

REMAKING UKRAINE AFTER WORLD WAR II

Ukraine was liberated from German wartime occupation by 1944 but remained prisoner to the consequences for much longer. This study examines Soviet Ukraine's transition from war to 'peace' in the long aftermath of World War II. Filip Slaveski explores the challenges faced by local Soviet authorities in reconstructing central Ukraine, including feeding rapidly growing populations in the post-war famine. Drawing on recently declassified Soviet sources, Slaveski traces the previously unknown bitter struggle for land, food and power among collective farmers at the bottom of the Soviet social ladder and local and central authorities. He reveals how local authorities challenged central ones for these resources in pursuit of their own vision of rebuilding central Ukraine, undermining the Stalinist policies they were supposed to implement and forsaking the farmers in the process. In so doing, Slaveski demonstrates how the consequences of this battle shaped post-war reconstruction, and continue to resonate in contemporary Ukraine, especially with the ordinary people caught in the middle.

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The Clash of Local and Central Soviet Power
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FILIP SLAVESKI

Deakin University, Victoria



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In memory of my mother

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Any errors made in this book are mine alone.

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Note on Translation and Transliteration

I have attempted to translate/transliterate all Polish, Ukrainian and Russian names and placenames to reflect their origin. This can be challenging when the same names are recorded differently in various language sources at different times, sometimes by competing hegemonies mobilising language to establish their authority. Where confusion remains, I have defaulted to the largely Russian or Ukrainian versions of names predominant therein for the sake of clarity. For this same reason, I have used a modified version of Library of Congress transliteration systems for all languages, with some common exceptions.

Abbreviations and Translated Terms from Russian and Ukrainian

<i>antiobshchestvennyi obraz zhizni</i>	anti-social lifestyle
AV BRDA	Archive Department of the Bila Tserkva Raion Administration
<i>besperspektivnyi</i>	unpromising
<i>bezdušnost'</i>	callousness
<i>blank</i>	standard template (form)
Cheka	acronym for the Extraordinary Commission to Combat Counterrevolution and Sabotage, 1917–22
<i>chekist</i>	Cheka member/secret police officer
Chervonyi Khliborob	'Red Farmer/Tiller' collective farm
Chervonyi Pluhatar	'Red Ploughman' collective farm
CP(b)U	Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine
DAKO	State Archive of Kyiv Oblast
<i>edinolichniki</i>	individual/'private' farmers
GARF	State Archive of the Russian Federation
GKO	State Defence Committee, the chief wartime decision-making body
<i>gorkom</i>	city party committee
<i>gorsovet</i>	city council
HDA SBU	Archive Department of the Security Service of Ukraine
Imeni Lenina	'In the Name of Lenin' collective farm

<i>individual'nye khoziaistva</i>	individual/'private' farms
<i>kolkhoz</i> (sing.), <i>kolkhozy</i> (pl.)	collective farm(s)
<i>kolkhoznik</i> (sing.), <i>kolkhozniki</i> (pl.)	collective farmer(s)
Komissiiia Partiinogo Kontroliia	Party Control Commission (KPK)
<i>krai</i>	administrative territory, larger than an oblast
<i>kraikom</i>	Communist Party <i>krai</i> committee
<i>krest'ianstvo</i>	peasantry
<i>kulak</i>	'rich' peasant
<i>militsiia</i>	civil police
<i>mnimye kolkhozniki</i>	'sham' collective farmers
MPVO	Local Anti-Aircraft Defence Organisation
MTS	machine tractor station
NKVD	People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (All-Union) 1934–46
<i>NKVDisty</i>	mostly Ukrainian colloquial term for NKVD agents
Nove Zhyttia	'New Life' collective farm
<i>ob.</i>	oborot: reverse (back side of a page, especially in an archive document)
<i>obkom</i>	provincial party committee
oblast	province/region, larger than <i>raion</i>
<i>obliispolkom</i>	provincial state executive committee
<i>ogorodnichestvo</i>	private horticulture
<i>okolokolkhozniy element</i>	loosely collectivised elements
<i>okrug</i>	often a military administrative district
<i>otstaiushchie kolkhozy i raiony</i>	collective farms and districts lagging behind
OUN	Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists
Peremoha	'Victory' collective farm
Pershe Travnia	'First of May' collective farm
<i>pervichnaia partiinaia organizatsiia</i>	lowest-level party cell
<i>pisok</i>	sand
<i>podsobnoe khoziaistvo</i>	subsidiary farming
<i>prispeshnik</i>	collaborator

List of Abbreviations

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<i>raiiipolkom</i>	district state executive committee
<i>raikom</i>	district party committee
<i>raion</i> (sing.), <i>raiony</i> (pl.)	district(s)
RGAE	Russian State Archive of the Economy
RGASPI	Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History
<i>samokritika</i>	self-criticism
<i>sel'skoe khoziaistvo</i>	agriculture
<i>sel'sovet</i>	village council
<i>sobranie</i> (sing.), <i>sobraniia</i> (pl.)	farm meeting(s)
Sovet po delam kolkhozov pri Sovmin SSSR	Council on Collective Farm Affairs in the USSR Council of Ministers (the Soviet government)
<i>sovkhov</i> (sing.), <i>sovkhozy</i> (pl.)	state farm(s)
Sovmin	Council of Ministers, replaced Sovnarkom from March 1946
Sovnarkom	Council of People's Commissars (highest body in the Soviet government at republican and all-Union level)
SSSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
<i>strogoe vzyiskanie</i>	strong party punishment
Tretii Vyrishal'nyi TsDAHOU	'Third Decisive' collective farm Central State Archive of Public Organisations of Ukraine
TsDAVOU	Central State Archives of Supreme Bodies of Power and Government of Ukraine
TsK VKP(b)	Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)
UkSSR	Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic
UPA	Ukrainian Insurgent Army
<i>vygovor</i> (sing.), <i>vygovory</i> (pl.)	party reprimand(s)
<i>vzyiskanie</i> (sing.), <i>vzyiskaniia</i> (pl.)	party punishment(s)
<i>zemleustroitel'</i>	land surveyor
<i>zemlianka</i> (sing.), <i>zemlianki</i> (pl.)	dirt hovel(s)