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**LEGAL AND REGULATORY SETTLEMENT OF THE LANGUAGE ISSUE
IN THE SOVIET UKRAINE (1964 – 1985):
SCIENTIFIC AND EDUCATIONAL ASPECT**

Abstract. *A comprehensive analysis of the legal and regulatory framework for the settlement of the language issue in the USSR, as well as the study of its influence on the processes of russification in the scientific and educational sphere is the main purpose of this article. The Methodological basis of the research is the complex of general scientific methods, especially historical and interdisciplinary methods that enable you to solve the problem of scientific knowledge comprehensively. The article is based on the principles of historicism, objectivism, logic and continuity. The scientific novelty is that for the first time systematized the complex sources that confirm russification in educational and scientific fields of Soviet Ukraine. It was implemented into the scientific circulation of new documentary evidence about the Soviet language policy. The Conclusion. In the research it has been highlighted the key legal documents that testified russification in educational and scientific spheres. It was identified the features*

of the implementation of a language policy in all schools of the Ukr-SSR. A detailed analysis of archival materials allowed to reveal holistically the peculiarities of state regulation of the language issue in the absence of a legislative framework, which defines the status of languages in the Republic up to 1989. It was clarified the trends of national school development on the territory of Ukraine, the formation of classes with the Russian language of teaching, as well as justification of the Soviet political figures of the prospects of studying the Russian language. It has been summarized the available scientific achievements of domestic and foreign researchers (including Russian) on the problem of the research. It has been identified a legitimate intensification of the Soviet party and state authorities in the processes of russification of society at the end of the 1970s – the beginning of the 1980s. It has been emphasized the consequences of the russification policy at the present stage and indicated the relevance of further research in this direction.

Key words: russification, document, legal and regulatory acts, education, language, judgement, order.

НОРМАТИВНО-ПРАВОВЕ ВРЕГУЛЮВАННЯ МОВНОГО ПИТАННЯ В РАДЯНСЬКІЙ УКРАЇНІ (1964 – 1985): НАУКОВО-ОСВІТНІЙ АСПЕКТ

Анотація. Комплексний аналіз нормативно-правової бази, що стосувалася врегулювання мовного питання на території УРСР, а також вивчення її впливу на процеси русифікації у науково-освітній сфері є головною метою цієї статті. **Методологічну основу** дослідження становить комплекс загальнонаукових, спеціально-історичних та міждисциплінарних методів, які дають змогу комплексно розкрити проблему наукового пізнання. Стаття базується на принципах історизму, об'єктивізму, логічності та наступності. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше систематизовано комплекс джерел, які засвідчували русифікацію в освітній та науковій галузях Радянської України. Введено до наукового обігу нові документальні свідчення щодо радянської мовної політики. **Висновок.** У дослідженні висвітлено основні нормативно-правові документи, які засвідчили русифікацію в освітній та науковій сферах. Встановлено особливості реалізації мовної політики в усіх школах УРСР. Детальний аналіз архівних матеріалів уможливив цілісно розкрити особливості державного регулювання мовного питання при відсутності законодавчої основи, яка визначала статус мов у республіці до 1989 р. З'ясовано тенденції розвитку національних шкіл на території України, формування класів з російською мовою викладання, а також обґрунтування радянськими політичними діячами перспектив вивчення російської мови. Узагальнено наявні наукові здобутки вітчизняних та зарубіжних дослідників (у тому числі й російських) стосовно проблеми дослідження. Виявлено закономірну активізацію радянських партійних і державних органів влади у процесах русифікації суспільства наприкінці 1970-х – початку 1980-х рр. Підкреслено наслідки русифікаційної політики на сучасному етапі та наголошено на актуальності подальших досліджень у цьому напрямі.

Ключові слова: русифікація, документ, нормативно-правові акти, освіта, мова, постанова, наказ.

The Problem Statement. The paradigm of russification processes on the territory of Soviet Ukraine was clearly expressed and dynamic. The anti-Ukrainian slogans, the rejection of the mother tongue, the forced russification of the eastern region of Ukraine and the Crimea, have dealt a heavy blow to the Ukrainian self-identification and linguistic and cultural development. In the context of total control of the party nomenclature over the leading spheres of life activity of the peoples of the USSR, especially for the Ukrainians, which are the titular nation of the republic, it is necessary to trace and single out the basic normative legal and regulatory acts that contributed to the russification of the Ukrainian-speaking population and the linguistic and cultural assimilation of the peoples of the Soviet Union.

The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications. Under modern conditions of research, the problem of russification in Ukraine is relevant. It is reflected in the publications of domestic and foreign scientists. Domestic researchers focused on the problems of displacement of the Ukrainian language from official record keeping, the replacement of the

Ukrainian words with the Russian correspondences, and substantiated the consequences of russification in the 1960s – 1980s for modern state-building. These issues were reflected in the works of L. Masenko (Masenko, 2005), M. Parakhina (Parakhina, 2014), S. Shevchenko (Shevchenko, 2015), Zh. Shevchuk (Shevchuk, 2001), M. Yarmolenko (Yarmolenko, 2013) and the others. In turn, V. Kulyk noted the influence of the Soviet policy of russification on the current language situation (Kulyk, 2014). For the most part, the Russian researchers denied the total nature of russification in the USSR, noting that the use of the Russian language as a primary means of inter-ethnic communication was driven by communication needs. This view was held by A. Miakshev (Miakshev, 2017), S. Cheshko (2000) and the others. In particular, in the context of assimilation processes, the language issue in the USSR was considered by scholars from Europe, the USA, Canada, in particular Z. Wojnovski (Wojnovski, 2015), T. Weeks (Weeks, 2012), P. Kolstø (Kolstø, 2008) and others. The change of linguistic identity during the Soviet period has negative consequences for the modern state-building of Ukraine. G. Sasse and A. Lackner noted that the language was a factor of the Russian aggression (Sasse & Lackner, 2018). However, the legal and regulatory basis of the Soviet government's russification policy needs a more detailed study.

A comprehensive analysis of the legal and regulatory framework for the settlement of the language issue on the territory of the USSR, as well as a study of their influence on the processes of russification in the scientific-educational sphere is the main **purpose of this article**.

The Results of the Research. The russification of the Ukrainian society in the Soviet realities was total in nature, as evidenced by a series of studies and archival materials. At the same time, the legitimacy of linguistic and cultural assimilation on the territory of Soviet Ukraine should be questioned due to the lack of legislative regulation of the language issue. A. Fomin, despite his pro-Russian stance on the study of this aspect, nevertheless noted that from the point of view of the Soviet law russification was illegitimate, explaining it by the absence in the Constitution or legislative acts of provisions on the state status of the Russian language (Fomin, 2003, p. 49). A similar point of view was held by the Russian researcher S. Cheshko, who claimed that the official status of the Russian language had not been fixed, but that it performed the functions of the state language because it was derived from communication needs (Cheshko, 2000, p. 165). However, russification was carried out at the expense of the adoption by the executive authorities of normative legal acts that approved bilingualism, as well as due to the ideological justification of linguistic scholars by the identity of the Russian and Ukrainian by distorting the facts and changing the Ukrainian words and terms to the Russian correspondents. It was emphasized by domestic scholars who proved the fact of total russification both at the state and domestic levels.

The foreign scholars as Ph. Krämer, U. Vogl and L. Kolehmainen argued that the language making process in constant development (Krämer, Vogl & Kolehmainen, 2020, p. 3). The policy of state institutions has a significant impact on the language sphere. We note that during the Soviet period there was a certain process of language formation aimed at unification and further Russification of society. Its implementation involved not only the influence of political but also linguistic ideology, which was developed by the Soviet party figures. In democratic society, it meant collective attitudes that form “speakers’ relationships to their own and others’ languages, mediating between the social practice of a language and the socioeconomic and political structures within which it occurs” (Cavanaugh, p. 52). In the Soviet times, Russian was supposed to be the main means of communication. At the

same time, the Soviet leadership took measures to eliminate the use of the other so-called, “unpromising languages”, including Ukrainian.

A well-planned russification of the Ukrainian-speaking population of the USSR began in the 1930s. Further linguistic tendencies on the territory of the republic were intended to destroy the positive achievements of the Ukrainian scholars in the lexicological, grammatical and phonetic fields. The Russian language began to dominate in the scientific and educational space, business, publishing sphere and everyday communication. The numerous rulings, directives and orders of the top party leadership only exacerbated the oppressed position of the Ukrainian language, while discrediting the great amount of languages of national minorities living in the Soviet Union. Thus, by strengthening the ground for the total russification of the USSR, the party nomenclature began to take measures for a smooth but purposeful entry of the Russian language into the life of the Ukrainian people.

The first steps to russification after the beginning of the “thaw” began with the adoption of the resolution “On strengthening the connection between school and life” in 1958, and after XXII Congress of the CPSU, during which, M. Khrushchev emphasized the importance of the Russian language for the development of the Communist society (Yarmolenko, 2013, p. 366). These trends intensified in the period of “stagnation”, especially in the field of education and science, which is reflected in the number of documents of legal character. Thus, according to the Order of the Ministry of education of the Ukrainian SSR Nr 8 of 14–17 December 1964 in Luhansk Pedagogical Institute it was held the Republican scientific conference on the Russian-Ukrainian linguistic relations, convened by the Ministry of education of USSR and A. A. Potebnia Institute of linguistics of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences of USSR. The conference was attended by linguists, researchers of the Institute of linguistics of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, professors in linguistics departments of Luhansk, Kherson, Kyiv, Nizhyn, Rivne, the Crimea, Lutsk, Ivano-Frankivsk Pedagogical Institutes and Kyiv, Dnipropetrovsk, Kharkiv, Odesa Universities, representatives from Voronezh Pedagogical Institute and University and also school teachers from the city of Luhansk (Central State Archives of Public Organizations of Ukraine – CSAPOU, f. 166, d. 15, c. 4444, p. 18). The purpose of this conference was the decision of problems of the Russian-Ukrainian linguistic relations, the assimilation and merger of the Ukrainian language to the Russian sample in higher and secondary schools through the development of new methods of teaching lexicological structure of linguistic research. As a result of work of scientific conference of Department of educational, methodical and scientific work was entrusted to direct corresponding recommendations in relation to the assimilation of the Ukrainian language to Russian to all linguistic departments of pedagogical institutes and regional institutes to improve the qualifications of teachers of the relevant specialization (CSAPOU, f. 166, d. 15, c. 4444, p. 19).

According to the plan of the Ministry of Education of the USSR for 1968, and in order to improve the qualification of teachers of Ukrainian and Russian, by the Order No. 134 of June, 24, 1968 it was implemented a seminar on 10-12th September 1968 at Kherson Pedagogical Institute for the development of teacher’s stylistics of the Ukrainian and Russian languages, at the expense of Kherson Pedagogical Institute (CSAPOU, f. 166, d. 15, c. 6264, p. 22). Such seminars aimed to ideologically engage pedagogical staff for in-depth lexicological work among schoolchildren and student youth. With the help of simulation, simplification of some letters and the use of sounds in Russian, the Ukrainian language began to identify with Russian, which, in turn, highlighted the interference of the party nomenclature in the

structure and lexicological composition of the language. This situation stimulated the spread of russification not only in the language sphere, but also among the masses of the masses, who, to a greater extent, had only completed primary and secondary school education or were not literate at all.

Russification of the scientific and educational sphere embraced not only the Ukrainian-language school, its detrimental effect can be traced by analyzing the orders of the Ministry of education of the USSR, which dealt with the language of the ethnic groups living on the territory of the Soviet Union in the 1960s – 1980s and, in accordance with school curricula, deprived of the opportunity of learning the basic school subjects in their native language. Party nomenclature was of the opinion that a thorough study of the Russian language is a vital factor for a comfortable stay numerous nationalities in the Soviet Union. Lay on the Russian language the role of a consolidating factor for the peoples of the Republic, quite a significant role was given to the teaching of Russian in national schools.

According to the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers dated November, 10 1966 No. 864 at schools of national minorities, located in the countryside, and consisted of more than 25 students of 4–8 classes, the lessons of the Russian language was divided into two subgroups (CSAPOU, f. 166, d. 15, c. 8677, p. 2). This innovation provided better perception of the information by the students and facilitate the work of the teacher, giving him the opportunity to focus on children while learning new academic material. The Ministry of education of the USSR appealed to the Council of Ministers of the USSR with a proposal to implement an appropriate division of classes into subgroups in urban schools with the Hungarian and Moldavian languages teaching (CSAPOU, f. 166, d. 15, c. 8677, p. 2). The argument for this decision was the lack of speaking environment in the region that worsened academic performance at the national schools. Noting that in the USSR there are 28 schools in the town with Hungarian and Moldavian as the language of instruction, which includes classes 204 pupils requiring separation of the individual subgroups in the study of the Russian language. In Transcarpathian region there are 17 such schools, 127 classes; in Chernivtsi region there are 9 schools, 66 classes; in Odesa region – 2 schools and 10 classes. Accordingly, there is an additional need for highly qualified teachers, which accounted for 35 additional rates for teachers in grades 4–8 (CSAPOU, f. 166, d. 15, c. 8677, p. 3).

The Order of the Minister of Education of the USSR No. 14 of January, 20, 1969, approved for 1969/1970 school year a program for schools with the Hungarian language teaching, which included studying in IV–X classes of the Russian language and literature (CSAPOU, f. 166, d. 15, c. 6760, p. 71). The approval of these programmes was justified by the Soviet scholars and political figures as a necessity for the educational development of students, regardless of their ethnic origin. In school programmes, it was emphasized that Russian was a means of inter-ethnic communication, and its study was encouraged, emphasizing its prospect in future life (CSAPOU, f. 166, d. 15, c. 8880, pp. 2–3). This form concealed the grounds for russification, since speakers of Russian had opportunities for rapid career growth (Kolstø, 2008, p. 161).

Further russification of schools of ethnic groups is demonstrated by the Order of the Minister of Education of the USSR No. 42 of February, 28, 1973 “On the opening of preparatory classes in comprehensive schools with the Hungarian and Moldavian languages of teaching of the Ukrainian SSR” (CSAPOU, f. 166, d. 15, c. 8553, pp. 142–143). This document was intended to open in 1973/1974 278 preparatory classes in Hungarian and Moldavian schools of instruction; the appointment of teachers of these classes who are fluent

in Russian; conducting two-week preparatory courses for primary school teachers of national schools; providing elementary school students with the manuals “The Russian language in pictures” of I. Barannykov; the management of the schools and the Research Institute of Pedagogy were instructed to prepare a draft curriculum and programs for the preparatory classes of the national schools (CSAPOU, f. 166, d. 15, c. 8553, p. 142).

According to the Order of the Council of Ministers of Ukrainian SSR № 242 dated January, 7, 1974, “On the division of classes into groups in the schools of the city type with the Hungarian and Moldavian languages of studying during the study of the Russian language” at schools with Hungarian and Moldavian languages of studying increased the number of hours of the Russian language studying, opened a special preparatory classes, renewed the material and technical base of educational institutions, including professionally trained teaching staff and created language laboratories (CSAPOU, f. 166, d.15, c. 8677, pp. 2–3). The last type of training was aimed to create for students a favorable communication environment with the individual needs for improved spoken language.

The implementation of the policy of total russification illuminates the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers dated June, 20, 1972 “On the completion of the transition to universal secondary education of youth and the further development of secondary schools” (CSAPOU, f. 166, d. 15, c. 8788, pp. 108–109). This resolution was intended to improve the conditions for teaching the Russian language in national schools, to complete the transition to new curricula and plans to introduce a certification of teachers (the Development of education...) and start the publishing house of the Republican scientific and methodical journal “The Russian language and literature in schools of the USSR” (CSAPOU, f. 166, d 15, c. 8976, p. 79), which aimed to improve the Russian language teaching, to explain the differences in the pronunciation of the Russian and Ukrainian phrases, spreading at the same Communist slogans through a network of primary and secondary school education.

In 1978 the Council of Ministers of the USSR adopted the decree “On measures on further improving the study and teaching of Russian language in the Ukrainian SSR”. This document included the following tasks: in 1979 – 1983 to implement measures for further improvement of existing programs, textbooks and manuals in the Russian language for schools with Ukrainian, Moldavian, Hungarian and Polish; to increase the production of literature for children in Russian; beginning with the 1980/1981 year to implement the study of the Russian language in the first classes of comprehensive schools with the Ukrainian language of studying; to implement the classes with a number of students more than 25 people into two groups for a more detailed study of the Russian language at national schools of the Ukrainian SSR; to provide higher, secondary and specialized technical institutions highly qualified teachers of the Russian language and literature; to increase the number of teachers of the Russian language in universities and teacher training institutions to ensure the scientific and educational needs of the residents of the Soviet Union and the satisfaction of their aspirations for language learning the all-Union communication; until 1980 to develop a new curriculum for the specialty “The Russian language and literature at schools with the Ukrainian language of instruction”, which provided an in-depth study of the Russian language for future teachers of this specialization is to expand the training of graduate students, who study the Russian language and literature, and to improve the methodology of teaching these subjects; to create, from January, 1, 1979 at the Scientific and Research Institute of Pedagogy of the USSR Ukrainian sector of methodology of the Russian language and literature; to increase material and technical base of educational institutions for in-depth study of the

Russian language; to expand the teaching of basic courses in the Russian language; take note, the Council of Ministers resolution of October, 13, 1978 No. 835 “On measures for further improving the study and teaching of Russian in the Union republics” was commissioned to create new curricula, textbooks and manuals for learning the Russian language in national schools, implementing an in-depth study of the Russian language in educational institutions for persons of non-Russian nationalities increased the number of students and the territory of the RSFSR, the Ukrainian SSR and the Bielorussian SSR on specialty “The Russian language and literature” (CSAPOU, f. 166, d. 15, c. 8975, pp. 153–156). This decision deepened the russification of the Ukrainian society, and also provided significant pressure on the scientific and educational sector in general and lexicology the field as a whole. The Ukrainian language was equal to the second-rate languages of the Soviet Union and was not cost-effective for further use in scientific field and everyday communication. The increase in the number of teachers of the Russian language had a negative impact on the ordinary Ukrainian citizen, because all main subjects were taught in Russian. Children and teenagers are taught not just the Russian language and literature, but also designed for the younger generation the principles of education and values inherent in the Russian people, levelling in the original Ukrainian traditions, including the language of everyday communication.

The testimony of graduation and distribution of specialists who graduated in 1978 from higher education institutions of the Ministry of Education of the USSR illustrates a significant increase in the number of teachers of the Russian language and literature in the number of 2620 people as opposed to 1780 teachers who chose the specialty “The Ukrainian language and literature” (CSAPOU, f. 166, d. 15, c. 8976, p. 33). According to the letter of the Ministry of Education of the USSR No. 115–388 / 12 of October 12, 1978, the Ministry of Education of the USSR developed a proposal for the preparation of the Russian language teachers for Ukrainian, Moldovan and Hungarian schools in connection with the division of classes into subgroups and increased demand for teaching staff in this specialty (CSAPOU, f. 166, d. 15, c. 8976, p. 43). According to the order, the additional need for teachers of Russian language and literature in 1979 was 1870 people, in 1980 – 1970, 1981 – 2080, 1982 – 1983 – 2130, 1984 – 2580, 1985 – 2660 teachers of the Russian language and literature. The total number of additional teaching staff in 1981 – 1985 was 11580 specialists, which had to meet the needs of the Soviet Union to study the Russian language at schools of the Ukrainian SSR with full-time teaching subjects (CSAPOU, f. 166, d. 15, c. 8976, p. 44). Learning Russian in grade I–III became a prerogative for elementary school teachers. This innovation required additional training in 1982 – 1983 by five hundred teachers in this specialty (CSAPOU, f. 166, d. 15, c. 8976, p. 45).

In connection with the division of classes into subgroups, for advanced study of Russian language and literature at schools of national minorities, the Ministry of education of Ukraine has introduced a special training for the I – III IV – VIII and IX – X classes. Accordingly, the teaching hours of teachers was distributed to the city and the village. Average weekly load of teachers of the Russian language in national schools of the Republic in the fourth grade was 22–23 hours in the cities and 20–22 hours in the villages of the Ukrainian SSR, as of this year, 1978 – 1990 (CSAPOU, f. 166, d. 15, c. 8976, p. 46).

Further improvement of the system of national education in the Soviet Union stimulated an accelerated study of the Russian language, in turn nullifying the achievements of the Ukrainian linguistics in general and schooling in particular. The letter of the Ministry of education of the USSR to the first Deputy Minister F. Panachin, No 075-420/16 of November,

14, 1978, provides information for the Ministry of education of the USSR about the status and actions carried out by the Soviet leadership to improve the study of the Russian language and literature at national schools, secondary and higher educational institutions of the USSR on behalf of the Deputy Minister M. Fomenko (CSAPOU, f. 166, d. 15, c. 8976, p. 76). In particular, this document emphasizes the compulsory study of the Russian as the lingua Franca for many peoples of the USSR. The Soviet leadership openly advocated assimilation to the Russian and Ukrainian languages through the school curriculum and textbooks. This type of learning materials offered to students to find similarities in spelling and pronunciation of two “closely related languages”, which, in turn, were intended to prevent and eliminate spelling inconsistencies which arose as a consequence of interference, that is, the pernicious influence of one language on another (CSAPOU, f. 166, d. 15, c. 8976, p. 77).

Thus, according to the order of the Ministry of education of the USSR for schools with the Moldovan and Hungarian language of instruction were developed 19 books for advanced study of the Russian language (CSAPOU, f. 166, d. 15, c. 8976, p. 78), this situation indicates a total wave of russification, which covered the whole of the nation living on the territory of the Soviet Ukraine of that time.

For teachers-linguists was published educational and methodical literature which over the content and building the grammatical structure of the language negates the achievement of the Ukrainian linguistics of the 1920s. To the list this type of educational materials should include: the works of “The Russian language is a means of international communication and the unity of the peoples of the USSR”, “The Russian language as a source of enrichment of the peoples of the USSR”, “The Russian speech culture in Ukraine”, “Comparative grammar of the Russian and Ukrainian languages”, “The ways of improvement of the Russian language teaching at secondary schools of the Ukrainian SSR”, “The Russian language study in the 4th grade schools with the Ukrainian language of instruction”, “Collection of dictations on the Russian language”, “Teaching material in Russian for grades 4–6 schools with the Hungarian and Moldavian language learning”, “Didactic material on the Russian language for grade 5 of schools with the Ukrainian language of instruction”, “Collection of texts for summaries in grades 4–8 of schools with the Ukrainian language of instruction”; collections of dictations, materials for language development for grades 1–10 of schools with the Hungarian and Moldavian language teaching, courses of modern Russian language for the pedagogical institutes, Russian-Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Russian monolingual and phraseological dictionaries (CSAPOU, f. 166, d. 15, c. 8976, p. 78). In 1979, for printing there were prepared the materials that were collated and compared to the stylistic composition of the Ukrainian and the Russian language, this type of educational literature includes these works: “Comparative stylistics of the Russian and Ukrainian languages”, “Teaching Russian at schools of the Ukrainian SSR”, “Peculiarities of the Russian language teaching at schools with the Ukrainian language of instruction” and “The Russian language teaching in grade 7 of schools with the Ukrainian language of instruction” (CSAPOU, f. 166, d. 15, c. 8976, p. 78). For printing and publishing school literature it was created all necessary conditions for the rapid study of the Russian language with the help of a network of school education. At that time the languages of other peoples of the USSR lost any value and gradually but steadily removed from the consumer. The new materials helped the teachers to develop the Russian pronunciation of the students of elementary and middle school. At schools there were created libraries and offices of the Russian language (CSAPOU, f. 166, d. 15, c. 8976, p. 79). In general, in the UkrSSR operated 17 schools and classes with advanced study of the

Russian language and literature (CSAPOU, f. 166, d. 15, c. 8976, p. 80). In 1980/1981 this year it was planned to introduce the study of the Russian language, starting from grade 1 in schools with the Ukrainian language of instruction (CSAPOU, f. 166, d. 15, c. 8976, p. 83).

Despite this, the disadvantages in studying Russian still existed. According to the party nomenclature, insufficient attention was paid to the formation of verbal pronunciation of students, which in some cases led to confusion of words and the spread of mixed Russian-Ukrainian dialect, especially among elementary students. Nevertheless, the quality of the Russian language and literature teacher training at higher educational establishments of the republic improved. A large number of students studied Russian at the departments of Kyiv, Zaporizhia, Drohobych and Voroshylovhrad Pedagogical Institutes. The scientific and educational work of the departments focused primarily on the study and comparison of the Ukrainian and Russian languages, the solution of the bilingual problem and the study of the phonetic composition of both languages (CSAPOU, f. 166, d. 15, c. 8976, p. 81). To consolidate the achievements of the Soviet linguistics, the Ministry of Education of the USSR planned to create in 1979/1980 supporting departments of the Russian language at Kyiv, Voroshylovhrad, Zaporizhia Pedagogical Institutes (CSAPOU, f. 166, d. 15, c. 8976, p. 84) and Donetsk, Kyiv, Lviv, Odesa Universities (CSAPOU, f. 166, d. 15, c. 8975, pp. 153–156).

At the same time, some privileges were granted to the graduates of Moldavian schools of the Ukrainian SSR in 1976 – 1980. In particular, this included the out-of-competition admission to Chernivtsi University, which required 102 highly qualified specialists in specialties each year: the Russian language and literature for 30 Moldavian schools; the Moldavian language – 3; French – 3; History – 14; Mathematics – 20; Physics – 15; Chemistry – 6; Biology – 6; Geography – 5 teachers of the national school (CSAPOU, f. 166, d. 15, c. 8975, pp. 153–156).

The language issue in the USSR at the legislative level was settled only after the adoption in 1989 of the Law on the Languages of the USSR, which reflected the status of the Ukrainian language as a state language and Russian as a language of international communication. However, the legal basis of the russification of the society formed by the legal acts caused the loss of linguistic and cultural self-identification of a considerable part of the Ukrainians, in particular in the south-eastern regions of Ukraine, which in turn affected the marginalization of society, and also became the basis for the Russian aggression.

The Conclusion. Thus, after analyzing the legal and regulatory framework, which would regulate the language issue, it is worth noting that the Soviet government implemented a series of measures aimed at russification, at the same time, ignoring the possibility of legislative approval. In general, the documents adopted by the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the Ministry of education of the USSR included the planned introduction of the Russian language in all educational and scientific institutions. Consequently, this shaped the public reception of the prestige of the Russian language and its study prospects for career growth, which also affected the change in identification. Further research in this direction is highly relevant, given the current social problems in Ukraine. Therefore, the leading role in future researches of scholars will have the study of historical background of the Russian aggression in the Crimea and Donbas in the context of the Soviet policy of russification.

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