

**IOSUD – UNIVERSITATEA „DUNĂREA DE JOS” DIN GALAȚI**  
**Școala Doctorală de Științe Socio-Umane**



**DOCTORAL THESIS**  
**SOUTHERN BASSARABIA BETWEEN 1940 AND 1954.**  
**POLITICAL, ADMINISTRATIVE, DEMOGRAPHIC,**  
**SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATIONS**

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The end of the Soviet era showed that the old communist system, even in its modified versions, had no chance of revival. This made it possible to condemn the dictatorship and the horrors by which millions of people were humiliated. It should be mentioned, that a wide range of programs which were devoted to the scientific research and the collection of living memory about one of the most sinister pages of the history of Southern Bessarabia were developed. The investigation of communist crimes in Ukraine proves once more that the values of democracy, fundamental human rights can be rehabilitated and protected only by highlighting the multiple facets of the totalitarian past.

The relevance and the importance of our research is based on the necessity to discover the essence of the Soviet regime, which stood out through the total sovietization of Southern Bessarabia. It was not just a change of administration, but a much more complex and profound process, which was carried out through terror and genocide. These atrocities were committed against millions of innocent people, which are considered nowadays victims of the Bolshevik/Communist regime.

*The relevance* of our study is based on several factors.

Firstly, the existing ideas about the events of the first and second stages of Sovietization of the region are of the most general nature both in public consciousness and in scientific discourse. This was due to the fact that Southern Bessarabia experienced for a short period of time significant and radical changes, which occurred through the participation of Soviet specialists and the «assistance» of many punitive structures. The transformations which took place in 1940-1941 and 1944-1954 were carried out by the puppet authorities of the Ukrainian Republic and were primarily based on an individualized scenario with visible institutional and functional-local specificity.

Secondly, the scientific interpretation of the content and the importance of the transformations in Southern Bessarabia, which was based on the current theoretical experience in this field of research, using an interdisciplinary approach, in our opinion, should contribute to the de-Sovietization of the historical consciousness of many individuals from modern Ukraine lamenting for «developed socialism», overshadowing the horrors of Soviet totalitarianism.

Finally, the Sovietization of the region was different from that of the eastern regions of Ukraine. The specifics of the economic and the social structures of the region were so clear that the canonical recipes of socialist transformations were adjusted and adapted to it. Therefore, the thesis focuses on to the necessity to research the socialist modernization, which unfolded non-linearly and had a remarkable regional specificity, but at the same time preserved the axiomatic foundations of the «construction of socialism», such as: industrialization, collectivization, the cultural revolution.

However, the Communists failed to change completely the local mentality of the next two generations. Although, in hindsight, the Soviet authorities took advantage of the centuries-old developed conformist behavior and were quite successful in recruiting allies from among the local population .

*The main purpose of our study* is to reveal the objective and subjective factors, the mechanisms of implementation, the historical consequences of the sovietization of Southern Bessarabia in 1940-1941 and in 1944-1954.

*The subject of the research* – the directions, components, mechanisms, consequences of preventive and total sovietization of the

Izmail region, as well as the relevant strategy and tactics of the state and party power of the USSR and the RSSU.

***Methodological and theoretical-scientific support.*** During our investigations, we were guided by the principles of contemporary methodology: historicism, sovietization is studied in the process of its historical development; objectivism, events are described objectively, under a scientific aspect; the fundamental principles of dialectics (the unity and struggle of opposites) helped us to detect those contradictions that existed in Soviet society; based on the systemic principle of information organization, the events are systematized and presented in a logical order. Also, in our research we followed such principles as: rationalism, the logic of science, the principle of relating the past to the present, the principle of humanism. The following methods were used in the research: the historical method, which allowed us to research the process of establishment, consolidation and collapse of the communist regime of occupation, and as a result the factors that contributed to the sovietization of the region were highlighted; the institutional method, which helped us to carry out an analysis of the political spectrum of the researched problem, through the prism of the activity of such institutions as – CP(b)U and CPSU; the method of systemic analysis, which was used to reveal the problem of the uniqueness of the main sovietization characteristics that took place at different levels of power.

***The chronological framework of the thesis*** covers the following periods of time: 1940 – 1941, 1944 – 1954.

***The geographical area of our work*** includes the territories of Southern Bessarabia (the Akkerman region, hereafter the Izmail region of the Ukrainian SSR), which were established in accordance with the administrative-territorial division in 1940-1941 and 1944-1954.

The study of socio-political, socio-economic, cultural, educational and religious transformations in the region is performed through **the** presentation of certain ideas.

Firstly, we reinterpreted the content and the historical consequences of the «Lenin's Plan of Socialist Construction», which, despite rapid changes in quantitative indicators of industry and agriculture, led to the degradation of the region due to the destruction of the institution of private property, the proletarianization of the peasantry and mental and value deformations.

Secondly, a cognitive insignificant approach in the form of a «polarity change» is denied, when the historical evaluation mechanically changes from «plus» to «minus», namely, from a positive to negative interpretation.

Finally, the Soviet period in the history of South Bessarabia is very difficult to illuminate due to the historical fatalism and the undisputed closed context of the inevitability and regularity of totalitarian transformations. Moreover, after 1991, the historical experience of this period attracted great interest and formed a clear public demand for its study and consideration. At the same time, the study of the Sovietization processes of the region should be created on the basis of intellectual freedom, which is inherent in the community of professional historians as an ethical constant.

*The scientific novelty and theoretical significance* of our research can be found both in its theme and in its methodology, which is based on the analysis of original archive documents and the use of the testimonies of those who lived through the Soviet period. Furthermore, for the first time in the modern Ukrainian historiography, we performed a comprehensive study of the sovietization stages of Southern Bessarabia and the systemic social

changes, using a rational combination of concretization and generalization; the echoes of the sovietization processes in the historical memory of the inhabitants of the region were analyzed and highlighted; new sources from the funds of the central and regional archives of Ukraine were studied, documents of different levels were processed – state, regional and even local; the objective and subjective factors of the sovietization of the region were identified and the characteristics of the forms and mechanisms of its realization were detailed.

***The results, materials and conclusions of our research*** give an opportunity to use a comprehensive approach to the solution of a series of regional history problems such as the socio-economic transformations in Bessarabian villages during the Soviet period, the reformation of social stratification and the structure of social ties, the politics of the church and religion, the vector of changes in cultural life and mental sphere of society. The results of our study can be used in the educational process, for example, while teaching courses in Ukrainian history, world history, special courses of Ukrainian studies and local historical knowledge in higher and secondary educational institutions. Also, the materials of this work can be source for preparation of summarizing articles about the history of the Ismail region.

***The reliability of the obtained results*** is ensured by an in-depth study of the historiography of our theme, by an impartial analysis of a wide range of sources, by the use of a set of complementary research methods that correspond to the purpose, subject and objectives of the thesis.

***The structure of the work*** includes the presentation of the research subject in chronological order. After the Introduction, we analyzed the historiography of the subject, highlighting the sources that guided us and the results that some scholars reached in this field of reference. In the

following chapters, we made an attempt to carry out our own investigation, hoping to enrich the national historic heritage.

Chapter I aims to reveal the action plans and goals of the Soviet regime in Southern Bessarabia in 1940-1941 and 1944-1954. Also, in this chapter are presented the attempts of the Soviets to form an egalitarian society and their reconstruction projects of all social levels which were reinforced by new laws and directives. In Southern Bessarabia as well as in the Ukrainian SSR maximum forces were used to achieve the set goals.

In the second chapter we set out to present the changes which took place in the economy. Thus, during the first and second wave of sovietization, we follow the modification of the market economy and the introduction of the authoritarian type of management, which was the centralized model of planned economy. The second chapter also reveals the socio-demographic changes in Southern Bessarabia. The information which is presented in this chapter is based on the published and unpublished documents and materials from Izmail, Odesa and Kyiv archives.

The last chapter describes the methods which were used to impose Marxist-Leninist dogmas on the population of the region in order to build a «new man». It is important to note that the materials which reveal information about the «cultural revolution» have the inestimable value for the study of that problem. The chapter presents the processes of denationalization and russification of Southern Bessarabia. Also, in the last chapter we outline the application of the Soviet system in the public education and the organization of schools. At the present time, the condemnation of communism is a social, political, moral and intellectual prerogative. Ukraine is a democratic state, which suffered a lot from Soviet crimes, and we must and can reveal the tragic and sad pages of the twentieth century. Ukraine's future depends on the revaluation of its past

and punishment of the communist regime as an enemy who committed crimes against humanity.

The problem of the Sovietization of Southern Bessarabia territories is inexhaustible subject of research, while taking into consideration the quantitative and qualitative magnitude, of this phenomenon.

The following conclusions can be drawn from the present study in accordance with the established purpose and objectives:

The «happy society» which was created by the Bolsheviks was based on utopian concepts and imposed by force and terror on people. Therefore, it could not have another ending, than it had. In other words, we arrive at the idea that human values cannot be created through inhumane methods.

1. A significant broadening of documentary sources on the basis of materials from central and local archival funds, the involvement of oral history sources as well as the use of modern epistemological approaches in the study of the problem of Sovietization of Southern Bessarabia created an opportunity to generalize and systematize incompatible and often contradictory information in order to form an objective idea of the events in this region.

2. Bessarabia and the Bessarabian people suffered a hard fate due to which they had no peace for centuries, but they also did not know a force as strong as the post-war Stalinist power with its extended punitive apparatus.

3. The process of Sovietization in the post-war Southern Bessarabia was based on the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. It is clear that they did not overcome the dogmatism of three components of the Bolshevik plan to «build socialism»: collectivization, industrialization and the cultural revolution. It should be mentioned that in practice this plan contained modes and algorithms of actions which were adapted to local conditions,



but the main components of the political policy were left unchanged and corresponded to the center.

4. The post-war Soviet Union was the antithesis of freedom – a «world built on slavery». Based on the materials of our research, we can confirm that there were not more Soviet citizens in the Gulag than in the years after the war.

5. The social fear and the ideological indoctrination of the population helped the communist regime to ensure the desired peace in order to «prove» the non-antagonistic character of the Soviet society.

6. The Soviet socio-economic policy promoted a colonial-type of industrialization and urbanization and, as a result, it caused the essential reduction of the percentage of the indigenous population and the degradation of the mother tongue status, culture and national traditions.

7. Among the methods of implementation of the communist totalitarian regime in the region, we can mention the ideological, theoretical and political-educational activities which were aimed to educate the «new man», who had to be a conscious builder of socialism and communism. In reality, the results which were obtained did not meet the expectations of the Soviet government. Therefore, actions of intimidation, control and pressure are coordinated by the communist authorities. We must admit that the opposition to the sovietization policy of Southern Bessarabia in the second half of the 1940s was objectively predetermined to defeat. Obviously, the totalitarian regime already had a «rich experience» (accumulated in the 1920s and 1930s in various regions of the USSR) in suppression of any manifestation of opposition, obvious or hidden, even latent and hypothetical.

In the current period, Ukraine, together with other countries of Europe, exposed and condemned the communist period, which destroy

entire nations and ruined millions of destinies. A huge effort was made to recover the living memory of the witnesses and survivors of the Soviet times. We also took an important step in the revealing of the truth about Southern Bessarabia, which suffered a lot from the red tyranny of the last century.

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