

## FUNDING PROVIDED FOR MEDICAL AND SANITARY ASSISTANCE AND TREATMENT OF REPATRIATES IN THE UKRAINIAN SSR (1944-1950)

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**Abstract.** *This article thoroughly presents the issue of financial support for sanitary treatment, medical examination, and treatment of repatriates who returned to the Ukrainian SSR in 1944-1950. It is argued that an analysis of certain activities of the Soviet repatriation department is somewhat indicative as it allows us to assess the motivations and priorities of the totalitarian state's Government in matters related to the return of the USSR's citizens back home with the status of "displaced persons".*

*The authorities acted pragmatically in financing the costs of sanitary and medical needs of returned citizens. In the dynamics of this process, the authors distinguish three separate chronological stages. Namely, (1) the commencement of repatriation process, (2) mass repatriation period, and (3) subsequent repatriation process. At the first stage (autumn, 1944 – spring, 1945), there was no centralised provision of financial costs for carrying out sanitary treatment, medical examination, and treatment of sick repatriates. During the mass repatriation (summer 1945 – spring 1946), the Government provided increased centralised financing of the health needs of repatriated citizens. After the return of the bulk of repatriates to the Ukrainian SSR, the authorities sharply reduced funding for medical and sanitary support for the subsequent repatriation process. From the spring of 1946 until the end of 1949, the Government only funded mandatory anti-epidemic measures.*

*The structure of the budget expenditures on the health care of repatriates demonstrates that the authorities' apparent priority in this matter was to prevent the spread of epidemic diseases. Instead, the provision of medicine and inpatient treatment of the so-called "internal" diseases were not among their priorities.*

**Keywords:** *World War II, Budget, Health care, Repatriation, Communism, Ukrainian SSR, Medical assistance.*

**Rezumat: Finanțarea asistenței medicale și sanitare și a tratamentelor acordate repatriaților în RSS Ucraineană (1944-1950).** Acest articol prezintă, în detaliu, problema sprijinului financiar acordat în vederea tratamentului sanitar, examinării medicale și îngrijirii repatriaților în RSS Ucraineană, în 1944-1950. Analiza câtorva activități desfășurate de departamentul sovietic pentru repatriere este, într-o oarecare măsură, sugestivă, deoarece permite evaluarea motivațiilor și priorităților guvernului statului totalitar în chestiuni legate de întoarcerea acasă a cetățenilor URSS având statutul de „persoane strămutate”.

Autoritățile au acționat în mod pragmatic în direcția acoperirii costurilor serviciilor sanitare și medicale necesare cetățenilor repatriați. În dinamica acestui proces, autorii identifică trei etape cronologice distincte, respectiv (1) începerea procesului de repatriere, (2) perioada de repatriere în masă și (3) procesul ulterior de repatriere. În prima etapă (toamna anului 1944 – primăvara anului 1945), nu a existat o centralizare a fondurilor destinate serviciilor sanitare, examinării medicale și tratamentului repatriaților bolnavi. În timpul repatrierii în masă (vara anului 1945 - primăvara anului 1946), guvernul a asigurat o finanțare centralizată, sporită, pentru a răspunde nevoilor de sănătate ale cetățenilor repatriați. După întoarcerea majorității repatriaților în RSS Ucraineană, autoritățile au redus brusc finanțarea destinată sprijinului medical și sanitar, vizând procesul ulterior de repatriere. Din primăvara anului 1946 și până la sfârșitul anului 1949, guvernul a finanțat doar măsurile anti-epidemice obligatorii.

Structura cheltuielilor bugetare pentru îngrijirea sănătății repatriaților demonstrează că, în această chestiune, autoritățile au acordat o aparentă întâietate prevenirii răspândirii bolilor epidemice. În schimb, nu s-au numărat printre priorități furnizarea de medicamente și asigurarea tratamentului pentru așa-numitele „boli interne”.

## INTRODUCTION

The issue of repatriation of citizens, who due to various reasons and life circumstances, found themselves outside their countries of origin, became of significant importance during the final periods of the Second World War. The international law provided the definition of "displaced persons" ("DP") for this category of people, among whom were predominantly war prisoners, volunteers, forced labourers, and refugees. At the end of the Second World War, there were about 5,000,000 of such people on the Soviet side only, and over 2,000,000 of those were either ethnic Ukrainians or those who previously lived on the territory of Ukrainian SSR<sup>1</sup>. According to the Yalta agreements between the leaders of the

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<sup>1</sup> Yana Prymachenko, *Peremishcheni osoby* [Displaced person], in *Entsyklopediya istoriyi Ukrainy* [Encyclopedia of the History of Ukraine], Kyiv, Naukova dumka, 2011, t. 8, p. 129.

USSR, the US and the UK, all the DPs were obliged to return back to their countries after the end of the hostilities. Those people who returned to their homeland, including the territory of the Ukrainian SSR, became known as "repatriates".

One of the most under researched topics with regards to the problem of post-war repatriation back to Ukraine at the final stage of the Second World War and during the first post-war years is the topic of the administration of this line of work by the authorities. First and foremost, it involves financing and control over the budget expenditures for sanitary treatment, medical examination, and general treatment of returning citizens. The indicated issues remain virtually unexplored by now. Those historians who study the problem of the Soviet repatriation in 1944 – early 1950s, including in the Ukrainian SSR traditionally bypass this issue. They often consider it to be insignificant in the context of understanding the fate of returned citizens in the post-war Soviet reality. At best, historians touch upon the general features of the issue of health care for repatriates. Mainly, in the context of the analysis of the repatriation process itself, its organizational matters, and the individual aspects of repatriation in Ukraine. These are the dissertations, monographs, and articles by Andriy Andreev, Serhiy Halchak, Mykhaylo Kunitsky, Nataliya Meleshko, Tetyana Pastushenko or Oleksandr Potyl'chak.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Andriy Andreyev, *Ahitatsiyno-propahandyst-s'ka diyal'nist' radyans'kykh orhaniv repatriatsiyi sered "peremishchenykh osib" z Ukrayiny (1944-1953 rr.)* [Agitational and propagandistic activities of the Soviet repatriation authorities among the "displaced persons" from Ukraine (1944-1953)], Kyiv, Vydavnytstvo "DIA", 2018, 256 p.; Serhiy Hal'chak, *Orhanizatsiyni zakhody radyans'koyi storony z pidhotovky do repatriatsiyi «peremishchenykh osib»* [Soviet organizational arrangements to prepare for the repatriation of "displaced persons"] in "Storinky voyennoyi istoriyi Ukrayiny" ["Pages of military history of Ukraine"], 2003, vyp. 7, ch. 2, p. 173-182; Serhiy Hal'chak, *Stanovyshche tsyvil'nykh prymusovykh robotnykiv Raykhu v Ukrayini (1945-2010 rr.): istorychni, sotsial'no-pobutovi, pravovi aspekty (na materialakh Volyni ta Podillya)* [Situation of Reich Civilian Forced Workers in Ukraine (1945-2010): historical, social and legal aspects (based on Volyn and Podillya materials)], Vinnytsya, 2012, 512 p.; Mykhaylo Kunyts'kyy, *Prymusova repatriatsiya radyans'kykh hromadyan do SRSR pislya Druhoyi svitovoyi viyny (ukrayins'kyy vektor)* [Forced repatriation of Soviet citizens to the USSR after the Second World War (Ukrainian vector)], Luts'k, VAT "Volyns'ka oblasna drukarnya", 2007, 248 p.; Nataliya Meleshko, *Systema orhaniv repatriatsiyi "peremishchenykh osib" na terytoriyi Ukrayins'koyi RSR (1944-1953): orhanizatsiya, struktura, funktsionuvannya* [The system of repatriation "displaced persons" in the Ukrainian SSR (1944-1953): organization, structure, functioning], Dys. kand. ist. nauk, 07.00.01, Kyiv, 2014, 257 p.; Tetyana Pastushenko, *Ostarbaytery z Kyivshchyny: verbuvannya, prymusova pratsya, repatriatsiya (1942-1953)* [Oriental workers from Kyiv Region: Recruitment, Forced Labor, Repatriation (1942-1953)],

Since the early 1990s, Russian historians have been actively studying the problem of post-war repatriation to the USSR on the basis of a new source base and methodology. The most famous of these studies are the works of Viktor Zemskov, Aleksey Shevyakov, Pavel Polyan, Mikhail Semiryaga, Aleksandr Bichekhvost, Vladimir Pyankevich, Yuriy Arzamaskin. Igor' Govorov, Yelena Vertyletska, and Igor' Tolstykh<sup>3</sup>. Their main focus lies within the regional aspects

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Kyiv, In-t istoriyi Ukrayiny, 2009, 282 p.; Oleksandr Potyl'chak, Mykhaylo Terent'yev, *Perevirochno-fil'tratsiyni punkty NKVS SRSR dlya "peremishchenykh osib" na Volyni u 1944 rotsi* [Inspection and filtration points of the NKVD of the USSR for "displaced persons" in Volyn in 1944] in *Materialy XXX Vseukrayins'koyi naukovy-praktychnoyi istoriko-krayeznavchoyi konferentsiyi "Mynule i suchasne Volyni ta Polissya. Storinky voyennoyi istoriyi krayu"* (24-25 bereznya 2009, Luts'k) [Proceedings of the XXX All-Ukrainian scientific-practical historical and local lore conference "Past and present of Volyn and Polissya. Pages of military history of the region" (Lutsk, March 24-25, 2009)], Luts'k, 2009, p. 292-297; Aleksandr Potyl'chak, *Proverochno-fil'tratsionnyye punkty NKVD-MVD v sisteme uchrezhdeniy repatriatsii peremeshchennykh lits na teritorii Ukrainy v 1944-1947 godakh* [Checking and filtering points of the NKVD-Ministry of Internal Affairs in the system of institutions for the repatriation of displaced persons on the territory of Ukraine in 1944-1947], in *Istoriik i yego vremya. Pamyati profesora V. B. Konasova* [The historian and his time. In memory of Professor V. B. Konasov], Vologda, 2010, p. 305-316; Oleksandr Potyl'chak, *Perevirochno-fil'tratsiyni punkty NKVS SRSR dlya peremishchenykh osib na terytoriyi Ukrayiny u 1944 rotsi* [Inspection and filtration points of the NKVD of the USSR for displaced persons in the territory of Ukraine in 1944], in "Voyenna istoriya" ["The Military History"], 2010, № 3(51), p. 110-117.

<sup>3</sup>V. N. Zemskov, *K voprosu o repatriatsii sovetskikh grazhdan 1944-1951 gg.* [To the question of repatriation of Soviet citizens 1944-1951], in "Istoriya SSSR" ["History of the USSR"], 1990, № 4, p. 26-41.; V. N. Zemskov, *Repatriatsiya peremeshchennykh sovetskikh grazhdan* [Repatriation of displaced Soviet citizens], in *Voyna i obshchestvo, 1941-1945*, v 2 kn., kn. 2, Moskva, RAN, In-t rossiyskoy istorii, 2004, p. 331-358; V. N. Zemskov, *Nachal'nyy etap repatriatsii sovetskikh voyennoplennykh i internirovannykh grazhdanskikh lits (vtoraya polovina 1944 g.)* [The initial stage of the repatriation of Soviet prisoners of war and interned civilians (second half of 1944)], in "Geopoliticheskiy zhurnal" ["Geopolitical Journal"], 2013, № 2, p. 272-289; A. A. Shevyakov, *Repatriatsiya sovetskogo mirnogo naseleण्या i voyennoplennykh, okazavshikhsya v okkupirovannykh zonakh gosudarstv antigitlerovskoy koalitsii* [Repatriation of Soviet civilians and prisoners of war trapped in the occupied zones of the anti-Hitler coalition states], in *Naseleniye Rossii v 1920-1950-ye gody: chislennost', poteri, migratsii* [The population of Russia in the 1920s-1950s: number, losses, migration], Moskva, 1994, p. 195-222; Pavel Polyan, *Zhertvy dvukh diktatur: Zhizn', trud, unizheniya i smert' sovetskikh voyennoplennykh i ostarbayterov na chuzhbine i na*

of the repatriation of Oriental workers and war prisoners.

Western historiography on this topic is represented by the works of Mark Elliott<sup>4</sup>, Nicholas Bethell<sup>5</sup>, Nikolay Tolstoy-Miloslavsky<sup>6</sup>, Wolfgang Jacobmayer<sup>7</sup>, Ulrike Göcken-Heidl<sup>8</sup>, as well as a joint Austrian-Russian project "Hitler's slaves – traitors to Stalin. Aspects of repression against forced labourers and war prisoners".

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*rodine* [Victims of two dictatorships: Life, work, humiliation and death of Soviet prisoners of war and Oriental workers in a foreign land and at home], 2-ye izd., pererab. i dop., Moskva, ROSSPĖN, 2002, 606 p.; Mikhail Semiryaga, *Sud'ba sovetskikh voyennoplennykh* [The fate of the Soviet prisoners of war] in "Voprosy istorii" ["Questions of history"], 1995, № 4, p. 19-33; A. F. Bichekhvost, *Istoriya repatriatsii sovetskikh grazhdan: trudnosti vozvrashcheniya (1944-1953gg.)* [The history of the repatriation of Soviet citizens: the difficulties of returning (1944-1953)], Saratov, Saratovskaya gosudarstvennaya akademiya prava, 2008, 534 p.; V. M. P'yankevich, *Repatriatsii i trud voyennoplennykh kak istochnik vosstanovleniya ekonomiki SSSR posle Vtoroy mirovoy voyny: voprosy istoriografii* [Repatriation and labor of prisoners of war as a source of economic recovery in the USSR after World War II: issues of historiography], Sankt-Peterburg, Nestor, 1999, 29 p.; Yu. N. Arzamaskin, *Deyatel'nost' sovetskikh gosudarstvennykh i voyennykh organov repatriatsii v 1944-1953 gg.* [Activities of the Soviet state and military departments of repatriation in 1944-1953], Dis. d-ra ist. nauk, 07.00.02., Moskva, 2000, 523 p. I. V. Govorov, *Repatriatsiya na Severo-zapade RSFSR 1944-1949 gg.* [Repatriation in the North-West of the RSFSR 1944-1949], Dis. kand. ist. nauk, 07.00.02, Sankt-Peterburg, 1998, 324 p.; Ye. V. Vertiletskaya, *Repatrianty v Sverdlovskoy oblasti v 1944 – nachale 1950-kh gg.* [Repatriates in the Sverdlovsk Region in 1944 – early 1950s], Dis. kand. ist. nauk, 07.00.02., Yekaterinburg, 2004, 244 p.; I. N. Tolstykh, *Repatrianty Novgorodskoy oblasti v 1944-1948 gg.* [Repatriates of the Novgorod Region during 1944-1948], Dis. kand. ist. nauk, 07.00.02., Velikiy Novgorod, 2005, 184 p.

<sup>4</sup> Mark R. Elliott, *Pawns of Yalta. Soviet Refugees and America's Role in Their Repatriation*, Urbana – Chicago – London, University of Illinois Press, 1982, 287 p.

<sup>5</sup> N. Bethell, *The last secret: Forcible Repatriation to Russia 1944-1947*, London, 1974, 304 p.

<sup>6</sup> N. D. Tolstoy, *Zhertvy Yalty* [Victims of Yalta], Moskva, Russkiy put', 1996, 544 p.

<sup>7</sup> Wolfgang Jacobmeyer, *Vom Zwangsarbeiter zum Heimatlosen Auslaender. Die Displaced Persons in Deutschland 1941-1945* [From forced labourer to homeless foreigner. The Displaced Persons in Germany 1941-1945], in "Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft" ["Critical studies on history"], Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht in Göttingen, 1985, bd. 65, 323 s.

<sup>8</sup> Ulrike Goeken-Haidl, *Der Weg zurück. Die Repatriierung sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener und Zwangsarbeiter während und nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg* [The way back. The repatriation of Soviet prisoners of war and forced laborers during and after the Second World War], Essen, Klartext-Verl, 2006, 573 s.

The aforementioned Ukrainian and foreign researchers studied various aspects of the post-war repatriation problem, but, with a few exceptions, have not analysed the health component in details. A co-author of this article has several publications devoted to the analysis of the health issues in Ukraine, organisational, infrastructural, resource related, material, and personnel support of health care of Ukrainian-born returned citizens<sup>9</sup>.

For the purposes of this article, we mainly used various levels of financial documents from the repatriation institutions of the Ukrainian SSR (1944-1950). The history told by the "figures" of estimates and financial statements are illustrative, as it allows, to some extent, to assess the motivations and priorities of the totalitarian state in matters related to the repatriation of its citizens with the DP status.

### ARGUMENTATION

Upon through examination of the budget documentation and other documents coming from the repatriation department of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR (Radnarkom), it was discovered that at the commencement stage of the repatriation process (autumn 1944 – spring 1945), there was no centralised provision of financial expenses for the sanitary treatment, medical examination and general treatment of the sick repatriates in place. All such expenses were covered through the minimal internal material and financial capacities of the Regional Health Departments and Sanitary Departments of fronts at the locations of Border Repatriation Posts. Due to the small number of returned citizens arriving at the border check-posts (BCP) of the NKVD of the

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<sup>9</sup> Lyubov Dyptan, *Medyko-sanitarne stanovyshe v Ukrayini u 1944-1946 rr. i mihratsiyi naseleण्या* [Medical and sanitary situation in Ukraine in 1944-1946 and migration of the population], in "Hileya: naukovyy visnyk" ["Hileya: Scientific Bulletin"], 2017, vyp. 125(10), p. 78-83; Lyubov Dyptan, *Orhanizatsiyne zabezpechennya medyko-sanitar-noho obsluhovuvannya repatriantiv na terytoriyi Ukrayins'koyi RSR u 1944-1947 rr.* [Organizational support for health care of repatriates in the territory of the Ukrainian SSR (1944-1947)], in "Hileya: naukovyy visnyk" ["Hileya: Scientific Bulletin"], 2018, vyp. 130(3), p. 64-69; Lyubov Dyptan, *Medyko-sanitarne zabezpechennya repatriantiv na prykordonnykh perevirochno-fil'tratsiynykh punktakh NKVS SRSR v Ukrayini v 1944-1945 rr.* [Medico-sanitary support for repatriates on the Border Filtration Points of the NKVD of the USSR in Ukraine (1944-1945)], in "Viys'kovo-istorychnyy merydian. Elektronnyy naukovyy fakhovyy zhurnal" [Military-Historical Meridian: Electronic scientific journal], 2018, vyp. 1(19), p. 36-46.

USSR during this period, the administration and staff generally coped with these tasks by carrying out the sanitary treatment of repatriates and filtering primarily epidemiological patients for further treatment. However, with the expansion of the flow of returned citizens in spring 1945, the situation with their health care began to change dramatically. After the expansion, the issue could no longer be resolved without the centralised provision of sanitary facilities, medicine, and financing the cost of sanitation and treatment of repatriated citizens.

However, it turned out that it was not the easiest task to calculate the potential costs of these expenses. On 12 February, 1945, Mykhaylo Zozulenko, the Head of the Repatriation Department of the Radnarkom, sent out the instructions to the heads of the Repatriation Departments of the Regional Executive Committees on the calculations of the estimated costs for the reception and arrangement of repatriated citizens belonging to their regions based on the number of such individuals.<sup>10</sup> Only on 17 March, 1945 (more than a month after receiving the Government's instruction) the Executive Committee of the L'viv Regional Council approved by its Resolution the "Estimates of Expenses for Reception and Arrangement of Repatriated Soviet Citizens in the L'viv Region for 1945", which provided to allocate 1,961,100 roubles for the repatriation of 134,000 inhabitants of L'viv Region. Expectedly, "Sanitary Service (bath, sanitary bypass, medicine)" was also added to the text of the budget. Interestingly enough, the Planning Executive Department of the Executive Committee officials did not include the actual cost of this provision in the budget text.<sup>11</sup> In our opinion, there could be only one explanation – at that time, L'viv regional officials had no idea about the real scale of financing such expenses, especially the costs of purchasing medical equipment, medicine, hygiene, and disinfection, so they probably left the final decision on this matter to Kyiv.

In Rivne, the situation was quite different. In the letter dated 22 February, 1945, the Local Executive Committee asked the Repatriation Department of the Radnarkom to provide a sum of only 5,000 roubles for the health care and "cultural service" of 30,000 potential repatriates from Volyn Region. Even considering the fact that the local officials determined the total amount of funds required to secure repatriates from the region in the amount exceeding 2,533,000 roubles. To compare, the vast majority from this amount (2,250,000 roubles) was planned to

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<sup>10</sup> *Tsentral'nyy derzhavnyy arkhiv vyshchykh orhaniv vldy ta upravlinnya Ukrainy, Kyiv* (hereinafter: Ts.D.A.V.O.V.U.K) [Central State Archives of Supreme Authorities and Governments of Ukraine in Kyiv], Fund 2, Register 7, File 3016, f. 27.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, File 3015, f. 27.

be allocated for a one-time cash benefit of 30,000 potential repatriates (75 roubles per person). Whilst the 5,500 roubles were allocated for the purchase of gasoline for four cars of the regional distribution point.<sup>12</sup> Simple calculations demonstrate that for the sanitary treatment and general treatment of returned citizens in the Rivne Region, it was planned to spend only slightly less than 0.2% of the total appropriation amount for the repatriation needs. This ratio of repatriation cost may indicate the priorities of local authorities in this process. However, it could be possible that the Government of the Ukrainian SSR thought somewhat differently.

One could assume that in a few months period (since April 1945), when regional Reception Posts (“RPs”) were established, their leadership had already received instructions from Republican Repatriation Agencies to calculate the estimated costs of their activities, and, in particular, to finance the sanitary treatment and general treatment of the returning compatriots. At least this seems to be the impression when we look at the budget documentation of this period. For example, a three-month budget for the maintenance of the Myronivka RP of the Kyiv Region allocated a total amount of 543,573 roubles for all the expenditures. Considering that Myronivka RP could contain as many as 800 individuals, that constitutes over 181,000 roubles per month. Spending for sanitary treatment of the Myronivka RP (which included washing in the bath once every two days and dispensing 20 grams of soap each time) went under in this budget as “economic expenses” and amounted to over 37,000 roubles. Which also leaves a planned spending of 15,840 roubles for the procurement of medicine.<sup>13</sup> In total, this accounted for less than 10% of the total RPs costs.

In the draft budget for 1945, it was planned to allocate 25,286,441 roubles for the reception and accommodation of repatriates from the Stalin Region. The amount of 504,000 roubles was provided for the sanitary needs (including bath, hairdresser and disinfection) of 252,000 people (2 roubles per person). For the same number of returned citizens, it was suggested to allocate the sum of 126,000 roubles (on average – 0.50 roubles per repatriate).<sup>14</sup> Thus, the number of regional budget funds allocated for the sanitation and treatment of returned citizens in 1945 amounted to slightly over 6% of the total funding for repatriation costs. A similar trend with the financing of expenditures for sanitation and medical care of repatriates was observed in other regions of the Republic.

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<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 103.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 29.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 63.



For example, Poltava Region RP asked for 160,000 roubles for sanitary treatment and medical care of over 157,000 potential repatriates - residents of the region. At the same time, the actual budget contained funds for the sanitisation of only half of that number. Additionally, only 10,000 roubles were earmarked for the re-equipment of the medical facility and the purchase of the required medicine.<sup>15</sup> In general, in the second quarter (April-June) of 1945, the amount of 600,000 roubles was supposed to be allocated for the purposes of reception and arrangement of repatriates of the Ukrainian SSR, and specific for sanitary treatment of the returned citizens (Article 11). The total amount of funds for the repatriation in this quarter in the Republic amounted to 28,400,862 roubles. Therefore, the share of expenditures for sanitation and treatment of repatriates was less than 4%.<sup>16</sup>

To better understand what this amount was worth in 1945, let us consider a few examples. During the Second World War and in the first post-war years, a standardised (card) food supply was common in the USSR. At the end of 1944, the daily norm of bread for workers was 500-700 g, for military personal and authorities - 300-450 g, for unemployed adults and children - 200-300 g. People could purchase food at fixed and rather low state prices only in exchange for the cards of sufficient amount.<sup>17</sup> In the state trade, 1kg of rye bread cost 0,65-0,75 roubles, wheat - 1,10-1,50 roubles, millet - 1,50-1,85, buckwheat - 3,80-4,05, pasta - 3.20-3.30, meat - 10.50-10.80, butter - 21.50-22.00, refined sugar - 5.0, a litre of refined oil - 13.00 roubles.<sup>18</sup> Limited and clearly insufficient for normal nutrition, standardised food supply was supplemented by products from the markets, where food prices were ten times higher. For example, in May 1944, on Kyiv market, a kilogram of rye flour would cost 30 roubles, wheat - 45, millet - 40, buckwheat - 60, fresh cabbage - 50, onions - 40, beets - 20 roubles. The sellers asked for 130 roubles per kilogram of beef, 400 roubles for lard, 350 - for butter, and 240 - for a litre of oil. A litre of milk would cost 35, and a dozen of eggs - 50 roubles.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 86.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 124.

<sup>17</sup> M. S. Herasymova, *Vplyv radyans'koyi torhivli na povsyakdenne zhyttya naseleennya Donbasu v 1945-1953 rr.* [The impact of Soviet trade on the daily life of the population of Donbass during 1945-1953], in "Nauka. Relihiya. Suspil'stvo" ["Science. Religion. Society"]. Donets'k, 2011, № 2, p. 42-47.

<sup>18</sup> Viktor Danylenko (Ed.), *Povoyenna Ukrayina: narysy sotsial'noyi istoriyi (dr. pol. 1940-kh - seredyna 1950-kh rr.)* [Postwar Ukraine: Essays on Social History (second half of the 1940s - mid-1950s)], Kyiv, 2010, kn. 1, ch. 1-2. p. 304.

<sup>19</sup> *Tsentral'nyy derzhavnyy arkhiv hromads'kykh ob"yednan' Ukrayiny, Kyiv* (hereinafter: Ts.D.A.H.O.U.K) [Central State Archive of Public Associations of Ukraine in Kyiv], Fund

Taking into account such prices for basic products, the wages of most citizens were too low to provide them with necessary food. Only public officials, managers, and deputy heads of enterprises had a monthly salary of 500 to 1.000 roubles.<sup>20</sup> Unskilled workers received only 120-150 roubles per month.<sup>21</sup> The pension of an average city resident ranged from 100 to 250 roubles, and a student scholarship was 100 roubles.<sup>22</sup>

At the time, there was a phenomenon of hidden inflation within the country. Stability of the Soviet currency was maintained not by market and economic measures, but rather by financial and administrative coercion. As of 1 July, 1945, about 63,000,000,000 roubles were in circulation among the population, state, and cooperative organisations. This was 3.25 times higher than the money supply of the USSR at the beginning of the war with Germany.<sup>23</sup>

After the end of the Second World War, the flow of repatriates to the territory of the Ukrainian SSR has severely increased. Therefore, Republican Repatriation Departments were troubled with arranging not only for fellow countrymen who returned to their homeland but also for transit repatriates – citizens of the USSR – residents of other Soviet Republics. A direct consequence of the expansion in numbers has been an increase in expenses for all the directions of work with repatriates. However, although appropriations have inevitably increased, expenditures per one repatriate have not undergone a significant change, remaining at almost the same extremely low level.

On 27 June, 1945, the Radnarkom approved a Resolution No. 998, which adopted the final estimates for receiving and arranging of repatriates for the second quarter (April-June) of 1945. According to this Resolution, the Government financed

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1, Register 23, File 679, f. 55.

<sup>20</sup> *Derzhavnyy arkhiv Kyeva* (hereinafter: D.A.K) [State Archives of Kyiv], Fund P-106, Register 6, File 2, f. 112–113.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, Fund P-107, Register 1, File 1, f. 46.

<sup>22</sup> Serhiy Hal'chenko, *Mis'ke naseleण्या Tsentral'nykh oblastey Ukrayiny v umovakh normovanoho postachannya (1943–1947 rr.)* [Urban population of the Central regions of Ukraine in the conditions of standardized supply (1943–1947)], *Dys. kand. ist. nauk*, 07.00.01., Cherkasy, 2007, p. 50.

<sup>23</sup> V. Batyrev, *Denezhnoye obrashcheniye vo vtoroy period voyny (analiticheskaya zapiska)* [Money circulation in the second period of the war (analytical note)], in *Po stranitsam arkhivnykh fondov Tsentral'nogo banka Rossiyskoy Federatsii. Denezhnoye obrashcheniye v SSSR perioda Velikoy Otechestvennoy voyny v dokumentakh (1941-1945)* [According to the pages of the archives of the Central Bank of the Russian Federation. Money circulation in the USSR during the Great Patriotic War in documents (1941-1945)], Moskva, Tsentral'nyy bank RF, 2008, vyp. 5, p. 80.

the sanitary treatment of the group of regional RPs at the rate of 0.50 roubles per person.<sup>24</sup> The total cost of sanitary treatment of repatriates in the second quarter of 1945 amounted to 100,000 roubles.<sup>25</sup> (see Table 1).

In the third quarter (July-September) of 1945, the financing for the sanitary treatment of repatriates increased further. The total cost of sanitary treatment of repatriates in the third quarter of 1945 amounted to 350,000 roubles<sup>26</sup> (see Table 2).

**Table 1.** *Financing the costs of sanitary treatment of repatriates in the regions of the Ukrainian SSR (April-June, 1945)*<sup>27</sup>

No.	Region	Amount (roubles)	No.	Region	Amount (roubles)
1	2	3	1	2	3
1.	Volyn	2,500	13.	Odesa	1,800
2.	Voroshilovgrad	3,500	14.	Poltava	7,500
3.	Vinnysia	3,500	15.	Rivne	1,200
4.	Dnipropetrovsk	8,500	16.	Stalino	12,500
5.	Zhytomyr	2,900	17.	Stanislavsk	3,500
6.	Zaporizhzhya	7,500	18.	Sumy	3,900
7.	Izmail	150	19.	Ternopil	3,000
8.	Kamianets-Podilskyi	5,500	20.	Kharkiv	8,000
9.	Kyiv	5,500	21.	Kherson	1,850
10.	Kirovohrad	2,750	22.	Chernihiv	2,000
11.	L'viv	6,500	23.	Chernivtsi	2,500
12.	Mykolaiv	1,250		<b>Total Expense</b>	100,000

**Table 2.** *Financing the costs of sanitary treatment of repatriates in the regions of the Ukrainian SSR (July-September, 1945)*<sup>28</sup>

No.	Region	Amount (roubles)	No.	Region	Amount (roubles)
1	2	3	1	2	3
1.	Volyn	8,750	13.	Odesa	6,300
2.	Voroshilovgrad	12,950	14.	Poltava	27,500

<sup>24</sup> Ts.D.A.V.O.V.U.K, File 3016, f. 2.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, File 3033, ff. 2, 3.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 4.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

3.	Vinnitsia	12,250	15.	Rivne	4,200
4.	Dnipropetrovsk	31,500	16.	Stalino	43,750
5.	Zhytomyr	10,150	17.	Stanislavsk	12,250
6.	Zaporizhzhya	26,250	18.	Sumy	13,650
7.	Izmail	525	19.	Ternopil	10,500
8.	Kamianets-Podilskyi	19,250	20.	Kharkiv	28,000
9.	Kyiv	22,500	21.	Kherson	6,475
10.	Kirovohrad	9,625	22.	Chernihiv	7,000
11.	L'viv	22,750	23.	Chernivtsi	2,500
12.	Mykolaiv	4,375		<b>Total Expense</b>	350,000

However, the real wave of repatriates, who began to arrive at the regional RPs at the end of summer and in autumn of 1945 made adjustments to the plans of the Soviet leadership in Ukraine. Further allocation of funds for the sanitary treatment of repatriated citizens in the regions of the Ukrainian SSR has increased significantly. In the fourth quarter (October-December) of 1945, the Government of the Republic allocated 550,000 roubles for such needs<sup>29</sup> (see Table 3).

The budget for the sanitary treatment of repatriates at the Myronivka RP of the Kyiv Region for the period from June 1 to 3 December 1945, constituted 12,833 roubles.<sup>30</sup> Rivne Regional RP was allocated 12,000 roubles for the same purposes by the Resolution of the RNA of the USSR of 10 August 1945 No. 1230.<sup>31</sup> 125,000 roubles were allocated for the sanitary treatment of repatriates of the Stalin Region (for 3 RPs in Yasynovata, Krasny Lyman and Volnovaha) in 1945.<sup>32</sup> However, in Poltava, only 75,000 roubles were allocated for the sanitary treatment<sup>33</sup> which was clearly not enough, considering that the cost of such service at rates approved by the Regional Health Department six times exceeded the Government tariff and amounted to 3 roubles per person. In this regard, the leadership of the Repatriation Department of the Radnarkom found nothing better than to recommend the Poltava Executive Committee to make the local tariff for the sanitary treatment consistent with the tariff determined by the Republic's budget.<sup>34</sup>

The general estimate of the cost of purchasing soap for the purposes of sanitary treatment of repatriates in regional RPs of the Ukrainian SSR for the period

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 5, 6.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, File 3016, f. 56.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, f.168.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 170.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, File 3033, f. 1.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, File 3016, f. 76.

from 1 February to 30 December 1945, (at the rate of 25 grams per person) was supposed to amount to 26,600 roubles. Effectively, this means purchasing 3,8 tons of soap at the price of 7 roubles per 1 kilogram<sup>35</sup>.

**Table 3. Financing the costs of sanitary treatment of repatriates in the regions of the Ukrainian SSR (October-December, 1945)<sup>36</sup>**

#	Region	Amount (roubles)	#	Region	Amount (roubles)
1	2	3	1	2	3
1.	Volyn	13 750	13.	Odesa	9,900
2.	Voroshilovgrad	20 350	14.	Poltava	40,000
3.	Vinnytsia	19,250	15.	Rivne	6,600
4.	Dnipropetrovsk	45,000	16.	Stalino	68,750
5.	Zhytomyr	15,950	17.	Stanislaviv	19,250
6.	Zaporizhzhya	41,250	18.	Sumy	21,450
7	Izmail	825	19.	Ternopil	16,500
8.	Kamianets-Podilskyi	30,250	20.	Kharkiv	44,000
9.	Kyiv	26,500	21.	Kherson	10,175
10.	Kirovohrad	15,500	22.	Chernihiv	11,000
11.	Lviv	35,750	23.	Chernivtsi	20,000
12.	Mykolaiv	6,875	24.	Kyiv (city)	500
				<b>Total Expense</b>	550,000

The Resolution of the Radnarkom dated 10 August 1945, No. 1230 determined the results of the financing for the purposes of supplying the repatriates with hygienic and sanitary measures with the means from the Republican budget. According to this document, Repatriation Departments of Executive Committees of Regional Councils and RPs, which were created by them, received a total amount of 1,000,000 roubles<sup>37</sup> (see Table 4).

The funds were allocated quarterly. In particular, 100,000 roubles were transferred from the Republican budget to the accounts of Regional Repatriation Departments to compensate for the cost of sanitary treatment of repatriates in the second quarter of 1945.<sup>38</sup> This amount was increased to 350,000 roubles in the

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, file 3015, f. 99.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, file 3015, f. 99.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, File 3033, f. 1.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 2, 3.

third quarter<sup>39</sup>, and in the fourth quarter it grew even further and amounted to 550,000 roubles.<sup>40</sup>

**Table 4. Financing of expenses for the sanitary treatment of repatriates in the regions from the budget of the Ukrainian SSR in 1945<sup>41</sup>**

#	Region	Amount (roubles)	#	Region	Amount (roubles)
1	2	3	1	2	3
1.	Volyn	25,000	14.	Odesa	18,000
2.	Voroshilovgrad	37,000	15.	Poltava	75,000
3.	Vinnytsia	35,000	16.	Rivne	12,000
4.	Dnipropetrovsk	85,000	17.	Stalino	125,000
5.	Drohobych	20,000	18.	Stanislavsk	35,000
6.	Zhytomyr	29,000	17.	Sumy	39,000
7.	Zaporizhzhya	75,000	18.	Ternopil	30,000
8.	Izmail	1,500	19.	Kharkiv	80,000
9.	Kamianets-Podilskyi	55,000	20.	Kherson	18,500
10.	Kyiv	54,500	21.	Chernihiv	20,000
11.	Kirovohrad	27,500	22.	Chernivtsi	25,000
12.	L'viv	65,000	23.	Kyiv (city)	500
13.	Mykolaiv	12,500		<b>Total Expense</b>	1,000,000

However, the never-ending issue remains, as proper funding did not at all imply that these funds would be used effectively. For example, if we visit the column called “actual expenses in 1945” of the estimate of the Repatriation Department of Radnarkom for 1946 we will see that in the line “sanitation of repatriates” there would be only 589,661 roubles.<sup>42</sup> Thus, just over 60% of the entire amount (1,000,000 roubles) were allocated for the needs of sanitary treatment of returned citizens. Another vital questions would be the funding for the sanitary treatment of hundreds of thousands returned citizens in 1945. To answer to this question, it should be noted that the Regional Repatriation Departments and RPs were not staffed immediately. Hence, the actual costs of sanitary services for repatriates in the summer and autumn of 1945 were significantly less than

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 4.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, File 3033, ff. 5, 6.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, File 4257, f. 20.

budget estimates. The second issue worth considering is that the Republican budget covered only the expenses for sanitary treatment of the persons who went through the process at the Regional RPs. Also, a part of these expenses was attributed by the Executive Committees of the Regional Councils to the accounts of local budgets.<sup>43</sup> Besides, sometimes repatriates only registered at the BCP and, without a delay for a long period of time, almost immediately went home. Many of the DPs had previously obtained certificates of sanitisation and medical examination at the BCPs and collection-transfer posts ("CTPs"), financed from the USSR budget. In this case, the cost of servicing the returned citizens, including their sanitary treatment, was minimised. The degradation of the repatriation stage and its subsequent transformation to the episodic return of some displaced citizens caused the reduction in the amount of appropriations for such needs. In particular, according to the draft estimate of the Department of Repatriation Affairs of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR, for 1946, it was intended to spend 3,500,000 roubles for the sanitary treatment of about one million of potential Ukrainian repatriates who were still outside the USSR.<sup>44</sup> That would mean that the sanitary treatment of one repatriate should have costed the Republic's budget 3.50 roubles per person. At the same time, officials planned to return about 800,000 of displaced citizens only in the first half of 1946. The estimated budget for the sanitary treatment of this number of individuals was 2,800,000 roubles.<sup>45</sup> However, these plans of the officials of the Ukrainian SSR Repatriation Department were not destined to be implemented.

On 19 February 1946, Colonel-General Phillip Golikov, the Head of the Repatriation Department, sent a letter to the then Chairman of the Radnarkom Nikolay Khrushchev informing him on a large-scale (50%) reduction in the personnel of the repatriation organs before 1 March 1946. Return of the majority of the repatriates, who were the residents and natives of the Ukrainian SSR was called the main reason for such a decision.<sup>46</sup> This decision resulted not only in the elimination of several regional RPs, and the subsequent reduction of the staff in specialised departments but also in a sharp decrease in terms of the financing of the whole repatriation system. Therefore, according to the revised and later approved estimate of the Repatriation Department of the Council of Ministers ("CM") of the Ukrainian SSR for 1946, it was planned to allocate 56,000 roubles from the

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<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 21.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 19.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 31.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 35.

Republican budget for the sanitary treatment of repatriates.<sup>47</sup> This amount was to be distributed between the Repatriation Departments of the Regional Councils and allocated to cover the costs of sanitary treatment of repatriates who continued to go to the regional RPs.<sup>48</sup>

On 8 May 1946, the estimates of the Regional Repatriation Departments were sent to the local authorities. An analysis of these documents shows that 6,000 roubles were allocated to finance the activities of the “repatriation sanitary inspection” of the Repatriation Department of the Executive Committee of the L’viv Regional Council. The Dnepropetrovsk and Stalin Regions were allocated 4,000 roubles each. The Repatriation Department of the Executive Committees of Vinnytsia, Voroshilovgrad, Mykolaiv, Odesa, Poltava, and Kharkiv Regional Councils received 3,000 roubles each. Volyn, Zhytomyr, Zaporizhzhia, Kamianets-Podilskyi, Kyiv, Kirovograd, Sumy, and Ternopil Regions – 2,000 roubles each. Drohobych, Izmail, Rivne, Kherson, Chernihiv, Chernivtsi Regions, and the city of Kyiv – 1,000 roubles each.<sup>49</sup>

When drafting a funding application for the sanitary treatment of returnees in 1947 from the Republican budget, the Department for Repatriation of the CM of the Ukrainian SSR requested the Government to allocate 10,000 roubles. At the same time, on the stage of episodic repatriation as of 1 June 1947, only 300 roubles of these funds were actually spent.<sup>50</sup> However, in the second half of 1947, the situation changed, as thousands of ethnic Ukrainians – re-emigrants from France, Bulgaria, and other countries were expected to return to the Ukrainian SSR. The Government of the Republic had planned to allocate more than 4 million roubles from local budgets for them by the order of a special decree.<sup>51</sup>

In 1948, funding for sanitation of returnees primarily came from two sources, the national and local budgets. 5,000 roubles were paid from the national budget<sup>52</sup> and 44,000 roubles were allocated from the local budgets for the sanitary treatment of repatriates.<sup>53</sup> The distribution of funds largely depended on the number of expected repatriates in certain region. In particular, in 1948, the Repatriation Department of the Executive Committee of the Odesa Regional Council, responsible for carrying out medical examination and sanitary treatment of repatriated,

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<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 3.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 6.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, File 4257, ff. 59-184.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, File 7931, f. 5.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 12.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 5.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, File 10020, f. 15.



disinfection of their clothes, and laundry for the repatriates received 4,000 roubles from the local budget, which came in equal parts quarterly.<sup>54</sup> To cover the sanitation and disinfection costs of Stalin Region, the amount of 14,400 roubles was allocated, whilst Poltava Region obtained 5,100 roubles, Stanislav Region received 4,000 roubles, L'viv Region received 3,000 roubles.<sup>55</sup> The episodic nature of repatriation in 1948 influenced the distribution of funds. Appropriations of the Republican budget have been fully utilised, but only less than half of the money from the local budgets (20,000 roubles) were actually used.<sup>56</sup> When planning the financing of sanitary-epidemic measures for 1949, the Government heavily relied on the estimated calculations of the Repatriation Department of USSR, which identified approximate number of 35,000 potential Ukrainian repatriates. The cost of sanitary treatment of one repatriate was set at 1 rouble. Financial expenditures were partly allocated to the Republican and local budgets. In particular, the amount allocated to the budget of the Ukrainian SSR to cover such needs amounted to 36,000 roubles.<sup>57</sup> Costs by the region were calculated based on the estimated number of potential repatriates in respective regions, both natives and residents. In particular, to cover the costs for the sanitary treatment of family members of repatriates-fishermen from Bulgaria and Romania, the Department of Repatriation of the Executive Committee of the Mykolaiv Regional Council received from the Republican budget an amount of 5,500 roubles in 1949. Exactly half of this money had to be spent on washing services for 1,000 people. The sum of 2,000 roubles was allocated for the purchase of soap and 1,000 roubles were used to pay for the disinfection procedures (1 rouble per person).<sup>58</sup> The Repatriation Department of the Executive Committee of the Odesa Regional Council received 4,000 roubles for sanitary inspection and treatment of repatriates, washing, and disinfection of bed linen in the hostel where the return citizens were residing back then.<sup>59</sup>

Departments of Repatriation of Executive Committees of Dnipropetrovsk and Izmail Regional Councils received 3,000 roubles for each RP from the Republican budget for sanitary treatment of the returned citizens. In 1949, Izmail Region expected the arrival of 100 families of Ukrainian re-emigrants (mainly fishermen from Bulgaria and Romania). Sanitary examination and disinfection of the re-

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<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, File 7931, ff. 40, 42.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 46, 53, 61.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, File 10020, f. 15.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 23.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, File 10020, ff. 78, 80.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 85.

turned citizens, their clothes, linen, and other personal belongings were supposed to be covered at the rate of 30 roubles per family.<sup>60</sup> Estimates of allocated funds for Vinnytsia, Zaporizhzhia, Sumy, and Chernivtsi regional RPs amounted to 2000 roubles per each. While Zhytomyr, Poltava, and Stanislav Regional RPs received 1,500 roubles each. In the Kherson Region, officials planned on spending 1,200 roubles for sanitary treatment of 600 potential returned citizens. Repatriation Departments of the Executive Committees of the Voroshilovgrad, Drohobych, Kyiv and L'viv Regional Councils received 1,000 roubles each for sanitary measures. But in the vast Kharkiv Region, only 900 roubles were allocated for sanitary-epidemic measures from the Republican budget. With the cost of services amounting to 2.50 roubles according to the calculations of the Repatriation Department of the Ukrainian SSR, this money could have cover the needs of only 360 people (which constitutes only 20% of the 1800 potential returnees). The Repatriation Department of the Executive Committee of the Kirovograd Regional Council received the least money out of all. Only 500 roubles were allocated from the budget of the Ukrainian SSR for the sanitary treatment of repatriated.<sup>61</sup>

Most of the funds destined for the purposes of receiving and arranging repatriated Ukrainians in 1949 were allocated from local budgets. In particular, 43,000 roubles were allocated for financing sanitary and epidemic measures in the regions of the Republic. Most of the funds were provided to the Repatriation Department of the Dnipropetrovsk Regional Executive Committee. The local budget allocated 5,000 roubles for hygiene needs. Whilst Odesa and Stalin Regional Executive Committees received 4,000 roubles each and L'viv, together with Kharkiv Regional Councils approved the financing of 3,000 roubles each. Repatriation Departments of Executive Committees of Volyn, Voroshilovgrad, Drohobych, Kyiv, Mykolaiv, and Ternopil Regional Councils received 2,000 roubles each from their local budgets to finance the sanitary treatment of repatriates. Regional Budgets of Vinnytsia, Zhytomyr, Zakarpatiya (Transcarpathian), Zaporizhzhia, Kirovohrad, Poltava, Rivne, Stanislav, Sumy, Kherson, Chernihiv, and Chernivtsi allocated for the same purposes 1,000 roubles. Interestingly enough, budgets of Izmail and Kamianets-Podilskyi Regions did not allocate any funds for sanitary and hygiene needs of repatriates, and these costs were covered by the Republican budget.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 35, 62.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, File 10020, ff. 29-117.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 120

On the final, or so-called episodic stage of the movement of repatriates to the territory of the Ukrainian SSR (73 people returned in July 1949, 131 – in August, 133 – in October)<sup>63</sup>, the organisation of a centralised reception of immigrants turned into an openly useless waste of budget funds. Thus, in 1949, the last four regional receiving and distribution points in Odesa, Kharkiv, L'viv, and the Yasynuvata railway station (Stalin Region) were liquidated.<sup>64</sup> After the liquidation of the RPs, there was no longer any need to allocate the funds for the centralised sanitary treatment of individual repatriates. From that moment on, their treatment became individual. As a result, in 1950, the cost of sanitary treatment was no longer included in the estimate of the Repatriation Departments of the Ukrainian SSR.<sup>65</sup>

### CONCLUSIONS

To summarise the analysis of the activities of the Repatriation Departments of the Ukrainian SSR in financing the costs of sanitary treatment, medical examination, and treatment of sick returned citizens in 1944-1950, we would like to draw the reader's attention to the fact that both the Union and Republican authorities acted pragmatically. Through the process, we distinguish at least three independent stages, characterised by distinct specifications.

At the initial stage of the commencement of repatriation process (autumn 1944 – spring 1945), there was no centralised provision of funds for carrying out sanitary treatment, medical examination, and treatment of sick repatriates. The regional health departments and sanitary front offices border check-posts ("BCP") and Reception Posts ("RPs") covered these needs at the expense of the minimal internal material and financial capacities.

The second stage covered summer of 1945 and spring of 1946. The expansion of the flow of returned citizens and making their return a standardised procedure caused severe changes in their medical service care. This area of work could no longer be supported without the increased centralised funds allocation to cover the costs of sanitation, treatment of repatriated citizens, as well as their provision with sanitary and hygiene products and medicine. However, there was one distinctive feature. Although the amount of appropriations inevitably increased, the costs for one repatriate did not undergo any significant changes, remaining at almost the same minimum level.

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<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, File 9971, f. 102, 171,172; File 9972, f. 138.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, File 10014, f. 24.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, Register 8, File 2232, ff. 3, 4.

The third and final stage that determines the direction of work of the Repatriation Departments of the Ukrainian SSR responsible for the centralised financial support of health needs of the returned individuals covered the period from spring 1946 to the end of 1949. Covering the costs of medical and health care for potential returned citizens was sharply reduced after returning the majority of repatriates. At this time, the Government of the Republic and Executive Committees of Regional Councils financed only the needs of Regional RPs for sanitary treatment of repatriates and disinfection anti-epidemic measures. All other medical expenses, such as the treatment of sick returned citizens, were covered from the budget of the Ministry of Health of the Ukrainian SSR. The overall trend at this stage was the reduction in cost of the repatriates' sanitary treatment, due to a much smaller number of actual returned citizens.

The general structure of the budgetary expenditure for the purposes of the repatriates' healthcare in 1945-1950 (when funds were primarily allocated for sanitary treatment and disinfection) shows that the apparent priority of the authorities in this matter was to prevent the spread of epidemic diseases. Instead, the provision of medicine and inpatient treatment of the so-called "internal" diseases were not among the priorities. These tasks heavily relied on the vertical of the hospitals and inpatient medical institutions of the Ukrainian SSR. In any case, the repatriates did not personally receive any funds from the state for the purposes of sanitation, purchase of medicine or medical treatment. Such costs were covered by appropriating the sums of money to the accounts of Narcomats (Ministries), institutions, and organisations that performed this task on behalf of the Government. In particular, the supply of repatriates with medicine, covering the cost of medical staff was provided by allocating the funds to specialised institutions that performed sanitation tasks on behalf of the Government.

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