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**Resettlements and Deportations during the Post-Holodomor Years (1933–1936):**

**A District-by-District Breakdown**

Between 1933 and 1936 several organized resettlements and deportations were carried out in Soviet Ukraine—the logical outcome of earlier Bolshevik policies. Beginning in 1933 and continuing in early 1934, Ukrainian villages ravaged by the Holodomor were occupied by voluntary settlers. These included both peasants recruited by the Soviet government and those who chose of their own free will to settle the “freed-up” lands. In this article, the term “resettlement” is used to define such actions. But by 1935, when it came to the expulsion of peasant households from the border districts (*raiony*) of Vinnytsia and Kyiv provinces (*oblasti*) and their relocation to the eastern districts of the Ukrainian SSR, peasant agreement was not sought. The term “deportation” is used to define this forcible expulsion. Peasant households from the provinces of Chernihiv and Kyiv were settled on the farmsteads that had become vacant as a result of the deportations. Since these were voluntary settlers, we are again dealing here with “resettlement.” With regard to the year 1936, only deportations are discussed in this article.

The historiography of the Holodomor includes some general research on this question. The resettlements of 1933–34 have been analyzed primarily by Ukrainian scholars.<sup>1</sup> The principal and indisputable thesis of the research on this topic is that more than 100,000 migrants from outside the Ukrainian SSR were resettled in Ukrainian villages ravaged by the Holodomor.

The topic of the 1935–36 deportations is reflected in both Ukrainian<sup>2</sup> and foreign historiography (pertaining mostly to 1936), above all Polish<sup>3</sup> and Russian.<sup>4</sup> In these works one can

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<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., V. I. Marochko, “Masove pereseleattia kolhospynykiv ta odnoosibnykiv z Rosii ta Bilorusii v Ukraïnu: prykhovuvannia naslidkiv Holodomoru,” in *Holod 1932–1933 rokiv v Ukraïni: Prychyny ta naslidky*, ed. V. M. Lytvyn (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 2003), 467–72.

<sup>2</sup> I. I. Vynnychenko, *Ukraïna 1920–1980-kh: deportatsii, zaslannia, vyslannia* (Kyiv, 1994); T. Ieremenko, *Pol's'ka natsional'na menshyna v Ukraïni v 20–30-ti rr. XX stolittia* (Kyiv, 1994); Bohdan Chyrko, “Natsmen? Znachyt' voroh,” *Z arkhiviv VUChK–HPU–NKVD–KHB*, 1995, nos. 1–2: 95–111; Oleksandr Rubl'ov and Volodymyr

find analyses of the reasons behind the deportations, information on the number of deportees (which do not always tally), investigations of the fate of the deportees, and so on. As a rule, however, scholars have neglected to create a district-by-district breakdown of the deportations. The works of Henryk Stroński and Viktor Zhezytsky are partial exceptions, but the geographic scope of their research does not encompass the entire territory of the deportations that took place in 1935–36.

The aim of this article is to bring to light district-by-district data on the deportations and resettlements (*dopryseleattia*) of 1933–36 in the Ukrainian SSR.<sup>5</sup> The publication of such data will help establish little-known facts and provide arguments in favor of demythologizing this question.

The goal of the resettlement campaign in 1933 and early 1934 was to settle the Ukrainian villages most depopulated by the Holodomor. This was an economic need first and foremost, as the state required grain, but in certain districts there was no one to grow it. There were two reasons for the deportations of 1935: first, to carry out a purge of the western border of the Ukrainian SSR and, second, to populate settlements that had been depopulated by the Holodomor. To a significant degree, the districts in which peasants were resettled in 1935 were the same as those in which resettlement had taken place in 1933–34. This, together with data about the return of Russian settlers to their homeland, confirms the thesis that the resettlements of 1933–34 did not significantly affect the ethnic composition of the Ukrainian countryside. Finally, determining the districts of deportation and districts of resettlement can help refine the geography of demographic losses in

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Repryntsev, “Represii proty poliakiiv v Ukraïni u 30-ti roky,” *Z arkhiviv VUChK–HPU–NKVD–KHB*, 1995, nos. 1–2: 116–56; V. Zhezyts'kyi, “Masovi deportatsii naseleattia Podillia (druha polovyna 30-kh rr. XX st.),” *Z arkhiviv VUChK–HPU–NKVD–KHB*, 1997, nos. 1–2: 128–34.

<sup>3</sup> M. Iwanów, *Pierwszy naród ukarany: Polacy w Związku Radzieckim 1921–1939* (Warsaw and Wrocław, 1991); H. Strons'kyi [Henryk Stroński], *Zlet i padinnia: Pol's'kyi natsional'nyi raion v Ukraïni u 20–30-ti roky* (Ternopil, 1992); J. Kupeczak, *Polacy na Ukrainie w latach 1921–1939* (Wrocław, 1994).

<sup>4</sup> *Iosif Stalin–Lavrentiiu Berii: “Ikh nado deportirovat'...”: Dokumenty, fakty, kommentarii*, comp. N. F. Bugai (Moscow, 1992); “*Po resheniiu Pravitel'stva Soiuzu SSR...*”: *Deportatsiia narodov: dokumenty i materialy*, comp. N. F. Bugai (Nalchik, 2003); *Stalinskie deportatsii, 1928–1953*, ed. A. N. Iakovlev (Moscow, 2005); N. F. Bugai, *Narody Ukrainy v “Osoboi papke Stalina”* (Moscow, 2006); Viktor Dënningkhaus (Victor Dönninghaus), *V teni “Bol'shogo Brata”*: *Zapadnye natsional'nye men'shinstva v SSSR (1917–1938 gg.)* (Moscow, 2011).

<sup>5</sup> This research was part of the process of preparing maps for the digital *Holodomor Atlas*, a project undertaken by the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute.

both the eastern and the western districts of the Ukrainian SSR. Examining a larger-scale deportation such as that of 1936 will help establish the geography of changes in the demographic situation during the inter-census period in the western districts of Kyiv and Vinnytsia provinces.

### *Resettlement in 1933–1934*

Materials on these resettlements have been preserved in Ukrainian archives better than in others. Data pertaining to a province-by-province breakdown have long been studied by historians and published in collections of documents.<sup>6</sup> However, no district-by-district compilation of data on the resettlements organized by the authorities has been published to this day.

Resettlement took place in two waves: in November–December 1933 and January–February 1934. In the first wave, settlers arrived exclusively from outside the Ukrainian SSR: the Gorky Krai (region) and the Central Black Earth, Western, and Ivanovo provinces of the RSFSR, as well as from the Belarusian SSR. The resettlement of these 117,000 people (the precise figures being 21,856 households, i.e., 117,149 individuals) was completed in late December 1933, that is, these were the first-wave settlers. The second wave of resettlement, which began on 10 January 1934,<sup>7</sup> involved people from Kyiv, Vinnytsia, and Chernihiv provinces of the Ukrainian SSR and the Central Black Earth province of the RSFSR. In both instances, resettlement targets were somewhat inflated, and this was noted immediately after the arrival of the last scheduled train cars that brought settlers. Inasmuch as the excess was insignificant—from 102 to 107 percent—and these figures differ insignificantly in various summaries,<sup>8</sup> the table below lists planned targets. These are

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<sup>6</sup> “Svodnaia vedomost' ob otpravlenii èshelonov na Ukraïnu,” in *Holodomor 1932–1933 rokiv v Ukraïni: Dokumenty i materialy*, comp. R. Ia. Pyrih (Kyiv, 2007), 993. According to the table, 3,527 households from Russia’s Ivanovo province were resettled in Donetsk province. This is probably a mistake. If one includes the indicated figure, the total number of resettled households does not tally with the total that appears in the document. It also contradicts the number that appears in Ukrainian archival sources: 3,627 (all other figures are identical). The latter figure tallies precisely with all others. See TsDAHO Ukraïny, f. 1, op. 20, spr. 6392, ark. 207.

<sup>7</sup> TsDAHO Ukraïny, f. 1, op. 20, spr. 6583, ark. 2.

<sup>8</sup> TsDAHO Ukraïny, f. 1, op. 20, spr. 6392, ark. 207; TsDAHO Ukraïny, f. 1, op. 20, spr. 6584, ark. 15. For example, in the first case, the summary dated 29 December, which is included in the above-mentioned collection of documents,

precisely the data that the People's Commissariat of Agriculture submitted to the CC CP(B)U on 21 February 1934 in its report on the completion of the task. The data are divided by period of resettlement.

**Table 1. Summary Data on Those Resettled in Late 1933–Early 1934<sup>9</sup>**

Districts of Resettlement	November–December 1933		January–February 1934	
	Number	Point of origin	Point of origin	Number
<b>Odesa province</b>	6,500			5,000
Arbuzynka (Blahodatne)			Vinnytsia prov.	300
Bashtanka (Poltava)			Kyiv prov.	200
Dobrovelychkivka			Vinnytsia prov.	300
Domanivka			Vinnytsia prov.	400
Holovanivsk			Vinnytsia prov.	400
Kakhovka	400	BSSR		
Khmelioue			Kyiv prov.	700
Kompaniivka	800	BSSR		
Kryve Ozero	200	Gorky Krai	Vinnytsia prov.	200
Liubashivka	300	Gorky Krai		
Nova Odesa			Vinnytsia prov.	300
Novoarkanhelsk			Vinnytsia prov.	400
Novomyrhorod			Kyiv prov.	300
Novoukrainka	1,100	BSSR		

indicates that 4,630 households were resettled from Belarus to Odesa province; in the second one, dated 15 January 1934, the figure is 4,472.

<sup>9</sup> TsDAHO Ukraïny, f. 1, op. 20, spr. 6584, ark. 78–81.

Novyi Buh			Kyiv prov.	400
Pervomaiske			Vinnytsia prov.	300
Rivne	900	BSSR		
Savran			Vinnytsia prov.	400
Snihurivka	400	BSSR		
Velyka Vradiivka (Vradiivka)	600	Gorky Krai		
Velyka Vyska	800	BSSR		
Velykooleksandrivka	500	BSSR	Kyiv prov.	100
Zinoviev municipal council	500	BSSR		
Znamianka			Kyiv prov.	700
<b>Dnipropetrovsk province</b>	6,500			6,300
Apostolove	500	Western prov.		
Berdiansk			Chernihiv prov.	500
Bozhedarivka	300	Western prov.		
Dnipropetrovsk municipal council			Chernihiv prov.	200
Dolynske	400	Western prov.	Kyiv prov.	250
Henicheske			Chernihiv prov.	600
Kamianka (Russian nationality)			Chernihiv prov.	200
Kolariv (Bulgarian nationality) village of Romanivka			Chernihiv prov.	600
Liuksemburg (German nationality)	300	Western prov.		

Mahdalynivka			Chernihiv prov.	200
Melitopol	500	Western prov.		
Mezhova			Chernihiv prov.	600
Mykhailivka	300	Western prov.		
Nova Praha			Chernihiv prov.	550
Novotroitske	450	Western prov.	Chernihiv prov.	200
Novovasylivka (Pokrovske)			Kyiv prov.	500
Nyzhni Sirohozy	550	Western prov.		
Oleksandrivka			Kyiv prov.	275
Pavlohrad			Kyiv prov.	600
Pokrovske			Chernihiv prov.	200
Solone			Kyiv prov.	100
Stalindorf (Jewish nationality)			Western prov.	300
Tsarekostiantynivka			Kyiv prov.	275
Vasylivka	300	Western prov.		
Vasylkivka	650	Western prov.		
Velyka Bilozerka	450	Western prov.	Chernihiv prov.	150
Velyka Lepetykha	700	Western prov.		

Velykyi Tokmak	500	Western prov.		
Yakymivka	600	Western prov.		
<b>Kharkiv province</b>	4,500			5,000
Balakliia			Central Black Earth prov.	280
Barvinkove	250	Central Black Earth prov.	Central Black Earth prov.	220
Blyzniuky	550	Central Black Earth prov.	Central Black Earth prov.	250
Chutivka			Kyiv prov.	220
Dvorichna	600	Central Black Earth prov.		
Hlobyne			Central Black Earth prov.	600
Izium			Central Black Earth prov.	170
Karlivka			Kyiv prov.	300
Kobeliaky			Kyiv prov.	130
Krasne Pole (Zhovten)			Central Black Earth prov.	450
Krasnohrad	300	Central		

		Black Earth prov.		
Krasnyi Kut	750	Central Black Earth prov.		
Kupiansk			Central Black Earth prov.	600
Nekhvoroshchan			Kyiv prov.	140
Okhtyrka			Kyiv prov.	250
Oleksiiivka (Russian nationality)			Kyiv prov.	120
Reshetylivka			Kyiv prov.	230
Sakhnovshchyna	1,600	Central Black Earth prov.		
Semenivka			Kyiv prov.	200
Sumy municipal council			Kyiv prov.	100
Trostianets	250	Central Black Earth prov.		
Valky			Kyiv prov.	400
Velykyi Burluk	250	Central Black Earth prov.	Central Black Earth prov.	200
Vovchansk			Central Black Earth prov.	240
<b>Donetsk province</b>	<b>3,500</b>			<b>4,000</b>

Amvrosiivka			Chernihiv prov.	600
Bilolutsk	500	Ivanovo prov.	Chernihiv prov.	400
Bilovodsk	600	Ivanovo prov.	Chernihiv prov.	300
Hryshyne			Chernihiv prov.	300
Mariupil municipal council			Chernihiv prov.	400
Markivka	390	Ivanovo prov.		
Novopskov (Bilokurakyyne)	600	Ivanovo prov.	Chernihiv prov.	400
Oleksandrivka			Chernihiv prov.	300
Pokrovske	510	Ivanovo prov.		
Rubizhne			Chernihiv prov.	200
Stara Karan	400	Ivanovo prov.		300
Starobilsk	350	Ivanovo prov.		300
Saryi Mykolaiv (Volodarske)			Chernihiv prov.	300
Svatove	150	Ivanovo prov.	Chernihiv prov.	200
<b>Total for Ukraine</b>	<b>21,000</b>			<b>20,300</b>

As indicated in a report from representatives of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture to Stanislav Kosior, "The task of resettling 21,000 households in the 4<sup>th</sup> quarter and 20,300 in the 1<sup>st</sup>

quarter has been fully completed.”<sup>10</sup> The following data were appended to the report to which, for the purpose of comparison, we have added figures from a memorandum submitted by the People’s Commissariat of Agriculture to the CC CP(B)U in July 1934:<sup>11</sup>

**Table 2. Correlation between the Resettlement Plan  
and Actual Indices on a Provincial Scale**

<b>Province with Resettlements</b>	<b>Resettlement target</b>	<b>No. of people resettled</b>	<b>% completed</b>	<b>No. of people resettled as of 1 July 1934</b>	<b>No. of districts resettled</b>
Dnipropetrovsk	12,800	13,265	104.2	13,108	29
Donetsk	7,500	7,983	105,2	7,992	14
Kharkiv	9,500	9,998	105	10,158	24
Odesa	11,500	11,854	103.1	11,842	24
<b>Total</b>	<b>41,300</b>	<b>43,100</b>	<b>104.3</b>	<b>43,100</b>	<b>91</b>

However, the number of people actually resettled is not absolutely accurate. In later summaries, the figures are somewhat different. The reason may be that once the resettlement process ended, data were drawn up on the basis of district reports, which had not been done earlier. But the differences are not significant. It should be noted that living conditions in resettlement locations did not appeal to the settlers, especially those from Russia, despite all the benefits that they were offered, and they began returning home en masse. The present author has written about the benefits that the Soviet state offered the settlers and the reasons behind their return.<sup>12</sup> A

<sup>10</sup> TsDAHO Ukraïny, f. 1, op. 20, spr. 6584, ark. 73.

<sup>11</sup> TsDAHO Ukraïny, f. 1, op. 20, spr. 6585, ark. 87.

<sup>12</sup> H. H. Iefimenko, “Lykховisni 30-ti roky na Markivshchyni,” in *Holod-henotsyd 1933 roku v Ukraïni: Istoryko-politolohichni analiz sotsial'no-demohrafichnykh ta moral'no-psykholohichnykh naslidkiv; Mizhnarodna naukovo-teoretychna konferentsiia, Kyiv, 28 lystopada 1998 r.: materialy* (Kyiv and New York, 2000), pp. 348–56.

considerable number of settlers did not manage to last even half a year in Ukrainian villages. For the purpose of determining trends and offering materials for a comparative analysis, the table below tracks the return of settlers in the summer of 1934.<sup>13</sup>

**Table 3. Data on Return of Settlers as of 1 July 1934**

<b>Province of Departure</b>	<b>Destination Province</b>	<b>No. of settler households</b>	<b>No. of those returning</b>	<b>%</b>
Ivanovo	Donetsk	3,587	1,121	31.9
Chernihiv	Donetsk	4,405	216	4.8
<b>Total for Donetsk province</b>		<b>7,992</b>	<b>1,337</b>	<b>16.7</b>
Gorky Krai (region)	Odesa	2,139	835	39
Belarusian SSR	Odesa	4,599	1,269	27,5
Kyiv	Odesa	2017	270	13,3
Vinnitsia	Odesa	3,087	168	5,4
<b>Total for Odesa province</b>		<b>11,842</b>	<b>2,542</b>	<b>21.4</b>
Central Black Earth province	Kharkiv	8,137	774	9.2
Kyiv	Kharkiv	2,021	140	6.6
<b>Total for Kharkiv province</b>		<b>10,158</b>	<b>914</b>	<b>8.9</b>
Kyiv	Dnipropetrovsk	2,058	87	4.2
Western province, RSFSR	Dnipropetrovsk	6,826	643	9.4
Chernihiv	Dnipropetrovsk	4,224	340	8
<b>Total for Dnipropetrovsk province</b>		<b>13,108</b>	<b>1,070</b>	<b>8.1</b>
<b>Total for Ukraine</b>		<b>43,100</b>	<b>5,863</b>	<b>13.6</b>

<sup>13</sup> TsDAHO Ukraïny, f. 1, op. 20, spr. 6585, ark. 87.

Here we see a clear-cut trend. Returnees were mainly settlers from outside the Ukrainian SSR. Admittedly, settlers from the Central Black Earth and Western provinces of the RSFSR were something of an exception. The return of settlers was not limited to this. For example, by the spring of 1935 only 79 out of a total of 390 resettled households remained in Markivka district, Donetsk province (there was no second wave of resettlement there), whereas in December 1934 there had still been 113.<sup>14</sup> It should be noted that in the locales from which settlers had been recruited to Ukraine at one time, returnees were not welcomed very enthusiastically, and they came back to their places of origin without livestock. Accordingly, some settlers felt compelled to return to Ukraine.

In the spring of 1935 the People's Commissariat of Agriculture of the Ukrainian SSR summarized the data on resettlement. They were not encouraging. Inasmuch as these data were listed district by district, I find it necessary to publish them, all the more so as this will help clarify, to some extent, how many peasant households were in fact resettled during this period in one district or another.

The quantitative indices of the 1933–34 (“planned”) resettlement organized by the authorities are presented in Tables 4, 5, 6, and 7.<sup>15</sup> The particular features of these tables should be noted. Districts that appear in italics are those that did not figure in the resettlement campaign of 1933–34. As a rule, the number of settlers there is insignificant. But the very fact of their emergence indicates that the provincial leadership had a say in the distribution of settlers. Admittedly, the emergence of such districts was probably determined by changes to the administrative territorial system introduced in those very provinces, as in the cases of the Piatykharka district and the Kamianka municipal council in Dnipropetrovsk province (see Table 6).

In view of the breakup of districts that was carried out in February 1935 and the corresponding creation of 126 districts, the way in which this was reflected in the aforementioned tables should be noted. The data from Odesa province take the breakup of districts into account.

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<sup>14</sup> Iefimenko, “Lykховisni 30-ti roky,” 353.

<sup>15</sup> TsDAHO Ukraïny, f. 1, op. 20, spr. 6618, ark. 73, 78–82.

Accordingly, in cases where newly created districts are mentioned as ones where resettlement took place, the districts from which they were created appear in parentheses. The situation with regard to Dnipropetrovsk province was the opposite: data were listed according to the network of districts that existed as of late 1934. But during the resettlement to this province in 1933, the enlargement of five districts, carried out in December 1933—two of which, Bozhedarivka and Mykhailivka,<sup>16</sup> were “resettlement” districts—was not yet taken into account. Thus, in order to facilitate a comparison of the data shown in tables 1 and 6 with regard to Dnipropetrovsk province, Table 6 indicates the districts into which Bozhedarivka and Mykhailivka were merged. As for Kharkiv province, the list of districts corresponds completely to that of late 1933–early 1934. Data on Donetsk province are incomplete, but there is information on more than half the districts of that province, and they appear in Table 7. Since the summary data in the tables are taken from available sources, mathematical discrepancies in the totals given in those sources are indicated.

**Table 4. Summary Number of Households That Settled in Districts of Kharkiv Province in 1933–1934 and Returned as of 15 March 1935**

<b>District</b>	<b>No. of resettlers accepted</b>	<b>Departed</b>	<b>Returned later</b>
Balakliia	284	179	-
Barvinkove	324	215	-
Blyzniuky	1,090	539	4
Chutivka	240	112	-
Dvorichna	701	281	-
Hlobyne	630	115	10
Izium	170	59	-
Karlivka	300	153	-

<sup>16</sup> “Postanova VUTsVK pro rozformuvannia Bozhedarivs'koho, Lykhivs'koho, Mykhailivs'koho, Novo-Mykolaïvs'koho, Petrykivs'koho raioniv ta chastkovi zminy raionnykh mezh Dnipropetrovs'koï oblasti,” in *Zbirka Zakoniv Ukraïny* (1933), 69.

Kobeliaky	136	52	-
Krasne Pole (Zhovten)	559	158	8
Krasnohrad	300	242	-
Krasnyi Kut	1,047	357	7
Kupiansk	627	358	7
Nekhvoroshchan	140	58	-
Okhtyrka	254	137	-
Oleksiivka (Russian nationality)	178	128	-
Reshetylivka	236	109	6
Sakhnovshchyna	1,848	961	9
Semenivka	205	55	-
Sumy	93	11	-
Trostianets	275	137	-
Valky	405	128	4
Velykyi Burluk	457	276	-
Vovchansk	254	148	1
<b>Total for Kharkiv province</b>	<b>10,683</b>	<b>5,031</b>	<b>49</b>
	<b>(Total: 10,753)</b>		

**Table 5. Number of Households That Settled in Districts of Odesa Province in 1933–1934 and Returned as of 15 March 1935**

<b>District</b>	<b>No. of settlers accepted</b>	<b>Departed</b>	<b>Returned later</b>
Adzhamka (Kirov municipal council)	267	230	
Arbuzyinka	190	147	
Bashtanka	186	152	

Berezhuvate (Snihurivka)	225	215	
<i>Beryslav</i>	27	22	
Blahodativka (Arbuzynka)	126	109	
Dobrovelychkivka	288	99	
Domanivka	251	172	21
Holovanivsk	398	162	
Hornostaivka (Kakhovka)	154	132	
Kakhovka	273	250	
<i>Kalinindorf</i>	11	3	
Khmelioue	140	65	
Kirov (Zinoviev municipal council)	208	172	
Kompaniivka	580	491	9
Kryve Ozero	427	250	
Liubashivka	300	190	
Mala Vyska (Velyka Vyska and Khmelioue districts)	563	409	
Mostovske (Domanivka, Karl-Libknekht, and Berezivka)	148	90	
Nova Odesa	283	238	
Novoarkhanhelsk	311	142	
Novomyrhorod	303	153	
Novoukrainka	508	465	
Novovorontsovka (Velykooleksandrivka)	355	305	
Novyi Buh	211	199	
<i>Olshanka</i>	86	63	
Pervomaiske	259	215	2

Pishchanyi Brid (Novoukrainka and Dobrovelyckivka)	681	565	
Pryvilne (Bashtanka and Novyi Buh districts)	27	21	
Rivne	945	898	
<i>Rozdilna</i>	7	-	
Savran	399	153	
Snihurivka	186	147	
Tyshkivtsi (Novoarkanhelsk and Holovanivsk)	130	68	
Varvarivka (Mykolaivka municipal council and Nova Odesa district)	21	14	
Velyka Vradiivka (Vradiivka)	663	624	
Velyka Vyska	359	289	
Velykooleksandrivka	255	234	
Volodymyrivka (Novyi Buh)	134	171 (with Yelanets)	
Yelanets (Novyi Buh and Voznesensk districts)	83	(see Volodymyrivka)	
Znamianka	1014	681	
<b>Total for Odesa province</b>	<b>11,962</b>	<b>9,006</b>	<b>43</b>
	<b>(total: 11,982)</b>		

**Table 6. Number of Households That Settled in Districts of Dnipropetrovsk Province in 1933–1934 and Returned as of 15 March 1935**

<b>Name</b>	<b>No. of settlers accepted</b>	<b>Departed</b>	<b>Returned later</b>
Apostolove	598	446	10
Berdiansk	637	340	-
Dnipropetrovsk	201	148	-
Dolynske	686	584	41
Henicheske	635	425	8
Kamianka (Russian nationality)	215	161	-
Kamianka municipal district (expanded by 7 village councils in Bozhedarivka district, including Bozhedarivka)	130	97	-
Kolariv (Bulgarian nationality)	511	314	7
Kostiantynivka (formally: Tsarekostiantynivka)	301	226	-
Liuksemburg (German nationality)	308	197	13
Mahdalynivka	200	163	-
Melitopol	543	377	-
Mezhova	497	322	16
Nova Praha	595	433	2
Novotroitske	661	419	-
Novovasylivka	566	328	3
Nyzhni Sirohozy	563	422	11
Oleksandriia	391	136	14
Pavlohrad	540	341	1
Piatykhatka ( <i>expanded by 1 village council from Bozhedarivka district</i> )	31	24	-

Pokrovske	253	204	10
Sofiivka (expanded by 12 village councils from Bozhedarivka district)	115	67	4
Solone	131	90	-
Stalindorf (Jewish nationality)	311	200	58
Vasylivka	641	522	2
Vasylkivka (expanded by all of Mykhailivka district)	657	279	-
Velyka Bilozerka	647	436	27
Velyka Lepetykha	715	595	-
Velykyi Tokmak	491	433	-
Yakymivka	612	517	5
<b>Total for Dnipropetrovsk province</b>	<b>13,342 (Total=13,382)</b>	<b>9,246</b>	<b>232</b>

**Table 7. Number of Households That Settled in Districts of Donetsk Province in 1933–1934 and Returned as of 15 March 1935**

District	Arrived	Left	Returned
Amvrosiivka	508	264	
Bilokurakyne (Starobilsk circuit) (formed in November 1933 out of Novopskov; this was not taken into	770	491	

account during resettlement planning of 1933–34) <sup>17</sup>			
Bilolutsk (Starobilsk district)	420	132	
Bilovodsk (Starobilsk circuit [ <i>okruh</i> ])	959	549	
Kostiantynivka	86	29	
Kramatorsk	161	66	
Lozno-Oleksandrivka (Starobilsk circuit; formed in November 1933 out of Bilolutsk)	569	333	
Mariupil	718	420	
Markivka (Starobilsk circuit)	401	329	
Novopskov (Starobilsk circuit)	352	167	
Oleksandrivka	132	58	
Postysheve (renamed Hryshyne)	243	97	
Rubizhne	69	36	
Stara Karan	284	235	
Telmanove (formed in November 1934 out of Stara Karan; at the same time, the Nova Karan village council and Karan station in Volnovakha district were merged with Stara Karan district) <sup>18</sup>	445	290	

<sup>17</sup> On this and other changes of administrative division dating to November 1933, see “Pro utvorennia v skladi Donets'koï oblasti Starobil'skoho okruhu: Postanova VUTsVK vid 17 lystopada 1933 roku,” in *Zbir Zakoniv Ukraïny* (1933), art. 662.

<sup>18</sup> “Pro rozukrupnennia Staro-Karans'koho raionu Donets'koï oblasti: Postanova VUTsVK vid 5 lystopada 1934 r.,” in *Zbir Zakoniv Ukraïny* (1934), art. 271.

Volodarske	378	262	
<b>For Starobilsk circuit</b>	<b>5,129</b>	<b>2,826</b>	<b>300</b>
<b>Total for Donetsk province</b>	<b>8,153 households</b>	<b>4,580</b>	<b>327</b>

Several districts in Donetsk province are not mentioned, particularly those located in Starobilsk district: Svatove, Pokrovske, Nyzhnia Duvanka, and Starobilsk, as well as Yovsuh, Mistky, and Troitske, taking into account the breakup that took place at the time. There are doubts concerning the reliability of the summary figures because the components that yielded the indicated result are unclear. Unfortunately, the available source cannot be checked against the data compiled by the People's Commissariat of Agriculture of the Ukrainian SSR because the relevant files for 1935 were destroyed.

The number of settlers from individual provinces, as listed in Tables 4, 5, 6, and 7, is very close to the figures that appear in Table 2, from which it follows that unauthorized settlers were not taken into account in these reports. This is also attested by the titles of documents in which the word "planned" is often used. Therefore, in concluding our discussion of the resettlements of 1933–34, it is worthwhile to consider the phenomenon of unauthorized resettlement. Its scale is hard to assess, but there are indications that thousands of households were involved. For example, a telegram sent by Mendel Khataevich to Pavel Postyshev in August 1933 mentions that about 1,500 households settled without authorization in Dnipropetrovsk province from the Western province of the RSFSR and Belarus.<sup>19</sup> As Yakov Yakovlev, the USSR commissar of agriculture, noted in a telegram to Stalin dated 3 August 1933, "in both Kharkiv and Dnipropetrovsk there are dozens of delegations from collective farms in the Western province requesting resettlement in Ukraine."

The need for resettlement was striking. Yakovlev's telegram offers the following example: "In comparison with what existed earlier, no more than a third of the households remain on the Stalin collective farm in the Melitopol district, less than one-fifth with horses; more than 20

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<sup>19</sup> TsDAHO Ukraïny, f. 1, op. 20, spr. 6392, ark. 15.

hectares of the most fertile soil fall to the share of 1 household, not counting the hectare of orchard and garden. By agreement with the collective farm, 50 collective farm families have settled here from the Red October collective farm in the Western province, where nearly one hectare of cropland falls to the share of a single household.” In response, Stalin wrote to Molotov that “The possible ‘resettlement of the peasantry’ should be speeded up.”<sup>20</sup>

The circumstances outlined above led the Soviet leadership to launch this undertaking, that is, to organize the official resettlement of Russian and Belarusian peasants on Ukrainian lands devastated by the Holodomor; its results are indicated above. Finally, it should be noted that the problem of unauthorized settlers remained urgent. In a decision handed down on 9 November 1933, the Politburo of the CC CP(B)U requested the CC AUCP(B) to grant “groups of settlers who are going independently /arranging their own transportation/ all benefits that are granted to settlers and add them to the quota set forth in the plan.”<sup>21</sup> I was unable to find any reply to this request. However, as a document from Luhansk province attests, in late 1934 these “independent” settlers were not being equated with planned settlers. A directive issued by the Donetsk provincial committee to district government agencies noted: “For the second time I propose that you send data on the number of independent settlers (not planned ones) admitted to the collective farms of your district in the course of the fall of 1933 and spring of 1934.”<sup>22</sup>

### ***Resettlement by Deportation in 1935***

In general, the deportations of 1935 have been studied more closely, but research in archival sources has introduced certain correctives into the assessment of this problem. It turns out in particular that during the deportations of February–March 1935 national identity was not the main criterion of selection, that is, people were not deported because of their nationality, as is sometimes believed by default. Even though the percentage of Poles and Germans was higher than average, the

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<sup>20</sup> RGASPI, f. 558, op. 11, d. 64, l. 39

<sup>21</sup> TsDAHO Ukraïny, f. 1, op. 6, spr. 286, ark. 3.

<sup>22</sup> Derzhavnyi arkhiv Luhans'koï oblasti (hereafter DALO), f. R-1186, op. 2, spr. 21, ark. 14.

main criterion of this deportation was potential disloyalty to the Soviet authorities on the part of the deported households/families (these concepts are used synonymously). The resolution on resettlement stated that justification was to be as follows: households being resettled were “those that had not proved themselves in the strengthening of the border and the collective-farm system.”<sup>23</sup> True, departmental directives already spoke of “nationalistic and anti-Soviet elements.”<sup>24</sup> The aforementioned corrective is corroborated by an analysis of the national composition of those being resettled. According to an NKVD report of 15 July 1935, it was as follows:<sup>25</sup>

**Table 8. Total Number and National Composition of Peasant Households Deported from Border Districts in Kyiv and Vinnytsia Provinces in February–March 1935 to Eastern Districts of the Ukrainian SSR**

<b>Nationality</b>	<b>No. of households</b>	<b>No. of people</b>
Ukrainians	3,434	
Poles	2,866	
Germans	1,903	
Others	126	
<b>Total</b>	<b>8,329</b>	<b>38,892</b>

Information on districts of deportation and resettlement found in various sources appears further in this article. Besides providing such district-by-district data, we are in a position to indicate the number of “kulak families and anti-Soviet elements” deported from the same border districts of the Ukrainian SSR between 1 and 9 February 1935 “to the special settlements of the Belbaltkombinat [White Sea-Baltic Combine],” that is, prior to the deportation of the above-

<sup>23</sup> TsDAHO Ukraïny, f. 1, op. 16, spr. 24, ark. 38.

<sup>24</sup> DALO, f. R-1186, op. 2, spr. 84, ark. 28.

<sup>25</sup> “Spravka NKVD SSSR o vyselenii kulachestva i antisovetskogo elementa v pervoi polovine 1935 g.,” in *Stalinskie deportatsii*, 50.

mentioned 8,329 families to the eastern provinces of the Ukrainian SSR. Unfortunately, I was not able to locate any data on individual districts. General figures are listed in Table 9.<sup>26</sup>

**Table 9. Total Number and National Composition of Families of “Kulaks and Anti-Soviet Elements” Deported on 1–9 February 1935 from Border Districts of Kyiv and Vinnytsia Provinces “to the Special Settlements of the Belbaltkombinat”**

<b>Nationality</b>	<b>No. of households</b>	<b>No. of people</b>
Poles	681	
Germans	615	
Ukrainians	589	
Others	115	
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,000</b>	<b>8,678</b>

Let us revisit the deportations that took place between 20 February and 15 March, as well as the nearly simultaneous resettlement of voluntary settlers to replace the deportees (between 10 and 25 March 1935).<sup>27</sup> The focus here is on a) districts in the western part of the Ukrainian SSR from which, on the one hand, the deportation took place (according to the resolution, 8,300 households were to be deported), and, on the other, resettlement followed (according to the resolution, 4,000 households were to be resettled); b) districts to which the deported households were sent in February–March 1935. Excluded here are districts from which voluntary settlers (4,000) were recruited. There were 73 such districts: 47 in Kyiv province and 26 in Chernihiv province.<sup>28</sup> Correspondingly, the number of households resettled from each of them was insignificant and therefore had little impact on local population dynamics.

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> TsDAHO Ukraïny, f. 1, op. 20, spr. 6618, ark. 32.

<sup>28</sup> TsDAHO Ukraïny, f. 1, op. 20, spr. 6618, ark. 33–36.

Information on the resettlements of February–March 1935 comes from various sources. Some are final negotiated plans (including a district-by-district breakdown) that were approved after taking account of proposals put forward by provincial-level government bodies. Others are of similar detail, that is, summary district-by-district reports on a particular resettlement following its completion. There is also overall data from a report of the NKVD of the USSR on the total number of deportees that differs somewhat from the above-mentioned figures. The differences, however, are insignificant:

- a) Final plan (**23 January–2 February 1935**) – **8,300** households;
- b) Summary data on resettlement (**April 1935**, tally) – **8,342** households.<sup>29</sup>
- c) Data from a report of the NKVD of the USSR, dated 15 July 1935 – **8,329** households.<sup>30</sup>

Naturally, plans, even if they were final ones, could be amended slightly in the course of resettlement. It is therefore more appropriate to take data from sources on actually completed resettlement. Yet, even if no summary data existed, it would be possible to make do with the plans; as we see, the difference was slight—42 households. However, the summary data (point b) indicate not only the number of deportees but also of resettled households. That is precisely why I used them. True, in the case of Kyiv province, there are some discrepancies in the table itself. The tally of district-by-district data on the number of deported households does not coincide with the overall total indicated in the table (which shows 7 more households). Again, however, this figure is so slight that it can be ignored. The difference in the number of resettled households is even smaller: instead of the 4,000 households planned, 4,005 were resettled. All these data appear in Tables 10<sup>31</sup> and 11.<sup>32</sup>

**Table 10. Summary Data on the Number of Households Deported and Resettled  
from Border Districts in Vinnytsia Province (February–March 1935)**

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<sup>29</sup> TsDAHO Ukraïny, f. 1, op. 20, spr. 6618, ark. 52–53.

<sup>30</sup> “Spravka NKVD SSSR o vyselenii kulachestva,” 50.

<sup>31</sup> TsDAHO Ukraïny, f. 1, op. 20, spr. 6618, ark. 52.

<sup>32</sup> TsDAHO Ukraïny, f. 1, op. 20, spr. 6618, ark. 53.

<b>District</b>	<b>No. of households deported</b>	<b>No. of people</b>	<b>No. of households resettled</b>	<b>No. of people Resettled</b>
Dzerzhynsk	140	662	41	193
Horodok	150	692	50	203
Iziaslav (Zaslav)	363	1,753	120	518
Letychiv	250	1,050	100	425
Liakhivtsi	202	1,001	51	217
Liubar	212	886	149	588
Polonne	180	832	110	449
Proskurove	200	793	102	433
Shepetivka	353	1,548	151	561
Slavuta	305	1,462	142	630
Volochysk	259	1,127	–	
Zhmerynka	250	1,022	–	
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,864</b>	<b>12,828</b>	<b>1,016</b>	<b>4,217</b>

**Table 11. Summary Data on the Number of Households Deported and Resettled from Border Districts of Kyiv Province (February–March 1935)**

<b>District</b>	<b>No. of households deported</b>	<b>No. of people</b>	<b>No. of households resettled</b>

Baranivka	300	1,484	196
Baryshivka	195	859	91
Horodnia	250	1,245	83
Korosten	490	2,359	232
Markhlivka	1,000	4,694	742
Novohrad-Volynskiyi	1,000	4,694	456
Olevsk	520	2,670	110
Pulyny	996	4,581	786
Slovechne	150	784	50
Yarun	250	1,211	101
Yemilchynе	320	1,687	146
<b>Total</b>	<b>5,478</b>	<b>26,616</b>	<b>12,214</b>

With the exception of several districts in the Starobilsk circuit (*okruh*) of Donetsk province, I was unable to find any summary district-by-district data on how deportees were actually distributed among eastern Ukrainian districts. Instead, there are “final plans” that, as may be concluded from the above-cited information and from the example of districts in the Starobilsk circuit, are similar to the summary figures. That is why I used them to construct Tables 12, 13, and 14. It should also be noted that, according to the CC CP(B)U resolution of 23 January 1935, the Svatove, Pokrovske, Lozno-Oleksandrivka, Bilolutsk, and Troitske districts of Donetsk province and the Dvorichna district of Kharkiv province were reserved for resettlement by representatives of German nationality. Other districts of the Starobilsk circuit, that is, Bilovodsk, Bilokurakyne, Verkhnia Teplivka, Markivka, Nyzhnia Duvanka, Nova Astrakhan, Novoaidar, Novopskov, and Starobilsk, as well as “the northwestern districts of Dnipropetrovsk province”<sup>33</sup> (for example, Nova

<sup>33</sup> TsDAHO Ukraїny, f. 1, op. 16, spr. 24, ark. 44.

Praha; however, this name does not appear among the districts listed in the resolution) were set aside for settlers of Polish nationality.

Here is an interesting detail. The resolution mentions the Troitske and Pokrovske districts of Donetsk province as areas where ethnic Germans were resettled. However, the Troitske district does not appear in the list of districts designated for resettlement. In my view, this paradox should be explained by the changes of administrative boundaries that were being made at the time. When the list of districts was being drawn up, the existing network was used. The Troitske district was created by a VUTsVK resolution of 22 January 1935,<sup>34</sup> that is, on the eve of the meeting of the Politburo CC CP(B)U at which the decision on deportation was confirmed. True, its boundaries, that is, the list of village councils taken from the Pokrovske district, were formally designated on 13 February 1935,<sup>35</sup> but the principle behind its creation (detachment from the Pokrovske district) was of course already known to the Politburo members on 23 January. This is probably what led to the mention of the Troitske district as an area of resettlement by peasants of German nationality. Let us now examine the following tables:

**Table 12. Final Plans for Settling Deportees from the Western Provinces of the Ukrainian SSR (February–March 1935) in Dnipropetrovsk Province<sup>36</sup>**

<b>District</b>	<b>No. of households resettled</b>
Mezhova	250
Nova Praha	400

<sup>34</sup> “Pro rozukrupnennia raioniv USSR: Postanova Prezydii VUTsVK vid 22 sichnia 1935 r.,” in *Zbir Zakoniv Ukraïny* (1935), art. 12.

<sup>35</sup> “Pro sklad novykh administratyvnykh raioniv Donets'koï oblasti: Postanova Prezydii VUTsVK vid 13 liutoho 1935 r.,” in *Zbir Zakoniv Ukraïny* (1935), 18.

<sup>36</sup> TsDAHO Ukraïny, f. 1, op. 16, spr. 24, ark. 69

Novotroitske	300
Novozlatopil	200
Nyzhni Sirohozy	400
Pavlohrad	300
Pokrovske	250
Solone	100
Stalindorf	150
Tsarekostiantynivka (Kostiantynivka; renamed Kuibyshev, as of April 1935 )	220
Vasylivka	300
Vasylkivka	200
Velyka Bilozerka	350
Velyka Lepetykha	400
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,800</b>

**Table 13. Final Plans for Settling Deportees from the Western Provinces  
of the Ukrainian SSR (February–March 1935) in Kharkiv Province<sup>37</sup>**

<b>District</b>	<b>Number of deportees</b>
Barvinkove	200
Blyzniuky	200
Dvorichna	240

<sup>37</sup> TsDAHO Ukraïny, f. 1, op. 16, spr. 24, ark. 52.

Karlivka	200
Krasnohrad	200
Krasnyi Kut	300
Kupiansk	350
Sakhnovshchyna	650
Velykyi Burluk	200
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,540</b>

**Table 14. Final Plans for Settling Deportees from the Western Provinces  
of the Ukrainian SSR (February–March 1935) in Donetsk Province**

<b>District</b>	<b>Settlement plan<sup>38</sup></b>	<b>No. of resettled people as of 15 February 1935<sup>39</sup></b>
Bilovodsk	250	257
Bilolutsk	100	101
Verkhnia Teplivka (Russian nationality)	100	100
Markivka	300	306
Novoaidar	100	100
Novopskov	150	108
Pokrovske	200	194
Rivne	300	
Svatove	200	197
Starobilsk	100	100

<sup>38</sup> TsDAHO Ukraïny, f. 1, op. 16, spr. 24, ark. 53.

<sup>39</sup> DALO, f. R-1186, op. 1, spr. 243, ark. 25.

Stara Karan	300	
Bilokurakyne (formed in November 1933 out of Novopskov) <sup>40</sup>	280	233
Lozno-Oleksandrivka (formed in November 1933 out of Bilolutsk)	200	200
Nyzhnia Duvanka (formed in November 1933 out of Pokrovske district)	150	165
Nova Astrakhan (formed in November 1933 out of Rubizhne district)	100	
Ostheim (formed in November 1934 out of Stara Karan, while the Nova Karan village council and Karan station in Volnovakha district were transferred to Stara Karan district) <sup>41</sup>	300	
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,130</b>	

It should be recalled that the deportation from the border zone in February–March 1935 was not limited to the figures indicated above. The example of the Markhlivka district is revealing. Whereas 1,000 households were deported to the eastern Ukrainian districts (see Table 11), in February–March 1935 alone somewhat more—1,188 households—“were deported to distant areas of the Soviet Union and resettled in districts far from the borders of Ukraine.”<sup>42</sup> From this one may conclude that 188 households in the district were deported on 1–9 February 1935 “to the special

<sup>40</sup> For this and other changes of administrative boundaries dated November 1933, see “Pro utvorennia v skladi Donets'koï oblasti,” art. 662.

<sup>41</sup> “Pro rozkrupnennia Staro-Karans'koho raionu Donets'koï oblasti: Postanova VUTsVK vid 5 lystopada 1934 r.,” in *Zbir Zakoniv Ukraïny* (1934), art. 271.

<sup>42</sup> “Dokladnaia zapiska sekretaria Kievskogo obkoma KPU P. P. Postysheva i predsedatelia Kievskogo oblispolkoma M. S. Vasilenko I. V. Stalinu o neobkhodimosti dopolnitel'nogo pereseleniia i vyseleniia kontrrevoliutsionnykh elementov iz Kievskoi oblasti,” in *Stalinskie deportatsii*, 52.

settlements of the Belbaltkombinat. Unfortunately, there are no data from other districts; hence there is no district-by-district breakdown of the deportation to these “special settlements.”

Another small deportation and resettlement took place in 1935, once again from the Markhlivka district (already referred to as the “former Markhlivka district” at the time of the deportation). In October, 350 households were deported from the Markhlivka district: 300 were settled in Kharkiv province and 50 in the Belbaltlag (the White Sea–Baltic Canal forced-labor camp). In their place, 200 households from other districts of Kyiv province were resettled in the Markhlivka district. The final distribution of households resettled in districts of Kharkiv province was as follows:<sup>43</sup>

Krasnohrad – 100

Sakhnovshchyna – 100

Vilkhuvatka – 50

Blyzniuky – 50

Other figures are encountered occasionally in the literature; for example, on the resettlement of 100 households in the Vilkhuvatka (Olkhovatka) district.<sup>44</sup> But an examination of archival sources reveals that this was an interim decision, as the Vilkhuvatka district was unable to accept 100 households. Consequently, it was decided at the initiative of the Kharkiv provincial committee of the CP(B)U to resettle 50 households in the Blyzniuky district and leave 50 households for the Vilkhuvatka district. The deportations of 1935 came to an end at this point. However, the decisions that were approved in 1935 formed the legislative basis of the 1936 deportations.

### ***The Deportations of 1936***

The network of districts in 1936 differed fundamentally from the network that existed in early 1935 because, in February 1935, 126 new districts were created on the basis of the political departments

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<sup>43</sup> TsDAHO Ukraïny, f. 1, op. 16, spr. 25, ark. 78.

<sup>44</sup> Bohdan Chyrko, “Natsmen? Znachyt' voroh. Problemy natsional'nykh menshyn v dokumentakh partiinykh i radians'kykh orhaniv Ukraïny v 20–30-kh rr.,” *Z arkhiviv VUChK–HPU–NKVD–KHB*, 1995, nos. 1/2 (2/3): 111.

of Machine-Tractor Stations (MTS), which were abolished. In order to compare the geography of deportations in 1936 with those of the previous year, it should be noted that the following districts, located in the border zone of Vinnytsia province, where the deportations of 1935–36 took place, were broken up: Antoniny, by the creation of Krasyliv; Teofipol, by the creation of Bazaliia; Slavuta, by the creation of Berezdiv; and Zaslav, by the creation of Pluzhne.<sup>45</sup> In the statistical tables these newly created districts, from which people were deported, are italicized. But whenever an “old” district is mentioned (such as the Zaslav district, from which the Pluzhne district was administratively separated), the fact that it was broken up is not indicated. What, then, is the situation with which the deportations of 1936 present us?

In 1936, deportations were carried out according to two decisions. The first concerned the deportation of 1,500 Polish households from Vinnytsia province. This resettlement took place in January 1936. The second decision concerned the resettlement of 15,000 Polish and German households to Kazakhstan according to a resolution of the Council of People’s Commissars of the USSR adopted on 28 April 1936 (the Kremlin had approved this decision in principle back in January 1936).

The resettlement of 1,500 Polish families from Vinnytsia province to eastern Ukraine took place first. This was the last large organized resettlement carried out within Ukraine during the interwar period. A comparison of archival sources with already published data makes it possible to verify and confirm the data published by Viktor Zhezytsky, on the basis of which Table 15 was drawn up, and, second, to identify not only the districts from which people were deported but also partly to determine the places to which particular households were resettled. Unfortunately, owing to the limited number of archival sources, not all districts to which people were resettled can be identified. Nevertheless, existing data show that the number of people resettled in each district was insignificant; that is, there were more districts where resettlement took place than districts from which people were deported.

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<sup>45</sup> “Postanovy Prezydii Tsentral'noho Vykonavchoho Komitetu USRR ‘Pro rozukrupnennia raioniv,’” in *Dovidnyk Adminterpodilu USRR za stanom na 15 hrudnia 1935 r.* (Kyiv: Radbudivnytstvo i pravo, 1936), 225.

**Table 15. District-by-District Breakdown of the 1,500 Polish Households**

**Deported from Vinnytsia Province in January 1936<sup>46</sup>**

<b>District</b>	<b>No. of families</b>
Antoniny	100
<i>Bazaliia</i>	50
Horodok	250
Iziaslav	100
Koziatyn	80
<i>Pluzhne</i>	100
Proskurove	150
Sataniv	100
Shepetivka	180
Slavuta	100
Starokostiantyniv	100
Volochysk	151
Zhmerynka	39
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,500</b>

Operational summaries show that resettlement took place in Donetsk and Kharkiv provinces.<sup>47</sup> The list of districts to which deportees were sent includes Mylivka, Markivka, Mistky (formed in February 1935 out of the Svatove district), Svatove, Lozno-Oleksandrivka, Novoaidar, Troitske (formed in February 1935 out of Pokrovske), Yovsuh (created in February out of a number of village councils in the Bilovodsk and Starobilsk districts), and the Bilokurakynne district of the

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<sup>46</sup> Zhezyts'kyi, "Masovi deportatsii naselennia Podillia," 129.

<sup>47</sup> TsDAHO Ukraïny, f. 1, op. 20, spr. 7008, ark. 2.

Starobilsk circuit in Donetsk province. People removed from one district were usually resettled in two. I was unable to locate a list of districts in Kharkiv province to which households were resettled; hence there is no information about this in the table.

The main deportation of 1936 took place later. As early as 25 November 1935 the Politburo of the CC CP(B)U had adopted a resolution “On the Resettlement of Polish and German Households from the Border Zone,” which asserted the need to resettle 6,000 to 7,000 German and Polish families “mainly outside the borders of Ukraine” in the spring of 1936.<sup>48</sup> These plans were confirmed with the Kremlin leadership. On 23 January 1936 the Council of People’s Commissars of the USSR adopted a resolution “On Resettlement from the Ukrainian SSR to the Kazakh ASSR,” which provided for the resettlement of 15,000 Polish and German families from Ukraine to Kazakhstan.<sup>49</sup> The resettlement was planned in two stages: the first was to take place in May–June (one-third of all households) and the second in August–September. The months of February, March, and April were devoted to the process of preparing to carry out this decision and calculating the expenses required for its implementation.

On 28 April 1936 the Council of People’s Commissars of the USSR adopted a resolution titled “On the Deportation of 15,000 Polish and German Households from the Ukrainian SSR and Economic Arrangements for Them in Karaganda Province of the Kazakh ASSR.” Despite the ostensibly detailed preparation of the resolution, its text contained unrealistic plans. Among other things, it mentions 15,000 households (45,000 people),<sup>50</sup> that is, according to the plan drafted by the authors of the resolution, one household (family) was supposed to consist of three people. This in no way corresponded to reality, as the average family was comprised of a little less than five people. Since the main indicator was the number of households, the final number of deportees to

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<sup>48</sup> Chyrko, “Natsmen? Znachyt' voroh,” 108.

<sup>49</sup> “Sovershenno sekretno (Osobaia papka): Postanovlenie №111/21 ss ot 23 ianvaria 1936 g. Soveta Narodnykh Komissarov Soiuzu SSR O pereselenii iz USSR v Kazakhskuiu ASSR,” in Bugai, *Narody Ukrainy*, 209.

<sup>50</sup> “Postanovlenie SNK № 776-120s ‘O vyselenii iz USSR i khoziaistvennom ustroistve v Karagandinskoi oblasti Kazakhskoi ASSR 15 000 pol'skikh i nemetskikh khoziaistv,’” in *Stalinskie deportatsii*, 56.

Kazakhstan turned out to be significantly larger: 69,283 people.<sup>51</sup> The circumstance that the data collected by the Ukrainian branch of the NKVD differ somewhat (69,977 people)<sup>52</sup> should not set off any alarm bells, since not all the deportees arrived at their designated places. Various types of illnesses (the journey was a long one) and the circumstance that a very small number of households were resettled in Russia are reasons that appear in the literature on this topic. Taking these factors into account, it may be said with confidence that the data compiled by the NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR tally with those of the all-Union NKVD.

A logical question arises: How many representatives of each nationality were deported? The historical literature regularly mentions a figure that the Russian historian Nikolai Bugai introduced into scholarly circulation, according to which 35,820 Poles were deported, 35,735 of them to Kazakhstan.<sup>53</sup> However, considering that there were significantly more Poles than Germans in the districts from which deportations took place and that nearly 70,000 people were deported (that is, if we accept Bugai's data, half the deportees were Germans), such a figure is highly unlikely.

At first glance, the German researcher Victor Dönninghaus offers more credible data. He notes: "In two waves, in June and September 1936, 15,000 households (69,283 people) were deported from the Ukrainian borderland, of whom Poles comprised 75.7 percent, Germans 23.4 percent, and Ukrainians 0.8 percent."<sup>54</sup> Intrigued by these figures, I verified the source indicated in a footnote. Regrettably, it does not contain any data on the percentage of deportees by ethnicity but merely deals with the general number of households and deported individuals.<sup>55</sup> Misgivings about the cited data are intensified by the German historian's claim, in a footnote, that "the first group of

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<sup>51</sup> "Donesenie zam. nachal'nika GULAGa I. I. Plinnera Narkomu NKVD N. I. Ezhovu, zam. Narkoma Ia. S. Agranovu i zam. Narkoma NKVD M. D. Bermanu o pereselenii i khoziaistvennom ustroistve ukrainских pereselentsev v KazASSR. Noiabr' 1936," in *Stalinskie deportatsii*, 72.

<sup>52</sup> Branch State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine (hereafter HDA SBU), f. 16, op. 29, spr. 11, ark. 115.

<sup>53</sup> N. F. Bugai, *L. Beria—I. Stalinu: Soglasno Vashemu ukazaniiu...* (Moscow: AIRO-XX, 1995), 11.

<sup>54</sup> Dönninghaus, *V teni "Bol'shogo Brata"*, 534.

<sup>55</sup> "Dokladnaia zapiska zam. nachal'nika GULAGa I. I. Plinnera Narkomu NKVD N. I. Ezhovu, zam. Narkoma Ia. S. Agranovu i zam. Narkoma NKVD M. D. Bermanu o pereselenii i khoziaistvennom ustroistve ukrainских pereselentsev v KazASSR, 11 oktiabria 1936 g.," in *Stalinskie deportatsii*, 69–70.

deportees alone included 35,820 Poles.”<sup>56</sup> After all, according to documents published in a special collection to which Dönninghaus himself refers, the first group of deportees (May–June) was smaller than the second (September). In June a total of 26,778<sup>57</sup> were deported, that is, 9,000 fewer people than the figure suggested by the German historian. The Polish historian Henryk Stroński, who was one of the first scholars to research this topic, states that approximately 60,000 Poles were deported to Kazakhstan.<sup>58</sup> But these are only calculations, however substantiated. Although I concur that most of the deportees were Poles, I saw no possibility of elucidating this problem in detail. In particular, there was no possibility of offering data on the ethnic composition of the deportees according to a district-by-district breakdown.

The problem was resolved with the aid of materials stored in a file held in the Archives of the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU).<sup>59</sup> The summary data contained therein offer grounds for asserting that out of the 15,000 deported households, 11,494, or 76.7 percent, were Polish, and the rest German.<sup>60</sup> This file contains nearly all the available information about the deportations on a district-by-district scale. In particular, there are complete data on both stages of the district-by-district deportations (May–June and September 1936) from Kyiv province, which partially refute Stroński’s estimates.<sup>61</sup> There are complete data on the second stage of the deportation (September 1936) from Vinnytsia province. That said, some information pertaining to the final days of the first stage of the deportation (June 1936) from Vinnytsia province is missing; it concerns the final number of deportees from the Pluzhne and Shepetivka districts. But this shortcoming is compensated by Zhezytsky’s figures, inasmuch as the numbers common to both sources are

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<sup>56</sup> Dönninghaus, *V teni “Bol’shogo Brata,”* 534.

<sup>57</sup> “Dokladnaia zapiska,” 69.

<sup>58</sup> H. Stroński, “Deportacje polskiej ludności z Ukrainy do Kazachstanu w 1936 roku: Przyczyny, przebieg, skutki,” in *Polacy w Kazachstanie. Historia i współczesność*, ed. S. Ciesielski and A. Kuczyński (Wrocław, 1996), 204.

<sup>59</sup> I am grateful to Roman Podkur for these materials.

<sup>60</sup> HDA SBU, f. 16, op. 29, spr. 11, ark. 115.

<sup>61</sup> Henryk Stroński, “Koniec eksperymentu: Rozwiązanie Marchlewszczyzny i deportacje ludności polskiej do Kazachstanu w latach 1935–1936 w świetle nowych dokumentów archiwalnych,” *Ucrainica Polonica*, vol. 1 (Kyiv and Zhytomyr, 2007), 208.

identical. In his study Zhezytsky gives a district-by-district breakdown of the number of Polish families that were also deported to Kazakhstan in May–June 1936. He obtained these data from the Vinnytsia State [Provincial] Archives.

A comparative analysis of the two sources makes it possible to draw the following conclusions. First, Zhezytsky's figures of deported Polish households tally completely with data collected from the districts where deportation took place as recorded in the file held at the SBU Archives. There is only one discrepancy: Zhezytsky's article speaks of the deportation of 237 Polish households from the Berezhiv district,<sup>62</sup> but the SBU file gives a figure of 239.<sup>63</sup> This difference is so slight that it may be safely ignored. Second, the total number of deportees from the four districts for which final data are available (Proskurove, Slavuta, Volochysk, and Berezhiv) corresponds to the figure in the plans. There is only one minor difference: 303 households, not 300, were deported from the Slavuta district. Since general reports attest that the target indicator of 2,250 households from Vinnytsia province was achieved, it may be inferred that three households were "left outstanding" from the Pluzhne or Shepetivka districts. In Table 16, below, these three households are extrapolated among the listed districts, although in all likelihood the "omission" happened in a single district. Unfortunately, I do not have the wherewithal to determine which district this was, but I can state that the matter concerns ethnic Polish peasant households.

The indicated sources and estimates give grounds for creating district-by-district tables of deportation. Let us begin with the first stage, which took place in May–June 1936. During that two-month period 5,567 households were deported from Vinnytsia and Kyiv provinces. Their distribution is reflected in Tables 16<sup>64</sup> and 17.<sup>65</sup> The estimate for the Novohrad-Volynskiy district revealed some differences in the national composition of the deportees. I will try to explain. NKVD reports cite summary data on the total number of deportees and their national composition.

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<sup>62</sup> Zhezyts'kyi, "Masovi deportatsii naseleennia Podillia," 131.

<sup>63</sup> HDA SBU, f. 16, op. 29, spr. 11, ark. 56.

<sup>64</sup> Calculations based on HDA SBU, f. 16, op. 29, spr. 11, ark. 50–64, and Zhezyts'kyi, "Masovi deportatsii naseleennia Podillia," 131.

<sup>65</sup> HDA SBU, f. 16, op. 29, spr. 11, ark. 15–49.

Summary data from four other districts tally exactly with the daily reports on the deportation, which were produced by the NKVD between 25 May and 3 June 1936 and are therefore indisputable. Unlike those districts, there are no separate summary data on totals for the Novohrad-Volynskiy district, only daily reports. However, the tally of daily reports (deportees were removed from the Novohrad-Volynskiy district on 1, 3, and 4 June) reveals an identical total of deported households as well as a partial discrepancy in their national composition between the sum of the daily reports (Novohrad-Volynskiy district: 275 Polish and 271 German households)<sup>66</sup> and the difference in overall provincial data (2,186 Polish and 1,131 German households)<sup>67</sup> with twice-verified data from the Yarun, Olevsk, Baranivka, and Horodnia districts. The indicated difference for the Novohrad-Volynskiy district, given the unchanging total number of deported households (546), is 259 Polish and 287 German households. Since the following tables are based on general data for the provinces, the basis of Table 8 is precisely the difference between general provincial data and the total for the four above-mentioned districts.

**Table 16. Number of Households Deported to Kazakhstan from Districts  
in Vinnytsia Province in May–June 1936**

<b>District</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Poles</b>	<b>Germans</b>
<i>Berezdiv</i>	250	239	11
<i>Pluzhne</i>	449	373	76
Proskurove	250	249	1
Shepetivka	498	382	116
Slavuta	303	303	
Volochysk	500	500	

<sup>66</sup> Calculations according to data held at HDA SBU, f. 16, op. 29, spr. 11, ark. 39, 44, 48.

<sup>67</sup> HDA SBU, f. 16, op. 29, spr. 11, ark. 49.

<b>Total</b>	<b>2,250</b>	<b>2,046</b>	<b>204</b>
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**Table 17. Number of Households Deported to Kazakhstan from Districts  
in Kyiv Province in May–June 1936**

<b>District</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Poles</b>	<b>Germans</b>
Baranivka	620	451	169
Horodnia	1,048	719	329
Novohrad-Volynskiyi	546	259 (275)	287 (271)
Olevsk	550	422	128
Yarun	553	335	218
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,317</b>	<b>2,186</b>	<b>1,131</b>

Detailed information on the second stage of resettlement in the NKVD report appears in a special addendum; hence there was no problem in representing them. These data appear in Tables 18<sup>68</sup> and 19.<sup>69</sup> Table 20<sup>70</sup> provides general summary data on resettlement from Ukraine to Kazakhstan.

**Table 18. Number of Households Deported to Kazakhstan from Districts  
of Vinnytsia Province in September 1936**

<b>District</b>	<b>Resettled</b>		<b>Poles</b>	<b>Germans</b>
	<b>No. of households</b>	<b>No. of people</b>		

<sup>68</sup> HDA SBU, f. 16, op. 29, spr. 11, ark. 117.

<sup>69</sup> HDA SBU, f. 16, op. 29, spr. 11, ark. 117–18.

<sup>70</sup> HDA SBU, f. 16, op. 29, spr. 11, ark. 118.

Antoniny	250	1,127	249	1
<i>Bazaliia</i>	300	1,257	300	
Chemerivtsi	363	1,503	363	
Horodok	448	1,888	448	
Iziaslav (Zaslav)	299	1,400	299	
Kamianets-Podilskyi	500	2,077	500	
Liakhivtsi	500	2,128	500	
Orynyn	270	1,089	270	
Polonne	450	1,933	401	49
Sataniv	500	2,026	500	
Smotrych	300	1,280	300	
Starokostiantyniv	300	1,365	300	
Teofipol	499	2,104	499	
Yarmolyntsi	250	1,053	250	
<b>Total</b>	<b>5,229</b>	<b>22,230</b>	<b>5,179</b>	<b>50</b>

**Table 19. Number of Households Deported to Kazakhstan from Districts of Kyiv Province in September 1936**

District	Resettled		National composition	
	No. of households	No. of people	Poles	Germans
Baranivka	500	2,515	494	96
Baryshivka	570	2,892	230	340
Chervonoarmiske	900	4,417	203	697
Korosten	380	1,899	243	137
Novohrad-Volynskyi	550	2,706	222	328

Yemilchyn	1,004	4,919	542	462
Zhytomyr	300	1,376	239	61
<b>Total for Kyiv province</b>	<b>4,204</b>	<b>20,724</b>	<b>1,083</b>	<b>2,121</b>

**Table 20. Summary Provincial Data on the Number of Households Deported from Ukraine to Kazakhstan in September 1936**

Resettled in 2 provinces in September	9,433	42,954	7,262	2,171
Resettled in May–June	5,567	27,023	4,232	1,335
<b>Total resettled in 1936</b>	<b>15,000</b>	<b>69,977</b>	<b>11,494</b>	<b>3,506</b>

In summary, I do not claim to have covered all the deportations that took place between 1933 and 1936. Several topics have not been examined; for example, Jewish resettlements organized under the auspices of Ukrkomzet (All-Ukrainian Commission for Land Allotment to Laboring Jews Attached to the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee), which took place throughout the 1920s. Quantitative indices of those resettlements are attested in a letter written by the party official Iliia Shelekhes to the CC CP(B)U, which notes that Ukrkomzet was resettling 550 households in 1935.<sup>71</sup> Nor did I analyze the results of recruitment to settle the Jewish Autonomous Province, and, of course, this article does not discuss the deportations of convicted individuals. However, the district-by-district breakdown of the main resettlement campaigns is recorded systematically and in detail. Considering that most of the data in this article have not been published previously, I hope it will promote further historical research, lead to new, well-argued reflections on this topic, and help resolve contradictions and correct factual errors in the historiography of the subject.

*Translated from the Ukrainian by Marta D. Olynyk*

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<sup>71</sup> TsDAHO Ukraïny, f. 1, op. 20, spr. 6618, ark. 100.