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## **REPRESSIVE-PUNITIVE ACTIVITY OF “TROIKA” ATTACHED TO THE STATE POLITICAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR IN THE CONTEXT OF THE UKRAINIANS’ GENOCIDE**

The repressive-punitive activity of the DPU’s “Troika” as an extrajudicial body was analyzed in the article. Their involvement into the Ukrainians’ genocide during 1932-1933-s was proved by the archival documents. New historical sources that proved a role of “Troika” of the State political administration of the Ukrainian SSR (DPU of the Ukrainian SSR) as a repressive-punitive body were introduced into scientific usage for the first time. The author has used historical-systematic method, critical analysis of the sources, problem-chronological, typological analysis as well as synthesis and generalization that permit to understand a role of “troika” as a crucial instrument in the planned, systematically organized criminal campaign of grain procurement as well as in the struggle of the communist regime with acts of resistance (real or fabricated by the body of the DPU). Extrajudicial punishment with “Troika’s” involvement was demonstrated to be a tool for suppression of the national-liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people at the beginning of 1920-s in Ukraine. According to implementation of the NEP and suppression of the resistance movement, the activity of “Troikas” was ceased by a relevant order of the CPC of the Ukrainian SSR, however, it was renewed at the beginning of grain procurement campaign, and total collectivization. At that time “Troikas” should decongest the judicial branch of the United State Political Administration (ODPU) and Special Council of the ODPU from rebels and other “counter-revolutionary elements” presented by the central office and local authorities.

**Keywords:** *genocide of the Ukrainians during 1932-1933-s; DPU of the Ukrainian SSR; “Troika”; repressive-punitive activity; grain procurement.*

### **Introduction**

Nowadays the majority of Ukrainian scientists who have studied reasons, motives, consequences of the political terror in the Ukrainian SSR within famine (Holodomor) studies, considers that the method, played a key role in a crime of the Ukrainians genocide during 1932-1933-s, was planned and systematic (regular) forced grain procurement that resulted in resource depletion of a Ukrainian village, base destruction of existence, annihilation of a Ukrainian grain-grower, irreversible demographic loss.

Having proclaimed a party and state course on industrialization at the 14<sup>th</sup> congress of the CPSU(b) in 1925, the peasants were considered to be a main source of its financing by the Kremlin, particularly the peasants-owners (who were politically marked as “kurkuli” by the government). The peasants resisted such policy of the communist regime as they didn’t have any financial resources to compensate the expense on industrialization (an average kurkul’s income correlated with an average income of an industrial worker). In 1929 the USSR exported only 11 ml poods (180 185, 5 tons) that was 10 times less than in 1926/1927. Total collectivization seemed to be a quick decision of a “land issue” by the party-governmental managers. A Ukrainian village as a producer of a product

of cereal export was under the pressure of Stalinist grain procurement. Several years in a row of Moscow’s plundering policy put the Ukrainians in front of famine. Nevertheless, on May 6<sup>th</sup>, 1932 the Council of People’s Commissars of the USSR and the CPSU (b) approved an annual grain procurement quota for Ukraine of 356 ml poods (the reduction was only 18% compared to the previous year and also was overvalued in comparison with a quota of bountiful harvest of 1930, on the other hand the quota was reduced by 30% for other republics). Being afraid to be without grain as it was during previous years, the Ukrainian peasants, including collective farms, didn’t hurry to perform the overvalued quota. The central and local authorities considered it as the acts of defiance and sabotage of “Anti-Soviet elements”. To suppress those “Anti-Soviet protests”, the Moscow and republican authorities used different instruments, one of them was so-called “troika” – an extrajudicial body that included a head of the regional department of the DPU, secretary of the Regional Committee of CP(b)U, secretary and regional prosecutor with special authority to sentence all arrested people to imprisonment in a concentration camp with the terms from 8 to 10 years and even to death penalty – execution.

The issue of the DPU’s activity on the Ukrainian SSR is partially highlighted in the scientific studies and mono-

graphs where general aspects of their activity are mentioned: control from the party authorities, empowerment (*Okipnuk, 2002: 290*), interconnections with the DPU of the RSFSR and the ODPU (*Podkur, 2012: 69-90*), changes in the troika's authority of the DPU- ODPU (*Grechenko, Klochko, 2017: 88-94*), etc.

The urgency of the article is caused by a lack of fundamental works, and general interest of the researchers to criminal activity of "troikas" in Ukraine that was an instrument of famine (Holodomor)-genocide of the Ukrainians, excluding some rare scientific publications of S. Markova (2016: 235), V. Nikolskyi (2003: 624), D. Vedeneev (2007; 2008: 10-15).

**The purpose of the article** is to analyze repressive and punitive activity of "troika" of the DPU as an extrajudicial body and prove their role in genocide of the Ukrainians during 1932-1933-s based on the archival documents.

**Methods of the study** are grounded on the principles of historicism. The general approaches and methods based on historical epistemology for analyzing and highlighting the peculiarities of a totalitarian system and its punitive body. The author used historical-systematic, diachronic methods of material's presentation, critical analysis of the sources and their interpretation, problem-chronological, typological analysis as well as synthesis and generalization that permit to understand a role of "troika" as a crucial instrument in the planned, systematically organized criminal campaign of grain procurement as well as in the struggle of the communist regime with acts of resistance (real or fabricated by the body of the DPU).

### Research and Results

"Troika" as other extrajudicial bodies of the USSR (special councils, special commissions) played a role of extraordinary investigation of criminal acts and punishment that included execution, imprisonment in concentration camps and labor colonies, deportations into the remote regions of the RSFSR, restriction of rights and freedoms (right to vote, right to reside on the defined territories, right to choose their occupation, etc.). The head of the GNC of the RSFSR F. Dzerzhinsky and his deputies were the members of the first "troika" that was instituted to be an instrument of extrajudicial punishment for the accused of "political thuggery" (the members of a resistance movement against a Bolshevik's regime). The extrajudicial trial with "troika's" participation was widely used for the suppression of national-liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people at the beginning of 1920-s. "Troika" included the representatives of a local party branch, local branch of the AUEC and the Red Army commanders. Their authorities were regulated by the instruction of April 1921 approved by a permanent meeting of anti-gang struggle of the CPC of the Ukrainian SSR. According to the abovementioned instruction they obtained a right to take hostages and apply execution. Due to implementation of the New Economic Policy (NEP) and suppression of the resistance movement, the CPC of the Ukrainian SSR approved a decision to cease "troika's" activity on April 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1923 (*Podkur, 2012: 97*). However, as it turned later, it was only about termination of their activity. Having applied the extraordinary methods while grain procurement, at the beginning of total collectivization, and pea-

sant resistance strengthening, the government had again returned to a practice of "troika", in the central office of the ODPU at first, it should decongest the judicial branch of the ODPU and Special Council of the ODPU from rebels and other "counter-revolutionary elements" presented by the central office and local authorities. "Troikas" were authorized to provide a preliminary consideration of the completed investigation files with implementation of administrative exile or imprisonment in a concentration camp due to the circulars of the ODPU of October 29<sup>th</sup>, 1929 and April 8<sup>th</sup>, 1931 (*Vedeneev, 2008: 10-15*). An impetus for such actions was a direction issued by a decision of the Politburo of the CPSU (b) of October 5<sup>th</sup>, 1929, according to which the ODPU and NCUst obtained the special authorities to apply decisive and effective measures including execution for "terrorist" activity and counter-revolutionary actions (*Misinkevych, 2013: 9*).

Such sentences were usually delivered by judges who had to follow some particular procedure. "Troika" did not have such restrictions and the cases were considered more rapidly.

"Troika's" activity in the Ukrainian SSR was renewed with the beginning of "kurkul's operation of the ODPU" based on the order of the presidency of All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the USSR of February 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1930. "While kurkuls had been eliminated as a class", according to that order the ODPU obtained authority to transfer their competence of extrajudicial punishment to "Troika" consisted of authorized representatives of the ODPU (PP ODPU) including representatives of party and prosecutor's offices with the mandatory approval of their members by a board of the ODPU. The order of the ODPU № 44/21 of February 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1930 prescribed to secure urgent case consideration regarding counter-revolutionary organizations, groups and active counter-revolutionary figures (first category) by the PP ODPU's "Troikas" in extrajudicial order. Rapid "Troikas" were to be organized for direct management of an operation regarding resettlement of "kurkuls" and their families. Their activity was regulated by the order of the DPU of the Ukrainian SSR of February 7<sup>th</sup>, 1930 (*Vedeneev, 2008: 10-15*). During 1930-1934-s there was so called "judicial troika" that was attached to the board of the DPU of the Ukrainian SSR, and it had a right to apply all kinds of punishment under the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR of 1927. "Troika's" authorities were especially extended during the active phase of the Ukrainians' resistance to the regime (1930 – the first half of 1932).

The order of the CEC and CPC of the USSR "About assets security of state-owned enterprises, collective farms and cooperation, and consolidation of public (socialistic) property" of August 7<sup>th</sup>, 1932 that included capital punishment – execution with property confiscation and without amnesty, occupies a special place among all legal reasons caused genocide of the Ukrainian nation.

The order of "kurkuls" and other "socially-hostile elements" punishment, and particularly, "social protection measure" (capital punishment) applied to different categories of looters: their jurisdiction of a court, were explained in a secret instruction of the Supreme Court of the USSR, Prosecutor of the Supreme Court of the USSR and the ODPU regarding implementation of that order (*Grechenko, Klochko, 2017: 88-94*). For instance, it was prescribed to apply capital punishment (execution) without mercy to

the “kurkuls”, and singular and collective farmers were to be imprisoned for 10 years for looting of collective farms’ property and grain (amount was not mentioned) in paragraph 5 section 2. Capital punishment to the “kurkuls” should be applied only under aggravated circumstances (several thefts, gangs’ organization, terrorist acts and arson). According to section 3 cases of thefts under aggravated circumstances and those accompanied by mass demonstrations were transferred to the PP ODPU and

others were considered by the relevant courts. The instruction was approved by the CC CPSU (b) of September 16<sup>th</sup> 1932 (the minutes № 116) and sent to all members of the CC CPSU (b) and the deputy of the ODPU of the USSR V. Balytskyi for urgent “implementation into public property protection”. Therefore, so called the law of “Five Ears of Grain” and instruction of its implementation were an impetus for mass activity of “Troika” as an extra-judicial punitive body.

**Table 1. – Records regarding men punished by “Troika” and the Special Council attached to the board of the DPU of the Ukrainian SSR connected with grain procurement in August – November 1932**

(signed by the head of the USO DPU of the Ukrainian SSR Bukschpana)<sup>1</sup>  
(*The unsealed memory...*, 2008: 348)

**Not earlier than December 1<sup>st</sup>, 1932**

Figures regarding the convicted by judicial “Troika” and the Special Council attached to the board of the DPU of the Ukrainian SSR in the cases started by the internal affairs agencies of the Ukrainian SSR connected with grain procurement in August – November 1932.

Cases	Including					According to the social protection measures							Notes
	Total number of the convicted	In August	In September	In October	In November	Capital punishment	Imprisonment in a concentration camp for 10 years	Imprisonment in a concentration camp for 5 years	Imprisonment in a concentration camp for 3 years	Resettlement	Deportation	Other measures	
Agitation against grain procurement	496	291	41	55	109	-	6	26	86	368	10	-	
Looting, squandering and grain concealment	146	-	32	53	61	31	60	36	6	13	-	1	
Grain speculation	466	-	86	223	157	-	50	357	-	46	6	7	
Total	1108	291	159	331	327	31	116	419	92	427	16	8	

**Table 2. – Records regarding men punished by “Troika” and the Special Council attached to the board of the DPU of the Ukrainian SSR connected with grain procurement in the first half of December 1932**

(signed by the head of the USO DPU of the Ukrainian SSR Bukschpana)<sup>2</sup>  
(*The unsealed memory...*, 2008: 477)

**After December 15<sup>th</sup>, 1932**

Figures regarding the convicted by judicial “Troika” and the Special Council attached to the board of the DPU of the Ukrainian SSR in the cases started by the internal affairs agencies of the Ukrainian SSR connected with grain procurement for the first half of December 1932.

Cases	Total number of the convicted	According to the social protection measures								Notes
		Capital punishment	Imprisonment in a concentration camp for 10 years	Imprisonment in a concentration camp for 5 years	Imprisonment in a concentration camp for 3 years	Resettlement	Deportation	Other measures	Released	
Agitation against grain procurement	418	2	14	61	112	208	3	15	3	
Looting, squandering and grain concealment	64	10	20	6	1	15	7	3	2	
Grain speculation	146	3	53	66	-	21	1	1	1	
Total	628	15	87	133	113	244	11	19	6	

<sup>1</sup> Sectoral State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine (Fund 42. Case 9. Page 58)

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. Page 68;

In a telegram of November 21<sup>st</sup>, 1932 written by V. Molotov, V. Chubar, V. Stroganov, M. Kalmanovych to J. Stalin, the authors mentioned: "We are offering to give a final decision regarding sentencing to capital punishment to the CP(b)U in a figure of the Special Commission (Kosior, Redens, Kyseliov from the CCC) with a condition of mandatory report of the CP(b)U to the CC CPSU(b) once a decade about the decisions during a period of grain procurement" (*Holodomor of 1932-1933-s in Ukraine...*, 2007: 404).<sup>3</sup>

The CC CPSU(b) founded a special commission for imposition of the death penalty during grain procurement in the Ukrainian SSR by its order of November 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1932 (*Holodomor of 1932-1933-s in Ukraine...*, 2007: 407). Consequently, there was a new extrajudicial body with the authority to impose the death penalty that didn't include a prosecutor. Having appointed V. Balytskyi as a head of the DPU of the Ukrainian SSR, the politburo of the CC CPSU(b) issued a decree of March 10<sup>th</sup>, 1933: "To allow "Troika", consisting of the comrades Balytskyi, Karlson and Leplevskyi, considering cases of rebellion and counter-revolutionary activity and applying capital punishment" (*Holodomor of 1932-1933-s in Ukraine...*, 2007: 749).

One of the first cases considered by "Troika" was a case of 74 peasants who escaping from starvation, had run to a new building in Kuriaz (Kharkiv suburban zone). Initially, on April 3-4<sup>th</sup>, 1933 "Troika" chaired by V. Balytskyi sentenced 27 men to imprisonment in a concentration camp for 3 to 10 years, on April 29<sup>th</sup>, 1933 during the second meeting, "Troika" considered the materials regarding 46 men and imposed 19 of them to the death penalty – execution. They were executed on May 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1933 (*Rehabilitated by History. Kharkiv Region, 2008: 53-54*).

The vast amount of sentences in the cases regarding grain procurement was issued by regional extrajudicial "Troikas". It is proved by a note included into a report of the Chernigiv regional body to the CC CP(b)U and CC CPSU(b) regarding regional political situation. Among other information there was information about 5437 sentences issued by judicial and extrajudicial bodies in the cases of grain procurement, 673 of them were death penalty – execution<sup>4</sup>.

Having informed the ODPU regarding performed repressions of "the class hostile elements" that were found guilty in preparations failure to spring sowing on March 15<sup>th</sup>, 1933, the head's deputy of the DPU of the Ukrainian SSR I. Lepnevskyi claimed that those bodies "continued to repress the class hostile elements who were blamed in preparations failure to spring sowing" (*Holodomor of 1932-1933-s in Ukraine...*, 2007: 769).

A murder wasn't considered a serious crime any more, it could be justified by "bourgeois" background of a victim, and moreover, a victim could be marked as a "kurkul, vicious saboteur of grain procurement, agent, etc." in that case a person deserved to be executed and a murderer didn't feel guilt. From an internal memo of the head

<sup>3</sup> Death penalty was also imposed before: the decree of Politburo of 30.01.1930, order of the ODPU № 44/21 of February 2nd, 1930, Instruction of 16.08.32.

<sup>4</sup> Sectoral State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine (Fund 42. Case 9. Page 74).

of the USO DPU of the Ukrainian SSR Bukschpana to the head of the USO ODPU Ya. Genkin regarding a number of the executed in 1933 due to an order of "Troika" attached to the board of the DPU of the Ukrainian SSR (March 31<sup>st</sup>, 1934), it was informed that 805 men were executed, 615 of them were executed by territorial bodies of the DPU, 52 men – by the transport bodies of the DPU, 138 men – by the police bodies of the RS according to an order of Judicial "Troika" attached to the board of the DPU of the Ukrainian SSR during 1933<sup>5</sup> (*Holodomor of 1932-1933-s in Ukraine...*, 2007: 538). The cases' consideration by extrajudicial bodies, particularly by "Troikas", was not only in absence of lawyers, but prosecutors as well, consequently there was no adversarial procedure, sentences were not appealed against. Furthermore, the records of "Troikas" demonstrate that several dozen of people were involved in group cases.

### Conclusions

"Troikas" as the extrajudicial bodies in the Ukrainian SSR included a head of the regional department of the DPU, secretary of the Provincial Committee of the CP(b)U and regional prosecutor. On examples of the archival criminal cases we can see that "Troikas" imposed such sentences as imprisonment in a concentration camp for 3-5 years (the longest term), 8-10 years or execution. Those extrajudicial punitive bodies as well as mobile sessions of judges on the territory of Ukraine adopted the law of "Five Ears of Grain" and instruction of its implementation. The records prove the absence of necessary "procedural" components that are mandatory for a court hearing – interrogation and investigation, adversarial procedure, impossibility to appeal against death penalty. The activity of extrajudicial punitive bodies – "Troikas" demonstrates the efforts of the communist regime to force, frighten, annihilate a Ukrainian peasant-individual farmer as well as the heads of collective farms, storekeepers and accountants, commissioners of grain procurement, etc., who didn't want or couldn't perform the tasks of the highest authorities.

### Appendices

#### Examples of the Falsified Cases

A case in 5 volumes, the beginning of which was after the senior agronomist of the state farm "Communist" of Lozovskyi district M.D. Kozyrk was arrested by the forensic expert subdivision of Kharkiv department of the DPU on December 16<sup>th</sup>, 1932. He was indicted on the deliberate violation of agricultural works that was considered as destruction of state farm's strength. After ten days the deputy of a regional state trust "Skotar" V.S. Svitlychnyi, inspector-agronomist of the trust P.G. Brusnets and brigadier of the state farm "Communist" T.K. Gluchovskyi, and shortly after the worker of the state farm N.M. Vydrenko were arrested. A counter-revolutionary organization opposed to grain procurement was fabricated in security officers' cabinets. In January 1933 a number of its members extended as well as its identification: the investigators firstly added the characteristics of "rebellious", but later also "malicious". It included 22 men at the time when a sentence was imposed. The sentence regarding the majority of participants was imposed by

<sup>5</sup> Sectoral State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine (Fund 42. Case 10. Page 48).

judicial "Troika" of the DPU of the Ukrainian SSR on April 11<sup>th</sup>, 1933; six of them were sentenced to imprisonment in a concentration camp for 10 years, eleven got from 3-5 years of imprisonment in a concentration camp, three were released, and the materials regarding the agronomists M.D. Kozyrka and G.M. Sandrygailo ("Obltractor") were sent to Moscow to be considered at the board of the OPDU. However, a sentence for them was severe – ten years of a concentration camp (*Rehabilitated by History. Kharkiv Region*, 2008: 59-65).

#### A Case of the Ukrainian Military Organization

Mass arrests began, and several dozen people "uvists", predominantly the Galician, who were the repatriates of the second half of 1920-s, were imprisoned during January-July 1933. Almost all of them were scientists, important soviet figures; nevertheless, they participated in the Ukrainian revolution that was a reason of their emigration. The vast majority of them joined the party after returning.

An issue regarding the communists-Galician initiated by the head of the DPU V. Balytskyi was considered at the meeting of the CC CP(b)U of May 31<sup>st</sup>, 1933, a decision of their exclusion from the party was approved by the politburo of the CC CP(b)U week later. 31 persons were mentioned in an appendix to the decision (*Schapoval, 1993: 146, 147*). P. Postyshev was an ideological inspirer of "ULO" case. M. Skrypnyk was appointed to be a head of that extended "organization". The secretaries of Skrypnyk, Galicia residents O. Badan-Yavorenko and M. Ersteniuk had been pressed to provide compromising information on him for more than a year. Having understood that compromising information on him was abundant (M. Skrypnyk knew well the methods how it received as well as appreciated them when he was the People's Commissar of Justice), having felt persecution by P. Postyshev, he didn't want to wait his arrest and shot himself on July 7<sup>th</sup>, 1933.

The sentences of "Troika" attached to the board DPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding "ULO's" case with different terms of imprisonment in Gulag prison camps were from June 1933 to May 1934. Almost all "uvists" were punished according to the minutes № 107/540 of September 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1923 and were sent to Solovky (*Rehabilitated by History. Kharkiv Region*, 2008: 48). Nevertheless, that minute wasn't the last one: sentences of "Troika" continued till 1934.

A fate of the talented director, pioneer of the Ukrainian theatre Les Kurbas was actually decided that day, however, he was arrested some months later on December 26<sup>th</sup>, 1933. Having issued a sentence according to the case of "ULO" and an order to reward all investigators, the head of the DPU of the Ukrainian SSR V. Balytskyi along with S. Kosior, V. Zatonyskyi and P. Liubchenko became "connoisseurs" of the new play "Marklena Grasa" presented by "Berezol" theatre. The play was banned after some performances. And the director was dismissed at the board of Commissariat after an unfair trial on October 5<sup>th</sup>, 1933. According to "Troika's" sentence attached to the board the DPU of the Ukrainian SSR on April 4<sup>th</sup>, 1934, he was imprisoned in a concentration camp for five years and immediately sent to the Bilomor-Baltic industrial complex of the ODPU to the station Medvezia Gora, and to Solovky from there.

Moscow determined Sandarmoch tract near Medvezogorsk, capital of Bilomor-Baltic industrial complex in Karelia to be "last address" of the Solovetsky's prisoners. According to the records of Special "Troika" attached to the Ukrainian People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs in Leningrad region of October 9<sup>th</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup>, November 10<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> 1937 the Capitan of state security M. Matveev had personally executed 1111 men, among them were 190 sons and daughters of Ukraine, the majority was punished due to the case of "SVU", "UNC", "ULO". The execution began on October 27<sup>th</sup>, and further every day from November 1<sup>st</sup> till 4<sup>th</sup> on the eve of the 20<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Bolshevik's revolution (*Prystayko, Pschennikov, Schapoval, 1997: 470*).

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**РЕПРЕСИВНО-КАРАЛЬНА ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ «ТРІЙОК»  
ДЕРЖАВНОГО ПОЛІТИЧНОГО УПРАВЛІННЯ УСРР  
В КОНТЕКСТІ ВЧИНЕННЯ ЗЛОЧИНУ ГЕНОЦИДУ УКРАЇНЦІВ**

У статті проаналізовано репресивно-каральну діяльність «трійок» Державного політичного управління УСРР (ДПУ УСРР) як позасудових органів. Належність цих органів до вчинення геноциду українців 1932-1933 рр. підтверджено архівними документами. Уперше уведено в обіг нові історичні джерела, що підтверджують роль «трійки» ДПУ УСРР як репресивно-карального органу. Авторка використала історико-системний метод, критичного аналізу джерел, проблемно-хронологічний, типологічний, а також синтезу та узагальнення, що дають змогу зрозуміти роль «трійки» як важливого інструменту в спланованій, системно організованій злочинній кампанії хлібозаготівлі, а також у боротьбі комуністичного режиму з актами опору (дійсними чи сфабрикованими самими органами ДПУ). Показано, що в Україні позасудова розправа з використанням «трійок» почала широко застосовуватися для придушення національно-визвольної боротьби українського народу початку 1920-х рр. У зв'язку із запровадженням непу і придушенням повстанського руху діяльність «трійок» було призупинено відповідною постановою РНК УСРР і знову відновлено із початком кампанії хлібозаготівель та суцільної колективізації. На цей раз «трійки» мали розвантажити Судову колегію Об'єднаного державного політичного управління (ОДПУ) і Особливу нараду при ОДПУ від представлених центральним апаратом і місцевими органами справ повстанців та інших «контрреволюційних елементів».

*Ключові слова:* геноцид українців 1932-1933 рр.; ДПУ УСРР; «трійки»; репресивно-каральна діяльність; хлібозаготівлі.

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