітенська, 37.

www.simon.com.ua

E-mail: simon@simon.com.ua
(0532) 50-24-01, (05322), 2-76-95, факс (05322) 7-05-87.



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