West Ukraine and West Belorussia: Historical Tradition, Social Communication, and Linguistic Assimilation

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# WEST UKRAINE AND WEST BELORUSSIA*

## Historical tradition, social communication, and linguistic assimilation

By ROMAN SZPORLUK

THE first postwar Soviet population census, held in 1959, revealed that west Belorussians were much more assimilated to the Russian language than were west Ukrainians. By 1970 this differential had widened. Assimilation (adoption of Russian as the 'native tongue') was especially marked among urban west Belorussians. Yet it was low in the cities of west Ukraine.[1] It was clear that population change, including urbanization, was producing strikingly different results in language maintenance among the west Ukrainians and west Belorussians. How is one to account for this divergence, considering that both regions had been under the same regime ever since 1944?

This article suggests that linguistic assimilation and population change (urbanization) should be viewed in connection with another process, the development of the press. The evidence assembled in this study shows that throughout the entire period after the war the local press in west Ukraine was overwhelmingly Ukrainian in language; however, in west Belorussia the provincial press from the very outset was published both in Belorussian and in Russian. Clearly, a high-level political decision had been made sometime after the expulsion of the Germans to promote a Russian-language press in west Belorussia but not in west Ukraine.[2] Why was there one policy in west Ukraine but another in west Belorussia?

It would be revealing to consult the relevant archives. Even though this cannot be done, we do have at our disposal published evidence linking the initial decisions to the official perception of the pre-Soviet history of those regions and their political problems after the expulsion of the Germans in 1944. A resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU, adopted on 27 September 1944 (but first published in 1971), was specifically concerned with the problems of 'the ideological-political struggle against nationalism in the western oblasts of the Ukraine where the populace and the intelligentsia were for decades educated in the spirit of bourgeois ideology and have lived under Soviet power for only a year and a half' (that is, from September 1939 to June 1941). The resolution singled out the necessity of ideological work among the intelligentsia, 'a

significant part of which was educated in German, Austro-Hungarian, Polish and Romanian schools in the spirit of bourgeois ideology'. It declared that the local party organizations 'commit a major error in underestimating the role of the newspaper as an important centre of political work among the masses', and it made specific recommendations on how the local press, especially the Ukrainian-language Lviv daily paper, should be improved. The resolution clearly set the tasks of political work in the context of the region's past experience and its current difficulties by naming such factors as armed resistance by the Ukrainian nationalist partisans and the latter's activities 'in distributing significant numbers of anti-Soviet newspapers, brochures, and leaflets, and in spreading provocative rumours'.[3]

However, a resolution of the Central Committee dealing with political and educational work in Belorussia (west Belorussia was not singled out), adopted on 9 August 1944, lacked any reference to organized anti-Soviet resistance or to the tenacity of pre-Soviet values and traditions as something that the party had to consider in ideological work. Moscow's recommendations for Belorussia included, rather significantly, an authorization to set up a Russian-language youth newspaper and a weekly for children that was to come out in Belorussian and Russian (in the same number of copies).[4]

This limited but important documentary evidence suggests that the post-1944 treatment of west Ukraine and west Belorussia in the press reflected a political assessment of their diverse past and problems. In the long run it appears that the initial political decision to russify (partially) the press in west Belorussia but to keep it Ukrainian in west Ukraine may have facilitated linguistic assimilation in the former but maintenance of the local language in the latter during subsequent urbanization of those areas—an outcome which may have been neither intended nor anticipated by those who made the decisions about the press in 1944 or 1945.

This article has the following structure. The first part reviews briefly the pre-Soviet experience of west Ukraine and west Belorussia, especially that relating to the use of the local languages in social communication. The second part presents a brief history of the press there after 1945, and pays particular attention to the language aspect of the press. Part three, finally, presents a demographic analysis of linguistic assimilation, especially among urban populations. This part uses the materials of the censuses of 1959 and 1970 as the source.

## *Pre-Soviet History*

Western Ukraine, a name given to those parts of the Ukrainian SSR which were annexed in 1939-45, consists of four historically distinct

regions. Two of these regions, Galicia (the present oblasts of Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk and Ternopil) and Volhynia (oblasts of Volhynia and Rovno), were under Poland until 1939. Romania held the province of Bukovina (Chernivtsi oblast) until 1940 and again in 1941-44, and Czechoslovakia formally ceded Ruthenia (Transcarpathia) in 1945.[5]

It is virtually impossible to establish the exact demographic data for west Ukraine prior to its Sovietization. The Ukrainian geographer and demographer, V. Kubijovyc, has estimated that in 1933 the combined population of Galicia and Volhynia was about 66% Ukrainian, less than 1% Russian, and the bulk of the remaining 33% Polish and Jewish. In Bukovina, the Ukrainian share was about 60%, and in Transcarpathia it was slightly over 60%. There were few Russians in these two regions; Hungarians, Jews, Romanians, and smaller numbers of Czechs, Poles, and Germans made up the remaining portion.[6]

The absence of Russians was one common trait of those areas; another was the low level of social and economic development of the Ukrainian inhabitants. The overwhelming majority of Ukrainians lived in the countryside and were employed in agriculture. They represented a minority among inhabitants of towns and cities, and were also in a minority among those employed in industry, commerce, transport, and government service. Politically, the situation of the Ukrainian population varied considerably between the three states, and, indeed, within Poland the Ukrainians of Galicia were treated somewhat differently from the Ukrainians of Volhynia.

The Ukrainians of the Austrian province of Galicia were recognized as one of the nationalities of the Empire after the revolution of 1848-49. Ukrainian was used in schools and to a limited extent also in the courts of justice and in public administration. It was the working language of the many and diverse social, cultural, economic and political associations which the Ukrainians maintained under Austria. Most importantly, the Uniate Church (an eastern sect of the Catholic Church) became firmly associated with Ukrainian nationalism, and it used Ukrainian in its pastoral work. From the 1860s to 1918 Ukrainians in Galicia lived under a constitutional regime. They enjoyed a brief period of independence in 1918-19. From 1919 to 1939 the area was ruled by Poland. Although Polish rule was harsher than the old Austrian regime, the Ukrainian language continued to be used in the press and in voluntary societies of various kinds, including consumers' and producers' cooperatives.

The Ukrainians of Bukovina essentially paralleled in their development the experience of their co-nationals in Galicia: until 1918 they lived under Austria, and from 1918 to 1940 under Romania. Transcarpathia, a part of Hungary until 1919, had been subject to strong assimilationist policies by the Budapest government. By 1919, when it was assigned to

Czechoslovakia, its ethnically Ukrainian population had not yet determined which nationality it considered itself to be. During the Czechoslovak period, however, Ukrainian appeared to have won out over Ruthenian or Russian as the chosen nationality. In Czechoslovak times Ukrainian was widely used, and in 1938-39 it was the region's official language. During the Second World War Transcarpathia was reoccupied by Hungary; in 1945 it became Soviet.

The only west Ukrainian region to have been under Russia before 1914 was Volhynia. As everywhere in the Russian Empire, the Ukrainian language was banned in that province from 1876 to 1906. In 1917, Volhynia was included in the autonomous Ukrainian state then organized in Kiev, and in 1919 it was occupied by Poland. Under Poland the Ukrainians of Volhynia enjoyed more limited rights than those in Galicia; but despite Polish efforts to keep them isolated from the highly nationalistic Galicians, by the late 1930s they had become basically assimilated in outlook to the Galicians.

West Belorussia stands in this study for the present oblasts of Brest and Grodno.[7] Historically, the term 'West Belorussia' came into use after the treaty of Riga (1921), which divided the ethnic Belorussian territory between Poland and the USSR. Before 1914, all Belorussian lands were under Russia. The Russian Government considered Belorussia to be a branch of the Russian nation and the language a Russian dialect. From 1859 to 1906 publication in Belorussian was prohibited in Russia. After 1906, the first Belorussian-language periodicals were founded, and Vilnius became the principal centre of Belorussian activities. The Belorussians used both Cyrillic and Latin script, a sign of the competing pressures: Russian and Orthodox versus Polish and Catholic. There were no schools with Belorussian as the language of instruction. During World War I and the Russian revolution, the Belorussians made some progress in the area of education and culture, but they were unable to establish an independent state. In 1921 Belorussia was partitioned.

At first, the Poles supported cultural Belorussianization, but this tolerant policy was soon replaced by Polonization. Belorussian schools were gradually Polonized or closed down altogether. Also, periodicals and societies were forced to cease operation. By 1938, no Belorussian publication appeared regularly in Poland. The masses of the peasantry were illiterate and poor; and west Belorussia was the most backward part of Poland economically.

In September 1939 west Belorussia was occupied by Soviet troops and within a short time was formally incorporated into the USSR. (This Soviet west Belorussia included Białystok, which would be retroceded to Poland in 1945, but not Vilnius, transferred to Lithuania in October 1939.) Initially, the Belorussians seem to have been rather well disposed

towards Soviet rule, but later they became disillusioned as mass arrests and deportations began. Under the Nazis life became worse, and the Belorussian language was even denied recognition as the main language of the country. Belorussia was the scene of an active partisan movement, but this was a Soviet, not a nationalist Belorussian force. (The Polish underground was also active.)

In this last regard west Belorussia was very different from west Ukraine where a strong nationalist underground had operated throughout the war years and continued to resist the Soviet authorities until about 1950. The USSR clearly faced a much tougher and better-organised opposition in west Ukraine. This opposition included the Uniate Church, while in Belorussia the Catholics belonged to a Polish-dominated church, and the Orthodox to a church which was Russian in cultural and national orientation. Finally, despite large-scale emigration to the west, there remained a Ukrainian intelligentsia in west Ukraine, including the main city, Lviv. Vilnius, west Belorussia's traditional centre, which had also been a major centre of Polish and Jewish culture, was not included in Belorussia. Most importantly, perhaps, the west Belorussians found themselves in the USSR with little prior experience of using their language in social communication, while the Ukrainians of Galicia and Bukovina could look back at almost a century of such use of their language. Transcarpathia and Volhynia had also had their own schools and press during the inter-war period—something which west Belorussians had failed to achieve except for a brief period in the 1920s.

Yet, even though Belorussian nationalism was weak before 1944, the people of west Belorussia, who were overwhelmingly rural, spoke Belorussian. Therefore, the Soviet government would have been justified in establishing a predominantly Belorussian-language local press for them. If it decided to do otherwise, that is to operate a Russian-language press along with papers in Belorussian, this decision reflected its estimate of the strength of nationalism in Belorussia, not purely linguistic considerations. Once the decision had been made to introduce Russian into social communication in the region, however, not only was the rise of a future Belorussian nationalism made more difficult, but also a linguistic assimilation of the Belorussians began.

### *The Press, 1945-70*

This part of our study will present the basic structure of the press in west Ukraine and west Belorussia in the period from 1945 to 1970, with an emphasis on the language aspect. To what extent were Ukrainian and Belorussian used? What facilities were available to the minorities, such as Poles and Hungarians? What role did the Russian press play?

The Soviet press is organized hierarchically, corresponding to the ad-

ministrative structure of the country (all-Union papers, republic, oblast, raion, town).[8] We will follow this order in our review.[9]

*Republic-Rank Papers for the Western Regions*

In 1945, a republic-rank newspaper specifically designed for distribution in the western regions of the Ukraine was founded in Kiev.[10] Its name was *Radyans'kyi selyanyn* (Soviet Peasant). The Ukrainian SSR had two other newspapers which were specifically designated for rural readers, but it cannot be ascertained whether they too were sold in the west. In 1949 *Radyans'kyi selyanyn* was merged with these two papers into a new paper called *Kolhospne selo* (Kolkhoz Village). Under a new name, adopted in 1964, *Sil's'ki visti* (Village News), it continues to be published to this day. In 1975, *Sil's'ki visti* was the second-largest daily newspaper in the Ukraine (press run of 649,000, compared with *Molod' Ukrainy*—781,000).[11] Except for 1950-63, when a parallel Russian-language edition was also printed, the republic-level press for the countryside has been Ukrainian.

No other Kiev-based paper has been published for the western regions at any time since 1945, but the principal Ukrainian-language daily of the UkSSR, *Radyans'ka Ukraina* (Soviet Ukraine), printed a special 'western' page in its editions sold in the western oblasts.[12] Also, the magazine of humour and satire, *Perets'* (Pepper) maintained a separate western edition from 1945 to 1950. It printed 20,000 copies per issue compared with the 50,000 press run of the main version.

It is impossible to ascertain whether these Kiev-based 'western' publications were in any way subordinated to the special party and government agencies formed in Kiev to deal with west Ukraine. One of these agencies was the 'Council for Assistance to the Western Regions', headed by a deputy prime minister of the Ukraine; the other was the western department in the Central Committee of the CP of the Ukraine. These agencies ceased to function in 1950, when, presumably, the authorities decided that the integration of west Ukraine had been achieved.[13]

Like the Ukraine, Belorussia founded its own republic newspaper for the western regions in 1945.[14] Even its name was the same—it was called *Savetskii salyanin,* or Soviet Peasant. The language was Belorussian. Oddly enough, Belorussia did not have a general newspaper for the countryside, that is, one that was circulated also in the east. Only in 1950 was its initially 'western' paper transformed into a general republic-wide daily for the country readers. Earlier, in December 1947, *Savetskii salyanin,* while still only a west Belorussian paper, began to publish a Russian-language edition too. Someone must have decided that the peasants of west Belorussia should be reached by means of a Russian paper.

In the mid-1950s—we lack precise figures for those years—the Russian and the Belorussian editions were about even in circulation. In later years the Belorussian version gradually declined and was altogether closed down in 1962, when its printing was 2,233 copies per issue. The Russian paper had by then risen to 108,628 copies.

No journal was founded specifically for west Belorussia, but a party publication for grass-roots agitators, called *Blaknot ahitatara* (The Agitator's Notebook), appeared in two separate (western and eastern) editions in the immediate postwar years. At first, its language was Belorussian; then in 1948 a Russian version was added to both the eastern and the western editions. By 1950 the Russian version was the larger of the two in both west and east. That year the regional editions were merged into a single Belorussian SSR publication, with the Russian version taking the larger share of the total printing. In 1962 the Belorussian edition was discontinued.[15]

Unlike west Belorussia, which lacked any significant publishing centre when it was a part of Poland, west Ukraine's principal city, Lviv, functioned as one of the most important press and book publishing centres in Poland and was the main centre of the west Ukrainian press until 1939.[16] What role did it play in this regard in Soviet times?

In 1945 a literary-cultural monthly, organ of the Writers' Union, Lviv branch, was founded under the name of *Radyans'kyi L'viv* (Soviet Lviv), with a printing of 5,000 copies (1946-47). The establishment of a literary journal in Lviv, at a time when such major cities as Kharkiv and Odessa lacked them, was a recognition of the fact that the west Ukrainian intelligentsia had a rich cultural tradition and that the area's individuality had somehow to be acknowledged. In 1951 *Zhovten'* (October) became the name of this journal, and it was transformed into a republic-rank publication. Its press run was raised then to 15,000 (it was on the same level also in 1978, although at various times before it had reached 20,000 copies).

The other journal which operated in Lviv after the war was a religious monthly, *Eparkhial'nyi visnyk* (Diocesan Herald), 1946-47, subtitled 'the organ of the Lviv-Ternopil diocesan administration'. In 1948-49, renamed *Pravoslavnyi visnyk* (Orthodox Herald) it served as a joint organ of the west Ukraine's Orthodox bishops, and in 1950 became a publication of the Metropolitanate of Kiev. (Lviv remained, however, the seat of its editors.) This had been the clergy's—not the rank and file's—publication. The appearance of a religious journal in the USSR was unusual in those days. (Only the Moscow patriarchate and the Armenian church had similar publications.) However, if one considers the fact that the Ukrainians of Galicia had been Catholic until their coerced 'conversion' to Orthodoxy in 1946, one can appreciate the regime's desire to

smooth the transition somehow. (During Khrushchev's anti-religious campaign the Herald was closed down in 1962, but it was revived in 1968 and was transferred to Kiev in 1969.)

*Oblast-Rank Newspapers*

In west Ukraine, the first papers to reappear after the expulsion of the Nazis were oblast (or regional) party-soviet dailies. In all regional capitals—Lviv, Ternopil, Stanislav, Rovno, Drohobych, Lutsk (capital of Volhynia), and Uzhhorod (Transcarpathia)—a Ukrainian-language daily was established. Transcarpathia, in addition, had a semi-weekly youth paper in Ukrainian. In 1946, the combined circulation of these Ukrainian papers (excluding Drohobych and Lutsk, whose figures are not available), was 136,000 copies. The Lviv daily *Vil'na Ukraina* (Free Ukraine), with a circulation of 45,000, was the largest.

The national minorities—ruling nations in pre-Soviet times—were provided with oblast papers in Lviv, Uzhhorod, and Chernivtsi. In Lviv, there was a Polish-lanuage daily, *Czerwony Sztandar,* which printed 5,000 copies. (Until June 1941 its circulation was 60,000.) Uzhhorod had a Hungarian paper (7,000 daily), and Chernivsti a Romanian one (4,000 copies daily). These papers served the needs of that part of the population which presumably could not be reached in Ukrainian.

Transcarpathia was the first west Ukrainian region to publish a Russian-language daily. It was called *Zakarpatskaya Ukraina* and it printed 10,000 copies. Its founding in 1945 seems to have reflected the local traditions (we recall that under Hungary and Czechoslovakia a segment of the indigenous population was Russian in national orientation) rather than some massive immigration. Quite certainly Russian immigration was responsible, however, for the founding of a Russian daily in Lviv in March 1946. Its name was *L'vovskaya pravda* and its press run was 20,000. (It may be proper to add that Soviet press circulations until 1956 were determined by plan from above and this figure represented an allocated quota, not popular demand. The same applies to other papers.)

West Belorussia was organized after the war into five oblasts: Brest, Grodno, Baranovichi, Molodechno, and Pinsk. In Brest and Grodno (which happened to be the largest cities in west Belorussia), the oblast paper at first was organized in Russia only, and in the latter three, in Belorussian only. By 1948 all oblasts in the west had a double edition, one Russian, one Belorussian. Their combined press runs were equal, although in Brest the Russian paper printed more copies, while in Baranovichi the Belorussian one was the larger. (In east Belorussia, at the same time, only Belorussian-language oblast papers were published, with the single exception of Polotsk, which had both a Russian and a Belorussian edition.)

The subsequent developments in west Belorussia's oblast press can be summarized very easily. In 1954 the oblasts of Pinsk and Baranovichi were absorbed by Brest and Grodno respectively. In place of its old daily, Pinsk now received a city paper in Belorussian, with a lower frequency and circulation. In 1956, when cultural concessions were won by many Soviet nationalities, the Pinsk paper became Russian. In 1963 the same fate befell the Baranovichi paper.

Three east Belorussian oblasts were also abolished in 1954. The Belorussian language was retained as the language of their city papers. East Belorussia, it appears, was being treated differently in so far as the language of the press was concerned. Finally, in 1960 Molodechno ceased to be an oblast centre, when its oblast was divided up between Minsk and Grodno. Molodechno itself was attached to the Minsk oblast—which may explain why it is the only west Belorussian former oblast centre to retain a Belorussian-language town newspaper.

The final and most serious blow to the Belorussian-language oblast press in the west came in 1962. In December 1962 the Belorussian-language editions of Brest and Grodno oblast papers were discontinued. This means that, ever since, west Belorussia's oblast-rank press has been available only in Russian. While in 1948 the share of the Russian-language press of oblast rank, with a press run of 51,000, was 50%, in 1970 the two oblast papers printed a total of 167,398 copies daily, and the Russian share was 100%.

TABLE 1

OBLAST NEWSPAPERS IN WEST BELORUSSIA IN 1948

| *Oblast* | *Press Run* | |
|---|---|---|
| | *Belorussian* | *Russian* |
| Baranovichi | 10,000 | 5,000 |
| Brest | 5,000 | 10,000 |
| Grodno | 15,300 | 15,300 |
| Molodechno | 15,000 | 15,000 |
| Pinsk | 6,000 | 6,000 |
| West Belorussia combined | 51,300 (50%) | 51,300 (50%) |

*Source: Letopis' periodicheskikh izdanii SSSR 1948* (M., 1949), cols. 541, 545, 551, 555.

There were no changes in the west Ukrainian press on the oblast level until 1950, when the Polish paper in Lviv was liquidated. Thus ended the history of the Polish press in that city. Immediately thereafter a Ukrainian-language Komsomol paper was started, so the number of Lviv papers did not change. Its name was *Lenins'ka molod'* (15,000 copies per issue).

When the Drohobych oblast was merged with Lviv in 1959, its paper was downgraded to the rank of a city paper and the circulations of the Lviv papers were raised (*Vil'na Ukraina* to 88,000, *L'vovskaya pravda* to 40,000). The Drohobych city paper was published in Ukrainian.

One of the major developments in the Soviet Ukrainian press after 1956 was the gradual establishment of oblast Komsomol papers in all those places which did not have them. (There were only four such papers before 1955: Donetsk and the Crimea had them in Russian, Lviv and Transcarpathia in Ukrainian.) All those new papers were published in Ukrainian, with the only exception of Transcarpathia where a Hungarian paper was added to the already existing Ukrainian youth paper. This has made oblast centres of west Ukraine two-paper cities, except for Lviv, Uzhhorod and Chernivtsi, which have more.

In one of Khrushchev's reorganizations, the party and state provincial apparatus in the USSR was split in most oblasts into 'industrial' and 'agricultural' obkoms and soviets (1963-65). This particular reorganization wrought havoc in the structure of the Soviet press. Suffice it to mention that several thousand raion papers were replaced by 'territorial administrations' organs, and that all transport papers were closed. In the Ukraine in nine oblasts the oblast press was also split into 'industrial' and 'rural' papers. Lviv was the only western oblast to reorganize its papers, with *L'vovskaya pravda* becoming an industrial paper and *Vil'na Ukraina* a rural one. However, a parallel Ukrainian-language edition of the former was also organized, with an initial printing of each in 40,000 copies. By 1964, the Russian version had declined to 32,000. In 1965, this system was abolished and *L'vovskaya pravda* and *Vil'na Ukraina* returned to their previous status. (Their post-reform circulations in 1965 were 60,000 and 115,000 respectively.)

Quantitative changes in the west Ukrainian press—included are oblast party-soviet and youth papers—are summarized in Table 2. When these data are translated into percentages, we discover that over a 20-year period (1950-70) the share of the Ukrainian and Russian oblast papers, calculated as a percentage of the total pre-issue press run, has changed in the following way:

| | *1950* | *1960* | *1970* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ukrainian papers as % of total press run | 77·8 | 80·7 | 85·0 |
| Russian papers as % of total press run | 14·8 | 13·1 | 10·5 |

Although this does not reveal the full picture of press conditions in west Ukraine (there was without doubt an increase in the number of Moscow-originating papers sold in the area),[17] it is clear that the Ukrainian-language press originating locally has remained a vital presence.

TABLE 2

REGIONAL (OBLAST) NEWSPAPERS IN WEST UKRAINE, 1950-70

| | 1950 | | 1960 | | Increase over 1950 in % | 1970 | | Increase over 1960 in % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | Printing | No. | Printing | | No. | Printing | |
| Ukrainian | 10 | 252,000* | 10 | 400,700** | 59·0 | 14 | 1,104,700 | 175·7 |
| Russian | 2 | 48,000 | 2 | 65,000 | 35·4 | 2 | 137,000 | 110·8 |
| Hungarian | 1 | 15,000 | 2 | 20,950 | 39·7 | 2 | 35,300 | 68·5 |
| Moldavian | 1 | 4,000 (1949) | 1 | 10,000 (1961) | 150·0 | 1 | 22,265 | 122·6 |
| Polish | 1 | 5,000 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Total | 15 | 324,000 | 15 | 496,650 | 53·3 | 19 | 1,299,265 | 161·6 |

* Includes the 1949 circulation of the Chernivtsi Ukrainian paper (1950 not available).
** Includes the 1961 circulation of the Chernivtsi Ukrainian paper (1960 not available).

*Sources: Presa Ukrains'koi RSR, 1918-1975* (Kharkiv, 1976), pp. 188-94, 199; *Letopis' periodicheskikh izdanii SSSR, 1949* (M., 1950), col. 517; *Letopis' periodicheskikh izdanii SSSR 1950-1954* (M., 1955), pp. 350, 359; *Letopis' periodicheskikh izdanii SSSR 1961-1965. Gazety* (M., 1967), p. 641; *Letopis' periodicheskikh izdanii SSSR 1966-1970. Gazety* (M., 1975), p.358.

### *Raion or Local Newspapers*

The raion or district is the lowest administrative unit in the USSR to have a newspaper of its own.

West Ukraine had a total of 212 raion newspapers in 1946, ranging from 37 in Ternopil oblast to 11 in Transcarpathia. Of this total, 210 were in Ukrainian, and one each in Hungarian and Romanian. Thus, only two counties in west Ukraine did not receive their local paper in Ukrainian. There were also three town newspapers in west Ukraine. Their language was Ukrainian. By 1970, the total of raion papers was reduced to 109. Of these, 103 papers were printed in Ukrainian, and three each in Hungarian (Transcarpathia) and Moldavian (Chernivtsi). These six raions where a non-Ukrainian paper appeared maintained also a Ukrainian-language edition of the same paper. (In conformity with Soviet practice we have counted them as separate papers.)[18]

From the outset of the Soviet regime there, Russian was introduced into the local (raion) press of west Belorussia. Perhaps it could be argued that west Belorussia's urban population had been more accustomed to Russian than Belorussian, and that this justified publishing oblast papers in Russian along with Belorussian. It is harder to understand on what grounds the decision was made to address the village population of many districts of west Belorussia in Russian. This population was ethnically Belorussian or Polish, not Russian. And yet, as early as 1946, only 36 raions of west Belorussia had a Belorussian paper, as against 32 which had exclusively a Russian one. In percentage terms, 53% of the raions were served by the Belorussian press and 47% by Russian. (The Belorussian papers had a combined circulation of 41,000

copies or 55% of the total; the Russian papers 34,000 or 45%.) In contrast, only three raions of east Belorussia maintained Russian papers; the remaining 102 published their newspaper in Belorussian.[19] Since Belorussia did not imitate the Ukrainian practice of publishing a raion paper also in Ukrainian where a Hungarian or Moldavian newspaper was maintained, about half of the west Belorussian rural population was receiving its local paper only in Russian.

In 1970 the number of raions in west Belorussia was reduced in comparison with 1946. Of a total of 33, 23 raions had a Belorussian paper, and the other ten—a Russian one. Thus, the Belorussian share of titles had risen to 69·7%, and the Russian was reduced to 30·3%. The combined press-run of the Belorussian papers was 139,244 copies, which represented 59·4% of the total, and that of the Russian papers was 95,096 (40·6%). On average, however, a Russian paper printed 9,510 copies against the average figure of 6,054 achieved by the Belorussian papers.[20] Considering that since 1962 there has been no Belorussian-language oblast press in the west, we have to conclude that the overall position of the Belorussian language in the press was weaker in 1970 than it had been in 1946 or 1948. (At that time the Belorussian share of the oblast circulations was 50%.)

As this brief review has shown, the Soviet regime has not been overgenerous in providing for the press in west Ukraine or west Belorussia. Especially striking is the weakness (or, in west Belorussia, absence) of the journal and magazine press: a region of over eight million people, which west Ukraine is, has one literary monthly and no magazines of any kind. The daily press, on the other hand, is in a much better position both in numbers and in circulation. From the language point of view, the press in west Ukraine has developed in a direction strikingly different from that followed in west Belorussia. We surmise that this happened because of certain political decisions made immediately after the war. It is conceivable, however, that over the years west Belorussians have formed a habit of reading their local press in Russian even though this practice had been imposed on them, initially, by an arbitrary action from the outside. This practice, reinforced, we suppose, by a similar promotion of Russian in the educational system (data on this are lacking), may have resulted in a general increase of the number of those Belorussians who consider Russian to be their first—'native'—language. We would tend to suppose that in west Ukraine the effect of the press was different. However limited its thematic range was—one literary monthly for the intelligentsia, a journal for the clergy—the press in west Ukraine was generally published in Ukrainian. By analogy, we would judge that there was relatively less pressure to adopt Russian.

*Population Change and Assimilation*

This study first discussed the functions of Ukrainian and Belorussian in pre-Soviet west Ukraine and west Belorussia and then reviewed Soviet language practices in the press of those regions. The language preferences of local Ukrainian and Belorussian populations remain to be examined.[21] Our findings relating to west Ukraine will be compared with those relating to west Belorussia as well as with the data on the eastern parts of the UkSSR and BSSR.[22]

When one looks at the Ukraine and Belorussia as a whole, both republics appear to have been very similar in 1959 and 1970 in the extent to which their titular nationalities had adopted Russian as their principal language. In 1959, 6·45% of all Ukrainians in the UkSSR and 6·77% of all Belorussians in the BSSR declared Russian as their 'native language'. By 1970, those percentages grew to 8·55 in the Ukraine and to 9·84 in Belorussia. Even more similar were the figures for the eastern portions of the UkSSR and BSSR alone, i.e., those portions of the two republics which were Soviet before 1939:

| | *1959* | *1970* |
|---|---|---|
| assimilated Belorussians as % of all Belorussians | 7·27 | 10·46 |
| assimilated Ukrainians as % of all Ukrainians | 7·94 | 10·71 |

The degree of assimilation did not seem to be clearly related to the proportion of Russians in the population: in east Belorussia the Russians constituted 8·62% in 1959, and 11·32% in 1970; in east Ukraine the corresponding percentages were 19·63 and 22·62. If assimilation of non-Russians is a function of the strength of the Russians, the Ukrainians should have been much more assimilated in comparison with the Belorussians. The data for urban assimilation show even more clearly that this was not the case. The Russians were much stronger in the cities of the Ukraine (29·1% in 1959, 30·02% in 1970) than in Belorussia (19·37% in 1959; 19·67% in 1970), but urban Belorussians were more assimilated than the urban Ukrainians.

| | *whole republic* | | *eastern parts only* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *1959* | *1970* | *1959* | *1970* |
| assimilated urban Belorussians | 22·42 | 24·52 | 22·35 | 24·22 |
| assimilated urban Ukrainians | 15·30 | 17·14 | 16·97 | 19·58 |

Since the Ukraine had both a higher percentage of Russians and was also more urbanized than Belorussia, the explanation of the greater resilience of the Ukrainian language must lie in some other factors than the number of Russians. In 1959 the Russian minority constituted 5·17% of west Ukraine's and 7·07% of west Belorussia's population. And yet there was a striking disparity between the extent of assimilation of west Belorussians and west Ukrainians.

| | *1959* | *1970* |
|---|---|---|
| assimilated west Belorussians | 5·31 | 8·01 |
| assimilated west Ukrainians | 0·92 | 0·85 |

West Belorussian indicators were quite close to republic averages; those for west Ukraine were sharply out of line with the situation in the UkSSR and, especially, in the east.

Among the urban population in the west, Russians were predictably stronger than they were in the general population. In 1959 they made up 15·53% and 22·99% in the towns of west Ukraine and west Belorussia. If they influenced the speech preference of their fellow Ukrainian and Belorussian residents, their impact was uneven: fewer than 4% of urban Ukrainians but almost 23% of urban Belorussians in the west declared Russian as their native language in 1959. West Belorussians were slightly more assimilated than were east Belorussians, but west Ukraine was quite unlike east Ukraine. By 1970 the discrepancy between urbanization and assimilation in west and east Ukraine, and between west Ukraine and west Belorussia, became more pronounced:

| | *1959* | *1970* |
|---|---|---|
| assimilated urban west Belorussians | 22·73 | 25·75 |
| assimilated urban west Ukrainians | 3·83 | 2·68 |

If we remember that from 1959 to 1970 there was a rise of assimilated urban east Ukrainians from 16·97% to 19·58%, the suspicion is almost inescapable that west Ukraine may have found some way to 'urbanization without Russification'.

We have shown that between 1959 and 1970 assimilation to Russian was proceeding apace in Belorussia, including west Belorussia, and in east Ukraine—but not in west Ukraine. What was the impact of these processes on the population at large?

In order to determine precisely the changing relationship between different components of population we will now compare the rates of growth of the total population, and of its ethnic components: assimilated followed by unassimilated Belorussians/Ukrainians, and the Russians; we will repeat the same for the urban population.

First, the republic-wide processes are summarized in Table 3, which shows that, while the population of both republics was increasing at a very similar rate, individual groups within those overall figures varied considerably. In Belorussia, the Belorussians were growing at virtually the same rate as the total population, but within the Belorussian ethnic group the most rapidly increasing were assimilated Belorussians. Also rapidly increasing were assimilated Ukrainians in the Ukraine although their rate of growth, in relation to the rate of growth of the whole population, was slower (an index of 3·61 versus the figure of 5·29 in Belorussia).

TABLE 3

POPULATION CHANGE, BSSR AND UkSSR, 1959-70

| | *Increase in %* | | *Weight Index* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Belorussia* | *Ukraine* | *Belorussia* | *Ukraine* |
| Total population | 11·77 | 12·56 | 1·00 | 1·00 |
| Titular nationality | 11·60 | 9·72 | 0·99 | 0·77 |
| Unassimilated titular nationality | 7·97 | 7·27 | 0·68 | 0·58 |
| Assimilated titular nationality | 62·31 | 45·40 | 5·29 | 3·61 |
| Russians | 42·34 | 28·71 | 3·60 | 2·29 |

In general, this table reveals a basic similarity of ethno-demographic processes in the two republics: an accelerated growth of assimilated members of titular nationalities and of Russians. A look at the eastern regions of these two republics reinforces the impression of the basic similarity between the Ukraine and Belorussia in assimilation processes (see table 4).

TABLE 4

POPULATION CHANGE, EAST BELORUSSIA AND EAST UKRAINE, 1959-70

| | *Increase in %* | | *Weight Index* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *East Belorussia* | *East Ukraine* | *East Belorussia* | *East Ukraine* |
| Total population | 13·84 | 12·63 | 1·00 | 1·00 |
| Titular nationality | 12·05 | 8·63 | 0·87 | 0·68 |
| Unassimilated titular nationality | 8·20 | 5·41 | 0·59 | 0·43 |
| Assimilated titular nationality | 61·29 | 46·66 | 4·43 | 3·69 |
| Russians | 49·54 | 29·80 | 3·58 | 2·36 |

In the Belorussian case, especially striking was the growth of the assimilated segment of the Belorussians; in the Ukrainian case the assimilated Ukrainians were likewise growing very rapidly, while the unassimilated portion of Ukrainians was growing at a rate less than half of the rate of general population growth. East Ukraine was rapidly becoming less Ukrainian in both language and nationality.

The population of west Belorussia in the intercensal period grew half as fast as that of east Belorussia; west Ukraine maintained a rate slightly lower than average in the same period (12·25 for west Ukraine, versus 12·63 for east Ukraine and 12·56 for the UkSSR). But this was not the only significant difference between west Ukraine and west Belorussia (see Table 5).

TABLE 5

POPULATION CHANGE, WEST BELORUSSIA AND WEST UKRAINE, 1959-70

| | *Increase in %* | | *Weight Index* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *West Belorussia* | *West Ukraine* | *West Belorussia* | *West Ukraine* |
| Total population | 6·47 | 12·25 | 1·00 | 1·00 |
| Titular nationality | 10·29 | 13·59 | 1·59 | 1·09 |
| Unassimilated titular nationality | 7·32 | 13·71 | 1·13 | 1·12 |
| Assimilated titular nationality | 66·39 | 5·00 | 10·26 | 0·51 |
| Russians | 19·93 | 10·60 | 3·08 | 0·86 |

The pattern which we discerned in the east was reversed in the west in so far as the Ukrainians are concerned. Even more revealing is the divergence of ethnic processes in the two 'wests': in west Belorussia assimilated Belorussians registered a growth rate exceeding the rate of growth of the total population by a factor of ten; assimilated Ukrainians, on the other hand, increased by a mere 5%, which was less than half the rate of population increase in the area. Also, the Russians failed to keep up with the general population growth (although they did twice as well as the assimilated Ukrainians), while in west Belorussia they increased three times faster than the population at large.

Trends in the urban sector of the population of the UkSSR and BSSR and their western and eastern parts are in the long run even more important. The cities represent modernity, and if Belorussian and Ukrainian are to survive in a modern urban environment it is vitally important that those Ukrainians and Belorussians who live there maintain their language identity.

The picture on republic-wide scale is presented in Table 6. It shows both in the Ukraine and in Belorussia that assimilated titular nationals have been growing far ahead of the other components of the population, while the unassimilated ones barely kept pace with the general growth. (This was by no means a reason for optimism from a non-Russian's point of view: since a major part of urban growth was due to migration from the countryside, the proportion of the unassimilated should have been higher.)

TABLE 6

URBAN POPULATION GROWTH, BSSR AND UKSSR, 1959-70

| | *Change in %* | | *Weight Index* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Belorussia* | *Ukraine* | *Belorussia* | *Ukraine* |
| Total population | 57·54 | 34·16 | 1·00 | 1·00 |
| Titular nationality | 62·79 | 37·18 | 1·09 | 1·09 |
| Unassimilated titular nationality | 58·46 | 34·24 | 1·02 | 1·00 |
| Assimilated titular nationality | 78·00 | 53·73 | 1·36 | 1·57 |
| Russians | 59·99 | 34·68 | 1·04 | 1·02 |

The urban population in east Ukraine grew more slowly than the republic average; in east Belorussia it grew faster than the BSSR as a whole. Ethnic processes presented by means of a weight index, however, reveal that individual population components grew in both regions at closely comparable rates in relation to the rate of growth of urban population as a whole (index of 1·00).

The usefulness of a weight index is demonstrated in Table 7. We realize, for example, that, while the rate of growth of assimilated urban Belorussians was higher than that of comparable Ukrainians by 20 percentage points, the impact of that growth in east Ukraine was greater—because

total population also grew in the Ukraine more slowly and thus the relative strength of the assimilated titular nationality became greater in the Ukraine. Since in east Belorussia assimilated Belorussians increased slightly slower than the republic average, and in east Ukraine assimilated Ukrainians grew faster than the Ukrainian average, these relationships had to be reversed in the west.

TABLE 7

URBAN POPULATION CHANGE, EAST BELORUSSIA AND EAST UKRAINE, 1959-70

| | *Change in %* | | *Weight Index* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *East Belorussia* | *East Ukraine* | *East Belorussia* | *East Ukraine* |
| Total urban population | 58·72 | 33·09 | 1·00 | 1·00 |
| Titular nationality | 61·80 | 34·56 | 1·05 | 1·04 |
| Unassimilated titular nationality | 57·91 | 30·35 | 0·99 | 0·92 |
| Assimilated titular nationality | 75·35 | 55·21 | 1·28 | 1·67 |
| Russians | 69·60 | 35·75 | 1·19 | 1·08 |

Table 8 shows that indeed assimilated Belorussians increased at a much faster rate—36 percentage points—than the entire urban population (also 28 percentage points faster than the unassimilated Belorussians), and significantly faster than assimilated Belorussians in the east. In west Ukraine, unassimilated Ukrainians grew well ahead of the general population (14·5 points, index of 1·34), and overwhelmingly exceeded the growth rates of assimilated Ukrainians. The latter grew by 8·8%, or at one-fifth of the rate of growth of the urban population as a whole. Also, the Russians increased more slowly in west Ukraine than in west Belorussia.

This survey makes it possible to advance certain generalizations on ethno-demographic developments in west Ukraine and west Belorussia in light of the 1959 and 1970 censuses.

TABLE 8

URBAN POPULATION CHANGE, WEST BELORUSSIA AND WEST UKRAINE, 1959-70

| | *Change in %* | | *Weight Index* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *West Belorussia* | *West Ukraine* | *West Belorussia* | *West Ukraine* |
| Total urban population | 53·26 | 42·81 | 1·00 | 1·00 |
| Titular nationality | 67·01 | 55·28 | 1·26 | 1·29 |
| Unassimilated titular nationality | 60·83 | 57·31 | 1·14 | 1·34 |
| Assimilated titular nationality | 89·16 | 8·80 | 1·67 | 0·20 |
| Russians | 32·10 | 18·07 | 0·60 | 0·42 |

First, we note that in 1959 west Belorussia was approximately as assimilated linguistically as was east Belorussia, and that urban Belorussians in the west were in fact slightly more Russified linguistically than were their co-nationals in the east. By 1970 this feature of west Belorussia was confirmed: it continued to be the more Russified part of the BSSR.

Our second conclusion is that in 1959 west Ukraine was very unlike the east Ukraine in the language loyalty of its Ukrainian population. This difference was very pronounced in the general population and in its urban segment. By 1970 east Ukraine had become more Russified, especially in the cities, but west Ukraine remained loyal to Ukrainian. Moreover, there was a relative decline in the number of assimilated urban west Ukrainians. This decline was so large that it suggests some 're-assimilation' back to the Ukrainian language.

Finally, we note that west Belorussia was very different from west Ukraine in 1959, and that they became even more unlike each other by 1970. Although this cannot be fully argued here, we are sceptical of the thesis that the size of the Russian minority, or the degree of a region's urbanization, is invariably a predictor of the degree of assimilation of non-Russians in the USSR. Those disparities between ethno-demographic processes in west Ukraine and west Belorussia ought to be explained by a complex of factors, including Soviet language policies and the pre-Soviet experience of these regions.

## *Conclusions*

We have concluded that linguistic assimilation in west Belorussia was being promoted by the Belorussians' exposure to Russian in the press. Having been in contact with Russian ever since 1944-45, when an overwhelming majority of them still lived in the countryside, the west Belorussians gradually acquired not only a knowledge of that language, but became ready to consider it their 'native' tongue. This switch to Russian as a native tongue, which was especially common in the cities, was facilitated by social communication.[23] On the other hand, in west Ukraine the media, in so far as they had any effect on language maintenance, encouraged loyalty to Ukrainian. Language assimilation, we then conclude, is not an inevitable consequence of population change, including urbanization *per se*, but depends rather on a complex of factors and causes, one of which is language policy.

Although this was not our explicit concern, this study provides evidence, in our view, to support the argument of those scholars who have claimed that the annexation of west Ukraine has strengthened Ukrainian national distinctiveness in the USSR;[24] conversely, we would tend to conclude that west Belorussia's contribution to the maintenance of a separate Belorussian linguistic or cultural identity has been minimal.

Developing an argument of John A. Armstrong, who has classified both the Ukrainians and Belorussians as 'younger brothers' of the Russians in the context of inter-ethnic relations in the Soviet Union,[25] we might suggest that the inclusion of west Ukrainians—who tend to

become urbanized without being assimilated to Russian (unlike the east Ukrainians)—represents a departure from this traditional Ukrainian role in both tsarist Russia and the USSR. If this is indeed the case, and if Armstrong is right in arguing that 'the major thrust of Soviet nationality policy . . . will be toward drawing the younger brothers (especially the Ukrainians) into indissoluble junior partnership with the Russians as the dominant ethnic group',[26] then west Ukraine must be seen as the critical area of the Ukrainian nationality problem as well as one of the most sensitive zones of inter-ethnic relations in the USSR.

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## APPENDIX

I. Population of the Ukrainian SSR, east Ukraine, and west Ukraine, 1959-70

| | *Total* | | *Urban* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *1959* | *1970* | *1959* | *1970* |
| ***Ukrainian SSR*** | 41,869,046 | 47,126,517 | 19,147,419 | 25,688,560 |
| **Ukrainians** | 32,158,493 | 35,283,857 | 11,781,750 | 16,164,254 |
| **of which unassimilated** | 30,072,351 | 32,257,360 | 9,973,430 | 13,388,207 |
| **assimilated** | 2,075,527 | 3,017,823 | 1,802,510 | 2,771,002 |
| **Russians** | 7,090,813 | 9,126,331 | 5,726,476 | 7,712,277 |
| *East Ukraine* | 34,069,988 | 38,371,965 | 17,040,275 | 22,679,286 |
| Ukrainians | 25,360,713 | 27,561,959 | 10,281,648 | 13,834,904 |
| of which unassimilated | 23,345,641 | 24,608,103 | 8,535,577 | 11,126,320 |
| assimilated | 2,012,665 | 2,951,821 | 1,745,063 | 2,708,502 |
| Russians | 6,687,875 | 8,680,681 | 5,378,266 | 7,301,158 |
| *West Ukraine* | 7,799,058 | 8,754,552 | 2,107,144 | 3,009,274 |
| Ukrainians | 6,797,780 | 7,721,898 | 1,500,102 | 2,329,350 |
| of which unassimilated | 6,726,710 | 7,649,257 | 1,437,853 | 2,261,887 |
| assimilated | 62,862 | 66,002 | 57,447 | 62,500 |
| Russians | 402,938 | 445,650 | 348,210 | 411,119 |

*Sources: Itogi vsesoyuznoi perepisi naseleniya 1959 goda, Ukrainskaya SSR* (M., 1963), tables 53 and 54, and *Itogi vsesoyuznoi perepisi naseleniya 1970 goda,* vol. IV (M., 1973), tables 7 and 8. Population of east and west Ukraine counted by the author (west Ukraine: the oblasts of Chernivsti, Ivano-Frankivsk, Lviv, Rovno, Ternopil, Transcarpathia, and Volhynia; East Ukraine: UkSSR minus west Ukraine).

II. Population of the Belorussian SSR, east Belorussia, and west Belorussia, 1959-70

| | *Total* | | *Urban* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *1959* | *1970* | *1959* | *1970* |
| *Belorussian SSR* | 8,054,648 | 9,002,338 | 2,480,505 | 3,907,783 |
| Belorussians | 6,532,035 | 7,289,610 | 1,662,654 | 2,706,595 |
| of which unassimilated | 6,086,302 | 6,571,489 | 1,288,924 | 2,042,470 |
| assimilated | 441,925 | 717,296 | 372,828 | 663,638 |
| Russians | 659,093 | 938,161 | 480,396 | 768,610 |
| *East Belorussia* | 5,786,554 | 6,587,393 | 1,945,568 | 3,087,936 |
| Belorussians | 4,860,076 | 5,445,523 | 1,347,302 | 2,179,921 |
| of which unassimilated | 4,506,006 | 4,875,530 | 1,045,902 | 1,651,616 |
| assimilated | 353,150 | 569,585 | 301,140 | 528,036 |
| Russians | 498,835 | 745,969 | 301,140 | 528,036 |
| *West Belorussia* | 2,268,094 | 2,414,945 | 534,937 | 819,847 |
| Belorussians | 1,671,959 | 1,844,087 | 315,350 | 526,674 |
| of which unassimilated | 1,580,296 | 1,695,959 | 243,022 | 390,854 |
| assimilated | 88,775 | 147,711 | 71,688 | 135,602 |
| Russians | 160,258 | 192,192 | 122,998 | 162,475 |

*Sources: Itogi vsesoyuznoi perepisi naseleniya 1959 goda, Belorusskaya SSR* (M., 1963), tables 53 and 54, and *Itogi vsesoyuznoi perepisi naseleniya 1970 goda,* vol. IV (M. 1973), tables 9 and 10. Population of east and west Belorussia counted by the author (west Belorussia: oblasts of Brest and Grodno; east Belorussia: BSSR minus Brest and Grodno).

*(Notes start on page 96)*

* Earlier versions of this article were presented at Carleton University, Columbia, Harvard, Michigan and Toronto, and the author wishes to thank his colleagues there for their suggestions for improvement.

[1] West Ukraine, that is, the oblasts of Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Ternopil, Volhynia, Rovno, Transcarpathia and Chernivtsi, had 7·8 million population in 1959 and 8·6 million in 1970. West Belorussia, that is, the oblasts of Brest and Grodno, had 2·3 million people in 1959 and 2·4 in 1970. (See the Appendix for full details and source references.) In 1959 west Ukraine was larger than the Baltic republics combined; west Belorussia had more people than Latvia and was twice as large as Estonia.

[2] From 1937 to 1953, and in most important respects until 1956, all matters relating to newspaper publishing were reserved to the exclusive control of the Central Committee of the CPSU. See *Bol'shevistskaya pechat'*, 1937, no. 1, p. 34, and *ibid.*, 1938, no. 7, p. 36; *O partiinoi i sovetskoi pechati, radioveshchanii i televidenii. Sbornik dokumentov i materialov* (M., 1972), p. 292; and *Spravochnik partiinogo rabotnika,* no. 1 (M., 1957), pp.320, 441-2.

[3] 'On Deficiencies in Political Work among the Populace of the Western Oblasts of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic', in Robert H. McNeal (ed.), *Resolutions and Decisions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, vol. 3, *The Stalin Years, 1929-1953* (Toronto, 1974), pp. 226-32. (All quotations in the text are on p. 229.) The Russian text of this document is in *Kommunisticheskaya partiya Sovetskogo Soyuza v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s''ezdov, konferentsii i plenumov TsK,* vol. 6, 1941-1954 (M., 1971), pp. 124-9. (See pp. 125-6 for passages quoted in the text.)

[4] *Kommunisticheskaya partiya Sovetskogo Soyuza . . . ,* vol. 6, pp. 106-12.

[5] West Ukraine's history is presented succinctly in V. Kubijovyc (ed.), *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia,* vol. I (Toronto, 1963), pp. 697-725, 770-89, 833-59. See also Ivan L. Rudnytsky, 'The Ukrainians of Galicia under Austrian Rule', *Austrian History Yearbook,* vol. III, pt. 2 (1967), pp. 394-429, and Jerzy Holzer, *Mozaika polityczna Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej* (Warsaw, 1974), *passim*. Anthony Polonsky, *Politics in Independent Poland, 1921-1939* (Oxford, 1972), deals with the national minorities, including Ukrainians and Belorussians.

[6] Kubijovyc (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 212. World War II fundamentally changed the ethnodemographic structure of west Ukraine and west Belorussia—a subject which cannot be treated here adequately. First, in 1939-41, the USSR deported about 1·2-1·6 million people to the east. In 1941-44, the Nazis exterminated the Jewish population. After 1944, an overwhelming majority of the Poles from west Ukraine, and a smaller proportion from west Belorussia, moved to Poland. Also, some Romanians and Hungarians, and most Czechs, migrated to their respective countries, Ukrainians and Belorussians migrated from Poland, and from the east came successive waves of Russian officials, managers, educators, and workers. The scope of those Russian migrations is reflected in the returns of the 1959 census. For some of these population changes, see *ibid.*; Krystyna Kersten, *Repatriacja ludności polskiej po II wojnie światowej* (Wroclaw, 1974); I. F. Evseev, *Sotrudnichestvo Ukrainskoi SSR i Pol'skoi Narodnoi Respubliki* (Kiev, 1962), pp. 125-8; V. Malanchuk, *Torzhestvo lenins'koi natsional'noi polityky* (Lviv, 1963) p. 492; and Y. Bilinsky, 'The Incorporation of Western Ukraine', in R. Szporluk (ed.), *The Influence of East Europe and the Soviet West on the USSR* (New York, 1975), p. 207.

[7] See Nicholas P. Vakar, *Belorussia: The Making of a Nation* (Cambridge, Mass., 1956) and Ivan S. Lubachko, *Belorussia under Soviet Rule, 1917-1957* (Lexington, Ky., 1972) for basic facts. On Belorussian lands under Poland, see also Holzer, *op. cit.*, Jerzy Tomaszewski, *Z dziejów Polesia 1921-1939. Zarys stosunków społeczno-ekonomicznych* Warsaw, 1963); and Zbigniew Landau and Jerzy Tomaszewski, *Druga Rzeczpospolita: Gospodarka, Społeczeństwo, Miejsce w Swiecie* (Warsaw, 1977) pp. 217-40).

[8] See Mark W. Hopkins, *Mass Media in the Soviet Union* (New York, 1970), and Gayle Durham Hollander, *Soviet Political Indoctrination: Developments in Mass Media and Propaganda since Stalin* (New York, 1972). The fullest Soviet reference work is I. V. Kuznetsov and E. M. Fingerit, *Gazetnyi mir Sovetskogo Soyuza*, in two vols. (M., 1972 and 1976). Vol. I deals with 'central' papers, vol. II is devoted to 'republican, krai, oblast and okrug' papers.

[9] The research for this part of the article is based on official publications of the All-Union Book Chamber of the USSR, published regularly since 1947 in Moscow. To avoid excessive citation, the reader is referred to those works now. For all references to facts which took place in the years 1946-49 see the annual publications of the Vsesoyuznaya knizhnaya palata entitled *Letopis' periodicheskikh izdanii SSSR 1946, Letopis' . . . 1947,*

*Letopis' . . . 1948,* and *Letopis' . . . 1949* (M., 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950). All references to years 1950-54 are based on *Letopis' periodicheskikh izdanii SSSR 1950-1954* (M., 1955). The important (because of a vast expansion of the Soviet press) period of 1955-60 is covered in two volumes: *Letopis' periodicheskikh izdanii SSSR 1955-1960. Chast' I. Zhurnaly, trudy, byulleteni* (M., 1963) and *Letopis' periodicheskikh izdanii SSSR 1955-1960. Chast' II. Gazety* (M., 1962 [sic]). The period of 1961-65, which is important in the history of the Belorussian press for a series of liquidations of Belorussian-language publications, and in the history of the Ukrainian press as the age of the Khrushchevian reorganization, is fully documented in *Letopis' periodicheskikh izdanii SSSR 1961-1965. Chast' II. Gazety* (M., 1967) and *Letopis' periodicheskikh izdanii SSSR. Chast' I. Zhurnaly, trudy, byulleteni* (M., 1973). (Part I was published in two books.) Finally, the five years between January 1966 and December 1970 are covered in *Letopis' periodicheskikh izdanii SSSR 1966-1970. Chast' I. Zhurnaly* (M., 1972), and the same for *Gazety* (M., 1975). This time 'trudy, byulleteni' were not included in a joint volume with 'zhurnaly' but were registered in separate annual issues. The entire period from 1917 to 1960 is covered in a work now in progress entitled *Gazety SSSR 1917-1960. Bibliograficheskii spravochnik* (M., 1970- ). By 1977, only two volumes of this work had appeared. Unlike all the others listed above, this reference work does not provide press-run figures.

[10] For the press in the Ukrainian SSR, in addition to sources listed in footnote 9, the following publications of the Ukrainian Book Chamber may be usefully consulted: *Periodychni vydannia URSR 1918-1950. Zhurnaly. Bibliohrafichnyi dovidnyk* (Kharkiv, 1956) and *Periodychni vydannia URSR 1917-1960. Hazety. Bibliohrafichnyi dovidnyk* (Kharkiv, 1965). For a brief profile of the Ukrainian press, see Roman Szporluk, 'The Ukraine and the Ukrainians', in Zev Katz (ed.), *Handbook of Major Soviet Nationalities* (New York, 1975), pp. 31-34.

[11] *Presa Ukrains'koi RSR 1918-1975. Naukovo-statystychnyi dovidnyk* (Kharkiv, 1976), pp. 186, 204. (This is a very useful source of information on the Ukrainian press since 1970.)

[12] Malanchuk, *op. cit.,* p. 374.

[13] I. F. Evseichyk, 'Vidnovlennia i zmitsnennia partiinykh orhanizatsii zakhidnykh oblastei Ukrainy v 1944-1945 rr.', *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal,* 1974, no. 2, p. 43, and Malanchuk, *op. cit.,* pp. 366, 452. Posts of deputy ministers for the western regions were created in Ukrainian ministries (*ibid.,* p. 676). These facts confirm the supposition of John A. Armstrong that the west Ukraine 'very probably was treated as a regional unit of the apparatus' (*The Soviet Bureaucratic Elite,* New York, 1963, p. 114).

[14] S. V. Martselev, *Pechat' Sovetskoi Belorussii (Istoricheskii ocherk)* (Minsk, 1967) contains much useful information. See also Jan Zaprudnik, 'Belorussia and the Belorussians', in Katz (ed.), *op. cit.,* pp. 55-61. The Belorussian Book Chamber publishes a full account of the BSSR press in *Letapis druku BSSR,* in a special section entitled 'Letapis periadychnykh vydanniau'. (Only the issues for 1972 and after were available to me.)

[15] For some of those developments, see this writer's 'The Press in Belorussia, 1955-1965', *Soviet Studies,* vol. XVIII, no. 4 (April 1967), pp. 487-90.

[16] The fullest account in English is in *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia,* vol. II (Toronto, 1971), pp. 476-505. It was written by A. Zhyvotko and B. Krawciw. Michal Derenicz, 'Prasa na Ziemiach Wschodnich', *Rocznik Ziem Wschodnich, 1938,* vol. IV (Warsaw, n.d.), p. 162, cites seven Polish dailies and over 50 periodicals and serials as appearing in Lviv in the late 1930s, when it was still in Poland. According to him, there were also four Ukrainian-language and one Jewish-language (i.e., Yiddish) daily papers in the city.

[17] In 1970, in Lviv, 1,665,000 copies of Moscow (exclusively Russian-language) papers were printed daily from printing plates delivered by plane or transmitted by cable. (This can be compared with the total of 392,000 copies of Lviv oblast papers then printed daily.) *Pravda* printed 160,000 copies, *Komsomol'skaya pravda* 140,000 copies, etc. (See M. N. Yablokov, *Gazeta i rasstoyanie* (M., 1971), pp. 19, 122.) Those papers were distributed also outside Lviv oblast, however.

[18] Calculated by the author from *Letopis' periodicheskikh izdanii SSSR 1966-1970. Gazety* (M., 1975), pp. 345-7, 358-60, 362-4, 371-3, 381-2, 384-6, 398-9.

[19] Calculated by the author from *Letopis' periodicheskikh izdanii SSSR 1946* (M., 1947), cols. 439-56.

[20] Calculated by the author from *Letopis' periodicheskikh izdanii SSSR 1966-1970. Gazety,* pp. 232-4, 238-40.

[21] This part of our study is based on the returns of the 1959 and 1970 Soviet population censuses. See Appendix for the actual figures on which all our calculations below in the text are based.

[22] See Steven L. Guthier, 'The Belorussians: National Identification and Assimilation, 1897-1970', *Soviet Studies,* vol. XXIX, no. 1 (January 1977), pp. 37-61 and no. 2 (April 1977), pp. 270-83, for a full-scale review of Belorussia. This writer has examined some of the demographic problems discussed in this article in Roman Szporluk, 'The Press in Belorussia, 1955-65', pp. 482-93, and in 'Russians in Ukraine and Problems of Ukrainian Identity in the USSR', in Peter J. Potichnyj (ed.), *Ukraine in the Seventies* (Oakville, Ontario, 1975), pp. 195-217.

[23] See Roman Szporluk, 'The Press in Belorussia . . .', p. 491 for a suggestion that this might be the case in west Belorussia. The example of Belorussia appears to support the argument of Karl W. Deutsch on conditions favouring linguistic assimilation. See Karl W. Deutsch, *Nationalism and Social Communication* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), p. 91: 'assimilation to a new language is progressing if the number of persons who are learning it during a given period . . . is larger than the number of persons who are as yet ignorant of but who are entering into intensive economic, social or political contact with its speakers, that is to say, who are added to the "mobilized population" . . . assimilation is gaining ground if . . . community is growing faster than society.' 'The need for communication does not immediately produce the proportionate ability to communicate. Assimilation occurs if this ability grows faster than this need; differentiation is sharply felt if the need outruns the ability.' As this study shows, west Belorussians read Russian when they still lived in the countryside, i.e., before they needed to know it at work. They spoke it and accepted it as their own after moving to the city.

[24] See Ivan L. Rudnytsky, 'The Soviet Ukraine in Historical Perspective', *Canadian Slavonic Papers,* vol. XIV, no. 2 (Summer 1972), pp. 244-8, Y. Bilinsky, 'The Incorporation of Western Ukraine', p. 215, and John A. Armstrong, *Ukrainian Nationalism,* 2nd edn. (New York, 1963), pp. 309-10.

[25] For the concept of 'younger brothers' see John A. Armstrong, 'The Ethnic Scene in the Soviet Union', in E. Goldhagen (ed.), *Ethnic Minorities in the Soviet Union* (New York, 1968), esp. pp. 14-15.

[26] Armstrong, 'The Ethnic Scene . . .', p. 32.