

NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY, ABBREVIATIONS, TRANS- LITERATION, CALENDAR, AND MAPS

In any book about the Soviet Union, it is all but impossible to avoid using dozens of abbreviations and acronyms. The Soviet Union rested on a state bureaucracy and the Communist Party apparatus, and these institutions in Moscow were replicated throughout the Soviet republics. State structures were run by a Central Executive Committee (*Tsentral'nyi ispolnitel'nyi komitet*, *TsIK*) that decided administrative territorial issues until the 1936 constitutional reform. From 1923 until 1936, the All-Union *TsIK* was the formal head of the Soviet state. In turn, the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic (*RSFSR*) had its All-Russian Central Executive Committee, the *VTsIK* (*Vserossiiskii tsentral'nyi ispolnitel'nyi komitet*); and the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic (*UkrSSR*) had its All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee, the *VUTsVK* (*Vseukraïns'kyi tsentral'nyi vykonavchyi komitet*).¹

Within each *TsIK* were various subcommissions, whose work was supervised by the *TsIK* secretary. Likewise, each government (*Sovet narodnykh komissarov*, *Sovnarkom* or *SNK*) had its own set of commissions. Of these, the most important here is the State Planning Commission (*Gosudarstvennaia planovaia komissiia*, *Gosplan*). *Gosplan*, too, had regional and local commissions throughout the Bolshevik realm. The *UkrSSR*, for example, had *UkrDerzhplan*, while *Kursk Guberniia* had *Kursk Gubplan*.

State institutions within the Transcaucasian Federation (*Zakavkaskskaia sotsialisticheskaia federativnaia sovetskaia respublika*, *ZSFSR*) mediated between the center in Moscow and the Soviet republics of Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan from 1922 to 1936. Abbreviations for these institutions can easily be identified by the prefix *Zak-* for *zakavkaskskii* (Transcaucasian), as in *ZakTsIK*, *ZakSovnarkom*, *ZakGosplan*, etc.

The Soviet Union's ruling communist party renamed itself several times. From 1918 to 1925, it was the Russian Communist Party

(Bolshevik) (Rossiiskaia kommunisticheskaia partiia [bol'shevikov], RKP[b]). Republican parties, such as the one in Ukraine, the KP(b)U (Komunistychna partiia [bil'shovykiv] Ukraïny), were formally independent. Between 1925 and 1952, the Soviet party called itself the All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik) (Vsesoiuznaia kommunisticheskaia partiia [bol'shevikov], VKP[b]), which included the national parties of all the republics within the Soviet state, save for the RSFSR. There was no “Russian” branch of the party. The RSFSR had only the VKP(b). From 1952 to 1991, the party was known as the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Kommunisticheskaia partiia Sovetskogo soiuza, KPSS), with branch parties in all the union republics except for the RSFSR.

Within the party, the Politburo (Politicheskoe biuro, Political Bureau) that rose to prominence during the Civil War was formally a commission of the Central Committee (Tsentral'nyi komitet, TsK), the governing organ of the party. It was during this period that the TsK in Moscow began to establish intermediate organs to supervise Soviet functionaries in remote regions. These organs were also often renamed, and their scope of action modified. For the Caucasus, especially the South Caucasus, there was the Kavbiuro (Kavkazskoe biuro TsK RKP[b]) and later the Zakkraikom (Transcaucasian Regional Committee, Zakavkazskii kraevoi komitet TsK RKP[b]) and for Central Asia the Turkkomissiiia and later the Turkburo and the Sredazbiuro (Central Asian Bureau, Sredneaziatskoe biuro TsK RKP[b]). Both were dissolved during the 1930s. In addition, each Soviet Republic had its own Central Committee and Politburo—Ukrainian, Georgian, Belarusian, and so on.

Often reference is made to the different administrative units of the Soviet state during a period of transition. Between 1923 and 1929, old imperial designations for administrative units coexisted with new Soviet ones. The Russian Empire and the early Soviet state both used a three-tier administrative system. The Russian Empire had *gubernii* (provinces, governorates), *uezdy* (pre-reform counties) and *volosti* (shires), which the Soviet state replaced with *oblasti* (regions), *okruga* (post-reform counties) and *raiony* (districts). The old regime also had particular territorial entities such as the *namestnichestvo* (vicerealty) in the Caucasus or Turkestan Krai in Central Asia. Under Soviet rule, the administration also used designations such as *krai* (border region). For administrative-territorial terms, I generally use Russian equivalents because Russian served as the lingua franca in policy debates. When necessary, I refer to administrative-territorial units using transliterations from the titular

language of the republic at issue in brackets, for instance, the Ukrainian *povit* for *uezd*, the Armenian *šejan* for *raion*, or the Georgian *olk'i* for *oblast*.

Names of individuals reflect the multinational and multilingual Soviet state and change depending on a source's original language. For example, the first head of the Uzbek government can appear as Faizulla Khodzhaev in transliteration from Russian or as Fayzulla Xo'jayev in modern Uzbek, while the Azerbaijani commissar for agriculture in the 1920s is sometimes Dadash Buniat-Zade, transliterated from Russian, and sometimes Dadaş Bünyadzadə, as it appears in modern Azerbaijani. The head of the All-Union Commission for Raionirovanie appears as Saak Ter-Gabrielian in Russian or Sahak Ter-Gabrielyan in Armenian. To avoid confusion, I stick to the way names appear in the documents I consulted. I limit myself to romanization from Russian as well as Ukrainian (which the UkrSSR managed to introduce as an administrative language in the 1920s) according to a slightly adapted ALA-LC framework. The ZSFSR also used Russian as its lingua franca, as did Central Asia, but in the case of the latter, the national languages were still undergoing codification during the 1920s. For the names of towns and villages, I stick to the same approach. I use the spellings found in a document. The capital of the Georgian SSR, for example, was called Tiflis up to 1936. Only at that point did the city receive the name Tbilisi. The town that later became the capital of the Kyrgyz SSR was called Pishpek until 1926, Frunze between 1926 and 1991, and Bishkek after 1991. The current name of a locality is provided in parentheses when that appears potentially helpful.

The Soviet government moved from the Julian calendar to the Gregorian calendar in February 1918. For January 1918 and before, double dates indicate Old Style and (marked) New Style.

This book includes several historical maps. The process of border making is depicted as accurately as the underlying documents allow. However, factual errors cannot be excluded. Their sole purpose is to illustrate the debates analyzed. They have no legal value whatsoever. Please contact me if you find any mistakes.

Table 1. Administrative-territorial units in the Early Soviet Union

RUSSIAN	ARMENIAN	AZERBAIJANI	BELARUSIAN	GEORGIAN	KAZAKH	KYRGYZ	TAJIK	TURKMEN	UKRAINIAN	UZBEK	ENGLISH
губерния gubernia (gubernii)	իսիսիսիսիսիսիս nahang	quberniya	губерния hubernia	გუბერია gubernia	губерния gubernia	губерния guberniia	губерния gubernia	guberniýa	губернія hubernia	gubernia	province
уезд uezd (uezdy)	quşun gavar	qaza	павет pavet	მავრა mazra	уезд uezd	уезд uezd	уезд uezd	uezd	повіт povit	uyezd	pre-reform county
волость¹ volost' (volosti)	ունիսիսիսիսիս teğamas²	nahiyə	волость volasts'	სამთავრობო samamasaxliso³	болыс bolys	болуш bolush	кент kent	volost	волость volost'	volost⁴	shire
область oblast' (oblasti)	վիսիս marz	vilayəti	вобласть voblasts'	ოლქი olk'i	облыс oblys	облус oblus	вилоят viloiat	welajat	область oblast'	viloyat	region
округ okrug (okrugā)	օկրուգ okrug	dairə⁵	акруга akruha	ოლქი olk'i	округ okrug	округ okrug	округ okrug	etrap	округа okruha	okrug	post-reform county
район	շրջան şejan	rayon	раён raen	რაიონი raioni	район raion	район raion	ноҳия nohiia	rayon	район raion	rayon	district
край krai (kraia)	երկրամաս yerkranas	diyar	край krai	მხარე⁶ mxare⁶	аймак aimaq	край krai	кишвар kishvar	gyra or sebit	край krai	o'lka	border region

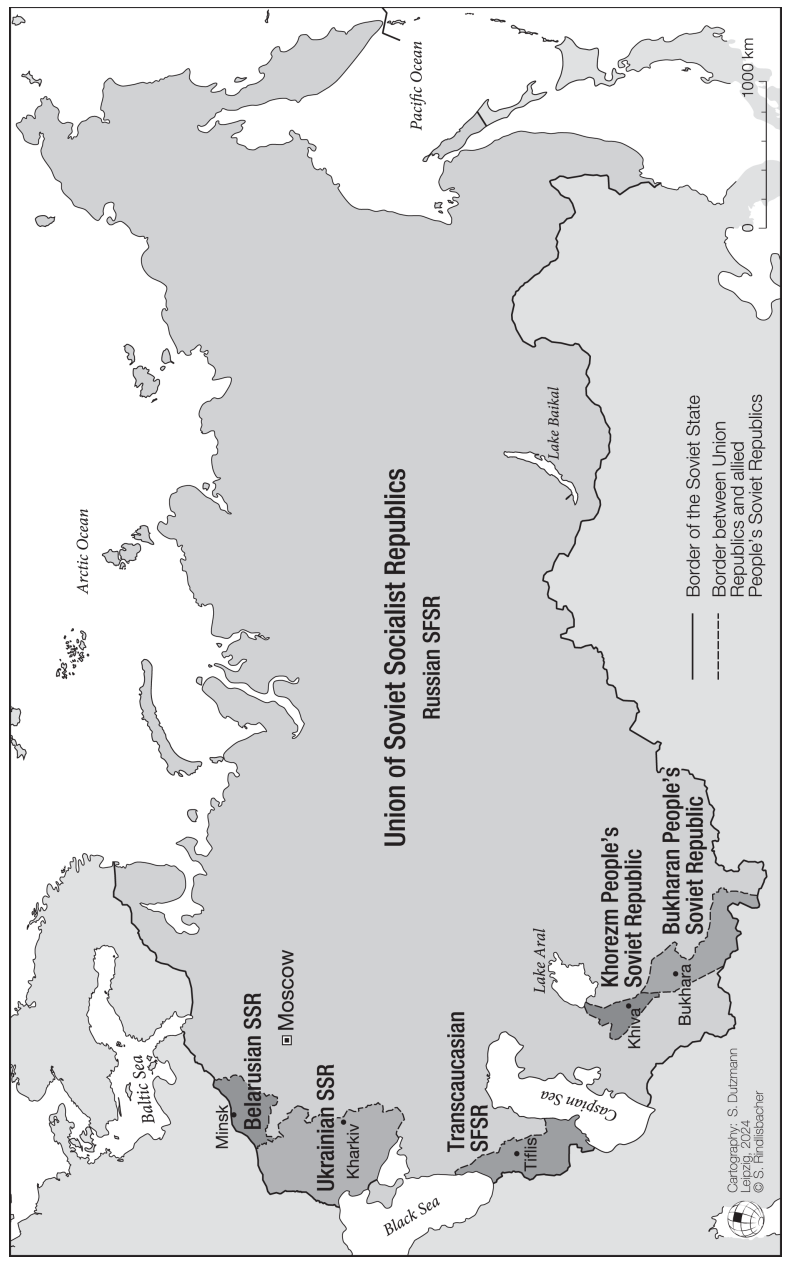


FIGURE 1. Political borders of the Soviet state, 1 July 1924.



FIGURE 2. Political borders of the Soviet state, 15 April 1929.

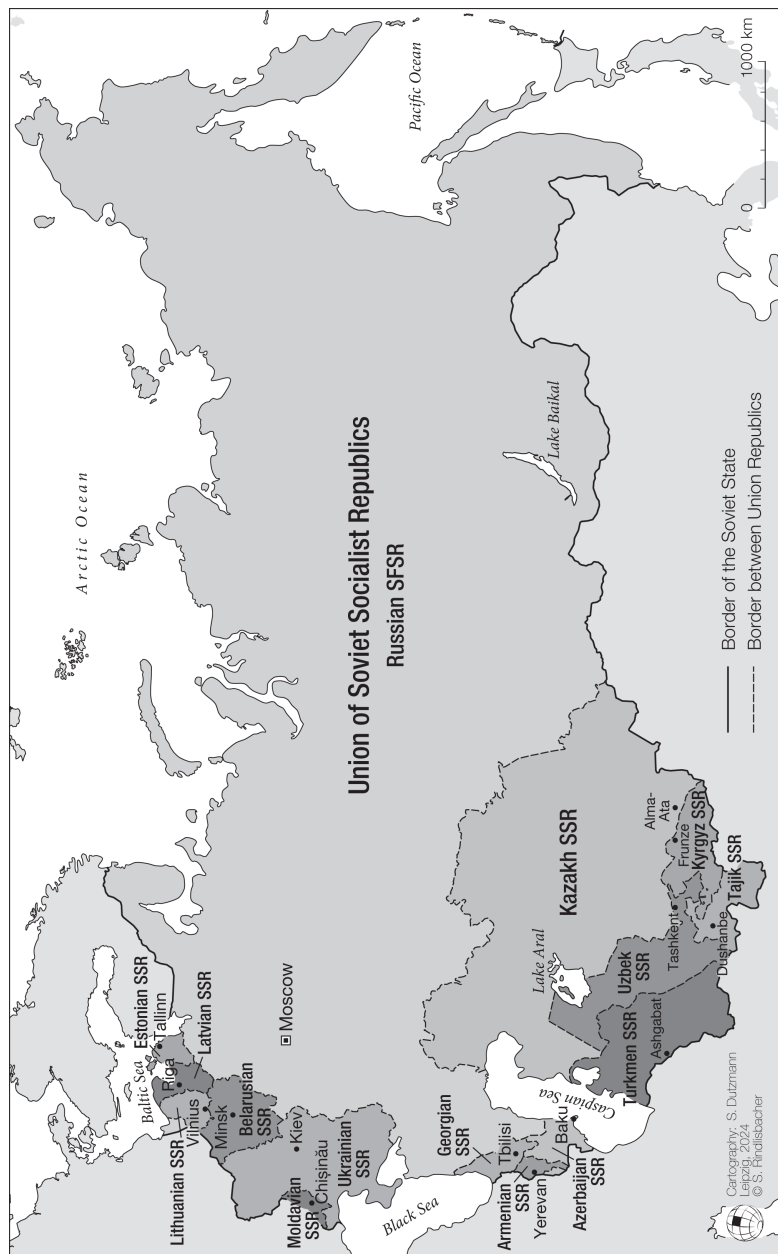


FIGURE 3. Political borders of the Soviet state, 1 July 1975.