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**History of Obtaining Higher Medical Education by Foreign Students in Ukraine (on Example of Polish Students)**

**Keywords:** foreign student, higher medical education, historical context.

**Introduction.** On the beginning of the XXI century in Ukraine, more than one in three foreign students obtain medical education. Ukraine has a long experience in providing educational services for foreign students, and its higher medical school is developing in line with the world trends of medical education. Export of educational services of Ukraine in the part of higher medical education is based on: the experience of the activity of preparatory faculties and faculties for foreign students gained during long years; on a legislation, adapted with the European educational space; taking into account the growing level of requirements for medical specialists, common tendencies in the development of medical education and medicine, the development of modern medical technologies and health services.

The dynamics of the change in the number of foreign students according to the official website of the Ukrainian State Center for International Education of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine is stable despite the slight decrease in the number of students due to military actions on the border with Russia and the territory of Luhansk and Donetsk regions and loss of Crimea. The statistical data of this decade are as follows: 2011 – 53,664 foreign students were educated in Ukraine; 2012 – 60,480; 2013 – 69,969; 2014 – 63,172; 2015 – 63,906; 2016 – 64,066. According to the Center for International Education in 2016, from ten most popular institutions for foreign students – seven are medical schools, where almost 36 % of the total number of foreigners study, in particu-
lar, they study in the field of medicine – 28.7 %, dentistry – 4.5 %, pharmacy – 2.5 %1.

The purpose of our study was to analyze the dynamics of the phenomenon of obtaining higher medical education by foreign students in Ukraine in the historical context, before the beginning of Ukraine’s independence, to identify the peculiarities and stages of development, and in particular, to clarify the extent of the involvement of Polish students in the process of obtaining higher medical education in Ukraine.

The characteristics of the dynamics of the process as a historical one in Ukraine will be conducted on the background of determining historical-political and socio-cultural changes.

The first stage. Obtaining a higher medical education (HME) by foreign students at universities (period of Austro-Hungarian and Russian Empires). Historical studies and official websites of higher education institutions show that the history of obtaining HME by foreign students in Ukraine began at the end of the XVIIIth century at medical faculties of universities. As a characteristic feature, we distinguish the weighty, at certain periods up to 100 %, the prevalence of non-Ukrainian students in universities. Criteria for the definition of a student as a foreign student in a Ukrainian university should be considered not only as religious, cultural, linguistic, ethnic otherness to local inhabitants (as in the Middle Ages), but also dependency or citizenship of another state. Students’ choice of the institution for education was independent, their motives besides the professional-cognitive, were determined by the geographical proximity and historical affinity of the countries of origin and education, religion, language of training, socio-political processes. To the pedagogical foundations that ensured obtaining of the education, we refer ideas of didactic materialism and didactic encyclopedicism, which demanded from the doctor a universal preparation; lecture-practical system of study organization (two- and poly-language) with obligatory practice in university clinics.

The medical faculty of the Lviv University was officially founded in 1784, it was transferred to Krakow in 1805, reopened in 1894. As the researcher Ya. Hanitkevych writes, “education was expensive, so there were taught not many students, they were Polish and Jews, Ukrainians were not at all. In 1789, the Faculty of Medicine had 56 students; in 1790 – 92. In 1792–1796 only 4 persons received a diploma of a doctor. On the first year of study at the medical faculty were taught history, chemistry, botanics and anatomy; on the second – physiology, surgery; on the third – pathology, pharmacognosy, obstetrics and gynaecology; on the fourth – clinical medicine.”2 The first graduate of doctors took place in

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1 Український державний центр міжнародної освіти – Study in Ukraine, studyinukraine.gov.ua [date of access: 10.10.2017].
2 Я. Ганіткевич, Історичні етапи найстаршого в Україні Львівського національного медичного університету імені Данила Галицького, [в:] Праці Наукового товариства ім.
1900. There were graduated 16 specialists, among them only 2 Ukrainians – I. Polokhailo, Y. Hrushkevych. The part of Polish in the University during 1900–1914 was 44–49%, (according to the historical study of V. Blahyy), Ukrainians – 27–31%, Jews – 20–28%. “The first dominated on the secular faculties, but Ukrainians dominated on theology – 66–75%, and many Jews entered medicine – 42–46%… The natives of Halicia were 95–96% of students. Foreigners accounted in 1900 – 2,4%, in 1914 – 3,2%, most of all – in the philosophical (41–61%) and medical (10–27%), and the least – in the theological (1–13%) faculties”3. The researcher drew attention to the fact that after the revolutionary events in Russia in 1905–1907, Polish students began to ignore the russified universities of the Kingdom of Poland. In total from 1905 to 1914 in Lviv, according to the scientist, 566 students were educated. According to Ya. Hanitkevych, only “During the time of domination of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, 544 doctors were trained at Lviv University, from which only 40 doctors (7,3%) were Ukrainian nationality”4. V. Blahyy paid attention to the level of requirements for specialists – the “Diploma” of the doctor of all medical sciences, and, accordingly, the permission to perform all branches of medical practice, issued after the passing of three rigorosis, each of which included four separate exams – it was given in 1900 to 49%, and in 1910 – 33% of graduates of the medical faculty5.

There were taught in Polish, Latin, German and Ukrainian languages.

At the Kyiv University the Faculty of Medicine was opened in 1841. “It was anticipated, – believes the modern Polish historian of medicine P. Uliasz, – that the university was supposed to serve first of all the Polish citizenship of Kyiv Region, Volyn and Podillya, as it actually was in the first decades of its existence. Thus, in the year of its opening from 62 first students there were 34 Polish, that is, more than a half, and in the 1837/38 academic year – 62,4%”; the opening of the medical faculty is “connected with the “Polish issue, namely the need to separate members of anti-government performances, in particular, students of the Vilna Medical and Surgical Academy through its closure, the transpass of main fund and the transfer of teachers and students to Kyiv”6. The scientist identified Polish students, future physicians, who after graduation worked as doctors in Kyiv for a while, and scientists who defended Doctoral dissertations on medicine in Kyiv: Professor of Hospital Surgery in Warsaw B. Chainovskyj, Head of

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4 Я. Ганітенківич, оп. цит., р. 13–38.
5 В.Б.Благий, оп. цит., р. 15.
the Department of Pathology at Poznan University I. Hoffman, Professor of Therapeutic department of Vienna University O. Yanushkevych, Head of the Therapeutic Division of the Warsaw Military Hospital O. Bylyna, in 1910. We regard as a significant disadvantage that, although it comes from the middle of the XIX century, the teaching of profile disciplines at the University of Kyiv took place mostly in Latin and Polish, later in Russian.

Students from Southern Europe and the Balkan countries (Albania, Bulgaria, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Serbia), Georgians, Armenians, etc. studied at the Novorossiysk University (Odesa, the Faculty of Medicine opened in 1900). Historian O. Muzychko, referring to the documents of the Odessa Regional Archive, described the establishment and activities of the Georgian student community, which achieved official status as early as 1917, and listed the names of students of Georgian origin, who at the beginning of the 20th century studied at the Faculty of Medicine: M. Bezhavashvili, S. Berdzenshvili, P. Kavtaradze, V. Mdiwani, V. Mikeladze.

The second stage is the interwar period and the time of the German occupation. There were medical faculties of the Lviv University and the Ukrainian Secret University. In the first the there were studied mainly Polish students, in the second one – Ukrainians. These categories of local residents, mostly natives of Halicia, have no grounds to foreign students.

From 1918 to 1945, as a result of military actions, historical-political and social shifts, the training of foreign medical students in the UkrSSR and the USSR ceased, and there was creating of ideological and communism party education. In the period of the USSR from 1921 to 1938 the Communist University of the Working People of the East operated in Moscow, from 1925 – the University of the Working People of China, there were studied Mongolian, Persian, and Spanish students. In these years: a) the training of students, including foreign ones, in the UkrSSR, as a component of the USSR in the 1930’s, has got centralized, managed, totalitarian and a priority ideological orientation; b) for the school of higher education in general and for the medical in particular, it was defined ideological “proletarian” purposes of their activity, in the context of studying foreign students with the transmission and further spread of political ideology in the treatment of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin; c) the destruction of a large part of the rights of universities occurred, the inappropriate reform of the educational process and attempts to restore an effective system of education and management in the 1930’s; d) Medical institutions, medical academies, which are subordinated to the People’s Commissariat of Health of the USSR in 1930 and the People’s

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7 Ibidem, p. 16.
Commissariat of Education, were founded on the basis of medical faculties of universities; e) there was created a state-regulated system of preparation of ideological and Communism party personnel for countries and political structures of foreign states.

It was found out that in the Ukrainian SSR foreigners had been studying at the Artem Communist University in Kharkiv since 1922. Facts of foreign medical students’ training have not been revealed, it is likely that individual cases could occur, especially in the Odessa medical academy which is quite close to Balkanian and Transcaucasian countries. Referring to the data of the State Archive of the Odessa region, O. Muzychko wrote about Georgian Mikhail Chkheidze, who, having started studies at the Novorossiysk University in 1915, received a doctor’s degree in 1921 already in the Soviet Odesa Medical Academy.

The third stage – forming (the middle of the 40’s – the end of the 50’s of the XXth century) began with the end of the Second World War, when the USSR government significantly intensified the organization of educational services for export. Students from European countries were the main subjects of education at the universities. The subject-organizer of education – the government of the USSR, whose task was to establish and, if possible, to head an international cooperation in the field of education. The stage begins with the arrival of a large number of students to study in the USSR higher educational institutions from those European countries that after results of the Second World War entered to the area of Soviet Union influence. The stage ends with the transition to another level of the organization – the institutional and with changes of geography of potential entrants. Regarding medical education, the task of this stage was not realized, since at the end of the 1950’s the number of students from European countries at medical universities is decreasing precisely, and in such specialties as “Medicine” and “Pharmacy”, it is reduced to single cases.

The stage was characterized by the centralized governmental organization of educational services for foreign students on a contract basis – interstate treaties of the USSR and the countries of the socialist camp. The scales of this process was steadily and purposefully expanding, and the practice of interstate exchange of the USSR with the European countries of the socialist camp by students of higher educational institutions began, which had a familiarizing, excursion character.

According to the UNESCO Institute of Statistics (the data were systematized by A. Arefiev, A. Sherega), in 1950 in the USSR there were studied 5,9 thousand foreign students, by the end of the 1960 stage – 13,5 thousand. Ukraine after the Second World War occupied the second place in the USSR by the number of foreign students in higher educational establishments.

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9 О.Є. Музичко, оп. цит., p. 16.
10 А.Л.Арефьев, А.Ф. Шереги, Экспорт российских образовательных услуг: статистический сборник. Выпуск 3, Москва 2011, p. 22.
Students studied on the basis of interstate treaties ratified between the USSR and European and other countries, in particular with Bulgaria and Romania (1947), Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Mongolia and North Korea (1948), the GDR and China (1952); North Vietnam (1955), Cuba (1960). Contracts with the countries of the socialist camp were concluded on a period of 4–5 years, followed by their continuation and they fixed the number of students, postgraduates and apprentices, as well as the conditions for their training and material support.

Immediately after the war in 1946, a group of students from Poland, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria came to the USSR; 1947 – from Romania; 1948 – Hungary; 1950 – from Germany. By 1956 more than 14 thousand foreign students studied in the USSR, about 13 thousand of which were from the socialist countries. However, at the end of the 1950’s, a significant reduction in the number of students from Eastern Europe began\textsuperscript{11}. According to opinion of A. Shevchenko, with which we mainly disagree, it is explained by the fact that in these countries there was a restoration of education systems and they could continue to prepare their own staff. The second, named by the researcher cause, is seen by us as more reliable: in European countries there was a dissatisfaction with the influence and policy of the USSR; the reduction in the number of students was related to anti-Soviet performances in Poland and the GDR, the events of 1956 in Hungary, and others\textsuperscript{12}. Regarding medical education, one more important reason was that the economic and socio-cultural life of European countries, in particular medicine and medical education, became more advanced than in the USSR, so there were a few units of European students, especially in medical faculties.

It is established that at this stage higher medical education in Ukraine is acquired by foreigners in Odesa and Kyiv medical institutes. According to the official university website and archival documents, it was discovered that the first foreign student in the Odesa Medical Institute entered in 1946 – a DPRKorea citizen, Chan Kim Su, who graduated the Institute in 1952\textsuperscript{13}, in 1953 the institution finished 4 foreign students, citizens of Albania Vesho Petrak, Karagiosi Munif, Kokolari Petrik, Ohri Drini (apparently the year of admission – 1947); in 1955 – 4 citizens: of the Czech Republic (admitted in 1949) Demian Augustine, Koren’ Karl; Korea – Lee De Chun, Albania – Skender Chicho; in 1956 (the enter in 1950): Czech – Krknava Andrew and 8 citizens of Poland – Kachmarik Marian, Victor Konchanin, Marcin Kazemir, Mashlyak Antonina, Medzianovski Tadeusz, Robus Meczyslav, Sivak Danuta-Sofia, Sydoruk Halyna\textsuperscript{14}. In subse-

\textsuperscript{11} А.В. Шевченко, Основные тенденции развития подготовки специалистов для зарубежных стран в отечественных высших учебных заведениях в 1960–2003 гг.: дис... канд. пед. наук : 13.00.01 «Загальна педагогіка та історія педагогіки», Белгород 2006, р. 22.
\textsuperscript{12} Ibidem, p. 21.
\textsuperscript{14} Ibidem, арк. 14.
quent years, students of European countries are less. In 1951, entered just 6: Czecks Varga Jurai and Kamenik Yaroslav, Polish Golatska Yadviga and Lyupa Edvin Frantsevich. In 1953 – 5 citizens of Poland, 2 – Hungary, 1 – Romania; in 1954 – 2 students from Poland and Albania; 1955 – one, Gytsnar Maria-Gertruda (Poland)\textsuperscript{15}.

The fourth stage is defined as a systemic, centralized, it lasted from the 60’s and ended in the early 90’s of the XX\textsuperscript{th} century. Subjects-applicants in the HME institutions are mostly representatives from Asia, Africa, Latin America, to subjects-organizers in addition to the government of the USSR international organizations have joined as well. On a contractual basis, there was a constant, but far-not a large-scale exchange of students of the medical universities with the European countries of the Warsaw Pact. The chronological limits of the IV stage are established on the basis of two events of 1960 and 1991 years. The beginning of the stage was determined by the Decree classified as “secret” by the Central Committee of the Central Committee of CPSU “About the expansion of cultural and public connections with negro nations of Africa and the strengthening of the Soviet Union’s influence on these nations” (1960). The stage is completed in 1991, when, with the collapse of the USSR, the ideological motives for choosing a place of study and the attraction of foreign students, the way of paying for their tuition and the invalidity of relevant intergovernmental agreements ceased to be relevant. Totally from 1950–51 to 1985–86 years in the USSR, 72 522 students from European countries received education: 18 061 students from the GDR, 16 702 from Bulgaria, 10 334 from Hungary, 9305 from Czechoslovakia, 1–2 thousand from Yugoslavia, Albania, Romania. From the countries of Northern Europe studied 1243 students, 4564 from Western Europe, 58 516 from Asia, 27 324 from the Middle East and North Africa, 27 654 from sub-Saharan Africa, 25 735 from Latin America and 1207 from Oceania from North America\textsuperscript{16}. The share of the Ukrainian SSR in this process was significant, in its higher educational institutions about a quarter of foreign students studied.

During the entire phase, the number of students, applicants for higher medical education from European countries, including Poland, has significantly decreased. The archival data of the Lviv Medical Institute of the 60’s and 70’s indicates that there have been periodic studies of small groups of students, mostly on the dental faculty – from the Polish People’s Republic and the German Democratic Republic, but only a few students from Bulgaria were in the Odesa Medical Institute. The tendency of reducing the number of foreign students from European countries continued, the question of the full financing of the training of foreigners by the government of the USSR was considered.

\textsuperscript{15} Ibidem, арк. 13.
\textsuperscript{16} А.Л. Арфьев, А.Ф. Шереги, op. cit., p. 23–28.
There were improved interstate treaties on training specialists, concluded between the USSR and the countries that “chose the socialist path of development”. A number of aspects were clarified until the 1990’s. In the archival documents there was found information on the differences in scholarships, the peculiarities of the organization of the rest of students depending on the region of their origin, European or African. New legislative acts and norms had ensured subjectivity – allowing students’ permissions to stay and study. Among these questions – migration issues, which were regulated in 1974, 1984, and documents, defining the legal status of a foreign student – Regulations about foreign citizens studying in higher and secondary specialized educational institutions and scientific institutions of the USSR, approved by the order of the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education (MHSSE) of the USSR (1964) and the USSR Law “About the Legal Status of Foreign Citizens in the USSR” (1981).

It was found (according to official sites of Ukrainian universities), that in 1961–1962 among the medical institutions of the Ukrainian SSR foreign students studied in five: Vinnitsa, Kyiv, Crimea, Lviv and Odessa. According to the results of the analysis of the documents of the Central State Archive of Ukraine, it was found that, as at the end of 1983–1984, in Ukraine there were only 2,808 foreign students, future physicians, who were studying in the 9 medical institutes: Vinnitsa (278), Voroshlyovgrad (58), Kyiv (353), Lviv (480), Donetsk (416), Odesa (344), Zaporizhzhya (269), Kharkiv pharmaceutical (228); data of the Crimean MI, its reports are shown in a separate position – 382 students. Since the mid-80’s the USSR again has lost the pace of growth of the number of foreign students, especially European ones.

**International student exchange.** In the analysis of archival documents it was discovered that the exchange of students between medical institutions of education was conducted from the middle of the 60’s of the twentieth century. It was unsystematic and took place in the forms of excursion trips, student building units, observational working practices based on clinical and medical institutions under the leadership of domestic and foreign teachers. In particular, in 1969, in the UkrSSR, students from Poland came to Kirovograd Medical College for exchange programs, and into Lviv State Medical Institute – group of students from Hungary\(^\text{18}\). In 1970, two groups of Polish students were accepted by the Kyiv Medical Institute by O.O. Bohomolets and the M. Pirogov Odessa Medical Institute.


Systematically the organization of working practice programs for foreign students, who studied at the universities of other countries was initiated by a number of documents, of which the Order of the Minister of the MHSSE of USSR “About the exchange on a non-monetary basis by groups of students”; Resolution of the Central Committee of the Komsomol State Committee “About the Exchange of Student Groups of the USSR and a number of Socialist Countries”. In subsequent years, the documents were updated. Here are examples of their implementation. In 1969, from 10.07 to 31.07, 10 students of the IV course of the pediatric faculty from the Lviv State Medical Institute took place in the Lublin Medical Academy (Poland) and 18 students of the IV course of the Faculty of Medicine were on practice from 3.08 to 2.09.1969 in Pech University, Hungary. The Lviv State Medical Institute concluded 2 agreement about the exchange of students’ construction units with the Lublin Medical Academy (Poland) in May 1969, and in June 1971 – with the Medical University of Pech (Hungary).

More broadly, the exchange of students has been established since 1977 in accordance with the Order of the MHSSE of USSR “About the exchange on non-monetary basis by groups of students for undergraduate educational practice between educational institutions of the USSR and other socialist countries in 1977–1980” and the adopted intergovernmental acts, such as “Protocol about the exchange of student groups for performing the educational working practice on a non-monetary basis between the MHSSE of the USSR and the Ministry of Higher Education of the Polish People’s Republic”. The organization of exchange of students, control over the conclusion of agreements between universities was engaged in the Division of Undergraduate Educational Practice, created at the MHSSE of the USSR. In the agreements were ratified the issues about the number of students and teachers, the course, the specialty, terms of practice, the route of the group, the type of transport, financial terms of exchange, living conditions, nutrition, issues of educational practice. The contracts were signed for 5 years, delegations of higher educational institutions came to prepare them.

By systematizing and generalizing the reports of the higher medical institutions of UkrSSR about the exchange of students with medical institutions of the socialist countries, the following was found:

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19 Ibidem, ark. 183.
20 Ibidem, ark. 2.
1. The exchange of students took place only during the summer vacation period, with small equal groups of students and teachers in the ratio of 9–10 to 1, with the involvement on the places of educational practice in addition to the teaching staff a large number of Party and Komsomol functionaries.

2. Practice was classified as study and working, respectively, its tasks were divided: “18 days have been spent on working familiarization practice, which was 72% of the time spent by students of the USSR, 28% was used to organize leisure time”[23].

3. Regional higher medical schools received and sent one or two groups of students, Kyiv – much larger groups. Thus, in the report of the Kyiv MI, we found information that “in June, July and August, the exchange of 5 groups of Soviet (51 persons) and 5 groups of foreign students (51 persons) was successfully made for the introductory working practice on a non-monetary exchange basis between the 1st and 2nd medical, pediatric, sanitary-hygienic and dental faculties of the Kyiv MI and 5 educational institutions of the socialist countries”: Medical Faculty in Varna (NRB), Medical University of Debrecen (HNR), Medical University of Leipzig (GDR), Pomorska medical academy (m. Szczecin PRP), School of Medicine University by J.E. Purkinje (Brno, Czechoslovakia)[24].

4. There was a rigorous selection of students to participate in practice. The report of the Lviv Medical Institute, in particular, states that “The selection of candidates for a working practice trip to the socialist camp’s countries was performed on the recommendation of the Komsomol organization, was approved alternately on the committee of the Komsomol, the rectorate and the party committee”, “Preparatory work with students was conducted in accordance with the plan, developed by the Komsomol committee and approved by the administration and party committee”.

5. Programs of practice for foreign and national students differed, they were made up by two institutions and approved by their rectors.

6. One of the tasks of the practice was to familiarize with the organization of medical care in the hosting country, organization of students’ life. The program of preparation of excursions should obligatory contain an ideological component.

The initial provisions of the pedagogical system of higher education, its principles and content continued to be built on the philosophy of Marxism-Leninism, on the ideology of socialist development as the only correct vector of progress of socio-economic systems, the priorities of the values of collectivism over the personal, leading role of the communist and workers’ parties, the USSR as the leader of the socialist camp. Still were saved ideologically advisable at-
tracting of foreign students and oneaddressy of their preparation, in accordance to the conditions, that the student’s country ratified with the USSR, it was strengthening of the link between the content of medical education of foreign students and medical-sanitary conditions of tropical countries and the practice of organizing medical care in these regions.

Conclusions. The obtaining of higher medical education in modern Ukrainian universities is based on long historical practice. Historical stages of obtaining medical education by foreign students, revealed in the process of the research, showed that their peculiarities are quite much dependent on a number of socio-political, socio-cultural processes that promote or complicate the opportunities for freedom of academic mobility.

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The dynamics of the phenomenon of obtaining higher medical education by foreign students in Ukraine in the historical context, before the beginning of Ukraine’s independence, has been analyzed, the peculiarities and stages of development have been identified, the scale of the involvement of Polish students in the process of obtaining higher education in Ukraine has been specified. The characteristic of the dynamics of the process as a historical one in Ukraine is carried out against the backdrop of determining historical-political and socio-cultural changes. It is substantiated that the first stage – obtaining the higher medical education by foreign students at universities lasts from the middle of the XIXth century, during the period of the Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires. Foreign students, mostly subjected to other emperors of other countries, study at medical faculties of the Lviv, Kyiv and Novorossiysk universities. The second stage, the period between First and Second World War, there weren’t revealed the facts of the massive acquisition of medical education by foreign students in the medical institutes of the Ukrainian SSR. The third stage is molding (the middle of the 40’s – the end of the 50’s of the XXth century.). Students from European countries, including from the Polish People’s Republic, who studied in the Odessa and Kyiv medical institutions on the basis of international treaties, were the main subjects-obtainers of education in higher medical institutions of Ukraine. The subject-organizer of education – the government of the USSR, whose task was to establish and, if it’s possible, to head international cooperation in the field of education. The fourth stage – systemic, centralized, it lasted from the 60’s and
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ended in the early 90’s of the XX\textsuperscript{th} century. The subjects of higher medical education are mostly immigrants from the Asian, African, Latin American and European Warsaw treaty countries, who studied in 9 medical institutions of the Ukrainian SSR. The practice of interstate exchange of students for the passing of introductory production practice, including the medical educational institutions of Poland, were well-established.

**Historia kształcenia studentów zagranicznych na uczelniach medycznych na Ukrainie (na przykładzie studentów polskich)**

**Streszczenie**


**Słowa kluczowe:** student zagraniczny, wyższe wykształcenie medyczne, kontekst historyczny.