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STATE MANAGEMENT OF FORCED MIGRATION AS A METHOD OF DEVELOPMENT OF THE RUSSIAN NORTH IN THE 1930-1950

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Abstract: *The article presents the authors' analysis of forced migration during the Soviet period of colonization of the North from the 1930s to the mid-1950s on the example of the Komi Republic. Information sources used during the analyses contribute to the reconstruction of the Soviet past in the period of Stalinist repression. The main thesis is that forced migration, although it played a decisive role in the formation of the economy of the Soviet state, but its consequences for the country and modern Russia in general were not so unambiguous. The implementation of state priorities in the development of the North was carried out without taking into account the interests of the sending/receiving parties, the possibilities of locating people and creating basic social and living conditions for the work and life of forced migrants.*

Keywords: *Forced migration, Stalinist repression, development of the North, prisoners, special settlers, exiles.*

ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОЕ УПРАВЛЕНИЕ ПРИНУДИТЕЛЬНОЙ МИГРАЦИЕЙ КАК СПОСОБ ОСВОЕНИЯ СЕВЕРА РОССИИ В 1930- 1950-Е ГГ.

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Аннотация: В статье на примере Республики Коми представлен авторский анализ принудительной миграции в советский период колонизации Севера с 1930-х до середины 1950-х гг. Информационной базой послужили источники, способствующие реконструкции советского прошлого в период сталинских репрессий. Основной тезис заключается в том, что принудительная миграция хотя и сыграла решающую роль в становлении экономики советского государства, но ее последствия в целом для страны и современной России оказались не столь однозначны. Реализация государственных приоритетов в освоении Севера осуществлялась без учета интересов отправляющей / принимающей сторон, возможностей размещения людей и создания элементарных социально-бытовых условий для работы и жизни вынужденных мигрантов.

Ключевые слова: Принудительная миграция, сталинские репрессии, освоение Севера, заключенные, спецпереселенцы, ссыльные.

1. INTRODUCTION

Our research interest is aimed at understanding the experience of the colonization of the Russian North through forced migration from the early 1930s to the mid-1950s. The article analyzes the elements of state management of population migration. The focus of our attention is the Komi Republic, which is located in the northeast of the European part of the Russian Federation. The Komi Republic belongs to those territories that until the mid-1950s had accepted migratory flows formed under the influence of state repression, and since the 1990s, on the contrary, began to experience an outflow of population. The article focuses on the analysis of archival data and specialized historical literature devoted to the problems of the development of the North in general and the Komi Republic in particular.

The Komi Republic became one of the largest territories of the GULAG¹ system in the country and the territory that assumed large flows of involuntarily resettled and repressed [Upadyshev, 2009]. The Republic is an area of indigenous population - the Komi. Before the outbreak of forced migrations, the Komi constituted the majority of the population, during the extensive development of the territory by the forces of special settlers, exiles and prisoners, the Komi were in the minority.

This consequence of external migration has not been sufficiently studied yet and is rarely taken into account when assessing Stalin's repressions. It should also be noted that, in order to better understanding the modern processes in Russia, it is important not only to overall reconstruction of the conflicting Soviet past, but also to study its specific manifestations in space and time. Even within the republic, the image and standard of living differ sharply, depending on the place of residence and the specialization of the economy of cities and regions. Thus, only with a consistent study of the historical dynamics of development of each territorial community it is possible to reconstruct the Soviet past.

By forced migration we mean the movements of significant masses of people undertaken by the state in relation to their own or foreign citizens by direct or indirect coercion. In the first case, we are dealing with the repressive (punitive) nature of the state's influence on a citizen (or a foreign citizen), in the second case, with targeted administrative pressure on his will [Polyan, 2001].

Our task is not to assess the extent of the repressions of the Soviet state, but rather to analyze the results and the consequences of forced migration for the country as a whole and its territories.

2. DYNAMICS OF FORCED DISTRIBUTION OF LABOR RESOURCES FOR THE ACCELERATED INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE NORTH

If the special settlers were massively deported to remote areas of the country, the exiles were expelled individually and by a court decision [Ignatova 2009]. The exiles had a criminal record and carried an administrative-criminal punishment. The special settlers had an uncertain status: they were conditionally free, but at the same time they were restricted in their right to move. They were mostly repressed peasants from the central and southern regions of

1 GULAG (Chief Directorate of Camps) - the government agency that administered and controlled the main Soviet forced-labor camp system during the period from the 1930s up until the 1950s.

the country and those who were exiled on the basis of nationality: Soviet Germans, Crimean Tatars, Chechens. It was impossible to numerically divide special settlers and exiles. The problem lies not only in the closedness of information and the unreliability of the available statistical data, but also in the fact that the status of forced migrants has been constantly changing. The exiles could easily be transferred to the category of settlers, and immigrants to prisoners. In addition, the number of persons for bonded labor has changed as a result of reorganizations, the liquidation of punitive structures or simply a change of legal name while retaining their functions.

A similar situation was with the prisoners. Among the prisoners were convicted for political reasons, criminals convicted for domestic crimes, and representatives of organized crime. It is not possible to divide these groups quantitatively for the historical period under consideration. A comparison of the data from different sources used in this article, shows that about a third of prisoners were convicted for political reasons, but in different camps this group was quantitatively different.

There was a distribution of labor between prisoners, immigrants and exiles. Prisoners of forced labor camps mainly carried out geological and geodetic works, developed coal and oil industries, and conducted road construction. The work of special settlers was mainly used in the forestry sector and, in part, in agriculture.

Returning to the scale of forced migration, we note that the average composition of prisoners in 1941 in the republic was 249 thousand people. In 1955 there was a sharp drop in prisoners to 95,000 people, and in 1959 there are already 7,000 of them.

The first large party of special settlers in the number of 5 thousand families arrived in Komi in the beginning of 1930. Later, their number increased dramatically and at the beginning of 1931 there were already more than 40 thousand special settlers. And in 1959 there were only 2 thousand special settlers [The history of the Komi, 2011]. A general idea of the scale of forced migration can be obtained from the data in Table 1.

Table 1: Population dynamics taking into account prisoners, special settlers and exiles in the Komi Republic for 1929-1959 [Ignatova 2009; The history of the Komi, 2011; Skvoznikov, 2001]

Year	The number of population, including special settlers and exiles, thousand people	The number of special settlers and exiles, thousand people	Share of special settlers and exiles, %
1929	237,0	2,3	1,0
1930	272,5	30,9	11,3
1935	307,2	39,7	12,9
1940	509,4	207,0	40,6
1945	416,0	155,3	37,3
1950	643,7	282,9	43,9
1955	695,6	123,4	17,7
1959	822,5	8,3	1,0

The influx of forced laborers into the territory of the republic was unstable, constantly decreased or increased, which indicates obvious contradictions in the policy pursued. The policy was determined by special decisions of the State Defense Committee and Decrees of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, as well as by the directives of the governing bodies of the Komi ASSR. Between the region and Moscow there was an active correspondence on the coordination of questions on the supply of additional labor for the implementation of the plans of the first five-year plans

3. LIMITS OF THE POLICY OF ENFORCEMENT TO WORK

Despite high rates of economic development of the territory in this historical period, forced migration can hardly be considered an effective way of colonization and subsequent development of the North. The growth of economic development was achieved not through organizational (or optimizing the number of employees and improving the labor process), technological (expressed in the introduction of advanced technologies in production and the acquisition of new equipment) or social methods of regulating labor (creating the necessary working conditions), but at the expense of mass, primitive and cheap working labor, which was especially pronounced in the Stalinist 1930s. [Dunaevsky, 2001; Vitke, 2001].

The task of colonization of the North required considerable capital investments, which the Soviet authorities wanted to avoid in two ways: the forced importation of a large quantity of labor and the transfer of forced laborers to self-reliance. It was assumed that prisoners, special settlers, exiles with their own labor would cover the costs of their maintenance in places of deprivation of liberty. In other words, the colonization of the North was carried out through the extensive use of labor. Returning to the issue of the effectiveness of the organization of labor of forced migrants, it should be noted that among the special settlers were the elderly, children, pregnant women who could not fully participate in the production process. Besides, hunger, cold, dirt, sewage, lice, acute infectious diseases (scurvy, typhoid, diphtheria, tuberculosis) were already on the way to places of migration of people traveling in freight cars.

The unsatisfactory living conditions of the special settlers and exiles provoked mass shoots and protest moods, which resulted in the refusal of work, the attribution of excess cultivated land, theft, wrecking and damage to state property [Special settlements in the Komi, 1997]. Obvious facts of deliberate resistance to the system were manifested when the earth was uprooted. A huge amount of money was spent on it, but the land in the following years proved to be unusable without secondary land uprooting. Officially revealed facts of sabotage, that is, intentional undermining of the economy, from our point of view, were to some extent beneficial to the employees of the Unified State Political Department. They had the opportunity to write off their organizational mistakes on them, justifying, supporting and increasing the scale of repression with fictitious accusations and falsified deeds.

Forced labor was characterized by exceptionally weak organization of prisoners' work, special settlers and exiles, inadequate supply of implements of production, poorly adjusted by the issuance of special clothing. With the willingness of people to work, not everyone could go to work because of the lack of shoes, warm clothes, and also because of illness. At that time, criminals established their rules among prisoners. Until 1939-1940, only political prisoners and prisoners convicted under household items worked on the felling of the forest.

Forced laborers did not believe the Soviet authorities, absolutely were not interested in the improvement of settlements and in the development of agriculture, even for their own consumption. They preferred either to flee or to die of hunger. As a result, some built settlements were proposed to be liquidated, without waiting for the return of investments in their construction, which further increased the material costs for the resettlement of people.

4. THE WEAKENING OF THE COERCIVE REGIME THROUGH THE SEARCH FOR COMPROMISES

It should be noted that the Soviet authorities attempted to eliminate their own mistakes. So, realizing the mistakes of people's mass migration by violent methods in the 1930s, some typical cases of people's release from exile were allowed. The «wrongly expelled» prisoners were released. The children and the old people who were left without breadwinners were handed over to the relatives for care. But the mechanism for the return of the status of a free citizen and transfer to relatives was also not worked out.

Attempts to eliminate gross miscalculations made as a result of repression, also indicate the absence of a well thought out and prepared plan for the development of the North. But no attempted reliefs, and even the benefits that were subsequently imposed, proved incapable of redressing the Soviet state's blame for the massive repression of its citizens. Forced migration through mass repression formed the basis for criticizing the socialist system as a totalitarian regime that deprived people of any manifestations of freedom and personal choice.

During the Great Patriotic War, there was a toughening of living conditions for prisoners: the establishment of a 10-12 hour working day, the abolition of days off, an increase in labor standards and a reduction in contentment [Turubanov, 1995]. However, it should be noted that during the Great Patriotic War almost all the population of the country was transferred to the regime of special living and working conditions. The main way to attract the labor force to production was to mobilize the entire able-bodied population of Komi, but in view of the small number of the urban population, it was carried out mainly at the expense of the rural population. The evacuated population from the Karelian-Finnish SSR, Leningrad and some other regions became an equally important source of replenishment of the workforce of industrial enterprises.

By the end of the war, the possibilities of mobilizing the labor force at the expense of the villages of the republic were exhausted. As before, the authorities saw the way out of the current situation in the urgent importation of workers from beyond its borders. Since 1944, new large batches of convicts and repatriated from the Western republics of the USSR, as well as repatriated Germans and «Vlasovites» (former Soviet prisoners of war, directed to special resettlement and exile) began to arrive in Komi. By early 1945, there were more than 130,000 prisoners and more than 32,000 special settlers and exiles on the territory of the republic. Despite the continuing repression and the use of cheap labor by prisoners, special settlers and exiles during the war and for a long time after its end, we believe that this time was a turning point in the realization of restrictions on the use of labor of forced laborers, mostly from low-skilled workers in industry and peasants on logging. In addition, the need for qualified specialists for the oil and gas industry and coal mining is gradually increasing, which also determines the need for the creation of a labor incentive system in the North to

attract new personnel. It was during this period that special attention was paid to the issues of orgnabor, reinforcement and training of personnel at enterprises and organizations of the republic, primarily from those who had freed themselves from the camps of the Komi GULAG. The above statistics (Table 1) shows that by 1956 the gradual curtailment of the work of the repressive apparatus and the decrease in the value of the GULAG occur [Lytkina, Fauzer, 2016].

5. THE UNDERVALUED CONTRIBUTION OF THE KOMI PEASANTS TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TERRITORY

In the most difficult stage of accelerated industrialization (1930s), indigenous residents remained the majority in the total population of the republic, but their contribution to the development of the territory in these difficult times remains poorly understood and underestimated. This is partly due to the general concept of the accelerated industrialization of the country in the Soviet period and the amount of capital investment that was sent by the state from the union and republican budgets for the development of the territory. It is the resources of the village that made it possible to industrialize in the Stalin period - the general modernization of Russian industry [Milokhin, Smetanin, 2005]. The standard of living was extremely low. In most of the collective farms, because of a lack of bread, the peasants, just like the special settlers and exiles, ate various surrogates, admixing the chaff, straw, and oilcake into the flour. In the village shops there were no essential goods. The state allocated 5,2 times less to the peasants than the urban workers [Ignatova, 2009; The history of the Komi, 2011]. The collective farmers were interested in leaving the village, but the passport system prevented free movement along their land. The Soviet authorities were favored by double employment, forcing the Komi peasants, despite harassment by representatives of the GULAG system of the NKVD² [The history of the Komi, 2011], simultaneously raise agriculture and solve the food problems of personal households and workers in industry, as well as participate in the industrialization of the country.

The work of the Komi peasants was most widespread in agriculture and in timber harvesting, the development of sawmilling and metalworking. According to the 1939 census, among the persons engaged in industrial production, Komi was 59% (including seasonal workers), in construction – 34,1%, in transport – 63,7% [The history of the Komi, 2011]. In other words, the Komi peasants participated in logging operations and in addition carried the burden of agricultural tax, increased in 1930 from 23,1 thousand rubles to 772,9 thousand rubles (i.e., from about 33,5 to 52 times). Remaining collective farmers, they did not have the privileges introduced by the Soviet government in 1921 for the workers.

In previous studies [Fauzer, Lytkina, 2015] it was mentioned that restrictions on movement in the republic, low level of education, lack of qualifications, which are in demand for development of the oil industry and hard coal, limited access of local residents to jobs in these sectors. The forming system of incentives encouraged the inflow of labor resources from outside and extended not to all residents of the North, but only to workers in the leading industries. Even the logging industry, which, with minimal financial costs in the 1930s-1950s, provided geological exploration in the republic, gradually receded into the back-

2 NKVD (The People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs) – a joint law enforcement agency of the USSR in combating crime and maintaining public order, ensuring state security in 1934-1946.

ground, and the main role in the development of the territory was assigned to the oil and gas industry and coal mining. Later employed in these priority sectors received a wide range of social benefits and benefits, a high social status and more comfortable living conditions, in comparison with other categories of workers. Undoubtedly, the workers of the timber industry also had certain advantages, but their volume was much smaller. The level and quality of life of rural residents have always remained low. They will always be imputed the principle of personal responsibility for the provision of a family. In other words, the policy of forced migration of the development of the North not only did not involve reconciling the interests of various groups of the population in the territories under study, but also ignored the interests of the indigenous people, whose efforts were compensated for by the residual principle, they received less benefits, despite their significant contribution to the development of the territory. The processes of exclusion, or rather, excluding integration into the general order, continue today, only in the conditions of the spread of the market economy. Will different social groups today be able to form a common interest and protect their rights?

6. CONCLUSION

Thus, the state mechanism for regulating the country's economy was accompanied by parallel implementation of the political and ideological interests of the formation of the population's loyalty to the Soviet power through a system of punishments. But, despite the economic achievements, its effectiveness, especially in the early 30's. Last century, it is very doubtful. For the implementation of economic tasks, there was no selection of employees on the criteria of professional qualifications, age, state of health. Despite the high labor requirements for the development of the North, there was no detailed development of this project, it was carried out by trial and error. The unreasonableness of the policy of repression was expressed in its compulsory nature, unacceptable living conditions of involuntary people, and also in its scale, not justifying the implementation of important economic tasks of the country's development. The need to attract so much labor for colonization and development of the North through repression, even given the short terms, political instability and economic crisis, was not. The sacrifice of many thousands of people was in vain. The massive use of cheap labor through repression and forced migration led the Soviet state to become trapped in the extensive organization of production, when inefficient use of labor by workers each time led to a new labor demand in exchange for the implementation of state plans. From the point of view of the authors, it is during this period that the foundations of the negotiating nature of the «Center» and the «Region» relations are laid, which form «industrial anarchy» on the ground.

Undoubtedly, the use of the labor of forced people determined the economic development of the republic. However, the overall assessment of the development of the territory is ambiguous. On the one hand, the republic has become an ideal region for the supply of necessary natural resources for the country's economy, on the other hand, its raw material appendage. The modern Russian market has strengthened the consumer way of mastering the natural and using the labor resources of the North, which led to the deformation of the social relations of the community and the formation of such interaction practices that contribute to the exploitation processes. The existing practices of interaction do not contribute to the development of new forms of solidarity [Lytkina, 2014] and, as a result, the formation

of a common interest of all residents of the republic.

It was the massive Stalinist repressions that formed the basis for the now widespread criticism of the entire Soviet system as a totalitarian one, the formation of Russia's image as an aggressive country. In turn, the Republic of Komi as a subject of the Russian state did not have the opportunity to formulate its own interest in the development of the territory. Despite the fact that colonization was painful both for forced migrants and for local residents, the latter fall out of the field of recognition for the development of their territory.

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