Lecture 4 The Soviet Union and Ukraine in World Wars I and II

- 2/15 March 1917 abdication of Nicholas II
- 25 October/ 7 Nov 1917 Bolshevik Seizure of Power
- Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, March 1918
- Civil Wars, 1918-1921
Soldiers’ Committees

Order No. 1, 1 March 1917
Soviet of Workers’ and Soldiers’ Deputies
V.I. Lenin (1870-1924) and the Bolshevik Seizure of Power
25 October/7 November 1917

• immediate withdrawal from the war
• nationalization of all private property
• government of workers and peasants and expropriation of the exploiting classes
• transfer of all power to the soviets

Bolshevik Party Membership:
spring 1917: 20-40,000
spring 1918: 118-390,000
KERENSKY OVERTHROWN BY BOLSHEVIKI; MOVE FOR PEACE BY NEW GOVERNMENT

‘HANDS OFF!’ TAMMANY’S POLICY AS TO POLICE HEAD; PROBLEM FOR THE MAYOR

ROOSEVELT RUSHES TO HOSPITAL WITH MAN WHOSE AUTO HIT

SIX WOMEN KILLED AS BUILDING CRASH CAUSES EXPLOSION

BIG BATTLE ON ITALIAN LINE ENTERS ITS FIRST STAGES; ALLIES MASS GREAT FORCES

U. S. SEIZES ALL PROPERTY OF THE HAMBURG LINE

RUSSIAN SOLDIERS ORDERED TO ARREST ALL OFFICERS WHO DISOBEY NEW GOVERNMENT

November 8, 1917/October 26 1917
Elections to Constituent Assembly, Nov. 1917

Socialist Revolutionaries 38%
Bolsheviks 23.7%
Ukrainian SRs 13%
Other National and Ethnic 14%
Constitutional Democrats 4.8%
Mensheviks 3.3%
Cossacks 2%
Muslim Socialists 2%

46 million votes; 50-55% participation

First Universal of the Ukrainian Central Rada, 23 June 1917 proclaims Ukrainian state autonomy

- unitary democratic state
- autonomy within federal state
- independence
Map of and the Wars for Ukrainian Independence

- Ukrainian People’s Republic
  22 Jan 1918-1920

- West Ukrainian People’s Republic,
  Nov 1918-July 1919

- Ukrainian People’s Republic of Soviets
  25 December 1917-March 1918, Kharkiv

- Skoropadsky Hetmanate, March-November 1918 (German occupation)

- Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic,
  March 1919

- The Directorate, Nov 1918-spring 1920

Map of Ukrainian People’s Republic
German Occupation of Ukraine and the Hetman of Ukraine, Pavlo Skoropadsky, 1918
Nestor Makhno (1888-1934) and the Makhno Movement, 1919-1920 (Southern Ukraine) *Makhnovshchina*

https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=74377279
Russian Civil War, 1918–1920
Soviet-Polish War, 1919-1920

Treaty of Riga, 1921 establishes eastern boundary of Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. Parts of present-day Ukraine in Poland (Galicia), Czechoslovakia, Romania, and Russia

Semyon Peliura, military commander and chair of the Directorate, 1918-1920
Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, March 1919

Declaration and Treaty on the Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
22 December 1922

Signatory:
• The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic
• The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic
• The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic
• The Transcaucasian Soviet Socialist Republic

Flag of USSR
1922-23
Ukrainianization and Indigenization
The USSR as an Affirmative-Action State

Meeting of regional CPSU first party secretaries,
Moscow, 1935
Iosif Vissarionovich Dzhugashvili
Stalin (1879-1953)

• Commissar for Nationalities, 1917-1922
• Member of Politburo, 1919-1953
• Director of Workers and Peasants Inspectorate (Rabkrin), 1919-1922
• Political Commissar on Siberian and Polish fronts (1918-1919)
• General Secretary of Communist Party, 1922-1953
“The Soviets and Electrification are the Foundation of a New World” (1924)

1925 USSR
7500 autos; 5500 lorries; 263 buses
US auto registration
1920 8.5 million → 1929, 23 million

“In the red automobile of revolution toward the tsardom of communism” [c.1921]
Stalinist Civilization
industrialized not agrarian, urban not rural, technocratic not peasant, modern not backwards, powerful not weak, socialist not capitalist, unified/loyal not divided/alien, soviet and russian

“We Will Fulfill the Five-Year Plan in Four Years!” 1930-31
Dnieper Rapids Dam and Hydroelectricity Project, 1928-1934
Dneprostroy

Zaporozhia

S. Marshak, War with The Dnieper [children’s book]
Khar’kiv/Khar’kov
Tractor Factory, 1930

John Deere Model tractors built in XTZ, 1931
Industrialization and Urbanization

1926-1939 urban population: 26–56 million
1926-39 urban-rural: 18%-82%; 33%-63%
1928-1937 hired workers: 11.6–27 million
1929-1941: 8000 new factories
1928-1940: heavy industrial production averaged 15% annual growth
Official urban housing allotment: 1926-1940 8.2–6.4 sq meters

- disequilibria between demand for and supply of labor and materials within and between industrial sectors; *shturmovstvo [storming]*
- no reliable price structure or credit system: *tol kach [the deal-maker]*
- centralized bureaucracy rather than managerial initiative: *chinovnik [the official]*
New Red Technical and Educated Elites

Workers’ Faculty [Rabfak]: 100,000 worker communists selected for engineering and other technical vocational institutes: new “red technocrats” [1928-1932]

White-collar employees 3.5 million 1925→10.5 million 1939

University students 169,000 1929→812,000 1939

1933: 57% of “leading cadres and specialists” lack higher or technical secondary education

Shakhty Trial, 1928
53 technicians and engineers, “bourgeois specialists” become “wreckers”
Union for the Liberation of Ukraine vs USSR, March 1930
- Vice-President of Ukrainian Academy of Sciences
- Former Prime Minister of Ukrainian People’s Republic
- Head Primate, Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church
Agriculture Funds Industrialization: Collectivization

Strip system of agriculture

Sergei Korovin, Communal Assembly, 1896

“On to Collective Labor, c.1929”
“Wholesale Collectivization” and “Liquidation of Kulaks as a Class,” November-December 1929

Grain Exports (metric tons):
1 million 1929
5.4 million 1930
4.4 million 1931
1.4 million 1932
Exports cease 1933

Trial of “Kulaks,” 1929
“We Are Liquidating the Kulaks as a Class”

Peasants vote to join the kolkhoz, c. early 1930s
Famine: Lower Volga, Northern Caucasus, Ukraine, 1932-33
Holodomor
Голодомор
[To Kill by Starvation]

death from famine, 1932-33: 3-4 million→7-10 million
Population of Soviet Ukraine: 1926 29 mil 1937 26.5 mil
Stalin’s View of Ukrainian Nationalism

Stalin to Kaganovich, August 1932

They say that in two oblasts of Ukraine (Kyiv and Dnipropetrovsk, I think), about 50 district committees have come out against the grain-procurement plan, calling it unrealistic. If we do not start fixing the situation in Ukraine right away, we may lose Ukraine. Bear in mind that Piłsudski is not dawdling. Also bear in mind that in the Communist Party of Ukraine (500,000 members, ha-ha), there is no lack (yes, no lack!) of corrupt elements, committed and latent Petliurites, and, finally, outright agents of Piłsudski. As soon as things get worse, those elements will not hesitate to open a front within (and outside) the party, against the party.

Purges, Terror, and Police State

American Historical Review, 1993

1937-38: 3 million detained in Gulag custody;
1930-1953, 780,000 executions for state crimes; of these, 86% occurred 1937-38;

all criminal convictions, USSR vs USA:
1933-1952 USSR: 41.3 million; USA, 11.6 million
1933-1937 USSR 10.3 million; USA 2.65
**Interwar Galicia**

- Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), 1929
- radical nationalism: The Nation and the new man as supreme values
- Ukrainian national independence and use of violence to achieve it
- Ukrainian Military Organization
- Carpatho-Ukraine state independence, March 1939
- Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists-B(Andera)
- Ukrainian Insurgent Army, 1942

![Poland, 1937, major linguistic groups](image)

*Stepan Bandera, 1909-1959*
Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact, 23 August 1939

German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop (2nd fr l); Stalin; Soviet Foreign Affairs Commissar Viacheslav Molotov
German-Soviet Partition of Poland and Western Ukraine, Sept. 1939

Planned division of Central Europe according to Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact

- Soviet Union
- Germany
- Other countries and territories
- East Prussia

1939
- Soviet sphere of influence
- German sphere of influence
- National borders as of 1939
- Planned Borders
- Soviet republic borders as of 1939

1940
- Annexed by the Soviet Union
- Annexed by Germany
- Occupied by Germany
- National borders as of 1940
- National borders as of 1938
- Soviet republic borders as of 1940

Actual territorial changes 1939–1940

- Latvian SSR
- Estonian SSR
- Byelorussian SSR
- Ukrainian SSR
- Moldavian SSR
- Byelorussian SSR
- Soviet Union
- Germany
- Other countries and territories
- East Prussia
Totalitarian War in The East: Berlin to Moscow and Back Again, 1941-1945

- 7 million Ukrainians of various nationalities in Red Army
- 250,000 Ukrainians in German auxiliary units
- 20,000 Ukrainians 14th Waffen-SS Grenadier Division Galician
- Ukrainian Insurgent Army, 20-70,000

German war plan, 1941
“Operation Barbarossa”

Soviet Counter-Offensive 1943-1944
“Ukraine under German occupation became a large-scale model of a concentration camp. As in the camps, the line between resistance and collaboration, victimhood and criminal complicity with the regime became blurred but by no means indistinguishable. Everyone made a personal choice, and those who survived had to live with their decisions after the war, many in harmony, some in unending anguish. But almost everyone suffered survivor’s guilt.”

Victory/Pobeda
Post-War Soviet Society

DMITRI BALTERMANTS
Sorrow-stricken, 1942
Mykhaylo Khmelko, “Forever with Russia. Forever with the Russian People (Treaty of Pereyaslav), 1951
Mikhaylo Khmelko, “The Unification of the Ukrainian Lands in 1939”, 1949 →

1944-1950:
• 780,000 Poles deported from Ukrainian lands to Poland
• 500,00 Ukrainians deported from Poland to Ukraine
• 250,000 in western Ukraine arrested and deported to Siberia
• 5 million Ukrainian Catholics become Orthodox Christians by fiat
• Red Army and NKVD counter-insurgency operations in Western Ukraine against UPA
Postwar Economic Reconstruction and Sacrifice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>1940</th>
<th>1945</th>
<th>1950</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National Income</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Producer's Goods</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumer's Goods</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grain Harvest [million tons]</td>
<td>95.6</td>
<td>47.3</td>
<td>81.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sumy, Northeast Ukraine, 1949

Economic Reconstruction

Convict labor brigades:

prison population of $\frac{3}{5} \rightarrow 12\,\text{to}\,15\,\text{million}$, including Axis POWs and $0.5\,-\,2.5\,\text{million}$ former Soviet POWs
The Postwar Generation


“My generation…emerged from under the postwar rubble when the state was too busy patching its own skin and couldn’t look after us very well. We entered schools, and whatever elevated rubbish we were taught there, the suffering and poverty were visible all around. You cannot cover a ruin with a page of *Pravda*. The empty windows gaped at us like skulls’ orbits, and as little as we were, we sensed tragedy.”
Stalin’s Death
4 March 1953

The Great Farewell