

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



Tsarist Coat of Arms



Russian Provisional Government



Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic

- 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

## Приказъ № 1.

1 марта 1917 года.

По гарнизону Петроградского Округа: всемъ солдатамъ гвардии, кавалерии, артиллерии и флота для немедленного и точного исполнения, а рабочимъ Петрограда для сведения.

Советъ Рабочихъ и Солдатскихъ Депутатовъ постановляетъ:

1) Во всехъ ротахъ, батальонахъ, полкахъ, паркахъ, батареяхъ, эскадронахъ и отдельныхъ службахъ разнаго рода военныхъ управленийъ и во судахъ военного флота немедленно выбрать комитеты изъ выборныхъ представителей отъ нижнихъ чиновъ вышеуказанныхъ воинскихъ частей.

2) Во всехъ воинскихъ частяхъ, которыя еще не выбрали своихъ представителей въ Советъ Рабочихъ Депутатовъ, избрать по одному представителю отъ роты, которыми и явятся съ писанными удостоверениями въ здание Государственной Думы къ 10 часамъ утра, 10-го сего марта.

3) Во всехъ своихъ политическихъ выступленияхъ воинская часть подчиняется Совету Рабочихъ и Солдатскихъ Депутатовъ и своимъ комитетамъ.

4) Приказы военной комиссии Государственной Думы слѣдуетъ исполнять только въ тѣхъ случаяхъ, когда они не противостоятъ приказамъ и постановлениямъ Совета Рабочихъ и Солдатъ Депутатовъ.

5) Всякаго рода оружiе, какъ то винтовки, пулеметы, бронированные автомобили и прочее должны находиться въ распоряженiи и подъ контролемъ ротныхъ и батальонныхъ комитетовъ, а не въ рукахъ солдатъ не выданныхъ офицерамъ, даже по ихъ требованiямъ.

6) Въ строю и при отправленiи служебныхъ обязанностей солдаты должны соблюдать строжайшую воинскую дисциплину, но внѣ службы и строя, въ своей политической, общегражданской и частной жизни солдаты ни въ чемъ не могутъ быть ущемлены въ тѣхъ правахъ, которыми пользуются все граждане.

Въ частности, вставанiе во фронтъ и обязательное отданiе чести вне службы отменяется.

7) Равнымъ образомъ отменяется титулованiе офицеровъ: вице-превосходительство, благородiе и т. п., и замѣняется обращенiемъ: господинъ генералъ, господинъ полковникъ и т. д.

Грубое обращенiе съ солдатами всякихъ воинскихъ чиновъ и, въ частности, обращенiе къ нимъ на «ты», воспрещается и о всякомъ нарушенiи сего, равно какъ и о всякихъ недоразумѣнiяхъ между офицерами и солдатами, послѣднiе обязаны доводить до свѣдѣнiя ротныхъ комитетовъ.

Настоящiй приказъ прочесть во всехъ ротахъ, батальонахъ, полкахъ, эскадронахъ, батареяхъ и прочихъ строевыхъ и нестроевыхъ командахъ.

Петроградскiй Советъ Рабочихъ и Солдатскихъ Депутатовъ.



# V.I. Lenin (1870-1924) and the Bolshevik Seizure of Power

25 October/7 November 1917



Bolshevik Party Membership:  
spring 1917: 20-40,000  
spring 1918: 118-390,000

- **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**

**FINAL EDITION**

# The Evening World.

**FINAL EDITION**

WEATHER—Fair To-morrow.

"Circulation Books Open to All!"

"Circulation Books Open to All!"

PRICE ONE CENT in Greater New York and Eastern County, N. Y. Elsewhere, 10 CENTS. Copyright, 1917, by The Free Press and Co., (The New York World). NEW YORK, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1917. 24 PAGES. PRICE ONE CENT in Greater New York and Eastern County, N. Y. Elsewhere, 10 CENTS.

# KERENSKY OVERTHROWN BY BOLSHEVIKI; MOVE FOR PEACE BY NEW GOVERNMENT

### 'HANDS OFF!' TAMMANY'S POLICY AS TO POLICE HEAD; PROBLEM FOR THE MAYOR

Judge Hyfan Will Pick His Own Commissioner, Adds Secretary Smith.

"TIGER NEEDS NO JOBS."

Has Been Getting Along With out Patronage—"Chief" Going Away for a Rest.

Tammany will not pick, nor recommend to the law maker, who he takes office, and man for appointment as Police Commissioner. Its organization tends to keep clear of the details and entanglements of the

### SIX WOMEN KILLED AS BUILDING CRASH CAUSES EXPLOSION

College of Brooklyn Warehouse Laid to Heavy Machinery—Fire Follows Blast.

Heavy machinery recently installed in the second floor of the old four-story building at Nos. 12 and 14 St. Mark's avenue, Brooklyn, caused the structure to collapse to-day and six women were buried in the ruins which caught fire from an explosion of acetylene gas. The dead are all residents of Brooklyn. They are: JOHANNIS, MRS. JOSEPHINE, No. 12 Myrtle Street; KENNEDY, HELEN, No. 81 Conover Street; JENSEN, NELLIE, No. 104 Bayside Street; BANA, LOLA, No. 165 Bridge Street; LABOTA, LOUISE, No. 165 Bridge Street.

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

French and British Guns Now Being Placed Along Poive River Defenses.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 8.—The decisive battle of the Ypres line in Italy is entering its first stage with vigorous fire pouring by the opposing armies. It is announced in dispatches from Rome, France and British headquarters are making link of the front lines and heavy artillery is being moved from the western front to the Italian front.

The Rome cables had a dramatic description of the battle. It says:

### RUSSIAN PREMIER WHO WAS DEPOSED BY THE BOLSHEVIKI



A. S. KERENSKY

### RUSSIAN SOLDIERS ORDERED TO ARREST ALL OFFICERS WHO DISOBEY NEW GOVERNMENT

New Revolt Aided by Cossacks Accomplished Without Bloodshed—Lenine in Control, Aided by Leon Trotzky—Lands to Go to Peasants

PETROGRAD, Nov. 8 (British Admiralty, per Wireless Press).—The Military Revolutionary Committee of the Central Council of Soldiers' and Workers' Deputies, in a proclamation to the Army Committee and to all Soldiers' and Workers' Councils, says:

"We have deposed without bloodshed the Kerensky Government which rose against the revolution. An offer

### U. S. SEIZES ALL PROPERTY OF THE HAMBURG LINE

German Company's Broadway Offices to Be Occupied by War Post Board.

Third Route Marshal Richard

# 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

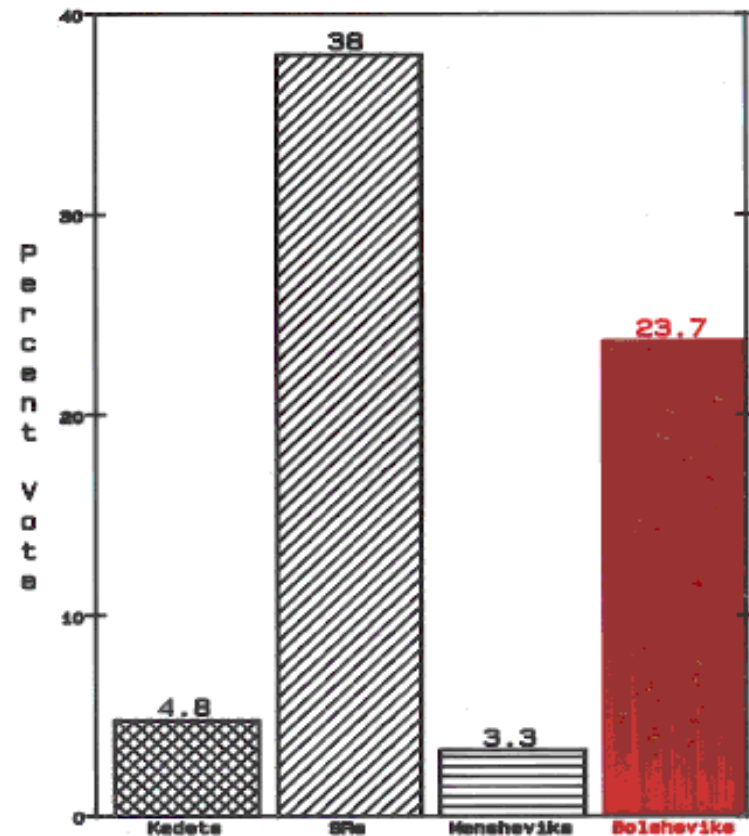
3.3%

Cossacks

2%

Muslim Socialists 2%

Elections to Constituent Assembly: Grand Totals



-  Kadets
-  SRs
-  Mensheviks
-  Bolsheviks

46 million votes;  
50-55% participation

SOURCE: Oliver Henry Radkey, *The Election to the Russian Constituent Assembly of 1917* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1950), pp. 78-80.

# Dismembered Russia—Some of the Fragments



UT of the chaos into which Russia fell after the revolution of last March a new nation now emerges—the Ukrainian People's Republic. The terms of the treaty of peace the Central Powers, the Ukraine or Austro-Hungarian territory, but which turn over to it a strip (theatched area on the map) of what were Russian Poland. This strip, er with the rest of the shaded area, map, shows the new Ukrainian lic on the basis of the extreme of the Ukrainians when they d from Russia. Crimea, according to the most recent news, is not included in the new Ukrainian State, nor is Bessarabia, whence came news a few days ago of the occupation of the principal Bessarabian city, Kishinev, by Rumanian troops, which followed other dispatches telling of the creation of a Bessarabian republic.

North of the Ukraine are shown the three subdivisions of Poland—Austrian, Russian, and German. Russian Poland is occupied in its entirety by the Teuton invaders, as will be seen by reference to the heavy black line denoting the extreme point reached in the eastward advance of the Teutonic armies. The Central Powers also hold Lithuania, Courland, and part of Esthonia, including the great Baltic port of Riga, all of which are apparently overcome.

Though Finland may importance in the near future among Russian territories light just now goes to the new republic, if it succeeds control over all the territory the champions of the Ukraine will cover 850,000 square area one and a half times German Empire, with a 28,000,000.

Dismembered Russia — Some Fragments, NYT article, Feb. 17, 1918) [Wikimedia Commons]



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

- unitary democratic state
- autonomy within federal state
- independence





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>

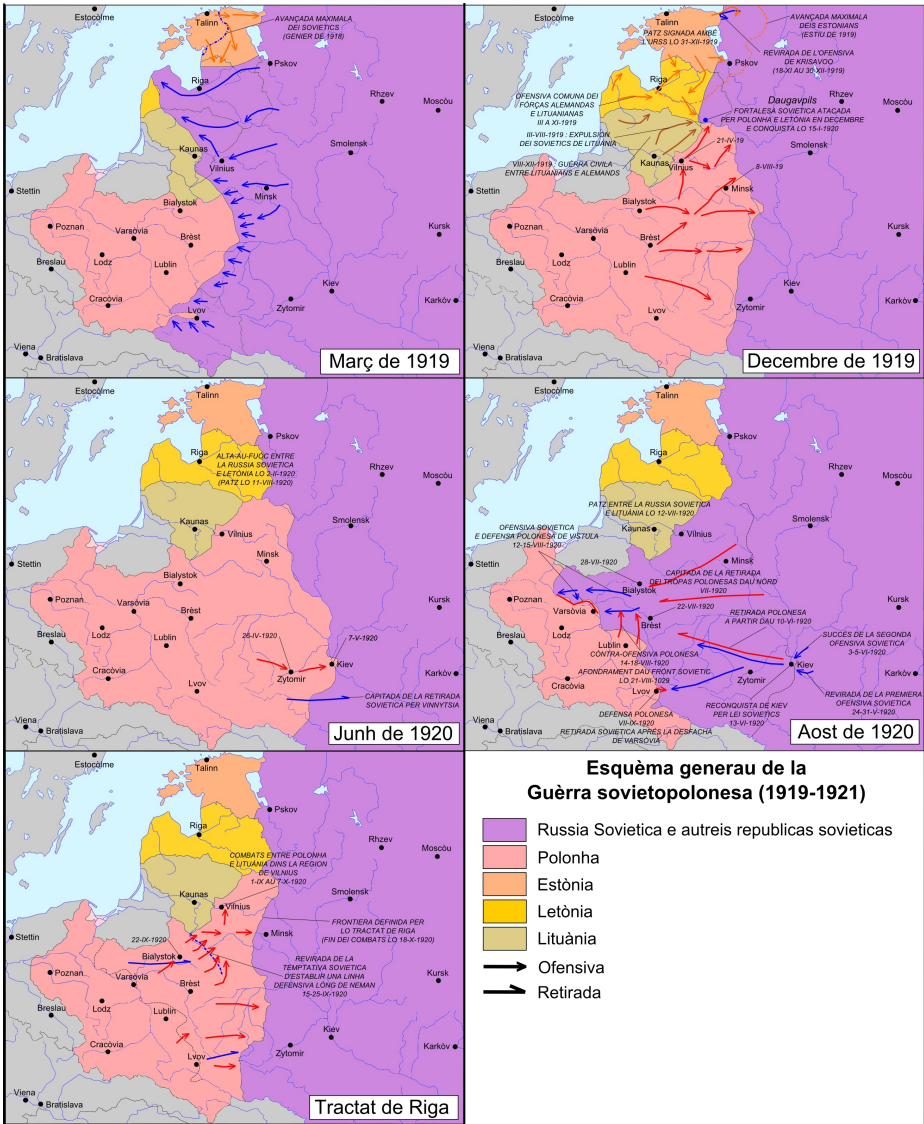
# Russian Civil War, 1918-1920



# Soviet-Polish War, 1919-1920

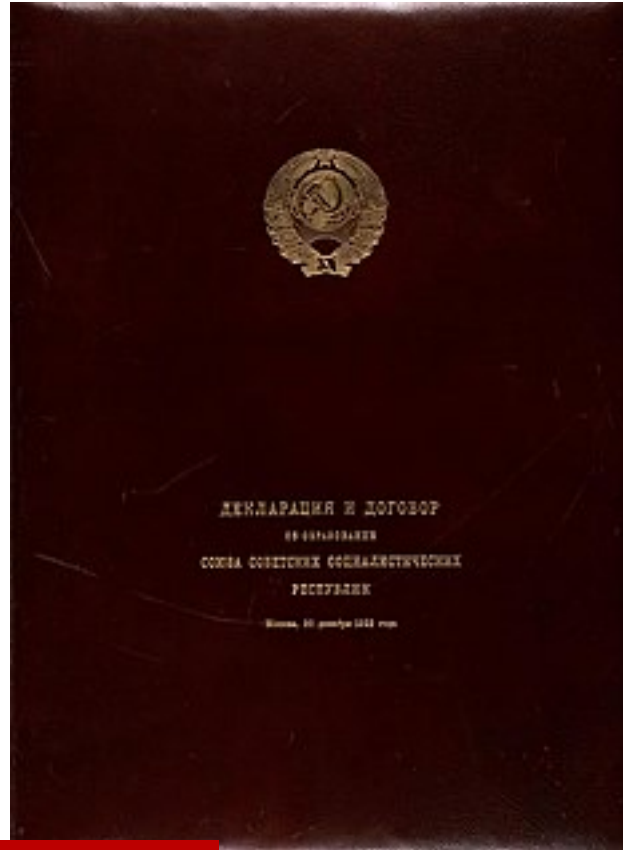


Semyon Peliura, military commander and chair of the Directorate, 1918-1920



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

## Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, March 1919



## Declaration and Treaty on the Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

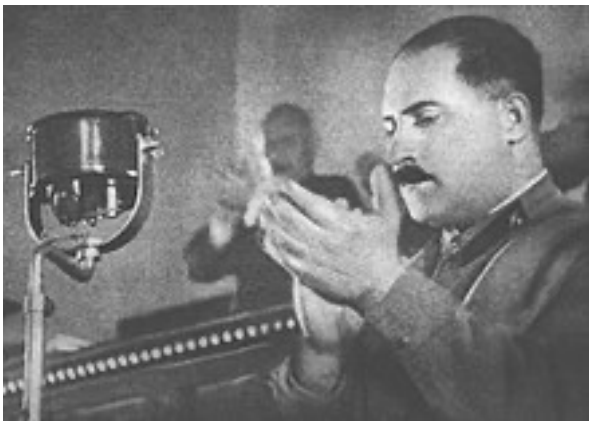
22 December 1922

### Signatories:

- 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



Lazar Kaganovich, 1893-1991



На заседании передовиков урожайности по зерну, трактористов и машинистов молотилок с руководителями партии и правительства. Товарищи Сталин, Андреев, Микоян и Косиор слушают речь академика Т. Д. Лысенко.  
Слева направо: Сталин, Андреев, Микоян, Косиор, Лысенко, Андреев, Сталин.

Stanislav Kosior, 1889-1939 [Lysenko, Kosior, Andreev, Stalin]



Nikita Krushchev and Nina Petrovna Kukharchuk, 1924

## 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



## Industrial Modernity and Constructing Socialism



“We Are Building Socialism” (1927)



“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**

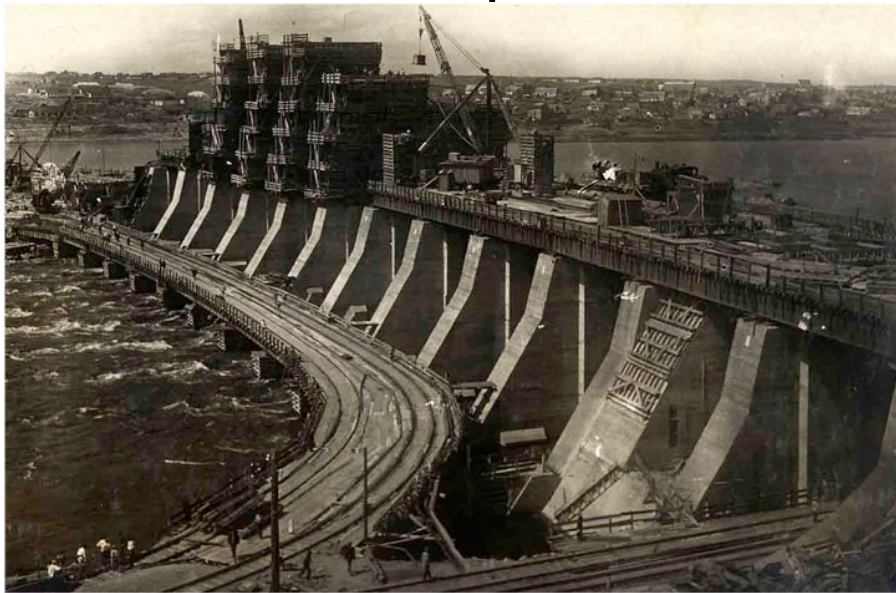


“We Will Fulfill the Five-Year Plan in Four Years!” 1930-31



# Dnieper Rapids Dam and Hydroelectricity Project, 1928-1934

## Dneprostroy



Zaporozhia



S. Marshak,  
War with The  
Dnieper  
[children's  
book]



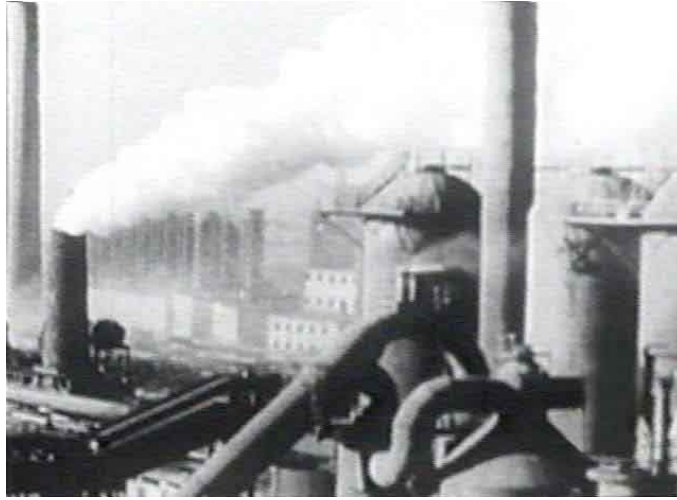


Khar'kiv/Khar'kov  
Tractor Factory, 1930



John Deere Model tractors built in XTZ, 1931

# Industrialization and Urbanization



- 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*]

1926-1939 urban population: 26→56 million

1926-39 urban-rural: 18%-82%; 33%-63%

1928-1937 hired workers: 11.6→27million

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

## New Red Technical and Educated Elites



Shakhty Trial,  
1928  
53 technicians  
and engineers,  
“bourgeois  
specialists”  
become  
“wreckers”

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

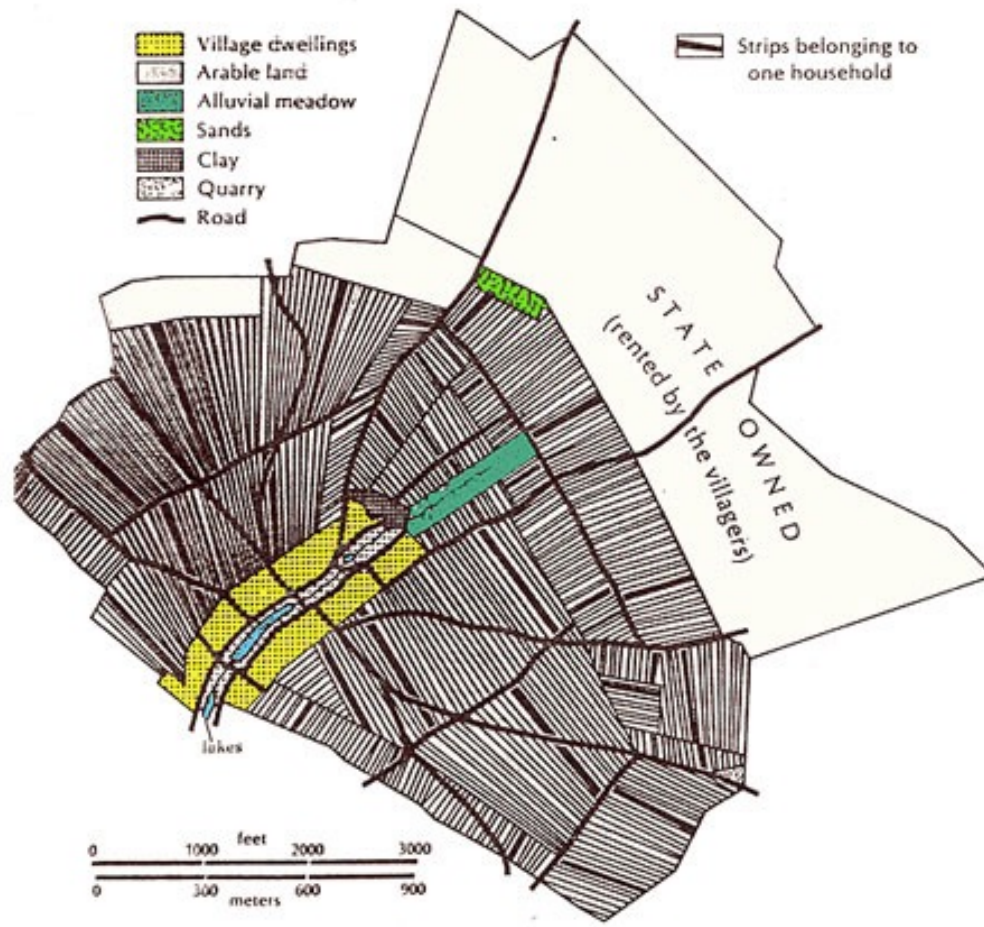
1933: 57% of “leading cadres and specialists” lack higher or technical secondary education



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

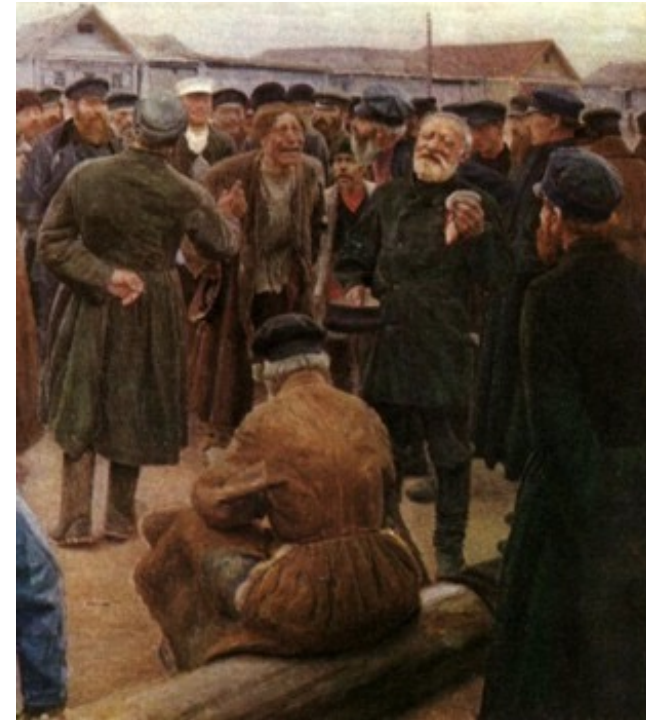


Strip system of agriculture

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”



middle and *kulak*. The word meant ‘fist’ in

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



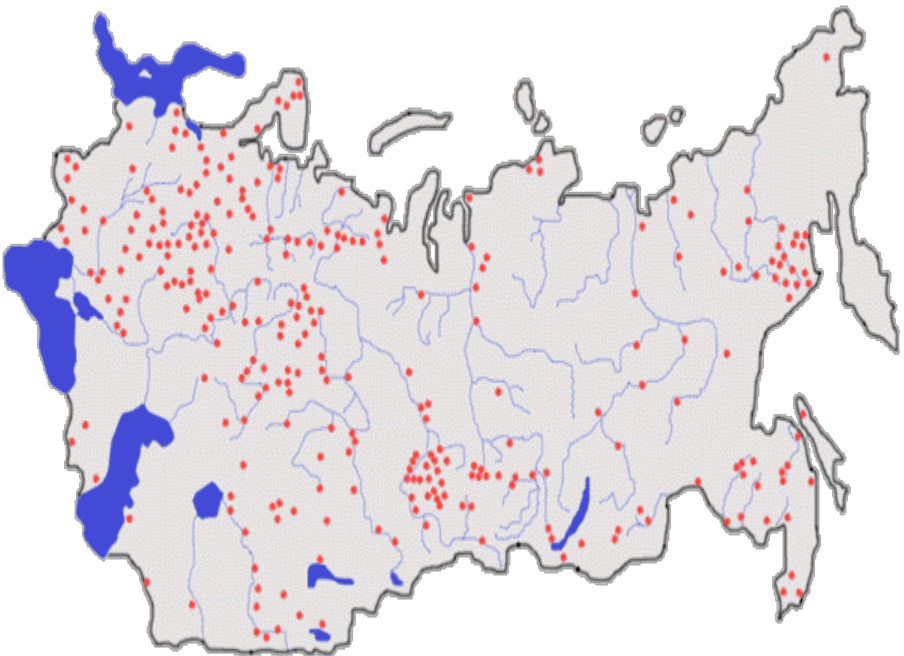
## Stalin's View of Ukrainian Nationalism

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.

Plokhy, Serhii. *The Gates of Europe* (p. 251-252). Basic Books. Kindle Edition.

# Purges, Terror, and Police State



Gulag Archipelago



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;

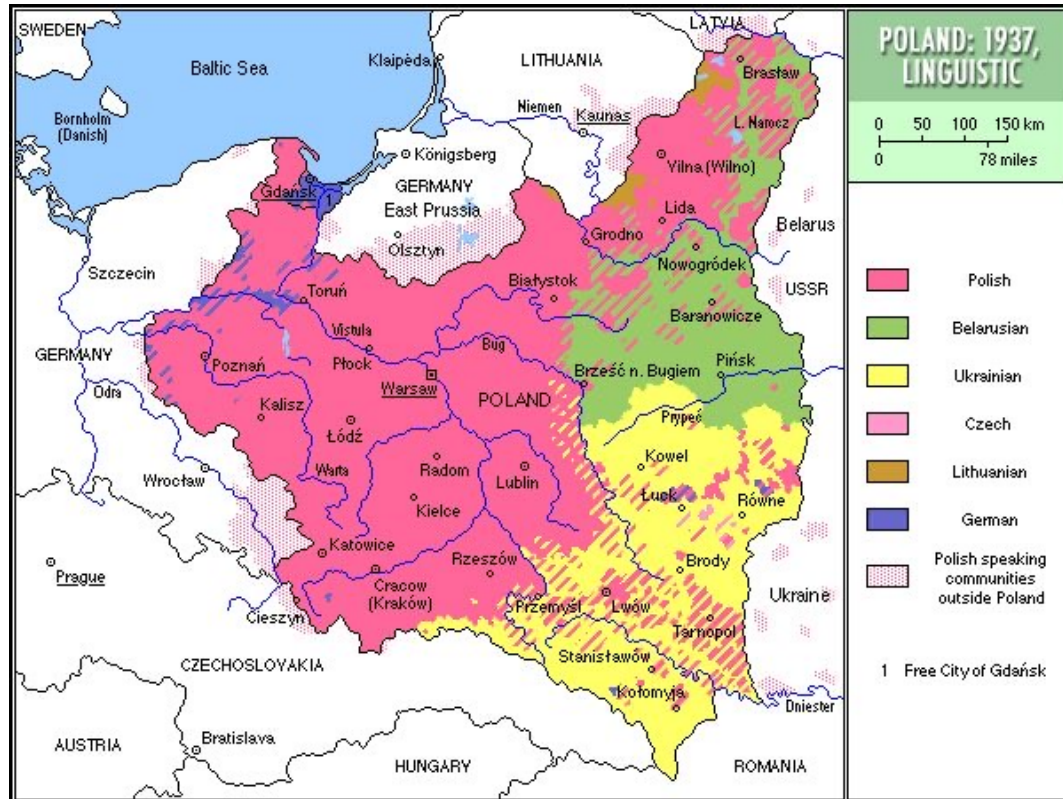
all criminal convictions, USSR vs USA:

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



Stepan Bandera, 1909-1959

# Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact, 23 August 1939



German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop (2<sup>nd</sup> fr l); Stalin; Soviet Foreign Affairs Commissar Viacheslav Molotov

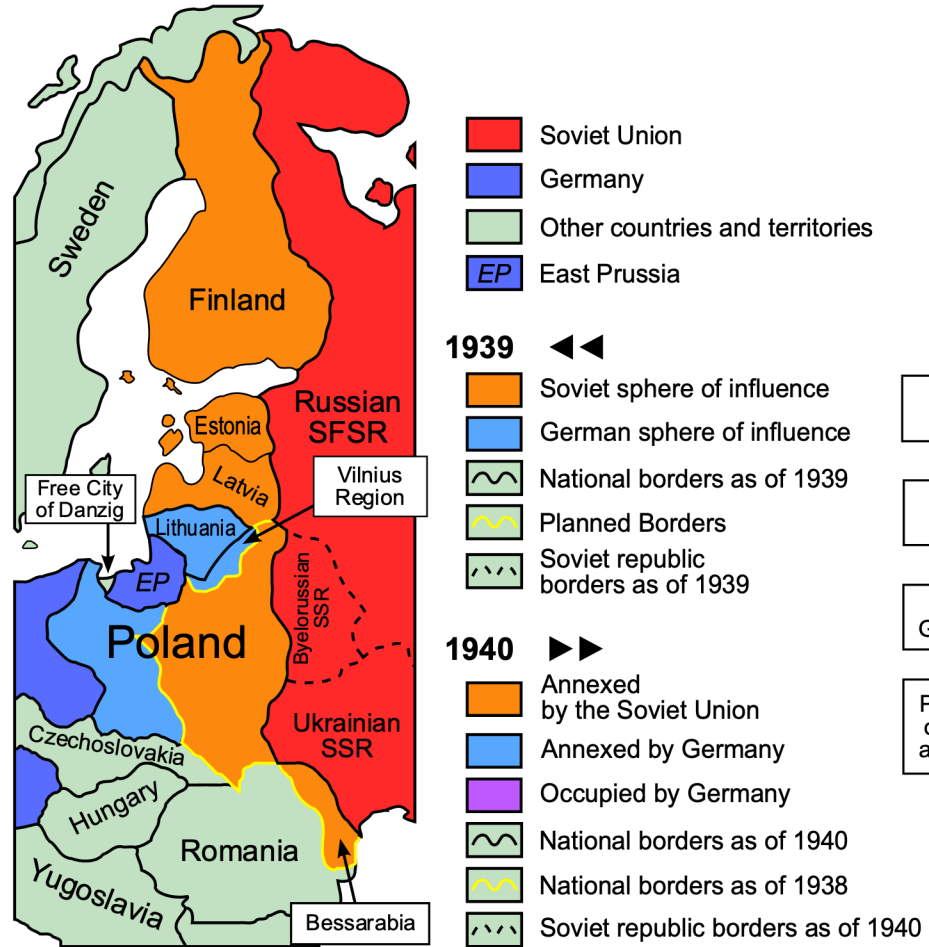


WONDER HOW LONG THE HONEYMOON WILL LAST?

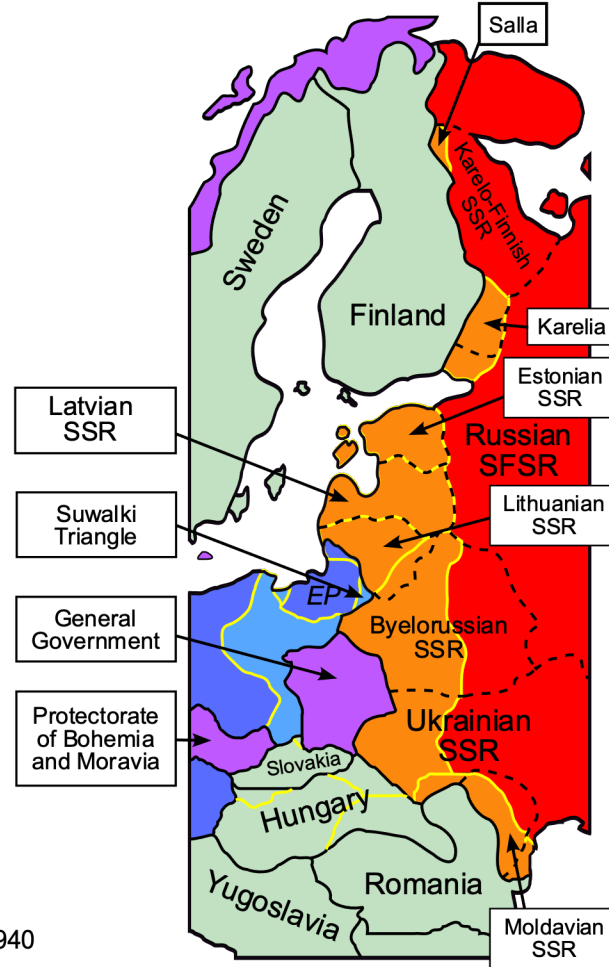


# German-Soviet Partition of Poland and Western Ukraine, Sept. 1939

## Planned division of Central Europe according to Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact



## Actual territorial changes 1939–1940



# Total(itarian) 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 14<sup>th</sup> Waffen-SS Grenadier Division Galician
- Ukrainian Insurgent Army, 20-70,000



German war plan, 1941  
“Operation Barbarossa”



Soviet Counter-Offensive 1943-1944

## The Holocaust and Collaboration

“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.”

Plokhy, Serhii. *The Gates of Europe* (p. 267). Basic Books. Kindle Edition.



New York Times, March 3 2013: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

# 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

| Item                            | 1940 | 1945 | 1950 |
|---------------------------------|------|------|------|
| National Income                 | 100  | 83   | 164  |
| Producer's Goods                | 100  | 112  | 205  |
| Consumer's Goods                | 100  | 59   | 123  |
| Grain Harvest<br>[million tons] | 95.6 | 47.3 | 81.2 |



Sumy, Northeast Ukraine, 1949



Moscow State University

## Economic Reconstruction

Convict labor brigades:

prison population of 3/5 → 12/15 million,  
including Axis POWs and 0.5-2.5 million  
former Soviet POWs

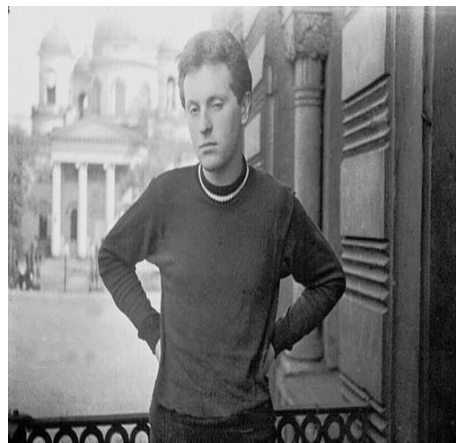


Volga-Don Canal



# The Postwar Generation

Joseph Brodsky, *Less Than One* (1979)  
“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](#)